

A HISTORY OF  
THE CHURCH OF  
ENGLAND

BY THE

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## PREFACE

### TO SECOND EDITION

THE point of view from which this book is written may be stated thus. The author holds that the Church of England is not in any sense a State Church, nor a creation of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, deriving, as it does, its title-deeds from a very different source. On the other hand, the author is not one of those—to use a famous epigram—who believe that the Church of England was “Protestant” *before* and “Catholic” *after* the Reformation. The Church of England, in his view, is both Catholic and Protestant ; and while he would not care to deny that serious errors and blemishes disfigured the course of the Reformation movement, he would emphatically contend that the Reformation, so far from being a thing which requires apology, has been in every sphere of life, both in thought and action, the source of incalculable blessings to the English people. The author has made it one of his special aims to bring out the close connection, that has existed in successive ages, between the life of the Church and the contemporary politics. After 1714 the connection is less obvious.

The second edition of this work is a mere reprint of the first edition, except that Appendix IV. has been rewritten, and some alterations have been made in Appendix II. and Appendix V. Some few errors have also been corrected.

In passing this second edition for the press, the author desires specially to thank Dr. Watson, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, Archdeacon Hutton, and Canon Simpson of St. Paul's for kindly criticism of the book. He is quite conscious that the later part of English Church History (*i.e.* from 1660) is inadequately treated in this volume. Two courses

were open to him—either to leave the book as it is, or else to enlarge its second portion. But this latter alternative would have necessitated the expansion of the work into two volumes. On the whole it was thought best to leave the book as it is; but the author hopes at a subsequent date to write a history of Anglican theology since the Reformation.

The author wishes also to thank many teachers both at Oxford and Cambridge and our public schools who have found his work of some use, and written to say so. From one kind of critics, namely, the extreme High Churchmen, who control a portion of the “religious” and also of the secular press, the author neither expected nor desired a favourable reception.

Since this book was first issued from the press three years ago, only two events of any importance have occurred in the external history of the Church.

A Bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Welsh Church is before Parliament, and this measure clearly foreshadows a subsequent attack on the Establishment in England.

The House of Lords acting as a supreme court of appeal has denied the right of a certain clergyman to repel from Communion a man who had married his deceased wife’s sister, though these marriages are contrary to the law of the Church.

These events have raised in a crucial form the whole question of the relations of Church and State. We may hope that it is an exaggeration when a writer in the current number of the *Quarterly Review* (July 1912) declares that England is quickly becoming a non-Christian country. But events are moving so rapidly, the divergence of moral standard is becoming so wide, the control of the Church by the State so irksome that Churchmen may well welcome, in no distant future, release from any union with it.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,

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# THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

## CHAPTER I

### THE CHURCH IN BRITAIN BEFORE THE ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST

THE circumstances under which the Church was planted in the British Isles are quite unknown. There are plenty of legends connecting its foundation with one or other of the Apostles; but the most famous legend is that which Tennyson has worked into the "Idylls of the King," connecting the British Church with Joseph of Arimathæa. Origin of Church in Britain.

"That Joseph came of old to Glastonbury  
And there the heathen prince, Arviragus  
Gave him an isle of marsh whereon to build ;  
And there he built with wattles from the marsh  
A little lonely church in days of yore."

The legend tells of the cup

"From which our Lord  
Drank at the last sad supper with His own,"

which

"Arimathæan Joseph journeying brought  
To Glastonbury, where the winter thorn  
Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord ;  
And there awhile it bode : and if a man  
Could touch or see it, he was heal'd at once,  
By faith, of all his ills. But then the times  
Grew to such evil that the holy cup  
Was caught away to Heaven and disappear'd."

Such is the beautiful legend of the Holy Grail, but the real history is much more prosaic.

Professor Ramsay has pointed out that St. Paul at a very

early stage contemplated the Christianising of the Roman Empire, and that his missionary journeys were carried out along the lines of the great Roman roads; the political unity and stability of the Roman Empire, no less than her splendid roads, paved the way for the expansion of the Christian Church.

In Britain, as elsewhere, the Church followed in the wake of the Roman Empire. We do not know precisely how Christianity came: a rhetorical passage in Tertullian seems to show that Christianity had reached these islands by 208. It is possible, but not quite certain. The tradition found in later writers, that during the Diocletian persecution (298) St. Alban was massacred at Verulam (St. Albans), and two other martyrs at Caerleon, may rest on a reliable foundation. The probability is that during the third century individual Christians on their separate errands, for purposes of trade and the like, came to Britain from Gaul and Germany—we know that there was much intercourse—and that so the Church in Britain gradually grew up. We gain clear light for the first time in 314, when we are told that three British bishops, Eborius from York, Restitutus from London, Adelfius, probably from Lincoln,<sup>1</sup> attended the Council of Arles; they were accompanied by a presbyter, Sacerdos, and a deacon, Arminius. We know that three British bishops also attended the Council of Ariminum in 359, and that they were the only three bishops (out of more than four hundred who attended the council) to avail themselves of the imperial grant for the support of bishops who could not afford the expense. In the course of the fourth century the native population of Britain was rapidly Christianised. About this Romano-Celtic Church we do not know much. It is clear that it was a fully organised Episcopal Church; it had at least three bishops, and, as on the Continent, these bishops had their sees in the large towns; the Christian emblems, *e.g.* XP, ΑΩ, marked on cups and rings which have been found in excavations, show that the Christian faith had spread over all parts of the Roman province of Britain. The Church was not confined to those who were by birth Romans; indeed the specifically Roman elements in the population—the army and the civil service—do not seem to have been largely Christian; there is no clear sign of Christianity to be found in the army stations of Caerleon, Chester,

British  
Church  
in fourth  
century.

<sup>1</sup> "De civitate colonia Londinensium" (probably a clerical error for "Lindensium").

## Before the Anglo-Saxon Conquest 3

and the Roman wall. This is just what we find elsewhere. "Christianity never became a religion of the camp," says Dr. Harnack, speaking of the pre-Nicene Church, "because it fell to the soldier much oftener to perform idolatrous actions (the regimental colours being *sacra*)." The Romano-British Church then was predominantly Celtic, and its poverty may be inferred from the poverty of the British bishops who attended the Council of Ariminum. Of the Romano-British Church fabrics none has survived. The best authorities are of opinion that no Roman work *in situ* is to be found at St. Martin's, Canterbury; but in the year 1892 the foundations of a fourth century Christian church were excavated at the old Roman town of Silchester. It was a church with an apsidal west end, with two aisles, and in fact it is of the same type as other fourth century churches in Italy, Africa, and Syria.

After the withdrawal of the Roman legions from Britain in 410, the British Church still remained: if it produced a heresiarch in Pelagius, it produced also the Apostle of Ireland in St. Patrick. This debt was to be repaid at a later time by the Irish mission of St. Columba. In the middle of the fifth century there is good reason for believing that in its ritual and observances the British differed little from the Roman Church. When it re-emerged a century later, we find differences that led in the sequel to important consequences.

After the year 410 the Britons lived an uneasy and harassed existence, combating their old enemies, the Picts and Scots. In 449 the Anglo-Saxon conquest began.

Roman  
legions  
withdraw.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST AND THE ROMAN MISSION

Anglo-Saxon conquest.

IN the year 449 our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were living in the country that lies about the Elbe and Eider ; they had never been brought into contact with the Christian faith or with the civilisation of Rome. Driven by pressure from behind, various swarms of these German folk set out to win new lands for themselves in Britain. Basing their expeditions on islands such as Thanet and Wight, they swarmed up the rivers of Britain, using them as arteries of communication with the interior ; the solitary exception to this rule was the Thames, where the fortified port of London blocked their way ; they then spread over the land till their progress was stayed by striking on the great natural barriers of forest and marsh. The net result was that by the middle of the sixth century seven independent kingdoms had been formed by the Anglo-Saxon peoples—Kent, the South Saxons (Sussex), the West Saxons (Wessex), the East Saxons (Essex), East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia.

Scholars have long been divided as to whether the Anglo-Saxon conquest was a war of extermination or not—that is to say, was the Anglo-Saxon conquest a cataclysm which uprooted and swept before it the whole of the Romano-Celtic civilisation ? or did the Anglo-Saxons retain and adapt a great portion of it ?

It will be sufficient in this place to say that Roman civilisation in Britain had always been of an exotic character ; if the Celts were in some degree Romanised, Rome in its turn was Celticised ; in Britain Rome had never struck her roots so deep as in Gaul. A careful examination of language, religion, law, and the land settlement tends to show that though a certain number of the Romano-Celts may have remained in their old homes as hewers of wood and drawers of water, speaking broadly, the war was one of extermination. Celts and Teutons did not to any great extent commingle. As the Teutons advanced, the

Celts were swept westwards, taking refuge in the inaccessible forests and mountains of the west. And so a result ensued in England strikingly different from that produced by a similar conquest in Gaul. But it is with religion alone that we are here concerned. The Gallican Church has a continuous history; for the heathen Franks were Christianised by their Celtic subjects: "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit"; but in England the British Church retired westwards, together with the Celts (its memories preserved by the ever-living legend of King Arthur); national hatred of the Saxon was so fierce that not the slightest attempt was made by the conquered Celts to win their conquerors for Christ.

Our Anglo-Saxon forefathers continued their heathenism; their religion, such as it was, consisted in a kind of nature-worship. Eostra (Easter) was the goddess of the radiant dawn; Tyr was the god of the clear sky (Zeus), Thor the god of thunder. The sun and the moon were objects of worship. They retained their belief in pixies or fairies, and watersprites, and all kinds of magic, which they used for working weal to their friends and woe to their enemies.

Heathenism of the Anglo-Saxons.

The British Church in England contributed nothing directly towards the evangelisation of the Anglo-Saxons; indirectly it did, for St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, was a native of Britain, and it was from Ireland that St. Columba came to Iona in Scotland in the sixth century; and it was by missionaries from Iona in the seventh century that the larger part of England was won to the faith of Christ.

The Church of England can be compared to a mighty river, rolling on through the ages, fertilising and freshening the whole life of the English people at the successive stages of its growth. As we trace that river back to its source, we find that its volume was formed from the confluence of two streams, the one Roman, the other Scotch. With these we will deal in order.

There can be no question that evangelisation first came to the Anglo-Saxons from Rome in the mission of St. Augustine, 597. And yet so far as the mission from Rome is concerned, it is not to Augustine, but to the great Pope Gregory, that we must look as our apostolic father. It was Gregory who first formed the great design of converting the English; it was Gregory who sent Augustine's mission; it was Gregory's faith and perseverance which carried the day against the timidity

The Roman mission.

and indecision of Augustine. Tradition, repeated by Bede, tells how Gregory (585), when a mere monk at the head of St. Andrew's monastery, was one day passing through a Roman market-place thronged by newly arrived merchants and would-be purchasers. Among the bales of goods exposed for sale he saw some English boys. The boys had fair complexions, sweet faces, and glorious fair hair; struck by their beautiful expression, Gregory asked what country they came from. "From the island of Britain," said the trader, "where all the people look like them." "And," said Gregory, "are the islanders Christian, or are they still caught in the errors of paganism?" "They are pagans." "Alas," said Gregory with a sigh, "that such bright faces should be in the power of the Prince of Darkness! What is the name of their tribe?" "They are called Angli." "Rightly so," said Gregory, "for they have an *angelic* face, and as such ought to be co-heirs with the angels in heaven. And what is the name of the province from which they come?" "Deira." "Well said again; plucked from the wrath (*de ira*) of God, and called to the mercy of Christ. And what is the name of their king?" "Aelle." "Then Alleluia must be sung in their country as praise to God the Creator."

Full of enthusiasm for the missionary work thus presented, Gregory immediately got leave from the Pope to set out for Britain; but the people's love for the Abbot of St. Andrew's was so great that they broke in upon the Pope and insisted on his recall.

When Gregory succeeded to the papal see in 590 his thoughts again turned towards the English. His first idea was to have English boys purchased and trained for mission work among their own people. But this was not found practicable. In 596 he took the step, so momentous for the future of England, of sending Augustine, the Abbot of St. Andrew's, with a party of forty monks to carry the glad tidings of the gospel to England. Gregory no doubt had heard that a door had been opened in England by the marriage of Ethelbert, the King of Kent, to Bertha, daughter of Charibert, King of Paris. This marriage had only been sanctioned by the lady's father on the condition that she should be allowed to follow freely her own religion, and enjoy the services of her chaplain Liudhard.

Augustine and his companions set out from Rome in the spring of 596. Crossing the Alps, they had by midsummer



made their way to Aix, in Provence. But here timorous counsels prevailed; they heard how fierce and savage the English were, how barbarous their language; in faintness of heart they sent Augustine back to Rome, and asked for permission to relinquish the appointed task. Gregory refused in a letter full of encouragement, tact, and love, reminding them of the eternal reward that awaited work for God, and concluding with a prayer that he himself might witness the fruit of their labour in the eternal kingdom. Thus encouraged, and after a time provided with Frankish interpreters, Augustine and his company landed on the shores of Kent at Ebbsfleet, at Eastertide, 597. They immediately sent a message to Ethelbert, announcing that they had come from Rome—how full of awe the name of the imperial city must have sounded to the barbarian king!—and that they had brought him good tidings, which, if he listened to them, would ensure him eternal joy in Heaven, and a kingdom without end in the presence of the living and true God. Afraid of magic that might be used within a building, Ethelbert consented to meet the missionaries in the open air. The mission advanced to meet the king in procession; at its head came a magnificent silver cross, and a picture of our Lord painted on wood; then came the monks, chanting litanies, in which they prayed for the eternal safety as well of themselves as of those to whom they came.

The mission reaches Kent, 597.

“Beautiful words and promises,” said Ethelbert when he had heard their message; and though he would not promise to desert his own faith, he gave them a royal welcome, promised them a home at Canterbury, and leave to make converts if they could among his people. So in processional form the monks crossed the river and marched to Canterbury. Just one month before the death scene of Columba at Iona, the band of monks, headed by the silver cross and the painted picture of our Lord, made its entry into Canterbury, the monks chanting in unison the litany, “We beseech thee, O Lord, in all Thy mercy, that Thy fury and Thy wrath may be turned from this city and from Thy holy house; for we have sinned. Amen.”

Living the apostolic life of the primitive Church, spending their time in constant prayer, in vigils, and fasts, preaching the word of God, contemning worldly things, the missionaries soon won their way to the hearts of the people. On June 1, a week before the death of Columba, Ethelbert himself was baptized,

Ethelbert converted

Augustine  
the first  
Arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury.

and the great mass of his people followed him to the font. And so Kent was nominally Christianised. Following instructions already received from Gregory, Augustine crossed the sea and received consecration as Archbishop of the English from Vergilius, Archbishop of Arles. The mission of Augustine ceased to be merely a Roman mission. The Church of England had been founded. The fabric of an old British church was given to Augustine by Ethelbert; after restoration it was dedicated to Christ the Saviour, and made the cathedral church of Canterbury. Outside the walls of Canterbury Augustine also began the building of a church and monastery, as a home for his fellow monks. This church was afterwards known as the Church of St. Augustine.

Now that the Church of the English was founded, various problems presented themselves for solution. What was to be the organisation of the new Church? What was to be Augustine's attitude to the bishops of the British Church, which was still strong in the west? For instruction on these and other points Augustine sent two of his companions, Laurentius and Peter, to Gregory. The larger part of his letter to Gregory dealt with points of ritual and ceremonial purity, and showed no real greatness of soul.

In his answer Gregory took a wide and statesmanlike point of view; he bade Augustine, by selection from the Roman, Gallican, and any other liturgies, form such a liturgy for the English people as would be suitable for them, since "things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things." He explained to Augustine that none of the bishops of Gaul was to be under his jurisdiction, but he gave him metropolitan rights over all the bishops of Britain. This grant was no doubt intended to include jurisdiction as well over the bishops of the ancient British Church as over such new bishops as Augustine himself might consecrate.

Gregory  
sends  
Augustine  
the pall.

In 601 Gregory sent a fresh mission to England. Its leaders were Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus. By them he sent sacred vessels and vestments, ornaments, relics, and books. Further, they brought Augustine a *pall* and a letter. At this point it will be well to explain exactly what the *pall* was.

The pall was a vestment conferred originally by the Emperor, then by the Pope with the Emperor's consent on distinguished prelates who were not always metropolitans. In course of time

it became an important instrument for building up the papal power, for after a while the Popes insisted that—

- (a) They alone could give the pall ;
- (b) That no one could exercise metropolitan powers until he had received it.

And by this means the Popes secured the submission of all metropolitans. In form the pall became gradually fixed to the shape that can be seen in pictures of the archbishops. It is a band of white wool passing over both shoulders, with pendants in front and behind, marked in each case by four purple crosses.

This was now sent to Augustine by Gregory as a sign of his metropolitan authority ; in his letter Gregory sketched the scheme of organisation that he contemplated for the English Church : there were to be two provinces, each with twelve suffragan bishops, respectively under an Archbishop of London and an Archbishop of York. Of the two archbishops precedence was to be taken by the one who was senior in consecration.

Gregory's scheme for organisation of the Church of England.

Gregory's scheme was never exactly carried out ; the stubborn paganism of the East Saxons and the logic of events caused the metropolitan see of the southern province to be fixed, not at London, but at Canterbury. In the north Christianity spread neither as far nor as rapidly as was contemplated and, after the flight of Paulinus from York in 633 (see p. 16), no bishop of York received the pall till Egbert in 735. Gregory's plan had to be modified.

There was one other matter on which Gregory gave his advice—a matter full of perplexity to missionaries both then and now.

While urging Ethelbert to utterly extirpate paganism, he pressed on the English missionaries the line of compromise ; his advice was that heathen temples should not be destroyed, but cleared of idols and turned into Christian churches ; the old pagan festivals were to be given a Christian significance and continue as Christian feast-days. The result was very characteristic. Here, as in other countries, a large amount of the old pagan customs survived in Christian forms. Christianity incorporated them into itself and baptized them into the service of Christ. Thus the festival of Eostra (the goddess of the radiant dawn) became the festival of our Lord's resurrection. The days of the week retained names drawn from the Norse

theology; harvest festivals continued as thanksgivings to God for His bounty; with results not so desirable, the worship of saints was substituted for that of pagan deities, the cult of holy wells replaced that of water-sprites.

Differences  
between  
Roman and  
British  
Churches.

Meanwhile the Church in Kent grew. Augustine was anxious to come to some understanding with the British Church, and secure its co-operation in the work of evangelising the Anglo-Saxons. But various differences from Roman usage in order and discipline had by this time established themselves among the British; the cycle for determining the date of Easter, the exact shape of the tonsure, the ritual in baptism, were different. What was more, they refused to recognise the supremacy of the Roman bishop.

With Ethelbert's help, a conference was held at a place called in later times Augustine's Oak, between Augustine and the British bishops. The Britons naturally refused to follow the Roman customs, and though Augustine is said to have clinched his arguments by restoring sight to a blind man, when the British bishops had failed to do so, the Britons still refused submission until they had communicated further with their own people, and been authorised to forsake their ancient customs.

To a second conference there came seven British bishops and a number of learned doctors, many from their famous monastery of Bangor-is-Coed (near Chester). But before coming they consulted one of their saintly hermits and asked him whether they should submit to Augustine. "Certainly," said the saint, "follow him if he is a man of God." "How can we find out?" they asked. "Our Lord," answered the saint, "said, 'Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.' If therefore Augustine is meek and lowly of heart, believe that he himself has taken the yoke of Christ and is offering it to you; but if he is rude and proud, clearly he is not of God, nor ought you to heed his words." "But how," replied they, "shall we prove him?" "Contrive," said the hermit, "that Augustine may come first to the place of meeting, and if he rises to greet you on your arrival, you can know that he is the servant of Christ, and obediently listen to his words; but if he treats you with scorn, and will not rise to greet you, then let him too be treated with scorn by you."

The test was duly applied, and Augustine unfortunately did not rise to greet them. Further, he denounced many of the

customs which they followed as contrary to Catholic tradition, and demanded that at any rate—

- (1) They should adopt the Roman cycle for calculating Easter;
- (2) In the rite of baptism they should follow the Roman form;
- (3) They should co-operate with him in preaching the word of God to the Anglo-Saxons.

The British bishops refused to comply, and emphatically rejected the Roman claims of supremacy, and more particularly Augustine's claim to be their archbishop. Thereon Augustine is said to have prophesied that as the British would not receive peace from their brothers, they would receive war from their enemies, and that having refused to preach the word of life to the English, they would receive death from them as retribution. This prophecy did not require any undue political, let alone spiritual, insight; the chronicler found its fulfilment in the battle of Chester, 626.

Roman claims rejected by British Church.

Meanwhile Augustine's own work lay within narrower limits. In 604 the East Saxons and their king, Saebert, were temporarily Christianised. Augustine consecrated Mellitus as their bishop, while Ethelbert built him a church, dedicated to St. Paul, as the seat of his bishopric in London. Augustine also consecrated Justus to the bishopric of Rochester for work among the men of West Kent. It was doubtless due to the influence of the Church that Ethelbert published a code of laws—the first code of laws ever published among the English peoples. In the same year, 604, Augustine was called to his rest. Gregory, whose death had preceded that of Augustine by a few months, was a far greater man. We find in Gregory an altogether loftier spirit, and a wider, more statesmanlike outlook. Augustine had the confined vision of a mere monk; from time to time his narrow-mindedness is provoking: in his dealings with the British bishops he seems to have shown considerable want of tact and inability to understand their point of view. He was proud of his alleged power to work miracles, and drew down on himself the gentle reproof of Gregory. Still his life was simple and self-sacrificing; and even though the see of Canterbury has been filled by wiser men, still it was *he*, and not another, who led our forefathers to the faith of Christ. He is at any rate to us the Roman Apostle of the English.

Death of Gregory and Augustine.

Pagan  
reaction.

Augustine was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Laurentius. An era of trial, however, awaited the Church; both in Kent and Essex a pagan reaction followed the death of their Christian Kings. In Essex the sons of Saebert were headstrong young men and refused Christian baptism. Mellitus therefore refused to give them a share of the bread and wine in Holy Communion. But like the young barbarians they were, the monarchs cried out, "We have no need to enter that font, but we desire to eat that bread;" and when Mellitus still refused, he was expelled the kingdom, and retired first to Canterbury, and then to Gaul. The result was that the East Saxons remained pagans for another forty years. The most that can be said for the results of the Roman mission in Essex is that an atmosphere was created which made easier the work of permanent evangelisation later on.

In Kent the paganism of Ethelbert's son and successor, Eadbald, was so violent, the relapse of the Kentmen to heathenism so complete, that Laurentius thought of following Mellitus and Justus in their flight to Gaul; the legend ran that he was stopped by a miracle. Before departing he paid a visit to Eadbald, and showed him his back covered with bruises. Eadbald in indignation asked him who had dared to inflict such bruises on a man of his rank. Then Laurentius told him how St. Peter had appeared to him in a vision the previous night, and after upbraiding him for his meditated flight, had chastised him as a penance. Eadbald, overcome with penitence for the suffering he had caused Laurentius, immediately became a Christian, and did all he could to promote the work of the Church in Kent.

Edwin of  
Northumbria.

A further step of progress was now taken by the Church, and here again a marriage played an important part. The greatest King in England at this time was Edwin of Northumbria. He had married Ethelburh, the sister of Eadbald, King of Kent. But one of the conditions of the marriage was that Ethelburh, being a Christian, should be allowed to take a Christian chaplain with her to Northumbria. Edwin himself held out hopes of his own conversion. So Paulinus, consecrated as a bishop by Justus, who was now Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied the lady to her northern home. For some time Edwin hesitated; he allowed his infant daughter to be baptized; he promised that he himself would become a Christian

Paulinus  
goes to  
Northumbria.

in the event of his success in a campaign on which he was entering against the West Saxon King. The victory was won, but Edwin still halted, even though the Pope himself wrote encouraging letters to him and his Queen. Paulinus then made use of a wonderful vision Edwin had seen in years gone by. Driven as a youth from his home in Northumbria, Edwin after many perils had made his way to the court of Redwald, King of East Anglia. Warned by a friend that Redwald meditated surrendering him to his enemies, Edwin was sitting in perplexity outside the palace in the dark, when an unknown figure approached and asked him what he would do for the man who promised to confirm the wavering fidelity of Redwald, to restore him to a throne that would surpass in splendour those of all previous English Kings, and to give him advice that would lead him to a better and more useful life than any of his kinsfolk had enjoyed. Edwin promised that he would obey him in all things. The unknown figure then laid his hand on Edwin's head and said, "When this sign shall come to you, remember this conversation, and delay not to fulfil your promise."

Paulinus, by some means or other having gained knowledge of this vision, now made use of it for his holy purpose.<sup>1</sup> One day when Edwin was sitting by himself pondering on the deep things of religion, Paulinus came and laid his hand on his head and asked him whether he recognised the sign. The King expressed his willingness to become a Christian himself, but suggested a conference with his witan, that they might come with him to the font.

A meeting of the Northumbrian witan was therefore held at Goodmanham, and the King asked his councillors singly for their opinions. Coifi, the pagan high priest, in a delightfully naïve fashion, put forward a frankly materialistic view: "I for my part think that the religion we have observed heretofore is perfectly useless; no one of your people has more studiously worshipped our present gods than I, and yet many have received from you greater favours, and are indeed more prosperous in every way than I am. Now, if the gods had been good for anything, they would have done more for me than for others.

Northumbrian witan accepts Christianity.

<sup>1</sup> Plummer apud Baed. ii. c. 9, suggests that Paulinus may himself have been the mysterious stranger. If Paulinus had been in East Anglia, and made acquaintance with Edwin there, it would have been a reason for sending him to Northumbria.

So, if on consideration you find this new faith to be better and stronger, let us welcome it without delay." One of the nobles, who must often have brooded on the mystery of life, took up the tale in a nobler strain. "So methinks, O King, is the life of men here on earth as though when you are sitting at dinner with your nobles at winter tide, the hearth kindled in the middle of the hall with flame, while without the winter rain and storm are raging, a sparrow should quickly fly through the hall, coming in at the one door and going out by the other; for the time that it is within the hall it is untouched by the winter storm, but after a brief space of calm it returns into the wintry night and speeds from sight. So is the life of man; for a short time it is seen; what follows, what precedes, we know not at all. Therefore if this new teaching brings us more certain knowledge, it certainly ought to be received."

The craving for some knowledge of a future life, in Britain as elsewhere, led the heathen to a knowledge of Christ. The witan gladly listened to Paulinus as he preached the words of life. Coifi himself, at the bidding of the King, took the lead. Casting off his heathen vestments, he called for arms and a war-horse (the high priest, by the old religion, was forbidden to carry arms or ride except upon a mare). Girt with a sword, a lance in hand, he rode to the heathen temple, while the common people, seeing him in this new rôle, thought he had gone mad. Hurling the lance at the temple as an act of profanation, he bade his companions fire it; and soon the heathen temple was burnt to ashes. Edwin, his thegns, and crowds of the Northumbrian people were baptized, Easter 627.

Round the wooden oratory in which he had been baptized Edwin began the building of a great stone basilica—afterwards completed by Oswald and dedicated to St. Peter—as the cathedral church of Paulinus. For the next few years all went well; Paulinus moved in Edwin's train; wherever Edwin went, Paulinus accompanied him, preaching the gospel of Christ; over the moors and hills of the modern Yorkshire to some of the wildest and most desolate portions of England the Christian message was borne. But the labours of Paulinus were almost entirely confined to Deira, the southern half of Edwin's kingdom; it was there that he spent his time preaching to the people and baptizing them in the rivers. For in Bernicia, *i.e.* between the Forth and the Tees, we are told by Bede that



at the coming of St. Aidan not a symbol of the Christian faith, not a single church, not a single altar had been erected.

Meanwhile in East Anglia the work of Christ was being done. In 631 Sigbert, who when an exile in Gaul had already become a Christian, mounted the East Anglian throne. The conversion of the East Anglians was chiefly the work of Felix, a Burgundian, who was sent to Sigbert by Archbishop Honorius. His efforts were seconded by those of Fursey, an Irish monk gifted with remarkable spiritual vision, who won many souls both by his preaching and the saintliness of his life. It was at Dunwich that Felix fixed his episcopal see, and in connection with the church founded a school.

E. Anglia  
converted  
by Felix  
and Fursey.

In Northumbria Edwin's reign was drawing to a close. He had been a great King, and had established his influence over a large part of Britain. But his power was no longer what it had once been. It was threatened by the rise of the great Mercian kingdom under Penda, the champion of paganism. Penda is the last of the great heathen Kings of Britain. It seemed as though expiring paganism made one last great effort to show what it could produce. Penda was a really great man; he rallied to his standard all the heathen feeling he could find in England; he threw off the Northumbrian supremacy, wrenched from Wessex the country of the Hwiccas, formed an alliance with the ancient British King, Cadwallon of Gynned (North Wales), though he was a Christian, and attacked Edwin. On the battlefield of Hatfield, 633, Edwin's army was overthrown, and Edwin himself was killed. Northumbria was devastated by Cadwallon, who, in spite of his Christianity, glutted the fury of his national hate with acts of barbarism, sparing neither age nor sex, desecrating sacred buildings, and perpetrating indiscriminate massacre. This "hateful year," 633-634, famous for the defeat of Edwin, the devastation of the country and the apostasy of Edwin's successors, was long remembered in the annals of Northumbria. The materialism which had led Coifi to reject the pagan gods now showed itself in reverse fashion. It seemed as though the Christian God had been found lacking in the day of battle; many of the Northumbrians relapsed into paganism, and among them the two royal princes who succeeded respectively to the thrones of Bernicia and Deira (for at the death of Edwin the Northumbrian kingdom had been divided). So evil were the times, so threatening the

Penda of  
Mercia.

The "hate-  
ful" year.

Flight of  
Paulinus.

aspect of affairs, that Paulinus himself fled the country and returned to Kent. But the deacon, James, with conspicuous heroism, remained behind, ministering, in spite of the violence and apostacy which he saw on every side, to the spiritual wants of a small corner of Deira. The time of trial soon passed away, for in the following year, 634, two princes of the exiled royal Bernician line came to the rescue. These two princes, Oswald and Oswy, had taken refuge in Scotland among the Scots, who had crossed over from Ireland. There they had fallen in with the monks of Columba, the saintly abbot of Iona, and had received at their hands Christian baptism. Oswald planted the cross as the standard of his army at Heavenfield, a spot eight miles north of Hexham and close to the old Roman wall; and then, addressing his army, said, "Let us kneel down and pray the almighty and true God to defend us from our proud and cruel foe; for God knows that we have undertaken a righteous war for the salvation of our race." Hatfield was avenged by Heavenfield, for Oswald won a glorious victory over Cadwallon, 634, and established his power as King over the whole of Northumbria. His reign marks an important era in the spread of Christianity, and under his ægis the Christian faith made a series of permanent advances over Britain. But the evangelisation was done by Scotch, not by Roman missionaries; of the glories of this Scotch mission we will speak in the next chapter. It was, however, a Roman missionary, Birinus, who converted Wessex. Birinus was an Italian monk sent to work among the English by Pope Honorius. Having been consecrated by the Archbishop of Milan, he landed on the shores of Hampshire, 635, and so successful was his preaching that Cynegils, King of the West Saxons, and most of the men of Wessex, adopted the faith. Oswald came on a visit to marry the daughter of Cynegils, and himself stood sponsor to his father-in-law when he was baptized at Dorchester-on-Thames. It was at Dorchester that Birinus fixed his bishop's stool. Birinus continued his labours till his death in 650, but at a later date the see of the West Saxon bishopric was removed to Winchester.

Oswald,  
King of  
Northum-  
bria, 634.

Wessex  
converted  
by Birinus.

Work of  
Roman  
mission.

To summarise, then, the work done by the Roman mission: bishoprics had been founded at Canterbury, Rochester, Dunwich, Dorchester; Kent and Wessex had been Christianised; the East Saxons had acknowledged the Christian faith and then relapsed, but the way had been prepared for future efforts;

East Anglia had been converted by the joint efforts of the Burgundian Felix and the Irish monk Fursey; in Northumbria the mission of Paulinus had prospered for a while, but on the fall of Edwin Northumbria had relapsed, and Paulinus had fled the country. In the whole of Bernicia there was not a single church, and in Deira we only read of two; but the deacon James was working with heroic zeal.

The British Church had directly done nothing, the Roman mission had done much, but there was ample room for the magnificent missionary enthusiasm of the Scotch. It is to the Scotch more than to the Romans that we owe the conversion of the English people.

## CHAPTER III

### THE WORK OF THE SCOTCH MISSIONARIES TILL THE SYNOD OF WHITBY, 664

St. Columba.

THE early history of Columba, the founder of the famous monastery at Iona, is wrapt in the obscurity of legend. He was a scion of the Irish royal house, being a great-great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages. One of the earliest disputes on record about copyright is said to have been the cause of his missionary work in Scotland. While on a visit to St. Finnian at Moville, his admiration was so excited by a beautiful transcript of the Psalter, that by clandestine work he made a copy of the book; but Finnian claimed the copy, and the matter was referred to Diarmid, the titular King of Ireland; the verdict of the royal judge was, "To every cow her calf, to every book its copy." Columba in bitter wrath raised his clans in revolt, and inflicted a severe defeat on Diarmid. But shortly afterwards, in bitter grief for the lives that had been lost, Columba vowed to win as many pagan souls for Christ as Christians whose death in battle he had caused. And so began Columba's self-imposed exile from Ireland; crossing with twelve followers to the British

Monastery of Iona.

kingdom of Dalriada in Scotland, he founded the monastery of Iona (563), and for thirty years made it the centre of his romantic missionary work among the Picts. It was a month after St. Augustine landed in Kent that Columba breathed his last. Columba was a typical Irishman, by no means a perfect character, but in nature most lovable; he was passionate in every way—fierce in his hatred, fierce in his love, fierce in his work and self-sacrifice for Christ; vindictive at one time, at another full of the tenderest love, his was a nature abounding in contrasts; but above all he was a man, a great personality. And so it was that at his death the monastery of Iona had many daughter houses both in Scotland and Ireland, and over these Columba ruled. He was a man with great love for erring men; he was full of sympathy with nature and the dumb creation—many beautiful stories of his influence over

animals are recorded—and he was a man of deep spiritual insight. The type of Christianity which he established at Iona was Irish, and in striking contrast with that of Rome. Irish Christianity was often marked by extravagant asceticism and was monastic in character. The Irish knew nothing of a diocesan and orderly episcopate; the unit of Irish Christianity was the monastery, ruled by its priest abbot. Under his ecclesiastical rule some of the monks were kept in episcopal orders to carry on the specifically episcopal work of confirmation, ordination, consecration. And so it came about that the abbot ruled over men who were in point of ecclesiastical rank superior to him. The office of abbot generally descended to founder's kin. It was from this Celtic monastery in Iona that the leaders of the northern Church in England were to come. It was by the Celtic missionaries from Iona who settled at Lindisfarne that the greater part of England was won for Christ. The century that follows their coming was the most brilliant in the ecclesiastical history of England.

Celtic  
Christianity.

In Wessex and East Anglia Celtic missions co-operated with the Romans; in the two kingdoms of Northumbria, in Essex and Mercia, the ultimate conversion was due almost entirely to the Celtic monks, while Sussex, the neighbour of Kent, was Christianised by Wilfrid, a pupil of Lindisfarne, though himself the keenest advocate of the Roman claims.

When Oswald had established himself in Northumbria, in his eagerness to restore the Christian faith, his thoughts naturally turned to Iona, the home of his exile. He asked the monastery of Iona to send him a Christian bishop. The first bishop sent from Iona returned in despair; he reported the failure of his mission, which he assigned to the rough, stubborn, and unmanageable nature of the Northumbrian people. Then out spoke Aidan, "Methinks, brother, you have been unduly hard on these unlearned folk; you have not followed the apostolic rule of giving them first the milk of gentle doctrine, till, gradually nourished by the word of God, they would have been able to take and practise God's more perfect and exalted rules." The grace of wisdom sat upon the lips of the speaker and seemed to mark him out for the mission. So Aidan was consecrated bishop and sent to Northumbria, 635; and there for sixteen years he laboured under the two Northumbrian Kings, Oswald and Oswine. Of all the early fathers of our Church Aidan had

Scotch mission to Northumbria, 635.

the most Christlike character. Bede, though he wrote at a time when the questions at issue between Roman and Celtic Christianity had been settled in favour of the former, and therefore with reference to the Easter question says that Aidan's zeal was not according to knowledge, is never tired of singing his praises ; holiness and gentleness, simplicity and sympathy, radiated from his presence. He preached the words of life, and he lived none other than he taught.

Aidan at  
Lindis-  
farne.

There is an island off the coast of Northumbria, now called Holy Island, but then called Lindisfarne. It was here that Aidan founded a monastery, modelled on that of Iona, and fixed his see. Here he was close to Oswald's royal city of Bamburgh, and here, when he wanted, he could live the life of seclusion that had become so dear to him at Iona.

His mission  
work in  
Northum-  
bria.

That island, rich in historic memories, was the cradle of our northern Christianity ; here was the home of Aidan, Cuthbert, Cedd, and Wilfrid. From it as his centre Aidan conducted his missionary journeys ; almost always on foot, he journeyed from place to place, preaching, while the saintly Oswald stood by his side interpreting—at any rate at first—the Celtic tongue to his hearers. Oswald was indeed a nursing-father to the Church, fostering at every step Aidan's work. He completed the stone minster at York ; in all parts of the kingdom churches rose as witnesses to the faith of Christ. Nor were these men unmindful of education. Aidan himself founded a school for twelve English youths, attached to the monastery of Lindisfarne, from which many illustrious churchmen were to come. We read, too, that Aidan frequently purchased slaves and trained them as his pupils for the priesthood. The monasteries then were almost the only places for education, and numbers of monasteries were built round the country-side. Aidan trained his monks as they walked to beguile the tedium of the way by meditations on Scripture or recitations of the Psalter. If Aidan on his travels saw any men, rich or poor, near his path, turning to them he would urge them, if pagan, to the grace of holy baptism ; if Christians, he would strengthen them in the faith and urge them by word and deed to chastity and goodness of life. Severe on the sins and vices of the rich, he was full of love and charity to the poor. A story will illustrate. On one occasion Oswine, Oswald's successor in Deira, had presented Aidan as a gift with a richly caparisoned horse. Riding the horse (which was for him a rare

occurrence), Aidan soon afterwards met a poor man begging for alms. He immediately dismounted and gave the beggar the horse. Hearing of it, the King shortly afterwards said to Aidan, "Were there not poorer horses, or other less valuable presents, to give a beggar?" "What are you saying, O King?" said Aidan. "Is yon son of a mare dearer to you than yon son of God?" On another occasion Oswald won Aidan's conspicuous approval by his charity. It was a royal banquet: on the table was a silver salver covered with the royal feast. A servant entered and said that without a large number of poor men stood asking for alms. The King immediately ordered the banquet to be given to the poor, and the silver salver to be broken in little pieces and distributed among them. For seven years, 635-642, Oswald and Aidan worked together, preaching the gospel, helping the poor, and founding schools. But then came disaster: Oswald was a powerful King, but Penda, the pagan King of Mercia, his constant rival, still lived. On the fatal field of Maserfelth (Oswestry), Oswald was defeated and slain by Penda. He died as he had lived, with a prayer on his lips. "The Lord have mercy on the souls of my men," said Oswald, falling to the earth. Men fabled that the grass grew greener and that miracles were wrought from the dust of the ground where Oswald fell.

On Oswald's death, Oswy his brother succeeded to the northern half of the kingdom, while Oswine, a kinsman of the old King Edwin, became monarch of Deira. With Oswine Aidan lived on terms of tenderest friendship. But in 651 Oswine was assassinated at the instigation of Oswy, and Aidan only survived his dear friend for eleven days. Having reunited the whole of Northumbria, Oswy ruled it till the year 671. His reign was marked by events of great importance. In the battle of the Winwaed, 655, Penda, the great champion of paganism, was overthrown and slain. Oswy's power was greater than that of any of his predecessors. He not only was for a time direct ruler of the whole of Mercia, but he bore sway also over Picts and Cumbrians and Welsh; with the advance of his power the Christian faith also advanced.

In 654 Sigbert, King of the East Saxons, became a Christian. Sigbert was a friend of Oswy, and often when on a visit Oswy pointed out to him how foolish it was to worship idols of wood and stone instead of the Eternal and Almighty God, the Creator of all things. Sigbert was convinced, and, together

Death of  
Aidan, 651.

Essex con-  
verted.

with his nobles, was baptized by Finan, Abbot of Lindisfarne; Cedd, one of Aidan's pupils, was consecrated as bishop, and began the work of evangelisation in Essex.

Conversion  
of Mercia.

The Mercians too were converted by Cedd and his brother Chad, 656. Thus the Church rapidly spread. Monasteries sprang up on every side; Oswy himself, in fulfilment of a vow, founded no less than twelve after his victory over Penda. All this work of evangelisation in Northumbria, Mercia, Essex, was done by missionaries whose central station was at Lindisfarne. There is no more brilliant epoch in the history of our Church than that which is illuminated by that glorious group of northern missionary stars, Aidan, Oswald, Cuthbert, Cedd, Chad, Wilfrid.

Collision of  
Scotch and  
Roman  
Christianity.

By this time, then, the Church was firmly established in England; in every kingdom of the heptarchy, with the solitary exception of Sussex, the gospel was preached. But so far we have followed two separate lines of Christian development, the Roman and the Celtic. These two separate streams were now to meet and struggle for the mastery. Even in Northumbria there was a strong Roman party; if Oswy inclined to the Celtic rule, his wife and his son, Alchfrith, the subking of Deira, were strong supporters of the Roman system; the other leaders of the Roman party were James the deacon, the old coadjutor of Paulinus, Benedict Biscop, and the young presbyter Wilfrid. Wilfrid, the son of a Northumbrian noble, had been with Benedict Biscop on a pilgrimage to Rome. At Rome and Lyons he had seen something of the grandeur of Roman order and Roman ritual. From the Archbishop of Lyons he had received the tonsure, and on his return from abroad had been made by Alchfrith Abbot of Ripon. Wilfrid was more Roman than the Romans themselves.

Oswy for many reasons desired a definite settlement of the points at issue. Socially, the difference between the two parties on the time of keeping Easter was very troublesome. In the year 665, while he would be keeping the Celtic Easter, his wife would be going through the austerities of Holy Week. Politically the religious difference between Bernicia and Deira might lead to a recrudescence of political quarrels. On the religious side many of the Celtic party were disturbed by the saying of the Romans that they were running or had run in vain. So Oswy summoned a conference to meet at Whitby in Lent,

Synod of  
Whitby  
64.



664. The leaders on the Roman side were Agilbert, formerly Bishop of Wessex, Wilfrid, and James the deacon; on the Scotch, Colman, the Abbot of Lindisfarne, Hilda, the Abbess of Whitby, and Cedd. The ostensible points at issue—the shape of the tonsure and the date of keeping Easter—were in themselves trivial. But the vital matter at stake—the leadership of Rome or of Iona—was one of crucial and far-reaching import. Oswy opened the proceedings, emphasising the importance of uniformity, and pointing out that the matter in dispute was the value of the respective traditions. Colman, when called to state his case, briefly declared that the date of the Celtic Easter could be traced back through St. Columba to the authority of St. John.

Wilfrid in reply showed that as a matter of fact the Celts were not following the reckoning of St. John, and asserted that the date of the Roman Easter rested on the authority of St. Peter. He then broke into loud invective against the fraction of obstinate islanders who rejected the customs of the universal Church in Africa, Asia, Europe, and pitted their own authority against that of the whole civilised world. Columba's action was due to lack of knowledge; he would certainly have adopted the Roman usage if he had been told that its authority was derived from St. Peter, to whom our Lord had said, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My church . . . and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Oswy cleverly took up the point. Turning to Colman, he said, "Is it true that these words were said by our Lord to St. Peter?" "It is true," said Colman. "And was ever such power given to your Columba?" "No," was the answer. "And are you both agreed that the keys of the kingdom of heaven have been given to St. Peter by our Lord?" "Yes," they replied. "Well," said Oswy in conclusion, "I have no wish to quarrel with the door-keeper, but I wish to the best of my knowledge and ability to obey his rules in all things, lest haply when I come to the doors of the kingdom of heaven, St. Peter, who is proved to hold the keys, may turn away, and there may be none to unlock them."

Oswy therefore decided in favour of the Roman usage. Wilfrid's argument was, if Colman had known, capable of refutation, but the motives which led to the decision are of no importance as compared with the results. The Celtic colony at Lindisfarne was broken up. Colman, with the greater part of

Victory of  
Roman  
cause.

his monks, returned to Iona. Our heart goes out to them in sympathy, as they wended their homeward way to the desolate regions of the north.

Its Importance.

The first rivet of the Roman yoke which was to gall so sorely the necks of succeeding generations was firmly fastened. But the decision cannot be regretted; the advantages which ensued are conclusive proof that the decision followed the true line of progress. How was this?

(1) Unity.

First, the decision gave unity to the English Church; its strength was not to be dissipated by the quarrels of rival and antagonistic parties; the chief feature in English politics down to the Norman Conquest was the predominance of centrifugal tendencies; it was good that one disintegrating force should be removed; it was well that political were not to be increased by ecclesiastical divisions. The unity of the Church was in due time to give the State a pattern of unity. As there was *one* English Church, so in time there was to be *one* English State.

(2) Civilisation.

Secondly, the decision brought England into the main stream of civilising influences which then centred at Rome. As Dr. Harnack says, "The Roman Church brought Christian civilisation to young nations; it gave them something which was capable of exercising a *progressive educational influence*; up to the fourteenth century it was a leader and a mother;" it was the Roman Church which "supplied the ideas, set the aims, and disengaged the forces." Rome was the centre of letters, arts, and general culture.

(3) Strength.

Thirdly, the decision gave strength to the Church. By her union with Rome she was gradually to gain ecclesiastical independence, and so to escape the omnipotence of the State in the spiritual sphere—a fact which became of great importance after the Norman Conquest.

(4) Governance.

Lastly, the decision gave the Church governance. It was just in this respect that the Celtic Church was eminently lacking; the Celtic Church was magnificent in its missionary enterprise, but it could not organise; and it was in her power of organisation that the Roman Church conspicuously excelled.

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento," was the inspiring motto which Vergil gave to the Roman Empire. The organising power of the Roman Empire was inherited by the Roman Church. Rome gave to England its organised parochial and diocesan system.

## *Work of the Scotch Missionaries* 25

So while we regret the passing away of the golden age of Celtic saintliness, let us not forget the great advantages which followed from the decision of Whitby. The evils which were in course of time to ensue were beyond the vision of man, hidden in the womb of the future.

## CHAPTER IV

### WILFRID AND THEODORE: THE ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH

THE history of the Church of England in the forty years which followed the synod of Whitby closely centres round the lives of two illustrious men, Wilfrid and Theodore of Tarsus. Wilfrid for his services at the synod of Whitby had been chosen, in 664, as Bishop of the Northumbrians, but in characteristic fashion he had scorned consecration by merely English bishops. He went to Gaul, and with the magnificent ceremony that was so dear to his heart he was consecrated at Compiègne by Agilbert, Bishop of Paris, and eleven other bishops.

He delayed for a year his return to England. We know not the cause of this dilatory sojourning abroad, but Oswy could not ignore the spiritual needs of Northumbria, and therefore appointed Chad in his place.

In 666 Wilfrid on his return found Chad occupying his see. Feeling perhaps that his deprivation was not undeserved, he retired to the monastery at Ripon, of which he was head, and assisted in the episcopal work of Mercia and Kent.

The Church of England had now passed out of the merely missionary stage, and was in great need of a master mind to organise it as a permanent institution qualified to perform the continuous spiritual work of a national Church. If unity of ritual, custom, and order had been secured at the synod of Whitby, there was as yet no unity of government; in the confusion born of political struggles sees were left vacant, and the framework of a diocesan episcopate was rapidly disappearing. The dioceses in almost every case were too large, and needed subdivision; the Church required organs of self-government, the parochial system demanded extension, there was enormous need for educational work. In the providence of God Theodore of Tarsus was raised to do the requisite work.

In 667, when the archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant, the two Kings, Oswy of Northumbria and Egbert of Kent, com-

bined in sending their joint nominee to Rome for consecration. On the unexpected death of this nominee at Rome the Pope, at the request, it is said, of the two Kings, appointed Theodore, a Greek monk of Tarsus, to the vacant archbishopric. Unlikely though at first sight it seemed (for he was sixty-seven years of age and unaccustomed to the rigours of a northern climate), Theodore was just the man required by the situation. He lived to the ripe age of eighty-eight, and only died in 690, having done a work that has been of determining influence over the Church of England down to the present day. He arrived at Canterbury in 669. His first step was to make a tour of visitation throughout England; in York he told Chad that his consecration had been irregular, and that he must retire from the see. Chad meekly consented, saying, with characteristic humility, that he had never thought himself worthy of the episcopate; but Chad's lowliness of heart and spirituality of mind made a deep impression on Theodore, who appointed him, after reordination,<sup>1</sup> as Bishop of the Mercians. Meanwhile Wilfrid was re-established as Bishop of York. Both Wilfrid and Theodore were filled with the Roman spirit and idea of ecclesiastical order. Both of them, though perhaps Wilfrid to a greater extent, had an imperious cast of mind. They might reasonably have been expected to co-operate in the work of organising the English Church. But it was not to be. Whether it was that Theodore was determined to divide Wilfrid's enormous diocese of York, while Wilfrid was equally determined that no division should take place to diminish his power, or whether the grounds of quarrel were more general, and lay in the inability of two such haughty natures to work in harmony, is uncertain; for a mystery lies over their quarrel. But quarrel they did, and Theodore's reforms had to be carried out in the teeth of Wilfrid's opposition, and in defiance of papal bulls procured by Wilfrid in his favour. Theodore's work in his twenty years of metropolitan authority may be considered under various heads.

Theodore of Tarsus. Archbishop, 667.

Quarrel of Theodore and Wilfrid.

Theodore's work.

First, he restored the disordered framework of diocesan government, consecrating bishops to Rochester, to East Anglia, (x) Organisation of dioceses.

<sup>1</sup> He re-ordained him seemingly as a Quarto-deciman. It was the rule of the Eastern Church to re-ordain Quarto-decimans, and Theodore was an Eastern. The Celtic Church was not really Quarto-deciman. But both the Celts and the Quarto-decimans differed from the orthodox Church in their computation of the date of Easter, and were therefore confused.

to Lichfield, and Winchester, and restoring Wilfrid to York. By 673 the whole body of English bishops recognised the metropolitan authority of Canterbury, and thus the original scheme of Gregory for the organisation of the English Church was tacitly overruled.

(2) Con-  
ciliar unity.

Secondly, in the year 673 Theodore took the memorable step of summoning a council of the whole English Church to meet at Hertford. In this assembly various canons were passed; they were for the most part ancient decrees adapted where necessary to English needs: the Roman Easter was to be observed; no bishop was to trespass on another's diocese; no monastery was to be disturbed by a bishop; no monk was to migrate without his abbot's leave; no cleric was to leave his diocese or be received in another without the leave of his former bishop; annual synods of the whole Church were to be held at Clovesho; bishops were to take precedence according to their dates of consecration; the numbers of the episcopate were to be enlarged; the law of marriage regulated. These canons are important in themselves; but the council is far more memorable for other reasons: all the bishops of the English Church except the simoniacal Bishop Wina were present either in person or by proxy; the metropolitan authority of Canterbury was everywhere recognised; the synod of Hertford was the first council of the whole English Church—but it was even more than this: its work, as Dr. Stubbs says, was "the first constitutional measure of the collective English race." It was a far cry to the days of Edward I. and the first national Parliament. But it is unquestionable that the unifying of the Church prepared the way for the unifying of the State. Englishmen were members of the one Church before they were members of the one State of England.

(3) Sub-  
division of  
dioceses.

Thirdly, Theodore then proceeded to the important work of subdividing the enormous dioceses and increasing the episcopate. East Anglia was subdivided into two, Mercia into five dioceses; the subdivision of Wessex was hindered by political circumstances, but Theodore's scheme was carried out shortly after his death by its partition into the two dioceses of Winchester and Sherborne. It was in the north, where Wilfrid presided over the unwieldy diocese of York, that Theodore encountered the most serious opposition. The diocese of York extended over the whole country from the Forth to the Wash; it is

ridiculous to suppose that adequate episcopal supervision could even approximately have been given to such an enormous diocese, and on the main point Theodore was unquestionably right. But it would seem that he showed a want of tact. Making use of the strained relations which existed between Wilfrid and Egfrith, King of Northumbria, Theodore, without the knowledge of Wilfrid, arranged with the King the partition of Wilfrid's diocese into four separate dioceses. This was the beginning of the long and bitter quarrel between Wilfrid on the one hand and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in England on the other. It will be sufficient in this place to say that, in spite of the papal bulls which Wilfrid procured, the scheme of Theodore in its chief features was maintained; the result, after a quarrel which lasted thirty years, was that the immense diocese of York was subdivided into three or four bishoprics, and there can be no doubt that the subdivision did lead to increased efficiency of administration.

Fourthly, Theodore checked the extravagance of asceticism (4) Educa-  
by turning it into educational channels. In the school attached tion.  
to the monastery at Canterbury both Theodore and his friend Hadrian gave instruction. Many pupils from all sides came to receive teaching from the archbishop and the Abbot Hadrian in grammar, logic, philosophy, astronomy, ecclesiastical arithmetic, theology, Latin, and Greek. The school of Canterbury was the model followed by the even more famous school of York in the next century. Theodore's knowledge of Greek was especially useful in the diffusion of Greek learning.

Lastly, it is sometimes stated that Theodore was the founder (5) Exten-  
of the parochial system. But this statement gives a wrong sion of  
impression. The system by which the whole of England was parochial  
gradually divided into parishes, in each of which a priest was system.  
placed, specially responsible for its spiritual welfare, had no actual founder. It gradually grew up. In the earliest days the missionary work was generally done by monastic settlements, but as the monks gradually retired from missionary activity in the world, and became in some cases exempt from episcopal control, they were replaced by secular clergy working on parochial lines. This movement was no doubt in process during Theodore's time, but we know from Bede that in 690 the whole of England was not yet mapped out into parishes, and that there were many villages in which there was no parish priest.

Death of  
Theodore.

In 690 Theodore was called to his rest. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the work, on which God so signally set His blessing. His share in the creation of English unity, ecclesiastical and civil; his diffusion of Eastern culture among English scholars; his creation of schools which were in their turn to send forth English scholars such as Alcuin to restore culture in Europe—all these give him a great claim on the gratitude of Europe, and especially of England, and have laid up for him an imperishable memory.

Career of  
Wilfrid.

But if Theodore was a greater man, Wilfrid has in some ways the more romantic history, including, as it did, an episcopate of more than forty years (665–709), repeated quarrels with the temporal power, expulsion from various sees, three pilgrimages to Rome, imprisonment, shipwreck, offers of temporal and spiritual lordships abroad, and the missionary work of a pioneer in Frisia and the South Saxon kingdom. The key to his career is to be found in his Roman sympathies. No Englishman has ever been so instinct with the Roman spirit, with all its developments, good and bad. He was almost the first Englishman to make a pilgrimage to Rome, 653. Returning to England, he became Abbot of Ripon in 661. In 664 he was the protagonist of Roman claims at Whitby; the same year he was elected Bishop of Northumbria, and with a truly Roman scorn for English consecration, went for his consecration to Gaul; in 669 he was restored to his see at York by Theodore; shortly afterwards he quarrelled with King Egfrith because he encouraged Egfrith's wife to desert her husband and enter a nunnery; in the meantime the splendour of Roman ceremonial had been introduced by him into the monastery of Ripon, and the magnificence of Roman building into a church at Hexham that had not its equal this side of the Alps (? 675).

His Ro-  
manism.

In 678 Theodore, in conjunction with Egfrith, arranged the division of Wilfrid's diocese. Wilfrid immediately appealed to the Pope—he was the first Englishman to do so. On his way to Rome, crossing the Channel, he was driven by a storm out of his course to Frisia, and preached to the heathen Frisians. Having obtained a papal bull mainly in his favour, Wilfrid returned; but King Egfrith roundly declared that it had been obtained by bribery. The papal bull was not only ignored, but for nine months Wilfrid was kept in prison, 681. The five years which followed, 681–686, are really the most glorious in



Wilfrid's career. They were spent in evangelising the last of the English kingdoms (that of the pagan South Saxons) and the Isle of Wight. When Wilfrid arrived in Sussex he found the people in terrible straits of famine. There had been a continuous drought for three years, and the people were reduced to such despair—Bede tells us—that, joining hands fifty at a time, they would throw themselves from the cliffs into the sea. Wilfrid taught them the art of net fishing, and supporting themselves from the produce of the sea. In their gratitude they gladly listened to his teaching, and so the last of the English kingdoms was won for Christ. For five years Wilfrid laboured with unflinching zeal and love. In 686 a reconciliation took place between himself and Theodore, and Wilfrid was restored to the curtailed bishopric of York and the monastery of Ripon, Wilfrid thus accepting Theodore's subdivision of his original diocese. But he was never really satisfied with his new position, and shortly after Theodore's death, there was a new quarrel, similar in its nature to the old, between Wilfrid and Aldfrith, the King of Northumbria. Wilfrid was again exiled, 691, and for eleven years acted as Bishop of Leicester.

Conversion  
of Sussex.

In 702, at a great council of the whole Church held under Archbishop Bertwald in Northumbria, Wilfrid refused assent to the decrees of Theodore, and with indignant language recalled his services to the Church, especially his share in establishing the Roman Easter, and his introduction of the Roman chants. (In characteristic fashion he did not mention his missionary work in Frisia and Sussex.) Again he appealed to the Pope, and journeyed once more, on his own feet, if the chronicler is to be believed, to Rome—a wonderful feat for an old man of seventy. Again the Pope decided in Wilfrid's favour, and finally in 705 a compromise was effected by Archbishop Bertwald at the Pope's bidding. Osred, the new King of Northumbria, was a boy, and at the council of the Nidd, 705, it was arranged that Wilfrid should be restored to the bishopric of Hexham and the monasteries of Hexham and Ripon. In 709 Wilfrid died. If his career is analysed, it will be seen that the cause of his many troubles was his opposition to national sentiment and his overbearing, unconciliatory temper. He had the characteristic Roman lust for ecclesiastical domination; his haughty temper could not brook opposition. Humble and lowly in his own private life, he was

bent on magnifying his ecclesiastical office and the claims of Rome. He was the fore-runner of Thomas Becket. Yet with all this he was full of love for the poor, a zealous missionary to the heathen, eager to win souls for Christ. His was a mixed nature, of a type that has often been found in ecclesiastics.

Activities  
of Church.

The latter half of the seventh century was marked by the supremacy of Northumbria; but this supremacy had already passed away, and with the deaths of Theodore and Wilfrid the first big chapter in the history of the Church of England closes. The framework of the diocesan organisation was completed, but to get a full idea of the infant Church, its activities and forms of life must be briefly noticed. Of these the most important was the monastic, and though the history of monasticism, taken as a whole, is a mournful record, it is right to say that monasticism, when true to its own ideal, did in ages of heathenism and violence perform conspicuous service.

Monasti-  
cism.

A band of brothers living a common life in a monastery is excellently adapted for work in the mission field. Starting from the monastery, they could go out on their missionary tours, and then return to it as the home and centre of their spiritual life. Complete detachment from earthly ties and utter self-renunciation were calculated to impress, as nothing else could, a primitive and childlike age. In the anarchy and violence of the times, a monastery, too, was the only refuge for learning, and one of the few centres for the diffusion of civilising influences. These reasons will largely explain why so much of early English Christianity, whether drawn from Rome or Iona, was of the monastic type. The monastic life itself assumed in different places different forms. There was the life of the anchorite or hermit, living alone in a desolate cell or cave. There were many anchorites among the Scots, but in English Christianity few were to be found, though the great Cuthbert himself lived for a time the life of an anchorite in Farne Island, 676, and the great Abbey of Crowland was built in after days to commemorate the virtues of the hermit Guthlac, a Mercian noble who renounced a worldly life to dwell among the fever-haunted fens of Lincoln, and to contend, as he believed, with evil spirits clothed in bodily forms (d. 716). But hermit-life was never common in England; the usual form of monastic life was "cœnobite"—the monks dwelt together, with a common dormitory and common refectory; but in

monasteries modelled on the Scotch type, such as that of Lindisfarne, the monks dwelt and slept in separate cells, and asceticism took a more extravagant shape. The monasteries which traced their origin to Roman sources were modelled on the rule drawn up by St. Benedict at the beginning of the sixth century, and based on the three principles, renunciation of the world and worldly possessions, perpetual vows, and obedience. This rule was not perhaps strictly observed at the outset; it was more strictly followed under the influence of Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop in the last thirty years of the seventh century, the golden age of early English monasticism.

The first missionaries to England, both from Iona and Rome, were monks; in the early days of the conversion the work was done almost entirely by monastic settlements. Augustine with his monks settled at Canterbury; they lived together as *cœnobites*, and the cathedral church was served by monks; it was a "regular" foundation. In the same way Aidan, the first Bishop of Northumbria, settled with his monks in the monastic foundation of Lindisfarne. But in course of time, as the monks increasingly retired from life in the world, and in some few cases gained papal exemption from episcopal visitation, it became necessary to take up the active work of Christianising the people by means of secular clergy, *i.e.* clergy living in the world and not under a special rule (*regula*) of life. Hence we find that most of the later cathedral foundations were foundations of secular clergy, and as the Church became gradually established, the parochial system, worked by secular clergy, covered the whole field of the Church's work among the people. Meanwhile the monasteries were doing a great work of their own; to the weary they offered rest from the world and spiritual contemplation—many kings and princesses, with others, retired into them; to the young they offered education; to students, repose and opportunity for literary work. The monasteries were the cradles of English poetry and English history. Many of them were famous in some particular line; the features common to all were the life of spiritual devotion, and the practice of asceticism.

A large portion of each day was spent in the chapel: from attendance at the seven canonical hours, matins, terce, &c., nothing but illness or absence abroad would excuse the monk. Benedict's idea was that he should never be idle, but lead the

Mission work of early monasteries.

Replaced by seculars.

Life in a monastery.

Different  
types of  
mon-  
asteries.

strenuous life, for, as he said, "Idleness is the enemy of the soul." So the whole day was one busy round; there was the manual work of agriculture—sowing, ploughing, milking, gardening, &c.; there were other forms of labour, such as gold-work, painting, music, copying manuscripts, writing history. Some of the monasteries supplied the cathedral church with clergy, while others were especially famous for their learning; of these the most famous till the end of the seventh century were the school of Theodore and Hadrian, attached to the monastery of Canterbury, the school founded at the monastery of Malmesbury by Aldhelm, a pupil of Theodore, and afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, and the schools attached to the famous foundations of Benedict Biscop at Wearmouth, 674, and Jarrow, 681. Theodore's work as a teacher has already been mentioned; the foundations at Wearmouth and Jarrow were famous for their splendid stone buildings and their glass windows (a great novelty), for their ornaments and vestments, for the great library and splendid treasures brought them from Rome by Benedict Biscop. Manuscripts in all these monasteries were eagerly copied and splendidly illuminated. Above all, Jarrow is famous as the home of the illustrious and venerable Bede. To him we will return. It was to Jarrow that pupils flocked from all quarters for instruction by Bede. One of his pupils was Egbert, who afterwards became the first Archbishop of York. Egbert in his turn founded the even more famous school at York; its glories were renowned all over Europe; from it came the illustrious Alcuin (d. 804), who was called by the Emperor Charlemagne to undertake the charge of his own palace school, and diffuse English culture among his Frankish kingdoms.

Many great characters were produced by early English monasticism; three of them, at any rate, cannot be passed over in silence—Hilda, Cuthbert, Bede.

Hilda.

Hilda was a royal lady (b. 614), great-niece of Edwin, the great King of Northumbria. Bede tells the story that shortly before Hilda's birth her mother dreamed that she found in her bosom a most costly necklace; and as she gazed at it, it shone with such surpassing brilliance that its splendour filled all Britain. The dream was fulfilled: intellectual and spiritual light flowed forth from the abbey of Whitby, of which Hilda was both foundress and ruler. The contrast has often been remarked between the seclusion in which Greek and Roman women dwelt,

and the prominent place assigned to women from the earliest times among Teutonic peoples. Of this prominence Hilda is a conspicuous instance. The abbey at Whitby was a double foundation for men and women, modelled on a type which was common both in England and Europe. Hilda ruled both over monks and nuns ; among her pupils she numbered no less than five future bishops : she was indeed a wonderful teacher ; born with great natural gifts and powers of leadership, she added to them by her large and varied experience of life. For thirty-three years she lived in the splendour of a court ; for thirty-three years in the seclusion of conventual life. In her, as Lightfoot has pointed out, Teutonic, Roman, and Celtic influences met ; she had the sobriety of a Teutonic nature ; the teaching of the Roman Paulinus won her to the Christian faith, and she followed Edwin to the font ; with the Celtic Aidan she lived on terms of fondest affection. She was first Abbess of Hartlepool, and then the foundress and ruler of Whitby. Herself adorned with all Christian virtues, she taught them by her words and life to her spiritual sons and daughters. Above all, she laid emphasis on " peace and love " as the crown of life ; her sagacity brought kings and princes to her gates in quest of counsel and advice ; but she loved equally rich and poor, the great ones of the earth and men of low estate. A diligent searcher of Holy Scripture, she made this the basis of all her teaching. But Whitby was famous not only for its school of theology, but even more as the cradle of English poetry. Caedmon was the first of all English poets. A cowherd on the monastic farm, he discovered his poetic gift in a remarkable way. It was the wont of the farm hands, when their dinner was over, to sing turn by turn to the accompaniment of the lyre. But Caedmon could not sing, and as the lyre drew near to him he would rise and leave the house for his own home. One night he had done so, and going to the cowshed had fallen asleep. In a dream some one came to him and said, " Caedmon, sing me something." He answered, " I cannot sing, and that is why I have left the feast." " But you must sing," said the other. " What must I sing." " Sing me the beginning of things created." Immediately Caedmon began to sing verses in his sleep to the praise of God the Creator. On awaking, Caedmon remembered the words which he had sung in his sleep, and added to them more. Having told the bailiff of the gift he had discovered, he

was taken to the Abbess Hilda. Hilda thanked God for this wonderful art, and received Caedmon into the number of her monks; in the years that followed Caedmon wrote many poems on sacred subjects taken from Holy Writ. "Others after him tried to write sacred poems," says Bede, "but none could equal Caedmon."

Cuthbert.

Cuthbert has ever been in the north of England a figure still greater than Hilda. Through the haze of legend it is hard to distinguish the real features of the man. Both in life and death miracles were fabled to abound wherever Cuthbert went. The cult of saints reached its most famous development in England during the Middle Ages in the cult of St. Thomas Becket. But the cult of St. Cuthbert, at any rate in the north of England, was not inferior to that of Becket. It was the centre round which the great palatinate jurisdiction of Durham grew. Yet Cuthbert was not a *pioneer* in mission work, nor a great builder, nor statesman, nor writer; his episcopate lasted a brief two years. He took the Roman side in the great question of the date of Easter, and this may account for something of his fame. The Northern Church needed a *Roman* saint. A further reason may be found in the incredible hardships to which he subjected his once powerful body; he would stand all night in the sea to mortify the flesh; for ten years he lived the life of a solitary hermit, barely eating, hardly ever seeing a soul, shut up in a solitary cell on Farne Island. This extreme asceticism strongly appealed to the mode of religious thought then predominant, though the saner judgment of to-day rejects it as irrational. But there were other nobler qualities to be found in St. Cuthbert. His missionary fervour in earlier days was quite extraordinary. The people round Melrose were addicted to all forms of magic. Cuthbert spared no trouble to convince them of their folly and win them to the love of Christ. His great strength of body he used to a nobler purpose than ascetic endurance when he crossed the precipitous mountains and penetrated to almost inaccessible cottages, that he might visit those in trouble, and give them the message of the divine love. His sympathy was so great that even the greatest sinners would reveal to him their secret sins, and crave forgiveness from God. Nor did his sympathy stop with man; if the stories told are worthy of belief, he seems, like many saints, to have had mysterious influence over animals; the sea-fowl were his especial

friends, and some of them were called by his name ; the seals dried his feet ; the eagle procured him food.

The main facts of his life are soon told. As a boy, like David or Amos, he tended his sheep on the hills, and as he tended them God spake to him. Legend told how he saw a vision of angels bearing to heaven a newly departed soul. Waking his comrades, he told them of his vision, and some days later he learned that Bishop Aidan had on that night passed to his rest. Leaving his sheep, he rode immediately to the monastery of Melrose and craved admission, in 651. His energy and devotion were such that he soon became provost of the convent ; in 664, having accepted, though a Celt, the Roman Easter, he was sent as prior to Lindisfarne. A difficult task lay before him, for it was Cuthbert's duty to introduce the Roman usages among the Celtic monks ; but they could not long resist the love, the patience, the self-denial of his life. After a while the craving for solitude grew on Cuthbert ; the extravagant spirit of Celtic monasticism asserted itself, and for nine long years he lived like a hermit on Farne Island. On the re-arrangement of the Northumbrian dioceses in 685, Cuthbert, against his will, was raised to the bishopric of Lindisfarne. His episcopate of activity and love lasted only for two years, and then once more he retired to his hermit life at Farne and shortly afterwards died. But the story of his travels after death is more famous than his life. Driven from their home at Lindisfarne by the Danish terror in the tenth century, the monks carried with them the remains of Cuthbert ; sailing for Ireland, they were driven back to the English coast by a storm, and Cuthbert's own book of the gospels was washed overboard ; in great distress, they were miraculously guided to a point above high-water mark, where Cuthbert's volume was found uninjured. For seven years the monks wandered, till finally they fixed their home at Chester-le-Street, six miles from Durham, 883. A hundred years later, 990, they fled from a fresh Danish invasion, till finally the bones of Cuthbert found rest in the stately cathedral of Durham.

There is one more character of our early Church which claims attention. Bede, a pupil of Benedict Biscop, lived the quiet Bede. and uneventful life of a scholar at the monastery of Jarrow, 673-735. Entering the convent at seven years of age, Bede spent the whole of his life within its precincts ; were it not for his labours, hardly anything would be known of the leaders

of our early Church. Augustine, Aidan, Theodore, would be little more than names. Bede was a very learned man: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, were all familiar to him, especially the works of Vergil. His whole delight was in learning and teaching; but he never allowed his literary labour to interfere with his devotions, and attendance at the canonical hours. Alcuin reports that Bede once said, "I know that angels visit the canonical hours and the gatherings of the brethren. What if they did not find me among them? Would they not say, 'Where is Bede? Why comes he not with the brethren to the appointed prayers?'" Bede wrote on all kinds of subjects—on Scripture, on natural science, on arithmetic, on St. Cuthbert; but the book which by the clearness of its style, the beauty of its stories, and the value of its information has won for him an imperishable place among English authors is *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Bede is the scholar-saint, one of the finest products of the whole monastic system. The story of his death is well known; giving lessons to his pupils, chanting the Psalms, offering prayer and thanks to God, meditating on Scripture, he spent the days. At last the end drew near; he was dictating to his scribe his translation of St. John's Gospel; "For I would not that my children should read a lie after I am gone." "There is still one chapter wanting," said the boy Wilbert, "and it seems hard for thee to be questioned further." "It is easy," said Bede; "take thy pen, mend it, and write quickly." At the ninth hour Bede called the monks and distributed among them his little gifts, saying, "The time of my departure is nigh at hand, for my soul longs to see Christ my King in His beauty." "Dear master," said the boy, "there is still one sentence not written down." "Good," he said, "write it down." After a little space the boy said, "Now it is written." "Thou hast well said," replied Bede; "it is finished; take my head in thy hands, for it joys me much to sit opposite my holy place where I was wont to pray, that so sitting I may call upon my Father." So there, sitting on the floor of his cell, singing the "Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto," he breathed his last, and his pure spirit entered the presence of God.

Bede has always been known by the name of the "Venerable Bede." There are many legends to account for the name; but the most beautiful is that which tells how, when Bede was an old man, his sight grew very dim. Some mockers came to him



and said that the church was full of people wanting instruction in the Christian faith. Bede went up into the pulpit, and in the belief that the church was full, though it was really empty, preached a sermon. And at the end, the angels, who alone thronged the church, said "Amen, very venerable Bede."

The early Church of England produced many types of saint-ship; her activities were manifold. While Bede was living his quiet and uneventful scholar's life at Jarrow, other Englishmen were engaged in missionary work, carrying the gospel to the heathen races of Frisia and Germany. Of these the most famous were S. Willibrord of Northumbria, who took up Wilfrid's work in Frisia, and after a long life of missionary work died in 739, and Boniface, the Apostle of Germany. Boniface, born in Devon *circ.* 680, was consecrated Bishop by Pope Gregory in 723, and laboured in Frisia, Thuringia, and Bavaria. In 743 he fixed his archiepiscopal see at Maintz, and for many years he worked among the German tribes, assisted by other English missionaries. He crowned his splendid missionary life with a martyr's death in Frisia, 755.

Missionary  
work of  
English-  
men in  
Germany,  
&c.

## CHAPTER V

### THE CHURCH TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST—THE COMING OF THE DANES—ALFRED AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Spiritual  
decline in  
eighth  
century.

THE golden age of the early English Church was over; the eighth and ninth centuries mark a period of general decline. It was not that the Church fell into dogmatic heresy, or raised, as in a later age, high ecclesiastical pretensions against the State. The decline was marked by stagnation and loss of all ideals; the lower nature of man re-asserted itself; religion was stifled in an atmosphere of sloth, impurity, worldliness. Even before the death of Bede the downward movement had begun; the letter written by Bede to his friend and former pupil Egbert,<sup>1</sup> the first Archbishop of York, 734, reveals to us the decline, and the evidence of this letter is confirmed by the canons of the council of Clovesho, 747. The canons of the council show that by this time the parochial system was firmly established. But they also show a great increase of moral evil. The monasteries were subjected to the severest criticism both by Bede and the council; almost everywhere monastic discipline had been relaxed; too often they were mere places for amusement, sometimes they were hotbeds of vice; we hear of the cells of nuns which were simply homes of gossip, feasting, and drunkenness; both nuns and monks, we are told, lived in beautiful coloured clothes, instead of sober garb, and spent their lives in a round of amusements. The monasteries were too often the resorts of minstrels, musicians, and buffoons. Bede especially denounced the pseudo-monasteries, which took the name simply to escape exemption from secular duties and service to the State. There were many such in Northumbria, of

Decay of  
mon-  
asticism.

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that Gregory the Great's scheme for the organisation of the English Church had contemplated two provinces and two metropolitans, each with twelve suffragan bishops. But the plan, on the flight of Paulinus from Northumbria, had fallen through. Egbert was the first Bishop of York who both received a pall and actually exercised metropolitan authority.

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no profit to God or man; too often their rulers were married men, and the so-called monasteries descended as hereditary estates to their children. Bede urged Egbert to hold visitations regularly and put them under stringent supervision. Similar orders were given to the bishops by the council of Clovesho.

But the decay of monastic life was only the most marked symptom of the general decline. We learn from this same letter of Bede that some of the bishops neglected their spiritual duties and associated with frivolous and scandalous friends; many of the clergy were given to excessive drinking—a national vice even in those early days—and more keen, so we learn from Alcuin towards the end of the century, on digging out foxes and hunting hares than on their spiritual duties. Avarice had corrupted both bishops and clergy. Bede pointed out to Egbert that the bishopric of York was still far too large for adequate supervision; there were in it many parishes which had no priests at all, and never saw their Bishop. Bede urged the imperative need of subdividing the diocese, and reminded Egbert of Gregory's scheme, by which York ought to have twelve suffragans. Many of the clergy were quite uneducated and knew no Latin; and for their use Bede says he has translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer into English. The laity were even more ignorant, and there was a general neglect of the Holy Communion.

The picture that we have of the internal condition of the Church in the eighth century is far from pleasant, and shows that the degradation of the ninth century was not simply the result of the Viking invasions. The decline of religion was already far advanced when the Vikings came and carried the work of destruction still further. The latter half of the eighth century is marked by the supremacy of Mercia under King Offa, 757-796.

Supremacy of Mercia under Offa.

Offa was in many ways a great King. He established his lordship over East Anglia, Essex, and Kent; he wrested Oxfordshire from Wessex, and as a protection from the Welsh he raised the great dyke known as Offa's Dyke, running from Chester to the Wye. On the Continent, too, he made a great impression. It is clear from the correspondence of Charles the Great that he regarded Offa as the one great Englishman of the time. But from an ecclesiastical point of view his reign was reactionary, though marked by the foundation of many monasteries, of

First visit  
of Papal  
Legates.

which the great monastery of St. Albans is said to have been one. His ecclesiastical innovations were unhappy. The first of these innovations was the visit of two Papal Legates in 786. It was the first and only visit of Papal Legates to England before the eve of the Norman Conquest, but nevertheless the beginning of a yoke which in course of time was found unbearable. The second innovation was even more unhappy. Offa, like many kings of a later age, wished to see his kingdom of Mercia ecclesiastically self-contained. Kent at this time was dependent on him, but this dependence might not last. Offa did not want Mercia to be ecclesiastically subject to the alien archbishopric of Canterbury; he realised the unifying power of the Church, and wished to use it for the consolidation of his power in Mercia. Kent, too, was in a state of political confusion; the comparative stability of the archbishop's position rendered him the most important man in Kent. His influence, if used against Offa, might undermine the Mercian King's supremacy. So Offa was not sorry to aim a blow at the archbishop's importance. He persuaded the Pope, in return for an annual payment, to ratify the creation of a third English archbishopric at Lichfield.

Lichfield  
an arch-  
bishopric,  
787-802.

At the legatine synod of Chelsea, 787, which was attended by the bishops of the province of Canterbury, and also by Offa and his witan, Lichfield was raised to metropolitan dignity, and more than half of the sees dependent on Canterbury transferred to the new Archbishop of Lichfield. It is to be noted that the creation of this new metropolitan see was not effected simply by the Pope, but by an English synod. It was, however, a reactionary step. The Church had hitherto stood for unity among the English nations. A clerk was at home in all the kingdoms; a Mercian priest, for example, could officiate in all the churches; bishops and archbishops were drawn from natives of all the kingdoms; the see of Canterbury was held by men of Wessex and Mercia as well as by men of Kent. The first collective activity of the English people had been in the ecclesiastical assemblies. This unifying influence had already been injured by the erection of York into a metropolitan see. But this creation merely recognised an accomplished fact, an existing separation; for right down to the Norman Conquest, even in the days when all England was united under the house of Wessex, Northumbria remained very much apart from the

rest of the kingdom. It was owing to Northumbrian indifference that Harold was defeated at Hastings. Even so, it can hardly be doubted that the existence of two separate ecclesiastical provinces in England has been a source of weakness to the English Church. But the creation of a new archiepiscopal see at Lichfield was a wanton attack on the Church's unifying influence. If Mercia was to have a metropolitan see at Lichfield, it would also be reasonable that Winchester should have the same position in Wessex. And so, instead of one, there would have been seven churches, respectively conterminous with each of the heptarchic kingdoms. The Church would have become a dividing force instead of a uniting bond. Luckily no permanent injury was done; for Cenwulf, Offa's successor, after a Kentish rising in which assistance was given him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, agreed to the abolition of the new archiepiscopate, and Lichfield returned to the obedience of Canterbury in 802. But the annual payment to Rome did not stop, and seems to have been the origin of Peter's pence, a tax of a penny on each hearth, which was regularly paid to Rome after the ninth century. In this same synod of Chelsea the payment of tithes was ordered, and as Offa and his witan were present, henceforth the payment was made compulsory by secular law.

Offa died in 796, but even before his death a presage had been given of the coming storm. In 793 Danish pirates had appeared off the coast of Northumbria, and had sacked the cradle of our northern Christianity, the monastery of Lindisfarne. During the century which followed, England never knew a time of rest till the victories of Alfred. Into every nook and cranny of the land the Danes made their way, plundering on all sides. York was taken in 867. Whitby was destroyed; Wearmouth and Jarrow, Crowland, Ely, and Lindisfarne (for the second time) were sacked. These are mere instances of the universal devastation. In East Anglia the King, Edmund, after defeat, on his refusal to deny Christ, was bound to a tree and riddled with arrows till he died. Over his bones at a later time, in 903, the stately abbey of Bury St. Edmunds was raised.

The success of these pagan plunderers was due to many causes—to the high state of their organisation, and the wonderful co-operation between different bands, to their splendid "intelligence department"—they always contrived to come just at the right moment and to the right places—to their military efficiency,

the superiority of their arms, the paralysing rapidity of their movement, based on their navy, and their habit, as soon as they landed, of sweeping together all the horses in the neighbourhood, and not least to the divisions and dissensions of the English people. Mercia and Northumbria were antagonistic to the newly-risen supremacy of Wessex under Egbert and his descendants, while in their attack on the West Saxon power the Danes were assisted by the co-operation of the Corn-welsh. It is sufficient in this place to say that at the time of the accession of Alfred in 871 the Danes had made themselves masters of Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, Kent. In some cases the old royal families had been killed off. Wessex itself was overrun and hard pressed, and it seemed as though England would once more become wholly pagan. But at this critical moment a deliverer arose in the person of Alfred. Alfred is the model Christian King. But the Alfred of legend is a different person from the Alfred of history. The Alfred of legend is the King of *all* England, the inventor of trial by jury, the creator of the English navy, the divider of England into shires and hundreds, the founder of the University of Oxford. But the legend has a basis of fact; it has seized on real sides of the King's activity, and then exaggerated or distorted them. If Alfred was not the first King of all England, he did prepare the way for the unification of all England under his successors. Driven back into the marshes of Athelney in Somerset by Danish victories, at the opening of his reign, Alfred after careful preparations emerged to win the great victory of Ethandun. By the peace of Wedmore, in 878, the Danish King, Guthrum, became a Christian, and received the baptismal name of Athelstan; the boundary between Alfred's kingdom on the one hand and the Danish kingdoms on the other was carefully drawn in 885—up the Thames, then up the Lea, then to Bedford, then up the Ouse to Watling Street, and then along Watling Street to Chester. Thus Alfred did more than merely save Wessex from the Danes; under him Wessex became a centre for the deliverance and union of the whole country; before his time, Mercians and East Anglians, and Kentmen and Northumbrians had looked upon the King of Wessex as a conqueror; they now looked upon him as a deliverer. Alfred did not form England into a single kingdom, but it is true that he took the first steps in this direction. By the treaty of Wedmore the frontier of Wessex was

Alfred,  
871-901.

His share  
in unifi-  
cation of  
country.

thrust forward by the annexation of half of Mercia ; under Alfred's successors the rest of England was gradually incorporated. Similarly Alfred was not the creator of the shires and hundreds. Wessex was divided into shires before his time, and the Danelagh was only so divided by his successors. It is an absurd anachronism, based on a sixteenth century invention, to say that Alfred was the founder of the University of Oxford ; but he did take a great interest in education. There was nothing over which Alfred mourned more sadly than the decay of religion and learning. At the beginning of his reign he tells us that there was not a single priest south of the Thames, and very few south of the Humber, who could understand Latin. To remedy this state of affairs he took many steps ; he established a court school for the sons of the upper classes ; in his introduction to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, a copy of which he sent to every one of his bishops, he emphasised the importance of education, and urged that " all the freeborn youth of England be set to learn English writing, and that those be taught Latin whom it is proposed to educate further and promote to higher office." It was with an educational purpose that Alfred founded monasteries at Athelney and elsewhere ; and since bricks and mortar are of no use without living teachers, he imported teachers both from Britain and abroad—Plegmund from Mercia, whom he afterwards made Archbishop of Canterbury, Grimbold from Flanders, John the old Saxon, and the famous Asser (the author of Alfred's Life) from St. David's. As the knowledge of Latin was almost extinct in England, Alfred himself translated various Latin works, that the English youth might have text-books for study. The most famous of these translations were *The General History of Orosius*, a book written at the beginning of the fifth century with the intention of showing the horrors of pagan times, and God's providential purposes in gradually ameliorating the conditions of human life ; *Boethius' Consolatio*, philosophic reflections written by the statesman Boethius when imprisoned by the Ostrogothic King Theodoric in 522 ; Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*, a guide book for the use of the priest in the confessional ; *Gregory's Dialogues*, stories of a somewhat absurd character with a religious moral. A translation of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* has also been assigned, but perhaps wrongly, to Alfred. It is to be noted that in all these works Alfred did

His educational work.

not merely reproduce the originals, but made additions and comments of his own, adapting them to his own purposes. Thus in the body of Orosius' history he made two large insertions, the one a description of the geography of North and Central Europe, the other the narratives of two northern voyagers. Most important of all, it was under Alfred's inspiration that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was started—our chief authority for the centuries which followed. And so in a very real sense Alfred may be styled the founder of English prose and English history. The activities of this extraordinary man were manifold. He was a military leader of no mean order ; he saw that if the Danes were to be crushed, it was imperative to command the sea. Though his ships were unsuccessful, credit must nevertheless be given Alfred for his insight. He reorganised the army and led it to victory.

His military work.

His legislation.

He was a legislator ; not in the sense that he was the author of great legal changes ; his code of laws was simply, as he tells us, a selection from the laws of his predecessors, Ini, Offa, Ethelbert. But in this code of laws the essentially religious nature of the man came out ; the Teutonic customs were given a Christian colouring ; crime was identified with sin ; justice meant for him not simply the old Teutonic custom, but moral right ; the system of money payments in atonement for crime was wrongly but characteristically explained as an attempt of Christian bishops to mitigate the ferocity of the times ; the code started with the Ten Commandments, and a negative version of the golden rule as its preamble.

Growing strength of kingship.

Alfred was the captain, the lawgiver, the saint, the scholar, the teacher of his people. It is not therefore wonderful that one of the most conspicuous features of his reign was the growing strength of the monarchy ; his reign was marked by the extension of the King's peace and the growth of the idea of treason. It is in Alfred's reign that the first law of treason is found. The Church exalted the kingly office, and represented treason as a heinous offence—the crime of Judas, who betrayed his Lord.

Legend of St. Neot.

The chief authority for the life of Alfred is the so-called Life of Asser ; but Asser's Life of Alfred has had its authenticity called in question ; the best authorities are now agreed that Asser's life contains a genuine nucleus crusted over with legend to glorify an imaginary saint called St. Neot. Many of the



stories familiar to us from our childhood are parts of this hagiological romance. The story of Alfred beginning his reign in an unkingly way, skulking in Somersetshire till he was rebuked by St. Neot; the story of the cakes, and the story of the mysterious illness with which Alfred was afflicted, must all be relegated to the lumber-room of hagiology. Alfred was the ideal Christian King; his activities were all controlled and inspired by his love of God and sense of duty to his people, "My will," he said, "was to live worthily as long as I lived, and after my death to leave to them that should come after, my memory in good works." Alfred's wish has been fulfilled. So long as England lives, the memory of the blameless King, his lofty character, and his splendid achievements will be handed down the generations.

Let us turn once more to directly religious questions. The effects of the Viking invasions on the life of the Church were marked and deplorable. It is true that within a hundred years from the times of Alfred the Danes were all Christianised, and had contributed no less than three archbishops to the English Church. But the evil results were none the less conspicuous. Politically, the division of England into the Danelagh and the English portion was a great source of weakness; ecclesiastically, the Church of York was almost entirely cut off from the fuller life of the southern Church, though to secure some hold over the Archbishop of York the see of Worcester, from the year 963, was either bestowed on himself in plurality or else on one of his kinsfolk. Several bishoprics in the north and east, such as Lindisfarne, Hexham, Dunwich, Lichfield, disappeared, in some cases for ever; churches and monasteries lay in ruins; the clergy became uneducated and worldly—sometimes they were found in command of armies. Even where monasteries survived or were restored, they were monasteries merely in name; if there were monks, they were monks merely in the sense that they had succeeded to monastic property; in reality they were secular clergy, generally married, living a decadent and often a degraded life.

Effect of Danish invasions on religion.

(a) Separation of north from south.

(b) Extinction of bishoprics.

(c) Destruction of churches.

(d) Decay of spiritual life.

Alfred did much to check this decline. He contributed towards the restoration of churches; he took steps to diffuse education and restore English learning to something of its former glory. But this work could not be accomplished rapidly; it was only possible to prepare the way for future generations.

Alfred attempts to check the decline

He founded, among others, a monastery at Athelney,<sup>1</sup> but as monastic life was now distasteful to Englishmen, he found it necessary to import Frankish clergy. It is probable that these clergy were really seculars; but at any rate they were unmarried and willing to live the "cœnobitic" life. The restoration of real Benedictinism, and the substitution of "regulars" for "seculars" was the work of a later age. Alfred died in 900 or 901. His work was continued by his successors. His son Edward, 901-924, incorporated East Anglia and Danish Mercia in the dominions of the house of Wessex, while the most important ecclesiastical event of the reign was the increase of the episcopate of Wessex from two to five. Edward's son Athelstan, 924-940, completed the incorporation of the Danelagh by the annexation of Northumbria and the defeat of a combined host of Danes, Scots, and Cumbrians at the unknown site Brunanburh, 937. Athelstan was the first King of united England. Thus it will be seen that from the time of Alfred, the leadership in the unification of England was no longer taken by the Church, but by the monarchy. But if the lead was taken by the monarchy, the efforts of the Kings were ably seconded by the clergy.

Edward  
and  
Athelstan.

England  
unified.

Church-  
men as  
secular  
statesmen.

In this consolidating policy the chief instruments and advisers were the prelates of the Church. Bishops became secular statesmen; in the ages of anarchy much work of a secular nature had been thrown on the bishops, as a more permanent element than the fleeting Kings. The episcopal activities became secularised. This secularisation now continued, but it took the form of bishops being the advisers and ministers of the King. The movement had both a good and a bad side. It was bad in so far as it withdrew the bishops from their directly spiritual work, and made them either mere leaders of a party in the State, such as Stigand, or the ministers of a wicked and extortionate King such as Ralf Flambard; but it was good in so far as it brought the State under Christian influence, and supplied to good and far-sighted Kings wise and learned advisers such as Dunstan. The permanent alliance between the house of Wessex and the see of Canterbury can be dated from the year 838. That alliance found its definite and most complete expression in

<sup>1</sup> A jewel found near Athelney in 1693, and now in the Galleries at Oxford, with the inscription, "ÆLFRED ME HAET GEWERCAN," is an interesting memorial of Alfred's connection with Athelney.

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Dunstan, who was at once the Archbishop of Canterbury and "the Prime Minister of Edgar's consolidating policy."

The most conspicuous feature of the relations between Church and State from the time of the Danish invasions is their closeness; the organisations of Church and State were closely interwrought. The bishops became mere nominees of the King, though the form of election by the Bishop's Church was retained. By the eleventh century a bishop was consecrated in obedience to a royal writ, and was by the King invested with the insignia of his office, a crozier and a ring.

Organisations of Church and State interwrought.

Conciliar activity of the Church disappeared: we hear no more of Church councils meeting to pass canons; canons were replaced by archiepiscopal constitutions issued on the royal authority. The witan, which was attended both by bishops and secular thegns, discussed and determined all business, whether secular or ecclesiastical. The bishop took his seat not only in the witan, but in the shire court, which again dealt with all causes, both civil and ecclesiastical. It was in the shire court, and not in a special court of his own, that the bishop administered God's law. Besides this, the bishop would no doubt have a penitential discipline, enforced in the last resort by excommunication, over both clergy and laity. Similarly the parish priest would take part in the local life of the village, and if <sup>1</sup> there was a local court, take part in its work. He would generally be a married man, of the same social rank as the villagers, and a sharer both of their duties and festivities. As for his religious duties, he would generally say mass daily in the parish church.

Thus both in the higher and lower grades of the social structure, Church and State, things ecclesiastical and things secular were closely interwrought. The Church had become worldly; no ascetic or other self-sacrificing ideal was set before the people by the clergy; a regenerating force was needed and found in a reformed monasticism.

The glories of early English Christianity had largely centred in her monasteries, but English monasticism had fallen on evil days, and was now practically extinct. The monks who existed were only monks in the sense of holding lands which formerly belonged to monasteries. These monks were really secular

Decay of monasticism.

<sup>1</sup> The village probably had no court or *tun-moot* unless a lord had "sac and soc" over the whole of it, and therefore held a kind of feudal court.

clergy, often married, and not in any form living a "common" life. In many cases monastic lands had been alienated, and the abbasies were mere appanages in the gift of the King or some other secular person.

The greatest churchman of the tenth century was Dunstan. His life has a double importance. He was the first of that long roll of ecclesiastical statesmen for which the Middle Ages were so famous. He was the predecessor of Lanfranc, Roger of Salisbury, Becket, Wykeham, Beaufort, Wolsey. His life also witnessed, and he was a leading agent in, the regeneration of monasticism and the introduction of the reformed Benedictine rule into England.

Career of  
Dunstan,  
925-988.

Dunstan was born in the year 925 of noble parentage; he was educated by Irish pilgrims at the Abbey of Glastonbury, where he showed, even as a boy, the combination of an ecstatic temperament—he frequently saw the devil—with great practical gifts. He became extremely skilled as a craftsman, a maker of organs and bells, while the beauty of his transcripts of manuscripts awakened the admiration of all. The gay life of Athelstan's court had no attractions for him. Having taken monastic vows, he was in 943 appointed by King Edmund the Abbot of Glastonbury. At Glastonbury Dunstan re-introduced the "common" life, and increased the monastic as against the secular element. But the important part of Dunstan's work at Glastonbury was educational. His most famous pupil was Ethelwold, who was made prior of Glastonbury and then Abbot of Abingdon. It was Ethelwold who became the leader in the introduction of the reformed Benedictine rule into England; for he sent one of his monks to the famous monastery of Fleury in France to learn the rule, and on his return Ethelwold introduced it into the monastery at Abingdon.

Another famous Englishman named Oswald also went to Fleury and learned the rule. Meanwhile political events had led to Dunstan's banishment. Dunstan had become the chief adviser of Edred, Edmund's successor, on affairs of State; in the witan he was the foremost man. But in 955 Edred was succeeded by Edwy. Edwy was a mere boy of fifteen, infatuated with love for a lady named Elfgifu, a near kinswoman, within the Church's prohibited degrees. This fatuous youth, in the middle of his own coronation feast, offered a public affront to his assembled nobles by leaving the hall to seek the

Edwy's  
coronation  
feast.

society of the lady and her mother. Dunstan, on the instruction of the assembled nobles, went out and brought him back. But it is absurd, as Dr. Stubbs points out, to argue from this that Dunstan was a precursor of Hildebrand, anxious to humiliate the royal before the ecclesiastical power. The deed was done by the express order of the witan and to vindicate the law of marriage; the humiliation of Edwy was richly deserved, but was the accident, not the purpose, of Dunstan's action. The struggle of parties at the English court during the next three years, and the grounds of the struggle, are somewhat obscure. But in 956 Elfgifu was able to gratify her spite by securing the banishment of Dunstan. This banishment is only of importance because it was spent by Dunstan at the Flemish abbey of Blandinium in Ghent, and enabled him to see what life in a real Benedictine convent was like.

In 957 the English north of the Thames revolted from Edwy, and chose his brother Edgar as their King; parties seem to have divided on political, and not on ecclesiastical lines, though, as subsequent events showed, Edwy's party was anti-monastic, while the monastic party favoured Edgar's cause. Edgar when seated on the throne immediately recalled Dunstan, and appointed him Bishop of Worcester, and presently gave him also in plurality the bishopric of London.

In 959 Edwy died, and Edgar became the King of all England, while in the following year Dunstan became Archbishop of Canterbury. For sixteen years the two men, Edgar and Dunstan, laboured together, and it is almost impossible in the policy that was carried out to say where the influence of the one man ended and the other began. Dunstan was the "Prime Minister" of the policy that aimed at the administration of equal justice between rich and poor, between Dane and English, and the maintenance of order by the organisation of the hundred system. Dunstan's zeal for education was conspicuous, and this was a primary duty of the many religious foundations established or restored in Edgar's reign. To his credit also we must assign the renewed intercourse between the Church of England and the Churches of France and Flanders. But the burning ecclesiastical question of the reign arose from the attempt to introduce into England the reformed Benedictinism. The reformers wished to expel the secular clergy who were in *de facto* possession of the ancient monastic property, and to

Edgar  
King.  
Dunstan  
Arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury.

Intercourse  
with  
foreign  
churches.

Restora-  
tion of  
mon-  
asticism.

restore it to real monks, who would live according to the strict Benedictine rule. Dunstan's<sup>1</sup> attitude towards this question has been misrepresented. He has been described as entering into a relentless crusade against the married clergy. As a matter of fact, there was no fresh legislation of the reign directed against the married clergy as such, whatever preference Dunstan may personally have had for a celibate clergy. The matter at issue was quite different, namely, were the ancient monastic lands and buildings to be taken from married secular clergy and restored to true monks, who would live the common life according to the strict Benedictine rule? The wider question of the general celibacy of all the clergy was not raised. As to the special issue, there can be no doubt that Dunstan welcomed the introduction of a strict monastic discipline; had Dunstan been in opposition, the substitution of monks for secular clergy could never have been carried out in the thorough way it was; but the leadership of the movement was with Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York. *Dunstan did not expel the secular clergy from his own cathedrals, Worcester, London, Canterbury, though they were in origin monastic foundations.* This expulsion of the seculars was probably the reform about which Dunstan was least keen, as it tended to create much discontent and ill-feeling.

The heart and soul of the movement was Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester; even Oswald did not show the same thoroughness, for at York the seculars were not expelled, while at Worcester, Oswald, leaving the seculars in possession, founded a new Benedictine monastery and transferred to its church his bishop's stool. It was Ethelwold who, beginning with his own cathedral at Winchester, relentlessly expelled all seculars whom he found in possession of monastic property. In this he was backed by Edgar; for it was to the monastic party that Edgar owed his throne. This, too, accounts for the glowing praise awarded Edgar by his monkish biographers, when the popular songs embodied in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle show that Edgar was anything but a reputable character.

The movement in favour of a stricter monasticism carried all before it; Edgar himself founded or restored forty monasteries. Before the tide spent its force, one half of the cathedral chapters were restored to monks; there was a general

<sup>1</sup> See at length *Memorials of St. Dunstan*. Introduction by Stubbs.

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rise in the standard of purity, the sanctity of the marriage tie was more generally recognised; the celibacy of priests was encouraged; there was a revival of religious life, and many new churches were built. The Benedictines have always been famous for their educational work, and the new monastic schools did something for the restoration of the learning which the Danes had destroyed.

To return to Dunstan: after the death of Edgar in 975 a temporary reaction set in, and on the accession of Ethelred the Redeless in 978 Dunstan retired from political life to more spiritual work at Canterbury. We have a pleasing picture drawn of the archbishop's closing years; we see him in constant attendance at the spiritual offices of the Church, administering charity to the poor, correcting manuscripts, and in his leisure moments showing his old skill as a craftsman and musician. The new King loved not Dunstan's ways, nor did Dunstan love his. While Ethelred mismanaged public affairs, Dunstan in his private sphere did what he could to promote peace between man and man, to protect widows and orphans, to teach all the people who flocked to hear his words, to steward the resources of the Church. Dunstan was a great man; he was a stern upholder of the moral law even against the mightiest. A noble whom he had excommunicated for contracting an unlawful marriage obtained a papal brief in his favour. Dunstan boldly disobeyed it. But in Dunstan there was nothing of the extreme ascetic. Setting on one side the miraculous element in which his life is embedded by the chroniclers, we may confidently assert that he was a man of widespread culture and varied activities who crowned a life of public service with a useful and industrious old age. Dunstan died in 988. Meanwhile evil days had overtaken England. Ethelred's reign, 978-1016, was marked by an unbroken series of disasters; the earls who represented the old royal lines of the heptarchic period kept alive the feeling of provincial separatism and warred both against each other and against the King. "Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." So when the tidings of Ethelred's weakness and the disorders of his kingdom went round the northern coast of Europe, bands of plundering Danes quickly renewed their attack. Ethelred, with incredible folly, tried to buy them off, and, that he might have the requisite money, began the hateful

Death of  
Edgar and  
retirement  
of Dun-  
stan, 978.

His death,  
988.

Renewal  
of Danish  
attacks.

tax of the Danegeld. Twenty years of desultory fighting and efforts to buy off the invading swarms followed. In 1002 Ethelred added crime to folly by the indiscriminate massacre of peaceful Danish settlers on St. Brice's Day. This in its turn led to an organised invasion of England by the great Danish King, Swegen, in 1012, made memorable by the massacre of Archbishop Elphege of Canterbury. Elphege refused to increase the burdens of the poor by raising his ransom from them, and after one of their drunken orgies the Danes attacked him with the bones of the oxen on which they had just fed, and beat him to death. The traitor Edric Streona, Earl of Mercia, assisted Swegen, and finally, in 1016, on Swegen's death, his son Cnut became the King of all England. Ethelred had married Emma of Normandy, and the old English royal family took refuge across the seas in Normandy. Cnut reigned over England wisely and well for nineteen years, 1016-1035. He is an exceptional instance of a man improved by the possession of power; the opening of his reign shows us a blood-thirsty and tyrannous ruler, but he quickly developed into a sagacious, peaceful, God-fearing man. He identified himself with the English people, and soon became a thorough Englishman, making England the centre of his northern empire, and employing Englishmen in Denmark and his other northern possessions. His love for his people and his genuine religious feeling are seen in his letter of 1028 written from Rome to the English people. He had gone to Rome on pilgrimage in the preceding year, and he encouraged his people to do the like. He was generous in his gifts to churches and monasteries, but viewed as a whole the era of 1016-1066 was one of religious exhaustion and decline; church preferment was increasingly used as a reward for political and secular service. Cnut treated his chaplains as secretaries, and then rewarded them by the gift of bishoprics; there was growing worldliness on all sides, and simony was rife. The brighter side of the picture is to be found in the influence of Christian feeling on legislation, and the success of English missionaries among the heathen peoples of Scandinavia and Denmark.

Cnut's  
reign.

Cnut was not great like William the Conqueror. He did not create an administrative system which would survive his death. The peace which signalled his reign depended on his own personality. On his death in 1035 anarchy ensued;



his two sons, Harold and Harthacnut, were godless, drunken young men; fortunately they only lived for a few years, and in 1042 the old English royal line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor. With the reign of the Confessor the Norman Conquest began. The court of the Norman Duke was to Edward what the court of Louis XIV. was in a later age to Charles II. Edward was the son of a Norman mother, and therefore closely related to the ducal house; he had spent a large portion of his life in exile in Normandy, and on his return brought with him many of his Norman and other continental friends. Pious, gentle, and well meaning, he was at the same time a thoroughly weak King, easily led, with none of the capacity needed for riding the whirlwind of those tempestuous times. In short, he was only fit for a monastery, and not at all for kingship. The reign of Edward was a prolonged struggle between the national party, headed by Godwine, the first Earl of Wessex,<sup>1</sup> and his son Harold, and the party of the foreigners, of whom the chief were Eustace of Boulogne and Robert of Jumièges, created successively Bishop of London and then Archbishop of Canterbury. The most marked feature of the reign till 1052 was the promotion of foreigners, especially Normans, to high secular and ecclesiastical office. Many of the bishops so appointed, such as Ulf, the Norman Bishop of Dorchester, were quite unworthy, and Robert of Jumièges, who was said to have such influence over Edward as to make him believe a black crow white, was nothing more than a mischievous charlatan.

Edward  
the Con-  
fessor's  
reign,  
1042-1066.

The quarrel between the national and foreign parties reached its climax in 1051 over an affray that had occurred between the men of Dover and the men of Eustace of Boulogne. Godwine, in whose earldom Dover lay, took the Englishmen's part, with the result that he was banished. But in the following year he returned amid general rejoicings of the English people. The foreign party was definitely worsted; from 1052, while retaining an ornamental position at the court, they were excluded from all political influence. Robert of Jumièges was evicted from the archbishopric of Canterbury; Stigand, the Bishop of Winchester, was promoted to the metropolitan see, but continued to hold the bishopric of Winchester

<sup>1</sup> Cnut was the English King who first dissociated the English kingship from Wessex, and made Wessex an earldom.

in plurality. This appointment was destined to have important consequences ; for Robert, from a canonical point of view, was still lawfully archbishop ; Stigand was declared a schismatical intruder, and Robert's reinstatement ordered by the Pope. In 1053 Godwine died, but Harold, his son, succeeded to his position and influence as Earl of Wessex. Harold was a more religious man than his father, and, unlike Godwine, he gave lavishly to the Church. But he continued to support Stigand in his schismatical occupation of the see of Canterbury, though Stigand was regarded as a usurper by the English Church itself, and bishops-elect sought consecration either abroad or from Eldred, the Archbishop of York.

In 1058 Stigand at last received a pall from Pope Benedict X., but this did not mend matters, for Benedict was denounced as a usurper of the papal see in 1059, and the succeeding Popes, inspired by Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII., made adherence to the antipope Benedict a ground for further denunciation of the schismatic Stigand. Stigand had the distinction of excommunication by five successive Popes.

Increased  
power of  
Papacy.

Among the other foreign influences which made themselves felt in England was the increased power of the papacy. Envoys of the English Church attended various papal councils during the course of Edward's reign, but a further step was taken in 1062 when Pope Alexander II. sent two papal legates to England, an action which had no precedent except the legatine mission sent in the days of Offa. The legates are said to have secured the choice of the saintly Wulfstan to the bishopric of Worcester. On 3rd January 1066 Edward the Confessor died. In the hard times that were to come men looked back with regret to the good old days of Edward the Confessor ; but to the eye of the historian those days seem neither good nor glorious. Perhaps his greatest title to fame was his foundation of Westminster Abbey. It was dedicated just six days before his death. The end of Anglo-Saxon kingship was now at hand. On Edward's death, Harold, Godwine's son, the brother-in-law of the late King, was chosen by the witan King of England, and crowned as such, not by Stigand, but by Eldred, Archbishop of York. Harold, no doubt, did not wish to compromise his position by a schismatic coronation. But the crown was also claimed by the Norman Duke William. The grounds on which he based his claim were these : *first*, that the succession had been promised

William's  
claim to  
throne.

him by his kinsman, Edward the Confessor (probably in 1051); *secondly*, he urged an oath made him by Harold (probably in 1064). Harold had been shipwrecked on the French coast and fallen into William's power; William had ungenerously forced an oath on him, and then shown him that the altar at which he had pledged his faith was full of the most venerable relics in all Normandy. This oath now enabled William to denounce Harold for perfidy and breach of a feudal obligation, but the exact nature of the oath is uncertain. Some accounts make it more, some less specific. William's right to the English throne was really *nil*; for it was with the *witan* that the right to elect a King lay, and no promise of Edward the Confessor or oath of Harold could possibly defraud the *witan* of their right or foreclose the question of the succession in William's favour.

There was a third ground which William skilfully used to win support for his invasion. To the papacy he represented his plan of conquest as a crusade; the English nation and Church he denounced to Pope Alexander as adherents of the schismatic Stigand, and as people who had never paid proper deference to the see of Rome. He himself, if successful, would reform the Church of England and bring it under proper papal control. The influence of Hildebrand secured a favourable answer from the Pope, and Alexander sent William a ring and a consecrated banner. The conquest of England was invested with all the halo of a religious crusade. On the battlefield of Hastings, 1066, all the heroism of Harold and our Anglo-Saxon forefathers was fruitless. Norman archery and Norman cavalry prevailed, and William became King of England. Battle of Hastings.

## APPENDIX I

### BISHOPRICS IN ENGLAND ON THE EVE OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

#### A. *Province of Canterbury.*

1. Canterbury, *f.* 597.
2. Rochester, *f.* 604 (for West Kent).
3. London, *f.* 666 (originally 604) (for Essex).
4. Elmham, *f.* 673 (for Norfolk and Suffolk).

5. Winchester, *f.* 662 (for Hants and Surrey).
  6. Sherborne, *f.* 705 (enlarged by union in 1058 of Ramsbury or Wiltshire see to old bishopric of Sherborne).
  7. Selsey, *f.* 709 (for Sussex).
  8. Wells, *f.* 909 (for Somerset).
  9. Exeter, *f.* 1049 (Crediton, *f.* 909 for Devon, removed to Exeter 1049).
  10. Lichfield, *f.* 656 (originally for Mercia).
  11. Worcester, *f.* 679 (for Hwiccas).
  12. Hereford, *f.* 676.
  13. Dorchester *f.* 869 (originally *f.* 634).
- B. Province of York.**
1. York, *f.* 625, revived 664. Archbishopric 735.
  2. Durham, *f.* 995 (Lindisfarne, *f.* 679 ; Chester-le-Street, *f.* 883).

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CHURCH UNDER THE NORMAN KINGS

THE Norman Conquest constituted the opening of a new era in English history. A sound instinct has always led Englishmen to regard the year 1066 as marking a fresh start in the national life. The effects of the Norman Conquest cannot be measured by the mere fact that some thousands of Normans conquered England and imposed themselves as an upper stratum on the Anglo-Saxon population. Whether we look to home or to foreign affairs, things secular or things religious, we find a new departure. England was brought into the full stream of European politics, and took her place as one of the great European powers. The whole of her foreign policy for centuries to come was determined by the fact that the Norman Duke became the English King. But if this was the case in foreign politics, a similar result followed in home affairs. It was of critical importance that a line of strong-willed kings, with a genius for organisation and government, established itself on the English throne. That which Carlyle calls the "pot-bellied equanimity" of the Anglo-Saxons required discipline and drill, and they got it, both in the secular and religious spheres, from Norman drill-sergeants. The most important result then of the Norman Conquest was the creation of an extremely strong kingship. "All things, both human and divine," says the old chronicler, "waited on William's nod," and it was the existence of a strong monarchy which differentiated the history of post-conquest England alike from the history of Anglo-Saxon England and that of foreign countries such as Germany or France. Both in Germany and France the power of the central government crumbled away under the disintegrating influence of feudalism. The problem in every feudal state was to find the centre of gravity, but William and his great successors, Henry II. and Edward I., scotched feudalism, and built up a strong central government on the ruins of the power of the great nobles. In the Anglo-Saxon constitution the strongest part had been the

Norman  
Conquest  
marks an  
era.

substructure of shire and hundred courts. It was in the upper regions of government that the old system had been signally deficient. Great kings such as Alfred or Cnut had arisen from time to time, but they had left no adequate administrative system behind them, with the result that when they passed away the power of the kingship passed with them. Everything depended on the personality of the monarch. With the coming of the Normans this was changed. The genius of the Normans lay in articulation, organisation, government. The success of William sprang not merely from his articulation of the system of feudal tenure and his organisation of the feudal levy; it did not arise merely from his retention of everything in the Anglo-Saxon which could give strength to his government—such things as the old local courts of shire and hundred, the old national levy of the fyrd, and the Danegeld; it was pre-eminently due to his innovations. For though in form the settlement was conservative—William posed as lawful King, and asserted his intention to preserve the old law of King Edward—in point of fact he introduced far-reaching changes. By scattering the estates of his nobles,<sup>1</sup> by insisting that all landowners, no matter whom they held from primarily, owed allegiance first to himself, by using the sheriff, like the French *intendant* of a later age, as the government man for almost all purposes in the shire, and especially as a check on the great nobles, William greatly reduced the power of the baronage in the political sphere. But, further, he created a strong administrative machine for central government, which was now or shortly afterwards called the Curia Regis. It was only left for his great successors, Henry I. and Henry II., to bring the local and central governments into connection by means of judges of assize, who went out from the Curia Regis and visited the local courts for financial and judicial business. This splendid machine of government survived the misrule of Stephen and the neglect of Richard I., and contributed in no small measure to the power of the English monarchy. Another, perhaps the most important, single innovation of William in the temporal sphere, was the use he made of sworn recognitors or jurors—representatives of the countryside. For example, twelve recognitors were employed from each

<sup>1</sup> It is disputed whether this was intentional. As William only conquered the land gradually, and had many claimants for land to satisfy, it was impossible to give many large estates in the south-east of England.

## *The Church under Norman Kings* 61

county to make known the old laws and customs of King Edward's time; again, they were used to decide questions of fact in judicial disputes. It was from this method of "recognition" that in after ages both the House of Commons and the whole system of trial by jury were to grow. Hence this innovation was all-important.

In his government William was successful. Speaking roughly, we may say that the first half of his reign (1067-1076) was spent in completing the subjugation of the Anglo-Saxons. Their attempts to overthrow the alien King failed, owing to their lack of co-operation with each other. Different parts of the country rose at different times, and with different objects. At one time it was Wessex, at another Mercia, at another Northumbria; one rising would have for its object to make Harold's son King, another would aim at the restoration of Edgar the Etheling to the throne. One thing stands out clearly: William found his safety in the fact which had rendered the very conquest possible—that is, in the antagonism between Wessex and Northumbria, or rather in the antagonism between the house of Leofric—whose two heads, Edwin and Morcar, had been Earls of Northumbria and Mercia—and the house of Godwine. All the revolts were punished by William with ruthless severity. During the second part of his reign, 1076-1087, the old English population gave William little trouble. The dangers he had to face in those years came from his great barons, such as Roger, Earl of Hereford, and Ralf, Earl of Norfolk, or from the revolt of his own son Robert; while the King of France was always glad to support any rebel against his too powerful vassal the Norman Duke.

But if the Norman Conquest marked the beginning of far-reaching changes in the temporal, it did so no less in the spiritual sphere. It has often been said that the Church of England was papalised by the coming of the Normans. But this statement is only true under great reservations. The papacy had at one time gained greatly in European estimation owing to the success of St. Augustine's mission to England, and the waning of its actual influence in the ninth and tenth and the first half of the eleventh centuries was due to the depths of infamy and degradation to which the see of St. Peter had sunk. It is no matter for surprise that when the Cluniac movement for Church reform had really taken root, and had captured the papal throne itself,

Ecclesi-  
astical  
changes.

Growth  
of Papal  
power.

the power and prestige of the papacy likewise increased in England as elsewhere. But if the English Church was brought more under papal influence after 1066, it is no less true that in a real sense it was saved from the papacy. For if the Norman Conquest had not taken place, all the probabilities lead us to suppose that the weak Anglo-Saxon Church would have been borne along by the rising tide of ecclesiasticism, and more thoroughly papalised than in point of fact it was during the Norman reigns. For William, as we shall presently see, put very severe restrictions on the power exercised by the Pope in England.

**Cluniac movement.** The Cluniac movement had started from the monastery of Cluny in Burgundy, in the second quarter of the tenth century. The novelty in this movement was the plan by which daughter-houses founded from the monastery of Cluny remained dependent on the parent house. The Abbot of Cluny was the head of the whole Cluniac "congregation," and appointed the priors who, under him, were the rulers of the dependent houses. All the Cluniac houses were regarded merely as parts of the mother convent, and from time to time sent representatives to the chapter of Cluny.

**Its aims.** The aim of this Cluniac movement was to purify the Church in head and members. The Church was not doing the work that our Lord had intended it to do in the world. Society was thoroughly pagan, hardly leavened by the Christian faith. Violence, anarchy, fraud, lust, selfishness, formed the social atmosphere; self-conquest and self-sacrifice were hardly known in ordinary secular life. But if the world was to be won and conquered for Christ, the Church must first reform herself. In her warfare against evil she must be organised as an army, and submit to the absolute rule of one earthly commander—the Pope. Forged decretals, invented for such a pious purpose, were at hand to support the papal claims, but the real justification for the rise of the papal monarchy is to be found in the necessities of the time; the primary need was to curb brutal violence by an organised moral power. But further, if the Church was to regenerate society, it seemed to reformers absolutely necessary that the Church should be removed from secular influences. How could a worldly and secularised Church hope to effect a reformation? How could a Church of which the rulers depended for advancement on kings and potentates exercise a moral discipline

(1) Papal absolutism.



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over them? A moral censorship could never hope to be successful if dependent on the very people whom it was intended to correct. In the eyes of the Cluniac reformers, to free the Church from lay influence two things were necessary. First, simony had to be rooted out. A custom had grown up by which kings appointed to bishoprics and abbaties, and invested the prelates even with the ring and the crozier, the insignia of their spiritual office. In plain words, bishops, abbots, and others frequently bought their appointments, so that it was impossible for them to make adequate protest against immorality and violence in high places. The first article, therefore, in the Cluniac programme was to denounce lay investiture. In the second place, the Cluniac reformers denounced the practice of clerical marriage, though this practice was common among the secular clergy over the whole of Latin Christendom. The primary motive which instigated them was not the influence of ascetic ideals. It was the feudalisation of the Church which they especially feared. They were afraid of what the French call "idées de famille"; they feared the creation of a clerical caste, and the conversion of ecclesiastical cures into hereditary benefices descending from father to son, with all the scandal and lack of spiritual force which might ensue. In many cases, too, there would be danger that Church property might be alienated to the sons and other relations of the clergy.

(a) Destruction of simony.

(3) Clerical celibacy.

There was still another reason of practical policy which influenced the Cluniacs. They fully realised that the clergy could not be emancipated from secular influences unless they were freed from the entanglement of wives and children. Women and children are always an encumbrance to an army; and if the Church was to be organised as an army, and animated with one purpose—the conquest of the world—this in their eyes could only be done by giving the clergy freedom from family distractions.

Thus the Cluniacs had three practical aims in view—to establish a papal absolutism, to root out simony, and to enforce clerical celibacy. It will be seen that William and his great coadjutor, the Italian Lanfranc, whom he appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1070, though in general sympathy with the reforming programme, considerably watered the wine of Cluniac doctrine for English consumption, and in practice modified its principles so far as these applied to the marriage of the clergy and the custom of lay investiture.

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Lanfranc.

Lanfranc was a remarkable man: born about the year 1005, the son of a civic magistrate at Pavia, he studied Roman law, and very soon secured distinction as an advocate. For some unknown reason he crossed the Alps, and in the year 1039 opened a school, which soon became famous, at Avranches in Normandy. Crowds of pupils flocked to hear him from all parts of Europe. A momentous event soon happened. On a journey to Rouen, he fell at nightfall into the hands of robbers, who stripped him of his clothes and bound him to a tree. Lanfranc tried to pray and repeat his office, but to his shame and dismay he found that, having devoted so much of his time to secular learning, he could not remember it. He immediately vowed that if God would deliver him, he would renounce the world, enter the humblest monastery he could find, and dedicate himself wholly to the service of God. Released the next morning through the kindness of passers-by, he made his way to the poor and humble convent of Bec, which Herluin, a Norman knight, was building. Lanfranc entered the brotherhood. At the abbot's advice he opened a school, and soon the monastery of Bec became the centre of thought and culture for Western Europe, sending forth year by year men noted for their learning and piety, such as Anselm, afterwards Pope Alexander II., Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ivo of Chartres, the learned canonist. Lanfranc had a wide range of knowledge, both secular and religious. It was he who refuted Berengar at the councils of Rome (1050) and Tours (1055), upholding against him the mediæval view of the sacrament of Holy Communion. In 1045 he had been made Prior of Bec. His first contact with the Norman Duke did not seem a likely prelude to the future intimate co-operation of the two men. William, in defiance of the Church, had married Matilda, a lady within the prohibited degrees of kinship. Lanfranc publicly denounced the marriage, and William ordered him out of Normandy. Lanfranc was obeying his behest, and riding a lame horse, the best the monastery could furnish, when he met William. "Where are you going?" said the Duke. "I am going out of Normandy as fast as I can," said Lanfranc; "and if you will be so good as to give me a better horse, I will be even more quick in obeying your command." The Duke was pleased by the retort, and entered into conversation. No doubt the two men took stock of each other's character; if Lanfranc realised the strong will and

## *The Church under Norman Kings* 65

inflexible severity of William, William as certainly realised how astute and valuable a counsellor Lanfranc might be to him. The result was that he restored Lanfranc to his office, while Lanfranc in his turn undertook to plead William's cause at Rome.

At Rome Lanfranc was successful. The Pope consented to sanction William's marriage on the condition that he and his wife should found two monasteries in Normandy. This was done: two convents were founded at Caen, that of the Holy Trinity, by Matilda, for women, and that of St. Stephen, by William, for men. In 1066 Lanfranc was appointed Abbot of St. Stephen's by William. In 1070 he was offered the see of St. Augustine, and on the urgent advice of Herluin, his old abbot at Bec, Lanfranc accepted the offer and became Archbishop of Canterbury. He had found his true sphere, for his genius lay in the field of diplomacy and statesmanship. The reorganisation of the English Church was the work conjointly of William and Lanfranc. The first marked feature of change in the post-conquest Church was one of personnel. There was a gradual substitution of Norman for English bishops, an elimination of English in favour of Norman abbots. This change was not effected by any sweeping act of severity. Stigand was deposed from the archbishopric of Canterbury as schismatic, and with him fell his brother, the Bishop of Elmham; the Bishop of Durham was expelled for treason; some sees were already filled by foreigners. By the end of the year 1070, only two sees were retained in native hands, those of Worcester and Rochester. Siward, the English Bishop of Rochester, died in 1075, while Wulfstan, the saintly English Bishop of Worcester, survived the Conqueror and only died in 1095, a solitary link of connection with the old Anglo-Saxon episcopate. It would seem that at one time Lanfranc meditated his deposition, but on second thoughts relinquished the attempt. A legendary account of the circumstances which led Lanfranc to desist is found in a later age.

The story ran that Wulfstan, when brought before the King and council in Westminster Abbey, refused to give up his staff of office to Lanfranc, and said that he would only restore it to him from whom he had received it—King Edward. He then advanced to Edward the Confessor's tomb, and appealed to his old master Edward to witness that he had only accepted the office of bishop at the urgent request of the King, the bishops,

Effects of  
Norman  
Conquest  
on Church.  
(a) Change  
of person-  
nel.

the nobles, the monks and common people ; that now a new King, a new law, and a new Primate had arisen, charging him with presumption in having accepted the office ; that he would resign his staff not to them, but only to him who had given it. Thereupon he struck the tomb with the staff, saying, "Take it, my lord king, and give it to whomever it shall please thee." The solid marble of the King's tomb opened to receive it, and neither the King nor Lanfranc was able to wrench it from its clasp. The meaning of the miracle was obvious : William and Lanfranc craved forgiveness from Wulfstan and confirmed him in possession of his see. The marble released its grasp and restored the staff to Wulfstan.

Such is the legend ; the fact was that Wulfstan retained his see, and richly did he deserve to do so ; he aided the Norman bishops in their episcopal work, but his fame chiefly rests on his splendid achievement in rooting out the Bristol slave trade.

Wulfstan retained his see, but Normans filled all the other bishoprics and abbeys. The new bishops were, generally speaking, men of learning, strong-willed administrators, and yet not completely unsympathetic to the conquered race. William's choice of abbots was not so successful, though doubtless the abbots had a hard task to fulfil, as the monasteries were hotbeds of national feeling. William's most unfortunate selection was that of Thurstan, a truculent ruffian, to the abbey of Glastonbury. When the monks refused to give up the old Gregorian chants and adopt a new system of music invented by William of Fécamp, their abbot chased them with archers into the choir of the church, and shooting at them, slew some and wounded others, desecrating even the altar with their blood.

But Thurstan was quickly removed from Glastonbury and sent back in disgrace to Caen—to be restored in after days to Glastonbury for a money bribe by William Rufus.

Another unfortunate choice of William was that of Paul to the abbey of St. Albans. But Abbot Paul did not inflict any outrages on the living. He reformed the discipline of the house, and is famous for the enormous minster which he built. But he did outrage English feeling by insolent behaviour towards the dead, sweeping away, when he rebuilt the minster, the tombs of the old English saints, and reviling them as ignorant barbarians. A brighter side to the relations between these Norman abbots and the native English is found in a story about

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this same Abbot Paul. He wished to furnish the tower of his new minster with bells; two of the bells were given by an English thegn, Ligulf, and his wife. To buy his bell Ligulf sold a number of sheep and goats, and when he heard the bell ringing in the tower, "Listen," he said in the English tongue, "how sweetly my goats and sheep are bleating." His wife presented a second bell, and when she heard it ringing in sweet harmony with the other she thanked God for it as a token of the harmony of her own married life. Still there can be no doubt that as a general rule the Normans were hard taskmasters, and the relations existing between the Norman prelates and the English laity and minor clergy can never have been of a very cordial nature.

A further step of assimilation to the continental churches was taken when, by the council of London in 1075, it was ordered that where bishops' sees were fixed in villages they should be removed to the large towns. Thus Sherborne gave way to Old Sarum, Selsey to Chichester, Lichfield to Chester, Dorchester-on-Thames to Lincoln, Wells to Bath, Elmham to Thetford in 1078, and then to Norwich in 1101.<sup>1</sup> In Gaul the towns had been the centres of public life, and the bishoprics from the earliest times had been placed in them. But in England the great towns had not held the same dominant position; from the nature of the Anglo-Saxon settlement and the circumstances of the evangelising mission the bishoprics had been rather territorial or tribal. Henceforth the bishop's stool was to be fixed in some large town.

A more important change, pointing to the renewal of ecclesiastical life and the influence of Cluniac ideals, was the revival of synodal action. As pointed out in a previous chapter, a striking characteristic of the later Anglo-Saxon period was the free and easy interchange between Church and State; the lines separating

<sup>1</sup> The English bishoprics throughout the Middle Ages remained from this time almost the same. "Bath and Wells" was substituted for Bath towards the middle of the fifteenth century; the see of Chester was moved to Coventry, and after a time the style of Coventry and Lichfield became customary. Two new bishoprics were created—Carlisle from Scotland, won by William II., and Ely, carved out of the see of Lincoln. Thus the English sees to the reign of Henry VIII. were—Canterbury, Rochester, Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury or Sarum, Exeter, Bath and Wells, London, Norwich, Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, Hereford, Coventry and Lichfield, York, Carlisle, Durham.

The Welsh bishoprics were St. Asaph, Bangor, St. Davids, Llandaff.

them had grown faint, the distinction between things spiritual and things secular had become blurred, and the functions of the two powers had almost been merged in each other. Spiritual and temporal cases had been decided in the same court, whether that court was the witan or the shire-moot. But times were changed. It was part of the Cluniac programme to draw a sharp distinction between the clergy and laity, between things temporal and things spiritual. Hence we find that clerical synods were employed throughout the Norman reigns to effect ecclesiastical changes and to transact ecclesiastical business. The custom arose, which was followed in a later age, of ecclesiastical assemblies meeting at the same time as the councils of the tenants-in-chief. But over these clerical assemblies William exercised considerable control. If Eadmer is to be believed, William definitely laid down that no assembly of bishops was to ordain or prohibit anything except that which was agreeable to his will, and had been first ordained by himself. If William really insisted on this, he claimed in this respect as much as Henry VIII. ever claimed in the Act of the submission of the clergy. But it is clear that William and Lanfranc were in substantial agreement on questions of Church policy, and that Lanfranc was left free to carry out this policy by suitable canons. Further, William forbade bishops to excommunicate any of his barons for a criminal offence except with his permission. This seems a strange claim for William to put forward, but it must be remembered that in those days, when the weapon of excommunication was so readily used, the King might, by a side wind, be deprived of his own power; to have any dealings with an excommunicated person might involve a man himself in the penalty of excommunication, and therefore a king, by intercourse with his excommunicated baron, might become *ipso facto* himself excommunicate, and this might involve the release of his subjects from their allegiance. In any case, it is certain that William intended to keep a firm hold on the Church, and that Lanfranc modified the strict Cluniac principles to suit his wishes. He did this in other directions also; there was nothing on which the Cluniac reformers were so interested as the questions of clerical celibacy and lay investiture.

In the matter of clerical celibacy, the Cluniac rule was relaxed, while in the matter of lay investiture it was, so far as the Conqueror was concerned, dropped altogether.

William maintains authority over Church councils and bishops.

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A council held at Rome in 1074 had peremptorily forbidden the clergy to marry, ordered those clergy who were already married to separate from their wives, and declared the sacraments of no effect if administered by married clergy. But, in spite of this, Lanfranc took a far milder line in England. The affair was brought before an English Church council at Winchester in 1076. A distinction was there drawn between the capitular and the parochial clergy. The former, whether they belonged to secular or monastic foundations, were absolutely forbidden to marry, and if they were married they were ordered to separate from their wives. But though marriage was forbidden for the future to all the clergy, and bishops were commanded to refuse ordination to married men, it was expressly laid down by the council that the parochial clergy, if married, should not be compelled to dismiss their wives. (d) Clerical celibacy.

And this was done in spite of the fact that the sympathies of Lanfranc himself were altogether with monasticism. This can be seen from the fact that he made his own cathedral chapter at Canterbury completely monastic, and when Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, strongly took up the view that much of a chapter's work could more adequately be done by seculars, and proposed to undo the work of Ethelwold (see p. 52), and substitute seculars for regulars in the cathedral chapter of Winchester, Lanfranc sternly forbade him, and obtained a bull from Pope Alexander denouncing and prohibiting the scheme.<sup>1</sup> Monasticism encouraged.

Again, the prohibition of lay investiture was a most important part of the Cluniac policy, but here again Cluniac principles were relaxed in favour of the Conqueror. Details are obscure, but it is clear that Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) did not try to forbid lay investiture in England as he did in Germany. Gregory seems to have recognised the right of lay investiture as a special privilege which had been enjoyed by the English kings, and to have confirmed it for William's life-time. But if Cluniac principles did not secure victory all along the line in England, they did win a great triumph in William's ordinance for the

<sup>1</sup> The net result of the Norman settlement was that the cathedrals were almost exactly divided between monastic and secular foundations. York, London, Exeter, Lichfield, Wells, Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury, Chichester, were served by seculars, as were also the four Welsh sees; while Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Rochester, Worcester, Norwich, Ely, Bath, Coventry were monastic. The see of Carlisle was served by Augustinian canons, and therefore stood in an intermediate position.

(e) Creation of separate spiritual courts.

separation of the ecclesiastical from the secular jurisdiction. The greatness of the triumph, and the subsequent trouble in which it involved the relations of Church and State, were only to be revealed in the course of the subsequent centuries. By this famous ordinance William laid down—(1) that bishops and archdeacons were no longer to hear ecclesiastical causes in the secular courts; (2) that ecclesiastical causes were to be tried by canonical and not by secular law; (3) that no spiritual causes were to come before laymen; (4) that contempt of the ecclesiastical court should be penal, and punishment should be enforced by the King's officers.

The trouble that ensued in after times rose from the fact that there was no definition of "ecclesiastical" or "spiritual causes." The century which followed witnessed the expansion of the "canons" into a highly organised system of jurisprudence, modelled in *form* on the old Roman civil law. This "canon law" was codified about the year 1140 by Gratian. The *Decretum Gratiani* was in origin an unauthoritative text-book, but its excellence was so great that an appeal to the *Decretum* was very soon regarded as settling any matter in dispute. Thus an enormous body of ecclesiastical law grew up, administered *universally* in all the ecclesiastical courts of Latin Christendom. This law was regarded as emanating from the papal Curia, or at any rate the papal Curia was regarded as the supreme court of appeal for its interpretation, and therefore secured an enormous increase of influence over Western Europe. William and Lanfranc thoroughly understood each other, and under them the dual system of courts worked smoothly enough; but tribunals are notoriously liable to encroach and extend their jurisdictions. Add to this the fact that there had been no attempt at definition of "ecclesiastical causes," and it is plain that all the material for an ugly quarrel between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions was prepared. A spark only was needed to fire the train. But trouble did not arise in an acute form for nearly a hundred years.

Relations with the papacy.

Finally, the relations between the papacy on the one hand, and William and Lanfranc on the other, must be considered. The Norman Conquest of England had been represented to the Pope as a crusade to recover a schismatic kingdom, and William had received a blessing on his enterprise, with a ring and banner from Pope Alexander II. The relations between William and



Alexander were always most cordial in character, and this friendliness was cemented when Lanfranc, Alexander's old master at Bec, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. But when the imperious Hildebrand in 1073 mounted the papal throne as Gregory VII. the intimacy was not the same. It is true that Gregory always professed a special affection for William. There were few kings of that age who were so careful of and so generous to churches; there were few kings who carried out the Cluniac programme of reform as far as William did, by the extirpation of simony, the encouragement of monasticism, and the prohibition of clerical marriage. It is true, too, that William and Lanfranc showed the greatest deference to Rome, and allowed the papal supremacy, "according to the canons," over the faith and administration of the English Church. But there were limits to their submission. When Gregory boldly preferred a claim of suzerainty over England, William with equal decision repudiated the claim: "Fealty I have refused to offer, nor will I; for I neither promised it nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your predecessors." But at the same time he promised to see that Peter's pence were more regularly collected and sent to Rome.

Lanfranc, if allowance be made for his position, adopted the same attitude. Gregory wrote rebuking him for his lack of reverence to the apostolic see, since his elevation to the position of English metropolitan. Lanfranc in reply protested that there was no change in his sentiments towards the papal see, and promised obedience *according to the canons*. The decision about fealty, he wrote, was William's own, not in accordance with his advice—"Suasi sed non persuasi." For the reasons which guided William's decision, he referred Gregory to the King's letter. It will be seen that Lanfranc's reply was couched in very cautious language. He did not profess unlimited obedience to Gregory, but only *according to the canons*, and he did not definitely state the exact nature of the advice he had given William. It may well have been that as a matter of form he had given William counsel to yield, while secretly he approved of the decision to reject the papal claim.

The relations between the Pope and archbishop became even more strained as years went on. There is a letter extant in which Gregory upbraided Lanfranc for his neglect to appear at Rome, and threatened him with suspension from his episcopal

office if he did not appear before the papal Curia within a specified time. There is nothing to show that Lanfranc was in the least degree moved by the papal threat. On the contrary, when the Emperor set up a rival Pope to Gregory in Clement III., Lanfranc wrote to a correspondent an extremely guarded letter. He rebuked his correspondent's vituperation of Gregory and glorification of Clement. England had not yet, he said, decided between the two claimants; when she had heard both sides she would be better able to do so; at the same time he (Lanfranc) could not but believe that the Emperor's action had been guided by weighty reasons, and could not have been rewarded by such a victory without the mighty aid of God. This illustrates a further principle laid down by William in his dealings with the papacy. The principle, in Eadmer's words, was this: "He would not allow any one in all his dominions to accept the man who was appointed Pontiff of Rome as the representative of the Apostle, save at his own bidding, or any way to receive his letters, unless they had been first shown to himself." This maxim of policy was probably laid down at the time of Gregory's struggle with the Emperor's anti-pope. It clearly enabled William to put severe restrictions on the papal power, and was the germ of the later *Præmunire* legislation.

The greater part of the ecclesiastical changes at the time of the Norman Conquest have now been passed in review. William and Lanfranc had done a great work in restoring order, tightening discipline, diffusing knowledge, raising standards, at the cost, certainly, of considerable injustice, and of the intrusion of unsympathetic foreigners. Still it was a great work. The English Church had been forced to assimilate the high though severe spirit of reform that had spread from Cluny and Rome. Two or three minor matters ought not to be passed over in silence.

Lanfranc was a determined upholder of the rights of his see against all men. For example, in 1070 he declined to consecrate Thomas of Bayeux as Archbishop of York unless he first made a profession of canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury. Thomas refused, and Lanfranc declined to proceed with the service of consecration. The dispute was referred to the papacy, and by papal command decided at the council of Windsor in 1072. It was laid down by the council that both Thomas and his successors in the see of York owed canonical obedience to Lanfranc and his successors in the see of Canterbury.

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In a similar fashion Lanfranc protected the lands of the Church of Canterbury against the illegal encroachments of Odo, the Conqueror's half-brother and Earl of Kent.

Lastly, the great changes in architecture introduced by the Normans must not be passed over. Many abbeys, such as the Conqueror's own abbey of Battle, erected on the site of the battle of Hastings, or Paul's Abbey at St. Albans, were built in the Norman style. In almost every instance the Norman bishops built new cathedrals or rebuilt the old, so as to make them new. Thus after Canterbury Cathedral had been burnt to the ground in 1067, it was rebuilt in the Norman style on the model of St. Stephen's at Caen. The new building was completed by 1074; men knew not whether to marvel most at the glory of the building or the speed with which it had been done. The chief features of Norman architecture are massiveness and simplicity; the square towers and the rounded arches supported by massive pillars speak to us still of the greatness and strength of the Norman race. The greatest builder of William's reign was Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester. He is famous as the architect of the Tower of London. Examples of Norman work can still be seen in the transepts of Winchester and Ely, in the nave of Durham, and in a number of our parish churches.

William the Conqueror died in the year 1087. He was succeeded in England by his son, William Rufus. According to the dying wish of the Conqueror, Lanfranc crowned him King. William Rufus inherited the vices, but not the virtues, of his father. William the Conqueror had been bloody, ruthless, and cruel; but he was not wantonly cruel, if there was no end to gain; his bad qualities were in some measure redeemed by his love for his wife, and by the conviction that he was commissioned by God to exercise governance. He hated lawlessness; he had a strong sense of order, and stern feeling for justice. Morality to him meant something; to William Rufus it meant nothing at all. But the worst features in Rufus' character were not revealed till Lanfranc's death in 1089. As long as Lanfranc lived, his vices were held in check, though already, in answer to the reproaches of the archbishop, he had made the ominous reply that a man could not keep all his promises. But after Lanfranc's death he threw shame to the winds and showed his true nature to be that of a blasphemous profligate. His vices were not simply those of the ordinary sinner, but nameless in their

wickedness. He was an open reviler of God ; on his recovery from his dangerous illness of 1093—an illness in which his fear had led him to make all manner of promises for good—he said to Bishop Gundulph, “ By the Holy Face of Lucca ” (this was his favourite oath), “ God shall never have me a good man for the evil He has brought upon me.” On another occasion, when certain Englishmen had escaped by the ordeal, he is reported to have said, “ What ! God a just judge ! Damnation to the man who thinks this.” Of God William Rufus was a blasphemous mocker ; to his subjects he was an oppressive tyrant ; his generosity, when he showed it, was nothing but a wasteful squandering of money on wicked men and unlawful objects ; he was avaricious to the last degree, wringing money indifferently from clergy and laity, organising the different feudal imposts so as to extort the uttermost farthing from his victims. Those who lived with him bear witness that he never rose from his couch without being a worse man than when he went to bed, nor went to bed without being a worse man than when he rose. The chief instrument of his fiscal tyranny was Ralph Flambard (*i.e.* Firebrand), the son of a low-born priest, whom he originally employed in his chancery and advanced till he finally made him Bishop of Durham. Ralph is said to have gained his name because, like a flame of fire, he pushed himself at the expense of others. He was a man of boisterous wit, entirely without scruples. His skill in finance and legal chicane made him extremely useful to William ; wherever money had to be extorted, Ralph had the knowledge of law and the cunning necessary to bolster up a claim. He it was that organised the system of feudal rules by which, as the old chronicler asserts, “ the King would be every man’s heir ” ; the law of “ escheats,” “ wardships,” and feudal dues was developed by him ; vacancies in abbacies and bishoprics were prolonged, so that the revenues of the Church as well as of the laity might be poured into the royal coffers. But till Lanfranc’s death the extortion and wickedness both of William and Ralph were kept in check. One interesting case that arose while Lanfranc still lived must not be passed over in silence, because it bore on the relations between England and Rome, and foreshadowed similar troubles in the near future. In the opening year of Rufus’ reign a rebellion of certain nobles was supported, under circumstances of aggravated treachery, by William of St. Calais, Bishop of Durham. He was summoned

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before the King's court and ordered to do him justice on the charge of treason. But William of St. Calais persistently denied the competence of the court to try him, and claimed that a bishop could not be judged by laymen; such a trial, he asserted, would be against the canons, and therefore he appealed to the apostolic see of Rome. It is to be noticed that the charge on which the bishop was arraigned was not in any sense of an ecclesiastical nature—he was charged with treason; further, it is clear that neither Rufus nor Lanfranc refuted directly his right to make such an appeal. Times had changed since the Conqueror occupied the throne. The actual result was that the bishop left England, and the temporalities of the see of Durham were seized by the crown. William of St. Calais, after going abroad, thought better of prosecuting his appeal before the Pope; in a short time he was found in England again, reconciled to the King and his protagonist against Anselm, when Anselm preferred, with better justification, a somewhat similar appeal.

Case of  
William of  
St. Calais.

For four years after Lanfranc's death (1089–1093) William Rufus kept the see of Canterbury vacant, and appropriated its revenues, exacting large fines for the renewal of tenancies, while he fixed small rents for the future, and adopting other measures of a similar nature. He had already done this with the abbacies and other bishoprics; but the scandal was now far greater; for the Archbishop of Canterbury was not like an ordinary bishop; there had been an Archbishop of Canterbury before there had been a King of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was admittedly the first and independent counsellor of the crown. During these four years the moral and spiritual condition both of laity and clergy greatly declined; the bishops and abbots were the fountains of spiritual discipline, and in the abeyance of their power the secular clergy and the monks sometimes got out of hand, while the immoralities of Rufus' court had a contagious and evil effect. The scandal was enormous, and loud clamour, which Rufus ignored, arose for the appointment of a new archbishop. But at last the King fell dangerously ill, and in terror of imminent death, vowed that he would, in the event of his recovery, amend his ways, stop his extortions, and protect the Church. In his fear of death, he nominated Anselm, the Abbot of Bec, to the see of Canterbury.

Death of  
Lanfranc,  
1089.

Anselm is the greatest and saintliest figure who has ever Anselm.

occupied the seat of St. Augustine. Born about the year 1033 at Aosta, under the shadow of the Alps, he was sprung from noble parentage. Taught by his mother that there was one God in heaven ruling over all things, Anselm as a child thought that heaven rested on the Alpine mountains. In a dream one night he thought that he ought to climb the mountains and hasten to the palace of the great King, God. But before he started on the ascent, he saw at the foot of the mountain women servants of the King reaping the harvest, but they were doing it slackly, and Anselm resolved to tell the great King. Having climbed the mountain, he entered the royal palace and found God alone with His steward. By the command of God the whitest of bread was brought him by the steward, and with it he was refreshed in the presence of God. When Anselm awoke, like a simple and innocent child, he thought that he had really been in heaven, and had been refreshed with the bread of God, and openly said so. The dream was prophetic, for Anselm constantly lived in the presence of God, and fed on His spiritual life. In course of time Anselm crossed the Alps, and after learning from Lanfranc, followed him to Bec. The pupil far surpassed his master in the profundity of his thought, in the genius and daring of his speculations. Anselm penetrated into the deep things of God, into the mysteries of the incarnation, and of human life. In his *Monologion* and *Proslogion* he tried by *a priori* reason to show the necessity of the existence of God, and his work marked a new departure in the history of European thought; while in his *Cur deus homo?* written during his troubles, partly in England and partly in his Italian retreat, he probed the mystery of God's purpose in the incarnation. But Anselm was not only a daring and profound thinker; his nature was lovable in every way; he had great love for children, and his chief care was to mould the characters of young men. This was the man of transparently simple and saintly character whom Rufus on his sick-bed nominated to the see of Canterbury. Anselm was at the time Abbot of Bec. He had come to England at the earnest intercession of Hugh Lupus of Chester, a friend who was very ill, and he had seized the opportunity to look after the English possessions of the monastery of Bec. Rufus summoned him to his bedside to give him spiritual counsel, and then, to Anselm's dismay, designated him as archbishop. Anselm refused the office; an extraordinary scene followed. The clerics

Anselm's  
writings.

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at the bedside beset him with their clamour. "Would he strive against God? Did he not see Christianity almost rooted out of England, immorality rampant, and the Church well-nigh dead?" Pressing the pastoral staff against his tightly clenched hand, they hurried him to a neighbouring church. "Ah, my friends," said Anselm, "do you know what you are doing? The plough of the Church in England is borne by two strong oxen, the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury; one of these oxen, Lanfranc, is dead; will you yoke me, an old and feeble sheep, with a fierce, untamed bull?" He warned them that no good would come of it, and that the Church would be even more desolated and destroyed than formerly.

On his recovery Rufus, though he repented of and rescinded his other good resolutions, confirmed the appointment of Anselm. Anselm said he would consent to accept the archbishopric on three conditions: (1) all lands belonging to the see of Canterbury must be restored as Lanfranc had held them; (2) the King must accept him as his special counsellor in things religious; (3) Anselm had already, in Normandy, acknowledged Urban II. as Pope, and rejected the claims of the antipope, and could not renounce his acknowledgment. William granted the first of these conditions, but no definite agreement was arrived at concerning the other two points. Finally Anselm, after being released from his obligations by the monks of Bec, the Duke of Normandy, and the Archbishop of Rouen, did homage to the King, and was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury (December 1093). But he soon found that in the immoral atmosphere of the time, without aid from the King, he was almost powerless for good. His troubles with Rufus immediately began, and proved continuous. The King instituted vexatious suits against the archbishop's tenants. Anselm offered the King 500 marks as a contribution to the expenses of the war with his brother Robert. The King rejected the sum as inadequate and demanded 1000 marks. Anselm felt that he could not wring such a sum from his impoverished tenants; glad to be relieved from the mere appearance of simony, he gave the 500 marks to the poor, instead of to the King. When Anselm asked William for leave to summon a council, "that Christianity, which now in many people had almost wholly perished, might be restored," William bluntly refused. "What would you get out of it?" "If not I, then God, and you would, I hope, get something," Anselm

Anselm  
nominated  
Arch-  
bishop,  
1093.

Rufus  
quarrels  
with  
Anselm.

replied. "Enough," said William, "talk no more about it." When Anselm asked that the vacant abbacies should be filled Rufus retorted, "What has that to do with you? Are not the abbeys mine? and cannot I do with them what I like?" "They are yours," replied Anselm, "to defend and guard as their advocate, not yours to attack and destroy. We know that they belong to God, that they may support His servants, not that they may support your expeditions and wars." The King was highly incensed, and told Anselm that his predecessor, Lanfranc, would never have dared to speak so to the Conqueror. When Anselm shortly afterwards desired a renewal of friendship, Rufus sent him the message, "Yesterday I regarded you with great and to-day with greater hate, and be sure that to-morrow and the day after I will regard you with ever keener and more bitter hatred." It was clear to Anselm that in the face of royal hatred he could effect no reforms. So at the beginning of 1095 he asked William for leave to visit the Pope and fetch his pall (see p. 8). It is clear that at this time the possession of the pall was not in England considered absolutely necessary for the exercise of metropolitan authority; for Anselm had already consecrated a bishop, and had proposed to hold an ecclesiastical council; but the position of an archbishop without a pall was certainly irregular. At this point a question of principle emerged. The Conqueror had reserved to the crown the right of recognising the Pope. No subject was to recognise any man as Pope except at the King's bidding. So when Anselm asked leave to visit the Pope for the purpose of fetching the pall, Rufus instantly replied, "From which Pope?" "From Urban," Anselm answered. The King immediately charged him with a breach of the customs of the realm. Technically, the King was right; for England had not as yet recognised either of the two rival Popes, Urban and Clement. But moral right was altogether on the side of Anselm; for before accepting the archbishopric he had warned Rufus that he had already, as Abbot of Bec, recognised Urban, and could not withdraw his allegiance. It was not even the case that William was really hesitating between the two Popes, for he himself presently recognised Urban; but he saw that Anselm had technically put himself in the wrong, and, with a quick eye for the weak point in his opponent's armour, he thought that he could use the affair either to humiliate Anselm or get rid of him altogether,



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At the Primate's request a council of bishops and secular nobles was summoned to decide whether it was possible for Anselm to keep both his fealty to the King and his obligation to the Pope. In the council the bishops showed themselves self-seeking time-servers, and formed an excellent foil to Anselm, who acted with single-minded devotion to the truth as conceived by himself. Strangely enough, it was William of St. Calais, the erstwhile advocate of Roman claims, but now a royal partisan, who led the bishops in their efforts to make Anselm surrender his position and acknowledge the customs of the realm. Anselm stood his ground, and finally said, "Whoever wishes to prove that because I refuse to renounce my obedience to the Pope, I am violating the fealty due to my earthly King, let him come forward, and in the name of God he will find me ready to answer him *as I ought and where I ought.*" In other words, Anselm claimed, as Archbishop of Canterbury, the special privilege of being tried only by the Pope. He appealed to Rome. The temporal lords, in contrast to the self-seeking bishops, took Anselm's part, with the result that the whole affair was adjourned. In the meantime William tried to get rid of Anselm by bribing the papal Curia to depose him; but it was no use; the pall was brought to England by a papal legate; William had to acknowledge Urban, and Anselm finally assumed the pall, taking it, not from William's hands, but from the high altar of Canterbury Cathedral.

Relations between the King and Primate did not improve. William soon sought a safer ground of quarrel than a dispute over spiritual obligations. He charged Anselm with a breach of his feudal duty to the King by inadequate equipment of the soldiers sent by him to the King's Welsh war. Neither Anselm nor the King seems to have regarded this charge as seriously made, but Anselm realised that the King was bent on a quarrel, and that this being so, all hopes of checking immorality or reforming the Church were vain. So he took the momentous decision of asking the King's permission to leave the country and seek spiritual counsel from the Pope while he let the King know that in any event, with or without his permission, he would certainly go. It was undoubtedly a violation of the ancient customs for a man in Anselm's position to leave the country without the King's permission. But Anselm maintained that his duty to God must come first, and the King grudgingly at last gave his consent. Anselm took his farewell with the words, "My lord, I

go ; not knowing when I shall see you again, I commend you to God ; and as a spiritual father to a beloved son, as Archbishop of Canterbury to the King of England, I would fain, before I go, give you God's blessing and my own, if you refuse it not." "I do not refuse it," said the King. So Anselm raised his right arm, and made the sign of the cross over the head of the King. Thus the saint and the sinner parted, never to meet again (October 1097). Anselm was not, however, allowed to leave the country without the indignity of having his baggage searched by the King's order at Dover. It is well to pause at this moment and notice what exactly Anselm had done. It is clear that he had acted with transparent honesty ; it was a case of his conscience protesting against violence and wrong. In any strict sense of the term he had not appealed to the Pope ; he was not trying, like Becket in after times, to preserve the privileges of the clerical order ; it was because he saw that right and duty were powerless in the England of that day against wrong and wickedness, that he refused to share the responsibility, and resolved to seek spiritual counsel from the head of Christendom. No sooner was he gone than William began to plunder the estates of the see of Canterbury. Meanwhile Anselm journeyed by easy stages to Rome—only to find disillusionment. Urban II., who was then Pope, is famous as the author of the first crusade, which he had preached and started at Clermont in 1095. But it was soon clear that Urban was too wary to embark on a conflict with the Red King. He treated Anselm with conspicuous honour, he lodged him in the Lateran, he saluted him as "Pope of a second world," he asked Anselm to expound before the Greek envoys the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost at the council of Bari (1098) ; in the council of Rome (1099) Anselm was given the seat of highest honour. But though the Pope used threatening language to Rufus' envoys, and expressed his determination to excommunicate him unless he did speedy justice to Anselm, it soon became evident that his threats would not go beyond words. The day after the council of Rome, Anselm left Rome and returned to Lyons. The synod of Rome was important, not only because the decrees of former councils against simony and clerical marriage were renewed, but because anathema was pronounced against all laymen who gave investiture of spiritual benefices to clergy, and against all clergy who received such investiture from laymen,

Anselm  
leaves the  
country,  
1097.

Anselm  
at Rome.

Lay in-  
vestiture  
anathe-  
matised.

and became the "men" of temporal lords. This decree ran directly counter to the received custom of England and Normandy, and was the source of a new dispute between Church and State.

On the 2nd August 1100 Rufus met his death by accident while hunting in the New Forest. He was succeeded by his brother Henry I., who immediately wrote to Anselm, urging his return to England, and apologising for the fact that, owing to the dangers of the time—he had in eye the claims of his brother Robert—he had not been able to await the Primate's home-coming, but had been crowned by the Bishop of London. He promised Anselm a cordial welcome and money for his journey.

Accession  
of Henry  
I., 1100.

On the 23rd September 1100 Anselm landed once more in England, amid signs of popular joy. Henry I., apart from his private life, was a far better man than his dead brother. He had a lofty conception of kingship, and expressed his intention of undoing the wickedness of his brother, and ruling justly. Amid other clauses of his charter, he promised that he would give freedom to the Church, and not despoil the revenues of vacant sees and abbasies. But the happy relations existing between the King and Anselm were soon clouded. Rufus, on the Primate's departure, had seized the estates of the archbishopric; these estates were still in the King's hands, and Henry demanded that Anselm should do homage to himself on their restitution, and receive investiture from his hands. Henry, beneath suavity of manner, had the iron will of his father. He was determined to maintain the "ancestral customs" and retain his power over the Church. But the reign of Rufus and of some continental princes had shown the subservience to the crown of prelates bound to it by such close feudal ties. The practice was an obvious opening for simony. Further, Anselm had been present at the council of Rome, in which he had heard anathema pronounced on all those who received lay investiture. He replied to Henry that it was impossible for him, in defiance of the decrees of the Roman council, to receive such investiture. "If the lord king will keep these decrees, there will be good peace between us; if not, my stay in England is useless; for I could not live in communion with those who received bishoprics or abbasies from you by such investiture. I have not returned to England to remain here at the cost of disobedience to my spiritual chief, the Roman Pontiff." The King was greatly disturbed; his brother Robert had just returned from the crusade clothed in a halo of

Anselm  
returns to  
England.

Quarrel  
about in-  
vestitures

romance. It was certain that he would claim the English crown ; it was equally certain that a section of the Norman lords would support him. What if Anselm should join this disaffected party, and Robert should win his support by the concession of the right of lay investiture ? There is no evidence to show that Anselm ever contemplated such a step. But Henry was alarmed ; he suggested a compromise ; the question should be postponed till envoys could be sent to the new Pope, Paschal, and see whether they could gain for the English King the privilege of exemption from the decree about investitures. Anselm's attitude to this question of investitures should be carefully noted ; it was not in itself to him a matter of principle. He himself, without the faintest scruple, had received investiture from the guilty hands of Rufus. The question was to him merely an affair of spiritual obedience to the Pope and Church. Since the time of his investiture by Rufus the council of Rome had absolutely forbidden the practice. Let the Church rescind the decree, or let the Pope relax its operation, and Anselm would willingly conform to the "ancestral customs." But till that was done, *never*.

Meanwhile, during the absence of the envoys at Rome, Anselm did two acts of real service to Henry at the outset of his reign. First, in the matter of his marriage, Henry wished to marry Edith or Matilda, a daughter of the King of Scotland, and a descendant through her mother from the old royal line of Wessex. But it was stated by some that Matilda was a nun. Matilda denied that this was the case ; she had been forced by her aunt Christina to wear the veil, but she had always refused, so she said, to take the vows. Anselm and the assembled lords held an inquiry ; they supported her contention, and declared that the lady was free to marry the King. Anselm himself performed the marriage rite. The marriage is interesting as a symbol of the fusion which was going on between the Norman and the old English population. Queen Matilda was throughout, even in the days of his absence from England, a correspondent and friend of Anselm.

In a second matter Anselm also helped the King ; when Robert invaded England in 1101, Anselm did all he could to preserve the Anglo-Norman lords in their allegiance to Henry. It was owing to him, more than others, that Robert's invasion was a failure.

Meanwhile the envoys had returned from the Pope. Paschal,

in his letter to the King, absolutely refused to relax the decree about investitures, and Anselm consequently refused to accept the "customs." But Henry did not wish to press matters to a rupture; for he was not yet firmly seated in his saddle. Robert of Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the most powerful and turbulent of the barons, was threatening revolt. Anselm agreed that a second embassy, comprising envoys both of the King and himself, should be sent to Rome. The royal envoys were to threaten Paschal with the loss of English obedience; Anselm's envoys, while informing the Pope of the anti-papal feeling which in this matter actuated the nobles, were directed to bring back a definite papal decision. On the return of the embassy, Anselm published his letter from Paschal, in which lay investiture was without reservation condemned. The King's envoys, while not denying the authenticity of Paschal's letter to Anselm, nor that this was the public decision of the Pope, yet asserted that Paschal in private had assured them that if Henry acted as a Christian King he would not enforce against him the decree against investiture. No other course was open than to send a third embassy to the Pope, and ask him for his real decision. Paschal indignantly denied the truth of the royal envoys' story, and pronounced an unqualified condemnation on the practice of lay investiture. But Henry was not to be balked. He had just appointed a clerk named Roger, who had originally attracted his attention by the speed with which he read the service of the mass, to the see of Sarum—this Roger, afterwards known as Roger of Salisbury, became one of the greatest chancellors—and he had invested him and other bishops-elect with the insignia of their office. But the tide was rising against Henry, and even bishops-elect were beginning to repudiate royal investiture. Henry then turned to Anselm and asked him whether he himself would not go to Rome and try to secure some modification of the papal attitude. Anselm was attached to Henry, and Henry had already, in the autumn of 1102, allowed Anselm to hold a council of the sort that he had requested of Rufus, for the reformation of the morals both of clergy and laity. So Anselm, with some reluctance, consented. "But if I arrive at the apostolic seat, you must know that I shall not advise the Pope to do anything that will prejudice the liberty of the Church or my own honour." To which the barons replied, "The King will send his own ambassador to make known

his desires and the needs of the realm. You need only corroborate the truth of their witness." So Anselm once more went to Rome, travelling this time in the King's peace (1103). At Rome he met William of Warelwast, the King's ambassador and an old opponent of his own. When the matter came before the papal court, the King's envoy, after putting the royal case, ended with the threat, "Whatever may be decided this way or that, know all men present that my lord the King of England will not, even to save his kingdom, allow himself to lose the investiture of churches." "Nor even to save his life—I speak it in the presence of God—will Paschal ever allow him to have them with impunity," was the Pope's immediate retort. Anselm immediately left Rome, and was escorted over the Appenines by the famous Countess Matilda. William of Warelwast remained behind, and secured a letter from the Pope for Henry, couched in temperate language, and including a congratulation on the birth of his son. But on the main point the Pope was firm. Royal investiture could not be allowed. At Piacenza William overtook Anselm, and they journeyed together as far as Lyons. At Lyons William, on taking his leave from Anselm, gave him a verbal message from the King, "If you return with the intention of being such to him as your predecessors were to his, he will gladly welcome your return." "Is that all?" said Anselm. "I speak to a man of understanding," replied William. "I understand your meaning," answered Anselm. This was followed shortly afterwards by a letter from Henry to the same purport, and a friendly correspondence followed between Henry and his Queen on the one part and Anselm on the other. This went on for two years. The line taken by Anselm was the same throughout. He had no objection to the customs as such; if the Pope would rescind or relax the decree against investitures, he would gladly return and be to Henry what Lanfranc had been to Henry's father. Finally an interview took place between Anselm and Henry in 1105, and when the Pope had authorised Anselm to annul the excommunication against those bishops who had received royal investiture, he returned to England in 1106 amid scenes of popular enthusiasm, the Queen herself going to meet him, in the absence of the King, who was in Normandy fighting the Tenchebrai campaign against his brother. In 1107 a compromise on the question of investitures was finally reached in a conference at London between the King and the

bishops. The compromise was a model for the Concordat of Worms in 1122 between Pope and Emperor on the same subject. Paschal had conceded to Henry the payment of homage by bishops, and so a settlement was easily effected. The King agreed that henceforth no bishop or abbot should be invested by the King or any layman with the gift of his pastoral staff and ring; Anselm on his part conceded that no one elected bishop or abbot should, by reason of homage done to the King, be deprived of consecration.

The terms of the compromise were reasonable; they recognised the fact that the spiritual office did not come from the King; on the other hand, the prelate, besides holding a spiritual office, was a territorial magnate, and it was reasonable that for these, in a feudal society, he should do homage to his lord the King. But the Church was saved from absolute feudalisation. Anselm himself did not long survive the settlement of the dispute; the remaining months of his life were disturbed by intermittent attacks of illness. It was in lucid interspaces that he wrote his last work, *Concerning the Agreement of Foreknowledge, Predestination, and the Grace of God with Free Will*. On Palm Sunday 1109 his life was clearly ebbing to its end; one of the monks by his bedside said to him, "My lord father, you are going, as we see, to the Easter Court of your Lord." "And indeed," replied Anselm, "if it is His will, I shall gladly obey. But if it should rather be His will that I should stay till I can solve a certain problem concerning the origin of the soul, I would gladly accept the gift, for I know not whether any one will solve it when I am gone." Three days later, as the day was dawning, he fell asleep, to rest after the struggles and tempests of his life in the bosom of Christ. It was not till the year 1494 that he was canonised by the Roman Church, and then—such is the irony of history—he was canonised by the Borgia Alexander VI., one of the worst in the whole line of Popes. That Anselm was a saint is plain. He had lived a life of transparent honesty, of simple, high-handed purpose; he had been a thinker of no ordinary type. He is perhaps the greatest of all the archbishops of Canterbury.

Other events of Henry I.'s reign were, from an ecclesiastical point of view, unimportant. For five years after Anselm's death, in defiance of the promise in his charter, he kept the see of Canterbury vacant, and appropriated its revenues. In

Death of  
Anselm,  
1109.

1114 Ralph d'Escures, the Bishop of Rochester, was translated to Canterbury, and on his death in 1122 William of Corbeil was appointed to succeed him. During their tenure of the see the perennial struggle went on as to the primacy of Canterbury over York. More important were encroachments attempted by the papacy. The Pope wished to have a more important part in the appointment of bishops; he also desired to extend his authority by the appointment of legates. But Henry strongly maintained his claim that no legates should be admitted except at his own invitation. William of Corbeil was the first archbishop to be appointed *legatus natus*;<sup>1</sup> this precedent was followed in the years which followed, and if it made the power of the archbishop more derivative than formerly, it at any rate saved England from the constant intrusion of foreigners coming as legates *a latere* from Rome.

Accession  
of Stephen,  
1135.

Henry I. died in 1135 without any surviving male issue; before his death he had attempted to secure the succession of his daughter Matilda, by exacting oaths from his barons that they would receive her as Queen. But the oaths were not kept; Stephen, the son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela, though he had himself taken the oath, claimed the crown and was accepted as King. When Matilda prosecuted her claim before the papal court, Stephen had a number of good reasons for breaking his oath. The oath had been extorted from him by force; he had been released from his oath on the King's deathbed; he had sworn to Matilda "as heir," but he had discovered she was not the heir; in fact she was illegitimate, as her mother was a "nun," and Henry I. had had no right to marry her. Whatever were the reasons, the Pope recognised Stephen's claim. Stephen was a brave and generous man, but he had neither a clear head nor a strong will. The problem of a feudal state always was to find the centre of political gravity, and it was quickly discovered that the centre of gravity in England was not Stephen. Feudalism as a disintegrating force has never been seen more clearly than it was in the England of Stephen's reign. Each feudal lord did that which was right in his own eyes; they all built castles, and there were as many tyrants as there were castles. The poor people everywhere

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* legate by virtue of his office, as distinguished from special legates sent from the Pope (*a latere*).



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suffered, and the anarchy that prevailed throughout the reign Civil war. taught every one the need of a strong central hand to keep lawlessness in check. Stephen, besides his own weakness of will, had special difficulties to contend with. He was not the real heir to the throne ; throughout his reign, an excellent rival candidate, first Matilda the ex-Empress, and then her son Henry of Anjou, was in the field. Further, Stephen had only been able to attain the crown by means of special compacts which he had made with London, the Church, and certain of the great barons. Hence these bodies always assumed that a breach of contract on Stephen's part, *ipso facto* justified their throwing off allegiance. It is no part of our task to trace the course of the conflict, with its ups and downs, between Stephen and Matilda. The barons behaved in a thoroughly selfish fashion, supporting now one, and now the other side. Their aim was simply to secure their own feudal independence. The anarchy was ended by the Peace of Wallingford, 1153. Peace of Wallingford. Stephen was to reign during his life, and Henry of Anjou was to succeed him. In the meantime Stephen was to restore order by resuming the rights and estates which the barons had usurped, and by destroying the adulterine or unauthorised castles. The value of the settlement was never really tested, as Stephen died in the following year and was succeeded by one of the greatest of English kings, Henry II. The Church during Stephen's reign. The history of the Church in Stephen's reign can be briefly told. The most influential ecclesiastic at the beginning of the reign was not the archbishop, William of Corbeil, but Stephen's own brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester. The Church, led by Henry of Winchester, took an important part in securing the throne for Stephen. Henry of Winchester went bail for his brother's good behaviour towards the Church, while Stephen promised in return free canonical election to bishoprics. He also promised that he would restore all Church possessions seized since the Conqueror's death, and that during vacancies he would not appropriate Church revenues. It is needless to say that these promises were not kept, but on their strength he was crowned King by the archbishop. The Primate died in 1136, but the see of Canterbury was not filled till 1139, when Theobald, Abbot of Bec, was appointed. It is said that Henry of Winchester was alienated from the King by the fact that he himself was not made archbishop. To soothe his wounded pride, he was created legate by the Pope, and therefore took precedence

of the archbishop. Till the year 1139 the bishops remained loyal to the King. But he then, with consummate folly, alienated his staunchest friends. There was a small family ring of bishops which concentrated in its hands the whole judicial, financial, and administrative power of the State. The head of this family was Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, the justiciar ; his son and nephew were respectively chancellor and treasurer, while yet another nephew was Bishop of Lincoln ; seeing the great barons building castles, they did the same to secure themselves. The King had the incredible folly to arrest and throw them all into prison, on the charge of treason. The outrage on the episcopal office immediately set the whole body of the clergy in opposition. The influence of the Church was arrayed on the side of Matilda, and even Henry of Winchester deserted his brother. After a while the sympathies of the people were alienated by the arrogance of Matilda, and Henry of Winchester verted once more to the King's side ; but his day of power was gone, for the successors of Pope Innocent did not renew his legatine authority. At the conclusion of the struggle between Stephen and the Angevin party it was Archbishop Theobald who mediated between the parties and brought about the Peace of Wallingford, by virtue of which Henry II. ascended the throne, 1154. The primacy of Theobald did not mark any particular era in the history of the English Church. He was chiefly remarkable for the number of able men he collected round him. Of these the most notable were Thomas, son of Gilbert Becket, Roger, afterwards Archbishop of York, and John of Salisbury, the Primate's secretary and the greatest scholar of his time.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE CONFLICT OF CHURCH AND STATE—HENRY II. AND THOMAS BECKET

THE twelfth century was marked by the realisation in practice of the Cluniac programme; it witnessed the consolidation of ecclesiastical power under the papal monarchy. Papal claims which in 1100 excited wonder and surprise in England, by the end of the century passed unchallenged.<sup>1</sup> The extension of the papal power by the system of legates has already been noticed. It was a regular instrument employed for undermining the power and independence of the episcopate. The Archbishop of Canterbury was either put in subordination to one of his own suffragans, and often to foreigners much inferior to him in ecclesiastical rank, or else he was driven in self-defence to accept the position of *legatus natus*. The result of the system was the confusion of the metropolitan with the legatine authority of the archbishop, a weakening of ecclesiastical discipline, and an insidious extension of papal at the cost of episcopal power. Further, a right to interfere in the appointment and translation of bishops had already, in 1114, been preferred by the Pope, but this claim was not allowed, even in practice, for many years to come. It is difficult in every case to distinguish between the causes and the effects of this extension of papal power. In many cases, notably in the growth of the canon law, the effect in its turn became a cause; arising from the extension of the papal power, the canon law in its turn became a powerful influence in its further growth. The very nature of the papal claim was itself a chief support to its cause. The papal monarchy arose in an age of brutal violence and oppression; it represented

Causes of growth of papal power.

(1) Use of legates.

(2) The canon law.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in England no Pope was acknowledged from 1085-1097, i.e. there was no decision between the claims of Pope and antipope. Bishops and abbots, in the struggle of Anselm against William II., seemed to half-believe in the independence of the national Church.

The right of the Pope to summon bishops to his court was questioned, the fallibility of his judgment enunciated in 1120 by distinguished clerics.

the majesty of law and right as against the reign of naked force, the superiority of moral claims to those of mere violence ; it was the homage paid to morality as something higher than mere strength. It was this need of curbing feudal violence, and not the tissue of fraud and forgery known as the Isidorian decretals, which really created the papal power. The leadership of Hildebrand and the continuity of papal policy were powerful auxiliaries. The crusades, too, so greatly increased the papal prestige that some have thought them deliberately planned by the Popes with this end in view. But this idea is as certainly wrong as it is true that the increase of papal power followed from them. The first crusade was preached by Urban II. in 1095, and at his instigation myriads of men from France and Italy, and in a less degree from Germany, swarmed to the East to rescue the holy places from the infidel. From a strategic and political point of view the blow was well timed ; the advance of the Saracens, Turks, and other Mohammedan races against the Eastern Empire was checked ; the kingdom of Jerusalem and other Frankish principalities were established in Palestine. But the important thing to notice in this connection is that the whole movement was instigated and organised by the papacy. The Kings of Germany, France, and England had their hands far too full to take any part in the first crusade which established the Frankish kingdoms in Palestine. The consequence was that the crusaders' success greatly enhanced the prestige of the papacy. It had stood forth as the leader of Christendom against the infidel and had been successful. In other ways, too, the crusades contributed to the aggrandisement of the Church ; warriors going to the East often made the Church their heir, or the Church advanced money to needy knights and in return received liens on their property, or crusading vows were commuted by Popes and bishops for money payments. In many ways, therefore, the crusades increased the power of Pope and Church both over the minds and the property of laymen.

The same effect was produced by the monastic revival of the twelfth century ; in the history of Western Christendom the monastic movement continually repeated itself ; successive waves of monasticism broke over the surface of Europe, always with the same result ; thousands of men, inspired by the ascetic ideal, sought the solitude of the wilderness, that they might

(3) Leadership of Hildebrand.

(4) The crusades.

(5) Monastic revival.

serve God in isolation from the world and secular influences ; we read with astonishment of their austerities, of wattled huts, or even the open skies for their covering, of water and berries for their food ; each new order sought to recall monasticism to its primitive austerities, but in every case history repeated its cycle ; poverty gave way gradually to luxury ; stately chapels and buildings took the place of the original huts ; the world reasserted itself in the very heart of monasticism.

The spirit of self-abnegation fostered by the crusading furor led to a fresh monastic movement. To it we may trace the rise of the Carthusians, the Cistercians, the Premonstratensians, the Carmelites, and other orders. They were a protest against the relatively comfortable existence into which the Cluniacs and older Benedictines had sunk. The first half of the twelfth century was marked in England by the foundation of many new monastic houses. The first to establish itself was the order of Savigny—its earliest house was that of Furness in 1124—but in 1147 the fifteen English houses of the order were absorbed into that of the Cistercians. The Cistercian order was really founded by Stephen Harding, an Englishman, the third Abbot of Cîteaux ; its aim was to realise the old ideal of poverty, chastity, obedience, and in its early days the contrast was vividly drawn between the wealth of Cluny and the “ importunate poverty ” of Cîteaux. The earliest Cistercian house in England was that of Waverley (1129), in Surrey ; it was a daughter house from l’Aumône, in the diocese of Chartres ; Tintern was founded from the same parent house in 1131. The Cistercians never took the same root in the south of England that they did in the north. It was a maxim of the Cistercians to choose sites for their abbeys far from the haunts of men ; but the south of England was more civilised and populated than the north ; the secluded valleys and wild moors of the north, especially those of Yorkshire, furnished sites of the sort desired. In 1131 a body of monks sent by the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux (one of the five original parent houses of the Cistercian order), founded the abbey of Rivaulx ; from Rivaulx, Melrose was founded ; in 1132 a secession from the Benedictine house of St. Mary’s, York, led to the foundation of the great abbey of Fountains ; while Kirkstall was a daughter-house of Fountains, established in 1147. By the year 1152 there were already fifty flourishing Cistercian houses

Orders of monks.

The Cistercian order.

in England. They did a great work in clearing forests, in draining fen land and reclaiming it for cultivation ; but there is little likelihood that they did anything for secular education in the twelfth century ; they lived in districts too remote from human habitation. Lastly, the order founded by Gilbert of Sempringham ought to be mentioned as purely English ; by 1154 there were already eleven houses of the order.

This monastic movement was a protest against the secularisation of the Church and the violence of the age. The monks bore witness to the fact that there was something nobler than the life of the worldling ; they called men to the higher life of walking with God ; doubtless in later days the monasteries degenerated into houses where a comfortable, even luxurious and useless life was led ; but in the economy of God they have borne witness to the world and played their part in making the higher life of communion with God accessible to man. The share taken by them in the extension of papal influence remains to be noticed. It has already been pointed out that the Norman kings found the English monasteries centres of strong national anti-Norman feeling, and it was partly with the aim of crushing this patriotic spirit that the Conqueror and his successors had set over them Norman abbots. But in course of time the Norman dynasty became English in its policy and anti-papal in its sympathies ; both King and bishops were opposed to the aggressive policy by which the papacy tried to make them dependent on itself ; the monasteries, on the other hand, were constantly trying to emancipate themselves from episcopal jurisdiction—the Cistercian order especially led the way—and to secure this emancipation they claimed subordination, apart from their own officers, to the Pope alone. Hence they ceased to be centres of national feeling, and became the hotbeds of papal influence, which they continued to be till their dissolution by Henry VIII. Monastic exemptions from episcopal control can be traced to Anglo-Saxon times, but the earlier exemptions were very moderate in character. By the thirteenth century many monastic bodies—even when they were cathedral chapters—had ousted episcopal control of every sort. Once more a blow at ecclesiastical discipline in the Church of England had been dealt by the papacy. It was fraught with untold mischief for the future.

Monas-  
teries  
centres of  
papal in-  
fluence.

But the greatest source of papal influence and its chief

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contributing factor was the growth of the canon law<sup>1</sup> and the whole system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It is impossible to understand the controversy of Henry II. with Becket unless the canonist point of view is understood. The canon law was a mixed body of jurisprudence drawn from various sources. The early Christian emperors had encouraged bishops to arbitrate in the disputes of Christians with each other ; their awards and the penitential discipline connected with confession were the germs from which the later jurisdiction grew. The canon law can be traced to its origin in these awards and the canons passed by the great councils of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries. These were reinforced as time went on by the decretals of the Bishops of Rome. Various collections of these canons and decretals were made. Then in the ninth century the famous forgery of the Isidorian decretals was sprung upon an unsuspecting world. These decretals, purporting to come from the Popes of the first four centuries, were intended to emphasise certain principles—that ecclesiastical power was of superhuman origin, that bishops were sacrosanct, that the Bishop of Rome was supreme. About the year 1140 the *Decretum Gratiani* was published. Gratian harmonised the “authorities” on ecclesiastical questions, weighing them against each other, and so produced his famous compilation. After this date the decretals issued by successive Popes increased in volume, and in 1234 all the canons were authoritatively codified by Gregory IX. ; in 1298 Boniface VIII. issued the *Sext*, a codification of the decretals issued since 1234 ; these were followed by further collections, the *Clementines* in 1317, and the *Extravagants*, 1500.

The canon law was a marvellous system drawn from many sources ; it was more scientific than any other system of law operative in the Middle Ages. Much of it, especially its form, was borrowed from the old civil law of Rome, though the chapters on marriage had to be entirely rewritten, and many other chapters were altogether new. The whole canonical jurisprudence and jurisdiction greatly increased the power of the Pope. The papal Curia became the court of final appeal for the whole of Latin Christendom. But this was not all. The Pope had not merely the right to hear cases on appeal ; many a court which

<sup>1</sup> On the whole subject, see Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*.

sat in England and elsewhere administered justice, not by reason of right inherent in its ecclesiastical president, the bishop, but by virtue of a papal rescript. Besides this, the Pope had the right, which he constantly exercised, of evoking cases at any stage in a process, from the ordinary ecclesiastical courts. The result was writ large in the paralysis of ecclesiastical discipline in mediæval England and mediæval Europe. If a bishop was prosecuting a clerk, the clerk had only to appeal to the Pope, and the bishop found himself in a position of defendant to a suit at Rome. The evasions and delays thus rendered possible, when coupled with the venality of the Roman court, paralysed all effective discipline. Well would it have been if Henry II. and his successors had been able to check the system of appeals to Rome.

its sphere.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the courts Christian—*i.e.* the ecclesiastical courts—covered at least half the whole field of law. They claimed jurisdiction either because the subject of dispute was ecclesiastical in nature, or because a party to the suit was of a particular status. Thus under the former head they claimed jurisdiction not only in matters purely spiritual, such as ordination, divine service, and heresy, but also in matters less purely spiritual, or altogether temporal, such as—(1) advowsons (*i.e.* the right of presentation to benefices); (2) lands belonging to the Church; (3) tithes and burial fees; (4) all questions concerning marriage and legitimacy of children; (5) wills; (6) the whole sphere of contract, under the head of perjury; (7) impurity, slander, simony, usury, &c.

Under the latter head the Church claimed cognisance wherever one of the parties was a cleric, and on the Continent it claimed suits involving widows and orphans.

Thus it will be seen that the sphere demanded by the Church for the courts Christian was enormous. On behalf of the Church's demand it should be noticed that the ground was occupied by the Church for the simple reason that in many cases the State had not attempted to occupy it. The law of evidence employed by the ecclesiastical was better than that adopted by the secular courts; accused people were not condemned on mere hearsay evidence; indeed the canonical jurisprudence was as yet in many ways more scientific and complete than the secular law; it was not until the tangle of secular customs and laws had been woven into a coherent system by



bishops skilled in the canons, sitting as royal judges, that the common law was fit to be compared to the canon law. The main defect in the spiritual jurisdiction has already been pointed out; it was frequently paralysed by appeals and evocation of suits to Rome; it was intolerable that cases affecting the rights of king and baronage and nation should be transferred to an alien and sometimes hostile court. A further defect lay in the fact that the ecclesiastical courts provided no adequate system of penalties; they could not, even for the greatest crimes, inflict the penalty of death; their maximum punishment was lifelong imprisonment; and since bishops did not like to incur the expense of building prisons and maintaining criminals, the usual penalties were simply those of penance and fine, with the result that many "hardy criminals" walked at large.

Defects in the spiritual jurisdiction.

It will be seen from this short review of the canonical system that Becket's claims cannot be called a monstrous absurdity; they were simply the claims put forward by canonists all over Europe. We now come to the Becket controversy. Let us look at its two protagonists.

Henry II., the first of the house of Anjou, ascended the throne of England in 1154. His reign was one of the most important in English history. In private life a profligate, notorious for the paroxysms of demoniac<sup>1</sup> anger into which he sometimes fell, in his public career he generally showed great self-restraint and relentless determination to secure the ends which he had set before himself. Though irreligious and lawless in his own life, he respected the outward forms of religion, and was resolved to secure the supremacy of law in his dominions. The feature in his character which most struck his contemporaries was his extraordinary restlessness and terrific energy. It cannot be said that he was tyrannical, except when he had some special end to serve; it cannot be said that he was an ideal king, consumed, like Alfred, with love for his people. Far from it; he was simply a hard-headed, strong-willed man who saw that from a well-governed kingdom more money could be

Accession of Henry II., 1154. His character.

<sup>1</sup> The old legend ran that an early Count of Anjou married a lady of unknown birth, but extraordinary beauty. This lady would never, when in church, stay till the host was consecrated in the communion. By the count's order she was one day seized by four knights on attempting to leave the church before the consecration. She thereupon sailed through the window of the church, leaving her cloak in the knights' hands. Thus the whole Angevin house was thought to be sprung from the devil.—GIRALD, *CAMB.*, *De Instr. Prin.*, iii. c. 27.

raised and a firmer basis for his own power laid down. His reforms, it is true, brought a measure of prosperity to his subjects, but it was not primarily for this purpose that they were adopted. Henry had a lofty ideal of kingship, and an iron sense of order; the aim of his foreign policy was to keep his own possessions secure, and prosecute any lawful claims he might have through the marriages of himself and his sons. He had no wider scheme of conquest. In home affairs his purpose clearly was to be master in his own dominions, to make his power felt with equal incidence in all parts of his empire, to tolerate no "imperium in imperio." There were only two powers likely to challenge the aims of his internal policy; those powers were the baronage and the Church; and it was therefore to reduce the power of the Church and baronage that Henry set himself. So far as the barons were concerned, his task was to "eliminate feudalism" from the sphere of government. The steps he took to secure this end cannot be discussed at length in this place; in the judicial sphere he reorganised the central court of the King, he annexed to the crown the whole criminal jurisdiction, and by the creation of fresh writs protected all freeholds in the royal courts, thus reducing the franchises of the feudal barons; he gave further extension to the representative principle by the employment of local recognitors (juries), both for the presentment of criminals and for trials; he adopted the device of his grandfather by which justices went out from the central Curia Regis to visit all the shire courts for fiscal and judicial business, and by so doing he introduced one uniform common law, *i.e.* the law of the King's court, into every corner of the land. He undermined the feudal levy by encouraging the practice by which military service was commuted for money payments; he raised new official families, and by so doing depressed the administrative importance of the baronage. In his struggle with the feudal lords Henry was successful; it was otherwise in his struggle with the Church, or rather with Becket—for the Church as a whole sided with the King. It will be seen that Henry was the author of far-reaching reforms in the sphere of justice. The aim of those reforms was to limit privileges, to abolish anomalies; as a part of this comprehensive scheme he endeavoured to destroy clerical immunities, and reduce the privileges of the ecclesiastical courts which the Conqueror had set up. The protagonist in defence of the clerical

He crushes  
feudalism.

Tries to  
reduce the  
ecclesiastical  
jurisdiction.

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immunities and the ecclesiastical courts was Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Now if we regard this struggle from the point of view of a twentieth century democrat, to whose heart the abolition of privilege and cast-iron uniformity are dear, our sympathies must go with Henry; but if we do so, we only show a lack of historical imagination. We must take into account the fact that for 350 years most Englishmen thought Becket in the right, and from this point of view it says little for Henry's statesmanship that he should have been centuries in advance of his age. Who was Becket? After his death a halo of legend quickly gathered round his career; the story soon grew that Becket was the son of his father, Gilbert Becket, and a Saracenic princess. Gilbert, according to the story, was taken prisoner in Palestine by a Saracenic chief, and owed his escape to the love of the chief's daughter. Unable to live without him, though she only knew two words of his language, "Gilbert" and "London," by their aid she traced him to his home, was baptized, and then married to him. Thomas was her son. But the truth is far more prosaic than the romance. Thomas was on both sides of Norman parentage by blood; by birth and breeding he was English (for by this time the upper classes of Norman and Saxon were fused into a single people). His father, Gilbert, was a London merchant in good position, who frequently entertained distinguished foreigners. By one of these distinguished strangers Thomas was introduced into the house of Archbishop Theobald, and took his place in the circle of able men whom Theobald collected round him. The Archbishop noticed his great ability, and encouraged him to spend a year in study of the canon law at Bologna, the great Italian law university. He employed him in the delicate mission sent to the Roman Curia to secure the papal condemnation of the proposal to crown Eustace, Stephen's son, as King. Thomas was successful. Finally Thomas was introduced by Theobald to King Henry, and at his suggestion he was appointed Chancellor of the realm, 1155.

An extraordinary friendship rapidly grew up between the two men. Though already Archdeacon of Canterbury, Becket was only in deacon's orders, and his ecclesiastical duty rested very lightly on his shoulders. The two men became inseparable boon companions, sharing together their sports, their hunting, their jousts, their banquets. A typical story will show the intimate terms on which they lived; one cold winter's

Thomas  
Becket.

His early  
career.

Chancellor.

day they were riding along a street in London ; the King saw a poor old man coming along in a threadbare coat. " Would it not be a kindness," he said to Thomas, " to give him a thick, warm cloak ? " When the poor man came up the King hailed him, and asked him if he would like a good cloak ; then putting his hands on Becket's shoulders, the King tried to remove, while Becket strove to retain, his magnificent scarlet cloak ; the knights in attendance hurried up to find out the sudden cause of this scuffle between the two friends ; but the friends were too intent on the scuffle to give them any information ; finally, of course, the King was victorious, and the Chancellor's rich cloak went to the delighted beggar. In Henry's amours alone Becket had no part. Magnificent pageantry was dear to the Chancellor's heart ; in the tournament and war he had no rival, unhorsing the most famous knights ; in the Toulouse war, 1159, he brought to the host no fewer than 700 knights, the flower of the whole army. Besides all this, Thomas' versatility was such that he had a perfect genius for work and business. It was characteristic of him throughout, that whatever he did, he did heartily ; in whatever position he was placed, he played the rôle to the life ; as Chancellor a great part of the business of the realm fell upon his shoulders. The Chancellor was responsible for the administration of escheats and the estates of vacant sees. Thomas managed these in a way that was very advantageous to the royal coffers ; it was he who arranged the exaction of the Toulouse scutage and the imposition of an arbitrary feudal tax (*donum*) on the lands of the Church in 1159. His capacity for business was of enormous value to the King, and explains in part Henry's vexation when Becket, after his promotion to the archbishopric, resigned his office. Bishop Stubbs has pointed out that the great churchmen of this time can be divided into three classes ; those who were merely secular statesmen rewarded for their official services by bishoprics, such as Roger of Salisbury ; those who were professional ecclesiastics, such as Henry of Winchester—their special interests being the interests of the Church and the ecclesiastical profession ; lastly, the class of saints, such as Anselm, who sought primarily the higher life and the glory of God. Thomas Becket tried to fill all these parts in succession. Hitherto he had been the ecclesiastical statesman, at once the Chancellor of the King and the recipient of many ecclesiastical preferments. But in 1161

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Archbishop Theobald died, and in the following year Henry nominated Becket to the vacant see. Rumour, and, it was said, the wish of Theobald himself, had marked out Becket as the future archbishop. There can be little doubt that Henry's heart was already set on a comprehensive reform in the administration of justice, and on the abolition of the scandal by which criminous clerks escaped adequate punishment. With Becket as archbishop-chancellor, he thought that all violent collision between Church and State in the course of this much-needed reform could be avoided. Church and Crown would be

“Two rivers gently flowing side by side.”

Becket, both as Chancellor and Archdeacon of Canterbury, must have learnt how urgent was the need to amend the scandal.

But Henry had completely mistaken the character of his friend. They were both in Normandy, and Becket was on the point of starting to England on other business when Henry informed him of his intention to make him archbishop. Becket answered, with a grimace at his own splendid apparel, “What a saint you desire to put in that saintly seat, and over that saintly convent!” And then, with words of warning, he went on: “But be assured that if by God's providence it should so happen, the grace and intimate friendship which you now show me will soon be turned into the bitterest hate. For I know that you will make oppressive exactions, and that even now you are planning many changes in matters ecclesiastical which I could not calmly allow.” The King paid no attention to the threat, and treated it as a jest. On the 2nd June, 1162, Becket was ordained priest, and on the following day he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. In the middle of the consecration service he took the precaution of getting from the King's representatives, the young Henry and the justiciar, a full release from all secular obligations. The consecration took place on the octave of Whitsunday, and Becket ordained a new feast to be kept thenceforth on that day in honour of the Holy Trinity. It was from England that the observance of Trinity Sunday spread over Latin Christendom.

Becket  
Archbishop  
of Canter-  
bury.

Trinity  
Sunday.

Becket now left the first stage in his career far behind; the outward form of his life wholly changed; he adopted the monastic habit, and ever after wore a hair shirt next his skin; penances and scourgings became part of his daily routine; he

spent much of his time in prayer and reading of Scripture ; every night with his own hands he washed the feet of thirteen beggars. Theobald had doubled the alms given by the archbishop to the poor ; Becket in his turn doubled the amount given by Theobald. As before, he was lavish in his display and sumptuous in his hospitality ; but now, while the gay knights partook of a luxurious repast, the archbishop sat apart, eating little, surrounded by friars and learned monks, while an attendant read to them some edifying book. Becket seems to have taken Anselm for his model, but his efforts at saintship were never quite successful. Anselm's saintliness was natural, and sprang from the unconscious goodness of his soul ; his opposition to the crown had been on matters almost wholly spiritual. Becket's opposition was mainly to secure immunities for a particular class—the clergy ; his saintliness was too artificial and too conscious ; we never can help feeling that he was constantly asking himself, " What would a saint do ? What would Anselm have done under these circumstances ? " But we must not be too hard in our judgment ; after all, it shows no ignoble quality in a man, if he tries to live up to the trust of a great office to which he has been appointed.

Becket  
resigns the  
Chancellor-  
ship.

The causes of estrangement and then quarrel rapidly multiplied between the archbishop and the King. He greatly irritated the King by the immediate resignation of the Chancellor's office, 1162, thus intimating that the old days of secular service were over. In July 1163, a scene occurred between the King and Primate at the council of Woodstock, over a certain tax called the sheriff's aid. Hitherto this tax had been paid straight to the sheriff, but the King now proposed to annex it to the royal treasury. The exact point of the change is somewhat obscure, but Becket firmly opposed it, constituting himself the champion of the sheriff or people. " We will not give them to you as revenue, my lord king, saving your good pleasure ; but if the sheriffs and their officers do us adequate service, we will not fail to give the aid to them." " By God's eyes," swore the indignant King (it was his favourite oath), " they shall be given as revenue, and enrolled in the King's roll. What right have you to contradict, when no one is attempting to wrong your men ? " " By those same eyes," replied Becket, " my lord king, they shall not be paid from any land of mine, not a penny from the possessions of a single church." Becket seems to have

Quarrels  
with the  
King.

carried the council with him. Shortly afterwards, the Primate, having had a dispute with a certain tenant-in-chief of the crown over Church patronage, excommunicated him before getting the royal licence. This was a gross breach of the ancient customs of the realm (see p. 68). But the most serious matter in dispute was over the punishment of criminous clerks. It was a question of growing scandal; for "clerks" included not merely bishops, priests, and deacons, but men in minor orders as well, such as those of sub-deacon, acolyte, &c., and the Church claimed that clerks of all sorts should be tried in the ecclesiastical courts and subjected merely to ecclesiastical punishments, *i.e.* at the most, imprisonment. It seemed intolerable to churchmen that the priest who was able to "make God" in the mass should under any circumstances be treated like a common malefactor and punished by laymen. "Touch not My anointed" was their answer to any such proposal. There was this much to be said on behalf of the clerical claim: the law of evidence was more strict in the ecclesiastical than in the secular courts, and it was so much to the good that prisoners, even when guilty, should be saved from the barbarous mutilations often inflicted in the temporal tribunals. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that this system of clerical privilege led to the escape, without due punishment, of many criminals. A number of such scandals had already been brought to Henry's notice; it was said that since the beginning of his reign no fewer than a hundred of such murders, apart from other crimes, had gone unpunished. Henry was determined on a drastic reform; he was resolved that clerks found guilty by an ecclesiastical court should be degraded, and then transferred to the secular arm for punishment.

In a council held at Westminster (October 1163) the whole question of the criminous clerks was raised. Becket, to whom compromise of any sort was detestable, took up the definite position that laymen could not judge clerks, and that it was contrary to the canons for a clerk to be punished twice. The clerk must suffer punishment, if at all, by the judgment of the ecclesiastical court, and must not be remitted for further punishment to laymen. "*Nec enim Deus iudicat bis in id ipsum*"—"God Himself does not punish twice the same offence." The King then turned to the bishops and raised a still wider question. Would they, or would they not, accept the ancient customs of

the realm? The bishops, led by the Primate, replied evasively that they would do so, "saving their order"; their answer was tantamount to a refusal. The King was furious; but two months later Becket was persuaded by papal envoys to give a private promise to obey "the customs." Henry was not, however, content with a private promise; in January 1164, in the great council held at Clarendon, near Salisbury, a committee of barons was appointed to draw up a table of the "ancient customs of the realm," so far as they concerned the relations of Church and State. The result of this committee's labour was the famous document of sixteen clauses known as the Constitutions of Clarendon. Of these constitutions the most important were the following:—

Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.

1. As to advowsons (*i.e.* the right of presentation to churches), if a dispute arose, it was to be determined in the King's court.

3. Clerks accused of crime were first to be brought into the King's court to make answer; in every case such clerks were then to go for trial to the ecclesiastical court, while the royal judge was to send an officer into the court Christian to watch the case on behalf of the crown. If the clerk was found guilty, he was then in every case to be handed over to the secular arm for punishment.

4. Archbishops, bishops, and beneficed clergy were in no case to leave the realm without the leave of the King; and if they did leave the realm, they were to give security that they would not seek any harm to the King or realm.

7. No tenant-in-chief of the King or royal officer was to be excommunicated, nor his lands placed under an interdict, unless the King, or in his absence the justiciar, had first been consulted.

8. Appeals were to go from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; and if the archbishop failed to do justice, final resort should be had to the King, that by the King's order the matter might be settled in the court of the archbishop; no appeal was to go further without the King's leave.

[*N.B.*—This was of course aimed against appeals to the Pope.]

9. If a dispute arose about land, which a clerk asserted was held by franc-almoign,<sup>1</sup> but a layman asserted was held by

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* on the condition of spiritual service of which the nature was not expressly stated. A man, X, would often give land to a monastery on condition that the monks should consult X's spiritual welfare.



lay fee,<sup>1</sup> a jury was to be empanelled by the royal judge to decide this preliminary question, and according to the decision they gave, the case would then go for trial *either* to the ecclesiastical *or* to the secular court.

11. Archbishops, bishops, and all the beneficed clergy of the realm who held from the King by tenure-in-chief, held their possessions from the King as baronies, and were answerable for them to the judges and officers of the King, and followed and did all royal rights and customs, and, like the rest of the barons, ought to be present at the trials of the royal court, till a matter arose in court which might affect life or limb.<sup>2</sup>

12. When an archbishopric or bishopric or abbey was vacant, it ought to be in the King's hand, and the King was to take from it all revenues as his own. And when provision was made for the vacant church, then the King ought to summon the more important members of that church, and the election should take place in the chapel of the King, with the assent of the King, and by the counsel of the clergy whom he had summoned for that purpose. Thereupon the person elected was to do homage and fealty to the King as his liege lord, for his life and limbs and his worldly honour, saving his order, before he was consecrated.

15. Pleas concerning debts, whether due under pledge of faith or not, were to be within the royal jurisdiction.

16. Sons of villeins ought not to be ordained without the consent of the lord on whose land they were known to have been born.

Such was the substance of this famous document; on it various questions arise. First, were they, as the King claimed, a fair representation of the ancient customs? Secondly, were they a violation, as Becket contended, of the canon law? Thirdly, the constitutions were, as we will see, formally renounced by Henry II. at Avranches in 1172; but the further question still remains as to how the matters in dispute were actually regulated for the rest of the Middle Ages.

First, then, were they really the ancient customs? Restriction - Were they the ancient customs?

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* by knight service, or any other free tenure, such as socage.

<sup>2</sup> The canons did not allow clerics to sit as judges in cases which would involve the mutilation or death of the prisoner if found guilty.

tions on papal briefs, and the rule that no tenant-in-capite should be excommunicated without the King's leave, had been clearly laid down by the Conqueror; it had always, since the Conquest, been the case that great Church dignitaries, like other barons, owed temporal service for their estates; the rule about canonical election had been to a certain extent variable, but Henry was at least claiming no more influence than his ancestors had certainly enjoyed. It has always been disputed whether the course proposed for the trial and punishment of criminous clerks was an innovation or not. Professor Maitland has emphasised the fact that Becket, so far as we know, never challenged Henry's definite statement that his proposals were the ancient customs. His admirers could only retort that our Lord's words were not "I am the custom," but "I am the Truth," and therefore Maitland infers that the general inference is in favour of the truth of Henry's contention. But this argument cannot really be pressed very far. Becket regarded the question from what, to him at any rate, was a far higher point of view, viz. was the practice right? The fact of the matter is that we have not a sufficient knowledge of the precedents to give a definite answer; the precedents we have are mostly those of State trials, and it is certain that in State trials the law would have been strained to breaking point. We know that the Conqueror and Lanfranc had no hesitation in arresting Odo of Bayeux and trying him on a charge of treason. Lanfranc's ready wit had suggested a distinction between the Bishop of Bayeux and the Earl of Kent. In Stephen's reign royal rights, in this as in most other things, were surrendered, but from Stephen's reign no fair argument as to the original custom can be drawn. No definite answer therefore can be given to the question whether the method proposed by Henry for the trial of criminous clerks was an innovation or not.

Were they  
contrary to  
the canon  
law?

Secondly, were Henry's proposals contrary to the canon law? Doubtless in many respects they were; the Pope condemned, out of the clauses already given, clauses 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 15. If we confine our attention to the clause about the criminous clerks, it is clear that those parts of it which required the accusation of the clerk before a temporal judge, and the sending of a royal officer to witness the trial in the ecclesiastical court, were repugnant to the canon law; but on the most important point, viz. that of double punishment, it would

seem that Becket was wrong ; his view was certainly not the view of Gratian, and at a later date Innocent III. definitely laid down that double punishment was not against the canons. The mediæval Church had little hesitation about degrading a heretic clergyman and then handing him over to the secular arm to be burnt.

Thirdly, how were the points in dispute actually settled for the rest of the Middle Ages ? Advowsons were retained for the King's court ; in the matter of criminous clerks the Church in large measure won the day. For the most trivial, and also for the most heinous offences, *i.e.* those of treason, and offences against the forest law, clerks got no benefit of clergy ; but in the case of felonies, such as murder, clerks were first accused in the King's court ; in every case they were sent on, at the bishop's request, to the ecclesiastical tribunal, but if they were convicted they were not sent back for punishment. Benefit of clergy became an ever-growing scandal.

How were  
the matters  
in dispute  
settled?

Appeals to Rome, with the connivance of the King, continued in increasing volume ; it was an appeal to Rome in a marriage suit—that of Henry VIII.—which was to be the occasion of the Reformation.

Clause 9 represented the low-water mark of the royal claims ; in the sequel, Henry II. and his successors claimed for the secular tribunals the cognisance of all cases touching land of every description.

Clause 11 was maintained. The appointment to bishoprics and abbacies has a tangled history ; election to abbacies was a matter of comparative indifference, but the King maintained a strong hold on the appointments to bishoprics (see p. 155). As to clause 15, the Church was trying to annex the whole sphere of contract for her tribunals ; during the century which followed she largely realised this claim, but not afterwards. With the practical disappearance of villeinage in the fourteenth century clause 16 became obsolete.

Let us now return from this digression to the main thread of our narrative. When these constitutions were presented to the bishops at Clarendon, under the leadership of Foliot, Bishop of London, they were minded to reject them as intolerable. But Becket, to the surprise of all, accepted them with an odd reservation. " It is the wish of my lord the King that I should

perjure myself : for the present I submit, and incur the perjury, but I shall do penance for it in the future as best I may." Thus the wind had been taken out of the sails of the bishops, and they submitted. Thomas was then immediately seized by a fit of remorse at his own weakness, and refused to affix his seal to the instrument. The Pope, at his request, released him from his promise. But Henry was not a man to be easily baulked : in September 1164 Thomas was summoned to appear before the King's court on a charge of denying justice to John the Marshal ; he refused to appear, and was then summoned to answer for his contempt at a council of the King that was to be held at Northampton on 6th October. At the council the King called for an account of all the revenues which had passed through Thomas' hands as Chancellor. Thomas pleaded the discharge which had been given him by the Justiciar on the King's behalf before his consecration, but Henry replied that the discharge had not been authorised by himself. It was clear that the King intended his ruin. Thomas therefore adopted an uncompromising position. He forbade his suffragans, the bishops, to take any further part in the proceedings against him ; if they did, he appealed against them to the Pope ; he refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the council. A dramatic scene followed. Becket, having first significantly celebrated the mass of the first martyr, St. Stephen, at an adjoining church, took his cross in his own hands, and with the crucifix defiantly lifted up, he stalked into the council chamber. "A fool," said Foliot, Bishop of London, "you ever were ; a fool you are still, and ever will be." The bishops, overawed by the Primate, were allowed to appeal against him to the Pope, and were on that ground excused from joining in the judgment of the lay barons. The lay barons passed sentence of condemnation on the Primate, and the Justiciar, Robert of Leicester, was sent to the outer chamber, where Becket was sitting, to announce their decision. But Robert had hardly begun to speak when Becket interrupted him. "Judgment ! what are you doing ? Judgment is a sentence given after trial. I have not pleaded, therefore you cannot judge me, whether guilty or no. I am your father ; you are lords of the palace, lay powers, secular persons ; I will not hear your judgment." Seizing his cross, the Primate swept majestically out of the hall, amid the taunts of the courtiers, who cried "Traitor !"

Within a few days Becket left the country and hurried to

Sens, where the Pope, himself an exile, was living. We cannot follow in detail the story of Becket's exile on the Continent, but the attitude of the chief characters in the dispute from 1164 to 1170 can be briefly explained. Pope Alexander was himself in the middle of his struggle with the great emperor, Frederic Barbarossa; he was at this time (1164) an exile from Rome. His sympathies were naturally with Thomas, who was engaged in a struggle similar to his own with the lay power. But his position was far from easy, and had to be modified to suit the varying exigencies of the political situation. He did not wish to lose the English obedience, and the situation was for him exceedingly critical when Henry's envoys at the Council of Würzburg approximated to Frederic Barbarossa and the side of the antipope. The Pope had to trim his sails; thus when Becket, in 1166, excommunicated seven of Henry's councillors, including the Justiciar, Richard de Luci, and threatened Henry himself with a like fate, these sentences were suspended by the Pope; in 1167 the Pope actually authorised Roger of York, in manifest derogation of the rights of Canterbury, to crown the King's son, the young Henry, in the event of Becket's absence. But as the Pope's prospects in his struggle with the Emperor and the antipope improved, this licence was withdrawn; the Pope's general attitude was one of sympathy with Becket, and endeavour to arrange a compromise between him and Henry.

Louis, the King of France, rejoiced at the quarrel, and was glad to keep it open, because it was such an embarrassment to his hated rival, the King of England.

Henry and Becket themselves conducted their dispute in a way which did little credit to either party. Henry showed pettiness of spirit in his persecution of Becket's friends and relations, and in his threat that he would expel all the Cistercians from England if the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny continued to give Becket hospitality. The threat was only efficacious in so far as it made Becket change his residence to the Benedictine abbey of Sens.

Becket showed little of the Christian spirit of meekness, and exhausted the whole armoury of spiritual thunder; in 1166 he excommunicated seven of Henry's councillors, and he followed this up by excommunicating, among others, two of his suffragans, of whom one was Foliot, Bishop of London. In

Becket  
leaves  
England.

Attitude  
of Pope

and Louis  
of France.

June 1170, further fuel was added to the fire of dispute, when Henry, in derogation of the rights of the Church of Canterbury, had his son crowned by Roger of York, in defiance of prohibitions both from the Pope and Becket.

After many attempts to effect a compromise, after interviews between the King and Becket, which either Becket spoiled by his reservation in the words "saving my order," or the King by refusing to give the kiss of peace, a settlement between the two men was finally arranged at the meeting of Fréteval (June 1170), if indeed that can be called a settlement, which was based on merely suppressing discussion on the main questions at issue.

Not a word was said about "the customs," the original cause of dispute, but Henry promised restitution to Becket and his friends, and amends to the see of Canterbury in the matter of the coronation. On the 1st December 1170 Becket amid popular rejoicing landed once more in England. But he returned with thoughts of fire and vengeance; he had already smuggled into England papal letters suspending the bishops who had taken part in the coronation of the young Henry. He offered to absolve the bishops if they would swear to obey the Pope's orders, but at the instigation of the Archbishop of York they appealed from him to the King. On Christmas Day Becket went further, and again excommunicated Robert de Broc and other vassals of the King. Meanwhile the excommunicated bishops had made their way to Henry's court in Normandy and told him of Becket's doings. Henry was furious, and cursed those who did not avenge him on a single priest. "What sluggards and cravens I have nurtured, and bred in my realm: they keep no faith to their lord, when they allow him to be mocked so foully by a lowborn clerk." The words which were to have such a fatal issue had been uttered: four knights immediately made their way to Canterbury, and in his own cathedral, on the steps of the north transept, the archbishop was shamefully murdered. "No traitor," he said to his murderers, "but archbishop and priest of God. To God, and the blessed Mary, and the patron saints of this church, and to the blessed martyr Denys, I commit myself and the cause of the Church." The monks came to recover the archbishop's body: they stripped him of his clothes, and when they saw the hair shirt next his skin, and his body swarming with vermin, in rapt admiration they exclaimed, "See what

Becket  
returns

and is  
assassin-  
ated.

a saint he was!" Evidently in those days cleanliness was not considered next akin to godliness. In 1173 Becket was canonised by the Pope: but in spite of this canonisation he has no true claim to saintship. His conduct was in many ways heroic; yet he died a martyr not to the verities of the faith but to the privileges of the clergy: we cannot help feeling that he was devoid of true statesmanship and many of the higher Christian virtues. His assassination caused the King passionate grief: for three days he confined himself to his room, neither eating nor drinking, nor seeing any man, calling God to witness that he was not responsible for the awful deed.

In 1172 at Avranches he cleared himself before papal legates of all complicity in the crime, and formally abrogated the Constitutions of Clarendon.<sup>1</sup> On his return to England in 1174 he did public penance: he made a pilgrimage to the murdered Primate's tomb at Canterbury, and was publicly scourged by the assembled monks: we can imagine the pleasure with which Thomas would have regarded such a humiliation of the temporal power. In the next few centuries the cult of Thomas Becket became the most fashionable cult in England: many churches were dedicated to him: innumerable cures were said to have been wrought at his tomb or even by the invocation of his name: pilgrims flocked to his resting-place, and the magnificence of his shrine, far-famed for its gold and jewels, became one of the chief wonders of England. When Henry VIII. broke with Rome, one of his first acts was to order the elimination of Becket's name from all the service-books, to plunder the shrine and scatter the ashes of him who in the Middle Ages had been the greatest champion of clerical privilege and Roman rights against the secular power. But in the twelfth century the real danger was that of royal absolutism. It was good for Henry II. and other kings to learn that there were spheres of life and thought which their despotism could not reach, and much less conquer.

<sup>1</sup> Though the constitutions were formally abrogated, many of their provisions were retained in practice; see above, p. 105.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE CHURCH AND THE GREAT CHARTER

THE reign of Henry II. loses much of its personal interest after the martyrdom of Becket; but the death of the archbishop would seem to have indirectly disengaged the slumbering forces of anarchy. There was a great feudal rising both in England and Normandy in 1173: the remaining years of the great monarch's reign were continuously disturbed by troubles within his own family insidiously fostered by the French King: the King's sons were constantly rising in revolt against their father. But these revolts have no great intrinsic interest. The archbishops who followed Becket were not men of conspicuous ability. In 1189 Henry was gathered to his fathers, and his son Richard reigned in his stead. Richard was a great warrior. Consternation had filled Western Europe at the news that Jerusalem had fallen before the onset of the great Saracenic leader Saladin in 1187. The fall of almost all the other Christian strongholds in Palestine quickly followed. Europe went to the rescue. First the Emperor, the great Barbarossa, led a crusade, but unfortunately met his death while bathing in a stream in the course of his journey to the Holy Land. Richard and Philip of France started for the East in 1190, and were successful in the recapture of Acre from Saladin, but recriminations broke out between the different sections of the crusading army, and Philip, after quarrelling with Richard, returned to France in 1191, and Richard, after patching up a truce with Saladin, started for England in October 1192. Unfortunately he was taken prisoner on his homeward journey (1193) by Leopold, Duke of Austria, and held to ransom by the Emperor Henry VI. He did not regain his freedom till February 1194. Richard took very little interest in England except as a mine from which he might draw resources first for his crusade, and then for the aimless feudal fighting in which he spent the rest of his reign. During his ten years of rule he lived less than seven months in England. So far as England was concerned, the chief importance of the

Accession  
of Richard  
I., 1189.

The  
crusade.

Richard  
taken  
prisoner.



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reign lay in the fact that the administrative and judicial system devised by Henry II. struck root, and received further development. The careers of Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, of Baldwin (1185-1190), and Hubert Walter (1193-1205), Archbishops of Canterbury, and Hugh of Lincoln illustrate typical sides of ecclesiastical life in the Middle Ages. Baldwin's prolonged struggle with his chapter—the monks of Christchurch—is characteristic of the suits in which so many mediæval bishops engaged with their cathedral chapters. Geoffrey was an illegitimate son of Henry II., a man of purely secular interests foisted on an unwilling Church: he too engaged in a prolonged strife with the chapter of York about their respective rights; and the perennial dispute about the relation of York to Canterbury again came to the surface. The careers both of Baldwin and Geoffrey likewise illustrated the evils involved in the system of appeals to Rome. Extensive bribery was necessitated, and discipline was undermined. Hubert Walter belonged to the class of ecclesiastical statesmen, being more a man of State than an ecclesiastic; he concentrated in his own person the positions of Archbishop and Justiciar. As Justiciar (1194-1198) he deserved the credit of developing the representative principle and the administrative system of Henry II. But as Justiciar he was also responsible for the heavy taxation which led to the rising of the London *plebs* in 1196. He also caused its leader, Fitzosbert, to be dragged from sanctuary to execution. This led to a protest which the monks of Christchurch lodged with Innocent III. They complained that Hubert Walter was so immersed in the obligations of his secular office that he had no time for his proper archiepiscopal work. Innocent III. insisted that Richard should release him from his secular work as Justiciar, and Richard, who was rather sore at Hubert's failure in 1197 to secure from the barons a force of three hundred knights to serve him abroad, consented (1198). On John's accession in the following year, he resumed the secular duties of Chancellor till his death in 1205.

Hugh of Avalon or Lincoln was of a very different type. He belonged to the saintly class of churchmen: a Carthusian monk, he had been brought by Henry II. to England that he might be Prior of Witham, one of the three monasteries founded by the King in atonement for Becket's murder; in 1186 he was made, much against his own inclination, Bishop of Lincoln.

Hugh of  
Lincoln

refuses to  
send troops  
abroad.

Hugh's character was one of singular charm and sweetness but he was fearless in denouncing oppression of the poor, and in refusing to give spiritual benefices as a reward for secular service. In 1198 when Richard boldly demanded from the great council a force of three hundred knights equipped to serve him abroad for a whole year, Hugh led the way in the refusal of the demand. "I know that the Church of Lincoln is bound to give military service to the King, but in this kingdom only: outside the bounds of England no such service is due. I would sooner return to my native soil than be a bishop here and subject to oppression the Church entrusted to my care." The barons followed the lead given them, and the King had to withdraw his demand. Hugh's mother-wit and the charm of his nature, despite his outspoken and frank rebukes, won him the real affection both of Henry II. and Richard. Even John could not fail to treat him with marks of respect, though Hugh openly showed his mistrust, and pointed the King to a sculptured relief of the last judgment, in which certain kings were being sent down to eternal punishment. A characteristic feature in Hugh's character was his capacity for inspiring animals with affection. As of Columba, Cuthbert, and St. Francis of Assisi, so of Hugh beautiful stories are told in this connection. The most famous is that of Hugh and the swan. Just about the time when he became Bishop of Lincoln a beautiful wild swan appeared at Stow. It was very fierce, and killed many of the other swans. But on Hugh's advent, the wild swan fed from his hand, and became quite tame, retiring to the lake when he departed, and ever on his return coming back to greet him with signs of joy. And so it came to pass that Hugh was always represented in pictures with the swan as his companion. In 1200 the saintly bishop died, having just lived to see the beginning of John's reign. John ascended the throne in 1199; the true heir, according to modern notions, was his nephew, Arthur of Brittany. But hereditary right had never prevailed in England to the entire exclusion of the elective principle. At his coronation it is said that Archbishop Hubert Walter, with a presage of the coming evil, enunciated the elective character of the English monarchy, as a warning to John that obedience would be conditional on good government. John is perhaps the worst King who has ever reigned in England: he was unjust and extortionate; he was irreligious and yet full of superstition; he was

Accession  
of John,  
1199.

His char-  
acter.

blasphemous and craven; he was ungrateful and adulterous. He was not devoid of ability, and yet he was in every way contemptible, even in his oaths: where the Conqueror had sworn "by the splendour of God," and Henry II. "by the eyes of God," John used the meaner oath of "by the feet of God" or "by the teeth of God." John reproduced all the vices, but none of the virtues, of his predecessors: in a contemplation of his character plausible grounds might be found for belief in the diabolic origin of the Angevin family. Though evil was overruled for good, his reign was a miserable and abject failure. In the first place, it was marked by the mutilation of the Angevin empire: in 1203 he foully murdered his nephew, Arthur of Brittany. Philip of France was quick to seize the opportunity: he cited John to appear before him, and on his non-appearance declared the forfeiture of John's French fiefs. Normandy and Anjou were quickly lost; by 1206, of all John's continental dominions, South Guienne alone remained to him. Nothing can excuse his contemptible failure to maintain his rights. But for England the severance of Normandy and Anjou from her crown was unquestionably a gain: the consolidation of England into a united nation, and the creation in her of a national feeling, were impossible so long as her leaders were half-English and half-French. Secondly, the death of Archbishop Hubert in 1205 marked the rupture between the crown and the Church. This alliance had been strained by the quarrels which the crown had provoked with Anselm and then with Becket. But in some ways Anselm and Becket had not represented the feeling of the English Church, which was more insular and national than they in sentiment; the great foe of both crown and people had been the baronage, and the Church had on the whole consistently sided with the crown against feudal oppression. This alliance was now destroyed by John.

Break-up  
of Angevin  
empire.

Breach be-  
tween  
Church and  
Crown.

The circumstances of his quarrel with the Church were these. In 1205 Hubert Walter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died; thereupon, the younger section of the monks of Christchurch, intending to force the situation, secretly elected their subprior Reginald, and despatched him to Rome for the papal confirmation. They swore Reginald to secrecy; but Reginald, when he got to Flanders, could not deny himself the luxury of telling others that he was archbishop-elect. All the other parties interested in the election of a primate on hearing the news were

Its causes.

naturally indignant. The bishops of the province reasonably claimed a right to be consulted, and lodged an appeal with the Pope. The elder monks protested against the way in which the younger monks had proceeded, and lodged another appeal. John was extremely indignant at the infringement of the royal rights. He had intended to nominate a creature of his own, John Gray, Bishop of Norwich; he induced the monks still resident at Christchurch to renounce their appeal and elect Gray. Having secured this election, he invested Gray with the revenues of the see, and then sent to Rome for papal confirmation of the choice. But, unfortunately, John had to deal with the greatest of all the Popes, Innocent III., a master of craft and diplomacy, while he himself played his own cards extremely ill. It was not likely that, when two or three appeals were actually before the papal court, Innocent would allow John to settle offhand the matter in dispute. Innocent simply announced his own determination to try the question in dispute, and invited the different parties to send representatives with plenary powers. All the parties complied. Avowedly, John authorised the representatives of the chapter to elect whom they would. But he secretly exacted from them an oath that they would elect Gray. He also sent a lavish supply of gold to facilitate the decision in his favour. But in the diplomatic game John was completely outplayed. Innocent quashed the elections both of Reginald and of Gray as irregular. He rejected the claim of the bishops to share in the election, and he then persuaded the plenipotentiary monks, in spite of the oath which they had taken to John, to elect Stephen Langton, a distinguished Englishman, resident at Rome, and a cardinal of the Church. Thus John had been completely out-manceuvred. If he had been a wise man, he would have accepted his defeat with what grace he could. But he absolutely refused under any circumstances whatever to receive Langton as archbishop. Innocent quickly resorted to ecclesiastical thunder. In 1208, he placed the whole of England under an interdict. It was an odd method for punishing John, since only the religious and those who cared for spiritual things would feel the loss of spiritual privileges. As a matter of fact, the interdict was never very strictly enforced. Marriages were still celebrated, though only in the porches of churches; baptism was administered, but in private houses; burials were conducted as usual, though not in consecrated

Stephen  
Langton  
elected  
arch-  
bishop.

John re-  
fuses to re-  
ceive him.

Interdict.

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ground; the churches were for the most part closed, the Holy Communion not administered, except to the dying. A notable relaxation was, however, made in favour of monastic bodies, so that for many people opportunities to attend divine service cannot have been lacking. It is clear that the mass of the people bore the interdict with equanimity. "Provisions were plentiful," so we are told by the chronicler, and this fact explained their indifference.

John retaliated by the seizure of Church property, and in no case left more than a pittance to support the defrauded clergy. Most of the bishops and many of the clergy fled the country. But the confiscation of clerical possessions made it easy for the King to reduce the ordinary taxation, and the relief from the never-ending scutages and aids at first won him popular support. But troubles with Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and the baronial discontent soon made taxation once more necessary.

In 1209, Innocent III. excommunicated John, and in 1212, took the further step of deposing him from his kingship, and bribing Philip of France with the prospective inducement of pardon for all his sins to carry the sentence into execution. Philip accepted the invitation for his son Louis.

John was now thoroughly alarmed. A certain hermit, Peter of Pontefract, had prophesied that within a year he would lose his crown, and John, though irreligious, was intensely superstitious. The prophet was seized and marked for execution. But John was most uneasy. He knew well the utter disaffection of his barons; he had profoundly angered them by his disgusting immoralities, by his violation of their wives, and sisters, and daughters. He had strained the feudal law of wardships and marriages, and oppressed them with numberless fiscal exactions. He could not rely on the affections of the common people; circumstances were greatly changed from the time when their levy had turned out with enthusiasm to help the crown against baronial revolts. John felt that in his own kingdom he was without a party. And so he made a complete and abject submission to the papacy; he announced his willingness to receive Langton as archbishop and give him all marks of his royal favour; he promised to restore Church property, and make ample compensation for every injury he had done. But he went further—he surrendered his crown to the papacy.

John excommunicated by Innocent.

John submits and surrenders his crown to papacy.

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Henceforth England was to be a papal fief. John and his successors, Kings of England, were to pay the Pope one thousand marks yearly as tribute. Thus the prophecy of the hermit Peter was fulfilled in a way that Peter had never contemplated. The surrender was a disgraceful transaction—disgraceful not, perhaps, to Innocent, who only used his opportunities, but certainly to John, from whom the suggestion and initiative came.

Innocent treated England henceforth as a part of the patrimony of St. Peter. The submission may in the immediate future have saved the English crown for John and his son. It certainly increased for the time the papal power; but the ultimate results were disastrous even to the papacy, since it was the political power exercised by the Pope during the succeeding reign, and the fiscal exactions flowing from his sovereignty, which created the strong anti-papal feeling that finally led at the Reformation to the complete expulsion of his power from England.

The collapse of John quickly followed. His crushing exactions, his cowardice and poltroonery, when he first collected an army and then returned without making any attempt on the French King, disgusted all parties. In Stephen Langton the barons had discovered a patriot and a leader. It was Langton who, at a meeting of bishops and barons held at St. Paul's, produced the charter of Henry I., as a standard of the long lost liberties which they wished to see restored.

In 1213, Geoffrey Fitzpeter, the Justiciar, died, and John appointed his own creature, Peter des Roches, to succeed him. When John heard of his faithful servant's death, he is reported to have said, with characteristic ingratitude, "When he gets to hell, he will find there Hubert Walter, and can carry my greetings." The King then made desperate attempts to break up the coalition which confronted him. He tried to detach the Church from the barons by issuing a charter of freedom to the English Church; he directed that the oath of allegiance should be taken by the whole body of freemen; he demanded a renewal of homage from the tenants-in-chief; he took the vow of a crusader that he might involve all who raised their hands against him in the guilt of sacrilege. But his efforts were fruitless; the barons in accord demanded their rights, the Church and London held fast to the cause of English liberty, and John was compelled to sign at Runnymede Magna Charta. The

importance of Magna Charta has been greatly exaggerated. Extravagant estimates of its importance have been made since the days of Sir Edward Coke and the early Stewarts. Reformers have constantly represented their innovations as a restoration of long lost rights. This was what the parliamentary party did in the reigns of the early Stewarts. Sir Edward Coke and others read into Magna Charta all kinds of things; e.g. trial by jury and the principle of "no taxation without representation," which are not to be found in it at all. Indiscriminate eulogies of the Charter have been repeated by Chatham, Burke, and many other great English leaders. Even Stubbs' description of it as "the first great public act of the nation after it has realised its own identity" is somewhat of an exaggeration. But it is the tendency in these days to go to the other extreme, and to unduly depreciate the Charter and dismiss it as a reactionary and purely feudal document. What is the amount of truth in this contention? Was the Church really a partner to a reactionary and feudal policy?

We must certainly admit that—(1) The document was feudal in character. It was for the most part a bargain for the removal of what were considered abuses in the sphere of feudal justice and feudal taxation. (2) The "freeman" of the Charter did not mean what we mean when we talk of "the man in the street." The phrase certainly excluded the villeins, who were two-thirds of the whole population; and (3) on the villeins practically no special rights were conferred. (4) The taxes dealt with were purely "feudal" taxes. No attempt was made to regulate taxation of personal property, nor the customs, though these were to be the most important sources of taxation in the future. (5) The Great Charter did not represent the high-water mark of constitutional development already reached. There was no mention of representative juries, though these had been already used in the assessment of taxation, &c.; the "great council" contemplated was a purely feudal assembly of tenants-in-chief, though already in 1213 representatives from each town in the royal demesne had been summoned to a great assembly at St. Albans. (6) Several clauses were distinctly reactionary, notably the clause (§ 34) about the issue of the writ *præcipe*, which undid part of Henry II.'s reforms and increased the feudal at the expense of the royal jurisdiction, and the clause (§ 39) which, so far from establishing trial by jury, Was it reactionary?

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Real importance of Magna Charta.

really aimed at the creation of a court of feudal peers. The great barons did not think that the King's judges were good enough to try them. (7) There is no sign that "the commons" gave any overt assistance to the baronial party. But granted that all this is true, it does not prove that Magna Charta is not a great landmark in English history. No one in his senses would dream of looking for the programme of the nineteenth century Chartists or twentieth century radicalism in a thirteenth century document. What is the real importance of the Charter? *First*, the great danger of the time was royal absolutism and royal tyranny. The creation of a strong administrative system by Henry II. had made the crown so extremely powerful that the balance of the constitution seemed in danger of being overturned. It was all-important that the rights of others, the Church, the barons, freemen, the towns, should be put into writing. Vagueness was always in favour of absolutism; the mere fact that there were definite rights as against the crown, put into writing, made for the growth of liberty. There was a written document to which, in cases of dispute, an appeal could be made. Hence it was that throughout the Middle Ages Magna Charta was a definite rallying-point for constitutional opposition to the crown. Before their close, the confirmation of Magna Charta had been thirty-eight times demanded and granted. *Secondly*, the charter provided a type for future reform. It has been described as a typical English document. But it was really the founder of the type; *i.e.* in Magna Charta there is no statement of abstract theories, such as were to be found at a later age in the French declaration of the Rights of Man or in the similar American declaration. Abstract theories, with the notable exceptions of those of the Divine Right of Kings and the Social Contract, have played a very small part in English history. Magna Charta is a typical English document because it is so practical. It is a mere summary of actual abuses and a bargain for their abandonment. It claims nothing new, but enunciates—or claims to enunciate—simply the old customs. England is a land, as the poet sings—

"Where freedom slowly broadens down  
From precedent to precedent."

*Thirdly*, principles were embodied in the Charter capable of progressive interpretation. The Charter laid down, for example,



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that no arbitrary feudal taxes were to be taken without "common consent of the realm." This principle could easily be extended, and was extended in later years, to the customs and to taxes on personal property. Again, the Charter laid down the principle that there was to be no arbitrary imprisonment, but only imprisonment after a lawful trial; the law might require alteration, but here was embedded the whole principle of personal liberty. The Charter may in the main have merely secured liberty for "freemen" (yet others than manorial lords were freemen, and, as a matter of fact, the Charter secured privileges for London and the burghers of the towns), but "freeman" is a phrase capable of progressive interpretation. With the emancipation of the villeins, it quickly came to include them. What the barons gained to-day, it was quite certain that the common people would gain to-morrow.

It is also to be noticed that the clause (§ 60) in which it is laid down that "all in our realm, whether clerks or laymen, shall observe in their dealings with their men the like customs and liberties with those which we have granted to our men," was inserted on the initiative of the Church and baronage. It may be the case that the "commons" gave no active assistance to the barons, but the barons clearly counted on their passive support, and could not have effected what they did without it. That the "commons" should not have actively assisted the King shows how completely times had altered since 1173. From these and other such considerations it is clear that Stubbs was right when he declared that "the whole of the constitutional history of England is a commentary on this Charter."

Men's motives are generally mixed—they are never wholly good nor wholly bad; and therefore, though we should be unwise to maintain that the leaders of the Church and baronage were actuated solely by disinterested regard for the common good, it is none the less clear that considerations of public welfare largely instigated their action. In procuring this Charter of Liberty for the English people, the Church of England, led by Langton, took a great and meritorious part. It would be outside our province to enumerate the various checks which the Charter imposed on royal oppression in the spheres of taxation and justice and the forests. But it is important for the purpose in hand carefully to note clause 1, which was added at Langton's

suggestion, and couples together indissolubly the liberties of the Church and the liberties of all freemen of the realm.

Freedom of Church secured. Its meaning.

“ We have granted to God, and by this our present charter have confirmed for us and for our heirs for ever, that the Church of England shall be free (“ quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit ”), and shall have its rights untouched and its liberties uninjured . . . we have also granted to all freemen of our realm all the annexed liberties . . . to hold for themselves and their heirs from us and our heirs for ever.” The liberty of the Church no doubt meant freedom from excessive taxation, such as John had extorted from them against their will in 1207, the right of canonical election to vacant sees and abbeys, and all the acknowledged privileges of the ecclesiastical courts. It did not mean freedom from the Pope.

The Pope annuls the Charter and suspends Langton.

Langton, the archbishop foisted on the English Church by the papal see, had acted throughout as an English patriot. He was one of the great nursing-fathers to English liberty. But he was soon disowned by his spiritual superior, Pope Innocent III. This great Pope either knew nothing about English politics—which is unlikely, as Rome was then the centre of all international knowledge—or else cared nothing for English liberty. John had surrendered to Innocent his kingdom, and Innocent in his turn was ready to do all he could to maintain his submissive vassal and his own grasp over England. Innocent willingly annulled the Charter and released John from his solemn oath; the papacy thus readily, as ever throughout the Middle Ages, helping to undermine the sense of truth and honour in public obligations. The barons retaliated by summoning Louis, the son of the French King, to their aid. Langton was suspended by a papal legate for refusing to excommunicate the barons, and summoned to Rome. The Pope forbade the French King to send any assistance to the baronial party, or injure in any way John, a feudatory of the papal see; but Louis adopted the rôle of a disobedient son, and was secretly assisted by his father. He came to England. The papal legate thundered his excommunications, and John showed some skill in the military operations which followed.

Accession of Henry III., 1216.

The difficulties of an impossible situation were soon ended by the deaths of Innocent (July 1216) and of John in the following October. The situation rapidly cleared. Henry III., a mere boy of nine years, had been bequeathed by John to the

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care of Gualo, the papal legate, and was immediately crowned by him in the abbey church of Gloucester. The new government was in the hands of Gualo, the legate, William Marshall, the Regent, and Peter des Roches, the Bishop of Winchester. Their first act was to reissue the Charter in the King's name. The chief cause of the baronial rising had been distrust of John, but this factor was now eliminated. There was no reason for continuing the struggle against the young Henry, when the original cause of revolt had ceased. Louis had made himself unpopular, and after the reissue of the Charter many of the barons left him for the King. Louis was defeated at Lincoln (1217), and by the treaty of Lambeth, in return for 10,000 marks, resigned all his claims. Henry III. retained the crown as a feudatory of the papal see.

Reissue  
of the  
Charter.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE CHURCH IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Precocious  
nature of  
the thir-  
teenth  
century.

THE thirteenth century has been described as a brilliant but precocious age. All kinds of new ideas were germinating. Not all of them by any means attained maturity; but whatever the direction in which we look, the age was fruitful in promise, pregnant with glorious possibilities. In some spheres achievement itself was great—witness the splendour of Gothic architecture.

It was an age of intellectual ferment, marked by the rise of the scholastic philosophy and the foundation of universities.

It was a century of great political development, spanning, not in England alone, the transition from purely feudal councils to representative parliaments.

It was an age of famous lawyers: an Edward I. of England; a Louis IX. of France; a Frederic II., the wonder of the world; an Alfonso of Castile.

It witnessed the great religious movement of the friars—the Franciscans, with their efforts to reach the poorer sections of the towns, a stratum of society untended by the ordinary ministrations of the Church; the Dominicans, with their zeal to check the spread of heretical opinions that flooded into Europe from the East, and from the Arabs of Spain. The century marked the final failure of the Popes to set up on earth the *regnum Dei*. The darker side of the picture is to be found in the corruption of Church and papacy, despite the struggle after higher ideals, and, for England, in the wearisome misgovernment of Henry III. These were the throes which preceded the birth of the nobler life that animated the times of the first Edward.

Henry III.

Henry III. was a mere child of nine years when he ascended the English throne, and he never grew up to the matured wisdom of real manhood. He was a person of cultivated and refined tastes, but as the ruler of a kingdom he was wholly incompetent. Such ideas as he had were fantastic in character

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and, from the point of practical statesmanship, entirely futile. The story of his reign, so far as it is necessary for our purpose, can soon be told. It divides into five periods.

(1) 1217-1227. This was the period of the King's minority, His reign marked by the growth in power of the Council, as distinct from the King, and by the continuous interference of the papacy in the government of the realm. For the good administration of this period credit is chiefly due to the papal legates, Gualo and Pandulph, to William Marshall, the Regent, and, after his death in 1219, to Hubert de Burgh.

(2) 1227-1232. This period was notable for the papal encroachments, but abuses were held in check by De Burgh till his dismissal in 1232.

(3) 1232-1258. This was a time of extraordinary misgovern- Misgovern-  
ment. ment, marked by the growth on every side of foreign influences. The King was a plaything in the hands of foreign favourites, mostly his wife's relations, Savoyards, such as Boniface of Savoy, made Archbishop of Canterbury, and William of Valence; or else the King's half-brothers, sons of Isabella of Angoulême. From this period dated the hatred of outlandish men so characteristic of the mediæval Englishmen. Another feature of the misgovernment was the crushing extortions of both King and Pope. The King needed money to finance futile expeditions to France and to replace the treasure squandered on favourites. The Pope needed money for his prolonged struggle with the Emperor, Frederick II. There were also constant complaints about the King's violation of the Charters, and of his failure to appoint ministers of State. He tried to rule by himself, without Justiciar, Chancellor, or Treasurer, and so became personally responsible for the total breakdown of government. The opposition to the foreign influences of the Pope and the favourites gradually gathered head under the leaders of the Church, such as Edmund Rich (d. 1240) and Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253), and the leaders of the barons, such as Gloucester and, greatest of all, Simon de Montfort. The climax came when Henry III. accepted the Sicilian crown for his son Edmund in 1255, and made England responsible to the Pope for a sum of 140,000 marks. The whole affair was an insidious attempt of the Pope to make England fight his battles against the imperial family of the Hohenstaufen. The Sicilian crown had already been twice offered to Richard of Cornwall, the

King's brother, but Richard had had the sense to refuse the gift. "It was," he said, "as though the Pope should offer to sell or give you the moon, and tell you to go and take it." King Henry III. was not so wise as his brother.

The barons could endure the misrule no more. Not content with a mere renewal of the Charter, they endeavoured, under the leadership of De Montfort, to remodel the whole of the existing executive system. This is the chief feature of the fourth period of the reign.

Provisions  
of Oxford.

(4) 1258-1265. By the Provisions of Oxford the monarchy was practically put into commission. The King was to be controlled in all his actions by a baronial council of fifteen. To this council all the chief ministers of State were to be responsible. It was the beginning of the attempts that continued for centuries to secure responsibility of ministers. There were to be three Parliaments a year, attended by the council of fifteen and twelve representatives of the baronage. The scheme of government propounded by the barons in 1258 broke down, partly because it was in advance of, and partly because it was behind, the requirements of the age. It was in advance of the age because times were not yet ripe for such a revolutionary change as to wrest from a King the right to appoint his own ministers. It was behind the requirements of the time because no solution for the constitutional difficulty could be adequate which ignored the rising political importance of the county courts and the chartered boroughs. Add to this the division between the progressive and the conservative wings of the baronial party, and the papal hostility to such far-reaching change, and the reasons for the baronial failure are obvious.

Their  
failure.

Parliament  
of 1265.

By 1265, Simon de Montfort's ideas had widened. His mind had been liberalised by his intimacy with Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and the leaders of the Franciscan movement, such as Adam Marsh. Moreover, since the baronial party had been broken up by internal divisions, it was necessary to form a party on a broader basis; so, extending the application of the representative principle, he took the memorable step of summoning to Parliament representatives of both towns and counties.

Battle of  
Evesham.

Simon's triumphs were short-lived. In the battle of Evesham (1265) he met with defeat and death. But his work had been done. "They come on bravely, but it was from me they

learned their order," said Simon when he saw the royalist troops advancing against him at Evesham. But the young Edward had learnt from Simon something more valuable than even the disposition of military forces. He inherited from him those principles of liberty, justice, and ordered progress which Simon had, in some measure at least, derived from his intimacy with the great churchmen Grosseteste and Adam Marsh.

(5) 1265-1272. The last period of Henry III.'s reign is without interest. A noticeable feature is the softened feeling in all the characters concerned. The King did not drive matters hard against the adherents of De Montfort. There were no complaints of misgovernment. In 1268 the young Edward started for the East on a crusade, only to be recalled by the news of his father's death in 1272.

Such in outline was the reign of Henry III. In mediæval times the life of the Church and the life of the State were so interwoven that it is often impossible to describe the one without the other. The activity of the Church has never been in a vacuum, and cannot be understood apart from the sphere in which it worked.

Let us now, retracing our footsteps, mark some of the more salient features of Church life during these years. The most prominent fact was the increased influence and encroachments of the papacy on both Church and State. Encroach-  
ment of  
papacy.

(1) First we must notice the novel extension of legatine power. Papal legates had come to England from time to time in preceding reigns, but in Henry III.'s reign the exercise of legatine power was unprecedented. To begin with, it was much more continuous. Gualo was legate from 1216 to 1218, Pandulph from 1218 to 1221. On the departure of the latter, Archbishop Langton obtained a promise from Honorius III. that no other legate should be appointed in his (Langton's) lifetime. This promise was kept, but after Langton's death many other papal legates and nuncios, such as Otho, 1237-1240, and Ottobon 1265-1268, were sent from Rome and resided in England. Furthermore, these legates were not charged with purely spiritual business; their functions were often political. Innocent III. and his successors interpreted as a very real thing the suzerainty accruing to them from John's cession of the kingdom. Gualo and Pandulph interfered in and controlled every detail of temporal administration. But to the nation at large this (1) Extension  
of  
legatine  
power.

exercise of political power by papal legates was naturally distasteful.

(2) Ap-  
pointment  
to bishop-  
rics.

(2) The second form of papal encroachment was interference in election to bishoprics. The electing chapters were between the hammer and anvil, the King and the Pope. In spite of the charters the King brought extreme pressure on the chapters to elect creatures, and not seldom discreditable creatures, of his own. In the frequent disputes between the chapters and the King lay the Pope's opportunity. Since papal confirmation to episcopal elections was necessary, the whole election was constantly reviewed by him. A few instances will illustrate.

In 1228, on the death of Langton, there was a dispute between the King and the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury. The King refused to accept the candidate chosen by the monks; the monks applied to Rome for the confirmation of their choice, but the King, by a lavish promise of money, induced the Pope to "plough" the monks' elect on his theological examination. He was reported by the examiners to have answered not only badly, but disgracefully ("non solum male sed pessime") to certain questions on divinity! The Pope thereupon quashed his election, and, illegally stretching his power, actually appointed, without any form of canonical election, Richard le Grand. On Richard's death in 1231 the Pope, for various reasons, quashed no fewer than three successive elections of the monks of Christ Church, and finally induced them to elect Edmund Rich.

In 1239, when the chapter of Winchester elected Ralph Neville, its choice was voided at the King's wish by the Pope. On William of Valence's death, the choice of the Winchester chapter, William of Raleigh, was confirmed by the Pope, in defiance of the King.

From these and other such instances it will be seen that the Popes had acquired a considerable power of interference in episcopal elections. By a judicious use of their power of confirmation, they had defrauded the English Church, and, ignoring her rights, had themselves appointed bishops to English sees.

(3) Fiscal  
encroach-  
ments.

(3) The third and most important form of encroachment was in taxation. In this as in many other enormities the Pope was assisted by the docility of his royal vassal. Pope and King in collusion drained the English milch cow dry. Papal taxation was of various kinds. (a) Peter's pence had originated in the eighth century, and continued. (b) The tribute of 1000 marks

(a) Peter's  
pence.  
(b) Tribute.



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promised by John for himself and his successors was paid throughout the reign. But this was not enough. The Pope proceeded to demand subsidies. (c) In 1226 the papal nuncio demanded a certain proportion of the cathedral and monastic revenues. The Pope lamented that a stigma of avarice attached to the Roman see, because of the enormous fees payable by those who had to transact business at Rome. To remove this stigma, he proposed that a grant, which would render the exaction of such fees unnecessary, should be made yearly from the cathedral and monastic revenues. But the bait was too obvious, and the English prelates, led by Langton, were not so easily caught. The consideration of the matter was postponed. In 1229 Pope Gregory IX., who was in the middle of his struggle with the Emperor and sorely in need of money, demanded, in collusion with the King, one-tenth of all property, lay and clerical. The barons, led by the Earl of Chester, absolutely refused to make such a grant, but the clergy were forced to submit. The collection of the tax in many places provoked popular risings. In 1240 the legate Otho demanded one-fifth of all goods, while in 1246 the Pope required no less than one-half of the whole ecclesiastical revenues of the country. Crushing exactions were raised from the people until the climax was reached at the time of the Sicilian business in 1255-1258. In 1258 the King announced to Parliament that the realm was pledged to the Pope for the sum of 140,000 marks. This led to the explosion marked by the provisions of Oxford. But these demands for the Pope himself were not all. In 1250 Henry III. had taken the vows of a crusader, and he was empowered by the Pope to levy taxation on the clergy for the purpose. (d) "Provisions" were another device for raising money. In defiance of the rights of patrons, the Popes nominated foreign favourites, generally Italians, to English livings. Most of these foreigners never came near their cures; at the best starveling vicars were appointed to do the work, while the revenues flowed abroad to reward Italian friends and servants of the Pope. The most wholesale instance of these papal provisions was found in 1240, when the Pope demanded from three of the English bishops that they should make provision by canonries or livings for three hundred Italian clerks, before any further preferment was conferred on an Englishman. But the system of providing for dependants had grown to be second nature with the Popes.

(e) *Annates.* There was the same wearisome tale year by year. (e) Another source of papal revenue was found in annates. The Pope towards the end of Henry's reign began to claim the first-fruits of bishoprics and valuable livings. This demand was further developed in the fourteenth century, and the sums so derived became a valuable asset of the papal exchequer. But the tale of extortion did not end even here. (f) Enormous sums were levied under the name of "procurations" by the papal agents and collectors. These were fees payable to support the dignity of papal envoys. Money, plate, provisions—nothing of the sort was amiss. Master Martin, the papal envoy in 1242, was afraid lest he should be thought to collect trifles; he was of opinion that the smallest present made him should be thirty marks, and he had a special liking for desirable palfreys as a gift! The King, after inquiry, in 1245 made the astonishing discovery that 60,000 marks—a sum three times greater than the royal revenue—flowed year by year out of England to support Romans and other Italians. In 1253 Grosseteste found that the income derived by foreign ecclesiastics from England had risen to 70,000 marks. Can anything be urged in extenuation of the papal action? This much may be said on behalf of the Popes. They were placed in an extremely difficult situation. They had thought it necessary, as a part of their duty to Latin Christendom, to wage a relentless war against the Emperor Frederic II. To them Frederic II. was detestable, not only on political grounds, but as a supporter of Saracenic and heretical opinions. To them he was Antichrist, and in fighting him they held that they were fighting the battle of the whole of Christendom; and though we can see that the dominating factor in the papal struggle against Frederic was lust for temporal dominion, this was not so clear either to them or their contemporaries.

Fatal effect on papal prestige. Placed, as they often were, in a critical position, the Popes found that they could only finance their cause by taxation of the faithful and by providing their supporters with valuable benefices in foreign countries. But the policy was short-sighted. It resulted in a glaring scandal, fatal to the spiritual interests of the countries concerned, and damaging in many ways to the moral credit of the papacy. Rome lost its hold on the affections of the English people. The chroniclers on every page denounce "the yawning gulf of papal needs," "the greed and avarice of

the Romans." In 1231 a secret society was formed of "men ready to die rather than tolerate the Romans benefited in England." Outrages followed at which the Justiciar himself, Hubert de Burgh, was thought to connive. Foreign ecclesiastics were attacked by masked men. The barns of absentee Romans were pillaged. The papal collector became the best-hated man in England. A single story will illustrate the general feeling. Master Martin was supposed to have brought from Rome blank parchments with the papal seals affixed, so that he could write on them whatever he wished. His extortions were so severe that the baronage, in 1245, sent a messenger ordering him to leave England immediately. Martin went to the King, but the King was irritated, and told Martin that he could with difficulty restrain the barons from tearing him in pieces. Martin, in alarm, asked for a safe-conduct out of the kingdom. The King, without his usual urbanity, answered, "The devil take you and give you a safe-conduct through hell." Martin was, however, given an attendant to escort him to Dover. On their journey they came across a group of people gathered by a wood. Martin in terror said to his attendant: "Alas! what I feared has happened—see, they are going to attack us. Ah! my friend Robert, have you son, grandson, kinsman, or friend for whom you desire ecclesiastical promotion? I am ready to obtain all you demand." Robert politely declined, but telling Martin to wait, he said that he would find out the purpose for which the men were assembled, and, if necessary, would show them the King's warrant. Having approached the group, he found that the men were engaged in the harmless occupation of negotiating a sale of timber; but returning to Martin quickly, he told him that the men were with difficulty prevented from tearing him in pieces, and urged him to hurry, and in the event of his escape never again come near the country.

Haired felt  
for papal  
collector.

More serious evidence of the antagonism felt towards the Roman extortion is to be found in the protest of the Berkshire rectors against the legates' demands in 1240. The Berkshire rectors pointed out that the Roman Church had its own patrimony, that other Churches had theirs; that estates had been given to the English Church by princes and nobles to promote religious life in England and that the patrimony of the English Church was not tributary to Rome. In 1245 the nobility of

Protest of  
Berkshire  
rectors.

Protest of  
English  
nobility.

Protest of  
Grosseteste.

England through their envoy presented to the Pope at the Council of Lyons a spirited protest against the whole system of Roman extortion and reservation of benefices for foreigners. They pointed out that the tribute promised by John had never been authorised by the council of the realm, and that the exercise of legatine authority in England without the King's consent was unlawful. In 1250 Grosseteste, the great Bishop of Lincoln, read a memorandum before the Pope and cardinals denouncing in fierce terms ecclesiastical abuses and tracing them to their origin in the Roman court itself, especially to the system of provisions. He told them plainly that the work of a parish priest, with all its duties of preaching, teaching, and administering charity, could not be performed by the hirelings of an absentee rector, especially when these hirelings did not receive sufficient to support life. In 1253 Grosseteste boldly refused obedience to a papal letter in which he was bidden to provide Innocent IV.'s nephew, Frederic de Lavagna, with a canonry of Lincoln. To the papal envoy he wrote an outspoken refusal. "The letter is not in harmony with apostolic holiness, but is utterly at variance therefrom. . . . It cannot be, therefore, that the apostolic see, to which has been given by our Lord power for edification, and not for destruction, should issue a command so hateful . . . nor can any one who is faithful to the said holy see obey commands such as this, even though they should emanate from the highest orders of angels . . . but must of necessity resist them with his whole strength . . . out of filial obedience I decline to obey—I resist, I rebel." When the purport of this letter was reported to Innocent, he is said in his wrath to have shouted out: "Who is this old dotard that dares to judge our deeds?" and he then proceeded to threaten that he would make Grosseteste an example and warning to the whole world, and that "our vassal, nay, our slave," the King of England, would be made to imprison him. He was only dissuaded from any rash step by the cardinals, who pointed out that the letter was founded on truth, and that Grosseteste himself was Catholic, more saintly and learned than they.

It is unnecessary to illustrate at greater length the antagonism and resentment bred by this foolish policy, even in devout churchmen, who never dreamed of denying the theoretical supremacy of the Pope over the Church of Christ.

Let us turn to other sides of Church life. The first half of the thirteenth century has often been called the Golden Age of English Monasticism, but it is difficult not to look on this description as exaggerated. The original monasticism of England had been of a missionary type. It was in a large measure by monks that England had been converted. At a later time the monasteries, especially those of the Benedictines, had been homes of learning. The Cistercians had done other work of a secular kind. While the older monasteries had been pioneers in agriculture, the Cistercians, having settled chiefly in the north, took to the work of pasture. They became large sheep-owners, and with the growing expansion of the wool trade, the greatest English industry in the thirteenth and following centuries, they became the most wealthy body in England. There is doubtless something fine in the ideal of monasticism. It represents the craving for a life in communion with God, apart from the distractions of the world. Its keynote is self-consecration and the life of prayer. But the wisest leaders of monasticism have seen, and history has shown the truth of the view, that when asceticism is left to itself, *i.e.* divorced from missionary zeal and learning, it quickly degenerates. The mere life of prayer and praise to God is of little value if a man does not also work for the things for which he prays and gives thanks to God.<sup>1</sup>

The Cistercians in the twelfth century did not engage in educational activity at all; and within two generations they had become a byword for pride and avarice. The monasteries remained of great influence because they were large and wealthy land-owning corporations, but as a spiritual force they rapidly declined. They became centres in which large bodies of men lived a comfortable and respectable, and in many ways privileged, existence. But the life was essentially narrow. Magnificent buildings were raised, some of which still survive. The chronicles of the monks are the source of our knowledge of those bygone centuries; their beautifully illustrated service books do infinite credit, so far as they go, to the monastic artists; the staple industry of the wool trade was developed

<sup>1</sup> St. Francis of Assisi pithily summed up this truth: "Tantum religiosus est bonus orator quantum est bonus operator"—"A man is a good prayer only in so far as he is a good worker"; and compare the remark attributed to St. Benedict himself, "Orat qui laborat."

by the Cistercians; but as the years went on the intellectual life of England ceased to beat within the monastic walls.

An attempt had already been made by Archbishop Baldwin (1185-1193) to divert part of the monastic revenues from Christ Church, Canterbury, to the foundation of a secular college. His aim was in this way to utilise some of the monastic wealth for the promotion of learning. The monastery of Christ Church fearing, probably with good reason, that Baldwin meditated further encroachments on their wealth and privileges, resisted his scheme. Attempts at conciliation failed. A wearisome struggle, involving both Pope and King, ensued between the monastery and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and ended finally in 1200 in the defeat of the Primate. It was almost the last effort to use monastic property for educational purposes before the Reformation. But it is interesting to note that the influence of Christ Church thenceforth continuously declined. Its share in the election of the Primate became shadowy. After the death of Baldwin only one more monk, Simon Langham (in 1362), was ever to sit in the seat of St. Augustine, though that seat from the Norman Conquest till the end of the twelfth century had been almost continuously occupied by monks.

Grosseteste's attitude to the monasteries.

The career of Grosseteste throws much light on the state of the English monasteries in the thirteenth century. Grosseteste is described by the great chronicler of St. Albans, Matthew Paris, as "the hammer and cruel persecutor of the monks (*religiosi*)."  
But being a monk, Matthew Paris wrote with prejudice. As a matter of fact, Grosseteste was an admirer of the monastic ideal. We gather from the record of his visitations, that in the monasteries as a whole there was little serious immorality; but he seems to have discovered a considerable departure from the monk's vow of absolute poverty, as we find him ordering the destruction of property owned by individual monks. When monks failed to keep their vows, Grosseteste was indeed severe. But his general cause of complaint against the monastic bodies was that they failed to assist adequately in the general work of the dioceses. Much of his time was occupied in disputes with monasteries. The cause of these disputes was either the attempts by the monasteries to reject episcopal visitation, or else the inadequate provision made by them for the spiritual care of the parishes, whose tithe they had appropriated. All the Cistercian houses enjoyed, by papal grant, exemption from

His complaint against them.

episcopal visitation. Some other houses had gained similar privileges. But most of the older Benedictine monasteries were still under the visitatorial powers of the bishop. Grosseteste held very strictly the view that it was the duty of a bishop to visit all the churches in his diocese, and it was this lofty conception of episcopal duty which brought him into collision with monastic houses, and involved him in a six years' struggle with his own dean and chapter.

The appropriation of livings by monastic bodies gave rise to growing scandal. It was said that in the thirteenth century more than two-thirds of the whole number of livings were so appropriated. The original idea of the parochial system was that in every parish there should be a priest, supported by the endowment of land and tithe, and responsible for the spiritual care of his parishioners. In many cases absentee rectors made arrangements with a monastery by which the monastery paid the rector an annual sum, and became responsible for the parish duty. In many other cases the advowson of the Church and its endowments had, in course of time, been assigned outright to the monastery. In such cases the monastery might make one of three arrangements. It might either itself undertake the duty of the Church, sending one of the monks to conduct the services; or it might make a temporary arrangement with some secular clerk; or it might appoint a perpetual vicar (*i.e.* deputy). This third arrangement was in such cases obviously the best. A temporary hireling or visitor from the monastic body could clearly not perform in any adequate way the continuous duties that devolve on a parish priest.

It was to promoting the appointment of perpetual vicars where churches were appropriated to monasteries, and to securing them adequate stipends, that Grosseteste devoted much of his energies, and in so doing he often found himself in collision with conventual bodies; but his efforts in this matter, even against exempt houses, were crowned with considerable success. Vicarages were created in large numbers.

The monasteries in the thirteenth century were lacking in missionary zeal. The friars arose to cover one portion of the field left open. They differed from monks in important respects. The monk was the apostle of the country, the friar of the towns. The ideal of the monk was a life of contemplation and retirement from the world. The ideal of the friar was a life

Appropriation of livings by monasteries.

Grosseteste advocates appointment of perpetual vicars.

Friars different from monks.

of work *in* the world. Monasticism lived on endowments. The friars even in their decadence were true to their rule of poverty; their friaries never boasted of magnificent churches; where property was given them it was vested in corporations of towns as a trust for the brethren. The friars were throughout, to use the words of Brewer, "the products of the voluntary system." The two great orders of friars were those of the Franciscans<sup>1</sup> and Dominicans,<sup>2</sup> founded respectively by St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic in the second decade of the thirteenth century. These two orders originally differed in their primary object. The Dominicans were founded to resist the wave of materialistic and Manichean<sup>3</sup> heresy that threatened to flood Europe. The revived study of Aristotle had re-entered Europe through Spain, whither the Moors had brought Arabian translations of the great Greek philosopher. The Aristotelian writings of Averroës (d. 1198) had much influence. But Averroës had, unfortunately, developed the most antichristian parts of the Aristotelian philosophy, such as the eternity of matter and the denial of human immortality. Oriental beliefs of a Manichean type were the basis of the Albigensian heresy, which spread over Provence in the early years of the thirteenth century. It was to check the growing power of these materialistic and Oriental heresies, and to restore the purity of the faith, that St. Dominic founded his order. The Dominicans were intended to be essentially a learned and a preaching order. They were to be in very truth watch-dogs of the Lord (*Domini canes*), set to ward off from the fold the wolves of heresy. A branch of the Dominican order settled in England, at London, Oxford, and elsewhere, as early as 1221, meeting with cordial welcomes from Archbishop Langton and from Grosseteste.

Aim of the  
Domi-  
nians.

Aim of the  
Francis-  
cans.

St. Francis had a different object in view. The son of a wealthy merchant at Assisi, he surrendered all that he had, to follow Christ. The character of St. Francis was perhaps more Christ-like than any other character in history. His mission was to the poor, the outcast, the suffering, and particularly to lepers, the abhorred pariahs of the mediæval age. To the

<sup>1</sup> The Franciscans were also called Friars Minor or Grey Friars.

<sup>2</sup> The Dominicans were also called Friars Preachers or Black Friars.

<sup>3</sup> The most prominent feature in Manichean heresy was the belief that everything which had to do with *matter*, e.g. marriage, property, churches, sacraments, was *evil*.



rural districts the monasteries were to some extent centres of religious and civilising influence ; every parish had, or was supposed to have, a priest responsible for its spiritual needs and the care of the sick and poor. But there was one section of the populace over which the parish priest either did not dare or did not care to exercise his pastoral office ; this section was the mass of very poor people who congregated in the suburbs of the towns. The well-to-do merchants and craftsmen lived in the higher portion of the town, protected against misfortune and illness—so far as possible—by membership in guilds. Over them the clergy exercised due pastoral care. But there was none to keep similar watch over the unguided mass of the very poor who dwelt in suburbs, down, perhaps, near the river-bank, under every circumstance of physical, moral, and spiritual degradation. These suburbs were a festering mass of dirt, poverty, and loathsome disease. It was there that leprosy, imported by the crusades, found a ready lodgement. The conditions under which this part of the people lived was one of nameless horror. Their wits sharpened by intercourse with their like, they quickly became a prey to spiritual as well as physical diseases, to weird forms of unconscious heresy. Those were the people to whom the Franciscans went as apostles of mercy. The Franciscan was essentially an apostle to the town. He took seriously his vow of poverty. To win the poor he became poor ; clothed in a scanty cloak, living upon alms alone, he came to these poor people as a ministering angel. The career of the Franciscan order illustrates both the merits and dangers of the voluntary system. Its early history signally displays its merits. Where the Church with its wealth had hitherto failed, there the Franciscans succeeded. Their success was indeed remarkable, for the friars were in a special sense janissaries of the Pope, and in the days of Henry III. the Pope was not popular in England. But the Franciscans' labour of love towards the poor, sick, and friendless, above all to the lepers, for Christ's sake, could not but win its due reward. Within thirty years of its arrival in England the Franciscan brotherhood numbered 1242. In the activities of the Franciscans various other features must be noticed. *First*, they set a new style of preaching ; the older orders and the parochial clergy had to a large extent neglected the work of preaching ; the Franciscans not only saw its

Characteristics of the Franciscans.

supreme importance, but also adopted a more racy style ; their addresses were full of witty anecdotes. As their founders had discouraged learning, the Franciscans took life itself as their school, and their sermons were founded on meditation and the experience of those among whom they moved. They loved to dwell on the human side of our Lord's life, on His practical works of mercy and healing. *Secondly*, as the Franciscans spent much of their time in tending lepers and other sick people, by the nature of their calling they were bound to study medicine. The friars in their poverty were unlikely to be plundered, and for this reason were much used as messengers by the Popes, often into distant countries. Thus the Franciscans gained knowledge of many lands and their products. It was therefore no accident that many doctors were found among their members, or that scientific inquiry was given a great impetus by them. It was no matter of chance that Roger Bacon, the pioneer of real experimental philosophy, and in some ways the greatest man of the thirteenth century, was a Franciscan friar. St. Francis himself had prohibited study, both religious and profane. On being told that a great doctor, Alexander of Hales, had joined his order, he was reported to have said, " I am afraid, my son, that such doctors will be the destruction of my vineyard. They are the true doctors who exhibit good works for the improvement and edification of their neighbours." " Suppose," he said on another occasion, " that you had learning enough to know all things, that you were acquainted with all languages, the courses of the stars, and all the rest, what is there in that to be proud of ? A single demon knows more on these subjects than all the men in this world put together. But there is one thing that the demon is incapable of, and which is the glory of men—to be faithful to God."<sup>1</sup> But his followers very soon found it necessary to modify his views about learning. Experience convinced them that to win for Christ the souls among whom they worked, mere works of charity would not suffice. In England they were encouraged by Grosseteste to study ; for he told them that unless they cherished study and divine learning, it would certainly happen to them as to other orders—that they would walk in the darkness of ignorance. The Dominicans had already settled in Oxford in 1221, and the Franciscans in 1224 followed their example. A school was set up in their friary at Oxford, and no

Friars  
come to  
Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> See Sabatier's *St. Francis of Assisi*, English trans., p. 281.

less a person than Grosseteste himself undertook the post of reading lectures there to the brethren. Before long lectureships were set up in other of their settlements. The Oxford school of Franciscans quickly made its mark. Franciscan professors from England were much in demand at continental universities. From the Oxford school were to come in later generations such great schoolmen as Duns Scotus and Ockham. The systematic study of theology was begun, but the Franciscans never allowed their preaching to be involved in dialectical subtleties. All their learning was brought to the test of life and adapted to their audiences. They became all things to all men. To the simple they were simple; to the learned they were learned. At Oxford they evolved a scientific theology. Their aim, to use the words in which Dr. Rashdall describes the scholastic philosophy as a whole, was "the fusion of the highest speculative thought of the time with its profoundest spiritual convictions; the reconciliation of the new truth of the present with the kernel of truth embodied in the traditional creed." They found Aristotle enthroned in the schools. Through the Arabian translations introduced from Spain, through the diffusion of Greek MSS. after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, the works of Aristotle had found their way into Europe. From Aristotle the Franciscans and others learnt logical method, precision of terms, and the whole range of the Aristotelian learning. To the "Ethics" the Franciscans with their practical bent gave special attention.

It could not be expected that the friars would be altogether welcomed by the parochial clergy and the monks. They were regarded as interlopers, and undoubtedly they did encroach, as the years passed by, on the parochial system. They were accused of using the confessional to acquire influence at the expense of the parochial clergy; they became unpopular for their papalism; in the fourteenth century they sank to the level of idle mendicants, quacks, and hucksters, bringing down upon themselves the well-merited satire of Langland and Chaucer and the stern denunciation of Wycliffe. In their fall they revealed all the evils of the voluntary system; when clergy and preachers are dependent for their very livelihood on the people to whom they minister, how can they boldly preach the gospel or denounce vice? They must inevitably fall to the level of the society in which they live. But this is to anticipate. In the early part of the thirteenth century the University of

The friars  
in their  
decline.

Rise of  
University  
of Oxford.

Oxford, as we have seen, was rising into eminence as a place of religion and learning. The university, or *studium generale*, was one of the typical products of the Middle Ages. A *studium generale* was an institution to which students from all parts were invited, and a seat of learning in which at least one of the higher studies, theology, law, or medicine, was pursued. In every *studium generale* there was also a guild of masters. The universities on the Continent derived their origin from the cathedral schools. But Oxford, lying as it did in the diocese of Lincoln, did not grow up under the shadow of a cathedral. It is probable that the University of Oxford owed its rise to an exodus of English scholars from the University of Paris in 1167 at the time of Henry II.'s quarrel with Becket; but the distinctive features of a university were not found at Oxford till close on the end of the twelfth century. The office of Chancellor of the university emerged about the year 1214. Grosseteste, when he presided over the schools of the university, was simply called, "Master of the schools." On the Continent the Chancellor of the university was a member of the cathedral chapter. But the Chancellor of Oxford, no doubt owing to the distance, was never a member of the Lincoln chapter. Though theoretically the bishop's officer, he very soon became quite independent. We have already mentioned the fame which Oxford acquired through its Franciscan teachers. Before the close of Henry III.'s reign the Oxford Franciscans had already produced two great men—Adam Marsh, the *doctor illustris*, famous both for his learning and practical genius, the friend of Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort; and Roger Bacon, a man of extraordinary versatility, interested alike in medicine, physical science, mathematics, theology, and philosophy. Roger Bacon was the father of experimental science; born at a later age, he might have achieved as much as his more famous namesake. Confined for long tracts of time to the forced seclusion of a cloister, deprived of papers and materials for his work by ignorant friends, it was only when Pope Clement IV. relaxed the rules of his order that Bacon was allowed to show the fruit of his research and thought. His insight into the scientific future was marvellous. With prophetic gaze he saw the advent of telescopes, steamships, suspension bridges, flying machines, and gunpowder. His was a precocious genius! The distinguishing feature of Oxford University, *i.e.* the collegiate system, had its

origin at the close of Henry III.'s reign in the foundations of University and Merton Colleges. Hitherto all undergraduates had lived in halls rented from the townspeople. If the small population of England and the difficulties of travel are taken into consideration, the number of undergraduates was quite extraordinary. They seem to have numbered at least three thousand, *i.e.* they were as numerous as they are to-day.<sup>1</sup> They were a turbulent society, fond of rioting, anti-papal in sympathy—witness the riot that marked the visit of the papal legate in 1237—full of interest in politics, adherents of the reforming De Montfort party, a society in which thought rapidly fermented, often with strange results.

Before closing this brief survey of Henry III.'s reign it will be well to say a few words about the bishops of the time and the workings of the parochial system, so far as these subjects have not been already passed under review. Some of the bishops were mere creatures of the King, and far from being ornaments of the sees they filled. It was difficult, therefore, for the bishops as a whole to denounce undue secular interference in things ecclesiastical, as they found in 1253, when four of their number waited on the King to claim freedom for ecclesiastical elections, and the King in his reply pointed out that the whole four of them owed their appointments to royal pressure exercised on the chapters; and he expressed a hope that they would first set an example by resigning sees thus unlawfully gained. The appointment of Boniface of Savoy, the uncle of the Queen, and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1245-1270, was one of the most scandalous. He was quite unfitted for his exalted position; when forced on an unwilling chapter in 1243, he was only a sub-deacon. He was not consecrated by Innocent IV. till 1245, and actually not enthroned at Canterbury till 1249. He spent most of his time in wringing money from his diocese and province, and trying to make good his claims of universal visitation over the whole province of Canterbury, thus involving himself and others, *e.g.* the dean and chapter of St. Paul's and his suffragan bishops, in constant litigation. How unsuited he was for his position is best illustrated by the story of his attempted visitation of the priory of St. Bartholomew's in London. The prior being absent, the sub-prior and brethren escorted him with an honourable procession into the church. But when the

Bishops of  
the reign.

<sup>1</sup> Others put the number as high as 15,000.

brethren explained to him that the right of visitation belonged, not to the archbishop, but to the Bishop of London, Boniface, bursting into a terrible fit of rage and swearing, rushed at the sub-prior and, to quote the words of Matthew Paris, "impiously struck with his fist the holy priest, belabouring the old man's venerable face and hoary head, shouting, 'This is the way to treat you English traitors.'" The sub-prior's splendid cope was destroyed, and the sub-prior himself was forced against the woodwork dividing two stalls, and suffered permanent internal injury from the archbishop's violence. A scuffle followed, and in the scuffle it was noticed, much to the horror of those present, that the archbishop was wearing a coat of mail beneath his episcopal robes. Boniface's attendants similarly attacked the other monks, and the church was defiled with blood. It is needless to say that in the constitutional struggle between the King and the reforming party, Boniface sided with the King. But all the bishops were not like Boniface. Two great leaders of the national party in Church and State were found in Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1234-1240, and Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253. Mediæval bishops could never resist the temptation to dispute with their cathedral chapters over their respective rights, nor the luxury of endeavouring to assert doubtful claims of visitation over other bodies. A considerable part of Edmund Rich's primacy was taken up with disputes of this nature, but his primacy is more memorable for his opposition to the alien and unconstitutional party of the King's advisers, headed by Des Roches, and for the relative independence of his attitude towards the Pope; on more than one occasion he ignored the papal jurisdiction. But Edmund Rich was a saintly ascetic and scholar, little suited to the active life of a leader of men. In 1240, filled with despair at the extortion and encroachments of Pope and King, he retired to the monastery of Pontigny, and shortly afterwards died.

Edmund  
Rich.

Robert  
Grosse-  
teste.

His learn-  
ing.

Grosseteste was the greatest bishop of the thirteenth century. In our sketch of the Franciscans the important part played by Grosseteste's friendship towards them has already been noticed. He was, in the first place, a prince of learning. We could not have a better judge than Roger Bacon, and the latter describes him as "perfect in divine and human wisdom." In fact, he was as versatile as Roger Bacon himself. Philosophy, theology, science, poetry, agriculture, law, medicine, all attracted his

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interest. He was a great believer in the correlation of the sciences and the ultimate unity of all knowledge. He was one of the first to encourage knowledge of original texts, Greek and Hebrew, in preference to the current second-hand translations. It was under his direction that the first translation from the Greek of Aristotle's "Ethics" was made. But greatly though he valued Aristotle, his admiration was not blind. In the sciences he saw the full importance of the experimental as against the *a priori* method of Aristotle. In theology his constant appeal to the text of Holy Scripture must be noted. He was a famous preacher, and often preached, we are told, to the people in the English tongue—a great departure. His attitude to the papal see ought perhaps to be more clearly defined. We have seen him attacking abuses which had their centre in the papal court itself. We have seen him blankly refusing to institute a person presented to a prebend by papal provision. On more than one occasion he boldly opposed papal extortions. But we must not, on that account, picture him as a precursor of the Reformation. He was nothing of the kind. He was, on the contrary, a loyal son of Rome, and never dreamed of questioning the supremacy of the Roman see any more than of questioning the supremacy of the King, whose extortions and misgovernment he likewise opposed. Though he denounced the system of provisions, because it imperilled the salvation of souls, on the other hand he quite recognised the duty of loyal churchmen to support the Roman Church when in distress by grants of money. Writing in 1246, he asserted that it would have been like "the sin of witchcraft" and "the crime of idolatry," to have refused the papal demand for money when "our spiritual father and mother are driven into exile, on every side persecuted and despoiled of their patrimony." But as the situation of the Popes became more normal, Grosseteste was as forward as any in opposing papal extortion. He was a papalist, and it was because he saw that the moral foundations of both Pope and Church were being undermined that he bitterly attacked such misgovernment. His aim throughout was to strengthen the papacy and save it from itself. He was essentially a reformer. In the political sphere he sympathised with the progressive party, and detested the continuous misgovernment of the King. He was throughout the champion of popular rights against royal tyranny; and for Simon de Montfort, with whom he was

His appeal to Scripture.

His attitude to papacy.

Political sympathies.

on intimate terms, he wrote a work on the "Principles of Kingship and Tyranny." His wish was to bring into line the reforming parties in Church and State. But to no churchman did he yield in his desire to maintain intact clerical immunities, and to remove the Church from secular influences. He saw too clearly what secular influence meant when exercised by a King like Henry III. But above all things Grosseteste was a great bishop. Men owed to him quite a new conception of the episcopal office. His aim was to raise throughout his vast diocese the standard of clerical and parochial efficiency. He set other bishops an example in refusing to admit improper nominees to benefices. While he was still bishop-elect, a monk brought him a mere deacon for institution into an ecclesiastical benefice. The deacon was clothed in scarlet, and wore rings on his fingers. Grosseteste, after a few questions, was confirmed in his estimate of the man, and severely rebuked the monk because he had brought for institution a man who showed by his dress and gait that he was far better adapted to the slaying than the saving of souls. But the greatest innovation in Grosseteste's episcopacy was his determination to carry out a systematic visitation of his whole diocese. No English bishop had ever attempted this before. Non-exempt monasteries and the parochial clergy were alike visited. Grosseteste went through every rural deanery, summoning both the clergy and people to meet him. The people were bidden to bring their children for confirmation and to confess their sins. From this systematic visitation many results followed. We have already mentioned the persistency with which he urged the formation of perpetual vicarages. His aim always was to promote the spiritual welfare of the parishes. Further, having gained knowledge of the state of his diocese, in 1236 he issued constitutions to his clergy. These constitutions and others of the same nature, together with the decrees of the legatine council of 1237, throw considerable light on the state of contemporary parish life. They show the prevalence of drunkenness, of orgies at funeral wakes, of fairs held in churchyards, of carnivals held within cathedral precincts. All these Grosseteste tried to put down. In his constitutions he urged his clergy to instruct their parishioners, by means of the *English* tongue, in the Ten Commandments, in the meaning of the sacraments, and in the Christian faith as contained in the creeds. The clergy were to

"A great  
bishop."

Visitation  
of his  
diocese.

Parish life.



be diligent in reading the Holy Scriptures and instructing the young in the elements of the faith. They were not to be married, nor engaged in secular occupations, nor frequenters of taverns. All beneficed clergy were to take priests' orders, if they had not already done so, and reside in their parishes. One point calls for attention. It is clear from the constitutions of this and the following centuries that the attempt to enforce clerical celibacy was not successful. The clergy were men; the attempt to impose on them compulsory celibacy caused a growing scandal. Many of them lived with women who were their wives in everything but name. But this persistent violation of the Church's order must have diminished their own self-respect and lessened their moral influence over the people. In 1253 Grosseteste died. Whether we regard him as the advancer of learning and encourager of the friars, or as the nationalist leader against papal encroachments, or as the close ally of the progressive party in the State, or as the great bishop, we must admit that he was one of the grandest figures of the thirteenth century

In 1272 Edward I., though still away on crusade, succeeded to the English throne. Edward I. is one of the greatest in the whole line of English Kings. In private life he was pure, true, and high-minded; in public life he showed an instinctive sympathy with his people; he was a nursing father to their constitutional life. His reign was one of legal definition, in which the rights of the crown and the different sections of society were fixed with precision. The one feature in Edward which marred an otherwise noble character was a tendency towards legal chicane—to take his pound of flesh when that pound was legally his; to sacrifice the spirit while observing the letter; he never encroached on the rights of others, but he was fully resolved to maintain his own. His motto, graven on his tomb in Westminster Abbey, was "Pactum serva" (keep troth). He may not have always followed this maxim during his father's reign, when his filial duty and his political obligations pulled him different ways; but once King, he observed it almost though not quite uniformly.

The reign of Edward I. may be regarded in many ways as completing the work of Henry II. Henry II. had brought Ireland into dependence on England. Edward I. subdued the principality of Wales (1276-1284); he also effected the subjugation of Scotland (1292-1307); but the fruits of his work

Accession  
of Edward  
I., 1272.

Character.

Compared  
with Henry  
II.

were thrown away by his unworthy son and successor. The internal policy of both Henry II. and Edward I. was the same. They desired the consolidation of the kingdom under a national monarchy. But Edward had a genuine sympathy and love for his people which Henry II. never had. Edward desired to take them into partnership. He was the founder of the English Parliament.

The powers which were likely to thwart both Kings in their aim at national consolidation were twofold—the baronage and the Church. Following in the footsteps of Henry II., Edward I. desired to “eliminate feudalism” from the sphere of government. By his use of the *quo warranto* writs, Edward reduced the feudal jurisdictions; he discarded the feudal levy, and fell back on the ancient obligation incumbent on every citizen of serving in the host; by “commissions of array” he called out the number of troops that he required. Men were bound to bear arms, not according to their tenure, but according to their wealth. Again, the council of the nation was transformed. Edward I. was the founder of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. In the former the right to sit was henceforth, speaking broadly, conferred by *writ*, not by tenure; in the latter *representation*, not tenure, was the qualification for membership. Similarly in the sphere of taxation, the guiding principle was no longer to be tenure, but the amount of a man’s wealth. A man was to be taxed no longer because he held by a certain tenure of land from the crown, but according to his wealth. In his resolve to reduce the power of the baronage Edward succeeded. But to eliminate from the Church every factor antagonistic to national unity was more difficult. For in its essence the Church was international. The Church of England, including as it did all the people of England, recognised the supremacy of the Roman bishop in things spiritual. The Pope was the source of spiritual jurisdiction. The situation had been further complicated by John’s cession of the kingdom to the Pope as suzerain, and by the fact that the Pope, often in collusion with King Henry III., had, as we have seen, made many administrative encroachments. Edward’s relations to the papacy can soon be explained. Neither in 1273, on the death of Boniface, nor in 1278, was he able to secure the primacy for his great minister Robert Burnell. Though he induced the monks of Canterbury in 1278, and the

Edward  
and the  
Church.

Relations  
to papacy.

monks of Winchester in 1280, to elect Burnell to the vacant sees of Canterbury and Winchester respectively, in each case the Pope refused confirmation, fearing, no doubt, that Burnell would unduly support the royal, as against the papal, power. Edward had perforce to yield, and acknowledge the power which the Popes by encroachment had gained over the elections to bishoprics. But when the Popes in the bulls which confirmed elections professed to confer the temporalities as well as the spiritualities of the sees, Edward was quick to resent the aggression, and refused to give or restore the temporalities till the bishops had renounced the offensive clause of the papal bull.

In 1296 a more critical cause of quarrel arose when Boniface VIII., the last of the great mediæval Popes, issued the famous bull, "Clericis Laicos," which, under penalty of excommunication, forbade the clergy to pay taxes to princes, and princes to demand such taxes from the clergy. Boniface VIII. may have had the laudable desire to check wars which were financed in large measure by taxation wrung from the clerical estate, but to all temporal rulers the claim seemed monstrous. It was a critical moment in Edward's reign, as danger was threatening both from France and Scotland, when the clergy, headed by Archbishop Winchelsey, obeyed the bull and refused to pay taxes. Edward instantly replied in the only possible way. He outlawed the clergy. If they would not pay for, neither would they obtain, the protection of the law. The clergy soon yielded, and the Pope had to explain away his bull by pointing out that it did not forbid the clergy to make voluntary grants. It was little to Edward whether they made voluntary grants or paid taxes, so long as the money came into the royal treasury. So the crisis passed.

In 1299 Boniface made another extraordinary claim. By a bull issued at Anagni he asserted that Scotland was a fief of the Holy See, and forbade Edward to disturb it. Edward referred this bull to a Parliament held at Lincoln in 1301. The Parliament was memorable for a reply to the Pope framed by the baronage of England. The barons indignantly denied the validity of the papal claim. They bluntly told the Pope that "neither did the Kings of England answer, nor ought they to answer, concerning their rights in the aforesaid kingdom, or other their temporalities, before any judge, ecclesiastical or secular, by reason of the free pre-eminence of the estate of their

Edward  
and the  
bull  
"Clericis  
Laicos."

Barons  
deny papal  
suzerainty.

royal dignity and custom unbrokenly preserved at all times." They then proceeded to declare, "that our aforesaid lord the King, for the rights of his kingdom of Scotland or other his temporalities, shall in no wise answer judicially before you . . . neither shall he send into your presence proctors for that purpose." It is to be noted that the clergy, probably at the instigation of Winchelsey, did not co-operate with the baronage in this reply.

In 1307 a petition was presented to the King in Parliament against the abuse of papal provisions and other papal exactions. But no definite action was taken; for Clement V., formerly subject of Edward, was now Pope, and by the suspension of Winchelsey, whom Edward bitterly hated for his action in 1297, had earned the gratitude and goodwill of the King. Just at the end of his reign Edward fell back on the less national and less noble attitude of conniving in return at papal extortion.

With the Church as a whole Edward's attitude was no less firm, confronted as he was by two such resolute archbishops as Peckham, a Franciscan friar (1279-1292), and Winchelsey (1294-1313).

Edward's  
attitude to  
the Church.

The words of the Osney chronicler, "Ut esset clerus sicut et populus," admirably sum up the King's attitude. He was determined that the Church should form no "imperium in imperio"; churchmen must claim no privileges which did not harmonise with their duty as citizens; they must pay taxes on a new and more accurate assessment, the *taxatio* of Nicholas IV., drawn up in 1291; they must be hindered from accumulating more land in mortmain (1279); the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts must be strictly limited, and the limitation enforced by royal prohibitions. The clergy, according to Edward's idea, were to sit as an estate, and co-operate with the two other estates in Parliament. In the history of Edward's relations with the Church the critical years were 1279, 1285, 1294-1297.

In 1279 Peckham, in an ecclesiastical council at Reading, had threatened with excommunication all those who interfered with the spiritual courts; he also interfered with matters purely secular by ordering the clergy to post a new copy of Magna Charta annually in cathedral and collegiate churches. Edward summoned him before his council and caused him to rescind the objectionable decrees. Peckham, undaunted, in a

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council held at Lambeth in 1281, again tried to extend the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts.

But his aggressive policy was boldly stopped by the King. In 1279 the great statute of Mortmain was passed, forbidding the further accumulation of landed property by religious bodies. The motive which prompted this act was the loss sustained, by the King and other lords, of feudal dues, such as escheats, wardships and marriage fines. In future if any man alienated land to a religious body, his immediate superior could retake possession, and if he failed, then the lord next above him; while the King, in default of mesne lords doing their duty, was entitled to ultimate re-entry.

In 1285 the King, by the writ of *circumspecte agatis*, carefully defined the limits of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The years 1294-1297 were the most critical in Edward's reign. In 1294 he was threatened with danger from every side. Madoc revolted in Wales; war with France was imminent, over Gascony; while the Scotch formed an alliance with the French and were ready for rebellion. The critical position in which Edward found himself led to oppressive taxation. The King demanded from the assembled clergy one-half of their revenues; the clergy were without a leader, as Peckham had died in 1292, and the see of Canterbury was still vacant; under a threat of outlawry they were compelled to yield. But the political atmosphere did not clear.

The year 1297 was the most dangerous through which the King ever passed. The war with France continued; a national rising in Scotland under Wallace threatened the English power; Edward was driven by force of circumstances into many high-handed and arbitrary actions; at the most critical point in his whole career he found himself thwarted by the coalition of baronial and clerical opposition. The barons, led by Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and Bohun, Earl of Hereford, were actuated by thoroughly selfish motives. On technical quibbles Bigod and Bohun refused to serve the King abroad. In reality the barons were jealous of the concentration of the old earldoms in the royal family and the growth in other ways of the royal power; their chief aim was the winning of social privileges for themselves. The situation was quite different from that of 1258. In 1258 the barons had to do with a weak and faithless King, who had consistently misgoverned, but in 1297 the King was Edward,

a man who had spent the best years of his life in developing the constitutional action of his people, who had laid down the great constitutional maxim, "that the thing which touches all shall be approved of all," and had summoned the model Parliament of 1295.

The clergy were now led by Archbishop Winchelsey, and their position was complicated by the bull "Clericis Laicos" (see above). Boniface explained away his bull, and the clergy henceforward made voluntary grants to the crown in convocation. The policy of Winchelsey was not far-sighted; the clergy by ceasing to grant taxes to the King would inevitably have lost all share in controlling the national policy. It was easy to see the result which would follow from such blind obedience to the bull "Clericis Laicos." The reign of Henry III. had made it abundantly clear that by collusion between King and Pope taxes on the Church would be levied for avowedly spiritual objects, and then devoted in part to the royal needs. The real sufferer would inevitably have been the Church of England. However that may be, Edward never forgave Winchelsey for the humiliation to which he had been exposed, and when opportunity offered, did not forget to repay him in kind. The second and by far the greatest result of those critical years was the calling of the model Parliament in 1295; lords spiritual and temporal, representatives of shires and boroughs, and the lower clergy were all summoned. The clerical assemblies or convocations had led the way in the development of the representative principle. Originally clerical assemblies had consisted of prelates only. In 1225 Langton had summoned in addition proctors for the cathedral and monastic chapters; in 1258 archdeacons were summoned with letters of proxy from their clergy. Finally, in 1283, the convocation of Canterbury reached the form it subsequently retained. To it were summoned the bishops, abbots, deans, archdeacons, together with two representatives from the clergy of each diocese and one representative from each chapter.

Edward adopted this system of representation in his summons of the clerical estate to the model Parliament of 1295. The bishops were summoned separately, and in what is known as the *praemunientes*<sup>1</sup> clause of the writ were forewarned to bring

<sup>1</sup> This clause is still retained in the writ summoning a bishop to Parliament. He is bidden to come forewarning (*praemunientes*) his dean and archdeacon and the

Bull of  
"Clericis  
Laicos."

Model Par-  
liament,  
1295.

Growth of  
Convoca-  
tion.

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with them their greater clergy in person, and the representatives of the diocesan clergy and cathedral chapters. It is to be noticed that the clergy, except the prelates, very soon gave up attendance in Parliament. They were content to be represented by their bishops, and preferred to vote their grants to the crown in convocation.

A third result of these critical years, 1294-1297, was the confirmation of the charters—a fitting close for the century of which they had been a great achievement. This confirmation was wrung from the reluctant Edward by the combined opposition of the great barons and the clergy under Winchelsey. The King was extremely powerful, and it was no doubt well that the monarchy should be reminded of the limitations on its power. But it was ungenerous to take advantage of such a King as Edward when he was involved in national embarrassments due to no fault of his own. Edward never forgave the humiliations which Winchelsey in this and other matters had brought upon him.

In 1305 the Archbishop of Bordeaux, a subject of Edward, became Pope as Clement V., and did not scruple to sacrifice Winchelsey to the wishes of the King. Accused by the King of treasonable plots, Winchelsey was in insulting terms suspended and summoned to Rome (1306). In 1307 the great King, when on his march northwards to punish the Scots, died at Burgh-on-Sands.

representatives of the clergy also to attend. *N.B.*—The forms of summoning a bishop to Parliament and to convocation differ. To Parliament a bishop is summoned by a writ straight from the crown. In the case of convocation, when the Archbishop of Canterbury has received from the crown the writ authorising convocation to meet, he writes to the dean of the province (*i.e.* the Bishop of London) bidding him summon the suffragan bishops of the province. In the province of York, the Archbishop, on receipt of a writ from the crown, summons his suffragans and other clergy directly by his own writ.

Confirma-  
tion of the  
charters.

## CHAPTER X

### THE CHURCH AND THE WYCLIFFITE MOVEMENT

"Avig-  
nonese  
captivity."

WITH Boniface VIII. the mediæval papacy fell. His successor, Clement V., unable to face the troubles fomented for him in Italy by the French King, moved the papal court in 1305 to Avignon. Avignon was just outside the frontiers of France proper, but from this time the papacy passed under French influence, and became a satellite of the French crown. For more than seventy years this "Avignonese captivity" continued. In the luxurious climate and surroundings of Avignon, the corruptions of the papacy found a favourable soil, and shot up in rank profusion. It was hardly possible for the Pope, when his French leanings were notorious, to pose as an embodiment of the moral law, or as an impartial arbiter between nations. When England was presently involved in a hundred years' war with France, it was not likely that she would regard the Pope as other than a hated alien. She soon came to regard the money that flowed from England to Avignon as wealth used to finance her enemies. There was a rhyme current in England shortly after 1356—

"Now is the Pope become French, and Jesus become English;  
Now will be seen who will do more, the Pope or Jesus."

The reign of Edward II. (1307-1327) calls for little notice. He has rightly been called the first King of England since the Norman Conquest who was not "a man of business." His tastes were low, and he delighted in the society of bargees and grooms; he had the misfortune of constantly forming attachments to unworthy favourites, such as Piers Gaveston. The one redeeming feature in his character was perhaps his constancy to them. But his whole reign was a series of miserable personal squabbles. His opponents were equally worthless. Society was demoralised, and the bishops raised by the King to the episcopal office were court intriguers, whose predominant features were avarice and worldliness. The worst of the lot was perhaps



Orleton, Bishop successively of Hereford, Worcester, and Winchester. In the treasonable plot by which the King was deposed, and then cruelly murdered, Orleton played an odious part. He is said to have sent a message as cryptic as a Delphic oracle to secure at once the murder of the King and his own safety ("Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est"). One event of ecclesiastical importance must not be omitted in a notice of his reign. In 1312 the great order of crusading knights known as the Templars was suppressed. This was done by the Pope at the instigation of the French King, who desired to annex the French property of the order. Like all societies with secret rites of initiation, the Templars were unpopular. Mysterious tales, not unlike those told about the primitive Christians, were widely prevalent. Rumour spoke of their secret murders, their blasphemies, their devil-worship, their incestuous orgies. The tales were wholly improbable. But despite its great services in the past, the order was dissolved; its property in England was handed over to the other great crusading order, the Knights Hospitallers.

Suppression of the Templars.

In 1327 Edward III. succeeded to the throne; his reign of fifty years is memorable, not for the glorious victories—Sluys, Crécy, Poitiers—with which his name is associated in popular imagination, but for very different reasons. Even if we look to his military career, the glamour of his great victories must not make us forget that if the early stages of his war brought glory and conquests, the later stages were marked by loss and failure. The bald fact remains that as a result of his reign England was stripped of her foreign possessions. At his death in 1377 she owned less territory in France than she did in 1327. Probably Edward never desired the French crown at all; his policy was dictated by a desire to succour the Low Countries, to which England was attached by commercial interests. But apart from changes produced in the art of war, the struggle was important. A noticeable feature of the age was the growth of national feeling. It was the age in which vernacular literature—at once a sign and a cause of the change—sprang into existence. If Italy had her Dante, England had her Chaucer and her Wycliffe. The war with France fostered the growth of national feeling; beginning as a quarrel between princes, it ended as a strife between nations. But with the rise of nations the old mediæval idea of the unity of Christendom under its two heads,

Reign of Edward III.

Pope and Emperor, passed away. The conception of "national" churches was not far distant.

There was a second important result which issued from this prolonged war. The old methods of raising troops were found inadequate. Edward began the system of raising troops by indenture of agreement. The King, for example, wanted a thousand men. He would make a contract with a nobleman by which, in return for a fixed sum of money, the nobleman engaged to put at his disposal a thousand men for a certain period. This was the origin of that "bastard feudalism" which terrorised the country-side, overthrew the administration of royal justice, and substituted for it the violence of armed retainers. The soldiers who returned from Edward's wars glutted with plunder of the French were not likely to return to the quiet dulness of country life. They remained in the service of the great lords and wore their livery, while the lords in their turn engaged to "maintain" the causes of their men in the courts of law. The result can be seen in the pages of the Paston Letters; juries and judges were bribed or intimidated by great nobles; the verdicts of the courts were overridden by acts of violence; quarrels between great nobles were settled by private war; the county courts were broken up by scenes of violence, and representatives favoured by the local magnates were returned to Parliament. Society approached nearer and nearer to the breakers of anarchy. The sins of the fathers were visited on the children. The character of Richard II. must always remain a problem, but it is quite a plausible reading of his character to maintain that in the last act of the drama of his reign, when he made a bold bid for absolute power, he was only seeking a refuge from anarchy, and trying to create for himself what the Wars of the Roses created for the Tudors.

In the pages which follow we shall have to trace the mediæval Church in its decadence and decline. It is only fair to realise that the demoralisation of the Church was only part of the general demoralisation, and that it was difficult for true religion to flourish amid the avarice, the worldliness, the injustice, the rapine that marked the dissolution of society. The "spirit of the age" was against it.

There was one other event in Edward III.'s reign which acted as a powerful solvent on the structure of social life. The Black Death visited England in 1349, and again in 1362-3. The

Bastard  
feudalism.

Effects of  
Black  
Death,  
1349.

immediate moral effects were, as ever in times of plague, twofold. Some men were driven by it into extremes of asceticism and penitence, while others, to make them forget the horrors of life, plunged into the grossest forms of excess and self-indulgence. The mortality was fearful. We have no accurate returns of those who perished, but the mortality among the parochial clergy was enormous. It is pleasant to know that the clergy stood manfully to their posts. As gaps were made in their line by death, others stepped forward to fill their places. The effects of the Black Death on learning were disastrous; the standard of knowledge required from candidates for ordination was necessarily lowered. Many further changes of permanent importance also followed from it. Owing to the failure of heirs and the inability of smaller landowners to work their land at a profit, estates were concentrated in fewer hands, and this concentration contributed in part to an increase in power of the nobles and the "bastard feudalism" described on the preceding page. The terrible mortality amongst workmen raised the rate of wages, in spite of legislation which attempted to stop the rise. The "poor parson" amongst others benefited by the change; however much wealthy bishops might denounce the poor parson's "avarice," he could not be got to do a vicar's work for the former income of five marks. His rate of pay was almost doubled. The attempts of landlords to revive the labour-services of villeins, which had already been commuted for money payments, was the chief cause of the great peasant rising in 1381. To the Black Death, again, must in part be assigned the decline of monastic life.

This period, though important in the history of our Church and nation, is not a pleasing era. There is a better side to the picture; but the predominant note is one of regress and decline. The age was one of so-called chivalry. But the splendour of chivalry was tinsel, masking under a fair exterior selfish and callous cruelty. There was a code of honour, but among "gentlemen" only; war was a "tournament," the sport of "gentlemen," but there was also the desolation by fire and sword of peasant homesteads. There were elaborate forms of courtesy to the lady of your love, but little regard for the real virtue of women. Edward III. was a typical product of his age. The splendid feast with which he celebrated the institution of the order of the Garter (1349), the starving and plague-

stricken people without — these two should be companion pictures.

Anti-papal  
movement.

In the more directly religious history of the reign, two movements have to be traced; the one is anti-papal, and the other anti-clerical. It has already been pointed out that the Pope, now resident at Avignon, had become a satellite of France. The luxurious standard of living practised at Avignon made revenue an even more urgent cause of anxiety to the papal court than formerly. Papal exactions of all sorts continued; the fees and fines incident to the exercise of jurisdiction were maintained, annates and first-fruits helped to swell the papal treasury; to reward and support the members of his court the Pope provided them with English bishoprics and benefices which he had reserved often in the life-time of the existing holders. The Pope deserved credit for the fact that in his provisions the claims of learning were sometimes recognised; after the statute of Provisors had been passed, English learning did not meet with its due share of preferment. Towards the end of the century a cry arose in Oxford and reached Parliament in London that the statute should be so far modified as to validate all papal provisions issued in favour of Oxford students. But taking the system as a whole, provisions were a glaring scandal. An event which happened in 1349 will illustrate. An ass was actually introduced into the assembled company of Pope and cardinals at Avignon, with a petition tied to his neck asking that he too might be given a bishopric!

Statute of  
Provisors,  
1351.

After repeated protests of King and Parliament, recourse was had to legislation. In 1351 the first of the famous Statutes of Provisors was passed. Its aim was to secure the rights of patrons. Asserting that the holy Church of England was founded by the ancestors of the King and his barons to teach the law of God, and to exercise hospitality and charity, the statute proceeded to enact that elections to bishoprics should be free, subject to the royal licence and assent; that whenever the Pope provided and patrons failed to appoint to benefices, the patronage for that turn should lapse to the crown; if candidates provided by the Pope tried to assert their rights, they were to be kept in prison till they paid a fine at the King's discretion, and undertook not to prosecute their case further at the Roman court.

It is to be noticed that since the year 1239 the Popes had

made no attempt to infringe on the rights of lay patrons ; and the Statute of Provisors, though it covered the cases of usurpation on lay as well as spiritual patronage, was not really devised to protect laymen. Advowsons belonged to the lay tribunal (see p. 102), and laymen were adequately protected already by the royal courts. The statute was specially devised to protect the rights of spiritual patrons, who were placed in a rather delicate position, since they acknowledged the Pope as their spiritual father, and could hardly bring an action which challenged papal appointments before the temporal courts. Henceforth, if bishops did not do their duties as patrons, the right of appointment was to lapse to the crown.

Thus a considerable check was placed on papal provisions, but the terms of the statute were often evaded by collusion between King and Pope. This is proved not only by other evidence, but also by the fact that the statute had to be re-enacted in 1390, and the penalties for its infringement increased to exile and forfeiture of goods.

So far as the statute referred to bishoprics, it did, however, secure its end. Henceforth royal nominees were almost invariably chosen, but, to cover the Pope's discomfiture, they were also backed by papal provision. The real victory lay with the King. Court favour and the administrative work of a statesman became the high-road to episcopal preferment. The method by which a bishop was henceforth appointed may be seen in the case of William of Wykeham. In 1366 the monks of St. Swithun elected Wykeham, the King's nominee, to the vacant see of Winchester. The King thereupon wrote to the Pope asking him by way of provision to appoint Wykeham ; and he himself made Wykeham guardian of the temporalities of the see. The Pope then advised Wykeham that in the time of the late bishop he had reserved the appointment, and was now seeking a proper successor. In the meantime he appointed Wykeham administrator of both spirituals and temporals of the Church of Winchester. Finally, after a delay of nine more months, he issued a bull providing Wykeham to the see of Winchester. Wykeham was then consecrated, and received from the King the temporalities, no doubt renouncing the offensive words in the papal bull which professed to grant him the temporalities as well as the spiritualities.

Thus the Pope retained his formal rights in the appointment

to bishoprics; he also made good his claim to actually appoint when a bishop was translated from one see to another.

First  
Statute  
of Præ-  
munire,  
1353.

Two years after the first Statute of Provisors, another anti-papal step was taken in the first Statute of Præmunire (1353). The statute did not directly name the Roman Curia, but was directed against those who took out of the realm any plea cognisable in the royal court, or sought to impugn in any other tribunal decisions given by the royal court. Any one so doing was to be summoned before the King's court, and in the event of non-appearance to be outlawed and forfeit his goods. The consent of the prelates is not mentioned in the text of the statute.

Re-en-  
acted,  
1393.

In 1365 the statute was re-enacted in a form which expressly named the papal court, and was further amplified in the great Statute of Præmunire, 1393. Against the Acts of 1365 and 1393 the prelates in Parliament lodged a protest. The aim of all these Præmunire Acts was to check the system of papal provisions and the challenging of royal presentations in the papal courts. The Statutes of Præmunire did not in any way interfere with the wide sphere of jurisdiction allowed the ecclesiastical tribunals by the temporal power.

These important Acts of Provisors and Præmunire were henceforth, though imperfectly observed, the great bulwarks of the national Church against the encroachments of Rome. It was in vain that Martin V. (1417-1431), beat against the bars of the cage, and threatened Archbishop Chichele with excommunication if he did not secure the repeal of the obnoxious statutes. A bit had been put in the papal mouth which neither King nor Parliament was willing to remove.

Papal  
suzerainty  
renounced,  
1365.

In the year 1365 the Pope was injudicious enough to demand the arrears of the tribute promised by King John for himself and his successors. This claim was emphatically rejected by Parliament, and the papal suzerainty renounced. For a while even the payment of Peter's pence was discontinued. It was possibly on this occasion, but more probably in 1374, that Wycliffe was employed by the King to write an answer rebutting the papal claim. The papal power over the English Church was clearly being loosened. Langland (? 1330-1400) in his *Vision of Piers the Plowman*, though he never questioned the theoretical powers of the papacy, denounced the Pope for pillaging the Church, challenging the royal rights within the

realm, and, like a warlike prince, hiring soldiers to fight his battles.

"And God amende the Pope that pileth [pillages] holy Kirke  
And cleymeth bifor the Kyng to be keeper over Crystene,  
And counteth not though Crystene ben culled [killed] and robbed,  
And fynt [finds] folke to fyghte, and Cristene blode to spille [spill  
Christian blood].

Agene [contrary to] the olde lawe and newe lawe as Luke thereof  
witnesseth

Non occides : mihi vindictam, &c.

It semeth by so himself hadde his wille [if he has his will by himself],  
That he reccheth [recks] right noughte of al the remenaunte."

After the papal schism of 1378, when there were two Papal obediences, and rival popes were anathematising and fighting schism of each other, Wycliffe came to regard the papacy as Antichrist, 1378, a thing accursed. He challenged the whole theory of papal power, and denied the papal claims as unscriptural.

The anti-ecclesiastical movement in Edward III.'s reign can be traced with equal clearness. The movement was not in its early stages against the clergy nor the clerical estate as such, but against the worldliness and secularisation of the Church, and the practical abuses by which its administration was disfigured. Under Wycliffe it finally passed into an attack on its whole theory and doctrine. Anti-ecclesiastical movement.

The feeling against the monasteries manifested by towns which had grown up beneath their shadow was not, perhaps, typical. But still it showed the trend of the times. It was not likely that vigorous town communities should view with favour the retention by monasteries of obsolescent feudal rights, or the claims of monastic bodies to maintain their exemption from national burdens. On more than one day of wild riot at Bury St. Edmunds, at St. Albans, at Canterbury, the burgesses attacked the monasteries and sent the monks scudding for their lives. The evils under which the Church laboured, the hypocrisy of monks and friars, the abuses that clustered thick round the whole system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the traffic in sin for money—all these in indelible terms are portrayed for us by Chaucer and the popular writers of the time. They will be considered in the following chapter. Both in Langland and Chaucer the loosening of old ideas and the disengaging of new conceptions is manifest. In Langland's *Vision of Piers the Plow-* Evils in the Church system.

Langland's *man* the ideal character is the plowman. He alone can guide man to Truth where priests fail; the life of honest labour is held up as the ideal; not priestly pardon, but purity of life, will gain God's forgiveness; the universal brotherhood of man is enunciated. In the mystic sequel of the poem the plowman seems to be identified with our Lord Himself. It is clear that for Langland at any rate the monastic ideal was out of date. It was Langland who pronounced a prophetic doom over the monasteries—

“Ac there shal come a kyng and confess yow religiouses [monks],  
And amende monyales [nuns], monkes and chanouns,  
And putten hem to her penance ad pristinum statum ire

And thanne shal the Abbot of Abyndoun, and alle his issu for evere,  
Have a knokke of a kynge and incurable the wounde.”

Attack on  
political  
power of  
ecclesi-  
astics.

In the graver records of the nation the same anti-ecclesiastical movement can be traced in an attack on the political power and endowments of the Church. Great ecclesiastics occupied most of the high offices of State; this arose from the fact that the King appointed to bishoprics men who had done good work in temporal administration, but the result was a grievous profanation of the episcopal office. Bishops had no time for the spiritual care of their dioceses, and deputed their work to hirelings. Reformers like Wycliffe abhorred this secularisation of the Church, and the giving of preferment to men who had won distinction in the civil service of the King. He was no doubt thinking of his rival Wykeham when he said, “Lords will not present a clerk of learning and of good life, but a kitchen clerk or a penny clerk (*i.e.* accountant) or *wise in building castles* . . . though he cannot well read his psalter.”

First lay  
Lord  
Chancellor.

Lay lords objected to the employment of clerical ministers, because they thought it precluded them from the enjoyment of offices which were their due. The beginnings of the movement against the appointment of clerics to high State office can be traced to the year 1340. In that year the first lay Chancellor, Sir R. Bouchier, and the first lay Treasurer were appointed. But the employment of clerical ministers was too useful to the King to be lightly abandoned. In 1371, when William of Wykeham's clerical ministry was discredited by failure in the French war, Parliament petitioned that great offices of State should henceforth be filled by laymen only, on the ground that



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clerics were not responsible in every case to justice. William of Wykeham resigned the chancellorship, and a lay ministry was appointed.

It was in this Parliament of 1371 that the first proposal was seriously made for the confiscation of Church endowments. We are told by Wycliffe that "a certain lord, more skilful than the rest," to support this policy of disendowment, told the following fable. Once on a time the birds held a meeting, and there came to it an owl which was without plumage. On the pretext of exhaustion and cold, in trembling tones he asked the other birds to give him feathers. Moved with pity, the other birds gave him feathers till he was covered with plumage not his own—a sorry sight. Presently, however, a hawk swept down in quest of prey, and the birds, to defend themselves against his assaults or escape them by flight, asked the owl for the return of their feathers. And when the owl refused, each seized his own feather by force, and so escaped from peril, leaving the owl without any plumage, more miserable than at first. The moral of the tale was that, in view of imminent danger from France, the King and the nobles might resume the property that in past days they or their ancestors had given to the Church.

Attack on  
Church en-  
dowments,  
1371.

The last years of Edward III. were a time of profound gloom, marked by discontent at home and failure abroad. The King himself was sinking into an inglorious grave, the plaything of courtesans and worthless nobles. His eldest son, the Black Prince, was stricken with mortal disease, and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was more than suspected of aiming at the crown. In 1376 the "Good Parliament" impeached the King's mistress, and the worthless favourites, who were creatures of Lancaster. Wykeham took a prominent part in the impeachment. By so doing he earned the bitter enmity of Lancaster, and after the Parliament men had gone home he was summoned before the council, found guilty of malversation in his ministry of 1367-1371, fined 960,000 marks, and deprived of his temporalities. Needless to say, the accusations levelled against Wykeham were groundless. The charge was preferred out of political spite. Before the old King had breathed his last, Wykeham had received the royal pardon. But already a revolutionary movement had arisen within the Church; its leader was Wycliffe, a famous Oxford teacher and a chaplain of the King.

Last years  
of Edward  
III.

Attack on  
Wykeham

By a curious irony of fate the stern moralist Wycliffe found himself in political alliance with Gaunt. Wycliffe, because he believed that a return by churchmen to apostolic poverty would lead to apostolic purity, Gaunt, because he and his party wanted a share in ecclesiastical plunder, were agreed in demanding disendowment.

William of Wykeham's career and opinions.

Into Wycliffe's beliefs and teaching it will be necessary to go in detail. But first let us glance at the leaders of the orthodox conservative party. The two leading bishops were undoubtedly Courtenay, Bishop of London, a younger son of the Earl of Devon, and William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester. Wykeham was sprung from a lowly stock, and had never been to the university. In 1347 he had passed into the royal service, and gained distinction as a clerk of the royal works, and then as architect. Part of Windsor Castle was built by him. In 1364 he was made Lord Privy Seal, and Froissart the chronicler could write: "At this time there reigned a priest in England called Sir William de Wican, and this Sir William de Wican was so much in favour with the King of England that by him everything was done, and without him they did nothing." For his services to the King, Wykeham was rewarded with numberless benefices. Prebends were showered upon him, and he was the greatest pluralist of the age. By the receipt of one living—Pulham, in the diocese of Ely—he had exposed himself to a prosecution at the hands of the deprived Bishop of Ely in the papal court. In 1367 he had become Bishop of Winchester, and had as Lord Chancellor presided over the ministry from 1367-1371. From 1389-1391 he was again to hold the seals. But he certainly never was the leader of the national party in the Church against the Pope, as his biographer maintains. Wykeham was a very great man, ever memorable for his magnificent foundations at Winchester and Oxford. He had real goodness of heart and gentleness of temper, as he showed in 1382 when he pleaded for gentle treatment of the Oxford Chancellor Rygge, who was accused of Wycliffite heresy. He was a great bishop, bountiful to the poor, splendid in his generosity, but leader of the national party in the Church against the Pope he certainly was not. His views on Church order and doctrine were eminently orthodox and conservative, his sympathies entirely opposed to those of Wycliffe.

Wycliffe.

Wycliffe was born about the year 1324 at Hipswell, near

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Richmond, in Yorkshire. Going to Oxford, he became a fellow and then master of Balliol (1361); shortly afterwards he accepted the living of Fillingham, and then, after other preferment, he was finally presented by the crown to the living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, where he died in 1384. But during the years 1361-1382 he spent a large part of his time in Oxford, getting leave of absence from his benefice for purposes of study. He was also a royal chaplain, and one of the envoys sent in 1374 to negotiate at Bruges with the representatives of the Pope about papal claims.

Wycliffe was the most famous doctor of his time at Oxford, and the last of the great schoolmen. He was also the morning star of the Reformation. From his constant reference to Scripture as the final court of appeal in disputed matters of doctrine and discipline, he was known as the "evangelical doctor." Besides this, he was the first to foreshadow the only possible lines on which, things being as they were, reformation of the English Church could proceed—that is to say, reformation would have to be imposed on the Church by the power of the State, and would involve a considerable measure of disendowment. Henry VIII., consciously or unconsciously, proceeded on the lines laid down by Wycliffe. It was only after 1380 that Wycliffe proceeded to attack the central doctrine of the mediæval Church, *i.e.* Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of the bread and wine in the Sacrament of the Altar. Before 1380 his attacks had been mainly directed against the worldliness of the Church, its endowments and jurisdiction. The great schism of 1378, and the unedifying spectacle of rival Popes cursing and fighting each other, led him to an attack on the whole idea of the papal power.

The grounds of Wycliffe's attack on the Church are to be found in his work, *De dominio civili*. The main thesis of this book was that all *dominium* is founded on grace. It is easy to see that this thesis is far-reaching in tendency and capable of producing revolutionary results. Dynamite was embedded in the doctrine; the application of a fuse was likely to cause an explosion dangerous both to Church and State. *Dominium* may mean one of two things. It may mean either "ownership" or "lordship." Let us take these two senses in turn. "If you are in a state of grace," wrote Wycliffe, "you have a right to all the things you own; if you are not in a state of grace, you have a right to none of them; nay, more, if you

Wycliffe a pioneer of the Reformation.

The *De dominio civili*.

Commun-  
ism of his  
doctrine.

are in a state of grace you have a right to all things. 'All things are yours,' said the apostle, 'whether things present or things to come.' Your right is only limited by the corresponding right of all others who are in a state of grace." The logical conclusion of the doctrine would be a communism of saints and a pauper class of sinners.

Or again, taking *dominium* in the sense of "lordship," Wycliffe said that if you are in a state of grace you have a right to the authority or lordship which you exercise; but you have no right to it at all if you are not in a state of grace. The logical conclusion would be the right of rebellion against unjust rulers, whether in Church or State. It must not be supposed that Wycliffe made this practical use of his doctrine. He never applied it at all to temporal lordship or lay ownership. As his paradoxical sentence ran, "God must obey the devil," by which he meant that his doctrine was only transcendently or ideally true. Had it not been for the Fall of man, the ideal which he had sketched would have been true to actual life. Unfortunately, sin having entered the world, temporal lordship and ownership had become a necessity. The kingdom of heaven was not of this world; the righteous man had indeed the right to all things now, but he would only actually enjoy them hereafter. For the present, submission to unjust rulers and unjust lay landlords was in practice altogether right. The anarchism and communism latent in the doctrine were seen in the peasant rising of 1381. The upper classes were thoroughly alarmed by the revolt, and in reaction driven into opposition both to the political and religious views of Wycliffe. Henry IV., it has been well said, came to the throne both as a "saviour of society" and "a protector of the Church."

But it must not be supposed that there was any direct connection between the teaching of Wycliffe and the rising of 1381.<sup>1</sup> The Wycliffite preachers may have expounded the pure doctrine of their master, undiluted by his reservations. But this is a mere matter of presumption. There is little evidence to support the view. Both Wycliffe's teaching and the rising of 1381 may have owed their origin independently to the hard conditions of life prevailing and to the discontent smouldering beneath the surface of society. But when dealing with the Church Wycliffe

<sup>1</sup> See, however, the poem in Wright's "Political Songs," vol. i., 235, connecting Wycliffe with John Ball; and cp. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 273.

had no scruples in pressing his theory to its logical conclusion. Churchmen of all sorts were living worldly and secular lives; the whole ecclesiastical system was an elaborate contrivance devised to put money into the hands of priests; the clergy were not in a state of grace, and had no right to the worldly riches which were stifling their spiritual life. A return to apostolic poverty was eminently needed. It was clearly the duty of temporal rulers to release the clergy from secular influences by a gigantic scheme of disendowment. Tithes might rightfully be withheld from a wicked priest by the authorities of his parish. Nor was this all. Neither Pope nor bishop nor priest, if living a sinful life, had any power at all. Absolution from a sinful man was a farce, sacraments administered by such men valueless, excommunications fulminated by them ridiculous. Indeed coercive jurisdiction by ecclesiastics was altogether wrong. It was no part of the spiritual authority given them by God. God was the Lord Paramount. All men equally were tenants-in-chief of God, holding from Him on the same conditions of service. There was no such thing as mesne tenure intervening between God and the individual man. Thus Wycliffe, like Luther at a later age, restored the immediate relation of the individual soul to God, and eliminated as quite unnecessary the whole idea of priestly mediation. The ground was cut from under the hierarchical constitution of the Church.

Attack on endowments and hierarchical constitution of the Church

In 1377, at the instigation of Courtenay, Bishop of London, Wycliffe was summoned to appear before the Primate, Sudbury, and the assembled bishops at St. Paul's, to answer for his writings. Wycliffe came supported by John of Gaunt and Henry Percy, Earl Marshal of England. Taunts and threats passed between Gaunt and Courtenay; the mob burst in, and the trial ended in confusion, but not before the Londoners had showed that, though they loved Wycliffe, they hated still more John of Gaunt. Towards the end of the same year, papal bulls reached the King, the archbishop, Courtenay, and Oxford University, ordering the arrest and trial of Wycliffe. But his second trial in 1378 before the two archbishops at Lambeth was equally abortive. Once more the London mob burst in, and stopped the process. Wycliffe's influence both at the court, in London, and in Oxford was strong enough to prevent his conviction. With the outbreak of the great schism in 1378 Wycliffe became fiercer in his opposition to the papacy, and denounced it as Antichrist.

Wycliffe accused of heresy

Wycliffe tried a second time.

Wycliffe attacks the papacy.

He attacks  
transub-  
stantiation.

In 1380 he took a step forward, and attacked the doctrine on which the priestly power was built. Transubstantiation of the elements in the Sacrament of the Altar was, he declared, absurd. It was indisputable that the appearance of bread and wine remained after the consecration of the elements, and Wycliffe maintained that accidents could not possibly remain without their substance. We cannot follow Wycliffe through the refinements of scholastic logic which he employed, but his own view approximated to that known in a later age as consubstantiation. The substance of bread and wine remained, but the real presence of Christ was also superadded. Speaking generally, Wycliffe shrank from too close a definition of the nature of our Lord's presence in the sacrament. But he had gone too far for the leaders of the Church. Even John of Gaunt turned against him, and bade him keep silent on the eucharistic mystery. Undaunted, Wycliffe reiterated his views. But the peasants' revolt in 1381 and Wycliffe's daring attack on transubstantiation produced reaction both in Church and State. Archbishop Sudbury had been murdered by the peasants, and Courtenay, the old opponent of Wycliffe, was made archbishop. At a council of bishops and others held under the presidency of Courtenay, Wycliffe's teaching on the Mass, and on other doctrines of the Church, was condemned as heretical (1382). This council, as it was disturbed by an earthquake, is always known as the "earthquake council." The chancellor and proctors of Oxford University were summoned before it, and compelled to join in the condemnation. But the influence and numbers of the Wycliffite party at Oxford were so great that it was not till pressure had been exercised by the King himself, that Wycliffite teachers at Oxford were suspended. Almost all of them, however, retracted, and were reinstated in their positions. The astonishing thing is that the arch-heretic himself was allowed to live quietly at Lutterworth till his death in 1384. It says much for his influence over all classes of society, from the court downwards. It was not till 1428 that his body was disinterred, his remains burnt, and his ashes thrown into the river.

Earth  
quake  
council,  
Wycliffe's  
teaching  
condemned  
as hereti-  
cal.

Wycliffe's  
emphasis  
on preach-  
ing.

Two other branches of Wycliffe's work must be noticed. He was convinced that preaching was unduly neglected. To spread a knowledge of evangelical truth among the people he instituted an order of "poor preachers," who carried his teaching over a great part of the midlands and the south of England. Though a

learned man himself, Wycliffe had a somewhat petulant contempt for learning; he thought that there was no need for his "poor preachers" to know any book save the Bible; and this fact, coupled with the exclusion of his followers—Lollards,<sup>1</sup> as they were called—from the universities, explains their comparative failure to become an influential force.

Wycliffe's other great achievement was the translation of the whole Bible into the vernacular English. Assisted by two or three of his followers, he was the author of the first English Bible. About 170 MSS. of this Bible are still extant. The attempt of a recent writer to question Wycliffe's authorship of these 170 copies, and represent them as copies authorised by the Church, has quite broken down. The leaders of the Church were consistently opposed to the broadcast dissemination of the Scriptures among the common people. The licences still extant in which various people are authorised to possess copies of the Bible are by themselves convincing evidence that the ordinary man was not allowed without a licence to own it.

It was to the Bible that Wycliffe in his later years looked as the sole fountain of religious truth. All doctrine, all points of ecclesiastical order, had to be verified and justified from Scripture. It was to preach the gospel contained in the Bible that Wycliffe sent forth his poor preachers.

If we take a general survey of Wycliffe's teaching, we see that it was in the main destructive. With an eagle eye he pierced to the weak point in the system of the mediæval Church—that is to say, the mercenary spirit which was eating out its life. But the doctrine expounded in the *De dominio* was exaggerated and stored with revolutionary dynamite. It prescribed too extreme and too anarchic a remedy. It also may be said that Wycliffe's language in denunciation of the existing ecclesiastical system was unduly violent. But this extravagance was characteristic of the age, and for centuries to come remained a feature of theological and other forms of discussion. Beyond question Wycliffe's greatest achievement was his translation of the Bible. In the field of construction he was never given an opportunity to build, but his ideal would seem to have been a national Church modelled on Presbyterian lines, with the Bible as the one basis of its faith.

<sup>1</sup> The name "Lollard" is derived from a word meaning "to sing or drone." So "Lollard" = "Canter." The name in origin was opprobrious.

History of  
the Lollards.

The further history of the Lollards can soon be told.

The main centres of their activity were the districts round London, Oxford, Leicester, and Bristol. They followed, and in some cases exaggerated, the teaching of their master. Like Wycliffe, they took the Bible as their sole rule of faith; like him, they denounced transubstantiation and the wealth and secularity of the clergy; but though the genius of Wycliffe's teaching was antagonistic to the symbolism of the mediæval Church, they went further than he in the bitterness of their attack on image-worship. With them Sabbatarianism began, and their enemies accused them of sanctimonious hypocrisy.

The Lollards of the first generation were not, however, of such stuff as martyrs are made of; the persecution was not severe, and the Lollards, when brought before their bishops, recanted. Richard II., in his epitaph at Westminster, claims that "he overthrew the heretics." Whatever may have been Richard's own attitude to Lollard beliefs, they were certainly influential among his courtiers, and regarded with favour by his own Queen, Anne of Bohemia. From England these beliefs were carried to Bohemia, the Queen's old home; there they struck root and issued in the Hussite movement, which involved Bohemia in civil and foreign war for a generation. It was for his Wycliffite beliefs, that John Huss, when he had come to the Council of Constance under a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, was foully betrayed and murdered (1415).

Accession  
of Henry  
IV., 1399.

Statute *De*  
*heretico*  
*comburendo*.

In 1399 a successful revolution placed Henry IV. on the throne of England; his father, John of Gaunt, had in the old days been an ally of Wycliffe, but it was partly by the aid of the Church that Henry had been successful. Severer days were therefore in store for Lollard heretics. In 1401 the statute *De heretico comburendo* was passed; this law, however, did not involve any innovation in policy, but simply made statutable the common law. It was for the Church to determine what was heresy, and try heretics; she then handed them over for burning to the secular arm. This had already been done in 1222, when a deacon out of love for a Jewess had recanted his faith. But England had not as yet been much troubled with heretics. In 1401, to vindicate the authority of the canon law, and before the statute *De heretico comburendo* had passed through Parliament, William Sawtre was convicted of heresy before a spiritual court, and handed over to the secular arm to be burnt.



It was the first of the burnings for heresy which were to be such a lamentable and prominent feature of the two succeeding centuries. Other burnings followed. In 1410, for example, John Badby, a tailor of Evesham, suffered at the stake. In 1414 a further statute was passed ordering the justices to make inquest for heretics, and hand them over to the spiritual courts. Burnings for heresy.

Arundel, who succeeded Courtenay and was archbishop from 1396-1414, took a leading part in the suppression of Lollardy. Armed with the authority of the King as well as that of the Church, Arundel in 1411 made a solemn visitation of the University of Oxford. A bonfire was made at Carfax of heretical books, and the University thoroughly purged of Wycliffism. It was from this visitation of Arundel that the decline of Oxford as a place of independent thought, not to speak of numbers, can be dated. Oxford purged of Lollardy.

Hitherto part of the strength of Lollardy had lain in the patronage of knights. But with the accession of Henry V. a still more vigorous attempt was made at its extirpation. Sir John Oldcastle, an old friend of the King, influential by reason of his estates in Kent and on the Welsh marches, was accused, convicted by an ecclesiastical court, and handed over to the secular arm. He was given a forty days' respite, in which he escaped. It was to Oldcastle that an ancient anti-Lollard poem referred in the words— Oldcastle persecuted and put to death.

“ Hit is unkyndly for a knight  
That shuld a kynges castel kepe,  
To bable the Bible day and night  
In restyng time when he shuld slepe;  
And carefely away to crepe,  
For alle [from all] the chief of chivalrie.  
Wel aught hym to waile and wepe  
That suyche lust hath in lollardie.”

In 1414 the Lollards rose in fruitless revolt to aid Oldcastle. Oldcastle himself escaped, but after three years of skulking among the Welsh mountains he was captured and put to death in 1417. From this time onwards Lollardy was driven underground; deprived of all leadership among the gentry, it found its home amid the small shopkeepers and tradesmen and peasants. Lollardy driven underground. As a religious force it never became extinct till it was merged in the Lutheran and Protestant movements of the sixteenth century. From time to time it came to the surface. Thus in

Importance  
of Lollard  
movement.

East Anglia about the year 1425 there were so many flourishing Lollard congregations that the Bishop of Norwich instituted prosecutions for heresy against some hundred persons. Most of them recanted, but several perished at the stake. Continuously down to the year 1521 we find a succession of Lollard martyrs burnt. We cannot but admire the bravery of the men who challenged the hitherto unquestioned and immemorial tradition of the Catholic Church. The Lollards did a great work, that cannot be measured by the actual success of their own movement. Their importance lay in the fact that they created the atmosphere which rendered it possible for the sixteenth century reformation to live. They were pioneers, preparing the way, and showing that a new presentment of the Christian faith was possible. The chief centres of their influence remained the same, though East Anglia and Somerset should be added to the list

Pecock's  
*Repressor*.

That Lollardy remained a living force is shown by the pains which Pecock, the Bishop of Chichester (1450-1457), took to rebut its leading tenets in his *Repressor of over much blaming of the Clergy* (1455). The book itself involved Pecock in trouble, and led to his prosecution for heresy. He was forced to recant, and for the remainder of his life was closely confined in prison, without pen or paper or books. His great crime was that he had actually appealed to reason, and tried to show to Lollards the reasonableness of Church teaching; incidentally, it is true, he had questioned whether the Apostles' Creed had actually been composed by the Apostles, and had been known to say, "Pooh! Pooh!" when passages of old doctors had been quoted against him.

Its criti-  
cism of  
Lollardy.

His book is interesting not merely because it was written in the vernacular English, but also because its argument is of intrinsic value and a cogent criticism of Lollard bibliolatry. Adopting the method followed later by Hooker in a similar dispute with the sixteenth century Puritans, Pecock showed that the Bible could not possibly, and was not intended to, cover the whole range of practices lawful for Christian men. Otherwise, "How shall we dare to wear breeches, which the Bible does not mention?" He argued that the Bible presupposed reason, and was not intended to reveal that which the natural reason could discover for itself. Customs and practices of the Church, if reasonable, did not require the support

of a text from Scripture. The Lollard idea that the meaning of Scripture was so plain that it could not be mistaken even by an uneducated man was absurd. Endowments were reasonable, and Church wealth, if put into the hands of laymen, would be more and not less misused. In the destructive part of his criticism Pecock was eminently sensible. He showed that Lollard tenets were unreasonable; but he was not successful in showing that image-worship and pilgrimages and many other practices and institutions of the mediæval Church were themselves reasonable. He had, however, appealed to reason, and not crushed the Lollard pleas by mere ecclesiastical anathema, and therefore he suffered.

The fifteenth century did not mark an important era in the history of the English Church, though the tone of its religious life gradually deteriorated. The Lancastrian policy of alliance with the Church did not prevent Henry IV. from executing Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, for complicity in one of the risings of the Percies (1405). When Innocent VII. excommunicated all those who had shared in his execution, the King is said to have sent him the dead prelate's coat of armour, and asked him whether "this be thy son's coat or no," to which the Pope wittily retorted, "An evil beast hath devoured him."

Execution  
of Arch-  
bishop  
Scrope.

Abroad the early part of the fifteenth century was occupied by the "conciliar" effort at reform. Councils of the Western Church assembled to attempt its drastic reform in head and members. The two most important councils were those of Constance (1414) and Basle (1431). The Council of Constance, though guilty of the murder of Huss, succeeded in bringing the great schism to an end by electing as Pope, Martin V. (1417), the founder of the modern papacy. But the conciliar movement was doomed to failure. The Pope was jealous of the council's authority; there were constant disputes as to whether the Pope was superior or inferior to a general council; finally at Basle, in 1431, the movement ended in open war between them; national rivalries within the council prevented united action. Most important of all, there was no real effective desire for reform in any quarter; the council of Basle not only re-opened the schism by the creation of an antipope, but itself proceeded to grant indulgences, though shortly before they had been the object of its own denunciation. By the middle of the fifteenth century it was clear that conciliar reform was impossible. The year

Conciliar  
movement.

Great  
schism  
ended.

Failure of  
conciliar  
movement.

**Decline of papacy.** 1471 opened a new era in the degradation of the papacy and Church. Under Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) the papacy was completely secularised and became a frankly Italian temporal power, with a policy organised on Machiavellian lines. Sixtus elevated nepotism into a political principle, and debased the moral currency by conniving at the assassination of Medici rivals in Florence. He was, however, a great patron of Greek authors and famous painters. The papal court became the centre of humanism. His successor, Innocent VIII., was an easy-going man, acknowledged his illegitimate children, and was famous for his profligate appointments to the College of Cardinals. Under the Borgia, Alexander VI. (1492-1503), the papacy reached its very nadir.

**Dissolution of alien priories.** In England there was little of importance to record. In 1414 the alien priories (*i.e.* priories which were mere dependencies of foreign houses) were seized by the crown and dissolved. The bishops of the time were often cadets of noble families, and did not rise to a high standard. Honourable exceptions were Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury (1414-1443), founder of All Souls' College, and Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, and founder of Magdalen College, Oxford. Chichele had to suffer continuous abuse from Martin V. because of the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire. In 1428 he pleaded in Parliament for their repeal—needless to say, without success. The story which has gained currency through its adoption by Shakespeare, that Chichele instigated the renewal of the French war in order to divert attention from the endowments of the Church, seems to be groundless. In 1428 an evil precedent was set when Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, was allowed to retain his bishopric in spite of the cardinal's hat which he had accepted in 1426. His example was followed by the archbishops who succeeded Chichele. Kemp, Bouchier, and Morton were all cardinals of the Roman Church. The natural result followed that these archbishops tended to act more and more by virtue of the authority delegated to them from the Pope rather than by the inherent right of their archiepiscopal office.

It was an evil age. English society was passing through the throes of dissolution; but these throes were to issue in the birth of a new and fairer England. The internecine feuds of the nobility, culminating in the War of the Roses, laid the foundations of the Tudor monarchy.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE CHURCH AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

THE torch of the Church's spiritual life at the close of the Middle Ages was burning very low. But it would be a mistake to pass judgment on her from a mere review of her public performances. From contemporary records we hear much of her great officers, bishops and abbots, and of her relations to the State, but of her inner life we hear little. The ordinary hum-drum story of parish life offered little "copy" or opening for picturesque narrative. And yet it is by this inner spiritual life, by the work of the parish priest among his flock, by his daily witness to the gospel, by his preaching of repentance and the hope of forgiveness and the coming of the kingdom of God, when "the darkness and the curse of this dim universe" will pass away; it is by this, and not by her record as an "estate of the realm," nor by the political action of her bishops, that judgment for good or ill must be finally passed on the mediæval Church of England. The tale is not all evil—far from it. The glorious monuments in architecture and other forms of art bequeathed to us could not have sprung from a body wholly corrupt and without ideals. Still there were very serious evils and abuses. The canker which preyed upon her vitals was the love of Mammon; simony—that is, the selling of spiritual privileges for money—was her besetting sin. The enormous sums that had to be paid by newly-appointed bishops could not but be simoniacal in character, and episcopal and legatine constitutions show clearly enough that the parochial clergy must sometimes have sold the sacraments for money. The worst form that this simoniacal spirit took was the wholesale traffic in sin. However different the theory of the confessional and the system of indulgences may have been from its practice, there can be little doubt that in practice many a man paid his

Prevalence  
of simony.

Traffic in  
sin.

money and took his choice of sins. In a popular poem, "The Complaint of the Plowman" we read—

"They saine [say] that Peter had the key  
Of heven and hel, to have and hold.  
I trowe Peter tooke no money  
For no sinnes that he sold."

Theory of  
confes-  
sional

and in-  
dulgences.

The par-  
doner.

The theory of the confessional was that contrition or real sorrow for sin was necessary for absolution and that absolution gave remission from eternal punishment; but apart from and beyond eternal punishment, temporal punishment in this world or the next (purgatory) had still to be reckoned with. This temporal punishment was often commuted for money payments. The theory of "indulgences" went on much the same lines. We are often told by Roman Catholic and some other writers that indulgences granted by the Pope (as a part of his supreme jurisdiction) did not obviate the need of penitence and absolution, nor did indulgences profess to remove guilt nor "eternal punishment." An indulgence (sold for money) was simply a commutation for temporal punishment (in this world or the next); this certainly was the view taken by the Council of Trent and the greatest mediæval theologians, but it was not the view taken by some official documents emanating from the Roman See, which seem to imply that indulgences gave remission not only of temporal punishment, but also of guilt and its penalties. In any case the ordinary layman could not be expected to make such a nice distinction as that between eternal punishment and myriads of years of temporal punishment. The net result too often was that a man by the purchase of an indulgence thought he had secured immunity from divine punishment. Why should he not sin again, and then purchase a like immunity? The system of indulgences was closely connected with the idea of a treasury of merits. The merits of Christ, the good works of men still living, and of the saints in heaven, formed an inexhaustible store, of which the key was kept by the Pope; and so it came to pass that emissaries from the Pope hawked indulgences round the parishes of England. The pardoner, or hawker of indulgences, also did a great trade in relics by imposing on the yokels. We see him at work in the pages of Chaucer—

“With him ther rood a gentil Pardoner  
That streight was comen fro the court of Rome.

His walet lay biforn him in his lappe  
Bret-ful [brimful] of pardoun come from Rome al hoot.

But of his craft fro Berwik into Ware [in Hertfordshire].  
Ne was ther swich another Pardoner.  
For in his male [bag] he hadde a pilwe-beer [pillow-case],  
Which that, he seyde, was our lady veyl [our lady's veil].  
He seyde, he hadde a gobet [small portion] of the seyl,  
That Sēynt [Saint] Peter hadde, whan that he wente  
Up-on the see, til Jesu Crist him hente [caught hold of].  
He hadde a croys of latoun, ful of stones [cross of latoun-metal  
set with precious stones]

And in a glas he hadde pigges bones.  
But with thise relikes, whan that he fond  
A poure [poor] person [parson] dwelling up-on lond [up country]  
Up-on a day he gat him more moneye  
Than that the person gat in monthes tweye [two].  
And thus, with feyned flaterye and japes [tricks]  
He made the person, and the peple, his apes.”

In a later passage the pardoner himself describes his method of procedure—

“First I pronounce whennes that I comme,  
And then my bulles [bulls] shewe I, alle and somme [one and all]

That no man be so bold, ne preest ne clerk  
Me to destourbe of Cristes holy werk ;  
And after that then telle I forth my tales,  
Bulles of popes and of cardinales.

Then shewe I forth my longe cristal stones,  
Y-crammed ful of cloutes and of bones  
Then have I in latoun a sholder-boon [shoulder-bone]  
Which that was of an holy Jewes shepe [sheep].  
‘Good men,’ seye I, ‘tak of my wordes kepe ;  
If that this boon be wasshe in any welle,  
If cow, or calf, or sheep, or oxwelle,  
Tak water of that welle, and wash his tonge  
And it is hool [whole] anon.’”

At the close of the pardoner's tale to the Canterbury pilgrims, Chaucer humorously makes him say—

“But sirs, o word forgot I in my tale,  
I have relikes and pardon in my male [bag],

Whiche were me geven [given] by the Popes hond.  
 If any of yow wol [will] of devocioun  
 Offren [offer], and han myn absolucioun  
 Cometh [come] forth anon and kneleth [kneel] heer adoun [down]  
 And mekely receyveth my pardoun."

The pardoner then invites the host to begin, but the host pours coarse ridicule on the pardoner's relics. It is clear that these pardoners, envoys of the Pope, played on the ignorance and credulity of the people to amass wealth.

Friars and  
 confes-  
 sional.

In the confessional, the friars were said to be especially accommodating; a contemporary popular song tells us—

"Thai say that thai distroye synne,  
 And thai maytene men moste therinne;  
 For had a man slayn al his kynne,  
 Go shryve him at a frere,  
 And for lesse than a payre of shone  
 He wyl assoil him clene and sone,  
 And say the synne that he has done  
 His saule shal never dere [harm]."

To fill their coffers, the friars were also in the habit of selling "letters of fraternity" and promises of burial in their churches. Men were persuaded that this would secure them spiritual advantages.

The sum-  
 moner.

The same traffic in sin was found in another form in the ecclesiastical courts. Money was not only secured by the excessive fees payable, but by the substitution of fines for other forms of penalty. One of the most disagreeable figures in the whole of mediæval society must have been the "summoner" or "apparitor" (*i.e.* subordinate official). He lived on blackmail. Having discovered the scandalous secrets in other men's lives, unless he was "squared" by handsome payments, he haled the unfortunate persons before the ecclesiastical tribunals. His method of procedure is revealed to us by Chaucer in "The Friar's Tale."

"A slyer boy was noon [none] in Engelond,  
 For subtilly he hadde his espaille [set of spies],  
 He coude spare of [let off] lechours oon or two  
 To techen him to foure and twenty mo.  
 For thogh this Somnour wood were as an hare [should be as mad as a  
 hare],  
 To telle his harlotrye I wol nat spare.

. . . . .



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This false thief, this Somnour, quod the Frere [quoth the Friar]  
Hadde alway baudes redy to his hond,  
That tolde him al the secree that they knewe.

. . . . . A lewed man

He coude somne, on peyne of Cristes curs [on pain of excommunication]  
And they were gladde for to fille his purs  
And make him grete festes atte nale [at the ale-house].  
And right as Judas hadde purses smale  
And was a thief, right swich a thief was he ;  
His maister hadde but half his duëtee."

In the sequel of "The Friar's Tale," the summoner in the midst of his blackmail was carried off by the devil.

Among other abuses of the ecclesiastical system two stood out pre-eminently—benefit of clergy and the right of sanctuary. About benefit of clergy enough has been said in a preceding chapter. The net result was that on charges of felony, murder, and such like, all clerks (and at this time any one who could read and write was reckoned as a clerk) were handed over to the jurisdiction of the bishop, and as the penalties in the spiritual courts were slight, they in most cases escaped adequate punishment. The privilege of sanctuary was another device which assisted in the escape of criminals and fraudulent debtors. Every church had the privilege of sanctuary; the felon or fraudulent debtor had simply to take refuge in the nearest church, and bid defiance to the officers of the law. Even if he was starved out by cutting off his supplies he was legally allowed to go scot-free on abjuring the realm. Too often he gave the slip to those who followed him and reappeared in some other part of the country to continue his unhallowed work. The rights of sanctuary had come prominently before the public eye in 1378. In the Spanish war two knights named Schakel and Haule had taken captive a Castilian nobleman. The nobleman had returned to Spain to raise his ransom, leaving his son as a hostage. John of Gaunt, who was claiming the Castilian crown, thought that the young nobleman would be a convenient pawn in negotiation, and succeeded in procuring an Act of Parliament, ordering the two knights to produce the captive. Schakel and Haule, refusing to produce him, were committed to the Tower, but presently, fearing for their safety, escaped and took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey. Not to be balked, the officers of the duke violated the sanctuary, and in

the midst of a scuffle, Haule and another man were slain. The bishops excommunicated the violators of the sanctuary; but in the Parliament of Gloucester the whole system of sanctuary was attacked as an abuse. Wycliffe wrote a treatise in condemnation of it. Unfortunately the ecclesiastical privilege was too well grounded in custom to be abolished, or even reformed.

Papal  
courts.

The other great source of ecclesiastical abuse was one already mentioned in a preceding chapter. It was the paralysis of all effective discipline, owing to the exemptions from episcopal control conferred by the Popes, and the system by which papal tribunals sitting either in England or Rome acted both as courts of appeal and courts of first instance. It was often the case that the Archbishop himself would appear as a litigant, before one of his own suffragans who was acting as a papal delegate.

Was the  
mediæval  
Church of  
England  
national?

There was a theory popular some little time ago, and backed by the authority of great names, which maintained that the Church of England during the Middle Ages was, relatively speaking, a national antipapal Church. But this theory in the light of fuller investigation must be altogether discarded. The mediæval Church of England was *papalissima*. By the old theory it was maintained that the Church of England in its convocations felt itself free to pick and choose among the canons of the Western Church, to choose one and reject another; that in the English ecclesiastical courts the law administered was simply those canons which had been accepted by the English Church; the canons accepted were said to be comprised in the *Provinciale* drawn up in 1430 by Lyndwood, the chief legal officer of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But this view would seem to be quite mistaken. Professor Maitland has shown that an undue proportion of the canon law was formed from papal rescripts, delivered in answer to cases, real or imaginary, which were referred from *England* to the Pope; that Lyndwood's *Provinciale* was simply a text-book of additional provincial canons, presupposing on every page the validity of the whole of the canon law, and that any provincial canon of the English Church, if contrary to a canon of the universal Church, was *ipso facto* in the English ecclesiastical courts regarded as void. The attempts by Acts of Præmunire and Provisors to limit the papal power were acts, not of the English Church, but of the English State, taken in defiance of the accredited organs of the

Church—that is to say, the convocations of Canterbury and York and the parliamentary bench of bishops. The mediæval Church of England was assuredly not national in the sense of antipapal.

Taking our stand at the close of the Middle Ages, let us see what the powers actually exercised by the Pope over the English Church and nation were. Rights of a purely temporal nature based either on the general superiority of the spiritual to the temporal or on the special ground of John's cession of the kingdom were already obsolete. The spiritual primacy of the Pope as vicar of Christ was recognised. In the sphere of law and jurisdiction the Pope was regarded as the source of ecclesiastical law and its supreme interpreter; in all matters ecclesiastical, including marriage and wills, the papal jurisdiction was supreme, except in so far as the operation of the ecclesiastical law was impeded by the law of the land; in taxation the Pope received from England Peter's pence, commuted for an annual payment of £201, 9s., the fees payable in the papal courts, annates from bishoprics and benefices, and sometimes voluntary grants from the clergy as a whole. In addition to this, the Pope had made good various claims of an administrative nature. No primate could perform any valid archiepiscopal action till he had received the pall. The reception of legatine authority by each archbishop made him specially a representative of the Pope in England. In the fourteenth century and even earlier the Pope had so far encroached as to make direct appointment of bishops, but after the passing of the Statute of Provisors this abuse was held in check, though the statute was often nullified by collusion between King and Pope. Most appointments were made conjointly, the Pope and King independently appointing the same person, while the rights of the chapters were reduced to a mere shadow.

Papal powers over the Church of England.

In spite of statutes, the Pope still retained in practice the power of providing to some of the lower benefices. All these papal rights continued till the "bonds" of Rome were broken by Henry VIII.

Before closing our review of the Middle Ages, let us briefly pass in review the various classes of clergy, and some spheres of life in which church influence was specially felt.

The bishops varied enormously in character, but the general road to a bishopric was through the service of the Crown. Thus bishops tended rather to be good men of business than true

Character of the bishops.

fathers in God. The dioceses<sup>1</sup> were often large and unwieldy, especially for an age in which good roads were unknown. Exeter, Winchester, Lincoln, York, Coventry and Lichfield would have over-taxed the energy even of a vigorous and industrious man. But on the average bishop his duties sat very lightly. Bouchier during the ten years of his episcopate of Ely only once officiated in his cathedral, and that was on the day of his appointment. The bishops were in all cases large landed proprietors. The Bishop of Winchester had no fewer than fifty manors, not to mention feudal franchises in Winchester and the right of controlling St. Giles' fair. A large portion of time must have been consumed in the management of the episcopal domains. The spiritual functions of a bishop, if he did his duty, were not very different in kind from those which he has to-day. Interminable meetings, it is true, did not take him away from his real business, but the work of confirmation, ordination and administration fell on his shoulders. There was not, however, the same method as to-day either in confirmation or ordination. A bishop did not annually make a circuit of his diocese, confirming in stated places and at stated times. A synod of the Church had urged the confirmation of a child before three years of age, but the whole work of confirmation was performed in a very haphazard fashion. The number of those ordained in a single year was quite extraordinary. We even hear of more than a thousand ordained within a year in a single diocese. Many of these men were no doubt ordained to minor orders, and did not intend to proceed further. But even so the numbers were very great. Though theoretically there was supposed to be an examination to see that candidates for orders were competent, the examination can have been little better than a farce. The excessive number of clergy ordained, often to no cure of souls, brought discredit on the whole order.

The bishop had also to preside over the coercive jurisdiction of his diocese, to give leave of non-residence—alas, too freely—to rectors and vicars, and to consecrate churches.

If he was a good bishop, like Grosseteste, he would hold a visitation of his diocese. Unfortunately the bishops were often non-resident, being detained by their duties at court, and the guardianship of the flock was deputed to hirelings, often to bishops drawn *ex partibus infidelium*.

<sup>1</sup> See the map on p. 458.

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The cathedral chapters, over which a dean or prior presided, had succeeded in eliminating the authority of the bishop so completely that to this day a bishop has less authority in his own cathedral than in any other church of his diocese. The great officers of a secular cathedral were supported by separate prebends; there was the *precentor*, responsible for the music; the *chancellor*, who was supposed to have special charge of the educational and theological interests of the diocese; the *treasurer*, whose duty it was to guard the ornaments, vestments, and treasure of the church. Cathedral chapters.

These great dignitaries were often absentees, sometimes Roman cardinals. In their lives and in those of the subordinate canons, misappropriation of revenues and other grave irregularities were of frequent occurrence.

The most important part of the Church's life must always be found in the silent, unobtrusive working of the parochial system. Unfortunately this is just the part of the Church's work which does not figure conspicuously in contemporary records. It was far too humdrum and ordinary to attract the historian's notice. We can read in episcopal registers of clerical delinquents. When monasteries are claiming the tithe, or insisting against bishops on their rights as appropriators notices of parochial life are to be found, but they throw little light on the working of the parochial system as a whole. The poet Gower drew a gloomy picture of all classes of clergy, but we can be sure that his picture was overdrawn. The records of the Black Death show that the clergy stood splendidly to their work amidst scenes of plague and devastation. The most beautiful character in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is that of the poor parish priest, the brother of the ploughman. Parochial clergy.

"But riche he was of holy thoght and werk  
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,  
That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche,  
His parissshens devoutly wolde he teche.

But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,  
He taughte, and first he folwed it him-selve."

This parish priest was diligent in teaching and preaching, charitable to the poor, and the pattern of a Christian life. Neither storm nor thunder would hinder him from visiting the most distant members of his parish, rich and poor; he never

forsook his parish for life in London, nor endeavoured to get appointment to a chantry. We may hope that this parish priest was typical of his class. The public spirit, and feeling of hearty goodwill that animated parish life at the close of the Middle Ages, and made the church the centre of local patriotism, speaks volumes in favour of the parish clergy as a whole. There were evils, no doubt; the standard of clerics was for a time lowered by the wholesale destruction of the Black Death; the level of learning declined, and it was to raise the level of learning among the secular clergy that Wykeham avowedly founded his colleges at Winchester and Oxford. The evils produced through the appropriation of parishes by monastic houses has been already pointed out (see p. 133). Absenteeism was a curse of the mediæval Church through all its grades. The vicars and stipendiary priests employed by monasteries were generally not so well educated as the rectors. In passing judgment on the clergy as a whole, we must not forget that it included in its ranks almost all the educated people of the country. But most of these "clergy" were in minor orders, and engaged in purely secular work as accountants and secretaries. The clergy were drawn from all ranks of society, from the villein upwards to the cadets of noble families, who almost monopolised in the fifteenth century the highest preferments. The ordinary parish clergyman gained his education at a grammar or convent school, and if he showed ability he might have spent a couple of years at a university. In the episcopal registers we find that leave of absence from his parish was often given to a rector for purposes of study at Oxford.

Parish preaching was not the dead letter it has sometimes been supposed; four times a year the priest was bidden by episcopal constitutions to instruct the people in English in the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the gospel commands, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments. Manuals providing the clergy with forms for this instruction are still extant. Such teaching, if properly given, would have covered the whole range of the Christian life. The ignorance of the Bible in the Middle Ages has been exaggerated. No doubt the number of those who were in any sense educated was small. But the pictures in the churches which acted as "books to the unlearned," and the miracle plays—so common a feature in parish and guild life—

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presupposed a considerable knowledge of Scripture and the gospel story.

The parish priest would say mass in the parish church at any rate on Sunday and great feasts—sometimes daily; very likely he would hold an elementary school for the children, and he was generally lavish in charity and hospitality. The one great blemish on the character of most of the parish clergy was their failure to keep their vows of celibacy. Too often they were wedded in everything but name. The blame must partly be assigned to those who laid on men's backs burdens too hard for them to bear; but the sense of sin involved in disobedience to the command of the Church must have diminished the self-respect of the clergy and the regard felt for them by their parishioners. The punishments imposed on the incontinent by their ordinaries were comparatively light.

The chantry system was exposed to great abuses. Chantries Chantry priests. were founded by donors that prayers might be said for their souls. In addition to this, the chantry endowment often made some provision for educational or charitable work. The chantry priests were generally supposed to assist in the work of the parish. But as a whole they brought discredit on their order. At the Reformation the chantries were altogether swept away, and the wealth that had been devoted in part to charitable and educational work was wickedly squandered. In this age it is almost impossible to conceive how fully the parish church The parish church. was the centre of local life; the corporate sense and the public spirit with which it was instinct are simply amazing. It was the one place where all men could meet on an equal footing. The splendid churches which were built are a tribute to the power which the Church held over the minds and affections of the people. The parish church was the great object of local pride. The yokels might live in hovels, and the comfort even of the manor hall might be of a rather squalid description, but God's house had to be a thing of joy for the whole parish. The buildings themselves were of beautiful proportions, and nothing was spared in money or labour to make the interior worthy of its purpose; painted glass, carved screens, pictures, peals of bells, rich silver ornaments, and tapestries were lavished in rich profusion. The astonishing thing is that the work was financed by contributions from all classes; the poor, the middle classes, the manorial lords all made their gifts.

Every parish church became a very store-house of treasures, till the Reformation pillage swept most of them away. This was the price—a heavy price—that we had to pay for the blessings of the Reformation. In most parishes there was a church-house; originally a bake-house or brew-house, it developed into a centre for entertainments. The mediæval Church was pre-eminently the mother of the arts—sculpture, wood-carving, silver work, tapestry, illumination of MSS., all grew up under her fostering care. A few words must be said about her influence on the rise of the modern drama, and on architecture.

The Church and the rise of the drama.

The modern drama had its cradle in the very heart of the Church's ritual. It was in the effort to bring realistically before the congregation the central facts of the Christian faith, such as the Resurrection and the Incarnation, that dramatic dialogue and symbolical action first arose. The scene of the dramatic dialogue and action was the church. This practice was expanded and grew till we find the whole drama of the Resurrection represented in a regular play. But as the interest in the human side of dramatic situations grew at the expense of the didactic purpose, the plays, though still based on religious scenes taken from the Old and New Testaments, and intended to illustrate the drama of man's redemption, became in time more secular, and were moved first to the churchyard and then to the village market-place. In most places these mystery and miracle plays became associated with the festival of Corpus Christi. Their management was generally in the hands of guilds. Guilds for all purposes, social, philanthropic, trading, religious, were a very prominent feature in mediæval life. At great festivals they loved to take part in ritual pageantry. Thus the Church sowed the seed from which the drama of Shakespeare was afterwards to come.

Architecture.

But the greatest achievements of the Middle Ages were those of architecture. The spirit of the age sought in its cathedrals and churches its unique expression. Literature was still in its infancy, and creative genius found in the frozen poetry of stone its readiest vehicle of utterance. Architecture was rooted in profound spiritual convictions, and acted as the handmaid of Religion. The principle of Gothic architecture, Coleridge has said in his *Table Talk* is "infinity made imaginable." The pointed arches and pointed windows beckoned men Godward, and told forth the upward aspiration of the human heart.



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The Norman style lasted in England till about 1166. Then came the Early English style, in which the doors, arches, and windows were lancet-shaped. About the year 1266 the Early English gave way to the Decorated style, with its equilateral arches. The windows, now larger and divided into lights by mullions or bars of masonry, were adorned above with beautiful flowing tracery; ornamentation became richer. About the year 1366 this style in its turn was succeeded in England by Perpendicular, with which the name of William of Wykeham is associated. The Perpendicular style is peculiar to England. The window arches are flattened, and the mullions dividing the lights are carried from the base right to the top of the arch. It is from these perpendicular mullions that the style derives its name. The mullions in the upper parts of the windows are often crossed by horizontal bars called transoms. Good examples of the Early English style are to be found in Salisbury Cathedral and the choir of Worcester; of the Decorated style in Exeter Cathedral and York Minster; of the Perpendicular in Magdalen, Winchester, and New Colleges.

Monasticism in England at the close of the Middle Ages was far gone in decline. It had long ceased to represent a fervent spiritual life; pride, luxury, ease are the three qualities that the popular songs pick out as characteristic of the monk. In the *Canterbury Tales*, the chief interest of the monk is represented as hunting, horses, and dogs; he thought the rule of St. Benedict out of date. By the fifteenth century all enthusiasm for learning had disappeared from the monasteries; their chronicles were not what they had once been, their contribution to education relatively small. The fact of the matter was that the monkish ideal was antiquated. Langland, in holding up the Ploughman as one who led the ideal life, had in fact pronounced the death-knell of monasticism. The coming age looked on an active life as superior to one of contemplation and prayer. A new feature in the history of monasticism was the complaint of poverty. That poverty was no doubt due to a number of reasons: the exactions of papacy and crown had contributed something towards it; many of the monasteries had overbuilt their resources; in return for the gift of capital sums they had in some cases pledged their revenues to provide perpetual pensions. But the chief cause of their impoverishment was the simple reason that the monastic ideal no longer

Decline of  
monas-  
ticism.

appealed in the same way as formerly to the lay mind, with the result that the hitherto continuous stream of gifts suddenly failed.

A certain number of the smaller religious houses had by papal leave been suppressed and their revenues devoted by Wykeham and others to the foundation of colleges. The alien priories had been dissolved in 1414, and their estates used, among other purposes, to endow Eton College and All Souls. In 1489 the visitation of the Abbey of St. Albans by Archbishop Morton led to a discovery of much disorder and vice, but as a rule the larger monasteries were free from serious immorality. The nunneries seem to have preserved a high level throughout.

Decline of  
the friars.

The friars had attempted to cover a field untouched by other agencies of the Church. The greatness of their work in its early stages has been sketched in a preceding chapter, but in their decline they proved the absolute failure of the voluntary system. They became as bad as, if not worse than, the people to whom they ministered. In the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they had produced great intellectual leaders among the schoolmen, such as Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas among the Dominicans, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham among the Franciscans; but in the fifteenth century their intellectual was as marked as their moral decline. There is a consensus of opinion among our authorities that the friar was simply a compound of various forms of wickedness.

“All wyckedness that men can telle  
Regnes ham [reigns them] among  
Ther shal no saule [soul] have rowme [room] in helle,  
Of frers ther is suche throng,”

says a contemporary poem. Indeed the picture of the friar is so overdrawn that we cannot but suspect professional jealousy. The different orders of friars by their mutual hatreds gave the common enemy occasion to blaspheme. All friars were objects of profound dislike to the monastic and parochial clergy. The monks hated them because they diverted offerings which would otherwise have come to themselves; the parochial clergy, because they intruded into their parishes, came between the priest and his flock, especially in the confessional, and diminished his fees. At Oxford they were disliked for the proselytising zeal with which they enmeshed in their net rich young men and

made them join their order. Some of the dark colours in the picture may be due to the discrepancy between the splendour of the original ideal and the dimness of the present actuality. Whatever the reason, there is a wonderful consensus in the picture drawn of the friar in his decadence. Shameless effrontery, gluttony, immorality, yet withal a shrewd mother-wit and power of racy anecdote, were assigned to him. The friar is often represented as visiting the women folk in the absence of their husbands. "The Summoner's Tale" in Chaucer illustrates this and other sides of his activity. On that occasion the husband Thomas was feigning illness in bed—

"'Ey, maister ! wel-come be ye by Seint John !'  
Seyde this wyf, 'how fare ye hertely ?'  
The frere aryseth up ful curteisly,  
And hir embraceth in his arms narwe [closely, narrowly],  
And kiste hir swete, and chirketh as a sparwe  
With his lippes : 'Dame,' quod he, 'right weel.  
Thanked be God, that yow yaf soule and lyf,  
Yet saugh I nat this day so fair a wyf.

I wol with Thomas speke a litel throwe [while],  
Thise curats been ful negligent and slowe  
To grope tendrely a conscience.'

'Now by your leve, O dere sir,' quod she,  
'Chydeth [chide] him weel, for Seinte Trinitee.  
He is as angry as a pissemyre [ant],  
Though that he have al that he can desyre.'

'O Thomas ! je vous dy [tell], Thomas ! Thomas !  
This maketh the feend, this moste ben amended !'

'Now maister,' quod the wyf, 'er that I go,  
What wol ye dyne ? I wol go ther-aboutte.'  
'Now dame,' quod he, 'Je vous dy sanz doute,  
Have I nat of a capon but the livere,  
And of your softe breed nat but a shivere [slice],  
And after that a roasted pigges heed.'

'Now sir,' quod she, 'but o word er I go ;  
My child is deed [dead], withinne thise wykes two,  
Sone after that ye wente out of this toun.'

'His death saugh I by revelacioun,'  
Seith this frere, 'at hoom in our dortour [dormitory].  
I dar wel seyn that, er that half an hour

After his deeth, I saugh him born to blisse  
 In myn avisioun, so God me wisse !

And up I roos, and al our convent eke,

Te Deum was our song, and nothing elles,  
 Save that to Crist I seyde an orisoun.  
 For sir and dame, trusteth [trust] me right weel,  
 Our orisons been more effectueel,  
 And more we seen of Cristes secree things  
 Than burel [lay] folk, although they weren kinges."

In the conclusion the husband, who had been merely pretending illness, played a coarse jest on the friar, and chased him out of the house. The tale illustrates the friars' attention to the women folk, their disparagement of the parochial clergy and annexation of the confessional, their gluttony, and claim to possess greater spiritual privileges than others.

The fourteenth century *Song against the Friars* brings similar charges ; their gluttony calls forth this elaborate satire—

"Men may se by their contynauce  
 That thai are men of grete penaunce,  
 And also that thair sustynauce  
 Simple is and wayke.

I have lyved now fourty yers  
 And fatter men about the neres [kidneys]  
 Yit sawe I never then are these frers,  
 In contreys ther thai rayke [roam].  
 Meteles [without meals] so megre are thai made  
 And penaunce so puttes hem doun,  
 That ichone [each one] is an hors-lade [load]

When he shall trusse of town [pack up and depart from town]."

In this same song the friar appears as the professional beggar, hawking wares about like a pedlar, especially wares that will please women ; their skill in bargaining, and their destruction of domestic happiness through immoral practices are specially mentioned.

"Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,  
 With gyrdles, gloves, for wenches and wyves ;

Al that for women is pleasand  
 Ful redy certes have thai ;  
 But lytel gyfe thai the husband,  
 That for al shal pay.

There is no pedler that pak can bere  
That half so dere can selle his gere,  
Then a frer can do.  
For if he gife a wyfe a knyfe  
That cost bot penys two,  
Worthe ten knyves, so mot I thryfe,  
He wyl have er he go."

And as to their immorality—

"Iche man that her shal lede his life,  
That has a faire doghter or a wyfe,  
Be war that no frer ham shryfe [shrive them].

Thof women seme of hert ful stable,  
With faire byhest [promise] and with fable  
Thai can make thair hertes changeable  
And thair likynges fulfillle."

The facility with which the friars granted absolution in return for money is attacked in another verse (see p. 174). In conclusion the author prophesies that the friars, like the Templars, shall be pulled down and destroyed by the King.

Another song on the Franciscans shows us the extraordinary pieces of ritual pageantry by which they sought to impress and win the favour of the common people. We read of a tree or cross fastened high in the sky on which was set a figure of our Lord equipped with wings; of a friar with bleeding wounds in his side and hands and feet to represent our Lord; of yet another friar in a cart of fire, figuring Elijah. This suggests to the author the thought that the friars ought all to be burnt. He ends by attacking them for preaching poverty, but living luxuriously in mansions bought with the price of murder and whoredom. Verily, *corruptio optimi pessima*.

A word perhaps ought to be said upon pilgrimages. Most Pilgrim-  
men at some time of their life went on pilgrimage. The rich, ages.  
if they could not go themselves, hired others to go for them. The most famous places of pilgrimage were the Holy Land (so long as that was possible), Rome, and Compostella. Boniface VIII. in 1300 offered a plenary indulgence to all those who visited Rome in that year of jubilee.

But each country and district had its own local shrine; the chief shrines in England were those of St. Thomas of Canterbury and Our Lady of Walsingham. At these shrines the manufacture of and trade in relics went on apace. Towards the close of the

Middle Ages these pilgrimages—witness the pages of Chaucer—were regarded by many as nothing but a pleasant holiday.

Schools. A more useful side of the mediæval Church's life was to be found in its educational activity. Besides the elementary schools kept by the parish priests and others, there were grammar schools of various sorts. It would seem, however, that the educational work for which credit has been given to the monasteries has been much exaggerated. Towards the close of the Middle Ages the smaller houses seem to have had no schools at all; the larger monasteries had schools for their novices, but did not encourage the presence of outsiders. The sons of the country gentlemen were not sent to them. In the fifteenth century education was generally neglected in all the monastic houses.

The greater part of educational work had passed into other hands. There were grammar schools of all sorts. At Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans and other places there were grammar schools to which the abbeys acted as trustees. The schools attached to the cathedrals were some of the oldest institutions in the country. There were other schools built in connection with guilds or hospitals, or founded by private benefactors in connection with collegiate churches. Many of these disappeared with the dissolution of the chantries at the Reformation. In great manor houses there was often a special grammar master employed to instruct the young gentry. Towering above all these schools at the close of the Middle Ages were the splendid foundations of Winchester and Eton. Winchester College was founded by William of Wykeham with the avowed purpose of raising up a learned secular clergy—the ranks of the clergy having been so sadly thinned by plague. In 1378 Wykeham obtained a papal bull from Urban VI. authorising the foundation of the college; in 1382 he was given the royal licence; in 1387 he began to build, and in 1394 the college was opened. Apart from the magnificent scale on which the college was founded—it was to be a foundation for a warden, ten fellows, a headmaster, an usher, seventy scholars, chaplains, and choristers—there were two novelties in Wykeham's conception. In the first place, though a close connection was to be maintained between Winchester and New College, Wykeham's other foundation at Oxford, Winchester was to have quite a separate existence. The primary purpose of Winchester was to be a grammar

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school for boys. It was not to be a mere dependent on, or the accident of an Oxford college. The seventy scholars were to be drawn from the middle classes. Secondly, in addition to the scholars, provision was made for commoners; ten sons of distinguished men, nobles and others, special friends of the college, were to be admitted for instruction with the scholars, provided that thereby no expense or charge should be laid upon the foundation. It is the expansion of this element—there are now 380 commoners at Winchester—that has determined the character of English public school life, and gives William of Wykeham the right to be called the founder of the English public schools. In his foundation of Eton (1443), Henry VI. followed the lines laid down by Wykeham.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century Oxford was at the zenith of its influence. The number of students was enormous. In two Franciscans—Duns Scotus (d. 1308), the “subtle” doctor, and William of Ockham (d. 1349), the “invincible” doctor, it had produced two of the greatest schoolmen. Oxford was the home of liberal culture, for the faculty of arts as distinguished from any of the higher faculties, such as theology, predominated. In 1376 the great Oxford movement associated with the name of the schoolman and reformer Wycliffe was inaugurated. The methods by which this movement was stamped out have been already indicated. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at Oxford were also marked by the growth of the collegiate system. The need of discipline amid a riotous population—there were continual rows between the students themselves, besides the town and gown rows—the necessity of precaution against the growth of heretical opinions, the scarcity of books, and the stimulus to learning that would come from corporate life devoted to that pursuit, led to the foundation of colleges. Queen’s College was founded in 1340, St. Marie College of Winchester in Oxford, better known as New College, in 1379. Wykeham’s foundation of New College, like that of Winchester, was on a splendid scale. From his provision that instruction should be given to his scholars within the walls, Wykeham has been aptly termed “the founder of the Oxford tutorial system.” Arrangements were made for all kinds of studies—the civil law, the canon law, astronomy, medicine, arts, and theology. All Souls was founded in 1438 by Chichele, Magdalen by Waynflete in 1458. Many Benedictine

Oxford  
University.

Growth of  
colleges.

monasteries also set up dependent houses at Oxford for their student monks; for example, the Benedictine monastery at Durham had already in 1286 set up a hall, known later as Durham College. During the Middle Ages, Cambridge was, when compared with Oxford, unimportant; but similar colleges were during these two centuries founded there.

Decline of  
universi-  
ties.

In spite of her splendid endowments, Oxford at the beginning of the fifteenth century was in a state of rapid decline. The old scholastic philosophy was played out, and the new learning of the Renaissance had not yet entered. The steps taken by Church and State to extirpate Wycliffite tenets had given a blow to independent thought; the rewards of study were doubtful; for patrons, it was said, appointed their own favourites or relations to livings, and ignored the claims of learning. Oxford petitioned that the statute of Provisors might be relaxed so that the Pope as of yore might "provide" learned clerks. There can be little doubt that the decline of learning simply reflected the condition of the times. War and anarchy and the throes of social dissolution do not provide a soil in which learning thrives. But before the accession of the Tudor dynasty a new spirit was already moving on the face of the waters. The revival of Greek learning initiated by Grosseteste in the thirteenth century had not borne fruit. But now a movement directed to the same purpose was to have a happier issue. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 had led to the diffusion of Greek MSS. and learning, which found a ready home in Italy. William Sellyng, an Oxford student and Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury (1472), had studied under the famous scholar Politian at Bologna (1465). From Italy Sellyng brought back to Canterbury some Greek MSS., and some knowledge of Greek. Linacre, the distinguished physician, learnt Greek from Sellyng. In 1486 he was introduced by Sellyng to Politian and shared in the lessons given to the children of Lorenzo de' Medici; from their Greek tutor Chalcondylas, Linacre gained his knowledge of Greek.

Revival of  
Greek  
learning.

Chandler, the warden of New College, appointed Cornelio Vitelli to lecture in Greek at New College (1475), and Grocyn learned his elements from Vitelli. After two years of continuous Greek study in Italy Grocyn returned to Oxford and gave public Greek lectures. He was the real pioneer of Greek learning in England. At his feet sat Colet, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More.



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We have passed into the era of the Renaissance learning, and have left the Middle Ages behind us.

To realise that old-world life, when the Church still stood erect, penetrating into every corner of man's life from the cradle to the grave, and exercising a spell that subdued the mind of man, is almost impossible. The difficulty has been described by Froude<sup>1</sup> in beautiful language: "And now it is all gone—like an unsubstantial pageant faded; and between us and the old English there lies a gulf of mystery which the prose of the historian will never adequately bridge. They cannot come to us, and our imagination can but feebly penetrate to them. Only among the aisles of the cathedral, only as we gaze upon their silent figures sleeping on their tombs, some faint conceptions float before us of what these men were when they were alive; and perhaps in the sound of church bells, that peculiar creation of mediæval age, which falls upon the ear like the echo of a vanished world."

Close of  
Middle  
Ages.

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, I. 62.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE NEW LEARNING AND THE EARLY YEARS OF HENRY VIII

Renaissance era.

THE era of the Renaissance had now dawned. The old age had passed away, and was replaced by an era which was ruled by new ideas in almost every sphere of life. "Renaissance" means "re-birth," and aptly expresses the fresh departure which was taken at this time by the human spirit. The age was pre-eminently one of exploration and scientific investigation. The universe was interrogated and forced to yield many of its secrets. The spirit of inquiry was abroad; and the closing of the old trade routes by the Turks, who, after the capture of Constantinople in 1453, dominated the Eastern Mediterranean, made it necessary for traders to discover a new route to the Indies. It was in pursuit of this quest that Vasco da Gama in 1497 finally circumnavigated Africa, and Christopher Columbus found his way to the coast of America. These discoveries, in their turn, quickened the pulses of thought. The world was found to be much larger than men had ever previously imagined; an intellectual shock was produced by the discovery of human races living under conditions and in a stage of civilisation totally different from those of Europe. A similar shock might be produced to-day if it were found possible to open up communications with the different planets, and their conditions of existence were found to be entirely different from those familiar to us upon the earth.

Exploration.

The prescriptive usages and customs of the Old World were brought to the bar of reason, and asked to clear themselves from the charge of absurdity. Man's intellectual range was widened; the flora and fauna of the New World, strange geographical and physical phenomena, gave an impetus to the inductive and scientific spirit. The discoveries of science extended the knowledge and power of man. It was in 1507 that Copernicus expounded his views on the solar system. Hence-

forth the earth could no longer be regarded as the fixed centre of the universe, for whose sake the sun shone by day, the moon and the stars by night. The earth was discovered to be one of many planets revolving round one of many suns. It was in this era also that many mechanical instruments were invented. Inventions  
The art of printing was discovered in 1438; the telescope and compass, though dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, became a power in the hands of Copernicus and Columbus; the feudal castle, feudal armour, and feudal chivalry fell before the invention of gunpowder and the roar of cannon.

But the Renaissance meant something more than the exploration of the physical universe and discovery of scientific instruments. There was a revived interest in man himself. In Italy, the cradle of the Renaissance, the movement was essentially artistic and literary. The old ascetic ideals gave way to the love of beauty and the joy of life; the great Italian painters, such as Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Titian, portrayed bodies of perfect physical beauty. Painting.  
The fifteenth century also witnessed in Italy a progressive interest in scholarship and learning; the ancient classics of Greece, so clear in idea, so beautiful in style, exercised once more a spell over the human mind. Popes Nicholas V. (1447-1455) and Pius II. (*Æneas Sylvius*) in Rome, the Medicis in Florence, made Italy the centre of this humanistic culture. The life of an Italian scholar in those days is vividly brought before us by George Eliot in *Romola*. The critical and scholarly spirit struck deep root. Scholarship.  
The Laurentian Library was founded at Florence, the Vatican Library at Rome (1453). The great printing presses of Aldi and Froben and others were not slow in giving to the world first editions of the great classical writers, such as Vergil, Homer, Aristotle and Plato.

On the political side, the age was marked by the creation of great states. The dominating political ideas of the mediæval era had been those of Empire and Papacy. Nationalism.  
Europe was a unity; on its secular side known as the Empire, on its religious side as the Church; over this unity Emperor and Pope were supreme. This theory, however much belied in practice, controlled political thought. The sense of nationality was only formed very slowly, and in England sooner than elsewhere; in the early feudal ages, divisions were rather social than national. There were feudal princes, barons, knights, and

agricultural labourers, mostly unfree ; but the ties uniting feudal knights all over Europe were closer than those which in any particular country united the feudal knight with his serf. It was only very gradually that these social lines of division were replaced by national lines. Partly as a result of her insular position and her strong kings, but chiefly as the result of the Hundred Years' War, a sense of nationality was formed earlier in England than elsewhere. But similar results followed in most other countries. France was unified by the end of the fifteenth century, Brittany, the last of the great fiefs, being absorbed in 1488. Spain had been unified and formed into a great nation by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1474 ; only in Italy and Germany did the sense of nationality lag behind ; unity in each country had been sacrificed to the idea of a Holy Roman Empire. If the German King had confined his attention to Germany there would have been no reason for his failure in the task in which the Kings of England and France succeeded. The creation of a strong monarchy on the ruins of feudalism had been the task set before all these rulers.

In Italy the problem of national unity was more difficult than elsewhere, for the Popes had entered the lists with claims to temporal dominion, and from the thirteenth century till 1870 proved an insuperable bar to the creation of an Italian national state. Even in Italy, however, the spirit of nationality was not dead, and in Germany, though its strength grew faint, it was still alive.

Economic  
change.

Socially, the Renaissance era was one of great and increasingly greater economic change. Society in feudal times had been almost static ; land had been regarded as a means for feeding so many men, or supplying so many soldiers ; the typical manor was agricultural and self-supporting ; the volume of trade had been very small. But for reasons which we have partly indicated, and cannot develop further, all this was rapidly changing. Society became more and more capitalistic and competitive in structure. The " monied " man had come to stay ; the volume of trade rapidly increased ; land was worked on a great scale, not to provide for immediate consumption, but to satisfy a world market. Men made haste to become rich and accumulate wealth.

The preceding sketch will give a glimpse into the spirit of

the age. It is intended to explain the general conditions which rendered possible the rise of the Tudor despotism in England, and of other despotisms elsewhere. The special conditions which favoured the rise of the Tudor monarchy were the general weariness of civil anarchy and the internecine strife by which the old baronage had exhausted its strength in the Wars of the Roses. All ages are ages of transition, but this was an age of transition in no ordinary sense of the term; men felt that there was need of a strong hand to guide them through the social, economic, political, and religious changes in which they were enveloped. Of liberty they had enjoyed too much. What they desired was order, and hence in England the Tudor monarchy arose. Sir Thomas More was only reflecting the general belief when he wrote: "The springs both of good and evil flow from the Prince over a whole nation as from a lasting fountain."

Rise of  
Tudor  
despotism

A new spirit, then, a spirit of inquiry which challenged and criticised all things, was abroad. Europe was in a state of fermentation, and the Church was faced by a question of crucial importance. What was to be her attitude to the New Learning? Would the new wine burst the old bottles? Could, and would, the Church assimilate the New Learning, and adapt herself to all that was true and good in it, or would this new force dissolve and rend in pieces her unity? The New Learning and criticism were bound to show, indeed had already shown, that many claims of the Church were based on manifest forgeries, such as the Donation of Constantine.<sup>1</sup> But the wisdom of Nicholas V. and Æneas Sylvius prevented for a time the threatened explosion by taking the Renaissance scholars into their service.

Attitude  
of Church  
to New  
Learning.

The scientist in his experiment sometimes separates elements held in chemical combination by means of an electric current. The mediæval Church held in solution diverse elements. What would be the result when the electric current of the New Learning was passed through it? The mediæval Church—to use the words of Harnack—was a fabric embracing such disparate elements as "the gospel and holy water, the priesthood of all believers and the Pope on his throne, Christ the

<sup>1</sup> The Donation of Constantine professed to be a grant of the Western World, made *circ.* 338, to the Pope by Constantine on his transference of the seat of government to Constantinople. The Donation was a forgery of the eighth or ninth century.

Redeemer and St. Anne." There were accretions to the faith and practice of the primitive Church, in such things as the doctrine of transubstantiation, the withholding of the cup from the laity, the invocation of saints (which among the ignorant often meant gross polytheism), the whole machinery of the confessional, indulgences, the worship of relics, pilgrimages, &c. That which the Church required was a reduction of her faith and practice by reference to first principles; light would be given by the fresh knowledge and the critical method of the New Learning. We shall see how the Church in England and elsewhere dealt with the problem.

Henry VII. Henry VII. ascended the English throne in 1485, and at his death in 1509 left a full exchequer and a securely established dynasty. He had created the Star Chamber in 1487, and by humiliation of the nobles he had increased the power of the Crown. Speaking broadly, we may say that the key of his policy was to make England politically self-contained. He renounced the Lancastrian policy of French conquest; he consolidated the monarchic power at home, and paved the way for the future union of England and Scotland by the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV.

Ecclesiastically the reign calls for little notice; the King maintained amicable relations with the Popes, and pursued the old Lancastrian policy of friendship with the Church. Ecclesiastics, of whom the most notable were Morton and Warham, successively Archbishops of Canterbury, and Bishop Fox, were employed in high State office. The selection of State officials from the episcopal bench appealed to the avarice of the King as a means of relieving the royal exchequer; but the employment of bishops in secular office did not contribute to ecclesiastical efficiency, and continued an abuse, which all reformers would have wished to end. Rumbings of distant thunder might perhaps have been heard, if there had been ears to hear. Thus a visitation of the monasteries was conducted by Archbishop Morton on the injunction of the Pope; papal bulls were obtained to limit the rights of sanctuary; benefit of clergy was restricted by an Act of Parliament in 1490. But these presages of a coming storm passed unnoticed. To all appearances the Church stood proud and erect, like a lofty tree, little conscious that she was to be laid low by the hurricane which presently burst upon her. In 1509 the "majestic lord"

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who was fated "to break the bonds of Rome" and commit England irrevocably to the Protestant party in Europe, mounted the throne of his ancestors. Henry VIII. was a wonderful man, masterful in the highest degree—more masterful than any monarch who has ever occupied the English throne; whatever he took up—athletics, learning, diplomacy, religion—he and no other was to be King of men. We stand aghast as we read the record of his reign, of the wives and ministers whom he beheaded, of the defiance hurled in the face of popes and kings, of his claims to make and unmake doctrine, to make and to unmake wives, to legitimate and then bastardise his various children, of the tremendous changes carried through in Church and State, of the reign of terror, in which nobles of the bluest blood were brought to the block, of the ease with which he moulded Parliament to his will, as though the Parliament were clay and he the potter. The chief feature in his character was his extraordinary self-will. As Wolsey said at his fall to Master Kingston, "He is sure a prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart, and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger; therefore if it chance hereafter you to be one of his privy council, I warn you to be well advised what matter ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again." And Sir T. More said the same to Cromwell: "If you will follow my poor advice, you shall in your counsel-giving to his grace ever tell him what he ought to do, but never what he is able to do; for if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him."

Accession  
of Henry  
VIII.

His  
achievements.

His char-  
acter.

Morality for Henry was swallowed up in legalism, and legalism meant for him the expression of his own will for the time being. If his appetite or will carried him in one direction, his choice was soon ratified by his conscience as the expression of absolute right, and forthwith embodied, if need be, in an Act of Parliament. For Henry associated the nation and Parliament with him in all his actions, however oppressive. The State had come of age, and was no longer to be under the tutelage of the Church. The philosophy of Machiavelli had carried the day. Henceforth the index to right was to be the will of the State; *salus populi*, interpreted in the narrowest sense, was to be the criterion of right and wrong; it mattered not whether this involved callous cruelty and oppression of

individuals, nay, it mattered not whether the King had to wade through pools of blood, if only the State (or the prince) secured its will and its own safety. No scruples of conscience would bar the way. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that Henry misinterpreted the feelings and ambitions of his people, or to imagine that no popular support lay behind his policy. On the contrary, it was because Henry represented so accurately the feelings of his people that he was able to do what he did. He had no standing army with which to coerce them. He depended throughout on their support. No doubt some of his actions, such as the divorce of Catherine and the dissolution of the monasteries—at any rate in the north of England—were unpopular. But this only brings out the more clearly the fact that, in the general trend of this policy, he had popular approval behind him. It would probably be a true estimate of the situation if we said that Henry was just ahead of his people, anticipating by a little their wishes, and making articulate the desires which in them were inarticulate, and dimly groped for expression. If Henry VIII. had not taken the nettle firmly in his grasp by renouncing the papal claims, or if he had thrown the power of the monarchy into the scale in support of the papal claims, there is no doubt that the papal power might have lasted in England a generation or even two generations longer; but there can be no conceivable doubt that the Reformation and the overthrow of the papal power would have come in England as well as in Germany. Thunderbolts do not come from a blue sky, and the critic must be blind indeed if he does not see that the work of Henry VIII. followed in the logic of history, and was only the close of a long movement which dated as far back as the Norman Conquest. But this was, at the moment of which we are speaking, still in the womb of the future. The accession of Henry VIII. was welcomed with enthusiasm. The young King was extremely popular. He was conspicuous for his strength and manly beauty; athletic attainments have always appealed to Englishmen, and the King was famous for his skill in outdoor sports. He was pre-eminently a sportsman; at tennis, at shooting, at hunting, at yachting, he was head and shoulders above his fellows. But by none was his accession greeted with greater joy than by the friends of the New Learning. For Henry was known to be its warm friend. Lord Mountjoy wrote to Erasmus, "This King of ours

Basis of his power.

The Reformation inevitable.

His interest in the New Learning.



is no seeker after gold or gems or mines of silver. He desires only the fame of virtue and eternal life. I was lately in his presence. He said he regretted he was still so ignorant. I told him that the nation did not want him to be himself learned; the nation wanted him only to encourage learning. He replied that without knowledge life would not be worth our having." And Henry himself wrote to Erasmus, "Give me the pleasure of assisting and protecting you as far as my power extends. It has been, and is, my earnest wish to restore Christ's religion to its primitive purity, and to employ whatever talents and means I have in extinguishing heresy and giving free course to the word of God."

The revival of Greek learning and humanism in England will always be associated with the names of three great men, the Oxford reformers, as they have been called—John Colet, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More. The movement, which in Italy degenerated into a refined sensuality and frankly pagan ideals of life, assumed a severer and more moral form in Germany and England. John Colet was the son of an ex-Lord Mayor of London, born in 1467; he had visited Italy to study Greek in 1495 at the time when the scandals of the Borgia regime were at their height—Alexander Borgia was Pope—and he may, perhaps, have listened, though we have no evidence on this point, to the fiery denunciations of the age by the prophet Savonarola. On his return to Oxford he delivered public lectures (1496-7) on the Pauline Epistles. These lectures opened a new era in the history of biblical exposition; hitherto, the Bible had been regarded as a storehouse of detached texts, and the plain meaning of Scripture had been twisted and distorted by allegorical and other fantastic methods of interpretation. Colet tried to realise the man St. Paul as he worked and lived, and the special circumstances of the churches to which he wrote. In his eyes the purity of primitive Christianity had been defiled by the accretions of scholastic philosophy and by the mediæval Church. For Duns Scotus and St. Thomas Aquinas he had no good words; in his eyes it was far better to keep to the early Fathers, to the Bible, and the Apostles' Creed. His great aim was to get back to St. Paul and to Christ Himself. As Erasmus wrote, "Colet's aim is to bring back the Christianity of the Apostles, and clear away the thorns and briars with which it is overgrown."

The Re-  
naissance  
in England

Colet.

Lectures  
on St.  
Paul.

In 1505 Colet was made Dean of St. Paul's, and he continued in London the work begun at Oxford; and five years later he founded St. Paul's School—the first-fruits in England of the New Learning—"to increase knowledge and worshipping of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners in the children." Colet's whole being was consumed with zeal for the reform of the Church. The traffic in, and the worshipping of relics, as can be seen from Erasmus' account of his visit with Colet to Becket's shrine, filled him with disgust. But it was the sensuality and worldliness of the Church that called forth his severest censures. Preaching before Convocation in 1512 he denounced the depraved lives of the clergy as far the worst form of heresy then current, and vehemently attacked the lack of spirituality in the bishops, "men more worldly than heavenly, wiser in the spirit of this world than in the spirit of Christ." It was probably in the discussion on heresy which followed in this Convocation that an old divine quoted St. Paul's authority for putting heretics to death. He had got hold of the text in which St. Paul says, "A man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition, reject" (Titus iii. 10). The old man quoted from the Vulgate, but unfortunately his Latin was not his strong point, and he thought that "de-vita" meant "put out of life"! In 1519 Colet died. He was removed from the scene before the storm broke, and before men had to choose their course at the parting of the ways.

Erasmus.

Erasmus of Rotterdam, born in 1467, was not an Englishman; he was a citizen of the world, at home in all countries. But he came to England on repeated visits and stayed here considerable periods of time. In Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester—for Erasmus was always poor—he found some of his kindest patrons; in Colet and Sir Thomas More, two of his dearest friends. Natural affinities drew them together; Erasmus was not endowed with the moral earnestness of Colet, but his point of view was substantially the same. He had, however, gifts which Colet lacked, and these gifts soon won him a European reputation. His clear style and lively play of humour gave him, as they gave Voltaire in a later age, the ear of educated Europe. He made people laugh, and, as the sparkle of his wit was always used to mock obscurantist teachers and methods, he made many enemies. The colossal absurdities in the lives of the saints, the trafficking

of spiritual pedlars, the foolery of indulgences, the exhibition of relics, such as the Virgin's milk at Walsingham, Our Lady's petticoat, St. Anne's comb, St. Thomas of Canterbury's shoes—"not presented as innocent aids to religion, but as the substance of religion itself"—the crass stupidity of the monks, the use of confession as an instrument of priestly wickedness, made a splendid target for the shafts of his mocking satire. *Erasmus'* great desire was to reduce Christianity to its first principles; he positively hated the old scholastic theology. "I wonder," he wrote in 1518, "what the Turks will think when they hear about instances and causes formative, about quiddities and relativities, and see our theologians cursing and spitting at each other, the Nominalists and Realists wrangling about the second person of the Trinity, as if Christ was a malignant demon ready to destroy you if you made a mistake about His nature. Reduce the articles of faith to the fewest and simplest."

*Erasmus* loathed the monks as obscurantists who opposed the study of Greek, the work of Reuchlin, the Hebraist, the publication of his own New Testament, and all other manifestations of the New Learning. *Erasmus'* great work—the New Testament in Greek with a new Latin translation—was published in 1516. It was the first-fruits of biblical criticism, great not because of its intrinsic merits, but because it started biblical criticism on its future career and laid down a right method—that is to say, the critical comparison of MSS.—for the discovery of the true text. But this was not all. The prefaces of the book and the annotations were a challenge levelled at the abuses of the Church. *Erasmus*, however, wished to reform the Church from within: his New Testament was published under Leo X.'s encouragement, and his ideal was the Church regenerated by a reforming Pope. *Erasmus* stood for reform, while Luther stood for revolution. *Erasmus* rejoiced in the artistic splendour and graceful culture of life in Rome; to Luther they were anti-christ. To *Erasmus* dogma of all sorts was anathema; Luther was a born dogmatist. *Erasmus* saw that Luther was bent on constructing a new fabric of dogma in some ways more revolting than that of Rome. He saw also that all immediate hope for learning would be spoiled by the outbreak of religious war. Hence when the storm came in the second decade of the sixteenth century, the two men went different ways. Though *Erasmus* had questioned the divine origin of the papal power,

His "New Testament," 1516.

Compared with Luther.

he clung to the papacy, and died in communion with the Roman Church.

Sir T.  
More.

Sir Thomas More was the third of the Oxford friends, though ten years their junior. His temperament was of the most charming kind. "Nature never framed anything gentler, sweeter, happier, than the temper of Thomas More. His whole house breathes happiness, and no one enters it who is not the better for the visit," wrote Erasmus. His quick appreciation of the ridiculous, his perennial store of ready wit, his delight in fun, made him a most lovable companion. More, according to Colet, had greater genius than any other man in England. He had also a strong religious sense. Religion was no added adornment to, but the basis of, his whole life. As he looks down upon us from the canvas of Holbein, his face reveals a look of wistful craving and the strain of melancholy, which Vergil found in the face of the young Marcellus and without which the highest beauty is incomplete. More had deep spiritual yearnings, and as we look at his face, we can well understand the truth of Erasmus' statement that he would often, and with the force of true conviction, talk with his friends of the life to come. For some years More had serious thoughts of becoming a monk, or at least a priest, but he finally decided otherwise. He married and took to the law, and became in time Lord Chancellor. If More's one enthusiasm was for Catholic truth, his other enthusiasm was for humanism and the New Learning. It remained to be seen whether he could harmonise the two. More was a true child of the Renaissance. His *Utopia*, published in 1516, is a typical product of the Renaissance spirit, and shows extraordinary power of detachment from the social, economic, political, and religious atmosphere in which he had grown up. In the second part of *Utopia* (which was written first), Ralph Hythloday, the traveller, was made to describe an imaginary land which he had visited in the far west. The social arrangements of Utopia were quite free from the absurdities that were to be found in Europe; everything was based on pure reason. We are astonished when we find that More, in his description of Utopia, anticipated the line that reform has taken in the succeeding centuries; some of these ideas, such as State hospitals and Socialism, have not been realised even yet. But in Utopia there were State hospitals, there was a mild penal code, there was a six hours' day—all men had to do some

His *Utopia*.

manual labour, and no one was allowed to do more than six hours a day. ("This was quite enough," More explains. "The poor had to work longer in Europe simply because priests and monks and gentlemen and beggars had to be supported in idleness.") The Utopians practised cremation; there was a thorough system of education; they all cultivated the pleasures of the mind. Their towns were garden-cities; there was no such thing as private capital; there was no poverty. They thought it "madness for a man to wear out the beauty of his face or to waste it by fasting, unless by renouncing his own satisfaction he can either serve the public or promote the happiness of others." Their priests were few and married. In religion the Utopians differed from each other, but every man was allowed to hold his own belief, as there was complete religious toleration. They held that "no man ought to be punished for his religion," and that God Himself "might inspire men in a different manner and be pleased with this variety." Their public profession was, however, the worship of one God, "the Father of all," and their public worship was undenominational in character, and therefore arranged in such a way as not to offend the particular beliefs of the different sects. There was, however, one exception to this toleration. No man could be appointed to public office who disbelieved in the immortality of the soul and the existence of God, because men of this sort must have base and sordid minds.

The Utopians showed an interest, very typical of the Renaissance, in Greek learning, and in scientific inventions, such as the compass and printing. In the course of the book, More characteristically chaffs the idle monks and friars.

But the extraordinary thing about More is that his own public and private life was in direct antagonism to the precepts put forward in *Utopia*. His loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church carried him in the opposite direction: his master passion was devotion to the mediæval faith: he denounced any departure from the creed and practice of Rome as sinful, and persecuted the sinners. He perished at the block, a martyr to the Roman creed. Henry VIII. dragged him to high State office—"Dragged" is the word," says Erasmus, "for no one ever struggled harder to gain admission there, than More struggled to escape"—and he put him to death for his adherence to Rome. He did not realise that a nation's most valuable

asset is its great men. In the essentials of his belief More closely resembled Erasmus; he ridiculed the "barbarous niceties" and "logical trifling" of the scholastic philosophy. He acknowledged the worldliness and secularity of churchmen; he realised the abuses of monasticism, of image worship, of pilgrimages, of relics, and of indulgences, but thought that, if reformed, they still ought to find a place in Catholic practice. He welcomed the light of the New Learning and biblical criticism. He shared Erasmus' desire for a reformation of the Church from within. But he was always the more conservative of the two, and, as Erasmus himself confessed, a little inclined to superstition. He was determined, above all, not to break the unity of the Western Church, or throw off the papal supremacy. Such were the three men known as the Oxford reformers.

By the opening of Henry VIII.'s reign the New Learning had definitely established itself in England. The King, Warham, Fisher, and Fox were its patrons—its most brilliant lights were Colet and More. When a party formed itself at Oxford, under the name of "Trojans," to ridicule and crush this new Greek learning, More wrote at Henry's command to the authorities of the University, scornfully bidding them to suppress the revilers of Greek. Henry VIII.'s great minister, Cardinal Wolsey (1512-1529), gave his full support to the New Learning. Following in the footsteps of Wykeham and Waynflete, he secured a papal bull (1524) authorising him to suppress monasteries with less than seven inmates, and with the wealth thus acquired he founded Cardinal College (afterwards called Christ Church) on a sumptuous scale, intending it to become the centre of the New Learning at Oxford. A further part of his scheme was to found a grammar school at Ipswich, which was to feed Christ Church, as Winchester fed New College. But this part of the scheme was not, after Wolsey's fall, carried out by Henry. With Wolsey's character, his love of splendour and ceremony, his arrogance and his avarice, we have little in this place to do. His foreign policy, by which he endeavoured to maintain a balance of power between Charles V. and Francis I., the Empire and France, the kaleidoscopic changes in the grouping of European States, the skill of Wolsey's diplomacy, must be passed over in silence. But we must try to define his ecclesiastical views.

Christ  
Church  
founded  
by Wolsey.

Wolsey.

In a sense he occupied the position of a conservative reformer. And this in some measure explains the hatred with which both Romanists and Protestants of the next generation regarded him. Protestants hated him because he consistently refused to carry out the King's divorce at the cost of rupture with Rome: Romanists hated him because by his dissolution of the small monasteries he started the ball rolling and prepared the way for Cromwell's more comprehensive measures. But it is only in a very restricted sense of the term that Wolsey can be called a reformer. In so far as he diverted wealth from the effete to the living parts of the Church, in so far as he saw that all true improvement must be based on education, and that the Church could be reformed in the light of the New Learning, to that extent he was a reformer, but no further. He was clearly not a reformer in the doctrinal sense. He hated the "pernicious sect of Lutherans." And if we take reform in the narrower sense recognised by Romanists, how could the Church have been freed from worldly and secular influences by one who embodied in his own person all the worldliness of the mediæval ecclesiastic? How could Wolsey have put down pluralism and non-residence when he was one of the greatest pluralists in England, holding one archbishopric, various bishoprics, not to mention smaller benefices, and when he was continuously an absentee from his various cures? With what face could Wolsey have put down concubinage of the clergy, when he himself had an illegitimate family? How could any adequate reform of the ecclesiastical courts have been carried through by Wolsey's legatine authority, when it was just this legatine authority which had undermined and destroyed all discipline in the English Church? Wolsey as a reformer is a quite impossible conception.

Two events during his tenure of high State office showed the danger with which the Church was threatened. In the year 1514 Richard Hunne, a well-to-do merchant of London, refused to pay a mortuary fee to his parish clergyman. The cleric thereupon sued Hunne for his fee in the ecclesiastical court, and Hunne retaliated by suing the clergyman in a *præmunire* before the King's Bench, for haling him before a "foreign" court. Hunne lost his case, and was imprisoned by the Bishop of London on a charge of heresy. People were presently horrified to learn that he had been found dead in his cell under very

Was  
Wolsey a  
reformer?

Case of  
Richard  
Hunne,  
1514.

suspicious circumstances. He may have committed suicide, but strong suspicion fell on Dr. Horsey, the Bishop's chancellor, of having murdered him. A coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against Horsey, and thereupon Fitzjames, Bishop of London, wrote a letter to Wolsey, begging him to ask the King to hold an inquiry and drop the prosecution against Horsey. But the letter was remarkable for the reason alleged by the Bishop for his request. He asserted that, if his chancellor were tried by any twelve men in London, he would be condemned, though he were as innocent as Abel, *because the Londoners were so favourable to heresy*. The King did as he was asked, and, after holding an inquiry, directed his attorney to drop the prosecution. This story is of value because it illustrates the sort of exactions which made the clergy unpopular, the gulf that separated clergy and laity, and the extent to which unorthodox views had made progress in London.

Its importance.

The other story illustrates the collision between the two jurisdictions, lay and spiritual, and almost exactly foreshadows the situation which arose fifteen years later. In 1512 Parliament passed an Act abolishing benefit of clergy for all clerks in minor orders who were guilty of robbery and murder. This Act was to be in force till a new Parliament met. Shortly before the expiry of the Act the Abbot of Winchcombe violently attacked it in a sermon at Paul's Cross (1515), as infringing the law of God. Thereupon the King held a council, at which the matter was discussed before him. The Abbot of Winchcombe took one side, and Dr. Standish, the warden of the Grey Friars of London, the other. Standish had the better of the argument. He exposed the uncritical use made by the Abbot of the text "Touch not mine anointed," pointing out that the words were spoken by David, not by Christ, and referred not simply to clergy, but to all God's people as distinct from the heathen. When the Abbot urged that the Act was contrary to the decretals, Standish pointed out that the non-residence of bishops was equally forbidden, and yet was common enough. The matter was not, however, allowed to rest here. Convocation, towards the end of the year, summoned Standish before it, and demanded a clear answer as to whether, in his opinion, lay judges were entitled to summon clerks before their judgment-seat, and whether papal decrees were not binding, if contrary to the usage of the land. Standish immediately appealed to the

Case of Standish.



King. The King summoned another council, attended by the judges, and the judges decided that Convocation, by questioning the action of a royal councillor, had rendered itself liable to the penalties of *præmunire*; they also went out of their way to assert that the King could very well hold a Parliament without summoning to it any spiritual lords whatever, who only sat in Parliament by virtue of their temporal possessions. Wolsey realised the perilous position in which the Church was placed. He went down on his knees, represented to the King that the Church had not the least intention of questioning his prerogative, and begged that the matter might be referred to the Pope. The affair was allowed to drop, and the Act limiting benefit of clergy was not renewed. But Henry clearly defined his position, asserting that Kings of England had never had any superior but God, and that he himself would ever support in this matter the rights of the Crown.

In 1529 Wolsey was dismissed from the Lord Chancellorship, and retired to his see of York. In the following year he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and on his journey southward to stand his trial, he died.

The immediate cause of Wolsey's fall was the matter of the divorce, into which we shall go in the following chapter; but the philosophic reasons lay deeper. Wolsey was essentially the man of a transition era, though he was more mediæval than modern in his conceptions. He was the last in the roll of the great ecclesiastical ministers of the Middle Age. The orbit of his faith was fixed by his belief in the papal supremacy and in the unity of Latin Christendom. But the force of nationalism was too strong for the maintenance of this idea; the new wine was about to burst the old bottles.

Wolsey's  
failure.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE REFORMATION UNDER HENRY VIII

THE occasion of a revolution or war has always to be carefully distinguished from the deep-seated causes from which that revolution or war arises. The actual point on which the English and Transvaal Governments quarrelled before the recent war was one of trifling importance in itself ; but the real cause of war was a conflict between two ideals of civilisation. The question involved was British or Dutch supremacy over the whole of South Africa.

Now the occasion of the revolution which resulted in the repudiation of all papal authority over England was the attempt of Henry VIII. to divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragon. But this was not the cause of the Reformation. If that had been all, on the death of Catherine, or at any rate on the death of Henry, the old relationship between Rome and England would have been restored. If Henry VIII. had not quarrelled with the Pope over the matter of the divorce, the Reformation would have come all the same, though in point of time it would have been later, and the circumstances would have been different. For the Reformation in England and elsewhere was the result of converging forces ; the ground had long been prepared and mined. Henry VIII. only led his subjects on to the final rush at the papal citadel. Let us briefly sketch what these converging forces were.

Origins of  
Reforma-  
tion.

(a) anti-  
clerical  
movement.

First, there had been in England from the fourteenth century a movement which was not so much anti-papal as anti-clerical. That movement had taken different forms at different times. Sometimes, as in 1340 or 1371, it had aimed at the exclusion of prelates from high State office ; sometimes it had exhibited hostility to the accumulation of landed property by the Church, or had even demanded a considerable measure of disendowment (1376) ; sometimes it had assumed the form of an attempt to restrict the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, as in 1164 and 1285, and limit its abuses. Clerical privileges, such

as benefit of clergy and sanctuary, had periodically caused trouble. Abundant ridicule had been poured by Chaucer and others on pardoners, monks, friars, pilgrimages, and relics.

Secondly, the antipapal movement had roots in a very distant past. Both William I. and Henry II. had tried, not unsuccessfully, to limit the papal power in England. John had surrendered the national rights, but from the reign of Henry III. the antipapal feeling grew apace. With Edward I. antipapal legislation recommenced. The Avignonese captivity, making the papacy a satellite of France at a time when England was in continuous war with that country, deeply discredited it in the eyes of Englishmen, and resulted in the various statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, passed in the reigns of Edward III. and his successor. The great schism (1378-1417), followed the Avignonese captivity, and the spectacle of rival Popes anathematising and excommunicating each other led Wycliffe to denounce the papacy as Antichrist. If a strong king had come to the throne at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Reformation might have been antedated 130 years. During the whole of the fifteenth century England was distracted by internal strife. But the papacy showed no signs of amending its ways. The great schism was closed in 1417, but neither the revolutionary attempts of the Hussites, nor the attempt at conservative reform marked by the conciliar movement, had the least success. The papacy became more and more secular in its aims. The abuses of the papal court shot up in rank profusion; the financial extortion of the Curia became a byword; rules of discipline were passed, that exemptions from them might supply grist to the papal mill. Popes had illegitimate families, took infidelity under their ægis, led condottieri in the wars, connived at assassination; the papacy became a frankly Italian power, directing its State policy on the principles of Machiavelli; after 1494 it was continually the plaything of France or Spain.

Thirdly, Wycliffe had started a doctrinal revolt from Rome. The Lollard movement had been driven underground, but it survived, as the evidence shows, among the lower middle class, especially in the large towns; after 1520 support came from the Lutheran movement in Germany; in 1526 Tyndale published abroad his English version of the New Testament, and many copies were smuggled into England. The fulness of time was come.

(δ) Anti-papal movement

(ε) Doctrinal revolt

English  
Church in  
1528.

Taking our stand in the year 1528, we may say that the Church of England contained three parties within its fold. There were the old adherents to the strictly mediæval point of view; of these the most conspicuous was perhaps Fitz-James, Bishop of London; there were the adherents of the New Learning, men who had no sympathy with Luther, and no desire for severance from Rome, but, at the same time, were interested in the New Learning and biblical criticism, and anxious to reform the Church from within, and stop its growing worldliness. The most distinguished representative of this school was now Sir Thomas More. And lastly, there was the Protestant party, which had so far in England no great leader; its strength was not yet suspected.

(d) The  
divorce.

The immediate occasion of the rupture with Rome was the matter of the King's divorce. Strictly speaking, the King's claim was not for a divorce, but for a declaration of the nullity of his marriage; he tried to prove that he had never really been married to Catherine of Aragon, on the ground that Catherine was originally wedded to his elder brother, Arthur, and a marriage with a deceased husband's brother contravened the law of the Church. It was true that Pope Julius II. had, by a bull dated 26th December 1503, given a special dispensation for the marriage. There had at the time been misgivings about the right of the Pope to grant such a dispensation, but nothing further would have been heard about them if Henry had not on other grounds desired the divorce. We must try to analyse the motives by which the various characters in this miserable business were actuated. Henry's own account was that his scruples were first raised in 1527 by the Bishop of Tarbes, the envoy of the French King. When negotiating for the marriage of the Princess Mary with a French prince, the Bishop of Tarbes had raised the question of her legitimacy. According to Henry, his scruples had been aroused; after studying the Levitical law (Lev. xx. 21), which had laid a curse of childlessness on such marriages, and comparing this with the fact that a number of male children born to him by Catherine had died in infancy, he became convinced that his marriage had been sinful, against the law of God, and therefore no marriage at all in the strict sense of the term. The dangers to which the realm was exposed through the lack of a male heir also oppressed him. In the event of the King's death without a

Henry's  
motives.

male heir, there was every danger of a disputed succession. No queen had ever yet sat on the English throne. There would be Yorkist, Tudor, and even Lancastrian claimants, and every possibility of a new War of the Roses. But even if Mary were allowed to succeed, her marriage would involve England in danger; it might lead to England's absorption in some foreign State, or, if she married an English nobleman, might provoke civil war. A male heir was absolutely necessary, and this could only be secured by the King marrying a second wife.

Thus Henry had something to say for himself. Far be it from us to justify him in his action. He was the victim of self-will and lust, and behaved in a brutal and callous way to the lady who had been his Queen. His scruples were undoubtedly quickened by, if they did not originate from, the fact that he had fallen desperately in love with Anne Boleyn; but, if *lust* had been the *sole* motive for his action, like many kings before and since, he could have taken the lady of his choice to be his mistress. Future events were to show that Anne Boleyn was not so careful of her honour as to forbid the entertainment of that idea. It is to be noted that in the first stages of the divorce question, Henry as a matter of fact based his claim on technical flaws in the bull of Julius; it was only when he discovered that a papal brief of the same date (26th December 1503) and the same purport as the bull, was in existence—a brief against which the same technical flaws could not be urged—that he changed his ground, and maintained that the whole action of Julius II. had been *ultra vires*, inasmuch as the Pope could not abrogate the law of God.

Wolsey, too, came out discreditably from the whole affair; Wolsey's view. the idea of the divorce did not originate with him. Cavendish, his gentleman usher and biographer, tells us that Wolsey prayed the King upon his knees to give up the idea. But when he found the King's purpose inflexible, he thought that by marrying the King to a French princess he might cement a French alliance with England. He did not know of the ardent love-letters which were already passing between the King and Anne Boleyn. Anne was no friend of Wolsey; for Wolsey, at the King's bidding, had already separated her from Lord Percy, and Anne had vowed that if it ever lay in her power, she would do the cardinal displeasure. Moreover, Anne was connected by marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, Wolsey's enemy.

When Wolsey found that Henry was determined to marry Anne, by the alternate use of threats and of entreaties he endeavoured to induce Pope Clement VII. to acquiesce in Henry's wishes.

The Pope's  
position.

The Pope was in a difficult position. He did not like the idea of revoking or quashing the bull of Julius. That was a dangerous game for an infallible, or almost infallible, Pope to play. He thought, like most other people, that Catherine was being treated abominably. Still, *if political reasons had not stood in the way*, the Papal Chancery would have been equal to the emergency, and would have discovered some technical flaws making it possible to set aside the dispensation of Julius. The Popes of this era were usually kind to Kings in the matter of wedlock. Emanuel of Portugal (1495-1521) had been allowed, by dispensation of Alexander VI., to marry his deceased wife's sister, and then had married as his third wife the niece of his two former wives. The Duke of Suffolk's case presented an even closer analogy. Owing to a pre-contract of marriage, he had required a papal dispensation to marry Margaret Mortimer. But scruples, or other reasons, led him to doubt the validity of the papal dispensation, so he divorced Margaret Mortimer, and married the lady to whom he was pre-contracted, and Clement VII., in 1528, by bull confirmed the divorce!

Unfortunately, *owing to political reasons*, Clement could not do the same thing for Henry VIII. He was willing that Henry should have two wives, but he could not allow him to divorce Catherine. The crucial fact was that the influence of the Emperor Charles V. was paramount in Italy, and Catherine was Charles V.'s aunt. The Pope could not afford to offend Charles V. In 1527 Rome had been sacked by the imperialist troops, and for some time Clement had been a prisoner. The King and Wolsey desired the Pope to grant a form of commission, by which the divorce case could be settled without appeal; but the Pope was unwilling to grant the kind of commission which would preclude his power of finally revoking the suit to Rome. For a short time in 1528 French influence looked as though it might predominate in Italy, and, yielding to Wolsey's *ad misericordiam* appeal, the Pope finally did grant a commission of the kind required to Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey. Campeggio, however, was straitly enjoined not to allow the decretal out of his hands, but to keep it secret, and delay matters as long as possible.

Campeggio finally arrived in England, October 1528. Having failed to persuade Henry to give up the idea, and having failed to induce Catherine to take the veil, Campeggio and Wolsey finally opened their court (May 1529). But the political situation in Italy had again changed. French influence had failed to maintain itself, and Charles V. had re-established his supremacy. He and Francis I. had temporarily arranged their differences, and papal support was secured by the promise that Florence should be restored to the Pope's family, the Medicis. Campeggio had already burnt the papal decretal; his court met for the last time on 23rd July 1529, and adjourned till 1st October, but it was fated never to meet again. The Pope finally revoked the hearing of the divorce case to Rome. The consequence of this was that Wolsey, having failed to secure the divorce by papal co-operation, was dismissed from office in disgrace.

Divorce case re-  
voked to  
Rome.

The Great Seal was given to Sir Thomas More. Not that More approved of the divorce; on the contrary, he frankly expressed his disapproval. But Henry was at that time magnanimous enough to let More know that he would be employed in other ways, and might think what he liked about the "King's affair." From the time of Wolsey's fall Henry VIII. was his own "Prime Minister." Thomas Cromwell, who rapidly became the chief spirit in his counsels, was always subordinate to the King. He is said to have suggested to Henry that he should make himself head of the Church and dissolve the monasteries, thus making himself the richest King in Europe; but suggestions were the most which Cromwell offered; the ruling mind was that of the King, while Cromwell was a useful servant, because he was entirely wanting in religious and moral sense, and was withal a hard-headed man of business, skilled in adapting means to ends.

Sir T.  
More,  
Chancellor

Thomas Cromwell was the son of a Putney blacksmith. In early years he seems to have lived the life of a rake, and had been compelled to flee the country; he had been in turn a soldier of fortune, serving in the Italian wars, a merchant, a money-lender, a lawyer. In 1514 he entered Wolsey's service, and made himself useful as an agent in the suppression of the monasteries from which the revenues of Cardinal College were derived. By 1529 he had devoured the new philosophy of Machiavelli, for we know that he advised Reginald Pole to give up old-fashioned views and read the practical views of a modern

Thomas  
Cromwell.

writer, and offered to lend him *Machiavelli*. In 1529 Cromwell managed to dissociate himself from Wolsey, and shortly afterwards entered the service of the Crown, becoming a Privy Councillor in 1531. His incessant activity, his power in execution, his money-making capacity, his insight into character and motives, his utter lack of conscience, his belief in absolutism, made him an ideal servant for Henry VIII.

Reforma-  
tion.  
Parliament  
meets,  
1529.

Meanwhile Henry was resolved to carry the matter through and marry Anne Boleyn, even at the cost of rupture with Rome, and for this purpose he called together the Parliament, which met on 3rd November 1529. This Parliament, in the seven years of its existence, carried through the most sweeping changes, and before its close severed every tie which connected England with the papacy. There is no doubt that this Parliament was, to a certain extent, packed by the King, but probably no more than was usual in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In some ways it showed a fair amount of independence. We will not be far wrong in assuming that it represented those classes in England who had political intelligence. It is noteworthy that at an early stage in its history the King, by creation of new peers, secured a lay majority in the Upper House. The Parliament was to carry out a lay and anti-clerical policy. In its first session—3rd November to 17th Decembêr 1529—no overt step was taken against the papal power. Clerical extortion was restricted by the passing of a Probate Act and a Mortuaries Act, by which the fees payable for wills and burials were reduced to a reasonable sum. By a Pluralities Act an effort was made to diminish the scandals of pluralism and absenteeism, though exceptions were made for various classes of people. But the statute was an indirect blow at the papacy, as many of the absentees were creatures of the Pope, rewarded for their service by the revenues of livings which they never visited. Outside the walls of Parliament the chief interest of the year arose from a suggestion of a Cambridge Fellow, Thomas Cranmer, that the King should take the opinion of the universities of Europe as to the lawfulness of a papal dispensation to marry a deceased brother's wife. Henry was delighted with the idea. Oxford and Cambridge were induced to give a guarded reply in the King's favour, as also were the French universities and the university of Bologna. Henry might now plead that the views of the learned world were in his favour; but to show

First  
session.



that he was no heretic, he published in this same year an order commanding the destruction of all heretical works, such as those of Wycliffe, Luther, Zwingli, and Tyndale. Henry himself had already in 1521 written a book denouncing Luther, and had in return been given by the Pope the title, "Defender of the Faith," a title that has been retained by his successors.

The second session of the Parliament was held from 16th January to 31st March 1531. It was occupied with other than ecclesiastical business; but Henry had the audacity to inform the clergy in Convocation that, by recognising the legatine authority of Wolsey, they had all incurred the penalties of præmunire. The real culprit, if culprit there was, ought to have been Henry himself, as it was by his connivance and authority that Wolsey had exercised his legatine power. The clergy were told that they could only procure pardon by paying an enormous fine, and recognising Henry as "Supreme Head of the Church of England." Ultimately the Convocation of Canterbury secured pardon by the payment of £100,044, 8s. 8d., and the Northern Convocation made a corresponding grant of £18,840, os. 10d. But a difficulty arose over the title "Supreme Head." Archbishop Warham suggested the compromise of adding the words, "as far as the law of Christ allows." Even so, the clergy did not welcome the royal command. "Silence will give consent," said Warham; and one of the clergy, on behalf of the others, shouted out, "Itaque tacemus omnes"—

"We are all silent."

The third session of the Parliament was held from 15th January to 14th May 1532; in it the first overt steps were taken against the papacy.

On 18th March the Commons presented to the King a supplication against the ordinaries. Four drafts of this petition are to be found in the Record Office, marked with corrections by Cromwell's own pen. It is difficult, therefore, to suppose that this petition was not instigated by the Crown and merely fathered on the Commons. The supplication denounced Convocation's legislative independence of the Crown and laity, the excessive number of holy days, the abuses (especially the fees payable) in the ecclesiastical courts, and in trials for heresy, the subtle interrogatories concerning the high mysteries of our faith by which the simple or unlearned man was trapped.

The supplication was referred to Convocation, which drew

Second session.

King recognised as "Supreme Head" by Convocation.

Third session, 1532.

Supplication against the ordinaries.

Reply of  
bishops.

up and presented a reply to the King at the end of April. In this reply the bishops denied that there was any such discord or want of charity between the bishops and their flocks as the petitioners suggested. The right to frame canons was grounded upon the "Scripture of God" and the determination of Holy Church. Any canons repugnant to Scripture or the teaching of the Church they would repeal, but could not undertake to submit their canons to the Royal Assent. The clergy had no desire to interfere with the King's prerogative or the laws of the realm; wrongs might have been done in individual cases by the church courts or their officials, but, generally speaking, the charges of extortion and injustice were untrue. They agreed that men ought not to be trapped in trials for heresy by "subtle interrogatories"; still heresy ought to be stamped out. This answer did not satisfy the King; he asserted that it showed the clergy to be but half his subjects; and he was not content till on the 15th May he had wrung from Convocation the full "Submission of the Clergy," by which—

Submission  
of Clergy  
in Convo-  
cation.

- (1) They acknowledged that Convocation could not meet without the King's writ;
- (2) They promised not to enact, promulge, or execute any new canon without the royal licence and assent;
- (3) A committee of 32 people (all appointed by the King), 16 spiritual and 16 lay, was to revise the canon law. Those canons which a majority of the 32 should find to be repugnant to the law of God, the prerogative of the King, and the law of the land were to be abrogated, while the rest were to hold good.<sup>1</sup>

This submission was, as we shall see, embodied in 1534 in an Act of Parliament.

Resigna-  
tion of Sir  
T. More.

On the same day (15th May) that the clergy presented their submission to the King, Sir Thomas More resigned the chancellorship and retired into private life. As the King's policy developed, he found himself so opposed to it, that it was impossible for him to give it countenance by retaining office. It was not only of the submission wrung from the clergy that

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that when the work of a similar commission was presented to Parliament (1571) in the *Reformatio legum*, no action was taken on its report, and therefore to this day, all those parts of the canon law which are not repugnant to the King's prerogative and the law of the land are technically valid.

More disapproved; for in addition to a statute limiting benefit of clergy, Parliament in this session passed, under compulsion, an Annates Act. In each House of Parliament the royal presence itself was found necessary to secure for it a bare majority. The statute recited the enormous sums (£160,000) which had been paid to Rome by way of first-fruits since 1487, a sum quite "importable" in spite of the fact that "our said sovereign the King, and all his subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, be as obedient, devout, catholic, and humble children of God and Holy Church as any people be within any realm christened." Henceforth no such first-fruits were to be paid by the archbishops and bishops, but they were to be consecrated without such payments; papal bulls, required by bishops-elect, were to be purchased on a fixed and moderate tariff. The King was in the meantime to induce the Pope, if possible, to agree to a moderate composition for the annates. The statute was not to take effect immediately, but the King was empowered, if the Pope did not prove reasonable, to make it operative by letters patent. This last clause was a clever move by the King, as it enabled him to put the requisite pressure on the Papal See.

When the Act had been passed, the third session of the Parliament closed (14th May). Meanwhile Henry was as determined as ever to marry Anne Boleyn. He still cherished the hope of attaining his end through French influence. In October 1532 he took Anne Boleyn in state to meet Francis at Boulogne.

On 22nd August Archbishop Warham died, his end prematurely hastened by the anxious time through which he had passed. It was necessary to appoint a successor. Gardiner, who after Wolsey's fall had been elevated to the see of Winchester, had some claims to the post, but he had irritated Henry in this year by his opposition to the submission of the clergy. The man chosen to succeed Warham was Thomas Cranmer, the author of the suggestion that the universities should be consulted about the legality of Henry's marriage with Catherine. At this time he was acting as Henry's agent to the Emperor Charles V. He had been a widower, but had just married as his second wife the niece of the German divine Osiander. This was not a qualification likely to commend him to a strict mediævalist. But Henry probably wanted as Archbishop a man who was less wedded to mediæval ideas than he was himself. Cranmer had no desire to become

Annates  
Act.

Death of  
Warham

Cranmer  
the new  
Arch-  
bishop

archbishop. "Nolo episcopari" was in his mouth something more than a mere form. It was a perilous task in those stormy times, when gales were blowing from every quarter, to pilot the ship of the Church. The pilot needed a strong nerve and an iron will. Whatever other qualities Cranmer had, he certainly had not these. He was not born by nature to ride the storm and control the whirlwind. His life, except in its great closing scene of martyrdom, was not cast in the heroic mould. His temperament was timid and shrinking, more feminine than masculine; he was gentle and humane, averse to persecution, and ever inclined towards the milder methods of persuasion; he was a man of deep piety, devotional by nature, with an exquisite command over the cadences of the English language. The Prayer-Book is his work and his legacy to the Church of England. But he was pliable and yielding; if there is much to admire, there is also much to deplore in his career. No man with a delicate sense of honour could have done some of the things which Cranmer did. But it is easy for a writer, sitting in his arm-chair, to pass such criticisms; in that age of cumulative perils, when faced by a King like Henry VIII., it was difficult for any man to act uprightly. Henry now played his cards with wonderful shrewdness. By the beginning of 1533 he knew of Anne Boleyn's interesting condition; it was imperative that the child, which he expected in September, should be born in lawful wedlock; he was anxious that there should be no flaw in Cranmer's archiepiscopal position. If Cranmer was once the unquestioned Archbishop of Canterbury, and if an Act prohibiting all appeals to Rome had been passed through Parliament, then Cranmer could hold a court, declare his marriage with Catherine null, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn (which was secretly solemnised in January 1532) valid. It is needless to say that the King did not communicate the second part of his plan to the Pope; but Cranmer applied for papal bulls in confirmation of his appointment to the see of Canterbury, and here Henry's craft came in. He indicated to the Papal Curia that by the Act of Annates the King was empowered to withhold or not to withhold the annates from England, as he pleased. By a judicious use of bribery, and by the threat that, unless the bulls were quickly given, the annates would be withheld, he secured the bulls confirming Cranmer's appointment in less than the usual time. On 30th March 1533,

Cranmer by papal bull was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. He took the oath of loyalty to the Pope, though, acting with dubious honour, he publicly protested beforehand that he had no intention of keeping his oath. On 23rd May 1533, after holding a court, he declared that Henry's marriage with Catherine was void; on 28th May he declared, after inquiry, that the King was lawfully married to Anne Boleyn; on 1st June he crowned Anne Boleyn as Queen; and when, to Henry's disgust, the child born was a girl—the future Queen Elizabeth—Cranmer acted as godfather at her baptism.

Cranmer declares marriage with Catherine void, and marriage with Anne good.

Already Parliament in its fourth session—4th February to 7th April 1533—had passed the Act in restraint of appeals. The Act, after rehearsing the fact that "England is an empire governed by one supreme head and King . . . unto whom a body compact of all sorts and degrees of people divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality . . . ought to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience," and that appeals to Rome in cases of marriage, wills, and tithes had given rise to great inconveniences, proceeded to enact that henceforth no appeals of any sort should go outside the realm. The ultimate court of appeal should henceforth be the Archbishop's court, or, where the King was concerned, the Upper House of Convocation.

Fourth session. Act in restraint of appeals.

It was not to be expected that the Pope should take these blows "lying down." He prepared a bull of excommunication, and on 11th July 1533 declared Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn null and void. Henry retaliated on 7th November by appealing to a general council against the Pope. Parliament met for its fifth session on 15th January 1534, and continued its sittings till 30th March 1534. This session was marked by the definitive breach with Rome. Four important Acts were passed.

Pope declares marriage with Anne void.

Fifth session, 1534.

1. The Act of the submission of the clergy and restraint of appeals. The provisions of the submission of the clergy (1532) were embodied in the Act and given statutory authority; the Act in restraint of appeals (1533) was confirmed. No appeals of any sort were to go to Rome, under the penalty of *præmunire*. But a court of final appeal from the Archbishop's court was created; henceforth an appeal was to lie from the Court of Arches (*i.e.* the Archbishop's court) to the King in Chancery, who was thereupon to appoint delegates to determine the case.

(1) Act of submission of the clergy.

[This court, afterwards known as the Court of Delegates, remained, with the exception of Mary's reign, the supreme court of ecclesiastical appeal till 1832, when the Court of Delegates was abolished, and the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction was transferred to the judicial committee of the Privy Council.]

(2) Annates  
Act and  
*congé*  
*d'élire*.

2. An Act in restraint of annates and making provision for appointment to bishoprics. By this Act all payment of annates was absolutely forbidden; henceforth no papal bulls were to be sued for, and no archbishop was to receive a pall from Rome. The King was to nominate to a vacant bishopric; he was to send a *congé d'élire* to the dean and chapter, or to the prior and convent of the church concerned, with a letter missive prescribing the man they were to elect; if they failed to elect as ordered, then the King was to appoint by letters patent. When the candidate had been thus elected or nominated, he was to do fealty to the King; the King should thereupon direct an archbishop or bishops to confirm the election and consecrate the bishop-elect. A dean and chapter refusing to elect, or a bishop refusing to consecrate, or any one acting contrary to the statute, should incur the penalty of *præmunire*. With the exception of the reign of Edward VI. (when an Act was passed authorising the King to appoint to all bishoprics by letters patent) and the reign of Mary, this statute has remained in force till the present day. In the form prescribed for appointing to a bishopric Henry was returning in essentials to the custom that had been observed in England during the twelfth century. The form of concurrent appointment to a bishopric by a papal bull was an innovation of the later Middle Ages. But when the King forbade the Archbishop to receive the pall from Rome, he was returning to a custom more ancient than that of the English Church; for though the pall was in origin merely complimentary (see p. 8), all archbishops since St. Augustine had received it as a symbol of their metropolitan authority.

(3) Act  
against  
dispensa-  
tions and  
Peter's  
pence.

3. An Act forbidding papal dispensations and the payment of Peter's pence. By this Act all payments of whatever nature to Rome were prohibited; the necessary licences and dispensations were to be secured from the Archbishop of Canterbury at fixed fees; no Englishman was to leave England for the purpose of attending an ecclesiastical council; monasteries hitherto exempt from the bishop's visitation were to be subject to

visitation by the Crown. But in passing this Act the King and realm did not "intend to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by Holy Scripture necessary for salvation." The appeal to Holy Scripture was a distinctive feature of the Reformation.

4. The first Act of Succession, after declaring the King's marriage with Catherine "dowager to Prince Arthur" null and contrary to the law of God, and the marriage with Anne Boleyn valid, proceeded to settle the Crown on the issue of the King and Anne, and to ordain that an oath should be taken by all subjects to "the whole effects and contents of this present Act." But the specific form of oath was not prescribed.

Parliament adjourned on 30th March 1534.

A reign of terror, happily with few parallels in English history, now commenced. Hundreds of people, some of them the most distinguished subjects of the Crown, perished at the block or gallows, suffering all the ghastly penalties prescribed by the mediæval law for high treason, simply because they would not renounce the papal power, which but the other day had been accepted without question by the whole of Latin Christendom.

Elizabeth Barton and her votaries were the first victims of this tyrannous régime. Elizabeth Barton, or the Holy Maid of Kent, as she was called, was a hysterical clairvoyante, who passed into trances and declared her visions of the saints and the messages they gave her. Many of her "inspired" utterances were in denunciation of sin. Her clients numbered some of the greatest in the land, including Warham, Fisher, More, and the King himself. Unfortunately, some of her employers tried to make political use of the poor girl; like many other clairvoyantes, when the visions did not come, she was driven into imposture, and invented them. She denounced Henry's desertion of Catherine, and foretold that within seven months he would be driven from his kingdom. An Act of attainder against the maid and her accomplices was passed through Parliament. She and her chief supporters were executed at Tyburn on 20th April 1534. The names of Sir T. More and Bishop Fisher were at first included in the attainder; it was only in its last stages that Sir T. More's name was removed from the Act, while

(4) First Act of Succession.

Elizabeth Barton.

Fisher was only attainted of misprision of treason, and he was allowed to compound for his fault by a payment of £300.

More and Fisher imprisoned.

Pope declares marriage with Catherine valid.

Meanwhile More and Fisher had been imprisoned for refusing to take the oath mentioned in the Act of Succession. Henry had been exasperated by the fact that, on 23rd March 1534, Clement VII. had at last given his long-deferred decision on the question of his marriage with Catherine, declaring the marriage valid. Anne Boleyn was disliked, and most people in England agreed with him. The divorce of Catherine had never been popular; great sympathy throughout had been felt and shown for the sorely ill-used lady, and Clement VII. was only doing an act of very tardy justice. It was almost the last thing he did, for in September of this year he died. The new Pope was Paul III. But Henry was not the man to be foiled of his purpose; it was more than ever necessary that the chief men in England should acknowledge the rightness of his action. On the 31st March, under royal pressure, the Convocation of Canterbury definitely decided, "That the Bishop of Rome has not in Scripture any greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop."<sup>1</sup> Similar decisions were secured from the Northern Convocation and the universities. Members of Parliament took the oath mentioned in the Act of Succession on the last day of the session, and in the weeks which followed crowds of other people, clergy and laity, did the same. On 13th April Sir Thomas More and Fisher were invited to do likewise. The exact terms of the oath had not been prescribed in the text of the statute, but had been drawn up by commissioners. More and Fisher were willing to swear to the succession of Anne Boleyn's children. Whatever they might privately think of it, they would acknowledge the *fait accompli*. Parliament had a perfect right to fix the succession as it chose. But their conscience would not allow them to swear an oath<sup>2</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> Again we must note the appeal to Scripture, which was a distinctive feature in the Reformation, and the fact that from 1534 onwards the Pope is not only styled in official documents the "Bishop of Rome."

<sup>2</sup> The important part of the oath was as follows:—

"Ye shall swear to bear faith, truth, and obedience alonely to the King's Majesty, and to his heirs of his body of . . . Queen Anne begotten . . . and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority or potentate; and in case any oath be made or has been made by you to any person . . . that then ye are to repute the same as vain and annihilate; and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power . . . you shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend



involved repudiation of obedience to the Pope, and an undertaking to maintain and defend the whole contents of "the said Act" against all manner of persons.

Cranmer would gladly have welcomed such a compromise; every consideration of justice, equity, and gratitude recommended it; but the King was like a wall of adamant. More and Fisher must take the oath *in toto*, or suffer the extreme penalty. They were therefore sent to the Tower. Meanwhile the King was more successful with the monasteries and friaries. The Friars Observant, the Carthusians, and the Friars of Sion were the only bodies which gave him trouble. The Carthusians and Friars of Sion finally for the time being yielded to threats. But the order of Friars Observant, continuing in its stubbornness, was dissolved, and the friars were either dragged to imprisonment in the Tower or dispersed among other religious houses.

Parliament met for its sixth session on 3rd November 1534, and was not prorogued till 4th February 1535, and passed four important Acts. Sixth session, 1534-1535.

1. The Act of Succession (November 1534) was re-enacted, and statutable authority was given to the form of oath prescribed by the commissioners. (1) Act of Succession.

2. The annates that had been formerly paid to the Pope were annexed to the Crown. So the Church did not escape the levy of this "importable" tax; the payment of annates continued, but was to be made to the King, and not to the Pope. The arrangement lasted till Queen Anne, in 1704, restored them to the Church, and made them the nucleus of a fund (Queen Anne's Bounty) for the augmentation in value of poor livings. (2) Annates annexed to Crown.

3. The Act of Supremacy, November 1534, gave the title "Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England," without the clause by which the clergy had qualified their grant of the title in the Convocation of 1532. By royal proclamation in January 1535, Henry added the title of "Supreme Head" to the royal style. If the exact meaning and significance in Henry's eyes of this title is to be determined, it must be remembered that the doctrine of the royal supremacy was enunciated (3) Act of Supremacy.

the said Act of Succession, and all the whole effects and contents thereof, and all others Acts and statutes made in confirmation, and this ye shall do against all manner of person . . . and in no wise suffer to be done . . . anything . . . to the damage thereof . . . so help you God."

Meaning of title of "Supreme Head."

as a counter doctrine to that of the papal supremacy. It was because Henry wished to eliminate the papal power that he adopted the title of Supreme Head. Under this title he claimed<sup>1</sup> *first*, all those powers over the Church which the Kings of England had exercised or claimed since the Conquest, *e.g.* the supreme appellate jurisdiction, and the right to refuse admission of papal bulls; *secondly*, any rights which had been usurped by the papacy from the Church of England; *thirdly*, the vague and undefined administrative powers which the Pope, as head of the Church on earth and Vicar of Christ, had gradually made good over the Church of England as over other Churches. Or, adopting another method of classification, it might be said that Henry in the royal supremacy claimed some definite and other indefinite rights. Of the definite rights, Henry claimed that the Crown in Chancery should be the supreme court of ecclesiastical appeal. He was to be "over all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme"; that Convocation, according to the rules laid down in the submission of the clergy, should be dependent on the King; and that bishops should be nominated by the Crown. Over and above these definite rights he claimed a vague administrative power ("to order, redress, correct," &c.) over the Church analogous to that which the mediæval Popes had exercised. This power was presently to be used in a tyrannous way, when the King made Cromwell Vicar-General and authorised him to visit the monasteries. Its limits were not defined, but, in spite of Cranmer's recommendation, and some casual words in official documents, it would seem that Henry never claimed to be the source of purely spiritual powers, *i.e.* "the powers given by God to the clergy according to Holy Scripture." Henry never claimed for himself the power to ordain or administer the sacraments. His was not a *jus ordinis*, but a *jus potestatis*. He claimed not that he was the source of spiritual power—the spiritual authority came to the clergy through the Apostles from Christ Himself—but that he was the source of jurisdiction. In claiming this, perhaps he simply meant that the jurisdiction which ecclesiastics exercised in cases not purely spiritual, *e.g.* in matrimonial and testamentary causes, came from the Crown as source. But probably his claim was wider. Spiritual powers are given to a bishop or priest by consecration

<sup>1</sup> See *Report of Ecclesiastical Courts Commission*, p. xxxi.

and ordination, and are exercisable anywhere. A bishop can ordain, and a priest can administer the sacraments anywhere. But jurisdiction is given to a bishop when he is given the special authority of the Church within a particular diocese.<sup>1</sup> Henry claimed that by thus appointing bishops to English dioceses, he was the source of the jurisdiction exercised in those dioceses. Whatever else he meant, he certainly meant that the Pope was not the source of the jurisdiction.

4. The fourth Act passed in the sixth session of the Reformation Parliament was the *Treasons Act*, November 1534, by which it was enacted, among other provisions, that "to maliciously will by *words* or *writing* to deprive the sovereign of any of his royal titles, or call him a schismatic," was high treason. To make mere words or writing treasonable was an iniquitous extension of the treason laws. Yet it was under this Act that More and Fisher were condemned. Meanwhile, to show how good a Christian he was, and how interested he was in the Church's welfare, Henry had an Act passed through Parliament authorising him to appoint, when necessary, twenty-six new suffragan bishops. (4) Treasons Act.

Parliament was prorogued on 4th February 1535. Henry had secured all the weapons he required for the crusade against his enemies, and had associated the nation with himself in the cruelties which were to follow. The heads of the Carthusian order in England and others were accused of denying the royal supremacy, convicted of high treason, and suffered the extreme penalty under circumstances of revolting cruelty. The turn of Fisher and More had now come. Pope Paul III. had the want of tact to give Fisher just at this juncture the rank of cardinal. The gift acted on Henry as the proverbial red rag does to a bull. He swore that Fisher would have to wear the cardinal's hat, when it arrived, upon his shoulders; for head he should have none. Fisher refused to acknowledge Henry as "Supreme Head," though he recognised the right of Parliament to fix the succession. And therefore Fisher, the patron of the New Learning, himself perhaps the most learned bishop in England, and cardinal of the Roman Church, was executed on Tower Hill (22nd June 1535). Fisher executed.

Sir Thomas More refused to answer any of the interrogatories put to him by the commissioners. It was an old maxim of

<sup>1</sup> See Aubrey Moore's *History of the Reformation*.

English law that "the thought of men shall not be tried"; and as More refused to answer whether he denied the King's right to the title of Supreme Head, it was difficult to condemn him. He denied that any letters written by him to Fisher had questioned the supremacy; and when Rich, the Solicitor-General, referred to a conversation held with himself in the Tower, More denied *in toto* the accuracy of Rich's statement, and appealed to the court as to whether he or Rich was the more credible witness. His defence was of no avail. The jury found him guilty, under the Treasons Act, of high treason, for denying the King's supremacy. All was over, and More was free to speak his mind to the company assembled in Westminster Hall. He said that he had carefully studied the question, and on his conscience he was convinced that no layman could be head of the spirituality, that the papal claims were based on Divine authority, and that Parliament had taken a step fraught with evil in breaking the unity of Christendom. He was remanded to the Tower. On the Tower wharf a pathetic scene was witnessed. Margaret Roper, his daughter, was there to meet him. Pressing through the guard of soldiers, she embraced her father, "divers times kissed him lovingly," and received his blessing. On 6th July 1535 More was beheaded. His head was impaled on London Bridge, but his daughter finally secured and embalmed it. Tennyson, in his *Dream of Fair Women*, has immortalised

More  
executed.

"Her who clasped in her last trance  
Her murdered father's head."

The execution of More and Fisher was a great crime, and sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe. Fortunately for the King, the Pope's temporal weapons were non-existent; while the continued rivalry between Francis and Charles, and the internal troubles in Charles's own dominions, put any action by foreign powers out of the question. Henry revived his intrigues with the Protestant States of Germany, but all schemes for an actual alliance broke down, since Henry would not accept as a definition of the faith of the English Church the Augsburg Confession, which Luther and Melanchthon had drawn up in 1530.

Thomas Cromwell was now the chief man in the King's

council. He had been made Secretary in 1534, and early in 1535 was appointed by the King Vicar-General, with a jurisdiction superior—though he was a mere layman—to that of the archbishop himself. Cromwell proceeded to show the King the method by which he could become the richest King in Christendom. The revenues of the monasteries were marked out as prey. Cromwell was directed to hold a visitation of all monastic and collegiate bodies; the way was prepared for their dissolution by the issue to them of a series of injunctions so stringent as to make obedience impossible, and calculated to produce revolt or voluntary surrender. It is estimated that the total number of monasteries and friaries ever founded in England was something like 1200. But only half this number remained to glut Henry VIII.'s appetite for spoil. Not only had the foundation of fresh monasteries ceased—only eight were created in the fifteenth century—but great numbers of these houses had been already dissolved, and their revenues diverted to the more useful purpose of education. Henry VIII. and Cromwell were not pioneers in this movement; they merely followed precedents set by such pious and orthodox churchmen as Wykeham, Waynflete, Henry V., Henry VI., Chichele, and Wolsey. The reasons of monastic decay have been sketched in a preceding chapter (see chap. xi., p. 183). They had, beyond doubt, outlived their early usefulness. The visitation by Cromwell and his deputies was chiefly conducted in the closing months of 1535 and the January of 1536. The evidence against the monasteries is to be found in the letters of Cromwell's underlings, Dr. Layton, Dr. Legh, and John ap Rice, to their master, and various *comperta*, or abstracts of the result of their investigations. There is good reason to believe that no such work as a "Black Book," other than these *comperta*, was ever laid before Parliament, if indeed Henry ever made anything more than a statement. The "Black Book" was a mere invention of a later age. Now, if we were bound to believe the evidence of these *comperta*, we should be forced to acknowledge that the monasteries and nunneries were hotbeds of terrible vice and immorality. Happily for the sake of human nature, we are under no such compulsion. In every large assemblage of men and women there are cases of immorality. Among the many thousands of men and women living under monastic vows, many instances of scandal were probably to be

Visitation  
of mon-  
asteries.

found. But exceptions must not be taken as typical. Gasquet quotes the apposite remark of Edmund Burke: "I rather suspect that vices are feigned or exaggerated when profit is looked for in the punishment. An enemy is a bad witness, and a robber is a worse." If we approve this dictum, the evidence of Cromwell and his crew cannot be accepted; they wanted the plunder, and therefore faked the evidence. If they had been subjected to a severe cross-examination, its worthlessness would have soon been demonstrated; the characters of Legh, Layton, and Ap Rice would have discredited the best of causes. Charges of unscrupulous violence, and avarice, and receiving of bribes can be proved up to the hilt against them. Ap Rice even feared garrotting from his fellow-commissioner, Legh. It is clear that they revelled in unclean stories, and accepted as proven the scandals for which they advertised. The evidence of such men would not hang the proverbial cat. The speed with which they conducted their visitation—*e.g.* they only spent six weeks in visiting the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield and the whole province of York—makes it impossible that the work could have been done with adequate care. But granted that all this is true, the existence of the monasteries is not justified. They stand or fall on quite different grounds. Their work was done; their ideal was out of date; they were no longer pioneers in learning or agriculture; there was nothing in their past history to warrant the belief that they would ever have used their wealth to provide a proper parochial system; men were ceasing to believe in masses which could rescue souls from purgatory, and yet it was in consequence of this belief that most of their lands had been given them by the kings and gentry of England. To some people the confiscation of ecclesiastical property will always seem sacrilege and robbery; but such a view is really untenable and unstatesmanlike. The State has obviously a legal right to confiscate property; for "law" is simply the will of the State. It may or may not have a moral right—that depends on circumstances, and on the answer to the question whether, in the highest sense of the term, it is to the common weal that such confiscation should be carried out. In considering whether the dissolution of the monasteries was justifiable, the cardinal fact to be remembered is that the monasteries were the centres of papalism. The friars had always been papal janissaries. The "exempt" monasteries—*i.e.* monasteries exempt

Was the  
dissolution  
justified?

from episcopal visitation—had always leaned as against the diocesan bishops to Rome. And the non-exempt monasteries were almost equally papal in sympathy. The monastic orders were essentially international societies. *The dissolution of the monasteries stands or falls with the Reformation as a whole.* If a man believes in the Reformation, he must approve the dissolution of the monasteries; for the Reformation would not have been able to maintain itself if the monasteries had remained as so many centres for papal intrigue. The dissolution was a great political necessity. It was so for a still further reason. The grant of the monastic lands to the gentry created a party interested on material grounds in the maintenance of the Reformation settlement; in Scotland, Germany, Sweden, and elsewhere, the Reformation found similar support in the material interest created by the secularisation of church lands in favour of lay rulers and lay owners; in France also, 250 years later, the strongest guarantee against return to the *ancien régime* was found in the fact that the peasants had been put in possession of the confiscated church lands. Von Ranke sums up the situation in England when he says that “in the new order of things there was absolutely no more place for the monastic system; it was necessarily sacrificed to the unity of the country, and at the same time to the greed of the great men.”

The reformers have been taunted with “robbing God’s poor” in the dissolution of the monasteries; and the work of charity done by the monasteries has been contrasted with that done by the “awkward and imperfect agencies” of modern times, such as the workhouses, burial-clubs, and hospitals. Few enlightened Englishmen will agree with such a view. It is quite unfair to assign the dissolution of the monasteries as the cause of the pauperism and vagabondage of Elizabeth’s reign. The pauperism and distress were due, for the most part, to economic causes; labour had been displaced by the conversion of arable to pasture; fewer men are required to manage a sheep-run than to till the ground, and there were no manufactures to absorb the displaced labour. That this was the true cause of the distress is conclusively proved by Latimer’s sermons, by Wolsey’s legislation, and by Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia*, which preceded in time the dissolution of the monasteries and bore witness to the ripeness of these evils. Besides, it is recognised as a truism that the giving of pennies or indis-

Was the dissolution the cause of pauperism?

criminate charity is a fruitful mother of "tramps." A system of promiscuous doles, such as was practised by the monasteries, must have been a positive cause of pauperism. So the monasteries were dissolved.

Seventh  
session,  
1536.

The Reformation Parliament met for its final session on 4th February 1536, and was only dissolved on 14th April 1536, after passing two important Acts. Of these the first was the Statute of Uses. Its aim was to prevent the severance of the actual enjoyment of landed property from its nominal ownership. The King did not like the separation of the two, as it rendered the collection of feudal dues difficult. This statute is interesting, as it was only passed in this last session, after rejection on several former occasions. As the King was very keen for the statute to be passed, this proves that the Reformation Parliament was not the altogether servile body that it has been sometimes represented as being. The second

Act for dis-  
solution of  
smaller  
monas-  
teries.

was an Act dissolving the smaller monasteries. The King made a statement to the Parliament, assuring it that the "accounts of his late visitations" and other "sundry credible informations" made it clear that in the smaller monasteries (*i.e.* those with less than twelve inmates, and income less than £200 per annum), "manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living is daily used." In obedience to the royal word, Parliament enacted that all such monasteries should be vested in the King, if they had not already been suppressed, and that their inmates should be distributed among the greater monasteries, "wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed." That the King's motive was not disinterested regard for religion is proved by the fact that within the following four years all monasteries, even those in which according to his own account religion was right well kept, were suppressed. Rules impossible to observe were imposed on the reluctant monks; if they did not voluntarily surrender, threats and intimidation, attainder and treason, torture and death, were pressed into the royal service, till finally in the year 1539 all monastic property was vested in the King; with the surrender of Waltham Abbey in 1540 the work was completed. The dissolution of the monasteries was a necessary step, but it was carried out by the execrable methods which with Henry had now become usual, and was accompanied by the wanton destruction of buildings and artistic treasures. If the monasteries had to be suppressed, common justice required

Larger  
monas-  
teries sup-  
pressed.



that some of the wealth so acquired should have been devoted to the provision of a proper parochial system. Much of the monastic wealth came from the tithe, which in the preceding centuries had been filched away from the parishes and appropriated by the religious houses. Education, too, had its claims; Henry might have followed pious predecessors who had diverted monastic wealth to the foundation of schools and colleges. But though six new bishoprics, Westminster,<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough, were endowed from part of the spoil, nothing else was done for religion. Some of the monks, if they showed themselves compliant, were rewarded with pensions; a considerable portion of the wealth was spent on the navy and coast defences; the remainder was devoted to the greed of the King and Cromwell and his satellites, and to the endowment of new families such as the Cavendishes and the Russells.<sup>2</sup>

Use made  
of monastic  
wealth.

But we have anticipated events. Before the Reformation Parliament had met for its final session the sorely ill-used lady, Catherine of Aragon, had died (7th January 1536). Henry and Anne Boleyn celebrated the auspicious event by appearing the next night at a dance clad in yellow from head to foot. But a still more sombre tragedy was imminent. Henry was already tired of Anne Boleyn. She had failed to bear him a male child, and people were horrified to learn on 2nd May 1536 that the Queen had been arrested on horrible charges of adultery and incest. She was tried by a court of peers, over which her own uncle the Duke of Norfolk presided as Lord High Steward, found guilty, and beheaded to the joy of the people on the 19th May. It is painful to write that Cranmer two days previously, after holding an inquiry, discovered that Henry had never been really married to Anne Boleyn at all. The ground of his decision was never published. It may have been Anne's pre-contract of marriage with the Earl of Northumberland, or it may have been Henry's "liaison" with Anne's sister in former years. Ten days later Henry took his third wife, Jane Seymour. But in religious matters he had set a pace too quick for some of his subjects in the north of England. Towards the end of 1536 his throne for a time positively reeled. A serious rising, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, took place in the north of England. The movement started in Lincolnshire, and spread to York-

Death of  
Catherine  
of Aragon,  
1536.

Anne  
Boleyn  
beheaded.

Pilgrimage  
of Grace,  
1536.

<sup>1</sup> There was only one Bishop of Westminster: the see then lapsed.

<sup>2</sup> It is a mistake to suppose that most of the monastic lands were granted as free presents. They were in most cases given for a consideration.

shire, where it found an able leader in Robert Aske. The whole county rose in arms; with the five wounds of Christ as their badge, they assembled in a tumultuous host. Their grievances were partly social and political; the Statute of Uses had made it impossible to provide as of old for younger sons; evictions in the course of enclosure helped to swell the ranks of discontent; the demands of the tax-gatherers were oppressive. But the grievances were mostly religious; the northerners lived in a more primitive social state than the southerners, and they clamoured for a restoration of the dismantled monasteries; they demanded the rehabilitation of the old faith and the papal authority; anti-Roman bishops, they cried, ought to be punished with fire or such like, and the council purged of villein blood. This was intended as a hit at Cromwell. The rioters professed loyalty to the Crown, and only aimed at relieving the King of evil councillors. But the movement was exceedingly dangerous, and might easily have spread over the whole north of England, and if backed, as seemed probable, by foreign aid might have overthrown the Tudor dynasty. Henry in the most lordly way might talk of "the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly in the whole realm," but his envoys, such as Norfolk, felt it necessary to temporise till they could assemble the levies of the more loyal counties. Norfolk promised pardon and the redress of grievances, and Aske was induced to go south to see Henry. But a fresh outbreak gave the Government an excuse for not fulfilling its promises; numberless executions followed, and the moors of Yorkshire were drenched with the blood of the victims. Among those who perished were Aske himself, and many of the abbots of the great northern houses, such as Jervaulx and Furness and Hexham, which had helped the movement. The abbey lands escheated under the treason laws, and the abbeys were dissolved.

Henry had still ten years to live; and those ten years were a veritable reign of terror; all kinds of people, Protestant and Papalist, were put to death. But the chief fury of the storm fell on the great people who, one way and another, crossed Henry's path—"feriuntque summos fulgura montes," said Horace long ago. It is beyond the purpose of this book to trace in detail the course of events. The personal history of the King and his entourage during these ten years will be briefly sketched

—they are only of importance for their influence on the larger issues—and then the changes in doctrine and religious formularies will be indicated.

In 1536 a third Succession Act was passed by Parliament, settling the crown on the issue of Jane Seymour. Her influence was cast on the reforming side. The Princess Mary, when under compulsion she had confessed herself a bastard and the union of her mother with Henry incestuous, was given by the King more favourable treatment. On 12th October 1537, Jane Seymour, to the King's delight, gave birth to a son, the future Edward VI. Unfortunately the mother only survived the birth of her child for twelve days. For more than two years Henry now remained a bachelor! The year 1538 was marked by the execution of Henry Courtenay Marquis of Exeter, a grandson of Edward IV., and Henry Pole Lord Montague, a grandson of George Duke of Clarence, Edward IV.'s brother. Both these noblemen might have been claimants to the throne, and were possible alternatives to the members of the Tudor dynasty. The aged Countess of Salisbury, mother of the Poles, was imprisoned and executed in 1541. Against the Poles Henry had a special grievance in the person of Cardinal Pole, the other son of the Countess. Reginald Pole was a cultivated and refined person, who had steeped himself in Italian humanism. He was himself an advocate of ecclesiastical reform and had approximated in his doctrinal beliefs to Luther; but he was a convinced believer in the Divine right of the papacy and the ecclesiastical unity of the Church. He had found in Henry VIII. a generous patron, and was bound by many ties of gratitude and friendship to the King. But Pole was a man of profound convictions, straight and honourable in his life. Henry had wished him to write in support of the divorce from Catherine, and of the religious settlement effected in England. But Pole was too sincere and upright to do a thing of which his conscience disapproved. On the contrary, he wrote a work, *De unitate ecclesiæ*, in which he denounced the action of the King in no measured terms; and he accepted a cardinal's hat from Paul III. Henry was furious, and as he could not lay hands on Reginald Pole himself—for Pole wisely refused to return to England—he wreaked his vengeance on his innocent relations.

In 1540 Henry married his fourth wife Anne of Cleves. This marriage was the work of Thomas Cromwell, and was the

last expiring effort of Cromwell to retain his power. Politically, the marriage meant a *rapprochement* with the Smalcaldic League, or league of Protestant German princes. But Henry never found Protestants pleasant "bed-fellows"; he remained to his death a Romanist in doctrine; and, in any event, he was determined to maintain the ecclesiastical independence of England against German Protestants no less than against the Pope. Henry had never seen Anne of Cleves when he was betrothed to her. Unfortunately he found that the lady had neither the beauty nor the wit with which she had been credited; she was a mere "Flanders mare," and though the King went through a form of marriage with her, he quickly discovered that it was no real marriage at all. On the grounds of a pre-contract and the want of real consent of the parties, the marriage was declared null on Gardiner's initiative by the two Convocations, and the nullity was confirmed by an Act of Parliament. The lucky lady was pensioned off. Meanwhile the party of reaction had triumphed, and Cromwell was arrested on the charge of treason. An Act of attainder was passed against him, and he was beheaded (29th July 1540). He was condemned unheard, but he had done the same to others; in his humiliation and execution he deserved and gained no pity.

Cromwell  
executed,  
1540.

Before the year 1540 closed Henry married his fifth wife, another niece of the Duke of Norfolk—Catherine Howard. It was a further sign that the reactionary party was in the ascendant. But in 1541 this miserable lady was discovered to be an adulteress, and on that ground was attainted of high treason by Parliament, and executed (13th February 1542). In 1543 the King married his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr. The King was now an invalid; the lady nursed him, and had the luck to survive her husband. In 1544 a fourth Succession Act was passed. By this Act the crown was settled first on Edward and his issue, secondly on Mary and her issue, thirdly on Elizabeth and her issue, while the King was authorised to make further provision by will in case of the failure of these lives. Henry made use of this authorisation to disinherit the issue of his elder sister Margaret, and prefer before them the issue of his younger sister Mary.

Fourth  
Succession  
Act, 1544.

In 1546 the Duke of Norfolk and his poet son, Surrey, were imprisoned on a charge of treason and condemned. Surrey

was executed, but, fortunately for Norfolk, Henry died the night before his intended execution, and the sentence was not carried out. Henry VIII. had been gathered to his fathers, and his son Edward reigned in his stead.

Death of  
Henry,  
1547.

The changes in religious faith and formularies remain to be noticed.

Religious  
formu-  
laries.

1. Of these, the most memorable by far was the issuing of an English Bible. The "open Bible" is the greatest of all the services rendered to our race by the reformers; its simple idiom, its strong clear English have passed into our household talk, and fixed the standard of our language. But it did more than this. Breaking down the middle wall of partition that had been raised by the mediæval Church, it once more brought God down from heaven to earth, and enabled all men of good will to approach God himself. On the imperishable canvas of the gospel narrative men could see once more Jesus Christ as He actually lived and spoke to men. They could gauge the extent to which the Catholic Church had departed from primitive Christianity. Our English Bible, unlike any other vernacular version of the Scripture, has also, in the words of Bishop Westcott, the seal of martyrdom upon it. Of those to whom we owe it, Tyndale, Rogers, and Cranmer died triumphant deaths, martyrs to the faith. Coverdale barely escaped the same doom. The history of the Bible in Henry's reign must be briefly traced. In the Middle Ages various parts of the Scripture—*e.g.* the Psalter—had been translated into English, but it is almost certain that the only English issue of the whole Bible was the Wycliffite version, which, in spite of proscription, survived in some 170 copies. Tyndale's New Testament (1526) was the first *printed* edition of the English New Testament. It was an epoch-making work, based on knowledge of the original Greek. Before his death Tyndale had also translated the Pentateuch, the books of the Old Testament which follow the Pentateuch to the end of 2nd Chronicles, and the book of Jonah. All these translations were based on knowledge of the original Hebrew. They were printed abroad, but were smuggled into England; they were proscribed, and, where possible, bought up by the English Government, and burnt in public bonfires. But the money thus received enabled Tyndale to bring out successive and improved editions. His work was substantially incorporated in our Authorised Version. "Not only," says Bishop

(1) Tyn-  
dale's New  
Testament

Westcott, "did Tyndale contribute to it directly the substantial basis of half of the Old Testament, and of the whole of the New, but he established a standard of biblical translation which others followed." He shocked ecclesiastical prejudices in England by translating *πρεσβύτερος*, "elder," instead of "priest"; *ἐκκλησία*, "congregation," instead of "church"; *μετανοεῖν*, to "repent," instead of to "do penance." But it is lamentable to find a learned modern Anglican writer<sup>1</sup> regarding such translations as "a mischievous perversion of those (*i.e.* the sacred) writings, intended to advance heretical opinions." He might as well maintain that to call "white" white, or "black" black, is a mischievous perversion of the truth. Tyndale's translations are absolutely correct, and are those adopted by modern scholarship. If "orthodoxy" could only be bolstered up by the support of incorrect translations, so much the worse was it for "orthodoxy." The sooner it should fall, the better would it be for all concerned. Tyndale was a Gloucestershire man. From early youth he had set before himself the translation of the Scriptures as his life's single aim. "I defy the Pope and all his laws," he cried to a learned man. "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost." But to print the Scriptures in England was impossible. Tyndale was compelled to take refuge on the Continent; from Cologne he had to take a hurried flight, with the printed sheets he could secure, to Worms; and there his New Testament was published. Finally he crowned a life of hunger, thirst, cold, and other forms of privation with a martyr's death at the stake in Belgium (1536).

(2) Coverdale's Bible.

2. Coverdale's Bible (1535) was the first English Bible of which the sale was permitted by the English Government. Its second edition in 1537 was actually authorised by the King. But Coverdale's Bible was not based on knowledge of the original Greek and Hebrew. It was simply a translation from the Bibles of the German reformers Luther and Zwingli, the Vulgate, and other current Latin versions. It was only intended to fill the gap till a more authentic translation from the Greek and Hebrew could secure royal authorisation.

(3) Matthews' Bible.

3. Matthews' Bible was published in 1537. This Bible was the work of the Marian martyr, John Rogers, who took the

<sup>1</sup> Gairdner's *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 190.

pseudonym of Thomas Matthews. It was not, however, a new translation at all. The New Testament and the whole of the Old Testament till the end of 2nd Chronicles were little more than a reprint from Tyndale, while the remainder was taken, with some changes, from Coverdale's version.

4. The revision of Matthews' Bible, known as the Great or Cranmer's Bible (1538), received royal authorisation. Cromwell's injunctions of 1538 ordered this Bible to be set up in every parish church, that Bible-reading might be encouraged. Thus, by a curious turn of fortune's wheel, the proscribed version of Tyndale, which had supplied fuel for so many licensed bonfires, was sent forth by royal authorisation to do its work among countless English homes. Tyndale's prophecy had been fulfilled. A contemporary narrative lets us see the eagerness with which men clustered round the parish Bible, and heard it read by one of their number.

(4) Great or Cranmer's Bible.

5. Next in importance to the publication of the English Bible was the publication (1545) of our English Litany, in a primer or manual of private prayers. This Litany was substantially the same as our present Litany, though it included invocations of the Virgin Mary, the holy angels, patriarchs, apostles, martyrs, &c., and one of its suffrages ran, "From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, from all false doctrine and heresy, from hardness of heart, and contempt of Thy word and commandment, good Lord, deliver us." This Litany was Cranmer's composition, and is perhaps the most beautiful work in the whole range of devotional literature, giving utterance in the simplest yet sublimest language to the spiritual cravings of the human soul. The one unfortunate suffrage about the Pope, out of place in a prayer which moves on such a lofty plane, was omitted in the revision of the Prayer-Book in 1559.

(5) The Litany, 1545.

The other religious formularies issued in Henry VIII's reign are in themselves of no permanent importance, but reveal the religious attitude of the King in the successive stages of his career.

6. The Ten Articles of 1536 were the work of the King, approved by Convocation. They marked an important advance by drawing a distinction between articles of belief and practices necessary to salvation on the one hand, and, on the other hand,

(6) The Ten Articles.

those which are not necessary, however laudable. This reduction of the faith by reference to first principles was a vital part of the Reformation. The Roman Church was constantly increasing the number of beliefs which it declared necessary to salvation. The reformers rejected this practice, and insisted that many of the Roman additions to the faith were false. The Ten Articles declared the Bible, the three creeds, and the decisions of the first four councils the foundation of our faith. The three sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Altar were declared necessary. But while the doctrine of the Real Presence was insisted on, the Roman theory of Transubstantiation<sup>1</sup> was not asserted. The doctrine of Justification was enunciated in the words of Melancthon the Lutheran reformer, but the necessity of good works was proclaimed. The superstitious worshipping of images was condemned; saints were to be honoured, and their prayers were to be asked for, but men were not to think "that any saint is more merciful or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same." Rites and ceremonies were declared to have no power to remit sin; though prayer for the departed was to be continued, the limits of our knowledge about the future state were pointed out, and masses were declared to have no power of delivering souls from purgatory.

7) Injunctions of 1536.

7. The injunctions of Cromwell, as Vicar-General, in 1536 followed on the same lines. The clergy were, in their sermons, to denounce the Bishop of Rome's usurped power, which was now abolished, and to explain the Ten Articles, "which be necessary for salvation, which do only concern the decent and politic order of the . . . Church"; they were to announce the abolition of certain holy days by Convocation; they were forbidden to encourage pilgrimages, and to extol any images, relics, or miracles for superstition or lucre, for "all goodness, health, and grace ought to be asked and looked for only of God, and of none other"; they were to teach that charity is better than gifts to images and relics, and that the exercise of a man's occupation and providing for his family please God more than pilgrimages. The clergy were to see that all people were taught in English the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, and to provide, according to their incomes, for the education of scholars. Finally, it was ordered that a Bible in Latin

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.



and English for all to read should be placed in every parish church.

8. *The Institution of a Christian Man*, or "Bishops' Book,"<sup>(8)</sup> The Bishops' Book, was drawn up by a committee of bishops, and published in 1537. The King professed that he had no time to study it, but had such trust in his bishops that he authorised its use for three years. The book incorporated the doctrine, and in many places the language, of the Ten Articles. It contained an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the sacraments (retaining the pre-eminence of Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist), the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory. It represented neither doctrinal advance nor doctrinal reaction.

Meanwhile the various editions of the Bible described above had been circulated. In 1538 orders were issued for the destruction of shrines and superstitious images. The famous rood of Boxley, with the wires, &c., by which the priests had made the figure on the cross close and open its eyes, and so deluded the superstitious, was exposed to the eyes of scoffing mobs in Maidstone and London; the Holy Blood of Hailes (supposed to be our Lord's blood), was turned to ridicule; Darvell Gadarn, a monster image from North Wales, and a great object of pilgrimage (for it was supposed to be endowed with power to deliver souls from hell), was taken to London and used as fuel for the burning of a papist. Most notable of all, Becket's magnificent shrine at Canterbury was dismantled. Cartloads of gold and silver and precious stones were taken thence for the King's use. The saint's bones were burnt; orders were issued for the erasure of his name from the service books and the destruction of his figure in paintings and stone. Becket had been the protagonist of papal claims and clerical immunities against the State, and therefore Henry pursued his memory with vindictive hate, and revelled in the desecration of his bones and shrine. The scourging of Henry II. before Becket's tomb was avenged by Henry VIII.

9. Cromwell's injunctions of 1538 marked no doctrinal advance on those of 1536. The Great Bible was to be set up in every parish church, and Bible-reading was to be encouraged; gospel sermons were to be preached; trust in pilgrimages, candles, images, relics, beads, &c., was to be deprecated as superstitious; such images as were the cause of superstition<sup>(9)</sup> Injunctions of 1538.

were to be removed; for images were merely remembrances of saints, and at best served for no other purpose than to be "books of unlearned men."

Cross-currents.

Through the last eight years of Henry's reign it is not possible to trace any unity of principle. On the whole, they were years of reaction. But cross-currents were constantly meeting and struggling for mastery. On the one hand, the marriage with Anne of Cleves, the *rapprochement* both in 1538 and 1544 with the Lutheran princes, the failure to enforce rigidly the Act of the Six Articles, mark a reforming current; while, on the other hand, the overthrow of Cromwell, the marriage with Catherine Howard, the Six Articles, and the plots against Cranmer show the power of reactionary influences. Speaking generally, we may say that the official religion was popery without the Pope: if papists were sent to the block for denying the royal supremacy, so were Anne Askew, the wife of a Lincolnshire squire, and others for holding Protestant doctrine.

(10) Act of Six Articles, 1539.

10. The Act of Six Articles (1539), known by Protestants as "the bloody whip with six strings," was introduced into Parliament by Norfolk. But the King's presence was necessary to secure its enactment. The preamble to the Act declares that the King "vouchsafed in his own princely person to descend and come into his said High Court of Parliament, and there, like a prince of most high prudence and no less learning, opened and declared many things of high learning and great knowledge." It would seem that pearls always dropped from the King's mouth when he spoke! The Act of the Six Articles represented the complete triumph of the unreformed views. Transubstantiation was affirmed; communion in both kinds was declared unnecessary; the celibacy of the clergy, the perpetual nature of vows of chastity, private masses, auricular confession, were all declared to be necessary; transgressions against the Act, or maintenance of any contrary views, were to be punished, in the last resort, with the penalties of treason or felony: commissioners were to be appointed to hunt out heretics and heretical books. This ghastly Act, the work not of Convocation, but of Parliament, was luckily not put into full operation for more than one year. After 1540 its provisions were generally allowed to lie dormant.

(11) The King's Book, 1543.

11. The *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* (1543), more generally known as "The King's Book,"

was a revision of "The Bishops' Book" of 1537 in a reactionary direction, and was approved by Convocation. It contained a new article on Faith, an exposition of the Creed, the seven sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and four articles on Free Will, Justification, Good Works, and Prayers for the Departed. Its doctrinal standpoint was the same as the Act of the Six Articles.

These closing years of Henry VIII's reign must have been an uncomfortable time for Cranmer. Cranmer's sympathies were with Protestant views; but after the passing of the Act of the Six Articles, to comply with its provisions, he had found it necessary to put away his wife; Latimer and Shaxton, the Protestant Bishops of Worcester and Salisbury, had been compelled to resign their sees, and Cranmer was left almost alone to stem the advancing tide of reaction. Many plots were hatched under the encouragement of Gardiner, the reactionary Bishop of Winchester, to secure his downfall. But Henry was loyal to the friend who had served him so faithfully. When the gentry of Kent and the prebendaries of Canterbury made formal complaint of Cranmer's preaching and the "enormities of religion" current in Kent, Henry appointed Cranmer himself as head of the commission to inquire into its truth!

Plots  
against  
Cranmer.

But the most formidable of all the plots against Cranmer was framed in 1545. His enemies actually thought that they had secured his downfall when the council was empowered by the King to send him to the Tower. But either Henry repented, or else he had intended all along to humiliate Cranmer's enemies; for the same night he sent for Cranmer, and gave him the ring which symbolised that the King had revoked the matter in question to his own personal audience. The following day Cranmer was summoned before the council, and subjected to the indignity of waiting, before admission, for half-an-hour among the servants. But when admitted and charged with heresy, Cranmer, to the disgust of his enemies, produced the royal ring. Henry summoned the council before him, and rated them soundly for their rudeness to the archbishop, and declared him "as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm." Cranmer's enemies had to retire crestfallen. As the King lay on his deathbed in 1547, he sent for Cranmer, and when he was no longer able to speak, pressed his hand as a sign of his trust in the mercy of Christ.

## APPENDIX II

SACRAMENTAL DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY  
COMMUNION

1. The Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation was given its final definition by the Council of Trent in 1563. The theory had established itself in the thirteenth century. It was not held in the early ages of the Church, and therefore to declare it "catholic" is bad history. It is also part of a relatively obsolete philosophy (that of the schoolmen). The schoolmen, pressing into the service of the Church the Aristotelian philosophy, drew a distinction between the *substantia*, or "essence," of a thing and its "accidents." According to the Roman theory, the "accidents" of the bread and wine (*i.e.* their feeling to the touch and their appearance to the eye, &c.), remain the same after the prayer of consecration, while the *substantia*, or "essence," is changed to the Body and Blood of Christ. The whole doctrine as formulated in the Catechism of the Council of Trent is grossly materialistic.

2. The Lutherans maintained the view of Consubstantiation, *i.e.* while maintaining that the bread and wine remained in their natural substance after the consecration, they asserted that the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ co-existed with them.

3. Zwingli, the Swiss reformer of Zurich, reduced the Holy Communion to a rite simply commemorative of Christ's death.

4. Calvin held that the central idea of "substance" was not "extension in space," but "power," and that the substance of a thing was present in whatever place that thing acted or made its power felt. Calvin therefore declared himself a believer in a real presence in the sense that our Lord's body and blood made their power felt in the sacrament. His view was substantially adopted by the Church of Scotland. He would have approved of the description given in the English Article (§ 25) of sacraments as "effectual" signs.

5. The view taken by the Church of England concerning

the Sacrament of Holy Communion is this. She has *explicitly* rejected the doctrine of Transubstantiation (Article 28) as "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture," and giving rise to many superstitions. She has *implicitly* (but not *explicitly*) rejected the so-called Zwinglian view which reduces the sacrament to a merely commemorative rite. Within these external limits she allows a considerable latitude of belief. Many Anglicans maintain the belief in a "real presence." In its mediæval origin this term meant the presence of the "res," and no doubt involved a *materialistic* view of the sacrament. But any materialistic view of the sacrament is clearly incompatible with the formularies of the Church of England. The expression "real presence" is, however, used by some loyal Anglicans to connote a *spiritual* presence, and in this sense the phrase may well be used. Thus Jeremy Taylor wrote, "that after the minister of the holy mysteries hath . . . consecrated the bread and wine, the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, that is, *in a spiritual real manner*" (Works, ix. 424); and again, "We say that Christ's body is in the sacrament really but spiritually . . . by 'spiritually' we mean 'present to our spirits only'" (Works, ix. 428); and Hooker wrote (*Eccles. Pol.*, v. 67), "The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament."

The authoritative teaching of the Church of England must, however, be taken from her own formularies. In these she affirmatively lays down—

(a) That there is a presence of Christ in the ordinance to the worthy receiver. "To such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive . . . the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ" (Article 28). "The Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper" (Catechism).

(b) That the wicked partakers of the sacrament in no wise are the partakers of Christ (Article 29).

(c) That the presence of Christ to the worthy receiver is spiritual. "The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner." "The mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith" (Article 28).

The Church of England may be said to retain the doctrine

of a real presence. But the real presence taught by her is of a spiritual nature, and something quite distinct from a corporal presence or Transubstantiation. The most real things in life are spiritual, not material.

To maintain a real presence is only incompatible with the formularies of the Church if a presence other than spiritual is intended.

## APPENDIX III

SYNOPSIS OF THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION  
PARLIAMENT

[The critical sessions of Parliament are asterisked]

<i>Parliament</i>	<i>Extra-Parliamentary—chiefly Convocation</i>
FIRST SESSION	
3rd Nov.—17th Dec. 1529	
1. Probate Act.	1530. Universities consulted <i>re</i> divorce.
2. Mortuaries Act.	Oxford and Cambridge give guarded reply in favour.
3. Pluralities Act.	Paris and Bologna give guarded reply in favour.
4. Act to limit trading by spiritual persons and corporations.	Convocation <i>Index expurgatorius</i> of the works of Wycliffe, Luther, Zwingli, Fish, and Tyndale, drawn up.
	29th Nov. Death of Wolsey.
SECOND SESSION	
*16th Jan.—31st March 1531	
	Convocation, 1531.
	Clergy threatened under Præmunire, pardoned—
	a. On payment of £100,044, 8s. 8d. (Canterbury), and £18,840, os. 10d. (York);
	b. On recognition of Henry as Supreme Head "quantum per legem Christi licet," Feb. 11.

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## Parliament

### \*THIRD SESSION

15th Jan.—14th May 1532

1. 18th March. Supplication against the ordinaries, the legislative power of Convocation, and clerical abuses.
2. Act to limit Benefit of Clergy.
3. Annates Act: King empowered to withhold them *if* he thought fit.

### FOURTH SESSION

4th Feb.—7th April 1533

Act in restraint of appeals.

### \*FIFTH SESSION

15th Jan.—30th March 1534

1. Act of Submission of Clergy and restraint of appeals.
  - a. Convocation made dependent on Crown.
  - b. Revision of canon law.
  - c. Supreme appeal to King in Chancery.

## Extra-Parliamentary—chiefly Convocation

15th May 1532. Submission of clergy in Convocation.

16th May. More resigns chancellorship.

22nd Aug. Death of Warham.

Oct. Henry takes Anne Boleyn in state to meet Francis at Boulogne.

Jan. 1533. Henry marries Anne Boleyn secretly.

30th March 1533. Cranmer by papal bull consecrated Archbishop.

23rd May 1533. Cranmer pronounces the King's marriage with Catherine void.

1st June 1533. Anne Boleyn crowned Queen.

11th July 1533. Clement VII. declares Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn null.

7th Sept. 1533. Birth of Elizabeth.

7th Nov. 1533. Henry appeals to a general council against the Pope.

Scheme for alliance with a North German Protestant League fails.

23rd March 1534.

Clement declares Henry's marriage with Catherine valid.

Nun of Kent executed.

Sept. 1534. Death of Clement VII.

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## *Parliament*

### FIFTH SESSION (*continued*)

2. Annates Act. No bulls from Rome. *Congé d'lire* system.
3. Abolition of Peter's pence and all payments to Rome.
4. First Act of Succession.

### SIXTH SESSION

3rd Nov. 1534—4th Feb. 1535

1. Act of Supreme Head.
2. Act of Succession, with form of oath annexed.
3. Verbal Treasons Act.
4. Act annexing annates to Crown.

### SEVENTH SESSION

4th Feb. 1536—14th April 1536

- Act dissolving lesser monasteries (376 in all) with income less than £200 per annum.

## *Extra-Parliamentary—chiefly Convocation*

Fisher and More sent to Tower for refusal to take oath required by commissioners appointed under First Act of Succession. [Terms of oath not prescribed by statute.]

Convocation repudiates papal power.

22nd June 1535. Fisher executed.

6th July 1535. More executed.

2nd Oct. 1535. Visitation of monasteries begun.

7th Jan. 1536. Death of Catherine.

17th May 1536. Marriage of Anne Boleyn with Henry declared invalid.

19th May 1536. Anne Boleyn executed.



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI. AND THE GROWTH OF PROTESTANT INFLUENCES

THE new King was a boy of nine years and precocious, but not attractive. Minorities are bad for any kingdom; and the minority of Edward VI. was no exception to the rule. The reign was full of intrigues. The close interconnexion of morality with religion, coupled with the loosening of old religious beliefs, may have been in part responsible for the actual result; but, whatever the cause, it is certainly true that with the exception of the latter part of the seventeenth century, the morality of public men has never fallen so low in England as it did in the reign of Edward VI. Avarice and rapacity stalked abroad; even the tolerant and humane Somerset was conspicuous for his avarice, while the very nadir of character was reached by Northumberland. He was likened by a contemporary writer to Alcibiades. The moral stature of the leading bishops, whether of the Old or of the New Learning, was immeasurably higher than that of the secular statesmen. Cranmer, for example, was free from any taint of avarice; in all he did he was disinterested, and had no private axe of his own to grind.

The reign of Edward VI. was in no sense a unity; it was divided into two distinct halves by the fall of Somerset in October 1549. Somerset's government was very different from that of Northumberland. Somerset was mild and tolerant; Northumberland was intolerant, unconstitutional, and tyrannical. In the economic disturbances incident to the era of enclosures, Somerset sympathised with the poor peasants; Northumberland favoured the landlords. Somerset's rule was marked by the moderate Protestantism of the first Book of Common Prayer, Northumberland's by the more decided Protestantism of the second Prayer-Book. But the difference between the religious settlements of the two portions of the reign can be exaggerated. The two Prayer-Books represent the different phases through which the minds of Cranmer and many other Englishmen passed.

Rule of  
Somerset  
contrasted  
with rule of  
Northum-  
berland.

To them the second must have presented itself as the logical outcome from the first Prayer-Book. The first Prayer-Book marked a more pronounced separation from the past than the second Prayer-Book did from the first.

Features in religious history of reign—  
(1) pre-dominance of secular power.

In the religious history of the reign three features have specially to be noticed. In the first place, the predominant part taken by the secular power—that is to say, by the King, Council, and Parliament—must be emphasised. The claims advanced under the cover of the royal supremacy reached high-water mark. The bishops, by command of the Council, had to take out new licences for the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction (1547); the writs of the ecclesiastical court were henceforth to run in the King's name, and the form of episcopal election by the chapters (*congé d'élire*) was abolished by Act of Parliament (1547). Appointment by letters patent was substituted. Royal injunctions and Acts of Parliament fixed rites and ceremonies. The general policy of the Government was to discredit and supersede the recognised convocations of the Church, and to employ merely the services of "godly and learned men." The Government then proceeded to enact on its own authority. This method of reforming the Church had long ago been urged by Wycliffe, and however indefensible it may seem in theory, we must remember (a) that even in Roman Catholic countries the pressure and influence of the secular power on the Church was at this time immense, (b) that the Reformation in England could not have been effected in any other way, (c) that the convocations simply represented the clergy, and not the laity. Secondly, the increasing use of the vernacular English in the public services of the Church must be noticed. There are those who would almost have us believe that the services when rendered in Latin were understood by the people, and ceased to be understood when translated into English. To maintain or indirectly suggest such a view is the veriest paradox. The Cornishmen who rose in revolt against the new Prayer-Book (1549) because they regarded it as "but a Christmas game," and understood no English,<sup>1</sup> were exceptional. To the average Englishman the gain of being able to approach God in his own tongue, and not through the tomb of a dead language, was priceless. The Book of Common Prayer is written in English at its best and highest; its simple and majestic diction has

(2) Use of English tongue.

<sup>1</sup> They were Welsh, as the name "Corn-wall" itself shows.

won the affections and become the devotional language of countless Englishmen, both within and without the established Church. Thirdly, the growth of Protestant influences and the removal from our faith of mediæval accretions must be traced.

(3) Growth of Protestant influences.

Edward VI. succeeded to the throne on 28th January 1547; but as he was a minor, power fell into the hands of his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, and the Council. Parliament did not meet for its first session before 4th November 1547. But the intervening months had already shown the religious policy of the new Government. Gardiner, the reactionary Bishop of Winchester, had been excluded by Henry VIII. from the body of executors appointed to administer the kingdom during the young King's minority. These executors were formed into the new Privy Council, which was soon purged of all reactionary elements. The bishops were compelled to take out new licences for the exercise of their jurisdictions. A royal proclamation authorised a book of homilies—mainly the work of Cranmer—which were to be read publicly as sermons. By the same authority it was ordered that a translation of Erasmus' Paraphrase should be set up in every parish church. A royal visitation was announced, and injunctions modelled on those of Cromwell were sent out. These injunctions denounced all images which were the cause of superstition; but even before their issue unauthorised attacks on images had commenced. The chief innovation in the injunctions was an order that the Gospel and Epistle in the Mass should be read in English. The leaders of the reactionary party, Bishop Gardiner and Bonner, Bishop of London, opposed the issue of injunctions on the ground that no religious changes ought to be carried out during the King's minority, and that, as a matter of fact, they were illegal, since they contravened the religious laws enacted by Parliament during the latter years of Henry VIII. But whatever we may think of the wisdom of the policy, it cannot be constitutionally maintained that the royal power is in abeyance during a minority; and the issue of the injunctions by the Government was clearly covered by the Act of Proclamations (1539) and by the Act of Supremacy.

Royal injunctions.

Gardiner and Bonner, for their opposition, were committed temporarily to prison.

In November 1547 both Convocation and Parliament met.

Convoca-  
tion of  
1547.

The clergy in the Lower House of Convocation presented to the bishops some interesting petitions. They urged that a revision of the canon law should be once more authorised by Parliament; they petitioned that representatives of the minor clergy should, in accordance with the ancient writ, be admitted to the Lower House of Parliament, and that the work of the committee on church services should be presented to them. In this last petition they probably referred to Cranmer's two schemes, which are still extant, for a reformed Breviary. These petitions had no immediate result. But on the 2nd December 1547 Convocation came unanimously to the important decision that communion should be administered to the laity in both kinds; this resolution rendered necessary the issue of a new communion office, to which Convocation in anticipation gave its approval.

Com-  
munion in  
both kinds  
authorised.

Marriage of  
clergy.

Convocation also resolved that the marriage of the clergy ought to be legalised. Parliament in its first session (4th November to 24th December 1547) passed a number of important measures. Not only did it repeal the various treason laws of Henry VIII., the Statute of Proclamations, the Six Articles Act, and all the heresy laws, but it enacted various religious laws of its own. A statute was passed against revilers of the sacrament and for receiving in both kinds; provision was made for abolishing the *congé d'élire* system. A Chantries Act dissolved all existing chantries, and vested their property in the Crown. Since masses for the dead were no longer regarded as useful, the abolition of "perpetual foundations" for this purpose logically followed. The avowed purpose of the Act was the founding of grammar schools and the advancement of learning. This was indeed a worthy object, since many of the chantry priests were incidentally schoolmasters, but the temptation was too great for the rapacity of Edward's courtiers. The wealth of the chantries found its way into their expansive pockets, and though some few grammar schools (called by "Edward VI.'s" name) and hospitals (e.g. those of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew) were endowed from the proceeds, Edward ought rather to be known as a destroyer than as a founder of schools. During 1548 the work of destruction and reformation proceeded apace. January witnessed the issue of various proclamations by the Council. The observance of Lent was ordered because it was good for the fisheries! The use of holy water, of ashes on Ash Wednesday, of candles on Candlemas Day,

Dissolution  
of chan-  
tries.

of palms on Palm Sunday, and the Good Friday service known as "creeping to the Cross," were prohibited. Since it had been found impossible to distinguish between those images which were and those which were not superstitiously used, and since church brawls had in consequence been the result, the destruction of all images without distinction was ordered (February). A contrivance similar to that of the rood of Boxley had already in November 1547 been exposed to the derision of the London mob and broken in pieces. It was an image of our Lord in His sepulchre which by means of mechanism was made to lift its legs out of the sepulchre and give a blessing with its hand. Other images were now broken in pieces. It is a matter for profound regret that treasures of art in stone and painted windows were thus destroyed. But who can say that the price paid for the Reformation was too great? Part of the blame must lie with the obscurantists, who had made these precious works of art the fortresses of superstition. When passions and convictions are at white heat, ugly things too often happen.

Destruction of images.

In accordance with the resolution of Convocation, and to satisfy the Act of Parliament, a new order of communion was published by proclamation on 8th March 1548. Cranmer had felt his way by a series of interrogatories addressed to the bishops; he was anxious to carry with him as far as possible the bishops of the Old Learning. The new communion office, which was to be used till further order should be taken, was therefore a compromise; the priest's mass taken from the old service books was neither altered nor translated, but there was appended to it a communion service for the laity in English. This new order of service contained—(1) an exhortation or notice of communion which recognised that special auricular confession to the priest before communion was not necessary; for it required "such as shall be satisfied with a general confession not to be offended with those who confess privately to the priest"; (2) the Invitation, the General Confession, the Absolution, the Comfortable Words, the Prayer of Humble Access, the Words of Administration, and the Blessing. The chief source from which the new elements of this communion office were taken was the *Consultatio* of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne.

New order of communion, 1548.

Meanwhile preparations for further change were being made. At St. Paul's and Westminster, and the King's chapel, and

elsewhere experimental services, wholly in English, were tried. The state of affairs on the Continent reacted on the course of the Reformation in England. Charles V., having defeated the Protestant princes in the Schmalkald War, published a document known as the *Interim* (July 1548) for the regulation of religious matters in Germany. As this document was purely Romanist in doctrine, many of the Protestant leaders in the following year fled from Germany to England, and began to exercise a predominant influence on the course of religious change in England. Already (June 1548) Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, for refusing to acknowledge the validity of religious changes effected during the King's minority, and for maintaining the view of transubstantiation in a sermon preached before the King, had been committed to the Tower; a year later, and for the same reasons, Bonner was likewise committed to prison. Thus the party of the old faith was depressed by the imprisonment of its two leaders.

Gardiner and Bonner, imprisoned.

Parliament met for its second session on 27th November 1548. An Act was passed for legalising the marriage of priests in accordance with the resolution previously voted by Convocation; but this session will be ever memorable for placing on the statute book the first Act of Uniformity and making the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. the only legal form of public worship (14th March 1549). Any clergyman using another form of prayer, or any person depraving the book, was to be punished by fine or imprisonment; offences against the Act were punishable either by the temporal or by the ecclesiastical courts, but not by both. This statute is a landmark in the history of English Christianity.

First Prayer-Book, 1549.

Its sources.

The sources from which the new Prayer-Book were drawn were (1) the old service books of the Breviary and Missal, &c., (2) the revised Breviary of Cardinal Quignon, (3) Lutheran forms of prayer; while many of the collects and prayers seem to have been original compositions, probably of Cranmer. The services of Matins and Evensong were formed by a condensation of the old canonical hours of the mediæval Church, as found in the Breviary. The "office" of the pre-Reformation Church comprised the canonical hours of Matins, Laud, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline. The original idea of this divine office was to secure the continuous and thorough reading and singing of the Psalter and Holy Scripture. But in course of time the order of the office had become increasingly complicated.

Antiphons had been introduced to give the clerks the tone of the psalm: responsories had been introduced so as to rest the voice of the reader; a number of prayers had been added; misguided devotion had led to the addition of various additional offices, such as that of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The services on different saints' days had become so complicated that the framers of the Prayer-Book speak of "the hardness of the rules called the Pie," and tell us "that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out."

Down till the Reformation this divine office had been recited daily in every monastic chapel, in every cathedral and collegiate church, and all the larger parish churches. But the need of a reformed and simplified Breviary had long been felt. In 1535 Cardinal Quignon at the command of Pope Clement VII. revised the Breviary. In order to secure the continuous reading of Scripture, he had simplified the service by omitting antiphons, responsories, and prayers, and by deleting the offices of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the variations introduced on two-thirds of the saints' days. Though this revised Breviary did not maintain its position, a reformed Roman Breviary was drawn up and authorised by the Council of Trent in 1568.

From Quignon's Breviary the framers of the English Prayer-Book derived their general scheme and the preface which still is prefixed to the book, "Concerning the Service of the Church." During the years 1543-1547 Cranmer had drawn up two schemes for a revised office, using material drawn from the Breviary of the Sarum use, and revising it on Quignon's lines. This work now proved of value.

The service of Matins in the new Prayer-Book was formed by the condensation of the old hours of Matins, Laud, and Prime; Evensong by the condensation of Vespers and Compline. Provision was made in the two lessons for the continuous and thorough reading of Scripture. Variations in the office between Sundays, week-days, and saints' days were reduced to a minimum.

The Litany was placed after the communion office. While the petition against the Bishop of Rome's detestable enormities was retained, the invocations to all created beings, such as the Virgin Mary, angels, patriarchs, and apostles, were omitted.

The Communion Service in the new book was described as "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass." The sources used by its framers were the Missal of the old Sarum use and various Lutheran liturgies, especially the so-called Latin Mass of 1523. The basis of the whole service was the old Sarum Missal, but there were significant alterations.

1. The old idea that the service was essentially one of communion was restored. There were to be no masses at which the priest alone communicated.

2. The sacrificial vestment of the priest was made optional; he was given the alternative of wearing a cope in lieu of it (the cope not being regarded as a sacrificial vestment).

3. The exhortation taken from the communion book of 1548, making private confession optional, was incorporated.

4. The old canon<sup>1</sup> of the Mass was materially altered. It is true that the long central prayer (which is represented in our present book by the Prayer for the Church Militant, the Consecration Prayer, and the first thanksgiving after the communion) was still retained in accordance with the Sarum use as a single prayer. But it was altered out of all recognition, though much of its phraseology, often in different connections, was retained.

The ceremonial oblation of the elements, as being closely connected with the idea of sacrifice, was deleted. Whereas the Sarum Missal ran: "We humbly pray and beseech Thee to receive these gifts, these offerings, these holy undefiled sacrifices," the new book was silent.

The list of apostles and martyrs commemorated in the memorial of the saints was in the new order omitted.

In the Consecration the new book made it clear that the sacrifice on Calvary was once for all complete: "Who made there (by His one oblation once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." There was nothing of this in the old Sarum Missal. Where the Sarum Missal said, "that it (*sc.* the oblation of the elements) may be *made* unto us the Bo+dy and Bl+ood," the new book ran, "that they may be unto us the Body and Blood." (The old form was interpreted to favour

<sup>1</sup> The canon was the central and most sacred part of the Mass, including the long prayer of consecration and the communion, &c.



the view of transubstantiation, whereas the new form agreed better with the "receptionist"<sup>1</sup> doctrine of the sacrament). Speaking generally, we may say that all the phrases which favoured the view that the Holy Communion was a sacrifice<sup>2</sup> in the old mediæval sense of the term were swept away.

Further, the rubric ordered that the "priest shall say or sing plainly and distinctly" the whole prayer, *i.e.* he was not to say it secretly as hitherto; and the elevation or showing the sacrament to the people (*sc.* for adoration) was prohibited.

The ceremonial fraction of the host, and the ceremonial commixture of the two kinds by the insertion of a portion of the consecrated bread in the chalice, were omitted.

The order for the communion itself was not derived from the Sarum Missal, but was taken from the order of communion published in the preceding year.

The communion office was of course a manual of devotion, and was not intended to be an exposition of doctrine; but it will be seen that all the most characteristic expressions in the old missal which were *supposed* to favour the view of transubstantiation were deleted from the new Prayer-Book. On the other hand, the vagueness of the rubrical directions made it possible for adherents of the old faith to assimilate the new service in form to the old mass. The bishops of the Old Learning, as we will presently see, were prepared to use the new communion office; they were dissatisfied with its omissions, but hoped to repair them in course of time by additions which would make good the claims of the old faith.

The chief differences between the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. and the book now in use were these:—

Differences  
from present Prayer-  
Book.

1. In Matins and Evensong the service began in each case with the Lord's Prayer (omitting the Sentences, the Exhortation, the General Confession, and the Absolution), and ended with the third collect.

2. The Litany contained the petition against the Bishop of Rome's detestable enormities.

3. The Communion Service began with a psalm as introit; and the word "altar" was retained in the rubrics. Neither of

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the view that the body and blood of Christ were only taken in the sacrament by those who received it worthily.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix IV. at end of the chapter.

these is found in the present book. Instead of the Ten Commandments, the Kyrie was repeated nine times—

“Lord have mercy upon us” (*thrice*).

“Christ have mercy upon us” (*thrice*).

“Lord have mercy upon us” (*thrice*).

The arrangement of the prayers was different. The Prayer-Book of 1549 followed for the most part the order of the old Missal; but in 1552 and subsequent revisions, the long prayer of the old canon was broken up and the prayers were re-arranged so as to widen the breach between it and the old form of the mass.

In 1549 explicit prayers for the dead were retained as well in the first part of the long prayer of the canon as in the Burial Service; in 1552 and subsequently the first part of this long prayer became the Prayer for the Church Militant *here in earth*, and was separated from the Prayer of Consecration; in 1549 there was no ceremonial breaking of the consecrated bread; in 1549 the Prayer of Consecration contained an invocation of the Holy Spirit and word “to bl + ess and sanc + tify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood, &c.,” and the elements were to be twice “signed with the cross.” This was omitted in 1552 and in subsequent revisions.

In 1549 the ceremonial mixing of water with wine was retained; this was discontinued in 1552, and has never been legally restored. In 1549 the Words of Administration were simply the first sentences of the present form. “The body, &c.,” “The Blood, &c.”

4. In the Baptismal Service the form of exorcism of the evil spirit was retained in 1549; this disappeared for ever in 1552.

5. In 1549 the Ordinal was not as yet annexed to the Prayer-Book.

Principles followed in the first Prayer-Book—  
(1) simplification.

The principles which the framers of our first English Prayer-Book followed are plain.

1. They aimed, like Cardinal Quignon, at the *simplification* of the services; there was henceforth to be no further need of “the Pie”; elaborate calculations were no longer required to

discover the service of each separate day. Doubtless the services lost something in richness and variety, but at any rate they were made intelligible. Similarly the ceremonies were simplified. Those retained "be neither dark nor dumb, but are so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean."

2. The services were all to be in the *English* tongue. The great desire of the reformers was to make religion intelligible, not a matter of mystery. It is a "reasonable service," not unreasoning superstition, that God demands from us. <sup>(a) Use of English tongue.</sup>

3. The framers of the book appealed to the teaching of Scripture and the primitive Church; the reading in church was to be from Holy Scripture, and from no other writings, such as the Lives of saints; the whole of the New Testament was to be read thrice, the Old Testament once, in the year; no trace of the doctrine of transubstantiation, because unscriptural, was found in the Prayer-Book. On the other hand, a belief in a real spiritual Presence is presupposed as scriptural and in accord with the beliefs of the primitive Church. <sup>(3) Scriptural.</sup>

4. Hitherto there had been no *single use* prescribed for the whole of England; there had been the Sarum use, the Hereford use, the Bangor use, the Lincoln use; in this variety England resembled other countries. Henceforth, though the Prayer-Book countenanced some variety in ceremonial, there was to be a single service book used all over England. The employment of other service books was made penal. Even within the Roman communion the tendency was towards the abolition of local variations, and the creation of a single use. But in England reasons for uniformity were specially urgent; whereas a difference in service books might foster disunion and discord, identity of use would, it was hoped, help the growth of a corporate spirit. The distinctive features of English as contrasted with Roman churchmanship could only be secured by the enforcement of an English service book instinct with the purer form of faith. <sup>(4) Uniformity.</sup>

5. The services were made more congregational; this was specially done in the service of Holy Communion. The sacrificial aspect of the Mass had during the course of the Middle Ages come to obscure all other aspects of the service: the more primitive idea of communion was now restored to its proper place, and the mediæval idea of the sacrament as a sacrifice<sup>1</sup> <sup>(5) Congregational.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IV. at end of chapter.

in which the priest continually offered the body and blood of Christ in their corporal and carnal presence found no place in the language of the Prayer-Book.

Origin of  
Prayer-  
Book.

The issue of this first English Prayer-Book is one of the most important events in the whole history of the English Church. That the book probably received no authorisation from Convocation, but was simply enforced by an Act of Parliament, is at first sight a surprising fact. But it will not astonish those who follow the general lines on which Edward VI.'s Council acted in church affairs towards the accredited organs of the English Church. The history of the origin of the first Book of Common Prayer is wrapped in some obscurity. A careful survey of the evidence leads to the following conclusion. No formal commission of any kind was appointed to draw it up, but the work was entrusted to "the Archbishop of Canterbury and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men" (September 1548). These discreet and learned men could no doubt be varied at will, and their suggestions, if need be, disregarded. It is probable that the actual composition of the book was the work of very few people. It was fortunate that Cranmer had the chief hand in its composition, since he had a genius for the language of religious devotion. We know that from 1543 onwards he had been engaged in the production of a reformed Breviary. The committees employed in the task of drawing up the Prayer-Book are known to have met at Chertsey and Windsor. It is probable that they only gave the book its finishing touches. It was then submitted by the Protector Somerset to the assembled bishops (? October 1548). The doctrine implied by the language of the book was discussed by them. But it was soon evident that on questions of doctrine no agreement was possible between the bishops of the Old and the bishops of the New Learning. The former were not at all satisfied, and took special objection to the fact that the adoration of the sacrament was forbidden. But they admitted that *so far as it went*,<sup>1</sup> the book was satisfactory, and it was agreed among them that omissions might subsequently be repaired. This consideration, and the dangers, both internal and external, with which the country was threatened, induced all the reactionary bishops, except Day of Chichester, to join the bishops of the New Learning in subscribing their signatures to the book.

On the 14th December it was read to the House of Lords, and a three days' debate on its sacramental doctrine ensued. It would seem that the book had been in some respects altered in the interval, and maturer reflection seems to have convinced the reactionary bishops that by subscription they had allowed themselves to be placed in a false position; many of them now explained that though they had signed the book, they disapproved of it. Bonner was outspoken, and declared that its doctrine had been "condemned as heresy, not only abroad, but in this realm also." The debate was interesting because it revealed the doctrine held by the reforming bishops concerning the sacrament. "They be two things," said Cranmer, "to eat the sacrament and to eat the Body of Christ: the eating of the Body is to dwell in Christ, and this may well be though a man never taste the sacrament. All men eat not the Body in the sacrament." "Our faith is not to believe Him to be in bread and wine, but that He is in heaven. This is proved by Scripture and doctors till the Bishop of Rome's usurped power came in." Debate in House of Lords.

Ridley, the Bishop of Rochester, said, "The bread of the communion is not simple bread, but bread united to the divinity." "It is more than a figure, for besides the natural bread, there is an operation of divinity." "It is transformed; for of the common bread before, it is made a divine influence." In the final division on the Act of Uniformity a bare majority of the bishops voted in its favour.

Was the book ever submitted to Convocation? The records of Convocation were destroyed in the great fire of London (1666); but Heylyn, who saw them, seems to have admitted that there was no trace in the records of any such approval. If the records had been carefully kept, this would be conclusive. But the records do not seem to have been carefully kept. On the other hand, we have a definite statement from Edward in a letter to his sister Mary that the book received the assent of the clergy in their several synods and convocations. Unfortunately we know from the case of the Forty-two Articles (1553) that Edward VI.'s Government did not scruple definitely to assert falsehoods. Perhaps it is safest to conclude that the consent of the Upper House of Convocation was assumed, as the bishops all but unanimously had subscribed to the book, and that the book was unofficially, but not otherwise, brought before the notice of the Lower House. Was the book submitted to Convocation?

If the aim of the first Prayer-Book was to promote internal unity and peace, in the first instance it altogether failed of its effect. The months which followed its enactment were marked by unrest and rebellion among the common people. If the rising in eastern England under Ket was mainly dictated by the hatred of grasping landlords and enclosures, the western rising in Devon and Cornwall can be traced primarily to religious causes. The common people in those districts spoke a dialect of Welsh, and found the English services as unintelligible as those in Latin. They preferred the Latin, not because they understood it, but because its sound was more familiar. The new service seemed to them "but like a Christmas game." These western insurgents desired the restoration in their entirety of the old faith and ancient order. Their ferocity can be gauged by their demand for the restoration of the Six Articles Act, the intelligence of their faith by the demand that the laity should communicate only once a year, and in one kind. The insurrection was easily put down. But among the more intelligent votaries of the old faith dissatisfaction was profound. By the introduction of the ancient ceremonial they tried to assimilate the new liturgy as far as possible to the old service of the Mass. The Government was, however, determined to maintain its ground. Gardiner was kept in the Tower, and Bonner the Bishop of London after preaching a test sermon, was deprived of his bishopric and committed to the Marshalsea. A few days later Warwick had completed his schemes for the destruction of the Protector, and Somerset was sent to the Tower. Warwick was thoroughly unscrupulous and irreligious; but he saw that his power could be more surely established by his adherence to the party of the extreme Protestants.

Coming of  
foreign  
Protes-  
tants.

It will be remembered that as a result of Charles V.'s *Interim*, many Protestant leaders had fled from Germany to England. They were now preferred to important posts.

*Martin Bucer* of Strasburg, a moderate Lutheran, but an anti-ritualist, was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. This position he held till his death in 1551. His *Censura* on the first Book of Common Prayer greatly influenced its revision.

*Peter Martyr*, an Italian, came from Basel, and was made Regius Professor at Oxford. He was a more extreme Protestant than Bucer, and held lower sacramental doctrine.

*Fagius*, a Hebraist from Germany, was made Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, and on his death in November 1549 *Tremellio* succeeded to his post.

*A Lasco*, the Pole, had been superintendent of the Reformed Churches at Emden; he finally fixed his residence at London, where he became Superintendent of the Foreign Protestants. He was very anxious to secure exemption from control by Ridley, the new Bishop of London, and from the use of the Prayer-Book. He is said to have exercised great influence over Cranmer, and to have moved his views on the sacrament in a Zwinglian direction.

*Valerandus Pollanus*, with his company of weavers, left Strasburg, and was given by Somerset the use of the buildings of Glastonbury Abbey.

These foreign Protestants and the leaders of English Protestantism kept up a continuous correspondence with the leaders of foreign Protestantism, such as Calvin at Geneva, and Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli, at Zurich. Now the Protestants, no less than the party of the old faith, though for different reasons, were dissatisfied with the established Prayer-Book. "The rags of popery," in their view, still clung to it. Its sacramental teaching was wrong. "Aaronic vestments" and superstitious ceremonies were retained. Too great concessions, in their eyes, had been made to antiquity and the infirmity of the age. The ink of the book was hardly dry before Cranmer and the Protestant party set about its revision in a Protestant direction.

Meanwhile Parliament held its third session from 4th November 1549 to 1st February 1550. Three Acts of importance were passed; the first ordering the destruction in churches of all images except monumental images of those who had never been reputed saints! the second authorised the appointment of a commission of thirty-two to peruse and make ecclesiastical laws. Similar Acts had been passed in 1534, 1536, 1544; this commission, however, was actually appointed in 1551, and set to work; but the product of its labour, the so-called *Reformatio Legum*, was allowed to remain in MS. till 1571, and never received Parliamentary authorisation. The third Act appointed a commission of twelve to draw up a new Ordinal, and ratified by anticipation their work. In March 1550 the new Ordinal was published. Since the new Ordinal provided no form for admission

Destruction  
of images.

A new  
Ordinal.

to minor orders, these disappeared *uno ictu* from the Church of England; the framers of the Ordinal clearly defined in its preface their purpose to continue the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons as they had existed from apostolic times. The groundwork of the new Ordinal was taken from the old Sarum Pontifical; the ceremony was in many ways simplified, but the essential part of ordination, *i.e.* prayer with imposition of hands by the bishop, was retained. According to the current scholastic view, endorsed by Pope Eugenius IV., the tradition of the instruments (*i.e.* the chalice and paten) was required for valid ordination to the priesthood. But this view cannot be maintained, as the *porrectio instrumentorum* was an innovation introduced not earlier than the tenth century. The framers of the Ordinal, however, retained the ceremony in 1550, though in 1552 in the revised Ordinal it was omitted. They also emphasised in the Ordinal the wider function of the priesthood than that of merely offering sacrifice for the quick and the dead; stress was laid on the pastoral and preaching duties. The priest in his ordination was given the powers of absolution, administering the sacraments, and of preaching the word of God.

Growth of  
Protestant  
influences.

Protestantism under the influence of foreigners now made rapid advances. Nicholas Ridley, one of the more moderate reformers, was in April 1550 translated to the see of London, which had been vacant since the deprivation of Bonner. He immediately began a visitation of his diocese. One of his important injunctions was the order to remove the stone altars, which were closely identified with the old doctrine of transubstantiation, and to set up "the Lord's board after the form of an honest table decently covered." Tables were more suited to the idea of communion. The illegality of this order can hardly be doubted, as the altars were retained by the Act of Uniformity. But this fact did not prevent the Council in November from adopting and transmitting a similar order to the other bishops, and so the altars, the symbols of the old faith, were ruthlessly pulled down all over England. If Ridley was one of the more moderate of the reformers, the leader of the extreme Protestants was Hooper, the so-called "Father of Nonconformity"; for Hooper was unwilling to conform to the amount of ritual which was still retained by the Church of England. Hooper had lived for two years (1547-1549) at

Removal of  
altars.

Hooper.



Zurich with Bullinger, and had imbibed extreme Protestant doctrine. He was not content with the first Book of Common Prayer, though he thought that it might be borne with awhile for the sake of the weaker brethren. His sacramental doctrine was of the "lowest" kind, for he regarded the Holy Communion as a merely memorial service, and therefore denounced kneeling at communion as savouring of idolatry and superstition. His wish was to reduce the ritual of the Church to the severest and simplest form, and to get rid of the "Aaronic vestments" which were still retained. If Ridley symbolised with Bucer, Hooper symbolised with Bullinger and à Lasco.

In 1550 Hooper was offered the bishopric of Gloucester, but such was his hatred of the "Aaronic habits" and the form of the oath of supremacy,<sup>1</sup> that he refused to be consecrated under such conditions. But Cranmer declined to dispense with them, and though the form of oath was modified by the King's order, it was not till Hooper had been committed to the Fleet that he was brought to a more reasonable frame of mind, and finally consecrated (March 1551). Hooper was the first of the English Puritans, of whom we will hear so much from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

It must not be supposed that the leaders of the party of the old faith acquiesced in the changes which were taking place. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, for refusing his consent to the new Ordinal, had been sent to the Fleet in 1550, and deprived in 1551. Day of Chichester had been sent to the Fleet for refusing to order the destruction of altars, and was deprived in 1551. Gardiner was brought before a special commission and deprived (1551) after nearly three years' imprisonment. Tunstall, on a charge of concealing treason, was deprived in 1552. The Princess Mary was no longer allowed the privilege of hearing Mass in her own house. The vacant sees were filled with Protestants. Hooper was appointed to Gloucester and also Worcester, Ponet to Winchester, Scory to Rochester, Coverdale to Exeter. The time was now ripe for a further revision of the Prayer-Book.

In 1550 Cranmer published a book entitled *A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine* of the sacrament. This book, revealing as it did the fact that Cranmer had altogether given up belief in any corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist,

<sup>1</sup> Hooper objected to the invocation of created beings in the oath—"So help me God, all saints, and the holy Evangelist."

Gardiner's  
reply to  
Cranmer.

elicited a reply from the imprisoned Gardiner. The reply was entitled, *An Explication and Assertion of the True Catholic Faith touching the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*, and endeavoured to prove that the doctrine of Cranmer's recently published work was inconsistent with the sacramental doctrine of the first Book of Common Prayer. This controversy had

Its effect.

important influence on the revision of the Prayer-Book; for those parts of the book on which Gardiner fastened as proving that the old faith was to be found in it, were in the revision ruthlessly excised. Thus Gardiner had pointed to the prayer for the living and the dead in the *canon* of the first Prayer-Book, as agreeable to the old idea that the sacrament was offered for the quick and dead. Hence in the new Prayer-Book all prayer for the dead was excised. Gardiner appealed to the words in the Prayer of Consecration, "Sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood, &c.," as agreeable to the ancient faith. In the second Prayer-Book these words were omitted. Gardiner interpreted the Prayer of Humble Access, at which the priest was bidden to kneel, as an act of adoration to the already consecrated sacrament. In the new book the Prayer of Humble Access, was therefore put before the Prayer of Consecration. Gardiner appealed to the Words of Administration in the first book; they were therefore changed to the merely memorial words in the second book (*i.e.* the last sentences in the present form of administration, "Take and eat this in remembrance that," &c. "Drink this in remembrance that," &c.). Gardiner further pointed to the use of the word "altar," and the rubric of the first book, which stated that the "whole body of Christ was present in every portion of the consecrated bread." The word "altar" and the "rubric" were therefore expelled from the new book. In fact, the purpose of the revision was to render it impossible for Gardiner and others to find the old mediæval faith in the new book. There can be little doubt that the leading hand in the work of revision was that of Cranmer. It

Revision of  
Prayer-  
Book.

was conducted under the inspiration of foreign Protestants, Bucer and Martyr in England, Calvin, Bullinger, and others abroad. Bucer, just before his death (February 1551), had finished an elaborate *Censura* of the first Prayer-Book. Most of the changes suggested by him were incorporated in the new book, but indications are not wanting that people who held

lower sacramental doctrine than Bucer had a predominant influence. The second Act of Uniformity (with the second Prayer-Book attached) was passed in the fourth and last session of Edward VI.'s first Parliament (1552). The Act seems to have been a conflation of two Bills which were before Parliament, the one compelling the attendance of the people at the parish services, the other enacting the new service book. After declaring the first Prayer-Book agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church, the Act proceeds to declare that all persons, under pains and penalties, must attend the services. And then, oddly enough, it enacts that the services to be attended are not to be those of the first book, since "doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same" have arisen, "rather by the curiosity of the minister than of any other worthy cause." The second book was therefore appended to the Act as though it were a mere series of emendations of the first book. In reality there were many drastic changes. Some of these have been already mentioned, but others must be indicated.

Second  
Prayer-  
Book, 1552.

1. Vestments other than the surplice for priests and deacons, and the rochet for bishops, were prohibited.

Changes in  
the second  
Prayer-  
Book.

2. To the order for Morning and Evening Prayer the Sentences, Exhortation, General Confession, and Absolution were prefixed.

3. The Communion Service was transformed with the idea of making it as unlike the Roman Mass as possible; for many priests, by using the old ceremonial and speaking the canon in a low voice, had assimilated the two services as far as possible to each other. Besides the changes already indicated, the following have to be noted. The name "mass" as an alternative description of the service was omitted; the table was to be placed in the body of the Church or the Chancel table-wise;<sup>1</sup> the introit was omitted; the Ten Commandments were inserted, and the Kyrie altered to the form it now holds as a response to the Commandments. The Gloria in Excelsis was transferred to the post-communion. No direction of any kind was inserted about the presentation (oblation) of the elements, and therefore the ceremonial mixing of water and wine was omitted. The long prayer of the old canon was broken up; its first part was separated from it, and was described as the

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* east and west; not altar-wise, *i.e.* north and south.

prayer for the Church Militant here in earth. All reference in it to saints departed this life was omitted. Then followed the Invitation, the Confession, the Absolution, the Comfortable Words, which in the first book had been inserted between the long prayer of the canon and the actual administration of the elements. Thus the order of the old Roman Mass was altered out of recognition, and in subsequent revisions this new arrangement has been maintained. From the Ter Sanctus was omitted (probably for doctrinal reasons, as referring to the host), the clause, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." The Consecration Prayer was altered in the way already indicated (see p. 264). The last portion of the "canon" was changed to the position which it now holds immediately after the communion. The Agnus Dei was omitted.

4. Prayers for the dead were omitted from the Burial Service.
5. Anointing was omitted from the Visitation of the Sick.
6. From the Baptismal Service the form of exorcism was deleted.
7. A revised Ordinal which omitted the tradition of the instruments was appended.

Second  
Prayer-  
Book not  
submitted  
to Convoca-  
tion.

This second Prayer-Book had no other authority than an Act of Parliament. It was not in any way the work of Convocation. As the book was passing through the press, an attempt was made to alter it in one important particular; a rubric, following the ancient custom, had directed that the people should receive the sacramental elements kneeling. But the Scotch fanatic, John Knox, now had the ear of Northumberland, and led a crusade against this laudable custom. The Council bade Cranmer consider the question. Cranmer made a spirited reply, stating that the matter had been duly considered, and that it was impossible to go behind the Act of Parliament which had given statutory authorisation to the custom. The Council on its own authority then added to the Prayer-Book what is known as the Black Rubric, explaining the custom of kneeling: "It is not meant thereby that any adoration is done or ought to be done either unto the sacramental bread or wine, or to any *real and essential* presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood." This rubric had no authority either from Parliament or from Convocation. England mercifully escaped from having John Knox for one of

Black  
Rubric.

her bishops. But it was a narrow escape, for he was offered the bishopric of Rochester.

In 1553 the Forty-two Articles (reduced at a later date to thirty-nine) an exposition of the faith of the Church of England on controverted matters, were published on the authority of the Council. By an impudent lie they were said on their title-page to have been agreed on in Convocation. When Cranmer remonstrated, the Council explained that its meaning was that they had been published *in the time of* the Convocation!

The young King's life was rapidly drawing to a close. It does not fall within the scope of this history to tell the story of Northumberland's intrigues to secure the throne for Lady Jane Grey and his son, Guildford Dudley. Moved by a passionate longing to secure England for the Protestant faith, Edward on his deathbed was persuaded to disinherit his sisters and bequeath the crown to Lady Jane Grey. But England was heartily sick of Northumberland and all his ways. In a wave of popular enthusiasm Mary, the rightful heir, was established on the throne of her ancestors.

The  
Forty-two  
Articles.

Death of  
Edward,  
1553.

Edward VI.'s reign had been far from happy. Protestant influence on the Church of England had reached its high-water mark in the second Prayer-Book. But the reign had been marked by plunder and lawlessness; the Church had been robbed of her property, as sees and benefices had been transferred to successive holders. Men had reached a purer doctrine, but the purer doctrine had not as yet been accompanied by greater innocence of life.

Learning languished, and the universities were in a state of decline. Would Mary restore peace to a distracted Church and country? The future was to show.

## APPENDIX IV

### THE SACRIFICIAL ASPECT OF THE HOLY COMMUNION

There is no real ambiguity about the use of the word sacrifice.

1. It may be true—as Professor Robertson-Smith maintained—that the idea at the root of the *primitive* conception of sacrifice was one of communion of fellow-worshippers with their God.

2. It is no doubt true that in the Holy Communion "we offer ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice" to God.

But it is merely to play with words, and to use them in an unnatural sense, if on these grounds we describe the Holy Communion as a sacrifice. Those who love to describe the Holy Communion as a Sacrifice, describe it as such on very different grounds, and with a very different purpose.

3. The sacrifice of Christ on Calvary was, in the words of our Consecration Prayer, "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." This is the doctrine of Holy Scripture. Any attempt to represent that sacrifice as incomplete, and requiring to be supplemented by fresh sacrifices or masses, is in the view of the author unscriptural (see the Epistle to the Hebrews, *passim*) and an encroachment on the prerogative of our Lord. Our Lord, we may imagine (though, indeed, all ideas of time with reference to God ought, as far as possible, to be eliminated), is constantly pleading that sacrifice with His Father in heaven. We on earth in the Sacrament of Holy Communion do in our own way that which we may picture our Lord as doing in heaven—*i.e.* we plead the infinite worth of that one sacrifice on Calvary: if He pleads the sacrifice in heaven, we in the Holy Communion identify ourselves with His action, and call the sacrifice to remembrance before God. On some such ground as this the Holy Communion has been described by some authors as a sacrifice. But to plead a sacrifice is not the same thing as to offer a sacrifice, and nothing but muddle can result from such a confusion of terms.

It follows that in the literal, ordinarily accepted meaning of terms, the Christian system admits neither of priests nor sacrifices. This is the view of such great authorities as Hooker and Lightfoot. Dr. Moberly argued in *Ministerial Priesthood* that the ideal of priesthood and sacrifice should be sought, not in the Judaic, but in the Christian system; that the Holy Communion answers to the sacrifices of Judaism, and in a higher sense than they, deserves the name of sacrifice. The present author does not see that any good, but does see that much evil can result from such a confusion of nomenclature.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE MARIAN REACTION AND THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

HATRED of Northumberland, the conservative instinct of the people, dislike of foreign Protestants, the economic distress, for which the late Government was held responsible, carried Mary to the throne amid tumults of popular applause (1553). After five years this unfortunate lady died, more utterly execrated than any English sovereign, with the possible exception of John. Apart from religion, the Queen was kind and humane; but she was a bigoted Roman Catholic, determined that the Roman faith must be restored at whatever cost, and convinced in truly Spanish fashion that the Almighty must be propitiated by the sacrifice of heretics. No defence can free her memory from the dark shade which rests upon it; for the impulse to persecution came not so much from Gardiner or Philip as from the Queen herself.

Accession  
of Mary,  
1553.

Her  
character.

Her youth had been spoiled by undeserved misfortunes; her temper was soured by the failure to win her husband's and her people's love; she was cheated by a false hope of offspring. All this may be pleaded in her behalf. But when this has been said, she still must stand condemned at the bar of history. The overthrow of the Roman power in England was identified by her with the history of her own misfortunes. The restoration of the Roman power was the great object of her life. Temporarily she succeeded in her aim; but for this very reason her reign represents a back-water in English history, and had no other permanent result than the purifying of the Protestant movement. Her reign can therefore be briefly summarised. At its opening there were three religious parties. There were the convinced Roman Catholics, to whom the Queen herself belonged; there were the extreme Protestants, anxious to reduce English churchmanship to the level of foreign Protestantism; there was, lastly, the middle party, anxious to preserve the Church's Catholicism, but not to restore the papal

Religious  
parties in  
1553.

power. Its standpoint was represented by the Prayer-Book of 1549; but the members of this party were more willing to recognise the Pope if they could retain their Catholicism, than they were to accept reform if it involved the domination of foreign Protestantism. It was the existence of this party which rendered Mary's restoration of papal power possible. It is needless to say that one of the first results of her accession was the release of the imprisoned prelates, Gardiner, Bonner, Day, Heath, and Tunstall. They were restored to their sees, and Gardiner became Lord Chancellor. Most of the foreigners, including Martyr and à Lasco, and many of the English Protestants, left the country. But Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Coverdale, and Hooper manfully stood their ground. A rumour was spread that Cranmer had offered to restore the Mass, but Cranmer scornfully denied it, and offered publicly to prove that "the religion set forth by Edward VI. was more pure and according to God's Word than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years," and that the Mass was opposed to apostolic and primitive Christianity. Those who taunt Cranmer with cowardice should meditate on this offer, which was, all things considered, an extremely brave deed.

Stages in  
Marian  
reaction.

The religious reaction under Mary went through two stages. By the end of 1553 the whole of the Edwardian legislation had been repealed and religion restored to the position it had held at the time of Henry VIII.'s death. In 1554 the Queen was married to her cousin, the Spaniard Philip. The second stage in the reaction was carried through by the Queen's third Parliament (12th November 1554 to 16th January 1555). This Parliament revived all the mediæval laws against heresy, and repealed all the statutes which had been enacted against the Roman See since 1529. Thus the papacy was restored to the whole extent of the power it had exercised before Henry VIII. laid on it his iconoclastic hands. Cardinal Pole was sent as special legate from the Pope; and the Parliament, as representing the English people, knelt down and received absolution from his hands (1554). The only limit to the tide of reaction was set by the vested interests which had been created by the distribution of the monastic lands. Parliament insisted that the possessors of monastic property should be confirmed in their titles, and that this confirmation should be embodied in the identical Act which restored the papal power. This was accordingly done. Gardiner



must have felt himself in an uncomfortable position; the Protestants, by translating his *De Vera Obedientia* written in 1534, took care that he should not forget the important part he had taken under Henry VIII. in overthrowing the papal supremacy, and the way in which he had maintained the illegitimacy of the now reigning Queen. Gardiner died in November 1555. If he had had his way, the Government might have shown greater toleration. But it is a certain fact that he took a leading part in the re-enactment of the cruel heresy laws and in the trial of some of the Protestant martyrs. His death alone saved him from more active participation in the martyrdoms.

Death of  
Gardiner.

The floodgates of persecution were now opened. Cranmer had been found guilty of high treason for the part he had taken in consenting to the dying Edward's request to transfer the crown to Lady Jane Grey. The Queen might have put him to death as a traitor. She desired his death as a heretic, and he was committed to the Tower. The burnings by Mary were horrid and ghastly; but it must not be supposed that, when judged by continental standards, the persecution was a very big affair. The total number of martyrs burned was something like 280. By far the larger number of these were drawn from the dioceses of London and Canterbury; in some dioceses no burning took place at all. This must mean that in the country districts convinced Protestantism was non-existent. It was in the large towns, especially London, that Protestantism had taken root. The diary of Machyn, a London resident, is filled with monotonous records of the burnings in London.

The  
Marian  
persecu-  
tion.

Further, it must be remembered that the idea of religious toleration was as yet unknown. Henry VIII. had burnt some forty heretics; a few Anabaptists had been burnt under Edward VI.; Calvin burnt Servetus at Geneva; the only difference between Mary and the Protestant rulers of England was that Mary was much more logical and thorough in her persecution. All her contemporaries agreed that heresy, as subversive of established order, ought to be stamped out. Mary alone was thoroughgoing in the application of the belief. These 280 martyrdoms were crowded into the last forty-five months of Mary's reign. The average works out at six burnings a month.

The great proportion of the martyrs were drawn from the humbler ranks of life, but the distinguishing feature of the

persecution was the number of eminent men who suffered. Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ferrar, Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer, Dr. Rowland Taylor, and Rogers, the author of the English Bible, crowned their lives with martyrdom. They were men of blameless life, done to death for purely religious reasons. Mary could not plead, like Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, that they were in any way a political danger; they had nothing to do with political intrigue; they based their refusal to conform on the bed-rock of conscience, which they declined to violate, and therefore they suffered. We cannot pass over in complete silence the closing scenes of the lives of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer. In 1554 they had been forced to take part at Oxford in a sham disputation of which the result was a foregone conclusion. They were relegated back to Bocardo prison.

Burnings  
of Latimer  
and Ridley.

In September 1555 Latimer and Ridley were tried before a special court appointed by Cardinal Pole, and condemned on 1st October. On the 16th October the two bishops were burned outside the wall of the city of Oxford on a spot that is now marked by a cross in Broad Street. Ridley's brother had wished to spend the vigil of his martyrdom with him. But Ridley said, "No, no; I mind (God willing) to go to bed and to sleep as quietly to-night as ever I did in my life." The actual martyrdom was mismanaged, for the faggots round Ridley were wet and would not burn, and he suffered untold agonies. Ridley's faggots were lighted first, and it was then that Latimer uttered the memorable and prophetic words, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out." The explosion of the gunpowder which had been tied around their necks before long closed their sufferings. Cranmer had witnessed their martyrdom from the top of Bocardo prison. It was a sight to make the stoutest heart quail. Cranmer as an archbishop was amenable to the jurisdiction of the Pope alone. His trial before Bishop Brooks of Gloucester, sitting as papal commissioner, had been opened in St. Mary's Church on the 12th September 1555. The charges preferred against him were those of adultery (he had married not only one but two wives), perjury (for breaking the oath he had taken to the Pope before his consecration), and heresy. Cranmer refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope;

Trial of  
Cranmer.

he bowed to the royal proctors, but not to the papal delegate. When the trial was concluded, its result was reported to Rome. On the 4th December 1555 the Pope in person solemnly pronounced Cranmer excommunicate, and a week later appointed Cardinal Pole Archbishop of Canterbury.

In February 1556 Bonner, Bishop of London, and Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, went to Oxford as special papal delegates to degrade Cranmer. Clad in mock archiepiscopal robes, he was brought before his judges in Christ Church Cathedral; the humiliating ceremony prescribed by the Church was gone through; the insignia of his seven orders, from the highest to the lowest, were one by one taken from him; first the pall, then the mitre and crozier, and the rest in order. Bonner, to the grief of Thirlby, acted with great brutality, and then reviled the degraded Primate with words of bitter mockery. Cranmer, now a mere layman, was sent back to prison, though he was shortly afterwards allowed the greater freedom of the deanery. The Government had not, however, done with him; prospects were held out, that if he recanted, his life might even yet be spared. And then Cranmer fell. His first four recantations were mere declarations of his submission to the authority of the Crown. As the King and Queen had restored the papal power, true to his principle, that submission to the temporal power was right, he would submit. But in his fifth recantation he anathematised the heresies of Luther and Zwingli, and declared his belief in the One Church, outside of which there was no salvation. He recognised the Pope as its supreme head, and declared his belief in transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, and purgatory. A sixth recantation in terms still more humiliating was wrung from him. The Government thought that it had at last got the object of its desire. Would the Reformation stand, when its chief prophet had cursed it? Mary had no thought of sparing his life; she bitterly hated him both as the man who had annulled her mother's marriage, and as the chief author of the heresy which had overspread her country. The 21st March 1556 was fixed for the day of his burning. St. Mary's Church at Oxford has witnessed no more memorable scene than it witnessed on that day. Cranmer was set on a platform opposite the pulpit. It was understood that he was to make a declaration of his belief in the doctrine of the Roman Church. The sermon ended, Cranmer was called upon to state

Recantation by Cranmer.

Cranmer at St. Mary's on the morning of his martyrdom.

his faith. According to the programme arranged by his enemies, Cranmer began by asking the congregation to pray for him. He then knelt down and poured forth his heart in prayer.

“ O Father of Heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost proceeding from them both, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both heaven and earth more grievously than any tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither should I flee for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no refuge or succour. What shall I do, then? Shall I despair? God forbid. O good God, Thou art merciful and refusest none that cometh unto Thee for succour. To Thee therefore do I run; to Thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for Thy great mercy. O God the Son, this great mystery was not wrought (that God became man) for few or small offences; nor didst Thou give Thy Son unto death, O God the Father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return unto Thee with a penitent heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy; for although my sins be great, yet Thy mercy is greater. And I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for Thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby and for Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ's sake.” He recited the Lord's Prayer; and then exhorted the people not to set their minds on the things of this world. He bade them obey the King and Queen, and show brotherly love to each other, and charity to the poor. He then proceeded:—

“ And now forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past and all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up, I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.”

He recited the Creed, and continued: “ I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our

Saviour Jesus Christ, His Apostles, and prophets in the New and Old Testaments."

"But now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience more than anything that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth" (thus far Cranmer had followed the plan of procedure prescribed by his enemies, but he then continued after a fashion very different from that which they had intended), "which now here I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester; the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face."

Cranmer withdraws his recantation.

This speech fell like a bomb among the assembled congregation. "Stop the heretic's mouth," cried the preacher, Dr. Cole, "and take him away." In a tumult the archbishop was hurried off to the place of execution; the fire was kindled, and as the flames shot up, Cranmer, with triumphant steadfastness, thrust his hand into the flames and held it there. He seemed, we are told, to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and with the words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," he breathed his last. The martyrdom of the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury burnt into the life of the English people the hatred of popery which has since marked its history. The torch which Ridley and Latimer had lighted was not quenched, as Papists hoped, but burnt with increasing vehemence.

His martyrdom.

The present writer has not scrupled to lay bare the weakness that marked several incidents in Cranmer's career. They were more than expiated by the triumphant agony of his death. It was a Papist eye-witness who wrote that Cranmer's patience

in the torment, his courage in dying could have been matched with the fame of any Father of ancient time.

The Protestant movement was purified in the fire of suffering ; the bonfires of Smithfield and Oxford wiped out all memory of the rapacity of Edward's Protestant councillors. Execrated by her people, Mary died (17th November 1558), and within twelve hours of her death Cardinal Pole followed her to the grave. All England turned to meet the rising star, Elizabeth.

Death of  
Mary and  
Cardinal  
Pole.

Accession  
of Eliza-  
beth, 1558.

Her  
character.

The new Queen furnished a striking contrast to her predecessor. She had none of Mary's fanaticism. From her father she had inherited strength of will and the power of governing men. Like him, she kept her finger on the pulse of her people ; and with wonderful intuition she divined their secret longings and ideals ; instinctive sympathy kept them one. The " spacious times " of Queen Elizabeth appealed both to their hearts and to their purses. From her grandfather the new Queen had inherited powers of craft and diplomacy ; a double portion of Henry VII.'s guile had descended to his granddaughter. In the sphere of international politics, Elizabeth made lying a really fine art. A great big royal lie, if it served her purpose, never made her pause. This instinctive guile had been fostered by the experiences of her early life. As the daughter of Anne Boleyn, she had during the later years of Henry VIII. been the representative of a discredited policy. Neither Papist nor Protestant could regard her as born in lawful wedlock. In Edward's reign her first essays in love were unfortunate ; for her unhappy lover had been sent to the block. Throughout the reign of Mary her position had been one of extreme peril ; imprisonment had been her lot, and the block had seemed to loom ahead in no distant future. Hence her character had been formed by her experiences. In such an environment only the fittest could survive ; and the fittest were not those who led forlorn hopes, or tried to scale impossible heights, but those who knew self-mastery, caution, dissimulation ; the avoidance of enthusiasms, the shunning of extremes, the leaving open possible lines of retreat—these were the qualities which enabled Elizabeth to survive. These were the qualities which made her reign such a triumphant political success. For her perils did not cease with her accession to the English throne. Personal perils of a new kind supervened ; but they were as nothing when compared with the national dangers through

which she had to guide her people. When her subjects saw her surmount these perils one by one, they came to regard her as a living Providence. Her success was largely due to her dissimulation. She wished to remain a "virgin queen," wedded to her people; but if the political barometer required it, she would dangle the prospect of her hand before a Hapsburg archduke or a French prince. She would kiss the English Bible as the book she loved best in all the world, but she would retain the crucifix and the altar lights in her own chapel. She would tell a cardinal that her beliefs were simply those of the old faith, yet Calvin would know that they were hardly different from his own.

We cannot realise the architectonic skill of Elizabeth's church building unless we understand the perils which surrounded her. These must be briefly indicated.

1. There was the danger of civil war. The internecine strife of Catholic and Protestant had already ravaged Germany. An uneasy truce had supervened, but within two generations Germany was once more to be desolated by the flames of religious war. The history of France throughout Elizabeth's reign was a record of almost continuous religious strife between the Huguenots and Catholics. There was every possibility that England, no less than Germany and France, might become the scene of desolating religious war. But this was not all.

2. The era which follows is known as that of the Counter-reformation. The spirit of the Counter-reformation was aggressive. The Roman Church was up and doing. For one thing, the Popes, in the graphic phrase of Sir J. Seely, had been "reconverted to Christianity." They were no longer dilettante artists playing with infidelity and worse, but men of strong religious faith and purpose. The Council of Trent, which held its final sittings in 1563, gave the Roman Church a clearly defined creed and some practical reforms. The "Index" of prohibited books, which to-day awakens the laughter even of Roman Catholics, did not in those days simply advertise and increase a book's sale, but was effectively used to check the free progress of thought and learning. A still more drastic instrument was found in the *Inquisition*, which was set up for the Universal Church in 1542. A more honourable cause for the victories which awaited the Counter-reformation was

the revival of learning within the Roman fold. But the most potent engine of all was the rise of the new religious orders, especially the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), founded by Ignatius Loyola. The Jesuits took the most active share in the conquests effected by Roman Catholicism. The Jesuits were fired by a living faith, and if the history of their order hardly entitles them to claim the innocency of the dove, it certainly entitles them to claim the wisdom of the serpent. Ignatius is said to have recommended them "more prudence and less piety" rather than "more piety and less prudence." He has been more fortunate than some founders in the obedience of his followers. But as missionaries, and as educators, and as preachers the Jesuits have done devoted, and often heroic, work. Their greatest work for the Counter-reformation was educational. They re-won the children for the Roman Church.

(3) Hostility of foreign states.

3. But the Counter-reformation did not depend simply on spiritual or intellectual weapons. It had big battalions behind it. Was not the King of France the eldest son of the Church? Philip was the lord of Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, the master of armies and navies, and was he not a fanatical Romanist? It seemed inconceivable that these foreign powers would quietly allow a Protestant settlement to establish itself in the British Isles, and yet this actually happened, for reasons which will presently be indicated. But right down to the defeat of the Armada in 1588 England never breathed freely. She was in constant danger of invasion, especially after 1570, when Pius V. issued his bull deposing Elizabeth, and releasing her subjects from their allegiance to her.

(4) Queen's title to throne doubtful.

4. Moreover Elizabeth's title to the throne was not uncontested. In the eyes of Catholics, at any rate, as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, she was illegitimate. In Mary Queen of Scots (who was also for a year, 1559-1560, Queen of France), an excellent alternative was to be found. It had been the dream of Englishmen since the thirteenth century to create a United Great Britain. Mary as Queen of both countries would have united the two countries. But the union would inevitably have been on the basis of Roman Catholicism, not Protestantism.

These considerations will show the perilous position in which Elizabeth found herself at her accession. She defeated the Counter-reformation in spite of its accumulated advantages.



But she held many trump cards in her hand, and without them she could never have won, as she did, the diplomatic game. It is not part of our task to trace the history of this game at any length; it will be sufficient to indicate the troubles which confronted both the King of France and Philip in their own dominions; they were fomented, if not instigated, by Elizabeth. French strength was dissipated by the Huguenot wars; Philip had to withstand the ravages of the Turks, the revolt of the Moors, and the rebellion of the Dutch. More important still was the intense antagonism that existed between the Hapsburg and the Valois dynasties. In the critical years that followed Elizabeth's accession, Philip's own interests ruthlessly demanded that Elizabeth should be helped against any attempt of the French to bring England within their orbit by setting Mary on Elizabeth's throne. Another fact of crucial importance was the rise of the great reformation party in Scotland. Hitherto the national party in Scotland had always been philo-French, for the simple reason that Scotland constantly feared the designs of England on her independence, and therefore clung to the alliance of France, England's hereditary foe. But religion showed itself—as often in this century—a stronger force than nationalism. It proved the solvent of the old Franco-Scottish alliance. The "Congregation of Jesus Christ" had been formed in 1557, and the Scots were busily engaged, under the leadership of John Knox, in overthrowing the papal "Antichrist," and demolishing root and branch the old faith. Monastic spoil was glutting the appetite of robber lords. Mary and her French kinsfolk found themselves the heads of a dwindling party. The anti-French and Protestant "Congregation" became the national party, and the nationalists in their danger threw themselves into the arms of England. Elizabeth and her wise minister Cecil had the sagacity to see the critical nature of the change and the possibilities of the situation. Scotland had always been the fulcrum by which France put dangerous pressure upon England. If the nationalist party in Scotland had remained philo-French, France and the Counter-reformation might have imposed Mary Queen of Scots on England as her Queen, and Roman Catholicism upon the English people. The Protestant settlement in England owed its safety to the victory of Calvinism in Scotland. The two Protestant Churches established in England and Scotland depended for security on each other. And therefore, though

Elizabeth's  
points of  
vantage.

Rise of re-  
formation  
party in  
Scotland.

Nationalist  
party in  
Scotland  
philo-  
English.

Elizabeth helps the Scotch Protestant rebels.

Elizabeth hated rebels, though for good reason she detested John Knox and all his ways, she took the decisive step of helping rebels against their lawful sovereign, fanatic Protestants against the old faith; in other words, she sent an army and fleet to help the Scotch rebels (January 1560). The result was that the French garrison was expelled and Protestantism left triumphant (July 1560). The "Lords of the Congregation" were free to enjoy the plunder of Church wealth, the national party was attached to England, and Mary on her return from France to Scotland found herself checkmated.

Return of Puritan refugees.

We have anticipated events in England. The most important question that Elizabeth had to face at her accession was the religious settlement. But it bristled with difficulties. If many Catholics had been alienated by the atrocities of the preceding reign, there was no doubt that a large minority, if not the majority, of the people was attached to the forms of the old faith. On the other hand, the Protestant refugees were flocking back from the Continent. At Zurich, at Frankfort, at Geneva, they had drunk in Protestantism in undiluted form. It was a matter of current knowledge that the English refugees at Frankfort had quarrelled among themselves, the more moderate party, under Dr. Cox, wishing to maintain Edward VI.'s second Prayer-Book, while the extremer section, under John Knox, desired to substitute a "purer" form of worship. Calvin himself thought that "the fooleries" of the Prayer-Book might be tolerated awhile, but the quarrels waxed so fierce that Knox was finally expelled from Frankfort and went to Geneva. These Puritan refugees, representing many different grades of moderate and immoderate views, were now returning to England. The greater number of them regarded Edward VI.'s second Prayer-Book as a mere half-way house towards reform. They wished to get rid of the "Aaronic vestments" and the other "rags of popery" which in their view still clung to the Church of England. Elizabeth was in a difficult position, being pushed by both extremes. The Puritans wished for a settlement that would have broken the historic continuity of the ancient English Church, and reduced her formularies of faith and her government to that of continental Protestantism. The Romanists wished to retain the Marian settlement; the Pope let it be known that such a little impediment as the Queen's illegitimacy could easily be got over, if only she would conform to his wishes;

the cunning of the Papal Chancery would be equal to the situation. Nay, it would seem that even after the new Prayer-Book had been authorised, the Pope was willing to ratify it as correct in doctrine and discipline, if the Queen would receive it at his hands and recognise him as the vicar of Christ.

What, meanwhile, was the Queen's own view? Elizabeth was not a spiritually-minded person. But the circumstances of her birth, her early life, her learning, her lofty ideas of kingship, led her irresistibly towards Protestantism. She was resolved to be "over all causes, and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil, throughout her dominions supreme." Her religious position might be defined as that of a Protestant with a taste for ornaments and incense. She was not long in making it clear that whatever else the settlement might be, it would be Protestant, *i.e.* antipapal. She did not re-accredit Mary's ambassador to the Vatican. She added to the royal style an "et cetera" which seemed to portend a revival of the title of Supreme Head. Within six weeks of her accession she directed the bishop who was to celebrate Mass before her on Christmas Day that he was not to elevate the Host. When the bishop persisted, the Queen got up and pointedly left the chapel. On Easter Day, before the Act of Uniformity had been passed, the Queen received the communion in both kinds. It was fortunate that the hand of death had been busy among the Marian bishops. Five sees were vacant at her accession; Cardinal Pole died within a few hours; and before the end of the year no fewer than eleven out of a total of twenty-seven sees had been vacated by death. Of those bishops who survived, none was a man of first-rate calibre. But the Queen did not intend to countenance unauthorised changes. On the 27th December 1558 she issued a proclamation in which she forbade preaching—as it bred contention—till changes should be authorised by herself and Parliament. But in the same proclamation she directed that the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Litany, the Ten Commandments, the Gospel, and the Epistle should be recited in English. With these exceptions the old services should be continued till further order. The Roman Mass was therefore to remain the legal service for some six months longer.

The coronation was celebrated on 15th January 1559. The actual ceremony was performed by Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, since Heath, the Archbishop of York, and others had

Elizabeth decides on a Protestant settlement.

Her coronation.

Religious settlement effected in defiance of Convocation, 1559.

refused to officiate. The Queen's first Parliament met on the 25th January, and was not dissolved before 8th May 1559. The religious settlement embodied in the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity was effected by it. One feature stands clearly out. It was a laymen's settlement, carried through by the State in defiance of the bishops and Convocation, and forced upon the reluctant clergy. The new arrangements and the new Prayer-Book received no authorisation whatever from Convocation. This is no matter of surprise, for the bishops who formed the Upper House of Convocation were all creatures of the Marian reaction. The two Houses of Convocation passed resolutions approving the doctrine of the Mass and affirming the papal supremacy. The bishops presented the protest to the Government, 28th February. During the Easter recess a solemn disputation was held in the abbey between champions of the old and of the reformed faiths. The Romanist champions raised difficulties over procedure, and finally refused to continue the discussion. Their withdrawal contributed to the discredit of their cause among moderate men. Meanwhile the Government had not clearly made up its own mind over the form the Supremacy Bill should take; in its earlier drafts it seems to have retained the title of Supreme Head, and to have prescribed the full penalties of high treason for denying the Queen this title. In the form in which it was finally passed (29th April) the Queen was only given the title of Supreme Governor. About the same time the Act of Uniformity also passed through Parliament. If the Queen had been free to make her own choice, she would probably have preferred to restore the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. But the rapid ebb of "Catholic" sentiment had left the first Prayer-Book stranded high and dry. Elizabeth could not have found Protestant bishops willing to enforce its use. Hence it was that the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity revived the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. with only three considerable alterations. A new table of lessons was affixed, the clause in the Litany praying for deliverance "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities" was very properly omitted as out of harmony with the spiritual level on which the Litany moves; the words in the administration of the Holy Communion were altered to the present form, which combines the sentences used respectively in the Prayer-Books of 1549 and 1552. In conformity with a

Act of Uniformity, 1559.

Elizabethan Prayer-Book.

clause of the Act, the famous ornaments rubric was prefixed Ornaments rubric. to the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, commanding "that the minister at the time of the communion and at all other times in his ministration shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book."<sup>1</sup> Thus all the vestments prescribed by the Prayer-Book of 1549 were restored as the legal apparel of the minister, till further order should be taken.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, a significant fact that no attempt was made to make this rubric or the corresponding clause of the Act operative. There is no evidence that the chasuble was ever worn after 1559. Copes were worn in some places, but it soon became very difficult to enforce even the wearing of the surplice.

The Act of Uniformity proceeded to lay down that any person using any other form of public prayer, or abetting one who did so, or depraving the new book, should be liable to penalties culminating in deprivation and imprisonment for life. Those who failed to attend church on Sundays and holy days were to be fined one shilling for each offence. The due administration of the Act was entrusted to Justices of Assize and Justices of the Peace as well as to the bishops.

The Elizabethan Act of Supremacy took the form of reviving Act of Sup em- acy, 1559. the Acts of Henry VIII. which had been repealed by Mary. The only important Act of Henry VIII. which was not revived was the Act concerning the style of Supreme Head.<sup>3</sup>

The Queen preferred the title of Supreme Governor as more Title of "Supr me Governor." scriptural. The Act of Supremacy prescribed an oath which had to be taken by all holders of office, lay and spiritual, that according to their conscience the Queen was "Supreme Governor

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix V. at end of chapter.

<sup>2</sup> The author rejects as inconceivable the view which would maintain that the ornaments rubric is a "fraud" rubric based on a wilful misinterpretation of the clause in the Act of Uniformity. It is impossible really to maintain that the words of the Act "shall be retained and be in use" = "shall be detained for Her Majesty's pleasure and *not* be used." The sanity of a man who meant the one and wrote the other might reasonably be questioned.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted, however, that in one of the Acts of Henry VIII. which was revived—37 Henry VIII. c. 17, that concerning the doctors of the civil law—the Sovereign was declared "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England." It is an arguable position that the Sovereign was still legally "Supreme Head" of the Church till the Statute Law Revision Act, 1863. See Maitland in *English Historical Review*, July 1903.

in all causes, spiritual as well as temporal, and that no foreign prince or prelate had or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within the realm."

By proclamation the Queen explained that by this title she did not claim power of ministry of divine offices in the Church, but only the authority that was claimed and used by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. She certainly intended to claim as much as they. In 1563 it was enacted that the oath should also be taken by members of the House of Commons and others. By section 7 the Act of Supremacy abolished the papal jurisdiction or any manner of such pre-eminence within the realm. By section 8 the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction was forever "united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm." The Crown was also given an indefinite power of visiting and correcting heresies, abuses, and offences, &c., "which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power . . . can or may be lawfully reformed." To exercise this visitatorial and corrective power, the Queen was empowered to assign "such person or persons . . . as your Majesty shall think fit." Clearly the text of the Act would have allowed the Queen no less than Henry VIII. to appoint a vicar-general. As a matter of fact, she always issued such commissions to a number of people, and the group of commissions issued under the authority of this section of the Act came to be known as the Court of High Commission. By section 14 penalties culminating in those of high treason for the third offence were imposed on those who avowedly maintained the papal claims. That the credentials of the Church are derived from a source far other than an Act of Parliament was incidentally testified by section 20, which declared that commissions appointed under the Act should be guided in any further definition of heresy by Holy Scripture, or by the first four general councils or by other general councils on the plain authority of Scripture, or by an Act of Parliament *with the assent of Convocation*.

Court of  
High Com-  
mission.

The thirty-  
nine  
Articles,  
1571.

As an appendage to the ecclesiastical settlement, it may be conveniently mentioned at this place that in 1563 the Articles of 1553 (see p. 267) were reduced to thirty-nine and approved by Convocation. In a slightly modified form they received the royal assent in 1571, while Parliament in the same year ordered their subscription by the clergy. Thus from the year 1571 the

Articles have been imposed as a test upon the clergy. They have never been binding on the laity. In this same year an abortive attempt was made to give parliamentary authority to the *Reformatio Legum* (see p. 261). It will be remembered that this was the work of an Edwardian commission, and an attempt to create a new body of ecclesiastical law for the English Church. But it was conceived in a narrow Puritan spirit. We may be thankful that it did not pass into law.

In defiance of the episcopal vote in the House of Lords and the vote of Convocation, a Protestant settlement had been effected by the lay power in the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. To see that it was carried out, a royal visitation was begun in June 1559.<sup>1</sup> Commissioners (many of them laymen) were sent into the different dioceses with Her Majesty's injunctions. Their chief duty was to administer the oath of supremacy and enforce the use of the new Prayer-Book. The injunctions were for the most part an adaptation of the Edwardian injunctions. The superstitious use of images and relics was denounced; sermons and Bible-reading were encouraged; shrines, pictures, paintings were to be destroyed, "so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere." . . . The stone altars (which were closely identified with the old doctrine of transubstantiation) were to be destroyed, and wooden tables to be substituted for them under the superintendence of the parish clergy and churchwardens. Clearly Elizabeth, unlike some English churchmen of a later age, had no doubt about the Protestant nature of the new régime. The Marian bishops remained stubborn supporters of obscurantist mediævalism. Before the end of November 1559 they had all been deprived for refusing to take the oath, with the exception of Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, and John Salisbury, the Bishop of Sodor and Man; even Tunstall, the great Bishop of Durham, finally refused the oath. He might perhaps have submitted to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, but the result as embodied in the visitation made it impossible for him conscientiously to accept the new order of things. The deprived bishops were either sent to prison or billeted on their successors.

The minor clergy were, however, easily reconciled to the Elizabethan settlement. It is calculated that during the years 1559-1564 not more than two hundred clergy were deprived altogether under the Act. From the governmental point of

Royal Injunctions of 1559.

Destruction of images and altars.

Marian bishops deprived.

All clergy except two hundred accept the settlement.

view, the key of the situation lay in the introduction of the Prayer-Book. That the thought of men shall not be tried was an old maxim of English law. The Queen had no intention of making thoughts criminal. Would it be possible to get the Prayer-Book into actual use all over England? Could the people be induced to attend the authorised services and no other? This was the problem for the Government. Perhaps the people had the taste to appreciate the literary beauty of the service; perhaps the moderation of the book and the Englishman's love of compromise carried the day. Whatever the reason, the Government very soon got the book, except in the one matter of the ornaments, into actual use all over England.

Meanwhile provision had been made for filling the vacant sees. It will be remembered that Cardinal Pole had within a few hours followed Queen Mary to the grave. The metropolitan see of Canterbury was to remain vacant for over a year. But already in May 1559 the Queen's choice for the vacant archbishopric had fallen on Matthew Parker. Matthew Parker was a very learned and business-like man. He had been a chaplain to Henry VIII., and had risen to be Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. During Mary's reign he had lived in obscurity, but he was now called by Elizabeth to fill the most exalted position in the Church. It was only with extreme reluctance that Parker accepted the difficult post. His health was weak; the anxieties and responsibilities of the Metropolitan during these critical years could not but be heavy. To Parker's statesmanship, learning, and moderation the English Church owes an enormous debt. On 18th July 1559 the Queen issued a *congé d'élire* to the chapter of Canterbury. On 1st August Parker was elected by the chapter; on 9th September the Queen issued a commission for the confirmation and consecration of the Archbishop-elect to Bishops Tunstall of Durham, Bourne of Bath and Wells, Poole of Peterborough, Kitchen of Llandaff, Barlow, and Scory. On the refusal of the first three to comply, a fresh commission for the purpose was issued to Kitchen Bishop of Llandaff, Barlow the ex-Bishop of Bath and Wells, Scory the ex-Bishop of Chichester, Coverdale the ex-Bishop of Exeter, Hodgkins the suffragan of Bedford, Salisbury the suffragan of Thetford, and Bale of Ossory. On the 17th December Parker was consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace by Barlow, Scory, Hodgkins, and Coverdale. Of these men Barlow and Hodgkins

Matthew  
Parker  
appointed  
Arch-  
bishop.

Conse-  
cra-  
tion of  
Parker.



had been consecrated by the rites of the old Roman Pontifical, Coverdale and Scory by the rites of the Ordinal of 1550. Parker was fully aware of the importance of observing all the proper rites, so as to maintain the apostolic succession in the English Church. He therefore caused an elaborate account of the forms observed in his consecration to be drawn up; from it we know that he was consecrated according to the forms of the Ordinal of 1552, and that he received the imposition of hands and commission from all four of the consecrating bishops. Within the next few months Parker consecrated eleven new bishops, including Grindal to London, and Jewel to Salisbury. Thus, though a number of sees were still vacant, the English Church had once more a fair complement of bishops.

But the country as a whole was in a state of spiritual destitution. Many churches were in ruin; parishes were often altogether without priests; where there were priests, they were often "dumb dogs," who seldom preached. Learning in these days of religious distraction had sunk to a low ebb; the universities were depleted; the plunder of Church property made it impossible for many parishes to support their clergy; patrons abused their trust to appoint lay retainers to Church freeholds. The Queen herself set the bad example of plundering still further the Church lands.

Spiritual  
destitution  
of country.

Many bishops were not themselves spiritually minded; absenteeism and pluralities were everywhere rife. To meet the spiritual destitution, the bishops ordained enormous numbers of priests. But these newly ordained ministers were often illiterate and useless for the work. As a temporary expedient laymen were appointed in many parishes to read the public prayers. Sometimes these readers gave much trouble and were with difficulty prevented from administering the sacraments and preaching. In other cases ministers who had no episcopal ordination, but had been "called" to the ministry in the reformed churches of Germany and Switzerland, were admitted to English cures. This was only rendered impossible after 1662. The condition of the English Church during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign does not present a pleasing picture. But no short cut to reform was open. Improvement was only possible through the maintenance of peace and the gradual raising of standards both in intellectual and spiritual life. If the English Church could only be maintained against the reactionary forces

of Rome and the narrowing influence of Puritanism, learning and spiritual life were bound to revive. They did so under the influence of the open Bible, the Prayer-Book, the writings of Hooker, and the theology of the Caroline divines.

We have reached a point at which we may well review the work that had been accomplished in the momentous years which separated the Elizabethan settlement from the meeting of the Reformation Parliament in 1529.

The  
Church of  
England  
not a State  
Church,

1. The Church of England is not, and never has been, a State Church. She cannot be reduced to a department of the Civil Service. She existed in these islands long before there was a united State of England. She drew her credentials from our Lord Himself, her frame of government from the apostolic Church. The State did not establish the Church; it would be more true to say that the Church established the State. When the united State of England first emerged under the descendants of Alfred, she found the Church already occupying the field. In the centuries which followed, as both Church and State were trying in different ways and with different purposes to regulate the life of Englishmen, collisions inevitably occurred; the State, having physical, and sometimes moral, force behind its claims, encroached on and often rightly limited the Church's power. It did so in pre-Reformation times, and it did so again at the era of the Reformation. But it never claimed that the credentials of the Church or the spiritual powers of its ministry were in any sense derived from itself. Time and again, implicitly and explicitly, the State has recognised the Church of England in the successive stages of its history as the local presence of the Church of Christ. It did so at the Reformation. It does so to-day; it can, if so it will, withdraw that recognition—there is One who judgeth—but it cannot do more. The Church of England, undaunted and without thought of compromise, will maintain her ancient claim.

nor a crea-  
tion of  
Henry  
VIII. and  
Elizabeth.

2. The Church of England as settled at the Reformation was not a new Church created by Henry and Elizabeth. We hear this abundantly from Romanists and degenerate Nonconformists. It was not the view of Henry VIII. nor Elizabeth, who did not intend "to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom." It was not the view of the Puritan

divines who served in the ministry of the Elizabethan Church. It might be sufficient to point to the roll of the archbishops, Warham, Cranmer, Pole, Parker (of whom the first and third are reckoned as Romanists, the second and fourth as Protestants) as one of many proofs of historic continuity. But really the matter admits of easy solution; all questions of identity or continuity are determined by the relative importance of the constant and the varying elements. For identity is always compatible with a certain amount of difference. If the acceptance of the jurisdiction and supremacy of the Roman Bishop and of the theory of transubstantiation is the all-important criterion of a "church," then *cadit quæstio*. But no Protestant would dream of such an admission. The claims of the Pope were rejected absolutely as an unwarrantable usurpation; transubstantiation was rejected as repugnant to Scripture. On the other hand, the Church of England retained her apostolic framework of government, and remained a missionary church to the English people, duly administering the sacraments and preaching the word of God. She rejected the mediæval accretions which had disfigured the beauty of her form, but she no more lost her identity by so doing than (to use a famous comparison) a man loses his identity by washing smudges from his face.

3. The Elizabethan settlement was both Catholic and Protestant. It was Catholic because it was based on the Bible and the usages of the primitive Church. The reformers rightly maintained that mediæval accretions could not be Catholic because they were unknown to the primitive Church. The settlement was Protestant, not only because it rejected the papal claims, but also because it rejected those doctrines and points of church order which were characteristically mediæval. Thus transubstantiation, private masses for the dead, the whole theory and practice of indulgences, the withholding of the cup from the laity, compulsory confession, compulsory celibacy of the clergy, the doctrine of purgatory, were rejected. A purer faith and practice were laid down.

4. The Elizabethan settlement was intended to be comprehensive and embrace the whole English people. It was therefore drawn in such a way as to satisfy the religious needs of all but extreme Romanists and extreme Puritans. Lord Chatham once declared that the Church of England had "an Arminian clergy, a Calvinistic creed, and a Catholic liturgy."

This description is not exactly true, but it bears witness to the fact that the Prayer-Book is drawn in such a way that people of divergent views can conform to it. The methods of patronage keep the clergy in touch with lay feeling, the services are largely drawn from ancient Catholic sources, and Calvinism has had considerable influence on the form of the Thirty-nine Articles.

Another instance of the comprehensive nature of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book may be found in the attempt to conciliate different shades of thought by combining the sentences used in the Prayer-Books of 1549 and 1552 in the administration of the sacramental elements. Similarly many of the articles, *e.g.* that on predestination, are studiously vague, while others, such as that on the Church, are drawn in a way susceptible of different interpretations by varying schools of thought.

The Church of England glories in her comprehensiveness.

5. The constitutional position of the Church of England as fixed at the Reformation can briefly be defined.

(a) Her relation to Parliament was this: Parliament since its formation at the close of the thirteenth century had repeatedly by legislation restricted and limited the ecclesiastical power. This was done again, but in more drastic fashion, at the Reformation. The King in Parliament, according to the theory of the constitution, has the right to legislate in every sphere of the nation's life. Their right to legislate for the Church is morally limited by the actual history of the Church and the essential nature of the Church's claims. Elizabeth had no intention of allowing the Houses of Parliament to legislate for the Church at their own mere will. In the Act of Supremacy a relative independence in the definition of doctrine was allowed to Convocation; the history of the reign shows that Elizabeth would not permit the House of Commons to override Convocation by ecclesiastical Bills. The Queen's theory was that she and Convocation should legislate for the Church, just as she and Parliament legislated for the nation. A problem full of difficulty for our own generation has been created by the fact that while the King's headship over Parliament has become constitutional, no satisfactory arrangement has been made for the exercise of a *constitutional* supremacy over the Church. It should be added that since the Reformation the spiritual peers have become an ever smaller minority in the House of Lords.

Changes in the constitutional position of the Church at the Reformation. (a) Church and Parliament.

(b) Convocation, *i.e.* the Church's legislature, was made dependent on the Crown (see pp. 216, 219). (b) Convocation.

(c) The law administered in the ecclesiastical courts was henceforth such parts of the old canon law as were not repugnant to the law of the land, the King's ecclesiastical injunctions as Supreme Governor, and any new canons which received the royal assent. But these latter, by a decision of the lay judges in James I.'s reign, are not binding on the laity unless confirmed by Parliament. The "law of the Church" is to-day in a state of confusion, because the two agencies by which any body of law is kept in touch with contemporary needs are non-existent. There is no legislature, and there is no bar. Impediments placed in the way have made Convocation's power to legislate nugatory; while the impossibility of gaining a lucrative career as a barrister in ecclesiastical courts has led to the neglect of ecclesiastical law. Much of the law of the Church is obsolete. No one knows how much. (c) Law.

(d) The supreme court of ecclesiastical appeal was henceforth till 1832 the Court of Delegates (see p. 219), and after 1832 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Court of High Commission exercised concurrently the functions of a supreme ecclesiastical court till its abolition by the Long Parliament in 1641. (d) Courts.

(e) Bishops were nominated by the *congé d'élire* system (see p. 220). (e) Election of bishops.

Thus the constitutional position of the Church was considerably modified.

6. The chief boons which we owe to the Reformation are the open Bible, the services in the vernacular English, and the reduction of the faith in the light of first principles to a purer and more primitive form. Blessings of Reformation.

## APPENDIX V

### HISTORY AND MEANING OF ORNAMENTS RUBRIC

1. The clause in the Act of Uniformity, 1559, enacts "that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as was in the Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King

Edward VI. until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty with the advice of her commissioners, appointed and authorised under the Great Seal of England, for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this realm."

Though the first Act of Uniformity did not receive royal assent till the third year of Edward VI., it is as nearly certain as anything can be, that the ornaments authorised by the Act are those of the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. The ornaments of the minister thus prescribed were therefore the white alb with a vestment (*i.e.* chasuble) or cope at the administration of the Holy Communion, and a surplice at other times of ministry.

2. This clause of the Act was never enforced; there is no evidence at all that the chasuble was ever worn after 1559 till recent times; we know that both chasubles and copes were often destroyed. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that copes were sometimes used. The ordinary clergyman never aspired to any ecclesiastical dress except the surplice. Many Puritan clergy objected even to the surplice, and therefore even the wearing of a surplice was not strictly enforced.

3. *Parker's Advertisements* of 1566 were an attempt to enforce a minimum. They were directed primarily against the Puritans, not the wearers of vestments. They directed—(a) that in cathedrals and collegiate churches copes should be used at the celebration of Holy Communion, and surplices at other services; (b) that in parish churches the minister at all rites should use the surplice.

But though Parker's action was taken at the instigation of the Queen, and though the Advertisements were held to be a taking of further order within the meaning of the Act of 1559 by the judgment of the Privy Council in *Ridsdale v. Clifton*, 1877, this view has been called in question by some High Churchmen. The Queen was unwilling herself to authorise the Advertisements. Whether her reason was simply to encourage independent action by the Archbishop, or whether she wished to avoid direct responsibility for unpopular action, or whether she thought that Parker's action against the Puritans was not decided enough, it was in any case characteristic of Elizabeth to leave open lines of retreat for herself.

4. The canons of 1604 which embodied the Advertisements'

order concerning vestments received the royal assent and became therefore binding on the clergy.

5. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 deliberately brought the rubric into its present form, in which, without any limitations, ministers are bidden to use the ornaments authorised by Parliament in the second year of Edward VI.

The Privy Council in *Ridsdale v. Clifton* laid down that the rubric from 1566 to 1662 had the same operation as if it had been in law expressed in these words, " Provided always that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI., *except that the surplice shall be used by the ministers of the Church at all time of their public ministrations, and the alb, vestment, or tunicle shall not be used, nor shall a cope be used except at the administration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches.*"

The Privy Council further maintained that the rubric of 1662 must be interpreted to have the same meaning.

It is to be noted that after 1662 no attempt was made to enforce the use of any other ecclesiastical vesture than the surplice; even the use of the cope quickly disappeared from cathedrals, other than Durham, where it survived till 1759. No cope or chasuble was introduced into a parish church before the second half of the nineteenth century.

6. Ecclesiastical vestments, chasuble, cope, and the rest, had in their origin no special sanctity. They were simply the dress of ordinary secular life; alb and dalmatic corresponding to the under garments, chasuble and cope to the upper garments of the ordinary citizen in the Roman Empire (see on the whole question the report to the Convocation of Canterbury by a sub-committee, 1907).

## APPENDIX VI

### ORDERS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Attempts have been made by Roman Catholics to deny the succession of orders in the Church of England on the following grounds:—

1. The Nag's Head story—a legend that Parker and

other bishops-elect were consecrated at the Nag's Head Tavern by Scory, with inadequate forms. This was a fable invented fifty years later, in flat contradiction of authentic records, and now discarded by all Roman Catholic writers of education.

2. The story that Barlow, who consecrated Parker, was not a true bishop at all. It is true that there is no record extant of Barlow's consecration; Barlow's own register has perished, and Cranmer's register was most carelessly kept. But the fact that positive proof of Barlow's consecration is not extant does not warrant us at all in questioning his episcopal status; for—

(a) No one doubts that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was a true bishop; but he is in exactly the same position as Barlow; there is no positive record extant of Gardiner's consecration.

(b) Barlow's consecration was never called in question before 1616 (*i.e.* nearly fifty years after his death). He was recognised during his life by all the bishops, including Gardiner, as a bishop, and did a bishop's work of ordination, confirmation, &c., without his episcopal status being called in question. It is inconceivable that his opponents should have allowed him to act thus if he had not been a duly consecrated bishop. There is no real doubt that he was consecrated in June 1536 by the forms of the old Pontifical. If Cranmer had failed to consecrate Barlow within twenty days of the notification of his election, he would by the letter of 25 Henry VIII. c. 20, have incurred the penalties of *præmunire*. It is irrelevant to argue that Cranmer and Barlow regarded with indifference such rites as consecration. They would have to obey, and did obey, the law of the Church and realm. Was it the habit of Henry VIII. to allow his laws to be defied?

(c) Even if Barlow was not a bishop, this would make no difference to the validity of Parker's election. We have clear evidence that the three other bishops took a direct part in the consecration of Parker, laying on their hands and repeating with Barlow the words, "Receive the Holy Spirit."

3. The insufficiency of the Ordinal. That the Ordinal was adequate, see remarks on p. 262.

4. The doctrine of intention. But if all sacraments and ordinations are made dependent on the private intentions and meaning of those who administer them, every administration of a sacrament, and every ordination, including those of Rome, might be called in question and made to depend on uncertain factors.



If the officiating minister acts seriously as a minister of the Church, it is only necessary to regard the intention of the Church; and the intention of the Church of England, as expressed in the preface of her Ordinal, was to maintain the three-fold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, as they had existed in the Church from apostolic times.

5. Romans cannot logically deny the validity of Anglican orders except on the grounds that the Pope is universal ordinary, and that all ecclesiastical power flows from him. But the Church of England has definitely rejected this view as *absurd*; if pressed, this Roman doctrine would invalidate all the orders of the Eastern Church as well. Neither the Anglican nor the Eastern Church is likely to be disquieted by this extravagant and absurd claim.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE CHURCH UNDER ELIZABETH—PURITANISM AND ROMANISM

THE task which lay before Queen Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical advisers was to guide the English Church on an even keel between the Scylla of Rome and the Charybdis of Geneva. It was a dangerous task; for besides the obvious perils, there were submerged rocks on which the ship might strike. The assassin's dagger and secret societies were to be feared no less than direct war and open argument. In this chapter the relations of the Church with the Romanists and Puritans will in succession be described. Though for purposes of analysis these two will be separated, it must be always remembered that the problems presented by Romanism and Puritanism were contemporaneous, and demanded contemporaneous treatment by the Government. A few words may first be said about the three archbishops who occupied the see of Canterbury during the Queen's reign.

Parker,  
1559-1575.

Parker remained archbishop till his death in 1575. He realised the idea of the Church of England more clearly than others of his time. Gratitude is due to him for the skill, the moderation, and the scholarly acumen with which he guided the Church through the critical years which followed the new settlement. He approved of a temperate execution of the laws against the Roman recusants. During the greater part of his episcopate the Puritan movement had not advanced beyond the vestiarian stage. Parker was conciliatory to the Puritans, but firm. By his Advertisements of 1566 he tried to compromise the question of clerical apparel. But he insisted on ministers wearing the surplice, and, after 1571, subscribing to the Articles. He agreed with the Queen that Puritan "prophesyings" were used as occasions for scheming against the established order of the Church, and commanded their discontinuance in the diocese of Norwich (1574).

Grindal,  
1576-1583.

Grindal succeeded Parker as archbishop; his goodness is extolled by Spenser in his *Shepherd's Calendar*. During the Marian

terror he had taken refuge at Strasburg, and he was strongly Puritan in his leanings. He would gladly have assimilated the English Church to continental Protestantism, and though himself a Conformist, he greatly sympathised with Puritan objections to the surplice. Appointed Bishop of London in 1559, it was only under pressure from the Queen and Parker that he finally enforced the wearing of the surplice on the Puritan clergy with whom London swarmed. In 1570 he had been moved to the see of York, where he found more congenial work in enforcing the Act of Uniformity against the Romanists. It is difficult to see why Elizabeth nominated him as archbishop on the death of Parker, for she knew his Puritan tendencies. The experiment was not a success. In 1577 the Queen ordered him to suppress absolutely the Puritan prophesyings. In a spirited reply the archbishop refused, but said that he would bring them under the control of authority. The result was an open quarrel, and for the next five years Grindal was suspended by the Queen from his archiepiscopal functions. When he died in the following year, 1583, he bequeathed a difficult situation to his successor, since during his disgrace Puritanism had got increasingly out of hand.

Whitgift, his successor, occupied the see of Canterbury for the remainder of the reign, and only died in 1604. Whitgift was a Calvinist in doctrine, but had no sympathy with Calvinistic views of church government. As Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, he had already come into sharp collision with the Puritan protagonist Cartwright, and deprived him of his fellowship. After 1572 he had upon a wider arena entered the lists and waged with him a literary war. Whitgift was essentially the Anglican, and the convinced believer in the divine right of Episcopacy. He disliked Roman doctrine; but it was chiefly the political danger of Romanism which led him warmly to support the execution of the penal laws against them.

The most characteristic feature of his episcopate was the determined stand he made against Puritan efforts to undermine the Church of England. He suppressed prophesyings, he enforced on the Puritans, under pain of suspension, complete conformity to the Prayer-Book, he supported Hooker against his Puritan opponent Travers, and he finally secured the banishment of Non-conformists in 1593. It is not surprising that the "Canterbury Caiaphas"—for this was the genial name bestowed on Whitgift in the Marprelate tracts—was subjected to savage Puritan

denunciations. The severity he showed towards the Puritans was undoubtedly extreme, but it was a far cry to the days when toleration should become the creed of any party. To Whitgift we owe the definite articulation of Anglicanism, as against both Romanism and Puritanism. To the Church of England he gave a stubborn consistency which enabled it to withstand and finally triumph over the overwhelming attack of Puritanism which followed his death.

Problem of  
Romanism.

The relations of Church and State to the Roman recusants must now be traced.

The 'Assurance of the Supremacy' Act, 1563, extended the classes of people to whom the oath prescribed by the Act of Supremacy should be administered. Members of the House of Commons, schoolmasters, lawyers, and any suspected persons whatsoever were to take the oath. A refusal to take it carried with it forfeiture of goods and liberty for the first offence, and for the second offence, the ghastly penalties of high treason. Clearly the net result of the Acts of 1559 and 1563 was to place the property and lives of Romanists at the mercy of the Government. The Government were armed by statute with powers which they could, if necessary, put into operation. But the statute book by itself would give an erroneous impression of the position in which the Romanists found themselves. As a matter of fact, they enjoyed a large measure of immunity; no attempt was made at a severe administration of the Acts before open war was proclaimed by the Pope in his bull of deposition (1570). Roman Catholics were fined for non-attendance at the public services of the Church; they were frequently imprisoned, released, and then again imprisoned and released. The execution of the Act varied in different districts. In the north of England, and especially in Cheshire and Lancashire, the temper of the Justices of the Peace, the country gentlemen, and the great lords was favourable to the "old faith," and the Act was very laxly administered; even notorious offenders were often not "presented" for recusancy; in other districts the measure meted out to the Romanists was more severe. The Queen had good reason in her declaration of 1570 to boast of the clemency of her rule, that she had not "sought the life, the blood, the estates of any person in any state or degree," and to contrast the happiness of her subjects with the "bloodsheds, burnings, spoilings, murders, . . . in other countries."

The toleration of her rule would not satisfy the requirements of modern life, but it was immeasurably superior to that shown by a Guise or a Philip II. The first and primary duty of a government is to maintain order ; religious liberty would probably have ended in national chaos. Freedom and toleration are some of the flowers that grow latest in the garden of civilisation. The mildness of the Queen's rule was changed by the open hostility of Pius V.

Pius V. was a fanatic ; he rightly saw that England was the key of the Protestant position, and that the Romanists of England would soon be absorbed by the national Church unless vigorous steps were taken. So in 1570 he launched his famous bull of excommunication. Writing in terms which recalled the days of a Gregory VII. or Innocent III., but were absurdly out of date in 1570, in the plenitude of his power as vicegerent of Christ, he excommunicated the Queen, deposed her, and released all her subjects from their allegiance. Thus open war had been declared. Further, the Pope made it clear that under no circumstances could Romanists rightfully attend the services of the English Church. Such attendance would involve them in the sin of schism.

During the early years of the reign the English Romanists had been divided into two parties. The moderates had reconciled with conscience their presence at the parish churches ; they attended morning prayer, and then went secretly to mass when they got the opportunity. The severer Romanists were altogether opposed to this practice ; they knew that in the second if not in the first generation it would lead to the absorption of Romanists by the national Church. The leader in this severer point of view had been William Allen, a Fellow of Oriel. It was clear that the line of Marian bishops and Marian clergy would soon die out, and that therefore measures were necessary to secure a continuous inflow into England of Romanist priests. It was with this purpose that Allen in 1568 founded his famous seminary at Douay, where Englishmen could be trained in the strict Tridentine theology and in contemporary learning, and then be drafted into England to minister to the adherents of the old faith. One of Allen's earliest students at Douay was Edmund Campion. As early as 1574, priests from the seminary, fired with missionary zeal, found their way to England. No fewer than one hundred are said to have arrived

Papal bull of excommunication, 1570.

Douay seminary, 1568.

Coming of Jesuits, 1580. in England by 1579. The seminarists were reinforced in their efforts by the Jesuits; the pioneers of the Jesuit enterprise were Campion (now a Jesuit) and Parsons; they came to England in 1580. But spiritual weapons were not the only method of papal attack. Elizabeth and the English Government were the objects of numberless political intrigues, of which the central wires were pulled at the Vatican.

Romanist plots. The year 1569 had been marked by the rising of the great northern families of Percies and Nevilles in favour of Romanism. Norfolk was executed for his share in the same plot at a later stage of its development (1572). Through Ireland, through Scotland, through the Catholic powers of the Continent, the Pope tried to strike at the Queen. In 1579 Sanders, a papal envoy, assisted by Spanish and Italian troops, tried to raise Ireland; from 1579-1581 an insidious plot was hatched in Scotland, which resulted in the assassination of the Earl of Morton, the Anglophile Governor of Scotland; its aim was to restore Roman Catholicism in Scotland, and through the northern kingdom deal a deadly blow at England.

Mary Queen of Scots was Elizabeth's prisoner from 1568 till her execution in 1587. She was the central figure of countless conspiracies, while the Guises and Philip could be seen moving in the background ready to support her cause. The plans of the conspirators included the assassination of the Queen. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in France, the atrocities committed by Philip and his governors, both in Spain and the Netherlands, showed the future that Protestants might expect in the event of Romanist success.

Increased severity of English government. There is little cause for surprise that the policy of the English Government towards Romanists became more severe after 1570. Hitherto the Government had not pried at all into men's consciences; at the most they had only required outward conformity; generally they had been content with far less. It was the action of the Pope, the Jesuits, Mary Queen of Scots, and other conspirators which made it impossible to treat religion as non-political. The Pope had inextricably confounded the two. The spiritually-minded Romanist who wished to keep clear of politics, and merely worship God after his own light, had only the Pope to thank for the "impossible" position in which he found himself. The Pope did English Romanists a great disservice when he authorised them to take an oath of loyalty to

the Government, under a secret reservation that they would be loyal only till a reasonable chance of successful resistance presented itself. All Roman Catholics were made potential traitors. Thus it came to pass that laws of extreme severity against them were placed upon the statute book.

Attempts to deprive the Queen of her title to the throne and the introduction of papal bulls were declared high treason (1571). To be reconciled to the Roman Church, or to aid in reconciling another, were declared high treason (1581). The fines levied on Roman recusants for not going to church were raised to twenty pounds a month. In 1585 all Jesuits and seminary priests were banished from the realm on pain of death; those who harboured them were to suffer a felon's death; all Englishmen who were being educated abroad in seminaries or Jesuit schools were to return, under pain of being adjudged traitors. In 1593 an Act was passed forbidding popish recusants to travel more than five miles from home.

This severe code was not, however, carried into thorough execution, though it is calculated that some two hundred Romanists in all suffered the extreme penalty of the law before the end of the Queen's reign. Unfortunately it was not always the worst who suffered. Of the two Jesuits who came to England in 1580 Campion was a merely spiritual enthusiast. His gift of language and the beauty of his character gave him great influence over men. Parsons, on the other hand, was a political schemer and a weaver of intrigues. Yet Parsons lived to old age (1610), while Campion, after a brief but romantic career, was caught and executed (1582). The Government, imitating the methods of the Holy Inquisition, subjected him before his execution to cruel tortures. It is idle to contend that these two hundred victims simply suffered for their religion; the mildness of Elizabeth's rule before 1570 is a conclusive answer to the charge. The forces of Romanism had gathered themselves against the Queen; the assassin's knife, the armies of Spain, internal conspiracies, the religious teaching of spiritually-minded men had all been pressed by Rome into her service. She knew how to assign the labour and divide the anticipated spoil. There is little cause for wonder that the Government was driven to regard every Romanist as a traitor. Every Romanist in its eyes was a sharer in this great movement for the destruction of the Queen and the overthrow of the established

Execution  
of Roman  
ists.

order in Church and State. The Government sometimes tried to show discrimination. Mercy was shown to those who denied the Pope's right to depose the Queen and absolve subjects from their allegiance. From the beginning of the reign there had been a division between the more moderate Romanists and those who were ready to go the length of calling in the Spanish enemy, if his help was required for the restoration of the old faith. By 1590 the relations between these two parties had become extremely strained. Many of the Romanist laymen were at daggers drawn with the Jesuits and those who wished to restore Romanism by foreign arms. The English Government fanned the quarrel and discriminated by their action in favour of the moderates.

**Problem of Puritanism.** In her efforts to make the Church co-extensive with the nation and realise the great ideal of a whole people approaching the throne of God in unity of worship, Elizabeth found in Puritanism almost as great an obstacle as she found in the old faith. Puritans were not, however, the same political danger; they were bitterly opposed to the fanatical Romanism of Spain, and as the Spanish danger drew nearer, and culminated in the Armada, they rallied round the throne. Their loathing of Spain and Romanism was intense; but even so, the purely patriotic party frowned upon their tenets as a source of division in the presence of the foemen. It is difficult to pass a judgment on Puritanism in a few words. For Puritanism at its highest and best connoted many qualities of the utmost value to a nation's life. The Puritan's stern morality, his sense of the seriousness of life, his realisation of God's presence, his love of Holy Scripture, were altogether admirable. But Puritanism at its worst was very different. Lord Bacon noticed that it was already in his day a characteristic of Puritans to claim a monopoly of goodness and holiness, and he warned them "to take heed that it be not true, which one of their adversaries said, that they have but two small wants, knowledge and love"! Pharisaism and want of charity were the constant danger of the Puritan cast of mind. Bacon did well also to denounce the practice adopted by the baser and frequently by the nobler Puritans of intermixing Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sentence, and of turning religion into a comedy or satire. No language could be too severe on such works as the Marprelate tracts (1588). Taken as a whole, Puritanism, in the words of the historian Gardiner,

**Character of Puritanism.**



represented a backwater in the national life. Its rigid Calvinism, its hostility to the whole artistic side of man (shown, for example, in its hatred of the stage), its hostility to all forms of pleasure, were based on far too narrow a reading of human nature, and were bound to produce in the long run a startling reaction. The Puritan attitude was and is essentially intolerant; lack of humour and defective sense of proportion made the Puritans difficult people for Elizabeth and her ministers to manage.

The Puritans who flocked back to England from the Continent in 1559 represented many different shades of religious belief. The cleavage of opinion which had already manifested itself at Frankfort was repeated on their return to England. The more moderate men, led by Grindal, Sandys, and Jewel, found it possible to conform, while extremists, such as Humphrey, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, although they held preferment, refused to do so. It must be noticed that the Puritans for a long time to come had no notion of separating from the national Church. Their sole desire was to secure control over it and reduce its worship to what they considered "purer" forms. Puritanism in its first phase (1559-1570) concerned itself simply with the externals of public worship. The "sixties" were the era of the vestiarian controversy. These early Puritans disliked a number of ceremonies retained by the Elizabethan Prayer-Book. Kneeling at Holy Communion, signing with the cross at baptism, the use of the ring in marriage, were to them anathema, as remnants of popery; even more so were the mass vestments authorised by the Prayer-Book. As a matter of fact, no attempt was made to give real effect to the ornaments rubric; the surplice, and in rare cases a cope, at the communion, were the only vestments worn, while the Puritan clergy often dispensed even with the surplice, for the surplice too was regarded as a papistical rag. The typical Puritan contention was that no belief or ceremony should be retained in a reformed church unless it could produce the express warrant of Holy Scripture. It was the old Lollard idea once more revived. The more reasonable view maintained by the Church was that ceremonies, &c., approved by reason and by the ancient custom of the Church should be retained; they did not need the support of Bible texts. It was, however, found impossible to secure conformity from the extreme Puritans, even though their oracles abroad, Bullinger at Zurich and Beza at Geneva, advised

(r) Puritanism in its first phase.

Parker's  
Advertisements,  
1566.

them to submit, and not by incurring deprivation leave their places to be filled by disguised Papists. In 1566 Parker, at the Queen's instigation, decided on stronger action. His Advertisements of 1566 were an attempt at compromise; they were directed against the Puritan Nonconformists, but aimed at merely enforcing a minimum. On the surplice, at any rate, the rulers of the Church were prepared to insist. The Advertisements directed that in cathedrals and collegiate churches the officiating clergy should use copes at the communion and surplices at other services, and that in parish churches surplices should be worn at all services. But when the bishops and the ecclesiastical commission insisted on the Puritan clergy wearing the surplice, though the majority conformed, many on refusing to comply were imprisoned and deprived. It is noteworthy that this same year witnessed the first attempt at definitive separation from the Church of England. A number of the deprived ministers resolved to worship God apart in separate meeting houses, but their action failed to win general approval from the Puritan constituency. As a body the Puritans were still determined to remain within the Church's pale and remodel her after the pattern of the best reformed churches.

Puritanism  
in its second  
phase.

Attack on  
Episcopacy.

After 1570 Puritanism passed into its second phase. The dispute about ecclesiastical dress had receded into the background; the question now thrust to the front was the proper form of church government. The dominant Puritan conception was the "parity of ministers." Prelacy, they said, was unscriptural, and, indeed, a mere remnant of popery. This cry for the "parity of ministers" originated neither in Scotland nor Geneva, but in Cambridge. Its prophet was the Puritan leader—soon to be famous—Thomas Cartwright. The papacy had maintained that all episcopal power was derived from the Pope. The Puritans for the first and by no means the last time found their views identical with those of Rome. The word was passed round Puritan circles that prelacy was a mere offshoot of popery.

During the years which followed 1570 many attempts were made by the Puritans—a growing party in Parliament—to presbyterianise by legislation the Church of England. Parliament was as yet far from having a Puritan majority, but even so the Queen was resolved to retain the direction of ecclesiastical matters in the hands of herself and Convocation. Time and

again she sternly forbade Parliament to interfere with the affairs of the Church. But in spite of the Queen's wish, Parliament in 1571 passed an Act ordering that the Articles of Religion should be subscribed by all the Marian clergy and by all future holders of benefices on pain of deprivation, and that all clergy teaching doctrine contrary to the Articles should suffer the same penalty. To this Act the Queen gave her assent, but she would not hear of any attempt to modify the Church's polity. After 1571 the Ecclesiastical Commission and the bishops showed greater stringency than ever; they required from all those who wished to officiate in the Church a declaration (1) that the Prayer-Book in all its contents was agreeable to the Word of God, (2) that the surplice ought to be used, (3) that all the Articles contained true Christian doctrine. Under such pressure, the Puritan programme quickly developed. The writings of the Puritan leaders give us clear knowledge of their aims and ideals. Of these works the most important were, *The First and Second Admonitions to the Parliament* (1572), written by or under the patronage of Thomas Cartwright, and *The Declaration of Discipline* (1574), by Walter Travers. Cartwright was essentially the prophet of Puritanism. He was a very learned and profoundly religious man, but his religion was cast in the severest mould. His intolerance was appalling. Had he been placed in a position of power, he would have stopped false (which meant for him non-Puritan) teaching by reviving the bloodiest enactments of the Mosaic code. "If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost." The scurrility with which he sometimes pleaded his cause should be contrasted with the moderation of Hooker. Language which would have excited no surprise if uttered by an ill-bred fanatic did not sit gracefully on the lips of a divinity professor. Cartwright had led a crusade against the surplice at Cambridge, and in consequence had been deprived of his professorship and fellowship. His feelings were not unnaturally embittered, and many of the scandals disfiguring the order and discipline of the Church received at his hands well-deserved castigation.

Travers was an able man of real piety and a Puritan to the backbone. His chief title to fame arose from his prolonged controversy with Hooker at the Temple Church, when Hooker was Master, and he Reader. From the writings of Cartwright and Travers a clear view can be gained (1) of the grounds on

Enact-  
ment of  
the thirty-  
nine  
Articles,  
1571.

Writings of  
Cartwright  
and  
Travers.

which they attacked the Church, and (2) of their own positive programme for its reconstruction.

(1) Grounds of their attack on the Church.

I. The Church was attacked for retaining much of the essence of popery. The old objections to the surplice were once more asserted, but they occupied a subordinate place; for the Puritans had now discovered that the whole Prayer-Book was "an unperfect book culled and picked out of that popishe dunghil . . . the Masse Boke full of all abominations." The Ordinal was "a thing woorde for woorde drawne up of the Pope's Pontifical, wherein he showeth himselfe to be Antichrist most lively." The old objections to the wedding ring, the sign of the cross, kneeling at the communion, were repeated; saints' days, confirmation, private baptism, "tossing the Psalms like tennis balls," the canticles, organs, the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, were all denounced as papistical.

Hooker's reply.

It may be said at this point that Hooker's reply in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594-1597) to all these charges was convincing. The general line of defence adopted by Hooker was that (a) practices were not necessarily bad because they were observed by Papists. "Some things they (*i.e.* the Papists) do in that they are men, in that they are wise men and Christian men some things, some things in that they are men misled and blinded with error. As far as they follow reason and truth, we fear not to tread the self-same steps wherein they have gone and to be their followers." (b) Scripture must not be required to do that which it was never intended to do; for Scripture presupposes that men are gifted with reason, and is not intended to reveal that which men by the exercise of their own reason can find out for themselves. Therefore if practices and beliefs are reasonable, to urge that specific texts of Scripture cannot be quoted in their support is no argument against their value.

Puritan attack partly justifiable.

The Puritans were on safer ground when they attacked practical abuses. Thus it was no doubt a scandal that so many of the clergy were "dumb dogs," unable or unwilling to preach the Word, though Lord Bacon, writing in the next reign, did well to remind the Puritans that God's house is primarily a house of prayer, and that "preaching may be magnified and extolled superstitiously, as if the whole body of God's worship should be turned into an EAR." The lack of a preaching ministry was, however, a scandal, and it is a matter for regret that Elizabeth and her bishops, for reasons which will presently

be mentioned, felt themselves obliged to suppress the prophesyings, of which *one* aim, at any rate, was to raise the standard of clerical preaching. Other undoubted abuses were pluralism and non-residence, and in some cases the scandalous lives of the clergy who were resident. The abuses of the ecclesiastical courts, notably the inquisitorial methods of the High Commission, "savouring," as Burghley said, "of the Roman Inquisition," the use of excommunication as a mere method of procedure, when it ought to have been held in reserve as the Church's most severe form of censure, the commutation of penance for money, the whole system of dispensations exercised by the archbishop—all these deserved and received the gravest condemnation. In many cases, however, the real culprits were not the clergy, but the ecclesiastical lawyers, by whom they were victimised.

2. The positive programme adopted by the Puritans was that of remodelling the Church on Presbyterian lines. "Parity of ministers" was their "cry," the overthrow of Episcopacy their aim. Each single congregation was to be ruled by a minister and elders, forming a *consistory*; the minister was to be admitted to his ministry by a *conference*, a wider assembly, which representatives of the different churches in the district were to attend. Thus the sphere of a "*consistory*" would correspond to a "*parish*," the sphere of a *conference* to a *diocese*; the minister was to be called and elected by the congregation in which he was to minister; the elders were associated with him in the government of the particular congregation; and together they were to exercise discipline over its members. In each congregation *deacons*, who were not an order of ministry, were to be chosen to look after the poor. A whole series of councils was arranged; representatives from each congregation were to form the *conference* of a district; above the *conferences* were to be *synods provincial*, *synods national*, and ultimately *synods international*. Each of these was to be attended by representatives of the councils immediately subordinate. This presbyteral scheme of government was supposed to be enjoined by Scripture. The divine right of Presbyterianism was matched against the Anglican's divine right of Episcopacy. The first presbytery in England was formed at Wandsworth in 1572, and during the years which followed concerted efforts were made by Puritan secret societies to "collar" the Church of England and replace its order by a secret Puritan framework. The

(a) Positive tenets of the Puritans.

Puritan conspiracy against the Church.

forms of the existing organisation were to be outwardly retained till the "psychological" moment arrived—that is to say, till public opinion had been educated, and the time had ripened for the State to authorise the change. The old forms would then fall off and reveal the Presbyterian organisation ready to take their place. Thus patrons were to be persuaded to present to livings only those already chosen by a Presbyterian *classis* or *conference*; a man's real ordination was to be from the Presbyterian *classis*, though as a matter of form he might receive episcopal ordination till times were ripe for the establishment of the new system. The churchwardens and collectors of alms might secretly be given the functions performed by *elders* and *deacons* in the Presbyterian scheme. These underground intrigues for the replacement of episcopal by Presbyterian organisation were an undoubted menace to the historic Church, spreading as they did over many parts of England. It was soon discovered by the Queen and her advisers that the "prophesyings" inaugurated in 1571 were being used to further the Puritan plot. The primary purpose of a prophesying had been to improve the preaching. Every fortnight the clergy of a district met on a week-day in the chief town under a moderator or president; each minister would then for a quarter of an hour or so handle the same passage of Scripture. The whole prophesying took some two hours, and at its close the moderator would sum up the discussion and prescribe a text for the next meeting. But when the Queen learned that these prophesyings were being used to undermine the established order of the Church, and replace it by Presbyterianism, she imperiously ordered their suppression (1574). Meetings, however, of a similar nature continued. Archbishop Grindal refused to suppress, and wished merely to regulate them. His refusal to carry out the Queen's order led to his sequestration and disgrace (1577).

Prophesyings suppressed, 1574.

In the next decade Puritanism passed into extremer forms than any it had as yet assumed; it was exasperated by the systematic policy of repression, culminating in the banishment of Nonconformists (1593), which was employed by the Government and Whitgift, the new archbishop. The embittered state of feeling was shown in the Martin Marprelate tracts (1588), an attack on the bishops, marked by violence and scurrility, but also by considerable wit and power of satire.

Marprelate Tracts, 1588.

A further phase of Puritanism had, however, been already reached in 1581. Until this date the Puritans as a body had

not contemplated a separation from the Church. Their aim had been to remain within the Church and convert it to their views. This new Puritan Church was to exercise a coercive jurisdiction, and it was in their view the duty of the State to support it with all the force that the State could command. But about the year 1581 a sect of the Puritans, led by Robert Browne, determined to separate altogether from the Church. *Independency* had been born. The cry adopted by this wing of the Puritan party was "Reformation without tarrying for any." Its members had no belief in the divine right of the Presbyterian system; they rejected *in toto* the royal claim to supremacy in things ecclesiastical; they would not recognise the historic Church as a church at all, because it was contaminated by the presence within its fold of evil livers; they thought that the true Church ought to consist of "saints" alone. Thus the new sect founded by Browne fell foul both of the Presbyterians and the Anglicans. Browne himself fled to Holland, but after quarrelling with the colony of English Presbyterians whom he there found, returned to England in 1591, conformed, and died many years later as an English rector. After Browne's desertion the leadership of the new sect was taken by two men called Barrow and Greenwood. But they fell under the ban of the Government for denying the Queen's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and were finally executed on the charge of sedition (1593). After the Act of 1593, which banished Nonconformists, the members of the sect took refuge in Holland, and finally in 1620 they sailed for America in the *Mayflower*, to be the founders of that which in time became a mighty State.

Puritanism  
in its third  
phase.  
Independ  
ency.

Meanwhile the leaders of the Church of England had been driven by the opposition of both Romanists and Puritans to define their position. Bancroft, a rising man, soon to be Bishop of London, delivered a famous sermon in 1589 at Paul's Cross. A greater than Bancroft, Richard Hooker, gave to the world during the years 1594-1597 his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, a convincing refutation of the Puritan charges against, and a reasoned vindication of, the Anglican position.

Hooker's  
*Ecclesiasti-  
cal Polity.*

The great Queen passed away on 24th March 1603. She may not have been a spiritually-minded woman, but she had nursed the new ecclesiastical settlement through its infancy. Few would deny that, considering the infinite perils, Roman and Puritan, by which it was surrounded, the Elizabethan settlement of the Church was an admirable piece of constructive statesmanship.

Death of  
Elizabeth.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE CHURCH UNDER THE EARLY STEWARTS— THE LAUDIAN RÉGIME

The  
Stewart  
dynasty.

UNDER James I. a new dynasty succeeded to the English throne. Its foreign origin—for Scotland was at that time a foreign country—may in part account for the disasters of its career; a clearer cause contributing to its failure was the fatal policy of inter-marriage with the Roman Catholic dynasties of the Continent. Elizabeth had found in the celibate state a source of strength; the Stewarts by their marriage schemes aroused the suspicions and stirred the antagonism of their subjects. But the prime cause of the disasters which overtook the Stewart family must be found in the infatuated temperament of the monarchs themselves. As we read the story of the Stewart dynasty, we seem to be moving in the atmosphere of a Greek tragedy, inherited woe descending from father to son, infatuation hurrying them on to a pre-appointed doom. James I. was a pedant, with great knowledge of books, but little knowledge of men. He was rightly described as the wisest fool in Christendom. Being quite unable to appreciate the genius of Bacon and Raleigh, he attached himself to unworthy favourites, such as Carr and Buckingham. Yet he had withal a shrewdness which his son Charles totally lacked. For example, after the anti-Puritan régime of Bancroft, who was archbishop from 1604-1610, he saw that it was necessary to conciliate Puritanism, and therefore appointed to the vacant see the Puritan Abbot. Under James I. the two questions which were fated to overthrow the monarchy and "hew the throne down to a block" for his son Charles, had already emerged. These were the constitutional and the religious questions. It is beyond the province of this book to trace in detail the constitutional dispute; but the politics and religion of the period were inextricably entangled; it was the support given on the one hand by the churchmen to the absolutist policy of the King, and on the other hand by the King to the religious policy of the churchmen, that

James I.



brought down the fabric of Church and State in one common ruin. The nature of the constitutional problem must therefore be made clear. The dispute was concerning the seat of sovereignty: did the sovereignty lie with the King, and was Parliament a mere advisory council, with which the King could, if he wished, dispense? in other words, had the King the right to legislate, to tax his subjects, to appoint and dismiss ministers and judges, to control the armed forces, without reference to Parliament? The Parliament held that the real sovereignty lay with itself, and that the King could do none of these things without reference to the national representatives. The King, on the other hand, claimed sovereignty for himself. He invented an ingenious theory of prerogative. Drawing a distinction between the *ordinary* and *extraordinary* prerogative, he maintained that the *ordinary* prerogative of the Crown was subject to statute and common law. But in the *extraordinary* prerogative he claimed a right of action outside and beyond the ordinary law, whenever political circumstances in his view demanded such action. Thus the extraordinary prerogative from its very nature could not be limited by any law, *e.g.* the Petition of Right; for it was in its essence a claim that the King was entitled to break the law whenever reasons of State required. The King claimed all other rights of sovereignty, and when he found that Parliament took a different view of the constitution, he tried to foreclose all the constitutional questions at issue between himself and Parliament by means of the judges. This was why the independence of the judges became such a vital matter. If the judges, for example, decided against the King's right to exact taxation, it was one of the "secrets" of Stewart rule to dismiss them. In their view, and in the view of Bacon, the judges were to be "lions under the throne, circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty"; in other words, the judges were to be the buttress of the King's absolute sovereignty. Now the weakness in the Parliamentary position lay in the fact that Parliament, and not the King, was the innovator. To support their contention, the Parliament men had to go back to the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries—and not to the practice, but to the theory of those centuries. The King on his side could point to the uninterrupted practice of the sixteenth century; the Tudor practice could only be explained on the assumption that some such power existed as that claimed

The constitutional question.

Elizabeth  
and  
Stewart  
kings com-  
pared.

by the King. Speaking broadly, we may say that for all the so-called unconstitutional actions of the early Stewarts parallels might be found in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth had raised "illegal" taxation; she had issued monopolies; she had scolded Parliament; she had declared that Parliament's freedom of speech lay in saying "yea" or "nay" to proposals put forward by the Government; she had imprisoned members of Parliament for the freedom of their speech; she had repeatedly forbidden Parliament to interfere with the Church, and to legislate in favour of the Puritans; she had repressed Puritans; as far as Act of Parliament could do it (1593), she had harried Non-conformists out of the land. The one marked difference between her policy and that of James lay in the sphere of foreign politics. If the peace concluded with Spain in 1604 was a return to the policy pursued by Elizabeth from 1558 to 1584, the close intimacy between England and Spain which marked the later period of James's reign could find no parallel in that of his predecessor. But with this exception, the constitutional principles followed by the two sovereigns were similar. How, then, are we to account for the difference in attitude assumed by the English nation towards Elizabeth and the Stewart monarchs respectively? The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, though Elizabeth had acted in many ways as a despotic sovereign, she never grounded her action on an elaborate theory, nor insisted in season and out of season that her people and Parliament should accept the theory. The Stewarts in elaborating the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, and badgering their Parliaments to accept their doctrine of prerogative, showed extraordinary want of tact. Secondly, the English people trusted Elizabeth; they knew that she was the sworn foe of the papacy and Spain; they rightly believed in her ability to pilot the ship of State through the storms which broke upon her. But the nation with too good ground distrusted the whole race of Stewarts; the philo-Spanish and philo-Catholic tendencies of James destroyed that trust forever. But the crucial difference between the Elizabethan and the Stewart times lay in the altered circumstances. Security is prior in importance to liberty. In times of stress and danger, a nation gladly gives its rulers extraordinary powers. Its first desire is safety, not liberty. The sixteenth century had been pre-eminently an age of storm and stress; but by 1603 the dangers, both internal and

external, which had threatened England, existed no longer. Feudal anarchy had disappeared; Spain had been broken; Romanism successfully defied. With the passing of the danger, passed also the need of the "Tudor" monarchy. Hence, even though the Stuarts had been gifted with the Tudor power of government, a change in the balance of the constitution would have been required by the altered conditions of the age; the growing restiveness of Parliament even under the guidance of Elizabeth bore witness to the change. But this was not all. The Tudors, by encouraging the development of local government, had trained the political sense and the power of the middle classes. By 1603 these country gentlemen were no longer content to conduct purely local administration as justices of the peace; they had become comparatively wealthy, and were ready to make a bid for a share in the control of national politics. The way had also been prepared for political revolution by the religious Reformation.

The Reformation had been a revolt against ecclesiastical authority. But revolt against authority in the religious sphere might very easily pass into revolt against authority in the political sphere as well. James was shrewd enough to see this; he showed that he appreciated the danger in his famous declaration, "No bishop, no king." The Protestant doctrine of the equality of all men before God, when applied to politics, logically led to pure democracy. It was the misfortune or fault of the Stuart kings that they could not realise how radically different the circumstances of England in the seventeenth were from those of the sixteenth century. Yet their blindness was pardonable; Machiavelli and others had declared the omni-competence of the State; the religious reformers in Germany and England had clothed the prince with the Divine Right of which they had stripped the papacy; the Stuart kings found the judges and the clergy, and the greatest intellect in England, Francis Bacon, ready to support their views. The spirit of the age in Europe was tending towards the creation of absolute governments. Little wonder was it that the Stuarts thought they could do the like in England. Let us pause for a moment to consider what the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, as enunciated by the Stuarts, really meant. For a hundred years to come the clergy of the Church of England identified themselves with this doctrine. It is therefore important to realise

The Reformation and democratic doctrine.

The theory of Divine Right.

that the doctrine of Divine Right was not the absurdity which in many quarters it has been portrayed as being. No one in that age believed in the sacred right of resistance. All men believed in Divine Right. The only subject of dispute was about the power to whom the Divine Right, and therefore unquestioned authority, belonged. The Papist declared that Divine Right belonged to the Pope alone; the Presbyterian claimed it for the Presbyterian Kirk. The theory of Divine Right was therefore in origin a protest on behalf of the State against all those who represented the State as the mere creature and servant of an ecclesiastical organisation, papal or Presbyterian. It laid down the truth which is now regarded as axiomatic, but was then very far from being so regarded, that in an organised State the sovereign power cannot allow its authority to be challenged. There can be no doubt that the theory did immense service by proclaiming the supreme importance to a people of a law-abiding habit. Only those people who agree with Rousseau in giving revolution as daily food, not as drastic physic, to a people, can question the importance of the service rendered by the doctrine as a counterpoise to revolutionary tendencies. Wise people to-day do not believe in the indefeasible right either of a king or of a democracy; they know that neither the voice of a king nor the voice of a people is necessarily the voice of God. But they hold that only extreme cases can ever justify resistance to constituted authority. The holders of the Divine Right theory went wrong because (1) agreeing with the Papists and Puritans and others, they denied *altogether*, even in the extreme cases, the sacred right of resistance; (2) in practice they maintained that this Divine Right belonged to the person of the King; thus they definitely took the side of the King in his attempt to rivet the yoke of absolutism on the English people. According to them, the Divine Right belonged to the King, not to the "King in Parliament." It was a grave misfortune for the Church that she identified herself with a political party and took the side of absolutism. The historical cause for this disastrous choice is obvious. She thought that she could only secure herself from the encroaching Puritanism of the House of Commons by throwing herself into the arms of the King.

Thus ~~the~~ momentous choice was made.

The revolution of 1641 was due to the coincidence of con-

stitutional and religious revolt. The comparative importance of these two elements in producing the rebellion has been variously estimated. Some have maintained that, had it not been for the religious question, the constitutional opposition would have had no chance of carrying the country; while others have maintained the exactly contrary view. This much is certain that when the actual revolt began in 1641 parties did in fact divide on religious lines; the Anglicans became the royalist, the Puritans the anti-royalist party. *Primâ facie*, therefore, the religious question favoured the King; had it not been for the Anglicans, Charles would have been supported by no party at all. But a more searching inspection shows that the religious movement had much to do in making straight the way towards rebellion; for the inner spirit of the Reformation spread revolt against authority from the ecclesiastical to the political sphere, and the essentially Protestant doctrine of the equality of all men before God developed its democratic significance. In other ways as well the religious question prepared the way for the explosion. The claim of the clergy to pass canons binding on the laity, and various features of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, aroused anti-clerical feeling; the use made of excommunication (which carried with it civil disabilities), not as the Church's severest form of punishment for flagrant crime, but as a mere form of procedure employed by lay judges, in the ecclesiastical courts, the employment in the High Commission of the *ex officio* oath, by which the accused was compelled to answer questions and incriminate himself, provoked antagonism; the exercise by the High Commission of the right to fine and imprison was a source of constant friction, and led to the issue of prohibitions from the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. The common lawyers became more and more Erastian in their views, *i.e.* determined to uphold the supremacy of the State against ecclesiastical claims. The Church, on the other hand, under the guidance first of the Anglican Whitgift, and then of the Puritan Abbot, was enabled by the royal intervention to maintain these offensive practices. The extreme unpopularity with which prelatical Episcopacy was regarded by the men of 1641 was in part due to these grievances as well as to the fact that the Laudian bishops were thought to be the chief instruments of Stewart absolutism. Even the gentle Falkland was in 1641 ready to urge that the prelates

Comparative importance of constitutional and religious questions in causing revolt of 1641.

should be stripped of their temporal power, and have inferior clergy associated with them in the exercise of their spiritual duties.

James and  
the Roman  
Catholics.

Again it was the difference of view on religious matters which repeatedly, *e.g.* in 1610, 1614, and throughout the reign of Charles, made it impossible for the King to make an arrangement with Parliament about taxation and other matters of constitutional import. Parliament differed from the King both on the subject of the Puritans and the Roman Catholics. On the Roman Catholic question James was far more tolerant than the Parliament; but the Puritans, with their eyes fixed on the continent and the workings of the Counter-reformation, were probably correct in their view that toleration could not be safely granted. It was clear to them that the first use which the Roman Catholics would make of toleration would be to employ it as a fulcrum for the destruction of Protestantism. It cannot be denied that the Parliament and the Puritans had good cause to suspect the Crown of Romanist tendencies. James showed extraordinary lack of tact when in his first speech to Parliament he compared Puritanism unfavourably with Romanism, saying that "he acknowledged the Roman Church to be his mother Church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions," and that to promote a union of the Churches of Rome and England he would go halfway to meet the Romanists; but that Puritans, owing to "their confused form of policy and parity," were "insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth." By this one speech he aroused the suspicions of all Puritans, who so far from regarding Rome as their mother, regarded her as Antichrist. It was known that James' wife was secretly a Roman Catholic. The terms of the Spanish marriage-treaty fanned Protestant feeling to a white heat. What could be thought of the Protestantism of James and Charles, when they signed a treaty promising the Roman Catholics exemption from the penal laws, and liberty of worship in private houses, and engaging that the Infanta's church should be open to the public, and that any children of the marriage should be brought up by their mother till they were twelve years of age? By this treaty the prospect of the succession of a Roman Catholic dynasty seemed to be assured. Frantic joy greeted the intelligence that the idea of a Spanish marriage had been given up. But Henrietta Maria, whom Charles did

actually marry, was a Roman Catholic, and the terms of the French marriage treaty were not much more reassuring for Protestantism. It was the Roman Catholicism of her children which finally made their rule intolerable, and led to the expulsion of James II. in 1688. The Laudian revival, too, seemed to the Puritans, as indeed in some respects it was, an approximation to Romanism; to the features which separated it from Romanism they shut their eyes.

Let us retrace our steps to the accession of James I. and briefly sketch his relations with Romanists and Puritans. The Elizabethan code had theoretically taken away from Romanists all rights to life or property. Romanists were excluded from State office, and Roman priests went about in daily peril of their lives. Romanists who failed to attend their parish churches had to pay a ransom; those recusants who were great landlords generally compounded for non-attendance by a payment of twenty pounds a month, while smaller landowners agreed to sacrifice two-thirds of their rental. But practice was very different from theory, and varied indefinitely from place to place and from time to time. The towns were hot-beds of Protestant feeling, and Romanists hardly dared openly to show their faith in them; but many country districts, especially in the north and west, were under the influence and domination of Roman Catholic squires; in many of these districts the law of the land, with the connivance of the officials of Government, was not observed. The squire's manor-house often gave asylum to a Roman priest, who ministered to the spiritual wants of the squire and his dependants. Many an old manor-house still contains secret chambers and secret passages, which were used as places for concealment of the priest when officials of Government came in times of religious excitement to ransack the house in search of the Papist foe. James, in the earliest days of his reign, had caused Roman Catholics to believe that their condition would be ameliorated under the new régime. The disappointment caused, when the King found himself driven under pressure to enforce the recusancy laws, led to a conspiracy of the moderate Catholics, which was characteristically revealed to the Government by the Jesuits! James thought that a good opportunity for drawing a distinction between loyal and disloyal Romanists had arrived. He proceeded to remit the recusancy fines, and allowed the laws against Roman

Position of  
Roman  
Catholics.

priests to remain a dead letter. The immediate result was that many crypto-Romanists revealed their adherence to the old faith, and ceased to attend the parish churches. The alarming increase of avowed Romanists terrified the Government, and James was forced to withdraw the toleration he had granted. This withdrawal was followed by the famous Gunpowder Plot (November 1605), in which the extreme party of the Romanists attempted to blow up King, Lords, and Commons. To this plot Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits, was an accessory. Executions and fresh penal laws followed. James' attitude to the Romanists need not be traced further. Let it suffice to state that he was naturally inclined towards toleration. By legislation and by his mode of administering the laws he often tried to draw a distinction between the loyal and the disloyal, between those Romanists who denied the right of the Pope to depose sovereigns, and those who maintained the contrary. The King's natural inclinations were on occasions reinforced by reasons of State. During the period in which negotiations were proceeding for the Spanish marriage (1618-1623), the Romanists enjoyed practical immunity from the penal laws and the recusancy fines. But the policy pursued was one of see-saw; the Parliament was fanatically anti-Papist, and under Parliamentary pressure the King was forced from time to time to sacrifice his own inclinations and allow the machinery of the law to be set in full force against the Romanists.

Gunpowder  
Plot, 1605.

Puritanism  
in 1603.

In his dealings with Puritanism the King was even more unhappy and unsuccessful. At the beginning of the reign there were no Nonconformists; but the Church of England, comprising as it did all sorts of people, was profoundly divided between that which we would now call the High Church and the Low Church parties. The work of a real statesman would have been to draw these two sections together, and help each to learn something of the other. Lord Bacon urged the King to grant the Puritan clergy certain options in ceremonies, and so preserve the unity of the body unbroken. We will see that James rejected the advice of the wisest man of the age, and determined to make the Puritans conform, or else harry them out of the land.

Principles  
of "High"  
Church-  
men.

Let us try to realise the differences between these two schools of churchmen. The "High" Churchman, or Anglican, took his stand on the Bible, the Creeds, and the Church. The Bible was



## *Church under the Early Stewarts* 319

to prove doctrine, but the Bible needed interpretation, and the interpretation was to be given by the Church. The unlimited right of private judgment was therefore rejected. In their conception of the Church the Anglicans approximated to the Roman view—that is to say, they regarded the Church as a divinely inspired and organised body; they maintained the Divine right of episcopacy, and traced their succession of orders back through the Roman Catholic hierarchy to the age of the primitive Church; they emphasised the supreme importance of the sacraments and the priestly character of the clergy; they talked about the “altar,” not the holy table, and encouraged a development of ritual, bowing to the altar, &c. But they rejected all the characteristically papal claims and doctrines as unscriptural. The Elizabethan Anglicans, no less than the Puritans, had inclined to Calvinistic theology. Whitgift, for example, had been a thorough-going Calvinist in doctrine, and by the Lambeth Articles (1595) would, if Queen Elizabeth had not thwarted his attempt, have riveted Calvinistic teaching on the Church of England. Calvin’s characteristic doctrine was the utter depravity of human nature; allowing nothing to the action of men’s free will, he had made real morality impossible by attributing all results to the predestination of God. God from all eternity was supposed to have marked out the great majority of mankind for eternal damnation, and to have chosen for salvation the elect few, irrespective in each case of anything they might do. He made His selection, like Browning’s Caliban, “loving not, hating not, just choosing so.” Calvin rightly maintained that the sin of man was so terrible that apart from the free gift of God’s grace there could be for him neither pardon nor hope of salvation. But in a perfectly awful way he limited the operation of God’s grace. He developed one side of St. Paul’s teaching to the almost complete exclusion of the other. The reality of man’s free will must be maintained no less than the providence of God. It is one of many paradoxes in the faith of a Christian; but it is fatal to destroy the responsibility of man by dwelling solely on the Divine predestination, and to represent the Father of Love as hideously immoral; for such He must be if He has marked out people for damnation before they are even born.

The Articles of the Church of England show traces of Calvinistic influence, but they stop short of saying the impossible

thing. That none of them is purely Calvinistic is shown by the efforts made by the Calvinists to rewrite the Articles concerned in a clearly Calvinistic form. The fatalism of the Calvinistic creed might have been expected to destroy all initiative and force of character. The result has been quite the contrary. Luckily no man has ever really acted on the assumption that he has no freedom of will. The Calvinist has generally regarded himself as an instrument in the Divine hands, and the astonishing thing is that such nations as Scotland, in which Calvinism triumphed, have been conspicuous for the surpassing energy and forceful character of their citizens.

But if the early leaders of the English Church were Calvinistic in their creed, a welcome change was brought by the early seventeenth century. The rising school of Anglican theology, headed by Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Chichester (1605), and William Laud, was "Arminian"<sup>1</sup> in doctrine. A more liberal theology, which saved at once the freedom of men and the moral character of God, and gave a contingent value to the good works of human beings, became popular in Anglican circles.

Arminian  
theology.

Puritan  
doctrine  
and dis-  
cipline.

The Puritans, on the other hand, were wholly Calvinistic in doctrine; they regarded Arminian teaching as little better than Romanism, and Laud's Arminianism was one of the chief grounds for the detestation in which they held him. The intense individualism of Calvinistic theology was another feature which greatly appealed to them. Calvinism marked the extreme limit of the Protestant revolt from Rome; Calvinists had rejected the whole apparatus of the mediæval Church; for them there was no such thing as priestly mediation between God and man; they regarded religion as merely a concern between the individual soul and God. But Calvin had the wisdom to know that the unseen authority of God might not act as a sufficient check on the immorality of professing Christians, and therefore retained for his congregation a coercive jurisdiction over its members. The Scotch Church, in which Calvinism triumphed, established a similar form of coercive power; the kirk-session and the General Assembly exercised a stern inquisitorial jurisdiction over the members of the Scotch Church. Still it is true to say that an intense individualism lay at the foundation of the Calvinistic creed. The Puritans,

Puritan  
individu-  
alism.

<sup>1</sup> So called from Arminius, a Dutch divine.

like other Calvinists, were individualists; they were deficient in a sense of corporate churchmanship, and did not value the idea of historic continuity. They retained their old objections to the Book of Common Prayer, but in the most important matters they were willing to conform. There can be no doubt that some of the best religious life flowed in Puritan channels at the opening of the seventeenth century. The Puritans, like the Lollards of a former era, came in for a great amount of ridicule because they made a firm stand against the swearing, the drunkenness, and the immorality of the age, and did all they could to promote the laudable customs of Bible-reading and family prayers. Not a few of the benefited clergy deserved all the denunciations launched against them by the Puritans.

Richard Baxter (b. 1615) gives us a deplorable picture of the spiritual destitution which prevailed in the parish where he lived as a boy. The parson was too old for his work. He was unable to preach, and such assistants as he hired were disreputable tipplers. The spiritual needs of the neighbouring parishes were attended to as little as those of Baxter's own village. "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 reproach, and any one that had gone 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." If Baxter's description is approximately true, moral earnestness must have been largely on the side of the Puritans. He tells us that after the reading of the common prayer, the mass of the villagers spent the rest of the day in dancing and sport. Sometimes, in spite of his conscience, the young Baxter joined them. "But when I heard them call my father Puritan, it did much to cure me and alienate me from them; for I considered that my father's exercise of reading the Scripture was better than theirs . . . and I considered what it was for that he and others were thus derided. When I heard them speak scornfully of others as Puritans whom I never knew, I was at first apt to believe all the lies and slanders wherewith they loaded them. But when I heard my own father so reproached, and perceived the drunkards were the forwardest in the reproach, I perceived that it was mere malice. For my father never scrupled common prayer or ceremonies, nor spake against bishop, nor ever so much as

Baxter's  
description  
of the age.

prayed but by a book or form. . . . But only for reading Scripture when the rest were dancing on the Lord's Day, and for praying (by a form out of the end of the Common Prayer-Book) in his house, and for reprovng drunkards and swearers, and for talking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the life to come, he was reviled commonly by the name of Puritan, Precisian, and hypocrite; and so were the godly conformable ministers that lived anywhere in the country near us, not only by our neighbours, but by the common talk of the vulgar rabble of all around us. By this experience I was fully convinced that godly people were the best, and those that despised them and lived in sin and pleasure were a malignant, unhappy sort of people; and this kept me out of their company, except now and then when the love of sports and play enticed me."

Puritan  
view of  
Sunday.

A few words must be said about the Puritan attitude towards Sunday. The early reformers had no inclination towards making Sunday a day of gloom. Neither Calvin nor Knox had scrupled to play bowls on Sunday. Elizabeth in her injunctions had bidden farmers gather in their harvest, if need be, on the Sunday. It was the day on which the King's Council normally met. Business of all sorts was frequently transacted on it, and from time immemorial village games, such as dancing round a maypole, were held on the Sunday after Divine service. If the Puritans had had an inkling of the fact that the observance of Sunday was derived from the authority of the Church, they would have made as short work with the observance of it as they did with the observance of other holy days. But for good and for ill they identified Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath, and transferred to the Christian festival of Sunday all the rules laid down in the Mosaic law for the observance of the Sabbath. They not only forbade all work, but also all recreation on the Sunday. Their Sabbatarianism went in some cases to perfectly extravagant lengths, and became a regular superstition. Not only was all work and all play forbidden, but the slightest breach of their Sabbatarian rules was thought to be as heinous as murder or adultery. A pitiful casuistry arose in Puritan circles about such absurdities as to whether "unnecessary walking," or "idly sitting," or "whistling," or "kissing your wife," were wrong on the Sunday. In Scotland, which was not its original home, and even more so in New England, the Sabbatarian code assumed a severer form than in England. It is

perhaps needless to say that Laud and the other members of his party took a laxer but more reasonable view as to the nature of Sunday obligation. We will see that James and Charles unwisely provoked the antagonism of Puritan feeling by authorising in the Book of Sports the traditional Sunday games. But we must not take too harsh a view of our Puritan ancestors. The Puritan Sabbath was the product of an earnest and self-denying spirit. If Sunday is in modern England a day of rest, it is to the Puritans that we owe it. The restoration era no doubt witnessed a reaction, but before the close of the seventeenth century a modified form of the Puritan Sunday commended itself to the Anglican clergy and all other classes of society.

Having explained the principles animating the two parties of which the Church of England was composed, let us briefly sketch James' relations with the Puritans. In the course of his journey from Scotland into England in 1603 he was presented by the Puritans with the Millenary Petition. It was called by that name because it was supposed to represent the views of a thousand clergy of the English Church. The petitioners enumerated their stock objections to the service and ritual of the Church, e.g. the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, confirmation, the use of the surplice, the reading of lessons from the Apocrypha; they protested against the abuses of excommunication; they required that none should be admitted to the ministry who could not preach, and that ministers should simply be required to subscribe to the Articles as fixed by Parliament (1571), and to the royal supremacy. The petition was moderate in tone. To see what could be done, James in 1604 summoned the Hampton Court Conference. The Puritans were represented by four divines, of whom Reynolds, Dean of Lincoln, was the chief; the authorities of the Church by nine bishops and others. Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was near his end, so the lead of the Anglican party was taken by Bancroft, Bishop of London. The change of leadership was not an improvement; for Bancroft behaved with great rudeness. When Reynolds suggested certain doctrinal changes in the Articles, Bancroft rudely interrupted to the effect that, by the ancient canon, "schismatics" should not be heard against their bishops, and with silly insolence suggested that by appearing in Turkey gowns, the Puritans obviously wanted conformity to the orders

James I.  
and the  
Puritans.

Millenary  
Petition,  
1603.

Hampton  
Court Con-  
ference,  
1604.

and ceremonies of the Turks! He objected to the Puritan request for a retranslation of the Scriptures. James rebuked him for his rudeness; he loved to show his own learning, and agreed with the Puritans that a new translation of the Bible was required. It is to this request of the Puritans that we owe the priceless gift of our "authorised" Bible. But the Hampton Court Conference revealed two important facts. First, it showed that the Puritans would not be content with the moderate programme sketched in the Millenary Petition. They wished to recast some of the doctrinal Articles in a Calvinistic mould; by trying to secure the authorisation of the Lambeth Articles, they attempted to bind Calvinism in its most rigid and loveless form on the Church of England. The bishops and James steadily, though with some indecent mirth, refused their request. Good reason was also furnished for believing that Puritan opposition to the historic Episcopacy was as lively as ever. The second fact disclosed by the conference was that the King had been wholly captured by the Anglican party. He refused to argue with the Puritans about "the power of the Church in things indifferent," such as the cross and the surplice. "I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony; never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey." The Puritans (and in this point Francis Bacon was in agreement with them) suggested the revival of prophesyings as a means to train a preaching ministry. But when they proceeded to suggest that any disputes about the prophesying should be referred to the bishop with his presbyters, the King flared up and told them that they were aiming at a Scots presbytery, "which agreed with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick, shall meet and at their pleasure censure both me and my Council. . . . Till you find I grow lazy, pray let that alone. I remember how they used the poor lady, my mother, in Scotland, and me in my minority." And turning to the bishops, he proceeded, "My lords, I may thank you that these Puritans plead for my supremacy, for if once you are out and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy, for—No bishop, no king." "Well, doctor, have you anything else to offer?" "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse." The Prayer-Book was presently

Puritan  
demands.

James  
hostile to  
Puritans.

reissued with some minor alterations, and with a considerable addition to the catechism concerning the sacrament.

The critical moment had come, and James had made his choice. "In two minutes," says Gardiner, "he had sealed his own fate and the fate of England forever." Courtier bishops might extol the wisdom and learning of their newly found Solomon, and might declare that he spoke with the special assistance of God's Spirit; but Bacon and others knew better. The aged Archbishop Whitgift looked forward with misgivings to the opening of Parliament. His prayer that he might first be removed from the scene of his earthly labours was granted. His last words, as he lay barely conscious, were, "Pro ecclesia Dei." He passed to his rest in February 1604. Parliament met in the following month. If the King had had eyes to see, or ears to hear, with, he might have been struck by the ominous fact that Parliament sided with the Puritans. If the gentry of England and the people of England had Puritan leanings, what would be the fate of the Church of England, as interpreted by Bancroft and Andrewes and Laud?

Death of  
Whitgift,  
1604.

Convocation met at the same time as Parliament (1604), under the presidency of Bancroft, Bishop of London, since the archiepiscopal see was vacant. Undeterred by the hostility of the Puritan House of Commons, and having received letters of business from the Crown, it drew up an elaborate code of 141 canons. This code incorporated canons and injunctions from the preceding reign. They received the royal assent, and are therefore still formally binding on the Church of England, though many of them have by lapse of time become obsolete, and some few altered by legislation. The aim of these canons was to enforce conformity in all points on the Puritans. All impugners of the faith and rites and polity of the Church of England were declared *ipso facto* excommunicate. Parker's Advertisement of 1566 about the wearing of copes and surplices was to be maintained; the reasons for using the sign of the cross in baptism were set forth at length; all clerics, in accordance with the Elizabethan usage since 1571, were to subscribe to the King's supremacy, to declare that the Prayer-Book contained nothing contrary to the Word of God, and to affirm the like about the Articles of Religion.

Canons of  
1604.

At the close of the year Bancroft was appointed to the vacant see of Canterbury. He had no sympathy whatever with

Bancroft  
the new  
arch-  
bishop.

Three hundred Puritan clergy ejected.

"Authorised" version of the Bible.

Puritan views, and had no need of urging from the Council to put the canons in operation. He issued immediate orders. Beneficed clergy who refused to make *ex animo* the three-fold subscription to the supremacy, the Prayer-Book, and the Articles in the form prescribed, but yet were willing to conform, were not to suffer. If they did not conform, they were to be deprived. All unbeneficed clergy who refused to make the prescribed subscription were immediately to be dismissed. The net result was that some 300 Puritan clergy in all were ejected from their posts. Puritanism had been driven into dissent and schism. In 1606 a Bill was passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords, declaring that no canon, unless confirmed by Parliament, should be of force to injure any man in his person and property. The temporal judges have, however, always maintained from that date that canons are not binding on the laity unless confirmed by Parliament. This fact may partly account for the antagonism Bancroft showed in the rest of his episcopate to the efforts of the civil courts to curtail by prohibitions the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts. Bancroft died in 1610. He had an irritable temper and something of the spirit of a persecutor. But his temper mellowed with age and became more conciliatory. He was an honest man, and a lover of learning; he tried hard to raise the spiritual tone and temporal condition of the clergy. The most memorable event of his archiepiscopate was the new translation of the Bible. Bancroft had originally opposed the suggestion at the Hampton Court Conference, but when the matter was taken in hand by royal authority he did much to ensure its success. In the early years of the seventeenth century there were two versions of Holy Scripture current in England. The Bishops' Bible of 1568 was a revision of the Great Bible, carried through by the industry of Parker. The Geneva Bible (1557-1560) was the work of Protestant refugees at Frankfort; the convenience of its size and its annotations of the text made it essentially the Bible for English homes.

Besides these two, a third version, known as the Rheims or Douay version, had been drawn up by the seminarists for the use of English Roman Catholics. The New Testament in this edition appeared in 1582, but their Old Testament, though completed, was not published, owing to lack of funds, before 1610.

The revision of the Scriptures under James I. did not seriously begin before 1607. Six companies, two at Westminster, two at



Oxford, and two at Cambridge, were set to revise different portions of the Bible ; the finishing touches were given by a central committee formed from representatives of the six companies. The text of the Bishops' Bible was taken as the basis of the new edition, but full use was made both of the Genevan and Douay versions. The work was finally issued from the press in 1611, and has become a classic wherever the English tongue is spoken. By the providence of God, it was written when the English language was in its simplest and most majestic form. Though this edition in time became known as "The Authorised Version," it had in reality no direct authorisation either from King or Parliament or Convocation. It made its way through its intrinsic superiority, though the Genevan Bible more or less maintained its position for another fifty years.

On the death of Bancroft it was generally thought that Lancelot Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely, would be appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Andrewes was one of the leaders of the "High" Church party. He was a man of deep piety, and tried to lead men by the example of his saintly life. He had none of the rough, hectoring ways with which Englishmen were soon to become familiar in Laud ; but he resembled Laud in his theology and views of churchmanship. As a controversialist he had, by the King's command, entered the lists against the Roman Catholic writer Bellarmine, and had little difficulty in vindicating the true catholicity of the English Church. He explained the meaning of the royal supremacy, and denounced the Roman practice of raising to the rank of catholic dogma mere accretions to the faith once for all delivered to the saints. Andrewes was also the greatest preacher of the age, and one of the most learned men in England. He would have worthily filled the see of Canterbury, but James shrewdly saw that it was advisable to give pledges to Puritanism by appointing the Puritan Abbot to the vacant see. Abbot was a thorough-going Calvinist ; as vice-chancellor and leader of the Calvinist party at Oxford, he had done his best to suppress the more liberal theology of which Laud, then a Fellow of St. John's College, was the chief exponent. But though a Calvinist and a Puritan, he was firmly resolved to maintain the established order of the Church. He was a really religious man, in the highest degree conscientious ; his integrity was of the most unswerving type. It was fortunate for the Church of England that her chief

Lancelot  
Andrewes.

Abbot  
made arch-  
bishop.

His  
primacy,  
1611-1633.

minister should boldly refuse to condone vice in the highest circles, and show his disapprobation of the sycophant clergy who supported the Crown in its unconstitutional measures. Abbot's refusal as judge to vote for the divorce of the Countess of Essex redounds most highly to his credit. His action was amply vindicated by the scandals which immediately followed the granting of the divorce. His outspoken opposition to the anti-Protestant policy of the Spanish match showed his independent spirit. But Abbot belonged to a class of men who are never popular. He was morose by nature and ungracious in his manner; he had none of the geniality or sympathy which enables a man to get on with his fellows. He had had no parochial experience, and was deficient in knowledge of men. Like Laud, he was utterly unable to understand an opponent's point of view, and even with the Puritans themselves he was never popular. In his opposition to the claims of the civil against the ecclesiastical courts he was as decided as Bancroft had ever been, and found himself quite unable to remain on good terms with Chief Justice Coke. To Roman Catholics and heretics he was intolerant. He was responsible for the burning of two miserable men who denied the divinity of Christ in 1612. They were the last heretics ever burned in England. The religious history of the greater part of his long primacy (1610-1633) is almost a blank. It would have been well for England if this could have continued. But two or three events threw light on the religious feeling of the time. In 1618 James was returning from Scotland through Lancashire, when a petition was presented to him by Lancashire folk against the action of Puritan magistrates and ministers who were endeavouring to suppress their Sunday games. James expressed his sympathy, and after consulting with the bishop of the diocese, the admirable Morton, Bishop of Chester, issued a proclamation known as the Declaration of Sports. In this proclamation he ordered that his good people, after attending church on Sunday, should not be discouraged from taking part in any lawful games, such as dancing, archery, and maypoles; unlawful games, such as bull-baiting were prohibited. It is to be noticed that James was not ordering his good people to take part in these games, that had gone on from immemorial times, but was simply protecting those of his subjects who wished to take part in them, from the new intolerance of the Puritans, who wished to put them down.

Declara-  
tion of  
Sports,  
1618.

James was leaving it to the conscience of each person to take part in, or abstain from, the games, as he thought right. The King gave two grounds for his action; first, that Roman Catholics were kept from conforming to the established Church by the ideal "that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion"; secondly, that healthy exercise was needed by the common people, if they were to be efficient soldiers. "For when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holy days, seeing they must apply their labour and win their living in all working-days?" James was no doubt right in regarding Sabbatarianism *per se* as a superstition. For Christianity is something much harder than the observance of days and seasons. The observance of the Christian Sunday must be based on expediency; it is a day of rest; it is a day set apart for the corporate worship of God, and men might very soon have found that there were better ways for spending Sunday than dancing round a maypole. James was right in trying to save his people from Puritan intolerance, but he was characteristically unfortunate in the method he adopted to make his will known. He directed all the clergy to read his declaration in the parish churches. Needless to say, many Puritan clergy, including the Archbishop, refused to comply with that which they regarded as profanity, and James had the good sense to withdraw his command. His son Charles in 1633 had the folly to reissue the order.

The proper relations which ought to exist between Church and State were at this time occupying men's minds, and the trend which thought was taking among many lawyers and other laymen was shown in a book concerning the history of tithes written by the lawyer and antiquary, John Selden. The colour of the book was strongly Erastian. Selden practically claimed that the Church had no right to any power or property or jurisdiction other than that allowed to it by the State. Before many years had passed he showed that he was prepared to maintain the supremacy of the State over any ecclesiastical power whatever, Presbyterian no less than Episcopalian.

A shadow fell over Abbot's primacy in the year 1621; by an unfortunate accident, when out shooting, he killed a game-keeper. Laud and others were awaiting consecration as bishops-elect, and they refused to be consecrated by the archbishop, declaring that by the canon law his whole position was made

Selden's  
history of  
tithes.

His Eras-  
tianism.

irregular by the homicide. The matter was finally referred to a royal commission, and on its advice Abbot's position was declared free from all irregularity. But it was never fully restored.

Moreover a reaction against the Calvinist theology was in many quarters gaining ground, and clergy with Arminian tendencies were given preferment. Laud, the old antagonist of Abbot, became Bishop of St. David's in 1621. He had the ear of Charles, who succeeded to the throne in 1625. The new King was a refined gentleman, with cultivated tastes. He had many of the qualities which would have adorned a country gentleman, but few of the qualities that are needed by a King. He was reserved and proud, obstinate and self-centred. He was quite unable to imagine the possibility of himself being wrong in any conceivable circumstances. He had an unbounded belief in the powers of his own diplomacy, and was always convinced that the rest of the world would soon come round to *his*, the only reasonable view. At the very crisis of his fate in 1647, when the army held him in the hollow of its hand and offered him what in the circumstances were reasonable terms, he said to its representatives, "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." His manner of carriage filled with amazement his own friends, and one of them whispered in his ear, "Sir, you speak as if you had some secret strength and power which I do not know of." As a matter of fact, the King's behaviour simply arose from the surpassing belief in his own wisdom and importance. This trait in Charles' character was nothing less than deplorable, inasmuch as he was one of the worst judges, both of men and of political situations, that ever lived. But the most evil feature in the King was his lack of straightforward honesty. He had been educated in the unfortunate belief that kings were not bound to keep troth with their subjects. He had a liking for tortuous and devious paths; at one and the same moment he would be negotiating with different sets of people, all against each other—with Roman Catholics and Protestants; with constitutionalists and believers in physical force; with foreign powers and opponents of foreign interference; with Scotch and English; with Presbyterians and Independents and Anglicans; with the civil and the military powers. At one and the same moment he would pursue different and inconsistent policies. Thinking to deceive every one, he deceived no one but

Charles I.,  
1625-1649.  
His character.

himself. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ*; hence the rooted distrust with which the King was soon regarded; hence his failure, his ruin, and his death.

The first four years of Charles' reign form a period by themselves; by 1629 the breach between him and his Parliament was complete. Faults were to be found on both sides. Parliament at the close of the late King's reign had committed the nation to a continental war with the Hapsburg power, but the Puritan gentlemen of England—unlike Elizabeth, who had always wisely refused to embark on such a course—had little knowledge of the nature of a continental war. The Parliament voted the King wholly inadequate sums of money; with failure, their enthusiasm for the war cooled; they would have nothing more to do with it, at any rate when conducted by Charles and Buckingham. In this they were certainly right. The first Parliament had needlessly insulted the King by refusing to vote him for life the custom duties—tunnage and poundage—which had been voted all his predecessors since the days of Henry VI. The King, to finance his wars was forced to resort to unconstitutional taxation; he levied the customs without parliamentary authorisation; he raised forced loans; when gentlemen refused to pay, he imprisoned them, and made the judges reluctantly endorse his action. Buckingham was impeached by the House of Commons, and then assassinated. The Petition of Right was granted by the King, and then its terms were evaded. Thus by 1629 the King and Parliament were at loggerheads; they had quarrelled about taxation, imprisonments, and foreign policy; the Commons had impeached the King's chief minister. Not the least of the causes of estrangement was the question of religion, inextricably entangled as it was with the constitutional issue. Disputes about religion had emerged already in the first Parliament; Arminian clergy were the cause of the trouble.

Richard Montague, an Essex rector, found a Roman Catholic pamphlet, *The Gag for the New Gospel*, circulating in his parish (1622). To this pamphlet he wrote an answer, *A New Gag for an Old Goose*, in which he did not defend the Church of England on Calvinistic lines. On the contrary, his answer approximated in its tone to Roman Catholic views. In the face of a Puritan people, which regarded the Pope as Antichrist, he had the audacity to declare that the Roman Church, though corrupt, was part of the true Church. He maintained the doctrine

Charles quarrels with Parliament on (a) constitutional questions.

(b) Religion.

Charles favours Arminian clergy. Montague.

of the real presence and the practice of auricular confession. When rebuked by the Puritan Primate, Abbot, he wrote another pamphlet, *Appello Cæsarem*, maintaining the same doctrine and appealing to the King. The House of Commons in 1625 attacked and committed him to prison. Charles replied by making him his chaplain, and a few years later (1628) Bishop of Chichester! The Parliament was right in its instincts. This same Montague in 1635 carried on an intrigue with the papal envoy Panzani for reunion between the Churches of Rome and England, confessed the Pope to be vicar of Christ, and acknowledged his full agreement with Roman dogma except in the one matter of transubstantiation. And this though he was a bishop of the English Church! Parasitic clergy endorsed the King's unconstitutional levy of taxes. Robert Sibthorpe in 1627 supported in a sermon the levy of the forced loan. When the archbishop refused to license its publication, his jurisdiction was sequestered, and put into the hands of a commission, of which Laud was the guiding spirit. The sermon was licensed by Montaigne Bishop of London, and Sibthorpe was rewarded with a royal chaplaincy. Roger Manwaring went even further. Prostituting his spiritual position, he declared in two sermons preached before the King that subjects who refused to pay forced loans incurred the penalty of eternal damnation! Even Laud protested, but in vain, against the publication of this blatant nonsense. In 1628 Manwaring was impeached by the House of Commons and imprisoned. But Charles gave him his formal pardon, a rich living, and at a later date (1636) promoted him to the bishopric of St. David's.

Sibthorpe.

Manwaring.

Laud's influence.

The Puritan sentiment of the House of Commons was outraged no less by the religious than by the political views of these men. They saw promotions showered on the High Church clergy, whose doctrine approximated to and seemed to prepare a way for reunion with Rome. Laud already in 1625 had drawn up a list of prominent clergy, whom he docketed O. or P., Orthodox or Puritan, to guide Charles in his patronage. Needless to say, no Puritan was given preferment. John Cosin, one of the High Church coterie, had written a devotional manual after the Roman form for the ladies at Court, telling them the prayers they were to use on particular days, and at particular times, and instructing them about the proper genuflexions and prostrations before the altar. The leading spirit in this High

Church revival and the chief ecclesiastical adviser of the King was William Laud, who became Bishop of London in 1628. Of him we will speak at length later. In this year (1628) he induced the King to issue the preface which is still prefixed in the Prayer-Book to the Articles of Religion; the object of this preface was to stop controversial sermons about the Articles, and to wrench them from the tightening grasp of Calvinistic interpretation. The Commons were thoroughly alarmed at what they considered the Romanising tendencies of the leading clergy. Charles, unable to come to terms with his Parliament about religion and taxation, resolved on its immediate dissolution (1629). But before he could carry out his intention the door of the House was barred, and even while Black Rod was knocking at it, the Commons tumultuously passed three resolutions, of which one was, "Whosoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and the Commonwealth." By "orthodox opinions" the Parliament, of course, meant the tenets of Calvinism.

Preface  
prefixed  
to the  
Articles.

Resolutions  
of House  
of Com-  
mons, 1629.

Thus the third Parliament of Charles I. came to an abrupt end. Eleven years of absolute rule followed; but at their close, when despotic government had ended in military disaster, and had drawn upon itself accumulated religious hate, Parliament was to meet once more, master of the situation. The day of reckoning for Laudian tyranny would have come. During these years of unparliamentary rule Laud was the chief adviser of the King in Church and State. Of no man have more widely different estimates been formed than of Archbishop Laud. To the Puritan and Nonconformist he is simply the supporter of despotism, and in religion "the obstinate old zealot about trifles," while he is the idol of the High Churchmen as the man who saved the catholicity of the English Church. Two preliminary questions may be settled at once. First, was Laud a Romaniser? This was the taunt levelled at him by contemporary Puritans, and has been repeated in our own days. We can unhesitatingly affirm that he was nothing of the sort. In the early days of his primacy he was offered a cardinal's hat, and definitely refused it. "Something dwells within me which will not suffer me to accept that till Rome be other than it is." When papal envoys came to England, e.g. Panzani in

Archbishop  
Laud,  
1633-1645.

Was Laud  
a Roman-  
iser?

1634, Laud refused even to discuss terms of reunion, and warned the King that Rome would not stir a step to meet him. When Charles, under the pressure of his wife, showed undue indulgence to the Roman Catholics, Laud warmly protested. In his controversial dispute with the Jesuit Fisher in 1622 he showed a clear grasp of the differences which separated the Roman and English Churches. While recognising that Rome was still part of the true Church, and not altogether apostate, he stigmatised her errors both in doctrine and practice; he repudiated the infallibility of the Pope and the doctrine of transubstantiation; he denied her right to withhold the cup from the laity, and protested against the invocation of saints and the adoration of images. Her great error in his eyes lay in treating all kinds of unproved dogma as articles of faith. He maintained the absolute right of the Church of England to purify herself, as she had done, at the Reformation by reference to first principles. Her catholicity was proved by her appeal to Scripture, and the creeds of the primitive Church, and by her retention of the historic Episcopacy. In those respects in which he parted from the Puritans, Laud no doubt approximated to Roman views—for example, in the emphasis laid by him on sacramental grace and on ritual; but Hooker's remark, that a belief is not necessarily false because it is Roman, must be borne in mind. The High Church party which looks back to Laud has certainly its due place in the Church of England. Laud was certainly not a Romanist. A colourable ground was given to the slander, which for similar reasons was repeated against the Tractarians in the nineteenth century, by the fact that some of his party went further than he, and finally joined the Roman Church. Montague the Bishop of Chichester, and Goodman the Bishop of Gloucester, were certainly Romanist at heart, and had no right to remain in the English Church. But Laud cannot be held responsible for the action of others; in his favour it ought to be remembered that he converted twenty-two people from the Roman Church, and that his deliverance of the English Church from the exclusive control of Calvinists made it possible for many to remain in the Anglican communion who would otherwise have drifted to Rome.

Was Laud  
an Eras-  
tian?

Secondly, was Laud an Erastian? Did he subordinate the ecclesiastical to the temporal power? There is much at first sight to make such a charge specious. Laud unquestionably did



exalt the power of the Crown, and make use of the Crown's authority in the Court of High Commission to carry out his policy. He held that all jurisdiction of bishops came from the King; the historian Gardiner declares that he cared little for the spiritual independence of the bishops. The exaltation of the temporal power over the Church, whether that temporal power be King or Parliament, is certainly a dangerous line of procedure. But there is nothing necessarily Erastian in it. Bishops in the fourth century exalted the power of the Emperor Constantine, and Laud exalted the power of the King, and the reason in each case was the same. The temporal power was forwarding, not depressing, the supposed interest of the Church, and therefore the bishops supported it. Laud was not therefore essentially Erastian; his magnifying of the kingly office was due to the accident that the Crown favoured the Church against the Puritans.

There is one side of Laud's activity on which all are agreed. He was a scholar, greatly interested in learning. He proved an energetic Chancellor of Oxford University, and did much to encourage the study of Oriental learning.

Laud's  
interest in  
learning.

Born in 1573, he became a scholar, then a Fellow, and finally in 1611 President of St. John's College, Oxford. He had already made himself conspicuous for his opposition to the Calvinistic theology which in his youth dominated Oxford. Promoted by the King to the deanery of Gloucester in 1616, he roused considerable hostility by the removal of the communion table from the centre of the choir to the east end. In the course of this proceeding he showed the lack of tact which fatally bars his claim to real statesmanship. He always gave his commands like the colonel of a regiment, and never tried to commend his orders to the reason or consciences of men. It is the function of the statesman to aim, not at ideal truth or ideal right, but at the highest practicable end. The statesman, unlike a Rousseau, or a Laud, must be in the best sense an opportunist. Laud simply ignored the Puritan atmosphere with which English life was saturated. Preferment came in rapid succession—the bishopric of St. David's in 1621, Bath and Wells in 1626, London in 1628; in 1633 the King, having just heard of Abbot's death, greeted him as "My Lord's Grace of Canterbury." Laud had now reached the pinnacle of his ambition. By 1640 he had become the most unpopular man in England. As a man he was obstinate and rude. His obstinacy was due in large

Laud's  
career and  
character.

measure to his lack of imagination. He had not by nature the gift of sympathy, and he certainly made no effort to understand the Puritan position. His bustling industry made itself felt in every corner of the land. Was there a Puritan congregation to be harried? Laud smelt his prey from afar. Was there a church or churchyard not properly cared for? Laud was on the spot. Had a clergyman or a churchwarden not done his duty? He was haled before the High Commission. Were Puritan pamphlets in circulation? Their authors were ferreted out and brought before the Star Chamber. Offenders against morality, whether high or low, were made to do penance. Laud made his influence felt everywhere. The impartiality with which he administered his discipline over "the greatest and most splendid transgressors," as well as over men of lowly rank, deserves respect. Sinners in exalted positions do not often meet with punishment in this life.

The rudeness and want of tact with which Laud treated his opponents is attested even by his admirers. But his bravery and fearlessness were conspicuous. "He was a man," says his contemporary Lord Clarendon, "of great courage and resolution, and being most assured within himself that he proposed no end in all his actions or designs than what was pious and just, he never studied the best ways to those ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little, nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid (*i.e.* pure) as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty and roughness; and did not consider enough what men said or were like to say of him." A large part of his unpopularity was caused by the active support he gave to the unconstitutional government of the King during the years 1629 to 1640. He was the Prime Minister of the policy which involved the levy of ship money and the imprisonment of Hampden. In the sphere of religion, his whole life was a protest and crusade against Calvinistic Puritanism. It cannot, however, be denied that the Puritans also were fanatically intolerant—as intolerant as Laud himself. They showed their intolerance when they in their turn became supreme. It is one of the ironies of history that the cause of toleration should have been advanced—for this we cannot doubt was the result—by such intolerant people.

Laud's theology showed much greater breadth of mind and liberality than that of the Puritans. It was not a mere accident that he was the friend of the broad-minded and ever memorable John Hales, and of Chillingworth, whom he reconverted from Romanism, a Latitudinarian in doctrine and the author of *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation*. The dogmatic assurance of Calvin was no less repulsive to Laud than that of Rome. He wisely held that the human mind lost itself in wandering mazes when it tried to probe the deep things of God, the great problems of predestination and free will. We owe him a debt of gratitude for the royal declaration of 1628, which saved the Articles from a definitely Calvinistic interpretation. The Puritans found their great opportunity for controversial sermons in the lectureships which had been founded and endowed by individuals and corporations of Puritan sympathies. The service was hurried through and regarded as of no importance. The lecturer then entered the church and delivered his long and often controversial sermon. Laud made this impossible by insisting that sermons should not be delivered apart from the service of the Church. The lecturer must first read the whole service, and then he could preach as much as he liked, so long as he avoided forbidden topics. Another stronghold of Puritanism was to be found in the chaplains kept by private gentlemen. Laud modified the rules of ordination, and forbade any but great noblemen to employ chaplains; all other clergy were henceforth ordained to cures of souls. Laud was a great believer in the influence of forms and ceremonies; his idea was that habits of outward reverence would lead insensibly to inward reverence of soul. His mind was too narrow to grasp the grandeur of the Puritan conception, that the freedom of the spiritual life is cramped by forms and ceremonies. He believed strongly in the power of the church services to impress the senses and distil inward spiritual grace. His method was to proceed from the external to the internal. External uniformity would, he thought, lead to inward unity of spirit. Variety of ritual was therefore distasteful to him. The church services were to be marked by beauty, reverence, and order; church fabrics were to be restored; the church, as the temple of God, was to be kept in good order, and adorned; stained glass and wood-carving were to beautify the house of God. Men were to bow on entering the church, to remind them where

Laud's theology.

Puritan lectureships suppressed.

Laud's belief in forms and ceremonies.

Removal of  
"altars" to  
the east  
end.

they were; they were to bow whenever the name of Jesus was mentioned; they were to bow towards "the altar" as the central point of the Divine presence in the church; they were to kneel reverently at the communion table, and not take the communion sitting, as many of the Puritans did. There was no single-innovation which gave so much offence to Puritans as Laud's order that the communion table or altar should be moved to the east end, and placed altar-wise, *i.e.* north and south. The question about the position of the holy table arose in this way. The Elizabethan injunction of 1559 had ordered "that the holy table in every church be set in the place where the altar stood . . . saving when the communion of the sacrament is to be distributed; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel. . . . And after the communion done, from time to time the same holy table to be placed where it stood before." Thus the Elizabethan injunction contemplated a movable table, which was to stand ordinarily at the east end, but to be moved into the chancel for the communion.

The eighty-second canon of 1604 retained this arrangement of a movable table, but went further in allowing the table to be removed for the purpose of the actual communion either to the body of the church or the chancel. But the arrangement of a movable table had in practice been found too cumbrous; it was impossible to be always moving backwards and forwards a heavy piece of furniture. The result was that by the year 1625 the holy table was permanently fixed at the east end of the royal chapel and most cathedrals, and railed off, while in most parishes it stood permanently table-wise (*i.e.* east and west), in the middle of the chancel or church. Laud objected to this arrangement because of its irreverence. People were said to place their hats and scribble on the table; churchwardens added up their accounts on it, and on one occasion a dog was said to have run off with a loaf placed on the table for the communion. By his influence over the bishops, and by his metropolitanical visitation of his province, Laud caused the holy table to be removed in all cases to the east end, and to be railed off. The legality of the alteration was brought before the Privy Council in the test case of St. Gregory's Church. Five parishioners had complained; but the King, under Laud's influence, decided in favour of the change, asserting that the liberty of placing the communion table in the church or chancel

was left by the canon, not to the discretion of individuals, but to the discretion of the ordinary; that the ordinary (in this case the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's) had directed the removal of the table to the east end, and that there was therefore nothing more to be said. Thus a coach and four was driven through the canon, which had clearly prescribed a movable table. The innovation was no doubt prompted in part by motives of reverence, but it is equally clear that the change had doctrinal significance. As such it was interpreted by the Puritans, and entered in their books for the day of reckoning with Laud. The placing of the table in the middle of the church harmonised with views which regarded the sacrament as one of simple communion. The removal to the east end, while not excluding the idea of communion, could be interpreted as a witness to the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist.

Not less offensive to the Puritans was the action of the King in reissuing, on Laud's advice, in 1633 the Declaration of Sports.

A judge of assize had tried to put down Sunday wakes in Somerset. For his pains he was reprimanded by the Council, and, in his own words, "almost choked with a pair of lawn sleeves" by Laud. Like his father, Charles adopted the fatuous plan of ordering the clergy to read the Declaration of Sports. It was an act of madness, for any reasonable view of Sunday obligation had been swept away by the rising tide of Puritanism. Many of the Puritan clergy refused to obey the order, while one parson distinguished himself by reading the royal declaration, and then the Ten Commandments, and finally adding, "Dearly beloved, ye have heard the commandments of God and man. Obey which you please!"

Throughout his period of power Laud was the target of many venomous Puritan pamphlets. It cannot be said that he bore the trial in a spirit of Christian meekness. Four or five acts of cruel tyranny shown to these venomous libellers can be brought home to him. *Leighton* wrote a book called *Sion's Plea against Prelacy*, of which the burden was that bishops were the root of all evil, the weather included. At Laud's instigation *Leighton* was sentenced by the Star Chamber to be whipped, have his ears cut off, and be branded with S.S., "Sower of Sedition."

A lawyer named *Prynne* wrote a book against the stage, ridiculous for its violence. He specially signalled out for attack

Declara-  
tion of  
Sports  
reissued,  
1633.

Laud's acts  
of tyranny.

the appearance of women as actresses, and he was supposed to have covertly made the Queen the object of his venom. Laud was on the side of severity; the Star Chamber fined Prynne £5000 (N.B.—These enormous fines were never intended to be paid), and ordered his ears to be cut off. Three years later he was again in trouble (1637) for attacking the bishops. It was ordered again that his ears should be cut off! and that he should be branded on his cheeks with S.L. (seditious libeller). With him two other men suffered for the same reason, a parson called Burton, and a doctor called Bastwick. Bastwick had parodied the Litany, and included in it the petition, "From plague, pestilence, and famine, from bishops, priests, and deacons, good Lord, deliver us." Their punishment was similar. The writers were sentenced to imprisonment for life in distant strongholds. One of the first acts of the Long Parliament was to release the prisoners, who re-entered London in triumphant progress. In judging Laud for his harshness, it must, however, be remembered, *first*, that these men were writers of coarse and most offensive libels, and did deserve punishment; *secondly*, that all punishments of that age were cruel in their nature. Men would still be hanged for theft for many a long year to come, and well into the eighteenth century accused felons who refused trial by jury were tortured and starved to death.

Laud's policy had not, however, even the merit of being successful. Secret presses scattered offensive Puritan tracts all over the land.

Laud's visitation of the province of Canterbury, 1634-1637.

In many ways the Laudian Church ideal was a throwback to mediæval conceptions. No Archbishop of Canterbury since the Reformation had carried out a visitation of the province. Laud held such a metropolitical visitation during the years 1634-1637, and used it as a means for screwing up discipline and carrying out the changes already enumerated. The great mediæval churchmen had been the leading statesmen of their day. Laud loved the old mediæval practice by which the State had shown its veneration for the Church by choosing its bishops as her statesmen. He was quite oblivious to the neglect of spiritual duty which the custom involved upon her bishops. He ignored the antagonism that was roused in the lay mind by the episcopal holding of State office. Laud himself was the last of that long line of statesmen-bishops, which included Roger of Salisbury, Becket, Wykeham, and

Wolsey. When he had secured the appointment of Juxon, Bishop of London, to the office of Lord Treasurer, he confided a sort of *Nunc dimittis* to his diary "—No churchman had it since Henry the Seventh's time . . . and now, if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more" (1636).

But the edifice which Laud had so industriously raised was not built upon secure foundations. The Laudian revival was not in any sense rooted in or sprung from the affections of the people. If Laud had taken a glimpse into the obvious, he must have seen that his work was essentially a work imposed from above upon an unwilling people. The tide of Puritanism and disaffection was rising all around him. If Laud built, he built not for the present, but for the future. His ideal for the Church of England prevailed at the Restoration, but it had to be accompanied in practice, and from 1689 confessedly, by a grant of toleration to those who felt their spiritual freedom choked by the rules of the Anglican communion.

There is little reason to differ from the distinguished High Churchman who wrote: "That we have our Prayer-Book, our altar, even our episcopacy itself, we may, humanly speaking, thank Laud. The holy table in all our churches, altar-wise at the east end, is a visible memorial of Laud which none can escape. It was not so before his time, it is not necessarily so by the actual rubric of our Church at this moment. That our Articles have not a Genevan sense tied to them and are not an intolerable burden to the Church is owing to Laud."

By 1639 Puritanism and Laudianism were at daggers drawn, and yet, before passing on to the bitter days of the civil war, it is well to recollect that both parties—at any rate the finest natures in both parties—were seeking in their own ways to find God. Standing as *we* do, on the vantage ground of the twentieth century, we can see how small the difference was that separated the earnest seekers after God in both parties, a George Herbert and a Richard Baxter. This truth was not obvious at the time. The mass of the Puritan gentlemen of England were seething with discontent. Salvation was to come to them from the despised quarter of Scotland—

"Via prima salutis,  
Quod minime reris, Græca pandetur ab urbe."

Charles and Laud had on many occasions shown a plentiful

Attempt to  
impose the  
Prayer-  
Book on  
Scotland,  
1637.

lack of statesmanship, but they never did such an unwise thing as when they attempted to impose canons and an Anglican Prayer-Book on the stiff Calvinism of Scotland (1637). When the new service was read in St. Giles', Edinburgh, a tumult broke out in the church, and a stool was flung by a woman at the Bishop, amid cries of "The Mass," "Baal is in the church." A paroxysm of rage swept over the Scottish people. With wonderful enthusiasm, men, women, and children, they swore in a covenant before God, his angels, and the world, to maintain the true reformed religion. Crowds flocked to the Greyfriars Churchyard in Edinburgh, and signed the document that was laid upon a tombstone (1638). Similar scenes took place elsewhere.

Rebellion  
of the  
Scotch,  
1639.

The Scotch rose in rebellion. Charles could only raise a "scratch" army, and was forced at Berwick to grant all the Scotch demands (1639). But he had no intention of keeping his word with rebels. He was only seeking to gain time, and rouse the national feeling of England against the hated Scotch. By the advice of Strafford, he summoned what is known as the Short Parliament, the first that had met for eleven years (13th April to 5th May 1640). But the Parliament quickly showed that it would give the King no help against Scotland, till a long list of grievances had been remedied. Charles dissolved the Parliament in anger. Convocation met at the same time as Parliament, and continued its sittings against the advice of Laud, and in spite of some doubt as to the legality of its action, after Parliament was dissolved. It passed the canons of 1640, which received the royal assent.

Canons of  
1640.

Our admiration for the fearlessness of Laud is only balanced by our contempt for his statesmanship. He was indeed—

"A daring pilot in extremity,  
Pleased with the danger, when the waves went high."

One canon embodied the Laudian rule about the position of the communion table, another asserted the Divine right of kings, and declared that the bearing of arms against the King under any circumstances was resistance to the powers ordained of God, and that people who thus resisted would "receive to themselves damnation." All clerics, doctors, lawyers, schoolmasters, and others, were to take an oath that they approved the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as con-



taining all things necessary to salvation, that they would never seek to bring in popish doctrine, or ever "consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, *etc.*, as it stands now established . . . nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of Rome."

The "etcetera" oath.

Unfortunately for Convocation, these canons only represented the feeling of the clergy, and were not, like the Scotch covenant, an expression of national feeling. The oath, which came to be known as the *etcetera* oath, provoked a torrent of ridicule. Men were asked to swear to something that was not even accurately defined. The canons of 1640 acted in the same way as a red rag does to the proverbial bull.

The Scots, finding themselves tricked by Charles, rose in arms once more, and crossed the border—this time in league with Pym and the other Parliamentary leaders of England.

The rout of Newburn made the King's position hopeless, and to satisfy the terms demanded by the Scotch, he was forced once more to summon a Parliament. The Long Parliament met on the 3rd November 1640. Thus by a curious coincidence the two most famous Parliaments in English history, the Reformation Parliament of 1529 and the Long Parliament of 1640, met on the same day and month (3rd November).

Long Parliament meets, 1640.

For Charles and Laud and Strafford the day of reckoning and vengeance had come. The presence of the Scotch army made it impossible for Charles to dissolve the Long as he had dissolved his former Parliaments.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE LONG PARLIAMENT, THE PURITAN REVOLT, AND THE RULE OF CROMWELL

THE Long Parliament in its first session (3rd November 1640 to 9th September 1641) rooted up from its foundations the whole structure of arbitrary government. Strafford was impeached, then condemned by Act of Attainder, and sent to the block. The Star Chamber and High Commission Courts were abolished, the levy of ship-money was declared illegal, and Parliament became master of the situation, when Charles consented to a statute in May 1641 declaring that the present Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent.

Laud impeached, 1640, and executed, 1645.

Laud had been already impeached in December 1640, and sent to the Tower. It was an act of needless cruelty when, some three years later, the Parliamentary leaders dragged him from his prison, and by an Act of Attainder condemned him to death. On 16th January 1645 he was executed, protesting on the scaffold, as he had often done before, his complete loyalty to the Church of England. "In that profession I have lived, and in that I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matters of religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant religion established in England, and in that I come now to die."

Long Parliament divided on religious question.

The first session of the Long Parliament showed that on the constitutional issues Charles was entirely without support. But even in its early days differences between its members on the religious question could easily be discerned. Up to a point there was agreement even about religion; all men were determined that the innovations of Laud should be abolished.

The unanimity with which all members, Digby and Falkland no less than the Puritans, joined in a bitter attack on the existing bishops, though indeed surprising, affords convincing proof of the unpopularity into which the Laudian Church had fallen. But when questions of principle emerged in the debates, a parting of the ways became apparent. Digby and Falkland,

though they fiercely denounced the existing bishops, were anxious to maintain within the English Church a reformed episcopate. At the opening of the Long Parliament neither religious nor political feeling was so embittered as it afterwards became. Reason still made her voice heard above the storm of passion. A petition which 15,000 Londoners presented in December 1640 for the overthrow of Episcopacy was a source of unwelcome embarrassment. Its consideration was therefore postponed and, in the meantime referred (February 1641) by the House of Commons to a committee. When the Scotch commissioners in London drew up "a little quick paper" in support of the Londoners' petition, their unwarranted interference was resented, and had to be explained away. The ultra Puritans saw that public opinion was not yet ripe for extreme measures. Above all, it was imperative to preserve an unbroken front on the constitutional question. So the Parliament proceeded on more cautious lines. In March a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons for depriving bishops of their seats in the Upper House. This Bill secured support from many churchmen, who thought that the withdrawal of the bishops from purely secular business could result in nothing but good. But the Bill was rejected in the Upper House (June 1641). Religious feeling became more exasperated, and under Puritan influence, the House of Commons retaliated, passing by a small majority a Root-and-Branch Bill for the extirpation of Episcopacy. Under this Bill the episcopal jurisdiction was to be transferred to a body of lay commissioners dependent on Parliament. The Lords having rejected the moderate Bill, it was not likely that they would pass the more extreme measure. The difference in point of religious view between the Lords and Commons was further manifested when, just before the close of the session, the Lords and Commons passed contrary resolutions, the Lords ordering that divine service should be performed in accordance with the existing law, while the Commons resolved that ecclesiastical innovations should be suppressed.

London  
petition  
against  
Episco-  
pacy.

Charles was away in Scotland from August to November in 1641. The purpose of his visit was to gain Scotch help against his English subjects, and secure documentary proof of the Puritan leaders' treasonable correspondence with the Scots in 1640. To achieve this end he made every conceivable con-

cession to the Scotch; in Clarendon's words, he made "a perfect deed of gift of that kingdom." The knowledge of his schemes exasperated still further English feeling, and when, towards the close of October 1641, the Roman Catholics of Ulster rose in revolt, and massacred a large number of Protestants, not a few Englishmen believed, though their belief was groundless, that the rising had been encouraged by the King. This Irish revolt had the further importance, that it rendered necessary the formation of a new army. Who was to have the command of the forces? It was on this point that the final rupture between King and Parliament took place.

Ulster  
massacre.

Second  
session of  
Long Par-  
liament.

Grand  
Remon-  
strance,  
1641.

Had it not been for the religious question, there would have been no royalist party at all. When Parliament met for its second session in October 1641, its atmosphere was choked with religious passion. Parties were equally divided, and the Grand Remonstrance was only carried on 22nd November by eleven votes. Thus the King—to the surprise of every one except himself—found the Crown supported by nearly half the Commons. The change is to be explained by the clauses in the Grand Remonstrance which threatened the very existence of the Church of England. The Puritans avowed their determination that "a synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines" should be summoned to reform the Church. The impending danger rallied all churchmen to the Royalist side. Men might have no regard for the existing bishops, but they were not indifferent to the principle of an episcopate, and they had learnt to love the Book of Common Prayer which the Puritans were resolved to destroy. The violence of the London mob made it impossible for the bishops to attend Parliament in safety. They therefore absented themselves from the Upper House, and protested against the validity of any votes taken in their absence. They were immediately impeached by the Commons for high treason and imprisoned.

Impeach-  
ment of  
bishops.

On 4th January 1642 Charles made his ill-judged attempt to arrest the five members, and shortly afterwards withdrew to the north of England and collected his forces. In February the Lords, irritated by the action of the bishops in asserting that Parliament, because terrorised by a mob, was no longer able to act freely, consented to the Bill for the exclusion of the bishops from the Upper House. When the war broke out the churchmen sided with the King, the Puritans with the Parlia-

ment. If the Long Parliament in the first stages of its existence merely intended to modify, while retaining, the episcopal system, that section of it which remained behind at Westminster and followed the Puritan leaders soon found itself driven further by the logic of events. No enthusiasm could be inspired by such a moderate policy. Unless their party could be fired with a whole-hearted enthusiasm, failure was inevitable; and that enthusiasm could only be produced by the adoption of the extreme Puritan programme. A Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy therefore passed both Houses in January 1643.

Bill for abolition, of Episcopacy, 1643

But it must not be imagined that the Parliamentarians who remained at Westminster were in complete agreement about religion. They were all Puritans, and unanimous in their determination to abolish episcopacy; but many different shades of Puritanism were represented among them. *First*, there were the thorough-going Presbyterians, who believed in the Divine right of Presbyterian government, with its different assemblies arrayed "in all their beauty and symmetry." Presbyterians no less than Romanists believed in the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power. *Secondly*, there were the Erastians, who believed in the supremacy of the State even in spiritual matters. The Erastians included in their number the civil and common lawyers, between whom and the ecclesiastics there existed a long-standing feud. The lawyers were reinforced by all those who feared clerical rule of any description, Puritan no less than Anglican. As Milton said, "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." Of these Erastians the lawyer and antiquary Selden was one of the most distinguished.

Divisions among the Puritans.

(a) Presbyterians.

(b) Erastians.

There is no doubt that the general tone of the Parliament was Erastian. "The Pope and King," said Baillie, the Scotch commissioner, a year or two later, "were never more earnest for the headship of the Church than the pluralitie of this Parliament." Its members were Puritans in their moral earnestness and desire for a "purer" form of doctrine and worship, but they profoundly distrusted clericalism. *Thirdly*, there were the Independents, who though few in number were able men, and gauged more correctly than the Presbyterians the trend of events. Their day was to come with the rise of Cromwell and the new model army. The Independents did not believe at all in the Divine right and coercive jurisdiction of the Presbyterian régime. They realised that England had for ever passed beyond the stage at

(c) Independents.

which it would tolerate an inquisitorial system such as the Presbyterians desired.

Tenets of  
Independ-  
ency.

Independency in its turn contained within its ranks many different shades of opinion. But the typical independent did not believe in any form of ordination, and zealously maintained the independence of each single congregation. According to him, no congregation or group of congregations could lawfully exercise any authority over another congregation; they might refuse "communion" with it, but that was all. At its extreme left Independency passed into various forms of fanaticism. While the Presbyterian was thoroughly intolerant, and minded to press all sorts of people into the mould of the Presbyterian framework, the Independent was within certain limits the advocate of toleration.

Parliament  
driven to  
ask help  
from the  
Scotch,  
1643.

If Parliament had been left to its own devices, it would have framed a religious settlement at once Puritan and Erastian. But the course taken by the war had by the middle of 1643 rendered the eventual success of the Parliamentary arms extremely doubtful. The probability that the Royalists might triumph drove the Parliament to request help from the Scotch. By so doing it forfeited its complete freedom of action in the future. The Parliamentarians wished, if possible, to form a purely civil league with the Scotch. But Scotch support was not to be secured on such easy terms. "The English were for a civil league," says Baillie, "we for a religious covenant." Since it was imperative to secure Scotch help, the Scots carried their point, and a "Solemn League and Covenant" was made the condition of Scotch assistance. The Solemn League and Covenant was therefore agreed upon and accepted by the English Parliament in September 1643.

Solemn  
League  
and Cove-  
nant.

The original draft of this Covenant would have irretrievably committed Parliament to impose the full rigour of Scotch Presbyterianism on the English nation, but in the words of Clarendon, Sir H. Vane (who was one of the commissioners sent by Parliament to Scotland), "was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation which excelled in craft and dissembling, which he did with notable frequency and dexterity, and prevailed with a people which could not be otherwise prevailed upon than by advancing their idol Presbytery to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith, to the erecting a power or authority that resolved to persecute presbytery to an extirpation, and

very near brought their purpose to pass." What Sir H. Vane did was this: he induced the Scotch to accept a modified draft of the covenant. In its modified form, the Covenant left a door open to Independency. The Covenanters were not compelled to swear that they would reform the Church of England to the model of the Church of Scotland. They were only pledged to preserve the Church of Scotland in its doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and to reform the Church of England "according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches." The effect of this saving clause is obvious. The English Covenanters were only committed to the Scotch Presbyterian system *in so far as it was in harmony with the Word of God*. It is not even clear that they were committed to extirpate every form of Episcopacy. The retention of a limited Episcopacy was perhaps consistent with the letter of the Covenant. But the general result of the Solemn League and Covenant could not be questioned. The Parliament had forfeited its complete freedom of action as regards the religious settlement of England, but with Scotch aid it won the battle of Marston Moor, the turning point in the war (July 1644).

In January 1643, as already mentioned, an Act for the abolition of Episcopacy had received the assent of both Houses, and in June 1643 a Bill had been passed for summoning a synod of Protestant divines. This synod, known as the Westminster Assembly, met on 1st July 1643. It was composed of some 30 lay assessors, 121 English divines, and 8 Scotch commissioners. The average attendance seems to have been 70, and almost wholly clerical.

The Westminster Assembly meets, 1643.

The work of the Assembly covered a wide field. It revised a number of the Articles, it drew up a system of Presbyterian government, it framed a scheme of Presbyterian discipline, it devised a new directory which was intended to supersede "the great idol of England," the Prayer-Book. It formulated a new Confession of Faith and a new Catechism.

Into the details of its work we cannot enter; suffice it to say that the complexion of the Assembly was strictly Presbyterian, but the course of its proceedings revealed two facts of first-rate importance. First, that there existed within the Assembly a small but energetic and able body of Independents, and secondly, that the Parliament was ready to hear the suggestions of the Assembly, but was determined not to allow the

establishment of a full Presbyterian discipline. Each of these points must be taken in order. First, the war in its early stages had been engineered by help from Presbyterian London; the Parliamentary armies had been led by Presbyterians, such as Essex and Manchester. These armies had not been successful.

Rising  
power of  
Independ-  
ents and  
Oliver  
Cromwell.

It was with the rise of Oliver Cromwell, and the formation of the new model army, that the King's defeat became assured. But Cromwell was an Independent, "the darling of the sectaries," as Baillie, the Scotch commissioner, described him. Parliament became increasingly the creature of the army. Thus the small minority of the Assembly found itself supported by the chief power in the State, *i.e.* the army.

Erastian  
attitude of  
Parlia-  
ment.

Secondly, the Parliament was distinctly Erastian. When the Assembly had presented its scheme of discipline, the Parliament set it a series of very awkward and unanswerable questions, asking for texts from the Word of God which would prove that the disciplinary powers vested by its scheme in their different ecclesiastical assemblies were conferred *jure divino*. Parliament refused to assign unlimited powers to ecclesiastical courts, and insisted on a right of appeal to lay commissioners nominated by itself. Thus, in Baillie's words, it was but a "lame Erastian presbytery" that was finally accepted. The ultimate authority of the civil power was vindicated. The fact of the matter was, that England had reached a state of social organisation which would not tolerate the creation of an inquisitorial system such as that desired by the Presbyterians. With this important reservation the scheme of the Assembly was approved by Parliament (June 1646). It was one thing, however, to vote the creation of a Presbyterian system, and another thing to get it into actual operation. This was very soon discovered. It was only in London and some parts of Lancashire that Presbyterianism was really established as a working system; elsewhere the sullen indifference or the active hostility of the people proved a fatal bar to its acceptance. The ministers, since they were not allowed to exercise discipline, and so fence the sacraments from profanation, in some cases refused to administer them at all; in other cases voluntary associations were formed, in which the full rigour of the Presbyterian system was relaxed, and yet sufficient discipline maintained to overcome the scruples of the ministers, and allow them to administer the sacraments.

Modified  
Presby-  
terianism  
established,  
1646.

Many of the old Episcopalian clergy had already been



ejected from their livings for refusing to take the Covenant; the Prayer-Book had been proscribed, though some of the clergy in the public services continued to repeat the old prayers from memory, or incorporate large portions of them in their own extempore compositions. Meanwhile the Independents with Cromwell triumphed in the field of battle. The King became in succession the prisoner of the Scotch, the Parliament, and the Army. Tortuous to the end, he intrigued with them all against each other. Finally he was brought to the block by Cromwell on 30th January 1649. In a sense Charles died as a martyr for the Church of England; that is to say, he could probably have secured his restoration to power if he had been willing to sacrifice the episcopal government of the Church.

Prayer-  
Book pro-  
scribed.

Execution  
of Charles,  
1649.

The execution of the King was not merely a crime, but a political blunder of the first magnitude. The simple majesty with which he had borne himself on the scaffold caused a revulsion in his favour.

“He nothing common did or mean  
Upon that memorable scene.”

The *Eikon Basilike*, published a day after his funeral, and showing as in a mirror the deepest thoughts of the King on things temporal and eternal, was intended to lift the veil and reveal the moral purpose and spiritual faith that had animated his life. True, it was only one side of the picture. But the book “caught on”; it was eagerly bought up, and ran through some fifty editions. The Anglican faith seemed to be justified by the manner of Charles’ death.

The affection inspired by Charles was simply transferred after his death to his worthless son. Cromwell had killed Charles; he had not killed “the King.” If a “free” Parliament had been elected at any date between 1649 and 1660, the return of a large Royalist majority would have been assured. But the Republic or Commonwealth was at once proclaimed, and a period more or less chaotic intervened before Cromwell in April 1653 dissolved the Long Parliament by force. From 1653 to 1658 Cromwell was supreme. The circumstances under which he had risen to power committed him to a line of action far more arbitrary than any which had ever been followed by Charles I. Martial law, arbitrary taxation, religious repression, were the chief features of his rule.

Character  
of Crom-  
well’s rule.

Religious  
chaos.

It is with the religious condition of England that we are here concerned. The religious problem was one to tax all Cromwell's patience and power. The churchmen were a majority in the nation, and yet for reasons of State could not be tolerated. The Presbyterian faith, though held by a small fraction of the people, was the religion established by law, and remained such till the Restoration, except in so far as its establishment was implicitly modified by the Instrument of Government (1653), and Humble Petition and Advice (1657). Thus the Presbyterians though few in number had a point of vantage. *Beati possidentes*. Yet they were discontented, thinking they had not secured enough. Finally there were the Independents, who detested Presbyterianism.

"New foes arise,  
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains,"

wrote Milton in 1652. The Independents included in their number the great names of Milton and Vane, both of whom disbelieved in the idea of a State Church; at the extreme left were the violent fanatics and Antinomians who desired an immediate "rule of the saints."

Cromwell certainly had a difficult team to drive. Before we examine his individual views, let us glance at the religious settlement actually effected. The assembly of Puritan notables, known as the Little Parliament (1653) included a large party of fanatics, who wished to abolish patronage and tithe, and replace the law of England by the Mosaic law. Such fantastic schemes were rejected by Cromwell. "The Agreement of the People" presented to Parliament by the army in 1649, had urged that "the Christian religion . . . reformed to the greatest purity," should be "the public profession in this nation, provided that popery and prelacy be not the public profession"; that there should be no coercion on any individual to join in the public profession, and that all Christians should have liberty of worship outside the established Church, provided that such liberty did not *necessarily* extend to popery or prelacy.

Religion as  
fixed by  
(1) The In-  
strument  
of Govern-  
ment, and  
(2) the  
Humble  
Petition  
and Ad-  
vice.

The Instrument of Government (1653) adopted these provisions of the Agreement of the People, with one significant alteration. It was definitely laid down that no liberty of worship should be granted to popery or prelacy or Antinomianism.

The Humble Petition and Advice (1657) made the similar

arrangement, that outside the public profession of the Christian faith, liberty of worship should be granted to all believers in the Trinity and Scriptures, except papists, prelatists, and Antinomian blasphemers. Thus from 1653 to 1660 there was established in England a Christian Church undenominational in character, preferment being given indiscriminately to Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, *i.e.* to all those who in the Puritan estimate had the root of the matter in them.

In 1654 a board of thirty-eight triers was established to examine the qualifications of candidates for livings. It is needless to say that no clergymen who adhered to the Episcopalian principle satisfied their tests. In 1655 committees were established in each county to eject unfit ministers from their livings. Again it is needless to say that their hand fell heavily on all Anglican ministers. These ejected clergy were reduced to great poverty and subjected to many sufferings. It is true that provision was made by which small pensions might be granted to them, but the conditions were so severe—the actual returns prove it—that few were able to avail themselves of the grant. Some of the ejected clergy found work as schoolmasters or chaplains in private families. But in consequence of Royalist risings, even this opening was closed to them in 1655 by law. Many of the clergy were thus placed in the severest straits, and the religion of churchmen was outraged. The services of the Prayer-Book, and the observance of Christmas Day, “the superstitious time of the Nativity,” were proscribed. A whole congregation which had met secretly on Christmas Day (1657) was imprisoned. Roman Catholics suffered even more than churchmen. The last Roman Catholic ever executed in England for his faith suffered under the Cromwellian Government (1654). Cromwell was equally determined to put down irreligion and immorality. He was anxious to carry out a “reformation of manners,” and to this end enacted severe laws against drunkenness, swearing, blasphemy, cock-fighting, and duellings. Adultery was declared a capital offence, and Sabbatarianism of the most rigorous type was proscribed. So far as the Cromwellian Government could do it, crime was made identical with sin. It is unnecessary to say that such legislation in many cases defeated its own end.

Sufferings  
of Anglican  
clergy.

Moral  
legislation.

What were Cromwell's own views on toleration? His own private opinions were doubtless in advance of those embodied

Cromwell  
and  
toleration

in the law. If we were to judge him by some of his utterances, his own views would seem to have been of a most enlightened kind. In 1643 he found fault with a Major-General Crawford for putting an Anabaptist officer under arrest. "Sir, the State in choosing men to serve it takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies." He ridiculed the intolerance of the sects. "Every sect saith, 'O give me liberty.' But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to any one else." He blamed the Scotch clergy for controlling freedom of preaching, lest error should creep in. It was, he said, as though you should "keep all wine out the country lest men should be drunk."

Narrow  
limits of  
his tolera-  
tion.

But in practice the toleration of Cromwell had narrow restrictions. He was willing to grant all men perfect liberty of conscience. But if the individual was entitled to liberty of conscience, the supreme magistrate was entitled to the like, and this in Cromwell's view involved his right to set up the form of church government of which his conscience approved. "The magistrate hath his supremacy; he may settle religion—that is, church government—according to his conscience." Liberty of conscience is something, but little, if not accompanied by liberty of worship. Yet in Ireland Cromwell absolutely refused liberty of worship to Roman Catholics, "I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of." At Drogheda and elsewhere many innocent Roman Catholic priests were "knocked on the head." In England the toleration which excluded from the worship of their choice more than half the population, and made that worship penal, was of a very limited kind. No toleration was to be found for Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Quakers, Antinomians, or Unitarians. It is true, however, that Cromwell was more tolerant than the letter of his laws. Anglicans in some cases were allowed to enjoy their old form of worship in private, though the toleration was always of a precarious nature. Cromwell instructed the Justices of the Peace to deal tenderly with Quakers as men deluded, and on several occasions intervened to save Unitarians and fanatics from the full legal penalties. His rule was marked by one interesting piece of practical toleration. The Jews, who had been expelled by Edward I., were allowed to settle

once more in England, though their return was not actually authorised by law.

Thus during the Cromwellian régime the principle of toleration made some slight progress. The Anglican Church had been intolerant; the Presbyterians who supplanted it were no less intolerant. But in the bosom of Puritanism the spirit of toleration was born. The Independents had risen in revolt against the intolerance of the Presbyterian system of discipline, and claimed liberty for the individual congregation. Their revolt had been seconded by the Erastian views of the Parliament, and then by the practical genius of Cromwell. Milton had advocated the cause of freedom on the highest grounds, and the Quakers had claimed for the individual freedom of conscience, and the right to direct his own life by the "inner light." Under Cromwell toleration had been secured, at any rate within the limits of Puritanism. He had made Independents and Baptists and Presbyterians lie within one fold. A wider toleration was only to be gained when the growth of secular interests had withdrawn men's attention from exclusively religious objects, and made them indifferent to the shibboleths of contending religious parties.

In the present, however, the Cromwellian rule had made itself hateful to all parties. Anglicans and Roman Catholics and Royalists felt their most cherished convictions outraged. Presbyterians hated the domination of sectaries, the worldly-minded hated the rule of the saints.

When Cromwell's master mind was withdrawn from the scene by death (1658), the restoration of Charles II. became a certainty. That Restoration was effected by a junction of the Royalists, the Presbyterians, and that part of the army which believed in the supremacy of the civil over the military power (1660).

Beginnings  
of toleration.

Death of  
Cromwell.

The Restoration,  
1660.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION

Charles II.'s character.

CHARLES II. set foot on his native land once more on the 25th May 1660. The Mayor of Dover put into his hand the English Bible, and Charles declared that he loved it above all things in the world. The comedy of the situation must have immensely tickled the immoral King. Few redeeming features can be discerned in his character. The profligacy of the restored monarch was notorious, and was soon to be reflected in the profligacy of the Restoration drama. A thin surface of affability concealed an intense selfishness of character. In religion Charles was half an infidel and half a Papist. With his mother's milk he had drunk in Romanism. So far as his infidelity permitted, he was already a convert to Romanist belief; but since the first principle underlying his actions was his resolve never to go on his travels again, an open profession of Romanism was for the time delayed. If the King's good nature has been overrated, his cleverness has been unduly depreciated. For Charles was an extremely clever man. His sensuous lips poured forth a stream of ready wit, but his cleverness did not stop there. He had great political sagacity; in his struggle with his Parliaments he won almost every point, and by the end of his reign had almost established a despotism. His success was, however, thrown away by the folly of his brother James. Into European politics he had a much keener insight than any other living Englishman. The cardinal principle of his foreign policy was the destruction of the Protestant Dutch Republic. The Dutch were the great rivals of England in the spheres of naval supremacy, trade, and colonial enterprise. He realised that with the destruction of the Dutch naval power, maritime supremacy and colonial empire would pass to England.

His reign falls into four clearly marked divisions. (1) The régime of Clarendon (1660-1667). Lord Chancellor Clarendon was Sir Edward Hyde, the old adviser of Charles I., now

raised to the peerage. (2) The era of the Cabal (1667-1673). (3) The régime of Danby (1673-1678); and (4) the period (1678-1685) which was filled with intrigues against the succession of a Romanist King and with the counter-intrigues of Charles.

The events of 1660 meant much more than the restoration of the monarchy. They meant, on the one hand, the rejection of the democratic ideals of the Commonwealth, and the restoration of the rule of the aristocracy; they meant, on the other hand, the restoration of the Church of England to its own. The Church regained the position it had held at the close of 1641; that is to say, the High Commission was not revived, but the lands of the Church were as a matter of course restored. Juxon, the friend of Laud, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Other bishops were restored to their sees, and vacant sees filled by new appointments. Squire and parson were to be the dominant factors in English life for the next 150 years.

In the Declaration of Breda, which Charles had issued in April 1660, before his return to England, he had promised "a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence." But Charles had reckoned without his Parliament. The tide of Royalist and Anglican reaction was rising high all over the country. When the King's first Parliament met in 1661, the enthusiasm of the Anglican majority soon showed what sort of measure would be meted out to Protestant no less than Romanist Nonconformists. Yet both these classes had some reason to hope for recognition. The Romanists had shown their loyalty to the King's father on many a stricken field during the war; the Presbyterians had suffered from the domination of the sects, and had helped to restore the King. But the most which the Romanists could hope for was toleration. The Presbyterians hoped for something better.

The Church settlement might conceivably have taken any one of three forms. If the old Anglican Church were established as the State Church, either toleration might be conceded to the Nonconformists, or an attempt might be made once more to enforce uniformity on the whole people.

Meaning of restoration.

The Church settlement.

Savoy Con-  
ference,  
1661.

A third alternative was the widening of the Anglican communion by making concessions so as to comprehend Presbyterians within the Church's fold. Charles coquetted with the policy of comprehension; he invited twelve bishops and twelve Presbyterian leaders and some others to discuss their differences at the Savoy Conference (April 1661), and see whether the policy of comprehension was feasible. But the discussion soon showed that in the temper of the time no agreement was possible between the contending parties. The Presbyterians put forward proposals almost identical with those which they had preferred fifty-seven years before at the Hampton Court Conference. Baxter produced an alternative Prayer-Book of his own composition. The bishops, fully conscious that they had the nation at their back, refused to listen. The conference reported to the King that it had failed to reach agreement.

Thus the policy of comprehension had finally broken down, and it was clear that Puritan Nonconformists would henceforth have to seek the realisation of their ideals outside the national Church. The only question that remained was whether Parliament would recognise the logic of facts and grant toleration to them. But the fanatical Anglicanism of the House of Commons showed that this was a forlorn hope. A return was made to the old ideal of a national Church, from which no dissent would be recognised. It was not till 1689 that Parliament confessed its defeat and acknowledged that the ideal, however grand, was incapable of fulfilment. The actual religious settlement was embodied in the Act of Uniformity, which received parliamentary consent in May 1662.

Act of  
Uniform-  
ity, 1662.

In obedience to royal letters, Convocation had already in 1661 revised the Prayer-Book. This revised Prayer-Book was accepted without amendment by Parliament, and by the Act of Uniformity made the only legal service book. By this Act every minister was to use the revised book, and none other, in the services of the Church; all parishioners, under penalties, were to attend the parish church; attendance at any other form of worship was to be punished for the third offence with life-long imprisonment. Episcopal ordination was for the first time made a *sine qua non* for holding a cure of souls. Every beneficed clergyman, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster was before the ensuing feast of St. Bartholomew to declare his unfeigned consent to all and everything contained in the Prayer-Book; further,



he was required to declare the Solemn League and Covenant illegal, and expressly renounce the doctrine that arms could in any circumstances be rightly borne against the King.

Though there were in all some 600 alterations, and most of these unpalatable to Puritans, the Prayer-Book of 1662 was substantially the same as that of 1559. The preface—still found in our present Prayer-Book—explained that the alterations suggested by Puritans had been rejected either as frivolous or as “striking at some established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England, or, indeed, of the whole Catholic Church of Christ.” The most important changes were these: the Epistles and Gospels and some other portions of Scripture incorporated in the Liturgy (but not the Psalms), were now taken from the Authorised Version; the five prayers found to-day at the close of Morning and Evening Prayer were placed where they now stand; certain other prayers, and notably that for the High Court of Parliament (an interesting fact, for it typified the permanent place that Parliament was henceforth to hold in the government of the country), and various forms of thanksgiving were also included. In the Communion Service the presentation of the elements was enjoined by rubric, and the commemoration of the dead was inserted in the Prayer for the Church Militant; in the actual consecration of the sacrament rubrics were added prescribing the manual acts. The Black Rubric of 1552 was reintroduced at the end of the service, but significantly altered so as to deny not the real and essential presence, but only the *corporal* presence in the sacrament of Christ’s natural Flesh and Blood.

Of the other additions to the Prayer-Book the most important was an “Office for the baptism of such as are of riper years.” The carelessness, which had characterised the troublous times of the civil war in the matter of religious ordinances, had made the need of some such office widely felt.

Forms of prayer to commemorate the Restoration and the martyrdom of Charles I., though couched in extravagant language, received the approval of Convocation, and were appended to the Prayer-Book by royal authority, but received no authority from Parliament.

The net result of the settlement was that some 2000 Puritan clergymen were ejected without compensation from their livings. The political clauses of the Act of Uniformity even more than

Prayer-  
Book of  
1662.

Puritan  
clergy  
ejected.

the Prayer-Book made it impossible for high-minded Puritans to accept the cure of souls on such conditions. Thus a memorable decision had been taken ; from 1662 onwards a large part of English Christianity has found its home without and not within the pale of the national Church. But it is doubtful whether the Presbyterians would have been really content with anything short of sweeping changes ; and there is no ground for believing that surrenders of principle and comprehension of discordant elements, so as to secure a nominal unity, ever conduce to real efficiency or vigorous life. Their exclusion is not, therefore, altogether a matter for regret. The Act of Uniformity did not stand alone ; a series of repressive statutes, generally known as the Clarendon Code, made the *legal* position of Nonconformists almost intolerable. Even before the Act of Uniformity had been passed, Parliament had begun the policy of repression in the Corporation Act (1661). The purpose of this statute was to strike at the heart of the Presbyterian party, of which the strength lay in the corporations of the small towns. Henceforth all holders of corporate office were to take oaths renouncing the Covenant, and declaring that under no circumstances was it lawful to bear arms against the King, and, further, were to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England. Thus a beginning was made of the system by which the sacrament was turned into a political test, and wickedly profaned. It is a lamentable fact that for 160 years to come every loyal member of the Church of England was taught to regard this profanation as a bulwark of the Church !

The Clarendon Code.

Corporation Act.

Conventicle Act.

By the Conventicle Act of 1664, a conventicle was defined as a place where more than five people assembled for worship over and above the members of a household. Attendance at such conventicles, "the seedplots of seditious opinions," was punishable by fine, imprisonment, and for the third offence by transportation.

Five Mile Act.

The Five Mile Act of 1665 prescribed that all ejected ministers, and preachers in conventicles, unless they had subsequently taken the oath of non-resistance, should abstain from coming within five miles of a corporate town or any parish where they had preached.

These Acts together formed what has been called the Clarendon Code. In our judgment on its authors, various con-

siderations must be borne in mind. The King had broken the spirit, if not the letter, of the promise made at Breda. But to do Charles justice, the primary blame must be laid neither on him nor the bishops, but on the House of Commons. Charles had a vague leaning—sprung from indifference—to religious toleration, and at the end of 1662 he made a proclamation, “that in the next session of Parliament” he would do his utmost to carry through an Act which would “enable us to exercise to the satisfaction of all the dispensing power which we consider belongs to us.” But in this proclamation a question of great constitutional importance was raised. *Had* the King any such dispensing power? Parliament in 1663 denied that there was any such dispensing power inherent in the King, and threw out a Bill introduced by the King to give effect to his promise. Charles therefore could claim with some show of reason that he had done his best to redeem his promise, but had been thwarted by Parliament. Secondly, though the extreme repression of the Clarendon Code can never be justified, it must be remembered that the repression was primarily for political purposes. Under the specious pretext of religion, the Cavalier party was really taking revenge on political opponents. The Roundhead was being struck through his Puritanism. Thirdly, though the first effect of the Clarendon Code was undoubtedly to fill the gaols with Nonconformists, it must not be supposed that the Acts were consistently carried out. They were rather *quoad terrorem*. For large portions of Charles II.’s reign they were dead letters, and before its close Nonconformist worship was in many places going on without concealment. Bunyan, for example, was preaching openly to crowded congregations after 1675 in London and elsewhere.

House of Commons to blame.

Repression primarily political.

One other interesting change must be noticed in the opening years of the reign. By a private arrangement made between Lord Chancellor Clarendon and Archbishop Sheldon—who had succeeded to the see of Canterbury on Juxon’s death in 1663—the clergy after 1663 discontinued the practice of voting their supplies to the Crown separately in Convocation. Another notable event was the Great Fire of London in 1666, in which the Gothic church of Old St. Paul’s was destroyed. An opportunity was then given to one of the greatest of English architects, Christopher Wren, to build the splendid edifice that still acts to-day as the cathedral church of the metropolis. The period

Clergy case to vote money in Convocation.

St. Paul’s rebuilt.

was also marked by the restoration and rebuilding of many other cathedrals and churches which had suffered from the destruction of the civil war. With the repair of the fabrics went in many places a revival of the old ritual.

Intrigues  
to restore  
Romanism.

After the impeachment and flight of Clarendon in 1667, Charles entrusted affairs of State to no single minister. The Cabal was in no sense a modern ministry. According to the work he had in hand, Charles confided his purpose to one or other member of the Cabal. Two of its members, Clifford and Arlington, were Roman Catholics. The chief desire of the King was to re-establish the Roman Catholic faith in England as a suitable buttress to despotic power. At the very beginning of his reign, negotiations had been opened with Rome through various agents, notably James de la Cloche, a bastard son born to the King when he was only seventeen years old. The general purpose of these negotiations was to secure for England, in return for the acknowledgment of papal supremacy, certain privileges, such as the administration of the cup to the laity, vernacular services, a recognition of the royal power in ecclesiastical affairs, and a guarantee of national customs of the sort claimed by Louis XIV. some years later in the Gallican articles (1682). The idea of reconciliation on these terms had not been received with any enthusiasm by the Pope. But the King still persisted in his aim. The most obvious method to achieve it was through the specious guise of toleration. Had not something of the same sort been done by the King's grandfather, Henry of Navarre? Henry of Navarre had in 1593 turned a Papist to win the crown of France, and then in 1598, by the Edict of Nantes, had secured toleration for the Huguenots, his former co-religionists. Might not the grandson succeed in a somewhat similar scheme? But if Charles could not carry out the re-establishment of Romanism under the plea of toleration, he was prepared to go all lengths, and use for the purpose a standing army, a French alliance, and French troops. Parliament was bitterly hostile to all these schemes. The attitude of the Nonconformists was the doubtful element in the situation. For though the Nonconformists were as much opposed to despotism as the Anglican Parliament, they did desire toleration for themselves; and while the King, for his own purposes, was willing to grant them this boon, the Parliament was opposed to any kind of toleration whatsoever. Then came the treaty of

Dover (1670). In reality there were two treaties. The avowed Treaty of Dover, 1670. treaty was simply one of alliance between England and France against their common enemy the Dutch Republic. But the secret treaty, known only to the Catholic members of the Cabal and a few others, was one fraught with danger to English Protestantism. By this secret treaty Charles undertook to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and re-establish Romanism in England by French gold and a French army. The pre-arranged quarrel with the Dutch was picked by the two powers, and Charles sought to pave the way for his further designs by the Declaration of Indulgence (1672).

In this Declaration the King intimated that the lack of success attending the penal laws had convinced him of their futility. He therefore proceeded, by the power which he said was inherent in him, to suspend the execution of the penal laws against all Nonconformists whatsoever. Drawing a distinction between Protestant and Romanist Nonconformists, he declared that the former might henceforth worship as they wished, provided that their meeting-places were registered and opened to all persons, while the Romanists were to be allowed the right of worship in their private houses only. It is an ill wind that blows no one any good. The gaols were freed from their Nonconformist inmates. Bunyan, for example, had to thank the Declaration for liberation from his twelve years' imprisonment. But Parliament was now thoroughly alarmed. It did not know the secret engagements of the treaty of Dover, but it did know that Charles was in league with a Roman Catholic King against the Protestant Dutch. Rumour on this occasion did not prove a lying jade, and rumour had already bruited abroad the true nature of the treaty, and the fact that the Duke of York, the heir to the throne, had just been admitted into the Roman Church. The Duke of York did not mend matters when in 1673 he married a Roman Catholic lady as his second wife. Nonconformists looked askance at a religious toleration which was to be purchased at the price of civil liberty. They knew that if the despotism of a Roman Catholic king was once established, their religious liberty would not be worth many hours' purchase. Parliament met in a state of considerable excitement, and the House of Commons immediately drew up an Address in which they informed the King that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical could not be suspended except by Act of Parliament, and they petitioned that

Declara-  
tion with-  
drawn.

Test Act,  
1673

Mary  
marries  
William of  
Orange.

Sancroft  
arch-  
bishop,  
1678.

Popish  
plot, 1678.

the laws should be duly executed. The King was determined not to go on his travels again, and withdrew his Declaration. The Commons, not content with their victory, went further, and drew up the Test Act (1673). Going beyond the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy, the Test Act insisted that all holders of civil and military office should not only take the oath of supremacy, but also make a declaration against transubstantiation, and receive the Holy Communion in accordance with the rites of the Church of England.

The régime of Danby (1673-1678) witnessed a return to the main ideas of Clarendon. Only two events in this period need detain us—the one the marriage of Mary, James' daughter, to William of Orange the virtual ruler of Holland and the leader of the Protestant interest in Europe, the other the death of Sheldon, and the appointment of Sancroft to the archbishopric of Canterbury (January 1678). The opposition to the Government was led by Shaftesbury, an ex-minister of the King, who had passed over to and now led the popular party. The political atmosphere became increasingly charged with electricity, and in September 1678 the storm burst. In that month Titus Oates, a perverted pervert whose extraordinary physical ugliness was only surpassed by the moral turpitude of his soul, laid an information before a well-known London magistrate, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, about a so-called popish plot. He declared that there was a Roman Catholic plot on foot to assassinate the King and go in for a wholesale massacre of Protestants. The idea of a second "St. Bartholomew" in England was of course absurd. The tale of the plot as put forward by Oates was a tissue of monstrous lies. Oates himself and his friends were not even able to lie consistently. But a regular panic ensued, and all kinds of infamous informers found for a time a happy hunting ground in the credulity of the English people. Panic increased a few weeks later when Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey was murdered. The frenzy of suspicious terror which ensued can only be compared to that caused by the mutilation of the *Hermes* at Athens some 2000 years before. The furor that swept over modern France about the Dreyfus affair would be but a pale reflection of the panic that filled English minds in 1678. The mystery that hangs over the popish plot and the murder of Godfrey will never be completely lifted. It is probable that there was some kind of popish plot.

The events of 1673 had made it clear to the Roman Catholics that no further help for their designs was to be expected from Charles. Charles had no intention of compromising the security of his throne in order to aid Romanism, and he saw that the re-establishment of Romanism was in the state of English feeling impossible. From that date, therefore, the hopes of the Roman Catholics were centred on the Duke of York. The secretary of the Duke or Duchess of York, Coleman by name, carried on an elaborate intrigue with the confessor of the French King and with Rome. The aim of the plotters was the overthrow in England of the established order in Church and State, and their left wing may have contemplated the assassination of Charles II. Oates, when a pervert living in Jesuit seminaries abroad, may have got wind of this plot. A recent author<sup>1</sup> has propounded the view that Godfrey, who, though a Protestant, was a personal friend of Coleman, accidentally acquired in conversation with him the knowledge that the Jesuit conference about which Oates talked so much had been actually held in the Duke of York's palace. If this information were once made public, the Duke of York's chance of succession to the throne would be fatally imperilled; and therefore this author suggests that Godfrey was probably murdered at the Duke of York's instigation. However that may be, the Protestant frenzy that swept Englishmen off their legs led to the judicial murder of many innocent Roman Catholics for their supposed share in the plot. The most notable victim was Lord Stafford (1680). Shaftesbury and the Whigs for their own party purposes aggravated the mania of suspicion and fanned the flame of persecution. Dryden summed up the situation correctly when he wrote about Shaftesbury—

Judicial  
murder of  
Roman  
Catholics.

“The wished occasion of the plot he takes ;  
Some circumstances finds, but more he makes.”

In 1678 a Bill which excluded Papists for the first time from the House of Lords was passed. The Long Parliament of the Restoration (1661-1679) had finished its work and was at last dissolved. The rest of the reign was wholly occupied with the struggle to prevent the accession of a Roman Catholic king. It is to this period that the formation of the two great historical

<sup>1</sup> Pollock, *The Popish Plot*.

Rise of  
Whig and  
Tory  
parties.

parties of Whigs and Tories can be traced. The Whigs were those who asserted the reality of the popish plot, and wished to exclude a Roman Catholic king from the succession to the throne. They advocated the claims to toleration of Protestant Nonconformists; they held that sovereignty was based on a contract between sovereign and people, and therefore stoutly maintained the rights of Parliament and the principles of a limited monarchy. The Tories, on the other hand, were the upholders of Anglican supremacy and religious uniformity, yet they looked with disfavour on the persecution of Roman Catholics for participating in pseudo-plots; they insisted on the indefeasible Divine right of the heir to the succession, and maintained the principles of passive obedience—that is to say, under no conceivable circumstances was it right actively to resist the lawful King; a man was justified in refusing to co-operate *actively* in the execution of unlawful commands issued by the King, but he ought gladly for conscience' sake to acquiesce in punishment inflicted by the sovereign for such refusal.

Exclusion  
Bill,

Such was the sort of doctrine that the Anglican clergy were preaching on all sides. In his conflict with the Whig party Charles II. played his cards with consummate skill; he consented to the Habeas Corpus Act (1679), and to secure Protestantism, in the event of a Roman Catholic succession, he offered concessions that would have reduced to a shadow the powers of a Papist sovereign. But the Whigs adopted a wholly irreconcilable attitude; they introduced Bills to exclude the Duke of York from the succession; they asserted—and they were probably right—that no such parliamentary compact could secure Protestantism against a Papist king. Their point of view was summarised in a contemporary rhyme—

“I hear a lion in the lobby roar,  
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door,  
And keep him out? or shall we let him in,  
To try if we can turn him out again?”

But the King had gauged the trend of national feeling with greater insight than the Whigs. He gave them enough rope to hang themselves, and this they promptly proceeded to do; their refusal to consider the concessions which the King was willing to make alienated many supporters; their inability to agree on an alternative to James as successor to the throne



helped the cause of the King. Lord Halifax wanted William of Orange, but Shaftesbury was already engaged in the discreditable scheme of raising Monmouth, the King's bastard, to the throne. The nemesis of reaction followed on the fraud and blood with which innocent Roman Catholics had been done to death. The King bided his time ; he then turned and struck hard. Shaftesbury the Whig leader was goaded into a wild attempt at a rising ; he was forced to flee the country (1682), and died the following year. Other Whig leaders were arrested on charges of planning insurrection, and judicially, but in many cases unjustly, condemned for treason. The Rye House Plot, a wild plot of the Whig extremists, gave the Government an excuse. The charters of the town corporations were remodelled so as to secure a Royalist majority in Parliament. Charles at the time of his death in 1685 had won all along the line. On his deathbed he was received into the Roman Church.

James II., by his obstinate bigotry, sacrificed all the success achieved by his brother. He was consumed by the one desire of re-establishing popery in England. No considerations of opportunism were permitted to stay his resolve. It is difficult to believe in the sanity of a man who had lived through the Protestant frenzy of the era of the popish plot, and yet thought it possible to re-establish Romanism in England. It was to the devoted loyalty of the Church of England that James owed his accession to the throne at all. Anglican support had been the buttress of the Stewart monarchy in all the stages of its career. The interest of the reign lies in the wilful way in which the King cut away from beneath his feet the basis of his own power. His one aim being to restore Romanism, he tried to achieve it first by the aid or connivance of the Church of England. This period was marked by cruel persecution of Baxter and other Nonconformists. The King at the first meeting of his Council and Parliament expressed his intention of maintaining the existing system established by law in Church and State. But he soon showed that his real intentions were very different. He attended publicly as King a Roman Catholic service at St. James', and informed Archbishop Sancroft that he would allow no preaching of any sort against the Roman faith.

Accession  
of James  
II., 1685.

His aim to  
restore  
Romanism

The insurrection in favour of Monmouth necessitated the formation of an army, and many Roman Catholics were appointed

Commissions given to Roman Catholics.

to commands, in utter disregard of the test oaths prescribed by law. Protestants began to feel uneasy; it was, moreover, the time when Protestant feeling was already stirred by the sight of Huguenot refugees who had been driven from France, amid circumstances of fearful cruelty, owing to Louis XIV.'s revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Church of England was roused to a consciousness of her Protestant character and her affinities with other Protestant bodies. The refugees were given an enthusiastic welcome by Compton, Bishop of London, and the mass of Englishmen. But James became increasingly reckless. He struck Lord Halifax off the Privy Council because he protested against the appointment of Roman Catholics to office as contrary to law, and he relieved other Protestants of their commands.

When Parliament met for its second session on 9th November 1685, strong speeches were delivered against the employment of Roman Catholic officers. The House of Commons drew up a petition in which the illegality of the dispensing power was asserted, and invited the King to take action accordingly. In the House of Lords, Compton, Bishop of London, drawing a simile from the dykes which protected Holland from the sea, declared that the laws were the dykes protecting English Protestantism from the flood of universal Romanism.

Breach with Church of England.

Compton's speech was memorable because it definitely marked the breach which was opening between the Church of England and the Crown. James was determined not to give way. He dismissed various judges, and then, having packed the bench, tried to make good his claims through a collusive suit. Sir Edward Hales, Lieutenant of the Tower, was a Roman Catholic who had failed to take the oaths prescribed by the Test Act.

Case of Godden v. Hales decided in favour of dispensing power.

His servant Godden, acting as an informer, claimed from Hales the sum of £500, to which he was entitled under the Test Act for his information (1686). Hales pleaded in defence the dispensation of the King. The case was argued before the twelve judges of the King's Bench, and eleven out of the twelve judges decided in favour of Hales. It is not clear that the decision of the judges was itself contrary to law, but the judgment proceeded on the most extravagant views of prerogative, declaring that the laws were the King's laws, that he could therefore dispense with them as he thought fit, and was the sole judge of the times and reasons for suspending them. Fortified by this decision, the King proceeded on his infatuated course. He dis-

missed Protestants from office, and replaced them by Romanists. He attacked the Church of England at the centre of its influence in the universities. Walker, the Master of University College, Oxford, was dispensed from taking the tests; Massey, a Roman Catholic layman, was made Dean of Christ Church. Cambridge was ordered to give a degree to a Benedictine monk, and the Vice-Chancellor on refusing to comply was deprived. In July 1686 the King set up a new Ecclesiastical Commission, of which the legality was doubted even by its President, the Lord Chancellor Jeffreys. Thus the King advertised the fact that powers which had been assigned the sovereign by the Act of Supremacy for the express purpose of destroying papal power, were now to be used for the promotion of papal interests. By this new Commission, Compton, Bishop of London, was suspended, and the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, on refusing to accept the King's nominee as their President, were ejected from their college.

New Ecclesiastical Commission, 1686.

Having quarrelled with the Church, James then fell back on Charles' old idea of restoring Romanism under the disguise of complete toleration to all parties. He tried to create a coalition party of Romanists and Protestant Nonconformists, and work it against the Church of England. The Protestant Nonconformists, who since the beginning of the reign had been bullied and pitilessly treated, were now caressed. Baxter and others were set at liberty. The King found in William Penn, the Quaker, a warm supporter of his policy. Penn believed in the indefeasible right of conscience, and thought that government ought to be based on civil and not on ecclesiastical obedience. These views are of the most enlightened kind, and are accepted to-day as axiomatic. But every statesman knows that the application of such principles must be determined, and, if need be, modified by the political and social circumstances of the time. The Nonconformists as a body showed truer wisdom, and refused to win a cheap victory over the Church of England at a cost which might before long be found incalculable. With Romanism and despotism established in the State, was it probable that any Protestants would continue to enjoy religious freedom? Was it not more probable that dragonnades and death would await them? To their eternal glory, Baxter and other Protestant Nonconformists stood in with the leaders of the national Church.

James tries to use the Nonconformists.

Declara-  
tion of In-  
dulgence.

On the 4th April 1687 James issued a Declaration of Indulgence more sweeping in character than that issued by his brother Charles in 1672; for while suspending the penal laws and the Test Act, he gave full right of public worship to Roman Catholics, no less than Protestant Nonconformists.

He next took measures calculated to pack Parliament with supporters of his policy, removing all local officers, such as Lords Lieutenant, Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace, who did not undertake to forward his schemes, and issuing a Commission which was to remodel borough corporations in his interest. In May 1688 he reissued his Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered the Anglican clergy to read it publicly in church on two successive Sundays. The exquisite folly of this order deserves all the scathing satire poured upon it by Macaulay. There was nothing more likely to make the Anglican clergy reconsider their views about Divine right and non-resistance than this avowed conspiracy against their faith and their property. The weapon forged for use against the papacy snapped like a brittle reed in the hands of the papal champion. A hurried meeting of those bishops who were close at hand was summoned by Archbishop Sancroft. Acting in unison with the Hydes, the brothers-in-law of the King, the bishops resolved, first, that the Declaration should not be read, and, secondly, that a petition should be presented to the King. This petition was most respectful in tone, but said quite definitely that the Declaration was founded on such a dispensing power as had been declared illegal in Parliament in 1672, and that the signatories could not see their way to read, or order the reading of, the Declaration in church. The signatories of this memorable document were Sancroft of Canterbury, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol. The result of the bishops' action was that the Declaration was read in very few churches; where it was read, the congregation got up and walked out. The King was extremely indignant. He could not arrest all the clergy in England. What he did do, was to arrest the seven bishops and prosecute them before the King's Bench for having maliciously published a false and seditious libel. But the lawyers engaged by the bishops in their defence had little difficulty in proving that the petition was neither false nor seditious nor libellous. Every one had a right to petition the

Petition of  
bishops.

Trial of  
the seven  
bishops.

Crown. The result of the trial was the triumphant acquittal of the bishops. Even the army which James had gathered at Hounslow Heath cheered wildly on hearing the verdict. The eyes of all England had been fixed on the case, and the scenes of tumultuous enthusiasm that all over England followed the acquittal of the bishops ought to have shown James that he was just over a mine. His position was made worse by the birth to him of a son, which threatened the advent of a Roman Catholic dynasty.

The loyalty of the English nation had been strained to breaking-point. The most eminent leaders in English public life, both Whig and Tory, combined to invite William of Orange, the King's son-in-law, to bring over an army that would secure English freedom and English Protestantism. It is a remarkable fact that James did not even carry with him the English Roman Catholics, nor was he supported by the Pope himself. Innocent XI. favoured a policy of gradually converting England by pacific means, and was altogether opposed to the violence of Jesuit zealots, especially that of Father Petre, whom James made his confidant.

The English Romanists were divided, as ever since the days of Elizabeth, between the moderates and the ultras. But the mass of them disliked Father Petre's violence.

It is one of the ironies of history that William's expedition, which finally assured the triumph of English Protestantism, sailed, owing to the political circumstances of Europe, with the approval of the Pope himself. The concessions offered by James, when he saw that William was in earnest, came too late, at a point when conciliatory steps had no longer the least effect. William came, and saw, and conquered. James was intimidated into running away, and committed political suicide by taking refuge with France—the hereditary foe. The Tories had joined with the Whigs in overthrowing the tyranny of James; but many of them found themselves unable to acquiesce in a transference of the crown from James to William and Mary. True to their hereditary tradition, they maintained that no power on earth could rightfully depose the King against his will. But the logic of facts was too strong for them. The Whig theory of a contract, which James had broken with his people, supplied a justification for the offer of the crown conjointly to William and Mary (February 1689). This offer was the work of the Whigs and more moderate section of the Tories.

Acquittal of bishops

William of Orange invited over.

William and Mary accept the throne, 1689.

The new sovereigns were crowned on 11th April 1689 by Compton, Bishop of London. In accordance with an Act of Parliament, the coronation oath was amplified so as to make the King swear that he would maintain "the *Protestant* reformed religion established by law." This oath has been taken by every succeeding monarch. Unfortunately, eight bishops, including Archbishop Sancroft and four of the famous seven who had opposed James II., did not see their way to transfer their allegiance from him and take the prescribed oaths of allegiance to the new sovereigns. Three of the eight died before the time arrived for taking the oath, but the other five were deprived. These five, together with some four hundred clergy and a considerable body of laymen, seceded from the national Church and formed the body of Nonjurors. Obedience to conscience, when it involves great sacrifice, deserves supreme respect, and the Church of England could ill afford to lose men of such spiritual lives and such single-minded integrity. But the theory of Divine right on which they acted is now completely discredited, and therefore their action cannot be approved. Many Nonjurors thought that the Church of England compromised her catholicity by recognising the bishops put into possession of sees not canonically vacant. After the death of Sancroft (1693), and in spite of the advice of Ken, the succession of the nonjuring bishops was continued. Many of their clergy served as chaplains in Jacobite families, and the schism was only finally closed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Secession  
of Non-  
jurors.

The circumstances under which William III. ascended the throne made a reconsideration of the position of Protestant Nonconformists necessary. There had been a tacit understanding to this effect. William himself was a Dutch Calvinist, entirely out of sympathy with the claims of the historic Church as understood by most English Churchmen.

One more futile effort was made to comprehend the moderate Nonconformists in the Church of England by rewriting the Prayer-Book so as to meet their objections, but the opposition shown to the whole scheme by the Lower House of Convocation sealed the fate of the experiment. Whatever else might be uncertain, this at any rate was clear, that the Book of Common Prayer after 150 years of use had found its way to the affections and hearts of English Churchmen. Churchmen would not allow it to be altered. The policy of comprehension having

broken down, other means had to be devised for the satisfaction of the religious aspirations of Nonconformists. These were found in the Toleration Act of 1689. By this Act complete freedom of religious worship was granted to orthodox Protestant Nonconformists, provided that their meeting-places were registered and open to the public, and provided that their ministers took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and subscribed to all the Articles other than those which dealt with the external government and the ceremonies of the Church. Quakers were allowed to make an affirmation instead of taking an oath.

The Toleration Act of 1689 was not a comprehensive grant of religious liberty. Roman Catholics and Unitarians were wholly excluded from the benefit of its operation. The penal laws against Protestant Nonconformists were relaxed, but the tests for office were retained. Churchmen were still to form the sole governing class. But the Act was the thin end of a big wedge, and was certainly the most that public feeling in the country would have sanctioned, since the mass of Englishmen were still Anglican and Tory. They did not believe either in the political or the religious creed of the Dissenters. The principle of liberty of worship was not in any quarter regarded as one of self-evident truth. On the persecution of Roman Catholics, both Whigs and Tories were agreed; a ferocious statute of 1700 made Roman Catholics incapable of purchasing or inheriting land, and shut them out from education, the liberal professions, and all positions of trust. It is fair to add that the statute was allowed to remain in almost complete abeyance.

The form that English Christianity would henceforth assume was now fixed. First, it was clear that Nonconformity had come to stay. Schism within English Protestantism would always need to be reckoned with. The division between Churchmen and Nonconformists from 1689 down to the present day has affected the solution of countless problems in every range of life. Secondly, the position of the national Church of England was defined. During the seventeenth century she had gone through a wealth of experience; she had suffered and she had triumphed. She had been given a splendid theology by the Caroline divines—Jeremy Taylor, Pearson, Bull, Cosin, and others—and a philosophy by the Cambridge Platonists; she had reared within her fold many saintly lives; she had fed the flock in the different parishes of England. The Prayer-Book

and Episcopacy have henceforth within her fold been unchallenged.

But the Church still comprehended many grades of opinion. There was the High Churchman, who carried on the tradition of Laud; there was the Low Churchman, who differed little in his theology from the orthodox Protestant Dissenter, but saw no adequate reason for deserting the Church of his forefathers.

Latitudinarianism.

There was lastly the Latitudinarian or Broad Churchman. Latitudinarianism was the product of two tendencies. A century of religious strife and religious confusion had produced in many men a sense of sheer weariness; they were willing to drop the shibboleths of contending factions and ground themselves on what they considered to be "fundamental Christianity." This sense of weariness was reinforced by the appeal to reason; strife about "non-fundamental" matters was not only wearisome, but also seemed to many men irrational. The appeal to reason and the advocacy of toleration for Protestant Dissenters were the chief features of Latitudinarianism. The Broad Churchman hated enthusiasm and emotion of all sorts. He laid his emphasis on the importance of a moral life, and represented Christianity as hardly more than a code of ethics. He was not a great believer in the efficacy of sacraments. It was due in part to the indifference to forms and ceremonies that lasted on from Puritan times, and in part to more definite Latitudinarianism, that in the later half of the seventeenth century the sacrament of Holy Communion was so seldom administered—in many places not more than three or four times a year.

Under the influence of the High Church reaction that accompanied the close of the century, a change took place, and weekly celebrations were to be found at any rate in the cathedrals and in many town churches.

The reigns of William and Anne were marked by a great growth in the party system. Big strides forward were made in the direction of government by party. The Whigs and Tories became organised bodies, inspired too often on either side by the spirit of faction. It was at once the fault and the misfortune of the Church that she had to descend into the arena of politics, and soil herself with the grime of party strife; for in idea the Church is and must always be above and beyond party. The descent was great from the saintly Ken to the politician Atterbury. The mass of the clergy were by tradition from the



days of the civil war Tory and High Churchmen; they held the same principles as the Nonjurors, but had not carried them out logically to the bitter end. They were, however, disaffected to the new government of William. To keep in check these Tory High Church clergy, William appointed Whig and Latitudinarian bishops. He made the historian Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury (1689), he appointed Tillotson on Sancroft's suspension to the see of Canterbury (1691-4), and on Tillotson's death, Tenison (1695-1715). He formed a regular committee of Whig bishops to advise him on ecclesiastical appointments. All these bishops held very similar views; they favoured toleration, if not comprehension within the Church, of Nonconformists. They sympathised with Nonconformist theology. "Scarce a Presbyterian in it—except the bishop," said a Tory fox-hunter of his neighbouring shire. Many Dissenters were in the habit of qualifying for office by taking the Holy Communion according to the Anglican rite, and then returning to their conventicles. The High Church Tories were anxious to stop this practice, but were discountenanced by the Whig bishops.

Another feature in William's ecclesiastical rule was its essentially Erastian nature. In a way that recalled old Tudor days, William issued injunctions to the bishops and clergy even on doctrinal and purely spiritual matters. It was no wonder that the High Church clergy were restive under his rule. A disastrous cleavage between bishops and clergy was the natural result. The clergy thought that the Church was betrayed by time-serving bishops, who did not believe in the Divine right of their own office, and hence arose the paradoxical situation in which the High Church clergy, the believers in the Divine right of Episcopacy, did all they knew to bring into contempt the existing bishops. This feeling of distrust manifested itself in Convocation. There were continual disputes throughout William's reign, both as to the relations of Crown and Convocation, and as to the relations of the two Houses of Convocation to each other. The Lower House of Convocation, on the analogy of the House of Commons, tried to make good various claims against the Upper House. The friction was so great that for many years William did not allow Convocation to meet at all.

The dispute continued well into the reign of Anne. Queen Anne was a vain and frivolous woman, but, so far as her intelligence permitted her, she was a devoted Churchwoman. Throughout

The clergy  
Tory and  
High  
Church.

Bishops  
Whig and  
Latitudinarian.

Occasional  
Conformity.

William's  
rule Erastian.

Queen  
Anne.

the greater part of her reign, the war with France dominated public interest. That war was the work of Marlborough and the Whigs. But the Queen gradually emancipated herself from the Whig ascendancy; she was by nature a Tory. She had already shown her devotion to the Church in 1704 by restoring to it the tenths and first-fruits annexed to the Crown in 1534 by Henry VIII. This sum, amounting to £16,000 or £17,000 per annum, was formed into a fund called Queen Anne's Bounty, and used for the augmentation in value of small livings. A pronounced reaction against the Whigs made itself felt in the country after 1708. A large majority of Englishmen was Anglican and Tory. England as yet remained an almost wholly agricultural country, and the agricultural districts, except in the neighbourhood of a Whig territorial magnate, were controlled by the Tory squire or parson. A feeling was abroad that the war was being prolonged in a wholly unnecessary way to secure advantages for the Whig commercial classes. The Church, too, remained restive under its Whig bishops. Her political influence was seen in the fact that on several occasions an Occasional Conformity Bill, which imposed crushing fines on all holders of office who should attend conventicles, was passed by the House of Commons and only prevented from becoming law by defeat in the House of Lords, the Whig bishops voting in the majority against it.

Meanwhile the Queen had grown tired of the dominating personality of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and became devotedly attached to a Tory Anglican, Mrs. Masham.

Queen  
Anne's  
Bounty.

Sacheverell  
Case.

A spark was only needed to create an explosion. That spark was supplied by the ill-advised action of the Whigs in impeaching Dr. Sacheverell, a preacher of blatant and insolent nonsense. Sacheverell was with justice described by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, as "an ignorant and impudent incendiary, the scorn of those who made him their tool." He delivered two sermons of a violent and extravagant nature, attacking the revolution of 1688 and the view that under any circumstances the sovereign could rightly be resisted. The first was an assize sermon at Derby on 15th August 1709. Taking as his text 1 Timothy v. 22, "Be not partakers of other men's sins," he attempted to show that the authors of the revolution were rushing to destruction. The second was a sermon before the Lord Mayor of London (5th November) on the perils of false brethren in Church and State (2 Cor. xi. 26), full of hits

against the Queen's minister, Godolphin. The Whig House of Commons was foolish enough to impeach and make a martyr of him. A singular wave of fanaticism spread over the country. London and the provinces were in an uproar. Men really believed the cry that "the Church was in danger." As the Queen went to hear the trial, her sedan chair was surrounded by crowds crying, "God bless your Majesty. We hope your Majesty is for High Church and Sacheverell." The House of Lords convicted Sacheverell, but did not dare to inflict more than the nominal punishment of forbidding him to preach for three years. What sort of man Sacheverell was can be seen from the fact that when three years were over, he took as text for his first sermon the words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and proceeded to draw a comparison between his own sufferings and those of our Lord!

Queen Anne took advantage of the Tory and Anglican reaction which had swept over the country and dissolved Parliament, with the result that a large Tory majority was returned. The Tories were in power for the last four years of the Queen's reign (1710-1714). The extraordinary political influence of the Anglican clergy is apparent, for the doctrine of non-resistance does not seem calculated *prima facie* to raise popular enthusiasm, least of all in an age like that of Queen Anne, which was remarkable for the number of brilliant men by which it was adorned in every range of intellectual life. Few ages can point to a constellation of such brilliant authors as Addison, Swift, Steele, Defoe, Newton, Locke, Bentley.

Tory rule,  
1710-1714.

The Anglican and Tory majority used its power to proscribe its political opponents. Undeterred by the scathing satire, *A Short Way with Dissenters*, which Defoe had published in 1701, Parliament passed the Occasional Conformity Act, depriving of their office and fining all officials who should attend Nonconformist places of worship (1711). Not content with this, it passed in 1713 the Schism Act, which attempted to take all education out of the hands of Nonconformists, by enacting that every schoolmaster and tutor must be licensed by a bishop and receive the Holy Communion according to the Anglican rite. These two statutes were repealed by the Whigs in 1718.

Occasional  
Conform-  
ity and  
Schism  
Acts.

There is little doubt that if Bolingbroke, the Tory minister, had had some few weeks more to mature his plans, there would have been a Jacobite restoration, but his plans were not far

enough advanced when they were surprised by the Queen's death (1714). As it was, the High Church protagonist Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, urged his party to proclaim the Pretender. "I will send for my lawn sleeves this instant, and do it on horseback at Charing Cross, if you will support me."

The Tory party, though naturally the strongest in the country, was paralysed at the critical moment by the impossible attitude of the Pretender, who refused to hold out any hopes whatever of his conforming to the Anglican Church. Thus the master passions of the Tory party—their devotion to the principle of hereditary right and their love for the Church of England—pulled them in exactly opposite directions. They could do nothing, and therefore, in accordance with the terms of the Act of Settlement (1701), the Hanoverian George I. succeeded to the throne (1714).

Accession  
of George  
I., 1714.

Social posi-  
tion of  
clergy.

The social condition of the clergy during the era 1660-1714 is hard to determine. There was clearly much poverty in the lower ranks of the country parsons. Thirty pounds a year seems to have been the typical income, but often the stipends were much lower. Some of the clergy were drawn from a low social stratum, and it is probably to them that Steele refers in the *Tatler* when he tells how the clergy were excluded from the later courses of dinner and associated with the servants. The clergy of the towns and the bishops occupied a very different position. On the whole it would seem that the social status of the clergy was rising during the rule of the later Stuarts.

Moral and  
religious  
societies.

The brightest feature in church life at the beginning of the eighteenth century was the number of moral and religious societies established about that time. The Society for the Reformation of Manners, founded in 1692, had for its aim the mere improvement of morals, but many other societies were formed for purely devotional purposes, and held special religious services for their members. Of the religious societies founded at this time, two deserve special notice for the memorable work they have accomplished. The leading spirit in their foundation was Dr. Thomas Bray. The first of these was the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698), established for the spread of mission work, for the diffusion of Christian education, and for the supply of good literature. The second was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701. From its origin this society set before itself the double purpose of

S.P.C.K.,  
1698.

S.P.G.,  
1701.

ministering to the religious needs of Englishmen living in "the plantations" beyond the sea, and of spreading the Christian faith among the "natives." This purpose has been maintained till the present day.

Thus a start was made in missionary enterprise, and a stigma removed from the Church of England. Churchmen had till this time been exclusively occupied with the internal troubles of the Church at home; some of them now began to realise that Christianity is in essence a missionary faith, and that its genius lies in self-sacrifice.

Another form which benevolence assumed at this time was the erection of charity schools, such as the Bluecoat School, for the education of poor children. At the close of Queen Anne's reign there were in London alone some 120 schools, educating 5000 children. The example of London was followed in many other towns. In all this work the Church of England led the way. At a time when the State was wholly indifferent to the education of the poor, schools were started by Churchmen to give them an education, religious as well as secular; for no education is worth the name which does not ground the child in religious truth.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE CHURCH FROM 1714-1833—RATIONALISM AND THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

Importance of eighteenth century.

THE eighteenth century cannot for many reasons be treated with contempt. It witnessed the great struggle between France and England for North America and India. The struggle which determined that English and not French civilisation should dominate the continent that lies between the Atlantic and the Pacific would alone make any age memorable. Nor was this all. The generation which followed the accession of George I. was for England one of increasing material prosperity. Yet even this prosperity was dwarfed by the great wealth poured into her lap by the industrial revolution which towards the close of the century transformed her from an agricultural to an industrial country. The French Revolution which broke out in 1789 disengaged democratic and levelling principles which have not yet spent their strength, while the great war (1793-1815) bequeathed to England a commanding position in Europe. Even in the religious sphere, the importance of the century which was marked by the growth of toleration, by the output of a great apologetic literature, and by the Wesleyan and Evangelical movements, cannot be treated as a negligible quantity.

An age of spiritual decline.

Regarded, however, as a whole, the eighteenth century cannot but fill with shame the Church historian. This is especially true of its first half; for in the later period signs of a better state of things make their appearance. If the era of Walpole (1714-1740) was one of great material progress, it was also one of spiritual and moral decay. It has been well described as "an age destitute of depth or earnestness, an age whose poetry was without romance, whose philosophy was without insight, and whose public men were without character, an age of light without love, whose very merits were of the earth, earthy." The Church of England fell into a state of lethargic stupor, and it seemed as though the gates of hell would prevail against her.

The chill of death crept over her, destroying all the activities of life. The causes of this lethargy are difficult to determine. Plato by the mystic number which is represented in the *Republic* as determining the law of birth, meant to point out the incalculable nature of birth. An equally mystic number might be represented as controlling the succession of the ages. Not that we are unable to see the connection between son and father, the present and the past, but, owing to our ignorance, we cannot determine *a priori* what the son of a father or the child of the present age, *i.e.* the future, will be like. Some part of the actual result may in the case of the eighteenth century be assigned to reaction or the swing of the pendulum, if indeed this is not merely to give another name to our own ignorance. The seventeenth century had been the age of enthusiasm. The successive waves of religious and political fanaticism had broken and spent their force. The storm was followed by a great calm. Men were weary and desired rest. In part, the spiritual torpor which overtook the Church was a nemesis on its prostitution of religion for purely political ends. Atterbury and Sacheverell were not fit leaders of a spiritual cause. The clergy of the Church of England had committed themselves to a thoroughly false political position. In season and out of season they had preached the doctrines of passive obedience and the indefeasible hereditary right of the heir to the throne. The clergy were at heart Jacobite, but since the rule of the Pretender was impossible, the religion of the Jacobite clergy, illogically enough, came to be questioned. Matters were not mended when the mass of the clergy *de facto* accepted the Hanoverian régime. What could be thought of the sincerity of the clerical preachers of morality when with few exceptions they had shown themselves in practice untrue to the convictions which they had proclaimed in countless pulpits? The consciousness of the fact must also have undermined their own moral self-respect. Is it a matter for surprise that they became a fit and constant target for satire in contemporary literature?

A further cause for the spiritual paralysis of the age can be found in the collision and distrust that embittered the relations of the bishops and the lower clergy to each other. The lower clergy were for the most part High Church and Jacobite in sympathy; the bishops were Latitudinarian in doctrine and partisans of the Hanoverian Government. The bishops were on the whole

Causes  
of the  
lethargy.

learned and able men, but they had little sympathy for the Laudian conception of the historic Church, and were thoroughgoing Erastians. The Government watched its chance.

Bangorian controversy.

Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, was unpopular as an advocate of religious toleration and of the right of private judgment. In a sermon preached before the King (1717) he had denied the visible nature of the true Church, and was thought to have ignored the working of the Holy Spirit. The Lower House of Convocation drew up a report against the doctrine of the sermon, and invited the Upper House of bishops to take action. Writers on both sides took up their pens in the so-called Bangorian controversy. The King seized the opportunity for muzzling Convocation. In the ungracious words of Hallam, he thought it expedient "to scatter a little dust over the angry insects."

Convocation not allowed to meet for business from 1717 to 1852.

Convocation was prorogued in 1717, and never again allowed to meet for the despatch of business till the ecclesiastical revival of the nineteenth century (1852). This continued prorogation of the Church's constitutional assembly was a cruel step taken by the Government to suit its own purposes, and little calculated to promote the efficiency of church life. Grant that Convocation at the time was not showing itself to advantage, the same has been true of the Houses of Parliament in many stages of their career. But this would not justify their suppression.

Enthusiasm repressed.

The Government used its influence to depress all forms of spiritual enthusiasm. Of the Hanoverian sovereigns who preceded Queen Victoria, all were without exception commonplace men. With the exception of George III., they were also very immoral; and the influence of their courts, in which open and unabashed adultery reigned, was extremely pernicious. Walpole, the chief minister of the first two Georges (1720-1742), hated enthusiasm of all sorts, and took as his motto "Quieta non movere." By his sneers at probity and self-sacrifice he did immense harm to the moral tone of his own and the following generation. He was the first to organise bribery and corruption as a regular department of government. As his enemy Bolingbroke said not untruly, "The minister preaches corruption aloud and constantly, like an impudent missionary of vice."

Rule of Walpole.

Walpole's successors, with the conspicuous exception of the two Pitts, were men of equal moral infamy. The real wonder is that England not only survived her rulers, but also conquered an empire under their rule. An atmosphere of levity and corrup-



tion, of irreligion and vice, permeated the life of the upper classes, though they included within their ranks such excellent people as Lord Dartmouth, the Countess of Huntingdon, and many others. Bishop Butler, in a famous passage of the *Analogy*, has placed on record the scoffing at religion in which many people indulged. "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but it is now at length discovered to be fictitious; and accordingly they treat it as if . . . nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule."

The Wesleyan and Evangelical movement, the example set by George III. and the Pitts, and the sacrifice called forth by the great war, led to an improvement before 1800. But the distinguishing feature of the century, especially its earlier part, was its "contracted spirit," its regard for self-interest, its hatred of enthusiasm of all sorts. The appeal to reason and common sense characterised all sides of its life, including its philosophy and its religion. The bishops and clergy were infected by the spirit of the age; they were better than their compeers, they were not immoral, but they were as a whole "earthly"; their sermons were not fired by conviction, but were commonplace moral essays; they preached a life of enlightened self-interest, and lived as they preached; they took a low view of their episcopal and parochial duties; pluralities abounded, and carried with them the inevitable consequence of non-residence; the services were few and far between. Many country parishes had at the most one service a Sunday; celebrations of the Holy Communion were reduced to a minimum; it was an age in which enthusiasm died, and the love of many grew cold. It was an age of hunting for place and preferment in Church as well as State. Thackeray with justice writes of "Hoadly cringing from one bishopric to another," and Hoadly was not peculiar in his kind. Lady Yarmouth, George II.'s mistress, was said to have betted one clergyman £5000 that he would not be made a bishop. The clergyman of course lost his bet. When George II. died, "It was," writes Thackeray, "a parson who came and wept over this grave. . . . Here was one who had neither dignity, learning, morals, nor wit, who tainted a great society by a bad example, who in youth, manhood, old age was gross, low, and sensual; and Mr. Porteus, afterwards my

Rational-  
ism of agePlace-  
hunting

Lord Bishop Porteus, says the earth was not good enough for him, and that his only place was heaven! Bravo, Mr. Porteus! The divine who wept these tears over George the Second's memory wore George the Third's lawn."

The most shameless case of pluralism was perhaps that of Bishop Watson. The qualification for a professorship at Cambridge in those days seems in some cases to have been entire ignorance of the subject professed. When Watson was appointed Professor of Chemistry he had never read a syllable on chemistry. A few years later he migrated to the Regius Professorship of Divinity, and only then did he apply himself to divinity. After eleven years he was made Bishop of Llandaff, and became at the same time a non-resident professor and a non-resident bishop, for he retired to an estate which he had purchased in Westmorland, and divided the rest of his time between farming and writing letters to ministers, asking for more valuable preferment. What else could be expected, when hireling shepherds betrayed their trust, than that wolves should devour the flock? Even the great and good Bishop Butler was not altogether above this feature, common to his contemporaries. When accepting the bishopric of Bristol that Walpole had offered to him, Butler let him know in his reply that the preferment was hardly so great as that which he might reasonably have expected. On every side the sense of religion and the sense of duty decayed.

Decline of  
Oxford  
University.

The universities, especially the University of Oxford, the old home of Anglican influence, slept the sleep of exhaustion and decline. Gibbon has portrayed with scathing satire the condition of Oxford University, into which he entered in 1752. We read in his autobiography of the professors who "had for these many years given up altogether even the pretence of teaching"; of the "dons" that "their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes, and private scandal. Their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth, and their constitutional toasts were not expressive of the most lively loyalty for the house of Hanover." Gibbon roundly accuses the University both of bigotry and indifference; bigotry against heretics and unbelievers, and indifference to the spiritual education of her own children. In those days the University admitted members when mere children. Gibbon himself was only fourteen when he joined it,

and yet he was left without religious instruction or confirmation, and permitted to approach the communion table and receive the sacrament without any question as to his qualifications to receive it.

Wherever we turn, the tale of spiritual decline is the same. Was it possible for the dry bones of the Anglican Church to live? That was the question which many good and earnest men were putting to themselves about the year 1750.

The worst that can be said about the eighteenth century has now been told. God did not leave Himself without witness even in those evil times. English religion was not altogether rotten. There were many parsonages besides that of Epworth, where the Wesley brothers were brought up, in which the torch of the gospel light was still kept burning. The eighteenth century, like other ages, contained good as well as bad elements. In the space that the author has at his disposal, the good points and the beginning of better things must now be traced.

1. Toleration as a religious principle had been accepted within limits at the revolution (1688). Those limits were in the course of the eighteenth century extended, and in the nineteenth century removed. In 1718 the Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act were repealed. Walpole, true to his rule, "Let sleeping dogs lie," refused to carry through the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. He feared another explosion of the Sacheverell type; but Acts of indemnity passed yearly from 1727, though in form their application was restricted to those who "through ignorance of the law, absence, or unavoidable accident," had failed to qualify for office, virtually gave Protestant Dissenters exemption from the necessity of complying with their tests. But their right to office remained precarious, and the law was sometimes put in force against them.

The effect of Acts passed in 1779 and 1812 was to relieve dissenting ministers from the oaths required by the Toleration Act of 1689. Finally in 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed. The sacramental test was replaced by a declaration required from every holder of office, "upon the true faith of a Christian," that he would not attempt to injure or weaken the established Church. A few minor grievances of Protestant Dissenters have been remedied by various Acts of the nineteenth century.

The history of relief given to Roman Catholics went on

(1) Growth of toleration.  
(a) Relief of Protestant dissenters.  
(b) Roman Catholics.

similar lines, though it met with great opposition. The earlier years of George I. were marked by further Acts of repression, no doubt because Romanism as associated with Jacobitism was still a real danger. The first great measure of relief was granted by the Act passed in 1778 on the initiation of Sir G. Savile. By this Act the penalties prescribed by a statute of 1700 against Roman Catholic priests and schoolmasters, and against Roman Catholic heirs or purchasers of land, were abolished, provided that they took an oath abjuring the Pretender and the temporal and deposing power of the Pope. The passing of this Act was signalised by a disgraceful outburst of Protestant fanaticism known as the Lord George Gordon riots. For several days London was in the hands of a mob (1780).

Mitford's Act of 1791 relieved the Roman Catholics from some further disabilities. Roman Catholic worship and schools were recognised by the law. Roman Catholics, on taking a similar oath to that prescribed in the Act of 1778, were relieved from the need of taking the oath of supremacy on the demand of two magistrates, and from the necessity of registering their wills and deeds, while the legal professions were thrown open to them. But many hardships remained. George III. thought himself bound in conscience by his coronation oath to refuse the grant of Roman Catholic emancipation, and it was this conscientious objection that led to the resignation of Pitt in 1801. It may be pointed out in passing that the delay thus caused immensely complicated the difficulty of the Irish question. Finally, by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (1828), and by the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, almost all the disabilities of Roman Catholics were removed. By this latter Act, in lieu of the oath of supremacy, a new oath was framed in which a Roman Catholic swore allegiance to the King, promised to maintain the Act of Settlement (1701), and renounced the deposing and temporal power of the Pope. Roman Catholics taking this oath were allowed, if otherwise duly qualified, to sit in either House of Parliament and to vote at elections; all offices under the Protestant Crown were thrown open to them, other than those of Regent, Lord Chancellor, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and such as would involve the exercise of judicial power over the established Churches.

Roman  
Catholic  
Emancipa-  
tion Act,  
1829.

(c) Jews.

Finally, a word may be written about the Jews. Their case was worsened by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.

They clearly could not make the declaration required by the Act of 1828, "upon the true faith of a Christian," while the Indemnity Acts, under which they like other Nonconformists had benefited, were a thing of the past. Various statutes removed their grievances, but it was only in 1866 that the oath for Jews was modified so as to enable them to sit in Parliament.

Thus the victory of complete religious toleration was finally secured.

2. The great controversy with the deists that filled the first half of the eighteenth century enriched the Church with a store of apologetic literature, and more especially with the works of Bishop Butler. Rationalism, or appeal to reason, formed the all-pervading atmosphere of the age. This ground was common to deists and Christian apologists. Butler in his *Analogy*, though he carefully pointed out the limitations beyond which reason could not properly go in judging of revelation, set himself to prove that the Christian faith was eminently reasonable. The spirit of rationalism had been born of the Reformation; the English reformers had appealed against Rome to the Bible and antiquity, and if this was in one sense an appeal from one set of authorities to another, reason was the only possible arbiter between them, and had been accepted as such by the reformers. In the dispute between the Anglicans and the Puritans, though Laud was too much inclined to clinch matters by authority, and the Puritans by the appeal to the written text, still reason had been invoked by the best men on either side as favouring their cause. The different senses in which the different parties interpreted the sacred text involved argument and the appeal to reason. The cooling of the enthusiasms, by which the seventeenth century had been fired, left reason enthroned as the supreme judge. The growth of natural science, and the acquaintance that was now being made with the empire of China and its teeming millions, helped forward the rationalist spirit. What was the relation of other worlds than the earth, to God and Christ? What was to be the fate hereafter of the countless heathen who had never even heard the name of Christ? But if they were all right, what was the need of Christianity? Reason was busy on such problems. Thus the questions propounded for the eighteenth century were of a very different nature from those which had occupied the attention of the seventeenth; the problems now proposed were

(2) Deist controversy. Apologetic literature.

Growth of Rationalism.

not the merits of rival presentments of Christianity, but fundamental questions of theology and philosophy. It was the aim of Christian apologists to show that Christianity was eminently reasonable, the Christian life a reasonable service. The dangerous and heretical conclusions at which thinkers might arrive were not at first foreseen. The chief mistake made by the deists and by some of their opponents was in imagining that Christianity was an appeal *merely* to the intellect. It might have been thought from the course of the conflict, as one writer has said, that Christianity was "made for nothing else but to be proved" or disproved.

The gospel of Christ, as a matter of fact, is an appeal not merely to the reason, but also to the emotions, the will, and the whole personality of man. It is not essentially a philosophy, but an appeal to the deepest needs of the ordinary human being. The starting-point of the deist controversy was a book of the great philosopher Locke, entitled, *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695). It was the aim of Locke to show that the Christian faith was eminently reasonable. But the danger incident to this method of argument was revealed in the very next year by Toland's *Christianity not Mysterious*. For Toland, while accepting some parts of the Christian faith as reasonable, rejected other parts as unreasonable. A further stage in the development of the deist case was reached when Tindal published his *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730). Deism had now become frankly antichristian, for historical Christianity and the revelation of God through His Son Jesus Christ were clearly superfluous if they added nothing to that which God had made known to man at the Creation.

Tenets of deism. The leading tenets of the deists can be stated thus: they accepted as an axiomatic truth the existence of a reasonable, all-wise, all-powerful, all-good God; they regarded this God as the creator of the world, but rather tended towards the view that, having once created the world and set it going, He then left it alone to work out its own destiny. Such was their view of God's nature. Human nature they conceived as static, for they held that the nature of man was uniform whenever and wherever he was found. The Christian man, if judged by his fruits, was no better than the pagan man. Thus their view of human nature did not allow of man's progressive development, and was entirely different from that conception of man which

has been made familiar to us by the categories of evolutionary science. Man in their view was very much the same now as he was at the Creation. To man at his creation, God was supposed to have made known the law of nature, and they held that this law of nature (*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*) was discoverable by the reason of any man. The Christian revelation had really added nothing to the law of nature, and was therefore superfluous. It was, they said, inconceivable that God should have been so unjust as to choose out one insignificant tribe, the Jews, and while making a special revelation of Himself to them, neglect all the other families of mankind.

Bishop Butler met the shallow and arrogant philosophy of deism on its own ground, and gave it a fall from which it never recovered. The publication of the *Analogy* (1736) ended deism so far as England was concerned. Frankly allowing that Christianity did not from its nature admit of demonstrative *a priori* proof, Butler followed the lower but safer road of the *a posteriori* inductive method. Pointing out that all life is guided by probabilities, he showed conclusively that Christianity was at the least most probable. He assumed as ground common to himself and the deists the existence of an all-wise, all-powerful, all-good God. In the first portion of the *Analogy* he argued from the facts of life to the chief truths of natural religion, such as immortality and God's moral government of the world. The "will of God revealed in things" seemed to show that God rewarded virtue and punished vice. Conscience, he maintained, was the voice of God. He then proceeded to show that if the course of things exhibited in the facts of life did not hinder the deists from still believing in the existence of an all-good, all-wise, all-powerful God, it ought not to hinder them from believing in revealed religion, *i.e.* historical Christianity, for the objections which could be urged to revealed religion could with equal cogency be directed against natural religion. To take one instance, the deists had objected to the Jewish and Christian dispensations, that if they were true, God would be convicted of favouritism, and therefore of injustice. Butler had little difficulty in pointing out the patent fact that in life men do not as a matter of fact have equal opportunities given them. All men are not equally strong and equally wise, equally endowed with health and wealth. But if facts like these are not fatal to our belief in the justice of God, and therefore to

Butler's  
*Analogy*.  
Refutation  
of deism.

natural religion, why should similar facts be fatal to revealed religion?

Butler rejected as untrue the deist contention that the nature of man was uniform, and pointed to the moral degradation in which many pagan races were sunk. Accepting, like all eighteenth century philosophers, the idea of the "law of nature," he pointed out that Christianity did not merely republish with authority the law of nature, but also revealed truths about human nature and the character of God which created fresh moral obligations to God and Christ, that these fresh truths could not have been discovered by merely human reason, and that therefore Christianity was not, as the deists maintained, superfluous. In an interesting chapter he explained what he conceived to be the function of human reason. Reason was adequate to judge the general evidence for, and the moral nature of revelation, but was precluded by its ignorance of God's whole plan from rejecting revelation because certain features in God's government of the world seemed arbitrary.

Butler was consumed by an intense moral earnestness in all his writings. He was scrupulously fair to his opponents, and of direct purpose understated the conclusions that could be drawn from the evidence he adduced. His view was that cumulative evidence drawn from all kinds of sources made the Christian faith a *practical* certainty. He wrote at his best when he emphasised the majesty of conscience as the voice of God. Deism received its deathblow at his hands.

For the time, at any rate, a safe intellectual foundation had been secured for the Christian faith. The great intellects of the age, Newton, Bentley, Locke, Berkeley, were on its side. The way was made ready for a spiritual advance. For Christianity is not a thing of the mere intellect, and English religion in the meantime had reached its nadir as a spiritual force.

3. The spirit of God was moving on the face of the dull, lethargic waters. The Methodist and Evangelical movements had begun. These movements were in origin one. Most of the early Methodists, including the two leaders, John Wesley and George Whitefield, were Church of England clergymen. John Wesley never wished to leave the Church of England. Writing in 1787, four years before his death, he declared "that when the Methodists left the Church of England, God would leave

(3) The Methodist and Evangelical revival.



them," and in 1789 "that none who regarded his judgment or advice would separate from the Church of England." But facts were too strong for Wesley's wish; the steps he had already taken in allowing laymen to administer the sacraments, in himself ordaining ministers, and in creating the framework of a new church, involved overt schism.

But in their early days the Wesleyan and Evangelical movements were one; the modern Evangelical party derived its origin from the Methodists who remained within the pale of the historic Church. It is only the beginning of the Wesleyan movement proper which falls within the scope of the writer of a history of the Church of England. Yet of all the great things which happened in the eighteenth century—and there were many—by far the most important was the rebirth of spiritual religion in the work of John Wesley and his followers. Religion seemed dying; that it once more permeated with its influence the lives of Englishmen was, humanly speaking, the result of John Wesley's life.

The French Revolution swept away all constituted authorities in France, and was accompanied with a terrible outburst of irreligion and atheism. Altar and throne were overturned. That its principles and its infidelity did not secure an immediate lodgment in England with like results was due to the power that religion exercised over the lives of the English middle classes, and that power can be traced to Wesley's life.

John Wesley (1703-1791) was the son of the Rector of Epworth. When Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, he became the leading member of a small society which certain young dons and undergraduates had formed for the promotion of their spiritual life. They received from their contemporaries the nickname of Methodists, because of the strictness with which they observed the rules of the Church and the University. John Wesley, like his brother Charles the hymn-writer of the movement, was a High Churchman. The chief influences on his early life came from his saintly mother, and from the Nonjuror William Law. Law's famous book, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, did much to deepen Wesley's spiritual aspirations. If ever a man's whole life has been fired by love of God and desire to serve his fellows, Wesley was the man. Ordained in 1725, he first helped his father as curate, and then returned for a time to Oxford. Like Luther, he tried through rules, austerities, and

John  
Wesley,  
1703-1791

self-denial to attain to the peace of fellowship with God. In 1735 he was induced by General Oglethorpe to sail for his colony Georgia, and take up missionary work among the settlers and the Indians. But his mission and his preaching were not successful. He quarrelled with the colonists and returned to England in 1738 with a sense of failure. He had, however, on his voyage to America found among his fellow-passengers some Moravian exiles, by whose simple piety he was profoundly impressed. On his return, he naturally sought the society of the Moravian Brethren in London and according to himself, it was one of them, Peter Böhler, who brought him to the true faith of Christ. At a meeting of the Moravian Brethren in Aldersgate Street, London, Wesley felt his "conversion" take place. Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans was being read by one of the brethren, when, in Wesley's own words, "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." From that moment the power of conviction came over him, and he was anointed with the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. For fifty years he laboured in the cause of Christ. Taking the whole of England as his parish, he travelled on horseback from place to place. Wherever he went, whatever the character of his audience—they might be the miners of Kingswood, or farmers or factory hands—crowds flocked to hear him and hang upon his words.

George  
Whitefield.

George Whitefield, the other leader of the Methodist movement, was also an Oxford man and an ordained minister of the Anglican Church. He became an even greater preacher than Wesley, though he had neither Wesley's command of logic nor his power of organisation. It was Whitefield who started the open-air preaching to the miners at Kingswood, and Wesley, at first with some reluctance, but afterwards enthusiastically, followed his example.

What these men accomplished was wonderful. The thousands of miles they travelled, the numbers of sermons they preached—often twenty in a week—before crowds which sometimes amounted to 20,000 or 30,000, are matters of history. They knew how to touch every chord of the human heart. Whitefield could move men from laughter to tears in successive sentences. Tears could be seen streaming down the faces of

hardened and brutalised men, and extraordinary physical manifestations accompanied the preaching. Men and women writhed in physical agony, confessing their sins, till they were comforted by the assurance of the Divine forgiveness. Abandoned sinners forsook their career of sin and lived regenerated lives.

There was nothing novel in the gospel preached by Wesley and Whitefield. They dwelt on the old fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, but they preached them with conviction and power, and the Holy Spirit worked with them. They told forth the deadly nature of sin, spoke as dying men to dying men, and proclaimed the gospel of free forgiveness through the blood of Christ. Christianity had been reduced to a system of lifeless categories by rationalising exponents. Wesley and Whitefield appealed to the emotional rather than the intellectual side of their audiences. They recalled the days of the Franciscan friars. It is the real tragedy in the history of the Church of England that she failed to use this movement and keep it entirely within her fold. The rulers of the Church of England failed lamentably to realise the value of the treasures that were lavished upon her. Wesley and Whitefield were her children, and she cast them forth. There were faults, it is true, on both sides; unintelligent enthusiasm and unregulated appeal to the emotions are certainly dangerous.

Methodists  
driven from  
the  
Church.

Wesley and Whitefield, like all geniuses, were difficult men with whom to work in harness. The system of parochial organisation, under which the parish priest is responsible for the spiritual needs of his parish, was trampled under foot by Wesley and his followers. Without invitation they invaded parishes, even where the clergyman was an Evangelical of their own type. But the bishops of the Anglican Church failed to realise the meaning of the text, "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." What condemns them absolutely is the fact that they never made any attempt to use, while regulating, this enthusiasm. They never even conferred with each other on the subject.

Christianity in England had been reduced to a series of intellectual propositions. Enthusiasm and appeal to other than the merely intellectual side of men was just what the Church needed. It was not beyond the reach of statesmanship to find some solution which would have harmonised the rights of the parochial clergy with the missionary activity of these eighteenth

Hatred of  
enthusi-  
asm.

century friars. But no effort at such solution was even attempted. It is plain that enthusiasm was just the feature of the Wesleyan movement which awakened all the apprehensions and prejudices of the bishops. Even the great and good Bishop Butler closed his interview with Wesley, saying, "Sir, this pretending to extraordinary revelation and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing—a very horrid thing."

The English Church knew not the time of her visitation. The bishops set their face against the whole Wesleyan movement. The church doors were barred against them with a bang. Wesley's helpers were refused episcopal ordination. The law was put in operation, till Wesleyans were forced in their own despite to register their buildings under the provisions of the Toleration Act as dissenting meeting-houses. Wesley had set out with the purpose of forming a society, like many of those which had been formed at the close of the seventeenth century, to support and reinforce the ministrations of the Church, but though he never himself separated from the Church, he was forced by the attitude of the bishops to definite acts of schism and all the evil therein involved. It is impossible, for want of space, to touch on the quarrel between Wesley and Whitefield over the old question of predestination, Wesley taking the Arminian, and Whitefield the Calvinist side, though the quarrel led to the division of the Methodists into two separate bodies. Our attention must be confined to those members of the Evangelical party who remained true to the discipline of the Church.

Evangelical party.

Fletcher of Madeley, Grimshaw, Berridge, Henry Venn, Romaine, Newton, and Scott the commentator, among the earlier, Charles Simeon, Isaac Milner, William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, Zachary Macaulay, John Venn, and others among the later Evangelicals, will always remain honoured names in the history of the English Church. Fletcher of Madeley (1729-1785) was beloved by all who knew him for his saintly character. He was, in Wesley's words, "a man of faith and love . . . a man of clear understanding . . . that had a single eye to the advancement of the kingdom of God."

John  
Newton,  
1725-1807.

The life of John Newton (1725-1807) was full of romantic interest. The son of a ship captain in the merchant service, he became a midshipman in the Royal Navy, but he deserted, and on his recapture was degraded to the rank of a common

seaman. Shortly afterwards he joined the ship of a slave trader, and was engaged for several years in the slave trade. Meanwhile he had sunk to the lowest depths of depravity and vice. But on a memorable voyage, as he piloted his ship through the dangers of a tremendous storm, he was called by God, and felt himself a converted man. Some years later he gave up the seafaring life. He had privately educated himself. After being refused ordination by two bishops, he was finally admitted, through the influence of Lord Dartmouth, to holy orders by the Bishop of Lincoln. Lord Dartmouth secured for him the curacy at Olney. Newton's cure at Olney is chiefly memorable for the intimate friendship which he there formed with the poet Cowper. Newton, with extraordinary tenderness cherished Cowper in the dark hours of his mental anguish, though it may be doubted whether the introspective nature of Newton's religion was of the sort best adapted to Cowper's melancholia. Newton had by this time won his way into the heart of the Evangelical circle, and by John Thornton he was presented to the benefice of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street. He became the spiritual adviser of William Wilberforce and other leading Evangelicals, and laboured in London for twenty-seven years with wonderful success. The experiences through which he had himself passed gave him power of sympathy with sinners of the deepest dye; he could speak to them with the conviction that came from knowledge, of the awful nature of sin and the redeeming power of Christ. - But it is impossible in this place to sketch the histories of all the leading Evangelicals.

A word must be said about the so-called "Clapham Sect." This was a nickname given to a group of prominent Evangelical Churchmen who lived at Clapham. Among their number were William Wilberforce their leading spirit, Henry Thornton the banker, Zachary Macaulay the sire of a more famous son, James Stephen the father of a distinguished legal family. The Claphamites "sat under" John Venn, the rector of the parish church. These men will be held in everlasting remembrance for many reasons. They illustrate the nature of the Evangelical movement, and give us a representation of it at its very best. They were all men spiritually earnest, gifted with a sense of things unseen. They lived constantly "as in the great Taskmaster's eye." But with the innocence of the dove they combined the wisdom of the serpent, and this worldly wisdom they

The  
Clapham  
Sect.

Philan-  
thropic and  
religious  
work of  
Evangelicals.

spent on spiritual and moral ends. The acumen of the gifted lawyer Stephen, the social position and oratory of Wilberforce, the wealth of Thornton and others, their knowledge of the world, were placed at the disposal of evangelical truth, and this was the reason that so many efforts of the Evangelical party were crowned with success. Their spiritual zeal was seconded by organisation altogether admirable.

Abolition  
of slavery.

The greatest glory of the Clapham sect is to be found in the abolition of the slave trade (1807), and of slavery itself (1833). In this movement they took the most prominent part. But there was no form of religious or moral activity which did not find warm supporters in the Claphamites. The foundation of the Church Missionary Society was due to them (1799). Originally intended to do missionary work in Africa, it has extended its spheres of labour into every quarter of the heathen world, and is still to-day the most flourishing of the Church's missionary societies. Interest in foreign missions has always been an honourable distinction of the Evangelicals. At home,

C.M.S.  
founded.

Education.  
Prisons.

too, their piety took many practical forms; the education of the poor, the cleansing of prisons, the erection of Sunday schools, the founding of libraries—all these received due attention. The real living force in the Church during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century was to be found in the Evangelical party. Like all great movements, it had its weak side; its theology was Calvinistic, though its Calvinism was modified so as to emphasise the love of God in the redemption of mankind. The religion of the Evangelicals was theoretically individualistic, and little stress was laid on the corporate life of the Church, but their practical works of piety and their love shown for "the brethren" would rightly put to shame many of those who in modern times talk of the Church's corporate life, but in practice *do* very little. In the early stages of the movement the Evangelicals were comparatively indifferent to forms of church government. They accepted "Episcopacy" as a point of order, on grounds of expediency, but as the years went on they

Weak side  
of Evan-  
gelicalism.

became more attached to the Episcopal principle. On the intellectual side it must be confessed that the Evangelicals were weak; they excelled in practice more than they did in intellectual grasp. They tended towards the disparagement of secular learning, and this in its turn reacted on their theology. They produced no theological work of really first-rate calibre. They

drew somewhat arbitrary distinctions between lawful and unlawful forms of recreation. Following the old Puritan idea, they set their faces against the stage, dancing, and novel-reading, and thus lost their perspective in their judgments on right and wrong, treating a number of trivial matters as if they were things of real importance. But with all their limitations, the Evangelicals did a really noble work, and signally vindicated their right to a share in the great heritage of the Church of England.

The early years of the nineteenth century were remarkable for the number of societies, which were then founded and which were so many signs of the revival in church life. Missionary enterprise, owing both to the spiritual lethargy of the Church and the discouragement of Government, had languished in the eighteenth century. Churchmen in America had been refused an American episcopate, and kept under the jurisdiction of a diocesan 3000 miles distant—the Bishop of London. Needless to say, church life decayed. The successful revolt of the American colonies complicated the situation still further. But finally bishops were consecrated for America—in the first instance by Scottish bishops—in 1784 and 1787. With the foundation of the Church Missionary Society missionary enterprise took new life. The efforts of the Evangelical party led to the consecration of the first Bishop of Calcutta in 1814. Among the many societies which trace their origin to the early years of the nineteenth century two especially must be noticed—the National Society founded in 1811, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804.

The Bible Society was founded in the year 1804 for the distribution of the Scriptures. It was thought at first that its foundation might cripple the work of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and many Churchmen preferred to support the latter society since it distributed Prayer-Books as well as Bibles. But the work of the S.P.C.K. had languished, and derived fresh strength from the competition of a rival society. The Bible Society has done splendid work in the distribution among the poor of the Holy Scriptures, and has proved a powerful auxiliary to the mission work of all Christian bodies by providing translations of the Bible in several hundred languages.

The National Society was founded with the object of

Religious  
revival

Bishops  
consecrated  
for  
America,  
1784.  
Bishopric  
of Calcutta,  
1814.

Bible  
Society  
founded  
1804.

## 398 *The Church of England*

National  
Society  
founded,  
1811.

giving the children of the poor both secular and religious education. The religious education was to be conducted on the principles of the Church of England. Much work of the kind had already in various ways been done by the clergy. But this work was now to be extended and organised. The leading spirit in the foundation of the society was Dr. Andrew Bell, a man famous as the author of the pupil-teacher system, an expedient to which he had been driven, when head of a school in Madras, from lack of trained assistants. The schools affiliated to the National Society were called "National" Schools.

National  
schools.

But already a century ago the controversy, which has created such discord ever since, had forced itself to the front in what was then known as the Bell-Lancaster dispute. Dr. Bell firmly believed in the denominational system of education, while Lancaster, the founder of the rival "British and Foreign School Society," set up "British" Schools in which "undenominational" religion was taught, and from which all denominational catechisms were excluded. The National Society prospered in a manner little short of wonderful. By 1824 no fewer than 3054 schools, educating 400,000 children, existed under the ægis of the society. It was not till 1833 that the State for the first time made a small grant in aid of the work. Till 1870 almost all the primary education of the country was done by the National Schools.

Sunday  
school  
movement.

In this connection a word should be said about the Sunday school movement, of which the origin (1780) is closely associated with the name of Robert Raikes, the owner of a Gloucester newspaper. The system of Sunday schools, beginning from Gloucester, rapidly spread all over the country. Thus the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries were marked by a considerable religious revival. But much remained to be done, and in many quarters lethargy still reigned supreme. Many church fabrics within and without were in a deplorable condition of repair. The services were few in number—a thing that was inevitable when pluralism and non-residence were still rampant; where there were services, they were often conducted in slovenly fashion. The inequalities of clerical incomes were enormous; while the prince-bishop lived like a county magnate, the poor curate too often starved upon a pittance. The industrial revolution had led to the growth of large towns, which were left in an appalling state of spiritual

The  
Church  
circ. 1800.

Building of  
Churches.



destitution. Parliament did something by a grant of £1,500,000 (1818-1824) for the building of new churches. The Church Building Society raised a somewhat larger sum by voluntary effort.

But much remained to be done. The ideas disengaged by the French Revolution had fermented in the minds of men and broken the power of old traditions. If the first effect of the revolutionary terror had been to rally Englishmen round the Church as a tower of strength against the atheism and crime with which the Revolution was associated, when the horror had passed away, and the great war closed (1815), prescription began to give ground before the ideas of modern Liberalism. Reform was in the air. The old political régime passed away with the Reform Bill of 1832. Would the Church adapt herself to the altered condition of affairs, or would she succumb to the disintegrating power of the new régime? She was attacked on many sides with great bitterness, and told that she was tottering to her fall. We will see in the next chapter how the Church rose to the occasion and renewed her youth.

## CHAPTER XXI

### THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND THE VICTORIAN ERA

Era of the  
Reform  
Bill.

THE Oxford Movement drew its inspiration and origin from the critical dangers with which the Church was threatened in the era of the Reform Bill. That these dangers were real and great admits of no question. Ideas of reform and revolution were in the air. Revolutions had carried the day in France and Belgium (1830). Legalised revolution or reform had remodelled the structure which the English Parliament had inherited intact from the Middle Ages. Economic change had led to the concentration of industrial classes in the towns. The effect of the Reform Bill (1832) had been to transfer a large portion of political power to these industrial classes which were not remarkable for their devotion to the Church of England. Was it not probable that reforming Liberals, victorious in the sphere of secular politics, would stretch forth their hands to remodel, perhaps out of existence, the Church which was undoubtedly one of the chief bulwarks of conservative tradition? So men thought, and so men said. Benthamism, or utilitarian philosophy, was in the ascendant. There was a demand for *useful* knowledge. The view was widely prevalent that knowledge was the key of virtue, that the increase of secular knowledge would inevitably lead to the increase of virtue, and that vice would disappear with the decay of ignorance and the advance of utilitarian improvements. Dogma was held of no account. Appeals to spiritual truth and the inner life of the soul as the only ground of true progress were at a discount. The old Elizabethan ideal of a national Church co-extensive with the nation had given way before the logic of facts. Its death-knell had been sounded by Roman Catholic emancipation (1829). For Roman Catholic emancipation was an avowed confession that the Church was not the nation. It was easy to foresee that in time the omni-competent House of Commons and the ministers of State would come to be drawn from men of all religions and men of none. And these men might legislate for the Church!

It was clear that the relations of Church and State had been profoundly modified. The Prime Minister himself, Lord Grey, solemnly warned the bishops to set their house in order. Many men thought the doom of the national Church imminent. Dr. Arnold was not alone in thinking that, "The Church, as it now stands, no human power can save." For Churchmen as a body seemed paralysed, ignorant where to go and what to do, divided in their aims and purposes. What with aggressive foemen without and divided counsels within, it seemed as though the citadel would fall.

The Church of England, as ever since the Reformation, comprised within its communion divergent parties.

1. The Evangelicals, who had borne a noble part in philanthropic schemes, such as the abolition of slavery, the cleansing of prisons, and the amelioration of the criminal law, were now somewhat of a spent force. Their shibboleths still passed as good coin among themselves, but failed to obtain currency outside, and even within their own circle they no longer possessed the power which was once theirs. The Evangelicals by their lack of intellectual grasp had as a party failed to maintain their position.

2. The "Orthodox" or High Church party had in a sense handed on the Laudian tradition from the seventeenth century. The mass of the clergy belonged to them. But their ideas were in a state of extraordinary confusion. They had no clear conception of what "the Church" meant, and for the most part were simply Church and State men, strong believers above all else in the providentially ordered establishment. Many of these clergy had taken orders without any definite sense of vocation or call from on high. But like most Englishmen, when put in a position of trust, they had a strong sense of duty. If they were not of the stuff from which leaders of forlorn causes are made, they nevertheless dutifully performed the work of parish priests. The worst of them may have sunk to a level little higher than that of their parishioners, but taken as a whole they were considerably better. They were kind and sociable men, advisers of the poor, counsellors of their flock, maintainers of the character of Christian gentlemen. But, standing out of the ruck, there were High Churchmen of the primitive type, men like Joshua Watson and the father of John Keble, who carried on the real tradition and knew the meaning of "the Church."

The Church in danger.

Church parties.

(1) The Evangelicals.

(2) The "Orthodox" and High Churchmen.

(3) The  
Liberals.

3. Lastly, there were the Liberals, who professed considerable indifference to creeds, dogmas, and liturgies of all sorts. They were generally strong Erastians, and, true to their Latitudinarian parentage, they were anxious to comprehend Nonconformists within the Church and to eliminate all elements of mystery from the Christian faith. Many of these Liberals held that the State ought to assume an indifferent or impartial attitude between the different religious bodies. Not so, however, Dr. Arnold, who, though a Liberal, assigned to the State a spiritual significance of the highest order. "Nothing," he said, "was too spiritual to claim exemption from the control of the government of a Christian State."

Schemes  
for Reform.Arnold's  
view.

On one point, that the Church was in danger, all these parties were agreed, though they differed in their views of the reforms which were required to save it. This difference of view cut deep, as it sprang from very different conceptions of the nature of the Church. Dr. Arnold was a man whose whole being was actuated by the "peculiar feeling of love and adoration which he entertained towards our Lord Jesus Christ." The object which he set before himself and the boys of Rugby was that of bringing every thought into the obedience of Christ. But his conception of the Church was somewhat hazy. He did not regard the Church as a *respublica*, with definite organs of government; he regarded it simply as a spiritual *societas* or fellowship of Christians moved by the same objects and principles. The views of those who held that Episcopacy belonged to the *esse* of the Church, and who emphasised the priesthood, the sacraments, the apostolical succession, and the value of tradition, seemed to him mere "Judaism," "superstition," and "heresy." He thought that the history of the Christian faith showed a constant tendency in the clergy to identify the Church with themselves, and to exclude the laity from their due rights. Adapting a phrase of the Abbé Siéyès, who had described the *Tiers Etat* in France as "La nation moins la noblesse et le clergé," Arnold described the laity as "the Church minus the clergy." He divided all men into Christians and non-Christians. England he regarded as a Christian country, and therefore, true to his own principles, he would have refused to give non-Christians, such as Jews, civic rights. All other Englishmen, as Christians, he would have included in the national Church, and in the number of Christians it seems that he would have reckoned all Unitarians

who revered the person of our Lord. Arnold was essentially non-sectarian, and a believer in what such people call "fundamental Christianity." The burden of a pamphlet written by him on Church Reform was to the effect that Dissenters should be comprehended within the establishment without compromise of principle on either side, and he suggested that the parish churches might be used at different times by different bodies.

It was not a very unfair description of Arnold's proposals when a High Churchman wrote: "Arnold proposed that all denominations should be united by Act of Parliament with the Church of England on the principle of retaining all their distinctive errors and absurdities."

"I do not see," Arnold said, "how any man can avoid the impression that dissent cannot exist much longer in this country as it does now; either it must be comprehended within the Church or it will cease in another way, by there being no establishment left to dissent from." As the Church thus reformed was to be co-extensive with the nation, Arnold thought it most natural that Parliament should legislate for the Church.

He showed himself a poor prophet, and Church reform took a direction neither foreseen nor approved by him. But his views have been recorded to show the confusion of religious thought and the hostility to dogmatic belief by which many, if not most, of his contemporaries were actuated. We may dismiss Arnold's ideas with two remarks. First, they were impractical; it was clear that neither Roman Catholics nor High Churchmen would have any part or lot in such an "undenominational" body as Arnold's reformed Church. Secondly, if Arnold's projects meant anything at all, they *did* mean comprehension, at the cost of compromising principle. The undenominationalist always assumes that any solution is fair in which the different religious bodies give up their distinctive beliefs. But this assumption is ludicrously untrue. The undenominationalist gives up his distinctive beliefs, if he has such, because he does not value them. The crux of the situation lies in the fact that the "denominationalist" does value *his* distinctive beliefs; and there is nothing in history or probabilities to warrant the belief that efficiency is ever secured where people form a coalition based on sacrifice of principle. This is pre-eminently true of religion, in which living faith is closely intermixed with

the different interpretations that men adopt of fundamental religious truth.

What is the Church?

The question, "What is the Church?" had thus thrust itself into the foreground in 1832, and varying answers were given. Arnold identified the Church with the nation; the Roman Catholic found it in those who acknowledged the papal supremacy; the Church and State men in the establishment; some denied its visible nature altogether. But it was in the Liberals that the Church of England realised that its chief danger lay. They seemed to imagine it a mere creature of the State, with which they could deal as they wished. Schemes were mooted for the abolition of dogmatic formulæ and for the cleansing of the Prayer-Book from its "mediæval rubbish." The climax was reached when the Liberal Ministry proceeded in 1833 to pass a Bill through Parliament suppressing ten bishoprics and two archbishoprics in Ireland. This measure seemed a sample of the cynical way in which the Liberals regarded the Church and proposed to deal with spiritual matters. The necessity of defending the Church in this crisis led to the Oxford or Tractarian Movement. Its way had been prepared by various influences. The old Church principles had never entirely died out even in the eighteenth century. The horror of the French Revolution had caused reaction in England against a *priori* philosophy and irreligious tendencies. The writings of Sir Walter Scott had revived interest in the Middle Ages and in historic continuity with the past. The first thirty years of the nineteenth century had already been marked by a considerable revival of Church activity. Hence the peril, in which the Church of England now found herself, called forth and articulated, though it did not

Danger from the Liberals.

Irish bishoprics suppressed.

Leaders of Oxford Movement.

create, the latent church feeling. The leaders of the Oxford Movement bore the honoured names of Hugh James Rose, John Keble, John Henry Newman, Richard Hurrell Froude, William Palmer, Edward Bouverie Pusey. Of these all were Oxford men except Rose (of Cambridge) and Palmer (who originally sprang from Ireland, but had migrated to Worcester College, Oxford). Hugh James Rose has been well described as "the restorer of the old paths." He was a considerable scholar, and was in 1833 rector of Hadleigh. It was he, says Newman in his *Apologia*, "who, when hearts were failing, bade us stir up the gift that was in us, and betake ourselves to our true mother."

H. J. Rose.

Rose died prematurely in 1839, but not before a cleavage in the

leaders had manifested itself, and not before he had shown that he would for ever have been loyal to the Church of England. John Keble was the product of the finest flower of Oxford scholarship. Before he was twenty years of age he had secured the most coveted prize then to be won at Oxford, a fellowship at Oriel (1811). For six years (1817-1823) he had been tutor at his college, and then retired to a quiet country cure. In 1831 he was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and his duties as professor involved his presence at intervals in Oxford. He will ever be memorable as the author of *The Christian Year* (1827), a volume of sacred poetry "which woke up in the hearts of thousands a new music." Keble had been born and nurtured in the Church of England, and loved it with a passionate love, which he retained till his death in 1866.

John Keble.

Richard Hurrell Froude, "the bright and beautiful Froude," as Newman calls him, was one of the early leaders of the movement, more defiant and reckless than the others, transparently sincere, and possessed by an absolute hatred of humbug and half-measures. To the horror of "establishment" men, he declared that, "If a national Church means a Church without discipline . . . the best we can do is to unnationalise ours as soon as possible." He died prematurely in 1836.

R. H. Froude.

Pusey (1800-1882) was the Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, a well-born and very learned man. He only joined the movement definitely in 1834, but he was, in Newman's words, "a host in himself," and gave the movement "a position and a name." When the great blow fell and Newman joined the Roman Church, he and Keble remained true to the Anglican ideal, and acted as leaders to the discomfited Anglican army.

E. B. Pusey.

John Henry Newman (1801-1890) was beyond question the real leader of the Oxford movement in its early stages. He had not the massive learning of Pusey, but he had a fascinating personality which gathered disciples around him, a wonderful dialectical skill, and a perfect mastery over the English language. Sprung from an Evangelical home, he entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1817, and won the coveted prize of an Oriel fellowship in 1822.

J. H. Newman.

Thus it will be seen that three leaders of the movement were Fellows of Oriel. Newman was tutor of his college from 1826 to 1832, when he resigned his tutorship owing to a difference with the Provost. In 1832 he travelled abroad with Froude,

and could not find any better words for Italian Romanism than that it was "polytheistic, degrading, idolatrous." He denounced the solemn presentation of "superstitions as an essential part of Christianity." In Sicily he was stricken down with a fever which almost proved fatal. It was while his ship lay becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio that he wrote his splendid hymn, "Lead, kindly Light." He set foot once more in England on 9th July 1833, convinced in his inmost soul that God had a work for him to do. The dangers with which the Church of England found herself confronted at this crisis of her fate have already been described. Newman himself assigned as the beginning of the movement, Keble's assize sermon on national apostacy. This sermon was preached before the University on 14th July 1833. Its contention was that in days gone by the English State had recognised the English Church as the presentment in England of the Church of Christ, and had acknowledged the law of Christ as binding on herself, but that by withdrawing from the Church her support and by encroaching on the internal discipline and government of the Church, she had practically withdrawn that recognition, and had therefore committed an act of national apostacy.

Keble's  
assize  
sermon,  
1833.

A fortnight later a meeting of a few friends was held at Mr. Rose's rectory at Hadleigh (25th to 29th July) to consider the urgent dangers threatening the Church. For urgent they did indeed seem. "If I thought that we could stand ten or fifteen years as we are, I should have little fear," said Mr. Rose. His idea was that in the interval people could be enlightened on true church principles, and the danger would pass away.

Of the Oxford friends only Froude was present. Newman had never much belief in committees; he thought that their results were always tame and disappointing, as the fruit of compromise. But he was in general sympathy with the Churchmen who met at Hadleigh.

The meeting led in itself to no very permanent results. An "Association" of Friends of the Church was suggested by Mr. Palmer, but the idea, though adopted, never took effective form in the world of realities. A second result of the meeting was an address by 7000 clergy presented to the Archbishop in February 1834, assuring him of their devotion to the doctrine and discipline of the Church. A similar address signed by 230,000 heads of families was presented the following May.



But it was felt that to elicit church feeling something more was necessary. Men required instruction as to the true nature and title-deeds of the Church. It was this need which called forth the "Tracts for the Times." Their inspiration came from Newman, the author of the first tract. Newman regarded joint productions as lacking in force. Short leaflets, the work of writers united in general agreement as to principles, but instinct with the life and individuality of each author, were the need of the hour.

The principles of the early Tractarian Movement can best be illustrated by quotations from the first tract.

"To my brethren in the sacred ministry . . . ordained thereunto by the Holy Ghost and the imposition of hands.— Fellow labourers, I am but one of yourselves, a presbyter . . . yet speak I must, for the times are very evil. . . . Is it fair . . . to suffer our bishops to stand the brunt of the battle without doing our part to support them? Upon them comes 'the care of all the churches.' Not one of us would wish to deprive them of the duties . . . of their high office. And black event as it would be for the country, yet (as far as they are concerned) we could not wish them a more blessed termination of their course than the spoiling of their goods and martyrdom.

"Now, then, let me come at once to the subject which leads me to address you. Should the Government and the country so far forget their God as to cast off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honours and substance, *on what* will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks? Hitherto you have been upheld by your birth, your education, your wealth, your connections; should these secular advantages cease, on what must Christ's ministers depend? . . . I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT. . . . The Lord Jesus Christ gave His Spirit to His Apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them, and these again on others, and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense representatives." The tract then proves from the language of the ordination service that this is the doctrine of the Church of England, and proceeds—"Therefore, my dear brethren, act up to your professions . . . for if you have the spirit of the Apostles on you, surely this is a great gift. . . . Make

Tracts for  
the Times

Tract I. by  
Newman.

much of it. . . . Keep it before your minds as an honourable badge, far higher than that secular respectability, or cultivation, or polish, or learning, or rank, which gives you a hearing with the many. Tell *them* of your gift. The times will soon drive you to do this, if you mean to be still anything. But wait not for the times. Do not be compelled by the world's forsaking you to recur as if unwillingly to the high source of your authority. . . . A notion has gone abroad that they (*sc.* the people) can take away your power. They think they have given and can take it away. They think that it lies in the church property, and they know that they have politically the power to confiscate that property. . . . Enlighten them in this matter. Exalt our holy fathers the bishops, as the representatives of the Apostles . . . and magnify your office as being ordained by them to take part in their ministry."

Aim of the  
Tracts.

Thus it will be seen that the first tract aimed at bringing out the great truth which Newman years before had learned, oddly enough, from the Liberal theologian Whately, that the Church was a substantive body or corporation, independent of the State, with rights, privileges, and title-deeds of its own.

From September 1833 to the end of 1834 short tracts poured forth in rapid succession explaining in terms derived from the ancient fathers and the great Anglican divines the nature of the Church, its doctrines, its government, its services, startling the high-and-dry people by their novelty, dismaying and angering the Liberals by the support they received, and rallying other Churchmen to the old faith of their forefathers. Meanwhile Newman as vicar of St. Mary's was preaching week by week his memorable sermons, making many men feel as they had never felt before the reality and power of living faith in Jesus Christ. At the close of 1834 the Tractarians were definitely joined by Dr. Pusey, and from the time of his accession the tracts rather changed in character and assumed the form of serious theological treatises. The first of such treatises was Pusey's tract on Baptism.

The  
"Hampden"  
appointment,  
1836.

In the history of the movement the year 1836 was most important. Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, appointed Dr. Hampden to the vacant Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford. Such an appointment seemed an outrage to all upholders of dogmatic belief, for Dr. Hampden had recently delivered a series of Bampton Lectures, in which he had drawn

a distinction between the "divine facts" contained in Scripture—facts which must be conceded even by Unitarians—and creeds of all sorts, which were mere human interpretations, binding on no one unless he chose. Such creeds seemed to be regarded in his argument as mere accretions of good or bad philosophy, grafted on to the primitive faith. In 1835 he had supported a proposal for abolishing the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles that was in those days required by the University from undergraduates. It was no matter for surprise that all supporters of dogmatic faith, Tractarian and Evangelical alike, rose in arms against his appointment. Hampden himself was orthodox enough, but his intellect, though speculative in type, was not of first-class calibre. He did not see the logical conclusion to which his own premises led. While intending merely to assert the supreme and paramount authority of Scripture as the source of doctrine, he had made sweeping statements which tended to dissolve all dogmatic faith whatever into sheer illusion and fancy. But when pressed to this conclusion, Hampden always drew back, and ended by reasserting the orthodoxy of his own beliefs. The upholders of dogma, unable to frustrate the appointment, succeeded, however, in passing a vote through the Oxford Convocation depriving the new professor of all right to vote in the appointment of select preachers. The Liberal and Latitudinarian Churchmen were furious at the slight passed upon them, and Dr. Arnold, recognising that the Tractarians were the protagonists of the dogmatic principle, wrote in language of singular venom, which awakened the regrets even of his friends, an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, entitled "The Oxford Malignants," attacking the Oxford Movement and all its ways. But the movement steadily advanced with an increasing measure of success, and never met with check till weakened by internal division on a matter of vital principle, that is to say, on the claims of the Roman Catholic Church.

Arnold's  
attack on  
the Oxford  
Malignants.

The Roman question presented itself to the Tractarians as their movement spread. They had claimed that the Church of England was the local presence in England of the Catholic Church. But an exactly similar claim was preferred by the Roman Catholic Church. It was therefore necessary to restate once more the case of the English Church against Rome. Newman and others were convinced of the strength of the

The  
"Roman"  
question.

English position, but they were unwilling to employ the extravagant language and abuse which the reformers (like the Romanists) had used in a bygone age; and holding as they did strong views on Churchmanship and high sacramental doctrine, they were unable to attack the Romanists on the grounds taken by Calvinists and other extreme Protestants. The case against Rome was to be stated not only negatively, but positively, by a reasoned justification of the Anglican position. This was what Newman tried to do in his *Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism* (1837). He attempted to set forth the principles of what soon came to be known as the *Via Media*—in other words, the principles of Anglo-Catholicism. In the introduction to this work Newman admitted that "Protestantism and Popery were real religions . . . whereas the *Via Media*, viewed as an integral system, has scarcely had existence except on paper." Newman's aim during the next few years was to see whether Anglo-Catholicism could be made to exist not merely as an idea on paper, but also in the world of realities. He went over to Rome because his hopes and his patience failed, and because he came to the conclusion that Anglo-Catholicism was a mere transition-state between Romanism and Protestantism, without substantive basis of its own. But his despair and his impatience have been proved mistaken in the event, for whatever else may be said for or against Anglo-Catholicism, this much is certain, that by the close of the nineteenth century it has established itself, though not in its extreme form, as the dominant force within the Church of England. This being so, the principles of the *Via Media* must be explained. They were as follows: The Church is divided into three main portions—the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican communions. The Western Church has two branches, Roman and Anglican. Both these Churches agree in retaining—(1) fundamental dogma, *i.e.* the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; (2) the sacramental system; (3) the apostolical succession. They both claim for their own the primitive Church. But Anglo-Catholics maintain that, whereas they themselves hold in its purity the primitive faith, Rome both in its authorised dogma and still more in its working system has unjustifiably added to the faith and practice of the Church extraneous elements, *e.g.* the theory of transubstantiation, the idea of papal infallibility, the withholding of the cup from the laity

Newman's  
defence of  
the Church  
of England  
against  
Rome.

Newman's  
theory of  
"The  
Church."

saint-worship, &c. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ.* Hence the rupture of the Western Church at the Reformation. To the Roman contention that Anglicanism, unlike Romanism, has no seat of final authority, the Anglican replies, on the one hand, that the Roman claim to infallibility is false not only to the facts of history, but to the very conditions of human existence; on the other hand, that for the Church of England the most fundamental dogmas are authoritatively fixed by the creeds of the undivided Church, and that in the case of less fundamental dogmas the writings of the early fathers give a sufficient ground of certainty. The condition of the Church as a whole is anomalous, but that of the Anglican less so than the Roman Church.

Unfortunately, as the years passed, Newman became shaken as to the soundness of his own contentions. In his *Apologia*—a work that will be read as long as the English language is spoken—the drama of his soul's development and the agony of his ever-increasing doubt are presented to the reader. In 1839 he still had supreme faith in the Anglican position; but after that date there was never again the same glad confidence. In August 1839, when studying the history of the Monophysite heresy, he was profoundly alarmed by the parallelism which he seemed to find between the Anglican and Monophysite attitudes to Rome. His alarm was increased by an article of Dr. Wiseman in that same August comparing the Donatists with the Anglicans. The words "*securus iudicat orbis terrarum*,"<sup>1</sup> used by St. Augustine, and quoted in the article, gave him a severe shock. Newman had for some time considered "antiquity" as the chief note of Anglicanism, and "Catholicism" the chief note of Rome. The Roman Church which spread into all lands, as contrasted with the Anglican Church which was almost exclusively confined to England, had already impressed him. But if Rome had Catholicity, at any rate England had "antiquity" on her side. Yet here, thought Newman, was antiquity itself declaring against him, for Augustine was one of the chief authors of antiquity to whom Anglicans made appeal. And yet Augustine himself appealed to "Catholicity"—"*Securus iudicat orbis terrarum*." "I had seen," says Newman, "the shadow of a hand upon the wall. . . . He who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it. The heavens had opened and closed again. The thought for the moment had been, 'The Church of Rome will be found right

Newman's  
faith in the  
Church of  
England  
shaken.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* "The world's judgment stands free from fear of challenge."

after all,' and then it had vanished. My old convictions remained as before." It is certain that from the close of 1839 Newman was never again satisfied with the soundness of the Anglican position. His convictions were shaken, if they were not overthrown. His struggle from 1839 to 1845 was one long-drawn death-agony. His attitude became increasingly one of apology for the Church of England, and endeavour to assimilate her to Rome. But for some years he did not absolutely despair of finding in the English formularies for himself and others what he conceived to be the old Catholic faith. It was with this purpose that he wrote the famous Tract XC. in 1841, on the Thirty-nine Articles. His aim was to determine how far as a matter of fact the Articles were capable of a "Catholic" interpretation, and to what extent they were directed against Roman doctrine. He drew a distinction between Romanism as a popular working system and Roman authoritative dogma. While he did not go the full length of stating that the Articles were not directed at all against Rome's authoritative dogma, he pointed out that the Tridentine decrees had not been ratified when the Articles were first drawn up, and that therefore the Articles were not directed against *them*. The general drift of the tract was to show that the Articles were directed against the dominant errors of popular Romanism, and not for the most part against Roman dogma. The general conclusion was that, after the gloss placed upon the Articles by Calvinists and other Protestants had been removed, they were capable of a perfectly "Catholic" interpretation, and did not condemn prayers for the dead, the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, the belief in some form of purgatory, &c. But Newman had gone too far. The storm which had for some time been brewing now burst. The tract was denounced by four Oxford tutors, of whom one was Tait, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, and it was condemned by the heads of houses at Oxford, as a dishonest attempt to evade the true meaning of the Articles. A correspondence followed between Newman and the Bishop of Oxford, of which the upshot was that the issue of all further tracts was to be discontinued. Tract XC. was not to be suppressed, but Newman was to let the world know that the Bishop disapproved of its tone.

End of the  
tracts.

A turning point in the history of the movement had been reached. Newman retired from Oxford to Littlemore, and the ties that bound him to the Anglican Church gradually loosened.

There were three sets of influences which now carried him Romewards. *First*, the principles of Tract XC. were condemned by successive bishops in their episcopal charges, e.g. Sumner Bishop of Chester condemned the bad faith of those "who sit in the reformers' seat and traduce the Reformation." Newman was thereby convinced that the Church of England, as speaking through its bishops, was unable to bear or receive this infusion of Catholic truth. The suspension of Dr. Pusey (1843) for two years by the Vice-chancellor of Oxford, because of a sermon in which he had preached high sacramental doctrine, had the same kind of influence on him. *Secondly*, he was driven on by a forward party which had developed within the movement itself, and was avowedly bent on union with Rome. Typical of these people was W. G. Ward of Balliol, who identified Catholicism with Romanism, and in his book on the *Ideal of a Christian Church*, claimed while remaining within the Church of England to hold "the full cycle of Roman doctrine." *Thirdly*, the affair of the Jerusalem bishopric convinced him of what he thought a hopeless lack of principle in the English Church.

Tract XC. con-  
demned.

Roman-  
ising wing  
of the  
movement.

The institution of a bishopric at Jerusalem was a scheme sanctioned by the English Government and the Archbishop of Canterbury on the one side and the King of Prussia on the other (1841). By it a bishop of Jerusalem, consecrated by Anglican bishops, was to be set over Englishmen and Prussians and such Orientals as were willing to put themselves under him. By this action the English Church seemed to Newman to be uniting with Protestant and heretic bodies without demanding from them a renunciation of their errors. In his study of the Arian heresy, the doubts which had come upon him when studying the Monophysite heresy in 1839 returned and became convictions. In 1843 he was so far unsettled that he gave up his cure at St. Mary's, Littlemore, and retired into lay communion. His only objection to Rome was now the saint-worship of popular Romanism. This did not prove an insuperable obstacle. At last the blow fell, and Newman, the leader of the Oxford Movement, definitely joined the Church of Rome in 1845. He had been preceded by the more advanced members of his party, Ward, Oakeley, Dalgairns, and Faber.

The Jeru-  
salem  
bishopric.

Newman  
secedes to  
Roman  
Church,  
1845.

But catastrophe though it was, Newman's secession did not mean the end of the Oxford Movement. Pusey and Keble remained loyal to the Anglican Church, and prevented many

secessions which might otherwise have taken place. But the circle of intimate friends at Oxford was broken up; the movement no longer had its centre in Oxford, but its influence was gradually diffused over the whole country, both among clergy and laity. Prominent supporters were Dr. Hook, the vicar of Leeds (who showed the system actually working in a large parish), J. B. Mozley, and R. W. Church among the clergy, W. E. Gladstone, Justice Coleridge, and Roundell Palmer among laymen. The chief features of this High Church revival were the emphasis laid on the divine nature of the Church and sacramental means of grace. But the attitude to be assumed both towards antiquity and towards Rome was always a source of internal division and perplexity. Thus Pusey approximated in his theology to that of Trent, and consistently refused to speak against Rome. Hook in scathing terms denounced Romanising tendencies in the Church of England wherever he discerned them, and bade the Romanisers go to their true mother—the Mother of Abominations! Pusey thought himself justified (because the reformed Church appealed to antiquity against Rome) in adopting any belief or practice which in his view existed in the primitive Church. Thus in his letter to his new diocesan, Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford (1845), he asserted the Catholicity of the invocation of saints, and claimed on the strength of an alleged vision of an early martyr to hold in some form the doctrine of purgatory. The Bishop rebuked him for judging the Church which he ought to obey, for rejecting the interpretation which that Church had in her formularies put upon antiquity, and for undervaluing Holy Scripture as the means for proving dogma.

In the following year, when some of the clergy whom Pusey had nominated to St. Saviour's, Leeds, were on the point of joining the Church of Rome, Hook wrote him to the same effect. "With all deference to you, *I* think that the reformers were as likely to know what was really Catholic and primitive as you are; and what, accepting their teaching, Convocation was overruled by Divine Providence to adopt—that I receive as the voice of the Catholic Church." Yet Hook no less than Pusey was instinct with the spirit of the movement.

The Church of England had hardly weathered the difficulties attending the secessions of 1845 when she was confronted with a new problem. The Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Phillpotts, had refused

High  
Church  
revival.

Hook  
condemns  
Romanis-  
ing ten-  
dencies.



to institute the Rev. G. C. Gorham to a living in his diocese, on the ground that, having denied baptismal regeneration, he held heretical opinions on the subject of Holy Baptism. The Bishop's action was held by the Court of Arches to be justified. But the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided on appeal that Mr. Gorham's language was not incompatible with one interpretation of the Church of England's formularies (1850).

Gorham case, 1850.

The Gorham case caused two great difficulties to many Churchmen. In the first place, it was thought by them to show that "the Church as by law established" was tolerant of undoubted heresy,<sup>1</sup> and secondly, it raised the whole question of what the supreme court of spiritual appeal ought to be, and appeared in the eyes of advanced Churchmen to convict the English Church of hopeless Erastianism. The result was a number of fresh secessions to Rome, the most notable of whom was Archdeacon Manning, fated, like Newman, to become a "Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church."

Secession of Manning.

It will be remembered that the final appeal in spiritual cases had been fixed at the Reformation in the Court of Delegates; but in 1832 the supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been transferred by the State (without the concurrence of the Church) to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It was disputed in 1850, and has been disputed since, whether this court was ever intended to determine doctrinal cases. Certainly the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy seemed to contemplate the concurrence of Convocation with the temporal power in the definition of doctrine.

Question of the Supreme Court of Appeal.

But the whole matter bristles with difficulties. It can neither be expected nor desired that the Crown should divest itself of the right to grant justice to a subject who declares himself wronged. On the other hand, it is intolerable that a purely temporal court, which might be composed of non-Christians, should define doctrine and settle matters of faith. It is true, of course, that the Privy Council does not profess to define doctrine. Thus in the Gorham judgment it expressly declared that, "This court has no jurisdiction or authority to

<sup>1</sup> But on this point see *A Review of the Baptismal Controversy*, by J. B. Mozley (mentioned above as a prominent supporter of the Oxford Movement), in which he proved that the Gorham judgment must be upheld as right since (1) the doctrine of the regeneration of all infants in baptism is not an article of the faith, and (2) the formularies of the English Church do not impose it.

settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any case to be the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England upon the true and legal construction of the Articles and formularies." But even so the position is not satisfactory. Much of our common law is judge-made law, and it is a notorious fact that judges, while professing to interpret, do in point of fact modify and alter the law. Thus it is conceivable that the Privy Council by its decisions might modify or alter—so far as this lay in their power—the faith and order of the Church.

Whether their action be right or wrong, it is certain that many Churchmen have never felt themselves morally bound *in foro conscientia* by decisions of the Privy Council. The existing court of supreme ecclesiastical appeal has been to the Church a source of constant perplexity.

The fresh secessions to Rome which followed the Gorham judgment did not facilitate the progress of the High Church revival. People were sore and suspicious of Romanising intrigue, and their suspicions were accentuated when Pope Pius IX. in 1850 re-organised England as a province of the Roman Catholic Church and appointed territorial bishops. Another cause of suspicion was the use which some High Churchmen, and notably Pusey, made of auricular confession; but it was on the High Church teaching about the Sacrament of Holy Communion that those who were suspicious chiefly fastened.

The "Real Presence." Cases in the Courts. Denison case. Bennett case.

The doctrine of the Real Presence was a rock of offence to many who refused to draw a distinction between it and transubstantiation. That it was the doctrine of the primitive Church, and taught by some of the greatest of Anglican divines, Pusey expounded in a work of monumental labour which he wrote on the occasion when Archdeacon Denison was prosecuted for having preached this doctrine in a sermon; while a learned reply, maintaining the contrary, was written by Prebendary Vogan. Archdeacon Denison was condemned in the diocesan court of Bath and Wells, but was acquitted on appeal on technical grounds by the Court of Arches and the Privy Council (1858). The lawfulness of the belief was again raised in the case of *Sheppard v. Bennett* (1872). The Rev. W. Bennett was prosecuted for maintaining the doctrine of the Real Presence,

and the suit was carried on appeal from the Court of Arches to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Judicial Committee decided that "the assertion of a 'real, actual, objective' presence introduces, indeed, terms not found in the Articles or formularies; but it does not appear to affirm, expressly or by necessary implication, a presence other than spiritual, nor to be necessarily contradictory to the 28th Article." The result of this case was therefore to lay down that clergymen could lawfully hold the doctrine of the Real Presence, if a spiritual significance was given to the term "Real."

The early leaders of the Tractarian Movement had fought to establish certain great principles, such as the substantive existence of the Church as a divinely ordered body, the reality of sacramental grace, the apostolical succession. They had magnified the office of a bishop; Newman himself had laid down that a bishop's lightest word was weighty. By 1872 the principles for which Newman and Keble and Pusey had fought were either accepted as the doctrine, or at least as a possible interpretation of the doctrine, of the Church of England. But about this time the movement began to pass in some quarters into a new phase. The ritualistic question had been born. It was a day of smaller men and meaner things. Advanced clergymen began to adopt the eastward position, to mix water and wine ceremonially at the Holy Communion, and to claim under the Ornaments Rubric the right to wear the mediæval vestments and revive all the ornaments authorised in 1549. Some clergymen were so foolish as to rouse Protestant feeling by talking of "the Mass" instead of the Holy Communion. These matters, or most of them, had never troubled the minds of the early leaders of the Oxford Movement, for they had deprecated all ritual innovations and the revival of disused vestments. It is interesting to remark that Newman, right down to his last celebration of the Holy Communion in the Anglican Church, had always consecrated the sacramental elements standing at the north end of the communion table. Pusey regarded with sorrow all attempts to force ritual on unwilling congregations.

Ritual  
Question.

Vestments

In striking contrast to the early Tractarian leaders, some of these "new" High Churchmen showed scant courtesy and less obedience to their bishops, and professed to be ruled by the directions of a "Catholic" truth and "Catholic" practice to

which they themselves, and not the bishops of their Church, held the key. In point of fact, the "truth" and the "practice" had been developed *a priori*. On the other hand, it must be admitted that many of these extreme men, such as the Rev. R. Dolling at Portsmouth, have done most splendid and devoted work in the vineyard of our Lord, in the slums and alleys of our great cities. In such centres the value of an ornate ritual is most needed. It acts as "books to the unlearned." The "extreme" men of the Low Church party have been almost as much to blame. They organised themselves into a body known as "The Church Association," and knowing, in view of judicial decisions, that they had little chance of prosecuting successful suits against extreme High Churchmen on the ground of doctrine, they instituted suits on the grounds of ritual, and succeeded in imprisoning some half-dozen clergymen. Of these suits the most important were the Purchas case (1871), in which many ritualistic acts, and among them the eastward position, were declared illegal by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; the Ridsdale case (1877), in which the eastward position was allowed, but the wearing of vestments condemned, by the reorganised Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and the case of the Bishop of Lincoln (1892), in which the Privy Council to all intents and purposes relaxed former decisions on certain ritual points. Archbishop Temple, after a formal hearing, gave quasi-judgments against the ceremonial use of lights and incense.

Ritual cases.

The practical result to-day is that in a number of churches the vestments are worn unchallenged. But in the great majority of churches the old Anglican use is followed, and the surplice is the only ecclesiastical dress worn by the clergy.

Times have greatly changed since 1832.

Revival of Church Life in the nineteenth century.

1. There has been an astonishing revival in church life, in which Evangelicals, no less than High Churchmen, have taken their part. Convocation met once more for the despatch of business (1852), after a break of 135 years.

Episcopate of Samuel Wilberforce.

The conception of episcopal duty has altered. Samuel Wilberforce, appointed Bishop of Oxford in 1845, did for the nineteenth what Grosseteste had done for the thirteenth century. He gave men quite a new idea of what the episcopal office might be. The care he took about his ordinations and confirmations came almost as a revelation. To his clergy he

acted as a true father in God, encouraging, checking, directing, comforting, according to their needs. His example has been widely followed; what he originated has now become the normal condition of affairs.

Since 1832 an increasing number of churches has been built to meet the ever-expanding needs of the large towns. In many churches there are daily services—badly attended, it is true, upon the week-days—and more frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion. Building of Churches.

The Church has also realised that the kingdom of God is not merely something concerned with the hereafter, but a thing to be realised here and now. The troublous times of the Chartist agitation (1848) gave birth to Christian Socialism and the co-operative movement, with which the names of F. W. Robertson, F. D. Maurice, and Charles Kingsley are closely identified. The aim of Christian Socialism was to expound the great principle that the law of Christ ought to rule economic practice; its efforts have largely been directed against "sweating," and towards awakening the conscience of "the consumer." The aim of the co-operative movement was to lessen the tyranny of dead capital and check the ferocity of the competitive principle—which had been the gospel of the Manchester school—by associating the workmen themselves in producing and distributing societies. The gulf between classes is not so wide to-day as it was in 1848. Christian Socialism and the co-operative movement.

Devoted work is done by the clergy and others in the slums of the great cities. Universities and colleges and schools have vied in establishing settlements in which university and public school men learn something of the conditions of life which obtain among the poor. Settlements.

In the sphere of primary education the nation owes the Church a great debt, which it does not now seem altogether inclined to acknowledge. Down till 1870 the Church, with the aid of State grants, did almost the whole, and even at the present day does half the work of educating the poor in the national<sup>1</sup> schools. Education.

It is not only at home, but abroad, that the church revival has been felt. Foreign mission societies, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, Foreign missions

<sup>1</sup> Where school buildings are not provided by the State, they are now called "non-provided" schools. Thus the name of "national" school is now out of date.

and the various university missions, are vigorously supported in all parts of the world.

Progress of  
science—  
the critical  
method.

2. The High Church revival has not been the only important church movement in the nineteenth century. The vast progress of the physical sciences and the employment of more critical methods have combined to modify profoundly our theological point of view. That the change was not effected without considerable shock is shown by the history of a volume of "Essays and Reviews" written by different authors and published in 1860. Two of its authors were prosecuted for heresy because of the views expressed by them on the Inspiration of Scripture, on Justification, and on Eternal Punishment. Though they were acquitted by the Privy Council, the volume received synodical condemnation from both Houses of Convocation in 1864. But

Results of  
Biblical  
criticism,

our angle of vision has undoubtedly changed. The inspiration of Holy Scripture is understood in a somewhat different sense than formerly, and the theory of verbal inspiration is now almost a thing of the past. The books both of the Old and New Testaments have been subjected to searching criticism, of which it is difficult in few words to summarise the general result. The historical character and authenticity of the books of the New Testament has been signally vindicated, though the possible existence of mistakes in minor detail is admitted. Great light has been thrown on the historical origin and composition of different books of the Old Testament, and on the historical development of the Jewish people and faith. Briefly speaking, the modern point of view is this: God chose out a Semitic tribe, the Jews, which He gradually educated in the true knowledge of Himself. The religion of these primitive Jews, when they were chosen, was polytheistic, and did not differ in essentials from that of the surrounding Semitic tribes. The Old Testament is a history of the way in which God through His prophets gradually educated the Jews, and prepared the way for the birth among them of His Eternal Son, Jesus Christ. It is now generally

and of the  
growth of  
the physical  
sciences.

recognised that Holy Scripture was not written to give us knowledge about the physical sciences, and that therefore, to give but one instance, there can be no collision between geology and Genesis. Science deals with the phenomenal and temporal, religion with the ultimate and eternal—the soul and God. There can be no real conflict between them. The Darwinian theory of man's origin may be and very probably is true. The story of

the Fall may be, as Origen the great Father maintained 1600 years ago, an allegory. All that the Christian is concerned to maintain is the reality of sin and of redemption through the sacrifice of the Incarnate God.

It may be mentioned in this place, that the advance of textual criticism has borne fruit in the publication of a Revised Version of the Bible. The Revised Version of the New Testament was published in 1881, that of the Old Testament in 1885.

3. Again, the nineteenth century has witnessed an enormous expansion of the Anglican communion. The Anglican bishops who are in actual possession of sees now number 257,<sup>1</sup> of whom no fewer than 220 hold office outside the establishment of England and Wales. The Anglican Church has become imperial, and even international. If Newman had lived sixty years later, he could hardly have missed in her the mark of Catholicity. Canada has 24 bishoprics, Australia 20, New Zealand 7, India and Ceylon 11, America at home and abroad 97. Invitations to the first Lambeth Conference were issued in 1867, and since that date, at intervals of ten years, the bishops of the Anglican communion have met in council. Lambeth and the archbishopric of Canterbury have become the centre of a world-wide influence. The fifth Lambeth Conference has barely closed its sittings as the author writes (1908). And in this year there has met for the first time a Pan-Anglican Congress at which each diocese from over the seas has been represented by delegates. The Congress and the Conference have been marked by moving and impressive scenes. Bishops and clergy and laymen working in different portions of the Lord's vineyard, and under widely different circumstances, have met together and conferred on the problems of their common life. From the arctic regions and the tropical plains, from the East and the West, from frontiers where men battle in solitude with the elemental forces of nature, and from towns where men congregate in crowded workshops, they have come, to learn from each other and from their common Lord. They cannot but depart gifted with a wider outlook, enriched by the sense of their common life. The day may come, and perhaps

Expansion of Anglican communion.

Pan-Anglican conferences.

The first Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908.

Prospects of the Church of England.

<sup>1</sup> The total number of bishops in the whole Anglican communion (including suffragan, assistant, and retired bishops) is 344.

and, while the effect of disestablishment upon the State cannot be regarded without grave apprehension, yet substantial considerations can be urged in its favour. Fears have been expressed that such a disestablishment would be followed by the disruption of the Church. But in the event of disestablishment, the colonial churches would act as a steadying force in bar of disruption. To many Churchmen it seems intolerable that the law of the Church should be altered by a mere Act of Parliament. Yet this, according to the Court of Arches and the Supreme Court of Appeal (the House of Lords) is the result of the recent Bill legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister (1907), and Churchmen are asking how far this principle may be carried, and whether the Oxford Movement, which set out to prove "that the Church was a substantive body, independent of the State, with rights, privileges, and title-deeds of its own," has been all in vain. Churchmen can look forward to the future, if with misgivings, yet also with many hopes. The Church of England is not bound, like the Church of Rome, to intellectual positions incapable of defence. She is the friend of learning and the critical spirit. Unlike Protestant Nonconformity, she has behind her the force of a great historical tradition. We believe that the hand of God is upon her, and that in the revolution of the wheel of time, she may yet become the centre at which the whole of Christendom may meet, and own one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.

## APPENDIX VII

## A.—LIST OF ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND PROMINENT ANGLO-SAXON KINGS FROM 597-1066.

DATES.	ARCHBISHOPS.	KINGS.
597	Augustine	Ethelbert of Kent ( <i>d.</i> 616)
604	Laurentius	.....
616-633	.....	Edwin of Northumbria
619	Mellitus	.....
624	Justus	.....
626-655	.....	Penda of Mercia
627	Honorius	.....
634-642	.....	Oswald of Northumbria
643-670	.....	Oswy of Bernicia
655	Deusdedit	.....
668	Theodore	.....
693	Brihtwald	.....



DATES.	ARCHBISHOPS.	KINGS.
731	Tatwin	.....
735	Nothelm	.....
741	Cuthbert	.....
757-796	.....	Offa of Mercia
759	Bregwin	.....
766	Jaenbert	.....
793	Ethelhard	.....
805	Wulfred	.....
832	Feologild	.....
833	Ceolnoth	.....
870	Ethelred	.....
871-901	.....	Alfred
890	Plegmund	.....
914	Athelm	.....
923	Wulfhelm	.....
942	Odo	.....
959-975	.....	Edgar
960	Dunstan	.....
988	Ethelgar	.....
990	Siric	.....
995	Elfric	.....
1005	Elphege	.....
1013	Lifing	.....
1016-1035	.....	Cnut
1020	Ethelnoth	.....
1038	Eadsige	.....
1042-1066	.....	Edward the Confessor
1051	Robert of Jumièges	.....
1052	Stigand	.....

**B.—LIST OF POPES, ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY,  
AND KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM 1066-1603.**

DATES.	POPES.	ARCHBISHOPS.	KINGS.
1061	Alexander II.	.....	.....
1066	.....	.....	William I.
1070	.....	Lanfranc	.....
1073	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand)	.....	.....
1086	Victor III.	.....	.....
1087	Urban II.	.....	William II.
1093	.....	Anselm	.....
1099	Pascal II.	.....	.....
1100	.....	.....	Henry I.
1114	.....	Ralf d'Escures	.....
1118	Gelasius II.	.....	.....
1119	Calixtus II.	.....	.....
1123	.....	William of Corbeil	.....
1124	Honorius II.	.....	.....
1130	Innocent II.	.....	.....
1135	.....	.....	Stephen

DATES.	POPES.	ARCHBISHOPS.	KINGS.
1139	Innocent II.	Theobald	Stephen
1143	Celestine II.	.....	.....
1144	Lucius II.	.....	.....
1145	Eugenius III.	.....	.....
1153	Anastasius IV.	.....	.....
1154	Adrian IV.	.....	Henry II.
1159	Alexander III.	.....	.....
1162	.....	Thomas Becket	.....
1174	.....	Richard of Dover	.....
1181	Lucius III.	.....	.....
1185	Urban III.	Baldwin	.....
1187	Gregory VIII.	.....	.....
	Clement III.	.....	.....
1189	.....	.....	Richard
1191	Celestine III.	.....	.....
1193	.....	Hubert Walter	.....
1198	Innocent III.	.....	.....
1199	.....	.....	John
1207	.....	Stephen Langton	.....
1216	Honorius III.	.....	Henry III
1227	Gregory IX.	.....	.....
1229	.....	Richard	.....
1234	.....	Edmund Rich	.....
1241	Celestine IV.	.....	.....
1243	Innocent IV.	.....	.....
1245	.....	Boniface of Savoy	.....
1254	Alexander IV.	.....	.....
1261	Urban IV.	.....	.....
1265	Clement IV.	.....	.....
1271	Gregory X.	.....	.....
1272	.....	.....	Edward I.
1273	.....	Robert Kilwardby	.....
1276	Innocent V.	.....	.....
	Hadrian V.	.....	.....
1277	John XXI.	.....	.....
	Nicholas III.	.....	.....
1279	.....	John Peckham	.....
1281	Martin IV.	.....	.....
1285	Honorius IV.	.....	.....
1289	Nicholas IV.	.....	.....
1294	Celestine V.	Robert Winchelsey	.....
	Boniface VIII.	.....	.....
1303	Benedict XI.	.....	.....
1305	Clement V.	.....	.....
1307	.....	.....	Edward II
1313	.....	Walter Reynolds	.....
1316	John XXI.	.....	.....
1327	.....	.....	Edward III.
1328	.....	Simon Meopham	.....
1333	.....	John Stratford	.....
1334	Benedict XII.	.....	.....
1342	Clement VI.	.....	.....
1349	.....	Thomas Bradwardine	.....

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DATES.	POPES.	ARCHBISHOPS.	KINGS.
1349	Clement VI.	Simon Islip	Edward III.
1352	Innocent VI.	.....	.....
1362	Urban V.	.....	.....
1366	.....	Simon Langham	.....
1368	.....	William Wittlesey	.....
1370	Gregory XI.	.....	.....
1375	.....	Simon Sudbury	.....
1377	.....	.....	Richard II.
1378	Urban VI.	.....	.....
1381	.....	William Courtenay	.....
1389	Boniface IX.	.....	.....
1397	.....	Thomas Arundel	.....
1399	.....	.....	Henry IV.
1404	Innocent VII.	.....	.....
1406	Gregory XII.	.....	.....
1409	Alexander V.	.....	.....
1410	John XXIII.	.....	.....
1413	.....	.....	Henry V.
1414	.....	Henry Chichele	.....
1417	Martin V.	.....	.....
1422	.....	.....	Henry VI.
1431	Eugenius IV.	.....	.....
1443	.....	John Stafford	.....
1447	Nicholas V.	.....	.....
1452	.....	John Kemp	.....
1454	.....	Thomas Bourchier	.....
1455	Calixtus III.	.....	.....
1458	Pius II.	.....	.....
1461	.....	.....	Edward IV.
1464	Paul II.	.....	.....
1471	Sixtus IV.	.....	.....
1483	.....	.....	Richard III.
1484	Innocent VIII.	.....	.....
1485	.....	.....	Henry VII.
1486	.....	John Morton	.....
1493	Alexander VI.	.....	.....
1501	.....	Henry Deane	.....
1503	Pius III.	William Warham	.....
	Julius II.	.....	.....
1509	.....	.....	Henry VIII.
1513	Leo X.	.....	.....
1522	Adrian VI.	.....	.....
1523	Clement VII.	.....	.....
1533	.....	Thomas Cranmer	.....
1534	Paul III.	.....	.....
1547	.....	.....	Edward VI.
1550	Julius III.	.....	.....
1553	.....	.....	Mary
1555	Marcellus II.	.....	.....
	Paul IV.	.....	.....
1556	.....	Reginald Pole	.....
1558	.....	.....	Elizabeth
1559	Pius IV.	Matthew Parker	.....

DATES.	POPES.	ARCHBISHOPS.	KINGS.
1566	Pius V.	.....	Elizabeth
1572	Gregory XIII.	.....	.....
1576	.....	Edmund Grindal	.....
1583	.....	John Whitgift	.....
1585	Sixtus V.	.....	.....
1590	Urban VII.	.....	.....
	Gregory XIV.	.....	.....
1591	Innocent IX.	.....	.....
1592	Clement VIII.	.....	.....

C.—LIST OF KINGS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY  
SINCE 1603.

DATES.	ARCHBISHOPS.	KINGS.
1603	.....	James I.
1604	Richard Bancroft	.....
1611	George Abbot	.....
1625	.....	Charles I.
1633	William Laud (executed 1645)	.....
1649	.....	Interregnum
1660	William Juxon	Charles II.
1663	Gilbert Sheldon	.....
1678	William Sancroft	.....
1685	.....	James II.
1689	.....	William III. and Mary
1691	John Tillotson	.....
1695	Thomas Tenison	.....
1702	.....	Anne
1714	.....	George I.
1716	William Wake	.....
1727	.....	George II.
1737	John Potter	.....
1747	Thomas Herring	.....
1757	Matthew Hutton	.....
1758	Thomas Secker	.....
1760	.....	George III.
1768	Frederic Cornwallis	.....
1783	John Moore	.....
1805	Charles Manners Sutton	.....
1820	.....	George IV.
1828	William Howley	.....
1830	.....	William IV.
1837	.....	Victoria
1848	John Bird Sumner	.....
1862	Charles Thomas Longley	.....
1869	Archibald Campbell Tait	.....
1883	Edward White Benson	.....
1896	Frederic William Temple	.....
1901	.....	Edward VII.
1902	Randall Thomas Davidson	.....

## PRINCIPAL DATES

A. D.

314. British bishops at Council of Arles.  
359. British bishops at Council of Ariminum.  
563-597. S. Columba's mission at Iona.  
597. St. Augustine's mission : see of Canterbury founded.  
Baptism of Ethelbert of Kent.  
604. Deaths of Gregory the Great and St. Augustine.  
625. Mission of Paulinus to Northumbria.  
627. Northumbrian Witan accepts Christianity.  
631. East Anglia converted by Felix.  
633. Penda's victory at Hatfield. Death of Edwin.  
Flight of Paulinus.  
634. Oswald victorious at Heavenfield.  
635. Wessex converted by Birinus.  
635-651. St. Aidan at Lindisfarne.  
654. Conversion of East Saxons.  
656. Conversion of Mercia.  
664. Synod of Whitby.  
Wilfrid Bishop of Northumbria.  
656-680. Hilda Abbess of Whitby.  
Cædmon  
664-685. Cuthbert at Lindisfarne.  
668-690. Theodore of Tarsus Archbishop of Canterbury.  
673-735. Bede, the monk of Jarrow.  
735. Egbert the first Archbishop of York.  
757-796. Offa King of the Mercians.  
786. First visit of papal legates.  
787. Legatine Synod of Chelsea.  
Archbishopric of Lichfield created.  
802. Archbishopric of Lichfield disappears.  
867. Viking invasions begin.  
871-901. Alfred.  
925. Birth of Dunstan.  
943. Dunstan Abbot of Glastonbury.  
Beginnings of monastic revival.  
960-988. Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury  
988. Renewal of Danish invasions.  
1012. Martyrdom of Archbishop Elphege.  
1016-1035. Cnut.  
1042-1066. Edward the Confessor.  
1052. Expulsion of Robert of Jumièges from archbishopric of  
Canterbury.  
Stigand schismatical Archbishop.  
1062. Second visit of papal legates.  
1065. Dedication of Westminster Abbey.  
1066. Battle of Hastings. William the Conqueror.  
1070-1089. Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury.

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- 1093-1109. Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.  
 1095. Urban II. proclaims first crusade at Clermont.  
 1107. Settlement of investiture contest.  
 1128. First settlement of Cistercians in England.  
 1162-1170. Becket Archbishop of Canterbury.  
 1164. Constitutions of Clarendon.  
 1187. Jerusalem captured by Saladin.  
 1207. Stephen Langton consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.  
 1213. Surrender of kingdom to Pope by John.  
 1215. Magna Charta.  
 1219. Dominicans arrive in England.  
 1224. Franciscans arrive in England.  
 1235-1253. Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln.  
 1265. Death of Simon de Montfort at Evesham.  
 1279. Statute of Mortmain.  
 1285. Writ of *circumspecte agatis*.  
 1296. Bull "Clericis Laicos."  
 1297. Clergy outlawed.  
 1305-1378. "Avignonese captivity."  
 1312. Suppression of Templars.  
 1351. First Statute of Provisors.  
 1353. First Statute of Præmunire.  
 1366. Repudiation of papal suzerainty.  
 1376-1384. Wycliffe's activity.  
 1378. Beginning of Great Schism.  
 1387. Foundation of Winchester College.  
 1401. Statute *de heretico comburendo*.  
 Sawtre burned.  
 1411. Lollardry expelled from Oxford.  
 1414. Suppression of alien priories.  
 Council of Constance.  
 1431. Council of Basel.  
 1453. Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.  
 1457. Bishop Pecock condemned for heresy.  
 1492. Discovery of America.  
 1496. Colet's lectures on St. Paul.  
 1516. Erasmus' New Testament.  
 More's *Utopia*.  
 1512-1529. Wolsey chief minister; cardinal 1515.  
 1514. Case of Richard Hunne.  
 1515. Case of Standish.  
 1517. Appearance of Luther.  
 1521. Henry writes against Luther; made Defender of the Faith.  
 1526. Tyndale's New Testament.  
 1527. Beginnings of divorce question.  
 1529. Sir T. More Lord Chancellor.  
 1529-1536. *Reformation Parliament* (see Appendix III.).  
 1532. Cromwell chief minister.  
 1533. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury.  
 Cranmer declares Henry's marriage with Catherine void, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn valid.  
 1534. The Pope declares Henry's marriage with Catherine valid.  
 Definitive breach with Rome.

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1535. Execution of Fisher and More.  
Title of Supreme Head.  
Cromwell Vicar-General.  
Coverdale's Bible.
- 1536-1539. Dissolution of the monasteries.
1536. Pilgrimage of Grace.  
The Ten Articles.  
Injunctions of Cromwell.
1537. The Bishop's Book.
1538. The Great Bible.
1539. Act of the Six Articles.
1540. Execution of Cromwell.
1543. The King's Book.
1545. The English Litany.
1547. Accession of Edward VI.
1548. New Order of Communion.  
The *Interim* of Charles V.
1549. First Act of Uniformity and First Prayer-Book.  
Influx of foreign Protestants.
1550. Destruction of altars.
1552. Second Act of Uniformity and Second Prayer-Book.
1553. The Forty-two Articles of Religion.  
Accession of Mary.  
Repeal of Edwardian legislation.
1554. Papal power restored in England.
- 1555-1558. The persecution. Many burnings.
1555. Ridley and Latimer burnt at Oxford.
1556. Archbishop Cranmer burnt at Oxford.  
Cardinal Pole made Archbishop.
1558. Deaths of Mary and Pole.  
Accession of Elizabeth.
1559. Act of Supremacy.  
Act of Uniformity.  
Consecration of Archbishop Parker.  
Royal visitation. Destruction of altars.
- 1559-1570. Puritanism in its first stage.
1563. Assurance of Supremacy Act.
1566. Parker's Advertisements.
1568. Mary Queen of Scots comes to England.  
Founding of Douay seminary.
1569. Revolt of northern Earls.
1570. Puritanism enters on its second stage. Attack on Episcopacy.  
Pius V. issues bull of deposition.
- 1571-1593. Antipapal legislation.
1571. The Thirty-nine Articles.
1572. Admonition to the Parliament.  
First presbytery formed.
- 1574-1577. Suppression of prophesyings.
1580. Coming of Jesuits.
1581. Puritanism enters on its third stage. Birth of Independency.
1587. Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.
1588. Marprelate Tracts.  
Spanish Armada.

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 1589. Bancroft's sermon on Episcopacy.  
 1593. Banishment of Nonconformists.  
 1594-1597. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*.  
 1603. Accession of James I.  
     Millenary Petition.  
 1604. Hampton Court Conference.  
     Canons of 1604.  
 1605. Gunpowder Plot.  
 1611. Authorised Version of Bible.  
 1618. Book of Sports.  
 1620. Sailing of *Mayflower*.  
 1625. Accession of Charles I.  
 1633. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.  
     Test case of St. Gregory's *re* position of the holy table.  
     Declaration of Sports.  
 1634-1637. Laud's metropolitanical visitation.  
 1638. The Scottish Covenant.  
 1640. Canons of 1640.  
     Meeting of Long Parliament.  
     Impeachment of Laud.  
     London petition against Episcopacy.  
 1641. Grand Remonstrance.  
 1642. Beginning of civil war.  
 1643. Bill for Abolition of Episcopacy.  
     Solemn League and Covenant.  
     Westminster Assembly meets.  
 1644. Battle of Marston Moor.  
 1645. Execution of Laud.  
 1646. Modified Presbyterianism established.  
 1649. Execution of Charles I.  
 1653-1658. Rule of Cromwell.  
 1660. The Restoration.  
 1661. The Savoy Conference.  
     The Corporation Act.  
 1662. Act of Uniformity.  
 1663. Ejection of Puritan clergy.  
     Convocation ceases to vote supplies.  
 1664. The Conventicle Act.  
 1665. The Five Mile Act.  
 1666. Fire of London.  
 1667. Fall of Clarendon.  
 1670. Treaty of Dover.  
 1672. Declaration of Indulgence.  
 1673. The Test Act.  
 1678. The Popish Plot.  
     Act excluding Papists from House of Lords.  
 1680. Exclusion Bill. Whig and Tory parties.  
 1685. Accession of James II.  
 1686. Case of Godden *v.* Hales.  
     New Ecclesiastical Commission.  
 1687. Declaration of Indulgence.  
 1688. Trial of the seven bishops.  
 1689. Accession of William and Mary.



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1689. Toleration Act.
1691. Secession of Nonjurors.  
Tillotson Archbishop of Canterbury.
1698. Foundation of S.P.C.K.
1701. Foundation of S.P.G.
1702. Accession of Anne.
1704. Queen Anne's Bounty.
1710. Sacheverell trial.
1711. Occasional Conformity Act.
1714. Schism Act.  
Accession of George I.
1717. Bangorian Controversy. Convocation silenced; did not meet again for business till 1852.
1718. Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts repealed.
1727. Indemnity Acts passed yearly from this date.
1729. Law's *Serious Call*.  
Beginnings of Methodism in Oxford.
1730. Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation*.
1736. Butler's *Analogy*.
1738. Wesley's conversion.
1739. Whitefield and Wesley begin open-air preaching.  
Rise of Evangelical movement.
1778. Savile's Act. Repeal of some penal laws against Roman Catholics.
1780. Beginnings of Sunday school movement.
1784. Consecration of an American bishop (Connecticut) by Scottish bishops.
1791. Mitford's Act: removal of some Roman Catholic disabilities.
1799. Foundation of C.M.S.
1804. Foundation of British and Foreign Bible Society.
1807. Abolition of slave trade.
1811. Foundation of National Society.  
National School movement.
1814. Bishopric of Calcutta founded.
- 1818-1824. Parliament grants £1,500,000 for the building of new churches.
1818. Church Building Society founded.
1827. Keble's *Christian Year*.
1828. Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.
1829. Catholic Emancipation Act.
1832. The first Reform Bill.
1832. Transference of supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the Court of Delegates to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.
1833. Abolition of slavery.  
First State grant in aid of education.  
Act for suppression of ten bishoprics and two archbishoprics of Irish Church.  
14th July. Keble's Assize sermon.  
Beginning of Oxford Movement.  
"Tracts for the Time." Tract I. by Newman.
1836. Hampden appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.  
Arnold's attack on the Oxford Malignants.
1837. Newman's *Prophetical Office of the Church*. The *Via Media*.
1841. Tract XC. Its condemnation.

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1841. Affair of Jerusalem bishopric.  
1845. Secession of Newman to Roman Church.  
    Samuel Wilberforce's episcopate begins.  
1848. Beginnings of Christian Socialism.  
1852. Convocation met again for despatch of business (see under 1717).  
1858. Case of Archdeacon Denison.  
1859. Darwin's *Origin of Species*.  
1860. "Essays and Reviews"; condemned by Convocation, 1864.  
1868. First Lambeth Conference.  
1869. Disestablishment of the Irish Church.  
1871. Beginnings of ritualistic question. Purchas case.  
    Darwin's *Descent of Man*.  
1872. Bennett case.  
1877. Ridsdale case.  
1892. Bishop of Lincoln's case.  
1908. Fifth Lambeth Conference.  
    First Pan-Anglican Congress.

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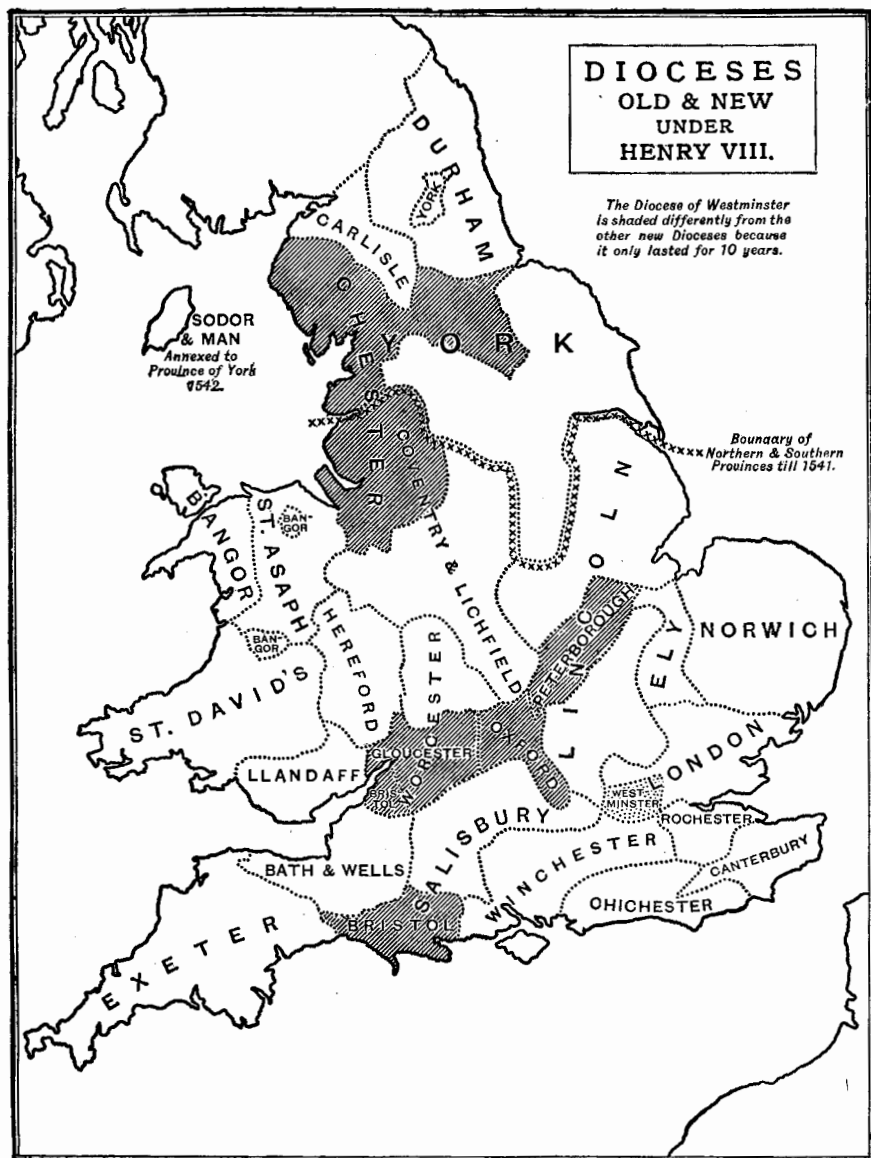
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**NOTE.**—The pre-reformation diocese of Lincoln included the post-reformation diocese of Oxford.

