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Lawful Church Ornaments :

BEING

AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION

OF THE

JUDGMENT OF THE RIGHT HON. STEPHEN LUSHINGTON, D.C.L.,
IN THE CASE OF WESTERTON *v.* LIDDELL, ETC.

AND OF

“AIDS FOR DETERMINING SOME DISPUTED POINTS IN THE CEREMONIAL OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND”

BY THE REV. WILLIAM GOODE, M. A.

With an Appendix on the

JUDGMENT OF THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN DODSON, D.C.L.,
IN THE APPEAL LIDDELL *v.* WESTERTON, ETC.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS WALTER PERRY.

LONDON :

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

TO THE

REVEREND W. UPTON RICHARDS, A. M.,

INCUMBENT OF ALL SAINTS, MARGARET STREET, ST. MARYLEBONE ;

WHO,

FOR SEVERAL YEARS, THROUGH EVIL AND GOOD REPORT,

HAS CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED THOSE

Ornaments of the Church,

WHICH THE FOLLOWING PAGES HUMBLY STRIVE TO DEFEND ;

THIS VOLUME,

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF MUCH KINDNESS RECEIVED FROM HIM

DURING FIVE YEARS OF ASSOCIATED MINISTERIAL DUTIES,

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Department of the History of Art and Architecture

The following is a list of the works of art in the collection of the Department of the History of Art and Architecture, University of Chicago, which are now on loan to the Department of the History of Art and Architecture, University of Chicago, for the purpose of being exhibited in the Department of the History of Art and Architecture, University of Chicago.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE accompanying Volume, though announced some time since, has been unavoidably delayed, partly owing to the accumulation of material under the writer's hands—material which there is reason to think might, with great advantage, have been multiplied, had time permitted—and partly in order to add, as seemed desirable, some remarks on the Judgment of the Dean of the Arches. The writer believes that nothing has been overlooked, in the Authorities quoted, which could strengthen the arguments of the following pages, and that everything of an opposite tendency has been fairly brought forward and considered: his aim has been, throughout, to conceal nothing which could weaken his conclusions, but to weigh it carefully, and to determine its real value: he trusts that in examining the statements and endeavouring to refute the arguments, of those whose opinions are here considered, he has not used a single word which can justly be termed disrespectful or uncharitable, more especially in regard to the Decisions of the two learned Judges whose Judgments have been discussed: if so, he hereby retracts it.

With regard to one important element in the present question—*viz.* the *date* of the Royal Assent to the 2 and 3 Edw.VI. c. 1, it may be said here, that the result of all later enquiries is to confirm the belief expressed in these pages—that it was not given until

the *end* of the Session, according to the then usual practice. The original Act is endorsed "2 and 3 "Edward VI." and in the Margin of the "Long "Calendar of the Acts" it is marked "a° 2° et 3° "Edw. VI. 1.": nor does an examination of the MS. Journal of Parliament furnish the least trace of anything to shew that it received the Royal Assent earlier than all the 60 Acts of the same Session.

At pp. 513 to 526 will be found a Summary of all the Authorities cited throughout the Volume, appended to the several REASONS there given for the *Legality* of the various Ornaments specified.

The principal Writers referred to throughout the Book are quoted from the following Editions.

- Burnet's Reformation, 3 vols. fol. 1681, and 8° Ed. by Nares.
 Cardwell's Documentary Annals, 2 vols. Ed. 1844.
 „ History of Conferences, Ed. 1841.
 „ Synodalia, 2 vols. Ed. 1842.
 „ Two Liturgies Compared, Ed. 1841.
 Collier's Ecclesiastical History, 2 vols. fol. 1714, and 8° Ed. 1845.
 Heylin's History of the Reformation, fol. 1674, 3rd Ed.
 „ Life of Abp. Laud, fol. 1668 and 1671.
 Stow's Survey of London, 2 vols. fol. 1720.
 Strype's Annals, 2 vols. fol. 1709 and 8° Oxford, 1824.
 „ Cranmer, fol. 1694.
 „ Grindal, fol. 1710, and 8° Oxford, 1821.
 „ Parker, fol. 1711, and 8° Oxford, 1821.
 „ Whitgift, fol. 1718.
 Zurich Letters, 1st Series, 1842, and 2nd Series, 1845.

While this Volume was being completed the Final Appeal was heard before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; the Judges present being, The Right Honourables—The Lord Chancellor, The Lord Wensleydale, Sir J. Patteson, Sir W. H. Maule, and Mr. T. Pemberton-Leigh; with his Grace the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury and the Lord Bishop of London, sitting as Assessors. The Arguments (which were conducted by Sir Fitzroy Kelly and Dr. Phillimore for the Appellants, and by Dr. Bayford and Mr. A. J. Stephens for the Respondents) occupied seven days successively (Sunday excepted) from Feb. 9th to 16th inclusive. It is to be hoped that the able arguments of the Counsel for the Appellants may have so convinced the Committee of the justice of the case as to induce them to advise her Majesty to reverse the Judgments of the Courts below, as on other grounds so, in consideration of the following "Reasons" pleaded by "The Proctor for the Appellants."

"1. Because the Ornaments directed to be removed are not shown to be contrary to any Law, or inconsistent with any Doctrine of the Church of England.

"2. Because many years ago, they were dedicated to the use of the said Churches by the munificent piety of attached members of the Church of England, and were sanctioned by the Ordinary at the time of the Consecration of the said Churches.

"3. Because their removal now, after the lapse of many years, would inflict great pain upon the majority of the parishioners who frequent the said Churches, and would be inconsistent with the respect due to the Religious Liberty of the subject.

"FITZROY KELLY,
ROBERT PHILLIMORE, } *Counsel for Appellants.*"

Such a Decision, the writer cannot but feel, would, especially as regards the Cross, be an Act of the

Royal Supremacy in entire harmony with the following striking incident in the Ceremonial of her Majesty's Coronation:—

“ the ORB with the ✠ is brought from the Altar
 “ by the Dean of WESTMINSTER, and delivered into the
 “ Queen's Right Hand by the Archbishop, pronouncing
 “ this Blessing and Exhortation :

“ Receive this Orb And when You see
 “ this Orb set under the ✠, remember that the whole
 “ World is subject to the Power and Empire of CHRIST
 “ our Redeemer. For He is the Prince of the Kings
 “ of the Earth ; King of Kings, and Lord of Lords ;
 “ So that no man can reign happily, who derives not
 “ his Authority from Him, and directs not all his
 “ Actions according to His Laws.

“ *The Queen delivers Her Orb to the Dean of
 “ WESTMINSTER, to be by him laid on the Altar,*” —that
 identical STONE ALTAR which, if the Judgments of
 the Courts below shall be affirmed, would be pro-
 nounced to be an *illegal* Ornament of the Abbey
 Church of ST. PETER, WESTMINSTER.

T. W. P.

76, MARGARET STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE,

February, 1857.

LAWFUL CHURCH ORNAMENTS,

ETC.

THE JUDGMENT delivered by Dr. Lushington, in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of London, on 5th Dec., 1855, in the cases of *Westerton v. Liddell*, (Clerk), and *Horne and others*; and *Beal v. Liddell*, (Clerk), and *Parker and Evans*, can scarcely be a matter of *indifference* to any one who has approved or blained the attempts made during the last few years to revive Ritual and Ceremonial in the Church of England, and to re-introduce such Ornaments and Decorations as were believed to be not inconsistent with her Reformed Offices. As a fact, the Judgment has been praised or condemned, with more or less discrimination, by those persons who had ranged themselves on either of these two sides: while by a third class (composed partly of those who *dislike* both what Dr. Lushington condemns, and what he allows, and partly of such as have no decided feelings on the subject) the Judgment is much complained of, as plainly betokening that the Judge suffered himself to be influenced by a religious partizanship which he was bound to exclude from his official acts, or as being strangely at variance with the principles of Religious Liberty, and also with that improved taste for Art, which are characteristic of the age.

To those who, like the writer, had persuaded themselves that the Ritual and Ceremonial movement which has been gradually developing itself during the last twenty years (whether always judicious or not) was, in the main, consistent with the Ecclesiastical law, and in harmony with the principles and structure of the Book of Common Prayer, it became a question of real concern to ascertain whether their convictions or the decision of the Consistorial Court was best warranted by the facts of history. And, as it was plain from the statements of the Judge himself, that the whole matter

was more one of historical enquiry than of legal research, there was no presumption in one not specially qualified for and accustomed to legal investigations, undertaking to examine the authorities on which the judgment is professedly based.

It was the conviction, when listening in court to the Judgment, that the facts and quotations relied upon by the Judge, either did not warrant his conclusions, or were materially modified by other facts and quotations, which led to the resolution of carefully examining at least such sources of the English Reformation history as are ordinarily accessible, and to some of which the Court had itself appealed.

Main features of
the Judgment.

Moreover, two main features of the Judgment are the views propounded upon the meaning of the Rubrical expression "by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the reign of King *Edward* the Sixth," and upon the probable opinion of the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's days, as to the actual state of the law then, touching Images and kindred "Ornaments of the Church;" and as the language of the Judge leads to the belief that, from whatever cause, he did not (perhaps for lack of opportunity could not) himself make so thorough an investigation of the history of the period as is essential to a complete view of the points at issue, it seemed all the more important to institute such a search.

While engaged in this task a friend brought to the writer's notice a book published about five years ago, by the Rev. W. Goode,^a and pointed out the coincidence of its statements with the arguments of Dr. Lushington: if this identity of view was the result of independent investigations, then the conclusions of both are the more reliable; whereas if the Judge happened to have read Mr. Goode's publication, it may have assisted to form his judgment; which alternative is true, or whether both notions are inaccurate, can only be matter of conjecture: however, as a perusal of Mr. Goode's pages did not satisfy the writer, that the whole evidence is sufficiently set out in them and in the Judgment combined, he was the more induced to pursue the subject: especially as it seemed pro-

^a "Aids for determining some disputed points in the Ceremonial of the Church of England. By William Goode, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Allhallows the Great and Less, London. Second Edition. London: Thomas Hatchard, 187, Piccadilly. 1851."

bable that if this were done with sufficient attention to the statements of Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode, it would go far to exhaust the known sources of information.

In doing this, it seemed best to adhere to the plan originally formed of tracing the several authoritative directions as to Ritual and Ceremonial which were issued from the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign to the final revision of the Prayer Book in 1662: setting down *chronologically* such portions of them as bear upon the Ornaments called in question at the recent trial: there seemed reason to think that this course, aided by such a process of subtraction or addition as the case might require, would best exhibit *the successive changes* which the Ceremonial of the Church of England had undergone during the period in question, and so would indicate with tolerable accuracy what Ornaments are permitted by the present law.

Plan to be pursued.

The Ecclesiastical History of Collier has been chosen for the groundwork of the proposed summary, presenting as it does a tolerably full and consecutive account of the occurrences to be examined: with this is interwoven statements and documents from Strype, Burnet, Heylin, Cardwell, the authors of the Zurich Letters, and other writers, in the hope of presenting a full, and at the same time, a really impartial history of the subject in debate; concurrently too, either in the text or in notes, the statements or arguments of Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode are compared with the testimonies of those authorities. No pretension is made to the discovery of new materials for settling the question which is still *sub-judice*; nor is much attempted in the way of original remark, beyond what seemed necessary for so connecting and illustrating the series of extracts as to present, in a complete and in an intelligible form, what already lies stored up in several volumes. Probably some of the quotations may seem needlessly long, others not strictly relating to Ornaments at all, or at least to those in dispute; but it is important to bear in mind two things—1. That often a short extract would not fairly convey the full sense and force of a document or statement; 2. That the question of Ornaments is so bound up with that of Doctrine or Ritual or Ceremonial, as fre-

Authorities cited.

quently to make it essential to notice passages which exclusively relate to the one, in order to understand their bearing upon the other.

Having made these preliminary observations, I proceed now to notice such introductory remarks of Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode as lead directly to that particular enquiry which is mainly proposed for these pages.

Dr. Lushington says, (Judgment, p. 9.)—

“ I am not to consider whether, in my own private opinion, this practice or that usage be abstractedly right or wrong, convenient or inconvenient ; but I am to ascertain, if practicable, what the law of the land enjoins, and obey it. . . . I am to enquire what has been done ; not what ought to have been done. It will fall within my province to examine what has been established by competent authority at the Reformation and since that period, respecting the questions before me, but not to examine whether all these measures were wise, —whether too much or too little has been done,—or whether some things might not have been done better. So also, when I find that any principle has been laid down by the legislature or any other authority binding upon me, I must carry it out to its legitimate conclusions, such as I believe were intended,—not such as I might consider expedient.

“ My present task is not to investigate and ascertain great principles, but to institute a dry and tedious inquiry into doubtful questions of positive law.”

Again (at p. 15) the Judge indicates the sources of information as being—

“ 1. Any Acts of Parliament bearing upon [the questions in dispute.] 2. The Canons in force. 3. The Ecclesiastical Common Law 4. Judicial decisions 5. The usage and custom that has prevailed Books of history or antiquity,—the writings and acts of eminent theologians,—may be justly referred to, and especially for the purpose of ascertaining the principles and reasons on which usage has been founded.”

So, too, Mr. Goode (Aids, &c. p. 1) remarks—

“ My object has been, to state fairly and impartially the evidence we possess for the determination of the questions here discussed ; as it should ever be recollected in the consideration of such matters, (in which there are tendencies to both extremes among us,) that they are questions of *fact*, to be determined without any regard to theological prepossessions.”

On these grounds then, thus stated by Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode, it is proposed to join issue : the enquiry is one of **FACTS**, whether those facts appear in principles, or laws, or

usages; though the *preponderance* must be given to such facts only as consist strictly with the authority of legal enactments.

What is to be accounted the *chief* authority on the question of Ornaments, &c., is thus stated by Dr. Lushington:—

“With regard to Church furniture, ornaments, decorations, or by whatever other name we can comprehend the fittings of the interior of a parish church, the primary authority being the Rubric, it is perfectly clear that whatever is therein prescribed ought to be done, and that whatever is in any degree inconsistent with what is therein prescribed ought not to be done.” (p. 23).

Then, adverting to “that part of the Rubric which decides that such ornaments shall be lawful as were in use by the authority of Parliament in the Second year of Edward the Sixth,” the Judge states his opinion of “the rational mode of putting a construction upon” it, in these words:—

“It is in my judgment clear that no other ornaments, save those in use by the authority of Parliament, are permitted. It appears to me impossible to contend with effect that this direction sanctions what was so in use in King Edward’s time, but does not also prohibit everything else; for though the terms are directory, and no negative is added, yet the whole effect of the direction would be nullified, unless it was construed to prevent the use of other ornaments than those referred to. The direction would become inoperative for the purpose intended if it were still open to enquiry, what ornaments were in use in distant times, and whether they were lawful or not.”

Without discussing, then, this dictum of the Judge, or enquiring whether the word “*in*” of the Rubric is equivalent to Dr. Lushington’s “*in use*” by the authority of Parliament in the Second year of Edward the Sixth, we are brought at once to the large and really important question—WHAT IS THIS AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT?

Dr. Lushington (p. 24.) goes on to speak of it thus:—

“I proceed to inquire whether there is any Act of Parliament which in the second year of King Edward the Sixth prescribed and sanctioned the use of any and what ornaments. It must be remembered that I am speaking now exclusively of ornaments of the Church, and that I have nothing to do with the ornaments of the Minister, or anything appertaining thereto. Many very learned writers, amongst others, Wheatley, Nicholl, and Palmer, have construed this direction to mean such ornaments as were prescribed by the First Book of Common Prayer of Edward the Sixth.”

True question,
What is the “Au-
thority of Parlia-
ment?”

Dr. L. on this.

Wheatley

But, WHEATLEY goes very little into the question of ornaments of the Church, for (p. 92. ed. Oxon., 1846) all he says is, and that not accurately, for he does not notice that the Lights were to be “before the Sacrament,”—

on Lights

“I must observe still farther, that among other ornaments of the Church then in use, there were *two lights* enjoined by the injunction of King Edward VI. (which injunctions were also ratified^a by the Act of Parliament here mentioned)” [viz., “the Act of Uniformity that passed soon after the Restoration,”] “to be set upon the Altar IX. To this section we might also refer the

other Ornaments

pulpit clothes, cushions, coverings for the Altar, &c., and all other ornaments used in the Church, and prescribed by the First Book of King Edward VI.”

If Wheatley meant (as Dr. Lushington seems to say he meant) that the legal ornaments are only those “prescribed” by the First Book of Edward, then the argument *would prove too much*—for what does that Book prescribe? Only the following:—

Ornaments prescribed by Edward's First Book

The Altar, or God's board.—The poor men's box.—The Corporas—Paten—Chalice.—The Font.—The Pulpit.

But then, if these rubrics were *the exact standard* of legal ornament, there was no^b *Altar covering*, nor *linen cloth for the Communion*, nor *Alms dish*, any more than *Cross* or *Candles*.

Nicholls.

NICHOLLS says still less, and that very vaguely (Fol. 2nd ed. 1712):—

“The ornaments appointed for that Service [*i.e.*, the Morning Service] are enjoined as they were in the 2nd of Edward 6. (*Query*, If the ancient ornaments, and no other, ought not to be used at this day?)”—*Note on § xxv. of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity.*

“*The ornaments of the Church by the authority of Parliament, in the 2nd year of King Edward 6th; but no ornaments*

^a I presume Wheatley can only refer here to Sec. XXIV. of the Stat. 13 and 14 Charles II. c. 4, A.D. 1662, which enacts “that the several good laws and statutes of this realm, which have been formerly made, and are now in force, for the uniformity of prayer and administration of the sacraments, . . . shall stand in full force and strength, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, for the establishing and confirming of the said Book” of 1662. Whether those injunctions can claim this authority, is a question which will best be considered when we come to the injunctions themselves: but I may observe here that if Wheatley's opinion weighed with Dr. Lushington in his construction of this Rubric on Ornaments, it is not easy to see why he should ignore his view when it upholds the authority of the injunctions.

^b “For a moment let us presume such construction to be correct: then what were the ornaments prescribed by that [First] Book of Common Prayer. As relates to ornaments of the Church I know of none deserving notice on this occasion, and none have been discovered by the great learning and research of the bar.” *Judgment p. 24.*

particularly mentioned ; it is necessary to enquire, What they are ? If we have recourse to that Act, we shall find it there enacted, That *all and singular,*" &c.—*Note on the 2nd Rubric.*

Yet he only goes on to notice *the habits of the minister,* not the *Church ornaments.*

In Bishops Cosins and Andrews "*Additional Notes*" to Nicholls, it is said (p. 17), Notes of Cosius and Andrews on

"The particulars of these ornaments (both of the Church and of the ministers thereof . . .) are referred . . . to the 2nd year of that King [Edward 6], when his first Service Book and injunctions were in force by authority of Parliament. And in those books many other ornaments are appointed; as two lights to be set upon the Altar," &c. Lights

It seems clearly an error, however, to say that the First Book was at that time "in force" (see also, pp. 9—11); but then the annotators go on to refer to the actual law, for they say (though Dr. Lushington does not allude to their remark):—

"Those ornaments of the Church, which by former laws, not then abrogated, were in use, by virtue of the Statute 25 Henry VIII, and for them the Provincial Constitutions are to be consulted, such as have not been repealed, standing then in the 2nd year of King Edward 6, and being still in force by virtue of this rubrick and Act of Parliament." 25 Hen. 8. and Provincial Constitutions

PALMER's statement is this:—

Palmer

"The rubric of the English Ritual which immediately precedes the office for Morning Prayer, contains the following words relative to the ornaments of the Church and ministers, 'And here it is to be noted, that such ornaments of the Church' [&c]. This refers to the Act of Uniformity passed in that year, authorizing 'the Book of Common Prayer,' &c. And that Book contains the following directions relative to the subject; . . ."—(*Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. 2, p. 307.)

He then quotes the four rubrics of the Book of 1549 which relate to ornaments and vestments.

But here Mr. Palmer assumes, what has to be proved, that this rubric does refer to Edward's First Book: the fallacy of this assumption will appear hereafter. his mistake.

Dr. Lushington continues at p. 24:—

"I am well aware of the irresistible argument, that the last Statute of Uniformity, by referring to the First Book of Common Prayer of Edward the Sixth, excluded not only the Second Book of Common Prayer, but everything else effected in the interval between 1549 and 1662," &c. Statute of Uniformity, 1662,

But there is no such reference: the 13 and 14 Charles 2nd refers to Edwd's Second Book, not

the First, as Dr.
L. states.

c. 4. A.D. 1662, opens with a reference to "The Book of Common Prayer," &c., "enjoyed" by "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer," &c., passed in the 1st Elizabeth, and orders that "the said Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of the form and manner of the Making and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," should, with the alterations which had just been made, "be the Book" to be used in future.

Further, the Book referred to in the 1st Elizabeth, was not Edward's *First* Book, but the *Second* Book—for the Statute of Elizabeth expressly says, that, "at the death" of Edward, the Book in use was the one "authorized by Act of Parliament holden . . . in the 5th and 6th years of" Edward 6th, which Book, as altered, the Act orders to be restored: and the XXV §. of the Act (most likely because Edward's Second Book had reduced even the ornaments of the minister to the surplice) makes the same provision as to ornaments which was repeated in the Book of 1662—except indeed that the latter adds "at all times of their ministration."

The XXIV §. (1662.) *continues* all laws previously made "for the Uniformity of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments," then "in force," and says that they "shall stand in full force and strength, to all intents and purposes whatsoever for the establishing and confirming of the said Book," of 1662.

The XXXII §. provides,

"That the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of this Church of England, together with the form and manner of ordaining and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, heretofore in use, and respectively established by act of parliament in the 1st and 8th years of Q. Elizabeth, shall be still used and observed in the Church of England, until the Feast of S. Bartholomew, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1662."

However, if we suppose the Judge to mean that the Act of 1662 refers to the *Second* year of Edward the Sixth as the authority for Ornaments, then we may accept his "proposition" as "undoubtedly true," though we decline to receive the words "second year" as synonymous with "the First Book" of Edward the Sixth. But then it is disappointing

to find the Judge lamenting that a proposition at once so simple and so important "affords" him "very little assistance" towards discovering what were the Ornaments of the Church "in use by" this "authority of Parliament." So, in the difficulty, he proceeds thus (at p. 25):—

"Beyond all possibility of doubt, the legislature has referred to the usage by law of Parliament in the second year of Edward the Sixth, and by that direction I must abide.

" . . . It is a very grave question, whether the words 'by the authority,'" &c., "do not confine the enquiry to what was done in that year, and in that year only, or, in other words, to what is prescribed by the First Prayer Book. The inclination of my opinion is, that the enquiry is so circumscribed," &c.

We have here then a point on which this whole question mainly turns: let us examine it.

Edward the 6th "ascended the throne on the day of his father's death, Friday," the 28th of January, 1546-7, "and" (says Sir H. Nicolas in his *Chronology of History*, 2nd ed.,) "the custom thenceforward became uniform for each Sovereign" "to date his accession to the crown from the day of the demise of his predecessor"—therefore the first regnal year of Edward would terminate on the 27th January, 1547-8: the second on the 27th January, 1548-9, &c., &c.

Now the Act of Uniformity, which imposed the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., "was read the third time in" "the House of Lords, on the 15th of January, and the third" "time in the House of Commons, on the 21st of January, 1549," *i. e.*, 1548-9. (Cardwell, *Two Liturgies*, Edward VI., Preface, p. xiii. note). Whether it received the Royal Assent before the 28th of January, does not appear: ^a if not,

^a The exact day is not stated in the *Statutes of the Realm*, or in the *Journals of the Lords*. But as the King was present March 14th, 1548-9, it is probable all the Acts of the 2nd Session, (which began November 4th, 1548), received the Royal Assent on that day, according to the custom of the period. So strongly had this custom obtained that it once became a question whether the King, by giving his assent to a single bill did not thereby put an end to the Session. (*Journals of the House of Commons*, 21st of November, 1554.) But though the point was ruled in the negative, yet the notion continued to prevail, so that as late as 22 and 23 Car. II. c. 1., there occurs a proviso in a bill, that His Majesty's assent should not have the effect of determining the Session.

So, too, every Act of Parliament, as soon as it had received the Royal assent, was held to have a retrospective operation from the first day of the Session in which it was passed, though the bill might not have been introduced until late in the Session: this was abolished by 33 Geo. III. c. 13, which ordered "that the Clerk of the Parliaments shall endorse on every Act of Parliament, which shall pass after the 8th day of April, 1793, immediately after the title of such

What Dr. L. thinks "authority of Parliament" means.

Edward's accession.

Edward's regnal years.

Act 2 & 3 Edward VI. c. 1., when passed.

When operative.

it would not have been *law* in the 2nd year of Edward. But assume that the Act had received the Royal sanction in the 2nd year of Edward, then the next question is—When was it to become *operative*? The Act requires—

“That all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church, or other place within this realm of England, Wales, Calice, and the marches of the same, or other the King’s dominions, shall, from and after the Feast of Pentecost next coming, be bounden to say and use the mattens, evensong, celebration of the Lord’s Supper, commonly called the mass, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and none other or otherwise.”

The Feast of Pentecost must have occurred that year on the 9th of June, which plainly would be the 3rd year of Edward VI., (it was simply impossible for it to have fallen before the end of January), and consequently the ornaments in use “by authority of Parliament” *before* this date could not be those in use “in that year only,” *i. e.*, the 2nd of Edward, “or” its equivalent (as Dr. Lushington considers it) “what is prescribed by the First Prayer Book.”

But again—the viii. §. of the Act provides that—

“All such parishes and cathedral churches, or other places where the said books shall be attained and gotten before the said Feast of Pentecost, shall, within three weeks next after the said books so attained and gotten, use the said service, and put the same in ure according to this Act.”

Suppose then that the books were printed and ready for delivery *as soon as the Act had passed the Commons*, even then, at the earliest computation, this book could not have been in use *by such authority of Parliament*, before the 11th of February; yet that too would have been in the 3rd year of Edward: but were they even so in use? Cardwell shews (Two Liturgies, p. xl, etc.) that the earliest copy known “was printed in March, 1549, according to the modern computation,” *i. e.*, 1548-9,—the *title* dates it “Anno Domini, MDXLIX. Mense Martii;” but “different portions of the book were printed “at different times:” the Communion Office bears date “the viii. daye of March, in the third yere of the reigne of our

Edward’s First Book, when began to be used.

Date of earliest known copy.

Act, the day, month, and year, when the same shall have passed, and shall have received the Royal assent. And such endorsement shall be taken to be a part of such Act, and to be the date of its commencement, when no other commencement shall be therein provided.”

“Sovereigne Lorde Kynged Edvard the VI.”^a—and the other portion is dated “the xvi. daye of Marche in the third yere,” &c.

The conclusion, from the foregoing dates, seems plainly to be—that by no process can the words “Authority of Parliament in the 2nd year of Edward the Sixth,” be referred to Edward’s *first* Prayer Book.

We are, therefore, thrown back upon the Statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, (*i. e.*, if it be necessary to find what Dr. Lushington has “not heard it asserted that there is,” *viz.* “any Act of Parliament prior to the Second of Edward the Sixth, which has specifically regulated, or attempted to regulate, or indeed refers at all to ornaments in churches.” p. 26 :) and it must be held^b that whatever that statute sanctioned was *legally in use* in the 2nd Edward 6th, unless it had been prohibited expressly, or by implication, in any subsequent statute, or in any canon, injunction, proclamation, &c., *having the force of an Act of parliament*.

But was there any such prohibition of the ornaments now excepted against, before the 1st Book of Edward was law, or came into use?

This can only be ascertained by an examination of what was done in regard to Church ornaments between the 25th Hen. 8th, and the 3rd Edw. 6th, *viz.*, from the 15th Jan. 1533, to Jan. 28th, 1548-9; that is to say, *assuming* for the sake of argument, though not *admitting*, that the First Book of Edward can claim to be of authority at the latter date.

One fact alone would put it almost beyond the possibility of doubt, that no alteration was made (in such Church ornaments as pertained to the Liturgy and other public services) before “the viii. day of March, in the Second year of Edward the 6th,” *i. e.*, “the year of our Lord 1548,”—for “The Order^c of Communion,” which was put forth bearing

^a Cardwell, referring to these dates, says “We infer therefore that the whole Book was printed in the third year of King Edward, and in the year 1549 of our computation,” (Two Lit. Notes p. xl.), yet by a strange contradiction he elsewhere speaks of this Book as being the authority of Parliament, in the *second* year of Edward. (Doe, Ann., Vol. 1. p. 74, note.)

^b Though Mr. Goode says (p. 12) “I will venture to leave this argument to its fate, humbly indulging the hope that it proves *too much*.”

^c This was prepared pursuant to the Act, 1 Edward VI. c. 1, §. vii., Nov. 4th, 1547, which stated that it was “not condemning hereby the usage of any

Edward’s First Book not the “authority of Parliament” in his second year.

25 Henry VIII. is that authority,

if not in part or in whole repealed before the Third Edward VI.

Evidence for or against any such repeal.

that date, (Card. 2 Lit. comp. p. 427),—the object of which was to restore the Cup to the laity—has this express rubric, “The time of the Communion shall be immediately after that the priest himself hath received the Sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass, (until other order shall be provided),” &c. If the *rites* and *ceremonies* remained, the inference seems unavoidable—that the ornaments implied in those rites and ceremonies remained too.

It will remove all doubt, if it can be shewn that no orders (whether of equal or of inferior authority to the existing uses of Sarum, &c.) were given to abolish any of these ornaments while the Ritual itself lasted.

A very early notice respecting the Cross and Images occurs in the works of Latimer: he had, it seems, been preaching in *Bristol*, “on the Second Sunday in Lent, [March 9],” 1532-3; a complaint was made of his Sermons, in what he calls “Articles untruly, unjustly, falsely, uncharitably imputed to me, by Dr. Powell of Salisbury;” among these, one of them apparently was that he had objected to the use of the *Ave Maria*: in his reply, he shews that what he spoke against was the *repetition* of this salutation, or the saying “twenty *Ave Marias* for one *Pater Noster*,” or the *addition* of it to the *Lord’s Prayer*, as though it were of the same nature:

“I deny not,” he says, “but as we may say the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* together, that to God, this to our Lady, so we may say them sunderly, the *Pater Noster* by itself, and the *Ave* by itself; which thing I speak, not to withdraw you from saying of it, but to withdraw you from superstitious and unfruitful saying of it;” and then he adds “We salute also and greet well the holy cross, or the image of the holy cross, saying, ‘All hail, holy cross, which hath deserved to bear the precious talent of the world:’ and yet who will say that we pray properly to the holy cross? Whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The cross can neither hear nor speak again, no more than this pulpit: therefore we do salute it, not properly pray to it.”

“Church out of the King’s Majesty’s dominions.” It was issued with a “Letter missive from the council to the bishops of the realm, concerning the Communion to be ministered in both kinds,” dated “13th March, 1548,” *i.e.* 1547-8 Cardwell calls this the *Third* of Edward,” and numbers it *XIV*, whereas it plainly should have been *X* in his arrangement. It could not have been 1548-9, for then the First Prayer Book was printed to supersede this Order of Communion.

The use of the Missal up to the time of Edward’s First Book implies the absence of any change.

1532-3.
Hen. VIII.
Latimer on the use of

The Cross,

Again, he was accused of saying “*Saints are not to be honoured:*” his reply is—

1532-3.
Hen. VIII.

“I said this word ‘Saints’ is diversely taken of the vulgar people: images of saints are called saints, and inhabitants of heaven are called saints. Now, by honouring of saints is meant praying to saints. Take honouring so, and images for saints, so saints are not to be honoured; that is to say, dead images are not to be prayed unto: . . . and yet I shewed the good use of them to be laymen’s books, as they be called; reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, &c. And yet I would not have them so costly and curiously gilded and decked, that the quick image of God (for whom Christ shed His blood, and to whom whatsoever is done, Christ reputeth it done to Himself) lack necessities, and be unprovided for, by that occasion; for then the layman doth abuse his book.”—*Sermons and Remains of Latimer*, p. 228—33. Ed. Parker Society, 1845.

and Images.

In a list of Fifty-nine Errors, which the lower house of Convocation complained of, on June 28, 1536, as spreading about among the people, (and all of which shew that the most extreme Protestant opinions were floating about in England) the thirty-sixth is—“That rich ornaments in churches are rather displeasing than acceptable to God Almighty.”—*Collier Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 120.

1536.

Lower House of Convocation complained of objections to ornaments.

Again, Abp. Cranmer, in the *Book of Articles* which he induced the Convocation of this year to pass, speaks thus of

Cranmer and the Convocation approve images, &c.

I. *Images* :—

“That they be representers of virtue and good example. That they be stirrers of men’s minds, and make them often to remember and lament their sins: especially the images of *Christ* and our *Lady*. That it was meet they should stand in the Churches, but be none otherwise esteemed. That the Bishops and preachers diligently teach the people according to this doctrine, lest there might fortune idolatry to ensue. That they be taught also, that censuring, kneeling, and offering to images, be by no means to be done, (although the same had entered by devotion, and fallen to custom,) but only to God and in his honour, though it be done before the images.”—*Strype’s Cranmer*, b. i. c. xi.—To which Collier adds:—

“Whether it be of *Christ*, of the *Crosse*, or of our *Ladye*, or of any other Saint beside.”—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 125. See also *Formularies of Faith of Henry VIII.* Oxford, 1835.

IV. *Of Rites and Ceremonies*.—

“As vestments in God’s service, sprinkling holy water, giving holy bread, bearing candles on Candlemas Day, giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday; creeping to the cross, and kissing it, and offering unto Christ before the same on

Also the existing rites and ceremonies.

1536.
Hen. VIII.

Good-Friday; setting up the sepulchre of *Christ*, hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and benedictions, and laudable customs. That these are not to be contemned and cast away, but continued, to put us in remembrance of spiritual things. But that none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin."—*Strype's Cranmer*, Bk. 1, c. xi.

Gives Injunctions
against Images,
&c.

"A little before harvest" this "28th year" of Henry the Eighth, the Lord Keeper, *Cromwell*, issued certain *Injunctions* in the King's name, one of which runs thus:—

"To the intent that all superstition and hypocrisie, crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, reliques, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre; nor allure the people by any inticements to the pilgrimages of any saint, otherwise than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the authority of the King's Majesty, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in Convocation; as though it were proper or peculiar to that saint to give this commodity or that; seeing all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author of the same, and of none other, for without Him it cannot be given."—*Burnet's Reformatio*. vol. i. *Records*, p. 161.

Also the Arch-
bishop of York.

Among the "Injunctions given by Edwarde Archbishops of Yorke," this year, the following occurs:—

"*Item*, All Curates and oder, having charge of any Congregation, must diligentlie informe their flocke, according to the King's Highnes Injunctions, that they may in no wise yelde Worshipp to any Images, lowtinge or bowing downe, or knelinge to the said Images, ne offering to them any Money, or Wax lighte or unlighte, or any oder thing: For so muche as Offeringe is to be made to God onlie, and to no Creature under God. Neverthesse they may still use Lightes in the Roode Lofete, and afore the Sacrament, and at the Sepulture at *Easter*; accordinge to the King's Injunctions: so that they none use to the Honeer or Worshipp of any Image, ne by the way of Offeringe made, odre to any Image, or to any Sainct represented by the same.

"*Item*, They must teach their Flocke, that Images be suffred onlie as Bokes, by which our Hertes may be kindeled to folow the holy Steppes and Examples of the Saintes represented by the same; even as Sainctes Lives be written, and muste be redde in written Bookes, for the same purpose: and that, as we do not worshipe our Booke when we have rede the Saint's Liefe; so likewise, we shall not worshipe the Images, which is as the Booke to them that cannot read in odre Bokes.

"*Item*, They must declare to their Flocke, that although they see the Image of the Fadre represented as an Olde man, yet they may in no wise beleve, that the Hevenlie Father is any man, or that He haith any Bodie or Age; but that He is a Nature and

Substance, above all mesure passinge the Capacite and Understand-
inge, oder of man's Witt or Aungelles.

“*Item*, Alle suche Ymages, to whiche any manner of Resorte is
usede, by way of Peregrenage or Offeringe, they must depose and
sequestre from all Sighte of Men, and suffre them no more to be sett
upp.”—*Burnet's Reformn.* vol. iii. *Records, Pt. 3, Blk. 3, p. 137.*

“This year [1537] a very remarkable book call'd the *Insti-
tution of a Christian Man* was publish'd. This book was
“composed in *Convocation* three years before: 'twas drawn
“up for a *Direction for the Bishops and Clergy.*” Collier
says of it:—

“Under the second commandment, they recommend the use of
images in Churches for memory and instruction; but pronounce
positively against bowing down to 'em, or giving them any worship.”
—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 141.

The words of the *Institution* are:—“ . . . although all images,
be they engraven, painted, or wrought in arras, or in any otherwise
made, be so prohibited that they may neither be bowed down unto
ne worshipped, (forasmuch as they be the works of man's hand only,)
yet they be not so prohibited but that they may be had and set up
in Churches, so it be for none other purpose but only to the intent
that we (in beholding and looking upon them, as in certain books,
and seeing represented in them the manifold examples of virtues,
which were in the saints, represented by the said images) may the
rather be provoked, kindled, and stirred to yield thanks to our Lord,
and to praise Him in His said saints, and to remember and lament
our sins and offences, and to pray God that we may have grace to
follow their goodness and holy living. As for an example. The
image of our Saviour, as an open book, hangeth on the cross in the
rood, or is painted in cloths, walls, or windows, to the intent that
beside the examples of virtues which we may learn at Christ, we
may be also many ways provoked to remember His painful and
cruel passion, and also to consider ourselves, when we behold the
said image, and to condemn and abhor our sin, which was the cause
of His so cruel death, and thereby to profess that we will no more
sin.”—*Formularies of Faith*, p. 135.

That there was a real necessity for interfering with regard
to both Images and Relics, is evident from the following state-
ment:—

“The King, having the *dissolution* of the remaining monasteries
in view [the lesser ones were already suppressed], thought it neces-
sary, to lessen their reputation, to lay open the superstition of their
worship, and draw a charge of imposture upon some of them: and
here it must be said, he was not without a colour for his proceedings.
For *relicks* had been for some time too much magnified, and many of
'em were counterfeited; images were supposed to be more signifi-

1536.
Hen. VIII.

1537.
“Institution of a
Christian man”
recommends
images.

1538.
Relics and images
which had been
abused were re-
moved.

1538.

Hen. VIII.

Examples of
them.

cant in one place than another: . . . to mention some of these religious curiosities:—

“The B. Virgin’s girdle was shewn in seven different places, and her milk in eight. The bell of St. Guthlac, and the felt of St. *Thomas of Lancaster*, were counted sovereign remedies for the headach. By the way, this *Thomas*, Earl of *Lancaster*, was one of the rebellious barons in *Edward* the Second’s time and executed for high treason (Sir *Thomas de la More*, in *Vit. Ed. II.*) To proceed: the penknife and boots of Archbishop *Becket*, and a piece of his shirt, was much valued by women with child. The coals that roasted St. *Laurence*, two or three heads of St. *Ursula*, *Malchus’s* ear, and the paring of St. *Edmund’s* nails were of superstitious regard. To these we may add the figure of an angel with one wing, which brought over the spear’s head which pierced our Saviour’s side: an image of our Lady, with a taper in her hand, which burnt nine years together without wasting, till at last ’twas put out by perjury. This, upon examination, was discovered to be nothing but a piece of wood. Our Lady of *Worcester* was another piece of imposture: for after the habit and dress was taken off, the figure was quite of another kind, and represented a Bishop ten foot high. Besides these and some others, there were two remarkable rarities which must not be forgotten. One of ’em was the *Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*. There was so much of a machine in this figure, that the eyes would turn, and the lips move upon occasion. ’Twas publickly exposed at *Paul’s Cross*, by *Hilsley* Bishop of *Rochester*, and there knock’d in pieces. The other was a *relick* at *Hales* in *Gloucestershire*. Here ’twas pretended the Blood of our Saviour brought from *Jerusalem* had been kept for several ages. ’Twas said, if a man was in mortal sin, and had not received absolution, he could not see the relick, which otherwise, to a person under pious qualifications was visible enough. To prepare therefore for the sight of the miracle, ’twas the custom to confess to a priest, and offer at the altar, before the *relick* was shewn. This pretended Blood of our Saviour was kept in a chrysal, very thick on one side, but very thin and transparent on the other. If a wealthy person appeared, they turned the thick side, where the eye could reach nothing: this, as ’tis said, was done to open his heart and his pocket. For when he had bought as many *Masses*, and presented as far as they thought fit, they turned the thin side, and then the blood appeared. And this, as *William Thomas*, Clerk of the Council to *Edward* the Sixth, says, was no better than the blood of a duck renewed every week.

“Besides these, the figures of our Lady of *Walsingham*, *Ipswich*, *Penrice*, *Islington*, *St. John Osulston*, and some others were publickly burnt. . . . The mistaken reliance and superstitious practice with respect to images and relicks, is not to be deny’d: but whether the impostures above mentioned are matter of fact will be a question. . . . To proceed: as the interest of the monasteries sunk, the king’s project grew more feasible. He went on, therefore, against the abuses of pilgrimages, and the offering at

Other chief ex-
amples.Shrines de-
molished.

the *Shrines* of the saints. And here, Bishop *Godwyn* observes, the king was strongly disposed to promote a *Reformation* that would turn the penny, and furnish the *Exchequer*. Now, at some of the most celebrated tombs, there were very rich presents made . . . among these Archbishop *Becket's* tomb was one of the most famous in *England*: 'twas a stately *mausoleum*, and ornamented with gold and jewels of a prodigious value. The king ordered this monument to be defaced," &c.—*Collier, ibid.* p. 149.

By "Cromwell's Injunctions in the King's Name," among orders to provide "a Bible," and other directions,

"The clergy were likewise ordered to remove such Images as had been superstitiously applied to Pilgrimages and Offerings,^a or treated with over-proportioned regard. To this purpose they were not to suffer any Candles or Tapers to be set before any Image, but only the Light by the *roodloft*, the Light before the Sacrament of the *Altar*, and the Light about the Sepulchre: these were allowed to stand for the ornamenting of the Church, and the solemnity of Divine Service. However, to guard the people from mistaking these matters, the Curates were to instruct them, that the use of Images was only to inform the unlearned in the history of the Saints, and to refresh their memory for imitation."—*Collier, ibid.* p. 150.

In the "Injunctions" given by "*Nycolas Shaxton*, Bishop of Sarum," in the "yere of our Lord God 1538, and in the "30th yere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King *Henry* "the Eighth," we read thus:—

"*Item*, That ye suffre no Night-watches in your Churches or Chapells, neither decking of Ymages with Gold, Silver, Clothes, Lights, or Herbs; nor the people knele to them, nor worship them, nor offre Candles, Otes, Cake-Breed, Chese, Wolle, or any such other things to them; But he [*i. e.* the Curate] shall instruct and teach them, how they ought and may use them; that is to say, only to beholde, or loke upon them, as one loketh upon a Boke; whereby Men's mindes be stirred and kenled sometimes to Vertue and Constancy in Faithe and love towardes God, and sometimes to lament for their Sinnes or Offences. For otherwise there might be Peril of Ydolatrie, especially of ignorant lay-people, if they either in hert, or outward gesture worship them, or give honour to them, which ought onlie to be given to God, the Lord of all Saintes.

^a No doubt the following is an example of some person or persons whose zeal against images led them to take an illegal advantage of those Injunctions and of the King's orders:—

In the churchyard of *St. Margaret Pattens*, (Rood Lane) a Rood was placed there while the old Church was being rebuilt, "during which time the oblations "made to this Rood were employed towards building of the Church. But in the "year 1538, about the 23rd of *May*, in the morning, the said Rood was found to "have been in the night preceding (by people unknown) broken all to pieces, "together with the tabernacle wherein it had been placed."—*Stow's London*, vol. i. bk. 2, c. 10, p. 170.

1538.

Hen. VIII.

Alleged mercenary motive.

An example.

Further order to remove abused images,

And their candles.

But not the Rood, Sacrament, and Easter-sepulchre lights.

Bp. of Salisbury forbids to deck Images.

1538.
Hen. VIII.

"*Item*, Ye shall instruct your Parochians, not to be envious aboute workes invented by their own folishe Devocion; as to go about in idle Pylgrimage, and say with vain confidence this Prayer, and that Prayer, with other superstitious observacions, in Fastings, Prayeng, and keepinge of olde folysh customs, which be not found commaunded or counseled, in any parte of Holy Scripture. . . .

"*Item*, Forasmoche as intollerable supersticion, and also abhominable Ydolatrie, have no small time been used in this my Diocesse, by the occasion of such thinges as be set forth and commended unto the ignorant people, under the name of Holy Reliques, being in veray dede vaine Thinges, as I myself of certaine, which be alredie comen to myne handes, have perfite knowledge: Namely, of stinking Bootes, mucky combes, ragged Rochettes, rotten girdles, pyl'd purses, great Bullocks Horns, Lockes of Heere, and filthy Raggges, gobbetts of wodde, under the name of parcells of the Holy Cross, and such pelfric, beyond estimacion; over and besides the shamfull abuse of such as peradventure be true reliques in dede, whereof nevertheless certain profe is none, but only that so they have been taken, judged and esteemed, ye and so called without monumentes had of them in any autentyke forme of writing. Therefore in remedy hereof, I hertely praie you all and singular my said Brethren of the Clergie in my said Diocese; and nevertheless by thautoritie that I have under God and the Kynges Highnes, and in their names I commaunde you, and everyche of you, that you sende al suche your Relyques (as they be called) one and other unto me at myne House at *Ramesbury*, or otherwhere, together with such wrytings as ye have of the same, to thintent that I and my Counsel may explore and try them what they be, and those that be esteemed and judged to be undoubtedly true Reliques, ye shall not fayle at convenable tyme to have againe with certayne instruction how they ought to be used; that is to say, as Memorials of them whose Reliques they be, in whom and by whom Almighty God did worke all that ever they vertuously wrought; and therefore onely he ought in them all to be glorifyed, lauded, and prayed; so that he which rejoyceth may in the Lord rejoyse; to whom be all Honour and glorie, for ever and ever. *Amen*.

"*Item*, That the Bell called the Pardon or *Ave* Bell, whiche of longe tyme hath been used to be tolled Three times after, or before Divine Service, be not hereafter in any parte of my Diocese any more tolly'd."—*Burnet's Reformation*, vol. iii. *Records* Part 3, Bk. 3, pp. 144—7.

We now come to what was done in Convocation in the year 1541-2.

1541-2.

Feb. 17.
Cranmer, in Convocation, tried to remove candles, &c., from images.

"This Convocation, the Archbishop [Cranmer] moved, That candles, silk-habits, and other ornaments might be taken away from *images*; that *Missals*, and other *Liturgick* books, might be reformed; and that the names of the *Popes*, and that of Archbishop *Becket*, might be expunged. That this reformation was not made this year, appears by the Archbishop's acquainting the *House* next year, (Feb-

ruary 21, A.D. 1542-3) that 'twas the King's pleasure that all *Mass-books*, *Antiphoners*, and *Portuasses*, should be examined over again, and reform'd from all mention of the Bishop of Rome's name; from all *Apocrypha's*, feign'd legends, collects, versicles, and responses: and that the names and memories of all *Saints*, which are neither mentioned in the *Scriptures*, nor by authentical doctors, should be deleted in the same *books* and *calendars*. And that the *service* should be compil'd out of the *Scriptures* and other authentick doctors."—*Collier, ibid.* p. 185.

"About this time, as may be reasonably collected, the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the Church were brought under a review, and a *Rationale* drawn up to explain the meaning and justify the usage. . . . there was a new impression of the *Liturgy* [1541, Edward Whytchurch], *secundum usum Sarum*, which was an Office for *Divine Service*, best known and farther used than any of the rest. . . . And having mentioned the *Rationale*, I shall give the reader a transcript of it from the *Cotton Library* (Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 5, fol. 259). The Title is this:

"*Ceremonies to be us'd in the Church of England, together with an Explanation of the Meaning and Significancy of them.*"

The *Rationale* begins by setting forth the "difference betwixt the commandments and works expressed by Scripture, necessary for a Christian man's life and salvation, and rites and ceremonies devised by men;" these latter, it says, "ought (all abuses and superstition clearly taken away) to be with all reverent obedience to be observed by the people," &c.

It then proceeds to treat of them under the following heads:—

1. "*The Church.*" This, it says, is to be "*sanctified*"—"washed"—"*prepared with prayers.*"

2. "*The Churchyard;*" which is to "be sanctified and hallow'd."

3. "*The Rites and Ceremonies observed about the Sacrament of Baptism;*" which are to consist of the Catechism for adults—profession of faith for infants—crossing on the forehead, right hand, and breast—hallowed salt in the mouth—exorcism—wetting "with spittle the nose, thurles, and ears"—unction—chrism—and a lighted candle in the right hand of the baptized person.

4. "*Ministers*"—the "*Pontifical*" to be followed in their ordination, &c., except in what relates to the *Pope*.

5. "*Service of the Church*"—to consist of "*Mattins, Prime,*

1541-2.
Hen. VIII.

A Rationale put forth, which explained and advocated the use of various ornaments, &c.

Particulars thereof.

1541-2.
Ilen. VIII.

“*Hours, Evensong, and Compline* ;” the vestments to be “*surplices, copes, and other vestures* ;” also “sober, decent, and devout singing music, and playing with organs.”

6. “*Ceremonies used in the Mass* :” which as they “are not dumb, . . . the Priest therefore . . . says it not in his common apparell, which he daily uses ; but puts on him clean and hallow’d vestments, partly representing the mysteries which were done at the Passion ; partly representing the virtues which he himself ought to have that celebrates the Mass.” Those named are the “*amysse,*” “*albe,*” “*girdle,*” “*stole,*” “*over vesture or chesible,*” “*phanon* ;” then follows a detailed account of all the parts of the Mass.

7. “*Sundays*” and “*Feast-days*”—how to be kept.

8. “*Bells*”—how to be used.

9. “*Bishops*” and other Clergy—to wear a distinct dress and the “*tonsure* ;” also to attend the daily offices if possible, and “*divers times to say Mass.*”

10. “*Bearing Candles on Candlemass Day.*”

11. “*Fasting*” and “*Abstinence*” at Seasons.

12. “*The giving of Ashes upon Ash Wednesday.*”

13. “*The covering of the Cross and the Images in Lent,*” with the uncovering of the same at the Resurrection.”

14. “*The Sanctuary Veil.*”

15. “*Bearing of Palms on Palm Sunday.*”

16. The “*Tenebræ*” Service in Holy Week, and the use of Candles thereat on the *Wednesday, Thursday, and Good Friday* night in that week.

17. The Ceremonies for “*Shier-Thursday,*” *i. e.* Maunday Thursday—viz. washing the feet, consecrating the oil and chrisms, washing the altars and chancels.

18. “*Good Friday*”—“*creeping to the cross,*” preparing the Easter “*sepulture.*”

19. “*Easter Eve*”—hallowing the font.

20. “*Easter Day*”—the ceremonies “*very laudable.*”

21. “*General Processions,*” and other particular processions, “*with the Litanies and other prayers, are very laudable*”—in them “*the cross and image of our Saviour*” to be carried.

22. “*The accustomed benedictions of Bishops or Priests,*

“of old time used in the Church, are very laudable”—the sign of “a cross” to be used in them.

1541-2.
Hen. VIII.

23. “Holy water and holy bread be two godly ceremonies, and to be continued in the Church.”—*Collier, ibid.* pp. 191—9.

“The Archbishop, about the month of September [1543] held a Visitation in Canterbury.” Among the presentments these occur:—

1543, Sept.
Images wrongly
set up again.

“Sir Thomas, Curate of Sholden, and Thomas Sawier, set up again four images, which by the King’s commandment were taken down, for abuses by pilgrimages and offerings: *viz.* St. Nicholas, St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, and our Lady.”

“Sir James Newman and one Lawrence took down an image of our Lady; to the which was no offering, except candles at the purification of women; nor any miracles noted to be done there by the said image.”

Images wrongly
pulled down.

Other instances of incomppliance with the law, on both sides, together with presentments of some who *pulled down* images “to the which was no offering,” are given by Strype, who states that, also in the same Visitation, “Sir William Kemp, Vicar of Northgate,” was charged that he

“had not read the Bible since Pentecost, as he was commanded by the Ordinary. He doth not declare to his parishioners the right use of holy water, holy bread, bearing of candles upon Candlemas Day, giving of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross. For lack whereof the most part of the said parish be as ignorant in such things as ever they were. . . . He hath not read to then the King’s *Injunctions*, as he ought to do, by reason whereof his parish be blind and ignorant in them.”—*Strype’s Cranmer*, Bk. 1, c. 25.

Certain cere-
monies still in
use by authority.

John Bale, afterwards, in 1552, Bishop of Ossory, wrote a Commentary on the Apocalypse, called “The Image of both Churches;” it bears no date, but Strype quotes from it under the date 1544 as expressing the view of Bale *then*: his words probably referred to the, now expired, Act, 32 Hen. VIII. c. 26, A.D. 1540, and also to the *Rationale*, 1541-2, when he complains—

1544.
Complaint, a
proof of use and
law.

“I think it is now much worse; for now they are become *laudable* ceremonies, whereas beforetime they were but ceremonies alone. Now are they become *necessary rites, godly constitutions, seemly usages, and civil ordinances*, whereas afore they had no such names.”—*Strype’s Cranmer*, Bk. i. c. 29.

The effect of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, in enforcing the Canon Law, and so maintaining the Ornaments which it prescribed,

Effect of 25 Hen.
VIII. c. 19, on
the Canon Law.

1544.
Hen. VIII.

has been already noticed (pp. 7 & 11). Whether Cranmer wished to divest it of this authority in order to deal more readily with Ornaments and Ceremonies, can only be surmised: Strype says, though his words relate only to *discipline* :—

Cranmer's wish
to modify the
Canon law.

“ Our Archbishop, seeing the great evil and inconvenience of Canons and Papal laws which were still in force, and studied much in the kingdom, had in his mind now a good while to get them suppressed, or to reduce them into a narrower compass, and to cull out of them a set of just and wholesome laws, that should serve for the government of the ecclesiastical state. . . . Therefore by the Archbishop's motion and advice the King had an Act passed the last year, viz. 1544. [? 1543] ‘ That his majesty should have authority during his life to name thirty-two persons; that is to say, sixteen spiritual and sixteen temporal, to examine all Canons, Constitutions and Ordinances, provincial and synodal, and to draw up such laws ecclesiastical, as shall be thought by the King and them convenient to be used in all spiritual courts.’ ”—*Strype's Cranmer*, Bk. 1, c. 30.

Statutes which
led to,

The Act to which Strype refers must be 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16, passed in the session 14th January to 29th March, 1543-4. This was a renewal of the powers conferred by the statutes 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, § 2, A.D. 1533, and 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15, A.D. 1535: still later the power was revived by the 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 11, A.D. 1549 and led to the compilation, by Archbishop Cranmer and others, of a body of Canons; these, after various reviews, were ultimately published by Archbishop Parker in 1571, under the title of “ *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* :” but as they never received the Royal assent, which was requisite to give them the force of law, they are of no *authority*, though they are an index to the views of their compilers on the subjects they embrace.

the Reformatio
Legum.

1545.

Cranmer wished
to reform Cere-
monies.

But whatever was Cranmer's *main* object in reviewing the Canon Law, it is plain that he did wish to reform Ceremonial: for on a visit which he paid to Hampton Court in 1545, when he

“ dealt with the King concerning the reformation of the canon laws; he also gave him an account of a business his Majesty had employed him in, and with him also Heth and Day, Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and some other of his chaplains and learned men; whom he had of late appointed, with the Archbishop, to peruse certain books of Service, delivered by the King to them, wherein there were many superstitions fit to be amended. Which the Archbishop in the name of the rest, at this time acquainted the King with. . . . ”—*Ibid.* Bk. 1, c. 30.

At his instance,

In consequence of this the King issued a letter to Archbishop Cranmer, which commences thus—

“Forasmuch as you, as well in your own name, and in the name of the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, and other our chaplains and learned men, whom we appointed with you to peruse certain *Books of Service*, which we delivered unto you; moved us that the *vigil*, and ringing of bells all the night long upon *Allhallow Day* at night, and the covering of images in the Churches in the time of *Lent*; with the lifting up of the veil that covereth the cross upon *Palm Sunday*, with the kneeling to the cross the same time, might be abolished and put away for the superstition and other enormities and abuses of the same,”

therefore the King consented to the abolition of these things, in these words—

“We be contented and pleased also, that the images in the Churches shall not be covered, as hath been accustomed in times passed; nor no veil upon the cross; nor no kneeling thereto upon *Palm-Sunday*, nor any other time. And forasmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the cross, which is a greater abuse than any other Therefore our pleasure is, that the said creeping to the cross shall likewise cease from henceforth and be abolished, with other the abuses before rehearsed.”—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 203.

The Archbishop, in a letter to the King, 1545, January 24th, advised that “To make this order practicable there would be set forth some doctrine therewith to satisfy the consciences of your people,” who might think “that the honour of Christ is taken away.”—*Collier, ibid.* p. 203.

Such was the course of changes in regard to Ritual, Ornaments and Ceremonies up to the accession of

EDWARD THE SIXTH, JANUARY 28, 1546-7.

On the 13th March a change was made in the Protector's position in the Privy Council, for he had

“stood hitherto upon the choice of the rest, [of the Council, but now he] procured a *patent* for his office. By this means he seemed to act upon a higher authority, and was less encumbered with restraint.”—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 221.

“By this *patent* the Protector had an authority to take as many into the *Council* as he thought fit. ‘The Protector and the *Council* were likewise impowered to act, as it were, at discretion, and do whatever they thought serviceable to the government, without incurring any penalty, or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever.’”—*Ibid.*

1545.
Hen. VIII.

the King abolished—
Ceremonies at Allhallow's Eve, the veiling of images in Lent, and the lifting up of the veil on the cross on Palm Sunday.

Kneeling to the cross then.

Also veiling the Cross and

Creeping to it at any time.

1546-7.

Edward's Accession.

Authority of the Lord Protector,

And of the Privy Council.

1547.

Edward VI.
The Privy Council propose a further reformation.

Visitors appointed.

Homilies put forth.

“The *Privy Council* projecting a farther *reformation*, resolved upon sending commissioners into all parts of the kingdom, by way of *visitation*. These visitors consisted of a mixture of *laity* and *clergy*, and had six circuits assigned them. Every division had a preacher, whose business it was to bring off the people from the remains of superstition, and dispose them for the intended alterations. And to make the impression of their *doctrine* more lasting, they were to lodge some *Homilies*, lately composed, with the parish priest. The argument of these discourses was,

“1. Concerning the use of the Scriptures.

“2. Of the misery of mankind by sin.

“3. Of their salvation by Christ.

“4. Of true and lively faith.

“5. Of good works.

“6. Of Christian love and charity.

“7. Against swearing, where perjury is particularly loaded.

“8. Against apostacy.

“9. Against the fear of death.

“10. An exhortation to obedience.

“11. Against whoredom and adultery.

“12. Against strife and contention about matters of religion.

“These Homilies are drawn up mostly by Archbishop *Cramer*. . . .”

Only one of these Homilies, that “of Good Works,” deals with the subject of Images and Relics: in the third part we read thus:—

“Never had the Jews in their most blindness so many pilgrimages unto images, nor used so much kneeling, kissing, and censing of them, as hath been used in our time. Sects and feigned religions were neither the fortieth part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodly abused, than of late days they have been among us: . . . keeping in divers places, as it were, marts or markets of merit, being full of their holy relics, images, shrines, and works of overflowing abundance ready to be sold; and all things which they had were called holy, holy cowls, holy girdles, holy pardons, holy beads, holy shoes, holy rules, and all full of holiness. And what thing can be more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, than that men, women, and children, should wear a friar’s coat to deliver them from agues or pestilence? or when they die, or when they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, and hope thereby to be saved?

“ . . . let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical superstitions and abuses, as of beads, of lady psalters, and rosaries, of fifteen O’s of St. Bernard’s verses, of St. Agathe’s letters; of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of stations and jubilees, of feigned relics, of hallowed beads, bells, bread, water, palms, candles, fire, and such other”

Homily “of Good Works” on Images and Relics.

The effect of this movement of the Privy Council appears in the following statements:—

“The *Gospellers*, as they were then called, presuming on the countenance of the court, overrun the motions of the state, and ventured to reform without public authority. This year Dr. *John Harley*, of *Magdalen College*, in Oxford, preaching in Lent, declaimed with a great deal of vehemence against the Pope and the old tenets: . . . he was sent up to *London* to be tried for heresy, but the Protestant interest prevailing at court, those who were to inform against him thought it best not to appear, and so he was privately discharged. When this news was brought to *Oxford*, the Protestant party discovered their opinion, and under the pretence of taking away the remains of superstition, took a great deal of unjustifiable liberty in Churches and chapels.

1547.
Edward VI.
Effect of this
movement of the
Privy Council.

Churches spoiled
without author-
ity, though

“Of this we have another instance in Bishop *Gardner's* letter to one Captain *Vaughan*. In the beginning, he takes notice that by an Order of *Council* to the justices of peace, ‘no change was to be made upon the laws and regulations of the late reign. (Cotton *Library*, Titus B. 2. May 3, 1547.) This Order of the *Council* was dated *February* the twelfth last past [*i. e.* 1546-7]. From hence the Bishop proceeds to complain to this gentleman, that he was informed the images of our Saviour and the saints ‘had been pulled down at *Portsmouth* with great outrage and contempt, the figure of our Saviour run through, and an eye bored out. That these heats went further than the excesses of the Lutherans in *Germany*; that *Luther* wrote a book in vindication of the lawfulness of images; and that himself, when ambassador in *Germany*, had seen images standing in Churches, where *Luther* was most admired.’ . . .

the Council had
forbidden
changes.

An example at
Portsmouth.

“This letter was sent by *Vaughan* to the *Protector*, who in his answer to the Bishop commends him for his learning and zeal against innovation, [Fox, vol. ii. p. 712.]”—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 221, &c.

The Protector's
opinion of it.

“But now they that were weary of the Popish superstitions, observing that Archbishop *Cranmer* had so great a share of the young King's affection, and that the Protector and he were in the same interests; began to call for a further Reformation of religion: and some were so full of zeal for it, that they would not wait on the slow motions of the state. So the curate and churchwardens of *St. Martin's*, in *Ironmonger Lane*, in *London*, took down the images and pictures of the saints, and the crucifix out of their Church, and painted many texts of Scripture upon the walls; some of them according to a perverse translation, as the complaint hath it; and in the place where the crucifix was, they set up the King's arms with some texts of Scripture about it. Upon this the Bishop and Lord Mayor of *London* complained to the Council. And the curate and churchwardens being cited to appear, answered for themselves, That the roof of their Church being bad, they had taken it down, and that the crucifix and images were so rotten, that when they removed them they fell to powder: that the charge they had

Another ex-
ample,

in *London*.

1547.
Edward VI.

been at in repairing their Church was such, that they could not buy new images: that they had taken down the images in the chancel, because some had been guilty of idolatry towards them. In conclusion, they said, what they had done was with a good intention; and if they had in anything done amiss, they asked pardon and submitted themselves. . . . Cranmer and others, being resolved to purge the Church of this abuse [of images], got the worst part of the sentence that some had designed against the curate and churchwardens, to be mitigated into a reprimand; and as it is entered in the Council books, 'In respect of their submission, and of some other reasons which did mitigate their offence, (these were *Cranmer's* arguments against images,) they did pardon their imprisonment, which was at first determined, and ordered them to provide a crucifix, or at least some painting of it till one were ready, and to beware of such rashness for the future.' But no mention is made of the other images."—*Burnet's Reformation*, vol. ii. bk. 1, pp. 9—11.

Crucifix ordered
up again.

The Bishops
ordered not to
visit till after
the royal visita-
tion.

With a view to this intended Reformation, the provincial Bishops were ordered not to visit their dioceses until after the royal visitation; but as this was delayed until about *August*, "this inhibition was taken off *June* the third" [1547].—*Collier*, p. 224.

Cranmer and
some Bishops
urge on re-
formation.

"To go on: *Cranmer* being now delivered from that too awful subjection he had been held under by King *Henry*, resolved to go on more vigorously in purging out abuses, as our learned historian expresses it; (Bp. *Burnet*, pt. 2, p. 25) he had the countenance of the Protector's authority, who appeared wholly in his design; he had also several Bishops in his interest: in which number we may reckon *Holgate* of *York*, *Holbeach* of *Lincoln*, *Gooderick* of *Ely*; and particularly *Ridley*, who was consecrated to the *See* of *Rochester* in *September* this year; *Latimer* likewise, late Bishop of *Worcester*. . . . On the other side, *Gardner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, was for making a stand upon the old ground. . . . This prelate was supported with a considerable interest both in the clergy and others. . . . This Bishop's opposition to the public measures was resented at court, and drew a storm upon him, as the reader will see by and by. In the meantime I shall proceed to the business of the visitors."—*Collier*, *ibid.* p. 225.

Gardner and
others oppose it.

King Edward's
Injunctions.

Collier then proceeds to give a summary of the Injunctions. They were issued in virtue of 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8. A.D. 1539 (confirmed by 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 23. A.D. 1542-3); in which, says *Burnet*, *Hist. Ref.* vol. ii. pp. 52, 56, as quoted by *Cardwell*, (*Doc. Ann.* vol. i. p. 5)—

Their authority.

"a proviso was added that his son's councillors, while he should be under-age, might set out proclamations of the same authority with those which were made by the King himself. This gave them

a full power to proceed in that work ; in which they resolved to follow the method begun by the late King, of sending visitors over England with injunctions and articles They next considered the articles and injunctions that should be given to the visitors. The greatest part of them were only the renewing what had been ordered by King Henry during Cromwell's being vicegerent."

These Injunctions related to the following things :—

Inj. 1. Forbad to "set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre."

2. Forbad "wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, to relics, or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, or such like superstition."

3. Ordered "that such images as be or have been so abused with pilgrimage or offerings of anything made thereunto, or shall be hereafter censured unto, they [*i.e.* "all ecclesiastical persons"—see Inj. 1] (and none other private persons) shall for the avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, or cause to be taken down and destroy the same ; and shall suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament, which for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still : admonishing their parishioners, that images serve for no other purpose but to be a remembrance, whereby men may be admonished of the holy lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent : which images if they do abuse for any other intent, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls."

7. Ordered the Bible "in English and "the 'Paraphrasis' of Erasmus in English upon the Gospels" to be "set up in some convenient place" in the Church.

13. Ordered "one book or register" for marriages.

21. Ordered the Epistle and Gospel at "high mass" to be used "in English and not in Latin."

23. Forbad any *Litany* "processions about the Church or churchyard, or other place,"^a but ordered "the priests with "other of the quire" to "sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany which is set forth in English," kneeling "in the midst of the Church," and "immediately before high mass." Also it forbad, "In the time of the Litany, of the high mass, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scriptures . . . all

What they forbad, viz. extolling images, relics, miracles.

Pilgrimages and offerings to relics and images, praying on beads.

Such images abolished.

Who might remove them.

No light to remain before images.

The two lights on the altar to remain.

Also images if not abused.

Ordered English Bible,

Register Book, Epistle and Gospel in English.

Litany processions to cease.

^a The XVIII of Elizabeth's Injunctions (1559), in giving the same order, assigns the same reason which led to Edward's Injunction :—"To avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath risen among the Queen's Majesty's subjects by reason of fond courtesy, and challenging of places in procession ; and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung to their edifying," &c.

1547.

Edward VI.

Existing lawful ceremonies not to be violated.

But abuses of them condemned —*viz.*

Casting holy water on beds and images, &c.

Carrying about holy bread, &c.

Making crosses of wood in church on Palm Sunday.

Private holidays.

Ringing holy bells.

Blessing with holy candle.

They abolish shrines and their coverings. Also certain memorials of superstition.

People to do the like in their houses. Churchwardens to find a pulpit,

and Alms-box.

Bp. Gardner objects to the Injunctions.

Collier's reasons for thinking the Injunctions illegal.

viz. the Injunctions not proclaimed as the Act required.

Also, the effect of 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8, modified by 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

ringing and knolling of bells except one bell in convenient time to be rung or knolled before the sermon."

27. Orders clergy to "Teach in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to break and violate the laudable ceremonies of the Church, by the King commanded to be observed, and as yet not abrogated." Yet the clergy were also to warn them of the "great peril" of any who "superstitiously abuse them," "as in casting holy water upon his bed, upon images, and other dead things, or bearing about him holy bread, or St. John's Gospel, or making crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday, in time of reading of the passion, or keeping of private holidays, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such other do; or ringing of the holy bells; or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent thereby to be discharged of the burden of sin, or to drive away devils, or to put away dreams and phantasies, or in putting trust and confidence of health and salvation in the same ceremonies, when they be only ordained, instituted, and made, to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we have received by Christ."

28. Orders "That they [*i.e.* the clergy] shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition: so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within their churches or houses. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses. And that the Churchwardens, at the common charge of the parishioners, in every Church shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place, within the same, for the preaching of God's word."

29. Orders "a strong chest with a hole in the upper part thereof," to be fastened "near unto the high altar" for "the parishioners . . . oblation and alms for their poor neighbours."—*Cardwell Doc. Annals* Vol. 1. p. 4—20.

Bishop *Gardner* objected that these injunctions were against the *constitution*,

"Because" as Collier says, "the religion professed in the late reign, was established by Law, 'Tis true, the King's *Proclamation* was in some cases made of the same force with an *Act* of Parliament. (31 Hen. 8. c. 8.) But then such *Proclamations* were to be proclaimed, and pasted up by the sheriff, or some other officer, in market towns. Besides, by an express clause the King's *Proclamation* was not to over-rule any *Act* in being. Now we don't find the *Injunctions* of *Edward* the Sixth, were either proclaimed in the manner above mentioned, or supported by any *Proclamation*. Besides, the *Statute* of the *Six Articles* was afterwards made in the same Parliament, (31 Hen. 8. c. 14.) in which the Bill passed for giving the King's *Proclamation* an unusual sway. From whence we may probably conclude the King's *Proclamation* could not have any force to disable this latter *Statute*. Farther; two or three years after this in

the late reign, (34, 35. Hen. 8. c. 1.) there was another Act passed against innovation in religion. By this *Act* no books are to be published contrary to the *doctrine* determined, or to be determined by the King, under considerable forfeitures. And if any spiritual person should *teach* contrary to the premises he was to abjure, or suffer as a heretick. Now the late King, with the consent of the clergy, had set forth the *Necessary Erudition* as a rule of faith and practice. This *Book* we see stood upon the bottom of an *Act* of Parliament: but the *Homilies* and *Injunctions* now set forth by the King and *Council*, clash'd with the *Necessary Erudition*, oppos'd some part of the doctrine, and altered the usages recommended by that *Book*. Thus *Gardner*, conceiving himself under the protection of the *Constitution*, made a bold stand against the *Council*, and refused to comply with the *Homilies* and *Injunctions*."—*Collier Eccl. His. V. 2. p. 228.*

1547.

Edward VI.
Injunctions and
also the Homilies
contrary to the
"Necessary Erudition" then in
force by law.

Dr. Lushington, referring to this opinion of Collier, says, (p. 26)—

Dr. Lushington
on this.

"Whoever should affirm that these injunctions ought to be received as law must prove the affirmative—must establish their titles so to be considered. This has not been done." Again (p. 50) the Judge says, "I have already expressed my opinion that this Injunction [No. 3] is not entitled to the force of an Act of Parliament, nor proved to be issued under any such authority."

So, too, Mr. Goode (p. 12) quotes in part the passage of Collier, and contends that,—

And Mr. Goode.

"Consequently the argument altogether fails" in proving that the Injunctions "are to be considered as equivalent to an Act of Parliament, and what was ordered thereby as having 'the authority of Parliament.'" Also (at p. 77) he says, "I have already shewn (p. 12 above) that these Injunctions never were equivalent to an Act of Parliament: nor had they in any way the sanction of Parliament."

Now, without pretending to decide this *legal* question, it is quite sufficient to say of the argument of Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode, that, *by proving a great deal too much*, it leaves them in a most awkward dilemma: for if the Injunctions *were law*, then they did authorize the "two lights" on the altar—if they *were not law*, then they simply left the old law untouched, and that law distinctly ordered the lights.—Moreover if they were *not law*, they were of no force in anything else which they ordered; therefore images, relics, candles of all kinds, shrines, "pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition" were none of them abolished, neither were the

Their arguments
wholly unsound.

1547.

Edward VI.

Bonner also opposed them, but submitted, and even went beyond them.

Privy Council uses 1 Edw. VI. c. 14, (against chantries) to demand

Plate from Canterbury Cathedral.

The demand illegal.

Unauthorized removers of images punished, but images not re-erected.

Privy Council stops the illegal sale of plate, and orders inventories.

The Commissioners resisted in Cornwall.

Clergy required to get a Bible, or Register Books, or Alms Box, &c., so far as these injunctions had any effect ! !

Bishop Bonner, at first demurred also to the Injunctions, but afterwards he made his submission to the Council, who, however, imprisoned him for his first incomppliance: on his release he seems to have gone beyond what was *required*, by taking down *all* the images, whether abused or not, in St. Paul's and throughout London.—*Collier Ibid.* p. 230.

On July 16, 1547, under colour of I Ed. VI. cap. 14 just passed, *for suppressing chantries*, the Privy Council sent, says Collier, quoting the Council Book,—

“ An order to the Dean and Prebendaries of Canterbury to deliver a silver table, that stood upon the high altar, by indenture, containing the weight of the same, to Sir *Anthony Aucher*.”

Again, on July 29, they gave “ An order to Mr. *Aucher*, to receive of the Chapter of *Christ Church* in Canterbury, all such jewels and plate of gold and silver, as they have by our Sovereign Lords' permission, in their possession, to their Church's use; and forthwith to deliver the same by a bill, indented to the officers of the *Mint*, there expressing the several *pois* and value of the same therein.”

“ It would be difficult to find a law to warrant this extraordinary demand, but the *Church* and the *Exchequer* were low, and the Court had occasion for money.”

Again, quoting the *Council Book* of September 26, Collier says “ ‘ A letter was sent by the *Council* to the Lord Admiral ’ ” acquainting him that to prevent contention whether certain images “ were abused or no,” he was not, on coming to London to re-erect (as had been ordered) those which had been taken down without authority, but only to punish those who took them down. *Collier Ib.* 239. So, too, he states that,—

“ A letter of the Privy Council to *Bonner* Bishop of London, takes notice that some people, had either upon a presumption of leave, or the suggestions of their own fancy ‘ ventured to sell the bells, plate, and jewels, of several Churches.’ This liberty is blamed by the Privy Council, and said to be of ill example. And the Bishop is commanded to enquire what ornaments and things have been thus seized and sold, and by whom, and to what use the money has been employed.” (*Regist. Bonner, Fol. III.*)

And again, quoting the *Council Book*, December 17th, Collier says:—

“ ‘ The parishioners of *Penwith* in Cornwall, rose in tumults against the Commissioners, appointed to take an inventory of the Church jewels. To pacify this mutiny, the *Council* wrote a letter, to acquaint

them, that the intent of this Commission, was rather to preserve the jewels to the use of the Church, and to prevent their being imbezzled, than otherwise.'—*Ibid.* p. 240.

On Dec. 27th, 1547, the Privy Council issued "A Proclamation [founded on 1 Edwd. VI. c. 1. Nov. 4, 1547] concerning the irreverent talkers of the Sacrament." Also on the 16th Jan. following, *i. e.*, 1547-8, "A Proclamation for the absteyning from flesh in the Lent tyme."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* 1. p. 34 and 38.

Jan. 27th, 1547-8, the Archbishop announced to Bonner, Bishop of London, that

"The King's Majesty's Council, for certain considerations them thereunto moving, hath fully resolved, that no candles should be borne upon Candlemas-day, nor also from henceforth ashes or palms used any longer."—*Cardwell Doc. Ann.* Vol. 1. p. 45., see also *Collier Eccl. His.* V. 2. p. 241.

A further step was, however, now taken with regard to ceremonies; for on the "sixth day of February, [1547-8] in the second year of the King's Majesty's most gracious reign," there was issued—

"A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave done any rite or ceremony in the Church of their private authority,"—it orders "that no manner person, of what estate, order, or degree soever he be, of his private mind, will, or fantasy, do omit, leave done, change, alter or innovate any order, rite or ceremony commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left done at any time, in the reign of our late Sovereign Lord, his highness' father, other than such as his highness, by the advice aforesaid [*i. e.* his uncle the Duke of Somerset] by his Majesty's visitors, injunctions, statutes, or Proclamations hath already or hereafter shall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed," &c.

though it contains a clause *exempting from punishment those* "not bearing a candle upon Candlemas-day, not taking ashes upon Ash-Wednesday, not bearing palm upon Palm-Sunday, not creeping to the cross, not taking holy bread or holy water, or for omitting other such rites and ceremonies concerning religion, and the use of the Church, which the most reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury by his Majesty's will and commandment with the advice aforesaid hath declared, or hereafter shall declare to the other bishops by his writing under seal, as heretofore hath been accustomed, to be omitted or changed."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* v. 1. pp. 43—4; see also, *Collier* Vol. 2, p. 241.

1547.

Edward VI.
Privy Council
obliged to appease
them.

Proclamations on
the Sacrament,
and

1547-8.

on Abstinence.

Candles on Can-
dlemas-day, ashes
on Ash-Wednes-
day, palms on
Palm-Sunday—
forbidden.

Proclamation
against innova-
tions, &c.

Saving clause for
those who should
omit ceremonies
which the Arch-
bishop and Coun-
cil should change.

1547-8.
Edward VI.

These three last documents are quoted because they plainly prove the intention, at that time, to *maintain* the existing discipline, though, as this last *exemption* shews, there was a desire to deal considerately with the views or prejudices of the more determined reformers.^a

Privy Council orders all images to be removed,

But on the 24th Feby. Cranmer (as Metropolitan) sent to the Bishop of London a mandate, containing the Privy Council's Order of Feb. 21st to remove "all the *images* "remayninge in any Church or Chappel," on account of the contentions which arose as to this or that image, "whether "they had been abused or not."—*Card. Ibid.* p. 47, and *Collier* p. 241.

but nothing else.

The Canterbury Visitation Articles of the same time define what is to be removed.

In this order, however, nothing else is mentioned: and the Visitation Articles for "the Diocese of Canterbury" in this same year (second Edward VI.) though they enquire,

"Whether they have not destroyed in their Churches Chapels and houses, all *images*, all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables,^b *candlesticks*, trindles or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other *monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition*, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere" yet they also enquire, "Whether they suffer any torches, candles, tapers, or any other lights to be in your Churches, *but only two lights upon the high altar.*"

But they shew that altar-lights were to remain.

^a Cardwell says of this last order :—

"The restraints imposed by this proclamation upon the reformers, who were desirous of imitating the example of some foreign churches, were repeated in the March following," and he quotes Burnet, *His. of Ref.* vol. ii. p. 122, and v. ii. pt. 2, p. 185, as saying that, "This proclamation was necessary for giving authority to the Archbishop of Canterbury's letters, which were censured as a great presumption for him, without any public order, to appoint changes in sacred rites. Some observed that the Council went on making proclamations, with arbitrary punishments, though the Act had been repealed that had formerly given so great authority for them. To this it was answered, that the King, by his supremacy, might still, in matters of religion, make new orders, and add punishments upon the transgressors; yet this was much questioned, though universally submitted to."—*Doc. Ann.* v. i. p. 42.

^b The order to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury (July 16th 1547) p. 30. will in part explain what these were. Also the following extract from "a letter mandatory" of Henry the 3rd "to the Keeper of the inner works," dated "Windsor the 10th day Decr." 1241—"for the repair and further adorning of" the Church of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, within the tower, seems decisive of the nature of them—"And that ye cause two fair Tables [*Tabulas pulchras*] to be made, and to be painted of the best colours, concerning the stories of the blessed *Nicholas* and *Katharine*, before the Altars of the said saints in the same Church,"—the Order continues "And that ye cause to be made two fair Cherubims with a chearful and joyful countenance, standing on the right and left of the great Cross [*magni patibuli*] in the said Church."—*Stow's Survey of London*, Vol. 1. B. 1. c. 15, p. 68.

In fact these articles are nearly a repetition of the Injunctions of 1547.—*Card. Ibid.* p. 49.

Mr. Goode (pp. 49, 59, 60) quotes this letter and the visitation articles of Cranmer to prove that not only “images—“ that is, statues or pictures of saints,” but also “crucifixes, “ and crosses—in churches,” “all these are forbidden”: but this is mere imagination; there is not a tittle of evidence to show that up to this time *Crucifixes and Crosses* were included under the term *Images*; it is true indeed that, owing to these directions, great evils seem to have followed quickly:—for “beside the profanation of Churches . . . the utensils and ornaments” were made away with: this obliged the Council to send the following letter to the Archbishop, which Strype thinks was done at the instance of the Archbishop himself:—
“to arm Churchwardens with an answer to such greedy courtiers and gentlemen, as used often to resort to them; and in “their own, or the Council’s name, required these goods of “their churches to be yielded up to them; and threatened “them if they did not:”—

“After our right hearty commendation. Whereas we are informed, that the Church-wardens and Parochians of divers parishes do alienate and sell away their chalices, crosses of silver, bells, and other ornaments of the Church: which were not given for that purpose to be alienated at their pleasure; but either to be used to the intent they were at first given, or to some other necessary and convenient service of the Church. Therefore this is to will and require you immediately, upon the sight hereof, to give strait charge and commandment, on the King’s Majesty’s behalf, to every parish Church within your diocese, that they do in nowise sell, give, or otherwise alienate any bells, or other ornaments, or jewels, belonging unto their Parish Church, upon pain of his highest displeasure, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril. Thus fare you well. From *Westminster* the last day of April 1548.—Your loving friends. E. SOMERSET” and 9 others.—*Strype’s Cranmer*, Bk. 2. Chap. 8.

Yet, remarkably enough, *Crosses*, though not *Images*, are here ordered *not to be alienated*: whether these *Crosses* were all *Crucifixes* may be left to Mr. Goode’s research so far as the question now in dispute is concerned, for they were not the subject of the recent trial. It seems certain that, whichever they were, they were not excluded, for the old office was still in use. (See p. 11.) It is observable, besides, that neither Dr. Lushington nor Mr. Goode advert at all to this important letter from the Council.

1547-8.
Edward VI.

Mr. Goode’s mistake as to Crosses, &c.

Evil consequences of the Injunctions, &c. viz.—the ornaments sold.

1548.

So the Council writes to the Archbishop to stop the alienation of

Chalices, crosses, bells, &c.

and to retain them for use in the church.

Crosses and Crucifixes not to be alienated.

1518.
Edward VI.

Another letter
from the Council,
to the Preachers,
to stay excesses.

To check, however, the intemperate zeal of some who desired to go much farther than the authorities permitted in the way of alteration of ceremonies &c. the Council sent a letter on the following "13th day of May, in the Second year of Edward" [1548] to the licensed preachers, charging them—

"That in nowise you do stir and provoke the people to any alteration or innovation, other than is already set forth by the King's Majesty's injunctions, homilies, and proclamations; straitly rebuking those, who of an arrogancy and proud hastiness will take upon them to run before they be sent, to go before the rulers, to alter and change things in religion without authority till they bring all orders into contempt What is abolished, taken away, reformed and commanded, it is easy to see^a by the Acts of Parliament, the injunctions, proclamations, and homilies."—*Card. Doc. Ann. V. 1. p. 65.*

Injunctions for
the Deanery of
Doncaster recog-
nize—

Holy Water,
Holy Bread,
The Pax.

Again, it is to be noted that, in the "Injunctions given by the King's Majesty's Visitors, to all and every, the clergy and laity now resident within the deanery of Duncastré," 1548, Second of Edward VI., not only do the tenor and words correspond with those already quoted, but mention is made of "high mass" of the use of "holy water," "of the dealing of the holy bread," *i.e.* the *blessed* bread which was commonly distributed—not the Sacramental Bread, and of "the pax"; and directions were given to use certain words^b in explanation of these things, and it is added "so long as ye use these ceremonies, so long shall ye use these significations."—*Card. Doc. Ann. Vol. 1. p. 68.* See also *Collier*, Vol. 1. p. 242.

All Preachers for-
bidden because
of their excesses
against Orna-
ments, &c.

Furthermore, as the Council's letter of 13th May had little or no effect upon the preachers, a Proclamation was made on the "23rd Sept." "for the inhibition of all preachers" until such time as a then contemplated "Order [of service] shall be set forth generally, throughout this his Majesty's realm."—*Card. Doc. Ann. V. 1. p. 70.*

^a Though Dr. Lushington asks (pp. 25 and 26) "where am I to stop, and what light have I to guide me" "on a voyage of discovery to ascertain what was in use by the Authority of Parliament before the second year of Edward the Sixth?"

^b The words were, *at the sprinkling of the water*—"Remember Christ's bloodshedding, by the which most holy sprinkling, of all your sins you have free pardon:" *at the dealing of the Holy Bread*—"of Christ's Body this is a token, which on the Cross for our sins was broken; wherefore of His death if you will be partakers, of vice and sin you must be forsakers:" *at offering the Pax*—"This is a token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and men's conscience; Christ alone is the peace-maker, which straitly commands peace between brother and brother."

Such appear to be all the Orders made as to Ornaments, Ceremonies &c., up to the end of the Second year of Edward; with the exception of that marked thus * the changes were all made *before the commencement* of that year: these Orders inform us *exactly* what things were *abolished*, viz:—

1548.

Edward VI.
Result of all the
Orders up to the
end of 2 Edw. vi

Ornaments of the Church.

- 1.* All *Images*, though it seems certain that the *Crucifix* and the *Rood* were not included: moreover the *Images* remained for the first 28 days of Edward's 2nd year, and then were only abolished to get rid of the *contentions* as to which had and which had not been *abused*.
2. All *Relics* which were not pronounced *genuine*, or which had been *abused*.
3. All *Shrines* and the *Coverings* of shrines.
4. All *Lights*, *Candles* and *Tapers* before *Images*.
5. All " *Pictures*, *Paintings*, and all other *Monuments* of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition;" whether in the windows or on the walls of Churches, or Clergy-houses.
6. All tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, used at shrines, and in honour of feigned miracles, in Churches or clergy houses.

What Ornaments
were forbidden;

** The Clergy were to " *exhort* all their parishioners to do "the like within their several houses," as to Nos. 5 and 6.

Ceremonies.

1. " The *Vigil* and Ringing of Bells all the night long upon " All-hallow day at night." and Ceremonies.
2. All Bell-ringing in Service time, except one bell before the sermon.
3. The ringing of the Pardon or *Ave* Bell: abolished in *Sarum* diocese by Bishop Shaxton (see p. 17.)
4. The covering of *Images* in *Lent*, and uncovering them at *Easter*: (it is doubtful whether this included the *Cross* and *Crucifix*—see p. 23. if it did, it was to prevent No. 5, which was distinctly abolished.)

1548.

Edward VI.

5. "Lifting up of the Veil* that covereth the Cross upon
"Palm-Sunday."
6. "Praying upon beads, or such like superstition."
7. Bearing Candles on Candlemas-day.
8. Carrying Palms on Palm-Sunday.
9. Giving Ashes on Ash-Wednesday.
10. *Litany* Processions in the Church and Church-yard.
11. Kneeling to the Cross on Palm-Sunday and at all times ;
Creeping to it on Good-Friday or at any time : (it is
doubtful whether *kissing* the Cross was abolished.)
12. Setting forth or extolling Images "for any superstition or
"lucre" (p. 14): decking, covering, kissing them ;
pilgrimages, bowing, kneeling, and offering to them :
(it is uncertain whether the Crucifix was included.)
13. Night watches in the Church : abolished in *Sarum* diocese
by Bishop Shaxton (see p. 17.)

What ceremonies
werediscouraged.

*Ceremonies which were DISCOURAGED as being perilous if
"superstitiously abused:" though they were not abolished.*
(See p. 28.) :—

1. Casting Holy Water on beds, images, and other dead things.
2. Carrying about Holy Bread and St. John's Gospel.
3. "Keeping of private holidays, as bakers, brewers, smiths,
"shoemakers, and such others do."
4. Ringing of the Holy Bells.
5. Blessing with the Holy Candle.
6. Making Crosses of wood on Palm Sunday in the time of
reading the Passion.^b

* Yet the practice continued much later apparently, for, "In a short description of Antichrist &c. [probably published about 1554], is the following, 'They also upon Palmes Sondag, lifte up a cloth, and say, hayle our Kynge! to a rood made of a wooden blocke.'"—*Brand's Popular Antiquities* V. 1. p. 127. ed. 1849.

^b This practice seems also to have survived longer, for, "In another curious tract, entitled a Dialogue, or Familiar Talke, betwene two neighbours. From Roane, by Michael Wodde, the 20 of February 1554, 12 mo., it appears that Crosses of Palm, were in the Papal times carried about in the Purse. These Crosses were made on Palm Sunday, in Passion time, of hallowed Palm. 'The old Church kept a memorye the Sunday before Easter, how Christe's glory was openly received and acknowledged among the Jewes, when they met Him with *date-tree* bowes, and other faire bowes, and confessed that He was the Sonne of God. And the Gospel declaring the same was appointed to be read on that day. But nowe our blind leaders of the blind take away the knowledge of this They have their laudable dumme ceremonies, the Deacon read the middle text. The Prest at the Altar al this while, because it was tedious to be unoccupied, made Crosses of Palme to set upon your doors, and to bear in your Purses. to chace away the Devil.'"—*Ibid.* p. 127. Note.

The following things *remained*; they are, more or less distinctly, taken notice of in these several Orders; some more favourably spoken of than others, but all apparently *allowed*, viz:—

1548.
Edward VI.

Ornaments of the Minister.

1. Surplice, Cope, Amice, Albe, Stole, Girdle, Chasuble, and Phanon.

What Ornaments
&c. were allowed:

Ornaments, Fittings, Books, Utensils, and Customs of the Church.

1. The High Altar; also other Altars. These must be classed, at least, as *Fittings*; they cannot, any more than No. 2, be regarded as parts of the *Structure*; and undoubtedly are entitled to be called *Ornaments* if the Organ or Bell or Pulpit is so called. (See pp. 30 and 33.)
2. Bells, Organ, Pulpit, Alms-box.
3. Crosses and (it seems most certainly) Crucifixes.
4. The Rood-loft and (most probably) the Rood.
5. "The Light by the Rood-loft." (p. 17.)
6. "The Light about the [Easter] Sepulchre." (p. 17.)
7. "The Light before the Sacrament of the Altar." (p. 17.)
8. The "Two Lights upon the High Altar before the Sacrament."
9. Relics, if true; but then only as "memorials."
10. The Sanctuary-veil, the Pax, Chalices, Jewels.
11. The "Missals and other Liturgick books," though they were to be reformed (see pp. 18 and 27.) The Bible and Erasmus's Paraphrase, both in English. Register book.

Ceremonies.

1. Saluting and kissing the Cross and Crucifix (doubtful).
2. Veiling the Cross in Lent and unveiling it at Easter (doubtful).
3. Kissing the Pax.
4. Sprinkling and Crossing with Holy water.
5. Distributing Blessed Bread.
6. Washing the Feet, Altar and Chancel; and consecrating Oil and Chrism, on Maunday Thursday.
7. Offering unto Christ before the Cross on Good Friday (doubtful).

and Ceremonies.

1548.
Edward VI.

8. Setting up the Easter Sepulchre on Good Friday.
9. A prescribed use of Candles on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday nights in Holy Week, in the "Tenebrae" Service.
10. Hallowing of the Font on Easter Eve.
11. Benedictions, with the sign of the Cross, by Bishops and Priests.
12. Processions in or out of Church—the Cross (and it seems certainly the Crucifix) to be carried in them.
13. Litany to be said in the midst of the Church.
14. In Baptism—Crossing on the forehead, right hand, and breast,—hallowed salt in the mouth—exorcism—wetting with spittle the nose, thurles, and ears—unction—chrism—lighted candle in the hand of the baptized.
15. "Other like exorcisms and benedictions, and laudable "customs."
16. Observance of days and times of Fasting or Abstinence.
17. Offices for Mattins, Prime, "hours," Evensong, and Compline; besides the Mass.
18. Chanting to be used in all these (see p. 20.)

It must be remembered that many other Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers remained; also various other Ceremonies besides those enumerated in this list: *e. g.*, all such Ornaments of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and all such Ceremonies as were ordered by the "Pontificale,"—all that was directed by the Rubrics of the Missal,—all that was enjoined by the Provincial Constitutions and the Canon law—unless they were included among the things abolished in the orders now examined.

Thus for instance, special Episcopal adornments, *viz.*, the Mitre and Crosier; Altars, of any material, fixed or moveable, Altar coverings, Altar linen, the Paten, Incense, Censers, and whatever else was requisite for carrying out the Church Ritual as it then stood by law, these things "were in this Church of "England, by the authority of Parliament, in the Second "year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth,"—and the inference seems unavoidable, that all of them may be *legally* used *now*, unless they have, any of them, been disallowed since then by any authority *equivalent* to this "authority of

Other Ornaments
&c. in use, *viz.*
those mentioned
in—

The Pontificale,

The Missal,

The Provincial
Constitutions and
Canon Law;

e. g. Mitres, Cro-
siers, Altars, Al-
tar-Cloths, Pa-
tens, Censers, &c.

These legally
usable now, if
not contrary to
any later law.

Parliament," which the last Act of Uniformity (1662) recognizes.

1548.
Edward VI.

Surely, therefore, this is an abundantly sufficient answer to the question of Dr. Lushington, when he asks (p. 36),

"Assuming the enquiry to be, what was in use *de facto* in the Second year of King Edward the Sixth, and for such purpose omitting the words 'by authority of Parliament,' how, after the lapse of 300 years, are we to ascertain what Ornaments were then in use, and especially whether crosses were at that period generally introduced into our Parish Churches?"

Now here the examination might cease; and it would be sufficient to compare the present Prayer Book with this list of *retained* Ornaments and Ceremonies, in order to ascertain which of them are *INCONSISTENT* with the *altered* Ritual: this would at once shew what *Ornaments, &c.* of those "which were in this Church of *England*, by the authority of "Parliament, in the Second year of the reign of King Edward "the Sixth," are *legally* in use *now*. But it will be more satisfactory to examine the course of changes in the subsequent reigns, and to see whether any of the Ornaments now objected to were removed by *authority* during that period.

The enquiry might stop here, but better to continue it.

The next question, therefore, is—Did these Ornaments and Ceremonies undergo any further *equally authoritative* sifting, and if so, what *residuum* was thereby left? There can be no doubt that they did: for some of these things were afterwards *expressly forbidden* "by authority of Parliament:" it will be desirable therefore to examine all that was done, from the end of the Second year of Edward the Sixth, to the passing of Charles the Second's Act of Uniformity, *i. e.*, from Jan. 28th, 1548-9 to May 19th, 1662, in order to ascertain which of those Ornaments, &c., left by "authority of Parliament," at the *end* of Edward's second year were not removed, and were therefore meant to "be retained and be in use," after the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer.

Next step in the enquiry.

viz. Which of the Ornaments, &c. left at the end of 2 Edw. VI. were afterwards removed

3RD YEAR OF KING EDWARD VI., JANUARY 28, 1548-9.

1548-9.

The first thing to be noted in this year, 1548-9, is the Act of Uniformity, already referred to, (p. 9), and known as 2 and 3 Edward VI. c. 1.—of this it must be remarked (as indeed of other similar Acts) that, whatever doubt may exist

Act of Uniformity 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.

1548-9.
Edward VI.

as to the legal force of Edward's Injunctions, or of any Proclamations of the Privy Council, there can be no question of the legal force of this Statute in anything which it abolishes.

Now the Act opens by stating that "Where of long time there hath been had in this realm of England and in Wales, divers forms of Common Prayer, commonly called the Service of the Church; that is to say, The Use of *Sarum*, of *York*, of *Bangor*, and of *Lincoln*; and besides the same now of late, much more divers and sundry forms and fashions have been used in the Cathedral and Parish Churches of England and Wales, as well concerning the mattens or morning prayer and the evensong, as also concerning the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass, with divers and sundry rites and ceremonies concerning the same, and in the administration of other Sacraments of the Church;"—it then goes on to notice that as some "were pleased therewith," while others "were thereby greatly offended," the Archbishop of Canterbury and others had "by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement," "concluded a Book, intituled "The Book of the Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England,"—and it enacts "that all and singular Ministers in . . . the King's dominions, shall from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, [*i.e.* June 9th], be bounden to say and use the mattens, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, commonly called the Mass, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and none other or otherwise." The statute inflicted penalties upon any who "after the said Feast of Pentecost" should "refuse to use" the said book, or should "use, wilfully and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or mattens, evensong, administration of the Sacraments, or other open^a prayer than is mentioned

mentions various
"Uses,"

which, as they
did not satisfy all
persons,

were to be super-
seded by a Book
of Common
Prayer,

at the Feast of
Pentecost, 1549.

^a "Open prayer in and throughout this Act, is meant that prayer which is for other to come unto or hear, either in common Churches, or private Chapels or Oratories, commonly called the Service of the Church."

“and set forth in the said book.”—*Stephens's Eccl. Statutes*, p. 310, &c.

1548-9.
Edward VI.

There are *two* principal questions which arise out of these words of Edward's Act of Uniformity :—

Two questions which the Act suggests.

1. Do the words “in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and none other or otherwise,” mean to *limit* the Ornaments of the Church, and the Things to be used in Divine Service, to those distinctly enumerated in the book itself?

1. Force of the words “in such order,” &c.

Mr. Goode contends that they do, and in order to prove “The principle on which the legality of Church Ornaments, Vestures, Ceremonies, and Gestures, is to be determined,” says (p. 3):—

Mr. Goode's opinion.

“The Act of Uniformity, authorizing the first Book of Edward VI, expressly limits the things retained to ‘those things which be retained in the said Book;’ and extols the advantages which would ensue upon the *one and uniform rite and order* in such common prayer, and rites, and *external ceremonies*’ (§ 1)”

Again, (p. 11,) referring to the Rubrical Expression “authority of Parliament,” he asks—

“Now, what Ornaments had such authority? *Those only that were* mentioned in the first Common Prayer Book of Edw. VI., and were consequently authorized by the Act of Uniformity, 2 Edw. VI. This is an important point; but, as it is impossible to prove a negative, it rests with those who are disposed to deny it, to shew what other Act of Parliament there was authorizing such Ornaments.”

Mr. Goode, however, seems to have strangely misread the Statute; it makes no such limitation as he states: it does indeed “give to his highness most hearty and lowly thanks” for “gathering and collecting the said Archbishop, Bishops, and learned men together,” who had been appointed to review the old offices, for “the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned” just before, viz: the new Prayer Book which they had prepared; and for “the considerations of altering those things which be altered, and retaining those things which be retained in the said book”; and it does also, as Mr. Goode says, refer to the advantages which would follow from this new Service Book, and accordingly enacts that “from and after the Feast of Pentecost

He misstates the Statute.

1548-9.
Edward VI.

“next ensuing,” the Offices provided in that Book should be used “in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and “none other or otherwise”: yet if the words “such “order and form” are, with their context, to be strictly construed as “expressly limiting” Ornaments, &c., to those defined in Edward’s First Prayer Book, it needs but few words to prove that the Compilers of that Book left the Church of England in a position so anomalous as to make it a libel upon their common sense to suppose them capable of it.

It does not limit
Ornaments,

of the Church,

For, as to the “Ornaments of the Church,” it has been shown (p. 6) what they would amount to, if the Book itself had been the only authority to consult; for that Book names but *seven* different things, and omits those which even the opponents of Ornaments would, probably, think necessary, *e. g.*, the Linen Cloth for Communion, and the Alms Dish.

or even of the
Minister;

Or, again, take the Ornaments of the *Minister*, which are explicitly mentioned in that book, *viz.*, “surplice”, “albe”, “vestment or cope”, “tunics”. Would this direction have been understood to *exclude* every other ministerial ornament-*e. g.*, *the Stole*? such a supposition is most improbable; nothing can be more unlikely than that this part of the Vestments should have been taken away and the rest left. Moreover, the very Rubric which names some of these Ornaments speaks of them as “the vesture appointed for that min-*istration*”, *i. e.* “The Holy Communion”: Where were they so appointed? Nowhere certainly, save in existing Ecclesiastical Laws, sanctioned too by that “Authority of Parliament” already referred to at pp. 7 and 11.

nor yet Cere-
monies and
Gestures;

Or, once more if “Ceremonies and Gestures” were “to be “determined,” as Mr. Goode says, by Edward’s *first Act* of Uniformity; then, to take a single and very simple instance of Ceremonies, what is to guide us to “to a place” which King Edward’s first Prayer Book says was “assigned for the pur-*pose*” of reading the Epistle? Not, certainly, either that Book or “the Act of Uniformity authorizing it.” While as to “Gestures,” no direction could well be more indefinite than that one of the “Certain Notes” of King Edward’s first Book which refers to them; for it says, “as touching kneel-

“ing, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be used or left as every man’s devotion serveth.”

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But the truth is, that any argument, as to the use or disuse of Ornaments, drawn from the *silence* of Rubrics, is the result of simple oversight or ignorance of the important fact that even the Rubrics of the *Missal* were not, except incidentally, the Directory for Ornaments or Utensils of Divine Service: and therefore it was most improbable that the new Book, ostensibly a revised form of the old “Use,” should deviate from its arrangement, (especially as those Ornaments, &c. were patent in every Church, and were regulated by other law and books), by an exact and minute description of all that was to be used.

for silence is not a proof of prohibition.

The Missal not a complete Directory:

Suppose, for instance, instead of providing a *Reformed Office* the Act had selected the Use of *Sarum*, or *Bangor*, or *York*, or *Hereford*, and said of either of them—that, for Uniformity, in future the Offices should be ministered “in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book and none other or otherwise,”—then what Ornaments, &c. would either of those books have recognized? Take the *Sarum* use, which is the fullest, and they will be found to be exactly the following:^a

e. g. Ornaments, &c. prescribed by Sarum and other Uses,

Ornaments and Utensils of the Church.—Altar, Linen Cloth, Pulpit (or Ambo) for the Epistle and Gospel, Crucifix, Cross, Images and their Veils, Thurible for the Incense, Pyx, Light in Lanthorn for the Sacrament, Ampulla for the Chrism, Banner, Feretrum for carrying Bread or New Fruits, &c. to the Altar when they were to be blessed, Reliquary and Relics, Wax Candle for the Easter Sepulchre.

for the Church,

Ornaments of the Ministers.—Chasuble, Cope, Surplice, Albe, Amice, Dalmatic, Tunicle, Gremial (or Apron).

and Ministers.

This is, I believe, an accurate list of everything mentioned in the ample Rubrics of that Book, except what is given in the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass; a very cursory inspection will suffice to shew that many things are not *named*, though *notoriously in use* at that period: nor will an examination of the Rubrical Directions in the Ordinary and Canon (that

^a These are taken from a printed copy of the Salisbury Missal, “Paris 1513,” now in Archbishop Tenison’s Library, St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields.

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portion of the Missal which corresponds to our Communion Office) supply the deficiency. The annexed table contains the several Ornaments &c. specified in the different Uses under which they are set.*

Ornaments, &c.
named in the
Ordinary and
Canon of the
Mass.

	1. <i>Sarum.</i> Altar.	2. <i>Bangor.</i> Altar.	3. <i>York.</i> Altar.	4. <i>Hereford.</i> Altar. Albe. Amice.	5. <i>Modern Roman.</i> Altar.
	Albe and Amice for the Acolytes. ^a				
	Chasuble.	Chasuble.			
	Dalmatic.				
	Tunicle.				
	Cope.	Cope.			
	Thurible.	Thurible.	Thurible.		Thurible.
	Incense.	Incense.	Incense.		Incense.
	Paten and Chalice				
	—Surplices for the Boys—				
	Corporal.	Corporal.	Corporal.	Corporal.	Corporal.
	Bread, Wine, and Water.				
	Sudarium.				
	Two Wax Candles in Candlesticks to be carried to the Altar-Step.				Lights for the Gospel.
	Seats.				
	—Basin and Towel.—				
	Pulpit (or Ambo) for the Epistle.			Lectern.	
		Cross. ^b		Crucifix. ^c	Cross. ^d
	Pax.	Pax.			Pax.
	Vestments.	Vestments.		Vestments.	
					Palla.

* This table has been arranged from the Rev. W. Maskell's "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England according to the Uses of Sarum," &c. The Sarum List has been compared with the Paris Missal of 1513, and the Roman with a Mechlin edition of 1850. I have not had an opportunity of comparing the (alleged) Bangor, the York, and Hereford Uses with any Original Copy; but the agreement of Mr. Maskell's Rubrics with those of the two which have been examined is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the other three lists. I mention this, not from any doubt which could exist of the correctness of Mr. Maskell's reprint, but because he professes not to give the Rubrics in *full* in all cases, and therefore some Ornaments, &c. might be alluded to in an omitted Rubric: yet even if this were so in respect of the three Uses which have not been compared, it would not affect the general argument which has been here drawn from the silence of Rubrics.

^a *Sarum.* "Acolito in Albis cum Amictibus." *Bangor.* "Acolytus in Alba et "Mentello serico."

^b "Respiciens Crucem."

^c "Adorans Crucifixum."

^d "Caput Cruci inclinat." If the Roman *practice* is to be consulted (as surely it may be) for the explanation of terms in the Roman Missal, there can be no doubt that the *Cruz* here referred to, must be a *Crucifix*; the mere term proves nothing, though it is also used in the General Rubrics of the Roman Missal, under the section "*De preparatione altaris, et ornamentorum ejus*", where the direction is "Super altare collocetur Cruz in medio, et candelabra saltem duo cum candelis "accensis hinc et inde in utroque ejus latere": probably a *Cross*, without a raised image of Christ hanging upon it, would be looked for in vain upon *Roman* Altars. Indeed it is more than questionable whether the Ornament mentioned under dif-

Now if the *two* Sarum Lists be added together and examined, it will be seen that (though they furnish the fullest Catalogue) they make no mention of *Lights on the Altar*, or *Altar coverings*, or *Font*, or *Stole*, or *Fanon*, not to say various other things which were commonly used then in Divine Service; and, therefore, if the Sarum Missal had been retained intact, as the one Use for this kingdom, and all other Books abolished, it would have been just as easy to argue that these Ornaments, or other Things, were prohibited by the silence of its Rubrics, as it is to contend that the silence of any subsequent Book of Common Prayer must be taken for evidence against the lawfulness of particular Ornaments.

But there can be no doubt of the intention, when Edward's First Book was prepared, to reduce, and alter the Ceremonial of Divine Service; and most likely it was with this view that the numerous Rubrics, which are found in the Epistles and Gospels, were all omitted: suppose therefore that any one of the then existing Uses had been retained, and only those Rubrics left which occurred in the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass—a plan very similar to that which was actually chosen—then, it will be seen that such a Directory for Ornaments must have been singularly incomplete.

For of the first four lists the *Sarum* is the fullest, yet if those Rubrics of that Book were the guide to Ornaments, then they had neither *Cross* nor *Crucifix*, no *Lights on the Altar*, no *Altar cloths*, whether of linen or other material, no *Surplice*, or

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Incompleteness
of the full Sarum
Rubrics:

and of the ordi-
nary and Canon
Rubrics in all the
Uses.

ferent names in the old *English* uses of Sarum &c., and the *Crosses* spoken of in the Privy Council's Order (given at p. 33) and referred to elsewhere in other post-reformation documents, were not also strictly *Crucifixes*: there seems no sufficient evidence to show that simple *Crosses* (such as those complained of as being in the Churches of S S. Paul and Barnabas) without an *image* or at least an *engraving* of our Lord upon them (this latter being very doubtful), were ever placed on Altars or Rood Lofts in the Church of England; at all events not in the second year of Edward the Sixth or for centuries preceding it. To contend then against the *Crosses* in these and other Churches, as being either Popish or as having been removed with Images during the progress of the Reformation, is only to fight with an imagination. And it would be equally absurd to contend that no *new* Ornament may be used in the Church of England so long as the present Rubric on Ornaments remains Law; for if, as Dr. Lushington says (p. 23), "the direction would be nullified, unless it was construed to prevent the use of other Ornaments than those referred to," then it is *unlawful* to put up ALTAR-RAILS and THE TABLES OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, neither of which, beyond all question I think, "were in this Church of England" at all "in the Second year of King Edward the Sixth"; for the latter were not ordered until the reign of Elizabeth, the former were first put up by Archbishop Laud in the reign of Charles the First.

1548-9. *Albe* for the *Priest*: the same is true of the *Bangor* and the *Hereford* use, except that the former mentions a *Cross*, the latter an *Albe* and a *Crucifix*; while if the *York* use had been made the standard, there would have been absolutely NOTHING (the *Thurible* excepted) but the *Altar*, *Corporal*, *Chalice* and *Paten*, which are *precisely* the things mentioned in Edward's First Book, though that Book does go a step further and mentions some of the *Vestments*. How little the Modern Roman Use prescribes will be seen by examining the List, No. 5.

York Use less full than Edward's First Book.

It seems then impossible to contend with any show of reason, that the Ornaments and other Things for Divine Service are limited by Edward's Act of Uniformity to those mentioned in his First Prayer Book; the more so if it be recollected that, though the Missals and other Service Books were superseded by Edward's Book, both for Uniformity of Service, and that the Parishes might "not be at so great charge for Books," yet they and all the other Books remained as the guide to Ornaments, &c.

2. Second question suggested by the Act.

The second question which the Act suggests is this—

2. Did the Act itself or the Book which it authorized, *prohibit* any of the Ornaments or other things left in use at the end of the Second year of Edward?

The Act certainly did *not*.^a

The Prayer Book certainly *did*, for, first, with regard to that which is the chief cause of the contention, viz:—

The Communion Office.

What abolished in the New Book

The reservation of the Sacrament, except for the sick, would seem to have ceased:^b for, though no mention is made as to the disposal of such portions of the Sacrament, as remained after the Communion, yet, as in "*The Communion of the sick*" the

^a Its main object, as the preamble shews, was to allay the prejudices, contentions and jealousies which arose from the variety of Uses; to *remove Ornaments* was not its intention, for indeed, even as to Rites and Ceremonies, the Statute says that—"the King's Majesty, hath heretofore divers times assayed to "stay innovations or other new rites concerning the premises."

^b In confirmation of this view may be quoted the fact that among the questions debated by the Committee of Divines, who were employed to prepare the Order for Communion in both kinds, which was put forth 8th March 1547-8 one was—"When the reservation of the Sacrament, and the hanging up of the same first began?" Collier says, "To this question we have only the answers of *Canterbury* and *Lincoln*. The first believes that the reservation of the Sacrament began six or seven hundred years after Christ, and that the hanging it up hath still less antiquity. The latter cites *Polydore Virgil*, for a Decree of Pope *Innocent* the

Priest is ordered to “reserve (at the open Communion) so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood as shall serve the sick person and so many as shall communicate with him (if there be any,)” and is also directed to “celebrate the Holy Communion” in the sick person’s house, and, further, to carry it thence to any other sick person if there be no “open Communion” that day, the inference seems unavoidable—that the Sacrament was not to be reserved for other purposes: it would follow therefore that any such Ornaments as the *Monstrance* and the *Easter-sepulchre* with its *Light*, but not the *Pyx*, were thus practically *abolished*, for they were no longer required. The offering of *Holy Bread* was commuted, in places where it had not been the custom “to pay it”, into “some charitable provision for the charges of the Communion.” So again in,

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Baptism.

The Priest was ordered to make the sign of the Cross on the “forehead and breast”; it is *probable* therefore that the crossing of the *right hand* was meant to be omitted: and also it may be inferred as *likely*, (though perhaps more than this can scarcely be contended) that as *Exorcism*, *Chrism*, and *Anointing on the head*, were still *ordered*, it was intended to disuse the other Ceremonies, viz:—*Hallowed salt in the mouth*, *wetting with spittle the nose, thurles, and ears*, and *the lighted candle in the candidates hand*.

(probably) the
Cross on the right
hand in Baptism,
&c.

Confirmation.

The Bishop was to sign with the Cross the person’s forehead, and to lay his hand upon his head: but as it is not said whether the Cross was to be made with *oil* or not, nothing can be inferred as to the *Ampulla*.

The Ampulla
doubtful.

Visitation of the Sick.

The Priest was to anoint the person “upon the forehead and breast only, making the sign of the Cross”; the word *only*

Third, in which the reserving of the Sacrament was order’d, that it might be always ready for the benefit of Sick Persons. This Decree was confirm’d by *Honorius* the Third, who added a clause for keeping it *in loco singulari, mundo et signato*: he likewise commanded the Priest to instruct the people to make a low reverence at the *Elevation*, and when ’twas carried to the Sick. As for the hanging the Sacrament over the Altar, this Bishop of Lincoln affirms it a custom of a later time, and not yet universally received.” (*Bishop Burnet*, Pt. 2, *Records* p. 133, and deinc 4, *MSS. Dr. Stillingfleet*).—*Collier Eccl. His.* V. ii. p. 245.

1548-9. plainly prohibits anointing elsewhere, *e.g.*, eyes, mouth, &c.

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The above are all the changes of the nature of *direct* or *plainly implied* PROHIBITION; and it is clear that none of these bear upon the Ornaments now disputed.

There are some directions *prescribing* things to be used, viz:—

Things prescribed by the Book.

The woman to bring “her chrism” at Purification. In the Communion Office—the “*Albe or Surplice with a Cope*” for officiating “at the altar” in those parts which were to be used when there were none to communicate:—a *place* at which to read the “Epistle,” though none is assigned for the Gospel: and in the “certain notes” &c. at the end of the book (which however Cardwell says “are not printed in the Ed. of 1552”) “a “Surplice” is ordered to be used “In the saying or singing of “Matins and Evensong, baptizing and burying . . . in “Parish Churches and Chapels annexed to the same,” also “hoods” with the “surplices,” “in all Cathedral Churches “and Colleges”; “but in all other places, every Minister shall “be at liberty to use any surplice or no.”^a

And the following note, already mentioned, is to be observed—

Liberty as to Crossing, &c. accounts for some omitted Rubrics.

“As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, “knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be “used or left, as every man’s devotion serveth, without blame”; for, unless it should be contended that this refers to the *people only* and *not to the Priest* (a most unnatural construction) then it will amply explain the omission of the former Rubrics which distinctly ordered the times and places of such actions.

Mr. Goode’s mistaken argument from this.

Mr. Goode, in treating of “GESTURES AND POSTURES, “SUCH AS CROSSING, &c.,” says (p. 24) of this Rubric, “For the lawfulness of certain acts of this kind not sanctioned “by the *present* Book of Common Prayer, we are referred to “the following Rubric in the first Prayer Book of Edward “VI.”; and he adds, “That such a reference should be “made, is a matter for surprise and regret. We might “almost as well be referred to the old Breviaries and Missals “that were in use in Roman Catholic times.” But Mr. Goode does not state where or by whom such a reference is

^a But then it must be remembered that he wore a *Cassock* as his ordinary dress.

made, and if he uses the word *lawfulness* as implying a *direct legal sanction*, it may be doubted whether any one can be cited who, having even a very small knowledge of the subject, has maintained so untenable a proposition. That Book has indeed been often referred to as being a *safe guide* in points which, though not *ruled* by the present Prayer Book, are not *inconsistent* with it, and are thought therefore not to have been prohibited by it; and a similar reference has at times been made to the older Offices: to take an example—Objections have often been made to the practice introduced into some Churches, of saying, “*Thanks be to Thee, O God,*” or “*O Christ,*” after the Gospel: it has been condemned because the use of it is *not ordered* in the present Prayer Book. The defence was, and is—that being an ancient practice and not *prohibited* in that Book, it was *LAWFUL, i.e., not contrary to the law of the Church of England*; it was alleged, too, that the custom of saying, “*Glory be to Thee, O Lord,*” at the annunciation of the Gospel, could claim no other authority, yet that, inconsistently enough, this was not objected to: it might have been added, that the Doxology, “*Thanks be,*” &c., was not ordered in Edward’s first Book any more than was either Doxology in *all* the Missals, though the *Roman* directs it. Mr. Goode goes on to argue that “as in the subsequent Prayer Book this Rubric” of Edward’s First Book “touching kneeling,” &c., “was *omitted,*” so “consequently the sanction which it gave to such ceremonies “and gestures” was “deliberately taken away.” But the Rubric of the same Book which ordered that “*The Clerks and people shall answer, Glory be to Thee, O Lord,*” when the Gospel had been given out, was also *omitted* in the subsequent Books, therefore that custom was also (on his view) *deliberately taken away*; it has, however, continued to appear to this day as a very common use throughout England: the fact of its continuance furnishes some proof that in past times the principle enunciated by Mr. Goode was not accepted, *viz.*, that “ceremonies sanctioned by the first reformed Prayer Book, “and such sanction deliberately withdrawn in the subsequent “Books, must be held to be abolished,” and, therefore,

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True nature of
the reference to
old Office Books.

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persons may well be pardoned now, if they think Mr. Goode's argument by no means conclusive.

"Soon after the passing the Act of Uniformity^a, a new visitation was set on foot. The Articles given in charge were "to this effect:" Collier then proceeds to give the substance of them (E. H. p. 269): they are given in full by Cardwell (Doc. Ann. Vol. 1. p. 75) and are styled "Articles to be followed and observed according to the King's Majesty's injunctions and proceedings;" they are 13 in number and consist of what may be called *amendments* of the *Injunctions* issued in the *first* year of Edward, and direct *how far* those Injunctions are to be adhered to: the following are those which relate to the present enquiry—

The King issues "Articles" to amend his Injunctions.

They repealed those which sanctioned some Ornaments, &c., and forbad certain imitations of the Mass:

all Lights on the Altar at any time; therefore, even when dark:

Rosaries:

"1. That all parsons, vicars, and curates, omit in the reading of the injunctions, all such^b as make mention of the popish mass, of chantries, of candles upon the altar, or any other such like thing.

"2. Item, For an uniformity^c, that no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, as to kiss the Lord's table; washing his fingers at every time in the Communion; blessing his eyes with the paten, or sudary; or crossing his head with the paten; shifting of the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice of the communion; holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs, joined towards his temples; breathing upon the bread or chalice; shewing the Sacrament openly before the distribution of the Communion; ringing of sacrying bells; or setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time; and finally to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the King's book of common prayers, or kneeling, otherwise than is in the said book.

"3. Item, That none buy or sell the Holy Communion, as in trentals and such other.

"4. Item, That none be suffered to pray upon beads, and so the people to be diligently admonished, and such as will not be admonished, to be put from the Holy Communion.

^a Collier quotes "Haywood's [? Hayward's] life of King Edward Sixth" and "Stow, Annal": they do not appear, however, to furnish any sufficient authority for the date which Collier assigns to these Articles, nor have I been able to find any evidence elsewhere. It would be very useful to get their exact date. I venture to suggest whether they may not be later than Collier supposes.

^b This therefore would, perhaps, repeal such portions of the Injunctions, Nos. 3, 21, and 27 of the First year (see p. 27), as maintained the use of what is condemned in these amended Injunctions: they may also have been intended to apply to those issued by the late King (see p. 17).

^c The reason assigned in No. 2 for these changes should be noticed; it was "*for an uniformity*"—not because they were *Roman* practices.

"6. Item, To receive no corpse, but at the Church-yard, without bell or cross.

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"9. Item, That no man maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, beadrolls, images, relics, lights, holy bells, holy beads, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres, paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the font of the popish manner, oil, chrism, altars, beads, or any other such abuses, and superstitions, contrary to the King's Majesty's proceedings.

Bell and Cross at Funerals :
Advocacy of certain doctrines and Ornaments :

"10. Item, That within any Church or Chapel be not used any more than one Communion, upon any day, except Christmas day and Easter day.

more than one daily Communion :

"11. Item, That none keep the abrogate holy days other than those that have their proper and peculiar service.

abrogated holy days, &c.

"13. Item, That going to the sick with the Sacrament, the minister have not with him either light or bells."

Cardwell, in a note upon these Articles, remarks—

"It is clear that these Articles were drawn up after the Act of Uniformity had passed, (Jan. 21, 1549) But though issued after the publication of the Prayer-book, these Articles are of the same year, and afford evidence of the contemporary practice in matters of rites and ceremonies. They prove accordingly that candles upon the Lord's table, being especially mentioned (see Article 2) as not included among those ceremonies which were appointed in the Book of Common Prayer, are not among those ornaments 'which were in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI.'"—*Doc. Ann.* p. 75.

The Articles later than the Act of Uniformity.

And Mr. Goode (pp. 78 and 79) makes a similar statement: for treating of "Lights on the Communion Table," he says—

"with respect to this particular practice, we have express testimony, that it was one of those Ceremonies which, even under the First Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI., were 'abolished' and 'put away.' For in one of the Visitation Articles issued by Royal authority, just after this Prayer Book was put forthwe find the practice expressly forbidden, and forbidden as one of those not appointed in the Book of Common Prayer; the Article running thus: *Item*, 'for an Uniformity,' [&c.] Here then we have a clear proof, that it was held at the time that 'setting any light upon the Lord's Board *at any time*,' was a ceremony *not* appointed by this Book of Common Prayer, authorized by Parliament, 2 Edward VI., and was therefore by the terms of the Act *not to be used*." Again, he says "Not only, therefore, was there no 'authority of Parliament' for these lights in the Second year of Edward VI. (or indeed at any time) but the authority of Parliament in that year *excluded* them, by limiting the ceremonial of our Church to what was prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer then authorized."

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Erroneous inference of Dr. Cardwell and Mr. Goode from this date.

But how Dr. Cardwell and Mr. Goode could arrive at this conclusion it is hard to conceive, except from the fallacy of their facts and the strangeness of their reasoning: the Articles nowhere state, as Dr. Cardwell says, that these candles were "not included among those ceremonies which were appointed in the "Book of Common Prayer": they do shew, however, that the Candles were ordered to remain by Edward's Injunctions, and they prove that these Injunctions were not then thought to be repealed by the first Prayer Book. So far, then, from proving that the Two Altar Lights were "not among those "ornaments 'which were in this Church of England by " 'authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward Sixth'", they constitute very strong evidence of their having been so in use in the SECOND year, and of the design to abolish them in the THIRD year of that reign.

The Articles prove Altar Lights in the Second year.

Moreover the words of Mr. Goode are simply calculated to mislead: what necessity was there to issue the Articles at all if "it was held" that the Book of Common Prayer "abolished" whatever it had "*not* appointed"? Surely the very fact of their being put forth proves that the silence of the Rubrics of that Book was no more held to be *prohibitory* than the silence of the Missal already adverted to. The Articles prove too that the Injunctions of Edward's First year, and the other laws then unrepealed would have been at that time accounted as not contrary to the New Prayer Book; they shew, I think, either that former Ornaments and Ceremonies continued in use after the New Offices were authorized, and that it was requisite to abolish them *nominatim*; or that further changes in these respects were determined on after the Book was set forth. But, whichever was the case, the Ornaments and Ceremonies of the *Second* year are not in the least affected by these Articles, for they, equally with the Prayer Book and the Statute which referred to it, were acts of the *Third* year, though Mr. Goode assumes the two latter to be "the authority of Parliament" in King Edward's Second year.

Other proof which they furnish.

But to proceed with the history.

Cranmer's Visitation—he follows the Injunctions.

"Archbishop Cranmer had a *Visitation* about the same time, and proceeded all along upon the King's Injunctions."—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 269.

“ At *Easter* this year, they began to officiate by the *New Liturgy* in some places. This was a *free-will* offering, and discovered inclination to the *English Service*. For the *Act* did not inure till *Whitsuntide*; at which time, by the order of *Dean May*, 'twas solemnly made use of in *St. Paul's Cathedral*. This *Common Prayer Book* past the kingdom without much opposition. 'Twas drawn up with that judgment and temper, that 'twas hard to find a sensible objection against it. And thus being form'd upon common principles of Christianity, many of the Roman Catholics comply'd with it: for as to the main, it differed not much from the *Latin Service*. However, several Bishops and Priests continued bigotted to their old Form. 'Tis true they officiated publickly with the *English Book*, to fence against the penalty of the Law, but then they had *Masses* in private, where their practices were not easily discovered: But in *St. Paul's Cathedral* the usual *Masses* were kept on with more assurance. Thus our *Lady's Mass*, the *Apostles' Mass*, &c. were celebrated in *Latin* by the Bishop's connivance, and under the English disguise of the *Apostles' Communion*, and our *Lady's Communion*.”—*Ibid.* p. 270.

The Privy Council, therefore, on the 24th June, wrote to Bishop Bonner, complaining that in his

“ Cathedral Church there be as yet the *Apostles' mass*, and our *Lady's mass*, and other masses of such peculiar name, under the defence and nomination of our *Lady's communion*, and the *Apostles' communion*, used in private chapels, and other places of the same, and not in the chancel, contrary to the King's majesty's proceedings, the same being for the misuse displeasing to God, for the place, *Paul's*, in example not tolerable, for the fondness of the name a scorn to the reverence of the *Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood*”; and thereupon ordered “ that from henceforth no such masses in this manner be in your Church any longer used, but that the holy blessed communion, according to the Act of Parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the Church, and in no other places of the same, and only at such time as your high masses were wont to be used; except some number of people desire (for their necessary business) to have a communion in the morning, and yet the same to be executed in the chancel at the high altar, as it is appointed in the Book of the public Service, without cautele or digression from the common order.”—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. i. p. 77. See also *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 270.

“ Bonner put this letter of the Privy Council into the hands of the Dean and Chapter, and referred the execution of it to them. He had no inclination for these compliances, and therefore moved no further than was necessary to preserve himself. Besides, 'tis likely he might have some prospect of relief from the present juncture: for now the commons began to grow mutinous, and fly in the face of the government.”—*Collier, Eccl. His.* p. 269.

The outbreak of which Collier speaks was occasioned, as he states, by the rapacity of the nobility and gentry, who

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Edward VI.—
The new Prayer
Book begun at
Easter by some.

The Privy Council complains that some of the private Masses were continued:

and orders only the High Altar to be used for Celebrations, even for an Early Communion.

Bonner's conduct thereupon.

A rebellion in Devonshire on

1549.

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“being willing to make the most of their abbey-lands” which they had become possessed of, “had inclosed a great deal of waste ground”, which “though a real improvement of the country, yet being an improvement only to the proprietors was loudly complained of: for thus the poor lost the benefit of pasturage, and other conveniences.”

They seem to have made this the occasion, in Devonshire, of urging complaints against the Reformed Offices, the more so as they were countenanced by some “gentlemen” in those parts. The demands of these persons, known as “The Devonshire rebels”, were comprised in *Eight Articles* which they insisted on being complied with: to those relating to the Holy Eucharist, in which they complained that:—

“As the office is now managed, the mysteries are treated without due regard, there is no distinction made between the Lord’s Body and other meat; some affirming it is bread after consecration, and that it is beneficial to none but those who receive;”

The King replied that:—

“The Court and Kingdom is misrepresented in their complaint; that by the laws of Church and State, that Sacrament is religiously guarded from contempt, and widely distinguished from common bread. As to their exceptions against the new Common Prayer-Book, it was drawn up by Bishops, and other learned men, and that properly speaking it is no new Service, for, abating a few particulars, which would not stand the test, the substance continues the same: and since the alteration consists mostly in language, what ground can there be for any reasonable objection? If the Divine Service was unexceptionable in Latin, what should hinder it from being so in English? Is ignorance a circumstance of advantage? Or, are the prayers the worse because the people understand them?”

“As to the Mass, the King assures them ‘the learned clergy have taken a great deal of pains to settle that point, to strike off innovations, and bring it back to our Saviour’s Institution.’”—*Ibid.* pp. 270—1.

The remark is irresistible here—that if words had been *invented* flatly to contradict the assertion of the Judge of the Consistory Court (p. 53) “The Mass is gone,—root and branch, “—extirpated by the authority of Parliament, especially in “the establishment of the Book of Common Prayer,” it would have been difficult to select more suitable terms—terms too which, in that they say that “the alteration consists mostly in “language” (*i.e.*, as the context shews, in the Office being *translated into the vulgar tongue*) dispose at once of his questions and his answers, when dealing, in the same passage, with the subject of Altar Lights,

the plea of religious observances.

The King’s reply to the rebels

condemns Dr. Lushington’s view of the Mass.

“What becomes then of an ordinance which relates to the Mass?—The accessory is extinguished with the principal, and all that was prescribed to be done at the celebration of Mass is wholly extinguished. Were this otherwise, what would be the result?—Protestant worship would be mixed up with Popish rites”.

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It seems that these Articles of the Rebels were afterwards increased to fifteen, and Cranmer was ordered by the Council to answer them; in doing so he appears to have agreed entirely with the answer from the King, just quoted; it may be worth while however to give one of his statements, as shewing that a main object then was to restore *Communion* and to get rid of *Private Masses*: the Archbishop replied that:—

Cranmer's answer to the rebels shews the object of the changes in the Mass.

“The ancient canons required the people to communicate, and that the prayers in the Missal supposed the Holy Eucharist received by some^a of the Congregation; that the reserving the Host in a pyx was but a modern usage; that the laity in the ancient Church frequently received the Holy Eucharist in both kinds.”—*Ibid.* p. 271.

On July 23, the King and Council sent another letter to Bishop Bonner,

The Council writes again to Bishop Bonner.

“partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting out of the Service Book within his diocese.”—*Card. Doc. Ann.* p. 78, and *Collier Eccl. His.* p. 276.

“Bonner, finding the King's command precise and peremptory, and perceiving himself taxed with remissness, made no scruple to execute the order. (Bonner Regist. fol. 219). In short, we do not find any complaints of non-compliance with the service established, excepting in the lady Mary's family. This princess still continued the use of the Mass, and to justify her conduct, sent her reasons to the privy-council”.—*Collier.* p. 276.

In the latter part of this year, October 22d. 1549, Calvin wrote to the Protector “upon the subject of religion”; in his letter, says Collier (p. 284), he

Calvin writes to the Protector.

“touches upon the throwing out abuses, declares against all accommodating schemes, and methods of moderation. He allows of no latitude for discretion, nor gives any deference to antiquity; and seems to confine the rule of worship to express declarations in Scripture. From these narrow principles he falls upon the censure of the English Common Prayer Book”.

It is true that, owing to the authority of the Lord Protector having declined much at this time (a fact of which Calvin

^a Cranmer, therefore, did not think, as some do now, that *none but Communicants* might remain during the Celebration.

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appears to have been ignorant when he wrote this letter) the words of the Foreign Reformer probably produced but little effect through him; yet they are worth noting both as shewing the influence which was then brought to bear upon the Authorities in England, and the similarity of their language who now condemn the usages which are dealt with in the Judgment of the Consistory Court of London

Yet, to whatever cause it is to be attributed, further steps were taken at this time as to Things used in the Service of the Church: for, to use again the words of Collier:—

“On the fourth of *November* the *Parliament* sate, after a prorogation. I shall mention those statutes which concern the Church.”—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 286.

Collier then refers to 3 and 4 Edward VI. c. 10—“An Act *for the abolishing* and putting away divers Books and “Images”; it was passed in the Session which began Nov. 4th 1549, in the 3rd year and was continued until Feb. 1st 1549-50, being the 4th year of that King’s reign: the Statute required—

3 and 4 Edw. VI.
c. 10, abolishes
all the old service
books,

“that all books called Antiphoners, Missals, Grailes, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portuasses, Primers in Latin or English, Couchers, Journals, Ordinals, or other books or writings whatsoever, heretofore used for service of the Church, written or printed in the English or Latin tongue, other than such as are or shall be set forth by the King’s majesty, shall be by authority of this present Act clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden for ever to be used or kept in this realm, or elsewhere, within any the King’s dominions.”

And images.

§ ii. enacts that no one “shall have in . . . custody, the Books or writings of the sorts aforesaid, or any images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or painted, which heretofore have been taken out of any Church or Chapel, or yet stand in any Church or chapel,” and requires them either to *deface* or *destroy* them or to *deliver them up* to the civil authorities or the churchwardens, “before the last day of June next ensuing,” to be by them given up to the “Archbishop, Bishop,” &c., in order “either to be openly burnt or otherwise defaced and destroyed.”

Excepts Henry
the Eighth’s Pr-
l-mers, if the in-
vocations of
saints are
omitted.

§ v. excepts “any Primers in the English or Latin tongue, set forth by King Henry the Eighth, so that the sentences of invocation or prayer to saints in the same Primers be blotted or clearly put out of the same.”

And the last section runs thus—

The monuments
preserved illus-
trate what is
meant by images.

“vi. Provided always, that this Act, or anything therein contained, shall not extend to any image or picture set or graven upon any tomb in any Church, chapel, or churchyard, only for a monu-

ment of any king, prince, nobleman, or other dead person, which hath not been commonly reputed and taken for a saint, but that such pictures and images may *stand and continue* in like manner and form as if this Act had never been had nor made; anything in this Act to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.”—*Stephens's, Eccl. Stat.* v. 1. p. 329.

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Edward VI.

This Statute is a very important one; Dr. Lushington, dealing with it, says (p. 30):—

“The meaning of this Statute has been very learnedly discussed at the bar. The question lies in a narrow compass. What is the meaning of the word ‘images’ used in it? That word has many meanings. Dr. Johnson’s first definition is, ‘Any corporeal representation; generally a statue—a picture;’ and in such sense I think it is most probable the words were used in the Statute. I must say, that, looking at the words of the Statute alone, the leaning of my opinion is, that a cross is not an image, which I incline to think is a representation of something that has lived, is living, or might be supposed to live. It is true that a cross may have been worshipped as well as a statue or a painting, and may be *in pari materiâ*; but I am not therefore prepared to say that the cross is included under the word image, and there is no other word in the Statute which, it has been contended, can apply. Did the legality of crosses depend wholly on the interpretation to be given to the bare words of this Statute, I should hesitate in saying that they were prohibited.

Dr. Lushington’s
view of the
Statute.

“Was anything as to this matter done in King Edward’s time, before or after the passing this Statute? I can find nothing.”

And Mr. Goode, in “Section viii.” (p. 49) where he treats of “IMAGES—THAT IS, STATUES OR PICTURES OF SAINTS, “CRUCIFIXES, AND CROSSES—IN CHURCHES,” speaking of this Statute, writes thus:—

Mr. Goode’s
interpretation
of it.

“This Act clearly (from the language used) supposes that Images had been already pretty nearly removed from the Churches; as no doubt they had been, in consequence of the Injunctions, and the King’s Letter for removing them.”

In a note, Mr. Goode says:—

“It will be observed, that no argument can be brought against this testimony from the Rubric on Ornaments in our present Prayer Book, because we have already proved, that that Rubric only refers to the Ornaments mentioned in the First Prayer Book of Edw. VI.”

Again (at p. 50) he remarks:—

“And it must be observed, that the Act extends to *pictures* as well as *statues*, under the name of images. But the Proviso in the last clause certainly indicates, that the prohibition, so far as concerns the images of persons, was more especially directed against the images of those who have been reputed and worshipped as *Saints*.

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Edward VI.

Of course, the *Crucifix* was included in the prohibition; and also the *Cross*, as having been the object of worship and adoration."

Their variance as to the meaning of "Images."

Now it should be noticed here, that Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode wholly disagree in their construction of the word *Images* as used in this Act; though, as will be seen hereafter, they are at one in pronouncing *Crosses*, as well as *Images*, not to be legal Ornaments of the Church: the learned Judge does not consider a *Cross* to be an Image within the meaning of the Statute, because it only represents an *inanimate* object; Mr. Goode contends that it is such an Image as the Act condemned, because it had "been the object of worship and adoration." I venture to think that Dr. Lushington's reasoning on this point is by far the sounder, and is borne out by that very clause of the Act which Mr. Goode probably felt to be a difficulty when he tried to make the Statute sufficiently elastic to contain *Crosses and Crucifixes*, which, he says, "of course," were "included in the prohibition:" the words of the Statute do not, I think, even *suggest* such a conclusion. The 6th section points out very distinctly what the Act meant by "images;" they were representations of a "dead person" which had "been commonly reputed and taken for a saint;" a mere *Cross* then is out of the question: nor will the terms of the Act be satisfied unless Mr. Goode can shew that the Image of CHRIST, which being affixed to a *Cross* makes it a *Crucifix*, is the Image of a *dead person commonly reputed and taken for a SAINT*: I will not do him the injustice of supposing, that his words could be meant to convey an heretical proposition, but I must think them remarkably infelicitous.

The Judge's reasoning sounder.

The Words of the Statute cannot apply even to a *Crucifix*.

Whether or not Mr. Goode is warranted in asserting himself to have "*proved*" that "the Rubric on Ornaments. . . . "only refers to the Ornaments mentioned in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI." can be determined perhaps by what has been already said on the subject in these pages: I cannot but think that not only is his statement *incapable of proof*, (unless indeed some new evidence can be obtained), but that on the contrary, every Document which has been produced completely *disproves* his deduction.

And if this be so, then *some* "argument can be brought against" the testimony which he thinks the Act furnishes

“that images had,” when it passed, “been already pretty nearly removed from the Churches,” and so, as his reasoning implies, are illegal now.

For if, as I have endeavoured (with some success I hope) to shew that the Rubric on Ornaments *cannot* be referred to Edward’s First Prayer Book, and if Images were in the Churches by “the authority of Parliament,” during any part of Edward’s Second year, as in fact they were, (see p. 35), then, whatever may have been the real object of this Statute of the *third* year, and to however great an extent Images had disappeared when it was enacted, it is wholly inapplicable to the determination of what (being legal in the *second* year) is at this time lawful.

Moreover the case is all the stronger as regards *Crucifixes and Crosses*: the several Documents which have been quoted furnish no evidence whatever, as it seems to me, that they were abolished at the close of King Edward’s *second* year (see p. 37); the fact that the old Service continued *everywhere* in use until the New Prayer Book was published early in the *third* year, and did not cease throughout the kingdom for *full four months* of that year (see pp. 9—11), necessarily involved their use, else the Rubrics of the Missals could not have been complied with; Mr. Goode (apart from his theory of the Rubric on Ornaments) does not, as I understand him, contend that they had been got rid of prior to the Statute now under consideration; while the Judge himself cannot find that anything at all was done as to *Crosses* (whether he included *Crucifixes* is not clear) during the whole of Edward’s reign, for he doubts if “they were prohibited” by this Act of Parliament. A stronger concurrent testimony in their favour could hardly be desired.

But something more may be said to illustrate the intention of this Statute: Cardwell thinks it was passed for the purpose of confirming and extending an order issued on the 25th December, 1549, by the King and Council to the Archbishop, which directed

1549.
Edward VI.

Nor does the Statute conclude anything against Images or Ornaments of the *Second* year.

United testimony for *Crosses*.

Illustrations of the Statute from an Order in Council.

“all antiphoners, missales, grayles, processionales, manuelles, legendes, pies, portasies, and ordinalles after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, Yorke, or any other private use, and all other bokes of Service, the keeping whereof shold be a let to the usage of the said boke of Common Prayer,” to be collected, and care to be taken to

1549.
Edward VI.

“ them so deface and abolyshe that they never after may serve eyther to anie soche use, as they were provided for, or be at any time a lett to that godly and uniforme ordre, which by a common consente is now set forth.”—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol i. p. 86.

Reason for the
Order.

Now what reason does this Order in Council assign for calling in these various Books? precisely this, that:—

“ Whereas the boke entitled ‘ the Boke of Commene Prayers and Administration of the Sacramentes and other rightes and ceremonies of the Church after the use of the Church of Englande,’ was agreed upon and set forth by Acte of Parliamente, and by the same Acte commanded to be used of all personnes wythyn this our realme; yet nevertheless we are informed, that dyvers unquyette and evill disposed persons sithence the apprehension of the Duke of Somersett, have noysed and bruted abrode, that they sholde have agayne their olde Lattenne Service, their conjured bredde and water, with such lyke vayne and superstitiouse ceremonies, as though the settinge forthe of the saide boke had bene th’ onlie acte of the saide Duke; we therefore to put away all such vayne expectation of havynge the publicke service, th’ administration of the Sacramentes, and other rightes and ceremonies agayne in the Lattenne tongue, do commaunde” the several ecclesiastical authorities to deliver up the books described.—*Ibid*, p. 86.

True object of the
Act as shewn by
the Order,

Plainly, then, the object was to prevent the restoration of the Latin Service, and some Ceremonies which were deemed superstitious: these it was feared might be revived if the numerous Office Books, which were to be found all over the kingdom, were not destroyed: but the Order does not say one word about Images: it is true that the *Act* does name them, though whether the Bill had passed the two Houses before the Order was issued, or was introduced to strengthen the Order, there seems no means of deciding, as the day on which the Bill was brought in does not appear to be mentioned. The *probability* certainly is in favour of the Order in Council being the earlier Document, else it would most likely have corresponded strictly with the terms of the Statute: if therefore the Statute was passed to fortify the Privy Council’s Order we may fairly conclude that the clause about Images was an afterthought, and, as the words imply, was inserted mainly to prevent people concealing Church Images; for, apart from the unseemliness of their being in private hands, it is easy to see that the possession of them might have led to

various inconveniences; and no doubt it was simply a prudential measure to hinder if possible the restoration of those identical Images which had been removed on account of the strife respecting them: though, that it was intended to be a standing prohibition of all Images in future, seems to me to admit of question: it is worthy of notice, however, that whereas this Order from the Council bears date "the 25th of December, the 3d yeare of our reign," *i. e.*, 1549, it was not sent out by the Archbishop until the 14th February following, being thirteen days after the close of the Parliamentary Session: whether he or the Council detained it thus long, or for what purpose it was kept back, there seems no evidence to shew; it may have been thought best not to issue it until it could claim the direct sanction of the 3rd and 4th Edward, which by this time had received the Royal Assent. Yet it is remarkable that advantage was not taken of the delay to amend the Order (if it was of prior date) in conformity with the Statute, by inserting directions about Images: the not doing so suggests the notion, that, the possession of the Images was deemed less objectionable than the possession of the Books; and this is favoured by the fact that *the Act* imposes no *penalty* upon those who disobey it in regard to the *Images*, which they were ordered to "deface and destroy;" though it declares that if they do not "deliver" up "the same Books," to be "openly burnt or otherwise defaced and destroyed," they—

1549.
Edward VI.

which was issued
later than the
Act;

and by the nature
of the Penalties.

"shall for every such book or books willingly retained in his, her, or their hands or custody within this realme, or elsewhere within any the King's dominions, and not delivered as is aforesaid, after the said last day of June, and be thereof lawfully convict, forfeit and lose to the King our Sovereyn Lord for the first offence xx s., and for the second offence shall forfeit and lose (being thereof lawfully convict) iv. li., and for the third offence shall suffer imprisonment at the King's will."

One other remark it is important to make upon this Statute: *viz.*, that the very exact description of the *material* of the condemned Images plainly excludes Altar Crosses (whether Crucifixes or not) from the provisions of the Act: no mention is made of Gold, Silver, Tin, or Copper—the metals of which

No description of
the *material* or of
the Crosses in
this Act:

1549.

Edward VI.

they seem to have been generally, if not always, constructed: and nothing can be more improbable than that, in a Statute which so explicitly describes the things which it designed to do away with, not the slightest allusion should be made to Crosses or Crucifixes, of any material whatever. Possibly, indeed, (which seems the utmost that can be said) the *Roods* were meant to be comprised; and it may have been designed to turn the more valuable Ornaments to some profitable account, but as yet there is no evidence of this. On the contrary, there was at that very time, on the Statute Book,^a the 2nd and 3rd Edward VI. c. 36, "An Acte for a Relieff "graunted to the Kynge's Majestie by the Temporalitie," which Act expressly exempted them even from taxation for the Subsidy then granted to the Crown: these are its words—"Excepte and alwayes forprysed from the charge and assessment of this Relief, all Goodes, Cattalls, Jewells, and Ornaments of Churches and Chappels, ordenyed and used in Churches or Chappels, for Dyvyne Service therein to be "celebrated."—*Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. iv. Pt. 1, p. 78, fol.

this and the Subsidy Act, 2 and 3 Edward VI. an argument for them.

Further corroboration from the New Ordinal which

And this view, as to the retention of Ornaments, notwithstanding this Statute against Books and Images, is corroborated by the changes which were made shortly afterwards in the Ordination Book, and by the subsequent practice; for this same year the 3 and 4 Edwd. VI. c. 12, was passed, appointing twelve persons to frame a NEW ORDINAL: Collier states that—

omitted certain ceremonies in the consecration of Bishops and ordaining of priests,

"The *Committee* appointed for compiling the Ordination Book, struck off the additions of later ages, and governed themselves by the forms of the ancient Church. Thus in the consecration of Bishops, the gloves and sandals, the mitre, ring, and crosier were omitted: neither in the ordaining of priests was there any anointing, or delivering the consecrated plate.^b (Mason, de Minist. Anglic. p. 214 and 215.)"—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 288.

^a This Statute should have been noticed earlier, but, being an expired Act, it is not printed except among the Statutes of the Realm, where it was pointed out to me after the previous sheets were worked off.

^b Collier seems to have partially fallen into error in this statement, though his mistake does not affect the argument for which the passage is quoted: he repeats the same view at p. 290, where, after quoting from Bp. Burnet, Pt. II. p. 144, he says—"But here, as it happens, this learned historian has been led into a mistake. For the two first editions of the Ordinal made in King Edward's reign, printed with privilege by Grafton and Whitchurch, have none of the different rites mentioned by this gentleman. Neither are they to be found in any

The following passage, however, shews that though the adornment with the above things was no longer a part of the ceremony in Consecration, they were still retained as Episcopal Ornaments; for Strype relates that, on

“ June 29, 1550, John Ponet, or Poynet, D.D., chaplain to the Archbishop, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, at Lambeth Chapel, by the Archbishop of Canterbury; assisted by Nicholas [Ridley] Bishop of London, and Arthur [Bulkeley] Bishop of Bangor. This consecration was performed with all the usual ceremonies and habits, probably for this reason, to give as little occasion of offence to Papists as might be, and to keep close to the old usages, avoiding superstition; therefore, it was set down in the Register at large in what formalities all was now done. The Archbishop is described [Cranm. Regist. fol. 330, b. 331.] ‘ Usitatis insigniis redemitus, et uno epitogio, sive capa, indutus, oratorium suum praedictum honeste et decenter ornatum ingressus,’ &c.—Having on his mitre and cope, usual in such cases, went into his chapel, handsomely and decently adorned, to celebrate the Lord’s Supper according to the custom, and by prescript of the book, intituled

1550.

Edward VI.

But did not therefore abolish the ornaments used in those ceremonies.

For the Archbishop and others wore some of them at Poynet’s consecration.

edition since: there is nothing of a chalice and bread delivered to the Priest, nor any Rubric for putting a staff in the Bishop’s hand, with the sentence of ‘ being a shepherd to the flock of Christ.’ ” But (whether Collier relied upon *Mason*, whom he several times quotes, or had no access to editions which Burnet saw) his remark, as I understand it, cannot be sustained; for in the Copy published by the Parker Society (Two Liturgies of Edward VI., 1844) and in Keeling’s *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*, these Rubrics are to be found: the Parker Society’s reprint is from a copy “ in the Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth, M.S., No. 885,” and bear the inscription—“ RICHARDUS GRAFTON, typographus Regius excudebat, Mense Martii, A. M. D. XLIX. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.” The following are the Rubrics in question: in “ The Ordering of Priests ” it is said, “ *The Bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in the one hand, and the chalice or cup, with the bread, in the other hand, and say, Take thou authority,* ” &c.; and in “ The Ordering of Bishops,” this occurs, “ *Then shall the Archbishop put into his hand the pastoral staff, saying: Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd not a wolf,* ” &c. In the Ordinal appended to Edward’s Second Book (1552) all mention of the chalice, bread, and pastoral staff is omitted, and it may have been that Collier’s mistake arose from a supposition on his part that the Ordinal he is referring to, as framed under the authority of 3 and 4 Edward VI. is this later one: the error would easily arise from the date of the first Ordinal being *March*, 1549, and therefore *apparently* prior to the 3 and 4 Edward VI., 1549-50; but if, as is most likely, the Book was printed before the 25th of March, 1550, N.S., then the date, 1549, is accurate, although it is the year after that in which the First Prayer Book was printed; for, so far as I am aware, there is nothing to shew that the Ordinal was contemporaneous with the First Prayer Book—indeed it is unlikely that it should have been, considering that it was a wholly distinct Office from the Public Liturgy; and still more improbable, having regard to the date of the Statute which prescribed it, and the unlikelihood of two Ordinals, with so trifling a variation, being prepared in the same year.

* * I was not aware until after this Note was printed that Bp. Burnet had himself corrected this mistake of Collier’s in the Preface to a later Volume of his history.

1550.
Edward VI.

The Book of Common Service. Before the people there assembled, the holy suffrages first began, and were publicly recited, and the Epistle and Gospel read in the vulgar tongue, Nicholas, Bishop of London, and Arthur, Bishop of Bangor, assisting; and having their surplices and copes on, and their pastoral staves in their hands, led Dr. John Ponet, endued with the like habits, in the middle of them, unto the most reverend father, and presented him unto him, sitting in a decent chair, and used these words: 'Most reverend father in God, we present unto you this godly and well-learned man to be consecrated Bishop.' The Bishop elect forthwith produced the King's letters patent before the Archbishop, which by command of the said Archbishop, being read by Dr. Glyn, the said Ponet took the oath of renouncing the Bishop of Rome, and then the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop. These things being thus despatched, the Archbishop exhorted the people to prayer and supplication to the Most High, according to the order prescribed in the Book of Ordination set forth in the month of March, 1549.^a According to which order he was elected and consecrated, and endued with the Episcopal Ornaments, the Bishop of London first having read the third chapter of the First Epistle of Paul to Timothy, in manner of a sermon. These things being done, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated upon a table, covered with a white linen cloth, by the Archbishop and the two assisting Bishops, the same Archbishop decreed to write to the Archdeacon of Canterbury for the investiture, iustallation, and enthronization of the said Bishop of Rochester, as it was customary. Present, Anthony Huse, Principal Register of the Archbishop; Peter Lilly, John Lewis, John Incent, public Notaries; and many others, as well Clerks as Laics."
—*Strype's Cranmer*, bk. 2, c. 24.

The altar on this occasion had a white linen cloth.

We get an incidental confirmation of the view already taken—that the actual changes hitherto made were mainly designed to get rid of private Masses, and to abolish Images of *Saints*—from the history given by Strype of what happened this same year, with reference to the Bishop of Winchester; for on July 13th, among the twenty-two^b Articles (the second set) ordered by the Council to be drawn up, for Bishop Gardner to subscribe, we read—

The twenty-two Articles against Bishop Gardner approve the removal of images, &c.

"That private masses were justly taken away by the statutes of the realm, and the communion placed instead thereof, is very godly. That it is convenient that the Sacrament should be received in both kinds. That the Mass where the Priest doth only receive, and others look on, is but the invention of man. That it was upon good and

^a *i. e.*, I think, 1549-50. See Note a. P. 60.

^b "Twenty,"—*Ecclesiastical History Society's Ed.*, 1848.

godly consideration ordered in the book, that the Sacrament should not be lifted up, and showed to the people to be adored. That it is politickly and godly done, that images in Churches, and mass books were enacted to be abolished."—*Strype's Cranmer*, bk. 2, c. 19.

1550.

Edward VI.

This brings down the narrative to a Document which is much relied upon by the opponents of any piece of furniture for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, in the Church of England, which at all resembles an Altar, they refer us to the

"*Injunctions given in the visitation of the Reverend Father in God Nicolas Bishop of London, for an uniformity in his diocese of London, in the fourth year of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, King of England, &c.*"—London, Anno Dom. 1550.

Ridley's Injunctions.

No. 1 directs "That there be no reading of such injunctions as extol-
leth and setteth forth the popish mass, candles, images, chantries; neither that there be used any superaltaries, or trentals of communion."

1. Removes images, superaltaries, and trentals of communion.

No. 2 orders "That no Minister do counterfeit the popish mass in kissing the Lord's board, washing his hands or fingers after the Gospel or the receipt of the holy communion;" whereas in the King's order (p.50) it is "at every time in the communion." It also forbids "saying the Agnus before the communion," and requires "that the minister . . . do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the Popish mass."

2. Omits washing hands after the Gospel and receiving the holy communion. Forbids "saying the Agnus before the Communion."

No. 5. "Whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some as an altar, whereby dissention is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese; and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the Popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curates, churchwardens and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table decently covered in such place of the quire or chancel as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers with the communicants may have their place separated from the rest^a of the people: and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* p. 93.

Any other ceremonies and gestures than those in the Prayer Book.

5. "Exhorts" the curates, &c., to set up tables instead of altars.

To be decently covered, And so placed that "the ministers and communicants may have their place separated from the rest of the people."

These Injunctions are referred to both by Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode; the latter draws from them an argument (pp. 5 and 78) which it is needless to reconsider here, since it has been, in effect, already replied to in the remarks made at pp. 41 and 51, upon his quotations from earlier documents.

^a A further witness to the presence of non-communicants.

1550.

Edward VI.
Dr. Lushington's
and Sir H. J.
Fust's argument
from these
Injunctions,

Dr. Lushington, adverting to the decision of the Dean of the Arches, 31st Jan., 1845, in the celebrated "Stone Altar case," says of that "learned Judge," that—

"After referring to the Second Book of Common Prayer, and the directions therein that the Table should be covered with a fair white linen cloth, and should be moveable; and in further explanation of the meaning of the word 'table,' having referred to the bread which was to be taken at the Sacrament, to the Injunctions of 1547, to Bishop Ridley's Injunctions in 1550, and to the Order in Council mentioned in Burnett's History of the Reformation, he uses these words, 'the table was not to be of stone, and fixed, but of wood, and moveable.' (1 Robertson's Ecclesiastical Reports, p. 224)."—*Judgment*, p. 20.

disproved by
earlier constitu-
tions.

But most unfortunately for the argument of Sir H. J. Fust, which Dr. Lushington follows and apparently endorses, this "white linen cloth" was no new thing at the date of King Edward's Second Book, though, had it been, it does not follow that it would much tend to prove the character of a piece of Church furniture ordered two years earlier. Whether, from the earliest times of Christianity, it was always used at the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries, is an enquiry not important here: that it was not peculiar to the Reformation Era, two authorities will suffice to prove: the first is from ARCHBISHOP LANGTON'S CONSTITUTIONS, A.D. 1222, the 11th of which says—"We ordain that every Church have a clean white large linen cloth for the Altar;" the second occurs in the CONSTITUTIONS OF ARCHBISHOP REYNOLD'S, A.D. 1322, where the 4th directs—"Let Archdeacons provide that the linen cloths, and other ornaments of the altar, be decent;" and the 5th, "Let the linen cloths, corporals, palls, and other altar cloths, be whole and clean, and often washed by persons assigned by the Canon for this purpose, out of regard to the presence of our Saviour, and of the whole court of Heaven, which is undoubtedly present at the Sacrament of the Altar, while it is consecrating, and after it is consecrated." (*Johnson's English Canons*, Vol. II. pp. 107, 337 and 338. Oxford Edition, 1851.) If then the order for this Linen Cloth in Edward's Second Book affords any "explanation of the meaning of the word 'table,'" as Dr.

Lushington seems to think, it equally proves that all the Altars which stood in the Churches prior to these Injunctions were likewise *Tables*; as in fact the note appended to the Order in Council, p. 65, shows that, in Ecclesiastical language, they were held to be.

If it be asked—why then should so well known a piece of Altar furniture be explicitly named in the Rubrics of Edward's Second Book? It seems to me that an obvious answer is—this was felt to be a sort of *essential* appendage to the Holy Table when the Eucharistic Office was used, and therefore, probably to prevent any mistake at the time (1552) when Ornaments were reduced to an extremely bare condition, it was deemed necessary to specify distinctly this Ornament of the Altar.

With regard to that other test as to the meaning of the word "table" which Dr. Lushington refers to, it really does seem unworthy of so grave a subject: but indeed if any such importance is to be attached to the words of the Rubric in Edward's Second Book, then it is essential that their exact meaning be closely adhered to; for what are they?

"And to take away the superstition, which any person hath, or might have in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such, as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread, that conveniently may be gotten."

"It shall *suffice*," says the Rubric: it was then simply a *concession* (fully warranted indeed by the New Testament^a) to such as scrupled the use of Wafer Bread: it did not *forbid* the "unleavened, and round" Bread "without any manner of "print," which the Rubric of the First Book ordered; and that such was in all likelihood the intention, will, I think, be evident from the words of Archbishop Parker when we come to Elizabeth's reign: indeed, as will be seen, he went much farther than what is here contended for.

However, that "honest" Tables were ordered by the Bishop of London [Ridley] to be substituted for the Altars then used, is perfectly plain: but that the Altars themselves were believed to be *inconsistent* with what Ridley and his contemporaries accounted the true doctrine of the Eucharist, is not, I

1550.

Edward VI.

Altar and Table
are synonymous.Rubric of
Edward's 2nd P.
Book on the
Bread to be used,
proves nothing as
to them.Intention of the
Rubric.^a See 1 Cor. x. 17.

1550.
Edward VI.

think, borne out by his Injunctions or by his other statements; for in the "Reasons why the Lord's Board should rather be "after the form of a table, than of an altar," which, according to Fox, Bishop Ridley sent out into the Diocese of London, previously to his Visitation and issuing the Injunctions of 1550, we read:

Ridley's reason
for introducing
Tables,

"*Third reason.* The Popish opinion of Mass was, that it might not be celebrated but upon an Altar, or at the least upon a super-altar, to supply the fault of the altar, which must have had its prints and characters; or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious opinion is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an altar, than of a table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this superstitious opinion, to have the Lord's Board after the form of a table, than of an altar."—*Works of Ridley*, p. 323. *Ed. Parker Society*, 1841.

not applicable
now.

If then "this superstitious opinion" no longer exists generally among the members of the Church of England, (and who that knows much of the condition of our Communion Tables, in most parishes, will say that it does) there can be no need to *exclude* now a piece of Furniture, or a Church Ornament, (whichever may be its strict description) which, it is plain, even Bishop Ridley did not deem wrong in itself.

It appears, however, that the Bishop could not enforce his *exhortation* about Altars, probably because he had no *law* for it; so to help him, as it would seem, on the

Order of Council
to assist Ridley.

24th November, the Council issued an "*Order to Bishop Ridley*," with a view to put an end to "contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that with all diligence all the altars in every Church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said diocese be taken down, and instead of them a table^a to be set up

^a Collier says upon this, "But the main business of this visitation was the "taking down altars, and putting tables in their room. The leading motive to "this alteration, as the learned Heylin conceives, was the giving in, in some "measure, to the sentiments of Calvin, and those of the Zuinglian persuasion. "Some of these foreigners, it seems, made it their business to bring the English "Church to the model of Geneva and Switzerland.

"For this purpose, Hooper, who had no great regard for antiquity, took occasion, in his Court Sermon this year, to suggest, 'that the government would do "well to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of Christ: "that by this expedient, the people would be cured of a false persuasion of the

in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such Church or chapel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* p. 101.

1550.
Edward VI.

During several months of this year there was a correspondence between *Hooper*, who objected to use the ordinary Episcopal Vestments, and P. Martyr and Bucer, whose advice he had asked upon the subject. Some points in their replies it will be well to notice, as bearing generally on this question of Ornaments.

Hooper confers with P. Martyr and Bucer about episcopal vestments.

P. Martyr says ("Inter P. Mart. Epist.")—"That in *religious rites* he was for keeping as close as possible to the presidents of Holy Scripture, and the most uncorrupted ages of the Church. However, he could not go so far in the other extreme, as to believe the substance of religion affected by cloaths: he thought things of this nature altogether indifferent, and left at liberty by the Word of God. Had he been of *Hooper's* mind, that the customary habits for priests and bishops had been clearly unlawful, he would never have joyn'd himself to the English communion. . . . That to maintain the unlawfulness of all rites and ceremonies practis'd in the Church of *Rome*, looks like an indefensible assertion: that to govern by such narrow maxims would draw a very inconvenient restraint upon the Church of God. . . . he could not grant, that these *vestments* for *officiating* were brought into the Church by the *Pope*. . . . On the other side, granting these distinctions were the inventions of the see of *Rome*, he did not think the contagion of Popery so malignant as to carry infection to everything it touched, and make it prove mortal to a good man that made use on't"

P. Martyr does not disapprove them.

To *Hooper's* objection, that such adornments "would be apt to draw the eyes of the congregation, to break their attention, and turn to an amusement," *P. Martyr* replied—"That things commonly seen, are seldom gazed at to any disorder: and if the people should be affected to any degree more than ordinary, 'tis to be hoped the solemnity of the habit, the holy pomp, might prove serviceable to them, that it might awaken their respect, and recollect their thoughts for the business they were about; and this seems to be one end of the institution of the *sacraments*, that by sensible signs the mind might be wrought up to proper meditations."

"performing sacrifices; that, as long as the altars continued, both ignorant people and ignorant priests would always dream of sacrifice."

It does not seem, however, that the Privy Council, reforming as it was, accepted *Hooper's* view: for among "the arguments conveyed with the letter to reconcile the people to the Order" was the following:—"Secondly, That in the Book of Common Prayer the words *altar*, the Lord's *board*, and *table*, are promiscuously used, without prescribing anything, with respect to figure and form. That 'tis called a *table* with reference to the Lord's Supper: and an altar upon the score of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving there offered to God Almighty. That therefore the changing *altars* into *tables* is no contradiction to the Rubric."—*Ecl. His.* p. 304.

1550.

Edward VI.
Bucer of the same
opinion with P.
Martyr.

“And *Bucer*, in his answer to *Hooper*, is of the same opinion : to give the reader part of his letter, As to the distinction of cloaths, he does not think their being formerly abused a sufficient reason not to use them, or that there is any iniquity in the shape or colour of what we put on. . . . As to religious rites and externals, the design of them is to recommend the service of God Almighty. Now we know distinction and richness of habit in *civil* offices are a service to the character. An extraordinary appearance in these cases operates upon the generality, strikes their mind through their senses, and awakens a regard for the magistracy. Now what should hinder its having the same good effect upon religion?”—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. pp. 293—5

It was probably in pursuance of the Act, 3 and 4 Edward VI., already noticed (p. 56) that, as *Collier* states—

The King orders
his library at
Westminster to
be purged of
Missals, &c.

But their gold
and silver orna-
ments to be kept.

Oxford libraries
visited also.

“About this time [Feb. 25, 1550-1] the *Council Book* mentions the King's sending a letter for the purging his library at *Westminster*. ‘The persons are not named, but the business was to cull out all superstitious books, as *Missals*, *Legends*, and such like, and to deliver the garniture of the books, being either gold or silver, to Sir *Anthony Aucher*.’ These books were many of them plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed: this, as far as we can collect, was the superstition that destroyed them. Here avarice had a very thin disguise, and the *courtiers* discovered of *what spirit* they were to a remarkable degree.

“The *Oxford* libraries had much the same quarter this year from the *King's visitors* as that at *Westminster*. To give some instances, *Merton College* had almost a cart-load of manuscripts carried off, and thrown away to the most scandalous uses; these books were written upon the subjects of divinity, astronomy, and mathematics, by some of the most eminent of that Society. *Baliol*, *Exeter*, *Queen's* and *Lincoln colleges*, were purged of a great part of the *Fathers* and *Schoolmen*; and to shew the discretion of some people was much of the same size with their justice, and what an antipathy they had to the memory of learned men, great heaps of these books were set on fire in the market place. The books marked with red were generally condemned at a venture for popery, and where circles and other mathematical figures were found, they were looked upon as compositions of magic, and either torn or burnt :” &c.—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol ii. p. 307.

By this time, as *Collier* relates, (p. 307)—

Hooper conse-
crated with the
vestments.

“*Hooper* having now overcome his scruples against the episcopal habit, was on March 8, [1550-1], consecrated Bishop of *Gloucester*, just after the same manner [as *Poyntet*, see p. 61], by the Archbishop; *Nicolas* Bishop of *London*, and *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, assisting, clothed, (say the words of the Register,) in

linen surplices and copes,* and John elect of Gloucester in the like habit."—*Strype's Cranmer*, bk. 2, c. 24.

1550.

Edward VI.

The lengthened and determined opposition of *Hooper* to the Episcopal Habits, and his unconcealed dislike of Vestments, Ornaments, and Ceremonial, would naturally lead to the conclusion that in the discharge of his Episcopal functions he would be likely to act upon his own views to the fullest extent which his relation to his Diocese permitted: the following extracts from "A true Coppey of Bishop Hooper's Visitation Booke made by him in Anno. Dom. 1551, "1552," will therefore exhibit, probably, the most extreme anti-ritualistic directions of the strictest ultra-protestant period of Edward the Sixth's reign.

Hooper's Visitation Book an Index to his views.

"ARTICLES CONCERNING CHRISTIAN RELIGION, given by the reverend father in Christ, John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, unto all and singular . . . ecclesiastical ministers within the diocese of Gloucester.

His Articles

"XL. Item, that you do not read any such injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the Popish mass, candles, images, chantries, and such like.

"XLI. Item, that none of you do counterfeit the Popish mass in blessing the Lord's board, washing your hands or fingers after the Gospel, or receipt of the holy communion, shifting the book from one place unto another, laying down and licking the chalice after the communion, blessing his eyes with the sudary^b thereof, or paten, or crossing his hands with the same, holding up his forefingers and thumbs joined together towards the temples of his head after the receiving of the sacrament, breathing on the bread or chalice, saying the 'Agnus' before the communion, showing the sacrament openly before the distribution of the same, or making any elevation thereof, ringing of the sacring bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board.

"XLII. Item, that you make no market of the holy communion by buying or selling the receipt thereof for money, as the Popish mass in times past was wont to do.

"XLIII. Item, whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore, wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the

^a *Collier* gives a remark of Burnet's on this, (Pt. II. p. 166.):—"He was to be attird in the vestments that were prescribed, when he was consecrated and when he preached before the King, or in his cathedral, or in any public place; but he was dispensed with upon other occasions."—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 307.

^b Used for wiping the chalice.

1550.
Edward VI.

old superstitious opinions of the Popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort you to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place as shall be thought most meet; so that the ministers and communicants may be seen, heard, and understood of all the people there being present;^a and that ye do take down and abolish all the altars or tables. Further, that the minister in the use of the communion and prayers thereof turn his face towards the people.

"XLVI. Item, that none of you maintain the Six Articles,^b bead-rolls, images, relics, rubrics, primers, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, sepulch, paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the fire or altar, and other such like abuses and superstitions taken away by the King's grace's most godly proceedings."

and Injunctions.

"INJUNCTIONS given by John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, in his visitation in the year of our Lord God a thousand, five hundred, and fifty-one, and in the fifth year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, to be observed and kept of all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers within the diocese of Gloucester.

"V. . . . that the Scripture of God should heal, help, succour, and comfort as well the poorest as the richest, the unlearned as the learned, him that sitteth next the church-door, or nearest the belfry, as him that sitteth in the chancel, or nearest the chancel-door; I do therefore, in both their names, God's and the King's majesty's, straitly charge all and every curate, parson, and vicar within this diocese, to distribute, give, shew, set forth, minister, and declare the most holy treasure of God's Word set forth by the King's majesty to all the people. And in case the chancel stand far from the people, or else by reason of rood-lofts, belfries, or any such inclosure, the psalms spoken by the minister cannot be heard into the lowest part of the Church, or else if the curate or minister have so small and soft a breast or voice that he cannot be heard into the lowest part of the Church, that then every of them come into the body of the Church, and there reverently, plainly, as is afore-spoken, see that all things be read in such sort, that all the people may understand the treasures and inspeakable riches of God's laws and promises. . . .

"XII. Item, that the parsons, vicars, and curates shall diligently exhort the multitude of their parishioners to use the communion and sacrament of Christ's precious body and blood, and not to permit in anywise one neighbour to receive for another, as it is commonly used in this diocese; for when he that should receive it himself, by the order of the King's law, is not disposed to receive, he desireth his neighbour to receive for him, which is contrary to God's law.

"XVI. Item, that you exhort your parishioners and such as be under your cure and charge for the ministry of the Church, that they take down and remove out of their Churches and Chapels all places, tabernacles, tombs, sepulchres, tables, footstools, rood-lofts,

^a Another important testimony this to the then recognised presence of non-communicants.

^b "[For an account of the Six Articles, see Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Vol. I Lib. iii. p. 259, Lond. 1683]."—*Editor's note.*

and other monuments, signs, tokens, relics, leavings, and remembrances, where such superstition, idols, images, or other provocation of idolatry, have been used. And also that ye take away all the greis,^a ascenses, and upgoings that heretofore went to any altar within your churches or chapels: and to take down all the chapels, closets, partitions and separations within your churches, whereat any mass has been said, or any idol, image, or relic used to be honoured: and so to make the Church and house appointed to serve God in without all closures, imparting, and separations between the ministers and the people, to avoid all Mosaical and Jewish imperfection, and such typical separation as showed Christ yet to come, and not already now come and past, as touching the imperfection of the law. Provided notwithstanding, that in case any honest man, of what estate soever he be, that hath a seat within the Church for his quietness, for himself and his to hear the common prayer, that it stand, and no man meddle with it, except it were before a secret and appointed place to do idolatry in: then if any man will use it as a seage^b or seat, to take down from the higher place, and also round about it, as many things as heretofore have served and been as a help unto idolatry.

“XVII. Item, that ye ne^c suffer nor permit any Latin primers, beads, images, relics, or any other monuments of superstition in your parishes, as well to avoid them in the Church, as in private houses. And in case ye know any man or woman, being the King's subject, within this shire, that doth use, maintain, or keep secretly or openly any such images, beads, Latin primers, relics, or others, that charitably ye admonish them to put them away, and to destroy them: if you cannot cause them so to do, to advertise me of their obstinacy and contempt of God's laws and the King's majesty's, by the which they are condemned and abolished most justly.

“XIX. Item, that from henceforth in no parish in the diocese shall the bells be rung to noon upon the Saturdays or other holy-days' even, nor at evening to curfaye (as it was called), nor yet in the time of service in the Church, for the oppressing of the sound of the minister that readeth the Word of God; but before service, as well in the morning as at even, to warn the people by as many peals or ringings as they think good: and in case there be any pause between the morning prayer and the communion, then, to advertise and signify unto the people of the ministration of the holy sacrament, to toll one bell, such as the parish shall think most meet and convenient.

“XXVIII. Item, that when any glass windows within any of the Churches shall from henceforth be repaired, or new made, that you do not permit to be painted or purtured^d therein the image or picture of any saint: but if they will have anything painted, that it be either branches, flowers, or posies^e taken out of the Holy Scripture.

^a [Greis, or grise, a flight of steps.] *Editor's note.*

^b [From the French *siège*, seat.] *Ibid.* ^c [Neither.]

^d [Probably for *pourtrayed*.] ^e [Posies: *moltoes*.]

1550-1.
Edward VI.

And that ye cause to be defaced all such images as yet do remain painted upon any of the walls of your Churches, and that from henceforth there be no more such."—*Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, pp. 118—139. Parker Society, 1852.

The Foreign Reformers object to the First Prayer Book.

Objections had now begun to be taken to the New Prayer Book, by the anti-roman party; this arose (chiefly, if not wholly) from the influence of the Foreign Reformers: Strype, after referring to the disputes and scruples about "the sacerdotal habit," and stating that, "It is thought, likewise, the turning the altars into tables abated the people's regard for the Holy Sacrament, and had no good effect on their devotion," goes on to say—

"But much greater alterations than this were now coming forward. The Common Prayer Book was to be reviewed; Calvin, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, by making exceptions against the service established, had their share in bringing on this change. Calvin, who thought himself wiser than the ancient Church, and fit to dictate religion to all countries in Christendom, had taken no small pains in this matter. Something of this kind has been observed already in his letter to the Protector: he continued still to intermeddle, and solicit for his own fancy, as appears by several other epistles."—*Strype's Cranmer*, Pt. II. Bk. iv.

Commission to review it.

This, added to the tendency of the Court itself towards a further reformation, will account for the Commission which on the 18th January 1550-1, was appointed to review the first Book of Common Prayer.

Review completed,

"The commissioners appear to have completed their revision of the Book of Common Prayer before the end of the year 1551. Early in the next year a bill for the uniformity of Divine service, with the Book of Common Prayer annexed to it, was brought into the House of Lords, and was finally passed in the House of Commons, and returned to the Lords on the 14th of April, 1552. It was ordered that the new service should be used throughout the kingdom from the feast of All Saints following."—*Cardwell*, 2 *Lit. Comp.* p. 31.

And Bill for second Act of Uniformity brought in and passed.

1552.

Description of the statute.

The Statute enforcing Edward's Second Book is the 5th and 6th Edward VI. c. 1, A. D., 1552,^b and is intituled "*An*

^a Compare p. 55.

^b "This Act passed both Houses of Parliament, April 6th, 1552. The Bishops of Carlisle and Norwich dissenting. The Commons here joined two bills together, one 'for an order to bring men to divine service,' the other 'authorizing a new Common Prayer Book.' 2 Burnet, Hist. Ref., Pt. II. 350. Vide stat. 7 and 8 Vict. c. 102."—*Stephens's Book of Common Prayer, Introduc.* p. lxxvi. note.

“Act for the Uniformity of Service and Administration of Sacraments throughout the Realm.” The preamble states that—

1552.

Edward VI.

“Where there hath been a very godly order set forth by the authority of parliament, for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, to be used in the mother tongue within the Church of England, agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm, upon the which the mercy, favour, and blessing of Almighty God is in no wise so readily and plenteously poured as by Common Prayers, due using of the Sacraments, and often preaching of the Gospel, with the devotion of the hearers: and yet this notwithstanding, a great number of people in divers parts of this realm, following their own sensuality, and living either without knowledge or due fear of God, do wilfully and damnably before Almighty God abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches, and other places where Common Prayer, administration of the Sacraments, and preaching of the Word of God, is used upon Sundays and other days ordained to be holy days.”

It condemns the neglect of Services,

Therefore §§. ii. iii. and iv. require that “from and after the Feast of All Saints next coming,” *i. e.*, Nov. 1st, 1552, “all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm, or any other the King’s Majesty’s dominions, shall diligently and faithfully (having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent) endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed;” or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place where Common Prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of lett, upon every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as holy days,” and directs that they who do not thus come be punished by the censures of the Church. Again it is said in—

requires people to come to Church,

§ “v. And because there hath arisen in the use and exercise of the aforesaid common service [*i. e.* the first Book] in the Church heretofore set forth, divers doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same, rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause; therefore, as well for the more plain and manifest explanation hereof, as for the more perfection of the said order of common service, in some places where it is necessary to make the same prayers and fashion of service more earnest and fit to stir Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God; the King’s most excellent majesty, with the assent of the Lords and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, hath caused the aforesaid order of common service, entitled ‘The Book of Common Prayer,’ to be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect, and by the

and states that this neglect and doubts how to use the former Book were the cause of the review.

The Ordinal added to it.

* It should be remembered that this Statute is still in force, so far as it is not modified by the last Act of Uniformity: how people are to comply with it if the Clergy do not give them the *opportunity*, is a question which demands the attention of all, and especially of those who are most prominent in maintaining the Royal Supremacy, and are not slow to charge their brethren with denying it.

1552.

Edward VI.

The former Act to remain in force for maintaining the New Book.

aforsaid authority hath annexed and joined it, so explained and perfected, to this present statute: adding also a form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests and deacons, to be of like force, authority and value as the same like foresaid book, entitled 'The Book of Common Prayer,' was before, and to be accepted, received, used, and esteemed in like sort and manner, and with the same clauses of provisions and exceptions, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as by the Act of Parliament made in the second^a year of the King's majesty's reign was ordained, limited, expressed and appointed for the uniformity of service and administration of the sacraments throughout the realm, upon such several pains as in the said Act of Parliament is expressed. And the said former Act to stand in full force and strength, to all intents and constructions, and to be applied, practised, and put in ure, to and for the establishing of 'The Book of Common Prayer,' now explained and hereunto annexed, and also the said form of making of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons hereunto annexed, as it was for the former book." And

New Book to be used at All Saints, 1552.

§ vi. forbids "any manner of person or persons inhabiting and being within this realm, or any other the King's majesty's dominions . . . after the said feast of All Saints [*i. e.* November 1, 1552] willingly and wittingly" to "be present at any other manner or form of common prayer," &c., upon pain of "imprisonment for six months, without bail or mainprize; and for the second offence . . . imprisonment for one whole year; and for the third offence, . . . imprisonment during his or their lives."—*Stephens's Eccl. Stat.* pp. 331-3.

What the second Book of Edward VI. did to reduce Ornaments, &c.

What *further reductions*, then, of ORNAMENTS or other Things in use for the Church or for the Minister did the Prayer Book, thus authorized, effect?

It changed the Calendar,

The Book of 1552, *omits*, both from *The Calendar*, and the Collects, the Feast of S. Mary Magdalen;^b it *adds*, in *The Calendar*, the Feasts of S. George, Lammas, S. Laurence, and S. Clement.

The first Rubric at Morning Prayer (1549)—

and some Rubrics.

"The Priest being in the quire, shall begin with a loud voice the Lord's Prayer, called the *Pater noster*,"

^a It will be observed that the Statute which authorized the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth is here called an Act made in the "second year" of that King; and this might seem to sanction the view already examined—that Edward's first Act of Uniformity, and the Prayer Book of 1549 which it enjoins, constitute "the Authority of Parliament" referred to in the Rubric of our present Prayer Book: but although the words must be taken as accurately describing the date of the Act, (according to that custom of the period which has been mentioned in page 9, note a,) since the Session in which it was passed *began* in the *second* year of his Majesty's reign, yet it cannot antedate the provisions of the Act, which were not to be operative till the *third* year of that reign.

^b The Feast of S. Barnabas is also omitted in the *Calendar*, but probably this was an oversight; for the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel remain in the Second Book, though those for the Feast of S. Mary Magdalen are omitted.

Was exchanged for the following one—

“The morning and evening prayer shall be used in such place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place, and the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past.”

The following Rubric was added—

“And here it is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither Albe, Vestment, nor Cope; but being an Archbishop, or Bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet: and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.”

In the *Communion Office*, the Rubric which (in 1549) ordered the Vestments for the Clergy, is *omitted*: but the following, with regard to the Altar is substituted:—

“The Table, having at the Communion time a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the chancel, where Morning prayer and Evening prayer be appointed to be said.”

The Rubric (1549) which ordered that—

“The priest standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar, shall say the Lord’s Prayer,” &c.,

Is altered into—

“The Priest standing at the north side of the Table,” &c.

All the Rubrics are *omitted* which relate to—

1. The *singing* of the Offertory sentences.
2. The place for the Communicants and Non-Communicants.
3. The Oblation of Bread, Wine, and Water.
4. The Corporas or Paten and Chalice used for No. 3.

The Crosses in the Consecration prayer (1549) were left out in 1552.

The Rubric ordering *Wafer Bread* was changed thus—

“And to take away the superstition which any person hath, or might have, in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten.”

And it was added:—

“And if any of the bread or wine remain, the Curate shall have it to his own use.”

Baptismal Office, Public and Private.

The Rubric directing the Priest to make the sign of the Cross on the child’s breast, was *omitted* and the Rubric transposed.

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It forbade the Albe, Vestment, Cope. Archbishop to wear a Rochet, Deacon or Priest “a surplice only.”

Table to have “a fair white linen cloth upon it” at Communion time.

Rubrics *omitted* in this Book.

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The Exorcism was *omitted*.

The direction *how* to dip the child, was changed into an order to do it "discreetly and warily."

The Chrism and anointing were *omitted*.

Confirmation.

The signature of the Cross on the forehead was *omitted*.

Visitation and Communion of the Sick.

The Rubric ordering *reservation* for the sick is changed for one directing "a convenient place in the sick man's house" where the Curate may reverently minister. the communion."

Also the Rubric directing the Curate to *reserve* for any other sick person, from the Bread and Wine consecrated in the sick person's house, is *omitted*.

The Anointing of the sick, *omitted*.

Burial of the Dead.

This Rubric—"The Celebration of the Holy Communion, "when there is a Burial of the Dead," together with the Introit, Epistle, and Gospel, are all *omitted*.

Purification of Women.

The direction for the woman to bring her *Chrisom* is *left out*.

The Explanatory Notes are not printed.

On 1st November, 1552, Ridley, Bishop of London, used this new Book in St. Paul's Cathedral. He

"was the first that celebrated the new service in St Paul's Church ; which he did in the forenoon : and then in his rochet only, without cope or vestment, preached in the choir. . . . By this Book of Common Prayer all copes and vestments were forbidden throughout England. The prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their hoods, and the bishops *their crosses*, &c., as by Act of Parliament is more at large set forth."*—*Strype's Cranmer*, bk. 2, c. 33. See also *Collier E. H.* p. 325.

Ridley used the new Book on 1st Nov, 1552, and without the Vestments.

* Strype appears to have followed here *Stow's Chronicle*, p. 608, Ed. Lond. 1631; the passage is given at length in the Ecclesiastical History Society's Edition of Strype's Cranmer, 1848, Vol. II. p. 407, where the Editor remarks—"The Act "of Parliament here evidently referred to is 5^o and 6^o Edw. VI. cap. 1, A.D. "1551-2, intituled, 'An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments,' but in which there is no reference to the leaving "off of vestments, &c.—Statutes at large, vol. IV. p. 130. In the commencement, however, of 'The Order where Morning and Evening Prayer shall be "used and said,' in the 1552 ed. of the Book of Common Prayer, the following "direction is found : 'And here is to be noted,' " &c., (quoted p. 74.)

It is of some consequence to observe (as bearing upon one of the subjects dealt with by the Judge of the Consistorial Court) that no mention is made here of the disuse of Altar-coverings as well as of these Vestments of the Clergy. If there were no direct evidence of their continued use, it may reasonably be supposed that Ornaments with which the people had become familiar, as marking Festivals, and of which no complaints were apparently made, were not abandoned at a time when there was no intention to allow the Festivals themselves to be *neglected*, though indeed a Statute was passed directing which only should be observed. For in this same year was passed "*An Act for the Keeping Holy Days and Fasting Days*," viz. 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 3, which having declared the necessity

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Altar coverings
not forbidden.5 and 6 Edw. VI.
c. 3, regulates

"that there should be some certain times and days appointed, wherein Christians should cease from all other kind of labours, and should apply themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy works," viz. "to hear God's Holy Word, and to come to the Holy Communion, and other laudable rites;" and having also declared "that the appointment both of the time and also of the number of the days is left by the authority of God's Word to the liberty of Christ's Church," &c.

Proceeds to ordain (sect. 1)

"that all the days hereafter mentioned shall be kept and commanded to be kept holy-days, and none other; that is to say, all Sundays in the year, the days of the feast of the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Epiphany, of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, of S. Matthe the Apostle, of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, of S. Mark the Evangelist, of S. Philip and Jacob the Apostles, of the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist, of S. Peter the Apostle, of S. James the Apostle, of S. Bartholomew the Apostle, of S. Matthew the Apostle, of S. Michael the Archangel, of S. Luke the Evangelist, of S. Simon and Jude the Apostles, of All Saints, of S. Andrew the Apostle, of S. Thomas the Apostle, of the Nativity of our Lord, of S. Stephen the Martyr, of S. John the Evangelist, and of Holy Innocents, Monday and Tuesday in Easter Week, and Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun Week; and that none other day shall be kept and commanded to be kept holy, or to abstain from lawful bodily labour.

the Feasts

"ii. And it is also enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every even or day going before any of the aforesaid days of the feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter, of the Ascension of our Lord, Pentecost, and the Purification and the Annunciation of the aforesaid Blessed Virgin, of All Saints, and of all the said feasts of the

and Feasts,

1552. Edward VI. Apostles, (*other than*^a of S. John the Evangelist, and Philip and Jacob,) shall be fasted, and commanded to be kept and observed, and that none other even or day shall be commanded to be fasted.”
- Lent, &c. § iv. provides that this Act shall not “extend to abrogate or take away the abstinence from flesh in Lent, or on Fridays and Saturdays, or on any other day which is already so appointed to be kept by” 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c, 10.
- A transferred Fast, § v. provides that when a Feast with a Vigil which is *to be fasted* falls upon a *Monday*, the fast shall be kept on the *Saturday* before.
- Labour at certain times, § vi. makes it “lawful to every husbandman, labourer, fisherman, and to all and every other person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition, he or they be, upon the holy-days aforesaid, in harvest, or at any other time in the year, when necessity shall require, to labour, ride, fish, or work any kind of work, at their free will and pleasure.”
- and the Feast of S. George. § vii. empowers the Knights of the Garter to keep the Feast of St. George on the 22d, 23rd, and 24th April, and at such other time as the King and his successors may approve.—*Stephens's Eccl. Stat.* p. 335.

One result of these changes in the Church Offices is described by Collier in the following words:—

Disturbances arose on account of the various changes.

“And since the alterations in public service and ceremonies had occasioned contests in several places: since people were observed to bring their passions to Church with them, and quarrel where they ought to have prayed together; since these disorders were not to be checked the customary way, the jurisdiction of the bishops having either an embargo laid upon it by the State, or else worn out of use and significance: for these reasons 'twas thought fit to guard the honour of religion, and the places consecrated to Divine worship, by *Parliamentary provisions*.”—*Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 322.

So the 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 4, was enacted to quell them.

Therefore the Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 4, 1552, “*Against quarreling and fighting in Churches and Church-yards,*” was enacted:^b which, besides other severe provisions, declares—

“That if any person whatsoever shall. . . . by words only, quarrel, chide, or brawl in any Church or Churchyard, that then it shall be lawful unto the Ordinary. . . . to suspend every person so offending;

^a “*Other than* :—‘Omnium Apostolorum vigiliæ sunt in observacione jejunii celebrandæ, præter vigilias Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, et Beati Johannis Evangelistæ; quoniam ipsorum solennitas infra solennitatem Paschalem, ‘istius autem infra Natalem Domini, celebratur.’ Decret 1. 3, tit. 46, c. 2. ‘1 Spel. 518.’—*Editor's Note.*

^b This Statute is still in force, and it might be prudent for those who, with great profession of regard for Law, have interrupted the Services, or interfered with the Decorations of Churches, such as those which furnished occasion for this recent suit, to consider whether their conduct would not bring them within the heavy penalties of this Act in case they were proceeded against.

that is to say, if he be a layman, *ab ingressu ecclesiæ*; and if he be a clerk, from the ministration of his office.”—*Stephens's Eccl. Stat.* p. 338.

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Edward VI.

The forty-two Articles of Religion were passed this year: Collier, having given a short account of them, makes the following observations, which it may not be out of place or unprofitable to repeat here:—

The forty-two Articles.

“Notwithstanding this progress for retrieving the ancient belief, the people were little mended in their manners. The reader may find the immorality of the times loudly complained of by Beacon [? Becon], one of Cranmer's Chaplains. To mention something of his remonstrance: ‘What staring contradiction,’ says he, ‘is there between the life and practice of Christians! (Tit. i. 16.) They ‘profess that they know God, but in works they deny Him, being ‘abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate. ‘How lamentably are we overrun with hypocritical and sensual gossellers! Men who have their tongues tipped with Scripture expressions, can dispute very copiously for justification by faith, talk ‘with assurance of forgiveness by the Blood of Christ, and boast of ‘their being entered upon the list of the predestinated to glory; but ‘then how wretchedly wide do they live of the rule they pretend to! ‘How are they bloated, and almost poisoned with pride! Envy, ‘malice, and revenge are pushed to the utmost excesses in these ‘people: they are licentious to the last degree, and deny their appetites in no instance of scandalous pleasure: their avarice is without ‘measure or shame: they never think they have multiplied their ‘lordships far enough, mounted their revenues to the pitch of their ‘merit, or swelled their fortunes to a sufficient bulk. Indeed, if ‘you will read them by their actions, you would almost think they ‘had an ambition to shew themselves heathens, and made it their ‘business to live counter to their duty. As for distributions of ‘charity, prayers, fasting, and other exercises of true religion, these ‘counterfeit gossellers will not trouble themselves with anything of ‘this kind. All their religion lies in language and dispute; but as ‘for virtue, and real effects, they are altogether barren and unfurnished.’ (Memoirs of Cranmer, p. 290).”—*Eccl. Hist.* p. 325.

The times described by Cranmer's Chaplain.

Two circumstances seem now to have led to another step with regard to the Treasures of the Churches.

“The King's fortune thriving . . . ill . . . ’twas thought fit to retrench the expenses of the court, and put down some of the tables. Some of the officers, likewise, of less interest, had their management inspected, and were called to account. . . . But all this, though it carried a popular face, gave little relief, and fell much short of the present exigencies.

The treasury poor.

“There was therefore a more serviceable expedient suggested. The Council had been informed that a great deal of the plate and

An expedient,

1552.

Edward VI. said to be suggested by the fact that Church goods had been removed.

Commissioners appointed to examine this.

furniture in Churches had been lately carried off without warrant: that secular men's houses were furnished with altar-pieces and copes, that they drank in chalices at their entertainments, turned the consecrated plate to common use, and made a figure out of the plunder of churches." (Fuller's Church History, bk. 7, p. 417.) Now to stop this invasion, and throw the remainder into the public channel, commissions were issued out to persons of condition in every county with the following instructions."—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol ii. p. 335.

Nature of their instructions viz.

The copy given by Cardwell is entitled "*Instructions given by the King's majesty to his right trusty and right well beloved cousin and councillor the marquess of Northampton, and to the rest of his highness' commissioners appointed for the survey of Church goods within his majesty's county of Northampton;*" and they require them first to obtain, from those who have the custody of them, all previous Inventories of the Church goods ;

To procure old inventories,

And to compare them with the remaining ornaments,

"and that done, the said commissioners shall compare both the same inventories (that is to say) as well such as they shall receive and take of the 'custos rotulorum,' or their deputy, or the clerk of the peace, as of the bishops or other under officers; and accordingly to the best, richest, and greatest inventories of the said commissioners shall proceed to make their survey and inquiry, and by the same make the searches of the defaults and wants that shall be found. And generally the same commissioners shall not only by the view of the said registers and inventories, but also by any other means they can better devise, proceed to the due search and inquisition of the wants or defaults of any part of the said goods, plate, jewels, vestments, bells, or ornaments

And to make new inventories.

One for the Privy Council,

The other for those who had custody of the goods.

The said goods to be forthcoming when demanded.

"Item, the said commissioners shall upon their view and survey taken, cause due inventories to be made by bills or books indented, of all manner of goods, plate, jewels, bells and ornaments as yet remaining, or any wise forthcoming and belonging to any churches, chapels, fraternities or guilds; and the one part of the same inventories to send and return to our Privy Council, and the other to deliver to them in whose hands the said goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments shall remain to be kept preserved. And they shall also give good charge and order, that the same goods, and every part thereof, be at all times forthcoming to be answered, leaving nevertheless in every parish Church or Chapel of common resort,

* But then these people might well have retorted, that the Court had set them an example; for in the *Journal of King Edward VI.* the following entry occurs: "June 2, [1550]. It was appointed that I should receive the Frenchmen that came hither at Westminster, where was made preparation for the purpose, and four garnish of new Vessels taken out of Church Stuff, as Miters, and golden Missals, and Primers, and Crosses, and Reliques of Plessay."—*Burnet's Reformation. Records*, Pt. II.

one, two, or more chalices or cups, according to the multitude of the people in every such Church or Chapel; and also such other ornaments as by their discretion shall seem requisite for the Divine service in every such place for the time."

The commissioners were also required to ascertain who had "counselled, advised, and commanded any part of the said goods, plate, jewels, bells, vestments, and ornaments to be taken or carried away, or otherwise embezzled," and to require the *restoration* of them or the payment "of the true and just value thereof;" and further, "in all their doings" they were to take care to give "as little occasion of trouble or disquiet to the multitude, as may be."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol i. p. 112.

Copies of three other Commissions are given by Mr. Stephens in his "Book of Common Prayer: with notes legal and historical," (Vol. I. pp. 354—9): the following extracts, varying as they do from the copy furnished by Dr. Cardwell, will further illustrate the object and proceedings of the Commission.

The first of these is without date; it is directed—

"To our deare Cousyn and Counsaillour William Marques of Northampton, Great Chamberleyn of England,"

and others, and commences thus—

"Whereas We have at sondry tymes heretofore by our speciall Commission and otherwyse commaunded that there shuld be takyn and made a just veu surveye and inventory of all manner goodes plate jewells vestyments bells and other ornaments within every paryshe belonging or in any wyse apperteynyng to any Church Chappell Brothered Gylde or Frayternyty within this our Realme of Englund and uppon the same Inventory so taken had or made our commandment was and hathe ben that all the same goodes plate juells vestments bells and other ornaments shuld be safely kept and appoynted to the charge of such persons as shuld kepe the same safely and be ready to aunswere to the same at all tymes."

It then proceeds to state that though the said Church Goods

"were not only viewd and duly surveyd but also that the Inventories thereof were made by Indenture and thon [the one] part of the same remayned with our Custos Rotulorum of that Countye or hys Deputye or Clerke of the Peax at that time being, and the other part with the Churchwardens and such men as had the charge of the same goodes and other Inventories also made by our commaundement by our Busshoppes and their Ecclesiasticall Officers were lykewise by them returned hyther to our Counsaill; yet nevertheless for that we be informed that somme part of the said goodes plate juelles belles and ornaments of Churches be in somme places embeselled or removed contrarye to our former expresse commaundements and manyfestlye to the contempt and derogacion of our honor in that behalfe."

1552.

Edward VI.

They were to leave one, two, or more chalices, And other ornaments according to discretion

Also to require embezzled ornaments to be restored or paid for.

Another Commission

assigns the loss of Church goods as the reason for these proceedings.

1552.
Edward VI.

Therefore an enquiry was to be made, and directions for prosecuting it are given, similar to those in the preceding Commission, but without any such order as that contains for selecting certain Utensils and Ornaments for the use of the several Churches to which they belonged; though reference is made—

“to the further meaning of certain instruccions sent to you herewith.”

A third example,

The second Commission is dated “apud Westmonasterium “XVI. die Januarii,”^a and is addressed—

“To our trustye and ryght welbeloved Counsaillours syr Richard Cotton knyght, Comptroller of our houshold,” and others :

It begins by referring to the fact of the Crown having “latelye directed our severall Commyssions into divers and sundrye shyres and countyes within this our Realme to divers and sundrye persons for the vieu and survey of all and singuler goodes,” &c. “belongyng . . . to any Church,” &c.

and then proceeds to say—

“We mynding to understand the full and hole reporte of the same vieues and surveyes frome all places of this our Realme and mynding also to procede for divers great consyderacions us movyng to further order touching the said goodes,” &c. “do give unto you seven syx fyve or foure of you full power and auctorytye . . . to collect and bringe together from thandes [the hands] of said Commyssioners or” others, the Certificates which were required to be returned to the Privy Council ;

they were also to certify what returns had not been made, in order that further Commissions might be issued to such places, and they were instructed how to deal with the property of the Church, in the following words :—

“And Wee do further geve unto you seven syx fyve or four of you full power and auctorytye ymmedyatlye to collect or cause to be collected and brought together all and singuler redye money plate and juelles certyfied by our Commissioners aforesaid to remayne in any Church Chapell Guild Brothered Fraternitye or Company in any shire countye or place within this our Realme of Englund causing the said ready money to be delyvered by indenture to our use to thandes of our trustye servant syr Edmond Peckham knyght and causing the said plate and jueells to be delyvered lykewise by Indenture to our use to thandes of the maister of our Juell house for the tyme being And to thintent the said Churches and Chapelles may be furnyshedd of convenyent and comely things mete for

directs how the
Church property
was to be dealt
with :

^a This and the following Commission are also given in Appendix II. to the Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 1846, p. 312. Another for the City of London will be found in Appendix II. Ninth Report, 1848, p. 233.

thadmystracion of the Holy Communion in the same Wee give unto you seven syx fyve or four of you full power and auctorytye to leave or cause to be leaft out of the said plate for the same purpose and to the same use in everye Chathedrall or Collegiat Church where Chalyces be remaynyng, one or two chalyces by youre discrecions [*defaced*]. And in every great paryshe where Chalyces be remaynyng one or two chalyces by your discreacion and in every small paryshe or Chapell where Chalyces be remaynyng one chalyce delyveryng or causing to be delyvered the same chalycys so appoynted to remayn to thuse aforesaid to thand the Deane Provost Churchwardens or other Mynsters of the said Churches and Chapells by Indenture in wryting whereby to charge them and their successors with the same hereafter. And we gyve unto you seven syx fyve or foure of you full power and auctory after the honest and comely furnytire of coverynges upon the communion table and surples or surplesses for the mynster or mynsters in the said churches or chapells by your discrecions to dystrubute or cause to be distrybuted and geven frely to the poore people in every parysh wheare the same churches and chapelles stond and be The resydue of the lynnyn ornaments and ymplements of the said churches and chapells in suche order and sort as may be most to Godes glory and our honor And we gyve unto seven syx fyve or foure of you full power and auctory to sell or cause to be sold to our use all and singular copes vestments Aulter clothes and other ornaments whatsoever remaynyng or being within any of the said churches or chapells not appoynted by this our Commyssion to be leaste in the said churches or chapelles or to be dystrubuted to the poore as afore ys declared And also to sell or cause to be sold to our use by weight all parcells or peces of metall except the metal of greatt bell saunse bells in every of the said churches or chapelles. The money commyng of whiche sales so to be made informe before declayred and all other sommes of money whiche shall comme and be brought into our use by virtue of this Commyssion We will ye shall delyver or cause to be delyvered by Indenture to thandes of the said syr Edmond Peckham to our use and our further pleasure and commandment ys and we geve unto you seven six fyve or foure of you full power and auctorytye straightle to charge by all suche meanes and wayes as to you shall seme most convenyent the Deanes Provosts Church Wardens Mynsters or parysshoners of the said churches and chapelles that they and everye of them do safely kepe unspoiled and unembesiled and unsold all suche bells as do remayne in everye of the said churches and chapelles and the same to conserve untill our pleasur be therein furtherknowne."

The Commission then goes on to direct that if the Commissioners found, upon comparing the Goods of the Church with the old Inventories, that any of the Church property had been disposed of,

"and the just pryses or profetts thereof not employed or converted

1552.

Edward VI.

and empowers
the Commission-
ers to appoint
deputies.

to the godly and lawfull uses of the said churches or chapelles," then they were to compel the reimbursement of it.

The Commissioners were further empowered either themselves to appoint deputies with the like powers, in "places" "whiche be farre dystant from our Cyty of London," in order to carry out with "delygent expedicion" the requirements of the Commission; or, if they thought it better, to apply to the Privy Council to issue such Commission: authority was also given to the Commissioners to commit to prison those who should "refuse to obey any precept or commandment whiche" they might give.

A fourth example

The third of these Commissions (which appears to be an example of the supplementary Commissions just mentioned) is given "at Westminster, the xvjth daye of Maye the syxte "yere of our raign," and is directed—

"To oure trustie and wellbeloued Edwarde Mountague knight and to our wellbeloued the Mayour of our Towne of Northampton" and others.

It recites the fact of previous Commissions having been issued, and of returns having been made to them, and then, in the tenor and nearly the words of the Second Commission already given (p. 83), assigns the alleged embezzlement or removal of some of the Ornaments and Goods, as the reason for this new Commission which they were to execute in the "Towne of "Northampton."

Evidence which
these Commis-
sions furnish.

Now these four specimens of the Commissions issued in the *sixth* year of Edward's reign, and the proceedings which followed, furnish the best possible evidence of the Ornaments and Goods which were in use or remained at that time, of the designs respecting them, and (I am afraid it must be added) of one motive which prompted the proceedings of the Council: Mr. Stephens has remarked—

"These commissions were intended to be more stringent than any which had previously emanated from the crown, and swept away far the greater portion of the church furniture which had been retained for the performance of divine service according to Edward VI.'s first Book of Common Prayer."—*Book of Common Prayer*, Vol. I. p. 354.

I am compelled to add that, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion, however one may strive to interpret charitably

these acts, that mercenary considerations mainly influenced them. For, notwithstanding the directions to leave what should "seem requisite for the Divine Service," and the order to "distribute . . . freely to the poore people" some of the Church Goods, it is but too plain, looking at the words of the Commission, that almost all that was really valuable was sacrilegiously seized for the use of the Crown. No doubt "the residue of the linnen ornaments and implements of the said Churches" furnished a not invaluable present in those days to the poor, and the gift perhaps dispelled the doubts of some who else might have questioned the piety of such measures—perhaps silenced the complaints of others who, like the Devonshire rebels, were apparently more intent upon their own losses, owing to the alienation of Church lands, than upon the preservation of Religion and its Offices: but the stringent orders to bring into the Treasury and Jewell office, the greatest and most costly bulk of the rich and abundant Ornaments of the Churches, is only too sadly confirmatory of Collier's remark already quoted (p. 81), and betrays a considerable development of the tendency of Edward's Counsellors, as indicated in the extract given at p. 82, from the King's Journal.^a

Moreover it is very important in considering this question of the reduction in Church Ornaments, to distinguish between this sweeping Commission of the Crown (issued for an apparently more than questionable object) and the other Orders which had been previously given during Edward's reign by the Bishops or by the Privy Council. No inference whatever can be drawn, as to the *illegality* of any Church Ornament, from the Commissions; nor any very reliable conclusion from the conduct of those who were entrusted to execute them:

^a Burnet, relating the appointment of the Visitors, says—"This is spitefully urged by one of our writers, who would have his reader infer from it, that the King was ill-principled as to the matters of the Church, because, when this order was given by him, he was now in the sixteenth year of his age. But if all princes should thus be judged by all instructions that pass under their hands, they would be more severely censured than there is cause. And for the particular matter that is charged on the memory of this young prince, which, as it was represented to him, was only a calling for the superfluous plate, and other goods, that lay in churches, more for pomp than for use; though the applying of it to common uses, except upon extreme necessities, is not a thing that can be justified; yet it deserved not so severe a censure, especially the instructions being signed by the King in his sickness: in which it is not likely that he minded affairs of that kind much, but set his hand easily to such papers as the Council prepared for him."—*His. Ref.*, Part II., Bk. 1.

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Edward VI.

Mercenary motives which influenced the Commissioners,

and the bribery which assisted them.

These Commissions no evidence of the *unlawfulness* of Church Ornaments.

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the utmost they would prove is—that the Commissioners, in the exercise of the “discretion” reposed in them, left the *minimum* of what they accounted *necessary* Furniture; how little that was, may be discovered by an inspection of such of the Inventories,^a taken under this Commission, as now remain in the Record Office at Carlton Ride.

The character of the Visitation shewn from the Articles left for use in Churches.

Mr. Stephens (Book of Common Prayer, Vol. I. p. 360) has printed the Returns of three Churches in the County of Norfolk: I quote such portions as illustrate the remark just made. The *First*, which is for the “*Hundred of Tunstede, Irestede,*” is an

“Inventorie indented, made the last daye of August, in the sixte yere of King Edward VI., [and] witnesseth that there remayneth the following goodes of the above Churche, in the handes of John Driver and Nicolas Scrape, Churchwardens.”

Then follows the List which concludes with this declaration—

“Whereof assigned to be occupied and used in ministracion of Dyvine Seruice there, the said chaleis weyng ix ounces, and the first bell of iij^c weight.”

They took away the *larger* of the two “siluer” Chalices, “weinge xiiij ounces and demi;” the *greater* of the “ij steple

^a With regard to these Inventories it may be as well to mention here, that, only a *cursory* inspection of a considerable number, comprising parishes in and near London, the Churches of two Cathedral cities, one Town, and several Rural districts, furnished abundant evidence of the motive which, I am afraid, too commonly prompted the removal of Church Ornaments throughout the reign of Edward VI., though sheltering itself often under another plea. It is but too plain that more regard was paid to the *value* than to the *description* of the Things disposed of. Thus, where the later Inventories recite, as they sometimes do, the Inventories of the earlier years, it may be taken as a principle (or rather as a want of principle) that where a Church had but *one* Cross or one Chalice of *Metal*, one or the other was abstracted (perhaps both) if there was a desire for plunder, or such a decent pretext as necessary repairs. Again, if the Church possessed two or more of them, then the more precious one was sold or stolen, *e. g.*, a Silver Chalice would disappear, and a Pewter one remain—a Copper Cross be taken, and a Tin one left. Brass Candlesticks were not touched if there were Latteen or more costly ones to be had. The same is true of other Ornaments and of their relative *sizes*, such as Censers, Pyxes, Chrismatories, and even Bells. It applies, moreover, with equal force to Altar-coverings and to Vestments: if they contained *Gold* or *Silver* Thread, they often disappeared, where there were others from which no Precious Metal could be extracted by their destruction: if the choice lay between Needle-work, Velvet, Baudkin, Satin, Silk, Sarsnet, Worsted, Fustian, and Canvas—each depended for its security upon which was the most saleable. One other thing would probably be collected from these Inventories—that those Churches suffered least where the Minister or the Churchwardens were least exposed to the cupidity or the tyranny of their great or their noisy neighbours.

“bells”—that “weyng by estimacion.... V^c: together with all the rest of the goods, viz.

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“iij copes,” and “iiij vestm^{ts},” of different coloured silks and other materials; “a crosse of copper and gilte...ij candlesticks of laten...a pix, a hollywater stopp, a sensure, and a ship of laten...a crismatorie of pewter...ij handebells with a sacryng bell” and “one clapper.”

The same is true of the *Second* case—the “*Hundred of Tonsted, Bacton*”—where, as there was but *one* Chalice they had no choice but to leave it, though they took away *three* out of the four bells, leaving only the *smallest*; they also left “ij table cloths and j napkyn.” Other examples.

And, in the *Third* example, that of the “*Hundred de Tunstede, Barton*,” the Chalice “weyng xij owncs,” was seized, that “weyng x owncs” was left to the parish; here, too, their “discretion” only allowed “the leste belle in the “stepill” to remain, the other two were removed; “the surplesses and lynnynye clothe for the Comynyon bord” were left, the other Articles were taken whether of much or of little value.

The three following Documents furnish a further illustration of these, and of other preceding remarks—written, indeed, before I had seen them. The first is curious, as being a specimen of (what I believe is rare) the *Parochial Duplicates* of the King’s Inventories; and it is the more valuable, since the Royal Commissioners’ Copy appears not to have been preserved among the Carlton Ride Inventories. It is an—

Another Document, viz.,

Extract from the Original Book of the Church Wardens’ Accounts of the Parish of Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berks; containing an Inventory of the Church Goods, taken about May 11th, 1553, (7th of Edward VI.): also a statement of the disposal of them by the King’s Commissioners, and a record of the Articles renewed in the reign of Queen Mary.^a

The Parochial Duplicate of the King’s Inventory for Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berks.

Imprimis. a cope of redd vellvett & a pyllow

It. a cope & shutte [? suit] of vestments for the Prest and Subdeacon of blew satten with ther albes

^a I am indebted for this to the kindness of the present Vicar, the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster, who has been at the pains to compare a copy with the original, and to complete it.

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- It. a cope of bawdekyns with a sute of vestments for the Prest, Dyacon and Subdiacon of the same with the albes
 It. one old vestment of many cullers of nedull-worke with th appurtenance Note—ii of the albes wer stolne
 It. ii olde chesabubuls of dornyx without albes
 It. i old chysabull of resid [*i.e.* raised] worke of grene and redde velvet the grownde golde wyer with the appurtynaunce
 It. i frunt for an alter of the same worke
 Itm. a frunt for an alter of paynttyd canvas / stolne
 Itm. i olde cope of blew sarcenet
 Itm. i olde vestment of sylcke
 Itm. i olde vestment of white fustyan—with i albe / solde
 Itm. ii crosses of copper & gylte—i other of lede florysshid one with golde foyle / *this the Commissioners had*
 Itm. viij banner clothis & i stremer of canvas paynttid / *the banners solde*
 Itm. vij olde altar clothis ii towells
 Itm. iiij corporas clothis with casis / *this the Commissioners had*
 Itm. a pece of bawdkyn for the Sepulture / stolne
 Itm. a vayle & iiij clothis for Lent ye vale gevon T. Myller
 Itm. ij olde coverletts of carpet worke
 Itm. vij surplices of all sorts—one stolne
 Itm. iiij bells a sance [*i.e.* sanctus] bell & sacryng bell
 Itm. ij chalysis of sylver parcell gylte / the Commyssioners the one & the paten of the other
 Itm. ij pyxes—i copper another of brass
 Itm. a canape of lynet worke
 Itm. ii. cruetts of pewtter a crysmatory of pewtter
 Itm. a holywatter pot of brasse a payre of sencers of bras

Sma. v^h. xvi^a. iiij^d.

Thes parcells aforesayd be in the Kyng's inventory of the wich the Kyng had all (save the bells in the stepull, the alter clothis towells surplices & albes) delyvryed to Mr. [illegible] Mr. Yong Mr. J. Wynchecomb ye yonger, the xith day of May a^o RR Edv. vj^{te} 7 also y^e dd [*i.e.*, they delivered] backe agayne a challes withoute a kever [*i.e.* cover] or paten — Mem. that J. Fawkener, Vicar bought all the stuffe that the Kyng's Commrs. above namyd did receyve owt of Stanford, except plate bells brasse pewtter & the canape of Lynet & copper & gylte — the corporas caysses & ther clothis surplices alter clothis keverletts albes & a kevering for the tabull of sylcke & payd therefore

Thes be the parcells of goods that was lafte in the Church, & not put into the Kyng's inventori

- Imprimis a challes with a kever parcell gylt
 Itm. a payr of grayt candullstycks callyd standorts of bras
 Itm. a payre of small Candullstycks of brasse to set one the altar
 Itm. an other payre of candullstycks of copper & gylte to set on the altar
 Itm. a crosse of copper and gylt Itm. iiij sylver sponis
 Itm. a bell for the belman & a sacryng bell
 Itm. ij here clothis for the alter
 Itm. a basson of latten (This bason was changed for a pewter bason, hav- more money lede to yt. as appeareth in Thomas Collens & J Whayes account)
 Itm. a lanthorne
 grayt lentten clothe
 ij pecys of lawnde towell brayde with roys [*i.e.* rows] of red & yallow sylcke

- It. a brod sylcke cloth with roys of blew and red sylcke with golde wyer
- Itn. a myter of white satten with borders of red velvet
- Itn. a front for an alter of blew satten with byrds of golde & traylls of golde with grene & white sylcke
- Itn. an albe with a stole & fana
- Itn. a front for an alter of grene say with helmet & sheld trayled with golde wyer
- Itn. another front for an alter the grownde whyte sylcke with a trayle of grene sylcke & golde wyer
- Itn. v towells of the whiche ij be bothe brod & long
- Itn. a curten of bockeram with ryngs
- Itn. a fyne lymen cloth with a hole in the myddest that keveryd the pyx
- Itn. a pylloberre with worke of red & blacke crule
- Itn. a lytull bagge of red taffata
- Itn. a dyadem for the pyx
- Itn. iij chests ij with lydds & one without a lyd & a long coffer that did put in torchis
- Itn. a chest cawlyd the poreman's box
- Itn. a bybull—the paraphrasis of Erasmus ij bokes of comon prayer—a salter—all this in Englysh.
- Itn. a baner pole with a plate of yron rownde about hit
- Itn. ij baners
- Itn. a tabull with a frame—hit was solde

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Thes parcels followyng Mr. John Fawckener Vicar bowght of the Kyng's Commissioners & solde the same unto John Whistler & Roger Churche to the use of the Churche of Stanford for the sum of vii xvi^s viiij^d the wich was levyed of the Churche Stockes & payde to the sayde Vicar the xxi day of December in the first yere of the reyne of the most Xtian lady Queyne Marye

- Imprimis a cope of red velvett & a pylo of the same
- Itn. a cope & sute of vestments for the Prest, Dyacon and Subdyacon of blew satten
- Itn. a cope & sute of vestments for ye Prest, Dyacon, & Subdyacon of bawdkyn
- Itn. one old vestment of many cullers of nedullwork
- Itn. ij olde chesabulls of dornyx
- Itn. i olde chesabull of resyd worke of grene and red velvet the grownde golde wyer
- Itn. a frunte for an altar of ye same worke
- Itn. one olde cope of blew sarcenet
- Itn. one olde vestment of sylcke

The parcells above wrytten were delyverd to John Whistler and Roger Churche in the precens of Richard Rawlins and John Hawkyns Church Wardens and others of the paryshe

- The parcells following the Kyng's Commyssioners delyvered backe sum to the uze of the Churche sum to be gyven to pore people
- Imprimis ij olde keverletts
- Itn. a stremer
- Itn. vij olde alter clothis & ij towells
- Itn. iij clothis for lent
- Itn. vij surplises of the wich one was stolne
- Itn. a challes of sylver parcell gylt without a paten
- Itn. vij albes the others were stolne or lost

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- Thes parcells followyng
renewed syns the begynning of
Queyn Maryes regne
- Imprimis Dorethe Phetyplayse Voys hathe made of the Churche stuffe
ii coporas casss [?cases] one of purpull velvet with the image of
Chryst Mary & John and another of Sylcke nedull worke
- Itm. the sayd Dorethe hathe made a payre of curtens for the hygh altar of
the Churche stuffe
- Itm. the sayd Mistress Dorethe hathe gevyn to ye Churche a pyx to put
in the most blessed Sacrament of ye altar of clothe of tyssu
- Itm. the sayd Dorethe hathe gyven a pax
- Itm. the sayd Dorethe hathe gyven a fyne corporys clothe
- Itm. the sayd Dorethe hathe made a Sacrament clothe to be over the pyx
of the Churche stuffe
- Itm. Elyzabeth Phetyplace Voys gave a pece of bawdyr to make a pawlle
for to lay over the herse or a canape to cary over the Sacrament of the
altar conteyning . . . yards . . . in brayd & . . . yards in lengeth
- Itm. J. Whayre & T. Colens the Churchwardens bought of T. Poye . . .
olde baners & payde for them as appeareth
- Itm. ye sayde Whayre & Collens bought in this yere ij halffe portuiais
a processionall a manuell a payre of cruets of pewtter a chrismatory
of pewter a payre of saynces [*i.e.* censers] a holy water stocke of brasse
- Itm. Thomas Whitehorne of Goze [*i.e.* Goosey Chapelry in the Parish of
Stanford] gave to ye Churche of Stanford ye xxth day of Apryll A.D.
1556 a vestment for a Prest to see [*i.e.* say] Masse in of yellow
sarcenett & an albe & a myse stolle and fana [*i.e.* fanon] new

Larger discretion
of these Commis-
sioners :

In this case the Commissioners appear to have exercised a much larger "discretion" than in the former examples; what led to their generosity must be a matter of conjecture. They may have had more regard to the proprieties of Divine Worship than some of their brother Commissioners; or they may have encountered strong prejudices among the parishioners in favour of Ornaments; or, possibly, they were friendly disposed towards the Vicar; or, it may be, that a knowledge of the trouble they would be spared by the Vicar's purchases on the spot—perhaps, too, the better price they thus obtained—induced them to be the more liberal. But, whatever motive really prompted them, we may be pretty sure that they were not likely to risk being called to account for leaving *illegal* Ornaments: so that it is a most fair inference, and one which strongly corroborates what has been already said,—that, as three Crosses were taken and one left; two Altar Frontals were put into the King's Inventory, three (of different colours) "lafe in the Church," therefore, A CROSS AND FRONTALS WERE LEGAL ORNAMENTS OF THE ALTAR EVEN IN THE *seventh* YEAR OF EDWARD THE SIXTH. And this inference is strengthened by the fact, that the Commissioners seized for the Crown *all* the Copes and

inference from it
as to the CROSS
and the ALTAR
FRONTALS.

the other Vestments of the Minister which Edward's 2nd Prayer Book had *distinctly abolished*; though they left Ornaments which had not thus explicitly been forbidden, *e. g.*, The Standard Candlesticks, The Candlesticks for the Altar, A Mitre (probably for the Bishop's use when he came), and A Stole. It is true that Edward's amended Injunctions of his *third* year forbade the "setting any *light* upon the Lord's "board at any time" (see p. 50); but, whatever we may think of the Commissioners' (or of Dr. Lushington's) *consistency*, they could not be charged with *illegality* in allowing the Altar *Candlesticks* to remain, either for Ornament, or for "the purpose of giving necessary Light"; especially if they thought, with the learned Judge (p. 55),—"that this [latter] "exception must necessarily be engrafted even upon the "positive prohibition" just quoted. Why the Commissioners should have left, besides "a bell for the bellman," also "a "sacryng bell" (the "ringing" of which the same amended Injunctions had forbidden), it may not be possible to determine: the only information, apparently, upon the subject is contained among the Inventories at Carlton Ride, in a fragment of, what the Officers there consider to be, *A Summary of Articles left for the Celebration of Divine Service in the several Churches in the County of Berks*, and which is as follows, "Stanford,"—"In the Parysh Church ther two "chalyces parcell gilte, fourc bells, a sance bell, a sacring bell,"—a statement which, it will be seen, on comparison, agrees exactly with the Parish Document.

That these various Articles, left or returned by the Commissioners, were retained by the Churchwardens (except, perhaps, such of the Linen as was to be given to the poor), seems proved by the account of the Things which had to be renewed in Mary's reign: a comparison of the lists will shew that, in addition to the re-purchases from the prudent Vicar, only a very few Articles were wanting to satisfy the requirements of the restored Latin Services; and of these The Altar Cross (or Crucifix), The Altar Candlesticks and Altar Coverings formed no part.

The next example of these ancient Catalogues of Church Goods is, on many accounts, both interesting and valuable. It is the Commissioners' copy of the Return made by the

1552-3.
Edward VI.

Corroboration of
a view of Dr.
Lushington.

A second Document, viz.

1552-3.

Edward VI.

Churchwardens of St. MARTIN OUTWICH,* in the City of London, to the inquiries instituted in the *sixth* year of King Edward, and, evidently, was drawn up with a careful attention to the precise questions of the Royal Inquisitors.

It remains:

The King's Inventory of St. MARTIN OUTWICH, LONDON.

“Amongst the Records late of the Augmentation Office preserved in the Branch Public Record Office Carlton Ride in the custody of the Right Honourable the Master of the Rolls pursuant to the Statute 1 & 2 Victoria cap: 94 to wit among the Certificates of Church Goods it is thus contained;

SAINTE MARTYN } A trewe declaracion Indented and made the xvjth day o
OWTWICH. } Septembre in the Sixte yere of the Reigne of our Soue
raigne Lorde King Edward the Sixte by vs James Altham and Rober
Spenser Churchwardens of the Parishe Church of Seinte Martins Owtwich in
the warde / of / Brodestreate vnto the kings ma^{tie} honorable Commissioners
concerning certeyn articles exhibited by them vnto vs for the survey / of /
Church goods as hereafter folowith

The ffirst Article

Itim where as in yo^r ffirst article you will vs to sertifie the names of suche persons as were o^r churchwardens in the ffirst yere of the Reigne of o^r Soueraigne Lorde the King that now is

Answer

To that it may please you to vnderstand that then was John Brewer and John Warren in that office

The second Article

Itim where as in yo^r second article you willid vs to sertify what goodes, plate, jewells, vestements bells and other ornaments wee or any other person or persons now have or hathe in o^r possessions belonging or apperteyning to oure said Church

Answer

Here ensueth the very trew particulers of all suche goodes, plate, jewells, vestments coopes bells and other ornaments w^{ch} ar now remayning in o^r custody and keping

Plate remayning

First a very faire communion cupe wth a couer bothe of silver and gilte weying xliij ounnes on q^a
Itim a faire bason of silver parcell gilte weying xlij ounnes
Itim a chalice wth a pattent of silver and gilt bothe weying xxix ounnes
Itim a crosse of silver parcell gilte weying xlv ounnes
Itim two faire candillsticks of silver bothe waying lxxxxij ounnes
Itim a ffoote of silver and gilte weying
Itim a smale ivory boxe garnessed wth silver
Itim certeyn cristall w^{ch} was in the best crosse wth glasse payntyd papers and other baggage w^{ch} all weyed xvij oz on q

Copes and vestement remayning

Itim a faire cope of clothe of golde chaungeing vpon redd veluet
Itim another cope of clothe of golde chaungeing upon blew veluet
Itim a vestement of whyt damaske wth the apparrell

* This Copy was kindly furnished me by J. D. Chambers, Esq., who had procured it from Carlton Ride when compiling the List referred to in Note a., p. 105.

- Itim a olde cope of redd veluett wth flowres
 Itim a herse clothe for burings 1552-3.
 Edward VI.
 Itim a bible of the large volume
 Itum a booke of the parapherasis of the evangelists and the acts
 Itim annother booke of the parapherasis of the pistills of paule and the
 rest of the new testament *Books remayning*
 Itim two books of common prayer
 Itim ffoure sawters [*i. e.* psalters]
 Itim two psession books [*?* processionalis]
 Itum two reven surpleses for the person [*i. e.* parson]
 Itim ffyve surpleses playne
*Surpleses re-
maining*
 Itim fyve table clothes one playne and iiij of dieper
 Itim fyve towells iiij of diaper and one playne wth vij awbes and hedstalls
 Itim a bason and two crewetts all of pewter wth a smalle thing of coper
 and gilte *Table clothes re-
maining*
 Itim a greate presse of waynescote to hang copes in
 Itim a great chest bound wth iron
 Itim a long deske of tymber for books
 Itim a communion table wth a frame and iiij fourmes
 Itim a paire of orgayns a folding deske of waynescott
 Itim a faire marble tombe ffurnished
 Itim iiij grave stones wth dyvers other stones
 Itim certeyn olde tymber in the cloyster
 Itim iiij other chestes bounde wth iron and xij torche-staves wth bowells
 Itim certeyn olde iron and a cover of a chest of waynscott
 Itim a cobberte of waynescott wth an auter borde and other olde tymber in
 the vestry *Pewter and Cop-
per remaning*
 Itim ij olde curteyns of sey and an olde here clothe
 Itim a clothe for the pulpett of whyte silke
 Itim iiij koweshins of carpett worke
 Itim an old awter clothe of russett veluet wth a crucifix of gold wth a foute
 [*?* foot] cloth of olde russett veluet *Remaning*
 Itim iiij bells in the steple of a meane sise and a sannse [*i. e.* sanctus] bell
 the waight of them uncerteyn

The thirde Article.

Itim whereas in yo^r thirde article you will vs to certifie and present vnto you
 the counterpaine[*?* counterpart] of the inventory of o^r said church goodes
 plate jewells and other ornaments by the late churchwardens of o^r said
 parishe and certified to the officers of the late Bisshope of London or to
 any other And in defaulte and lacke of suche inventory the trew and
 hole transcriptes and coppies of all suche books and registers as wee
 haue or kept in o^r said church wherein the perticulrs of our said
 church goodes were then certenly mencioned and expressed

Answer.

To this wee say that none of o^r prediccors church wardens at any
 tyme heretofore gaue or presented any suche inventory to the last
 Bishopp of London or any other to o^r knowledge or that wee can
 hereof nor wee haue no suche contorpane / other then that at the
 tyme of the desolving of the chaunteries / by the commaundement
 of lyke commissiours Then there was delyvered a certeyn booke
 called o^r ligear or register into thands of one m^r Losse whiche
 booke remayneth in his custody to our knowledge And in that
 booke in dede there was entered a trewe inventory of all o^r church
 goodes that wee had then the trew copy whereof next vnder
 wrytten ensueth viz

PLATE.

1552-3.

Edward VI.

The olde inventory of all the goods and ornaments appertayning to this Church in the first yere of the reigne of the King that now is

- Itim a crosse of siluer /and gilte/ with Mary and John weying Cxij ounces
 Itim a playne crosse of siluer percell gilte weying xlvi ounces
- Itim two candellsticks of siluer bothe weying ^{xx}iiij ounces & xij^o
 Itim a chalice wth a pattent siluer and gilte weying xxix ounces
 Itim a smale foote of siluer and gilte weying
 Itim a pixe of siluer and gilte two chalices wth on patten a paxe and a
 crismatory percell gilte all together weying ^{xx}iiij xiiij ounces & a half
 Itim two chalices /wth/ two pattents gilte weying xlvi ounces iij q^r
 Itim a censor ij crewetts and a pattent percell gilte weying xliij ounces q^t
 Itim a smale ivery boxe garnished wth siluer
- Itim a cope of course clothe of golde redd wth the orfreyes of nedle worke
 Itim a cope of clothe of golde brannched wth blew strikes the orfrayes and
 cape of nedleworke and Jhus Maria wrought in severall places
 Itim an holde cope of redd veluet wth diuers flowres wrought therevpon
 Itim a border of redd veluet wth a frence that serveth for the founte wth three
 starres and a lambe
- Itim a pulpet clothe of whyte bawdekyn lyned wth redd satten
 Itim three quishshens [? cushions] of carpet worke the backesid of thone
 russett veluett and thother leder [? leather]
- Itim a clothe of blew veluet wth borders of redd satten of bridges wth a
 crucifix Mary & John and certeyn other images And iij bucketts in a
 scutthion vsed to lye vpon y^e dead corps
- Itim an olde awter clothe of dieper moche worne conteyning thre ells
 Itim another olde aulter clothe of dieper conteyning two ells q^{tr}
 Itim another olde aulter clothe of dieper conteyning two ells q^{tr}
 Itim another playne alter clothe of lynen cont ij ells iij q^{tr}
 Itim a playne aulter clothe of lynen conteyning ij ells iij q^{tr}
 Itim a longe towell of dieper cont fyve ells q^{tr}
 Itim another longe towell of dieper cont vj ells q^{tr}
 Itim another towell of dieper cont fyve ells q^{tr}
 Itim another towell of dieper cont v ells large
 Itim a shorte towell of dieper conteyning ij ells iij q^{tr}
 Itim vij awbes wth hed peces & ix surpleses
 Itim a smale bason of powder wth a rose in the bottom
- Itim the preest deacon and subdeacon of clothe of golde wth orfrayes and
 backs of nedleworke wth awbes and all thyngs to them belonging
- Itim one olde cope of whyte damaske wrought wth braunches & floures of
 grene silke and gold wth the preest deacon and subdeacon & all the
 apparrell
- Itim a cope of clothe a tissue or golde raylled with striks of blew wth the
 hole apparrell for preests deacon and subdeacon nothing lacking
- Itim the apparrell for the preest and subdeacon of olde redd veluet wth
 awbes & other aparell
- Itim two olde copes of blew buckeram wth certen flowres embrodred vpon
 Itim one olde cope of blacke chambelett wth orfrayes of blew satten of
 bridges & flowres wrought vpon
- Itim thre olde copes of whyte clothe of Bawdkin
 Itim an olde cope of blew bawdken the orfrayes of russet damaske wrought
 wth copper siluer
- Itim a very olde cope of whyte damaske all torne
 Itim thre smale copes for children of olde clothe of bawdkin of severall
 colors
- Itim a banner clothe of grene sarcenet wth the Assumpcion of Jhesus
 therevpon

- Itim three aulter fronts of grene sarcenet wth gartors wrought there vpon
 Itim another aulter fronte wth gartars thone half of blew buckeram and
 the other half grene sarcenet
 Itim a cannapie clothe of redd and grene veluet wth frenges of silke
 Itim an vpper front & a neder fronte for the aulter of grene & whyte satten
 of bridges
 Itim an vpper fronte & a nether fronte for an aulter payned wth redd
 srenet and blew damaske and garters theron
 Itim iij moo [? more] olde nether fronts of blew satten of bridges wrought wth
 flowres
 Itm three moo olde nether fronts of whyte damaske wrought wth flowres
 Itim sixt curtyns of blew srenet frenged wth silke
 Itim five curteyns of grene sarcenet frenged wth silke
 Itim a vestement of dornex the crosse of grene damaske wth thole apparrell
 Itim an old vestement of whyte damaske wth a crosse of grene damaske &
 thaparrell
 Itim an olde vestement of clothe a bawdkin redd wth images wrought on
 the crosse wth thaparrell
 Itim an olde vestement of clothe a bawdkin wth the apparrell
 Itim another olde vestement of whyte chambelett wth a redd crosse of
 damaske & thaparrell
 Itim another vestement of whyte damaske wth a crosse of redd damaske
 wth flowres wrought there vpon wth all thaparrell
 Itim an olde vestement of grene dornex wth a crosse of yelow dornex &
 thaparrell
 Itim an olde vestement of clothe a bawdkin of carnacion coulor wth a crosse
 of bawdkin and the apparrell
 Itim an olde vestement of whyte damaske wth a crosse /of/ grene damaske
 & thaparrell
 Itim a vestement of olde blacke veluet the crosse of clothe of golde
 wth thaparrell
 Itim an olde vestement of blew bawdkin wth a crosse of russett damaske &
 thaparrell
 Itim a vestement of grene satten of bridges wth a redd crosse of bridges
 /satten/ & thaparrell
 Itim a vestement of olde blacke bawdkin wth a crosse of redd satten &
 thaparrell
 Itim a vestement of grene and redd bawdkin wth a crosse of blew bawdkin
 and thaparrell
 Itim a vestement of whyte fustyan wth a blew crosse of olde veluet & the
 aparrell
 Itim a vestement of whyte sarcenet wth a crosse of grene sarcenet &
 thaparrell
 Itim an olde vestement of redd bawdkin wth a grene crosse wth thaparrell
 Itim a vestement of red silke wth birdes eyes wth a crosse of whyte bawd-
 kin & none aparrell
 Itim ij tuncles of bawdkin of carnacion coulor wth on apparrell
 Itim one other tuncle or vestement of blacke chambelett wth a crosse of
 purple satten of bridges & the aparrell
 Itim ij images cotes [? coats] thone of tawney veluet thother of whyt
 sarcenet & garters
 Itim a towell or panle [*vel paule*] of blew bawdkin over thwarts straked
 wth silke frenge at thends
 Itim xj corperax cases some of veluet & some of silke of dyvers facions
 Itim an old presse of waynescott that the cope^s lay in and another awbery
 or cobber [? aumbrey or cupboard] of waynscott
 Itim another old presse that the books lay vpon

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Edward VI.
The Old Inventory
- Itim iiij towells of diaper and of playne clothe old & moche worne
Itim a course myter of nedleworke that serued for the bysshop on sainte
Nicholas day
Itim iij crestes of wood carved and gilded wth gold
Itim iij old paynted clothes moche worne
Itim ij fronts of blew sarcenet wth frenges
Itim a clothe called the vale and a clothe called the roode clothe / stayned
Itim on olde pese of clothe stayned and certeyn olde stayned clothes of
dyvers coullors
Itim a pese of tymber gilded & ij iron rodde
Itim a brasse panne that serued for water
Itim a barre of iron redd okered
Itim iiij gilded knoppes wth iij vaynes
Itim ij latten candelsticks for an aulter iij candelsticks moo of latten xij
latten bells greate and smale a shipp a crismatory all of latten
and fyve crewetts of pewter weying all to gether xvij lb waight
Itim one pece called a half pace
Itim ij peses of tymbre that belonged to the sepulchre
Itim ij standers of latten weying C d

The fourth Article

- Itim whereas in yo^r fourth article you will vs to certify you of what parte
or parcell of o^r said church goodes plate or jewells or other ornaments
hathe byn sold or putt away sith the first yere of the raigne of the
king's ma^{tie} that now ys to whome when and by whome and for what
pryse / the accomplishment of yor request hereafter ensueth

SALES.

*Sales made of
certeyn goods or
naments and
plate appertey-
ning to our said
Church.*

- Itim ⁱpmis sold in the yere of our Lorde God m^l v^c xlvij by John Brewre
then being churchwarden vnto certeyn parishioners old tabernacles
being defaced & other lyke baggage as apperith by o^r jornall to the
some of xxxj s iij ds
Itim sold in the yere of o^r Lord God m^l v^c xlviij by Willm Sell then being
church warden vnto John Owen two standers of latten weying on C
& half at twenty shillings the hundreth amountith xxx s
Itim sold in the yere of o^r Lored God m^l v^c l: by Willm Merick then
being churchwarden vnto John Warren these vestem^{ts} a vestement
for a preest deacon & subdeacon of clothe of gold wth orfraies
backs of nedle worke wth awbes & all things to them belonging
prise of vj li xvij s iij ds
Itim more solde by the said Mericke in the yere a foresaid to Thomas
Polsted one olde cope of whyte damaske wrought wth branched &
flowres of greine silke and gold wth the preest's vestement deacon &
subdeacon wth all the apparrell prise of ij li vj s vij ds
Itim sold by the said Willm Merick in the yere aforesaid vnto the said
Mericke a cope of cloth tissue or golde rayled wth stryks of blew
wth the hole apparrell for preest deacon and subdeacon pryse of vij li
Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere aforesaid to the said
Thomas Polsted the aparrell for /the/ preest and subdeacon of olde
red veluet wth awbes & other apparrell pryse of xxvj s vij ds
Itim sold more by the said Willm Mericke in the yere forsaid to James
Altham two olde copes of blew buckeram wth certeyn flowres enbraw-
dered there vpon pryse of ix s
Itim solde more by the said Mericke in the yere aforesaid vnto the foresaid
John Waren one olde cope of blacke chambelet wth orfreyes of blew
satten of bridges and flowres therevpon wrought pryse of x s
Itim more solde by the said Willm Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto John
Brewer three olde copes of whyte cloth of bawdkin pryse of vij s

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- Sales.*
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere aforesaid vnto John Alile on old cope of blew bawdkin the orfrayes of russett damaske wrought wth copper silner prise v s viij ds
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere aforesaid vnto the said John Alilie a very olde cope of whyte damaske all torne pryse of iij s iiij ds
- Itim sold more by the said Willm Merick in the yere forsaid vnto Willm Baker powderer iij smale copes for children of clothe of bawdkin of severall coullors pryse iiij s
- Itim sold more by the said Merick in the yere aforesaid vnto the forsaid James Altham a /old/ bann. clothe of sarcenet wth the Assumption of Jhus therevpon pryse iiij ds
- Itim solde more by the said Mericke in the yere aforesaid vnto the forsaid John Alilie three Aulter fronts of grene sarcenet wth garters therevpon wrought and one other aulter fronte wthout garters thone half of blew buckeram and thother half grene sarcenet pryse of xs
- Itim solde more by the said Willm Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named James Altham one canapie clothe of redd and grene veluet frenge wth silke and a vper front and a nether front for an aulter of grene and whyt satten of bridges pryse iij li vj s viij ds
- Itim solde more by the said Willm Mericke in the yere a forsaid vnto the fore named John Alilie an vpper fronte and /a/ nether fronte for an aulter payned wth redd sarcenet and blew damaske wth garters / three moo olde nether fronts of blew satten of brydges wrought wth flowres and three moo olde nether frontts of whyte damaske wrought wth flowers and also more sixe curtyns of blew sarcenet frenge wth silke wth fyve curtens more of grene sarcenet frenge wth silke pryse of iij li vj s viij ds
- Itim sold by the said Mericke in the yere aforesaid vnto the fore named John Brewre a vestement of grene dornex the crosse of grene damaske wth all the apparrell for the preest pryse of iij s
- Itim solde more by the said Willm Merick in the yere a forsaid vnto the fore named John Warren and old vestement of whyte damaske wth a crosse of grene damaske and all the apparrell pryse of ij s iiij ds
- Itim solde more by the said Willm Mericke in the said yere vnto Doctor Kirckham parson of the said parshe churche one olde vestement of clothe of bawdkin wth thaparrell pise iiij s
- Itim solde by the said Mericke in the yere a foresaid vnto Rowland Staper on other old vestment of clothe of bawdkin wth the apparrell iiij s iiij ds
- Itim sold more by the said Willm Mericke in the yere aforesaid vnto the fore named John Brewre an other olde vestement of whyte chambelet wth a redde crosse of damaske wth all thaparrell prise of xij ds
- Itim sold by the said Mericke in the yere aforesaid vnto the fore named Doctor Kirckham on other vestement of whyte damaske wth a crosse of red damaske wth flowres wrought vpon it pryse of xvj ds
- Itim sold by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto the forenamed John Brewer an olde vestement of /grene/ Dornex wth a crosse of yallow dornex and the aparrell pise ij s
- Itim solde more by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto on parson Marshe an olde vestement of bawdkin of carnacion coulor wth a crosse of bawdkin and the aparrell iij s iiij ds
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named Warren an old vestment of whyte damaske wth a crosse of grene damaske wth thaparrell iij s viij ds
- Itim sold by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto Richard Davy an old vestement of blacke veluet the crosse of clothe of golde wth thaparrell prise xx s
- Itim more solde by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the forsaid

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Salcs.

- John Brewre an old vestment of blew bawdkin wth a crosse of russett damaske & the apparrell v s
- Itim more sold by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named Thomas Polsted a vestement of grene satten of bridges wth a redd crosse of satten of bridges and all the aparrell prise xiiij s
- Itim solde more by the said Mericke / in / the yere forsaid vnto the fore named Baker a vestement of old blacke bawdkin wth a crosse of redd satten & thapparrell x s
- Itim more solde by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named John Brewere a vestment of grene & redd bawdkin wth a crosse of blew bawdkin & the aparrell v s
- Itim solde more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named John Alilie a vestement of whyt fustian wth a blew crosse of olde veluet & thapparrell p'se xvj ds
- Itim more sold by the said Mericke in the yere aforesaid vnto the afore named Doctor Kirkham a vestement of whyte sarcenet wth a crosse of grene sarcenet & thaparell prise iij s iiij ds
- Itim solde by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named Rowland Staper an olde vestement of red bawdkin wth a grene crosse & the apparrell v s
- Itim more solde by the said Merick in the yere aforesaid vnto the fore named John Warren a vestement of redd silke wth birdes eyes & a crosse of whyte bawdkin wth out aparell xxij ds
- Itim more solde by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named James Altham twoo tunacles of bawdkin of carnacion coullor wth one [vel out] apparrell vj s viij ds
- Itim / more / solde by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named John Warren an other tunacle or vestment of blacke chambelett wth a crosse of purpull satten of brydges withe the apparrell prise iij s iiij ds
- Itim more sold by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto John Brewre aforesaid an image cote of veluet prise xij ds
- Itim more solde by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named John Alilie one other images cote of whyte sarcenet wth gartes prise iiij ds
- Itim solde more by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto John Busshe xi corporax cases some of veluet & other some of silke of diuers fashions xj s
- Itim more sold by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto Robert Spencer foure towells of dieper & of playne clothe olde & moche worne vij s iiij ds
- Itim sold more by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named James Altham a course myter of nedleworke that served for the bisshop at saint Nicholastyde xx ds
- Itim solde by the said Merecke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named John Busshe three crests of wood carved and gilded wth golde xx ds
- Itim sold more by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto Thomas Norfolke three olde paynted clothes moche worne prise xvj ds
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named John Warren ij fronts of blew sarcenet wth frenges xij ds
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named Thomas Polsted the clothe called the vale and a clothe called the roode clothe stayned xij s
- Itim solde more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto old Polsted one old pece of clothe stayned pryse ii s
- Itim solde more by the saide Merike in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named John Alilie certeyn paynted clothes of dyvers coullors vj s iij ds

- Itim solde more by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named
 Roberte Spenser a pese of tymbre guildid & ii iron rodde vij *ds*
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named
 Robert Spenser a brasse panne that served for water x *s*
- Itim more solde by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the forsaid
 John brewre a barr of iron red okered iij *ds*
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named
 John Alilie iij gilt knoppes wth iij vanes iij *ds*
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named
 Rowland Staper ij latten candellsticks for an aulter iij candilticks moo
 of latten xij latten bells great and smale a pixe a shipp wth a crismatory
 all of latten and fyve crewets of pewter weying all to gethers xvij
 lb weight at v *ds* the lb vij *s* vj *ds*
- Itim sold more by the said Merick in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named
 John Alilie one pese called an half pace iij *ds*
- Itim solde more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto James Chap-
 man ij peses of tymbre that belonged to the sepulture vj *ds*
- Itim solde more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto Rowland
 Staper a sacring bell vj *ds*
- Itim solde more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto Henry Twne-
 send an aumbry that stode in a wall xv *ds*
- Itim solde more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto John Grene
 a pese of an old pewe vij *ds*
- Itim sold by the said Willm Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto a statcion^r
 certeyn old laten books apartayning to the said churche wheying
 thre hundredth forty & sixe pounds at three farthings & half q^a the lb
 amountith xxv *s* ix *ds*
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto Willm Sell
 on antifenar of parshement weying xxxvj lb at iij q^a the lb ij *s* iij *ds*
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto Richard Davy
 one other antifener of parshement weying xxxij lb at iij q^a the lb ii *s*
- Itim sold more by the said Mericke in the yere forsaid vnto the fore named
 Sell ii stone steppes ij *s* vij *ds*
- Itim solde in the yere of o^r Lorde God mⁱ v^c lj by Thomas Polsted then
 being church warden vnto Anthoni Goldsmyth a crosse of siluer and
 gilte wth Mary and John weying net one hundredth & twelve ounces
 at fyve shillings & fyve pence the ounce amountith to the some of
 xxx *li* vj *s* vii *ds*
- Itim solde more by the same Thomas Polsted in the yere aforesaid vnto
 John Reynolds goldsmyth a pixe of siluer and gilte ij chalices wth one
 pattent a paxe and a crismatory of siluer and percell gilte all together
 weying thre score thirtene ounces & a half at fyve shillings the ounce
 one wth thother amounting to the some of xvij *li* vij *s* vj *ds*
- Itim solde more by the said Thomas Polsted in the yere aforesaid vnto
 m^r fyssher goldsmyth one ounce and thre quarters of /gilte/ siluer at
 fyve shillings eight pens the ounce & was for so moche lefte of the
 over waight of the siluer delyvered him to make the communion cuppe
 wth all amountith to the some of ix *s* xj *ds*
- Itim sold more by the said Thomas Polsted in the yere aforesaid vnto
 George Idle an old pese of tymbre xx *ds*
- Itim sold more by the said Thomas Polsted in the yere aforesaid vnto
 Richard Leycrofte xxij lb weight of grave metall prise vij *s* iij *ds*

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Edward VI.

Sales.

Somma totalls of all the sales }
 as apereth aforesaid } xx
 amountith the some of } iij x *li* ix *s* xj *ds*

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Edward VI.

Further Touching the fourth article

Itim whereas in yo^r fourth Article you will vs to strtife you to what vse the money comyng of the sales made aforesaid hathe byn employed and bestoed vpon and by whome and by whose Appoyntement and consent

Answer

To this wee sertife and say that yt ys and hathe byn Employed and bestowed in and upon the necessary reparacions of o^r said church and necessary ornaments for the furnature of the same And the mayntennance of o^r [defaced] Sexten and Lawnder [? the person who washed the Church Linen] by the said church wardens aforesaid and by the appoyntment and consent of the parishioners of the same the inpployment wherof hereafter foloweth

*Employments.**Employments and Reperacions*

- Itim ffirst in the yere of o^r Lord God m^l v^c xlviij in the tyme of John Brewre and John Warren then being church wardens payed and bestowed for the mending of certeyn old pewes viij ds
- Itim more paid and bestowed by them for certeyn reparacions done vpon the church as apperith by certeyn peells in o^r jornall xxix s iiij ds
- Itim more paid by them to How the organ maker for his yerely fee xij ds
- Itim more paid and bestowed by them for certyn waynescott and the workmanship thereof sett vp vpon the roodlofte xxv s
- Itim more paid and bestowed by them for payving ayenst the church on brodstret syde the some of viij s vij ds
- Itim more paid by them to the churches launder for his yerely wages vj s viij ds
- Itim more paid by them vnto the sexten for his yerely wages vj s viij ds
- Itim in the yere of o^r Lorde God m^l v^c xlviij in the tyme of Willm Sell then being church warden paid and bestowed for thone half of the parapharacs [? Erasmus's Paraphrases] v s
- Itim. more in the same yere by Rowland Staper paid to How the organ maker for his yerely fee xij ds
- Itim more paid by him to m^r Rastall for counsell aboute o^r church yarde xx ds
- Itim more paid and bestowed /by him/ vpon smythes worke for locks keys bolts and staples for the church ij s x ds
- Itim more paid by him to the churches lawnder for hir yerely wages v s iiij ds
- Itim more paid by him vnto the sexten for his yerely wags vj s viij ds
- Itim paid and bestowed more by him for one booke of comon prayer and ij englishe saulters for our church vj s viij ds
- Itim in the yere of o^r Lord God m^l v^c xlxi in the tyme of Willm Merick then being Church warden by him paid and bestowed for on other booke of comon prayre and ij sawters in Englishe viij s
- Itim more paid in the sane [*sic*] yere by him to the churches launder for hir yerely wages vs iiij ds
- Itim more paid by him to the sexten for his yerely wages x s
- Itim paid more by him for mending one pew iiij ds
- Itim paid more by him vnto the recorder of London for his counsell about o^r church yarde vj s viij ds
- Itim pd more by him for tyling the steple and other places nedefull of the church ij s viij ds
- Itim pd more by him vnto a carpenter for a pese of tymbre for the poore mens boxe and for the cariage of the same to the smythes xxij ds
- Itim pd more by him vnto the smythe for making the locke wth ij keys plats bands and leade apparteyning to the same boxe vj s vj ds
- Itim pd /by him/ to a mason for fastening the same boxe in a wall xxij ds

- Employments.*
- Itim pd more by him to a plasterer for plastering the vestery ij dayes worke
xxds for his laborer xijds for here [*i. e.* hair] lymbe lathe and sprige
xvj ds some iiij s
- Itim pd more by him for xvj waynescotts at xiiij ds the pese w^{ch} was
bought by him for the making of iij new pewes xviiij s viij ds
- Itim pd more by him for the sawing and caring [*i. e.* carrying] of the same
waynescotts to and fro iiij s ij ds
- Itim pd more by him vnto ij joynors for xxiiij dayes worke aboute the same
pewes at xijds the day a pese xlviij s
- Itim pd more by him for Cq^{as} and iij foote of bourde ocupied about y^e same
pewes vij s ij ds
- Itim pd more by him vnto the carpenter for a poncion and v q^{as} ij s
- Itm pd more by him to the ironmonger for hengs and nales spent aboute
the same pewes vj s viij ds
- Itim pd more by him vnto a mason for cutting a stone steppe and vnder
pning the same pewes xvj ds
- Itim pd more by him to a smyth for a new locke and key and a shuffull
xxij ds
- Itim pd more by him to How the organ maker for his yere/ly/ fee xij ds
- Itim in the yere of o^r lorde god mⁱ v^c l in the tyme of the said Willm
Mericke then also being churchwarden and charged therwth paid by
him /more/ vnto the launders for /hir/ yerely wages v s iiiij ds
- Itim pd more by him to o^r sexten for his yerely wages x s
- Itm pd more by him to the said How for his yerely fee xij ds
- Itm pd more by him to the smyth for a bolte of iron and for the making
of a greate /key/ for the churche dore mending the locke and for a
chene and staples for one of the paraphrases ij s ij ds
- Itim pd more by him vnto ij /work/ men for takin downe the awters and
the steppes /in the chapell/ carying away the rubishe and for leveling
the grounde /in the said chapell/ ix s viij ds
- Itim pd more by him for thone half of the paraphrases vpon the epistles
iiij s
- Itim pd more by him to a workeman and his laborer for making vp the
wall behynd the awter and for paving the cloyster and mending the
gutter vj s viij ds
- Itim pd more by him for iiiij matts for the comunyon table xvj ds
- Itim pd more by him for a comunyon table and iiiij formes xxiiij s iiiij ds
- Itim in the yere of o^r lorde god mⁱ v^c lj: in the tyme of Thomas Polsted then
being churche warden employed and chaunged for the necessary vse of
the mynistracoon these pcells of plate being pcell of the olde inventory
as aperith aforsaid thereof to make a comunyon cuppe wth a cover and
a bason that ys to say two chalices and two pattents gilte weying
xliij ozes and a censor two crewetts and one pattent pcell gilte weying
xliij ozes q^a all together a mounting in waight xx
iiij vj ozes on q^r
- Itim more bestowed and paid by the said Polsted vnto m^r ffisher goldsmyth
for making and gilding of the comunyon cuppe wth the cover after
iij s iiiij ds the oze and for making of the bason after xij ds the oze
amounting all the some of ix li vij s xj ds
- Itim more bestowed and paid by the said Polsted vnto m^r Hunte for on
C q^{as} and half q^{as} and three bourdes of waynescotts for new pewes and
other necessary repacons xiiij li ij s
- Itm more bestowed and paid by the said Polsted for on C clapp bourde
x s iiiij ds
- Itim more bestowed and paid by the said Polsted for the sawing of all the
same wanescotts the some of ij li xix s v ds
- Itim more bestowed and paid by the said Polsted for the cariage of the
same waynescotts to and froo the sawing vj s

1552-3. Edward VI.	Itim more bestowed and paid by the said Polsted for planche bourde and quarter bourde for the bottoms and seyts occupied and spent aboute the same pewes	xxxij s iij ds
<i>Employments.</i>	Itim more bestowed and paid by him to the joyner and his men for workmanship vpon the same pewes and other repacons the space of one half yere at xij d a man for every day and for removing and setting vp the pulpett and for a boxe for the poore the some of	xxxvj li ix s x ds
	Itim more bestowed and pd by the said Polsted for locks garnetts and bolts in and vpon the same pewes and other necessaries some of	ij li iij s ix ds
	Itim more bestowed and paid by the said Polsted for nayles spent on the same pewes	xxj s v ds
	Itim more bestowed and paid by him for smythes worke	xj s v ds
	Itim more bestowed and paid by the said Polsted for candells for the joyners to worke by and for glew the some of	vij s viij ds
	Itim more bestowed and paid by him to m ^r Wysedom the paynter for garneshing gilding paynting and wryting of the quyre and the chapell w th the paynting of the backe of the quere some of	ij li xij s iij ds
	Itim more bestowed and paid by him to the glasier for glasing the churche and for setting twoo of the kings armes in the same glasse	vij li v s
	Itim more lost by vertue of two severall pclamacons made and sett fourth by the kings ma ^{tye} in the yere aforesaid out of xxij li vj s vij ds money at that remayning in the churche boxe the some of	v li ix s vij ds
	Itim more bestowed and paid by him for paving tyle for the necessary repaying of the churche some of	ix s
	Itim more bestowed and paid by him for lymbe and sand for lyke repacons	vj s viij ds
	Itim more bestowed and paid by him to brickeleyars and laborers for their workmanship about the repering of the churche	xxj s vj d
	Itim more bestowed and paid by him to the plomer for soder and mending the gutters of the churche	iiij s ij ds
	Itim more bestowed and paid by him to a mason for taking downe a tombe and for the taking downe and setting vp of the pulpett	xiiij s viij ds
	Itim more paid by him to How for his yerely fee as aforesaid	xij ds
	Itim more pd by him to the launder for hir yerely wags	v s iij ds
	Itim more paid by him to the sexten for his yerely wags	x s
	Itim more paid by him for the cariage of rubishe	xij ds
	Itim bestowed and paid by James Altham churchwarden in this yere psent for psument and ingrosing these books indentid	xxj s j ds
	Sumna totalls of all the Employment ^s and repacons }	Cv li
	by me Jemes Altham } by me Robert Spencer }	churchwardens

It will be noticed in this case that a considerable part of the Church Goods was sold to meet the expenses of Repairs which, no doubt, were held to be included in the "some other" "necessary and convenient service of the Church" mentioned in the King's Proclamation of 1548 as the *only* alternative of their not being "used to the intent they were at first given" (see p. 33).

Until the *fourth* year of King Edward (1550), however, was parted with save "two Latten Standards" and some "old" "tabernacles being defaced and other lyke baggage": but in that yearly *nearly all* the Vestments of the Clergy and the Altar Frontals were disposed of, together with the Altar

Candlesticks and some other Things made of *inferior metal*. But it is remarkable that the most valuable Ornament, *viz.*, "a crosse of siluer and gilte with *Mary and John* weying "exij ounces" was not sold until 1551 (when other silver Articles were converted into a "Communion Cup"); and this is a striking confirmation of the view taken at pp. 56—62, that Altar Crucifixes were not meant to be included under the 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 10, A.D. 1549—50, which stringently prohibited even the *possession* of "Images." It will be seen, too, that, among the Ornaments remaining in the *sixth* year there was a SILVER CROSS and a PAIR OF SILVER CANDLESTICKS, which it is strange were not sold if *disused*, considering that the Churchwardens had spent £13 10s. 1d. (a large sum then) more than the produce of the sales.

The two Inventories already given, are examples of the rich and varied stores pertaining to a Country and a London Parish Church; the one now subjoined completes the specimens^a by exhibiting the like Treasures of the Chapter of Winchester—a Cathedral famous for the value and splendor of its Ornaments. It exists—

"Amongst the Records late of the Queen's Remembrancer preserved in the Branch Public Record Office, Carlton Ride, in the custody of the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to Stat. 1 & 2 Vict., cap. 94 to wit, among the Inventories of Church Goods :

The Inventorye of all the platte juelles ornaments vestiments copes and belles of the Cathedrall Churche of the blessed Trinite in Winchester taken the third daye of October anno dni 1552.

Inprimis ij basons of silvar and gilt withe rosis in them
 Itm. ij candlestickes of Silvar and all gilt
 Itm. a monstrall of Silvar and all gilt
 Itm. ij crosses of silvar
 Itm. ij cruatts of Silvar and one bell of Silvar
 Itm. one pix of silvar and all gilt
 Itm. iij chalices wth patents of Silvar and all gilt
 Itm. a small picture of Silvar
 Itm. one payre of silvar candlesticks
 Itm. too silvar censors and ij cruatts of silvar and gilt
 Itm. one holy water pott of Silvar and gilt
 Itm. one sprinkle of silvar and percell gilt
 Itm. ij platts of a gospell booke of silvar and pecell gilt
 Itm. one pistle booke withe one side plated withe silvar

^a Other examples of the Carlton Ride Inventories have been printed in full in the *Ecclesiologist* for April and June 1856; the former is the List of the Ornaments belonging to S. Nicholas, Cole Abbey, in the City of London—the latter that of S. Paul's Cathedral; both are of the year 1552.

Mr. Chambers too (in his "Strictures Legal and Historical on the Judgment of the Corsitory Court of London, in December 1855, in the case of Westerton versus Liddell,) has compiled a valuable analysis from these Inventories of the several kinds of Ornaments which remained in 1552, in 415 Churches in the City of London, and in the Counties of Middlesex, Essex, Cambridge, Kent, Surrey, Norfolk, Worcester, Oxford, Gloucester, Stafford, and the City of Exeter: only *eight* of the whole number are of an earlier date, *viz.* 1549.

1552-3.
Edward VI.

- Itm. one shippe of silvar withe a litle silvar spone
 Itm. a crissma of silvar and percell gilt
 Itm. one myghtar of perle and a crosyars staffe of silvare and gilt
 Itm. one pontyfycall ryng of silvar and gilt wth countfet stones
 Itm. one payre of red glovis wth tasselles wrowght wth venis gold
 Itm. one staffe plated wth silvar
 Itm. one crosse of silvarand pcell gilt
 Itm. one crosse of burall wth iiij litle plates of silvar
 Itm. six chalice of silvar sum gilt and some percell gilt (The busshop
 hathe on chalice)
 Itm. iij rodde of silvar of the w^{ch} one lakyth allmost halfe
 Itm. iiij pomelles of a chayar of silvar and gilt
 Itm. ther be in the toware viij belles

The Copes and Ornaments in the northe side of the Vestrie

- Inprimis a cope of red velvat enbrothered withe radix jesse
 Itm. iij copes of whight velvat set withe angelles and perle one of them
 hathe very few perle with prist decon and subdecon to the same
 Itm. viij copes of crimsone velvat enbrothered wth flow^{rs} (one to the
 busshop)
 Itm. ij copes of nedle woorke the grownd gold
 Itm. iij copes of blew velvat wrowght withe Imagerie withe prist decon and
 subdecon to the same
 Itm. a cope of blacke Tisshew withe prist decon and subdecon to the same
 Itm. a cope of the kyngs armes wth prist decon and subdecon to the same.

The Copes and Ornaments in the south side of the Vestrie

- Inprimis a red velvat hanging for the highe ault^r enbrothered withe Imagerie
 of gold bothe for a bove and benethe
 Itm. one hanging of blew and grene velvat for the ault^r enbrothered withe
 Imagery of golde bothe for a bove and beneth
 Itm. a hanging for the ault^r enbrothered withe Imagerie the ground gold
 Itm. a blew sarsnot hanging for the ault^r enbrothered wth flow^{rs}
 Itm. a red hanging of silke straked withe golde
 Itm. a blacke hanging of velvat withe lyons of golde
 Itm. iiij. copes of blew saten with prist decon and subdecon to the same
 enbrothered withe angelles
 Itm. one cope of whight damaske withe angelles prist decon and subdecon
 to the same
 Itm. ix copes of blew bawdkyn wth lions of golde and prist decon and
 subdecon to the same
 Itm. iij. red copes of silke withe grevins of gold and prist decon and sub-
 decon to the same
 Itm. ij. red copes withe flowrs
 Itm. a blew cope withe starres and a child's cope of paynted gold
 Itm. one cope of red saten withe chalis of golde
 Itm. ij. red copes of silke withe dromidaries in the bake with prist decon
 and subdecon to the same
 Itm. one whight cope of saten enbrothered withe flowrs withe prist decon
 and subdecon to the same
 Itm. x copes of whight bawdkyn withe divars orpewis [? orphreys]
 Itm. one cope of blacke velvat withe lions of gold and prist decon and
 subdecon to the same
 Itm. iiij copes of blacke velvat of the w^{ch} ij be verie olde and playne the
 other ij withe flowrs
 Itm. one cope of blew velvat enbrothered wth flowrs prist decon and sub-
 decon to the same

- Itm. one cope of blacke saten rased withe flowrs grene and red lakyng an
or /p/ hew [? orphrey] wth prist decon and subdecon to the same
- Itm. xxj copes of whight bawdyn some of them have orphews of whight
lambes and some none
- Itm. ij nether fruntts for the ault^r whereof one is redd saten withe Imagery
the other panes
- Itm. vj stage clothes for the aluter iij of blew one of redd ij of whight
- Itm. iiij copes for children iij of whight one straked wth blew
- Itm. prist decon and subdecon of whight saten enbrothered withe rosis

1552-3.
Edward VI.

The Ornaments of the lowar Vestrie

- Inprimis a gret red silke hangyng for the kyngs travice
- Itm. prist decon and subdecon of black damaske withe a whight crosse
- Itm. prist decon and subdecon of grene damaske withe orphewis of tisshew
- Itm. prist decon and subdecon of whight damaske enbrothered withe gatts
- Itm. a bannr of redd saten enbrothered withe starres
- Itm. ij hangyngs of red silke enbrothered wth swannes and a cheaseable to
the same
- Itm. v pawles of bawdkyn iij of grene one of redd one of blew
- Itm. a red covering of bawdkyn wth strakes of gold for the ault^r
- Itm. ij blacke pawles one of velvat the other chamlat withe red crosse
- Itm. vj hangyngs of aulters of saten of bridges [? Bruges] paned red & yelow
- Itm. a cheasable of blew velvat wth a red crosse
- Itm. xij cheasables of divers colours of silke and bawdkyn
- Itm. vj old ault^r clothes some of diap and some playne
- Itm. a levin [? eleven] corporis cas of divers sorts wth ther corporis clothes
- Itm. fyftie albes of divers sorts some withe parelles aud some none
- Itm. too fyne albes withe ther parelles enbrothered wth Imagerie the
ground gold
- Itm. liij albes in the grett cofer some wth parelles and some non
- Itm. ij cushhyns of clothe of golde
- Itm. ij cushhyns of blew velvat enbrothered
- Itm. vij other cushhyns of divers sorts
- Itm. iiij gret carpetts for the bighe ault^r
- Itm. one gret carpet for the busshops staull
- Itm. a canypie paned wth wight and other colours
- Itm. to small carpetts
- Itm. to olde carpetts paned withe blew and yelow
- Itm. to banners of grene silke paynted
- Itm. a payre of curtayns of red sarsnot
- Itm. a box of tymber covered withe /en/ brothered gold
- Itm. ij diaper ault^r clothes and ij playne
- Itm. ij towelles for the highe ault^r
- Itm. iiij lent clothes withe nedle worke
- Itm. ij payre of laten censors wth a shipp
- Itm. iiij rectors staffes one of them a litle plated wth silvar
- Itm. a payre of small candlesticks coper and gilt enameled
- Itm. iiij payre of small laten candlestickes
- Itm. iiij yron candlestiks
- Itm. a red silke clothe straked wth silvar wth iiij litle balles coper and gilt
- Itm. ij payre of hosys on of them blew velvat the other silke enbrothered
- Itm. a payre of shoos the vppar part venis gold.
- Itm. vij gret brasone candlesticks

Copes and Ornaments lying in the vppar Vestrie

- Inprimis iiij tisshew coppes prist decon and subdecon of the sonne beames
- Itm. prist decon and subdecon of red tisshew
- Itm. a canypie of whight damaske fringed wth blew silke and flour deluce
set wth perle

1552-3.
Edward VI.

- Itm. ij aulter clothes of whight velvat set wth perle
 Itm. prist decon and subdecon of whight damaske wth iiij copes of the same
 Itm. xiiij copes of blew bawdkyn straked wth gold
 Itm. ij fruntlets for the ault^r one of gold the other of gold and perle
 Itm. one paule of clothe of tisshew
 Itm. vij albes wth ther apparells stoles and phanons
 Itm. the lent clothe
 Itm. too whight curtayns of taffata
 Itm. a cope of red velvat enbrothered wth angelles and set wth perle
 Itm. too staffes plated wth silvar one of them bare in many places
 Itm. too hangings for the highe ault^r of clothe of gold and perle the borders blew tisshew
 Itm. a blew tisshew cope wth prist decon and subdecon to the same set wth perle
 Itm. a blake velvat cope enbrothered wth flours
 Itm. ij aulter clothes of fyne arris wrought wth Imagerie and venis golde
 Itm. ij aulter clothes of saten of bridges paned wth yelow and grene
 Itm. ij aulter clothes of whyght bustion spotted wth redd
 Itm. a cheseable of blacke branched velvat the grownd yelow wth a redd crosse a albe with the apparell
 Itm. one cheseable of whight bustion wth the albe and apparell
 Itm. one cheseable of grene velvat enbrothered wth flours of venis golde wth the albe and apparell
 Itm. a cheseable of whight damaske wth the albe and apparell
 Itm. a cheseable of grene saten of bridges wth the albe and apparell
 Itm. ij corporis casis wth the corporis clothes
 Itm. a cheseable of crymsone /blew/ velvat wth the albe and apparell
 Itm. prist decon and subdecon of blew vnwatered chamlat
 Itm. ij hangyngs of an ault^r of clothe of arris wth Imagerie
 Itm. the hangyngs in the quire for bothe sides

EDMUNDUS STUARDE
 WILLIAM MEDOWE
 JOHANNES RUDD
 RYCHARD REDER

[*in dorso*] The Inventory of t Cathedrall Church of Wynchester.

In printing these Inventories, let me not be misunderstood as implying that *all* the Ornaments described in them were *in use* in the Church of England when the Commissions were issued in 1552, or even at an earlier period of Edward's reign. A comparison of these Documents with the List given at pp. 35 and 36 of the Ornaments and Ceremonies abolished by the end of Edward's 2nd year, will shew, with some accuracy, which of the Articles in these full Catalogues had been rendered useless or illegal by Ritual and other changes: in like manner the List furnished at p. 113 will shew what other Things, enumerated in the Inventories, were no longer in *legal* use after the prohibitions given from the beginning of Edward's 3rd year until his death. But as all these Ornaments (whether legally usable or not) *remained* in the Churches, no doubt there was considerable variety of practice respecting them: it

would be to overlook the nature of things, and certainly is contrary to experience, to suppose that any very marked and sudden change took place in the appearance of the Churches at either of the two great Edwardine periods of Ritual alteration: it is highly probable that in most places the Services were carried on (at least for a considerable time,) with only just so much variation as was essential to conform them to the New Prayer Book: for accustomed as the Clergy and the people were to the sight and the use of these various Ornaments, nothing is more unlikely than that they should have laid aside anything which was not plainly at variance with the New Offices. Doubtless there were some whose extreme anti-roman views led them, with their sense of duty, to abandon almost everything which they were not compelled to use; but the history of the period furnishes no evidence that these Treasures of the Churches were for the most part treated only as so much lumber, stored up in the Sacristies because the King would not allow it to be removed until such time, at least, as the State found it convenient to appropriate it to its own necessities.

Edward died at Greenwich, July 6th, 1553.

Having thus examined the various authoritative directions or prohibitions which were made from the first day of the THIRD year of Edward the Sixth until the death of that King; it will be well to ascertain, by a second process of subtraction, what Ornaments, and Ceremonies implying Ornaments, were left in the Church of England in the seventh year of Edward.

These directions then *abolished* the following

Ceremonies and Practices.

1. At first, any *reservation* of the Sacrament, except for the sick.

2. *Probably*, in baptism, the cross on the right hand—hal-
lowed salt in the mouth—wetting with spittle the nose, thurles,
and ears—the lighted candle in the candidate's right hand.

3. *Perhaps*, though very uncertain, the use of *Chrism* in Confirmation.

4. In the Visitation of the sick, anointing was *limited* to the forehead and breast.

1552-3.

Edward VI.

1553.

Death of King
Edward.Result of changes
from the begin-
ning of Edward's
third year to his
death.Ceremonies abo-
lished.

1553.

Edward VI.

Ceremonies
abolished.

5. Any favourable "mention of the Popish mass, of chantries, of candles upon the altar, or any other such like thing."

6. The priest was to cease from—

(a) Kissing the Lord's Table.

(b) The Washing his fingers at every time in the Communion, and (later) from "washing his hands and fingers after the Gospel or the receipt of the Holy Communion."

(c) Blessing his eyes with the Paten or Sudary.

(d) Crossing his head with the Paten.

(e) Shifting of the Book from one place to another.

(f) Laying down and licking the Chalice of the Communion.

(g) Holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs, joined towards his temples.

(h) Breathing upon the Bread or Chalice.

(i) Shewing the Sacrament openly before the Communion of the people.

(k) Ringing of sacring bells.

(l) Setting any light upon the altar at any time.

(m) All ceremonies and kneeling except what is ordered in the Prayer Book: (*Ridley*, in his Injunctions, added "so that there do not appear any counterfeiting of the Popish mass.")

7. All buying and selling the Holy Communion, as in Trentals.

8. All praying upon beads.

9. No Priest was to receive a corpse, except at the Churchyard, [? and then] without Bell or Cross.^a

10. All *advocacy* of bead-rolls, images, relics, lights, holy bells, holy beads, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres, paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the font of the Popish manner, oil, chrism, altars, beads.

11. No lights or bell in taking the Sacrament to the sick.

12. Gloves, sandals, mitre, crosier, and ring, omitted in the Consecration of Bishops; and anointing, and delivery of consecrated plate in the Ordination of Priests; but the *Ornaments themselves* NOT ABOLISHED.

13. The Agnus before Communion (in the Injunctions of *Ridley* and *Hooper*).

^a I have given this reading of Art. 6 of the King's amended Injunctions (see p. 51), as being the more favourable to the opponents of Ceremonial: but it is not clear that the words mean so much as this.

14. (By Bishop Hooper.) All such ringing of Bells as is described in No. XIX. of his Injunctions (p. 72).

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Edward VI.

15. (By Bishop Hooper.) All pictures of *Saints* on walls and in painted windows (see Injunctions, No. XXVIII, p. 72).

In addition to the Ceremonies thus *expressly prohibited*, there were some others whose fate hangs upon the construction that is to be put upon the *silence* of Rubrics: and these, in fact, all depend upon the changes which were made by the publication of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.; (they will be found at pp. 75—77), and they are divisible into *three* orders.

Ceremonies not ordered.

Three kinds of them.

1. *Ceremonies or Rites in the First Book, the RUBRICS touching which are OMITTED in the Second Book; viz.—*

1. Omitted by Rubrics.

(a) The direction to sing the Offertory sentences.

(b) The Oblation of Bread, Wine, and Water. In fact there is *no direction at all* as to when, where, or by whom they are to be placed, either on the Altar or elsewhere.

(c) The Crosses in the Prayer of Consecration.

(d) The Rubric directing *reservation* of the Holy Sacrament consecrated in one sick man's house, for use in that of another.

2. *Ceremonies and Rites in the First Book, the RUBRICS touching which are CHANGED in the Second Book; viz.—*

2. Changed by Rubrics.

(a) Usual bread may "suffice" instead of Wafer-bread.

(b) The Rubric as to communicating a sick person omits so much as ordered reservation at the open communion.

(c) That part of the Rubric in the Purification of Women is omitted which orders her to offer her "*Chrisom*" or "White vesture."

(d) The direction *how* to dip the child in Baptism, was changed into one to do it "discreetly and warily."

3. *Ceremonies, both the RUBRIC and WORDS of which are altered or omitted in the Second Book; viz.—*

3. Altered or omitted by both Rubric and Text.

(a) The signing of the cross on the breast in Baptism.

(b) The exorcism in Baptism.

(c) The chrisom and anointing in Baptism.

(d) The signature with the cross on the forehead in confirmation.

(e) The anointing of the sick.

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Edward VI.

(f) The direction for Communion at funerals.

Conclusion from this.

Some not abolished.

Some left at discretion.

Some intentionally disused.

What ornaments were thus got rid of.

From the Church

Now of these three classes, it seems a reasonable conclusion that those in No. 1 *were not meant to be abolished*, for there was nothing in them which, even in that anti-roman era, would probably offend; and moreover, in the case of the Oblation of the Elements, if *prohibition* was meant, the Priest of that day would absolutely have had no direction whatever as to placing them on the Lord's Table: that those in No. 2 *were left at discretion*, except (c) the offering of the Chrisom at purification, which was no longer needed owing to its disuse in Baptism: and that those in No. 3 *were meant to be disused*, for whatever reason.

So far, then, as can be gathered by an examination of these directions they got rid of the use of the following

Ornaments and Utensils of the Church.

1. All Altar Lights.
2. The Easter-sepulchre and its Lights.
3. The Paschal and the Baptismal Candle.
4. All Chancies and Altars: also, all "Superaltaries," (*i.e.*, Slabs of Stone marked with Five Crosses, and either laid upon a Wooden Frame, or inserted in the Tables which were ordered) in the *London* Diocese; for these latter are not named in The King's Injunctions.
5. The Monstrance and the Ampullæ.
6. The Light and Bell in carrying the Sacrament to the Sick.
7. The Bell and Cross at Funerals (uncertain).
8. The Sacring Bells.
9. All the Old Service Books, except the Primers of Henry VIII. if the Invocations of Saints were omitted (see p. 56).
10. All Relics and Images, whether *abused* or not.
11. *Perhaps* the Ewer or Basin for washing the Priest's hands during the Celebration; though it is not clear that *all* Ablutions were at that time discontinued.

Ornaments of the Ministers.

From the Ministers.

1. The Albe. 2. The Vestment or Cope.
- If, then, we compare the Ornaments and Ceremonies thus

abolished or altered by the *end* of Edward's reign, with those in use at the end of his *second* year (see pp. 37 and 38), it will be found that there were, apparently, LEFT the following—

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Ornaments and Utensils of the Church.

What Ornaments
were left.
For the Church.

1. Any Altar or Processional *Crosses* (if there were any such), which did not bear *Images of Saints*.

2. (*Probably,*) the Altar or Processional Crucifixes.

3. The Rood-loft (though Bishop Hooper ordered its removal in his own Diocèse), and, *possibly*, also, the Rood, for, unless it was comprised in 3 and 4 Edw. 6. c. 10 (see pp. 56 and 61), there seems not to have been any distinct order to remove it.

4. (*Perhaps,*) the Light by the Rood-loft.

5. (*Perhaps,*) the Sanctuary Veil.

6. The Chalices with their Patens: also, the Pax.

7. The Pix; *i.e.*, if the Sacrament was still allowed to be taken (as *perhaps* it was) from the Church to the sick person's house; or, (as very probably was the case,) from the house or room of the sick person, where It was consecrated, to another sick person.

8. The Altar-coverings of various colours and materials.

9. The Linen Cloths, Corporals, and other Linen for the Altar.

Ornaments of the Minister.

1. The Surplice and (*probably*) the Stole^a: also, the Hood and Tippet. For the Minister.

2. The Rochet and (*perhaps*) Pastoral Staff, Gloves, Sandals or Slippers, Mitre, and Ring, for the Bishop (see p. 60).

Ceremonies.

1. (*Perhaps,*) kissing the Pax.

2. (*Doubtful,*) covering of the Cross in Lent, and uncovering it at Easter.

3. Washing the feet on Maunday Thursday.

4. Benedictions with the sign of the Cross by Bishops and Priests.

What Ceremonies
remained.

^a Is not the common use of (what is called) the Black Scarf, over the Surplice, a traditional evidence that the Stole was retained?

1553.
Edward VI.

5. Processions—the Cross and the Crucifix to be carried in them.

6. In Baptism, crossing on the forehead.

7. Litany to be said in the midst of the Church.

8. Observance of Holy-days and their Vigils; also, days of Fasting or Abstinence.

But there were
other lawful
Ornaments and
Ceremonies,

Here, again, a remark must be made, similar to that made at the end of the analysis of Edward's second year (p. 38)—viz. that other Ornaments and Ceremonies than those mentioned in the above list, would be *legally* in use at the death of Edward.

viz. those au-
thorized by the
Provincial Con-
stitutions, &c.

There is, however, this material difference, that only the *Provincial Constitutions and Canons* could then be appealed to legally (and not the *Pontifical* and other Ritual Books, for these latter were all abolished); moreover, these Constitutions and Canons could only authorize such Ornaments and Ceremonies as had not been disallowed by any of the enactments which have now been examined. A comparison of the two would decide what those were which could be legally used; but that is not needful at this stage of the enquiry.

If not at variance
with later laws.

It will be observed that, in framing this List, no account is taken of the Commissions in Edward's sixth year; of course, if most of the *discretionary* acts of those who executed them are to be regarded as at all regulating the *legal* standard of Church Ornaments towards the end of Edward's reign, the reduced Catalogue given, at p. 113, would be diminished to the very meagre condition indicated by the Articles mentioned, at p. 88, as being left by the Commissioners for use in the Churches. But, apart from the circumstance that the present dispute, as to the Ornaments of Edward's *second* year, cannot be decided by a reference to their condition in the *succeeding* years of his reign, nothing could well be more fallacious, even in that extreme anti-ritual and anti-ceremonial period, than to regard, as of any *Ecclesiastical* authority, a proceeding which, on the most favourable construction, must be regarded as a LEGALISED SPOILIATION OF THE CHURCHES.

In this state, then, was the Church of England found on the Accession of

MARY. July 6, 1553.

State of the
Church in the
Accession of
Mary.

In this reign, of course, all Ornaments were restored: this

was effected chiefly by the repeal of Statutes passed in the reign of the late King—thus, the

Stat. 1. Mariæ. Sess. 2. c. 2. A.D. 1553, repealed—

- 1 Edw. 6. c. 1—against irreverent speaking of the Sacrament.^a
- (a) 1 Edw. 6. c. 2—touching the Election of Bishops.
- 2 Edw. 6. c. 1—concerning the Uniformity of Divine Service.
- (b) 2 and 3 Edw. 6. c. 21—repealing laws against the Marriage of Priests.
- 3 and 4 Edw. 6. c. 10—abolishing of divers Books and Images.
- 3 and 4 Edw. 6. c. 12—for the ordering of Ecclesiastical Ministers.
- 5 and 6 Edw. 6. c. 1—for the Uniformity of Common Prayer.
- 5 and 6 Edw. 6. c. 3—for the keeping of Holy and Fasting-days.
- (c) 5 and 6 Edw. 6. c. 12—touching the Marriage of Priests and Legitimation of their Children.

And it will be seen that all the Acts thus revived, excepting *a. b.* and *c.* were just those Acts which had given the full legal force to all, or all the important, changes which had been made in the Rites and Ceremonies, and, consequently, in the Ornaments of the Church and of the Clergy. Moreover, this Statute of Mary's required that

"All such Divine Service and Administration of Sacraments as were most commonly used in England in the last Year of Henry Eighth, shall be used through the Realm, after the twentieth day of December, A.D. 1553, and no other Kind of Service nor Administration of Sacraments."—*Stephens' Eccl. Stat. Vol. 1. p. 346.*

The measures taken to restore the old Church Offices were likely to create dissensions between those who had been averse from and those who favoured the proceedings of the Reformers in Edward's reign: acts of violence appear to have followed, *e.g.* in the attack made on "*Bourne*, a canon of St. Paul's," who "preached at Paul's Cross" against the Reformation. Probably therefore it was on this account that the Parliament passed the

Stat. 1. Mariæ. Sess. 2. c. 3. A.D. 1553 "An act against Offenders of Preachers and other Ministers in the Church."

The preamble states that "Forasmuch as it is most necessary, in every Christian commonwealth, to provide that tranquillity and peace may be preserved and continued amongst the people, and specially in holy church, in the time of divine service, the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, as before this time it hath been accustomed in holy church within this realm."—The Statute then goes on to enact—

"ii. That if any person or persons of their own power and authority,

^a No doubt because that Statute enforced Communion in both kinds.

1553.

Mary.

She restores all abolished Ornaments, &c.

chiefly by 1 M. 2. c. 2.

Dissensions arose in consequence.

The Act 1 M. 2. c. 3. passed to stop these disturbances.

It forbids,

1553.

Mary.

after Dec. xx.,
molesting
authorized
Ministers,

at any time or times, after the xx. day of December next coming, do or shall willingly and of purpose, by open and overt word, fact, act, or deed, maliciously or contemptuously molest, let, disturb, vex, or trouble, or by any other unlawful ways or means disquiet or misuse any preacher or preachers that now is, or that at any time or times hereafter shall be, licensed, allowed, or authorized to preach by the Queen's Highness^a, or by any Archbishop or Bishop of this realm, or by any other lawful ordinary, or by any of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or otherwise lawfully authorized or charged by reason of his or their cure, benefice, or other spiritual promotion or charge, in any of his or their open sermon, preaching, or collation, that he or they shall make, declare, preach, or pronounce, in any church, chapel, church-yard, or in any other place or places, used, frequented, or appointed, or that hereafter shall be used, or appointed to be preached in.

and disturbing a
Priest preparing
for or saying
Divine Service,

“iii. Or if any person or persons, after the said xx. day of December next coming, shall maliciously, willingly, or of purpose molest, let, disturb, vex, disquiet, or otherwise trouble, any parson, vicar, parish priest, or curate, or any lawful priest, preparing, saying, doing, singing, ministering, or celebrating the mass, or *other such*^b divine service, sacraments, or sacramentals, as was most commonly frequented and used in the last year of the reign of the late sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth, or that at any time hereafter shall be allowed, set forth, or authorized by the Queen's Majesty.

^a It is but fair that those who are offended (and often justly so) with the *Exercise* of the Royal Supremacy, in the reigns of what are called the Protestant Sovereigns of England, should weigh the authority here claimed for Queen Mary. So, too, in Bp. Bonner's Articles of Visitation, 1554, Article xviii., enquires, “Whether they [the Clergy], or any of them, since the Queen's Majesty's proclamation, hath, or doth use, to say or sing divine service, minister the sacraments or sacramentals, or other things, in English, contrary to the order of this realm?”—*Card. Doc. Ann.* Vol. i. p. 141. Other examples might be given, besides that of her deprivation of the then lawful Bishops, which must not be forgotten when Elizabeth's displacement of the Marian Bishops is quoted.

^{* * *} A friend, to whom I happened to show this note, suggested a parallel to Bonner's words, “the order of this realm,” in those words of the present Ordinal which have at times been referred to, as indicating *the Erastian* character of the Church of England: thus, in “The Ordering of Deacons,” the Bishop enquires, “Do you think that you are truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due *order of this Realm*, to the Ministry of the Church?”: and, again, in “The Ordering of Priests,” the question is, “Will you then give your faithful diligence always so to minister the Doctrine, and Sacraments, and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church *and Realm* hath received the same, according to the Commandments of God?”: and, once more, in “The Consecration of Bishops,” it is demanded, “Are you persuaded that you be truly called to this Ministration, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *the Order of this Realm*?”

^b “*Other such* :—In *Paul Moone's* case, (Jon. (Sir. T.) 159,) who was committed to gaol upon this statute for disturbing a minister in saying common prayer; it was urged in his behalf, that the statute was made only against those who should give disturbance in the celebration of the mass, or of such service as was in use *ann. ult.* Henry Eighth. But the Court resolved, that ‘it extends to the divine service now established, and that the word (such) hath not reference to the manner or quality of the service, but to the authority establishing it.’”—*Stephens' Eccl. Stat.* Vol. 1. p. 347, note.

"iv. Or if any person or persons, at any time or times after the said xx. day of December, shall contemptuously, unlawfully, or maliciously, of their own power or authority, pull down, deface, spoil, abuse, break, or otherwise unreverently handle or order, the most blessed, comfortable, and holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, being or that shall be in any Church or Chapel, or in any other decent place, or the pyx or canopy wherein the same Sacrament is or shall be; or unlawfully, contemptuously, or maliciously, of their own power and authority, pull down, deface, spoil, or otherwise break any altar or altars, or any crucifix or cross, that now or hereafter shall be in any Church, Chapel, or Churchyard; that then every such offender and offenders in any the premises, his or their aider, procurer, or abetter, . . . immediately and forthwith after . . . or any time or times after, shall be apprehended, arrested, and taken by any constable or constables, churchwarden or churchwardens, of the said parish, town, or place where the said offence or offences shall be so committed, made, or done, or by any other officer or officers, or *by any other^a person* or persons then being present at the time of the said offence or offences, so unlawfully committed, made, or done."

§. v. Orders the justice to commit him to gaol, and to examine him within six days.

§. vi. Fixes the punishment at 3 months imprisonment, and surety afterwards for good behaviour.

§. vii. Makes it penal to rescue a person so arrested.

§. viii. Fines £5 any parish which lets the offender escape.

§. ix. Declares what magistrates shall have authority in these cases.

§. x. Saves the jurisdiction of the *Ecclesiastical Law*.

As this Statute was not repealed, and has not been since repealed, it made, and makes, it *unlawful* to remove any of the Church Ornaments &c. which were restored in Mary's reign, unless it could or can be shewn that they were afterwards abolished by an Authority of *equal force* with the Statute itself.^b

^a "By any other person: In the case of *Gleever and Hynde*, (1 Mod. 168,) where an action of trespass, of assault, and battery, was brought, for laying hands on the disturber; it was declared by the Court, that at common law, a person disturbing divine service, might be removed by any other person there present, as being all concerned in the service of God that was then performing; so that the disturber was a nuisance to them all, and might be removed by the same rule of law, that allows a man to abate a nuisance. *Vide etiam*, 1 Russell on Crimes by Graves, 301."—*Stephens' Eccl. Stat.* Vol. 1. p. 348, note.

^b It is important to remember that this Statute is still in force, and has been acted upon since the present Book of Common Prayer has been in use: and it might be of service to point out, to any who now hinder or disturb a Clergyman in *preparing for or saying* Divine Service, the heavy penalties they are incurring. I venture to suggest, also, that Churchwardens, or others, who attempt to remove the *Ornaments* of a Church, or to hinder a Clergyman, or others acting under his direction, while *decorating* a Church for Divine Service, would perhaps be held by a Court as being within the purview of this Act.

1553.

Mary.

and irreverently
treating the Holy
Sacrament,

and defacing,
&c., any Altar,
Crucifix, or Cross.

Any one may
arrest the offend-
er.

Penalty for the
offence.

This Statute still
unrepealed.

1553.

Mary.

Other proofs that
Ornaments, &c.,
were restored.

That those Ornaments which had been removed in Edward's reign, were restored in Mary's time, is also shewn (apart from the probability of the case) by the following extracts:—

1554.

Bonner's Visi-
tation Articles
and Injunctions.

Bonner, Bishop of London, held a Visitation of his Diocese (Cardwell says) from September 3rd 1554, to October 8th, 1555 [? 4,]: among his "*Articles*" of inquiry "*concerning the Things of the Church and Ornaments of the same,*" we read—

"Art. i. Whether there be at the entry of the Church, or within the door of the same, an holy-water stock or pot," &c.

"Art. ii. Item, Whether there be every Sunday holy water and holy bread distributed amongst the parishioners," &c.

"Art. iii. Item, Whether there be a pax in the Church," &c.

"Art. v. Item, Whether there be in the Church a high altar of stone consecrated and dedicated specially to say or sing Mass upon.

"Art. vi. Item, Whether the things underwritten (which are to be found on the cost of the parishioners) be in the Church; it is to wit, a legend, an antiphoner, a graile, a psalter, an ordinal to say or solemnize divine office, a missal, a manual, a processional, a chalice, two cruets, a principal vestment with chesuble, a vestment for the deacon and subdeacon, a cope with the appurtenances, it is to wit, an amice, albe, girdle, stole, and fannon, the high altar with apparel in the front and other parts thereof, three towels, three surplices, a rochet, a cross for procession with candlesticks, a cross for the dead, an incenser, a ship or vessel for frankincense, a little sanctus bell, a pix with an honest and decent cover, and a vail for the lent, banners for the rogation week, bells and coops, a bier for the dead, a vessel to carry holy water about, a candlestick for the pascal taper, a font to christen children with covering and lock and key, and generally all other things, which, after the custom of the country or place, the parishioners are bound to find, maintain, or keep.

"Art. vii. Item. In case such things be in the Church, when they were provided and used; if they be not, by whose fault and negligence the same proceedeth.

"Art. ix. Item. Whether there be a crucifix, a rood loft, as in times past hath been accustomed; and if not, where the crucifix or rood loft is become, and by whose negligence the thing doth want.

"Art. xi. Item, Whether in the said Church there be a chrismatory for holy oil and chrism

"Art. xii. Item, Whether in the said Church there be seats and pews for the parishioners to sit in, honestly prepared and kept after the old usage and custom

"Art. xiii. Item, Whether there hath been or be any plate, ornaments or jewels, bells, candlesticks or lead, or other goods of and in the said Church;

"Art. xvi. Item, Whether the said albes, vestments, and all other ornaments be kept clean and well, and sufficiently maintained and repaired."—*Doc. Ann.* pp. 149—153.

These Articles, as will be seen, are all very explicit—naming, in fact, all the old Ornaments, &c., and Cardwell says that

“A copy of the injunctions issued in conformity with these Articles may be seen among Douce's books in the Bodleian, printed by John Cawood, and bearing date October 4th, 1555.”—*Ibid.* V. 1. p. 135.)

The Bishop also issued a mandate dated 25th October 1554, ordering “certain scriptures wrongly applied” and which had been “painted upon the Church walls . . . to be razed, “abolished, and extinguished forthwith.”

These “scriptures or paintings” had been put on the walls, in the late reign, in place of “the picture of Christ and many “things besides.”—*Ibid.* p. 168.

So, too, in 1557, among the “*Articles set forth by Cardinal Pole to be inquired in his ordinary visitation within his diocese of Cant[erbury].*” The tenth of those “touching “the lay people” is this—

“Whether the Churches be sufficiently garnished and adorned with all the ornaments and books necessary; and whether they have a rood in their Church of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the same Church?”

“Art. xviii. Item, Whether the altars in the Churches be consecrated or no.”

“Art. xix. Item, Whether the Sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell.”

“Art. xxiii. Item, Whether there do burn a lamp, or a candle, before the Sacrament; and if there do not, that then it be provided for with due expedition.”—*Doc. Ann.* pp. 205—8.

The Ornaments, &c. being thus restored to the condition in which they were in the reign of Henry the Eighth, it remains now to be seen what were again abolished when the *Reformed* Offices were restored upon Mary's death.

We come now, therefore, to the beginning of the reign of
ELIZABETH. November 17, 1558.

Collier, having referred to the King of Spain's overtures for her hand, states that

“The Queen being now wrought to a resolution against the marriage, believed nothing would give a more effectual check to King Philip's impetuosity than a speedy alteration in religion. Now, therefore, she consulted the Cabinet upon the measures for recovering the Church to the condition it was left in by her brother King

1554.

Mary.

He orders texts, &c., to be removed, which had been put on the Church walls instead of the old pictures.

1557.

Cardinal Pole's Visitation Articles.

Further enquiry —Which of the Ornaments, &c., restored by Mary were abolished after her death.

1558.

Elizabeth.

She resolves upon an alteration in Religion.

1558.

Elizabeth.

Caution of the
Council.They advise a
review of
Edward's Prayer
Book.All innovation
prohibited till the
review was made.Strife between the
favourers and
opponents of
change.Images illegally
pulled down, and
other evils.

An example.

Edward.^a And here, to proceed with the greater security, the danger of the enterprize, together with the method for disentangling the Government, was layed before the Board."

They suggested, among other things, that

"To prevent discontents, the reformed *Liturgy* ought to be reviewed, and made as inoffensive to all parties as may be. That this affair should be referred to *Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead,* and *Pilkington*: these divines being all remarkable for learning and temper: and that Sir *Thomas Smith* (who is supposed to have drawn this advice) was to bring them together, and have a share in the consultation. That when the debate was settled, and the performance finished, the book was to be presented to the *Queen*, and, after her approbation, layed before the *Parliament*: That, besides this Committee, other persons of learning and character should have the perusal of the *book* to give it a farther reputation. That before the review'd service was publish'd, there must be a strict prohibition of all innovation^b: And as to her Majesty, she may keep to the same form of religion, unless with respect to the Communion on high festivals; at which times her highness may receive with such a latitude of Ceremonies as she shall think fit. That, where there are more priests than one at mass, they may all communicate in both kinds."

"But the Queen having discharg'd those committed for religion in the late reign, and given the *exiles* leave to return, the inclinations of the Court were not difficultly collected. The *Protestants* therefore presuming on the favour of the Government, ventur'd beyond the protection of the *constitution*; And thus, meeting first in private houses, and afterwards in Churches, preach'd their *perswasion*, and drew great *audiences* after them. The *Papists*, on the other side, not dropping their defence, the people began to ruffle and grow warm in the controversy: And thus images were pull'd down in several Churches, and the Priests affronted."—*Collier, Eccl. His. Vol. II. p.p. 410, 11.*

One instance of these illegal proceedings is given by *Strype*, who says:—

"There was also in this beginning of the Queen's reign much zeal

^a "The Queen had been bred up from her infancy with a hatred of the papacy, and a love to the reformation. But yet, as her first impressions in her father's reign were in favour of such old rites as he had still retained; so in her own nature she loved state and magnificence, in religion, as well as in everything else; she thought that in her brother's reign they had stript it too much of external ornaments, and had made their doctrine too narrow in some points; therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all parties might be comprehended by them. She inclined to keep up images in the Churches, and to have the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament left in some general words: that those who believed the corporal presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an explanation of it. Nor did she like the title of Supreme Head; she thought it imparted too great a power, and came too near that authority which Christ only had over the Church."—*Burnet's Refor. V. 2. Bk. iii. p. 376.*

^b Collier refers to "Biblioth. Cotton. Julius F. VI. Fol. 53. Camden Elizb."

shewn on their side that desired reformation of corrupt religion. Who not being able to away with the superstitions practised, and the Images in the Churches, committed great disorders, by their own hands, pulling them down without any public authority, and defacing the Churches where they were. Of this I shall give some instances; coming to the ears of the Queen's Council. It was but about the beginning of *December*, that one, *Thomas Pike*, committed some such disorder in the Church of *Sholisbury* (*Shobury* in *Essex* perhaps.) Of which the parson of the said Church, sent up a complaint to the Council. Who listening to it, sent it back enclosed in a letter to the Lord *Rich*, living in those parts, and no very good friend to protestants: willing him to send for the said *Pike*; and if upon examination of the matter, he should find the same true, then to cause him to be punished according to the quality of his offence."—*Strype's Annals*, Vol. I. p. 48.

"The Queen to keep the kingdom quiet, and prevent unseasonable squabbling, put out a *Proclamation* for silencing the *pulpit*, and commanded all disputes of this nature should be forborne; and thus, for some time, none were allowed to preach without a license under the broad seal."—*Collier, E. H.* Vol. II. p. 411.

The *Proclamation* is dated "the 27 day of December, the "first year of her Majesties reigne"—*i.e.* 1558, and it commands

"All manner her subjects, . . . that they do forbear to preach, or teach, or to give audience to any manner of doctrine or preaching other than to the Gospells and Epistles commonly called The Gospell and Epistle of the day, and to the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, without exposition or addition of any maner sense or meaning to be applyed or added; or to use any other manner of public prayer, rite, or ceremony in the Church, but that which is already used, and by law received, or the common letany used at this present in her Majesty's own chappel, and the Lord's prayer, and the Crede in English; until consultation may be had by Parliament, by her Majesty, and her three^a estates of this realme, for the better conciliation and accord of such causes, as at this present are moved in matters and ceremonies of religion."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* V. I p. 209.

But though the Queen had issued this Proclamation and though no Order of any kind had been made respecting Images, there were not wanting those who outran the Law and illegally removed the Church Ornaments; this is evident from the following passages in *Strype*:—

"What acts of this nature happened afterwards I do not find,

^a Do the words "her Majesty, and her three estates" mean *Queen, Lords, Commons, and Convocation*, or *Queen, Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal, Commons*? The speech of the Solicitor General (Oct 23, 1641) in reference to the 13 Bishops then impeached, goes to prove that they did not sit in the *House of Lords* as "a third estate and degree." (*Rushworth His. Coll.* Pt. 3. V. 1. [in Vol. 4.] p. 396.) But *Collier* argues at length against this view in Vol. 2. p. 807. See also *Stephens' Eccl. Stat.* Vol. 1. p. 370. *Note.*

1558.

Elizabeth.

Proclamation to stop this:

It forbid nearly all change in the Public Service until the authorities sanctioned it.

The Proclamation disregarded.

1558-9.

Elizabeth.

Instances of this:

(only that on the 8th or 9th of January the Image of *St Thomas, i.e. Thomas Becket* the Patron of the *Mercers*, that stood over their Chapel door, was thrown down and broken)^a until the beginning of *March*; when a notable disturbance was made in the Churches of *Dover*. Upon which the Lords of the Council sent to *Thomas Keyes*, Serjeant Porter, and *Edward Boys, Esq.*, to examine it diligently; and to cause such as they should find faulty there, to be apprehended, and bound in good bonds to appear at the Council to answer their doings. Which if they refused to do, then to commit them to ward; and to signify what they had done therein. The next month I find *John Castle*, of *Dover*, mariner, *Thomas Ramsden*, of the same town, shoemaker, and *John West*, of the same town, butcher, were each bound in recognizances of £20 on condition that every of them should henceforth be of good abearing; and should also on the Sunday next, each of them in the parish Church of *Dover*, whereof he was a parishioner, declare openly in the time of Service, that he did very ill and without order to pluck down the Images of that Church, before a law did authorize him so to do.

at Dover;

“And in the latter end of *March* (29th,) the parish Church of *Haylesham* in *Sussex*, was spoiled, and that by the inhabitants of the said Town. Whereof *Tho Bushop* and *John Thatcher*, Justices of the Peace, made complaint to Sir *Richard Sackville*, one of the Council. This (whatsoever it was they had done) the Council stiled a heinous disorder; and by their letters to the said Justices willed them for the better punishment thereof to call for the assistance of Sir *Nicholas Pelham* and Sir *Edmund Gage*, and other Justices dwelling nigh unto them; and having found out who were the authors and ring-leaders of that matter, to commit them to ward: and to put them to such fines for their offence, as by their discretions should be thought most meet, and agreeable to the laws.

in Bow Church,
London.

“In *Bow Church, London*, also about this very time several got together privately, and undiscovered, and pulled down the Images and the Sacrament, and defaced the Vestments and Books. Which notwithstanding was so well liked by many, that no complaint was preferred thereof to the Council. But some information coming to them, they sent a letter to Sir *Thomas Lee*, Lord Mayor, calling it an *outrageous disorder* (March 30th 1559); and not hearing of any order by him taken for redress thereof, they found it very strange. He was therefore put in remembrance of an exhortation made by the Queen's Majesty unto him on *Candlemas* day last past; and straitly commanded to use the best means he could to bolt out the doers hereof, and to cause them to be apprehended and committed to Ward; and to signify unto them [the Council] what he should find therein. Thus even and impartially did the state carry it towards both parties, until some further law should be made to direct the subjects in their Public Worship and Service of God.”—*Strype's Annals*, Vol. I. pp. 48—9.

Elizabeth's
Coronation.

On January 14th 1558-9, the Queen “was crown'd at *West-*

^a See the same account in *Stow's London*, V. 1. Bk. 3. c. 3. p. 37.

“minster, by Owen Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle: the solemnity
 “was performed according to ancient custom, and directed by
 “the *Roman Pontifical*.”—*Collier, Eccl. His. V. II. p. 412.* 1558-9.
 Elizabeth.

On the 25th, the Parliament met at Westminster.

“Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper, opened the Session with a
 Speech. His discourse, suggesting to the Houses the matter upon
 which they were to go, was ranged under three heads: religion;
 redressing grievances; and reforming the administration
 the Lord Keeper acquaints the Houses ‘that the honour of God
 ‘Almighty was the Queen’s principal concern; that this ought to
 ‘have the preference in their debates; that religion was the surest
 ‘basis for the support of the commonwealth;

“‘Her Highness, therefore,’ continues the Lord Keeper, ‘ear-
 ‘nestly requires you, . . . that you would spare no pains for
 ‘the establishing that which after your utmost inquiry shall be
 ‘judged most serviceable, and that in managing this debate, no con-
 ‘siderations of superiority or power, of interest or pleasure, no
 ‘ostentation of learning, no contest for victory, may prevail upon
 ‘you; . . . and as you own debates ought to be governed
 ‘by temper, gravity, and good humour, so it is proper some public
 ‘provision should be made to check contention and contumelious
 ‘behaviour without doors; and that no party language, no terms of
 ‘reproach, no provoking distinctions should be kept up in the king-
 ‘dom; that the names of heretic, schismatic, papist, and such like,
 ‘should be laid aside and forgotten: for what do these discrimi-
 ‘nations tend to, unless it be to perpetuate divisions, to encourage
 ‘faction, to inflame men’s spirits, and make them hate and do mis-
 ‘chief to each other?’

“‘In the management of this affair, touching religion, two
 ‘extremes are to be carefully avoided: on the one hand, there must
 ‘be a guard against unlawful worship and superstition; and on the
 ‘other, things must not be left under such a loose regulation, as to
 ‘occasion indifferency in religion and contempt of holy things. . .’”
 (Sir Simon D’Ewes’ Journal of both Houses of Parliament, p. 12.)
 —*Collier E. H. Vol. II. pp. 412—3.*

On the day following the Convocation met:

“After a Mass of the Holy Ghost, *Bonner*, Bishop of London,
 opened the meeting with a short discourse. For, in the vacancy of
 the see of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of London was commonly Presi-
 dent of the Convocation.

“.....the only remarkable business done by this Convocation
 was the drawing up certain articles in defence of the religion estab-
 lished. This paper was couched by way of Address to the Bishops,
 who were to lay it before the Lords in Parliament.”—*Ibid*, pp. 413-4.

The Declaration consisted of Five Articles, which are all
Doctrinal: Collier reprints them from the “Journal of Con-

The Parliament
 meets.
 The Lord
 Keeper’s Speech.

The Queen’s
 wishes on
 matters of
 Religion.

Meeting of the
 Convocation.

Lower House
 addresses the
 Parliament
 through the
 Bishops.

1558-9.

Elizabeth.

“vocation, fol. 99,” but it is unnecessary to repeat them here : he adds—

Effect of this—a
disputation at
Westminster.

“All the effect this declaration had with the House of Lords and the Queen, was the bringing on a disputation between the Roman Catholics and the Reformed. This conference was by the Queen’s order, begun on the thirty-first of March in the Abbey Church at Westminster.....

Names of the
Disputants.

“The persons made choice of to engage in the controversy were these: for the Roman Catholics, *White*, Bishop of *Winchester*; *Bayn*, Bishop of *Lichfield*; *Scott*, Bishop of *Chester*; *Watson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; *Dr. Cole*, Dean of *St. Paul’s*; *Dr. Harpsfield*, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*; *Dr. Chadsey*, Prebendary of *St. Paul’s*; and *Dr. Langdale*, Archdeacon of *Lewes*.

“Those for the Reformation were: *Dr. Scory*, late Bishop of *Chichester*; *Dr. Cox*, late Dean of *Westminster*; *Mr. Horne*, late Dean of *Durham*; *Mr. Elmer*, [? *Aylmer*], late Archdeacon of *Stow*; *Mr. Whitehead*, *Mr. Grindal*, *Mr. Guest* and *Mr. Jewel*.”—*Ibid*, p.414.

No result
produced.

A full account of the controversy is furnished by *Collier*, (pp. 414—20.) who states that, owing to disagreements as to the mode of conducting the Disputation, together with exhibitions of ill temper on the part of some of its members, the Conference broke up without arriving at any decision.

Collier then goes on to “consider the proceedings” of Parliament, “with relation to the Church.” He states that:—

“As to the Lords Spiritual, none of them had summons but such as acted in the late reign. Those who were present were *Heath*, Archbishop of *York*; *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*; *White* of *Winchester*; *Pate*, of *Worcester*; *Kitchen*, of *Llandaff*; *Bayne*, of *Coventry*, and *Lichfield*; *Tuberville*, of *Exeter*; *Scott*, of *Chester*; *Oglethorp*, of *Carlisle*; *Fecknam*, Lord Abbot of *Westminster*. The Bishops of *Durham*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, (now Ambassador), *Bath* and *Wells*, and *St. David’s*, sent their Proxies; the other sees were vacant by death.”—*E. H.* p. 420.

Some of Edward’s
Statutes revived
by the Parlia-
ment.

The first act of the Parliament was to revive certain Statutes which had been repealed by Queen Mary—this was done by,

Stat. I Elizabeth, c. 1. A D. 1558 [-9]—“*An Act to restore to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all Foreign Powers repugnant to the same.*”

But the only Acts, bearing upon the question of Ceremonies and Ornaments, which this Statute revived, were the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 16, which, in § viii. perpetuated *The Pro-*

vincial Constitutions, &c., and the 1 Edward VI. c. 1., which ordered *Communion in both kinds*. This latter Statute, the Act says, "shall and may likewise from the last day of this "Session of Parliament be revived" *i.e.*, the 8th of May, 1559, the day on which the Parliament ended: and the XXXIII section further provides,

"That this Act, or anything therein contained, shall not in any wise extend or be prejudicial to any person . . . before the end of thirty days next after the end of the session of this present Parliament."

Some, however, were dissatisfied that more haste was not shewn in getting rid of the Marian religious uses; for *Jewel*, writing to *P. Martyr*, from London, April 14, 1559, complains:—

..... "we manage everything with so much deliberation, and prudence, and wariness, and circumspection, as if God himself could scarce retain his authority without our ordinances and precautions: . . . it has happened that the mass has in many places of itself fallen to the ground, without any laws for its discontinuance. If the Queen herself would but banish it from her private chapel, the whole thing might easily be got rid of . . . She has, however, so regulated this mass of hers, (which she has hitherto retained only from the circumstances of the times,) that although many things are done therein, which are scarcely to be endured, it may yet be heard without any great danger. But this woman, excellent as she is, and earnest in the cause of true religion, notwithstanding she desires a thorough change as early as possible, cannot, however, be induced to effect such change without the sanction of law; lest the matter should seem to have been accomplished, not so much by the judgment of discreet men, as in compliance with the impulse of a furious multitude.—*Zurich Letters*, No. VI. First Series, p. 17.

In another letter to the same, without date, but apparently about this time, *Jewel* says:—

"As to religion, it has been effected, I hope, under good auspices, that it shall be restored to the same state as it was during your latest residence amongst us, under Edward. But, as far as I can perceive at present there is not the same alacrity among our friends, as there lately was among the papists . . . The scenic apparatus of divine worship is now under agitation; and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at, are now seriously and solemnly entertained by certain persons, (for *we* are not consulted,) as if the Christian religion could not exist without something tawdry. Our minds, indeed, are not sufficiently disengaged to make these fooleries of much importance."—*Ibid.* No. IX. p. 23.

1558-9.

Elizabeth.

Communion in both kinds restored.

1559.

Complaints of delay:—*Jewel*to *P. Martyr*:

another letter.

1559.

Elizabeth.

Guest substituted for Parker to assist in revising Edward's two Books.

Among the Divines appointed in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to prepare the Book of Common Prayer, intended to be authorized by Parliament, "*Guest*, a very learned man, "(afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury, the Queen's Almoner, "and Bishop of Rochester)," appears to have been one: "Cecyl, as I conjecture," says Strype,

"Substituted him in the room of *Dr. Parker*, being absent, at least some part of the time, by reason of sickness. Him the Secretary required diligently to compare both King *Edward's* Communion Books together; and from them both to frame a book for the use of the Church of *England*, by correcting and amending, altering and adding, or taking away, according to his judgment, and the Ancient Liturgies: which, when he had done, and a new Service Book being finished by him, and the others appointed thereunto, the said *Guest* conveyed it unto the Secretary, together with a letter to him, containing his reasons for his own emendations and alterations; and therein particular satisfaction given unto divers things, many whereof seem to have been hints and questions of the Secretary's, pursuant to the settlement of the Liturgy.

The Secretary Cecil's questions to Guest.

"As, *first*, Whether such ceremonies as were lately taken away by King *Edward's* Book, might not be resumed, not being evil in themselves?

"ii. Whether the Image of the Cross were not to be retained?

"iii. Whether Processions should not be used?

"iv. Whether, in the celebration of the Communion, priests should not use a cope, besides a surplice?

"v. Whether the Communion should be divided into two parts? (that is, the Office or Book of the Communion.) And whether a part thereof should be read to all without distinction, and another to the communicants only, the rest being departed?

"vi. Whether the *Creed* is rightly placed in the Communion Office; as though it were to be repeated by the communicants only?

"vii. Whether it be not convenient to continue the use of praying for the dead in the Communion?

"viii. Whether the Prayer of Consecration in the First Communion Book should be left out?

"ix. Whether the Sacrament were, according to the First Book, to be received into the communicant's mouth, or to be delivered into his hand.

"x. Whether the Sacrament were to be received standing or kneeling?

"To all these *Guest* gave learned answers: and thereby vindicated what alterations were newly made in the Book prepared to be laid before the Parliament.—*Strype's Ann.* Vol. I. p. 83.

Guest's replies.

To questions 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7, Guest replied in the *negative*—to 5, 6, and 8, in the affirmative—to 9, he said, It was to

be received in the hands—and to 10 he said, it should be indifferent.

1559.

Elizabeth.

What they prove
as to the Cross,
&c.

Now in Nos. 2 and 4 Guest condemns *alike* the Cross, (by which he meant the *Crucifix*,^a) and the COPE: yet it is beyond all doubt that the latter was retained under the *general Rubric* of Elizabeth's Book, (even if that Rubric can be proved to refer only to Edward's Second *Book* and not to his Second *Year*) and by the XXV. §. of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity; and, therefore, (apart from any evidence of the fact) the conclusion seems undeniable—that the *Cross* was also retained by the like authorities.^b

A most material piece of evidence as to the standard then taken for Ornaments, occurs in the following passage:—

“*April* was almost spent before the divines had finished this new Service Book, wherein was a *proviso* to retain the ornaments, which were used in the church in the first and second years of King *Edward VI.*, until it pleased the Queen to take order for them. ‘Our gloss upon this text,’ saith Dr. *Sandys*, in a letter to Dr. *Parker*, ‘is, That we shall not be forced to use them, but that others, in the meantime, shall not convey them away; but that they may remain for the Queen.’ But this must be looked upon as the conjecture of a private man. (MSS. C. C. C. Ep. Illust. Viror..)’ —*Strype's Ann.* Vol. I. p. 84.

Important con-
temporary evi-
dence in

Strype's authority for this statement, as to the Law of

^a This is evident from his words, which it is best to give here in full: they strongly support the view already taken at pp. 57 and 58. — “*Of the Cross.* Epiphanius, in an Epistle which he wrote to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, and is translated by Hierom, (Hieron. 2. tom. epi.), sheweth how he did cut in pieces a cloth in a Church, wherein was painted the image of Christ, “or of some saint, because it was contrary to the Scriptures; and counsels the bishop to command the priests of the same church to set up no more any such cloths in the same place, calling it a superstition to have any such in the church. Leo, the Emperor, with a Council holden at Constantinople, decreed, that all images in the church should be broken. The same was decreed long before in “the provincial council at Elibert in Spain, cap. 36.” —*Strype's Ann. App. of Orig. Papers*, No. XIV. Vol. 1.

Mr. Goode in dealing with the subject of Crosses, &c., in §. viii. of his Book, has not noticed this Letter of Guest's, which would have helped him to define the Ornament so much discussed in Elizabeth's reign. That he was aware of its existence is plain from his having quoted it when speaking of “*The Dress for Preaching.*” (p. 41.)

^b *Strype's* remark seems to confirm this; he says: “What the original draught of the Service Book was, as it came from the divines' hands, and was presented to the House, would be worth knowing: I suppose very little was altered by the Parliament; yet something, it seems, was. For it appears, by Guest's paper that the posture of receiving the Sacrament, either kneeling or standing, was left indifferent in the book by the divines, and that every one might follow the one way or the other: for this reason, to teach men that it was lawful to receive either way. But the Parliament, I suppose, made a change here, enjoining the ancient posture of kneeling, as was in the old book.” —*Ann.* Vol. I. p. 83.

1559.

Elizabeth.

Sandy's letter to
Parker.

Ornaments, was evidently the following passage in a letter of
" Dr. Edmund Sandys to Dr. Matthew Parker, 30th April,
" 1559."

" The Parliament draweth towards an end. The last Book of Service is gone through with a Proviso to retain the Ornaments which were used in the first and second year of King Edward, until it please the Queen to take other order for them. Our gloss upon this text is, That we shall not be forced to use them, but that others, in the meantime, shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen."—*Correspondence of Parker*, p. 65, *Ed. Parker Society*.

which disproves
the notion that
Edward's Second
Book was the
standard.

But, notwithstanding Strype's comment on Sandy's account, his statement is, I think, a most important contemporary elucidation of the meaning of these much debated words, " The Second Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth," which lie at the root of the whole controversy. Here is a man whom Strype himself tells us was " diligently employed"^a in preparing the New Prayer Book; who (though, like Guest, he was plainly opposed to the Ornaments) must have been well aware of Cecil's question as to resuming those taken away by Edward's *Second* Book, and of the intentions of his co-revisers; who, if the Parliament was really rejecting the decisions of the reviewers, would be likely to know and to watch carefully its proceedings, and would hardly hazard a " conjecture " on the subject; yet he, writing " hastily " to Parker upon the state of his own finances and other matters, —could not avoid mentioning, as it seems, a subject which evidently annoyed him. And what does he say was the Standard for Ornaments, which *The Parliament* was taking?—the " **FIRST** and second year of King *Edward*." It is quite true that, as the Statute and the Rubric prove, " the **SECOND** " Year " was ultimately selected to regulate the Ornaments; in all probability because the majority of the Reviewers, or the Parliament, or both, felt that, while there were *important* distinctions between the Ornaments of the *First* Year and those of the *Second* (as I have already shewn), the standard of Ornaments had, after the latter date, been reduced much

^a " In this business [reviewing of the old Common Prayer Book] the divines, Dr. Sandys, Dr. Bill, and the rest above mentioned, were diligently employed at Sir Thomas Smith's house in Westminster."—*Ann.* Vol. i. p. 82. See also *Nicholls on the Common Prayer*.

lower than was consistent with the Ritual, which they themselves wished to settle in the Church of England. Yet, in all this, there is no allusion whatever to Edward's First *Book*—an allusion most natural, if that *Book*, and not the Second *Year*, had been in the minds of these various witnesses, more especially, as the Secretary Cecil's questions had drawn the especial attention of the Reviewers to Edward's two Books, and had referred to the later Book as taking away "Ceremonies" (not *Ornaments*), the propriety of restoring which they were to consider.

On "April 18, 1559," the bill was brought into the House of Commons to provide a new Act of Uniformity. On "April the 20th, it passed the third reading" (Collier E. H. v. 2. p. 424): it appears to have passed "the second reading" in the House of Lords, on "April 26th" (Strype's Ann. v. 1. p. 75), when "Scott, Bishop of Chester, and Fecknam, Abbot of Westminster, made speeches against it," (Collier and Strype, *Ibid.*), the debate resulted, however, in the

Stat. 1 Elizabethæ, c. 2, A. D., 1558-9. "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments."

This Statute enacted:—

"That the said Statute of repeal [*i. e.*, 1 Mary, sess. 2, c. 2], and everything therein contained, only concerning the said Book [*i. e.*, the Second Book of King Edward 6th], and the Service, administration of the Sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, contained or appointed in or by the said Book, shall be void and of none effect, from and after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming [*i. e.*, June 24, 1559]; and that the said Book, with the order of Service, and of the administration of Sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this Statute, shall stand and be, from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this Statute; any thing in the aforesaid Statute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding."

§, IV. forbids to "use any other rite," &c., to be used.

* Stephens says that—A person was punished under this Statute for administering Baptism in a different form than that here prescribed—but that, in another case, "an indictment for using *alias preces* in the Church, and *alio modo*, seems to have been judged insufficient, because such prayers may be used, upon some extraordinary occasion, and so no crime: and it was said, that the indictment ought to have alleged, that the defendant used other forms and prayers, instead of those enjoined, which were neglected by him; for, otherwise, every person may be indicted, that useth prayers before his sermon, other than such, which are required by the Book of Common Prayer."—*Eccles. Stat.*, v. 1, p. 365. Note.

1559.

Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's Act
of Uniformityrestored
Edward's Second
Book on and after
24 June, 1559.

1559.
Elizabeth.

§. XIX. provides that parishes, &c., which could get the Book before the Feast of St. John Baptist, should begin to use it "within three weeks" after they obtained it.

§. XXV. provides "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 the Sixth, *until other order^a* shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her commissioners, appointed and authorized under the great seal of England [in virtue of 1 Eliz. c. 1. §. 18.] for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realm."

§. XXVI. enacted "that if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence to be used in the *ceremonies or rites* of the Church, by the misusing of the orders appointed in this Book, the Queen's Majesty may, by the like advice of the said commissioners or metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies or rites, as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of His Church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and Sacraments."—*Stephens' Ecl. Stat.*, v. 1, p. 363—70.

Changes in the
Book of 1559 few
but important :

The variations in what may be called *The Text* of Elizabeth's Book from *The Text* of Edward's Second Book are but few, though important; yet, as they do not bear upon this question of Ornaments, they need not be particularized. The Statute, indeed, in ordering the Offices which it restores, says, §. III., that they are to be used

how described by
the Act.

"In such order and form as is mentioned in the said Book so authorized by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, with one alteration or addition of *certain lessons* to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany *altered and corrected*, and *two sentences only added* in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise."—*Ibid.* p. 364.

Inference from
the Act as com-
pared with the
Rubrics.

But the fact that the Statute makes no mention of the very important *changes* in the Rubrics respecting Chancels and Ornaments, which Elizabeth's Book contains (though indeed it provides an equivalent direction for Ornaments), shews that, while the Authorities were not unmindful of the condition of the Churches and of the order of the Ceremonial, it was *the character of the Service itself*, rather than *the mode of saying it*, and *the nature of its Ceremonies*, which was

^a "Which *other order* (at least in the method prescribed by this act,) was never made; and, therefore, legally, the Ornaments of Ministers in performing Divine Service are the same now as they were in the Second of Edward VI." [And the same is true of the Ornaments of the Churches.]—*Stephens' Ecl. Stat.* Vol. I. p. 370. Note.

sought to be secured by a Common Prayer Book and by an Act of Uniformity: and thus strength is given to the argument already used, *viz.*, that Ornaments and Ceremonial did not, and do not, depend upon the absence, silence, or explicitness of Rubrics, because they were well known, and were regulated by traditional use.

The Rubrics referred to are the following:—

“The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed^a place of the church, chapel, or chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the place: and the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past.

1559.
Elizabeth.

First Rubric—of the Church.

“And here it is to be noted, that the minister, at the time of the Communion,^b 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 the Sixth, according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this Book.”

Second Rubric—of the Ornaments.

Mr. Goode (p.13) makes a singular (and, as it seems to me, an unwarrantable) use of this Rubric to shew “THE MEANING OF THE RUBRIC ON ORNAMENTS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRAYER BOOK”: his words are—

Mr. Goode's remarks upon the Rubric on Ornaments:

“Here we find only a notice of the Ornaments to be used in the Church *by the Minister* (respecting which there were specific directions given in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.), but no notice of ‘Ornaments of the Church.’ And the difference is the more remarkable, because the words of the Act of Uniformity of 1559 (§. 25) correspond with those of our present Prayer Book. Now this Rubric, as it refers to the Act, must have been drawn up *subsequent* to the Act, and inserted in the Book, on its publication, on the authority of §. 25 of the Act; and it would seem that the Ecclesiastical authorities, who had the charge of publishing the Book, worded the direction about ornaments more correctly than the Act, knowing that there was no direct order about ‘Ornaments of the Church’ in Edward’s first Book, The only ‘Ornaments of the Church’ recognized in King Edward’s first Book, are some few things, such as the vessels required for the Holy Communion, incidentally mentioned in the Rubric.”

But here Mr. Goode argues upon a *fallacy* already more than once noticed in these pages: he *assumes* that Edward’s *Second year* means Edward’s *First Book*; and this *assumption* leads him to the *supposition* that the Parliamentary Officers and the preparers of the Book acted without concert; and,

their fallacy.

^a “In such place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear.”—*Edward’s Second Book*.

^b For the Rubric as it stood in Edward’s Second Book, see p. 77.

1559.

Elizabeth.

again, this *supposition* brings him to the *conjecture* (which I venture to think is wholly devoid of foundation, considering the special interest which the legal advisers of the Crown then took in Ecclesiastical matters) that those who were responsible for the Act of Uniformity made a *mistake* which was corrected by those who superintended the publication of the Prayer Book; and that, too, upon a point which, as having been a subject of particular enquiry on their part (see p. 126) must have been fresh in their minds. There seems, however, a much simpler way of accounting for this *alleged* discrepancy between the Book and the Act: Edward's *Second Book REVISED*, was the Book set forth as Elizabeth's Book: this Rubric was the *revised* Rubric of that Second Book (see p. 131), the essential difference being—that now the Minister was ordered to *use* the very Ornaments which that Second Book had bidden him to *disuse*: but that Rubric made no mention of the Ornaments of the *Church*, neither therefore did this. What can be plainer? I may add—what more likely, if the framers of this Rubric were so intent upon the “direct order” of Edward's *First Book*, as Mr. Goode appears to think they were, than that they should have copied the Rubric of that Book rather than have followed the words of the Second Book?

True explanation
of the Rubric.

Other probable
reasons for it.

And if it be thought strange that, at a time when the Ornaments both of the Church and of the Minister had been under consideration, a distinct notice should be taken, in the Rubric, of the latter, and not of the former; it seems sufficient to say—that (1.) like *both* of Edward's Books, Elizabeth's Prayer Book was but following the order of the old Missals in giving some directions for the habits of the Priest and his assistants at the celebration of the Holy Communion, though, like them, it did not describe the Ornaments of the *Church*: (2.) that at a time when the marked tendency of the reforming party was as much (if not more) to cast off the *Vestments* of the Clergy as the Ornaments of the Church (as will be seen hereafter), it is not at all surprising that this Order should have been distinctly put before them: the Ornaments of the *Church* did not depend upon the Parochial or the Cathedral Clergy: they existed in the Churches, and the Clergy had no

personal power or authority to remove them, even if they disliked them: but they certainly had the *power* (and perhaps they would claim the *authority*) to dispense with the use of a *personal* Ornament. Moreover, the known anti-ceremonial tendencies of those whom the new reign had brought back again into England (not to mention the anti-ritual party which had remained, and who now had hopes from the Queen) was in itself a reason for preventing them from casting aside their Ecclesiastical Vestments, as they were likely to do and as, it will be seen, they soon attempted. It was of more consequence that "the Minister" should use the proper Vestment, than even that the *Church* should be correctly adorned: the likeliest way to secure this was by a Rubric such as the one in question: merely to print the Act of Parliament at the beginning of the Book, without drawing attention to this provision of it, would in all likelihood have been simply nugatory; for but few probably would think it needful to be read.

Now, on some of the provisions of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, both Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode have laid much stress, and rightly so; whether their conclusions from it are legitimate, is a question which it is necessary to consider.

Dr. Lushington, adverting to the protests of the Elizabethan Bishops against the use of Crosses, says (p. 31)—

"They had not the authority of the Act of the third and fourth of Edward the Sixth to rest upon." They could therefore have taken the strong measures to which they resorted only in the conviction that the use of crosses had been abolished in the early times of the Reformation, or in virtue of some existing law. Now I know of no Statute which could have a bearing upon this question, except the Act of Uniformity of Queen Elizabeth, and by the twenty-fifth section of that Statute it is enacted, 'That such Ornaments of the Church,' [&c., see p.130.] This is so important an inquiry that I will proceed for a moment to consider how the question stands. The Bishops could not have insisted on the removal of the crosses because they were images, and fell within the purview of the Third and Fourth of Edward the Sixth, for that Statute was then repealed. They must have had in their minds and consideration that very section I have now cited; and I take it also to be clear that they knew what we all admit, that crosses are ornaments. Then mark the consequences. If crosses were in use by the authority of Parliament in the Second year of King Edward the Sixth, the Bishops

1559.
Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's Act
of Uniformity.

Dr. Lushington's
argument from it
in favour of the
Elizabethan
Bishops

* For this Statute was not revived during her reign.

1559.
Elizabeth.

were acting in direct defiance of Queen Elizabeth's Statute of Uniformity. If they were not so in use at that time, then their perseverance in insisting on their removal was sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity, as they believed. Which is the most natural and legal solution—a violation of law in the very face of their Sovereign, or an obedience to it, and execution of its provisions?"

not sustained by
the facts.

But are we compelled to accept either of the alternatives proposed by the learned Judge, in order to account for his conduct of the Bishops of that day? Surely not. It by no means follows that, in urging the Queen to remove the "crosses" from the Churches, they were either setting her Act of Uniformity at "defiance," or were "sanctioned" by that Act in the course they took; it *need* not have been either the one or the other, and the history of the case seem to prove clearly that it was not.

1. First, then, as a FACT, Crosses and Images were commonly seen among the Ornaments of the Churches at the Accession of Elizabeth, for Mary had restored them, (it is immaterial to the argument to enquire whether the Crosses on the Altars, and on the Rood-screens were *Crucifixes*, though, from what has been already said at pp. 44 and 48, and from what will presently appear, it seems to me beyond doubt that they were such). 2. Next, the Crucifixes and Crosses, whether in Churches or Churchyards, were guarded by a Statute of Mary's (see p. 117) which Elizabeth had not repealed; which remains unrepealed to this day, and which one cannot suppose the Bishops to have forgotten, though it seems that Dr. Lushington must have overlooked it, when he said, "I know of no Statute which could have a bearing upon this question, except the Act of Uniformity of Queen Elizabeth." 3. Thirdly, the question of the propriety of retaining the Cross (*i. e.*, the Crucifix) had been distinctly raised at the revision of the Liturgy (see pp. 126-7) and no evidence has hitherto been produced to shew that it was decided not to continue it; on the contrary, Sandy's Letter and the XXVth § of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity distinctly prove that all such Ornaments as were in use in Edward's Second year were ordered to remain in use for the time, though their *permanent* retention was, apparently, reserved for a future decision; and that the Crucifix or Cross was among

the Ornaments of that Second year has been, I think, amply proved already (see p. 33). 4. Fourthly, it is plain that some of the Elizabethan Bishops, probably a majority of them, had serious objections to the use of Crucifixes and Images; it would be to assert more than, I think, can be proved, to state that their objections extended to *simple Crosses*, from the lack of evidence that such Ornaments were then placed upon the Altar.

This being, then, the condition of things when the New Prayer Book came into use, what was it which those Bishops did? They tried to induce the Queen to come to some further determination about those Ornaments; they knew, as seems most probable, that they were *legal* Ornaments, and therefore that they had no power to remove them; but they desired to have that power, so they wished the Queen to forbid their use, in virtue of a Prerogative which they believed her to possess; in all likelihood they considered that Prerogative to rest upon the 25th Section of her Act, and they were anxious that she should exercise it: if such was their persuasion (and the supposition is a most reasonable one) then their conduct "was sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity," not because, as Dr. Lushington argues, that Act *had* "abolished" these Ornaments; but, *because it gave her power to take "other order" for their abolition*: if indeed they *knew* that this Section of the Statute was designed to *foreclose* the whole question of Ornaments, then their proceedings might be termed "a violation of law in the very face of their Sovereign;" but what warrant is there for so judging them? That their views were extreme, their fears groundless, their arguments weak, is likely enough, and is an opinion supported by after occurrences; but that they were necessarily either disobeyers of the law, or strict executors of its provisions, is a choice of difficulties to which, I submit, we are not driven, and which Dr. Lushington has failed to prove.

To refer next to *Mr. Goode's* observations upon this Statute of Queen Elizabeth. In his "Introduction," (p. 2) having remarked upon "the unsatisfactory state in which many of these points of ceremonial order remain in our Church," and having expressed his conviction that "Episcopal deter-

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Elizabeth.

The more probable explanation of their conduct.

Mr. Goode's observations upon the Statute,

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“minations,” under the authority of “the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer,” “might introduce anything but uniformity among us,”—a conviction in which one cannot but share if Mr. Goode means *the decisions of Bishops not sitting in their Diocesan Courts* (a mode of proceeding which, I apprehend, that Preface did not contemplate)—he goes on to say, after guarding himself from what would certainly be accounted an extreme stretch of the Royal Prerogative,—

“I will add my humble conviction that it [the Church] would have reason to be thankful, if a similar power of dealing with the Rubric were given to Her Majesty to that which was conferred upon Queen Elizabeth by the Act of Uniformity of 1559. No man who knows anything of the history of our Reformed Church, could object to the exercise of such a power by the Crown, as opposed to the principles of the Church. The authority of the Sovereign in points of ceremonial order, was the constant argument of the earlier Bishops against the Puritans.”

wrongly assign to
it an Erastian
character.

It would require more space than I can afford here, and would not be very pertinent to the object of these remarks, to examine this last statement of Mr. Goode’s, and to consider how far those to whom he adverts are or are not fairly open to the charge of acting upon purely Erastian principles: I must content myself with noticing his reference to the Elizabethan Statute. And upon this it seems obvious to remark—(1.) That, as this and the two Edwardine Statutes of Uniformity are perpetuated by the Act of Charles the Second where they do not contravene its provisions, the “similar power” which Mr. Goode desires to see lodged in the Crown may possibly still reside there; I say, *possibly*, because that is a question which must be referred to Lawyers, and upon which therefore it would be, at least, presumptuous for me to say more than,—that it would have to be considered, whether the insertion of the Rubric on Ornaments in the Prayer Book of 1662, was meant to *exhaust* this “other order” of Elizabeth’s Statute, especially as §§. XXV. and XXVI. were not incorporated with the Act of 1662. But then it must next (2.) be asked,—what was this “similar power” and what were its conditions? The Statute shews that it was a power to decide upon the continuance of certain Ornaments, but one only to be exercised “with the advice” of a certain *Ecclesi-*

astical or *Spiritual* authority therein named—the “Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England for causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this realm:” what body now corresponds to these “Commissioners” I do not know; and whether any “metropolitan of this realm” would counsel Her Majesty upon so grave a question without the consent of his com-provincial Bishops and those in the province of York, or indeed whether the Suffragans of either or of both Provinces would yield their consent, apart from any consultation in their respective Dioceses, is a question which it would be premature and hardly respectful to discuss now.

Again, at p. 4, in considering “THE PRINCIPLE ON WHICH THE LEGALITY OF CHURCH ORNAMENTS,” &c., “IS TO BE DETERMINED,” Mr. Goode seems inclined to terrify his brother Clergy who happen to introduce practices which he does not approve, and to encourage the Laity in opposing them, by referring to the *penalties* of this Statute; and so, having referred to §. 4 of that Act (as well as to §. 1 of “the Act 2 and 3 Edward VI. c. 1, and §. 24 of “13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4,”) he remarks—

“The consequence is, that it is as much in the power of the Laity as of the Bishop to prevent the introduction of rites and ceremonies in the public services of the Church, contrary to, or not sanctioned by, the Prayer Book.”

But, not to reconsider here a principle which has been already examined at p. 41, and only observing that the very question under discussion is—what is “contrary to, or not sanctioned by the Prayer Book”? it may well be doubted whether persons who use such language are not equally, perhaps more, obnoxious to punishment under this and the other Statutes, than those to whom Mr. Goode refers. For it must not be forgotten that, while this Statute makes it penal to “wilfully . . . use any other rite,” &c. “than is mentioned and set forth in the said book,” it equally condemns any one who should “refuse to use the said Common Prayers, or to minister the Sacraments in such Cathedral or Parish Church, or other places as he should use to minister the same, in such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book.” It would be invidious (and no

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His reference to its penal clauses

uncalled for and invidious.

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justification of those who *do* break the Ecclesiastical Law in points to which Mr. Goode refers) to enquire whether this law is complied with by those who, while accusing their brethren, wholly neglect the observance of Saints' Days, (not to say the Daily Morning and Evening Prayer) and who limit their Celebrations of the Holy Eucharist to the *minimum* number of times on which the Laity are *required* to Communicate, or at most content themselves with a Monthly Communion, regardless of any existing law to Celebrate on Festivals, even so great a Festival as that of the Ascension of our Lord, for which a Proper Preface is appointed; yet it is not unnatural, in noticing Mr. Goode's remark, to allude here to the circumstance.

But, to resume the narrative—

New Prayer Book
began to be used
in England.

“The 24th day of June, being the Festival of St. *John Baptist* made a great alteration; that being the day appointed by the late Parliament, from which the new Service Book was to be only used in all the Churches throughout *England*.^a Hitherto the *Latin* Mass Book remained, and the priests celebrated Service, for the most part, as they did before; that is, from *Nov.* 1558, to this month of *June*, 1559. During which time were great and earnest disputes and arguments held among the Clergy, both Protestants and Papists, concerning the English Book for public prayers. But when that day came, the *Protestants* generally received the Book with great joybut the Popish priests, that is, the majority of them, utterly refused.”—*Strype's Annals*, v. 1. p. 135.

The argument which has been already advanced—that the Rubrics of the several Prayer Books and the terms of the Acts of Uniformity will not *alone* enable us to ascertain what Ornaments and Ceremonies were intended to be disused at any given period—derives confirmation from what took place about this time. For, apparently about the end of June this year, and contemporaneously, as it would seem, with the New Prayer Book coming into use, the Queen issued 53 Injunctions, which seem to have been prepared in the previous *April*; they are mostly the same as those published by King Edward.

The Queen issues
Injunctions.

An argument
from them.

Now the very circumstance that these Injunctions were issued, in itself proves that some more exact directions, than the Book or the Statutes gave, were then thought to be

^a In *Ireland* it was 24 June, 1560: see 2 Eliz. c. 2. 1560.

needed in order to determine with precision what might be consistently used; and, what is more, they furnish a very strong argument that Edward's *First Book* was not at all in the minds of those who made the Rubric on Ornaments in Elizabeth's Book: for, in that case nothing could have been simpler and more natural than to refer *nominatim* to that *Book*. Instead of this, what did they do? They took as their *general* standard the Ornaments of Edward's *Second Year*; but then, as though to leave no doubt what Ornaments and other Things this Standard included or excluded, the Queen *republished*, with some few, though important, variations, those very Injunctions of Edward's *First Year* which, by getting rid of some Things, left what was then accounted by Edward's advisers a fully sufficient provision for Divine Service.

It would be a needless occupation of space to reprint those of Elizabeth's Injunctions which do not touch the present enquiry; but it may be useful to shew how far the two sets of Injunctions corresponded: this is done in the following table.

<i>Edward.</i>	<i>Elizabeth.</i>	<i>Edward.</i>	<i>Elizabeth.</i>
1. 2.	1. 2. 3. ^a	11. ^c	omitted.
3. ^b	omitted.	12.	9. ^d
4.	5.	13.	10.
5. 6.	omitted.	14.	11.
7.	6.	15.	12.
8.	7.	16.	13.
9.	omitted.	17.	14.
10.	8.	18.	15.

^a In the Queen's Injunctions all mention of "the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction" is omitted, and the reference is only to foreign jurisdiction *generally*: doubtless in order to avoid needless offence. Compare the Lord Keeper's Speech, p. 123. See also note in Card. D. A. v. I. p. 211.

^b The omission of this Injunction (which will be found at p. 27) is a remarkable proof of the indisposition, at that time, to abolish *Images*, and therefore one of the strongest arguments which could well be produced to shew that there was no intention then to remove *Crosses*.

^c Edward's Injunction required that those Clergy who had "heretofore declared to their parishioners anything to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, they shall now openly, before the same, recant, and reprove the same," &c. This *recantation* they were now spared, though they were still ordered by Inj. 2. not to "set forth or extol the dignity of any images," &c.

^d The same silence about the Bishop of Rome is observed here, as in No. 1, and only the general reference made to *foreign* jurisdiction.

1559.	<i>Edward.</i>	<i>Elizabeth.</i>	<i>Edward.</i>	<i>Elizabeth.</i>
Elizabeth.	19. ^o	omitted.	28.	23. 24.
	20.	16.	29.	25.
	21.	omitted. ^f	30.	omitted.
	22.	17.	31.	26.
	23.	18.	32.	27.
	24.	20.	33.	28.
	25.	21.	34.	39. ^h
	26.	omitted.	35.	omitted.
	27.	22. ^g	36.	omitted.

The rest of Elizabeth's Injunctions are all new—*viz*: Nos. 4.¹ 19. 29. to 38. 40 to 53.

The following are all of Elizabeth's Injunctions which relate to Ornaments and Ceremonies:—

The Injunctions
which relate to
Ornaments, &c.

No. 2. Forbids to "set forth or extol the dignity of any images, relics, or miracles."

3. Is against supposed "rewards" from "pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, or such like superstition."

18. Forbids *Litany* processions and knolling of bells in Service time, except one bell before the sermon.

22. Against violating "the laudable ceremonies of the Church, commanded by public authority to be observed."

23. Abolishes "all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks,^k trindals, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other

^e Most likely this, which forbid to "alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day," &c. was omitted because the 5th and 6th Edw. VI. c. 3, A.D. 1552, had regulated the matter. (see p. 79.)

^f The *whole* Offices being now in *English*, a direction to read the Epistle and Gospel and some other things in the Vulgar Tongue, was no longer needed.

^g Elizabeth's Injunction was *limited* to the direction not to "violate the laudable ceremonies of the Church," (see p. 28): the rest of Edward's Injunction was omitted, most likely because the abuses spoken of had ceased.

^h The Queen's Injunction only directed the use of Hen. VIIIth's *Grammar*, not his *Primer*.

¹ Dr. Cardwell remarks upon this (Doc. Ann. Vol. I. p. 213, note.) "This Injunction is new, and in the place of one, which required the removal of all images, and the tapers or candles usually set before them, but expressly allowed "two lights upon the high altar before the Sacrament, [&c.]" It appears, however, from the Injunctions of the 3rd year of K. Edward (No. XV.) and the subsequent Injunctions of Bishop Ridley, (No. XXI.) that the "mission had in the meantime been withdrawn." But it is a mistake to say that the 3rd of Edward's Injunctions (1547) removed "*all* images;" it only abolished "abused" images: nearly a *year* seems to have elapsed before the Order in Council was issued to remove *all* images (see p. 32.): Dr. Cardwell's *Note* is likely to mislead if this fact is not borne in mind. So, too, his reference here to "No. XV." tends to confirm his mistake about the Altar Lights noticed at p. 52; whereas the entire omission of this Injunction from those given by Elizabeth is a most convincing proof that the "Two Lights upon the high Altar, before the Sacrament," were meant "to remain still."

^k This Injunction, except the last clause, is verbatim the 28th of Edward's Injunctions, but as the word "candlesticks" in this latter had no reference to candlesticks for the two Altar-lights, so the same view must be taken of Elizabeth's Injunction: and though nothing is said in the Queen's Injunctions in

monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within their Churches and houses; preserving, nevertheless, or repairing both the walls and glass windows."

24. Orders a pulpit to be set up.

25. Orders an alms box, "in a most convenient place."

30. Orders a particular dress for the members of the Universities and for the clergy when not officiating: *viz.* "such seemly habits, garments, and square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth."

35. Forbids any to "keep in their houses any abused images, tables, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition."

47. Orders, "That the Churchwardens of every parish shall deliver unto our Visitors the inventories of vestments, copes, and other ornaments, plate, books, and specially of grails, couchers, legends, processions, hymnals, manuals, portasses, and such like appertaining to the Church."

Annexed to these Injunctions, as given by Cardwell, (p. 233) is a direction, "*For tables in the Church,*"—it states:—

"Whereas her Majesty understandeth that in many and sundry parts of the realm the Altars of the Churches be removed, and tables placed for the administration of the Holy Sacrament, according to the form of the law^a therefore provided; and in some other places, the Altars be not yet removed, upon opinion conceived of some other order therein to be taken by her Majesty's visitors; in the other whereof, saving for an uniformity, there seemeth no matter of great moment, so that the Sacrament be duly and reverently ministered; yet for observation of one uniformity through the whole realm, and for the better imitation of the law in that behalf, it is ordered, that no altar^b be taken down, but by oversight of the curate of the Church, and the Churchwardens, or one of them at the least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner to be used. And that the holy table in every Church be decently made, and set in the place, where the Altar stood, and there commonly covered, as thereto belongeth, and as shall be appointed by the visitors, and so to stand, saving when the communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed;

Appendix on
Tables.

Tables instead of
Altars,

favour of Altar-lights, yet as they do not forbid them (as Edward's amended Injunctions in his 3rd year did), and as the 2nd year of Edward was taken as the Standard for Ornaments, so we may conclude that they were allowed: though Cardwell (p. 213) would seem to take an opposite view. See also *Note i.* p. 140.

^a This refers, no doubt, to the Order in Council issued in Edward's fourth year, (see p. 68.): which Order had the force of *Law* in virtue of the Statutes under which the Privy Council acted, (see p. 26.)

^b "Some divines perceiving 'tis probable, the Queen had some inclination to continue the old custom, and let the Altars stand, they drew up a paper in which they endeavoured to shew the inconveniency of administering the Holy Eucharist at an Altar This address was prior to the setting forth the *injunctions*: the application had its effects, as appears by the *article* for removing the Altars."—*Collier Eccl. Hist.*, V. 2. p. 434. Also *Strype's Ann.*, V. 1. p. 162.

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at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number communicate with the said minister. And after the communion done, from time to time the same holy table to be placed where it stood before."

The terms of this *Admonition*, for such it may be called, are somewhat remarkable: it can hardly be regarded as a *positive order* to remove the Altars, but rather as an *authoritative counsel* to take them down, and a *specific direction* how to deal with them in such cases: indeed it betrays very much, I think, the struggle which was going on in the Queen's mind between her own *inclination* and what was impressed upon her by her advisers as a *duty*. And the very fact that this Direction, on so important an Article of Church Furniture, does not appear among the Injunctions, but occurs at the end, as a sort of Appendix, encourages the belief, that the Queen would have *preferred* leaving it an open question at that time, but that, having been induced to deal with the subject before the Injunctions were finally issued, she proceeded with as little appearance of *determination* to get rid of the Altars as she well could.

brought in by an
Address to the
Queen.

The arguments used by those Divines, who addressed the Queen on this subject, are given by Strype, "*verbatim* as," he says, "I found them in an authentic manuscript," among what he entitles, "mss. Guil. Petyt. armig., Vol. c." They are too long to transcribe in full here, but will be found in his *Annals*, Vol. i. pp. 160—3: it must suffice to give such portions as, perhaps, were likely to weigh with a Queen, who desired to be popular with all her subjects, and who may well, therefore, be excused for yielding to Ecclesiastical Counsels which professedly combined regard for the Law, for the authority of the "old writers," *i. e.*, the Fathers, and for the words of "The Holy Ghost in the New Testament." Thus they say:—

Some points in
the Address.

"..... the consciences of many thousands, which from their hearts embrace the Gospel, and do most earnestly pray to God for your Grace, shall be wounded, by continuance of Altars; and great numbers will abstain from receiving the Communion at an Altar: which in the end may grow to occasion of great schism and division among the people. And the rather, because that in a

great number of places Altars are removed, and a Table set up already, according to the rites of the Book now published."

"Fifthly, And whereas her majesty hath hitherto declared herself very loath to break Ecclesiastical Laws established by Parliament, till they were repealed by like authority, it will be much mused at, if any commandment should come forth now for the reedification of Altars, seeing there be special words in the Book of Service allowed by Parliament, and having force of a law, for the placing and using of a Table at the ministration of the Communion. Which special words cannot be taken away by general terms."

"Sixthly, Moreover, the Altars are none of those things which were established by act of Parliament in the second year of King Edward, of famous memory. For Dr. Ridley, late Bishop of London, procured taking down of Altars in his Diocese about the third year of the said King; and defendeth his doings by the King's First Book^a, set forth anno 2d Edw. VI. And immediately after, the King's majesty and his council gave a general command throughout the whole realm to do the like before the Second Book was made. And Dr. Day, Bishop of Chichester, was committed to prison, because he would not obey the said order. Which thing they would not have done, if Altars had been established by authority of the said Parliament."^b

* It will be observed that these Divines lay great stress upon the point, that Altars were not "*established*" by authority of Parliament in Edward's First Book, they do not urge that they had been *prohibited*; and knowing the Queen's regard for *Law*, they contended themselves with pointing out to her, that she would not be *breaking* the Law by substituting Tables for Altars. Whether they might not, with equal propriety, have used *this* reason of Ridley's to maintain the Altars, had they been so disposed, may be worth our own consideration in these times: his words are "*Second Reason*. Whereas it is said, 'The Book of Common Prayer maketh mention of an Altar; wherefore it is not lawful to abolish that which the Book alloweth': to this it is thus answered: The Book of Common Prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lord's board; without prescription of any form thereof, either of a table or of an altar: so that, whether the Lord's board have the form of an altar, or of a table, the Book of Common Prayer calleth it both an altar and a table. For as it calleth it an altar, whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered, a table, and the Lord's board, so it calleth the table, where the Holy Communion is distributed with lauds and thanksgiving unto the Lord, an altar, for that there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing either said or meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer."—*Works of Bishop Ridley*, Parker Society, p. 322.

It is true that the word *Altar* does not occur in our present Prayer Book, but the word *Priest* does, and also the expression, "sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving"; so that Ridley's argument is not substantially touched by the change. His "*Sixth and last Reason*" may most fairly be claimed by those who maintain that the Things complained of before Dr. Lushington are matters within the *discretion* of the several Bishops. This is Ridley's statement: "It is said in the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt do arise in the use and practising of the same Book, to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the Bishop of the Diocese, who by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary unto anything contained in that Book."—*Ib.* p. 323.

^b Whether these Divines meant to *approve* of Day's punishment does not appear: if they did, it showed a neglect of their own principle, as laid down in their fifth reason. Day could have well contended, that the authority of the

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Probable evils
from the change,

It is of no *practical* importance to enquire here, whether these and their other^a arguments were very sound, or whether they did not savour a little of timidity; though it would be well for Authorities now to consider, whether the abolition of Altars has not produced the very mischief which these Divines, too much perhaps, feared from their continuance; not to mention the actual decay of the Eucharistic *Doctrine* since that period, and (what no earnest person can surely defend) the gross irreverences, which, in too many English Churches, are now to be seen in the Administration of the Lord's Supper: the fact remains, that, as Strype says, "From this notable paper of address to the Queen, she yielded to the taking away the Altars, as by the effect it appeared," though she took care to declare that, "saving for an uniformity, there seemeth no matter of great moment, so that the Sacrament be duly and reverently ministered."

though reverence
was meant to be
secured at the
time.

The same design
sought in the,

The better to secure this latter object, there was also added to the Injunctions the following order, which, at the same time, furnishes the best contemporaneous commentary on the meaning of the word "suffice" in the Rubric of Elizabeth's Book:—

Order for Wafer
Bread.

"Item, Where also it was in the time of King Edward the Sixth used to have the Sacramental bread of common fine bread; it is ordered for the more reverence to be given to these holy mysteries, being the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that the same Sacramental bread be made and formed plain, without any figure thereupon, of the same fineness and fashion round, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual bread and wafer, heretofore named singing cakes, which served for the use of the private mass."

Prayer Book, as it had the force of Statute Law, was greater than the authority of a mere Order in Council. He did plead that Ridley's reasons "were short of satisfaction," and stated that "he could by no means prevail with himself to act against his conscience": his conduct is the more worthy of notice, since, as Mr. Haweis remarks, he "had given up, and even preached against, transubstantiation;" he now "endeavoured, by sermons in his Cathedral, to prevent the operation of so desecrating a practice [as the destruction of Altars.] The enforcement was characteristic. Cox, the King's tutor, was sent into his See to preach against him in October, and the next month an Order from the Council, for the general destruction of Altars, came to all the Bishops."—*Sketches of the Reformation*, 1844, p. 113. See also *Collier E. H.* Vol. ii. p. 306.

^a e. g., "Thirdly, The Holy Ghost in the New Testament, speaking of the Lord's Supper, doth make mention of a Table, 1 Cor. x., *mensa Domini*, i. e., the Table of the Lord: but in no place nameth it an Altar." Upon which Collier remarks, in the margin, "*This observation seems to go upon a mistake.* See Matt. v. 23, and Heb. xiii. 10."

This direction for the "Sacramental Bread," in addition to that respecting the Altars, would seem conclusive that these Injunctions were issued *after*, though probably not long after, the publication of Elizabeth's Prayer Book; for the Rubric at the end of the Communion Office says "it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread, that conveniently may be gotten." No doubt the direction was given in pursuance of §. XXVI. of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity (see p. 130): and it is remarkable that the word there is such "*further*," not such "other" order, as in §. XXV.—a term which obviously does not point in the direction of a *barer* Ceremonial.

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A General Visitation of the Dioceses was now contemplated, to assist, therefore, the Royal Commissioners—

The Queen issues Articles based upon her Injunctions.

"There was also now, beside these Injunctions, a Book of Articles prepared, to the number of 56, to be inquired of in the Queen's visitation, which was held this year, pursuant to her Injunctions." —*Strype*, vol. I. p. 166.

They were intitled,

"Articles to be enquired in the visitation in the first year of the reign of our most dread sovereign lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, anno Domini, MDLIX."

The Articles which bear upon Ornaments, &c., are the following :

The coincidence of those which relate to Ornaments, &c.

2	} which correspond,	{ 23	of the Injunctions, (see pp. 140-41.)		
9				} in substance, to	{ 2
15					
17	} do.	35			
18			} do.	do.	
27					} do.
45	} do.	do.			
22			} enquires "Whether they [<i>i. e.</i> , the parsons, &c.] have monished their parishioners openly, that they should not sell, give, nor otherwise alienate any of their church goods."— <i>Card. D. A.</i> vol. I. p. 242, &c.	do.	

Mr. Goode, in his desire to prove that *all* Images were attempted to be removed in this year, has singularly strained the meaning of one of these Articles : for, having observed (p. 60) that,—

Mr. Goode's error as to Art. 2.

1559.
Elizabeth.

“In the Injunctions issued by Queen Elizabeth in the first year of her reign, we find no direct order for the removal of images from the churches, but only the following order as to superstitious pictures, &c.;—[viz., Inj. 23, p. 140.]”

He goes on to say,

“But, nevertheless, in the Visitation Articles of Queen Elizabeth, issued at the Visitation in the summer of 1559, we find the inquiry, —‘Item, Whether in their churches and chapels *all images*, shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned and false miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, be removed, abolished, and destroyed.’ (Wilk. iv. 189; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 210.) The discrepancy may perhaps be accounted for by the fact, that Queen Elizabeth was not, at first, altogether disposed to remove *all images* from the Churches; and, at the close of this year, there was a discussion between the Queen and the Bishops, whether it should be required that all should be removed, as I shall presently show. It may seem strange, this being the case, that the Visitation Article should be so express on the subject.”

No discrepancy,
as he thinks,
between it and
Inj. 23.

But where is “*the discrepancy*”? Only, so far as I can see, in the introduction of the words “all images” into the Article—words which *alone* Mr. Goode chooses to *italicize*, though the plain, literal, and grammatical construction of this 2nd Article required him, surely, to observe that they were classed with “*all other monuments of idolatry and superstition*”: in other words, that, as in the earlier part of Edward’s reign, so now, the direction was to remove *abused* Images. And this view will, probably, be found confirmed by the after occurrences of this reign.

P. Martyr’s
Letter to T.
Sampson proves
the Crucifix not
to have been
abolished.

From a Letter written by *Peter Martyr* to *Thomas Sampson*, (as the Editor of the Parker Society’s edition considers) or to *Bishop Grindal*, (as is supposed by Strype), dated from “[Zurich], July 15th, 1559,” we gather important contemporary evidence that neither the Act of Uniformity, the Injunctions, nor the Articles recently promulgated by the Queen, prohibited the Crucifix, (and therefore not the Cross) or certain other Ornaments and Ceremonies which were then, as now, by some deemed popish. His words are these:

“Will any one who is somewhat better instructed in religion, when he sees you, a messenger of Christ and zealous trumpeter of the Gospel, arrayed in these vestments, praying at an altar before the image of the crucifix^a, repeating holy words, and distributing the

^a “Ad altare vestibus indutum coram imagine crucifixi precari.”

sacraments,—will any one, I say, not think that these rites are not only tolerated, but also approved by you?..... I would that those who have thought fit that these things should be preserved, had perceived that, as long as they remain, the gospel is not sufficiently established..... I do not see how the things retained by you can properly be regarded as matters of indifference. Certainly, since they present to the beholders an express resemblance of the pernicious mass, wherein ungodly men will exceedingly delight themselves; (for they will say that the mass was so holy a thing that the splendid representation thereof could not displease even us; for though we do not retain it, we nevertheless imitate it in many remarkable ways;) who, therefore, shall prevent such of the bystanders, in whose hearts popery still remains, from adoring the image of the crucifix?..... Wherefore, my very dear brother in Christ, since things are in this state, I give you two pieces of advice; first, that you still retain the function of preaching, and cease not, both in public and private, to defend the truth of doctrine, and to declaim against rites which are full of offence and occasions of falling. The other is, that you abstain from the administration of the Sacraments, until these intolerable blemishes be removed. And this is not only my advice, but the same is also the opinion of the reverend and most excellent Master Bullinger.”—*Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, No. xi., p. 26.

1559.
Elizabeth.

It need be no surprise, however, if we find that (notwithstanding the actual state of the law, and the precision of the Injunctions and Articles) the zeal of some of the Commissioners, or the temper of many of the people, led to a more than *exact* compliance with the Queen's instructions. Strype informs us that,

The Royal Visitation began.

“The Injunctions and Book of Articles being thus finished, the Queen set on foot her Royal Visitation throughout *England*, touched before; and divers commissions were issued out from her unto divers persons: some to visit some dioceses, and some to visit others. And all these were to deliver the *Injunctions*, and to make inquisition upon the *Articles*, abovesaid, and to minister the *Oath* of recognition, and to enjoin the use of the new Book of Service, which was to commence and come in force at the Festival of John the Baptist, *i. e.*, June 24th.—*Ann.* vol. I., p. 165.

Part of the duty of the Commissioners was to enquire into the cases of the Clergy who had been deprived or imprisoned in the late reign. The Visitation appears to have been begun in *London*, about the 18th of June: other Commissions are variously dated; thus—Oxford, Lincoln, Peterborough, Coventry, and Lichfield: July 22nd, 1559. Llandaff, S. David's, Bangor, S. Asaph, Hereford, and Wigorn: July 18th, 1559.

Date of the Commissions.

* “*Imaginem crucifixi adorent.*”

1559. Sarum, Bristol, Exeter, Bath and Wells, and Gloucester :
Elizabeth. July 19th, 1559. Norwich and Ely, August 21st, 1559.

The Commissioners met in London several times :—

Effect of the
Visitation upon
Ornaments, &c.,
in London.

“ On the 18th of July the Visitors sat at the Bishop of *London's* palace. In this visitation they took care to have all the utensils and instruments of superstition and idolatry demolished and destroyed out of the churches where God's pure service was to be set up ; such as the roods, that is, the images of Christ upon the cross, with *Mary* and *John* standing by ; also images of other saints, tutelaries of the churches, to whom they were dedicated ; popish books, altars, and the like”—*Strype's Grindal*, p. 25.

Besides other matters—

Roods and
Images
destroyed.

“ That which was further done in this Visitation in *London*, was the pulling down and demolishing the roods, and taking away other things used for superstition in the churches. August the 15th^a the roods in St. Paul's were pulled down, and the high altar, and other things pertaining, spoiled. The 24th day, being St. *Bartholomew's* day, in *Cheapside*, against *Ironmonger-lane* and St. *Thomas of Acres*, as the Lord Mayor came home from *Smithfield* that fair-day, and from the accustomed sports and wrestlings in *Clerkenwell*, were two great fires made of roods and images of *Mary* and *John*, and other saints, where they were burnt with great wonder of the people. The 25th day, at St. *Botolph's*, *Billingsgate*, the rood, and the images of *Mary* and *John*, and of the patron of that Church, were burnt, with books of superstition : where at the same time, a preacher, standing within the church wall, made a sermon ; and while he was preaching the books were thrown into the fire. They then also took away a cross of wood that stood in the church-yard. September 16th, at St. *Magnus*, at the corner of *Fish-street*, the rood, and *Mary* and *John* were burnt, and several other things of superstition belonging to the church.”^b—*Strype's Ann*, vol. I. p. 171.

Their wanton
demolition.

^a “ 1559, August the 13th, *Skory*, new Bishop of Hereford, preached at St. Paul's ; while the Visitation of that church was in hand. Two days after, the rood there, with the altar, was pulled down.”—*Strype's Annals*, vol. I. p. 134.

^b “ And here some people's ignorant zeal carried them too far : for not only images were destroyed, but copes, altar-carpets, prayer-books, other church furniture, and even crucifixes, were burnt together. There is an odd, bantering, letter, written from *London* into the country, upon this occasion, the words are these—(29th Aug. 1559). Since the day before our *Bartholomew* fair, we have had such bonfires, as passes all the blazes that were made for the winning of St. *Quintin's* : For all our church patrons, *Maries*, *Johns*, *Roodes*, and all the rabblement of the pope's ornaments, were sent to *Terra Sancta* in this fiery sacrifice.” (Biblioth. Robt. Harley Armig.)

“ To worship images, is pushing regard much too far : 'tis without doubt a criminal excess, unpractised and condemned by the primitive church : but then on the other hand, to treat them coarsely and burn them, looks like an affront to those they represent, and is altogether unbecoming Christians. To burn the figure of the cross, and especially that of our Saviour, is, to speak softly, a horrid profanation : and, if we may reason from such indignities done to men, must be superlatively wicked. The *Reader*, therefore, is to suppose, that all this disorder was without commission, and nothing but mob-execution : for 'tis evident the practice of the Queen and Court was quite different, and therefore would give no countenance to such singular extremes.”—*Collier E. II.*, vol. II. p. 434.

“So that from *Bartholomew-tide*, and so forward, within a months’ time, or less, were destroyed all the roods, church images, church goods, with copes, crosses, censers, altar-cloths, rood-cloths, books, banner-staves, wainscoat, with much other such-like gear, in and about London.”—*Strype’s Grindal*, p. 26.

A circumstance now occurred, which, while it confirms the view already taken—that *all Images* had not, as yet, been abolished by authority, furnished those Bishops, and others who objected to them, with an additional argument : we read that,

“The Queen was the more disposed to give way to the removal of images, upon the score of an imposturous practice lately discovered. At the arrival of the Earl of *Sussex*, the Queen’s Lieutenant in *Ireland* the *Litany* was sung in English at *Christ Church, Dublin*.^a Some bigoted papists were much disturbed at this way of worship, and endeavoured to retrieve their old *Service* by counterfeiting a miracle. To this purpose a marble figure of our Saviour, standing in the cathedral, with a reed in his hand, and a crown of thorns on his head, was observed to bleed through the thorns upon the face of the crucifix. This wonderful appearance happened in service-time, when the Lord Lieutenant, the Archbishop, and the rest of the Privy Council were at church. When this was perceived by the people they were strangely affected, especially when one privy to the contrivance told them, that *our Saviour could not choose but sweat blood, when heresy was come into the Church*. In short, all the audience being not of the same mind, the miracle occasioned a confusion, and the congregation broke up. Several of the people, however, stayed behind, fell on their knees, and prayed before the image.

“The Archbishop of *Dublin* suspecting some foul play, ordered the sexton to wash and examine the image. This being done, the man perceived a sponge soaked in blood within the hollow of the head. This sponge one *Lee*, formerly a monk of the cathedral, had put within the head that *Sunday* morning, and being loaded with blood, ’twas strained through the cracks of the marble, and fell down in drops upon the face. The cheat being thus discovered, the Arch-

1559.
Elizabeth.

An imposture in
Ireland leads the
Queen to

^a The New Prayer Book had not yet become the Legal Service Book for *Ireland*; the Statute (2 Eliz. ii. c. 2) prescribing it was not passed until the following year (1560) : meanwhile, as in England, before the Act of Uniformity passed, the *Litany*, *Epistle*, and *Gospel*, and *Ten Commandments* were to be said in *English*.

“The English Service Book, that had been enacted in the late Parliament to be used throughout the Churches of England, began Sunday May 12, 1559, in the Queen’s Chapel. The Wednesday after, May 15, it began to be read at St. Paul’s Church. And for the more solemn introducing it there was a Sermon, which Grindal was made choice of to make, together with a very august assembly of the Court present; viz. the Queen’s Privy Council, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of Arundel, Sussex, Westmoreland, and Rutland, the Lord Russel, and many more Lords and Knights; the Lord Mayor also and Court of Aldermen. And Sermon being done, they all departed to the Lord Mayors to dinner.”—*Strype’s Grindal*, Book I. p. 24.

1559.

Elizabeth.

consent to the removal of Images : but not to give up the Crucifix and Lights in her Chapel :

bishop preached in the Church upon that subject the next *Sunday*. And to make the more serviceable impression, *Lee* with his assistants were planted upon a table before the pulpit, with their hands and legs tied, and their crime in paper upon their breast. In this equipage they appeared three *Sundays*, were imprisoned for some time, and afterwards banished the realm^a. A detail of this imposture was transmitted in a letter by Archbishop *Curwin* to *Parker*, elect of *Canterbury*. *Parker* brought it to the Queen, gave a turn to her inclination, and prevailed with her so far as to gain her consent for the removing images^b out of Churches: however, all his learning and zeal could not persuade the Queen to part with the crucifix and lighted tapers in her own closet: she thought, 'tis likely, that the arguing against the use, from the abuse, was short of exact reasoning. (*Cecil's Memoirs*.)—*Collier, Eccl. His.*, vol. II. pp. 434—5.

It is not unlikely, I think, that, as the Visitations were now proceeding throughout the Kingdom, advantage was taken of this alleged consent of the Queen, and the opportunity used to remove other Images than those which, it seems perfectly plain, were aimed at in the Queen's Injunctions: if this was the case, it will reconcile the conflicting evidence as to *all* Images having been removed during this period by *public* authority.

though, at the time, she seems to have permitted their disuse.

Yet it would seem as if the Queen had, for a time, allowed these Ornaments to be disused in her Chapel; for Sir Francis Knollys, in writing "from the court" to Archbishop Parker, on the 13th October, 1559, thus expresses himself:—

" . . . wishing you prosperity in all godliness, namely^c, in your good enterprise against the enormities yet in the Queen's closet retained^d, (although without the Queen's express commandment

^a "Upon the 10th of September, anno 1559, Hugh, Archbishop of Dublin, caused this image to be taken down, although he had caused the same to be set up at his coming into that see, being formerly pulled down by his predecessor George Browne, in the reign of King Edward, which the said Hugh specifies in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. (*The Hunting of the Romish Fox, &c.*, Dublin, 1683, 8vo.)"—*Parker Correspondence*, p. 96, note.

^b Strype, in noticing this circumstance, adds—"Another of his applications to the Queen about this time must not also be forgotten. The Queen had been prevailed with, that images, and lights, and crucifixes should be enjoined to be taken away, to prevent that gross idolatry and superstition that the common people had been brought into by means thereof. But she retained, nevertheless, in her own private closet, a crucifix and lighted tapers in Divine service. This being so contrary to her own injunctions, and savouring so much of superstition, and that example being so dangerous, the Archbishop elect had the assurance and the honesty to advise her majesty not to permit these things any longer in her presence."—*Life of Parker*, p. 46. Yet there is no evidence up to this time that the Queen had in any way "enjoined" the removal of altar lights and crucifixes: certainly the Injunctions do not warrant Strype's statement.

^c "i. e., especially." ^d "A crucifix and lighted tapers, which Parker advised the Queen to remove, though without success.—*Strype's Parker*, Bk. 1., c. 9; vol. II., p. 92." *Ibid.* Notes.

these toys were laid aside till now of late)”—*Parker Correspondence*, p. 97.

The contemplated changes at this time in the Ceremonial at the Consecration of Bishops is indicated in the following sentence from a letter of *Jewel's* to *Josiah Simler*, dated London, November 2, 1559, in reply to Simler's congratulation of Jewel on his appointment to the Bishopric of Salisbury:—

“As to your expressing your hopes that our bishops will be consecrated without any superstitious and offensive ceremonies, you mean, I suppose, without oil, without the chrism, without the tourse. And you are not mistaken; for the sink would indeed have been emptied to no purpose, if we had suffered these dregs to settle at the bottom.”—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. xx. p. 50.

With regard to the progress made at this time in the abolition of Ornaments and Ceremonies in general, *Peter Martyr* thus expresses himself from “Zurich, November 4, 1559^a,” in reply to a letter, apparently from *Thomas Sampson*, dated “the 27th of August:”—

“With respect also to wearing the round cap or habit at other times besides that of Divine service, I think you ought not to content more than is necessary; for superstition does not properly seem to have anything to do therein. But in regard to the use of garments as *holy* in the ministry itself, seeing that they have a resemblance to the mass, and are mere relics of Popery, Master Bullinger is of opinion that you should not use them, lest a thing that occasions offence may be sanctioned by your example. But though I have been always opposed to the use of ornaments of this kind, yet as I perceived the present danger of your being deprived of the office of preaching, and that there will perhaps be some hope that, like as altars and images have been removed, so this resemblance of the mass may also be taken away, provided you and others who may obtain bishoprics, will direct all your endeavours to that object, (which would make less progress, should another succeed in your place, who not only might be indifferent about putting away those relics, but would rather defend, cherish, and maintain them;) therefore was I the slower in advising you rather to refuse a bishopric than to consent to the use of those garments. However, as I saw that offences of that kind must be altogether avoided, I easily fell into his opinion. But where altars and images are retained, I myself of my own accord maintain, as I have also written to you in another letter, that you must by no means officiate. Lastly, I wish you to understand that questions of this kind are also full of difficulty to us here, and therefore advice cannot be so easily

^a There is no address to this letter, but it is acknowledged by Sampson in Letter XXVII. of the 1st Series, p. 62.

1559.

Elizabeth.

Proposed changes
in the Consecra-
tion of Bishops.

P. Martyr's
opinion upon the
progress made in
the abolition of
some Ornaments
and Ceremonies.

1559.

Elizabeth.

Illustrations of
the feeling in
England on this
matter.

given. As to myself, when I was at Oxford, I would never wear the surplice in the choir, although I was a canon, and I had my own reasons for doing so. Wherefore I recommend you, also, to take advice upon the spot."—*Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, No. xiv. p. 32.

As an incidental illustration, too, of the feeling in England at this time, the following words of Strype may be quoted:—

"1559. I insert here a sermon preached November the 4th, at St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, at the wedding of a priest to a priest's widow of *Ware*, by one *West*, a new doctor; who took occasion to speak freely and earnestly against the rood-lofts."—*Strype's Annals*, vol. I. p. 136.

Parker to Cecil.

Again, some testimony is afforded in the following letter of "Archbishop Parker, elect, to Sir William Cecil. 6TH NOVEMBER, 1559, S. P. O. DOMESTIC, 1559, ORIG.

"Sir, We were this other day with the Queen's Majesty, in whose gracious words we took much comfort, but for the principal cause not yet fully resolved, and thereupon her Grace dismissed us, shewing to us that she would speak again with us as upon Saturday last, if she so sent us word, which her Highness have done. Therefore, because the matter is in good towardness, we would wish we were called for again to continue our humble supplication to the finishment and stay of that offendicle,^a the more speed would be had therein, for that some fear danger is like shortly to arise thereof, as by letters which this morning I have sent to my lord of London, at whose hands your worship may desire to have them, I perceive.

"God keep us from such visitation as Knox have attempted in Scotland: the people to be orderers of things. Thus in most haste I commend you to God's good grace; this 6th of November.

"Your Orator

"To the right honourable

"Sir William Cecil,

"Secretary to the Queen's Majesty."

"MATTH. EL. CANT.

Parker Corresp. No. LXXII. p. 105.

Jewel to
P. Martyr.

Jewel writes on the 16th of the same month, from London, to *Peter Martyr*, in these words:—

"Religion among us is in the same state which I have often described to you before. The doctrine is everywhere most pure: but as to ceremonies and maskings, there is a little too much foolery. That little silver cross, of ill-omened origin, still maintains its place in the Queen's Chapel.^b Wretched me! this thing will soon be drawn into a precedent. There was at one time some hope of its

^a "The 'offendicle' here referred to was, in all probability, the crucifix in the Queen's Chapel, the subject of the letter No. LXXVI." [*i. e.*, the Address p. 160.] —*Editor's Note, P. Corresp.* p. 105.

^b "Crucula illa argenteola male nata, male auspicata, adhuc stat in larario principis."

being removed; and we all of us diligently exerted ourselves, and still continue to do, that it might be so. But as far as I can perceive, it is now a hopeless case. Such is the obstinacy of some minds. There seems to be far too much prudence, too much mystery, in the management of these affairs; and God alone knows what will be the issue. The slow-paced horses retard the chariot. Cecil favours our cause most ardently."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. xxiv. p. 55.

About this time *Grindal*, (who had been nominated to the See of London, but having scruples about the Habits and Ceremonies, had, in August, consulted Peter Martyr,) received from him a letter in which, if *Strype* is to be relied on here, he appears to have given the same advice which he sent to *Sampson* (see p. 151)^a for he—

"said, that though he was always against the use of such ornaments, yet he saw the present danger, lest they should be put from the office of preaching; and that perhaps as altars and images were already taken away, so also those appearances of the mass might in time be taken away too; if he and others, who had taken upon them episcopacy, earnestly laboured therein."—*Strype's Grindal*, p. 29.

"In the beginning of January [1559—60], *Grindal* (who was now consecrated [December 21, 1559] Bishop of London) wrote again to *Martyr*," who, "in a former letter, had shewed great dislike at having the crucifix placed upon the table at the administration of the Sacrament; which the Queen retained in her chapel. Whereupon *Grindal* now asked his judgment whether he did not hold this among the things indifferent. To which that learned man replied in the negative; and that he should not advise any to distribute the communion with that rite: but he prudently added, that he that was in the very midst of the battle, must not expect counsel so far off, he being at such a distance from them, who were taking their consultations about it on the very spot. A calling, said he, is not rashly to be cast away, nor yet to be taken up with the injury of truth. The sum is, as he went on, the worship of images is by no means to be tolerated: that, neither *Bullinger*, nor he, esteemed such matters among the ἀδιαφορα, i. e. things indifferent; but rejected them as forbidden. Yet he exhorted him, by no means to refuse the ministry, which was voluntarily offered him, unless he were driven and compelled to those things.

"In fine, the good Bishop prayed him to use his interest with the Queen; and to write a letter, to dissuade her against setting up, or continuing the crucifix. But *Martyr* excused himself . . . especially seeing, as it was said, the English were now consulting about embracing the *Augustan* Confession, and of entering into league with

^a Perhaps *Strype* had reason to think, that this letter, which he quotes as sent "in the beginning of November," was written to *Grindal* and not to *Sampson*. It is very likely that, as *Sampson* and *Grindal* appear to have asked the same questions, *P. Martyr* sent the same answer to both, but with such variations as the respective cases might require.

1559.
Elizabeth.

P. Martyr's
advice to *Grindal*
(elect) on the
Habits, &c.

1559.

Elizabeth.

Parker's
Consecration:

the *German* Protestants, who all had the crucifix in their Churches." —*Strype's Grindal*, p. 32.

On the 17th December, 1559, *Parker* was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

Some details of the Consecration, which took place in Lambeth Chapel, are furnished by *Strype* from the "Parker Register": it is not necessary to give here more than what relates to the Ornaments and Ceremonies:

its Ceremonial.

"The order of the rites and ceremonies in this consecration was after this manner: 'First of all, the chapel on the East part was adorned with tapestry, and the floor was spread with red cloth, and the table used for the celebration of the Holy Sacrament, being adorned with a carpet and cushion, was placed at the East. Moreover, four chairs were set to the south of the east part of the chapel for the Bishops, to whom the office of consecrating the Archbishop was committed. There was, also, a bench placed before the chairs, spread with a carpet and cushions, on which the Bishops kneeled. And, in like manner, a chair, and a bench furnished with a carpet and cushions, was set for the Archbishop [elect] on the north side of the East part of the same chapel.

"These things being thus in their order prepared, about five or six in the morning, the Archbishop [elect] entereth the chapel by the west door, having on a long scarlet gown and a hood, with four torches carried before him, and accompanied with four Bishops, who were to consecrate him; to wit, William Barlow [formerly Bishop of Bath], John Scory [formerly Bishop of Chichester], Miles Coverdale [formerly Bishop of Exeter], and John Hodgkin, Suffragan of Bedford.....'

"Sermon being done, the Archbishop, together with the other four Bishops, go out of the chapel to prepare themselves for the Holy Communion: and, without any stay, they come in again at the north door thus clad: The Archbishop had on a linen surplice, the Elect of Chichester [Barlow] used a silk cope, being to administer the Sacrament. On whom attended and yielded their service, the Archbishop's two Chaplains, Nicholas Bullingham and Edmund Gest [? Guest], the one Archdeacon of Lincoln, the other of Canterbury having on likewise silk copes. The Elect of Hereford [Scory] and the Suffragan of Bedford wore linen surplices: but Miles Coverdale had nothing but a long cloth gown.....The Gospel being ended.....the Elect of Chichester having exhorted the people to prayer, betook himself to sing the Litany, the choir answering. Which being ended, after some questions propounded to the Archbishop by the Elect of Chichester, and the making some prayers and suffrages to God, according to the form of the Book put forth by authority of Parliament, the Elects of Chichester and Hereford, the Suffragan of Bedford, and Coverdale, laying their hands upon the Archbishop, said in English, *Take the Holy Ghost*, [&c.]..... After they had said these things, the Elect of Chichester (delivering

no pastoral staff to the Archbishop) proceeded to the other solemnities of the Communion:”—*Life of Parker*, Bk. ii. pp. 57—8. See also *Burnet H. R. Records*, Bk. iii. 9, and *Courayer on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English*, p. 41, and *App. of Records*, p. 332. Oxford Ed. 1844.

Parker's Consecration was followed up by the Consecration of the other Elected Bishops. To quote again Strype's words:—

“The Archbishop being consecrated and instated in his metropolitan see, the next care was to fill the Church with other worthy Bishops, where the sees were vacant. So on the 21st of December following next after the Archbishop's consecration, was consecrated, in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, Edmund Grindal Bishop of London: Richard Cox Bishop of Ely: Edwin Sandys Bishop of Worcester: Rowland Meyrick Bishop of Bangor Scory and Barlow, being Bishops before, needed no Consecration, but were Confirmed in their new Bishoprics the day before, being St. Thomas's Eve January the 21st [1559—60], five Bishops more were consecrated, *viz.*, Thomas Young Bishop of St. Davids: Nicholas Bullingham Bishop of Lincoln: John Jewel Bishop of Salisbury: Richard Davis Bishop of St. Asaph: Edmund Guest Bishop of Rochester Two other Bishops, *viz.*, of the Province of York, were consecrated March the 2nd, James Pilkington for Durham; and John Best for Carlisle The next Bishops that were consecrated were William Barkley Bishop of Bath and Wells; and John Bentham Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. These consecrations were celebrated March 24. And these were all that were consecrated this year.”—*Ibid.* pp. 63—5.

The Episcopate being thus settled, let us see what steps were now taken, by the Bishops, in the matter under consideration.

“About this time a form of *Belief*, digested into Eleven Articles, was set forth by the bishops, and ordered to be read publicly by all the clergy at their first entering upon their cures. 'Twas printed the next year by *Richard Jugg*, the Queen's printer, and intitled, *'A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion [set^a out by the order] of both the Archbishops Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops, for the Unity [uniformity] of Doctrine, to be taught and holden of all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, as well in testification of their common consent in the said Doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the Ministry [ministers] of the Church for diversity of judgment, as necessary for the Instruction of their people. To be read by the said Parsons, Vicars, and Curates,*

^a The words in brackets are in Cardwell's copy.

1559.

Elizabeth.

Other Bishops
Consecrated.Eleven Articles
of belief imposed
upon the Clergy:

1559.
Elizabeth.

at their first possession-taking, or first entry into their Cures. As [And] also after that, yearly at two several times, that is to say, the Sundays [Sunday] next following Easter Day, or [and] St. Michael the Archangel, [or on some other Sunday within one month after those feasts, immediately after the Gospel].”—*Collier, Eccl. His.*, vol. II. p. 463.

those which
relate to Ritual,

The following are the Articles which touch the question of Ritual, Ornaments or Ceremonies:—

Ceremonial,

“vii. Furthermore, I do grant and confess, that the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Holy Sacraments, set forth by the authority of Parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that it is catholic, apostolic, and most for the advancing of God’s glory, and the edifying of God’s people, both for that it is in a tongue that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of ministration contained in the same.”

“viii. And although in the administration of baptism there is neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used, and for that they were of late years abused and esteemed necessary, where they pertain not to the substance and necessity of the sacrament, that they be reasonably abolished, and yet the sacrament full and perfectly ministered to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

Ornaments.

“Last of all, as I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, relics, and feigned miracles, and also all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove,^a and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by man’s fantasies, besides or contrary to the Scriptures, as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such like superstition . . .”—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 266.

Collier’s opinion
of the meaning of
this last Article.

Upon these Articles Collier, among other remarks, makes the following observations:—

“Though this last *Article* is capable of a favourable construction with respect to images^b, yet most of the bishops seem to have gone

^a Remarkably enough the image of *Christ* is not mentioned.

^b Heylin, (who was chaplain to Charles I. and II.) states thus his opinion of the intention of these several enactments about images:—“The question is, whether the use of painted images on the walls or windows were tolerated or forbidden by the rule of the Reformation; they which conceive them to have been forbidden by the rules of the Church, allege for defence of their opinion, the Queen’s Injunction, published in the first year of her reign, Anno 1559, the Articles of the Regal Visitation following, and the main scope of the three Homilies against the peril of Idolatry. . . . But these objections carried their own answers in them, it being manifest by the words both of the Articles and Injunctions, that it never was the meaning of the Queen, her council, or commissioners, to condemn, abolish or deface all images, either of Christ himself, or of any of the prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and other godly fathers in the Church of Christ; the abuse whereof is ordered to be reformed by the first Injunction, but only to remove such pictures of false and feigned miracles as had no truth of being, or existence in nature; and therefore were the more abused to superstition and idolatry in the times of *Poper*y. In answer to such passages as are alleged out of the said three Homilies, it is replied; first, that

towards an extremity in this point. They had solicited the Queen more than once for their removal out of churches : but had hitherto failed of success. The Queen was not without a regard for the ancient appearances of religion : she thought ornament and representation no unserviceable circumstances : she was of opinion the service of God in her brother's reign wanted something of beauty and magnificence to recommend it. In short, her aim was to settle both ceremonies and doctrine upon a temper, that there might be a due latitude for general approbation and belief. This she apprehended the best expedient to unite the nation, and preserve a great part of her subjects from going off to the Church of *Rome*.—*Collier E. H.* vol. II. p. 464.

Much important information on the views of individual Bishops and on the condition of the Church of England as to Ornaments and Ceremonies, may be gathered from the correspondence which passed at this period between some of the English Divines and the Foreign Reformers : thus, *Bishop Cox*, addressing *P. Martyr*, says,

“ Respecting our affairs what shall I write ? By the blessing of God, all those heads of religion are restored to us which we maintained in the time of King Edward. We are only constrained, to our great distress of mind, to tolerate in our Churches the image of the cross and of Him who was crucified : the Lord must be entreated that this stumbling-block may at length be removed.”—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. xxviii. p. 66.

The letter itself is without date : *Cardwell* (*Doc. Ann.*, vol.

“ it is confessed in the beginning of the last of the said three *Homilies*, that “ images in Churches are not simply forbidden by the New Testament, *Hom.* fol. “ 39. And therefore no offence committed against the Gospel, if they be used only “ for history, example, and stirring up of pure devotion in the souls of men ; in “ which respect called not unfitly by Pope *Gregory*, *The Layman's Books* “ thirdly, all that vehemence is used against them, not as intollerable in them- “ selves, but as they might be made in those broken and unsettled times an occa- “ sion of falling, before men could be fully instructed in the right use of them ; “ That painted images were not only retained in the chappels of the Queen, “ and of many great men of the realm, in most of the cathedral churches, and in “ some private churches and chappels also, without any defacing (witness the “ curious painted glass in the cathedral church of *Canterbury*, the parish church “ of *Faireford* in the county of *Glocester*, and the Chappel of the Holy Ghost, “ near *Basingstoke*) but a rich and massy Crucifix was kept for many years “ together, on the table or altar of the Chappel Royal in *Whitehall* (as appears “ by *Saunders* and *Du Chesne*) till it was broke in pieces by *Pach*, the Queen's “ fool, (when no wiser man could be got to do it) upon the secret instigation of “ *Sir Francis Knollis* : and finally, it appears by the Queen's Injunctions, that “ the priest's being commanded not to extol the dignity of any image, relics, “ &c., and the people diligently to teach, that all goodness, health, and grace “ ought to be asked and looked for only at the hands of God, whereby all super- “ stition might be taken out of their hearts, the images might lawfully remain “ as well in public churches as in private houses, as they had done formerly.”—*Life of Laud*, Introduction, pp. 13—15. Fol. 1688.

“ Tantum crucis crucifixique imaginem in templis tolerare cogimur cum magno animorum nostrorum cruciatu.”

1559.

Elizabeth.

Proof of the state of the Church at this time, as to Ornaments and Ceremonies : viz.

Bishop Cox to P. Martyr.

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I., p.268, Note) assigns it to "August 1559" that is *four months* after the Act of Uniformity had passed, and *two months* after the Feast of St. John the Baptist, when the Common Prayer Book was to be used: the Editor of the Parker Society's edition of the Zurich letters, says it "must have" been written after December 21st 1559, when Cox was consecrated Bishop of Ely."

Mr. Goode's
misuse of this
Letter.

Mr. Goode, in quoting this Letter, which he thinks was "written about December, 1559," says (p. 50) that it

"Shews that *both* [the Cross and the Crucifix] were reckoned by our Reformers among the *images* that ought to be removed from Churches." Then, giving the letter, he adds: "This was written at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and before she had consented to authorize the removal of *these* images from the Churches; which, however, she was very soon induced to. And the words certainly imply that they had been removed in King Edward's time."

I may leave Mr. Goode's somewhat contradictory statement as to *dates* to speak for itself, only remarking that, as the Queen had been upon the throne just *one year* on November 17, 1559, she can scarcely be said "very soon" to have authorized "the removal of *these* images," if, indeed, she ever did more than *suffer them to fall into disuse*. But surely it is an exaggerated statement to call the complaint of *one* Bishop a proof of what "our Reformers" held on a given point: and if *his* words do imply that "they had been removed" in King Edward's time—an interpretation which may fairly be disputed, and a conclusion which I think has been disproved already—they certainly do not shew them to have been abolished in Edward's *second year*, which is the real point to be kept in mind.

1559-60.
T. Sampson to
P. Martyr.

Again, *Thomas Sampson* in a letter to *Peter Martyr*, dated "Jan. 6th," [1559-60] that is 9 and 7 months after the said law and book were respectively made and in use, says—

"Oh! my Father, what can I hope for, when the ministry of Christ is banished from Court, while the image of the crucifix is allowed, with lights burning before it? The altars indeed are removed, and images also throughout the kingdom; the crucifix and candles are retained at Court alone: and the wretched multitude are not only

* "O mi pater! quid ego sperem, cum exulet ex aula Christi ministerium, admittatur autem crucifixi imago eum accensis luminaribus? Altaria sunt diremta et imagines per totum regnum: in sola aula crucifixi imago eum candelis retinetur."

rejoicing at this, but will imitate it of their own accord. What can I hope, when three of our lately appointed Bishops are to officiate at the table of the Lord, one as priest, another as a deacon, and a third as subdeacon, before the image of the crucifix, or at least not far from it, with candles,^a and habited in the golden vestments of the papacy; and are thus to celebrate the Lord's Supper without any sermon? What hope is there of any good, when our friends are disposed to look for religion in these dumb remnants of idolatry, and not in the preaching of the lively word of God?

"I will propose this single question for your resolution; whether the image of the crucifix, placed on the table of the Lord with lighted candles,^b is to be regarded as a thing indifferent; and if it is not to be so considered, but as an unlawful and wicked practice, then, I ask, suppose the Queen should enjoin all the bishops and clergy, either to admit this image, together with the candles,^c into their Churches, or to retire from the ministry of Christ, what should be our conduct in this case? Should we not rather quit the ministry of the word and Sacraments, than that these relics of the Amorites should be admitted? Certain of our friends, indeed, appear in some measure inclined to regard these things as matters of indifference: for my own part I am altogether of opinion, that should this be enjoined, we ought rather to suffer deprivation."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. xxvii. pp. 63—4.

There is an apparent discrepancy as to facts in these two letters; for while Cox says, "we are only constrained. to tolerate *in our Churches* the image of the cross and of "Him Who was crucified," Sampson writing, as seems pretty certain, almost at the same time, states that "the Crucifix and "Candles are retained *at Court alone*": but the suggestion offers—that *Cox* may have been putting the *legal*, *Sampson* the *historical* view of the case: the former speaks of what they were "*constrained. to tolerate*," and that, perhaps, has been *proved* to have been the actual state of the Law *then*, probably *even now*; the latter describes what was very likely the *general* aspect of the Churches, if we consider the violence of the people and the zeal of the Visitors already adverted to. Moreover, there is no need to take his statement to the very letter, as other accounts will tend to shew; especially, as he seems to have been writing from London, and probably judged, to some extent of the rest of the kingdom, from what he saw and knew to have happened around him, where great excesses had been committed. But whether this

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Apparent discrepancy, in the above two Letters, explained.

^a "Mensæ domini astabunt, coram imagine crucifixi. cum candelis."

^b "Num imago crucifixi cum candelis accensis in mensa Domini posita."

^c "Ut vel admittant in suas ecclesias imaginem cum candelis."

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Elizabeth.

conjecture can be sustained or not, is immaterial to an inquiry which seeks to discover *what the Law permitted*, rather than *what the public feeling maintained*.

Bishop Cox's
remonstrance
against the Cross
and Lights in the
Queen's Chapel:

It may have been about this time, or perhaps a little later (for there seems no means of ascertaining the exact date), that Bishop Cox,

"being appointed to minister the Sacrament before her [the Queen] there [in her own Chapel], made it a matter of conscience to do it in a place which he thought so dishonoured by images; and could scarce be brought to officiate then, denying it a great while; and when he did it, it was with a trembling conscience, as he said. And to plead for himself, and to give his humble advice to the Queen, he wrote her a letter in a most submissive manner; acquainting her both with his conscience, that would not a great while permit him to minister in her chapel, namely, because the lights and cross remained; though he believed she meant them not to any evil end;"—*Strype's Annals*, vol. I. p. 175.

The Letter has been preserved by Strype in his "Appendix of Original Papers," No. XXII. It is taken from "MSS. G. Petyt. armig." and is headed—

"*Cox, bishop of Ely, to the Queen, excusing himself for refusing to minister in her chapel, because of the crucifix and lights there.*"

proves the Cross
to have been a
Crucifix.

One expression in it confirms the view, which, however, has been disputed on the authority of Jewel's words (p. 152,) —that it was a *Crucifix*, not a Cross without an Image of Christ, to which he objected; for while he begs the Queen—

"To peruse the considerations, which move that I dare not minister in your grace's chapel, the *Lights* and *Cross* remaining," his whole argument is against *Images*, in which, among other things, he mentions what did not apply to bare Crosses, that—

"IV. Images in the Church of Christ have been foully abused with vows, pilgrimages, offerings, clothing, gilding, incensing, and other kinds of honour."^a

The Document which seems next to claim our attention is one intitled, according to Burnet,

"*An address made by some bishops and divines to queen Eliza-*

An Address to
the Queen
against Images,

^a Mr. Goode (p. 63) has a Note on this Letter, of which he says, "It is not dated; but as it is directed not *merely* against the retention of such things in her Majesty's Chapel (where they were retained for several years), but also against their retention in Churches, it must have been written about this time," *i.e.* about the date of the, alleged, Bishops' address to the Queen against Images, of which he is there speaking. It may be that by the phrase "setting up," which Cox employs, he meant to condemn their *restoration* in the Churches; if he was arguing against their *remaining*, as Mr. Goode appears to think, then he is a witness for what was said in reference to Sampson's statement (p. 159).

both against the use of Images.' (Ex. MSS. C. C. C. Miscellanea B.)"—*Hist. Ref. Records*, bk. III., VI.

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Collier alludes to it in the following words—

“As to the business of images, the bishops were strongly prejudiced against the use of them. They were resolved therefore to repeat their request, and try their fortune once more in a formal address.”—*Collier, Eccl. His.*, vol. II. p. 464.

Now in this Address, which is not given in full by Cardwell^a (*Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 268) or Burnet, these words occur, which prove that its Authors and others had already been *importunate* enough with the Queen—that importunity being in itself the strongest evidence that they knew the *law* to be against them, and therefore were urgent for its repeal:—

“And forsomuch as we have heretofore at sundry times made petition to your majesty, concerning the matter of images, but at no time exhibited any reasons for the removing of the same; now lest we should seem to say much and prove little, . . . we have at this time put in writing . . . those authorities of the Scriptures, reasons, and pithy persuasions, which, as they have moved all such our brethren, as now bear the office of bishops, to think and affirm images not expedient for the Church of Christ, so will they not suffer us, without the great offending of God, and grievous wounding of our own consciences (which God deliver us from), to consent to the erecting or retaining of the same in the place of worshipping; and we trust and most earnestly ask it of God, that they may also persuade your majesty, by your regal authority, and in the zeal of God, utterly to remove this offensive evil out of the Church of England, to God's great glory and our great comfort.”

And the following expressions shew that they objected to the *Crucifix* under the general term of “images,” though there is not a word to indicate that they also objected to the *Cross*:—

“Irenæus accused the Gnostics for carrying about the image of Christ . . . Valens and Theodosius made a law against the painting or graving of the image of Christ.”

The “Address” closes by asking the Queen,—

“in these and such like controversies of religion, to refer the dis-

^a “This address is supposed by Bishop Burnet to have been presented to the Queen before she issued her Injunctions, and to have contributed to the right sentiments expressed in them respecting images.” [Indeed, Burnet says that these reasons prevailed with the Queen, to put it into her Injunctions, to have all images removed out of the Church”—*Hist. of Reform.* vol. II. bk. 3, p. 398. But the Injunctions do not contain such an order.] “Strype, however, and others consider it to be of later date. (Parker, vol. I. p. 193. Collier, vol. II. p. 465.) But she was known still to be favourable to the use of crosses and crucifixes, and they continued to be exhibited not merely in her own chapel, but also in many of the churches.”—*Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 268, note.

objects to the
Crucifix under
the name of
Image:

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cussment and deciding of them to a synod of the Bishops, and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantinus Magnus, and other Christian emperors; that the reasons of both parties being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters."

Moreover they "beseech" her "to consider,

"That besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the wisdom of the honourable councillors, the establishing of images by your authority, shall not only utterly discredit our ministries, as builders of the thing, which we have destroyed; but also blemish the fame of your most godly brother, and such notable fathers, as have given their lives for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images."^a

Yet it is very remarkable that in this Address to the Crown, not the slightest allusion is made to any *Law* as then existing against Images: this silence, coupled with the arguments, furnishes as strong a proof as could well be desired that there was no Law to appeal to, else it is most improbable that the writers would have failed to urge so weighty a reason for their abolition. It is true, indeed, that they refer to those, who, in King Edward's days, "by public law removed all "Images," (though, as I have already argued, there is no evidence to prove that *Crosses* and *Crucifixes* were included,) yet, as that Public Law was—*First*, his Injunctions (see p. 27); *Next*, the Order in Council (see p. 32); what is the legitimate inference from their words? Surely this—that they wished the Queen to exercise just such a "regal authority" as Edward had exercised, and the very fact of their entreaty proves that *hitherto she had not employed it to the extent they desired*, else they had only to act upon the Queen's Injunctions. But can there be much doubt that they knew *Crosses* and *Crucifixes* to be hedged by Mary's Statute (see p. 117), even if they thought that the Law had abolished them in Edward's days?

Unfortunately there does not appear to be any means of discovering the true date of this Paper,^b which, if ascertained,

^a Collier's remarks upon these reasons, show how weak they were. (Vol. II. p. 465.)

^b "This letter" says Strype, who attributes it to the "Archbishops and Bishops," "I find is published by the Bishop of Sarum in his History, placing it by conjecture under the year 1559, (for it is without date in the M.S.) but in all probability it was writ some considerable time after; and, as near as I can guess, in this year [1561], or the former."—*Strype's Life of Parker*, bk. II. p. 97.

but does not
allude to any
Law against
Images :

though its
authors desired
Royal inter-
ference with
them.

would nearly determine (1) how far the Elizabethan Bishops were *unanimous* in their opposition to Images, and (2) whether it at all influenced the character of the Injunctions. Burnet, Collier, and Strype furnish no satisfactory information on the subject; and Cardwell, though noticing their discrepancies, does not lessen the difficulty by assigning it to "Anno Christi, 1559. Sede Cant. vacante." A knowledge of the names of those who were parties to it would help to decide the date: but these it seems are not given. The only *complete* copy of this Address is furnished in the Parker Society's Collection of the "*Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury*" (p. 70): it forms No. LXVI. of that Volume, where it is intitled—

"ARCHBISHOP PARKER AND OTHERS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH."

"1559, Parker, MSS. C. C. Coll. Camb. CV. art. 11, p. 201. Copy."

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Elizabeth.

Uncertain date of this Address.

But there are two expressions in it which suggest a doubt whether the Archbishop, or any of the Bishops, joined in it: for (1) its authors, referring to previous petitions to the Crown, say:—

"We have at this time put in writing those authorities of the Scriptures, reasons, and pithy persuasions, which, as they have moved all such our brethren, as now bear the office of bishops, so will they not suffer us," &c.

This does not look like the language of persons any of whom were themselves Bishops, else why should they not have said, "*such of us as now bear the office of Bishops*"? and (2) next the proposal to refer the question to "a synod of your Bishops and other godly learned men," is hardly what would be expected from the persons who would have to deliberate in case the Queen acceded to the request. I only venture to raise this question, without pronouncing an opinion contrary to the received view of the authorship of this Address.

Nor indeed, so far as the apparent *object* of the Address is concerned, is it of much importance to determine who were parties to it; for it does not seem to have sought the *removal* of Images (unless indeed it aimed at the Queen's Crucifix), but to have opposed their *restoration*: this view is supported by the following passage:—

"The experience, also, of this present time doth declare that those parts of the realm which think, and are persuaded, that God

The Address perhaps not from the Bishops.

Its object was, apparently, to oppose the restoration of Images.

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is not offended by doing outward reverence to an image, do most desire the restitution of images, and have been most diligent to set them up again. Restitution, therefore, of them by common authority shall confirm them more in their error”

These words, coupled with the concluding clause of Jewel's Letter given at page 166, go towards showing that some reactionary feeling had set in, owing, probably, to the excesses which had been committed before and in the course of the Visitation; and that there were those (whether Bishops or not is uncertain), who thought it their duty to interpose a strong remonstrance against the revival of these Ornaments, especially, as the Queen was favourable thereto.

No evidence of
the Queen's
feeling about it.

How the Queen received this Address, or what answer she made, there seems to be no evidence to shew: but is it improbable that the “disputation” which Jewel says was to “take place” on the 5th of February, was the Queen's reply to the application “to refer the discussment and deciding of” the matter “to a synod of the Bishops and “other godly learned men”?

These considerations have mainly induced me, after much deliberation, to place this Address just before Bishop Jewel's Letter of Feb. 4, 1559—60. Mr. Goode says (p. 63) that—

Mr. Goode's
opinion of its
date.

“it could not have been earlier than the latter end of December [1559], as it speaks of those ‘who now bear the office of Bishops,’ and Parker was not consecrated till December 17, 1559, but probably it was not much later, as the controversy was decided soon after that”

Yet, if it can be proved that the Archbishop, or any of the Bishops, took part in this Letter, the words on which Mr. Goode relies *need* not refer to them in their *consecrated* character, but only as Bishops *elect*, in which capacity (as Letters LVI. to LXXIV.^a shew) Parker and others performed a variety of the *ecclesiastical*, though of course not the *spiritual*, functions pertaining to the Episcopate: but even in that case it must have been after August 1st, 1559, for Parker was not *elected* until that day. Everything, however, concurs to favour a date as late as that which Mr. Goode proposes: nothing favours the notion that it could at all affect the Injunctions, for the Visitations were mostly concluded at this time.

^a In the *Parker Correspondence*.

The following passages, from Letters written at this period, confirm the view taken at p. 162,—that the Address to the Crown against Images affords no proof of their then illegality, or of the unlawfulness of Crosses or Crucifixes. Thus, for instance, *Peter Martyr's* opinion at this time, both as to the Habits, Ornaments, and Ceremonies, is given in a letter in reply to *Sampson*, dated “Zurich, Feb. 1st, 1560,” in which, after exhorting him “not to withdraw” himself “from the function offered” him—*viz.*, that of a *Bishop*, lest he “should give place to “wolves and antichrists,” he says:—

“As to the square cap and external episcopal habit, I do not think there is need of much dispute, seeing it is unattended by superstition, and in that kingdom especially there may be a political reason for its use. Touching the garments which they call holy, I confess the case is somewhat more difficult, and one that troubles me not a little, so that I wonder they are so pertinaciously retained. For I should wish every thing to be done with the greatest possible simplicity. I think, however, that if peace could obtain between the churches of Saxony and our own with respect to doctrine, this sort of garments would never make a separation; for though we should by no means approve of them, we would nevertheless bear with them, congratulating ourselves upon our having got rid of them. You may, therefore, use those habits, either in preaching, or in the administration of the Lord's Supper, provided however, you persist in speaking and teaching against the use of them. But I can never recommend any one, either when about to preach or to administer the Lord's Supper, to have the image of the crucifix upon the table.* With regard to the unleavened bread which is used at the holy Supper, none of our churches, as you are well aware, have any contention about it, nay, indeed, they all everywhere make use of it. And whereas you write that very many persons are offended with the Episcopal habits and holy garments, as they call them, I can easily believe it. But you will avoid all blame in this matter, if you will show in your sermons that they are also offensive to yourselves, and if you will endeavour, by every means in your power, that they may sometime be laid aside. But concerning those processions in Rogation-week, which seem to have been derived from the Ambarvalia of the heathen, I scarcely know what I can rightly advise you. This I say, that superstition is altogether to be avoided. But if in these processions only prayer is made to God, that He will graciously supply us with new fruits, and grant us a good use of them, and thanks be given at the same time for the sustenance of the year preceding, superstitions perhaps will seem to have been sufficiently avoided: although both magistrates and people should be instructed

1559-60.

Elizabeth.

Contemporary evidence that the Address does not prove Images to be illegal: *viz.*

P. Martyr to Sampson;

* “Nunquam vero consulam, ut vel concionaturus vel cœnam dominicam administraturus crucifixi imaginem super mensam habeas.”

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Elizabeth.

against such ceremonies, and every effort must be made to get rid of them as relics of the Amorites."—*Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, No. xvii. p. 39.

Jewel to
P. Martyr;

Again: *Bishop Jewel* writes to *Peter Martyr*, from "London, "Feby. 4th, 1560":—

"This controversy about the crucifix is now at its height.^a You would scarcely believe to what a degree of insanity some persons, who once had some shew of common sense, have been carried upon so foolish a subject. There is not one of them, however, with which you are acquainted, excepting Cox. A disputation upon this subject will take place to-morrow. The moderators will be persons selected by the Council. The disputants on the one side are the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cox; and on the other, Grindal the Bishop of London and myself. The decision rests with the judges. I smile however, when I think with what grave and solid reasons they will defend their little cross.^b Whatever be the result, I will write to you more at length when the disputation is over; for the controversy is as yet undecided; yet, as far as I can conjecture, I shall not again write to you as a Bishop. For matters are come to that pass, that either the crosses of silver and tin,^c which we have every where broken in pieces, must be restored, or our bishoprics be relinquished."—*Ibid.* 1st Series, No. xxix. p. 67.

they correct a
statement of
Dr. Lushington.

Here then we have a testimony which may serve, in two cases, to correct Dr. Lushington's statement, when he says (p. 31):—

"So far as I know, nearly all the bishops of that day protested against the use of Crosses, and took measures to prevent their introduction into our Churches. I may mention some: Archbishops Parker and Grindall, and Bishops Jewell, Cox, and Horn."

A second Letter
from P. Martyr.

So, too, *P. Martyr* writing to *T. Sampson*, again, in March 20th, 1559—60 says:—

"Finally, to come to your last question, to have the image of the crucifix upon the holy table^d at the administration of the Lord's Supper, I do not count among things indifferent, nor would I recommend any man to distribute the Sacraments with that rite. But you who are in the very midst of the contest, must not expect counsel from hence, as we are at so great a distance from you: you must take counsel on the field of contest itself. A calling is not rashly to be thrown away, nor yet to be undertaken with injury to the truth. The sum of the matter is, that the worshipping of Images must in no wise be tolerated. Neither master Bullinger or myself count such things as matters of indifference, but we reject them as forbidden. Unless, however, you are driven to this strait, do not refuse the ministry that is offered you.

^a "Nunc ardet lis illa crucularia."

^b "Suam cruculam."

^c "Cruces argentæ et stannæ."

^d "Crucifixi habere signum in sacra mensa."

“As to writing a letter to the Queen upon the matter, you must understand that I am now so overwhelmed with business, that were I ever so willing, I should not have it in my power Besides this, I do not think that any letter of mine will have much weight. I have already written twice, publicly and privately, and have been unable to discover whether my letters were received. Moreover, if, as it is reported, it be the determination of your countrymen to embrace the Confession of Augsburg, and court an alliance with the [German^a] protestants, you may guess for yourselves in what esteem my letters, and the letters of those like me, will be held.”—*Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, No. xx. p. 47.

1559-60.

Elizabeth.

Some information as to the result of this “disputation” respecting the Crucifix, appears to be furnished by the following passages from letters written at this period.

Apparent result of the dispute as to the Crucifix, shewn by Bishop Cox's Letter to Cassander.

Bishop Cox, writing to *George Cassander* from “[Ely] house in Holborn, March 4th, 1560,” *i.e.*, 1559—60, says:—

“There is no open quarrel, but yet there does not exist an entire agreement among us with respect to setting up the crucifix in Churches,^b as had heretofore been the practice. Some think it allowable, provided only that no worship or veneration be paid to the image itself: others are of opinion that all images are so universally forbidden, that it is altogether sinful for any to remain in Churches, by reason of the danger so inseparably annexed to them. But we are in that state, that no crucifix is now-a-days to be seen in any of our Churches.^c As I have always deferred very much to your judgment, I earnestly request you to be so kind as briefly to let me know your opinion on this subject.”—*Ibid.* 2nd Series, No. xviii. p. 41.

To this letter *Cassander*^d replied from Worms in the course

^a “The German Protestants retained the crucifix in their Churches. Strype, *Grindal*, 48.”—*Editor's Note*, p. 48, where also he refers to another note of his own on this subject, at p. 17 of the same volume.

^b “Imagine crucifixi in templis erigenda.”

^c “In hoc autem statu nunc sumus, ut nulla hodie in ecclesiis extare cernatur.”

^d *Chalmers*, in his *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. viii. p. 380, 8vo, 1813, says, “*CASSANDER* (GEORGE), a learned popish divine of conciliatory principles, was born in 1515, in the isle of Cadsand, near Bruges, whence he took his name He retiring to Cologne, prosecuted his favourite idea of forming an union and reconciliation between the Roman catholics and protestants. With this view he published without his name, in 1562, a small work, entitled, ‘*De Officio Viri pii, &c.*’ [In] his famous piece, entitled, ‘*Consultatio Cassandri*’ he discusses the several articles of the Augsburg confession, stating their difference from the doctrines of the catholic church, and the concessions that might be safely made with respect to them *Cassander* died in 1566. *M. de Thou* represents him as modest, void of arrogance and acrimony; and he was as ardent in his wishes for a religious union, and made as many concessions for the accomplishment of this object, as could be expected from a person who continued in the catholic communion. Others, his contemporaries, speak highly of him, but many of his works were censured or condemned by the Council of Trent.” He appears to have been buried in the Church of the Franciscans at Cologne.

* * * Dr. Bayford, when this correspondence was cited by Dr. Phillimore in

1559-60.

Elizabeth.

Cassander's
reply.

of the year apparently, though his answer is not dated; his words are very observable, he says:—

“I understand that you are not altogether agreed among yourselves with respect to the setting up the image of the cross or the crucifix in the Church; but I do not sufficiently understand whether the question refers to the mere figure of a cross, or also to the image of Christ hanging upon it.^a I have seen here a certain print, which contained a cross^b only in the middle, with some texts of holy scripture in the English language written on each side; whence I suspect that your question only refers to the figure of the cross.^c But I acknowledge your modesty in requesting my opinion upon this matter: for when you abound in so many copious fountains yourselves, why should you drink water from so insignificant and turbid a streamlet? As however you desire it I will briefly declare my sentiments. Your excellence is aware, in what frequent use and in what great esteem the figure of the cross^d was held among the early christians; insomuch that it was everywhere placed and represented in their buildings, sacred and profane, public and private; and this too before the practice of setting up other images in the Churches, whether of Christ himself, or of the saints, had come into use; that on the destruction of all monuments of idolatry, by which everything was defiled, the figure of the cross,^e which was as it were a sacred symbol of Christianity, succeeded under better auspices into their place. And like as the word *cross*^f in the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles mystically signifies the passion, death, and triumph of Christ, and the afflictions of the saints, so also by the figure of the cross^g everywhere set up, and meeting the eye, they intended all these things to be set forth, as it were by a mystic symbol, and infixed in men's minds: wherefore they made a great distinction between the figure or representation of the cross,^h and all other images. Upon which subject you may see Charlemange, Lib. ii. c. xxviii. against the synod of the Greeks: ‘for in the latter there is a simple and bare signification, while in the former there is a secret and mystical representation.’ Whence it was not regarded as a bare sign, but as a kind of mystery; so that it was not only represented substantially and by painting, both in Churches and other buildings, and upon the walls of houses, but was also frequently signed by the hand upon the forehead and breast: to which fact the most ancient ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin, unanimously bear witness. This observance

the argument on Appeal in the Court of Arches, objected—that *Cassander was a Roman Catholic*. The fact of his belonging to that communion, though taking the views he did, only assists, however, the argument which is furnished by Bishop Cox's letter—it shews that Cox was not guided *merely* by the foreign Calvinists, and was, therefore, disposed to act more moderately with regard to Church Ornaments, than were some of his Episcopal brethren.

^a “Intelligo de imagine crucis seu crucifixi in templo collocanda non per omnia inter vos convenire: nec satis tamen intelligo, an de crucis tantum nuda figura, an de imagine Christi quoque appendentis agatur.”

^b “Crucem.”

^c “Crucis.”

^d “Crucis character.”

^e “Crucis figura.”

^f “Crucis.”

^g “Crucis.”

^h “Crucis figuram seu characterem.”

therefore, as it is of the greatest antiquity throughout all Churches, I am unwilling should be regarded as superstitious, though I would have the superstition of the people, which is commonly discovered even in the most excellent regulations and institutions, to be repressed and guarded against; and this seems to have been your object in that representation which I saw here.

“But take it, I pray you, in good part, if I freely state what I consider wanting in it. First of all, in representing this figure of the cross,^a I could wish that regard were had to the appearance and form of its archetype, that is, of the true cross^b on which our Saviour was offered; which also, were it attended to in other images of illustrious and holy men, would occasion less inconvenience: namely, that they might be preserved and looked upon only as memorials, in the same manner as we see at this day the effigies of the Roman Emperors and other illustrious personages preserved in medals. Moreover it is evident what was the form of the cross,^c both from some ancient images and statues, some of which I have seen, and very clearly from that most ancient writer Irenæus, and a more recent one, Gregory of Tours; and which is also supported by the reason of the thing itself. For how, I ask, could it be possible for a human body, weighed down at the approach of death, and hanging down in a stretched out position, not to tear asunder by its bulk and weight the palms of the hands that were nailed to the cross? And the possibility of this occurrence was so provided for, that about the middle of the standing and upright part there was let in a little board, upon which rested the feet of the person doomed to this punishment; and the nails were fastened in such a way that the appearance was not so much that of a man hanging as one standing. The words of Irenæus are plain. ‘The form of the cross,’^d he says, ‘has five ends and extremities, two in the length, two in the breadth, and one in the middle, upon which the person who is fastened with the nails rests his weight.’ To this entirely agrees Gregory of Tours. ‘The reason therefore,’ says he, ‘that there were four nails in our Lord’s cross is this: two were fastened to his hands, and two to the soles of His feet; and the question is why the feet were nailed, which in the holy cross^e rather seemed to hang down than to stand. But it is evident that an opening was made in the upright post, and that the end of a small board was let in to this opening, and upon this board were nailed the sacred feet, as it were those of one in a standing posture.’ I have seen representations of a cross^f of this kind of a considerable size, not only some portrayed many years ago in this country, but also a very remarkable one painted in the remotest part of Armenia, and which an Armenian Priest used to carry about with him in his prayer-book, described in the language and characters of his nation: in all which figures a little board of this kind was evidently jutting out, according to the description of Irenæus and Gregory of Tours: which things, although some persons may deem them too trifling, I

^a “Signo crucis.”^b “Veræ crucis.”^c “Crucis figura.”^d “Crucis.”^e “Cruce sancta.”^f “Crucis.”

1559-60.
Elizabeth.

do not think will be displeasing to others who have a regard for what is decent."

He then goes on to suggest that it might be "more suitable" to surround this figure of the Cross with the following texts of Scripture instead of those which were on the picture he had before referred to, viz—Coloss. i. 18—20; ii. 13—15; Gal. vi. 14; 1 Cor. 1. 17; Gal. ii. 19; S. Matt. x. 38, and xvi. 24, adding "these and similar texts will instruct the people in the true use of the mystery of the cross: but this you will with your wisdom determine better than I can."—*Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, No. xix. pp. 43—6.

Bishop Jewel
challenges the
Roman party.

It seems to have been somewhere about the beginning of this year, that Bishop Jewel repeated his challenge to the Roman party. "It would appear" says Cardwell (*Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 287),—

"that this challenge was first given at Paul's Cross on the 26th November 1559, when Jewel was Bishop elect of Salisbury, but before his confirmation and consecration; which took place in the following January" and that in the "Lent" following he "preached at Court" and also "at the cross" on "the second Sunday before Easter. In both places he preached that famous sermon wherein he openly challenged the Papists.—*Strype Ann.* vol. I. p. 300."

In this challenge he defies them to prove "xiv. that images were then [*i.e.* "during the first 600 years"] set up in the Churches to the intent the people might worship them."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 287.

Proofs that the
Queen was
resolute as to
the Ornaments
in her Chapel.

That the Queen was resolute as to the Ornaments of her own Chapel, is plain from the fact that on—

"March the 6th, Dr. Bill, dean of Westminster, preached in the Queen's Chapel: where on the table, standing altar-wise, was placed a Cross and two Candlesticks, with two tapers in them burning."—*Strype's Ann.* vol. I. p. 199.

and, again, that on March 24th^a—

"The same day, in the afternoon, bishop Barlow, one of King Edward's bishops, now bishop of Chichester, preached in his habit before the Queen. His sermon ended at five of the clock: and presently after her chapel went to evening song: the cross as before standing on the altar, and two candlesticks, and two tapers being in them: and service concluded, a good anthem was sung."—*Strype's Ann.* vol. I. p. 200.

One other very important witness, that Images were not

^a Strype, in also relating this circumstance, at p. 176 (when he describes the habit as "his chimer and rochet"), adds, "Whereupon the Archbishop of Canterbury performed his part, by applying himself honestly to the Queen, for divers reasons to remove them": he then mentions, too, the fact of Bishop Cox writing to the Queen. But, having regard to all the circumstance, and especially to Parker and Cox having defended the Crucifix in the Disputation, it is most likely that these objections were made earlier than Strype appears to put them.

then *illegal*, is to be found in Bishop Sandys, who, it will be recollected, informed Parker of the Parliament's decision as to Ornaments (see p. 128): his testimony is the more valuable as, judging from this letter, he was probably one of those who (? before his appointment to the Episcopate) joined in the Address to the Queen against Images. Writing to *P. Martyr*, "London, April 1st, 1560," he says—

"When I wrote to you at the beginning of August, I was sent by the command of the Queen into the northern parts of England, as an inspector and visitor, as they call it, for the purpose of removing the abuses of the Church, and restoring to it those rites which are consistent with true religion and godliness; and having been employed in those quarters up to the beginning of November I at last returned to London. New labours here awaited me on my arrival for my services were required by the Queen for the government of the see of Worcester; and the episcopal office is at length imposed upon me, though against my inclination"

"We had not long since a controversy respecting images. The Queen's Majesty considered it not contrary to the word of God, nay, rather for the advantage of the Church, that the image of Christ crucified, together with [those of the virgin] Mary and [Saint] John,^a should be placed, as heretofore, in some conspicuous part of the Church, where they might more readily be seen by all the people. Some of us [Bishops] thought far otherwise, and more especially as all images of every kind were at our last visitation not only taken down, but also burnt, and that too by public authority: and because the ignorant and superstitious multitude are in the habit of paying adoration to this idol above all others. As to myself, because I was rather vehement in this matter, and could by no means consent that an occasion of stumbling should be afforded to the Church of Christ, I was very near being deposed from my office, and incurring the displeasure of the Queen. But God, in whose hand are the hearts of Kings, gave us tranquillity instead of a tempest, and delivered the Church of England from stumbling-blocks of this kind: only the popish vestments remain in our Church, I mean the copes; which, however, we hope will not last very long."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. xxxi. p. 73.

These notices of the disputation about Images furnish ample evidence that the point under discussion was not (1) The *legality* of this ornament: nor (2) The *legality* or the *propriety* of a *Cross* and of *Altar-lights*. The dispute was plainly as to the *Crucifix* alone, and the question raised seems simply to have been whether it was *desirable* to reinstate Images which the *Law* had not *prohibited*.

1560.
Elizabeth.

Letter from
Sandys to
P. Martyr.

Evidence from
this dispute on
Images:

^a "Imago Christi crucifixi una cum Maria et Johanne."

1560.
Elizabeth.
no legal decision
against them.

But no decision seems to have been made. That, as a fact there had been a general destruction of *Images*, including the *Crucifixes*, is further attested by this Letter of Sandys. Moreover, it may be admitted that, as Mr. Goode says (p. 61), referring to this Letter, "The Article [*i. e.* Inj. 23] was enforced in respect to Images" by Sandys and those who so interpreted it: yet this does not prove them to have been *illegal*; and the conduct of the Queen, together with that of the other disputants, shews that they did not so account them.

One instance of the continuance of Ceremonial usages at Court is thus related by Strype:—

"Maundy-Thursday [April 11, 1560], the Queen kept her maundy in her hall at the court in the afternoon: and then gave unto twenty women so many gowns; and one woman had her best gown. And her Grace washed their feet: and in a new white cup she drank unto every woman, and then they had the cup. The same afternoon she gave unto poor men, women, and children, whole and lame, in St. James's Park, being two thousand people and upwards, 2d apiece."—*Ann.* vol. I. p. 201.

It was on the 5th of May 1560, that Pope Pius IV. addressed the Queen, exhorting her to return to the Roman obedience: the document is given by *Cardwell* D. A. vol. I. p. 285, who takes it "Ex Cambd. Annal. p. 58. seq. Ed. "1615." It is styled

"*Bulla papæ Pii quarti regnæ Elizabethæ per Vincentium Parpaliam, abbatem S. Salvatoris missa:*" and is addressed *Charissimæ in Christi filicæ Elizabethæ, reginæ Angliæ.*"

The Pope's
alleged proposal
to sanction the
English Services.

After giving an outline of this document, *Strype*, referring to the Nuncio who had charge of it, proceeds to remark—

"The Nuncio's offers from the Pope were said to be these: to confirm the English Liturgy; to allow the partaking of the Sacrament in both kinds, as it was in Bohemia; nay, and that he would disannul the sentence against the Queen's mother's marriage, in case she would rank herself and subjects under the Pope of Rome, and own that see. But she bravely refused and slighted all these specious offers."^a—*Ann.* vol. I. p. 228. See also *Card. D. A.* vol. I.

^a "The *Papists*, not being able to find anything in the Liturgy [of Elizabeth] contrary to the word of God, or the uncorrupted doctrine of the purest ages of Christianity, continued to frequent our Church, and communicate in our Prayers and Sacraments. The foreign Embassadors of that persuasion resorted daily to our Public Worship; and those ridiculous fables and sophistical objections, since raised against the Ordinations of our Bishops, and the purity of our Liturgy, were then unknown and unthought of. The Pope himself offered to confirm the

p. 285, who also refers to *Collier*, vol. II. p. 474. *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. I. p. 123.

1560.

Elizabeth.

Grindal, recently consecrated to the See of London, had, like many others, imbibed in exile during Mary's reign the strong dislike of Ceremonies and Ornaments which characterized the *Calvinistic* school of the Foreign Reformers. It need cause no surprise therefore to find that his Episcopal acts were materially coloured by his personal prejudices, and that he was no very close adherent to the Ecclesiastical Law, in these respects, unless it favoured, or appeared to favour, his designs. One of his earliest proceedings is thus related by Strype:—

Grindal's dislike of Ceremonies, &c., shewn from

“The Rogation time drawing on, when many superstitious processions were wont to be used in London and other places, the Bishop . . . prescribed this order to the Archdeacons, to be by them communicated through the diocese . . . (Ex Regist. Grind.)

his order as to Rogation days.

“ ‘ For the avoiding superstitious behaviour, and for uniformity to be had in the Rogation-week, now at hand, these shall be to require you to give notice and commandment within your arch-deaconry, that the ministers make it not a procession, but a perambulation; and also that they suffer no banners, nor other like monument of superstition to be carried abroad; neither to have multitude of young light folks with them; but the substantial of the parish, according to the Injunctions: the Ministers to go without surplices and lights; and to use no drinkings, except the distance of the place do require some necessary relief; and to use at one or two convenient places the form and order of prayers and thanksgivings appointed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions. Thus fare ye well. From my house in London, the xiii. day of May, 1560.

“ ‘ To Mr. Cole, Archdeacon of Essex; this to be delivered with speed.’

“But though our Bishop took this care of his diocese, yet I find in many places of the realm this year, *gang-week*, as they called it, was observed. And in divers places of Bucks and Cornwall especially, the people went in procession with banners, and had good cheer after the old custom.”—*Strype's Grindal*, bk. I. p. 38.

If, however, Grindal had no other warrant for this Letter than the 18th and 19th of the Queen's Injunctions, the former

His changes apparently unauthorized.

English Common Prayer Book, on condition that his supremacy were again received: but when he found, that it was impossible to gain that point, and that the *English* were resolved to act independent of his authority, he, in a furious zeal, excommunicated the Queen, and all who paid her any allegiance; upon which the *Papists*, after ten years compliance with the Reformation, broke out into an open Schism, and withdrew to separate congregations.”—*Sparrow's Rationale*, 8vo., 1722, *Appendix*, p. clxxxii.

1560.
Elizabeth.

of which ordered that "they [the people]... with the curate "and the substantial men of the parish, walk about their "parishes, *as they were accustomed*," some of his changes seem destitute of authority; and Strype's relation of what occurred in other Dioceses suggests the notion that other Bishops did not take Grindal's view of the *intention* and the *meaning* of those Regulations.

Excesses against
Ornaments
leads to a

It is evident that great *excesses* had been, and continued to be, committed in the demolition of Church Ornaments, for, as Collier says:—

"About this time another Proclamation was set forth relating to the Church. It has been already observed, the Queen by her *injunctions* had ordered the removing all paintings and other monuments of counterfeit miracles and idolatry, both from Churches and private houses. Some people either out of avarice or *puritanism*, or both, had mis-apply'd the execution of this order, and carried it much farther than her Majesty intended. Thus under the colour of these *injunctions* they defaced the images of our Blessed Saviour and His Apostles, and destroy'd the historical representations of *Scripture* in the Church windows: and which is more, their zeal carried them to the putting away coats of arms and monumental inscriptions, where they found any pictures in their neighbourhood. And because the bells had been consecrated, and the Churches abus'd to superstition and idolatrous worship, they took down the bells, and made money of them, turn'd the steeples to pigeon-houses, and stripp'd the roof for the lead."—*Ecl. Hist.* vol. II. p.471.

Royal
Proclamation.

The *Proclamation*, which is dated "Windsor the 19th of "September, the second year of Her Majesty's reign" *i.e.* 1560, states that the Queen understanding that—

"by the means of sundry people, partly ignorant, partly malicious or covetous, there hath been of late years spoiled and broken certain ancient monuments, some of metal, some of stone, which were erected up as well in Churches, as in other public places within this realm, only to show a memory to the posterity of the persons there buried, or that had been benefactors to the buildings or dotations of the same Churches or public places, and not to nourish any kind of superstition; by which means not only the Churches and places remain at this present day spoiled, broken, and ruined, to the offence of all noble and gentle hearts, . . . besides many other offences, that hereof do ensue, to the slander of such, as either gave, or had charge, in times past, only to deface monuments of idolatry and false feigned images, in Churches and abbeys; and therefore, although it be very hard to recover things broken and spoiled, yet both to provide that no such barbarous disorder be hereafter used, and to repair as much of the said monuments, as con-

veniently may be, her Majesty chargeth and commandeth all manner of persons hereafter to forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcel of any monument, or tomb, or grave, or other inscription, and memory of any person deceased, being in any manner of place : or to break any image of kings, princes, or noble estates of this realm, or of any other that have been in times past erected and set up for the only memory of them to their posterity, in common churches, and not for any religious honour ; or to break down and deface any image in glass windows in any Church, without consent of the ordinary, upon pain to be committed to the next gaol And for such as be already spoiled in any church or chapel now standing, her majesty chargeth and commandeth all archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, or ecclesiastical persons, which have authority to visit the same churches or chapels, to inquire by presentments of the curates, churchwardens, and certain of the parishioners, what manner of spoils have been made, sithence the beginning of her majesty's reign, of such monuments, and by whom ; and if the persons be living, how able they be to repair and reedify the same : . . and if any such shall be found and convicted thereof not able to repair the same, that then they be enjoined to do open penance two or three times in the church, as to the quality of the crime and party belongeth, under like pain of excommunication ; And whereas the covetousness of certain persons is such, that as patrons of Churches, or owners of the parsonages impropriated, or by some other colour or pretence they do persuade with the parson and parishioners to take or throw down the bells of Churches and Chapels, and the lead of the same, converting the same to their private gain, and to the spoils of the said places, and make such like alterations, as thereby they seek a slanderous desolation of the places of prayer ; Her Majesty, (to whom in the right of the Crown, by the ordinance of Almighty God, and by the laws of this realm, the defence and protection of the church of this realm belongeth) doth expressly forbid any manner of person to take away any bells or lead of any Church or Chapel now used, or that ought to be used with public and divine service, or otherwise deface any such Church or Chapel, under pain of imprisonment, during her Majesty's pleasure, and such further fine for the contempt, as shall be thought meet."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. 1. p. 289.

1560.
Elizabeth.

Now this Proclamation quite corroborates the view which has been already taken of the character of the Queen's Injunctions ; of the intention with respect to Images ; and of the excesses which had been committed under pretence of authority—excesses which had led to the "slander" of those who issued and of those who had to execute the decisions on the Image question. It shows most plainly that more had been done than was *intended*, and that that intention did not go beyond the defacing "*monuments of idolatry and feigned*

It corroborates the previous view as to the Queen's Injunctions on Images.

1560-1.
Elizabeth.

“*images.*” Of course the Proclamation could not well blame the Visitors for excesses which at least, it seems, they had *permitted*—that would only have encouraged the re-actionary feeling in favour of *setting up Images again*, a feeling which certainly the Queen was in no position to foster considering the various remonstrances which were addressed to her against them : but the terms of the Proclamation shew most distinctly that she was resolved to prevent their further demolition.

The Queen
offended by
Nowell's presen-
tation to her, at
St. Paul's, of a
Prayer Book
with Pictures.

Not very long after this Proclamation was issued, a circumstance occurred which it is not easy to understand except on the supposition that the Queen thought it prudent or politic to take a course *in public* which did not quite accord with her own private views : *Strype* thus relates it :—

“The aforesaid dean [Nowel], so often noted before for his frequent preaching before the Queen, and in other great and honourable assemblies, preached on the festival of the Circumcision [Jan. 1, 1561],^a being new year's day, at St. Paul's, whither the Queen resorted. Here a remarkable passage happened, as is recorded in a great man's memorials, who lived in those times. (Sir H. Sydney's memorials among Archbishop Usher's MSS. Foxes and Firebrands, Pt. 3.) The dean having gotten from a foreigner several fine cuts and pictures, representing the stories and passions of the saints and martyrs, had placed them against the epistles and gospels of their festivals in a Common Prayer Book. And this book he had caused to be richly bound, and laid on the cushion for the Queen's use, in the place where she commonly sat ; intending it for a new-year's-gift to her majesty, and thinking to have pleased her fancy therewith. But it had not that effect, but the contrary : for she considered how this varied from her late open Injunctions and Proclamations against the superstitious use of images in Churches, and for the taking away all such relics of popery. When she came to her place she opened the book, and perused it, and saw the pictures, but frowned and blushed ; and then shut it, (of which several took notice) and calling the verger, bade him bring her the old book, wherein she was wont to read. After Sermon, whereas she was wont to get immediately on horseback, or into her chariot, she went straight to the vestry, and applying herself to the dean, thus she spoke to him :

Her conference
with the Dean
on the matter.

“Q. Mr. Dean, how came it to pass that a new service-book was placed on my cushion ? To which the dean answered,

“D. May it please your majesty, I caused it to be placed there. Then said the queen,

^a *Strype* (Life of Parker, vol. I. p. 97) states this to have happened “anno 1561—2,” but this disagrees with other statements of his, particularly with the session of the Ecclesiastical Commission at Lambeth (see p. 182) which he makes contemporaneous.

“ Q. Wherefore did you so ?

“ D. To present your majesty with a new-year’s-gift.

“ Q. You could never present me with a worse.

“ D. Why so, madam ?

“ Q. You know I have an aversion to idolatry ; to images and pictures of this kind.

“ D. Wherein is the idolatry, may it please your majesty ?

“ Q. In the cuts resembling angels and saints ; nay, grosser absurdities, pictures resembling the blessed Trinity.

“ D. I meant no harm, nor did I think it would offend your majesty, when I intended it for a new year’s gift.

“ Q. You must needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our proclamation against images, pictures, and Romish relics in the churches ? Was it not read in your deanery ?

“ D. It was read. But be your majesty assured I meant no harm, when I caused the cuts to be bound with the service-book.

“ Q. You must needs be very ignorant to do this after our prohibition of them.

“ D. It being my ignorancé, your Majesty may the better pardon me.

“ Q. I am sorry for it ; yet glad to hear it was your ignorance, rather than your opinion.

“ D. Be your majesty assured it was my ignorance.

“ Q. If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you his Spirit, and more wisdom for the future.

“ D. Amen, I pray God.

“ Q. I pray, Mr. Dean, how came you by these pictures ? who engraved them ?

“ D. I know not who engraved them. I bought them.

“ Q. From whom bought you them ?

“ D. From a German.

“ Q. It is well it was from a stranger : had it been any of our subjects, we should have questioned the matter. Pray let no more of these mistakes, or of this kind, be committed within the churches of our realm for the future.

“ D. There shall not.

“ This matter occasioned all the Clergy in and about London, and the churchwardens of each parish, to search their churches and chapels ; and caused them to wash out of the walls all paintings that seemed to be Romish and idolatrous ; and in lieu thereof suitable texts taken out of the Holy Scriptures to be written.”—*Ann. Ref.* vol. I. p. 273.

Collier comments upon the occurrence in these words :—

“ The reader may possibly fancy the Queen’s displeasure was somewhat mysterious upon this occasion, for ’twas not long since she had discover’d herself in favour of images, and was difficultly prevailed with to consent to their removal : besides, both now and several years forward, she had a Crucifix in her Chappell. Now if an ornamental figure, or a religious representation was so dangerous,

1560-1.
Elizabeth.

why did Her Majesty set the example? If any one, I say, asks this question, I must leave him to answer it himself."—*Collier E. H.* vol. II. p. 472.

Letter from the Queen to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on the neglected condition of the Churches.

On "the 22d day of Januarye [1560—1], the thirde yere "of our reign," a Letter was addressed by the Queen

"*To the most Reverend Father in God, our right trustie and right well-beloved Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury; the Right Reverend Father in God, our right trustie and wel beloved Edmund, Bysshop of London, and to the rest of our Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical.*"

This Letter (which was forwarded by the Archbishop, through the Bishop of London, to his Suffragans on the 15th of February) furnishes a most pertinent answer to the question, if it should be asked—*What practical effect had been produced at this time by the re-actionary movement against Ornament, Ritual, and Ceremonial?* It opens with a reference to §. XXVI. of Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 2 (see p. 130) whereby the Queen, with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or the Metropolitan, had power to ordain "such *further* ceremonies or rites" as contempt, misuse, or irreverence of the existing ones might demand; then, after adverting to an alleged benefit which would arise from changing some of the Lessons appointed in the Calendar, it proceeds to describe a condition of things which unhappily can be exactly (often I fear *ineexcusably*) paralleled in the present day; these are the words:—

"Furthermore in sundry churches and chappells, where Divine Service, as prayer, preaching, and ministration of the Sacraments be used, there is such negligence, and lack of convenient reverence used towards the comely keeping, and order of the said churches, and especially of the upper parte called the chancels, that it breedeth no small offence and slaunder, to see and consider, on the one part, the curiositie and costes bestowed by all sortes of men upon their private houses, and the other part, the uncleane or negligent order, or sparekeeping of the house of prayer, by permitting open decays, and ruines of coverings, walls, and wyndowes, and by appointing unmeet and unseemly tables, with fowle clothes, for the Communion of the Sacraments, and generally leavyng the place of prayers desolate of all cleanlynes, and of meet ornaments for such a place, whereby it might be known a place provided for Divine Service."

Her orders to the Commissioners

Therefore the Commissioners were required, not only to review the Lessons, but

"further also to consider, as becometh, the foresaide great disorders in the decays of churches and in the unseemly keeping and order of

the chauncells, and such like, and according to your discretions to determine upon some good and speedy meanes of reformation, and amongst other things to order, that the tables^a of the commandments may be comlye set or hung up in the east end of the chauncell, to be read not only for edification, but also to give some comely ornament^b and demonstration, that the same is a place of religion and prayer; and diligently to provide that whatsoever ye shall devise, either in this, or any other like point, to the reformation of this disorder, that the order and reformation be of one sort and fashion, and that the things prescribed may accord in one forme, as nigh as they may; specially, that in all collegiate and cathedral churches, where cost may be more probablie allowed, one manner be used; and in all parish churches also, either the same, or at the least the like, and one manner throughout our realme and that you, the rest of our commissioners before mentioned, prescribe the same to the Archbishop now nominated^b of York, to be in like manner set forth in that province, and that the alteration of anything hereby ensuing, be quietly done, without shew of any innovation in the church.”—*Card. Doc. Ann.*, vol. I. p. 294.

The concluding directions of this Letter, touching the *uniformity* of the prescribed restorations, are deserving of particular notice; they contradict a theory often put forward in favour of Ornaments and Ceremonies in Cathedral and College Chapels as distinct from Parish Churches—a thing which Mr. Goode (p. 8) labours to maintain, when arguing “The principle on which the legality of Church Ornaments,” &c. “is to be determined,”—though Dr. Lushington evidently felt its difficulty when, discussing the question of Candles on the Altar, he said—

“I am in no small degree actuated by the consideration, that this

^a Is it not probable that this order may have been meant to satisfy some who, very likely, had been not a little irritated by Bonner’s mandate to remove texts, etc., see p. 119: while at the same time words were chosen of which no one could complain that they were, as before, the badge of any party in the Church?

^b At the repair of St. Michael, Cornhill, in 1633, “the chancel [was] likewise enriched with a fair and very curious table of commandments.”—*Stow’s London*, vol. I. bk. 2, cap. 8, p. 143. This Church was afterwards destroyed in the fire of London.

St. Giles, Cripplegate—“To the further grace and ornament of this church, there was added, in the same year [1623] the cost of a very fair table of the commandments.”—*Ibid.* Bk. 3, c. 6, p. 82.

Stow relates other examples in similar language. But it would seem that they might be in the *nave*, for in a complaint made to Archbishop Whitgift of the *misorders committed against the book of Common Prayer, by the parson of Eastwell*, [in his diocese] May 1584,” it is said that “neither chancel, nor the body of the Church have the ten commandments set up in them: But lieth very un-decently and unorderly, contrary to Her Majesty’s Injunctions.”

The complaint also mentioned that “The choir doors are pulled down, and set in the church-yard.”—*Strype’s Whitgift*, p. 141.

^c “Archbishop Thomas Young . . . translated from St. David’s to York, 27th January, 1560—1”—*Parker Corresp.* Note, p. 134.

1560-1.
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disprove the notion that Cathedrals were designed to have more Ornaments, &c., than Parish Churches.

1560-1.
Elizabeth.

Court might be driven to pronounce such articles contrary to law, and so incidentally pronounce an opinion that the usages in this respect in cathedrals and colleges was not only a violation of law, but the continuance of a superstitious practice ;—a consequence which I hope all agree it is my duty, if possible, to avoid.”—*Judg.* p. 56.

Looking, then, at the words of the Queen’s Letter it seems plain that *the principle* by which the Commissioners were to be guided was very mainly to be regulated by the *pecuniary* condition of the Parishes and the Cathedral Chapters whose Edifices had to be restored.

Somewhere towards the close of the year 1560—1, *i. e.*, 1561.

Interpretations
issued of the
Royal Injunctions.

“ Another thing was now drawn up in writing by the Archbishop and Bishops, for the further regulation of the inferior Clergy.”—*Strype’s Ann.*, vol. I. p. 213.

It consisted of “ Interpretations and further considerations ” of Elizabeth’s Injunctions. *Strype*, (in his *Life of Parker*, p. 92) states them to have been drawn up in 1561,

“ by the diligent Archbishop in his own name, and in the name of the rest of the Bishops.”

But in his *Annals* he says—

“ It was framed, as it seems to me, by the pen of Cox, Bishop of Ely, and revised by the Archbishop.”

These Amendments (if we may so call them) are given in full by *Strype* (*Ann.*, vol. I. pp. 213—6) and by *Cardwell*, who seems only to have copied *Strype*, (*Doc. Ann.*, vol. I. pp. 236—40) : the following are all which indicate, what may be called, the Ecclesiastical mind of the period in relation to Ceremonies and Ornaments :—

Some particulars
of them.

“ To the nineteenth [Injunction the interpretation is] ‘ That in the procession (in Rogation week) they sing or say the two Psalms beginning *Benedic, anima mea, Domino*, with the Litany and Suffrages thereto, with some Sermon, or a Homily of thanksgiving unto God, and moving to temperancy in their drinkings.’

“ To the twentieth, Item, ‘ That there be some long^a Catechism devised and printed, for the erudition of simple Curates : Homilies to be made of those arguments which be shewed in the Book of Homilies ; or others of some convenient arguments, as of the sacrifice of the mass, of the common prayer to be in English,

^a “ In distinction to the short Catechism in the Common Prayer Book.”—*Card.* D.A. Note p. 237. and *Strype*, p. 213.

that every particular Church may alter and change the public rites and ceremonies of their Church, keeping the substance of the faith inviolably, with such like. And that these be divided to be made by the Bishops; every Bishop two, and the Bishop of London to have four.'

"Item, 'That all bishops and others, having any living ecclesiastical, shall go in apparel agreeable;'

"Concerning the Book of Service."

"First, 'That there be used only but one apparel; as the cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the surplice in all other ministrations: and that there be no other manner and form of ministering the Sacraments, but as the Service Book doth precisely prescribe, with the declaration of the Injunctions; as for example, the common bread.'

"Item. That the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, before the chancel door; where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receivings. And at the end of the Communion to be set up again, according to the Injunctions.

"Item, 'That there be no other holy-days observed besides the Sundays, but only such as be set out^a in the Act of King Edward, an. 5 et 6, cap. 3.'

"Item, 'That the ministers receiving the Communion at the hands of the Executor be placed kneeling next to the table.'

"Item. 'That the communion bread be thicker and broader than it is now commonly used.'

"Item, 'That private baptism in necessity, as in peril of death, be ministered either by the curate, deacon, or reader, or some other grave and sober man, if the time will suffer.'

"Item, 'That children be not admitted to the Communion before the age of twelve or thirteen years, of good discretion, and well instructed before.'

"Concerning burials, christenings, admission of ministers, &c."

"Item, 'That when any Christen body is passing, the bell be tolled; and the curate be especially called for, to comfort the sick person. And after the time of his passing, to ring no more but one short peal; and one before the burial, and another short peal after the burial.'

"Item, 'To avoid contention, let the curate have the value of the chrisom; not under the value of four pence, and above as they can agree, and as the state of the parents may require.'

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^a "Those words in italic were inserted by Archbishop Parker's hand, instead of these words crossed through, viz. in the calendar of the service book, with two days following the feasts of Easter and Pentecost."—Note in *Strype Ann.*, vol. I. p. 214, and *Cardwell Doc. Ann.*, vol. I. p. 238.

1561.

Elizabeth.

"Item, 'That the order of the articles prescribed to ministers be inserted in this form, *ut infra*.'^a

Order from the
Ecclesiastical
Commission as
to the old Service
Books.

The Ecclesiastical Commission had been meeting for some time; Strype relates that—

"The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London* and *Ely*, and some others of the Ecclesiastical Commission, were now sitting at Lambeth, upon the regulating and ordering of the matters of the Church. And on the 12th day of April (being their second Session) certain *Articles* were agreed upon by them, with the assent of their brethren Bishops to the same."—*Life of Parker*, p. 98.

They are intitled by Cardwell (Doc. Ann., vol. I. p. 298.)

"Articles agreed upon the 12th day of April, A.D. 1561, . . . —*Ex. Reg. Parker*.

One of them is as follows:—

"Item, That all old Service Books, Grailes, Antiphonars, and other, be defaced and abolished, by orders in Visitations."

St. Paul's
partially burnt.

"In *June* this year a terrible fire happen'd in the Cathedral "of *St. Paul, London*:"—the Clergy of the province, it seems, were charged with the expense of rebuilding it.^b The Queen's Letter authorizing the Archbishop to levy this contribution, together with the Archbishop's Letters to the Bishop of London will be found in the Parker Correspondence, Nos. CI. CII. and CXII.

Fund for its
restoration.

Apparently about the 12th of August this year,

"*Calvin* wrote a resolution of some questions put to him by the *English Precisians*."

To one relating to the Communion of the Sick, he says that, "He thought it more guarding against superstition, to consecrate at the sick man's house, than bring the Holy Elements from the Church. (Calvin's *Epist. Num.* 361.)—*Collier E. H.*, vol. II. p. 475.

Calvin's answer
to some in
England:

^a The Latin Articles here referred to will be found in *Strype Ann.*, vol. I. p. 216, and *Card. D. A.* p. 240. They are substantially an outline of our present 39 Articles, *seriatim* Nos. 6, 8, 19, 20, 25, 27 (the last clause of), 28 (clauses 1, 2, & 4), 31 (last clause), 16, 11, 37 (clauses 2, 3, 4, and 5), 22 (where the expression, in *Elizabeth's* article, is "*Doctrina Scholasticorum*"), 24, 23; the last but one relates to the *indissolubleness* of lawful matrimony, and the last may be called a *reason* for the 32nd of our existing Articles.

^b From Strype's *Grindal* (p. 54) it only appears that the tower and spire were destroyed,—for "the next Sunday, being the 8th of June, the Bishop of Durham "preached at St. Paul's,"—but it is evident from other accounts, especially Stow's *London*, that the greater part of the roofs were destroyed and that other internal damage happened in consequence.

They did not, however, confine their objections to such points for, as Collier continues—

1561.

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Some of the *Exiles* and their Proselytes quarrell'd with Church of *England* much farther. Nothing would please these people but the modes and discipline of *Frankfort* and *Geneva*..... Thus, for instance,.....in some places they took down the steps where the Altars stood, and brought the Holy table into the middle of the Church.....To stop the progress of these innovations, the Archbishop with advice of some of the Bishops, set forth a book of *Orders* for his *Province*: And in this regulation all the singularities above mentioned were directly forbidden. (Heylin's *His. Ref.*)—*E. H.*, vol. II. p. 476.

their conduct
as to Church
Ornaments.

That the *law* touching the *simplest* Vestments, &c., was being neglected, the following passage shows: it is in a letter from “Sir William Cecil to Archbishop Parker — Small-bridge, 12th August, 1561,” mentioning what he saw in his progress with the Queen, and her offence at it—

Neglect of the
Law as to
Vestments.

“The Bishop of Norwich [John Parkhurst] is blamed even of the best sort for his remissness in ordering his Clergy. He winketh at schismatics and anabaptists, as I am informed. Surely I see great variety in ministration. A surplice may not be borne here. And the ministers follow the folly of the people, calling it charity to feed their fond humour. Oh, my lord, what shall become of this time:” —*Parker Correspondence*, p. 142.

In the month of *September* following, the Archbishop held a Visitation, by Commission apparently, of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and of the “other Cathedral and Collegiate Churches within his province:” in his *Articles of inquiry* occur the following questions:—

The Archbishop's
Visitation
Articles for
Cathedrals
enquire as to,

“1. Whether your Dean, Archdeacon, and other dignities [dignitaries] use seemly and Priestly Garments, according as they are commanded by the Queen's Majesties injunctions, or not.

Vestments
Dress of the
Clergy;

“2. *Item*.your Prebendaries.... What Orders they be in. How, and in what apparel, they do commonly go....”

“3. *Item*. Whether your Divine Service be used, and the Sacraments ministered in manner and form prescribed by the Queen's Majesties injunctions, and none other way. Whether it be said or sung in due time. Whether in all points according to the statutes of your Church, not being repugnant to any of the Queen's Majesties laws or injunctions.

mode of Service;

“6. *Item*. You [the Archbishop's Commissioners] shall inquire whether any of them [the members of Cathedrals] do either privily, or openly preach or teach any unwholesome, erroneous, or seditious doctrine, *e. g.*,.... To edify or extol any superstitious religion or relicks, pilgrimages, lightings of candles, kissing, kneeling,

erroneous
doctrine and
forbidden
practices;

1561. Elizabeth. and Church Ornaments. For the Dioceses; as to— character of the Service; fittings of the Church; Altars and Images; decoration of the Church.
- or decking of images, or praying in a tongue not known, rather than in *English*; or to put trust in a certain number of *Pater Nosters*, or to maintain purgatory, private masses, trentals, or any other fond fantasies invented by men, without ground of God's word.
- "8. *Item*. Whether you have necessary ornaments and books for your Church. . . ."—*Strype's Parker* pp. 73—4.
- The "articles for the dioceses, to be inquired of in" this same "metropolitan visitation," enquire:—
- "*Imprimis*. Whether Divine Service be said or sung by your minister or ministers, in your several Churches, duely and reverently, as is set forth by the laws of this realm, without any kind of variation. And whether the Holy Sacraments be likewise ministered reverently in such manner as by the laws of this realm is appointed.
- "*Item*. Whether you have in your parish Churches al things necessary and requisite for Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments: especially the Book of Common Prayer, a Bible in the largest volume, the *Homilies* with the *Paraphrases* of *Erasmus*, a convenient pulpit well placed; a comely and decent table for the Holy Communion, set in place prescribed by the Queen's Majesties Injunctions; the chest and box for poor men, and al other things necessary in and to the premises. And whether your Altars be taken down according to the commandment in that behalf given.
- "*Item*. Whether images and al other monuments of idolatry and superstition be destroyed and abolished in your several parishes. And whether your Churches be wel adorned and conveniently kept without wast, destruction, or abuse of any thing. Whether any man have pulled down, or dis-covered any church, chancel, chapel, almes-house, or such like."—*Strype's Parker*, Appendix No. XI. pp. 18—20.
- But there could be no greater mistake than to suppose that these Visitation Articles were only directed against "popish" practices: they were equally explicit against *puritan* innovations, as is evident from the fact that the Cathedral inquiries ask whether—
- "Any say, teach, or maintain, that children, being infants, should not be baptized; or that every Article of our Church, commonly received and used in the Church, is not to be believed of necessity; or that mortal and voluntary sin committed after baptism, be not remissible by penance."
- And the Diocesan questions demand—
- "Whether there be any persons, that intrude themselves, and presume to exercise any kind of ministry in the Church of God, without imposition of hands and ordinary authority."—*Ibid*.
1562. Jewel's Apology published.
- Early in the following year, (1562) says Strype—
- "Bishop Jewel's Latin Apology was first printed, though written

“the year before. Which book was approved by the allowance and authority of the queen, and published by the consent of the bishops and others.”—*Ann.*, vol. I. p. 284.

1562.
Elizabeth.

The only passage, I believe, in the Apology which relates to the subject of Images in Churches, is the following:—

Its reference to
Images,

“The old council Eliberine made a decree, that nothing that is honoured of the people should be painted in the Churches. The old father Epiphanius saith: ‘It is an horrible wickedness, and a sin not to be suffered, for any man to set up any picture in the Churches of the Christians, yea, though it were the picture of Christ himself.’ Yet these men store all their temples and each corner of them with painted and carved images, as though without them religion were nothing worth.”—*Apology*, p. 86. Ed. Parker Society, 1848.

This passage is quoted by Mr. Goode (p. 71) to prove that “Images—that is Statues or Pictures of Saints, Crucifixes, and Crosses—in Churches” are forbidden by authority among ourselves. But it is not too much to assert that Jewel’s words prove no such thing: and one may well doubt whether he intended to convey any such meaning. He was arguing against, what he considered, the *inconsistency* of the Roman party, of whom he says “this is a high brag they have ever made, how that all antiquity and a continual consent of all ages doth make on their side” (p. 84): how this can be accounted as one of “the testimonies” which “are quite decisive as to the doctrine and practice of our Church on this subject, for many years after its settlement under Queen Elizabeth”—even bearing in mind the sanction which the book had—would probably puzzle many to discover.

misapplied by
Mr. Goode:

It is anticipating a little the order of dates, but it will be convenient to notice here Mr. Goode’s reference to the “Defence of the Apology,” (published in 1569 by way of answer to *Harding*.)—

also a passage
from the Defence
of the Apology.

“‘If the image of Christ may not be suffered in the Church of Christ, what image then may be suffered?’—*Defence of Apology*, pp. 446—8, in Works, 1611, fol.”

Now, assign to this sentence its fullest value as a confirmation of Jewel’s well known objection to the Crucifix, and to Images; yet what possible proof is it of the *law* of the Church of England on the subject? It shews, but that is all, what Jewel (and probably most of the other Bishops) *desired* to be law, though they failed in procuring its enactment.

They furnish no
proof of the
illegality of
Images and
Crucifixes:

1562.

Elizabeth.

and are wholly
inapplicable to
the Cross.Mr. Goode's
self-refutation
as to the Cross.

Supposing, however, that these "testimonies" could be proved to be conclusive against the *legality* of *Images* and *Crucifixes* in Churches, how can they possibly be held to include the *Cross* in their condemnation, as Mr. Goode maintains? Indeed on this point Mr. Goode seems to have refuted his own argument, for, speaking of Jewel's "Reply to Harding, (first published in 1565)" and of his answer to "Harding's reference to the sign of the Cross that appeared "to Constantine, and the way in which that sign was used in "banners, &c.," he quotes (p. 72) these words of the Bishop—

"Notwithstanding all this long discourse, and great ado, yet is it not hitherto any way proved, either that this cross was an image, or that it was set up in any church, or that it was adored of the people. Seeing therefore none of all these crosses that Mr. Harding hath here found out, either had any image hanging on it, or was erected in any church, or adored of the people, how can all these words stand him in stead to serve his purpose?—*Reply*, p. 372."

In fact Harding the Romanist seems to have been a forerunner of Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode, in confounding Crosses with Crucifixes, though he to save the Crucifix, they to abolish both. Whether Jewel would have supported them in their opposition to the *Cross* may, at least, be questioned; he was then only contending that Harding's reference to it was not to the purpose.

The state of the Queen's Chapel, in the latter part of this year, is shewn by a letter from *Bishop Parkhurst* to *Henry Bullinger*, dated, "Ludham, Aug. 20, 1562," at the end of which he says:

"After I had written this, lo! good news was brought me, namely, that the crucifix^a and candlesticks in the Queen's Chapel are broken in pieces, and, as some one has brought word, reduced to ashes. A good riddance of such a cross^b as that! It has continued there too long already, to the great grief of the godly, and the cherishing of I know not what expectations in the Papists."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. liii. p.122.

1562-3.

Convocation
meets.

Convocation was assembled "upon the 13th of January, [1562-3] (Synodus Anglicanus, Append. p. 194) the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans met at St. Paul's."—*Collier E. H.*, vol. II. p.485.

"Now considering the state of the Church, newly crept out of

^a "Crucem scilicet et candelabra in capella Reginae esse comminuta."

^b "Abeat crux in malam crucem!"

corruption, and superstition, there lay before this synod a great deal of work to be done, both in matters of *doctrine* and matters of *discipline*. The matter of ceremonies now was also very busily transacted.

1562-3.
Elizabeth.

“ For to prepare matter for the synod, the Archbishop had it beforehand in his serious thoughts ; and set others also on work no doubt upon. There is a notable paper to this purpose, which I will begin withal ; adding the marginal notes, some writ by the Archbishop himself, some by others. But who the composer of this paper was, I cannot say. It was entitled,

“ *General notes^a of matters to be moved by the Clergy in the next Parliament and Synod.*”

Among these notes are the following :

“ I. A certain form of Doctrine to be conceived in Articles, and after to be published and authorized.”

Subjects proposed
to be considered.

“ II. Matters worthy of Reformation, concerning certain rites, &c. in the Book of Common Prayer.”

Under this head we read—

“ *First*, That the use of Vestments, Copes and Surplices, be from henceforth taken away.

“ *Thirdly*, That the table from henceforth stand no more altar-wise, but stand in such place as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer.

“ *Fifthly*, That the use of organs, and curious singing be removed ; and that superfluous ringing of bells, and namely, at All-hallow-tide and on All-Souls’ day, may be prohibited ; and that no peal after the death of any person be above the space of one hour, and at the interment above half an hour.”

“ The synod being met, seemed to guide themselves by the former method, and began with the Articles of Religion, as a matter with the greatest speed to be despatched. Which Articles when they were framed and finished, and decreed, were mostwhat the same with those made and constituted by the synod under King *Edward*, in the year 1552, which may be seen in Bishop *Sparrow’s* Collection and elsewhere.

“ The Articles were unanimously concluded, and the subscription finished by the Upper house in the Chapter House of *St. Paul’s*, *Jan. 31*, being the Ninth Session of the Convocation.

The 39 Articles
passed.

“ The matters of Doctrine. being thus dispatched, the Convocation proceed to the Reformation of Rites and Ceremonies, and other matters in the Public Liturgy. And here Bishop *Sandys* brought in his paper, wherein his advice was to move her Majesty ;

“ *First*, That. . . . might be taken out of the Book of Common Prayer, *Private Baptism* which hath respect unto women : who by the Word of God cannot be Ministers of the Sacraments, or of any one of them.

^a They are also given in *Cardwell’s Synodalia*, vol. II. p. 495.

1562-3.
Elizabeth.

Some members
of the Lower
House make
proposals,

“*Secondly*, That the Collect for Crossing the Infant on the Forehead, may be blotted out. As it seems very superstitious, so it is not needful.

“There was put in also the request of certain members of the Lower House, (to the number of thirty three) concerning such things as that house, nevertheless agreed not to by common consent, *viz.*

“I. That the Psalms appointed at Common Prayer be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, or said with the other prayers by the minister alone, in such convenient place of the church, as all may well hear and be edified: and that all curious singing, and playing of the organs may be removed.

“II. That none from henceforth be suffered in any wise to baptize, but ministers only; and that they also may leave off the sign of the cross used in baptism, as of the which many have conceived superstitious opinions.

“III. That in the time of ministering the Communion, Kneeling may be left indifferent to the discretion of the Ordinary. For that some in kneeling do not only knock, but oftentimes also superstitiously behave themselves.

“IV. That the use of Copes and Surplices may be taken away; so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave, comely, and side-garment, as commonly they do in preaching.

“V. That the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments be not compelled to wear such gowns and caps, as the enemies of Christ's Gospel have chosen to be the special array of their priesthood.

“VII. That all saints' feasts and holy-days, bearing the name of a creature, may, as tending to superstition, or rather gentility, be clearly abrogated; or at least a commemoration only reserved of the said saints, by sermons, homilies, or common prayers, for the better instructing of the people in history. Men may after the said spiritual exercise occupy themselves in a bodily labour, as of any other working-day.

which shewed
their *Foreign*
bias.

“By the foregoing Articles we may plainly perceive, how much biased these Divines were (most of which seem to have been exiles) towards those platforms, which were received in the Reformed Churches where they had a little before sojourned.

An attempt to
abolish other
Ceremonies and
Ornaments
narrowly
rejected.

“On *February* the 13th, there was a notable matter brought into the Lower House; the determination of which matter depended upon a narrow scrutiny of the members. For on the day aforesaid these Articles were read, to be approved or rejected:—

“I. That all the *Sundays* in the year, and principal Feasts of Christ be kept holidays; and all other holy days to be abrogated.

“II. That in all parish churches the minister in Common Prayer turn his face towards the people; and there distinctly read the Divine Service appointed, where all the people assembled may hear and be edified.

Nos. 3, 4, and 6 are against the ✠ in Baptism, Kneeling

at Communion, and Organs. No. 5 limits the Vestments to "a surplice."—*Strype's Ann.*, vol. I. pp. 315—338.

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Elizabeth.

There was "a great contest in the House" about these Articles, but they were rejected, "though with difficulty," only in fact by a majority of *one*; the numbers being (including proxies) 58 for, 59 against.—See *Card. Hist. Conf.*, p. 120.

"And thus the Ceremonies and religious Decorations continued in their former condition."—*Collier E. H.*, vol. II. p. 486.

Other proceedings in this Convocation indicate plainly the efforts which were being made to conform the Church of England more and more to the views of those foreign Reformers with whom the Lutheran or the Roman model were almost alike evil; it is evident, too, that Archbishop Parker and the more moderate of his Episcopal brethren had entered upon a struggle in which they found it hard to maintain *anything* in the way of Ceremonial, Ritual, and Ornament; and therefore, whether or no they and the Queen desired to retain or revive Crosses, Images, or other Ornaments which had not been *legally* abolished, they had probably no choice but to remain silent about them, when much less obnoxious things had to be contended for. Thus *Strype* (*2nd Appendix to Ann.*, vol. I.) gives a paper containing 51 Articles which he says, (*Ann.*, vol. I. p. 340) "The Archbishop propounded" "for the better regulation of the Church;" that is, most likely, he laid them *ministerially* before the House: for *Strype's* statement that—

Further efforts in this Convocation to conform the Church of England to the Genevan model:

"he, with his own hand, wrote this title: *Articles drawn out by some certain, and were exhibited to be admitted by authority; but not so allowed.*"—*Ibid.*

not sanctioned by the Archbishop.

may be fairly claimed as relieving the Archbishop from the responsibility of their authorship; and certainly some of the following Articles (which are all that bear upon the present subject) are very unlikely to have been then proposed by Parker, even as a *concession* to the Puritan party, in order to gain other points:—

"VII. For reparation of chancells.

"XXV. For the standing of the communion table. That it shall stand no more altarwise, but in such place decently as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer.

Some particulars of these suggested changes.

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Elizabeth.

“XXVI. Of the bread appointed for the Communion. Such bread henceforth to be used as is appointed by the Common Prayer Book.

“XXVII. No Communion to be used at burials.

“XXVIII. Chalices to be altered to decent cups.

The XXXth proposes the keeping of *four* Fast-days in the year, one of these to be “the Tuesday in Whitsun week,”—it also directs that “the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays in the Ember-weeks shall be no otherwise used than other days in the year.”

“XLI. Inquisition to be made for books and images. Bishops and their Officers by oath to enquire for all books, images, beads, and superstitious ornaments used in time of papistry; and to compel the parties in whose possession they be, to deface the same.

“XLII. . . . Such as say mas, or procure it to be said, to be judged in law as felons, and suffer the pains of death. And whosoever shall hear mas, for forfeit an hundred mark for every time; or, being not worth so much, to forfeit all their goods and chattels, and the offender to stand in *loco pœnitentis*.”

Perhaps a scheme containing propositions so outrageous, was *not likely* to be accepted even in a Convocation embodying elements such as were to be found in this assembly; though Strype’s “pity it is that these Articles were not more “countenanced, and made laws,” is not a little remarkable, and shews his own *animus*. However,

“Besides these proposals for discipline, when they would not be admitted, the Lower House digested the sum of what they judged necessary and convenient to be observed, both with respect to the book of Articles of Religion, and to the Liturgy, and other things, under one and twenty Articles, which were” styled “*Requests and petitions of the Lower House of Convocation*.”—*Strype’s Ann.*, vol. I. p. 340.

Of these the following are to be noted:—

“II. That certain Articles, containing the principal grounds of Christian Religion, be set forth, as well to determine a truth of things this day in controversy, as also to shew what errors are chiefly to be eschewed. And these with the Catechism to be joined in one book.

“V. That it may be added to the confession which is used to be made before the ministrations of the Holy Communion, that the communicants do detest and renounce the idolatrous mass.

“VI. That no person abide within the Church during the time of the Communion,^a unless he do communicate. That is, they shall depart immediately after the exhortation be ended, and before the confession of the communicants.

“VII. That all images of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghost be defaced; and that roods, and all other images, that have been, or

^a Another proof this of the custom hitherto.

hereafter may be superstitiously abused, be taken away out of all places, publick and private, and utterly destroyed.”

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But although the prayer of this last article as well as of others met with no response in the nature of any Enactment, yet, the article furnishes a tolerably strong proof that Images were then (*five* years after the Accession) authorized by *Law* and were *retained* in some of the Churches or *restored* in others.

One of these a proof of the *legality* of Images.

So too it should be observed that no mention is made of the Image of *Christ* only, *i. e.* without the “*Mary and John*” which were on *the Roods*.^a

It appears, according to Strype, that—

“During this Convocation, the Second Book of Homilies was prepared among the Bishops, and by them revised and finished; and a preface was made for it; composed by Bishop *Cox*.”—*Ann.* vol. I. pp. 287—307.

The 2nd Book of Homilies prepared.

Now, accessible as the Homilies are, it is unnecessary to quote them here, especially as several pages of extract would be requisite to exhibit them fairly. And, indeed it would be difficult (if one wished) to collect from the first three Homilies a single sentence in defence of *Images*, which, it says, are to be classed indifferently with *Idols*: in fact, the Homily “*Against peril of Idolatry*” is about as vehement a Sermon as can well be conceived, not only against the *abuse* and *worship* of Images, but against their very presence in Churches; thus, for instance, it says, in comparatively mild language:—

“Wherefore the images of God, our Saviour Christ, the blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, martyrs, and others of notable holiness, are of all other images most dangerous for the peril of idolatry, and therefore greatest heed to be taken that none of them be suffered to stand publicly in Churches and temples.”—*Ed. S. P. C. K.* 1839, p. 267.

It's denunciation of Images

Admitting then, at once, the *unfriendliness*, on this score, of this Second Book of Homilies, it may yet be fairly denied

has no prohibitory force.

^a It may be as well to give here the following notice of a Rood, which occurs in an Order for the Repairs of *St. John's Chapel*, within the Tower of London, dated 10th December, 1241 (Hen. 3rd)—“And that ye cause the Cross [? Crucifix] and the beam (*i. e.* the Rood) beyond the altar of the same chapel, to be painted well, and with good colours—‘et depingi facatis patibulum et trabem ultra Altare ejusdem Capel bene et bonis coloribus.’”—*Stow's Survey of London*, vol. I. bk. 1, c. 15, p. 68, fol. 1720.

1562-3. Elizabeth. to be of any *ecclesiastical* or *legal* force in the way of *prohibition* of the Ornaments which it condemns in language always strong—often partaking freely of the coarseness of the age in which it was written. Mr. Goode, indeed (p. 51), does not hesitate to say that:—

“Another prohibition of images, graven or painted, in our churches, obligatory upon us at the present time, is to be found in the Homily ‘Against Peril of Idolatry,’ in the Second Book of Homilies, published by authority in the year 1562, and enforced by the 35th of the XXXIX. Articles.”

Mr. Goode's exaggeration of the authority of the Homilies.

But, with deference to Mr. Goode, it may safely be denied that the “Second Book of Homilies” is, in any such sense, “enforced” upon us by the 35th Article. Does Mr. Goode mean to say that we are *bound* to read “in Churches” these substitutes for Sermons, now that, as a rule, the Bishops license every Deacon to preach? Will he maintain that a mere collection of *authorized* Sermons, approved in the Articles, is of equal obligation with Statutory provisions, and with Canon Law to this day unrepealed (see pp. 7, 8, & 11)?

The arguments of the Homilies not necessarily applicable now.

Or, supposing one admitted, for argument's sake, that the extracts he gives (pp. 51—57) “will sufficiently shew the “mind of our Church in this matter” (though perhaps Mr. Goode would hardly contend that the *doctrines*, much less the *arguments* of these Sermons, prepared in Elizabeth's days, *necessarily* indicate its mind now), does it at all follow that a mind so *disturbed* and *unsettled*, as was the mind of the Church of England in 1562,—a mind recoiling, too, from its condition in Queen Mary's reign—is the fittest guide for us in this nineteenth century! Moreover, whatever conclusion may be come to as to the *mind* of the Church of England, then or now, the question is—what has been, what is, its *Law* respecting the Cross, and the other Ornaments now in dispute? Indeed, one may add, *Images* too; for *Pictures* of Christ and the Saints, whether in Windows, on Walls, or elsewhere, are both included in the term by the Homily, and aimed at by not a few of those who denounce the Cross and the Crucifix. I think I have already shewn that, up to this time, no Law had been passed, or was recognized by the Queen and her Council, which went farther than to prohibit *abused* Images—it did not even reach a Crucifix.

But, Mr. Goode, adding a short passage from the 2nd part of the *Homily on the right use of the Church*, further says:—

“These few extracts will suffice to show, what the doctrine of our Church, as delivered in her Homilies, is on this subject. And it must be remembered, that, as far as concerns the general doctrine delivered in the Homilies, they are recognized by the 35th Article as containing ‘a godly and wholesome’ doctrine, and, consequently, are so far of equal authority and force with the Articles themselves; and, therefore, all the clergy have, in their subscription to the Articles, (a subscription required both by Canon and Statute Law,) personally pledged their assent to the doctrine contained in them, as ‘godly and wholesome,’ and promised to teach it to the people.”
—p. 58.

A very slight examination, however, of the passages extracted by Mr. Goode (not to mention the whole Homily) will shew that to call this “the doctrine of our Church” “on this subject” is to make a demand upon our belief to which comparatively few persons would, probably, be disposed to submit. For, while we must readily accept it as “a godly and wholesome doctrine,” that *that* “worshipping of images” condemned in the passages of Holy Scripture which the Homily quotes—is idolatry, and, therefore, “is most repugnant to the right worshipping of” God; does it at all follow that we are bound to receive as *doctrine* at all, such a statement as the following, put forth by the Homily writer with equal confidence of language?

“It is impossible that images of God, Christ, or His Saints, can be suffered (specially in temples and churches) any while or space, without worshipping of them; and that idolatry, which is most abominable before God, cannot possibly be escaped and avoided, without the abolishing and destruction of images and pictures in temples and churches, for that idolatry is to images specially in temples and churches, an inseparable accident, (as they term it;) so that images in churches and idolatry go always both together, and that, therefore, the one cannot be avoided, except the other, specially in all public places, be destroyed.”—*3rd Pt. of Sermon against Peril of Idolatry*, p. 241: quoted by Mr. Goode, p. 55.

Further; if Mr. Goode means to claim this as part of “the general doctrine delivered in the Homilies”—and the fact that he quotes *seven* other passages in which a similar view is expressed, compels one to think so—then I must hazard the denial that *this* “general doctrine” has any pretension whatever to be “of equal authority and force with the Articles

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Elizabeth.

Mr. Goode's extreme view as to what constitutes the “doctrine” of the Homilies.

1562-3.

Elizabeth.

“themselves,” or, that “all the clergy have in their subscription” to them either “personally pledged their assent “to” it, or have in any way “promised to teach it to the “people.”

The “doctrine” of the Homilies not always of like necessity.

Once more; even if it were to be admitted that, what one may go so far as to call, this *deliberate judgment* of the Homilist, does form part of the “general doctrine” of the Homilies, and was, moreover, “necessary for” *those* “times” in which it was propounded—surely we may contend, with Bishop Burnet, that “it will not be always of the same necessity to “the people.”^a It is true that, since the last *great* destruction of the Church’s “carved work” and Ornaments “with axes “and hammers,” in the days of the first Charles, there has not been seen much Ecclesiastical Imagery to tempt English Churchmen to this species of idolatry; yet sufficient Mural, Glass, and other Paintings have remained (including those of *Moses* and *Aaron*) to test in many a Parish and Cathedral Church whether the habitual worshippers there were likely to be drawn aside to the sin which the Homily denounces: rather it must be feared that an unnatural irreverence having usurped the throne of natural piety (degraded though, indeed, it was by superstition) is, alas! but too unlikely to be effectually removed by any such revival of Church Ornament as the most sanguine may hope for in the present generation.

Idolatry of Images not the danger of the Church of England now.

Mr. Goode, however, does not content himself with the view of *doctrine* in relation to Images which he exhibits in the passage last quoted: for he goes on to say:—

Mr. Goode’s attempt to terrify the impugnors of the “doctrine” of the Homily on Images.

“He, then, who maintains a contrary doctrine in our Church, maintains what is repugnant to the Articles he has subscribed, and is liable to excommunication by the 5th Canon, and to deprivation, if beneficed, by the Statute 13 Eliz. c. 12.”—p. 58.

Now really it is a little late in the day for one Clergyman to try to frighten from their propriety his Clerical brethren by such words as these, even if they would bear that rigid scrutiny, which, I think, I have shewn Mr. Goode’s view of the *doctrine* of the Homilies will not stand: but, waiving all further remarks upon a matter on which much more might be said, it is enough to observe—that when Mr. Goode, and those who agree with him, are prepared to accept *verbatim et literatim* all those statements of the two Books of Homilies, which, at

^a Burnet on Art. XXXV.

least, are as much entitled to be dignified with the name of *Doctrine*, as those passages to which he claims our adhesion, then they may fairly challenge others to reject at their peril the alleged *doctrines* of which I have been treating.

But there is another remark of Mr. Goode's which must not be passed over; he says (p. 58):—

“I need hardly observe that although the *Cross*, as distinguished from the *Crucifix*, is not here specially named, it is included in the *argument* of the Homily, on account of the worship that has been rendered to it.”

And, in a note, he adds:—

“I would observe here, that I conceive there is a marked distinction between the Cross, as used on the exterior of a Church as an ecclesiastical emblem, or otherwise in places or under circumstances where it is not likely to be the object of worship, and as placed on the communion table, or elsewhere within a Church, in an isolated form, for the evident purpose of its being made an object of religious reverence, or, to those so disposed, of adoration.”

WHEN, WHERE, BY WHOM was this worship rendered? Bishop Jewell, whose *testimony* Mr. Goode so much relies upon, did not appear to have known of it, (see p. 186). What if “the *Cross*, as distinguished from the *Crucifix*,” was *not* placed in *those* parts of the Church where Mr. Goode thinks it would become an object of “worship” (and the proof is yet wanting that up to that period it was so used), then what becomes of this alleged *inclusive argument* of the Homily? It is true, indeed, that the Homily (p. 208), after quoting St. Ambrose's words:—

“‘Helene found the cross and the title on it. She worshipped the King, and not the wood, surely, (for that is an heathenish error, and the vanity of the wicked,) but she worshipped Him that hanged on the Cross, and Whose Name was written in the title,’”—

goes on to say—

“See both the godly Empress's fact, and St. Ambrose's judgment at once: they thought it had been an heathenish error and vanity of the wicked, to have worshipped the cross itself, which was imbued with our Saviour Christ's Own Precious Blood. And we fall down before every cross piece of timber, which is but an image of the Cross”:

But then, whilst this affords no proof whatever that *CROSSES*, *simpliciter*, were then set up on Altars or on Chancel Screens (the places which probably Mr. Goode mainly refers and

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Elizabeth.

His endeavour to bring the Cross within the argument of the Homily

1562-3.

Elizabeth.

objects to) it pretty plainly intimates their existence, and condemns their use or abuse, "in places, or under circumstances" to which Mr. Goode's objection does not apparently extend. Without then trying to reconcile these seemingly conflicting views, I will only express my regret that Mr. Goode should have permitted himself to judge the *motives* of those who have thought it perfectly consistent with their obedience to the claims of the English portion of the Catholic Church, to place Crosses in the situations which he indicates, and who, I feel persuaded, had no such sinister object as he imputes to them.

1563.

The Queen apparently not favourable to the Homilies.

And it is worth mentioning here, that the Queen (from whatever cause) does not seem to have willingly consented to these Homilies, for in a Letter written by *Archbishop Parker* to *Sir William Cecil*, "before Midsummer, 1563," as the Editor of the Parker Society's Volume states, the Archbishop says—

"For that I intend by God's grace to visit my diocese shortly after Midsummer, thoroughly thereby to know the state thereof myself personally, and to take order among them; I would gladly the Queen's Majesty would resolve herself in our books of homilies, which I might deliver to the parishes as I go,* &c."—*Parker Correspondence*, p. 177.

The Crucifix and Candles restored in the Queen's Chapel.

It was related (at p. 186) that, in the August of last year, the Crucifix and Candlesticks were removed from the Queen's Chapel; but that they were restored again, though how soon does not appear, is plain from another letter of *Parkhurst* to *Bullinger*, dated also from "Ludham," on "April 26, 1563," where he remarks:

"I wrote you word that the cross, wax-candles, and candlesticks had been removed from the Queen's Chapel;^b but they were shortly after brought back again, to the great grief of the godly. The candles heretofore were lighted every day, but now not at all."—*Ibid.* No. lvii. p. 129.

The Archbishop's fears to relax the existing Law in relation to Divine Service.

Archbishop Parker's fears of the danger of relaxing the existing law may be gathered from the following passage of his letter "to Sir William Cecil," informing him that he had revised "the formular of public prayer and fasting diligently

* The Editor of the *Parker Correspondence* appends this Note—"The Second Book of Homilies, which is here referred to, was settled at the Convocation of 1562-3, and was printed with the date of 1563. It remained unpublished, awaiting the Queen's approval, for many months."

^b "Scripsi ad te, crucem, cereos, candelabra e Reginæ capella abducta."

“devised by my lord of London [Grindal]” on account of the then “contagious sickness.” He says—

1563.

Elizabeth.

“I received it on Thursday last, and returned it to the printer on this Friday morning, but yet being so bold to alter some parts thereof, not yet in substance and principal meaning, but in the circumstances: *videlicet*, because I see offence grow by new innovations, and I doubt whether it were best to change the established form of prayer appointed already by law in this alteration of prayer for a time, as the formular would infer all the whole service in the body of the Church, which being once in this particular order devised, we do abolish all chancels, and therefore the Litany with the new psalms, lessons, and collects, may be said as the Litany is already ordered, in the midst of the people; and to be short, I have no otherwise altered the book, but to make it draw, as nigh as can be, to the public book and orders used, &c. I wish that the collects had been shorter, and I fear the service to be too long for our cold devotions. Belike they meant to have the people to continue in prayer till four in the afternoon, and then to take their one meal; but all things agree not everywhere. . . . At Canterbury, this sixth of August.” [1563.]
—*Parker Correspondence*, p. 185.

That the Archbishop's fears were well-founded and that great evils had by this time sprung from the mischievous laxity which already betrayed itself on points which were clearly enough described by Injunction and by regulations too recently made to admit of doubts as to their meaning—is plain from proceedings which were taken about a year later. With the exception indeed of a Letter from *Laurence Humphrey* to *Henry Bullinger*, dated Oxford, August 16, 1563, I have not met with anything furnishing specific information as to the course of affairs during the remainder of this year and the principal part of 1564; but as Humphrey was at that time a prominent leader in the anti-ceremonial movement, his letter, coupled with subsequent documents, proves that the controversy had considerably shifted its ground: it was no longer a strife about Images, Crucifixes, Chasubles, and Copes,—these were all but lost sight of in the zeal against the Cap and Surplice, the Tippet, and the Wafer Bread, which were held to be contrariant to the Gospel of Christ. *Humphrey* thus speaks in regard to the two former—

well-founded.

Changed ground
of the anti-cere-
monialists.

“Health in Christ and everlasting peace! I lament, that the affairs of religion have made so little progress. Respecting the subject of the habits, I wish you would again write me your opinion, either at length, or briefly, or in one word: first,

1563.

Elizabeth.

whether that appears to you as *indifferent* which has been so long established with so much superstition, and both fascinated the minds of the simple with its splendour, and imbued them with an opinion of its religion and sanctity: secondly, whether at the command of the sovereign, (the jurisdiction of the pope having been abolished,) and for the sake of order, and not of ornament, habits of this kind may be worn in Church by pious men, lawfully and with a safe conscience. I am speaking of that round cap and popish surplice, which are now enjoined us, not by the unlawful tyranny of the Pope, but by the just and legitimate authority of the Queen. To the pure, then, can all these things be pure, and matters of indifference? I ask your reverence to let me know very exactly what is your opinion." —*Zurich Letters*, 1st. Series, No. lx. p. 133.

1564-5.

Its effects shewn
in the Queen's
Letter to the
Archbishop on the
want of Uniformity.

This then was the foreign leaven which at that time was working but too successfully in the Church of England: how destructive was its operation may be distinctly seen in the Queen's letter of the date 25th January, 1564-5, to Archbishop Parker, touching the want of Uniformity in his Province: she thus writes—

"We, to our no small grief and discomfort do hear, that where, of the two manner of governments without which no manner of people is well ruled, the ecclesiastical should be more perfect, and should give example, and be as it were a light and guide to allure, direct, and lead all officers in civil polity; yet in sundry places of our realm of late, for lack of regard given thereto in due time, by such superior and principal officers as you are, being the Primate and other the Bishops of your province, with sufferance of sundry varieties and novelties, not only in opinions but in external ceremonies and rites, there is crept and brought into the Church by some few persons, abounding more in their own senses than wisdom would, and delighting with singularities and changes, an open and manifest disorder and offence to the godly wise and obedient persons, by diversity of opinions and specially in the external, decent and lawful rites and ceremonies to be used in the Churches, so as except the same should be speedily withstand, stayed, and reformed, the inconvenience thereof were like to grow from place to place, as it were by an infection, to a great annoyance, trouble and deformity to the rest of the whole body of the realm, and thereby impair, deface, and disturb, Christian charity, unity, and concord, being the very bands of our religion; which we do so much desire to increase and continue amongst our people, and by and with which our Lord God, being the God of peace and not of dissension, will continue His blessings and graces over us and His people. And although we have now a good while heard to our grief sundry reports hereof, hoping that all cannot be true, but rather mistrusting that the adversaries of truth might of their evil disposition increase the reports of the same; yet we thought, until this present, that by the regard which you, being the Primate and Metropolitan, would have had

hereto according to your office, with the assistance of the Bishops your brethren in their several dioceses, (having also received of us heretofore charge for the same purpose,) these errors, tending to breed some schism or deformity in the Church, should have been stayed and appeased. But perceiving very lately, and also certainly, that the same doth rather begin to increase than to stay or diminish, We, considering the authority given to us of Almighty God for defence of the public peace, concord, and truth of His Church, and how we are answerable for the same to the seat of His high justice, mean not to endure or suffer any longer these evils thus to proceed, spread, and increase in our realm, but have certainly determined to have all such diversities, varieties, and novelites amongst them of the clergy, and our people, as breed nothing but contention, offence, and breach of common charity, and are also against the laws, good usages, and ordinances of our realm, to be reformed and repressed and brought to one manner of uniformity through our whole realm and dominions, that our people may thereby quietly honour and serve Almighty God in truth, concord, peace, and quietness, and thereby also avoid the slanders that are spread abroad hereupon in foreign countries."

1564-5.
Elizabeth.

Therefore the Queen charges the Archbishop "to confer with the Bishops" his "brethren, namely, such as be in commission for causes Ecclesiastical, and" certain other persons "having jurisdiction Ecclesiastical," to ascertain what varieties there are, and to enforce Uniformity: promising at the same time that she would give the like "order for the Province of York."—*Parker Correspondence*, pp. 223—6.

The Royal directions,

Upon the receipt of this, Parker wrote to the Bishop of London (Grindal) on the 30th January, 1564-5, requiring him to certify the other Bishops of the Queen's commands, charging him also to direct them "that they inviolably see the laws and ordinances already stablished to be without delay and colour executed in their several jurisdictions," and directing them to make certain returns to him by the end of February relating to the varieties complained of.—*Ibid.* p. 229.

transmitted to the Suffragans.

The certificate returned to this enquiry, from "the Vice-Dean of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Christ in *Canterbury*, and the Prebendaries of the same Church," sets forth, among other things, that:—

The Canterbury Cathedral return to the inquiry.

"The Common Prayer daily through the year, though there be no Communion, is sung at the communion table, standing *north* and *south*, where the high altar did stand. The Minister, when there is

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Elizabeth.

no Communion, useth a surplice only, standing on the east side of the table with his face toward the people.

“‘ The holy Communion is ministered ordinarily the first *Sunday* of every month through the year. At what time the table is set *east* and *west*. The Priest which ministereth, the Pystoler and Gospeler, at that time wear copes. And none are suffered then to tarry within that chancel but the communicants.^a

“‘ For the ministering of the Communion we use bread * appointed by the Queen’s Highness’ Injunctions.’

“ * Which was to resemble the singing cakes, which served formerly for the use of private Masses.”

“‘ The evening prayer in winter is between three and four ; in summer between four and five of the clock in the afternoon. At which prayers Mr. Dean, when he is here, and every of the Prebendaries, are present every day once at the least, appareled in the Choir. And when they preach, with surplice and silk hoods.

“‘ The Preachers, being at home, come to the Common Prayer on Sundays and holy days, wearing surplices and hoods.

“‘ The Petty Canons, the Lay Clerks, and Choristers, wear surplices in the Choir daily.

“‘ The Schoolmaster for grammar, the usher, and the Queen’s Highness scholars, come to the Choir on Sundays and holydays in surplices.’”—*Strype’s Parker*, p. 183.

An account is also given by Strype, which serves both to show, to some extent, what were apparently the Archbishop’s ideas of *conformity*, and the interference of non-conformists with those who wished to act up to the Law of the Church : he says :—

“ An application made this year to our Archbishop by one of his Clergy for advice will further declare these matters, and show how the Clergy in the countries, about this time, behaved themselves in their ministration. The Archbishop had placed one Richard Kechyn in some benefice near Bocking, in Essex, which seemed to be one of his Peculiars : and upon his admission had charged him to follow the orders and rules appointed and established by law, and to make no variation, whatsoever others should or might do or persuade him to the contrary. But now this year in his ministerial course, he met with many rubs and checks by one, a neighbouring preacher, or English Doctor (as they loved then to call themselves), who came into his pulpit, being a licensed preacher, and there openly condemned him, the incumbent, for certain things. We must know that Kechyn had, in the Rogation-Week, gone the perambulations with his parishioners ; and, according to the old custom and the Queen’s Injunctions, had said certain offices in certain places of the parish. And several women of the parish accompanied as was wont, and joined in the prayers that were said. And all was ended in a good friendly dinner :

^a Here again we see that non-communicants were not excluded from the Church, only from the Chancel.

An example of the interference with those who wished to conform.

wherein such poor women and others that attended were refreshed and relieved. Kechyn had also upon occasion showed his mind concerning preaching in ordinary assemblies upon predestination : and that he thought that deep point were better be let alone, to be argued and discussed among the learned. He also constantly wore the surplice in his ministration, and in reading the Divine Service turned his face to the East The Dean of Bocking, (who, I think, was Mr. Cole,) having some jurisdiction over Kechyn and some other Ministers thereabouts, had charged him and the rest not to turn their faces to the high altar in service-saying, which was a new charge and not given before. But this Dean in his visitation usually gave new articles every year. And, lastly, offence was taken against him that he used the surplice."—*Life of Parker*, Bk. ii. p. 153.

It would afford, no doubt, some curious information on the various modes of saying Divine Service at this time, if we had the opportunity of examining the several returns made to this enquiry set on foot by the Archbishop: the following statement, however, of Strype's most likely furnishes a fair analysis (which perhaps it was) of the different Certificates furnished to the Metropolitan:—

"The confused varieties, that divers ministers in these days used in the service of God, and in their habits which they wore, gave much offence, and were complained of. Insomuch as I find a paper among the Secretary's MSS. specifying these varieties, dated February 14, 1564 [*i.e.*, 1564—5], which was the month before the Articles for Uniformity, afterward mentioned, were devised by the Archbishop, and the other Bishops. . . . [The paper] is as follows *verbatim*.

“ ‘ *Varieties in the Service and Administration used.*

“ ‘ Some say the service and prayers in the chancel; others in the body of the Church. Some say the same in a seat made in the Church; some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people. Some keep precisely the order of the Book; others intermeddle psalms in metre. Some say with a surplice; others without a surplice.

“ ‘ The table standeth in the body of the Church in some places; in others it standeth in the chancel. In some places the table standeth altarwise, distant from the wall [a] yard. In some others in the middle of the chancel, north and south. In some places the table is joined: in others it standeth upon tressels. In some the table hath a carpet: in others it hath none.

“ ‘ Some with surplice and cap; some with surplice alone; others with none. Some with chalice; some with a Communion cup; others with a common cup. Some with unleavened bread, and some with leavened.’ (He might have added, some with wafers, some with common manchet bread.)

“ ‘ Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting.

“ ‘ Some baptize in a font, some in a basin. Some sign with the

1564-5.

Elizabeth.

Analysis from the Returns, shewing the variety in the public ministrations.

1564-5.
Elizabeth.

sign of the cross ; others sign not. Some minister in a surplice others without.

“ ‘ Some with a square cap ; some with a round cap : some with a hat. Some in scholars’ cloaths, some in others.’ ”—*Strype’s Parker*, p. 152.

The Archbishop endeavours to correct this by a Book of Articles.

The Archbishop and some of the Bishops, in pursuance of the Queen’s Letter, proceeded to frame certain regulations for correcting these evils. They were sent by the Archbishop to Secretary *Cecil*, with a letter dated “ this third of March,” 1564-5, in which the Archbishop says—

“ I send your honour a Book of Articles, partly of old agreed on amongst us, and partly of late these three or four days considered, The devisers were only the Bishops of London [Grindal], Winchester [Horne], Ely [Cox], Lincoln [Bullingham], and myself. This day in the afternoon we be agreed to have conference with Mr. Sampson, Mr. Humphry, and four other of the ministers in London, to understand their reasons, &c., if your honour will step over to us as it please you I must earnestly pray your honour to obtain a private letter from the Queen’s Majesty to my Lord of London, to execute laws and injunctions ; which he saith, if he be so charged, he will out of hand see reformation in all London ; and ye know there is the most disorder, and then is the matter almost won thorough the realm. I pray you earnestly expedite to procure these letters, for he is now in a good mood to execute the laws, and it will work much more than ye would think, &c.”—*Parker Correspondence*, p. 233.

The Queen did not readily respond.

But it would seem that the Archbishop did not, at least at once, meet with such a response as the terms of the Royal Letter would naturally lead him to expect : for, writing again to *Sir William Cecil*, on the 8th of March, he says :—

“ I send your, honour, our book [apparently the book which he had sent on the 3rd March for the Secretary ‘ to peruse’ before it was ‘ presented’ to the Queen, and which he seems by this time to have returned], which is subscribed to by the bishops conferrers, which I keep by myself. I trust your honour will present it upon opportunity which ye can take in removing offences which might grow by mine imprudent talk. If the Queen’s Majesty will not authorize them, the most part be like to lie in the dust for execution of our parties, laws be so much against our private doings. ‘ The Queen’s Majesty, with consent, &c.,’ I trust shall be obeyed.

“ I send you a letter sent to me of the racket stirred up by Withers, of whom ye were informed, for the reformation of the University Windows, but I hear nothing done against him. My Lord of Norwich [Parkhurst] hath got him a commission to good purpose, *scilicet*. I have sent for him, but if you the Council lay not your helping hand to it, as ye once did in Hooper’s days, all that is done is but to be laughed at.

“ This afternoon came Mr. Sampson and Mr. Humphrey, which brought me my copies of Bucer and Martyr’s letters, *sed illi antiquum retinent immobiles*. They would go home again to Oxford. I told them that they must tarry. If the Queen’s Majesty, or you of the Council, would send for them, ye may, or if my Lord of Leicester, their Chancellor, will proceed. I can do no good. Better not to have begun, except more be done. All the realm is in expectation. *Sapienti pauca*. Your honour principally hath begun, *tua interest ut aliquid fiat*. If this ball shall be tossed unto us, and then have no authority by the Queen’s Majesty’s hand, we will set still. I marvel that not six words were spoken from the Queen’s Majesty to my lord of London, for uniformity of his London, as himself told me ; if the remedy is not by letter, I will no more strive against the stream, fume or chide who will.”—*Parker Corresp.* p. 234.

1564-5.
Elizabeth.

So again, on the 24th March, the Archbishop repeats his complaints to the Secretary Cecil :—

The Archbishop complains of the delay.

“ I would ye had not stirred *istam camarinam*, or else to have set on it to some order at the beginning. This delaying works daily more inconvenience, *et obfirmatiores fiunt*. If it be purposed to have some of these earnest men afore the whole body of the Council to the end only to be foul chidden, *verba tantum et præterea nihil* and I doubt whether it will work to a quietness, the deformities to be openly intreated

“ Withers is come to me *cum magna confidentia, vultu senatorio*. I pray your honour send the complaint sent of him. I see not the best to send for disordered men hither, where, after they spy how the game goeth, *redduntur multo perfractiores*. I think that *non solum iam periculum vertitur in ritibus vestium tantummodo, sed omnium rituum in univrsum*, and, therefore, prudence would be taken.”—*Ibid.* p. 236.

And, once more, on the 7th April, 1565, he tells Cecil :—

1565.
His further complaint.

“ The talk, as I am informed, is much increased, and unrestful they be, and I alone they say am in fault. For as for the Queen’s Majesty’s part, in my expostulation with many of them I signify their disobedience, wherein, because they see the danger, they cease to impute it to her Majesty, for they say, but for my calling on, she is indifferent. Again, most of them dare not name your honour in this tragedy, for many must have your help in their suits, &c. My lord of London is their own, say they, and is but brought in against his will. I only am the stirrer and the incenser. And my lord of Durham will be against us all : and will give over his bishopric rather than it shall take place in his diocese. Now my lord of Leicester, they say, shall move and obtain the Queen’s Majesty, If this matter shall be overturned with all these great hopes, &c., I am at point to be used and abused : *nam scio nos episcopos in hunc usum positos esse*. We be the stiles over which men will soonest leap over. And if we be thus backed ; there will be fewer Winchesters, as be desired.”—*Ibid.* p. 237.

1565.

Elizabeth.

His efforts resulted in the Queen's suffering them to be used, but not formally sanctioning them.

The result of these various attempts, to obtain the Royal sanction to this Book of Articles, is thus stated by Cardwell and Strype :—

“ It appears, however, that ” through the advice of “ several of her council, as for instance, Leicester, Burleigh, Knollys, and Walsingham,” the Queen “ did not officially give her sanction to them at the time, but left them to be enforced by the several bishops on the canonical obedience imposed upon the Clergy, and the powers conveyed to the Ordinaries by the Act of Uniformity.”—*Doc. Ann.* vol. i. p. 322. Strype says that “ by a writing on the back side of the fair copy that was sent to the Secretary, when they were first framed, it seems they were not presently published, nor authorized. For these are the words written upon them by the Secretary's own hand, *Mar.*, 1564. *Ordinances accorded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., in his province. These were not authorized nor published.* ”—*Life of Parker*, p. 158. He thinks, however, that, later, “ the Archbishop's patience and persistence prevailed, and these Ecclesiastical Rules (now called *Advertisements*) recovered their first names of *Articles* and *Ordinances* : as may appear by the Metropolitan visitation of the Church of Gloucester, anno 1576, when, among the Injunctions (eight in number) given to that Church, one was this, ‘ Not to oppose the Queen's Injunctions, nor the Ordinances nor Articles made by some of the Queen's Commissioners [there named] January the 25th, in the 7th year of the Queen's reign.’ ”—*Ibid.* p. 160.

But whether this were so or not, they are recognized in the twenty-fourth of the Canons of 1603-4 as “ *Advertisements published Ann. 7 Elizabethæ.* ” In these *Advertisements*, which Cardwell gives in full, the following directions occur :—

Some directions of these *Advertisements*.

“ Item, In ministration of the Holy Communion in the Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, the principal minister shall use a Cope with gospeller and epistoler agreeably ; and at all other prayers to be sayde at the Communion table, to use no Copes but surplices.

“ Item, That every minister sayinge any publique prayers, or ministering of the Sacramentes, or other rites of the Churche, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves, to bee provided at the charges of the parishe ; and that the parishe provide a decent table standinge on a frame for the communion table.”

“ Item, That they shall decentlie cover with carpet, silke or other decent coveringe, and with a fayre linnen cloth (at the time of the ministration) the communion table, and to sett the Tenne Commandements upon the easte walle over the said table.”—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. i. p. 326.

These “ *Advertisements* ” contained also “ *Articles* for

“outwarde apparell of persons ecclesiasticall,” to which many of the clergy objected; among them were, especially,—

1565.
Elizabeth.

“*Thomas Sampson*, Dean of *Christ Church*, and *Lawrence Humphrey*, President of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*. These men were exiles in the late reign, and persons of character and learning, but scrupled wearing the *habit*. [They were summoned before the commissioners.] The Archbishop endeavoured to disentangle their conscience, and amongst other things, pressed them with the authorities of *Bucer* and *P. Martyr*. But their prejudices were strong and no argument could reach them.* They desired leave to return to *Oxford*, but being denied, and not meeting with all the favour they expected, they drew up a petition in *Latin* to the Archbishops and the rest of the commissioners. In this address they set forth the reasons of their non-compliance, and plead their cause at length.”—*Collier, Eccl. His.* vol. ii. p. 496.

Opposition to
some of the Ad-
vertisements.

“Humphreys and himself consulted *Gualter* and *Bullinger*, two eminent divines of *Zurich* upon this question. The answers they received were in favour of conformity.”—*Ibid.* p. 501.

Sampson and
Humphrey con-
sult *Gualter* and
Bullinger upon
them.

“This controversy about the *habit* disturbed the University of *Cambridge*, and made no small impression amongst the young people. . . .

Moreover, “This superstitious fancy of scrupling the *habit* had reached some of the *London Clergy*. . . . [who] were so entangled in these cobwebs, that the Church thought it requisite to set them aside.

Effects of this
opposition.

“The dispute about the *habit* and other usages of the Church, were still kept on foot at *Cambridge*, one *George Withers*, a warm puritan, (for so the dissenters were now called) and one who had a tolerable talent for the pulpit, declaim’d strongly against the superstitious figures in glass-windows. And thus being seconded by some zealots, a great many fine paintings were destroyed.”—*Ibid.* pp. 502 and 3.

These things, then, which are also spoken of in the Archbishop’s letters (pp. 202-3), shew very plainly what was the temper of that period, and prove that the Bishops themselves, in yielding what they did at an earlier period, had raised up a power which now they were unable to control.

The Bishops
unable to control
it.

Mr. Goode (pp. 32 and 33,) quotes these “Advertisements” in order “to shew the *reasonableness* of our present usage” as

* The Archbishop’s failure with *Sampson* and *Humphrey* is thus recorded by him in his letter to Sir William Cecil, on the 30th April, 1565:—

“Yesterday I called on Mr. Sampson and Dr. Humphrey for conformity, and after some words of advertisement, I did peremptorily will them to agree, or else to depart their places. I shewed them these were the orders they must observe; to wear the cap appointed by Injunction, to wear no hats in their long gowns, to wear a surplice with a non regent hood in their quires at their Colleges, according to the ancient manner there, to communicate kneeling in wafer-bread.

“In fine, they said their consciences could not agree to these orders, and they required some respite to remove their stuff.”—*Parker Correspondence*, p. 240.

1565.

Elizabeth.

Mr. Goode's argument from the "Advertisements" as to the Surplice.

to the "*Vestures for Reading Prayers or Ministering the Sacraments*," "and the probability of its being nearer the intentions of our Church than the strict letter of the above Rubric"; *i.e.* the Rubric of Edward's 1st Prayer Book,^a though, as he says (p. 29), "I admit my conviction, that the Rubric on ornaments at the commencement of the [present] Prayer Book, legalizes the ornaments sanctioned by the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth."^b Mr. Goode's view is—that as these Advertisements were issued in pursuance of § xxv. of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity (see p. 130), and that as in them "the *albe* seems given up, and the use of the *cope* &c., confined to Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and only the *surplice* required in Parochial Churches," consequently much, therefore, is to be said in favour of the *reasonableness* of following, even now, the course sanctioned by those Canons [of 1604] in the matter of Vestures."—p. 39.

The exigence of that time no true test of the Church's intention:

But surely what was done under the *pressure* of that, or of any other, period is no true test of "the intentions of our Church" at such a time. It is abundantly evident from the preceding pages that, owing to the spread of Puritan principles, it was all the Bishops could then do (even had they been more Ceremonially disposed than most of them were) to maintain a *bare minimum* of Ornament: what more likely then than that, under such circumstances, they should not attempt to *enforce* Ornaments which were still more obnoxious to those who denounced the Surplice and the Cope.

nor any guide to us now.

And, considering how kindred, in many respects, has been the religious temper of the present Century, something may doubtless be said for "the *reasonableness* of our present usage"; but the question really is, whether at a time when the love of Art is abundantly manifesting itself not only in secular buildings, but even in the edifices of those religious bodies who are the representatives of Elizabethan Puritans—they are to be condemned who strive to conform the Orna-

^a "Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say: a white albe plain, with a vestment or cope. And where there be many priests or deacons, there so many shall be ready to help the priest, in the ministration, as shall be requisite: and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, albes with tunicles."

^b But only if they are consistent with those of the 2nd year.

ments and Ceremonial of the Church of England to what they believe to be her *legal* standard ?

Although, however, the Queen and the Bishops appear to have yielded to the necessity of the time, her Majesty's own views (if we may judge from her practice) seem to have remained unaltered: for on April 17, 1565, a Mr. Tracy writes to the Queen's Secretary against the Crucifix in her Chapel:

"But I find," says Strype, "the Queen's chapel stood *in statu quo* seven years after. For thus rudely and seditiously did the Admonition to the Parliament charge her chapel, viz. *As the pattern and president to the people of all superstition*. To which bold expression, Dr. Whitgift gave to the Admonitors, this short censure, 'That that slanderous speech was rather to be severely punished, than with words to be confuted.'—*Strype's Annals*, Vol. I. p. 472.

The very extreme views which were held on the subject of Ornaments and Ceremonies by the school of foreign Divines who influenced the anti-ceremonial party in England, is shewn in the strong language used even against the LUTHERANS in the following passage of a letter from *Bullinger* to Bp. *Horne*, dated "Nov. 3, 1565," apparently in reply to the enquiry whether those who objected to the Ceremonies, &c. should abandon their ministry rather than conform: he says—

"As far as I can form an opinion, your common adversaries are only aiming at this, that on your removal they may put in your places either papists, or else Lutheran doctors and presidents, who are not very much unlike them. Should this come to pass, not only will all ecclesiastical order be disturbed, and the number of most absurd ceremonies be increased, but even images (which we know are defended by the Lutherans) will be restored; the artolatri [or worshipping of the bread] in the Lord's Supper, will be re-introduced; private absolution, and after this, auricular confession will creep in by degrees; and an infinite number of other evils will arise, which will both occasion confusion in general, and also bring into danger many godly individuals."—*Zurich Letters*, First Series, Appendix, No. II. p. 342.

The Archbishop's continued efforts to procure something like Uniformity, though certainly not aiming at a very high standard of Ornament and Ceremonial, were still doomed to disappointment: this he laments in another letter to *Sir William Cecil* on the 12th March 1565-6, in which he says:—

"I am much astonied and in great perplexity to think what event this cause will have in the proceeding to an end. Where I have endeavoured myself to enforce the Queen's Majesty's pleasure upon all my brethren, and have desired that others should not hinder such

1565.

Elizabeth.

The Queen's practice an indication that she only yielded to necessity.

Extreme views of the anti-ceremonial party.

1565-6.

The Archbishop disappointed in his aims at uniformity.

1565-6.

Elizabeth.

proceedings by secret aiding and comforting, I see my service but defeated: and then again otherwhiles dulled by variable considerations of the state of times, and of doubtfulness in discouraging some good protestants if this order should be vehemently prosecuted. And where once this last year certain of us consulted and agreed upon some particularities in apparel, (where the Queen's Majesty's letters were very general), and for that by statute we be inhibited to set out any constitutions without license obtained of the prince, I sent them to your honour to be presented; they could not be allowed then, I cannot tell of what meaning; which I now send again, humbly praying that if not all yet so many as be thought good, may be returned with some authority, at the leastway for particular apparel: or else we shall not be able to do so much as the Queen's Majesty expecteth for, of us to be done.

"I have been answered by some certain, since my return home, that some of your preachers preached before the Queen's Majesty without tippet, and had nothing said to them for it."—*Parker Correspondence*, p. 263.

1566.

Decisive steps
with the London
Clergy.

Soon after, however, decisive steps were taken with the London Clergy; for on the 26th March they were summoned before the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and other Commissioners:—

"When by persuasion several of them, backward before, did conform themselves; and those that would not from the 28th day of March were declared suspended; and standing out three months longer to be *ipso facto*, deprived of all their spiritual promotions: and the patrons might present and collate thereto. The Archbishop the same day gave the Secretary an account what they had done in the Examination of them. Which was, that sixty-one of them had promised conformity: nine or ten were absent: thirty-seven denied. Of which number, as the Archbishop acknowledged, were the best, and some preachers. Six or seven convenient sober men pretending a conscience. Divers of them zealous, but of little learning and judgment."^a—*Strype's Parker*, Book iii. p. 215.

The result of this
proceeding.

The consequence of this, and the acts which led to the Archbishop's proceedings, are thus described by Collier:—

"Some of the *London* Ministers being suspended or deprived for non-conformity, the dissenters complain'd the church doors were shut, and nobody to officiate in several parishes. And tho' the Archbishop and Bishop of *London* had taken care to supply the vacancies by their own Chaplains, yet the clamour was kept on, and the odium thrown upon the Archbishop. *Parker* vindicated himself in a letter to Secretary *Cecil*, and returned the charge upon the peevishness and misbehaviour of the *Dissenters*. He complain'd of his being burthen'd with foreign business, and glanc'd at the remiss-

^a The Archbishop's Letter to Sir William Cecil, dated March 26th 1566, here referred to, will be found in the *Parker Correspondence*. No. ccvii. p. 269.

ness^a of the Bishop of *London*, [Grindal]. As to the *London Puritans*, they had been very disorderly and mutinous: there had been fighting in the church about the *Habits*. The Elements had been sacrilegiously snatched from the Communion Table, because the Bread was Wafers and not in the common figure. The Clergy when officiating had been violently thrust out of the church, only because they appeared in Surplices: and to expose the Conformists, they made a scandalous person do penance in a square cap. . . . Parker, therefore, being well apprised of the stomach and stubbornness of that party, desir'd the countenance of the Government, and that the Privy Council would support him in the execution of Discipline.

. . . . There are some strokes in the Archbishop's letter to *Cecil*, which discover he had been menac'd by some of the *Dissenters*, and was not without apprehension of losing his life, by discharging his office. However he declares himself resolved to maintain his post, exert his character, and run the utmost hazzard."—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. II., p. 508.

On the 28th March, 1566, the Archbishop wrote the following letter to the Queen's Secretary:—

"I pray your honour to peruse this draft of letters, and the Book of Advertisements with your pen, which I mean to send to my Lord of London. This form is but newly printed, and yet stayed till I may hear your advice. I am now fully bent to prosecute this order, and to delay no longer, and I have weeded out of these articles all such of doctrine, &c., which peradventure stayed the book from the Queen's Majesty's approbation, and have put in but things advouchable, and, as I take them, against no law of the realm. And when the Queen's Highness will needs have me assay with mine own authority what I can do for order, I trust I shall not be stayed hereafter, saving that I would pray your honour to have your advice to do that more prudently in this common cause which must needs be done.

Some of these silly recusants say now that they thought not that ever the matter (in such scarcity of ministers) should have been forced, and some begin to repent; and one of them was with me this day to be admitted again to his parish, and now promiseth conformity, whom I repelled till I had him bound with two good sureties of his own parish, and so I have, and he now saith that there will come more to that point, whom I will so order. For as for the most part of these recusants, I would wish them out of the ministry, as mere ignorant and vain heads. The sooner (as I think) this determination be known abroad, the sooner shall the speech cease, and the offence assuage, and more peace and order to follow."

—*Parker Correspondence*, No. ccix. p. 271.

^a Parker, when consulted about the removal of Grindal to York, signified "that he liked well of his removal. For he reckoned him not resolute and severe enough for the government of *London*, since many of the ministers and people thereof (notwithstanding all his pains) still leaned much to their former prejudices against the ecclesiastical constitution."—*Strype's Grindal*, p. 158.

1566.

Elizabeth.

The Archbishop again asks the Queen's sanction to the Advertisements.

1566.

Elizabeth.

He met with
me success.

It would seem that the Archbishop's application had, at length, some success, for, immediately after, the Archbishop sent his "letter to the Bishop of London, for conformitie;" the Letter bears date the 28th March, 1566: in it he takes notice of the recent suspensions, and requires the Bishop to transmit the Book of Advertisements to the other Suffragans of the Province, in the hope of thus promoting peace and order.—See *Cardwell, Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 334, or *Parker Correspondence*, No. cex. p. 272.

The disorders at
this time suffi-
ciently account
for the neglect of
Ornaments, &c.,
in Churches.

The course which Ritual and Ceremonial matters were now taking, will be illustrated by the following extracts: they are important as shewing that it need cause no surprise if the churches in that period were not furnished with, or were despoiled of, Ornaments which *the law allowed*, when such occurrences took place as these mentioned, and the ecclesiastical and civil authorities combined, could hardly repress them. On the 3rd of April, [1566], Archbishop Parker thus writes to Sir Wm. Cecil—

"I am complained to that Crowley, [Incumbent of St. Giles's, Cripplegate,] and his Curate, gave a great occasion of much trouble yesterday in his church, for expelling out of his church divers clerks, [choristers, as it seems from the next letter], which were in their surplices to bury a dead corse, as customably they use, and as they say my lord of London did before prescribe them to wear surplices within the churches. To morrow we intend to hear the cause, and if we find the deserts of them to be such as they gave such occasion of tumult in a people so gathered together, I trust the Queen's Majesty nor the Council shall think any severity in us, or lack of prudence, in considering the time. Thus in our Lord I bid your honour well to [fare], this third of April.

"We provide as we can for some parishes destitute, but [cannot] supply the most part vacant."—*Parker Correspondence*, p. 275.

The Archbishop's
letter to Cecil on
the subject.

Again, on the next day, the 4th April, the Archbishop writes to the same—

"If your honour have leisure to hear of our doing with Crowley this afternoon, and with one Sayer, the alderman's deputy, and the singers. We found that Crowley quarrelled first with the singing-men for their 'porters' coats,' and said, that he would shut the doors against them, and so far was the deputy charged with such words. In the examination of Crowley fell out many fond paradoxes that tended to anabaptistical opinions, to have a motion in conscience to preach in his Church (being not deprived) without extern vocation, and saying, as pastor he would resist the wolf if he can, meaning the surplice-man. We asked, whether he would resist a minister so sent to them? He said, that till he was discharged, his conscience

would so move him, whereupon he desired to be discharged. I seeing his desire, I did even presently discharge him of his flock and parish. Then he fled to this, that he would be deprived by order of law; which I told him was to say, that he would be deprived, and yet not deprived. He seemed that he would have had the glory to be committed to prison, rather than he would grant to suffer such a wolf, [*i. e.*, a minister who would wear the surplice] to come to his flock, but I dulled his glory. But yet, for some severity, and in suspense, we charged him to keep his house, and bound the deputy in one hundred pounds to be ready at calling when the Queen's council should call for either of them, to judge of their doings. The deputy seemeth to be an honest man, yet peradventure too much leaning from the surplice; he protested that he threatened the singing-men to set them fast by the feet, if they would break the peace. By his tale there was a fond uproar among them, but the singing-men shrank away, and they then fell to quietness with shrewd stomachs. Peradventure your honour may think we have done too little, but yet the suspense and secret prison is some terror, and I doubt that few will think it too much. And so, at length, my lord of London and I dismissed them all with our Advertisements, in their obedience. I pray your honour pardon the babbling. This 4th of April."—*Ibid.* p. 276.

And, once more, on the [12th of April,] 1566, he thus replies to an enquiry from the Secretary—

"Your honour desireth to know whether there were 600 persons ready to the communion, and came unto a church, and found the doors shut. These reporters make *ex musca elephantem*. My lord of London can best answer for his own jurisdiction; but this I can say, that where I have sent, divers days, three and four of my chaplains to serve in the greatest parishes, what for lack of surplice and wafer-bread, they did mostly but preach.^a And one of my chaplains serving the last Sunday [7th of April, the Sixth Sunday in Lent,] at a parish, and being informed that divers communicants would have

^a Mr. Goode, (p. 39,) in considering "*The Dress for Preaching*," selects this as one of the "passages" on which he relies to shew "*That the surplice was not intended by our Reformers to be required to be worn in preaching*:" but how an act done in a case of extreme necessity can be looked upon as a proof of a general intention under other circumstances, it is difficult to see. In this case, as in others, a few perverse people "to make a trouble and a difficulty will provide neither surplice nor bread"—things then positively enjoined to be used for the Celebration of Holy Communion; therefore the Archbishop's chaplains could not Celebrate: does it at all follow that they would not have preached in the surplice if there had been one to put on? The utmost surely that can be made of the occurrence is that, to use Mr. Goode's words, "The lack of surplice, therefore, was of no consequence for preaching."

Indeed the passages which Mr. Goode also quotes to shew "*that the surplice has been worn in preaching by many (and with the sanction of the Ecclesiastical Authorities), from the first period of the establishment of our Reformed Church at the accession of Elizabeth*," are very much like a proof that it was originally meant to be required for preaching, though, no doubt, owing to the strife about vestments, its use was afterwards often dispensed with: thus the quotation from Dr. Guest's letter to Sir W. Cecil in 1559—"Because it is sufficient to use but a surplice in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying; therefore, it is enough also

1566.

Elizabeth.

His reply to Cecil's enquiry as to a complaint that 600 persons could not obtain Communion in a Church.

1566.

Elizabeth.

received, the table made all ready accordingly, while he was reading the passion, one man of the parish drew from the table both cup and the wafer-bread, because the bread was not common, and so the minister derided, and the people disappointed. And divers churchwardens to make a trouble and a difficulty, will provide neither surplice nor bread.

All this week I have little assistance from my Lord of London because of this day sermon, and he may now be spoken unto to see to his charge. I have talked with new coming preachers to London, moving to sedition, and have charged them to silence. I have some in prison, which in this quarrel fell to open blows in the church."

The Archbishop ends by complaining that he should be obliged to attend to "another man's charge," and expected "to see and judge of all preachers in London," and then be blamed too because of all this strife: adding—

"And yet I am not weary to bear, to do service to God and to my Prince; but an ox can draw no more than he can."

"This Good-Friday, 1566."—*Parker Corresp.* p. 278.

Fresh obstacles, however, to the Archbishop's course seem to have arisen apparently either from the Queen's irresolution or from some adverse influence in the Council; for on the 28th April 1566, his Grace writes thus to Sir William Cecil—

"The Queen's Majesty willed my Lord of York [Dr. Young] to declare her pleasure determinately to have the order to go forward. I trust her Highness hath devised how it may be performed. I utterly despair therein as of myself, and therefore must sit still, as I have now done, always waiting either her toleration, or else further aid. Mr. Secretary, can it be thought, that I alone, having sun and moon against me, can compass this difficulty? If you of her Majesty's council provide no otherwise for this matter than as it appeareth openly, what the sequel will be *horresco vel reminiscendo cogitare*. In King Edward's days the whole body of the council travailed in Hooper's attempt. My predecessor, Dr. Cranmer, labouring in vain with bishop Farrar, the council took it in hand; and shall I hope to

for the celebrating the Communion," (Goode, p. 41, the Italics are his) at least implies the *rule*, and, therefore the *intention*, to be that it was to be used for preaching.

In a Note at p. 40, Mr. Goode says—"I speak only of the *surplice*, because it seems generally agreed that the use of the *albe*, though prescribed by King Edward's First Prayer Book, was never revived in our Church after that Book had been superseded in 1552, notwithstanding the Rubric on Ornaments. According to that Rubric, however, if the preacher is to wear the same dress in preaching as in reading the Communion Service, the proper vesture is the *albe*." Where one can find this *general agreement* about the disuse of the *albe* since 1552 I do not know: it seems probable that a surplice without sleeves, or with small sleeves, gradually took the place of the *albe* (its general resemblance to the latter being, perhaps, one cause of the dislike to it) and that, later, when the Cope was disused in Parish Churches, "a comely surplice with sleeves" (*i. e.*, most likely, "large sleeves") was ordered, as they would not *then* be inconvenient.—Comp. *Advertisements*, p. 204, and *Grindal's Injunctions* of 1571.

New difficulties which the Archbishop had to encounter.

do that the Queen's Majesty will have done? What I hear and see, what complaints be brought unto me, I shall not report; how I am used of many men's hands. I commit all to God. If I die in the cause (malice so far prevailing) I shall commit my soul to God in a good conscience"—*Ibid.* No. ccxv. p. 280.

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On the general question of "Ceremonies and Sacerdotal Habits," *Lawrence Humphrey* had written to *Bullinger* from Oxford, February 9th, 1565, according to the English computation," *i. e.*, 1565-6, and *Thomas Sampson*, on the 16th of February. (See *Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, Nos. lxviii. and lxix.) *Humphrey's* questions are these; he had asked them, it seems, in a previous letter, but thought *Bullinger* had "expressed" his "sentiments too briefly, and without sufficient perspicuity":—

Humphrey and Sampson repeat their enquiries to Bullinger on "The Habits."

"First, whether laws respecting habits may be properly prescribed to Churchmen, so as to distinguish them from the laity in shape, colour, &c.? Secondly, whether the ceremonial worship of the Levitical priesthood is to be re-introduced into the Church of Christ? Thirdly, whether in respect of habits and external rites, it is allowable to have anything in common with the papists, and whether Christians may borrow ceremonies from any counterfeit and hostile Church? Fourthly, whether the distinguishing apparel of the priesthood is to be worn [upon all occasions] like a common dress? Whether this does not savour of monkery, popery, and Judaism? Fifthly, whether those persons who have till now enjoyed their liberty, can with a safe conscience, by the authority of a royal edict, involve in this bondage both themselves and the Church? Sixthly, whether the clerical dress of the papists may be regarded as a matter of indifference? Seventhly, whether the habit is to be worn rather than the office deserted?"—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. lxviii. p. 151.

Sampson's questions are the following; he too had written to *Bullinger* "six months since" but had not received an answer:—

Sampson's questions.

"I. Whether a peculiar habit, distinct from that of the laity, were ever assigned to the ministers of the Gospel in better times, and whether it ought now to be assigned to them in the reformed Church?

"II. Whether the prescribing habits of this kind be consistent with ecclesiastical and christian liberty?

"III. Whether the nature of things indifferent admits of coercion; and whether any violence should be offered to the consciences of the many who are not yet persuaded?

"IV. Whether any new ceremonies may be instituted, or super-added to what is expressly commanded in the word?

"V. Whether it be lawful to revive the Jewish ceremonies re-

1566.
Elizabeth.

specting the habit of the priesthood, and which were abolished by Christ?

“VI. Whether it be expedient to borrow rites from idolaters or heretics, and to transfer such as are especially dedicated to *their* sect and religion to the use of the reformed Church?

“VII. Whether conformity and general agreement must of necessity be required in ceremonies of this kind?

“VIII. Whether those ceremonies may be retained which occasion evident offence?

“IX. Whether any ecclesiastical constitutions may be tolerated, which, though from their nature they are free from anything impious, do not, nevertheless, tend to edification?

“X. Whether anything of a ceremonial nature may be prescribed to the Church by the sovereign, without the assent and free concurrence of churchmen?

“XI. Whether a man ought thus to obey the decrees of the Church; or on account of non-compliance, supposing there is no alternative, to be cast out of the Ministry?

“XII. Whether good pastors, of unblemished life and doctrine, may rightfully be removed from the ministry on account of their non-compliance with such ceremonies?—*Ibid.* No. lxxix. p. 153.

*Bullinger and
Gualter's reply
to Humphrey,*

Bullinger “in his own name and that of Gualter”, replied to them both, in a letter dated “Zurich, May 1st, 1566,” in which he says—

“I neither perceived at that time, nor do I now perceive, the necessity of writing more copiously. For you only inquired what was my opinion with respect to the vestiarian controversy now agitated in England. To this question I thought it best to give you a short answer; for I could express my sentiments in few words. Besides, I was aware that master Peter Martyr, of blessed memory, had both here and at Oxford frequently and fully handled the same question, and I had nothing to add to his remarks. But I remember, that in my letter addressed to you, my brother Sampson, I also gave a statement of my own opinion. And to repeat my sentiments in few words, I could never approve of your officiating, if so commanded, at an altar laden, rather than adorned, with the image of Him that was crucified, and in the appropriate dress of the mass, that is in the albe or cope, on the back part of which also the same image is represented. But, as far as I can understand by a letter from England, there is now no dispute concerning habits of this kind; but the question is, whether it be lawful for the ministers of the gospel to wear a round or square cap, and a white garment which they call a surplice, by the wearing of which the minister may be distinguished from the people?”—*Ibid.* *Appendix*, No. III. p. 345.

He then proceeds to answer in detail all the inquiries of both his correspondents who, he thinks, have by “so many “questions. . . . entangled” the subject “in such complicated

complains of his
having perplexed
the subject, and
disapproves his
views.

“knots, which otherwise, simple in itself, might be stated with sufficient perspicuity in few words”. The reply is too long to insert here, but, it is sufficient to say of it that, Bullinger *entirely disapproves* of the views which their questions implied them to hold; this then, considering the writer’s own anti-ceremonial notions and the fact that he was regarded by the Puritan party in England as an Oracle, plainly shews how extreme was the character of that movement which the Authorities had now to oppose.

It would seem, however, that the use of the Vestments, which Bullinger really objected to, was *not* dispensed with; for *Humphrey* and *Sampson* jointly wrote again to *Bullinger* for his opinion in the *July* of this year; their letter, which was in fact a reply to his own of May 1st, proves how little disposed they were to accept the decisions of this their “Master in Israel” when they clashed with their own notions: but the state of the Law, and the practice at that period, is evident from the following extract:—

“Not only . . . are the square cap and gown required in public, but the sacred garments are used in divine service: and the surplice, or white dress of the choir, and the cope, are reintroduced. In the rites nothing is discretionary: not that the Queen’s Majesty has been excited to this by us, but she has been influenced by the persuasion of others; so that at length that is established, not which is for the interest of the Church, but merely what is not unlawful; and what is not altogether impious, is accounted wholesome, and salutary, and holy, and is confirmed by law.”—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. lxxi. pp. 159-60.

The Letter has an Appendix entitled “Some blemishes which still attach to the Church of England”: they are 13 in number, and may be consulted with advantage, as further illustrating the views of these prominent non-conformists: the 11th is reprinted here, because it shews that there existed then (as in fact now) in the Church of England a code of Laws or of Traditional Rules which provided for and regulated a variety of things which people are very apt to think *necessarily* came to an end with the Reformational changes: it runs thus:—

“11. In the Ecclesiastical regimen there are retained many traces of the church of antichrist. For as formerly at Rome everything might be had for money in the court of the pope, so almost all things are saleable in the court of the metropolitan; pluralities of benefices,

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Elizabeth.

The Vestments he objected to, not dispensed with:

therefore he and *Sampson* write again to *Bullinger*.

The Appendix to their Letter is a witness to the non-repeal of some Laws, &c.

1566.

Elizabeth.

licenses of non-residence, for not entering into orders, for eating meat,* on days forbidden, and in Lent, at which time also it is forbidden to celebrate marriages without a dispensation and a fee."

Other complaints
of Discipline.

So, too, in the same month, *Coverdale*, *Humphrey*, and *Sampson*, writing from London to *Farell*, *Viret*, *Beza*, and others, say:

"Our affairs are not altered for the better, but alas! are sadly deteriorated. For it is now settled and determined that an un-

* See an instance of an application for a dispensation, in a letter from Sir Henry Sydney to Archbishop Parker on behalf of his son.—*Parker Correspondence*, No. ccxl. p. 316.

Strype, *Life of Grindal*, Appendix to Bk. 2. No. v. gives a Table from "*The Faculty Office*" of "*The dispensations with their prices*"; among them occur the following—"License to eat Flesh, 40s.—To the Clerk 3s. 4d.—Archbishop 6s. 8d.—Commissary 3s. 4d.—Register 3s. 4d." "Dispensations to take all Orders together, 13s. 4d." "Dispensations to take Orders out of one's own diocese, 6s. 8d." The last two, with some others, were abolished when Grindal succeeded to the Archbishopric.—See *Strype's Grindal*, Bk. 2, p. 202.

And the following extract from a paper entitled "THE STATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AS DESCRIBED BY PERCIVAL WIBURN," a Puritan, and written about this time, shews what he thought of the Prayer Book, and what he believed about the force of the Canon Law:—

"9. This book of prayers is filled with many absurdities (to say no worse of them) and silly superfluities, and seems entirely to be composed after the model and in the manner of the papists; the grosser superstitions, however, being taken away.

"10. The greater part of the Canon Law is still in force there, and all ecclesiastical censures are principally taken from it.

18. Is a similar statement to "blemish" No. 11 mentioned by *Sampson* and *Humphry*.

"21. Many festivals are retained there, consecrated in the name of saints, with their vigils, as formerly; perambulations on rogation-days; singing in parts in the churches, and with organs; the tolling of bells at funerals and on the vigils of saints; and especially on that of the feast of All-saints, when it continues during the whole night.

"22. By the Queen's command, all persons, both men and women, must reverently bow themselves in the churches at the Name of Jesus.

"23. That space which we call the chancel, by which in churches the laity are separated by the presbyter from the clergy, still remains in England; and prayers are said in the place accustomed in time of popery, unless the Bishop should order it otherwise.

"28. In the administration of the [Lord's] Supper, for the greater reverence of the Sacrament, little round unleavened cakes are re-introduced by the Queen, which had heretofore been removed by the public laws of the realm, for the taking away superstition. Every one too is obliged to communicate at the Lord's Supper on his bended knees.

"29. In every church throughout England, during prayers the minister must wear a linen garment, which we call a surplice. And in the larger churches, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, the chief minister must wear a silk garment which they call a cope. And two other ministers, formerly called the deacon and sub-deacon, must assist him to read the Epistle and Gospel.

"30. The Queen's Majesty, with the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, may order, change, and remove anything in that church at her pleasure.

"31. In their external dress the ministers of the word are at this time obliged to conform themselves to that of the popish priests; the square cap is imposed upon all, together with a gown as long and loose as conveniently may be, and to some also is added a silk hood."—*Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, Appendix, No. iv. p. 358.

leavened cake must be used in place of common bread ;—that the communion must be received by the people on their bended knees ; —that out of doors must be worn the square cap, bands, a long gown and tippet ; while the white surplice and cope are to be retained in divine service.”—*Zurich Letters*. 2nd Series, No. 1, p.121.

1566.
Elizabeth.

Deficient as the Bishop of London was in his support of the Archbishop's measures to procure conformity, he endeavoured now to convince some of the disaffected by means of *Bullinger's* opinion ; for says Strype:—

The Bishop of London quotes *Bullinger* to the non-conformists.

“ Bishop Grindal was not wanting in his endeavours to bring over the Dissenters to be satisfied with what was enjoined. And among other means in order hereunto, he now set forth in print an excellent and right Christian letter of Henry Bullinger, the chief minister in Helvetia, sent to him and two other of the Bishops, *viz.* Horn, Bishop of Winton, and Parkhurst of Norwich, concerning the lawfulness of wearing the habits ; but drawn up for the satisfaction of Sampson and Humfrey, two Oxford Divines, of great note there, the one Dean of Christ Church, and the other President of St. Magdalen's College. The letter was writ with such a clearness of reason, such evidence from Scripture, and in such a fatherly, compassionate style, that it had a very good effect upon many that before were ready to leave their ministry : but having read it were satisfied.”—*Life of Grindal*. Bk. 1, p. 105.

The letter here referred to is evidently that of May 1566 quoted at p. 214 : it was sent to the three Bishops with a short letter from Bullinger, dated “ Zurich, May 3, 1566,” in which, mentioning Gualter, he says—

“ We send our letter on the vestiarian controversy, written by us to the learned men, and our honoured godly brethren, N. and M. And we send it to you on this account, that ye may understand that we would not have any private communication with the brethren, without the knowledge of you, the principal ministers ; and that in all things we seek the peace of your Churches, according to our power.” They request “ master Horn” to “ communicate it to masters Jewel, Sandys, and Pillington.”—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series. Appendix, p. 356.

It appears that Bullinger and Gualter afterwards regretted that their Letter to Sampson and Humphrey had been published, for, writing to *Bishops Grindal and Horn* from Zurich, Sept. 6th, 1566, they say—

Bullinger and Gualter complain of the publication and misuse of their Letter :

“ It has been made known to us by a report, confirmed too by the letters of some of our brethren which have been brought to us from other quarters, that the letter of ours, which we wrote privately to our honoured brethren masters Humphrey and Sampson, and which, for certain reasons explained in our letter written to you, we com-

1566.
Elizabeth.

municated to you, our masters and very dear brethren, has been printed and published; and that by means of it encouragement has been given to those parties who have already deprived many pious and learned ministers of the Churches, not indeed on account of the vestiarian question, about which that letter was written, but on account of many other points controverted among you.

Respecting these points we entered into no discussion at all in that our letter, and yet we are reported to have defended and approved every one of them against those who have been dismissed. It was indeed our endeavour not to increase the flame that had sprung up among you, but to extinguish it; and neither to declare our approval or disapproval of articles respecting which we had no information. It would therefore be doing us a manifest injustice, if our letter should be so mis-construed as to make us seem to approve of those articles, about which, when we wrote upon the vestiarian controversy, we were altogether ignorant. The sum of our judgment was this, that Churches redeemed by the Blood of Christ ought on no account to be deserted for the sake of caps and gowns, which are to be regarded as mere matters of indifference, since they are enjoined to be used, not with a view to any religious observance, but merely as a matter of civil concern, for the maintenance of proper decency. But we have now heard, though we hope the report is false, that it is required of ministers either to subscribe to some new articles, or to relinquish their office. And the articles are said to be of this kind; that the measured chanting in Churches is to be retained, and in a foreign language, together with the sound of organs; and that in cases of necessity women may and ought to baptize infants in private houses: that the minister also ought to ask the infant presented for baptism the questions that were formerly proposed to the catechumens: that the ministers too, who perform the office of baptism, must use breathings, exorcisms, the sign of the cross, oil, spittle, clay, lighted tapers, and other things of this kind: that ministers are to teach, that in the receiving of the Lord's Supper kneeling is necessary, (which has an appearance of adoration,) and that the bread is not to be broken in common, but that a small morsel is to be placed by the minister in the mouth of every communicant: and that the mode of spiritual feeding, and of the presence of the Body of Christ in the Holy Supper, is not to be explained, but to be left undetermined. It is stated moreover, that as formerly all things were to be had at Rome for money; so now there are the same things for sale in the court of the metropolitan; namely, pluralities of livings, licenses for non-residence, for eating meat on days forbidden and during Lent, and the like, for which no permission is granted without being paid for:”
Zurich Letters, 1st Series, Appendix No. v., p. 357.

They mention
certain reports
which had
reached them.

Their probable
informants.

Who their informants were as to these “new articles” the writers of the Letter do not state; to Humphrey and Sampson's Letter of *July* (see p. 215) they appear to have been indebted for some of their knowledge, and very likely *Perceval Wiburn*

was another correspondent on the subject (see Note a, p. 216) though he denies, in a letter to Bullinger dated London, Feb. 25, 1567, (*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, p. 189), "the strange "language, clay, spittle, candles, and other superfluities," imputed to him. It would seem, too, that *Miles Coverdale* had been writing to them on the matter, for Bullinger writing to him on Sept. 10th, only four days after his Letter to Grindal and Horne, says—

" as I now understand that my letter has been so perverted by some parties, as though [I had discussed] all the subjects controverted among you, (though when I wrote that letter [*i.e.* to Humphrey and Sampson], I did not even know what they were) I am going to write to some godly and prudent persons, whose authority will, I hope, prevail in this matter, to request that they will take especial care that no one make an improper use of my published letter, nor that the impurities (as you call them) be established in convocation under the pretext of that letter;"—*Ibid.* 2nd Series, No. liv. p. 136.

Accordingly he and Gualter jointly wrote to the *Earl of Bedford* and to *Bishop Parkhurst* on the 11th Sept. (*Ibid.* Nos. lv. and lvi., 2nd Series, pp. 137—142); and probably the Letter to Bishops *Grindal* and *Horne* (though dated Sept. 6th,) formed part of the correspondence to which he referred. They wrote also at the same time (Sept. 10th) to *Humphrey* and *Sampson* and to *Theodore Beza* on Sept. 11th, stating (as in the other Letters) the intention of their former Letter of the 1st May.—See *Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, No. lvii., p. 142, and 1st Series, Appendix No. vi., p. 360.

Early in the next year, "February 6th, 1567," Bishops *Grindal* and *Horne* replied to the letter from *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, of September 6th, 1566: having told them of the advantages which had arisen from the publication of their Letter to *Humphrey* and *Sampson*, and having assured them that there was no danger of their Letter being "perverted" from its obvious intention of handling "the vestiarian controversy alone," they proceed to point out what is "the sum of" the "controversy" between the Ecclesiastical rulers and the non-conforming Clergy: they say—

"We hold that the ministers of the Church of England may adopt without impiety the distinction of habits now prescribed by public authority, both in the administration of divine worship, and for common use; especially when it is proposed to them as a matter of

1566.
Elizabeth.

They explain to some in England the intention of their former Letter.

Grindal and *Horne* reply to them:

1566.

Elizabeth.

indifference, They contend on the other hand, that these habits are not on any account now to be reckoned among things indifferent, but that they are impious, papistical, and idolatrous ;”

Then, referring to the “report” mentioned in the Letter of Sept. 6, they remark—

“That report, if indeed it may be called such, (for we know and commend your prudence and moderation,) respecting the acceptance, subscription, and approbation of these new articles which you enumerate, is altogether a falsehood. Nor are those parties more to be depended upon, who either in their written letters, or verbally in your presence, have under this pretext endeavoured to blind your eyes, and to brand us with a calumnious accusation. For almost all these articles are falsely imputed to us; very few indeed are acknowledged by us; and not one of them is obtruded upon the brethren for their subscription. We do not assert that the chanting in churches, together with the organ, is to be retained; but we disapprove of it, as we ought to do. The Church of England, too, has entirely given up the use of [prayers in] a foreign tongue, breathings, exorcisms, oil, spittle, clay, lighted tapers, and other things of that kind, which, by the Act of Parliament, are never to be restored. We entirely agree that women neither can nor ought to baptize infants, upon any account whatever. In the receiving of the Lord’s Supper, the laws require, custom sanctions, and our Anglo-Louvaine caluminators in their reckless writings bear us witness, that we break the bread in common to every communicant, not putting it into his mouth, but placing it in the hand: they testify also to our explanation of the manner of the spiritual feeding and presence of the Body of Christ in the holy supper We receive, it is true, or rather tolerate, until the Lord shall give us better times, the interrogations to infants, and the sign of the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord’s Supper; also the royal court of faculties, or, as they call it, of the metropolitan. We publicly profess, and diligently teach, that questions of this kind are not very suitable to be proposed to infants, notwithstanding they seem to be borrowed from Augustine.

“We do not defend the signing with the sign of the cross the forehead of the infant already baptized, although the minister declares in set terms that the child is signed with the [sign of] the cross, only ‘in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed of the faith of Christ crucified’; and though it seems to have been borrowed from the primitive Church. We allow of kneeling at the receiving of the Lord’s Supper, because it is so appointed by law; the same explanation however, or rather caution, that the very authors of the kneeling, most holy men and constant martyrs of Jesus Christ, adopted, being most diligently declared, published and impressed upon the people. It is in these terms: ‘Whereas it is ordained in the book of prayers, that the communicants should receive the holy communion kneeling; yet we declare, that this ought not so to be understood, as if any adoration is or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine, or to any real and essential presence of

and contradict
the report.

The extreme
Puritan character
of their Letter,

Christ's natural flesh and blood there existing. For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were horrible idolatry, to be abhorred of all Christians; and as to the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of the true natural body of Christ to be at one and the same time in more places than one.'....."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. lxxv., pp. 175—181.

After reading this Letter who can wonder that Grindal possessed but small influence with the Puritan party in his Diocese; could so ill control them; and was but little inclined to support the Archbishop's proceedings against them. Nor can we be surprised that, when two such important persons as the Bishops of London and Winchester were prepared to abandon what they mention here, the Puritans should clamour against the *Habits*: surely these latter were the more consistent.

It is remarkable also that no mention is made of the Crucifix, Cross, or Altar-lights, which they would hardly, we may believe, have omitted to notice, if they could have spoken of their prohibition in the same terms. The "lighted tapers," from the connexion in which they are placed, refer, plainly, to those which were used in Baptism, not to Altar-candles: this is confirmed by the following passage in the letter which they were answering, and from which it appears that the real state of the controversy in England had been misrepresented to these foreign Divines:—

"We have now heard, though we hope the report is false, that it is required.....that the ministers too who perform the office of Baptism, must use breathings, exorcisms, the sign of the cross, oil, spittle, clay, lighted tapers, and other things of this kind."—See p. 218.

A complaint had been made to the Archbishop, against All Souls' College, Oxford: whereupon, on the 5th of March, 1566-7, he writes to the Warden, Dr. Richard Barber, stating that—

"Whereas having information of certain plate reserved in your College, whereat divers men be justly offended to remain in such superstitious fashion as it is of, I moved you, Mr. Warden, to declare to the company of that fellowship, for avoiding all suspicion of superstition, that the said plate should be defaced, put into some mass, for your house, whereof it may have need hereafter, and so safely to be conserved in your treasury; for that I have not heard what you have

1566.

Elizabeth.

accounts for their
lack of influence:it does not notice
the Cross and
Altar-lights as
things prohibited

1566-7.

Complaint to
the Archbishop
against the Plate
at All Soul's
College, Oxford.

1566-7.

Elizabeth.

done, by these my letters I do require you to make a perfect inventory containing the form and fashion of the said plate, and also the number and fashion of their vestments and tunicles, which serve not to use at these days."

If any of the College objected, they were to come to the Archbishop and state their reasons.

1567.

The Archbishop's
proceedings
thereon.

From whatever cause, the Archbishop writes on the 26th of March, 1567; to "The Warden and Fellows," thus :

"Whereas, understanding is given that you do yet retain in your College divers monuments of superstition, which by public orders and laws of this realm ought to be abolished as derogatory to the state of religion publicly received, part whereof be in this schedule^a inserted "expressed."

Therefore they were to send them, "every thing and things in this "present schedule," to Lambeth, "to be presented to "the Queen's Commissioners" for their judgment thereon: the Warden also, and two others were to come up with "some "copy" of their Statutes. It appears that, in consequence of a monition from the Archbishop and others dated 19th April,—

"On the 23rd of April, 1567, Richard Barber, LL.D., John Malloche, Richard Bray, Bachelors of Laws, R. Foster, A.M., and R. Skrimsham, Student of Law, appeared before Archbishop Parker, Walter Haddon, Thomas Yale, and William Danvers, LL.D., who made the following order: 'That upon their returning home unto All Souls' College, the said Richard Barber then shall call the whole fellowship then present within the College together, and upon the common consent of all, or the greater part of the said fellowship, so gathered, shall cause to be defaced and broken such church-plate as in their College or custody, appertaining to the use of the church or chapel, except six silver basons, with their ewers or crewets, one tabernacle gilt with two leaves set with stones and pearls, two silver bowls, a silver rod, and three processional. Item. That they send

^a "The 'Schedule' ran as follows.

"Three mass-books, old and new, and two portuisses.

"Item, 8 grailes, 7 antiphoners, of parchement and bound.

"— 10 processional, old and new.

"— 2 hymnals.

"— an old manual of prayer.

"— an invitatory book.

"— 2 psalters in * * and one covered with a skin.

"— a great pricksong book of parchement.

"— one other pricksong book of vellum, covered with a hart's skin.

"— 5 other of paper, bound in parchement.

"— the founder's mass-book, in parchement, bound in board.

"Item, in Mr. Mills's hand, an antiphoner and a legend.

"— a portuisse in his hand, in two volumes, a manual, a mass-book, and a processional."

up to the said Commissioners their two books of the Epistles and Gospels, reserving unto themselves the images of silver of the same defaced in manner aforesaid.' The Warden was also enjoined to charge all fellows who were discontented with this order to appear before the Commissioners within 10 days, and 'from time to time to cause every of the said fellowship or college misreporting or gain-saying this order to appear before the said commissioners within ten days (*Gutche's Collect. Curios. II. 274.*)"—*Parker Correspondence, 296—300.*

The result of the various efforts which had been made to satisfy the non-conforming party, or to reduce them to obedience is thus stated in the words of Collier: writing of the occurrences which happened about June 19, 1567, he says—

"This year the controversy touching the *habit* occasioned farther misunderstandings, and ended in an open rupture: for now the Puritans* drew off from the Church, form'd separate congregations, and laid the Common Prayer Book wholly aside. These separate *Meetings* provok'd the government, and put the Ecclesiastical Commissioners upon looking after them. About a hundred of these *Dissenters* met in *Plummer's Hall*, under the pretence of a wedding; but this excuse being thought too slender, about fifteen of them were committed. The next day seven of them, *viz. Smith, Nixon, White, Ireland, Hawkins, Rowland, and Morecraft* were examined. They were brought before the Bishop of London, Sir *Roger Martin*, Lord Mayor, the Dean of *Westminster*, and other Commissioners. In the progress of their examination they objected^b against the form of the Consecrated Bread. Their cavil

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Some of the Puritans withdrew from communion with the Church of England;

and are summoned before the Bishop of London.

* "The refusers of the orders of the Church, (who by this time were commonly called *Puritans*), were grown now into two factions. The one was of a more quiet and peaceable demeanour; who, indeed, would not use the habits, nor subscribe to the ceremonies enjoined; as kneeling at the Sacrament, the Cross in Baptism, the ring in Marriage; but held to the Communion of the Church, and willingly and devoutly joined with the Common Prayers. But another sort there was, that disliked the whole constitution of the Church lately reformed; charging upon it many gross remainders of popery, and that it was still full of corruptions not to be borne with, and antichristian; and especially the habits which the Clergy were enjoined to use in their conversation and ministration. Insomuch that these latter separated themselves into private assemblies, meeting together, not in churches, but in private houses, where they had ministers of their own."—*Strype's Grindal, p. 114.*

^b One of them, "*Smith* said, that 'he had as lief go to mass, as to some churches: and such was the parish church where he dwelt; and that he was a very papist that officiated there.' But the Bishop said, 'they ought not to find fault with all for a few: and that they might go to other places: and particularly mentioned, *S. Lawrence, and Sampson, and Low, and Lever*; who preached in *London*, being dispensed with, tho' they wore not the habits, besides *Coverdale*. And when one of them mentioned some that were Priests in Queen Mary's days, and still officiated, the Bishop demanded, if they accused any of them of false doctrine. And one presently answered, he could: and mentioned one *Bedel*, who then was present. But it was not thought convenient at that time, to enquire

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was because 'twas given in Wafers: this, they said, was going too near the *Roman* Communion. The Bishop of *London* replied, that the Church of *Geneva*, for whose practice they had so great a regard, *receiv'd* in Wafer-Cakes. When arguing and gentle applications made no impression; when instead of promising to forbear their *Meetings* they discover'd a resolution of maintaining their sentiments and schism, some of them were remanded to prison; but t'was not long before they were discharged."—*Eccl. Hist.* p. 511.

The Archbishop
compelled to
visit the Diocese
of Norwich.

Another example of the evils which arose from the laxity of some of the Prelates is furnished by the Archbishop's proceedings at this time in the Diocese of *Norwich* of which *Parkhurst*, a man strongly imbued with the views of the

further into that accusation, being not to the present purpose."—*Ibid.* p. 116.

"And when one of them charged the government, that the Pope's Canon Law and the will of the Prince, had the first place, and was preferred before the Word and Ordinance of Christ, the *Dean* of Westminster observed how irreverently they spoke of the Prince, and that before the Magistrates. And the Bishop asked them, what was so preferred. To which another of them answered boldly, that which was upon his [the Bishop's] head, and upon his back: their copes and surplices, their laws and ministers."—*Ibid.*

Several of them, in reply also to an argument of the Bishop's, exclaimed—"that surplices and copes. . . . were superstitious and idolatrous; and demanded of him to prove that indifferent which was abominable. The Bishop said again, Things not forbidden by God might be used for order and obedience.—*Ibid.* p. 117.

"When the Bishop had occasionally said, he had said mass, and was sorry for it, one of them presently said, tauntingly, that he went like one of the mass-priests still. To whom, he gently said, that he wore a cope and a surplice in Paul's, yet had rather minister without these things, but for order sake, and obedience to the Queen. But they presently declaimed against them, calling them *conjuring garments* of popery, and garments that were *accursed*. But the Bishop asked them, where they found them forbidden? And where, said another of them, is the mass forbidden? (As tho' where the one was forbidden, the other was). The Bishop then shewed the mass forbidden in Scripture, thus: That it was thought to be meritorious; that it took away free justification; that it was made an idol: and all idolatry was forbidden in Scripture. By the same argument one of them attempted to prove the garments forbidden; because they brought the Word of God into captivity to the Pope's garments and his Canon Law: and therefore they were idols.—*Ibid.* p. 118.

Bullinger would not have allowed them to be "conjuring garments of popery"; for he had written as follows to *Humphrey* and *Sampson*, on May 1, 1566, in reply to their question, "*Whether it is allowable to have a habit in common with 'Papists'?*" "I answer, it is not yet proved that the Pope introduced a distinction of habits into the Church; so far from it, that it is clear that such distinction is long anterior to Popery. Nor do I see why it should be unlawful to use, in common with Papists, a vestment not superstitious, but pertaining to civil regulation and good order. If it were not allowable to have anything in common with them, it would be necessary to desert all the Churches, to decline the receipt of stipend, to abstain from baptism, and the reciting of the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed, and even to reject the Lord's Prayer. But after all, you do not borrow any ceremonies from them; for the use of the habits was never set aside from the beginning of the Reformation; and it is still retained, not by any Popish enactment, but by virtue of the royal edict, as a matter of indifference and of civil order."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. iii., p. 348.

Genevan party, was Bishop :^a Strype, in relating this, says—

“Now did the Archbishop intend to visit the diocese of Norwich, where he had understood many things to have been out of order, and the Bishop himself not without his imperfections. In order to this, May 8, he issued out an inhibition to John, Bishop of Norwich, from visiting the church, city, and diocese. And a mandate came forth, dated May the 16th, from him to the said Bishop, for his summoning all persons concerned, to appear at the said visitation. The Archbishop also sent articles to be inquired of in this cathedral church, being the same for all the rest of the cathedral and collegiate churches in his province; and were nine in number.”—*Strype's Parker*. Bk. 3, pp. 246-7.

They are intitled

“*Articles to be enquired of in the Metropolitan Visitation of the most reverend Father in God, Matthew, by the providence of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, in al and singular Cathedral and Collegiate Churches within his province of Canterbury.*” It will be found that Nos. 1, 3, and 8, are precisely the same as those already given at p. 183. The 6th is a little varied and reads as follows :—

“vi. *Item*, You shall enquire of the doctrine and judgment of al and singular hedd and members of your Church; As for example, that any man is to be borne with, which do extoll any superstitious religion; as reliques, pilgrimages, lightings of candles, kissing, kneeling, or ducking to images; or praying in a

^a Cardwell says “This visitation was more especially directed against the diocese of Norwich; which was reported to be in great disorder, owing partly to an old custom of allowing seven years to intervene between the bishop's visitations, and partly to the known forbearance of bishop Parkhurst; of whom as early as in August 1561, secretary Cecil wrote to the archbishop in the following words (*Strype, Parker*, vol. i. p. 214) : ‘The bishop of Norwich’ [&c. see p.183]. The articles themselves, although intended primarily for the diocese of Norwich, were strictly applicable to the general condition of the Church, and afford evidence of the following facts connected with the progress of its history; that puritanism, and not popery, was now the opponent to be dreaded; that the contest with puritanism was now no longer respecting forms and ceremonies, but principles and doctrines; that opinions were inculcated adverse to good morals and destructive of Church authority; and lastly, that the disorders existing in the Church had seriously affected the duties owing to the state.—(*Comp. Strype, Parker*, vol. I. p. 491; *Neal's Purit.* vol. I. 156).”—*Card. D. A.* vol. I. p. 337. Note.

Mr. Goode has twice quoted an Injunction of Bishop Parkhurst issued in 1561; (the very year in which Cecil complained of his “remissness” to the Archbishop), first (at p. 27) as an authority against “GESTURES AND POSTURES, SUCH AS CROSSING, &c.” next (at p. 84,) with reference to the “FURNITURE OF THE COMMUNION TABLE”: the Injunction is as follows: “‘Item, that they neither suffer the Lord's Table to be hanged and decked like an Altar, neither use any *gestures* of the Popish Mass in the time of ministracion of the Communion, as shifting of the book, washing, breathing, *crossing*, or such like.’ (Inj. 4.)” Whether a Diocesan Bishop was justified in issuing an Injunction which, in reference to the Altar decorations, went beyond the Royal Injunctions and those of his Metropolitan, may admit of question; but it is observable that Mr. Goode should have selected such a Prelate as evidence of the intention of the Church of England on these points. The Italics, in the quotation, I assume to be Mr. Goode's.

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Elizabeth.

His Visitation
Articles.

1567.

Elizabeth.

tongue not known, rather than English; or to put trust to a certain number of 'Pater Nosters,' or use any beads for the same, or such other things, or to maintain purgatory, private masses, trentalls, or any other fond fantasy invented by man, without ground of God's Word; or to say, teach, or maintain, that children being infants should not be baptized; or that every article in our Crede, commonly received and used in the Church, is not to be believed of necessity; or that mortal or voluntary sins committed after baptism, be not remissible by penance; or that a man, after that he have received the Holy Ghost, cannot syn; or that afterwards he cannot rise again by grace to repentance; or that any man lyveth without syn; or that it is not lawful to swear for certain causes; or that civil magistrates cannot punish, for certain crimes, a man with death; or that it is lawful for any man, without outward calling of the magistrates appointed, to take upon him any ministry of Christ's Church;"

"viii. *Item*, Whether you have necessary ornaments and books of your Church?"—*Card. Doc. Ann.*, vol. I. p. 337. *Strype's Parker*. Append. No. liii.

The period not conservative of Church Ornaments.

Although, however, some Dioceses were worse than others, the spirit of the period was certainly not conservative of Ornaments: thus on the "12th of August, 1567," Archbishop Parker writing to Sir W. Cecil, relates what was happening in his own Cathedral—

"Sir—Expecting the Queen's pleasure by your letters, in what particularity I might deal with the Bishops and Deans of Cathedral Churches, I have information from Canterbury Church, and of the Dean there [Dr. Thos. Godwin, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells] of whom so great information was made, that he had sold and divided such a huge quantity of plate, worth 1000 pound, and vestry ornaments, &c. It is no great marvel t'ough Pope Hildebrand's sprite walketh furiously abroad to slander the poor married estate, seeing credit is so ready to believe the worst; *sed qui habitat in coelis irridedit eos*. The broken plate and bullion found in the Church he with consent of all the Chapter have converted to the Church use only, not one penny divided, partly for a stock, as most necessary, partly in buying some plate for the furnishing of the communion table; The whole was sold came but to £243. 11s. 6d., the rest which remaineth is not worth half an hundredth mark: and this is all they have. As for Church stuff, nothing stirred, but such as it is, is rotting in their custody, of no great value."

"And as for All Soul's College plate, is turned whole and reserved as bullion among them, their Church books only turned out of the way."—*Parker Correspondence*, No. ccxxxiii. p. 303.

It would seem also to have been about this time, though the letter has neither place nor date, that *George Withers*, and some others whose names do not appear, wrote, by way of

A Letter from Withers to the Prince Elector Palatine,

petition, to the *Prince Elector Palatine* an account of the state of the Church of England: their object was to induce him to use "any interest or influence" he had with the Queen "to heal these so great maladies of the church" which they complained of, "and to condemn for evermore the entire remembrance of popery," or at least to obtain for them "the liberty" which they claimed "of not being obliged either to adopt" the "relics of antichrist" "against their conscience, or to relinquish their ministry." In this letter, tracing the progress of the Reformation in England, in and after Henry the Eighth's reign, he says :

"Prince Edward ordered all the statues and images everywhere to be thrown down, and broken in pieces. Next, he everywhere abolished the mass and prayers in a foreign language. He permitted the laity to receive the cup as well as the bread in the communion of the Lord's Supper. He set forth a form of public prayer written in English; which however scarcely differed in any respect from the Latin, except that all the most glaring errors were abolished. The administration of the Sacraments altogether savours of Lutheranism. The clergy were allowed to marry, and their children legitimated by an express act of parliament. Altars, organs, the theatrical dresses of the papists, and other things of the like kind were retained under the name of Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof. Afterwards this godly King, set forth a new form of prayers, removed and prohibited all the monuments of superstition which he had before left, excepting the surplice and kneeling at the Lord's Supper, baptizing by women, and demanding of infants a profession of faith His sister Mary succeeded as heir to the kingdom Everything was then suddenly changed, and the papacy entirely re-established Mary died. Her sister Elizabeth began her reign to the exceeding joy of all The high parliament of the whole realm was assembled; popery again cast out, and the second form of prayers, which Edward left behind him at his death, was restored to the Church. But the ceremonies, which, as was above stated, were retained in the Church at the first reformation of Edward, are restored under the same name. Power, moreover, was given to the Queen and the Archbishop to introduce whatever additional ceremonies they might think proper: and they immediately afterwards both discontinued the ordinary bread heretofore used in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and for the sake of a newer reformation, adopted the round wafer, after the pattern of that used by the papists. And at the pronouncing of the Name of Jesus, they have ordered all persons to take off their hats, and bow their knees. Then on the expulsion of the popish Bishops new ones were to be appointed in their room; and most of them were of the number of those who had been exiles. These at first began to oppose the ceremonies; but afterwards, when

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furnishes
evidence as to
the character
and Law of
Ornaments.

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there was no hope otherwise of obtaining a bishopric, they yielded, and, as one of them openly acknowledged, undertook the office against their conscience.

“In the mean while they comforted their brethren, whom they perceived to be still struggling against these things, by promising them free liberty in the government of their churches; and for some years they kept this promise. On the obtaining of which liberty, they diligently purified their churches from all the blemishes and defilements of popery. Others, who had at first yielded, incited by their example, began to reform their churches in the like manner. But when the bishops perceived that the number and influence of these parties was increasing among the people, they thought their dignity would come to nought, unless they compelled the inferior clergy to adopt the same usages as they did themselves. They took up the matter therefore at the Queen’s command”—*Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, No. lxii. pp. 158—161.

1568.
Incidental
evidence of
popular zeal
against Images.

The following verses written in the year, 1568, “by *William Elderton*, at that time an Attorney in the Sheriff’s Court,” Guildhall, in reference to the Images over the entrance porch to the hall; afford evidence of the lawless and indiscriminate destruction of Images in that period;—

<p>“Though most the images be pulled down, And none be thought remaine in towne, I am sure there be in London yet Seven images, such, and in such a place, As few or more, I think will list; Yet every day they shew their face, And thousands see them every yeere,</p>	<p>But few, I thinke, can tell me where: Where Jesus Christ aloft doth stand, Law and learning on either hand; Discipline in the Diuel’s necke, And hard by her are three direct; There Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance stand Where find ye the like in all this land?”</p>
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Stowe seems to think it doubtful whether these were Images of Saints or only Statues of Nobles, and of “some eminent benefactresses or friends to the City,”—but he goes on to observe that—

“He that made the former verses, might, perhaps, have this crafty design hereby; namely, the better to preserve these antient and curious statues from the violence of the people; by concealing them under these feigned fancies of his; whereby they might escape the ignorant zeal of the vulgar, who were in those times wherein he wrote his verses, viz. 1568, very busy in pulling down, and defacing all images, as popish saints, and monuments of idolatry.”—*Stowe’s London*, vol. I. bk. iii. c. 3, p. 41.

Grindal seems now to have been hopeful that the measures taken against the non-conforming London Ministers would be successful; for writing to Bullinger, June 11th, 1568, he says—

“Our controversy concerning the habits, about which you write, had cooled down for a time, but broke out again last winter; and this by the means of some who are more zealous than they are either learned or gifted with pious discretion. Some London citizens of the lowest order, together with four or five ministers, remarkable neither for their judgment nor learning, have openly separated from us; and sometimes in private houses, sometimes in the fields, and occasionally even in ships, they have held their meetings, and administered the Sacraments. Besides this, they have ordained ministers, elders, and deacons, after their own way, and have even excommunicated some who had seceded from their church. And because masters Lawrence Humphrey, Sampson, Lever, and others, who have suffered so much to obtain liberty in respect of things indifferent, will not unite with them, they now regard them as semi-papists, and will not allow their followers to attend their preaching. The number of this sect is about two hundred, but consisting of more women than men. The privy council have lately committed the heads of this faction to prison, and are using every means to put a timely stop to this sect.—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. lxxxii. p. 201.

The Bishop himself, however, appears to have procured their release, for, referring apparently to these persons, Strype says that—

“Pitying their condition he moved the Secretary, that clemency might be used towards them: that so by giving them freely their liberty, only with an admonition, they might be the more prevailed withal to comply with the laws, than by severity: and praying the Secretary to obtain from the Lords of the Council an order to him the Bishop to release them. Accordingly the Lords approved of Grindal’s counsel, and in April sent him a letter with a warrant for that purpose: but withal to let them understand, that if after their enlargement any one of them carried themselves factiously and disorderly again, they must expect severe punishment, to the example of others; and to give them further admonition according as he should think convenient.

“Upon this the good Bishop, having them all before him, gave them to understand the favour of the Council toward them, and withal read their letter to them, adding his own sober advice. And then by a warrant from himself to the Governor of the prison [the Bridewell] twenty-four, besides seven women, were accordingly discharged.”—*Strype’s Grindal*, bk. 1, p. 136.

The general laxity in the condition of the Church of England now again attracted the Queen’s notice; whereupon

1568.
Elizabeth.

The Bishop of London’s hope of the Non-conformists,

leads him to obtain the release of some who had been imprisoned.

1569.

The Queen notices the general laxity in the Church.

1569.

Elizabeth.

in the following year there appeared a "*Letter of the Council to the Archbishop of Canterbury about recovering the discipline of the Church*;" it is dated "From Windsor 6th of November M. D. LXIX," and opens by stating that—

Letter from the Council to the Bishops on the subject:

"The Queen's majesty of late in conference with us upon the state of this her realm, among other things meet to be reformed, is moved to think, that universally in the ecclesiastical government the care and diligence that properly belongeth to the office of bishops, and other ecclesiastical prelates and pastors of this Church of England, is of late years so diminished and decayed, as no small number of her subjects, partly for lack of diligent teaching and information, partly for lack of correction and reformation, are entered either into dangerous errors, or into a manner of life of contempt or libertie, without use or exercise of any rite of the Church, openly forbearing to resort to their parish churches, where they ought to use common prayers, and to learn the will of God by hearing of sermons, and consequently receiving the holy sacraments. and though we find a concurrence of many causes, whereupon such general disorders and contempts have of late years grown and increased, yet certainly we find no one cause hereof greater, nor more manifest, than an universal oversight and negligence (for less we cannot term it) of the bishops of the realm. : we have therefore necessarily concluded to notifie to every one of the bishops alike this her majesties carefullness and desire to have her realm herein reformed, and for that purpose at this present, to seek the understanding of every diocese in certain points thereafter following."

with its directions.

The questions relate to—the names and condition of those who had of late neglected their parish church, the prayers and sacraments—the ecclesiastical officers of the dioceses—the occupation and stipends of the preachers—the residence of the members of the Cathedrals—the parishes which were void of curates—and they end with an admonition to the bishops to—

"Employ all your care and industry in procuring more diligent preaching and teaching within your diocese, as well by your self, as by all others having the gift to preach : and therein to use all charitable means by diligent instruction and faithful teaching and example of life, to stay the good, faithful, and obedient subjects in their duties, and to induce and perswade others to return from their disorders and errors."—*Card. Doc. Ann.*, vol. I. p. 350.

It appears to have been in consequence of this Letter (as Dr. Cardwell thinks) that, in the following "*Articles to be enquired of within the Diocese of Canterbury in the ordinarie visitation of the*" Archbishop this year, Nos. 16 and 18, among

others, are "new" and refer especially to the matters treated of in the Council's Letter:—

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Elizabeth.

"Inprimis, Whether divine service be sayde or songe by youre minister or ministers in your severall churches duely and reverently, as it is set forth by the lawes of this realme, without any kinde of variation. And whether the Holy Sacramentes be likewise ministred reverently in such manner, as by the lawes of this realme, and by the quene's majesties injunctions, and by thadvertisements set forthe by publike authority is appointed and prescribed.

Visitation
Articles for
Canterbury.

"II. Item, Whether you have in your Paryshe Churches all things necessary and requisite for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, specially the Booke of Common Prayer, the Bible in the largest volume, the Homilyes with the Paraphrases of Erasmus, a convenient pulpit well placed, a comly and decent Table for the Holy Communion covered decently, and set in place prescribed by the Quene's Majesties Injunctions, the cheste or boxe for the poore men, and al other things necessary in and to the premises. And whether your aulters bee taken downe, according to the commandmente in that behalf given.

"III. Item, Whether youre prestes, curates, or ministers do use in the time of the celebration of Divine Service to wear a surples, prescribed by the Quene's Majesties Injunctions and the Booke of Common Prayer. And whether they do celebrate the same Divine Service in the Chauncell or in the Church, and do use all rites and orders prescribed in the Booke of Common Prayer, etc., and none other.

"V. Item, Whether your curates or ministers or any of them do use to minister the Sacrament of Baptism in basons, or els in the fonte standing in the place accustomed. And whether the same font be decently kept.

"And whether they do use to minister the Holye Communion in wafer bread according to the queene's majesties injunctions, or else in common bread.

"And also whether they do minister in any prophane cuppes, bowles, dishes, or chalices heretofore used at masse, or else in a decent communion cuppe provided and kept for the same purpose only. And whether the communicants do use to receyve the Holy Communion standinge, sittinge, or els knealinge.

"VI. Item, Whether ymages and al other monuments of ydolatry and superstition be destroyed and abolyshed in your several paryshes. And whether your Churches and Chauncels be well adorned and conveniently kept without waste, destruction, or abuse of any thinge. Whether the rood lofte be pulled downe, according to the order prescribed: and if the partition betweene the chauncel and the Church be kepte. Whether your Churchyardes be well-fenced and cleanly kepte. Whether any sale have been made of your Church goods, by whom and to whom, and what hath been done with the moneye thereof commyng. Whether your chauncels and parsonages be well and sufficiently repaired. Whether any man have pulled downe or

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discovered any Church, chauncel, chappel, almshouse, or such like, or have plucked downe the bells, or have felled or spoyled any wood or timber in any Churchyarde.

“VII. Item, Whether there be any parsons, that intrude themselves, and presume to exercise any kinde of mynistry in the Church of God without imposition of handes and ordinary aucthority.

“XV. Item, Whether the laye people be diligent in comminge to the churche on the holy dayes,

“XVI. Item, Whether there be in your quarters any that openly or privily use or frequent any kinde of divine service, or common prayer, other then is set forth by the lawes of this realme;

“XVIII. Item, Whether there be in youre parishes any. that commonly absent themselves from theyre owne churches: Any that keep any secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings contrary to the lawes.

“XX. Item. Whether there be any which of late have bequeathed in their testaments, or otherwaies ther be appointed by ordinaries any summes of mony, jewelles, plate, ornamentes, or annuities for the erection of any obites, diriges, trentals, or any such like use, now by the lawes of this realme not permitted; and if there be, that you present the names of such executors, the quantity and quality of the gifte, that ordre may be taken therein accordingly.”

XXV. Inquires whether the Ecclesiastical officers are “faithfully” fulfilling their duties.—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. I. pp. 355—62.

Mr. Goode wrongly appeals to these Articles against CRUCIFIXES and CROSSES.

Mr. Goode (p. 69) quotes the first two lines of the sixth Article as evidence that “CRUCIFIXES AND CROSSES” (which he classes as “Images”) “are forbidden” in Churches. It is needless to do more here than refer to the proofs already given, at pp. 57—62 and elsewhere, on the meaning of *Images*; and this, I think, is a sufficient reply to Mr. Goode if he thinks the prohibitory force of the Article lies in the word “Images.” But if he relies upon the expression “all “other monuments of idolatry and superstition,” his case seems equally weak: for it is extremely unlikely that an Ornament which had been the source of so much contention should not have been *distinctly named* in an Article which explicitly enquired “Whether the rood-lofte be pulled downe, according to the order prescribed.” Nor will it do to suggest that probably by this time Crosses or Crucifixes had generally disappeared from the Churches;^a for this, most likely, was

^a On this point Mr. Goode, quoting from a Book published in 1565, four years before these Articles were issued, writes thus at p. 68—

“To the removal of the Cross from the churches we have the testimony of Dr. J. Calfhill, in his Answer to Martial’s Treatise of the Cross. Martial, a student in Divinity at Louvain, presuming upon the Queen’s retention of the

even truer of *Images*, yet *they are* mentioned in the Article : indeed if Mr. Goode's statement, in the following passage, be accurate, there was an especial reason for naming them in Visitation Articles ; he says (p. 68)—

“ The use of the crucifix was retained by the Queen for several years ; and to this one exception probably it is owing that the crucifix, or at least the cross, stealthily maintained its ground in a few churches, and was afterwards revived in various churches by the Laudian party in the next century.”

Putting these things together, then, they afford strong circumstantial evidence that Crucifixes or Crosses were still a *legal* Ornament of the Altar ; and this seems the true reason of their not being named in these Articles : to have done otherwise would have been indirectly to *condemn publickly* the

But they afford evidence of their *lawfulness*.

Crucifix in her Chapel, dedicated a book called ‘ A Treatise of the Cross,’ to her. Hence Dr. Calfhill, in the Epistle prefixed to his ‘ Answer,’ observes [the italics are Mr. Goode's]—

“ As for her private doings, neither are they to be drawn as a precedent for all ; nor any ought to creep into the Prince's bosom, of every fact to judge an affection. This can the world well witness with me, that neither her Grace and Wisdom hath such affiance in the Cross as you do fondly teach ; *neither takes it expedient her subjects should have that which she herself (she thinketh) may keep without offence.* For the multitude is easily, through ignorance, abused : her Majesty too well instructed for her own person to fall into Popish error and idolatry. Now for that which followeth, if ye were so good a subject as you ought, and framed yourself to live according to the laws, ye should see and consider how good order is taken ‘ *by public authority, not privy suggestions,*’ *that Roods and Images should be removed, according to God's law, out of churches, chapels, and oratories.*’ (pp. 7, 8, Parker Society's Edition, 1846).”

The cautious exactness of Calfhill's statement is very remarkable : he asserts his belief that the Queen did not think it “ *expedient*” that the people should have Crosses, i. e. *Crucifixes*, though she had one herself and considered she might keep it “ *without offence*”—a most improbable circumstance, if the Crucifix was *unlawful*, considering as Bishop Cox, writing five years later, said (see p. 242) that she had “ *always been so exceedingly scrupulous in deviating even in the slightest degree from the laws prescribed*” : but when Calfhill speaks of what had been done “ *by public authority*” he only mentions that it had directed “ *Roods and Images should be removed*”—a fact which is fully attested by the Documents hitherto quoted in these pages.

In this passage too, as frequently elsewhere, Mr. Goode uses the word *Cross* synonymously with *Crucifix*, even where it is perfectly plain that the latter only is meant by the authorities he cites ; and thus his language tends to create in others' minds the prejudice which evidently exists in his own against *Crosses* equally with *Crucifixes* : but Calfhill drew the distinction, for, in this same book, referring to St. Cyril, he says (Ed. Parker Society, p. 392)—“ So that if a Cross was used in his time, yet there was no Picture of Christ upon it” : and the Editor of the Volume, the Rev. R. Gibbings, remarks upon this in a Note—“ It should not be supposed that respect for the *Cross*, as the symbol of our faith, is calculated necessarily to superinduce Idolatry : but such an admission is not by any means applicable to the veneration of a *Crucifix*, which is an Image of the Saviour, *Cruci affixus*. See a letter from Cassander to Bishop Cox : *Zurich Letters* ; 2nd Series, pp. 43, 44,” quoted at p. 168. With this latter opinion may be compared Mr. Goode's as mentioned at p. 195.

1569.

Elizabeth.

1569.

Elizabeth.

Queen as a law-breaker for continuing the Crucifix in her own Chapel. There is indeed an alternative, *viz.* that the Arch bishop *prudentially* abstained from thus denouncing what he knew to be illegal; but it is, at least, the charitable course—I think the true one—to maintain that the Articles were strictly conformable to Law, and that the Crucifix or Cross being *legal* was not mentioned among things prohibited.^a

King's College, Cambridge complained of for *keeping* Ornaments.

In November, 1569, there was a Royal Visitation of King's College, Cambridge, in consequence of this complaint, among others which were much graver, against the Provost—

“That he had neglected their Visitor the Bishop of *Lincoln's* injunctions, ever since they were given [in 1565.] That he, to the great infamy of the College, still kept a great heap of Popish pelf, and mass books, legends, couchers &c. superstitious vestments, candlesticks, crosses, and the very brazen rood: nor would be persuaded by either private entreaties, or publick admonition, to make them away: but preserved these relics in the vestry.”

The Provost, as Strype says—

“knowing belike himself guilty, appeared not, and was fled... It was found by the Visitors, that the Provost had defrauded the College of divers good sums of money. The Bishop of Ely pronounced the sentence of deprivation about the 22d of February.”
—*Strype's Grindal*, pp. 144—6.

1570.

The Master of the Savoy Hospital complained of for *selling* Ornaments.

But what became of the Ornaments complained of, Strype does not inform us.

In curious contrast, however, to the charge made against this Provost for *keeping* the Ornaments just mentioned, is the Presentment of the Visitors appointed by Grindal (just before his removal to York) to enquire into certain complaints made in April, 1570, against *Thurland* the Master of the Savoy Hospital, who was deprived in consequence on July 29th: Strype mentions that one of the findings was—

“Item, Also, he sold away the jewels, copes, vestments,

^a Mr. Goode in his argument to which the above remarks refer, quotes (p. 67) a passage from Strype in which, speaking of the year 1559, he says “It is ‘‘certain these crucifixes and roods [crosses] were taken down by authority in ‘‘all the churches, yet the crucifix remained in the Queen's chapel afterwards.’’ (*Ann.* I. 176; or, I. i. 262.)”

The bracketed word “[crosses]” is Mr. Goode's insertion: one would think he must have been at a great loss for an authority to support his argument, in resorting to such an explanation of the word *rood*: probably he would not have found it easy to produce such a definition of this ornament; and if he did succeed in some solitary instance, there can be no doubt that it was *commonly* understood to mean a *Crucifix* with *Images*.

and other ornaments of the said house ; also, a chalice with a cover double gilt ; also, very fair plate, given to the said house by Mr. Feckenham, then Dean of Powles. For which the hospital is bound yearly to pay forty shillings to the petty canons of Powles for evermore."—*Life of Grindal*, book 2, p. 160.

So, too, in the Archbishop's "adjourned" personal Visitation of Canterbury Cathedral, held on "July the 3rd," and "continued from day to day, until the 22nd day of the same "month," one of the *Injunctions* which he gave is as follows—

"XV. That the Dean and Prebendaries do restore to the Church such goods and ornaments, as they have of their private authority taken away from the said Church."—*Strype's Parker*, book 4, p. 304.

What these Ornaments were, we are not indeed informed, but the circumstance is worth noting, as shewing that, even in a Cathedral, Ornaments were removed contrary to Law, and that, therefore, similar occurrences were likely to happen in Parish Churches—a consideration which would readily account for the disappearance of many things, especially of such as were particularly obnoxious to, what one may call, the anti-image party.^a

Some evidence of the views of the Bishops and others, at this time, as to Images and Pictures is to be gathered from the Catechism prepared by Nowell, the Dean of St. Paul's ; it was compiled at the instance of the Convocation of 1562,

^a But it is only fair to mention the following passage, which Mr. Goode quotes (p. 69) from "a Letter of Horn, Bishop of Winchester, dated July 19, 1570, to Trinity College, Oxford, ordering 'the removal of superstitious ornaments from the Chapel,' in which he says—'Whereas I am informed that certain monuments tending to idolatry and Popish or Devil's service, as Crosses, Censers, and such like filthy stuff used in the idolatrous temple, more meet for the same than for the house of God, remaineth in your College as yet undefaced, I am moved thereby to judge great want of good will in some of you, and no less negligence in other some, as in being so remiss to perform your duties towards God, and obedience unto the Prince.' And then he proceeds to order them immediately 'to deface all manner such trash,' 'and further to have in mind the motion made by the grand commissioners.' (See Warton's *Life of Sir T. Pope*, Lond. 1772, 8vo. Append. No. xix. p. 333.)

"These last words refer to a letter, dated June 28, from the Royal Commissioners to the College on the same subject, ordering them to 'cause to be defaced all the Church plate and church stuff belonging to your College, in such sort that it never may be used again as it hath been.' The names of the Commissioners are T. Cooper, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, L. Humphrie, President of Magdalene ; H. Westphalinge, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and W. Cole. (See the Letter, *ibid.* No. xx. p. 337.)"

Yet the passages may perhaps be dismissed with two questions which, I think, can only be answered in the *negative*. (1) Were *Horne* and *Humphrie* (to omit the rest) *likely* to be less immoderate in their language and their acts? (2) *Had* they the *authority* of "the Prince" for all which they here ordered?

1570.
Elizabeth.

The Archbishop orders the Chapter of Canterbury to restore Ornaments illegally removed.

Views of the Bishops and others as to Images and Pictures.

15.70
Elizabeth.

who, as Nowell writes to Sir W. Cecil on June 22nd 1563, afterwards examined it, when "certain places were by their judgments altered;" wherefore he says "he had caused it to be espied out again, and had sent it to his honour, not now in his own name, *as afore, but in the name of the Clergy of the Convocation, as their book, seeing it is by them approved and allowed.* (Strype. Ann. I. i. 526.)"—It remained however in M.S. until 1570 when it was "putt in printe" (as Nowell again writes to Cecil on June 16th 1570, "by my Lords of Canterburie and Yorkes appoyntment, and with your honours consent, as my Lord of Canterburie informed me." As then printed he had "altered manie places in it, according to the notes which" Cecil had "delyvered unto" him five years before: it was published in Latin and English and was dedicated to Archbishops Parker and Grindal, to Sandys Bishop of London, "and to all the other reverend fathers, my Lords the Bishops of all the several dioceses in England."—See *Memoir* prefixed to the Parker Society's Ed. 1853.

indicated by
Nowell's Cate-
chism.

In the questions on the 2nd Commandment (pp. 123—4) are these words:—

"M[aster]. It may seem then that this law wholly condemneth the arts of painting and portraiture, so that it is not lawful to have any images made at all.

"S[cholar]. Not so. But the first forbiddeth us to make any images, to express or counterfeit God or to worship Him withal; and secondly He chargeth us not to worship the images themselves.

"M. Why is it not lawful to express God with a bodily and visible form?

"S. Because there can be no likeness or agreeing between God, which is a Spirit eternal, unmeasurable, infinite, incomprehensible, severed from all mortal composition—and a frail, bodily, silly, spiritless, and vain shape. Therefore they do most injuriously abate the Majesty of the most good and the most great God, when they go about in such sort to make resemblance of Him.

"M. Have not they then said well, which affirm that images are unlearned men's books?

"S. I know not what manner of books they be; but surely, concerning God, they can teach us nothing but errors.

"M. What manner of worshipping is that which is here condemned?

"S. When we, intending to pray, do turn ourselves to portraiture or images; when we do fall down and kneel before them with uncovering our heads, or with other signs shewing any honour unto

them, as if God were represented unto us by them : briefly, we are in this law forbidden, that we neither seek nor worship God in images, or, which is all one, that we worship not the images themselves in honour of God, nor in any wise by idolatry or superstition abuse them with injury to His Majesty. Otherwise the lawful use of making portraitures and of painting is not forbidden.

“ M. By this that thou tellest me, it may easily be gathered, that it is very perilous to set any images or pictures in Churches, which are properly appointed for the only worshipping of God.

“ S. That that is true we have had already too much experience, by the decay in a manner of whole religion.”

The progress of the dispute as to the Clerical Dress is referred to in a letter written at this time by *Bishop Cox* to *Henry Bullinger*, dated “ Ely, 10 July, 1570,” in which he says—

“ The schism about the habits of the clergy is still increasing, I grieve to say, among men of a purer character. May God at length grant that we may all of us think the same things !”—*Zurich Letters*. 1st Series. No. lxxxviii. p. 221.

Grindal had now been translated from London to York and had entered upon his Archiepiscopal duties there ; Strype thus speaks of it:—

“ His register at York dates his translation from London to be May the 1st, this year, and his instalment by proxy June the 9th His first going down to York was not before the month of August ; the 17th day whereof he came to Cawood, a seat of the Archbishops of York In what condition he found the people of these parts at his first coming among them, take his own account in his own words, in his letter wrote to the Secretary, August 29. ‘ I cannot as yet write of the state of this country, as of mine own knowledge ; but I am informed that the greatest part of our gentlemen are not well affected to godly religion, and that among the people there are many remnants of the old.

“ ‘ They keep holydays and fasts abrogated : they offer money, eggs, &c. at the burial of their dead : they pray beads, &c. so as this seems to be as it were another Church, rather than a member of the rest. And for the little experience I have of this people, methinks I see in them three evil qualities ; which are, great ignorance, much dulness to conceive better instruction, and great stiffness to retain their wonted errors. I will labour as much as I can to cure every of these, committing the success to God From Cawood this 29th August, 1570. Yours in Christ, Edm. Ebor.’

“ Our Archbishop began his visitation this present year 1570, giving forth his commission, which bore date the 26th of December, at Bishopsthorp ; issuing out commission then to the four Archdeacons of the diocese, and to the Bishop of *Man* ; ‘ for the pulling down and demolishing those *susentacula*, commonly called

1570.
Elizabeth.

Increased contention as to the Dress of the Clergy.

Grindal's translation to York.

His account of the condition of his Diocese.

He commences his Visitation ;

1570.

Elizabeth.

and issues a com-
mission to take
order as to

rood-lofts, placed at the door of the choir of every parish Church, as footsteps and monuments of the old idolatry and superstition.' (For it seems those *rood-lofts*, at least in many Churches, were still remaining in these northern parts.) 'And this in pursuance of the Queen's injunctions, and an order of her Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes to that purpose.' To each of which Commissions a Schedule of three Articles were annexed, (together with a printed copy of the foresaid Orders,) which was as followeth:—

"These articles following, we Edmonde, by the permission of God, Archbishop of York, Primate of England, and Metrópolitan, do command and enjoin to be put in execution within the Archdeaconry of York, by the Archdeacon of the same, or his Official, with speed and effect.

Rood-lofts;

"i. *Imprimis*, That the fourme and order appointed in the printed schedule hereunto annexed, for taking down *roodlofts*, be duly and precisely observed within the said Archdeaconry, as well within places exempt, as not exempt.

the place and
position of the
Minister in
saying service;

"ii. *Item*, That every parson, Vicar, Curate, and other Mynister within the said archdeaconry, as well in places exempt as not exempt, when he readeth morning or evening prayer, or any part thereof, shall stand in a pulpit to be erected for that purpose, and turn his face to the people, that he may be the better heard, and the people the better edified. Provided always, that when the Churches are very small, it shall suffice that the Mynister stand in his accustomed stall in the queere: so that a convenient desk or lecterne, with a rowme to turn his face toward the people, be there provyded, at the charges of the parish. The judgment and order whereof, and also the fourme and order of the pulpit, as before, in greater Churches, we do refer unto the same Archdeacon, or his Official. Provyded also, that all the prayers and other service, appointed for the mynistration of the Holy Communion, be said and done at the Communion table only.

his Vestment, the
Communion table
and its linen
coverings.

"iii. *Item*, That every Mynister saying any publick prayers, or ministring the Sacraments, or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplesse, with sleeves. And that the parish provyde a decent table, standing in a frame, for the Communion table. And that no linnen clothes, called *Altar-clothes*, and before used about *Masses*, be laid upon the Communion table; but that new be provyded, where provision hath not so been made afore."—*Strype's Grindal*, pp. 161—5.

No doubt to one just come from the London Diocese the contrast which Grindal mentions must have been a marked one: perhaps had he been less Puritanically inclined his experience of the mischiefs which had arisen in his former Diocese, from the relaxation of existing Laws, would have induced him to be cautious in issuing Directions in his new Diocese having a similar tendency. That this was not the case is indicated to some extent in these Articles, and will be

apparent from his after acts. How matters now stood in his late See. is shewn by the following statement of Collier:—

1570.

Elizabeth.

“Notwithstanding the care which had been taken for uniformity in the Ceremonies of the Church, some singularities were still kept on foot, even by those who frequented our Communion. For instance, there was different practice in the form of the Sacramental bread. In most Churches it was round like a wafer: but in others the figure was different, and like pieces of common bread The Court was shock'd at the disagreement in so solemn a part of religion. And Secretary *Cecil* desir'd *Parker* to inform him how the Bishops had ordered this matter. The Archbishop acquainted him in a letter, that the [late] Bishop of *London* and himself had settled this circumstance in the manner above mention'd: and that they conceiv'd their Order conformable to the Queen's *Injunctions*. He therefore desires the Secretary to think upon some expedient for general compliance.

The state of things in his late See: viz.

“There was a farther controversy about the kind of the bread, whether it was to be wafers, or common bread. The Archbishop determined for wafer-bread: and thus it was directed in his *Injunctions* to the Clergy. But tho' this order generally prevail'd, yet in some places, both at Court and elsewhere, the usage was otherwise. This diversity occasioning some disputes, the Archbishop wrote another letter to Secretary *Cecil* in defence of his conduct.”

disagreement as to the bread to be used for Communion.

With respect to the *Rubric* on the matter—“these words the Archbishop interprets to a toleration, rather than an appointment: and that the *Rubrick* only indulges such a latitude when either wafer bread cannot be procur'd, or when there is any just fear of superstitious opinions in the use of it. These reasons determin'd the Archbishop, and others of his order for wafer-bread. He thinks the matter not very material in itself, but the Queen's *Injunctions*, as he goes on, ought to be obey'd: and over and above the greatest part of her subjects are not reconcil'd to receiving the Sacrament in common bread, tho' as he was inform'd the Court had begun this usage.”—*Collier E. H.*, vol. II. pp. 526—7.

The Letter to which Collier refers is dated the “8th Jany. 1570-1”; in it the Archbishop writes to Sir W. Cecil thus respecting the controversy about Wafer Bread—

1570-1.

“Sir,—When upon the return of my lord of *London* [*Sandys*] from the Court we had communication of the Communion bread, and he seeming to signify to me that your honour did not know of any rule passed by law in the Communion-book that it may be such bread as is usually eaten at the table with other meats, &c.; I thought it good to put you in remembrance, and to move your consideration in the same. For it is a matter of much contention in the realme: where most part of protestants think it most meet to be in wafer-bread, as the injunction prescribeth; divers others, I cannot tell of what spirit, would have the loaf-bread, &c. And hereupon

The Archbishop writes to Sir W. Cecil on the subject, and

1570-1.
Elizabeth.

one time at a sessions would one Master Fogg have indicted a Priest for using wafer-bread, and me indirectly for charging the wafer-bread by injunction : where the judges were Mr. Southcoots and Mr. Gerrard, who were greatly astonied upon the exhibiting of the book. And I being then in the country, they counselled with me, and I made reasons to have the injunction prevail.

shews that the
Wafer-Bread
was ordered in
compliance with
the Act of
Uniformity.

First, I said, as her Highness talked with me once or twice in that point, and signified that there was one proviso in the Act of the Uniformity of Common Prayer, that by law is granted unto her, that if there be any contempt or irreverence used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church by the misusing of the orders appointed in the Book, the Queen's Majesty may, by the advice of her commissioners, or metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies, or rites, as may be most for the reverence of Christ's Holy Mysteries and Sacraments, and but for which law her Highness would not have agreed to divers orders of the Book. And by virtue of which law she published further order in her injunctions both for the Communion-bread, and for the placing of the tables within the quire. They that like not the injunctions force much the statute in the Book. I tell them that they do evil to make odious comparison betwixt statute and injunction, and yet I say and hold, that the injunction hath authority by proviso of the statute. And whereas it is said in the note, that 'to take away the superstition which any person hath or might have in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usually to be eaten at the table with other meats &c;' 'it shall suffice,' I expound, where either there wanteth such fine usual bread, or superstition be feared in the wafer-bread, they may have the Communion in fine usual bread : which is rather a toleration in these two necessities, than is in plain ordering, as is in the injunction.

"This I say to shew you the ground which hath moved me and others to have it in the wafer-bread ; a matter not greatly material, but only obeying the Queen's Highness, and for that the most part of her subjects disliketh the common bread for the Sacrament. And therefore, as her Highness and you shall determine, I can soon alter my order, although now quietly received in my diocese, and I think would breed some variance to alter it. I hear also that in the Court you be come to the usual bread. Sir, the great disquiet babbling that the realm is in in this matter maketh me thus long to babble, and would be loth that now your saying or judgment should so be taken as ye saw a law that should prejudice the injunction."—*Parker Correspondence*, No. cclxxxiii. p. 375.

Another Letter
from him to the
Secretary on the
same subject.

Again on the "6th February 1570-1," the Archbishop writes thus to Cecil—

"Sir,—As you desired, I send you here the form of the bread used, and was so appointed by order of my late lord of London [Grindal] and myself, as we took it not disagreeable to the injunction. And how so many Churches hath of late varied I cannot tell ; except it be the practice of the common adversary the devil, to make variance and dissension in the Sacrament of Unity. For where we be in one

uniform doctrine of the same, and so cut off much matter of variance which the Lutherans and Zuinglians do hatefully maintain, yet because we will have some matter of dissension, we will quarrel in a small circumstance of the same, neither regarding God in His Word, who earnestly driveth us to charity, neither regarding the love and subjection we should bear to our prince, who zealously would wish the devout administration of the Sacrament, nor yet consider what comfort we might receive ourselves in the said Sacrament, if dissension were not so great with us. Sir, I pray, help to pacify it, whether by proclamation or by any other way, as in wisdom of governance you see sometimes things must be forced or remitted.....

“But, sir, as I came yesterday from you I was informed that one nobleman in England should impute it to my doing that the cross is brought into the chapel again, so that I perceive they will load me with envy; but certainly I never knew of it, nor yet in good faith I think it expedient it should be restored. And therefore I think *est modus in rebus* &c., not too much to exasperate my heart.” (*Ibid* p. 378.)

This last passage of Parker’s Letter, as quoted by Strype, is referred to by Mr. Goode (p. 69) to shew that “the Archbishop did what he could to prevent the Crucifix being “admitted by the Queen into her Chapel”; and he instances it as one proof, among others, that “Crucifixes and Crosses” are *both* “forbidden in our Churches”: but the Archbishop’s words certainly do not intimate that he had *then* been taking the least trouble about it; on the contrary, he says “I never “knew of it”; and his language may well convey the notion, that, but from the circumstance of its having been imputed to his “doing that the cross is brought into the chapel again,” he would not have thought it his duty to interfere further in the matter, having formerly tried, but without success, to induce the Queen to lay it aside (see p. 150): moreover, his words, so far from proving the Crucifix to be “forbidden,” are evidence exactly to the contrary; for it is not probable that he would have said “nor yet in good faith I think it “*expedient* it should be restored,” had he been able to say that it was an *unlawful* Ornament.

The continuance of the controversy on the Habits, and the exaggerations of those who opposed them, is referred to in the following Letter from *Bishop Cox* to *Rodolph Gualter*, dated “From the Isle of Ely in England, Feb. 12, 1571 [*i.e.* 1570-1]” in which he thus writes:—

“The copy of the letter, most learned Gualter, and very dear brother in Christ, which you wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, was

1570-1.

Elizabeth.

Mr. Goode’s
wrong appli-
cation of this
Letter.

Progress of the
Habit contro-
versy,

1570-1.
Elizabeth.

shewn in *Bishop
Cox's Letter to
Gualter.*

forwarded to me very late, namely in September 1570. It treats in a cursory manner of some ceremonies of religion in England, and of some of our brethren who disapprove of them. We are persuaded that you are one who entertain a pious and sincere regard for us, and for that pure religion of Christ which we profess. I wish indeed you had not lent so readily an ear to a few of our somewhat factious brethren. And it were to be desired that a man of your piety had not so freely given an opinion, before you had fully understood the rise and progress of our restoration of religion in England. There was formerly published by command of King Edward of pious memory, and with the advice and opinion of those excellent men, master Bucer, and master Peter Martyr, then residing in England, a book of common prayer and sacraments for the use of the Church of England. But now, as soon as our illustrious queen Elizabeth had succeeded to the kingdom, she restored this holy little book^a to the Church of England with the highest sanction of the whole kingdom.....

"..... We know that some contentious men have cavilled at and calumniated it..... Had you been aware of these circumstances, master Gualter, you would not have been so alarmed, as you say you are, lest after the imposition of the habits some greater evil might ensue. The statements indeed, which are whispered in your ears by the contentious, are most absurd: for instance, that besides the habits many others things are to be obtruded on the church; and that there are some who make an improper use of the name of the Queen; and, moreover, that the ministers who refuse to subscribe to the injunctions of certain individuals, are to be turned out of the churches: just as if there were any persons in England who would dare to frame laws by their private authority, and propound them for the obedience of their brethren. But this is not only false, but injurious both to the queen and the ministers of the word, to wit, that we humour her royal highness, and make her more decided in ordering everything according to her own pleasure. But far be any one from suspecting anything of the kind in so godly and religious a personage, who has always been so exceedingly scrupulous in deviating even in the slightest degree from the laws prescribed.....

It shews too the
Queen's regard
for the Law.

"You seem to take it ill that the bishops were appointed to the management of these matters. Nay, you seem to insinuate, from the parable of Christ (Matt. xxiv. 49,) that we are perfidious, drunken, and smiters of our fellow-servants; as if we approved the figments of the superstitious courtiers, and treated the godly ministers with severity, and exhibited ourselves as the ministers of intemperate rashness. You thought that we should defend the cause of such ministers.

"These imputations are very hard, and very far from the truth... .. We are undeservedly branded with the accusation of not having performed our duty, because we do not defend the cause of those whom we regard as disturbers of peace and religion; and who

^a The Editor of the Zurich Letters remarks in a note "The differences between the Book of Prayers of King Edward and Queen Elizabeth are few and unimportant:" it would have been truer to have said "*not* unimportant."—see p.130.

by the vehemence of their harangues have so maddened the wretched multitude, and driven some of them to that pitch of frenzy, that they now obstinately refuse to enter our churches, either to baptize their children, or to partake of the Lord's Supper, or to hear sermons."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. xciv. p. 234.

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Elizabeth.

The Puritan party, however, unwilling to abandon their attempts, though foiled in their encounters with the Bishops, appear to have resolved on trying their success in the House of Commons: the Parliament met on the 2nd April: Strype informs us, in words which must remind us of current proceedings now, that—

Parliament meets.

"There was a strong party in the house, that resolved to press, as vigorously as might be, a further reformation of religion; namely, by altering several things in the Common Prayer, and the ceremonies established. Mr. Strickland, an ancient gentleman, of hot zeal, offered a bill for reformation. Who ushered it in with a long speech, for some reformation of several things in the Book of Common Prayer, though he acknowledged it was drawn up very near to the sincerity of the truth. But yet that there were some superstitious things in it, as, in the Office of Baptism, the sign of the cross, and some other ceremonies and errors, as he called them: which might be changed, without note of changing of religion; whereby the enemy might slander us. He further spake of the abuses of the Church of England, and of churchmen: as, that known papists had ecclesiastical government and great livings: that boys were dispensed with, to have spiritual promotions: that, by faculties, unable men were allowed: and some other men allowed to hold too many livings. In the mean time, godly, honest, and learned protestant ministers had little or nothing."—*Ann.* vol. II. pt. 1, p. 92, 8vo., or fol. 64.

The Puritans try to reform the Prayer Book in the House of Commons.

Concurrently with the Parliament, the Convocation "met in the Chapter house of *St. Paul's* on the 3rd of April."

Proceedings in the Convocation.

"The sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Whitgift*, his text was *ver.* 6th of the 15th of the *Acts*.—*The Apostles and Elders came together to consider of this matter.* From hence he took occasion to discourse upon the institution and authority of synods, touch'd upon the opposition made to the Church by Puritans and Papists, dilated on the use of distinct habits, and religious ornaments: and lastly, mention'd several things which requir'd reformation.

"This Convocation pass'd several canons for discipline, which the *Reader* may see in *Sparrow's* Collection."—*Collier, E. H.* vol. II. p. 530.

"In the framing of this foresaid book of Canons, the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Ely and Winton, had the main hand: but all the Bishops of both provinces in Synod, in their own persons, or by proxy, signed it: but not the Lower House. And the Archbishop laboured to get the Queen's allowance to it, but had it not:"—*Strype's Parker*, bk. 4, p. 322.

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Elizabeth.

“This *Convocation* order'd every Archbishop and Bishop to furnish themselves with *Fox's Martyrology* [which had then been recently published]; that the Deans should place it in their Cathedrals; and that Archdeacons, Residentiaries, and the rest above mention'd should let it lie in some public room for the instruction of their Domesticks, and others who were occasionally entertain'd by them. But from hence it can't be infer'd that the *Convocation* believed all the matters of fact reported, or approv'd all the remarks and reasoning of this *Historian*. The Church allows the reading of the *Apocrypha*, and the binding it up with the rest of the *Canon*. But to argue from hence that all the historical passages are unquestionable, the customs warrantable, and the doctrine without exception, would be a wrong consequence.”—*Collier, E. H.* vol. II. p. 531.

A new Book
of Canons
prepared.

The Canons here mentioned were *sixty* in number, and were printed in Latin and in English: the title-page of the Latin copy describes them as—

“Liber quorundam Canonum disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Anno. 1571.”

And the English copy runs thus,—

“A Booke of certayne Canons concernyng some parte of the discipline of the Church of England. In the yeare of our Lord, 1571. At London Printed by John Daye, dwellyng ouer Aldersgate. Cum gratia and Priuilegio Regiæ Majestatis.”

They relate,
among other
things, to

The Canons are preceded by this heading:—

“Here foloweth in this booke some certayne articles of the holy ministerie, and of the offices of the Church, fully agreed upon by Matthew Archbyshoppe of Caunterburie, Primate of all England, and Metropolitane, and all other Byshops of the same Prouince, which were partly present in person, and partly subscribed by the handes of their Proctors, in a Synode begonne at London in the Church of S. Paule the third day of Aprill, 1571.^a”

The following are all which it is needful to reprint here.

“[3.] Every Byshop before the fyrst day of September next, shall call unto hym the publique preachers, such as shall be in his owne diocess, and shall require agayne of them, their licences of preaching, which they haue signed with any autenticall seale, which they shall reteyne with themselues, or els abolish. After prudent choise made of them, he shall geue readilye agayne new licences to them whom he shall finde able to that great office, in respecte of their yeares, doctrine, judgment, honestie of lyfe, modestie and grauitie: and yet so that they first subscribe to the articles of Christian religion, publiclye approued in the Synode, and that they make promise willingly to mayntayne and defend that doctrine, which is conteyned in them, as most agreeable to the veritie of Gods worde.

Preachers'
Licenses.

“[9.] Euery Archbishop and Bishop shall haue in hys house the Holy Bible in the largest volume, as it was lately printed at London, and also that full and perfect history, which is intituled Monumentes

Bishops to haue
Bible and Book
of Martyrs.

• The Latin and English copies here quoted are in the British Museum.

of Martyres, and other such like bookes, fit for the setting forth of religion. These bookes must be placed either in the hall, or in the great chamber, that they may serue to the use of their seruantes, and of straingers.

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Elizabeth.

“ Deanes of Cathedrall Churches.

“ [4.] No Deane, nor Archdeacon, nor Residentarie, nor Master, nor Warden, nor head of any colledge, or cathedrall church, neither President, nor Rector, nor any of y^e order, by what name soeuer they be called, shall hereafter weare the Graye Amice, or any other garment which hath bene defiled with the [?] that] like superstition. But euery one of them in their churches shal weare onely that linnen garment, which is as yet retained by the Queenes commandement, and also hys schollers hooede, according to euerye mans calling, and degree in schole.

Amice, &c.,
not to be worn.

“ [5.] Euery Deane shall foresee that the statutes of hys church, if they be not contrary to the woorde of God (as many are) and that the statutes of this realme whatsoever, concernyng ecclesiastical order, and all other Injunctions, eyther set forthe by the Queenes Majestie, or enjoyed by the byshop in hys visitation of the same church, be diligently obserued

Statutes to
be kept.

“ [6.] The Deanes and Residentaries shall see that there be no other forme obserued in singing, or saying prayers, or in the administration of the Sacraments, but only that which is sette forth, and prescribed in the booke of Common Prayers: neyther shall they suffer any straunger to preach unto the people, excepte the Queene's Majestie, or the Archbyshop of the same Prouince, or the Byshop of the same Dioces, haue graunted hym licence thereunto. And if such a Preacher so allowed, eyther by the Queenes Majestie, or by the Archbyshop or Byshop, shall in hys Sermon publishe any doctrine eyther strange, wycked, or disagreeable with the woerde of God: or with the Articles of our Religion, agreed upon in the Convocation house (which no doubt are consonant to the Scriptures) or with the booke of Commen Prayers: the Deane, or the Residentes shall as sone as may be, geue notice of the same to the Byshop, by theyr letters, subscribed also with some of theyr handes, which hearde hym preach: that he may determine on the matter, as he shall see good.

Order of Service
in Cathedrals,

“ Chauncellors, Commissaries, and their Officials.

“ [5.] Chauncellors, Officiales, Commissaries, shall do theyr endeavour that Parsons, Vicars, and Ministers of churches obserue the orders, and rytes prescribed in the booke of common prayers, as well in reading the holy Scripture, and saying of prayers, as in administration of the Sacramentes: that they neyther diminish nor adde anything, neyther of the matter nor of the manner: that they behaue themselues honestly, and goe modestly and comely in sober apparell appoynted in the booke of aduertisements:

and in Parish
Churches.

“ Churchwardens and sydemmen.

“ [3.] Churchwardens shall see, that the churches be kept cleane and reuerently, that they be not lothsome to any, either by dust, sande, or any filthiness. They shall also see, that the holy Bible be in euery church in the largest volume (if it may conueniently be)

Ornaments, &c
of Parish
Churches.

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such as were lately imprinted at London : that the booke of commen prayers, that the holy homelies, and the homelies which lately were written against rebellion, be in euery church. It is meete that these bookes be whole and cleane, not torne or foule in any wise, lest it breede irksomnes or contempt amongst the people. They shall see, there be a fayre joyned table, which may serue for the administration of the holy Communion, and a cleane clothe to couer it : a conuenient pulpit, whence the heavenly doctrine may be taught. Moreouer they shall see, that all rood-loftes, in which wooden crosses stood, and all other reliques of superstition be cleane taken away, that the walles of the churches be new whited, and decked with chosen sentences of the holy Scripture, that by the reading and warning thereof, the people may be moued to godliness. Last of all they shall see, that in euery church there be a holy founte, not a bason, wherein Baptisme may be ministered, and it be kept comly and cleane.

“ Preachers.

“ [2.] But chiefly they shall take heede, that they teach nothing in their preaching, which they would haue the people religiously to obserue and beleue, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the olde Testament, or the newe, and that which the catholike fathers, and auncient Bishops haue gathered out of that doctrine.....

“ [3.] In preaching they shall weare a very modest and graue garment, which may become and set foorth the minister of God, and such as is prescribed in the book of aduertisements.....”

Dr. Lushington (p. 32) after examining several authorities (already noticed) on the subject of Crosses, makes the following reference to these Canons :—

“ Were it necessary to say more, as to what was done in the time of Queen Elizabeth, I would refer to the Canons of 1571, whereby the churchwardens were directed to remove all rood-lofts in which wooden crosses stood. The words of the Canon are as follows : ‘ Curabunt mensam ex asseribus composite junctam, quæ administrationi sacrosanctæ communionis inserviat ; et mundum tapetem, qui illam contegat ; et suggestum commodum, unde cœlestis doctrina publicetur. Curabunt insuper, ut omnia illa solaria, in quibus cruces lignæ aliquando prostabant, et aliæ reliquiæ superstitionis prorsus e medio auferantur.’ (Cardwell’s Synodalia, vol. I. p. 123.) These Canons demonstrate the opinion of the Church, for Archbishop Parker and nearly all the other bishops * were parties to them ; and they were approved by Convocation, though not sanctioned by the Crown. They could not alter or have been intended to alter an Act of Parliament. The result was, that all crosses were demolished before the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.”

But *what* “opinion of the Church” (for such is the learned Judge’s description of those^b whom he says sanctioned them)

* Strype says “all the Bishops of both Provinces in Synod.”—see p. 244.

^b It may greatly be doubted whether many, if any, of those who welcome Dr. Lushington’s Judgment in this Suit will accept this his definition of the Church : they, rightly enough, say it does not consist of the Clergy *alone* : though, indeed, they too commonly overlook the fact that the Bishops and other Clergy are its main ORGANISM.

Rules for
Preachers.

The Canon
against Rood-
lofts,

wholly
misapplied to
Crosses, by
Dr. Lushington

do these Canons "demonstrate"? Most certainly not the opinion which seems to have been prominent in his own mind—that a *Cross* surmounting a Screen, such as that at St. Barnabas, was a *relick of superstition*; for there is not, I believe, a tittle of evidence to shew that they had ever seen such a thing: the "wooden crosses" which they were accustomed to behold were (probably, nay almost certainly, without any exception) *Roods*, i. e. *Crucifixes* with Images at the base: ample proof of this is furnished at pp. 148, 190, & 234. The "opinion" was against the *Lofts* where the *Roods* had stood; there was no need to express one against the *Roods*; that had been given long before and with sufficient distinctness to produce manifest results (see pp. 148 & 152): now the object was to condemn and remove this, alleged, *superstitious* adjunct: possibly there was another objection to it; the Bishops, in their laudable anxiety that the people should see and hear, may, very reasonably, have thought that these massive erections above the Chancel-Screens interfered with sight and sound, much as many think now of the cumbrous Organs which in some Churches pretty effectually shut off the Chancels. When then Dr. Lushington attributes the demolition of "all *Crosses*" "before the end of Elizabeth's reign" to this Canon against Rood-lofts, he hazards a statement which is historically untrue, as to the *Roods* themselves, and which is wholly unsupported by any testimony in regard to those other "*Crosses*" or *Crucifixes* in the Churches which it includes in it comprehensive embrace. These remarks will serve also as an answer to Mr. Goode, who, at p. 70, quotes this Canon, *italicizing* the words "in which wooden crosses stood", to prove that "*Crosses*" as well as *Crucifixes*, *Images*, and *Pictures* of *Saints* are alike "forbidden in our Churches."

and Mr. Goode.

Moreover, to attempt to prove indirectly, as the learned Judge does, that *Crosses* must have been unlawful because these Canons "could not alter or have been intended to alter "an Act of Parliament", is, apparently, both to overlook a fact and to deny a power. The Canons did, *in intention*, alter a Statute: for they quote as *authoritative* the "Advertisements" of 1565; and one of these (see p. 204) distinctly *dispenses* with the positive enactment of the Elizabethan Prayer Book which enjoins the Vestment or Cope and the Albe to be used for the celebration of the Eucharist in *all*

Another erroneous inference which the Judge draws from them.

1571.

Elizabeth.

Churches.^a Nor would there seem to have been *then* any *inability* in the Canons to alter a Statute, provided they received the Royal Assent: for if the Queen had power, under the authority of her Act of Uniformity, in concert with the Metropolitan or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to take order as to Ornaments and Ceremonies, it is difficult to understand (though it may be true) that her sanction given to Canons, touching those points, approved by Convocation as well as by the Metropolitan, would be of less legal force.

But while the Convocation was engaged in passing these "Canons for discipline," the religious reformers were pursuing their course in Parliament. Strype continues his account by stating that on—

Opposition in the House of Commons to the Prayer-Book Reformers.

"April the 14th, the bill for reformation, preferred by Strickland aforesaid, was read the first time. Upon which ensued divers arguments. Mr. Treasurer of the Queen's household was one that spake against it to this purport; 'That if the matters mentioned to be reformed were heretical, then they were presently to be condemned. But if they were matters of ceremonies, then it behoved them to refer the same to her majesty; who had authority, as chief of the church, to deal therein.^b And for them to meddle with matters of her prerogative, he said were not convenient.' Mr. Comptroller of the household argued to the same effect. Another, whose name was Snagg, entered into discourse of some of the Articles, which Strickland had laid down before. Whereof one was, not to kneel at the receiving of the holy sacrament; but to lie prostrate, (to shew the old superstition,) or to sit, every man at his own liberty. And the directions were also thought fit to be left out of the Book (of the Office of Communion) for that posture. Which should be a law; and every man to do according to his conscience.

The Queen displeased with them.

"But the queen liked not at all of these proceedings; reckoning it struck at her prerogative, (as was hinted before by her treasurer,) as though she might not appoint ceremonies to be used in the worship of God. So that during the time of Easter, (the parliament being adjourned,) in the holy days, Strickland, for his exhibiting a

^a Mr. Goode (p. 34) considers that the Canon (No. 4) for "Deanes of Cathedral Churches" was meant to *exclude the albe*: if his construction of it be true, as it seems to be, then the Canon itself plainly set at nought the Act of Uniformity.

So too, at p. 32, Mr. Goode says of the *Advertisements*—"Whether they received the Queen's sanction *after* they were drawn up, is a point which seems doubtful. And consequently there is a question whether they came under the meaning of the clause in the Act above quoted [*i. e.* § XXV. 1 Eliz. c. 2.]. I humbly conceive that they did so: and the way in which they are referred to in Art. 1 and 4 of Abp. Parker's 'Articles of Enquiry,' in 1569, (Wilk. Cone. iv. 257, 258; or Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 321), and Art. 4 of Abp. Whitgift's 'Articles touching Preachers,' &c. in 1584, (Wilk. Cone. iv. 307; or Card. Doc. Ann. i. 413), and Canon 24 of the Canons of 1604, seems to me strongly confirmatory of that view." If Mr. Goode's view is correct, then he may be claimed as a witness against the statement of Dr. Lushington above referred to.

^b The allusion most likely was to the authority given to the Queen by §§. XXV. and XXVI. 1 Eliz. c. 2. See p. 130.

bill for the reformation of ceremonies, and his speech thereupon, was sent for before the lords of the privy council; and required to attend upon them; and in the mean season to make stay from entering into the house.

“But this caused no small disturbance . . . at last the speaker moved, that the house should make stay of any further consultation thereupon. And on the next day [April 20th], being Saturday, Strickland came to the house; upon an advertisement, as it seems, from her majesty’s council,

“I find no more of this bill but that April the 25th, several of the committees were appointed to attend the Lord of Canterbury his grace; for answer touching matters of religion. I suppose this was in pursuance of a former act, whereby the queen, with her metropolitan, was to appoint, and regulate, and reform matters in religion.”—*Ann.* vol. II. pt. 1, pp.93-6, 8^o or fol. 66.

One very important Act passed during this Session, (which though it relates chiefly to the 39 Articles, claims a place in any narrative of Ecclesiastical occurrences) was the Statute 13 Elizabethæ, c. 12. “*An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion:*” it commences thus—

“That the churches of the queen’s majesty’s dominions may be served with pastors of sound religion, be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that every person under the degree of a bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God’s Holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering, than the form set forth by parliament in the time of the late King of most worthy memory, King Edward the Sixth, or now used in the reign of our most gracious sovereign lady before the feast of the Nativity of Christ next following, shall in the presence of the bishop or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocese where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, declare his assent, and subscribe to all the articles of religion which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, intituled, ‘Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishop and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty and two, according to the computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding the Diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion put forth by the Queen’s Authority;’ and shall bring from such bishop or guardian of spiritualities in writing, under his seal authentick, a testimonial of such assent and subscription; and openly on some Sunday in the time of the public Service afore noon, in every church where by reason of any ecclesiastical living he ought to attend, read both the said testimonial and the said articles; upon pain that every such person which shall not before the said feast do as is above appointed, shall be *ipso facto* deprived, and all his ecclesiastical promotions shall be void, as if he then were naturally dead.

§ “II. And that if any person ecclesiastical, or which shall have

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Elizabeth.

Statute passed
enforcing Sub-
scription to the
39 Articles.

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Elizabeth.

ecclesiastical living, shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine directly contrary or repugnant to any of the said articles, and being convented before the bishop of the diocese or the ordinary, or before the queen's highness' commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, shall persist therein, or not revoke his error, or after such revocation eftsoon affirm such untrue doctrine, such maintaining or affirming and persisting, or such eftsoon affirming, shall be just cause to deprive such person of his ecclesiastical promotions; and it shall be lawful to the bishop of the diocese, or the ordinary, or the said commissioners, to deprive such persons so persisting or lawfully convicted of such eftsoons affirming, and upon such sentence of deprivation pronounced he shall be indeed deprived."

§§ III. IV. V. VI. and VII. Declare the age and the conditions of admission to and retention of a Benefice.

§ VIII. Provides that there be no lapse upon deprivation but after notice.—*Stephens's Eccl. Stat.* vol. I. pp. 428—32.

The Convocation provides for the publication of the Articles.

Contemporaneously, as it seems, with the enactment of this Statute, the Convocation was taking measures for the publication of the Articles to which the Act related: Strype states that—

"In the fifth session, being May the 4th, the Convocation having been adjourned to Lambeth, because of the Archbishop's indisposition, as it seemeth, the Bishops assembled, and prayers being said, some discourses were privately held between the Archbishop and the rest of the Bishops. And at last it was unanimously consented to:

"First, That when the book of Articles, touching doctrine, should be fully agreed upon, then the same should be put in print by the order and direction of the Bishop of Sarum [Jewel]; and a price set on the same as it was to be sold.

"And secondly, That the same being printed, every Bishop to have a convenient number of them to publish throughout their dioceses, and to be read in every parish Church throughout the province, four times in the year.

"The effect of this was, that the same Articles were in this synod put into English, and printed, and so they were in Latin also: and the members of the Upper House did receive, profess, and acknowledge them to be certain, true, and sound doctrine, and did approve and ratify the same by their subscriptions"—*Life of Parker*. Bk. IV. p. 319.

Art. xxix. not previously printed.

Hitherto, however, our present XXIXth Article ("Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper") seems not to have been inserted in any of the printed copies, though it is found in the *Parker Latin MS.* of 1562. Various conjectures have been made as to the cause of this omission, e.g. that, though it had passed the Convocation of 1562, it was withdrawn out of consideration for the Roman party; or that the Queen, for some reason,

refused to ratify them if this were included. But that in 1571 the objection, whatever it was, had passed away or was overruled, is plain from the fact that the Article appeared in the new Edition and with the Royal sanction. Yet it evidently occasioned some controversy at the time. The Convocation, as Collier states, was "dissolved on the 30th of May," the day after the Prorogation of Parliament; but on the 4th June, 1571, Archbishop Parker writes to Lord Burghley^a thus—

"Sir, I have considered what your honour said to me this day concerning St. Augustine's authority in the Article^b in the first original agreed upon; and I am advisedly still in mine opinion concerning so much wherefore they be alleged in the article; and for further truth of the words, besides St. Austen, both he in other places, and Prosper in his 'Sentences wrote of Austen' (*Senten.* 338 and 339),^c doth plainly affirm our opinion in the Article to be most true, however some men vary from it.

"Sir, I am about to spend this week in examination of Masters Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Whiborne, [? Wiburn] Gouff, and such others. I would be glad that the bishops of Winton, Ely, Worcester, and Chichester, being all commissioners, join with me. My Lord of Sarum hath promised to stand by me. I doubt whether the bishop of London [Sandys] would deal with me to that effect to suspend them, or deprive them, if they will not assent unto the propositions inserted. Howsoever the world will judge, I will serve God, my prince, and her laws, in my conscience, as it is high time to set it up [sic], and yet I would be glad to be advised, to work prudently, rather to edification than destruction.

"If it will please her Majesty to grant our Book of Discipline, I will labour to put it in print for further instruction. *Si non placet, faciet Dominus quod bonum est in oculis suis.* For my part, I am at a point in these worldly respects, and yet shall be ready to hear *quid in me loquatur Dominus.* And thus committing your honour to Almighty God, I wish you the same grace as I would have myself.

^a "Sir William Cecil was created Baron Burghley on 25 February, 1570—1."
—*Editor's Note.*

^b "The allusion is to the 29th Article, which was now printed for the first time. The passage referred to as in St. Augustine will be found in his *Tract in Ioan.* xxvi. *Opera.* Tom. ix. col. 230. *Ed. Basil.* 1569, and those in Prosper, in *Sententia ex operibus D. August.* *Ed. Paris* 1671. p. 128."—*Ibid.*

^c The following are the passages from Prosper:—

"cccxl. *De corpore Christi.* al. cccxxxviii.

"Caro Christi fidelium vita est, si corpus ipsius esse non negligent. Fiant ergo corpus Christi, si volunt vivere de spiritu Christi; de quo non vivit, nisi corpus Christi. *Ex Tract.* 26, in *Johan.* n. 13."

"ccccli. *Qui edunt corpus Christi.* al. cccxxxix.

"Escam vitæ accipit, et æternitatis poculum bibit, qui in Christo manet, et cujus Christus habitator est. Nam qui discordat à Christo, nec carnem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit: etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumtionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat. *Ibid.* n. 18."—*Prosper Aquitani, Liber sententiarum ex Augustino.* S. Aug. *Opera.* Vol. x. Parisiis 1690.

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The Archbishop writes to Lord Burghley in defence of the quotation from St. Augustine in the Article.

1571. From Lambeth, 4th of June, 1571."—*Parker Correspondence*, No. Elizabeth. clxxxix. p. 381.

Strype's account of this Letter

Strype's explanation of this Letter (which, though not directly relating to the present enquiry, it appears desirable to insert as being an important statement in the history of the period) is as follows—

"It seems some Papists had been nibbling at this new article, and at the said allegation, and in discourse with the Treasurer had declared it to him. The Archbishop soon after being with the Treasurer, he had told him the cavil by word of mouth. Which running in his mind, the Archbishop being returned home, wrote what is above said."—*Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 332.

wants confirmation.

What authority Strype had for assigning to the "Papists" this objection he does not tell us; nor have I been able, after some pains, to discover anything confirmatory of his statement: his words sound like a conjecture arising out of a feeling on his part which often betrays itself to be more anti-roman than anti-puritan: in the seeming absence of information it may not be setting too lightly by Strype's opinion to suggest—that the objection may very possibly have come from the *Puritan* party. For (1) the Romanists were hardly likely then to have troubled themselves on the matter, as the Pope had excommunicated the Queen on the 27th of April in the previous year, and they had consequently been withdrawing themselves from communion with the Church of England: (2) the Secretary was no favourer of them, though he was not unfriendly to the Puritans, who were more likely to be in communication with him at that time, perhaps through the Earl of Leicester: (3) the Archbishop hints that the Puritans whom he was about to examine would be unwilling to "assent to the propositions inserted": what these "propositions" were, he does not indeed state; but as the Puritans already objected to subscribe the Articles,^a their prejudices were not likely

Another possible explanation of it.

^a "..... the Puritans took their advantage of the ambiguity of the first part of the Statute [viz. that "the Clergy's Subscription is required to such Articles as ONLY contain the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Holy Sacraments], and made this their Defence against subscribing the whole number of the Articles."—*Collier*. E.H. p. 531.

"Our Archbishop, was very busy this summer, in order to reduce all the Queen's subjects to a quiet uniformity And for that purpose he thought it expedient, that all the heads in both the provinces that obstructed this should be called before the commission; that if they intended to continue their ministry, then to take new licences, and subscribe certain articles, according to a new act of Parliament (Eliz. 13, c. 12), for reforming certain disorders in Ministers. [Strype then quotes from this Letter of Parker's to Lord Burghley, though, erroneously, he says it was "to Grindal," and then he

to be lessened by the insertion of a new Article—particularly one on the Eucharist, to which they were likely to demur if they imagined it tended to maintain the Doctrine of the Real Presence. If Burghley's words to the Archbishop could be discovered they would probably determine the present controversy on the intended meaning of the XXIXth Article.^b

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Importance of
discovering
Burghley's
words.

goes on to say,] Now therefore were cited up to Lambeth these chief Puritans; Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Whiborne, Gouff, and some others. These came under the Archbishop's examination in the beginning of June. What was done with them I find not; but that Lever this year resigned a prebend, which I think he had in the church of Durham. And Goodman (or Gudman) remained in Town till August."—*Strype's Parker*, bk. 4, p. 325.

^b Perhaps the following passage from "A fruitful dialogue between custom and verity," by Grindal, which Strype says (*Life of Grindal*, p. 464) was written "against the *real*, that is, the gross and corporal, presence in the Sacrament," may rightly suggest that—whatever was the *main* object of this xxixth Article, it was meant to strengthen the assertion of the xxviiiith Article against TRANSSUBSTANTIATION; but not to exclude the doctrine of an Objective Presence in the Sacrament: for, after quoting the passage from St. Augustine referred to in the Article, and some other passages, he ends by saying "Thus by the word of God, by reason, and by the old fathers it is plain, that sinful men eat not the body of Christ, receive they the sacrament never so oft: which thing could not be, if in the sacrament there remained nothing but the body of Christ."—*Remains of Grindal*, p. 59. Ed. Parker Society.

Grindal's words "nothing but," taken by themselves, would naturally convey the belief that he held a Real Objective Presence; denying at the same time the truth of the alleged Roman theory which asserted the absence of the *substance* of the Bread and Wine as distinguished from their *accidents* which were held to remain. He tells "Custom," (p. 42) "I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to say, but also to believe, that in the Sacrament there remaineth bread": and then he quotes St. Augustine's definition "(in Joan. tract. 26) *Aliud est sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti. Sacramentum est quod in corpus vadit: res autem sacramenti est corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi.*" His argument seems to be—that as the *res sacramenti* is "spiritual" not "organical" It can only be matter for *spiritual manducation*; but this being an act of "faith," which the wicked have not, therefore "Christ's body cannot be eaten of the wicked: which thing must necessarily ensue, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ," for then It must be "eaten with the teeth . . . of the body:" which is impossible. Grindal, like other writers of that period, was combating the *carnal* Presence then, apparently, popularly held; and then too, as now, *imputed* to Transubstantiation. If Roman Catholics now *repudiate* this view, and try to reconcile difficulties by attributing to *accidents* the properties which Grindal assigned to *substance*; then, however inconsistent or illogical their argument may be thought, CHARITY at least should forbid us from endeavouring to fasten upon them what they disown. It may be as well to quote the following passage, only remarking that Grindal was a party to the Articles (*including the 28th and 29th,*) when they were passed in the Convocation of 1562.

" upon the 28th article, of the *Lord's Supper*, it may be noted, that the divines in those times seemed not fully agreed in the doctrine of the *presence*; if we may believe what Dorman writ soon after this synod (Dorm. Proof. anno. 1564,) viz. that there was a controversy in this new church (as he called it) concerning the *real presence* of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament. And that Mr. Gest, preaching at Rochester, (where he was bishop,) preached for the real presence; Mr. Grindal at London, (when he was bishop) for the contrary. To which Dorman added, (to make the difference in this article seem greater,) that Mr. D. Parker of Canterbury (as he styled him) being suspected, he said, to be a Lutheran, must hold a third opinion of the *presence*. To which it is worth observing, as to the truth of this charge, what reply Dr. Nowell makes (Confutat

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Parker transmits to Grindal the Canons of 1571.

It seems to have been shortly after this, "in the month of July or August," as Strype thinks (*Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 322, or *Life of Grindal*, p. 166) that—

"Archbishop Parker being informed that Grindal [who was now Archbishop of York] design'd a general Visitation," sent him the Canons of Discipline above-mentioned. [See p. 244]. These Canons though subscribed by the Bishops of both Provinces, wanted the Queen's Ratification. The Queen was acquainted with what pass'd in the Synod, and approv'd the proceedings; but, as it happen'd, the Royal Assent was not given in form. Archbishop Grindal therefore demurr'd to the execution of these Canons: he was afraid a *Praemunire* might reach him. And it seems his scruples were not without reason; for by venturing thus far, he would have been liable to Prosecution, and must have cast himself upon the Queen's mercy. (25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19.)

Grindal declines to use them as they had not received the Queen's assent

"Grindal, notwithstanding he could have no assistance from these Canons, went on with his Visitation, and gave fifty Articles in charge. And since they discovered the condition of the Church in a great measure, I shall mention some of them which are most remarkable."^b —*Collier, E. H.*, vol. II. p. 531.

They are intitled—

He issues his own Injunctions.

"INJUNCTIONS GIVEN BY THE MOST REVERENDE FATHER IN CHRISTE, EDMONDE, BY THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD ARCHBISHOP OF YORKE, PRYMATE OF ENGLANDE AND METROPOLITANE, IN HIS METROPOLITICALL VISITATION OF THE PROVINCE OF YORKE, AS WELL TO THE CLERGYE, AS TO THE LAYTYE OF THE SAME PROVINCE. ANNO DOMINI, 1571.

Some particulars of them.

Among these Injunctions occur the following:

"I. *For the Clergy.*"

Time and place of Prayers.

"2. ITEM, Upon every Sunday and holiday ye shall in your church or chapel, at convenient hours reverently and distinctly say or sing the Common Prayer, appointed by the laws of this realm, both in the forenoon and afternoon, standing in a pulpit or seat appointed for that purpose, and so turning your face towards the people, as they may best hear the same

of Dorm. f. 362): 'That these were small matters in comparison, however he called them by the name of *schism*, and that they little troubled the state of the church; while he named one as diverse from other in opinion in one point, and falsely surmised of another (meaning the Archbishop) to be a Lutheran.'"—*Strype Ann.* vol. I. p. 335.

It is important to recollect, in connexion with this subject, that these were three of the 15 Bishops who put out with approbation in 1566, apparently at Parker's suggestion, "Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon Homily of the Paschall Lambe." They specify the points in it to which they took exception."

^a "Beginning the 15th of May 1571."—*Strype's Grindal*, p. 166.

^b They are printed only in part in *Strype's Grindal*, p. 167, and *Card. Doc. Ann.* p. 369: but are given in full in the Parker Society's Ed. of Grindal's Works, 1843.

“3. ITEM, Ye shall minister the holy Communion every month once at the least in every of your churches and chapels, where ministration of the sacraments is permitted

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Elizabeth.

“4. ITEM, That at all times, when ye minister the holy sacraments, and upon Sundays and other holy days, when ye say the Common Prayer and other divine service in your parish churches and chapels, and likewise at all marriages and burials, ye shall, when ye minister, wear a clean and decent surplice with large sleeves; and shall minister the holy Communion in no chalice nor any profane cup or glass, but in a Communion cup of silver, and with a cover of silver, appointed also for the ministration of the Communion-bread. Ye shall not deliver the Communion-bread unto the people into their mouths, but into their hands; nor shall use at the ministration of the Communion, any gestures, rites, or ceremonies, not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer; as crossing or breathing over the sacramental bread and wine, nor any shewing or lifting up of the same to the people, to be by them worshipped and adored, nor any such like; nor shall use any oil, or chrism, tapers, spattle, or any other popish ceremony in the ministration of the sacrament of Baptism.

Surplice and Ceremonies.

“II. *For the Laity.*”

“2. ITEM, we do enjoin that the churchwardens of every parish procure a decent low pulpit to be erected and made in the body of the church out of hand, wherein the minister shall stand with his face towards the people, when he readeth morning and evening prayer; provided always that, where the churches are very small, it shall suffice that the minister stand in his accustomed stall in the choir, so that a convenient desk or letter, with a room to turn his face towards the people, be there provided by the said churchwardens, at the charges of the parish; the judgment and order whereof, and also the form and order of the pulpit or seat aforesaid in greater churches, we do refer unto the archdeacon of the place or his official; provided also that the prayers and other service appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion be said and done at the Communion table, except the Epistle and Gospel, which shall be read in the said pulpit or stall, and also the Ten Commandments, when there is no Communion.

Place and position of the Minister; ordered.

“3. ITEM, That the churchwardens shall not sell or alienate any bells, or other church goods, without consent of the ordinary in writing first had;

“4. ITEM, That the churchwardens in every parish provide (if the same be not already provided) all things necessary and requisite for common prayer and administration of the holy sacraments specially the book of Common Prayer, with the new Calendar, and a psalter to the same, the English Bible in the largest volume, the two tomes of the Homilies, with the Homilies lately written against Rebellion, the table of the Ten Commandments, a convenient pulpit well placed, a comely and decent table, standing on a frame, for the Holy Communion, with a fair linen cloth to lay upon the same, and some covering of silk, buckram, or other such

Things for the Church.

1571.

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like, for the clean keeping thereof; a fair and comely communion cup of silver, and a cover of silver for the same, which may serve also for the ministration of the communion-bread; a decent large surplice with sleeves, a sure coffer with two locks and keys for keeping of the register-book, and a strong chest or box for the almost of the poor, with three locks and keys to the same, and all other things necessary in and to the premisses; and shall also provide, the paraphrases of Erasmus in English upon the gospels,

Altars, and Rood-lofts;

“5. ITEM, That the churchwardens shall see that in their churches and chapels all Altars be utterly taken down, and clear removed even unto the foundation, and the place where they stood paved, and the wall whereunto they joined whited over, and made uniform with the rest, so as no breach or rupture appear. And that the Altar-stones be broken, defaced, and bestowed to some common use. And that the rood-lofts be taken down and altered, so that the upper boards and timber thereof, both behind and above where the rood lately did hang, and also the seller or loft be quite taken down unto the cross beam, whereunto the partition between the choir and the body of the church is fastened, and that the said beam have some convenient crest put upon the same. And that all the boards, beams, and other stuff of the rood-lofts be sold by the churchwardens to the use of the church, so as no part thereof be kept and observed.

Old Service Books, Vestments, and Ornaments abolished.

“7. ITEM, That the churchwardens and minister shall see that antiphoners, mass books, grailes, portesses, processions, manuales, legendaries, and all other books of late belonging to their church or chapel, which served for the superstitious Latin service, be utterly defaced, rent, and abolished. And that all vestments, albes, tunicles, stoles, phanons, pixes, paxes, hand-bells, sacring-bells, censers, christories, crosses, candlesticks, holy-water-stocks, or fat images,* and all other relics and monuments of superstition and idolatry be utterly defaced, broken, and destroyed; and if they cannot come by any of the same, they shall present to the Ordinary what they cannot come by, and in whose custody the same is, to the intent further order may be taken for the defacing thereof.

Practices as to the dead;

“8. ITEM, after the time of the departing of any Christian body out of this life, the churchwardens shall see that neither there be any more ringing but one short peal before the burial, and another short peal after the burial, without ringing of any hand-bells, And that no months minds, or yearly commemorations of the dead, nor any other superstitious ceremonies, be observed or used, which tend either to the maintenance of prayer for the dead, or of the popish purgatory.

Division of Services;

“9. ITEM, That the churchwardens shall not suffer any ringing or tolling of bells, to be on Sundays or holy days used between the Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion, nor in any other time of Common Prayer, reading of the Homilies, or of preaching, except it be one bell, in convenient time to be rung or knolled before a

* “Solid images, as distinguished from pictures.”—*Editor's Note.*

Sermon; nor shall suffer any other ringing to be used upon Saints' evens, or Festival days, saving to Common Prayer, and that moderately and without excess: nor the minister shall pause or stay between the Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion, but shall continue and say the Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion, or the service appointed to be said when there is no Communion, together, without any intermission, to the intent the people may continue together in prayer, and hearing the word of God; and not depart out of the Church during all the time of the whole divine service.

"16. ITEM, That no person or persons whatsoever shall wear beads, or pray either in Latin or in English, upon beads, or knots, or any other like superstitious thing; nor shall pray upon any popish Latin or English Primer, or other like book, nor shall burn any candles in the church superstitiously upon the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, commonly called Candlemas-day; nor shall resort to any popish priest for shrift or auricular confession in Lent, or at any other time, nor shall worship any cross or any image or picture upon the same, nor give any reverence thereunto, nor superstitiously shall make upon themselves the sign of the cross, when they first enter into any church to pray, nor shall say *De Profundis* for the dead, or rest at any cross in carrying any corpse to burying, nor shall leave any little crosses of wood there.

"18. ITEM, That for the retaining of the perambulation of the circuit of every parish yearly, in the days of the Rogations, commonly called Cross-week, or Gang-days . . . the minister shall use none other ceremony, than to say in English the two Psalms beginning, *Benedic anima mea Domino*, that is to say the ciii. Psalm and the civ. Psalm, and such sentences of Scripture, as be appointed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, with the Litany and suffrages following the same, and reading one Homily already devised and set forth for that purpose, without wearing any surplices, carrying of banners or handbells, or staying at crosses, or such like popish ceremonies." —*Remains of Grindal*, pp. 124—144, Ed. Parker Society.

Upon these Injunctions Strype makes the following remarks—

"By the heeding of which injunctions one may observe how old Popish customs still prevailed in these northern quarters, and therefore what need there was of this general visitation; as the frequent use and veneration of crosses, months minds, obits and anniversaries, the chief intent whereof was praying for the dead; the superstitions used in going the bounds of the parishes; morris-dancers and minstrels coming into the church in service-time, to the disturbance of God's worship; putting the consecrated bread into the receiver's mouth, as among the Papists the Priest did the wafer; crossing and breathing upon the elements in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and elevation; oil, tapers, and spittle in the other sacrament of Baptism: pauses and intermissions in reading the services of the church; praying *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-nosters* upon beads; setting up can-

1571.
Elizabeth.

Certain religious observances:

and Rogation customs; forbidden.

Strype's inference from these Injunctions,

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dles in the churches to the Virgin Mary on Candlemas-day, and the like."—*Life of Grindal*, p. 169.

to be received
with caution.

But these observations must probably be taken with some limitations: no doubt the Injunctions did indicate the existence, to a greater or less extent, of practices which they mentioned; and this confirms what has been already said as to the unlikelihood of great and sudden changes in the general aspect of the Churches at the chief periods when the Ritual was altered: yet it must be borne in mind that Visitation Articles and Injunctions then, as now, very commonly followed some earlier form, and thus perpetuated some enquiry or direction for which perhaps there was no particular need at the later period. Thus, *e. g.*, if Parker's Visitation Articles of 1561 (see p. 183) are to be accounted evidence that *all* which they condemn was *then* practised, we should have to believe that in all the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of the Province of Canterbury there were Clergy who were accustomed publicly "to edify or extol. . . . relicks, pilgrimages," and the other things which his 6th Article specifies.

Mr. Goode's
reference to them,

These Injunctions are quoted by Mr. Goode on several occasions, in support of various propositions most of which have been already noticed: thus at p. 6, he claims Inj. No. 4 "For the Clergy," and at p. 27, No. 16 "For the Laity," in part proof that the principle of *Uniformity* requires the *exclusion* of everything not *prescribed* by the Prayer Book; at p. 16 he uses No. 2 of both the Clerical and Laical directions to maintain that "the older Episcopal Injunctions. . . . are "clearly in favour of" the Minister "turning his face towards "the people" in saying the Morning and Evening Prayer; at p. 70 he cites No. 7 "For the Laity," in evidence that Crosses and Images were prohibited; and at pp. 83 and 84 he refers to Nos. 4 and 7 "For the Laity," to shew what is not proper furniture for the Communion Table.

implies more
authority than
they possess.

Now, while admitting the distinct and specific character of these Injunctions, it is of the utmost consequence not to claim, or seem to claim, for them an *authority* which they do not possess; plainly, they could have no force beyond the Province of York: and it is true of these, as of all Episcopal Injunctions, that they are limited to the Incumbency and to the Diocese of the Bishop who issues them, saving, perhaps, in so

far as they embody the standing laws of the Church: moreover none of them could be *legally* enforced if they contravene the *general Ecclesiastical Law*, in whatever form it exists. Whether Grindal adhered strictly to that Law can be determined by comparing it with his Injunctions; the doing so can hardly, I think, leave a doubt that he *exceeded* it in ordering the destruction of "all vestments", "crosses" and "candle-sticks"; and in decreeing, for the very first time, I believe, that junction of the three Services which is now so frequent and just a matter of complaint.^a It will be no answer to this opinion to say—that his declining to use in this Visitation the Canons of the recent Convocation of Canterbury, which Parker had sent him, on the ground that they had not received the Royal Sanction and therefore might subject him to a *Premunire*, is a proof of his jealousy for the Law: for (1) he would be in no danger of *this penalty* for issuing *personal* Injunctions in his own Province,^b and (2) next the *acquiescence* of the Crown in the *disuse* of what the Ecclesiastical Law strictly enjoined, *e.g.* in the Rubric on the Ornaments of Ministers (see p. 131), *practically* sanctioned his Episcopal acts and served as his warrant and protection. Yet all this is nothing to the purpose in the present dispute, which is purely a question of *Law*, and that Law pertaining to the Second year of Edward the Sixth. It must, too, diminish very much any weight which might be attached to Grindal's acts, as being a contemporaneous exposition of Elizabethan Ecclesiastical Law, to remember Parker's complaints of his lax administration of it when Bishop of London; his well known Puritan tendencies and sympathies; and the fact that these very Injunctions went considerably beyond the Canons of 1571, even advanced as they were in the Puritan direction.

Before leaving this subject it is important to call attention to that part of the 5th Injunction for the Laity which relates to Rood-lofts: perhaps Dr. Lushington had not seen the com-

Grindal a witness against Dr. Lushington's opinion of a Screen and Gates.

^a Strype must have been singularly attached to this union when he could speak of Grindal's prohibition as directed against "pauses and intermissions in reading the services of the Church." (see p. 257.)

^b Mr. Goode (p. 45), speaking of the "Surplice" having been ordered "to be worn in preaching," says "there can be no doubt, that individual Bishops have at various times, from an early period in our Reformed Church, availed themselves of their power as Ordinaries, in matters not precisely determined by the Church...."

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Elizabeth.

plete Injunction when he gave his Judgment on the Screen and Gates at St. Barnabas, as it is only given in part in Cardwell and Strype: had Grindal's accurate distinction between the Rood-loft and the Screen, and his direction only to remove the former, been brought to the Judge's notice, possibly it would have modified his "opinion" that "such separations "between the chancel and the nave are objectionable," though he was "not satisfied that those articles are contrary "to law;" and thus, too, he might have hesitated before making the declaration, "I would not advise the Bishop to "consecrate a church fitted up according to this example."—*Judg.* p. 60.

Inconsistent and difficult to understand as the Queen's conduct seems often to have been in Church matters, there can be little doubt that she exercised a check upon the Bishops which saved the Church of England from becoming still more Puritanized by fresh concessions: we have evidence of this in the following Letter of Bishop Horn, who, writing to Henry Bullinger from London, Aug. 8, "1571," after referring to the state of the kingdom and to other matters, says—

" our church has not yet got free from those *vestiarian* rocks of offence, on which she at first struck. Our excellent queen, as you know, holds the helm, and directs it hitherto according to her pleasure. But we are awaiting the guidance of the Divine Spirit, which is all we can do; and we all daily implore Him with earnestness and importunity to turn at length our sails to another quarter. Meanwhile, however, we who stand in a more elevated situation do not act in compliance with the importunate clamours of the multitude; for it would be very dangerous to drag her on, against her will, to a point she does not yet choose to come to, as if we were wresting the helm out of her hands. But we aim at this, that although *badly habited*, we may yet be *strong hearted* in doing the Lord's work; and we are not so much concerned about the *fitness* of our apparel, as about rightly dividing the bread of the Lord; nor, in fine do we deem it of so much consequence if our own coat appears unbecoming, as it is to take care that the seamless coat of the Lord be not rent asunder. There are not however wanting some men of inferior rank and standing, deficient indeed in sagacity and sense, and entirely ignorant and unknown, who, since they do not yet perceive the church to square with their wishes, or rather vanities, and that so far from agreeing with their follies, the wind is rather directly contrary, for this cause some of them desert their posts, and hide themselves in idleness and obscurity; others, shaping out for themselves their own barks, call together conventicles, elect their own bishops,

Check upon
the Puritan
tendencies of
the Bishops.

and holding synods one with another, frame and devise their own laws for themselves. They reject preaching, despise communion, would have all churches destroyed, as having been formerly dedicated to popery; nor are they content with merely deriding our ministers, but regard the office itself as not worth a straw."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, p. 248.

And this determination on the Queen's part, of which the Bishop speaks, is further shewn by a Royal Letter which, on the 20th August 1571, was addressed to the Archbishop in the following terms:—

“BY THE QUEEN.

“ELIZABETH R. Most reverend father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. Where we required you, as the metropolitan of our realm, and as the principal person in our commission for causes ecclesiastical, to have good regard that such uniform order in the divine service and rules of the church might be duly kept, as by the laws in that behalf is provided, and by our Injunctions also declared and explained; and that you should call unto you for your assistance certain of our bishops, to reform the abuses and disorders of sundry persons seeking to make alteration therein; we understanding that with the help of the reverend fathers in God, the bishops of Winchester and Ely, and some other, ye have well entered into some convenient reformation of things disordered, and that now the said bishop of Ely is by our commandment repaired into his diocese, whereby you shall want his assistance; we minding earnestly to have a perfect reformation of all abuses, attempted to deform the uniformity prescribed by our laws and Injunctions, and that none should be suffered to decline either on the left or on the right hand from the direct line limited by authority of our said laws and Injunctions, do earnestly by our authority royal will and charge you, by all means lawful, to proceed herein as you have begun. And for your assistance we will, that you shall, by authority hereof, and in our name, send for the bishops of London^a and Sarum,^b and communicate these our letters with them, and straitly charge them to assist you, from time to time, between this and the month of October, to do all manner of things requisite to reform such abuses as afore are mentioned, in whomsoever ye shall find the same. And if you shall find in any of the said bishops (which we trust ye shall not) or in any other whose aid you shall require, any remissness to aid and assist you, if upon your admonition the same shall not be amended, we charge you to advertise us; for we mean not that any persons, having credit by their vocation to aid you, should for any respect forbear, to become remiss in this service, tending to the observation of our laws, injunctions, and commandments. Given at our manor of Hatfield, the twentieth day of August, in the 13th year of our reign.

1571.
Elizabeth.

The Queen presses Uniformity in a Letter to the Archbishop.

^a i.e. Sandys, Grindal having been translated to York.

^b “Bishops Sandys and Jewell. The latter died on the 23rd September, 1571.”

1571.
Elizabeth.

“To our most reverend father in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved the archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England.”—*Parker Correspondence*. No. cxcxii. p. 386.

The state of the
Ecclesiastical
Law at this time
partly described
in

It was about this time, viz. “1571 or 1572” as Strype thinks, apparently about the end of 1571, that *Grindal* wrote a letter to *Zanchy*, a foreign Divine, Professor at *Heidleberg*, who, it seems, had been spoken to in the June of this year (1571), on the state of the Church of England, by one “Mount, a German by birth, but much employed formerly “in messages out of England to the German Princes and “States,” and who tried to instigate *Zanchy* to write to the Queen on the subject. *Zanchy*, “being overpersuaded by “friends,” reluctantly consented to try and interest the Queen in favour of the Puritan party, and sent his Letter to *Grindal* that he might deliver it to the Queen: *Grindal* wrote to him, on the 18th December, “that he would speedily consult with “learned and godly men for their thoughts thereof:” accordingly, having done so and agreeing with them not to present the Letter, he made to *Zanchy* the following communication, in order to show him the real state of the controversy in England about the Ceremonies of the Church &c. (*Ann.* vol. II. pt. 1, p. 143. 8°. and *Grindal*, p. 106.) In this letter he points out how the *Law* then stood: thus, he says:—

A Letter from
Grindal to
Zanchy.

“That when the Queen began first to reign, the Popish religion being cast off, she reduced religion to that condition wherein it was while King *Edward VI.* was alive. And to this all the states of the kingdom with full consent gave their voices in the great council of the nation, called *the Parliament*. That the authority of this Council was so great, that the laws made therein could not by any means be dissolved, unless by the same that made them. That in that form of religion set up by King *Edward*, there were some commands concerning the habits of Ministers, and some other things, which some good men desired might be abolished, or mended. But the authority of the law hindered them from doing any thing that way: yet the law allowed the Queen, with the counsel of some of the Bishops, to alter some things. But indeed nothing was either altered or diminished. That there was not a Bishop, as he knew of, but obeyed the rules prescribed, and gave example to others to do the same: and as the Bishops did, so did the other Ministers of the Church, learned and unlearned. And all seemed not unwillingly to yield and comply in the same opinion. But that afterwards, when there was a good and fast agreement in doctrine, all the controversy arose from discipline. Ministers were required to wear commonly a long gown, a square cap, and a tippet covering over their necks, and hanging

down almost to their heels. In the public prayers, and in every holy administration, that they were to use a linnen garment, called a *surplice*. That when some alleged, that by these, as by certain tokens, the *Romish* Priests were distinguished from those that ministered the light of the Gospel; and said, that it was not lawful by such obedience to approve the hypocrisy of idolaters, or to defile their ministry; a more moderate sort, tho' they would not be compelled to obey the prescribed rites, yet would not blame others that yielded obedience, nor esteemed the use of these things to be ungodly. But some there were that so defended that peculiar manner of clothing, that without it, they contended that all holy things were in effect prophaned, and that the ministry was deprived of a great ornament, and the people of good instruction: yet that the greatest part of the Ecclesiastical order seemed to persist in this opinion, that however they thought these might be abolished, and very many desired it, yet when they placed more blame in leaving their stations, than in taking the garments, they thought it better, (as of two evils the less) to obey the command, than to go out of their places.”—*Strype's Grindal*, p. 106.

1571.
Elizabeth.

Lord Burleigh (Sir W. Cecil) had a prominent part in Ecclesiastical affairs; that he was not unobservant of, or indifferent to, the lack of discipline in the Church at this time, may be concluded from the following statement of Collier's:—

The Lord Treasurer's scheme for Reformation.

“The Puritans going on in their invectives against the Church, the Court affording shelter to *Libertines*, and some of the Clergy not managing altogether unexceptionably, the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, now on a progress with the Queen,” drew up a short Scheme for silencing these clamours, for strengthening discipline, and rectifying those things he thought amiss. The title of the draught is this,

“*Things needful to be considered, how to be ordered.*”

“The Government of the Church of *England* to be directed not only to more Uniformity pursuant to the laws establish'd, but also brought up to more reverence and devotion: For which purpose abuses hereafter mentioned may be reform'd upon the plan following.

“2. Care should be taken for the reparation of Churches, and for keeping them in a more decent and ornamental manner.

“3. Amendments ought to be made in the *Statute* for coming to Common Prayer: and some stricter Order provided to command the Execution.”—*Collier E. H.* vol. II. p. p. 538. See also *Strype's Parker*, p. 395.

1572.

Meeting of Parliament:

Upon the assembling of Parliament the next year “(viz. 1572. 13. Eliz. May the 8th,)” the Lord Keeper, “by the Queen's commandment,” directed its attention to

“matters of religion and matters of policy. Under the matters of

* Which ended about the middle of October.—*Strype. Ann.* vol. 2. p. 118.

1572.
Elizabeth.

religion (which he called *God's cause*) he recommended to them both *doctrine and discipline*."—*Strype, Ann.* vol. II. p. 124.

Further attempts
at Church
Reform.

In consequence of this, the religious reformers were not slow, it seems, again to act; for on

"May the 19th, a bill for *rites and ceremonies* was read the second time, and on the next day read the third time, and referred (with another of the same nature) to be considered by Mr. Treasurer, sir Tho. Scot, Mr. Attorney of the Duchy, and others, saith the Journal This seemed to be a bill for calling into examination such rites and ceremonies as were established in this church and used in the public service of God. This bill gave such offence to the Queen, that two days after, (viz. May 22,) the speaker declared from her majesty unto the house, that her pleasure was, that from henceforth no bills concerning religion should be preferred or received into the house, unless the same should be first considered and liked by the clergy (*i.e.* in convocation)."—*Ibid.* p. 125.

Meeting of Con-
vocation.

The Convocation met on the 9th of May, and Strype states that—

"The settlement of religion and regulation of matters amiss in the Church seemed very earnestly to be intended and set about, according to the abovementioned memorial of *things needful to be considered*, and reformed [see p. 263]. The Archbishop came that day in person from Lambeth, landing at Paul's Wharf, and so to St. Paul's; and there made an excellent speech in Latin to that purpose :"—*Life of Parker.* p. 396.*

The Admonition
to the Parliament
published.

Later in the year, according to the same writer,

"The *disciplinarians*, another sort of men, friends indeed to the reformed religion in this land, but very ill affected to some of the constitutions and practices of it : these were also now creating trouble and disturbance here; labouring for a still further reformation. The Book called "*The admonition to the Parliament*, that now came forth, and spread abroad still more the next year, shewed their discontents, and what they would have reformed, or rather what they would have quite cast away, and abandoned in this church.

"Some of these hot new *discipline-men* were now committed to Newgate. Their fault was, that they had offered something to the Parliament, earnestly condemning the present settlement of religion in discipline and worship, and exciting to a further reformation. This book, I make no doubt, was the same with the Admonition aforesaid.

Refusers of Sub-
scription de-
prived.

"Divers of the clergy of this sort, (and perhaps some secret papists too,) that had benefices and preferments in the church, were now deprived, for not subscribing to the Articles of Religion, according to a statute 13 Elizab. entitled, *An act to reform certain disorders touching ministers of the Church.* I find these de-

* The speech will be found in No. lxxxii. of Strype's Appendix.

prived in the diocese of Bath and Wells John Haunce, incumbent of the church of Waysford, John Gold, one Alwood, the then pretended canon and prebendary [of Schalford, alias Scanford, who] was *merè laicus*, and Richard Cove

“ We may hereby guess at the numbers that were deprived through the rest of the dioceses for the same cause.—*Ann.* pp. 185—8.

A witness to the demands of this non-conforming party will probably be found in *Bishop Cox*, who writing to *Rodolph Gualter* from Ely “ Feb. 4, 1572, according to the English “ computation ” *i.e.* 1572-3, mentions the following—

“ Articles drawn up by certain Englishmen now disturbers of the state of the Anglican Church :

“ I. The names and functions of archbishops, bishops, and other officials, ought to be altogether abolished.

“ II. The election of the ministers of the word and sacraments should be restored to the people, as not belonging to the Episcopal office.

“ III. No one ought to be confined to set forms of prayer.

“ IV. No sacrament ought to be administered without being preceded by a sermon, preached, and not read.

“ V. The father alone ought to answer for his child in baptism, without any other sponsors.

“ VI. All the ministers of the church ought to be equal, not one superior to another.

“ VII. They condemn the order of confirmation, in which the bishops lay their hands upon the children on their repeating the catechism, and pray the Lord that He may vouchsafe to increase in them the knowledge of His word and godliness.

“ VIII. They cannot endure the sermons which are preached at the burial of the dead.

“ IX. They cannot endure the reading of the holy scriptures in the Church.

And he adds :—

“ There are, moreover, other things really too absurd, with which I am unwilling to take up your time, and weary you with my too troublesome importunity. Satan is envious of our prosperity.”—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. cvii. p. 280.*

So too writing, apparently at the same time (though the Letter is not dated), to Henry Bullinger, he says—

“ Our people are still persisting in making innovations. . They find fault with that prayer wherein we pray God that we may be de-

* Another Letter (No. cix.) from Cox to Gualter, dated “ Ely, June 12, 1573,” in which he refers to this Letter and repeats his complaints of “ some factious and heady men,” will be found at p. 284, same Series.

Gualter’s reply to these two Letters, in which he deprecates these propositions, will be found in No. xciv. 2nd Series, p. 225.

1572.
Elizabeth.

1572-3.

Bp. Cox’s testimony to the demands of the non-conformists:

and to their objections against the Prayer Book.

1572-3.
Elizabeth.

livered from all adversities. We use in our prayers the song of the blessed Virgin, of John the Baptist, and of the aged Simeon. This they cannot endure. We use also to repeat at the end of each psalm, when they are said before the people, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.' This they call vain repetition. But I will desist from troubling you any farther with these vanities; we ask of God a remedy for them."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. cviii. p. 283.

1573.

The Archbishop informs the Council of their publications.

The Primate's attention was now especially drawn to the attempts made, through the press, to give effect to the plans of the Puritan party: Collier states that in—

"The beginning of this summer the Archbishop acquainted the *Council* with the restless endeavours of the *Puritans*, and the schismatical pamphlets dispers'd thro' the kingdom; upon which the Queen publish'd her Proclamation, for bringing them in to the Bishops or Council."—*Eccl. Hist.* p. 542.

The principal of these books, and that which was the chief cause of the controversy, was the "Admonition to the Parliament." Strype, referring to the occurrence, says—

"But upon the Puritans writing of the forementioned Book, and others, the Queen's anger was awakened anew against them, and she gave out fresh commands to see after the regulation of these evils. Whereat the Archbishop in May takes occasion to excite the Lord Treasurer, and those of the Privy Council; that seeing her Highness was justly offended with this dissolute writing, and intended a reformation thereof, it was needful to be earnestly laboured in on their parts, which were supreme judges, and who were long ago called on. Otherwise he feared they should feel Muncer's commonwealth attempted shortly: and that it must needs follow, whereof Sleidan wrote in his history—'If the laws of the land be rejected, if the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, if her chapel, if her authority be so neglected; if our Book of Service be so abominable,' (for to this pass were the Puritans now come, to reckon the Service Book *abominable*, which formerly they had generally a good value for,) 'and such paradoxés applauded to, God send us of His grace, I fear our wits be infatuated, *ut Deus in plenitudine temporis supplicium sumat.*' (Sleid. lib. 5)."—*Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 420.

A Proclamation to suppress them.

The Proclamation is dated from "Greenwich, the 11th of June, 1573": after adverting to the authority of the Book of Common Prayer and alleging "that some had rashly set forth, and by stealth imprinted certain books, under the title of *An Admonition to the Parliament*; and one other "also in defence of the said Admonition," it proceeds to charge the Queen's subjects "to keep the order of common

“prayer, divine service, and administration of the sacraments
“..... and none other contrary or repugnant;” and orders
“the said Books, viz. The Admonition and all other books
“made for the defence of it, or agreeable therewith,” to be
delivered up “within twenty days after” any one possessing
them should “have notice of this proclamation.” But, as
both Collier and Strype state, “this Proclamation was little
“regarded” for at the end of the allotted period “there was
“not one book brought in to the Bishop of London, though
“one need not doubt there were some thousands of them dis-
“persed in the City, and other parts of his Diocese.”—*Collier*
p. 542; *Strype’s Parker*, p. 421.

1573.
Elizabeth.

The anxiety of both the Archbishop and the Bishop of
London at the course things were taking may be seen in a
Letter which Strype gives (*Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 433,) and
which was written jointly by them “From Lambeth, July
“6, 1573,” apparently to “Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln” inform-
ing him of the state of affairs, and desiring him “to be pre-
“pared” for the “next meeting” of the Ecclesiastical Com-
mission “to see unto the same, as may most tend to the glory
“of God, good of His Church, maintenance of His gospel,
“establishing of decent and good order: to the edifying of
“His people, and to the repressing of all gainsayers.”

The Archbishop
and the Bishop of
London anxious
about the matter.

The four following Letters, all written within a few weeks
of this Proclamation, shew all the more the mischievous
character of these publications, inasmuch as the authors of
three, Pilkington, Grindal, and Sandys, were themselves men
disposed to favour as much as possible the Puritan party.

Letters shewing
the mischief of
these books: viz.

The first is from *Bishop Pilkington to Rodolph Gualter*, in
which he writes, on July 20, 1573—

from Bishop
Pilkington
to Gualter;

“Your prudence has heard, I well know, and that often enough
to weary you, of that unhappy dispute among some of our friends
respecting the affair of the habits and the dress of the clergy, and
how great a disturbance it had excited; but it has now so broken
out afresh, nay more, that which heretofore lurked in dissimulation
has now so openly discovered itself, that not only the habits, but
our whole ecclesiastical polity, discipline, the revenues of the bishops,
ceremonies or public forms of worship, liturgies, vocation of minis-
ters, or the ministration of the sacraments,—all these things are now
openly attacked from the press, and it is contended with the greatest
bitterness, that they are not to be endured in the church of Christ.
The doctrine alone they leave untouched: as to everything else, by

1573.

Elizabeth.

whatever name you call it, they are clamorous for its removal We endure, I must confess, many things against our inclinations, and groan under them, which if we wished ever so much, no entreaty can remove. We are under authority, and cannot make any innovation without the sanction of the queen, or abrogate anything without the authority of the laws; and the only alternative now allowed us is, whether we will bear with these things or disturb the peace of the church."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. cx. p. 287.

from *Sir J Wolley*
to *Sturmius*;

The next is from *Sir John Wolley*, "secretary in the French and Latin tongues to Queen Elizabeth": he thus addresses *John Sturmius* on July 24, 1573—

"A great question has for a long time, as I think you are aware, been moved among us, whether ministers and preachers of the word ought to be bound by public authority to use a certain kind of habit, especially such an one as the mass priests used in the papacy: which dispute is so agitated among us, that many parties have chosen to relinquish the preaching of the gospel, and are relinquishing it every day, rather than be obliged to adopt that kind of habit.

"The most noble Earl [of Leicester] therefore is anxiously desirous that you should propose some method of allaying this dispute which is now so rife, by procuring the opinions of the most learned divines of Germany, especially Beza, Gualter, and others, of great note, upon this matter, to be written to our universities."—*Ibid.* 2nd Series, No. xci. p. 220.

from *Abp.*
Grindal to
Bullinger;

The third is from *Archbishop Grindal* to *Henry Bullinger*, dated "York, the last day of July, 1573,"^a who says—

"Our affairs, after the settlement of the controversy respecting ceremonies, were for some time very quiet, when some virulent pamphlets^b came forth, privately printed, contrary to law, in which almost the whole external polity of our church was attacked.

" But a royal edict was lately published, in which libels of this sort are forbidden to be circulated for the future; which circumstance, as I hope, will retard their endeavours. They are young men who disseminate these opinions, and they have their supporters, especially from among those who are gaping for ecclesiastical property: but yet I am glad to say, that Humphrey, and Sampson,

^a Bullinger's reply from "Zurich March 10, 157[3-]4," in which he says "We are plagued also throughout all Germany by characters of this kind," is given in the 2nd Series, No. xcix. p. 244.

^b "The admonition to the Parliament, soon after the publishing of it, was backed with three other pamphlets, sent to Dr. Whitgift, as it were a challenge; which he briefly answered towards the end of his answer to the admonition. The first was a preface to the other two. The second was called, *An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their brethren*. The third, *An Exhortation to the Bishops and their Clergy, to answer a little Book that came forth the last Parliament; and to the other brethren, to judge of it by God's word, until they see it answered; and not be carried away with any respect of men*. See Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, vol. I. p. 80, &c. who gives a full account of the above writings."—*Editor's Note*.

and some others, who heretofore moved the question about ceremonies, are entirely opposed to this party."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. cxii. p. 292.

1573.

Elizabeth.

And the last is written by *Bishop Sandys* to *Henry Bullinger*, from "London, England, Aug. 15, 1573,"^a in which he declares—

from *Bishop Sandys* to *Bullinger*.

" our church, which is most sadly tossed about in these evil times, and is in a most wretched state of confusion, vehemently demands all my exertions ; New orators are rising up from among us, foolish young men, who while they despise authority, and admit of no superior, are seeking the complete overthrow and rooting up of our whole ecclesiastical polity, so piously constituted and confirmed, and established by the entire consent of most excellent men ; and are striving to shape out for us, I know not what new platform of a church. And you would not imagine with what approbation this new face of things is regarded, as well by the people as the nobility. The people are fond of change, and seek after liberty ; the nobility [seek for] what is useful. These good folks promise both, and that in abundance. But that you may be better acquainted with the whole matter, accept this summary of the question at issue reduced under certain heads."—*Ibid*, 1st Series, No. cxiv. p. 294.

He then mentions nine particulars which are mostly similar to those given in Cox's Letter to Gualter (see p. 265).

The dispute about the Vestments to be worn in Divine Service had, in 1565, resulted, apparently, in a compromise which ordered the Cope to be retained for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist in Cathedrals but *dispensed* with it in Parochial Churches (see p. 204) : judging, however, from the following passage this decision was not much regarded in the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury ; for Strype relating the Archbishop's personal Visitation of the Cathedral on Sept. 26th, states that—

" By the answers given in by the Dean and Prebendaries to the articles of inquiry, it seems, that . . . they had still remaining a great many old copes, which were to be disposed of as the Archbishop thought best There were matters presented relating more especially to the Dean. As that, he made away the copes of the Church : which he confessed, because it had been agreed by the Chapter, that all the Copes should be made away, and that he had two of them, and paid fifteen pounds for the same."—*Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 444.

Neglect of the prescribed Vestments in Canterbury Cathedral.

^a Bullinger's reply, March 10, 1573-4, will be found in 2nd Series, No. xcix. p. 241, in which he says " these parties are endeavouring to erect a church, which they will never raise to the height they wish ; nor if they should erect it, will they be able to maintain it."

1573.

Elizabeth.

Another Proclamation against Non-conformists.

It was mentioned, at p. 267, that the Proclamation of June against *The Admonition to the Parliament* and other Books failed to effect its purpose: in consequence of this, as it seems, her Majesty issued, on the 20th of October, "*A Proclamation against the despisers or breakers of the orders prescribed in the book of Common prayer,*" in which referring to the

"diversity of rites and ceremonies, disputations and contentions, schisms and divisions already risen, and more like to ensue :

She proceeds to say,

"the cause of which disorders, her majesty doth plainly understand to be the negligence of the bishops and other magistrates, who should cause the good laws and acts of parliament made in this behalf to be better executed, and not so dissembled and winked at, as hitherto (it may appear) that they have been."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 383.

Letter from the Privy Council to the Bishops on Uniformity.

This was followed up by "*A Letter from the council about uniformity and a parochial visitation,*" dated "From Greenwich the seventh of November, 1573," and addressed to each bishop: wherein it is said—

"We at her Majesty's commandment straitly made unto us, are therefore to require you to take a more vigilant eye to this uniformity, and to the keeping of the orders allowed by the said parliament, and by her Majesty's injunctions throughout your diocese; and either by yourself, which were most fit, or by your archdeacons, or other able and wise men personally to visit, and see, that in no one Church of your diocese there be any difformity or difference used for those prescribed orders For nothing is required, but that godly and seemly orders allowed by the Queen's majesty and the whole realm be kept. The which except ye did wink at and dissemble, there needed not these new proclamations and strait callings upon."—*Ibid.* p. 387.

The Archbishop writes to his Suffragans on the subject.

In consequence of this the Archbishop addressed his Suffragans through *Sandys* the Bishop of London, to whom he thus wrote on the 24th of November—

"Forasmuch as the Queen's Majesty being very careful and desirous, that one uniform order in the celebration of divine service and ministration of the sacraments should be used and observed in all places of this her Highness' realm and dominions, according to the Book of Common Prayer set forth by public authority and her Majesty's Injunctions, without alteration or innovation, hath not only divers and sundry times heretofore, and likewise now of late, signified her Highness' pleasure unto me therein, with straight com-

mandment to see the same duly executed. But also, for the better execution thereof, hath of late caused the Lords of the privy council to give in commandment on her Majesty's behalf to every of my brethren the bishops of this her realm, to give speedy order for the due execution of the premises in every of their several dioceses and jurisdictions."

1573.
Elizabeth.

Therefore the Archbishop requires that in the several Dioceses

"they do make certificate to me thereof on this side the feast of the Nativity of our Lord God next coming, together with the names and surnames of all such, as well of the clergy as of the laity, as shall obstinately refuse to shew themselves conformable herein."—*Parker Corresp.* No. cccxlv. p. 451.

Mr. Goode (pp. 4, 5 and 7) in his great anxiety to disprove "the reasonableness of a notion lately put forth among us, that where no direct prohibition occurs in the rubric or elsewhere, there the minister may introduce any of the ancient usages of the Church," has strangely pressed into his service this Proclamation and the Council's Letter. After quoting (with the exception of one clause)^a the above cited passage from the Letter of the Council, he says—

Mr. Goode's
misapplication
of this Letter.

"And what is understood by this prohibition is clear from Royal and Episcopal Visitation Articles, dating from the period of the first Prayer of Edward VI."

The authorities which he proceeds to select are, No. 2 of King Edward's Articles, 1549, (see p. 50); No. 2 of Ridley's Injunctions (see p. 65), and the 25th of his Articles of Inquiry,^b 1550; No. 3 of Parker's Articles for the Diocese of Canterbury, 1569 (see p. 231); No 4 of Grindal's Injunctions "for the Clergy" in the Province of York, 1571, (see p. 255); and three Orders of later dates which need not be noticed here as, whatever weight they have in themselves, they could not have influenced the intention of an earlier Document.

But nothing can well be more illusory than thus to bring together Directions embracing a period of three and twenty years, and issued, some of them, with reference to wholly opposite states of things. It is perfectly clear that Elizabeth's

^a viz. "For nothing is required, but that godly and seemly orders allowed by the Queen's Majesty and the whole realm be kept."

^b "Whether any minister useth wilfully and obstinately any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of communion, mattens, or evensong, ministration of sacraments, or open prayers, than is set forth in the Book of Common Prayer?"—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 80.

1573.

Elizabeth.

It was not aimed at conforming Clergy who might exceed Rubrical directions.

Proclamation was nothing more than a determination to compel, if possible, a compliance with such a *minimum* of Ceremonial as was positively enjoined in what the Council calls “the godly and seemly orders allowed by the Queen’s Majesty,” but which the Author and Approvers of *the Admonition* refused to use, and were countenanced in their in-compliance by that “negligence of the bishops and other magistrates” of which the Queen complained. Can it be seriously contended that Her Majesty, at a time when the manifest tendency was to abandon all religious Ornament and Ceremonial, would (like Mr. Goode) have placed in the same category these Puritans and any of the conforming Clergy of that day who may happen to have used some action, or gesture, or posture, not specifically named in the Book of Common Prayer? Or, to take a stronger example, can it be deliberately maintained that any Minister who should then have ventured to celebrate the Holy Communion with Lighted Candles on the Altar, or who, in the act of Consecration made the sign of the Cross over the Elements, would have been held equally culpable with one who refused to wear even a Suplice in this Ministration, and would not so much as bow at the Name of Jesus? Such seems to be Mr. Goode’s opinion: for my own part—considering that a large proportion of the Clergy of that day must have been accustomed to the usages of the old Offices—that the Queen had strong personal leanings to Ritual and Ceremonial—that she, together with Archbishop Parker and some of the Council, dreaded the consequences of the Puritan innovations—I am driven to a wholly opposite conclusion from that at which Mr. Goode has arrived; a conclusion which apparently impels him to demand from those who exceed his Standard of Ceremonial, a *rigid uniformity* which both History and Experience prove as impossible of being maintained by any, as it is unlikely to be attempted by those among whom Mr. Goode would probably range himself.

Complaint from the Archbishop to Burghley on the evils of the Puritan innovations.

Some consequences of the determined proceedings on the part of the Puritan innovators against whom these efforts of authority were mainly directed, may be gathered from the circumstance that on the “15 November, 1573,” Archbishop Parker writing to Lord Burghley in recommendation of a Dr.

Still for the vacant deanery of Norwich, as "one" who would be "learned and gracious to them to stay" the evils there; thus speaks of London:—

1573.

Elizabeth.

"In London our fonts must go down, and the brazen eagles, which were ornaments in the chancel and made for lectures, must be molten to make pots and basins for new fonts. I do but marvel what some men mean, to gratify these puritans railing against themselves, with such alteration where order hath been taken publicly this seven years by commissioners, according to the statute, that fonts should not be removed. Answer is made that they be but trifles, *sed hæ nugæ seria ducunt*. I were loth to blame any man,^a but I have sent and sent again, and spoken too, and yet cannot be received. As for the ecclesiastical commission, I see it is foully abused, and if it be not reformed by a new, it will work inconvenience."—*Parker Correspondence*, No. cccxlv. p. 449.

It has been already suggested that, in the nature of things, the *disuse* of Ornaments and Ceremonies which, though not *forbidden*, were *discouraged*, must probably have been gradual: the following passage confirms this view by shewing that it was true of things which had been *ordered to be removed*. Strype referring to an occurrence about this time, thus writes:—

"The Church was not yet so well cleansed of the remainders of Popish superstition, but that in divers places further reformation was needful. The vigilant Bishop of Norwich was informed that there was a Popish rood-loft still remaining in St. Gregory's Church in Norwich, with the fashion and order as was in the time of Popery. This many good people, and especially one Morley of that parish, complained of: others of the said parish, men of looser principles, or more favourable to Popery, were as fond of it. Whereupon the Bishop sent the Bishop of Man, who was Dean of the Cathedral, with his Chancellor and Commissary, to repair thither to inquire into the thing; and, as need was, to make reformation: which was done. But of this our Archbishop was informed, or rather misinformed, by some of the parish; and even one that was the Archbishop's Chaplain mistook when he certified the Archbishop, that the rood-loft in that church was no other than the rood-lofts in the other churches of Norwich. Hereupon the Archbishop, that was now grown very jealous of Puritans, and feared making any further alterations in the churches, as things proceeding from them, wrote a letter to the Bishop of these matters: to whom, for his full satisfaction, the said Bishop returned this discreet answer:

Information
against a Rood-
loft in Norwich.

"My duty humbly remembered: for answer to your Grace's letters on the behalf of Francis Morley, and the state of St. Gregory's church in Norwich; the Bishop of Man, and Dr. Gardiner, being patron of that church, my Chancellor, and Dr. Brisley, Commissary

^a The allusion seems to be to Sandys, Bishop of London. See *Parker*, p. 382.

1573.
Elizabeth.

of the city of Norwich, have been together at the said church, beside some other of my house : who do all generally mislike the order of the rood-loft, as being in a manner whole, with the vault or sollar, and the forepart with the door and stairs to go up ; so as little is wanting of that it was in the time of Popery. And it was certainly affirmed by the persons aforementioned, that while they were present there was nothing uttered by Morley, or urged by them, but that may well be allowed, and is agreeable to the book of Advertisements, and the Canons set forth by authority. And therefore I marvel that any of that parish should so much forget themselves as to report an untruth to your Grace ; but such is the nature of Debney of that parish, who many ways forgetteth himself, as in calling the Geneva Psalms, Gehenna Psalms. Such other adversaries there be many in that parish. And herein your Grace's Chaplain hath forgotten the state of that rood-loft. For while the Bishop of Man and the rest were there, they saw three men stand on a rank upon the sollar. Wherefore they of the parish must needs in maintaining thereof bewray what they be, and condemn the rest of the rood-lofts in Norwich, being contrary to that of St. Gregory's. Touching the credit of the said Morley, whom they have so greatly complained of, I have known him well since my coming hither to be right-honest, faithful, and of upright judgment, forward to reform gross abuses, such as this is of the rood-loft ; and not otherwise any way curious or busily given, that ever I knew, or can truly learn : this last of September, 1573. Your grace's to command, J. NORWICH." (E. MSS. R.P. Joh. Ep. Elien.)—*Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 450.

Further proof
which it affords
of the lawfulness
of Chancel-
Screens.

This account is valuable as corroborating what was said at p. 259 with regard to Dr. Lushington's opinion on Chancel Screens : here is another Bishop whose distinction between two kinds of Rood-lofts—the original and the altered ones—plainly points, as in Grindal's Injunctions, to the removal of the *gallery* (for such it was) running across the Chancel Arch, and to the retention of all that lower part of the Rood-loft which constituted the Chancel-screen :^a he at least, should

^a To any one in want of an argument for removing Chancel Screens, because of a Cross affixed to them, as at St. Barnabas ; or on the ground of their real or supposed connexion with the rood-loft, the following somewhat ludicrous account, may be commended. "Peter White was [in 1581] minister of Eaton Soken, Bedfordshire, but whenever he entered his church this object [the remainder of the rood-loft] met him, grieved his eye, and chafed his spirit. The rood-roft had here been partially destroyed, but the 'stump,' nine whole feet in breadth, yet remained, and the skreen downward lacked nothing but the images to make it perfect. One part of the parish, it appears, maintained that when the idols were all cast down, the idolatrous character of the erection ceased. Another, however, urged that 'the beam whereon the idol stood' had imbibed its soul-destroying properties, and that all the carved work should be broken down with axes and hammers. Of this opinion was the minister, who having, as he hoped, secured a bishop to come and preach against it, arranged everything for its final demolition immediately after the sermon. He was disappointed, and forced to preach himself ; but the congregation, may be, sustained no loss, and the loft

have been authority with the learned Judge, if he was aware of this Letter, seeing that he was one of those Bishops who, considering what is said of him at p. 220, can hardly be included in Dr. Lushington's shielding words "I again deny that "as to many, they could justly be called ultra-reformers."—*Judg.* p. 44.^a

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gained no mercy. From the account of the golden candlesticks in the Revelations Peter White proceeded to demonstrate the absurdity of their position who maintained 'that the part of the rood-loft yet standing is no monument of idolatry.'

"They say the rood-loft is no monument of idolatry. Tertullian telleth us that monumentum is anything that putteth in mind the memory of things not present. Now enter into the consideration of your own minds, and remember with yourselves whether, when you behold this loft, you at some time or other think with yourselves, some time yonder stood a crucifix, Mary and John; or when your children ask you what this loft is, or why it standeth there, and is more gay than the residue of the church, do you not answer, it was the rood-loft—there stood the rood, Mary and John? And when they say, further, where is now the rood, and why is it now taken away, do you not answer, they were idols, and therefore are taken away!

"Further, the laws of this realm, the judgment of our most gracious prince, (whom the Almighty ever preserve, to the utter overthrow of idolatry), with the practice of her commissions given unto divers learned men of this realm, as well in the common laws and civil laws as in divinity, teacheth us that this rood-loft is a monument of idolatry; for everywhere, in the first year of her grace's reign, they gave commandment to overthrow them in every place, as may appear unto you, by St. Neot's, your next neighbour, when Dr. Burton, and Dr. Neveson, and Serjeant Fleetwood, caused the rood-loft there to be cut down by the seats of the choir, leaving no memorial thereof, that their doing might be an example unto the residue of the country to do the like. Seeing, therefore, that these proofs do so clearly declare it to be a monument of idolatry, which in truth hath and doth greatly offend the consciences of the best sort, and disquieteth the whole number of this congregation, let me say unto you, as Moses at the Red Sea said unto the Israelites, when Pharoah had hemmed them in with his army,—'Fear ye not—stand still and behold the great works of the Lord. Ye see the Egyptians now, but after this day ye shall see them no more. Be not offended—quiet your minds—ye now see this monument that hath so troubled us, but after this, in this form and fashion shall ye see it no more.' (P. White's Serm. 1581)."—*Haveis's Sketches of the Reformation.* p. 119.

^a It was not until after these remarks and those at p. 259 were printed that I met with the following important Document which, it will be seen, *entirely corroborates them.* My attention was first drawn to it by a quotation, made by Mr. Goode (p. 83) of that part of the Order, i. e. (p. 276) commencing "the Communion Table shall stand," &c. to which he appends this note—"I quote this from the original tract in my possession, which from its rarity escaped the notice both of Wilkins and Dr. Cardwell. Heylin has quoted it. The only other copy I know of, is one recently found (I am told) among Archbishop Secker's papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford." After a fruitless search or enquiry in all likely places (including the Bodleian, where, it may as well be said, Secker's papers are not deposited, but in the Lambeth Library, though this document does not seem to be among them) I found that these Orders had been reprinted in the *Ecclesiastical History Society's* edition, 1849, of Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, vol. II. p. 361, where the Editor introduces them with these remarks—

"These Orders—about which there had been much discussion between our Author and Archbishop Williams (Coal from the Altar, 22; Holy Table, 41)—do not appear in any of the histories or collections, and have been reprinted for the first time while the present edition was passing through the press. It seems, therefore, worth while to give them at full length, from the *British Magazine* for

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Elizabeth.

Evidence of the
then existing
non-conformity.

Some idea may be formed of the extreme lack of conformity in this Diocese, from the returns made in December to the Archbishop in virtue of the Proclamation and the Order in

October 1848, (vol. xxxiv. pp. 419—21), to which they were communicated by the Rev. W. Goode. (*Comp. Grindal*, Ed. Park. Soc. 154)."

They are all reprinted here though some do not relate to the present enquiry.

"Orders taken the x day of October, in the third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. By virtue of Her Majesty's Letters addressed to her Highness' Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical, as followeth:—

[i.] "INPRIMIS, for the avoiding of much strife and contention, that hath heretofore risen among the Queen's subjects in divers parts of the realm, for the using or transposing of the rood-lofts, fonts, and steps, within the queres and chancels in every parish church. — It is thus decreed and ordained, that the rood-lofts, as yet being at this day aforesaid untransposed, shall be so altered that the upper part of the same with the sollar be quite taken down, unto the upper parts of the voutes, and beam running in length over the said voutes, by putting some convenient crest upon the said beam towards the church, with leaving the situation of the seats (as well in the quere as in the church) as heretofore hath been used.

[a.] "Provided yet, that where any parish of their own costs and charges by common consent will pull down the whole frame, and reedifying again the same in joiner's work (as in divers churches within the city of London doth appear), that they may do as they think agreeable, so it be to the height of the upper beam aforesaid.

[b.] "Provided also, that where in any parish church the said rood-lofts be already transposed, so that there remain a comly partition betwixt the chancel and the church, that no alteration be otherwise attempted in them, but be suffered in quiet. And where no partition is standing, there to be one appointed.

[c.] "Also that the steps which be as yet at this day remaining in any cathedral, collegiate, or parish church, be not stirred nor altered; but be suffered to continue, with the tombs of any noble or worshipful personage, where it so chanceth to be, as well in chancel, church or chapel. And if in any chancel the steps be transposed, that they be not erected again, but that the place be decently paved, where the Communion-table shall stand out of the times of receiving the Communion, having thereon a fair linnen cloth, with some covering of silk, buckram, or other such like, for the clean keeping of the said cloth on the Communion-board, at the cost of the parish.

[d.] "And further, that there be fixed upon the wall, over the said Communion-board, the tables of God's precepts, imprinted for the said purpose.

[e.] "Provided yet, that in Cathedral Churches the tables of the said precepts be more largely and costly painted out, to the better shew of the same.

[ii.] "Item, that all chancels be clean kept and repaired within as without, in the windows and otherwhere as appertaineth.

[iii.] "Item, that the font be not removed from the accustomed place; and that in parish-churches the curates take not upon them to confer baptism in basens, but in the font customably used.

[iv.] "Item, that there be no destruction or alienation of the bells, steeple, or porch belonging to any parish-church, by the private authority of any person or persons, without sufficient matter shewed to the Archbishop of the province, of his and their doings, and by them allowed; except it be for cause of repairing the same.

[v.] "Item, that neither the curates nor the parents of the children alter the common used manner for godfathers and godmothers to answer for the children, nor shall condemn the accustomed usage in the same.

[vi.] "Item, that it shall not be lawful to any ordinary to assign or enjoin the parishes to buy any books of sermons or expositions, in any other sort than is already, or shall be hereafter, appointed by public authority.

[vii.] "Item, that there be none other days observed for holy days or fasting days, as of duty and commandment, but only such holy days as be expressed for

Council mentioned at pp. 266 & 270:^a for, after setting forth

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holy days in the Kalendar late set forth by the Queen's authority. And none other fasting days (to be so commanded), but as the laws and proclamations by the Queen's Majesty provided in the same do appoint.

[viii.] "Item, that the parson, vicar, or curate, with the churchwardens, shall yearly make and exhibit unto the registers [registrars] of the Ordinary, the names and surnames of all persons married, christened, and buried, within their said parishes, by bill indented, with the subscription of their hands: noting the day and year of the said christenings, marriages, and burials, out of their original register kept in custody, as is appointed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions.

[ix.] "Item, that no parson, vicar, or curate of any exempt churches, or otherwise called *lawless churches*, do attempt to conjoin by solemnization of matrimony any persons, not being of his parish, without sufficient testimony of the bans asking in the churches where they dwell: or otherwise be authorized lawfully to marry.

"Imprinted at London in Powles Church-yard, by Richard Jugge, Printer to the Queen's Majesty. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis."

These Orders, then, are quite decisive on the question of Chancel-Screens in the reign of Elizabeth, and shew *beyond all doubt*, that, in removing the Rood-lofts, the partition between the Chancel and Nave was intended to be preserved: for while No. 1 directs the Loft to be "quite taken down" as far as the "beam," and even permits a "parish" to "pull down the whole frame" (probably in consideration of some such antipathy as that of Peter White, referred to in Note a, p. 274, though indeed it condemns by anticipation his conduct and that of his neighbours at St. Neot's), it distinctly commands (a) the substitution of a screen of the same height—(b.) forbids any alteration where there remains "a comely partition,"—(c.) and orders that "where no partition is standing, there to be one appointed."

It is to be regretted that Mr. Goode, as he was writing so fully on the Ornaments and arrangements of Churches, did not quote these explicit directions: it might (on the supposition mentioned at p. 1) have saved Dr. Lushington from committing himself to the mistaken opinion which he has enunciated in regard to Chancel-Screens.

Again, the direction not to lower the steps in the Churches, where they *remained*, all the more shews the unwillingness to get rid of the distinction between Nave and Chancel, and points to an intention of preserving the place and position which the Altars occupied, notwithstanding that moveable Tables were substituted for them: it shews, too, that in the ill-regulated removal of the Altars more had been done than was contemplated by the Queen and the Commissioners. (Comp. pp. 141—4.)

And, once more, the *silence* of these Orders, as to the Cross or Crucifix and Images, materially strengthens what has been already said—that they were not *prohibited by any Law*, though, as a matter of fact, *they had for the most part been removed*. For, considering the evidence furnished by the extracts from Bishop Cox, pp. 157 and 167; Thomas Sampson, p. 159; Cardwell, Note a, p. 161; Jewell, p. 166; and Archbishop Parker, p. 184;—passages which prove the existence, to some extent, of Crucifixes and Images; the desire to restore them; and the design to remove such as had ministered to superstitious uses—looking at these things, it seems most improbable that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should not have given explicit directions on these points, unless they felt themselves precluded by the state of the Law from issuing any orders whatever in respect to them.

^a Strype (*Life of Parker*. p. 455) tells us that "The Bishops did not like this "letter [from the Council of Nov. 7th]: they thought it hard that the blame of these disorders should be laid upon them without difference; and the labour and drudgery of punishing and reforming them, as it was irksome, so it would render them odious, put them under the infamous name of persecutors, and after all, be more than they could compass without the temporal authority; which they would rather should have been exercised about this work, as seeming, in their judgment, only able to restrain those practices. But this would not be granted. They were also here in this letter broadly accused to have minded little else in

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Elizabeth.

that, out of *thirty-five* Clergy who did not wear the Surplice only *seven* promised or were inclined to use it, the rest positively refusing or (in two cases) making such conditions as amounted to a refusal—the Certificate for the Archdeacony of Suffolk, “sent from the Bishop to the Archbishop in the “month of January” 1573-4, states that “Many churches as “yet have no surplices: but the Ministers have consented “to wear them so soon as they be provided.”—*Strype's Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 452.

About this time, also according to Strype,

“A great question now arose, or rather was renewed, in Norfolk, as well as in other places, what bread ought to be used in the Communion; partly occasioned by Sergeant Flowerdew: who, in his charge the last sessions, made mention of common bread to be used by authority of the Statute. This the Bishop of the Diocese signified to his Metropolitan at the same time he wrote his letter last mentioned, dated Jan. 21, shewing him how men were hereby in doubt what to do; especially remembering what the Queen had said to the Archbishop and other the Bishops, when they had been not long before in her presence, in exposition, as it seems, of her own Injunctions; which was in effect to continue the use of the wafer-bread. And accordingly, in obedience hereto, he did use that sort of bread in his church at Ludham. Of this therefore he desired the Archbishop's advice to be signified to him.”—*Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 453.

Renewed strife
as to the Wafer-
Bread.

1574.

The Archbishop's
Letter to the
Bishop of Nor-
wich on the
subject.

The Archbishop's reply appears to be given in the following passage from a Letter dated “17th May, 1574,” containing, as Strype says, “all that I find answered by the Archbishop “to him in this matter” :—

“You would needs be informed by me whether I would warrant you either loaf-bread or wafer bread, and yet you know the Queen's pleasure. You have her Injunctions, and you have also the Service-Book; and, furthermore, because I would deal brotherly with you,

their visitations than their own covetous ends. And therefore perhaps some of their greatest enemies signed it: such was the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Knollys; otherwise well enough affected towards those persons against whom this letter was written. But however the Bishops obeyed. And in London I find a visitation was made of every parish, and an inquisition how conformity to the established rites were observed, and what separate meetings there were; as we heard before how the like was done in the diocese of Norwich.”

In illustration of these observations Strype gives a Letter from Grindal Archbishop of York, to the Archbishop dated “9 of Decemb. 1573,” and one from Cox, Bishop of Ely, of the 5th of December: the following passage from Grindal's letter may, not inaptly, be transcribed here:

“If my successor at London have ministered any occasion of his own disquiet, I am sorry. But certainly the Bishop of London is always to be pitied. For if burning were the penalty of these curiosities, yet should he never lack a number of that generation.’”

I wrote in my last letters, how I used in my diocese for peace sake and quietness. I would your Lordship and other were nearer, to hear what is said sometime."—*Parker Corresp.* p. 457.

1574.

Elizabeth.

Upon the receipt of this, as Strype thinks,

"the Bishop, in excuse of himself for requiring so earnestly his judgment and direction herein, shewed his Grace the great contentions and unquiet disputes that arose hence in his Diocese. 'If your Grace, said he, did hear and see what contention and heart-burning is kindled in many places, and what earnest disputes are maintained abroad for the bread, either part diversedly affected; the one alleging the Book, the other her Majesty's Injunctions; the one affirming this, the other that, to be of more force; in such dangerous, bitter, and daily striving, your Grace would think it not impertinent for me to wish a certainty; and one way to be set down for everybody, by such as are placed in high authority.'"—*Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 453.

The Bishop's reply.

This seems to have been the occasion of another letter to Parkhurst on the "14 June, 1574," in which Parker says:—

The Archbishop's rejoinder.

"And as for their contention for wafer-bread and loaf-bread, if the order you have taken will not suffice them, they may fortune hereafter to wish they had been more conformable: although I trust that you mean not universally in your diocese to command or wink at the loaf-bread, but, for peace and quietness, here and there to be contented therewith."—*Parker Corresp.* p. 459.

There is much reason for believing that one main cause of the difficulty which the Archbishop encountered in his endeavours to procure something like Uniformity, and to repress the Puritan innovations, was the composition of the Privy Council and the conduct of some of its leading members: this is shewn by a circumstance related by Strype, who says—

The composition of the Council a hindrance to the Archbishop;

"There were about these times *prophesyings* set up in divers of the dioceses, and particularly in that of *Norwich*. These *prophesyings*, how good and profitable soever they were in themselves, became much abused. Their first intent was, that Ministers, at appointed times of public meeting in certain churches convenient, should severally, one after another, handle and interpret particular texts of holy scripture allotted them; and of the gravest of them, as moderator, at last to repeat the heads and substance of what had been discoursed, with his own determination. But many of these Ministers took occasion here to vent controversies concerning matters of Church discipline, and to call in question the establishment of this Church by Episcopacy; others were forward to shew their parts to the contempt of others; insomuch, that much disturbance and disquietment was often raised hereby; to the spoiling of the good

1574.

Elizabeth.

design of these exercises, which was for the edification of the people, and for the promoting of study and knowledge in the Clergy. The Queen hearing how they were managed in the diocese of Norwich, utterly disliked them, and commanded the Archbishop to give order to put them down. Whereupon, in a letter (March 25, 1574) to one Matchet, his Chaplain, Parson of Thurgarton in this diocese, he directed him to repair to his Ordinary, and to shew him how the Queen had willed him (the Archbishop) to suppress these *vain prophesyings*, as he called them: and that thereupon he required the said Ordinary, in her Majesty's name, immediately to discharge them of any further such doings. This was not acceptable to the Bishop, and caused some arguing and several letters this year between him and the Archbishop, though he at last complied.

exemplified in their conduct at this time as to the Prophecys in Norwich.

"But in the mean time the said Bishop had found means to acquaint some of the Privy Council with the Archbishop's order; nay, and procured their letters (or at least letters came from them) to hold up these *prophesyings*; as it were to the annulling the Archbishop's jurisdiction in his province, and that in a command backed by the Queen's authority,"—*Life of Parker*, bk. 4, p. 460-1.

The Archbishop, however, persisted in his order, and the Bishop wrote to the Bishop of London (who indeed was one of those who signed the Council's letter) asking his advice, but, as Strype says—

"This business, I perceive, went no further: the Archbishop's letter was obeyed: and the Bishop sent" his "order to his Chancellor from Ludham, the 7th of June, for the suppression of these prophecies. . . ."—*Ibid.* p. 462.

Evidence that Parker's efforts for uniformity met with some success.

The various attempts made by the Archbishop to stay excesses, seem, however, not to have been wholly useless: thus *Bishop Cox* writing to *Rodolph Gualter*, July 12, 1574, remarks—

"You rightly judge, most learned Gualter, concerning the presbyterian system of our people, and the sounder portion of the clergy of the church of England agree with you; and these noisy disturbers now give us scarcely any trouble, except that they continue to carp at our rites, like ghosts in the dark: they have for some time past been restrained by a rather severe correction, and are now vanquished by a most learned confutation."^a—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. cxx. p. 306.

So too *Bishop Sandys* in a Letter to *Henry Bullinger* dated from "Fulham in England, Aug. 9, 1574," writes—

"I hope that this new fabric of new discipline will shortly fall in pieces by its own weight, since it appears that many of our country-

^a "Namely, Dr. Whitgift's reply to Cartwright's 'Admonition to the Parliament', for an account of which see Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, 1. 66, &c."—*Editor's Note*.

men who formerly admired it, are now grown weary of it; and those who seemed most zealous in the establishment of this new platform, have now begun to grow wonderfully cool, as it were, through a change of opinion."—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series. No. cxxiii. p. 311.

And once more *Bishop Sandys*, addressing *Rodolph Gualter*, from "Fulham in England, Aug. 9, 1574," observes—

"Our innovators, who have been striving to strike out for us a new form of a church, are not doing us much harm; nor is this new fabric of theirs making such progress as they expected. Our nobility are at last sensible of the object to which this novel fabrication is tending. The author of these novelties, and after *Beza* the first inventor, is a young Englishman, by name *Thomas Cartwright*, who, they say, is now sojourning at *Heidelberg*. He has lately written from thence a treatise in Latin, in defence of this new discipline which he wishes to obtrude upon us. I have not yet seen the Book, but I hear that it is printed, and has been brought over to us."—*Ibid*, 1st Series, No. cxxiv. p. 312.

It was in the early part of the following year (1575) that Archbishop *Parker* made, what seems to have been, his last public effort to procure conformity: *Collier* refers to it in the following passage:—

"Archbishop *Parker*, at the instance of the Bishop of *Winchester*, made a *Visitation* in the Isle of *Wight*. And here finding the orders of the Church neglected, and the Puritans gaining ground, he exerted his character, brought the people to conformity, and recovered them from their mistakes. This vigour in discipline was complained of to the Earl of *Leicester*, who made his report to the Queen with art and aggravation enough. This unkind office was not without effect: for when the Archbishop waited on her Majesty at *Hampton Court*, she received him coldly, and declar'd herself unpleas'd with his *Visitation*. Of this discouragement the Archbishop gave the Treasurer an account in a letter. Amongst other things he puts him in mind the Puritans had a strong interest at court; that the Queen was almost the only person that stood firm to the Church: that if the *Precisians* had the ascendant, and prevailed in the administration, her Majesty would be undone. He complains of the inconstancy of some of the Bishops: that several of that order lay by, and signified little: and that some others endeavour'd to undermine him. He declares himself not so much concerned for the *Tippet*, and *Surplice*, or such like ceremonies, as for the authority of the laws which injoin'd them:"—*Ecc. Hist.* vol. II. p. 548.

The Letter here referred to is one addressed to Lord *Burghley*, dated 11th April, [1575]:—

"*DOMINE vim patior, responde pro me.* I trust that this shall be one of the last letters which I shall write unto your Lordship, the

1574.
Elizabeth.

1575.

The Archbishop
Visits the Isle of
Wight for the
Bishop of Win-
chester:

he writes to Lord
Burghley of the
Queen's com-
plaint to him
thereon.

1575.

Elizabeth.

rather for that I am now stricken with mine old disease more sharply than ever I was

“ Her Majesty this other day, when I was at Richmond at her commandment, suddenly charged me for my visitation. I think I know from whence it came, and who did inform one nobleman to open it unto her: but I say, and say again, that my visitation in Winchester diocese (which was the device of the bishop) wrought such a contentation for obedience, that I do not yet repent me of it, though the bishop be told that his clergy was sifted, and the thorn was put in his foot; but he will so pluck it out that it should be so in other men’s feet that they should stamp again, as I am credibly informed. The Isle of Wight and other places of that diocese be now gone again from their obedience. If this be a good policy, well, then let it be so. If this be a good policy, secretly to work overthwartly against the Queen’s religion established by law and Injunction, as long as they so stand, I will not be partaker of it.

“ Her Majesty told me that I had supreme government ecclesiastical; but what is it to govern cumbered with such subtlety? Before God, I fear that her Highness’ authority is not regarded, so that if they could, for fear of further inconvenience, they would change her government; yea, your’s and mine, how cunningly soever we deal it. And surely, my lord, whatsoever cometh of it, in this my letter I admonish you to look unto it in such sincerity as God may be pleased, or else He will rise one day and revenge His enemies. Does your lordship think that I care either for cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer-bread, or any such? But for the laws so established I esteem them, and not more for exercise of contempt against law and authority, which I see will be the end of it, nor for any other respect. If I, you, or any other named ‘great papists,’ should so favour the pope or his religion that we should pinch Christ’s true gospel, woe be unto us all

This great number of anabaptists taken on Easter-day last may move us to some contemplation To dance in a net in this world is but mere vanity. To make the governance only policy is mere vanity”—*Parker Corresp.* No. cclxix. p. 477.

Death of Abp.
Parker.

The narrative is thus brought down to the termination of Parker’s Episcopate, for “the Archbishop died on the 17th of “May, [1575] and was solemnly interred on the 16th [or, as “Strype says, the 6th] of June following.”—*Collier, E. H.* vol. I. p. 548.

Grindal succeeds
him.

There was considerable delay in appointing his successor, to use Collier’s words:—

“After the *See of Canterbury* had been kept vacant somewhat more than half a year, *Grindal*, Archbishop of *York*, was prefer’d thither. But before he had pass’d thro’ all the Forms, and completed his character, the *Convocation*, after several prorogations, was re-assembled at *St. Paul’s*, (Feb. 10, 1575-6). And here, according

to custom, the Bishop of *London* was President. At the second Session, *Grindal's* translation being perfected, he came into the Convocation House at St. Paul's and took the Presidentship upon himself. There was no business done till the 17th of March, when the Archbishop being present,^a order'd the reading of several *Articles*, afterwards subscribed by both houses. They relate to the Regulation of the Clergy.

"By the first;.....the Solemnity [of Ordination] was to be directed by the Form of the *Ordinal*."

The twelfth, to remove doubts as to the Minister of private Baptism, orders that "private Baptism, in case of necessity, is only to be minister'd by a lawful Minister or Deacon, called to be present for that purpose, and by none other."^b—*Collier E. H.* vol. II. p. 551.

A new Ecclesiastical Commission was now issued (whether as a matter of course in consequence of the change in the Archbishopric, or from some new necessity, is not plain): it is dated "the 23rd day of April, in the eighteenth year of "our reign," [*i.e.* 1576] and is addressed to "Edmund, "Archbishop of Canterbury," and others: after referring to 1 Eliz. c. 1, A.D. 1558, "*An Act to restore to the Crown the "ancient Jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and "Spiritual,*" &c.; to 1 Eliz. c. 2, A.D. 1558, "*An Act for "the Uniformity of Common Prayer,*" &c.; to 5 Eliz. c. 1, A. D. 1562, "*An Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Royal "Power over all Estates and Subjects within her Dominions*"; and to 13 Eliz. c. 12, A.D. 1571, "*An Act to reform certain "Discords touching Ministers of the Church*"; the Commission adverts to "divers seditious and slanderous persons," who "not only" deprave "the said good laws and statutes, but also "have set forth divers seditious books within this our realm "of England"; and then proceeds to empower the Commissioners, or any three of them, one of whom must be the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, Winchester, or Ely, to carry out the provisions of the said Statutes and to inflict their penalties.—*Strype's Grindal*, bk. 2, p. 208, and *Append.* No. vi.

It is not unlikely that *Bishop Cox* was referring to this

1575.

Elizabeth.

1576.

A New Ecclesiastical Commission.

^a In "Henry the Seventh's Chapel" at Westminster.—*Strype's Grindal*, p. 194.

^b "This twelfth Article is omitted in the printed book of these Articles."—*Editor's Note.* Remains of *Grindal*, p. 189, Ed. Parker Society.

1576.

Elizabeth.

Commission in the following passage of a Letter from him to *Rodolph Gualter* written apparently about this time :—

Bp. Cox refers
to this.

“Our *men of singularity* are quiet through fear of punishment, except that they are hatching I know not what mischief in secret. And those too, who pursue the cares and things of this world, give us much trouble ; for they are striving by I know not what arts and stratagems to take away from us our property, and reduce us to beggary, that they may bring us back to the condition of the primitive church and the poverty of the apostles.”—*Zurich Letters*, 1st Series, No. cxxviii. p. 318.

Abp. Grindal's
Visitation.

“This summer, Archbishop *Grindal* made a Metropolitan “Visitation.” (*Collier* E. H. p. 552). It commenced, as *Strype* says, in Canterbury Cathedral, which he visited in person, on May 16th, 1576. “Commissions were also issued “out from the Archbishop for the visiting of other Sees.” (*Life of Grindal*, bk. ii. p. 211). The Articles for the Cathedrals are given by *Collier*, p, 552 : the following are those which bear upon this enquiry :—

His Articles for
the Cathedrals.

5. *Item*, your Prebendaries what Orders they be in, how, and in what Apparel they do commonly go?”

“6. *Item*, Whether your Divine Service be used, and the Sacraments be ministered in the manner and form prescribed in the Queen's Majesty's *Injunctions*, and none other ways? Whether it be said or sung in due time, whether in all points according unto the Statutes of your Church, not being repugnant to any of the Queen's Majesty's Laws or *Injunctions* ; whether every one of your Church doth openly communicate in the said Cathedral Church, at the least once in every year ?

“11. *Item*, Whether you have necessary Ornaments and Books for your Church ?”

Articles for the
Parishes :

The Articles for the Parishes are much fuller and more explicit : they were “Imprinted at London, by Willyam “Seres. Anno 1576,” and are entitled—

“Articles to be enquired of, within the Prouince of Canterburie, in the Metropolitall visitation of the most reuerende father in God, Edmonde, Archbishop of Canterburie, Primate of all Englande, and Metropolitan.

they treat of,

“In the xviiij. yeare of the reigne of of our most gracious souerygne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, defender of the fayth, etc.”

Among them are found the following :—

2. Whether you have in your Parish Churches and Chapels all things necessary and requisite for Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, specially the Book of Common Prayer,

with the new Kalender, a Psalter, the English Bible in the largest volume, the two tomes of the Homilies, the Paraphrases of Erasmus translated into English, the table of the Ten Commandments, a convenient pulpit well placed, a comely and decent table, standing on a frame, for the Holy Communion, with a fair linen cloth to lay upon the same, and some covering of silk, buckram, or such like, for the clean keeping thereof, a fair and comely communion cup of silver, and a cover of silver for the same, which may serve also for the ministration of the Communion Bread, a decent large surplice with sleeves, a sure coffer with two locks and keys for the keeping of the Register Book, and a strong chest or box for the almose of the poor, with three locks and keys for the same, and all other things necessary in and to the premises.

1576.

Elizabeth.

Things requisite
for Service.

“4. Whether in your Churches and Chapels all Altars be utterly taken down and clean removed, even unto the foundation, and the place where they stood paved, and the wall whereunto they joined whited over, and made uniform with the rest, so as no breach or rupture appear.

Altars and

“And whether your roodlofts be taken down, and altered, so that the upper parts thereof with the sollar or loft be quite taken down unto the crossbeam, and that the said beam have some convenient crest put upon the same.

Rood-lofts

“5. Whether your Churches and Chapels with the chancels thereof be well and sufficiently repaired, and kept without abuse of anything: and whether your churchyards be well fenced and cleanly kept; and if any part thereof be in decay, through whose default is it so?

Repairs:

“6. Whether all and every antiphoners, mass-books, grailes, portesses, processionals, manuals, legendaries, and all other books of late belonging to your Church or Chapel, which served for the superstitious Latin service, be utterly defaced, rent, and abolished, and if they be not, through whose default that is, and in whose keeping they remain. And whether all vestments, albes, tunicles, stoles, phanons, pixes, paxes, handbells, sacring-bells, censers, chismatories, crosses, candlesticks, holy water stocks, images, and such other relics and monuments of superstition and idolatry be utterly defaced, broken, and destroyed; and if not, where, and in whose custody they remain.

Old Office Books
and Utensils:

“7. Whether your parson, vicar, curate, or minister, do wear any cope in your parish Church or Chapel, or minister the Holy Communion in any chalice heretofore used at mass, or in any profane cup or glass, or use at the ministration thereof any gestures, rites, or ceremonies, not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, as crossing or breathing over the Sacramental Bread and Wine, or shewing the same to the people to be worshipped and adored, or any such like; or use any oil and chrism, tapers, spattle, or any other popish ceremony in the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism.

Ornaments and
Ceremonies:

“38. Whether in the perambulation [of the parish on Rogation days] the curate do use any other rite or ceremony, than to say or sing in English the ciii. Psalm,

Rogations:

1576.

Elizabeth.

and the civ. Psalm, and such sentences of Scripture, as be appointed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, with the Litany and suffrages following the same, and reading one homily already devised and set forth for that purpose, without wearing any surplices, carrying of banners, or handbells, or staying at crosses, or any such like popish ceremonies.

42. Is against rosaries and Primers.

50. Against pulling down any part of the Church, the Bells, &c.

55. Against bequests for obits, &c.

61. Against lords of misrule, morris-dancers, &c., in the Church."

—*Remains of Grindal*, Parker Society, p. 156, and *Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 397, &c.

and other matters.

The Archbishop did not adhere strictly to the Law.

These Articles furnish strong evidence that *Grindal*, pursuing the course he took when Bishop of London, and of which *Parker* then complained, was really trying to supersede the existing law : for several of these things against which his Articles were directed had not been *abolished* by Statute, or by any Injunction of the Queen based upon the 25th §. of her Act of Uniformity : though, as it has been admitted already, they had been *dispensed* with, or suffered to go out of use. And that Act, be it remembered, made the SECOND YEAR of Edward its Standard. One of the plainest proofs is this—that one of the *Vestments*, viz., the Cope, was ordered *nominatim* in the "Interpretation" attached by the Archbishop and Bishops to the Queen's Injunctions, which were still in force, yet here the Archbishop classes "all vestments" with his "monuments of superstition." It is true that the Advertisements of 1565 (see p. 204) insisted only upon the Surplice for all Divine Offices in *Parish Churches* ; but (apart from the important consideration that they were not of equal authority with the Injunctions, owing to their want of Royal Sanction) it must be remembered, that this relaxation of the Rubric and the Injunction sprung entirely from the Puritan *opposition* to the Surplice, and was considered to be the surest means of retaining it : the Surplice was *enjoined* not from any *desire* to forbid the Cope ; but because there seemed no prospect of maintaining the latter, and great risk of losing the former, although the Convocation of 1562-3 (see pp. 187-9), refused to have *either* taken away.

And the like is true of the Albes, Tunicles, Stoles,² Crosses,

² Although the above remarks are strictly limited to the consideration of what had been *intentionally and deliberately prohibited by Law*, yet it is of consequence

Candlesticks (if *Altar* Candlesticks are here meant), probably, also, Censers : there does not appear to be anything in the previous determinations of the Crown or Convocation, or the Visitation Articles of Parker, to warrant the epithets which Grindal applied to them, or the destruction to which he doomed them. So, too, there seems no evidence to shew that the wearing of Surplices in Rogation Processions, and the other Acts which Grindal denounces as "Popish Cere-

1576.
Elizabeth.

Instances of this.

not to pass over statements which point to the *practical abolition* of particular things, nor to omit to assign them their due weight, as evidence of such a purpose as they bespeak. On this ground it is desirable to quote the following passage, which Mr. Goode gives, at p. 35, "from a Letter of the Puritan, Robert Johnson, to Dr. Sandys, when the latter was Bishop of London, in 1573 (whom he scurrilously styles 'Superintendent of Popish corruptions in the Diocese of London'). He says, 'You must yield some reason why the shaven crown is despised, and the square cap received : why the *tippet* is commanded, and the *stole* forbidden : why the *vestment* is put away, and the *cope* retained : why the *albe* is laid aside, and the *surplice* is used : or, why the *chalice* is forbidden in the Bishop of Canterbury's Articles : or the *gray amice* by the Canon, more than the rest. What have they offended, or what impiety, is in them more than the rest now commanded?' (A Part of a Register, 4to., p. 104.)"

It must be confessed, I think, that there is much truth in Johnson's remarks, and that they do point to a good deal of practical inconsistency in the Bishops of his day—an inconsistency into which they seem to have been driven by the extreme anti-Roman prejudices which so many of their number had imbibed abroad. Even in Parker's case, though he is freer, owing to his not having been among the exiles, it does seem strange, in these days when we can calmly review the whole history, to find him evincing so strong an objection to the use *e. g.* of Chalices which had once been used in the Mass, and ordering them to be converted into Communion Cups (see p. 231). I am afraid his order cannot be explained satisfactorily upon the supposition that the latter would be *more convenient for use*.

It may be as well to notice here a circumstance mentioned by Strype (*Ann.* bk. 2, pp. 420—1), which seems to establish three points bearing upon the above note and the remarks to which it is appended: (1) The authority often exercised under the false plea of strict law; (2) The doubtful or illegal acts performed by, or in deference to, this authority; (3) The unscrupulous character of, apparently, the same Robert Johnson, whose words are quoted.

It seems that disturbances were made in King's College, Cambridge, by some of the fellows, and complaints lodged against the Provost, Dr. Goad; a visitation was held in consequence "before the Lord Burghly, the University Chancellor, and others, the Bishop of Lincoln, it is like, being one." Beside other Articles exhibited against him, "He answered, also, as well the other branch of complaints made against him, namely, about injuries done to the good estate of the College. As for selling the copes that were found in the house, (which was one article;) he answered, that he turned them into money, and bestowed that money upon the new library, and books for the furnishing it. That he made away with the organs, (which was another;) he answered, he had done it by express command of the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Whitgift, Dr. May, and Dr. Ithel, the Queen's Commissioners to visit the College some years before, when they came into the chapel to prorogue that visitation. And that the money for the organ was converted to the College use.

".....the provost was cleared, and the main instruments in this disturbance were censured:.....Rob. Johnson, a drawer up of the articles, made his submission to the provost for writing those articles of accusation against him, for carrying them up, and endeavouring to make proof of them:....."

1576.
Elizabeth.

“ monies,” were all so accounted by the Injunctions and their Interpretations, or by the Archbishop’s predecessor, or were included in the “superstitious ceremonies heretofore used,” which the Advertisements forbad.

Reply to Mr.
Goode on these
Articles.

These remarks seem to me to be an answer to Mr. Goode’s reference to these Articles, at pp. 37, 70, and 84, where he uses them to shew what he thinks were then “the intentions of our Church” as to Vestments; its determination as to Copes and kindred Ornaments; and its directions as to the Furniture of the Communion Table: if we are to argue these questions *accurately*, we must not string together Articles, Injunctions, Visitation Inquiries, and other Documents, running over one or more reigns, issued, too, at various times, and by various authorities, *viz.*, the Crown, the Convocation, the Metropolitan, the Diocesan Bishops — without carefully distinguishing their several degrees of authority, and giving the chief place to those which can support a claim to be regarded strictly as Ecclesiastical Law.

The Archbishop
sequestered.

It seems, however, that these Articles effected nothing, for *Cardwell* remarks (Doc. Ann. vol. I. p. 397), “It is probable that no injunctions were issued in consequence, as the Archbishop was shortly afterwards placed under sequestration” for six months for refusing to act as the Queen desired him in her determination to suppress the “Prophecying”: but as his submission at the end of that period was not thought satisfactory, “the sequestration continued” (*Collier* p. 560), and seems not to have been removed until about *August*, 1582.

The six years which elapsed during this sequestration, are pretty much a blank, so far as concerns the present enquiry: the Archbishop’s power being restrained, nothing seems to have been done beyond what was demanded by the ordinary requirements of the Church; various, and often considerable, inconveniences arose out of this state of things, but these it is not necessary to particularize: it will be as well, however, to mention some leading incidents of the period, in which he was concerned, in order to connect the history.

On the 24th March, 1576-7, John Elmer or Aylmer, D.D., 1576-7.
was Elizabeth.

“Preferred to the See of London, and consecrated at Lambeth, by Archbishop Grindal, assisted by *Edwin* Archbishop of York, and *John* Bishop of Rochester.”—*Collier, Eccl. Hist.* p. 559. *Aylmer* made Bishop of London.

Advantage seems to have been taken of this suspension of regular government, if we may judge from the following passage :—

“Many Ministers now-a-days took livings, and would only preach to their congregations, but refused to administer the Sacraments : because, I suppose, they did not like some things in the offices appointed by the Book of Common Prayer. But they provided others for that part of the ministerial office : a thing which gave much offence to the Queen. This occasioned the Lords of the Privy Council to write a letter [on the 17th of January, 1579-80] to our Archbishop” requiring him “to take a view of all such within your diocese as do so disjoin the one part of the function from the other ; and do not at certain times in the year, as well minister the Holy Sacraments in their own person in what place soever they receive any portion for preaching ; and yourself by your ecclesiastical censures to compel them to execute both. And such as you shall find intractable, to send them up to us ; and to certify us immediately upon your said view, how many you find of these recusants within your diocese.”—*Strype’s Grindal*, p. 244. 1579-80. Irregularities during Grindal’s sequestration.

One consequence of the sequestration under which Grindal had been placed was that— He renews his Visitation, by Commission :

“The metropolitanical visitation, which the Archbishop had begun, upon his entrance into the archbishopric, was for some years intermitted by reason of his troubles. But now in this year it revived again. For there was such a visitation for the Church of Peterborough instituted May the 13th. For that was the date of the Commission ; which was issued out, not from the Archbishop, but from William Aubrey and William Clark, LL.DD., exercising the office of Vicar General and Principal Official, to John Dey of the University of Oxford, James Ellis, LL.D. and Richard Bancroft, B.D. And so from this year 1580, onward in the years 1581, 1582, 1583, the Visitations of several Churches were on foot, the Commission for them all issuing out from Aubrey ; as though the Archbishop still remained under sequestration”—*Strype’s Grindal*, p. 256.

The situation of the Archbishop in regard to the Church’s Synodical Assembly is thus stated by Strype— 1580-1. does not preside in Convocation.

“A Convocation was held this year [1580-1], meeting at St. Paul’s ; wherein (though Fuller calls it a *silent convocation*) were various mighty matters treated of, and laboured to be ratified. As

1581.

Elizabeth.

concerning making of Ministers; concerning Faculties; concerning commutation of penance and excommunication. Wherein our good Archbishop, though under this cloud, and not appearing, (but Elmer, Bishop of London, being in his room at the head of this Synod,) yet had a great hand: labouring for some good reformation of things still amiss in the Church.—*Ibid.* 256.

Bishop of London's Visitation

In the course of this year, as Strype informs us—

“Aylmer, bishop of London, held a visitation of the clergy of London, at the convocation house: where he administered articles to them; and made certain inquiries. His articles were, (as I take them from the diary of one of the clergy then present,—*Mr. Earl. Cott. Librar.*) I. Straitly to keep the Book of Common Prayer and Sacraments. II. Not to use invectives in their sermons. Forbid by the Statute established. III. None to be so hardy as to refuse wearing the surplice in their ministration. IV. None to add, alter, or diminish anything in divine service. Then for the *inquiries*. I. If any that had cure of souls did not also administer the Sacraments. II. If any did not observe the ceremonies to be used at baptism and marriage. III. If the youth were catechised. IV. What ministers who utterly refused to read the Homilies. V. What uncharitable preachers, that called others that preached not, by ill names, as *dumb dog, &c.*”—*Ann.* vol. III. bk. 1, p. 15.

1582.

Grindal restored:

The period at which Grindal was allowed to resume entirely his Archiepiscopal functions, does not seem to be mentioned with exactness: but the same writer says—

“.... in this year 1582, Aubrey had the sole jurisdiction and office of Vicar General; the writs and instruments from this time running all along in his name, and no name of Clark henceforward mentioned.

“Which makes me apt to think, that from henceforth our Archbishop had his sequestration taken off, and was restored to the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.”—*Life of Grindal*, p. 272.

1583.

his death.

Shortly afterwards he lost his sight, and offered, on April 12, 1583, to resign his Archbishopric; but he died on the 6th of July, and before the act was completed.

Whitgift succeeds him.

Grindal's successor in the Archbishopric was *John Whitgift*, then Bishop of Worcester; he was confirmed on the 23rd September, 1583: Collier speaks of him thus—

“*Whitgift*, at his coming to the see, had instructions from the Queen to hold a strait rein, to press the discipline of the Church, and recover his *Province* to uniformity. This method agreed with the Archbishop's sentiment, and was probably suggested by himself: for he insisted strongly upon the clergy's subscribing three Articles afterwards required by the Canons passed in 1603. That is, the Queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, the unexceptionableness of the Common

Prayer and *Ordinal*, and that the 39 Articles are altogether agreeable to the Word of God."—*Collier, E. H.*, vol. I. p. 581.

"Now this Prelate had no latitude for indulgence or comprehension: he had formerly engaged in controversy with *Cartwright*, and was entirely for a thorough conformity."—*Ibid.* p. 583.

One of the Archbishop's earliest acts was to make arrangements for his Visitation: among the Articles which he prepared for that purpose, occur the following, which, from their importance, it may be as well to mention, though only the first bears strictly upon this question—

"Fourthly, That all preachers, and others in Ecclesiastical Orders, do at all times wear and use such kind of apparel as is prescribed unto them by the book of advertisements, and her majesty's injunctions *anno primo*.

"Sixthly, That none be permitted to preach, read, catechize, minister the Sacraments, or to execute any other ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be admitted thereunto, unless he first consent and subscribe to these articles following, before the Ordinary of the Diocese wherein he preacheth, readeth, catechiseth, or ministereth the Sacraments: *viz.*—

"I. That her Majesty, under God, hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, and dominions, and countries, of what estate ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be. And that none other foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority ecclesiastical or temporal, within her Majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

"II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God. And that the same may be lawfully used; and that he himself will use the form of the said Book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

"III. That he alloweth the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops in both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord 1562, and set forth by her Majesty's authority. And that he believeth all the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God,"—*Strype's Whitgift*, bk. 3, p. 115, and *Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 468.

Upon the Fourth of these Articles Mr. Goode remarks (p. 35)—

"This, I conceive, *includes* the directions given for their dress in their public ministrations."

And he appends to it the following Note—

"The 'Injunction' to which reference is made in this Article of *Whitgift*, and in those quoted above of Archbishop Parker [*viz.* Nos.

1583.
Elizabeth.

His visitation
Articles order

Apparel for
Clergy;

Subscription to

the Royal Su-
premacv;

the Prayer
Book;

the 39 Articles.

Mr. Goode's re-
mark on his
fourth Article

1583.
Elizabeth.

1 and 3 of his Visitation Articles—see p. 231], must be the 30th of the Injunctions of 1559 (published soon after the Book of Common Prayer and the Act of Uniformity), by which the prelates and clergy were ordered, ‘both in the Church and without,’ to ‘use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received in the *latter* year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.’ (*Wilk. Con.* IV. 186 ; *Cardw. Doc. Ann.* I. 193).”

The especial object of these remarks is to prove that—though the Vestures ordered for the Clergy in the Rubric of Edward’s First Book, “are enjoined by the” present “Rubric,” and that “so far as the letter of the Law is concerned, the matter seems clear,” yet that—our present usage is nearer to what was intended in Elizabeth’s reign. I have already observed upon this at p. 206 : it is enough to add here, with respect to Mr. Goode’s words just quoted—that they do not at all assist his view. But this very reference to Elizabeth’s Injunction plainly proves, that the Article, on which Mr. Goode comments, could not refer to the “dress” for “public ministrations”; for when the 30th Injunction was published, the Vestments for Divine Service were distinctly ordered by the Rubrics in the Prayer Book, and evidently, from the complaints made against them, were in use : the Canon, too, relates clearly its own object, *viz.*, that the Clergy might be known, by their dress, to be Clergy, whether in or out of Church : it could not refer to the time of their *Public Ministrations*, for then their very act testified to their character. As to the Advertisements, referred to in the above Article, they entirely confirm this view, for while one (see p. 204) prescribes the Dress for Divine Offices, another, no less explicitly, prescribes the “apparel of persons Ecclesiastical.”

is erroneous.

1584.
An example of
Puritan irregularities.

One remarkable, though, as it would seem, not uncommon instance of Puritan irregularities at this period (irregularities which, in several particulars, are not unpractised even in the present day,) is furnished by Strype in the following account :—

“*Misorders committed against the Book of Common Prayer by the Person of Eastwell, May 1584.*”

“First, The order of prayer was not used according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer, appointed to be used in the churches.

For divers things were pretermitted: as, the exhortation in the Absolution, the ninty-fifth Psalm, called, *Venite, exultemus, Te Deum Laudamus*, the Creed, the three Collects, the Creed called Athanasius's Creed, the Litany.

“For the Parson of Eastwel began sometimes with the General Confession, or the Lord's Prayer, and the Psalms and Lessons, and the sermon continuing one hour and an half; and singing a Psalm before and after the sermon, ended their prayer.

“If there were a Communion, the table being set in the body of the church, he used the Lord's Prayer, the Collect, *Almighty God, unto whom*, &c. the Epistle and Gospel, the General Confession of the communicants: and then used these words, ‘The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for us, preserve our bodies and souls into life everlasting.’ And delivering the sacramental bread to the communicants, sitting in the pews in the body of the church, saith to them, ‘Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee,’ &c. And taking the cup, said, ‘The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, preserve our bodies and souls into life everlasting. And we drink this in remembrance, that Christ's blood was shed for us,’ &c. And the Clerk delivereth the cup to the first communicant. And one taking the cup of another, they drink all of it, singing the Psalm of thanksgiving; and depart. [Which Psalm is that set after our Psalms in metre, entitled, *A Thanksgiving after the receiving of the Lord's Supper*; beginning, ‘The Lord be thanked for his gifts,’ &c.

“Also, at the ministering of baptism, the father is commanded to be present, and to answer to the questions with the godfathers and godmothers: and omitteth the signing of the infants with the sign of the cross, with other things there appointed to be used.

“*Item*, The chancel is unpaved in divers places; and the paving tiles carried home to the Parson's house. The stools which were in the chancel were set in the body of the church. The choir doors are pulled down, and set in the churchyard. And neither chancel nor the body of the church have the Ten Commandments set up in them: but lieth very undecently and unorderly, contrary to her Majesty's Injunctions.

“Also, whereas by order the woman that cometh to church to give her thanks after childbirth, by order of the Book, should sit nigh to the communion table, and the Minister to stand by her, to use the form of prayer there set down; he hath appointed them to keep their own seats; and contrary to the order appointed, useth some part of the prayer, standing in his seat, appointed for public prayer.

“And at marriages, useth such order as seemeth best to himself, omitting the order of the Book.”—*Life of Whitgift*. bk. 3, p. 141.

It was, probably, to meet such cases as this, that, either about the same time, or later in the year (for Strype gives two dates), the Archbishop—

“with other the Queen's Commissaries and Delegates for Eccle-

The Archbishop prepares *interrogatories* to meet such cases.

1584.

Elizabeth.

siastical causes, framed certain *articles* or *interrogatories*, 24th of November, to be objected to all Ministers, whom they, by virtue of their commission, were pleased to summon; for them to answer, *ex officio mero*. Especially such as they had reason to suspect, upon information of their non-observance of the orders of the Book of Common Prayer; and for their preaching, teaching, and writing against the present government of the Church, by Bishops, Archdeacons, and their Courts and officers. These Articles were drawn up at Lambeth, in the month of May."—*Life of Whitgift*, bk. 3, p. 135.

They are given at length in the *Appendix* No. iv. to bk. 3, p. 49: it would occupy too much space to reprint them here; and their only bearing upon this enquiry is the proof they furnish of the obstacles placed by the Puritans in the way of all attempts to maintain Ornament, Ritual, and Ceremonial: the 20th Article is here quoted, because, taken in connexion with the rest (which all relate to the complaints and practices of the Puritans), it explains the object of the several Orders which insisted upon a close adherence to the Book of Common Prayer; and thus it confirms, I think, the remarks made at pp. 130 and 272. The Article runs thus:—

An Example of them.

"20. *Item objicimus, ponimus, et articulamus*, That you at this present doe contynue all or some of your former opinions against the said booke, and have a settled purpose to contynue hereafter such additions, demynutions, alterations, and transpositions, or some of them, as you heretofore vnlawfully haue vsed in your publique ministration: and that you haue vsed private conferences, and assembled or byn present at conventicles, for the maintenance of your doings herein, and for the animatinge and encourageinge of others to contynue in the like disposition in this behalf, that you are of. . . ."

Ministers suspended for not subscribing.

With the exception of the suspension of several Ministers, in various Dioceses, for not subscribing, the Session of Convocation, which began on the 24th November, 1584, and passed some few Articles (none of which, however, touch the present enquiry), nothing more seems to have occurred, requiring notice here,* until the following year, when the

* Yet it may be as well to mention, that the Archbishop had considerable trouble this year with a person, who put himself forward as "a zealous taker of" the part of the Puritans. "This was Robert Beal, a Clerk of the Queen's Council, and a man of parts and some learning: who now thought fit more openly to shew his good-will towards them, partly by a book of his own writing in their behalf; and partly by his intemperate language and rude behaviour used towards the Archbishop, and that in his own house at Lambeth." (*Strype's Life of Whitgift*, bk. 3, p. 143.) A long "Summary" of the Book drawn up by the Archbishop is given by Strype, at p. 143; and "some poynts" of it will be found in *Append. No. v. to bk. 3, p. 25*. It is enough to say here, that Beal objected, among other things, to "the Kalendar, certain lessons, faste upon saynts evens, a most godlie prayer for her Majesty and the Bishops, wafer cakes in the Communion"; to the "cap, tippitt, square gowne, or cloke," as being

See of Chichester being vacant, Archbishop Whitgift made a Visitation of it : among his "*Articles* to be enquired upon*" are the following :—

" 1. Whether your minister have used any other form or manner of public prayers, administration of Sacramentes, or any other rites, ceremonies, or orders, than are prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer ; or hath he altered them, or any of them, how, and in what manner ?

" V. Whether doth your minister in public prayer time wear a surplesse, and go abroad apparelled, as by her Majesty's injunctions and advertisements prescribed ; ?—*Cardwell Doc. Ann.*, vol. 2, p. 22.

This is the second^b of the three *later* authorities mentioned, at p. 271, as being cited by Mr. Goode to prove his theory of *forbidden* usages there referred to : the observations made in that place apply equally to these Articles of Whitgift's : it is sufficient to add here—that the Note of Dr. Cardwell, given below, entirely confirms the view there taken of the definite purpose contemplated by the several directions for Conformity, which have been mentioned, as being put forth by the authority of the Queen.

The next year (1585) seems to have passed away without any occurrence which claims a particular notice here^c : Strype mentions a circumstance in the following year, which it may be as well to relate, leaving it to explain itself :—

" Puritanism prevailed now in Christ's College, [Cambridge] ; Gold and Usher being proceeded with for that cause : Gold for a

contrary to law : he complained, that " diverse ceremonies, which were used in the second and third year of Kinge Edwarde the Sixth, which he termeth *superstitious* and *absurde*, and not meete to be observed, are by law in force, and yet now omitted contrarie to law " : he also objected to " readinge the Apocrypha in the Churche ; private Baptism ; the Crosse in Baptisme ; interrogatories ministered unto infants ; the ringe in marriage ; these names, Mattyns, Even-songe, Collects, Anthems, Offertorie, Letanye, Rogations, Advent, Epiphany, Septuagesima, Wafer Cakes, Kneelinge at the Communion."

^a Cardwell's note upon them is—" These Articles shew the decision of the Archbishop in all the points resisted at this time by the Puritans, *viz.*, the complete and unreserved use of the Book of Common Prayer, unconditional assent to all the 39 Articles, the having perfect Orders, the abstaining from any religious exercises in private houses, or conventicles, and the use of the surplice and of clerical apparel."

^b The *first* being merely a repetition by Grindal, in 1576, when Archbishop of Canterbury (*see Art. 7, p. 285*) of his *Injunction* No. iv., for the Clergy (*see p. 255*) when Archbishop of York in 1571.

^c There was an important controversy between Hooker and Travers at the Temple : the Archbishop also visited again the Diocese of Chichester, as the See was vacant, but all that requires attention in his Articles is noticed in the reference (*see above*) to his former Visitation.

1584.

Elizabeth.

The Archbishop visits Chichester.

Mr. Goode's reference to his Articles.

1585.

1586.

Citation of Puritans at Cambridge.

1586.
Elizabeth.

sermon preached at St. Mary's; who was thought and also reported to have spoken against the cross, and the use of the same, now received in the Church of England*: for which he was cited before the vice-chancellor and heads, June the 10th [1586]. Where before Dr. Tyndal, vice-chancellor, and Fulk, Goad, Norgate, and Lorkin, he openly protested that he had no such intendment; and that he did not disallow or condemn the cross, or the sign of the same, but thinketh it to be tolerable. *Et sic absolutus est ab ulteriori, &c.* (MSS. acad. rev. T. Bak.)—*Ann.* vol. III. bk. 2, p. 438.

“In the Parliament that sat this year, 28 Eliz. October
“29.....

“the disaffected to the present ecclesiastical government and worship laboured earnestly again, as they had done in the last Parliament, to bring their ends to pass. And for that purpose brought in a Bill and Book, Feb 27 [1586-7]..... The *Bill* contained a

* The above passage is quoted for what it may be worth; I should not like to rely much upon it as a proof that the use of Crosses in Churches had been at all revived at this time, though I think it goes to shew that they were not *prohibited*: but it may be as well to notice it in contrast with statement of Whitgift's, nine years earlier, which Mr. Goode has quoted at pp. 27 and 73, in “*decisive testimony* as to the rule of our Church on the subject” “of *crossing*,” and to prove that Crosses “are forbidden in our Churches.” Mr. Goode's words are, “After observing respecting the use of the sign of the Cross in Baptism,—‘I see no cause why it may not be used in Baptism, in that manner and form, as it is in this Church of England,’ &c., he adds,—‘As for Papists, we are far enough off from them, for they pictured the sign of the Cross, and did worship it, so do not we: they used it to drive away spirits and devils, so do not we: *they had it in their Churches*, so HAVE NOT WE: they used it daily and nightly for religion sake, *we ONLY IN BAPTISM*, for a sign and token, as I have said before: so that their abusing of it is sufficiently corrected.’ (Whitgift's Def. of Answer to Admon. 1574, fol. p. 616.) It will be recollected, that Archbishop Whitgift was the *great opponent* of the Puritans; and with this remark I leave the passage to speak for itself.”

Well, then, what is the language of the passage? It certainly does not speak of *prohibition*, though it does bear witness to *disuse*. What led to Whitgift's remark (who, by the bye, was not *Archbishop* until nine years after)? A Puritan complained of the use of the Cross in Baptism, as being *Popish*—Whitgift replies by saying, that other things showed the Church of England to be “far enough off from them”: one of these is the sentence, as to the Cross in Churches, which Mr. Goode has italicized and capitalized. No doubt Whitgift was a competent witness as to *fact*, but his language is no evidence whatever as to the *Law*; and this is the *point* to be considered. Let us take a parallel case, and see how Mr. Goode's argument would stand. It is not so many years since, that, in the Island of Guernsey, the *Surplice* was not used in, I believe, any one of the Churches. Supposing some *Cartwright* of that place had objected to the “square gown” (a not unlikely objection), on the ground of its being *Popish*: the then Bishop could most truly have answered, “As for Papists, we are far enough off from them, they used the *Surplice* in their Churches; so do not we”: yet it would have been a most false application of his words to argue from them, that the *Surplice* had been “forbidden” there. Or, again, to any one who might object now to the use of the *Surplice* in any Church in England, on the same anti-roman ground; nothing could be easier than for the Archbishop to endeavour to console such a Puritan by using a similar comparison, as to the Vestment, Cope, Albe, or Tunicles; yet I suppose *no one*, in the face of the reference, in the present Prayer Book, to the Rubric of the First Book of Edward the Sixth, is prepared to contend, that either of these is a prohibited *Ornament* of the Minister.

petition, that it might be enacted, that all the laws then in force touching the ecclesiastical government might be void : and that this *Book*, which was another form of public prayer and administration of the Sacraments, with divers rites and ceremonies, might be only used in the Church, instead of the old one the Speaker of the House said, that her Majesty before that time, had commanded the House not to meddle in this thing : Dalton a member, [opposed it] but several others notwithstanding spoke earnestly for the reading of it. But the hour being past, the House broke up : and neither the petition nor book was read. And the Queen sent to the Speaker for both."—*Strype's Whitgift*, bk. 3, p. 256.

1586.
Elizabeth.

The Convocation which assembled in the latter part of this year does not seem to have effected much ; though what they did appears to have related chiefly to matters of discipline : Collier states that—

1587.
Proceedings in
Convocation.

"There were two schedules of complaint brought up by the Lower House to the Bishops. The first contains a remonstrance against several disorders in the diocese of Norwich. The complaint sets forth the canons were not observed : that unqualified persons were ordained and instituted ; that penances were commuted ; that excommunications were sent out for trifles ; that regular and painful preachers were discouraged ; and that men were suffered to preach without License. The other schedule laid before the Upper House, and endorsed, 'Suffolk Archdeaconry,' complains that the Communion was wholly omitted, or imperfectly administered ; that the Surplice was refused ; that holidays were not observed ; that the Communion was frequently received in a sitting posture : with some other particulars of lesser consideration. (*Convoc. Journal*.)

"What provision was made does not appear in the record.

"The Convocation was prorogued by the Archbishop to the 17th of February [1586-7]."—*Eccl. Hist.* p. 600.

In the succeeding year, according to the same authority :—

"This assembly met at St. Paul's, on the 13th of November [1587] ; there was nothing done, excepting the grant of two subsidies, till the fifteenth Session [March 19, 1587-8]. And now the Archbishop brought in certain orders to be observed through the whole province."—*Ibid.* p. 620.

But none of these Orders relate at all to the questions now at issue.

In consequence of the vacancy of the See of Salisbury the Archbishop proceeded to visit it : his enquiries, as given by Cardwell from Reg. Whitgift, fol. 400, a., are intitled—

The Archbishop
visits Salisbury.

"Articles to be enquired of by the Churchwardens and sworn men in the Ordinary Visitation of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury within the diocese of Sarum."

1587.
Elizabeth.

Those which bear upon the present question are the following :

“ II. *Item.* Whether your minister doth reverently say service, and minister the sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer : and whether doth he use in his ministration the ornaments appointed by the laws now in force ?

“ III. *Item.* Whether you have in your church all things necessary for the Common Prayer, and due administration of the Sacraments, according to her Majesties lawes and injunctions ? ”

“ XVII. Whether your parish church or chauncell be ruinous or decayed, and by whose default.”—*Doc. Ann.* vol. II. p. 33.

Proclamation
against Puritan
Books.

In the course of this year “ began a series of publications “ under the name of Martin Mar-Prelate,” written by different authors : to stop this the Queen issued “ *A proclamation against certain seditious and schismatical books and libels,*” etc. (Bodl. I. 2. 18. Med.) dated “ the 13th of February, 1588, “ in the 31st year of her Highness’s reign,” wherein she charges

“ all persons whatsoever who have or hereafter shall have any of the said seditious books, pamphlets, libels or writings, or any of like nature already published, or hereafter to be published, in his or their custody, against the present order and government of the Church of England, or the lawful ministers thereof, or against the rites and ceremonies used in the Church, and allowed by the laws of the realm ; that they, deliver up the same unto the Ordinary of the diocese, or of the place where they inhabit, to the intent they may be utterly defaced by the said Ordinary, or otherwise used by them ”—*Ibid.* p. 41.

The Archbishop’s
Visitation
Articles for
Peterborough.

“ In the month of June this year, 1589, the Archbishop “ made a visitation of the diocese of *Peterborough* ; and like- “ wise of his own city and diocese of *Canterbury* ; and the “ peculiar jurisdiction of the city and diocese of *Rochester*.”

Among the “ Articles to be enquired of in the “ Visitation of the diocese of *Canterbury* and *Rochester*” the following occur ; they vary but slightly from those for the Diocese of Sarum :—

“ 2. *Item.* Whether your minister doth reverently say the service, and minister the Sacraments, according to the Book of Common Prayer, without any kind of alteration thereof ? And whether doth he use in his ministration the ornaments appointed by the laws now in force ?

“ 3. *Item.* Whether have you in your church all things necessary for the Common Prayer, and due administration of the Sacraments, according to her Majesty’s laws and injunctions ? ”—*Strype’s Whitgift*, p. 310.

The chief incident in the following year (1590) was the preferment of certain charges against *Thomas Cartwright*, before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; they are 31 in number and are given in full by Collier (pp. 623—6); the only ones that need be transcribed here are the following:—

1590.
Elizabeth.

“ 6. Item, That he the said Thomas Cartwright, in the public administration of his ministry there, among her majesty’s subjects, used not the form of Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, by the laws of this land established, nor in his government ecclesiastical, the laws and orders of this land; but rather conformed himself in both to the use and form of some other foreign churches.

Charges against
Thos. Cartwright.

“ 12. Item, That preaching at sundry times and places, he usually teacheth at all occasions to deprave, condemn, and impugn the manner of ordination of bishops, ministers and deacons; the use of the surplice, the interrogatories to Godfathers, &c. in the name of the infants, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the thanksgiving after child-birth, burials by ministers, the kneeling at the Communion, and the manner of singing in cathedral churches and others.”

Collier, in giving an account of Whitgift’s character, mentions the following story, which shews the general nature of the Service in Canterbury Cathedral at that period:—

“ At this time a person of some character despatch’d from Rome for intelligence, coming to the Cathedral, and entertained with the solemnity of the choir and *habits*, the exquisiteness of vocal and instrumental music, he was almost overset with admiration. He told an Englishman of condition (Sir Edward Hobby), ‘That this nation had been very much misreported at Rome; that the people were made to believe, that there was neither Archbishop, Bishop, Cathedral, or any face of ecclesiastical government in England: that the churches were razed, and the people met to hear their ministers in woods and fields: but this he found was a great mistake; for, excepting in the Pope’s chapel, he never saw a more solemn service, or heard more seraphic harmony.’—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 684.

A foreigner’s
account of Ser-
vice in Canter-
bury Cathedral

With the exception of the following account I have not met with anything^a calculated to throw light upon this subject by exhibiting the customs and practices of the remainder of Elizabeth’s reign; no new Ecclesiastical Orders appear to have been issued relative to Ornaments and Ceremonies: there was no room indeed to proceed by way of *diminution*, and Whitgift seems to have employed all his skill to maintain (and not without some success) the existing Ritual and Discipline.^b

^a The publication of Hooker’s Ecclesiastical Polity, during this period, is not overlooked in this remark.

^b “The Parliament,” says Strype, speaking of the year 1597, “now no more struck at the foundation of the Ecclesiastical government of the Church, nor at the form of the public worship and usages of it.”—*Life of Whitgift* bk. 4, p. 508.

1600.
Elizabeth.

On the 24th December, 1600, the Privy Councillors sent an order to "Will. Rider, then Mayor" of London, "respecting " the Cross in West Cheape, requiring him by virtue of her " Highness said former direction and commandment," which had been issued more than a year before, but had not been attended to—

" Without any further delay, to accomplish the same her Majesty's most princely care therein, respecting especially the antiquity and continuance of that monument, and ancient ensign of Christianity."

Stow states that this Cross was " begun to be set up 1484," and was decorated afresh in various years : in

The Privy Council orders the Cross in West-Cheape to be restored.

" 1581, the 21st June, in the night, the lowest images round about the said cross (being of Christ, His resurrection, of the Virgin Mary, King Edward the Confessor, and such like), were broken and defaced. Whereupon Proclamation was made, that whoso would bewray the doers thereof should have 40 crowns, but nothing came to light. The image of the Blessed Virgin at that time robbed of her Son, and her arms broken, by which she staid Him on her knees; her whole body also was held with ropes, and left ready to fall; but was in the year 1595 again fastened and repaired. And in the year 1596, about *Bartholomew tide*, a new Son, mishapen, (as born out of time) all naked, was laid in her arms; the other Images remaining broken as before In the year 1599, the timber of the cross being rotten within the lead, the arms thereof bending, were feared to have fallen, to the harming of some people, and therefore the whole body of the cross was scaffolded about, and the top thereof taken down, meaning in place thereof to set up a *Pyramis*; but some of her Majestie's honourable Councillors directed their letters to Sir Nicholas Moseley, their mayor, by her Highness' express commandment concerning the cross forthwith to be repaired and placed again as it formerly stood."

It was the neglect of this which led to the above order—and Stow says, " after this a cross of timber was framed, set up, covered with lead, and gilded, the body of the cross downward cleansed of the dust, the scaffold carried thence; about 12 nights after the image of our lady was again defaced"—*Stow's London*, vol. I. bk. 3, c. 3, p. 35.

1602-3.

Elizabeth died, March 24th, 1602-3.

Death of Elizabeth.

It is some relief to have brought to an end this long series of extracts from the records of Elizabeth's reign: and, probably, any one who may be at the pains to read them will not be sorry to escape from the dryness and tediousness which, I am afraid, attaches to them: yet it seemed best, even at the risk of prolixity, to allow the Ecclesiastical occurrences

1603.

Elizabeth.

Dr. Lushington's
requirement of
contemporane-
ous Exposition,

of the period to relate, in more than mere outline, their own history, since so great (I think, a most undue) weight has been assigned to them, both by Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode. The Judge of the Consistory Court considering, rightly enough, the points at issue to be "a question of evidence; a question simply what Ornaments were in use in the second year of Edward the Sixth" (p. 39), enquires, "can any lawyer doubt that, in a question of usage of what was allowed and what prohibited, the contemporaneous evidence is the most trustworthy exposition?" and then—after adding these words, "Assuming all other considerations equal, the evidence of those who lived at, or nearer to the time of the fact is the evidence entitled to the greatest credit"—he proceeds to give us his own view of that evidence, though he certainly does not burden us with a single quotation in support of his deductions.

Had the learned Judge looked stedfastly at the precise object which he set before himself—*viz.*, the Ornaments really in use in Edward's second year—it must be feared that, even then, he was not likely to find much evidence in the acts of the Episcopate subsequent to the Statute of Uniformity and the Injunctions of 1559: nothing can well be plainer, than that the Ecclesiastical Law, as then settled, *avowedly in accordance with that of Edward's second year*, sanctioned a Ritual, Ceremonies, and Ornaments, in many important particulars most distasteful to those Bishops who, as exiles, had become, more or less, indoctrinated with the views and practices of the Calvinistic Reforming School:^a it is abundantly evident that, so far from trying to maintain the Standard of Edward's second year, they were prepared to lower it even more than some of their friends at Zurich thought necessary; and, therefore, their "contemporaneous evidence" is only discoverable by their antagonism to the existing Law, and their efforts to alter it.

not to be looked
for in the reign
of Elizabeth:

^a This is shewn by a Letter of *George Withers* to *Lord Burleigh* in 1583, in which he states that "some of the Bishops . . . excused themselves" to "Bullinger and Gualter" by stating "that they, nor none of them, were of the Parliament House at the passing of the Book; and that therefore they had no voice in making of the law: but after it was past, they being chosen to be bishops must either content themselves to take their places as things were, or else leave them to the Papists, or to them which are not much better, that is, to Lutherans. But in the mean space they both promised not to urge their brethren to those doctrines; and also, when opportunity should serve, to seek reformation of them."—*Strype Ann.* bk. 3, p. 270.

1603.

Elizabeth.

And it is not a little remarkable that, in the course of a single page (39-40), Dr. Lushington, when speaking of the value of this contemporaneous evidence from Elizabeth's reign, *three times* puts forward Grindal, and only *once* Parker; though the latter, as not having been an exile, was far less influenced by the Foreign Reformation; whereas the former had shown himself a distinct partizan of the views he had formed abroad.

owing to its Puritan tendencies.

Nor can I pass over the remark of Dr. Lushington (p. 40), that "no attempt has been made to show that the usage of "the Church has not corresponded with what Cranmer and "Ridley stated, or that it has corresponded with the opinions "of those in the succeeding century": perhaps the Judge of the Consistory Court overlooked the statements of the learned Advocates for the Defence, in relation to the first proposition; and they were hardly likely to enter upon so hopeless a task as that contained in the second. It may be that these pages have done somewhat to supply the alleged deficiency on the first point, by proving that the Elizabethan period developed the Reformation in a Puritan direction, which Cranmer and Ridley never contemplated: and perhaps, in what remains to be said, some proof will be found that Archbishop Laud and the 17th century Divines were, after all, (and notwithstanding Dr. Lushington's belief to the contrary) treading more closely in the steps of the Edwardine, than were most of the Elizabethan conductors of the Reformation, as respects the Ornaments and Ceremonies of the much contested "second year."

There is, however, some trustworthy contemporaneous evidence of the Ornaments and Ceremonies which were NOT meant to be regarded as being stamped with the authority of that second year; and this is found in those directions which were put forth with Royal Sanction: it remains, therefore, to enquire whether, in "what was allowed and what prohibited" by *them*, any proof is furnished that the various Things now in debate were among those in use by authority of Parliament in the period under consideration.

The principle to be observed in estimating the effect of Orders of this period upon Ornaments, &c.:

Having, then, examined *all the Orders* which appear to have been put forth during the reign of Elizabeth, let us see what was their effect upon Ornaments, &c., as they existed at the Queen's accession, in virtue of that authority of Parliament which had restored them in Queen Mary's reign.

Now, first of all, the clause as to Ornaments in Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity (taken with the Rubric in Elizabeth's Prayer Book of 1559), though it took as its Standard the Ornaments which were "in use by authority of Parliament in "the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth," cannot, it would seem, be held either (a) to exclude *all* which had been abolished in *the course* of that year; or (b) to sanction *all* which had been used *at any time* during that year, without reference to the consideration—whether they were applicable or not to that Order of Public Worship which it was the object of the Act to establish.

For (1) although it is quite true that *all* Images were to be removed by the Order of Council of February 21st, 1547-8, yet they were "in use" in Edward's second year, which began January 28th. Moreover, the complete authority of this Order would seem doubtful from the fact that a *Statute* was afterwards passed (3 & 4 Edward 6, c. 10, A.D. 1549) for abolishing (among other things) such *Images* as then remained; if indeed it can be construed to mean so much as this (See remarks upon §§. 2 and 6, pp. 56—62): yet as this Statute was repealed by 1 Mariæ, Sess. 2, c. 2, A.D. 1553, and not revived during Elizabeth's reign, it could not have been relied upon to remove Images during her reign; and it is altogether unlikely that the Bishops would have repeatedly urged the Queen, as they did, to consent to the abolition of Images if they could have appealed to any authority of Parliament against them. So that, although it is true that they were partially or wholly removed during her reign, there is no evidence (or no sufficient evidence) that they were removed by any authority *equivalent* to that authority of Parliament which had sanctioned them.

But (2) it must not be overlooked that in taking Edward's Second Year as the Standard for Ornaments, that Standard must have been *necessarily reduced* by such provisions in the Prayer Book of 1559, as made *inapplicable then* such of the Ornaments as were legally "in use" at any period of Edward's second year, *i. e.*, until January 27th, 1548-9; and also such as were abrogated by any Injunction,^a or other Order which

1603.

Elizabeth.

exemplified in
the case of
Images.

The Standard for
Ornaments, &c.
how modified in
this reign.

^a It will have been observed that many of the changes made during the Reformation depended upon Royal and Episcopal Injunctions, and Orders in Council: it is important therefore to determine what was the respective value of each of these after the death of the King or Bishop by whom they were uttered.

1603.

Elizabeth.

Result of the
various Orders.

could claim authority in virtue of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity.

What those Ornaments (and Ceremonies implying Ornaments) were, in and at the end of Edward's second year, has been already shewn at pp. 37 and 38—the authoritative changes made *during* the reign of Elizabeth, and the consequent description of those *legally* in use at the *end* of her reign, is contained in the following Lists:—

Ornaments of the Church ABOLISHED.

1. All Shrines and Coverings of Shrines. (See *Inj. 23*, p. 139, and *Art. 2*, p. 145.)
2. All Tables, Candlesticks, Trindals and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, and Paintings (whether in windows or elsewhere) used as monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition. (*Ibid.*)
3. All Roods and Rood-Lofts: for though there was no distinct Order to remove the *Roods*, yet, as they were removed, and the *Rood-Loft* was afterwards ordered to be taken down (see pp. 231, 246, and 276), this latter must be regarded as a permitted prohibition of the Roods themselves, when once the Lofts had been taken away.
4. All *abused*^a Images (see *Eliz. Visit. Articles*, No. 2, p. 145).

Of Episcopal Injunctions which were not issued in virtue of any Statute, it seems plain that their authority terminated with the voidance of the See:—if the same is true of Royal Injunctions, then, although they may have continued to be *observed* they would not be *legally* binding—especially if they ordered anything contrary to a later Statute.

That Orders in Council are not necessarily binding, seems plain from the Clergy not being compellable to use the State Services appointed in the Prayer Book by that authority.

^a Since this was in type, Mr. Goode has obligingly allowed me to see his (probably unique) copies of *Parkhurst's Injunctions* of 1561 (referred to in Note a, p. 225), and the "Orders" of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1561 (reprinted at p. 276). The Injunctions of Parkhurst furnish (what I had failed in finding before) a partial description of the Images prohibited under the name of "*abused Images*," and of the class of Pictures and Paintings which were ordered to be removed: the description is the more valuable, because Parkhurst's decided Puritanism would naturally lead him to go as far as possible in abolishing such Ornaments.

The title of the Book is as follows:—

"Injunctions exhibited by John by God's sufferance Bishop of Norwich in his first visitation beginning the seconde daie of Mave in the thirde yeare of our soueraign Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith &c. unto all and singuler the diocesans of the Diocesse of Norwich so farre as they concerne any of them.

CHURCH
Ornaments
abolished.

* * * *Private* "persons" were forbidden by *Inj. 35* and *Art. 45*, to "adore," or to "keep in their houses any abused Images, Tables, Pictures, Paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles," &c.

5. "All old Service Books" (see *Eccl. Commiss.* p. 182.)

6. For uniformity, Tables were ordered to be substituted for Altars, though it was declared to be *indifferent* in itself *which* was used: they were to be "set in the place, where the Altar stood, and there commonly covered, as thereto *belongeth*." (*Eliz. Inj.* p. 141.)

"Imprinted ad London by John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate. Cum gratia et privilegia Regiæ Majestatis."

Among the following are the directions just mentioned:—

"2. Item that as many of them as be entred into orders, do saie the morning and euening praiers dailie in English or Latten, either openly or priuately, that they may be the more reddie in the Scriptures.

"3. Item that they see unto their Clerks and Sextens, if they doe ring at the buriall of the deade, noone or curpheu, they ring but one peall, and that verie short, omitting all other unnecessarie ringings as is prescribed by order taken herein.

"13. Item that they see the places filled up in walles orrells where, [*i. e.* or elsewhere] where images stode, so as if there hadde been none there. The stones, foundations, or other places, frames, or Tabernacles devised to aduance Imagerie, holy water stones also to be quite and clean taken away, and the places where they were set, comelie and decentlie to be made up with conuenient expedicion, orrells to declare to the Ordinarie the lettes and staies thereof as sone as may be.

"Interrogatories.

"For the duetic of Churchwardaines.

"2. Whether all altures, images, holi water stones, Pictures, paintings, as of Thassumption of the blessed virgin, of the descending of Christ into the virgin in the fourme of a lytle boy at Thannunciacion of the Aungell, and al other superstitious and dangerous monuments espeeialle paintings and Imagies in walle, boke, cope, Banner, or els where, of the blessed trinitie, or of the father (of whom there can be no Image made), be defaced and removed out of the Church and other places and are destroyed, and the places where such impietie was: so made up, as if there had been no suche thing there.

"3. Whether that any Imagies, beades, bokes of saruice, or vestiments not allowed by lawe be resuered of any man or in any place, by whome and where they be resuered.

"For the people and their duetic.

"4. Whether any man is knowen to haue saide, or hearde, masse sithens it was abrogated by lawe, whether any man maketh any singing cakes to say mass withall reserveth vestiments, superaltaries, masse bookes, or other instruments of this supersticion.

"8. Whether any man keepeth in his house any abused Images namely such as be remoued out of the Church, or S. John's head, S. Catheryn, S. Nicolas, or such lyke."

The Injunction, No. 4, about Altar-hangings and Ceremonies has already been given at p. 225, Note *a*. The *Italics* there are Mr. Goode's.

Three things are worthy of notice in these Injunctions, as entirely supporting the conclusions already arrived at in these pages (see pp. 135, 139 Note *b*, 146, 171, 192, 232, 233, 241, 247).—*First*, not a word is said of *Crosses* or *Crucifixes*, though Altars and Images (which were quite as likely to have been removed by that time) are distinctly enquired about: *Next*, though representations of the Holy Trinity and of God the Father are forbidden, no objection is made to any representation of CHRIST (comp. p. 191): *Thirdly*, even the Rood-Lofts are

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Ornaments of the Church DISCOURAGED OR DISUSED.

1. Images *in general* were removed from most of the Churches and other places, either by order of the Queen's Commissioners, or by the direction of Bishops, or by the determination of the people: but no *Law* or equivalent Order appears to have been made for their abolition; or at least none that was directed against other than *abused* Images.
2. Representations of God the Father as an Old Man, and of God the Holy Ghost as a Dove (comp. pp. 156 and 190).

discouraged or
disused.*Ornaments of the Minister* ABOLISHED.

1. The Graye Amice (but only by the Canons of 1571—See p. 245).
2. (Perhaps) The Phanon was included by this Canon; though *Grindal* alone names it (See his *Inj.* 7, p. 256).

Ornaments of the Minister DISUSED.

As the *Interpretation* to the Injunctions directed "only but "one apparel" *viz.* "the Cope" for the Communion—"the Surplice" for all other ministrations; so, of Ornaments of this class kept in Edward's second year, there would be *disused*, though not *abolished*—(see p. 181).

MINISTER'S
Ornaments
abolished:

1. The Chasuble.

But the Advertisements (see p. 204), by their dispensations, permitted, further, the *disuse* of

2. (Probably), in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, the Tunicles worn by the Gospeller and Epistoler.
3. In Parish Churches, The Cope and The Surplice which had *no* Sleeves or only *small* Sleeves.

disused.

not directed to be taken down in these Injunctions, which were *five months* earlier than the Order of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Putting these things together, and comparing them with the various Documents already quoted, the inference seems to me inevitable—that the Bishops and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners cautiously refrained from issuing any orders for the removal of Crosses or Crucifixes, because the Law was not in a state to empower them to do so, and they could not obtain the Queen's consent to alter the Law in that respect; though both she and they acquiesced in their removal—they, apparently, with much more satisfaction than her Majesty: indeed, Bishop Sandy's Letter to P. Martyr, written only a year before this (see p. 171), shews distinctly, that the Queen wished the *Roods* to be restored, or something equivalent to be set up: and Archbishop Parker's adoption of *Sleidan's* complaint in 1573, that the practice of the Queen's "Chapel" was "so neglected," implies that its arrangements were to be a pattern, as was commonly supposed, for other churches.—See p. 266.

4. In all Churches (perhaps) The Albe and its Girdle, and (possibly) The Stole.

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Ceremonies ABOLISHED.

1. *Litany* Processions.
2. All Bell-ringing during service, except before the Sermon.
3. Hallowing of the Font on Easter Eve.

CEREMONIES
abolished:

In Baptism.

1. Exorcism. 2. Oil. 3. Salt. 4. Spittle. 5. *That* "Hallowing of the Water now [i. e. *then*] used." (See *Eleven Articles*, p. 156).

Ceremonies DISUSED.

Uction in the *Visitation of the Sick*: not therefore *abolished*. disused.

* * * There is no reason for thinking that Reservation of the Sacrament for the sick was disallowed (see p. 182) so the *Pix* might lawfully continue to be used for conveying It.

Customs ABOLISHED.

1. The practice of the Clergy to "set forth or extol the "dignity of any images, relics, or miracles" (see *Inj.* No. 2, p. 139 and p. 156): and of the people to use "lighting of candles [before them], kissing, kneeling, "[to], or decking of" them. (See *Art.* 9, p. 145). CUSTOMS
abolished.
2. Pilgrimages—Praying upon Beads—Setting up of Candles—as being "things tending to idolatry and superstition." (See *Inj.* No. 3, p. 139).
3. All Bell-ringing for the dying or dead, except one Bell while the person is "passing;" and "one short peal" after passing, before burial, and after burial.—(*Interp.* of *Inj.* p. 180, and *Advert.* p. 204.)
4. "Any superstitious ceremonies heretofore used" in Rogations. (*Advert.* p. 204.)

Things ORDERED.

1. Pulpit. 2. Alms box. (See *Inj.* 24 and 25, p. 139, and *Art.* 17, p. 145). THINGS
ordered.
3. Dress for Clergy when not officiating. (*Ibid* No. 30, and *Advert.* p. 204.)
4. Wafer-bread for Communion. (*Eliz. Inj.* p. 144.)

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Elizabeth.

5. The 10 Commandments at the East End of the chancel for *Ornament*, as well as Edification. (See *Royal Letter*, p. 178).
6. Fox's Book of Martyrs for Bishops' Houses. (*Conv.* of 1571, see p. 244.)
7. Silk Hood, over the Surplice, by the Dean and Prebendaries in the Choir. (See *Advert.* p. 204, and *Can.* of 1571, p. 245).
8. "The whole Bible of the largest volume in English" and "The Paraphrases of Erasmus also in English upon "the Gospels." (See *Inj.* VI. p. 139.) Homilies (*Can.* of 1571).
9. Register Book for Marriages, Christenings, and Burials; with Coffers for the same. (See *Inj.* X. p. 139.)
10. Communion Cups instead of the old Chalices.
11. High Chancel Screens. (See *Orders of Eccl. Commiss.* p. 276).

What Ornaments
remained in
LAWFUL use;

The following Ornaments and Ceremonies therefore, which were either new or remaining out of those distinctly mentioned as having been in use in Edward's Second year, seem to have been *legally usable*, though those marked thus* were pretty certainly *disused*; and those marked thus*† even more certainly so; either because the Books which prescribed the Ceremonial had been abolished, or the Bishops had ceased to take their necessary part in them:—

Ornaments and other Things for the Church.

for the CHURCH:

1. (Probably) Images* and Pictures.
2. (Almost certainly) Crucifixes.*
3. Crosses (though probably not then introduced on Altars).
4. The two Lights on the Altar.^a
5. High Chancel Screens.
6. The Pax.* } (possibly) though *Grindal* ordered them to be
7. The Pix.* } destroyed. (See *Inj.* 7, p. 256, and 6, p. 285).

^a Mr. Goode says p. 80—"I am unable to draw a distinction between candles lighted and unlighted. The practice is contended for as a ceremony of religious signification, and is maintained solely by the authority of an Injunction that requires '*lights*,' and requires them for a symbolical purpose. If then the Injunction is to be followed the candles must be *lighted*. If it is not to be followed, there is no authority for the candles even *unlighted*."

Dr. Lushington (p. 55) condemns such a use of the *Lights* (though he allows the Candles and Candlesticks): *First*, on the ground that Edward's Injunction is "not entitled to the force of an act of Parliament" (p. 50); I have shewn, at

8. Bells. 9. Pulpit. 10. Organ.
 11. Alms Box. 12. Register and Coffin.
 13. Wafer Bread. 14. Tables of the 10 Commandments.
 15. Bible. 16. Erasmus's Paraphrases. 17. Book of Martyrs.
 18. Communion Cups.
 19. Tables ^a to be set in the place of the Altars.
 20. Altar coverings of various kinds and colours.^b

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 Elizabeth.

p. 29, the inevitable and fatal consequences of such a theory: *Secondly*, because, as he asks "Where is the high Altar now?" required by "the Injunction;" to which it may be replied that the Puritanically inclined Dean of Bocking used the term when he complained of Kebyn in 1564 (see p. 201): and *Thirdly*, because he believes that in Elizabeth's reign and downwards, "the placing such candles on the Communion Table, or the lighting them, did not prevail as a custom, if it existed at all, in parish churches;" this may be, to some considerable extent, an accurate statement; it has been shewn, again and again in these pages, that many practices and ornaments were disused in Elizabeth's reign from the force of circumstances; the question now is—whether what has not been *prohibited* can be *LAWFULLY REVIVED*? Dr. Lushington says (p. 35) "By the law of England no Statute can fall into desuetude;" if then the Injunctions can claim the "authority of Parliament," the *LIGHTS* may be *lawfully* restored.

^a I have not mentioned in this List *The Credence Table* (which is one of the Articles condemned by Dr. Lushington) because it is nowhere alluded to in any of the Documents hitherto quoted in these pages: it may be, I think, pretty safely asserted that such a piece of Church Furniture, as the one complained of, had not come into use in those days, its purpose being served by a structural Niche in the wall of the Chancel, well known to remain to this day in many old Churches. It is extremely likely that in the great neglect and disparagement of Ritualism, which has been shewn to be a characteristic feature of the Puritan innovations in Elizabeth's days, little attention was paid to the subject; though traditions of the old practice must have survived: and as there was no Rubric in Elizabeth's Book relative to the Oblations, (analogous to that in the Book of 1662, on which the argument for Credence Tables is founded,) those who wished to abandon the practice could point to this fact for their justification. Later, as we shall see, when sounder views and better practices began to prevail, *Credence Tables* began to be used; and it is very probable, I think, that a necessity for them was created by the disappearance of the Niches above-mentioned: it is not unlikely that they had, many of them, been *filled up* when the places were filled up where Images stood, (see *Parkhurst's Inj.*, No. xiii., p. 305); indeed, recent Church restorations have brought them to light. Apart, however, from these considerations, what was said in Note d., p. 44, applies here; THAT could not have been *abolished* which had not been *used*; and it does seem, to say the least, a most extraordinary theory to maintain, as Dr. Lushington appears to hold (page 23), that nothing may now be introduced into Churches, in the way of Ornament, even with the sanction of the Ordinary, however useful it may be found, "save those in use by the authority of Parliament." I may add here, that if the analogy be sound which Dr. Lushington, following Sir H. J. Fust, proposes, then the *Credence Table* is obviously the proper adjunct to a *Communion Table*: because it is not *fixed* like the Altar, but *moveable* like the Table: and the "adjunct" he says, "must follow its principal."

^b This conclusion is arrived at after a careful consideration of all that was done during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth in relation to Altars, and to Communion Tables with their coverings. There is nothing in the several Orders put forth by authority *then*, which, I think, can at all be construed into an *intended prohibition* of a variety of Altar-coverings: no doubt they were to a great extent *disused* during the latter reign, and this seems to have arisen—*First*, from their indiscriminate destruction, together with other things (see Note b., p. 148); although the *Injunction* (see p. 141) had directed that "the holy table be decently

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Ornaments of the Minister.

Elizabeth.

1. The Surplice. 2. The Albe.* 3. The Stole.*
4. The Girdle.* 5. The Cope (perhaps also) the Chasuble* and Tunicles.*
5. The Silk Hood.

Habits when not officiating *viz.*—

1. The square Cap. 2. The Gown.
3. The Tippet.

Ceremonies and Customs.

1. (Perhaps) Ringing Bells on All-hallow's eve.^c
2. (Doubtful) lifting up the Veil from the Cross on Palm Sunday* and kneeling to the Cross on that day.*†
3. Sprinkling holy water (possibly).*†

made, and set in the place where the Altar stood, and there commonly covered, as thereto belongeth,"—words which, one should think, must have had some reference to the rich and varied coverings which were then seen on the Altars: *Secondly*, from the leavening influence of the Puritan party, which even often led to leaving the Tables *wholly bare*. (See "Varieties in the Service and Administration," p. 201). The consequence of this practice appears to have been, that the Bishops were compelled, in the Advertisements of 1565, (see p. 204) to give a positive order that "they shall decentlie cover with carpet, silk, or other decent coveringe. . . . the Communion Table,"—an order which afterwards, for the first time, as it seems, appeared in Parker's Visitation Articles of 1569.—See p. 231.

It was *all*, probably, the Bishops could do then (if even they wished for more, which is doubtful, considering the views of many of them) to maintain *one* covering: and this *minimum* they had to *insist* upon. Whether this is not precisely the case, too, with the Canon of 1603-4 will have to be considered in its place. One thing seems plain—that Parkhurst's Injunction of 1561, on which Mr. Goode relies (see p. 225)—unauthoritative as it was except for his own Diocese—would just as much condemn the *single* covering (or *two* where a second is used at Lent) as it would a great number and a variety; for a very large proportion of our Communion Tables, which are not objected to, are Altar-shaped and Altar-hung, much more so than, probably, a large proportion of Altars in the Roman-Communion which, notoriously, are not "hanged" at all. One remark more may be made here—*viz.*: that if a change of Frontals for the Communion Table, at the different Festivals, may be (as I believe it might be) an important means of teaching the poorer and uneducated class of this country to observe those Festivals themselves—Festivals which, be it remembered, are commanded to be kept by Act of Parliament (see p. 79) no less than by the Law of the Church; then, unless it is wrong to teach by the sense of *sight*, it is a grave question whether the Church of England should neglect to use a method of instruction which the Law has not *prohibited*—a method which, had it been retained in practice, would probably have done more than multitudes of sermons, on this as on other points, to prevent the lamentable ignorance which everywhere prevails of things which the Book of Common Prayer expressly designed to be kept in remembrance and devoutly practised.

^c It should be noted indeed, that Nos. 1 and 2 had been abolished by Royal Injunctions in Henry and Edward's reigns: but they had been revived in Mary's time: and although Elizabeth's Injunctions are evidently copied from Edward's, it is remarkable that these customs should have been omitted if they were meant to be condemned: probably they were thought of no great importance, and the object plainly was at that time not to give needless offence to those who were opposed to reformation.

4. Distributing Blessed Bread (perhaps).*†
5. (Possibly) kissing the Pax.*†
6. (Doubtful) Covering the cross in Lent.*
7. (Doubtful) Uncovering the cross at Easter.*
9. Washing feet on Maunday Thursday.
10. Benedictions with the sign of the Cross by Bishops and Priests.
11. Processions (other than for the *Litany*)—the Cross (and possibly the Crucifix) to be carried in them.*
12. In Baptism—Cross on the forehead.
13. In Visitation of the Sick—Anointing.*†
14. Reservation of the Sacrament for the Sick.
15. Rogation Processions (perhaps with Surplices and Banners).
16. A *prescribed* Ringing of Bells for the dying or dead.

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Elizabeth.

In estimating the comparative sanction which can be claimed for the *abolition, disuse, retention, or ordering*, of anything mentioned in these Lists, it is important to bear in mind the relative value of the several Orders which relate to them: thus, the Statute of Uniformity and the Rubrics have the chief authority; the Injunctions probably rank next; the Orders of the Ecclesiastical Commission apparently have nearly the same, if not equal, force; the Advertisements as issuing from the Convocation, would seem to come after these in importance, from the admitted *doubtfulness* of their having had the Queen's formal consent. The Injunctions and Articles of individual Bishops are not taken into account (except where they agree with either of these authorities, or serve to furnish evidence of what was actually done) because they could not legally supersede the existing Law.

Relative value of
the Orders in this
reign.

Here again too it must be remarked, as was observed in part at p. 114, that whatever Ornaments and Ceremonies the Provincial Constitutions and Canons authorized, were also *Legal*, provided they were not *repugnant* to any of the Orders passed in the reign of Elizabeth and possessing also the force of Statute Law.

In framing this List of Things apparently permitted in the Church of England, I am expressing no opinion whatever on the desirableness of a general attempt to revive them; the en-

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quiry is simply as to what is **LAWFUL**, not what is **EXPEDIENT** : indeed with regard to some of the *Ceremonies*, e.g., the Anointing of the Sick, they could only be restored by the *co-operation* of the Bishops.

JAMES THE FIRST.

Ascended the Throne, March 24th, 1602-3.

“ In *England*, those who were *Puritanically* inclined, presuming either upon the King’s favour, or connivance, began to maim the *Church Service*, to forbear the use of the Surplice, and omit the *Ceremonies*. These omissions they hoped might be acceptable to the King, considering his education, and the practice of the *Scotch Kirk* : but these men were wide in their conjectures, and miscalculated upon his Majesty’s inclination : For soon after his coming into *England* [7th May, 1603,] a Proclamation was issued out, forbidding all manner of innovation either in *Doctrine* or *Discipline*.”—*Collier Eccl. His.* vol. II. pp. 671-2.

The Millenary
Petition.

Others, however, of “ those, affected to *Presbyterianism* were “ not thus exceptionably forward :” they contented themselves with a Petition to the King, which, from its having been “ *said* to be signed by a thousand” persons, “ though there “ wanted some hundreds to compleat the Number,” was called the “ *Millenary Petition*.” Among other things it objected to, and sought the change of, the following—

“ *In the Church Service*”—“ That the Cross in baptism, interrogatories minister’d to infants, Confirmations, as superfluous, may be taken away. Baptism not to be minister’d by women, and so explain’d. The Cap and Surplice not urged. That examination may go before the Communion. That it be minister’d with a Sermon. That divers terms of Priests, and Absolution, and some other used, with the *Ring in Marriage*, and other such like in the *Book*, may be corrected. The longsomeness of Service abridged. Church-Songs and Musick moderated to better edification. That the Lord’s day be not prophan’d. The Rest upon Holidays not so strictly urg’d. That there may be an Uniformity of Doctrine prescrib’d. No popish opinion to be any more taught, or defended. No Ministers charg’d to teach their people to bow at the Name of *Jesus*. That the Canonical scriptures only be read in the Church.”—*Ibid.* p. 672.

Proclamation
against its
authors and
others.

Later in the year there was issued “ *A Proclamation concerning such as seditiously seek reformation in Church matters*.” It bears date “ the 24th day of October, of our “ reign of England, France, and Ireland the First, and of “ Scotland the thirtieth and seventh year, Anno Domini “ MDCIII.” After declaring that, “ since” the King had

“understood the form and frame” of the Ecclesiastical Body, he was

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James I.

“persuaded that both the constitution and doctrine thereof is agreeable to God’s word, and near to the condition of the primitive Church; yet forasmuch as experience doth shew daily, that the church militant is never so well constituted in any form of policy, but that the imperfections of men, who have the exercise thereof, do with time though insensibly bring in some corruptions; as also for that informations were daily brought unto us by divers, that some things used in this Church were both scandalous to many seeming zealous, and gave advantage to the aversaries;”

The Proclamation proceeds to mention the arrangements for considering the subject, and having alluded to the conduct of the Petitioners, expresses the King’s resolution, after the *Conference* resolved upon by him (and which was held at Hampton Court) to

Course meant to
be pursued.

“proceed according to the laws and customs of this realm by advice of our council, or in our high court of Parliament, or by convocation of our clergy, as we shall find reason to lead us; not doubting, but that in such an orderly proceeding we shall have the prelates and others of our clergy no less willing, and far more able to afford us their duty and service, than any other whose zeal goeth so fast before their discretion.”—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. II. p. 62.

To this effect the King spoke at the opening of the Conference January 14th 1603-4: it had been delayed until this time on account of “the sickness” which had been “reigning in many places of [the] Kingdom:”—

1603-4.

The
Hampton Court
Conference.

“His Majesty assur’d them he did not convene this Assembly out of any desire of innovation. . . . But . . . design’d to examine the complaints, and in case they were scandalous to remove the occasion; and though they were but trifling, to take notice of them, and give *Cerberus a sop* to keep him quiet.”—*Collier Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 673.

The members of the Conference, who “were summoned by letters,” consisted of the Archbishop and “eight Bishops,” *viz.*, “London, Durham, Winchester, Worcester, S. Davids, Chichester, Carleil, and Peterborow”: also, “six Deans of Cathedral Churches,” *viz.*, “Christ’s-Church, Worcester, Westminster, Paul’s, Chester, Winsor,” “besides the Dean of the King’s Chapel, two Doctors of Divinity,” *viz.*, “Doctor Field and Doctor King”; and the “Arch-deacon of Nottingham.” “Those that appeared for the Puritans were four, *viz.*, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr.

Members
present.

1603-4. "Knewstubs, and Mr. Chaderton," who were "agents for James I. "the millenary plaintiffes."—*Strype's Life of Whitgift*, bk. 4, p. 571, and *Card. Hist. Conf.* p. 169.

Points discussed.

The points discussed in the three day's Conferences were—1. Confirmation. 2. Absolution. 3. Private Baptism by lay persons. 4. The nature and mode of Excommunication. 5. Certain statements in the 39 Articles. 6. The suppression of some "unlawful and seditious books," as the Puritans called them. 7. The necessity of "learned ministers" in every Parish—by which the Puritans meant "preachers"—with the view of making the *Sermon* the important part of the Public Service. 8. Subscription to the Articles and to the Royal supremacy. 9. The interrogatories in Infant Baptism. 10. The sign of the cross in Baptism. 11. The surplice. 12. The words in the marriage service "With my body I thee worship." 13. The ring in marriage. 14. The Purification of Women. 14. Ecclesiastical censures by lay-Chancellors, which the Puritans objected to. 15. The Powers and nature of the High Commission Court.—*Collier, E. H.* vol. II. pp. 674—83, and *Card. Hist. Conf.* pp. 167—212.)

The King's reply on the Cross in Baptism.

In the discussion upon the sign of the cross in Baptism, the King, in reply to Dr. Reynold's argument against it, drawn from the demolition of the Brazen Serpent, said—

"First, [as to its having 'been superstitiously abused'] if there were nothing else to move me, this very argument were an inducement to me for the retaining of it, as it is now by order established; for inasmuch as it was abused, so you say, to superstition, in time of popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well used before popery (and speaking to Dr. Reynolds merily) they used to wear hose and shoes in popery, therefore you shall now go barefoot.

"Secondly, quoth his Majesty, what resemblance is there between the brazen serpent, a material visible thing, and the sign of the crosse made in the aire?

"Thirdly, I am given to understand by the Bishops, and I find it true, that the papists themselves did never ascribe any power or spirituall grace to the sign of the crosse in Baptism.

"Fourthly, you see, that the material crosses, which in time of popery were made for men to fall down before them, as they passed by them, to worship them, (as the idolatrous Jews did the brazen serpent) are demolished as you desire."—*Card. Hist. of Conf.* p. 199.

Mr. Goode quotes

This last reply is quoted by Mr. Goode (p. 74), as "another

“decisive testimony,” that Crucifixes and Crosses” are “forbidden in our Churches,” and in proof of “the doctrine of our Church on this subject.” Now, with every desire to give this passage its fullest weight, the utmost value that can be attached to it, as an argument against Crosses, is—that it is important evidence of *the fact of their DEMOLITION*: in this respect it must be ranked with the language of Whitgift thirty years before, and is to be treated as that was at p. 296, though he spoke of Crosses in *Churches*, whereas the King’s words seem rather to refer to Crosses in *Highways*; and it is exceedingly likely, looking at the history, that the two statements furnish a sufficiently accurate description of the progress of destruction, and of the *general* appearance, at the respective periods, of places where Crosses or Crucifixes (whichever they were) had once been set up. Yet, like Whitgift’s account, the King’s words must not be pressed too far, unless we are to believe that, *e.g.*, the Cross in West Cheap, which had been set up afresh only three years before, had been taken down.

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James I.

this against
Crosses.

Moreover, the King’s language is no evidence that he objected to Crosses *simpliciter*: for, both his illustration from the Brazen Serpent, which was an Image upon a pole (or, as some have thought, upon a Cross), and his reference to a period in which, as been already shewn, *Crucifixes* were, (with probably few exceptions, and these most likely having Images about them, such as the West Cheap Cross, if that was, as perhaps it was, only a Cross) “the material Crosses” placed in the situations referred to—these would at least incline us to the belief, that he had no aversion to what Elizabeth’s Councillors (and I imagine they were his own also) called the “ANCIENT ENSIGN OF CHRISTIANITY,” It may be, indeed, an erroneous interpretation of the King’s words to suppose, as here, that they relate to Crosses in Highways, rather than to Crosses in Churches: but, admitting that they may have been intended to *include* the latter, it would be hard, I think, to prove that they *exclude* the former: and, if this be a true account of them, at all events, in quoting them, together with Calhill’s statement, to uphold the point which Mr. Goode desires to maintain, it would have been

Another view
of the words.

1603-4.
James I.

fairer to give the following continuation of Calhill's sentence which Mr. Goode closes with a *full stop* at the word "oratories" (see Note, p. 233), though it runs on thus:—

" ; and not so despitefully thrown down in highways, as you most constanly do affirm : the contrary whereof, as by our law is established, so in effect is proved. For we do see them in many places stand, nor are at all offended therewith."

" You see, that the material crosses are demolished "as you desire." This is the King's *fact*, what explanations or limitations soever it may admit of. You, Dr. Reynold's, have got your wish on that point—thus his Majesty desired to suppress the demand for the abolition of the Cross in Baptism: more he was not called upon to say: it was not an occasion which demanded any reference to the Law of the case, and certainly his Puritan auditors were not the people before whom unnecessarily to express any opinion of the fitness of this Ornament in Churches or elsewhere. It is for those who believe that the King objected to the Cross on the grounds of illegality, or danger, or both, to prove that his words *imply* what certainly they do not *express*.

The Conferences ended on the 18th January, and on the 9th February the King issued a letter to " John Archbishop "of Canterbury and to the rest of our commissioners "for causes Ecclesiastical" which sets out by adverting to the Visitatorial power "by authoritie of Parliament of this our "realme, united and annexed to the imperial Crowne of the "same"—and then proceeds to state the authority under which it was acting (*viz.* I Eliz. c. 2. 1558-9) in these words

" And whereas also by act of Parliament it is provided and enacted, that whenever we shall cause to take further order for or concerning any ornament, righte, or ceremony appointed or prescribed in the booke commonly called ' The Book of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England', and our pleasure knowne therein, either to our Commissioners, authorized under our great seal of England, for causes Ecclesiastical, or to the Metropolitane of this our realme of England, that then further order should be therein taken accordingly."

The Letter then goes on to notice that the Commissioners had recommended certain changes, which the King approved, and which it says

" Are in no part repugnant to the word of God, nor contrarie to

The King's
Letter to the
Abp. after the
Conference.

The changes
it recommends.

anie thinge that is already contained in that book; nor to any of our lawes or statutes made for allowance and confirmation of the same:" concluding with a direction to the Archbishop to

"command our printer, Robert Barker, newly to print the said Communion Book, with all the said declarations and enlargements by way of exposition and explanation above mentioned."

The changes and alterations, consisted in—

- (1). The addition of the words "to be pronounced by the Minister alone" in the Rubrick before the Absolution.
- (2). A slight difference at the commencement of the Gospel for the 2nd Sunday after Easter and the 20th Sunday after Trinity.
- (3). A more stringent Rubric in the office for private Baptism—requiring especially a "lawful minister."
- (4). An altered title for the office of Confirmation.
- (5). The addition to the Catechism of the questions on the Sacraments.
- (6). A very slight change in four Apocryphal lessons.
- (7). The addition of some occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings.

The new Book was authorized by Royal Proclamation dated 5th March 1603-4.—*Card. His. Conf.* pp. 217—28.

Proclamation
for the New
Prayer Book.

On the 29th of February Archbishop Whitgift died, and the See remained vacant about 9 months.

Death of
Whitgift.

The Parliament met at Westminster on the 19th of March, and on the day following the Convocation assembled.

Parliament and
Convocation
meet.

"The see of Canterbury being now vacant, the Dean and Chapter of that Church gave a commission to *Bancroft*, Bishop of London, to preside in the *Synod*. In the eleventh session the President delivered the Prolocutor a Book of *Canons*, which passed both Houses, and were afterwards ratified by the King's letters patent. These *Canons*, being a Hundred and forty one, were collected by Bishop *Bancroft* out of the *Articles*, *Injunctions*, and *Synodical Acts* pass'd and publish'd in the reigns of King *Edward* the Sixth and Queen *Elizabeth*."—*Collier E. H.* vol. II. p. 687.

Of these *Canons*, the following are all which relate to the question of Ornaments and Ceremonies in Cathedrals and in Churches generally:—

Selection from

No. 6.—*Impugners of the Rites and Ceremonies established in the Church of England, censured.*

"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, That the Rites and Ceremonies

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the Canons
passed in this
Convocation.

of the Church of England by law established are wicked, antichristian, or superstitious, or such as, being commanded by lawful authority, men, who are zealously and godly affected, may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored until he repent, and publicly revoke such his wicked errors."

No. 14.—*The Prescript form of Divine Service to be used on Sundays and Holy-days.*

"The Common Prayer shall be said or sung distinctly and reverently upon such days as are appointed to be kept holy by the Book of Common Prayer, and their eves, and at convenient and usual times of those days, and in such place of every Church as the Bishop of the diocese, or Ecclesiastical Ordinary of the place, shall think meet for the largeness or straitness of the same, so as the people may be most edified. All ministers likewise shall observe the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, as well in reading the holy Scriptures, and saying of Prayers, as in administration of the Sacraments, without either diminishing in regard of preaching, or in any other respect, or adding anything in the matter or form thereof."

No. 15.—*Litany to be read on Wednesdays and Fridays.*

"The Litany shall be said or sung when, and as it is set down in the Book of Common Prayer, by the Parsons, Vicars, Ministers, or Curates, in all Cathedral, Collegiate, Parish Churches and Chapels, in some convenient place, according to the discretion of the Bishop of the diocese, or Ecclesiastical Ordinary of the place. And that we may speak more particularly, upon Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, though they be not holy-days, the Minister, at the accustomed hours of service, shall resort to the Church or Chapel, and, warning being given to the people by tolling of a bell, shall say the Litany prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer: whereunto we wish every householder dwelling within half a mile of the Church to come, or send one at least of his household, fit to join with the Minister in prayers."

No. 17.—*Students in Colleges to wear Surplices in time of Divine Service.*

"All Masters and Fellows of Colleges or Halls, and all the Scholars and Students in either of the Universities, shall in their Churches and Chapels, upon all Sundays, Holy-days, and their eves, at the time of Divine Service, wear Surplices according to the order of the Church of England: and such as are Graduates shall agreeably wear with their Surplices such Hoods as do severally appertain unto their degrees."

No. 18.—*A Reverence and Attention to be used within the Church in time of Divine Service.*

"In the time of Divine Service, and of every part thereof, all due

reverence is to be used ; for it is according to the Apostle's rule, *Let all things be done decently, and according to order* ; answerably to which decency and order, we judge these our directions following : No man shall cover his head in the Church or Chapel in the time of Divine Service, except he have some infirmity ; in which case let him wear a night-cap or coif. All manner of persons then present shall reverently kneel upon their knees, when the general Confession, Litany, and other prayers are read ; and shall stand up at the saying of the Belief, according to the rules in that behalf prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer : and likewise when in time of Divine Service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed ; testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures, their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind, for this life, and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised. None, either man, woman, or child, of what calling soever, shall be otherwise at such times busied in the Church, than in quiet attendance to hear, mark, and understand that which is read, preached, or ministered ; saying in their due places audibly with the Minister, the Confession, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed ; and making such other answers to the public prayers, as are appointed in the Book of Common Prayer : neither shall they disturb the Service or Sermon, by walking or talking, or any other way ; nor depart out of the Church during the time of Service or Sermon, without some urgent or reasonable cause."

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No. 20.—*Bread and Wine to be provided against every Communion.*

"The Churchwardens of every parish, against the time of every Communion, shall, at the charge of the parish, with the advice and direction of the Minister, provide a sufficient quantity of fine white Bread, and of good and wholesome Wine, for the number of Communicants that shall from time to time receive there : which Wine we require to be brought to the Communion-table in a clean and sweet standing pot or stoop of pewter, if not of purer metal."

No. 24.—*Copes to be worn in Cathedral Churches by those that administer the Communion.*

"In all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches the holy Communion shall be administered upon principal feast-days, sometimes by the Bishop, if he be present, and sometimes by the Dean, and at sometimes by a Canon or Prebendary, the principal Minister using a decent Cope, and being assisted by the Gospeller and Epistler agreeably according to the Advertisements published *Anno 7. Eliz.* The said Communion to be administered at such times, and with such limitation, as is specified in the Book of Common Prayer. Provided, That no such limitation by any construction shall be allowed of, but that all Deans, Wardens, Masters or Heads of Cathedral and Colle-

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giate Churches, Prebendaries, Canons, Vicars, Petty Canons, Singing-men, and all others of the foundation, shall receive the Communion four times yearly at the least."

No. 25.—*Surplices and Hoods to be worn in Cathedral Churches when there is no Communion.*

"In the time of Divine Service and Prayers in all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, when there is no Communion, it shall be sufficient to wear Surplices; saving that all Deans, Masters, and Heads of Collegiate Churches, Canons, and Prebendaries, being Graduates, shall daily, at the times both of Prayer and Preaching, wear with their Surplices such Hoods as are agreeable to their degrees."

No. 30.—*The lawful Use of the Cross in Baptism explained.*

"We are sorry that his Majesty's most princely care and pains taken in the Conference at Hampton-Court, amongst many other points, touching this one of the Cross in Baptism, hath taken no better effect with many, but that still the use of it in Baptism is so greatly stuck at and impugned. For the further declaration therefore of the true use of this ceremony, and for the removing all such scruple as might any ways trouble the consciences of them who are indeed rightly religious, following the royal steps of our most worthy King, because he therein followeth the rules of the Scriptures, and the practice of the primitive Church; we do commend to all the true members of the Church of England these our directions and observations ensuing.

"First, it is to be observed, that although the Jews and Ethnicks derided both the Apostles and the rest of the Christians, for preaching and believing in Him who was crucified upon the Cross; yet all, both Apostles and Christians, were so far from being discouraged from their profession by the ignominy of the Cross, as they rather rejoiced and triumphed in it. Yea, the Holy Ghost by the mouths of the Apostles did honour the name of the Cross (being hateful among the Jews) so far, that under it he comprehended not only Christ crucified, but the force, effects, and merits of his Death and Passion, with all the comforts, fruits, and promises, which we receive or expect thereby.

"Secondly, the honour and dignity of the name of the Cross begat a reverend estimation even in the Apostles' times (for aught that is known to the contrary) of the sign of the Cross which the Christians shortly after used in all their actions: thereby making an outward show and profession, even to the astonishment of the Jews, that they were not ashamed to acknowledge him for their Lord and Saviour, who died for them upon the Cross. And this sign they did not only use themselves with a kind of glory, when they met with any Jews, but signed therewith their children when they were christened, to dedicate them by that badge to his service, whose benefits bestowed upon them in Baptism the name of the Cross did represent. And this use of the sign of the Cross in Baptism was held in the primitive Church, as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent and

great applause. At what time, if any had opposed themselves against it, they would certainly have been censured as enemies of the name of the Cross, and consequently of Christ's merits, the Sign whereof they could no better endure. This continual and general use of the Sign of the Cross is evident by many testimonies of the ancient Fathers.

“Thirdly, it must be confessed, that in process of time the sign of the Cross was greatly abused in the Church of *Rome*, especially after that corruption of Popery had once possessed it. But the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it. Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the Church of *England* to forsake and reject the Churches of *Italy, France, Spain, Germany*, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of *England* confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men: and only departed from them in those particular points, wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders. In which respect, amongst some other very ancient ceremonies, the Sign of the Cross in Baptism hath been retained in this Church, both by the judgment and practice of those reverend Fathers and great Divines in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, of whom some constantly suffered for the profession of the truth; and others being exiled in the time of Queen Mary, did after their return, in the beginning of the reign of our late dread Sovereign, continually defend and use the same. This resolution and practice of our Church hath been allowed and approved by the censure* upon the Communion Book in King Edward the Sixth his days, and by the harmony of Confessions of later years: because indeed the use of this Sign in Baptism was ever accompanied here with such sufficient cautions and exceptions against all Popish superstition and error, as in the like cases are either fit or convenient.

“First, the Church of England, since the abolishing of Popery, hath ever held and taught, and so doth hold and teach still, that the Sign of the Cross used in Baptism is no part of the substance of that Sacrament: for when the Minister, dipping the infant in water, or laying water upon the face of it, (as the manner also is,) hath pronounced these words, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, the infant is fully and perfectly baptized. So as the Sign of the Cross being afterwards used, doth neither add anything to the virtue and perfection of Baptism, nor being omitted doth detract anything from the effect and substance of it.

“Secondly, it is apparent in the Communion Book, that the infant baptized is, by virtue of Baptism, before it be signed with the Sign of the Cross, received into the congregation of Christ's flock, as a perfect member thereof, and not by any power ascribed unto the Sign of the Cross.^b So that for the very remembrance of the Cross,

* *i. e.* Bucer's *Censura* upon the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. published in 1550.

^b Compare the King's remark as to the Roman view on this point.—p. 314.

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which is very precious to all them that rightly believe in Jesus Christ, and in the other respects mentioned, the Church of England hath retained still the Sign of it in Baptism; following therein the primitive and apostolical Churches, and accounting it a lawful outward ceremony and honourable badge, whereby the infant is dedicated to the service of Him that died upon the Cross, as by the words used in the Book of Common Prayer it may appear.

“Lastly, the use of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, being thus purged from all Popish superstition and error, and reduced in the Church of England to the primary institution of it, upon those true rules of doctrine concerning things indifferent, which are consonant to the Word of God, and the judgment of all the ancient Fathers, we hold it the part of every private man, both Minister and other, reverently to retain the true use of it prescribed by public authority: considering that things of themselves indifferent do in some sort alter their natures, when they are either commanded or forbidden by a lawful magistrate; and may not be omitted at every man’s pleasure, contrary to the law, when they be commanded, nor used when they are prohibited.”

No. 36.—*Subscription required of such as are to be made Ministers.*

“No person shall hereafter be received into the Ministry, nor either by institution or collation admitted to any Ecclesiastical Living, nor suffered to preach, to catechize, or to be a Lecturer or Reader of Divinity, in either University, or in any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, City, or Market-town, Parish Church, Chapel, or in any other place within this realm, except he be licensed either by the Archbishop, or by the Bishop of the diocese, where he is to be placed, under their hands and seals, or by one of the two Universities under their seal likewise; and except he shall first subscribe to these three Articles following in such manner and sort as we have here appointed.

“I. That the King’s Majesty, under God, is the only supreme Governor of this realm, and of all other his Highness’s dominions and countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or causes, as Temporal: and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, Ecclesiastical or spiritual, within his Majesty’s said realms, dominions, and countries.

“II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used; and that he himself will use the form in the said Book prescribed, in Public Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

“III. That he alloweth the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty and two; and that he acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine and thirty, besides the Ratification, to be agreeable to the Word of God.

“To these three Articles whosoever will subscribe he shall, for the avoiding of all ambiguities, subscribe in this order and form of words, setting down his Christian and Surname, viz. *I N. N. do willingly and ex animo subscribe to these three Articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.* And if any Bishop shall ordain, admit, or license any, as is aforesaid, except he first have subscribed in manner and form as here we have appointed, he shall be suspended from giving of orders and licenses to preach for the space of twelve months. But if either of the Universities shall offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law, and his Majesty's censure.”

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No. 38.—*Revolters after Subscription censured.*

“If any Minister, after he hath once subscribed to the said three Articles, shall omit to use the form of Prayer, or any of the Orders or Ceremonies prescribed in the Communion Book, let him be suspended; and if after a month he do not reform and submit himself, let him be excommunicated; and then if he shall not submit himself within the space of another month, let him be deposed from the ministry.”

No. 58.—*Ministers reading Divine Service, and administering the Sacraments, to wear Surplices, and Graduates therewithal Hoods.*

“Every Minister saying the public Prayers, or ministering the Sacraments, or other Rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely Surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish. And if any question arise touching the matter, decency, or comeliness thereof, the same shall be decided by the discretion of the Ordinary. Furthermore, such Ministers as are Graduates shall wear upon their Surplices, at such times, such Hoods as by the orders of the Universities are agreeable to their degrees, which no Minister shall wear (being no Graduate) under pain of suspension. Notwithstanding it shall be lawful for such Ministers as are not Graduates to wear upon their Surplices, instead of Hoods, some decent Tippet of black, so it be not silk.”

No. 70.—*Ministers to keep a Register of Christenings, Weddings, and Burials.*

“In every Parish Church and Chapel within this realm, shall be provided one parchment book at the charge of the parish, wherein shall be written the day and year of every Christening, Wedding, and Burial, which have been in that parish since the time that the law was first made in that behalf, so far as the ancient books thereof can be procured, but especially since the reign of the late Queen. And for the safe keeping of the said book, the Churchwardens at the charge of the parish, shall provide one sure coffer, with three locks and keys; whereof the one to remain with the Minister, and the other two with the Churchwardens, severally; so that neither the

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Minister without the two Churchwardens, nor the Churchwardens without the Minister, shall at any time take that book out of the said coffer. And henceforth, upon every Sabbath-day, immediately after Morning or Evening Prayer, the Minister and Churchwardens shall take the said parchment book out of the said coffer, and the Minister in the presence of the Churchwardens, shall write and record in the said book the names of all persons christened, together with the names and surnames of their parents, and also the names of all persons married and buried in that parish in the week before, and the day and year of every such Christening, Marriage and Burial, and that done, they shall lay up that book in the coffer, as before, and the Minister and Churchwardens unto every page of that book, when it shall be filled with such inscriptions, shall subscribe their names. And the Churchwardens shall, once every year, within one month after the five-and-twentieth day of March, transmit unto the Bishop of the diocese, or his Chancellor, a true copy of the names of all persons christened, married, or buried in their parish in the year before, ended the said five-and-twentieth day of March, and the certain days and months in which every such Christening, Marriage, and Burial was had, to be subscribed with the hands of the said Minister, and Churchwardens, to the end the same may faithfully be preserved in the Registry of the said Bishop; which certificate shall be received without fee. And if the Minister or Churchwardens shall be negligent in performance of anything herein contained, it shall be lawful for the Bishop or his Chancellor to convent them, and proceed against every of them as contemners of this our Constitution."

No. 74.—*Decency in Apparel enjoined to Ministers.*

"The true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their Prelacy and Clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special Messengers and Ministers of Almighty God: we therefore, following their grave judgment, and the ancient custom of the Church of England, and hoping that in time newfangleness of apparel in some factious persons will die of itself, do constitute and appoint, That the Archbishops and Bishops shall not intermit to use the accustomed apparel of their degrees. Likewise all Deans, Masters of Colleges, Archdeacons, and Prebendaries, in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, (being Priests or Deacons,) Doctors in Divinity, Law, and Physic, Bachelors in Divinity, Masters of Arts, and Bachelors of Law, having any Ecclesiastical Living, shall usually wear Gowns with standing Collars and Sleeves straight at the hands, or wide Sleeves, as is used in the universities, with Hoods or Tippetts of silk or sarcenet, and square caps. And that all other Ministers admitted or to be admitted into that function shall also usually wear the like apparel as is aforesaid, except Tippetts only. We do further in like manner ordain, That all the said Eccle-

siastical Persons above mentioned shall usually wear in their journeys Cloaks with sleeves, commonly called Priests' Cloaks, without guards, welts, long buttons, or cuts. And no Ecclesiastical Person shall wear any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet. In all which particulars concerning the apparel here prescribed, our meaning is not to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but for decency, gravity, and order, as is before specified. In private houses, and in their studies, the said Persons Ecclesiastical may use any comely and scholar-like apparel, provided that it be not cut or pinkt; and that in public they go not in their Doublet and Hose, without Coats or Cassocks; and that they wear not any light-coloured Stockings. Likewise poor beneficed men and Curates (not being able to provide themselves long Gowns) may go in short gowns of the fashion aforesaid."

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No. 80.—*The Great Bible and Book of Common Prayer to be had in every Church.*

"The Churchwardens or Questmen of every Church and Chapel shall, at the charge of the parish, provide the Book of Common Prayer, lately explained in some few points by his Majesty's authority, according to the laws, and his Highness's prerogative in that behalf, and that with all convenient speed, but at the furthest within two months after the publishing of these our Constitutions. And if any parishes be yet unfurnished of the Bible of the largest volume, or of the Books of Homilies allowed by authority, the said Churchwardens shall within convenient time provide the same at the like charge of the parish."

No. 81.—*A Font of Stone for Baptism in every Church.*

"According to a former Constitution, too much neglected in many places, we appoint that there shall be a Font of stone in every Church and Chapel where baptism is to be ministered; the same to be set in the ancient usual places; in which only Font the Minister shall baptize publicly."

No. 82.—*A Decent Communion-Table in every Church.*

"Whereas we have no doubt but that in all Churches within the realm of England convenient and decent tables are provided and placed for the celebration of the holy Communion, we appoint, that the same tables shall from time to time be kept and repaired in sufficient and seemly manner, and covered, in time of Divine Service with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff, thought meet by the Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it, and with a fair linen cloth at the time of the Ministration, as becometh that Table, and so stand, saving when the said holy Communion is to be administered: at which time the same shall be placed in so good sort within the Church or Chancel, as thereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the Communicants in his Prayer and Ministration,

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and the Communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, may communicate with the said Minister; and that the Ten Commandments be set upon the East end of every Church and Chapel, where the people may best see and read the same, and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said Churches and Chapels in places convenient: and likewise that a convenient seat be made for the Minister to read Service in. All these to be done at the charge of the parish."

No. 83. *A Pulpit to be provided in every Church.*

"The Churchwardens or Quest-men, at the common charge of the Parishioners in every Church, shall provide a comely and decent Pulpit, to be set in a convenient place within the same, by the discretion of the Ordinary of the place, if any question do arise, and to be there seemly kept for the preaching of God's Word."

No. 84. *A Chest for Alms in every Church.*

"The Churchwardens shall provide and have, within three months after the publishing of these Constitutions, a strong Chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof, to be provided at the charge of the parish (if there be none such already provided), having three keys: of which one such shall remain in the custody of the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, and the other two in the custody of the Churchwardens for the time being: which Chest they shall set and fasten in the most convenient place, to the intent the Parishioners may put into it their alms for their poor neighbours. And the Parson, Vicar, or Curate shall diligently, from time to time, and especially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbours to confer and give, as they may well spare, to the said Chest; declaring unto them, that whereas heretofore they have been diligent to bestow much substance otherwise than God commanded, upon superstitious uses, now they ought at this time to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a sacrifice which pleaseth God; and that also whatsoever is given for their comfort is given to Christ himself, and is so accepted of him that he will mercifully reward the same. The which alms and devotion of the people, the keepers of the keys shall yearly, quarterly, or oftener (as need requireth,) take out of the Chest, and distribute the same in the presence of most of the parish, or six of the chief of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most poor and needy neighbours."

No. 88. *Churches not to be Prophaned.*

"The Churchwardens or Questmen, and their Assitants, shall suffer no plays, feasts, banquets, suppers, church-ales-drinkings, temporal courts, or leets, lay-juries, musters, or any other profane usage, to be kept in the Church, Chapel, or Churchyard, neither the bells to be rung superstitiously, upon Holidays or Eves abrogated by the book of Common Prayer, nor at any other times, without good cause to be allowed by the Minister of the place, and by themselves."

Now these Canons, being in force at the present day,^a demand a special notice here ; the more so as Dr. Lushington has claimed the 82nd in condemnation of various coloured Altar-coverings, and Mr. Goode has quoted several of them to prove a variety of points which he deems it important to maintain. It will be best to consider them in their numerical order.

Thus, then, at pp. 6 and 7, Mr. Goode cites the 14th Canon (being the last of his authorities already referred to in pp. 271 and 295) as compelling a rigid adherence, in all matters of Ceremonial, to the precise directions of the Book of Common Prayer ; and that, moreover, to the *exclusion* of everything else not named therein, even though nowhere *prohibited* : he adds, that the opposite

“ is a notion likely to cost a clergyman who acts upon it dear, if any one chooses to put the Act of Uniformity in force against him. And with this remark I dismiss the consideration of it.”

I have already pointed out, at pp. 41 and 49, some of the straits into which such a theory must necessarily drive its advocate ; and have urged against its probability (see p. 138) the fact that Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity was *followed* by Injunctions *explanatory* of the very Rubrics of the Book which the Statute enforced : further it has been shewn that, as in the case of the *Parson of Eastwell* (p. 292), the aim and practice of the Puritans was to escape from doing everything which the Book *enjoined*, but which they disliked ; and, failing this, to endeavour to get rid of the Book altogether. Hence, therefore, the need of those several directions issued in and after the reign of Elizabeth, whether by Royal or Episcopal authority (see pp. 184, 198, 230, 261, 266, 270, 291,

^a In saying this I do not overlook the opinion held by many (especially among that class of persons who are the greatest opponents of Church Ornament and Ceremonial) that, with the exception of the 36th Canon, to the three Articles of which the Clergy are compelled to subscribe, *these Canons are obsolete* : some, I believe, have even contended that they have no *legal* force at all : both these parties, then, must, in consistency, abandon any appeal to them in support of their views. It is assumed here that the generally received view is the true one—viz. that, having received the Royal Sanction, they (in the words of Lord Hardwicke) “ bind the *Clergy* of the Realm ;” though, “ not having been confirmed by Parliament,” they “ do not *proprio vigore*, bind the *Laiety*,” except where they are “ declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England, received and allowed here.” If this be their status then, however obsolete, they can ALL be enforced upon the *Clergy*, in part upon the *Laiety* ; and, of course, are *Ecclesiastically* binding upon both, if they recognize the Church's own authority.—See *Burn's Eccl. Law*. Phillimore's Ed. 1842. Preface, p. xxvii.

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294, and 298); the object of which seems, plainly, to have been—to insist upon its complete use, to prevent its neglect, to forbid the omission or transposition of any part of it. But it is a wholly different thing (and one which I venture to submit was never intended) to tell those who heartily and honestly follow all the directions of the Prayer Book, that they may not do a single thing which is unwritten in the Rubrics, though it contradict neither their letter nor their spirit, be never so much in harmony with the tone of the Book and of the Ancient Liturgies which it professed to follow, or be embodied in Ancient Canons which the Book was never designed to abrogate, and to the non-repeal of which even the Puritan depraivers of the Book bore a complaining witness (See pp. 216, 227 and 294.)

improbability
of it:

Mr. Goode further argues (p. 27)—

“that if these additional ceremonies [*i. e.* crossing and bowing] are to be allowed in the public ministrations of the Church, because they are not expressly forbidden, other ceremonies must be permitted on the same ground. For instance, in the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism, the use of oil, tapers, spittle, and other Popish ceremonies, may be introduced, and defended on the same grounds as those we have been considering. The absence of any direct prohibition may be pleaded for the one as well as the other.”

false argument
from it.

But the cases are wholly dissimilar: it has been shewn at pp. 47, 78, 100, 156, 220, and 307, that whereas the latter Ceremonies were *distinctly prohibited*, no such token of intended abolition can be produced against the former: and therefore to say, as Mr. Goode proceeds to contend, that if his principle be rejected and the opposite allowed—

“the whole mass of Popish ceremonies that were intended to be ‘abolished,’ by the appointment of one uniform order of prayers, rites, and ceremonies, to which all were to be bound, may be re-introduced into our Church by the Romanizing party that have lately sprung up among us”

is, neither more nor less, than to conjure up a phantom which may both scare people from harmless practices and cast a suspicious look upon those who certainly are not more obnoxious to the charge of *Romanizing* than are others, who are negligent of Ceremonial, to that of *Genevanizing*. And this is confidently said, notwithstanding Mr. Goode’s words—“I am not here speaking of anything unlikely to occur”—words by which he means to colour his view more deeply; for the Injunctions of Grindal (See No. iv. p. 255, and No. vii.

p. 285) which he quotes, are not the least in point ; they only prove, *at the most*, that those Ceremonies in Baptism had not entirely disappeared throughout the kingdom ; it is by no means clear that they prove *so much*, because, as was observed at p. 258, enquiries were often perpetuated in Visitations when the need for them had wholly ceased. Nor does he help his case in the least by adding that “if *ceremonies* not “forbidden may be introduced, *prayers* not forbidden may be “introduced ; and all semblance of uniformity be destroyed,” for there can be no question that the several Acts of Uniformity were designed to exclude *interpolated* prayers, though, as I have before argued, the details of Ceremonial were not within their scope.

The words in the Canon, on which Mr. Goode relies, are these—“without adding anything in the matter or form “thereof”—words which, taken with the context, he evidently considers as effectually hedging in “the orders, rites, “and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.” But the well known Ecclesiastical terms “matter” and “form” seem to me to point mainly to the preservation of the Essence of the Sacraments or of Rites having a Sacramental character—things which certainly were in danger then. Probably they were also intended to prevent additions such as those mentioned at p. 293—additions which really changed the prescribed *matter, form, and order* of the appointed Service ; and thus, especially if considered with the requirement of Art. 2 of Canon 36, to “use the form in the said Book,” they would be confirmatory and explanatory of the terms of the previous Acts of Uniformity which directed the Offices to be used “in such order and form as they be mentioned in “the said Book,” and forbid any one to “use any “other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of mass”—terms, the meaning of which is discussed at pp. 40 and 129 where the Statutes are quoted.

No doubt what Mr. Goode says, at p. 7, is perfectly true that “one great object in putting forth the Book of Common “Prayer was *uniformity*, not merely in the *matter* of the “Services used, but in the *mode* and *form* and *ceremonial* of “public worship : and this would be destroyed, if the minister “had the liberty to introduce unauthorized additions of bow-

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Probable meaning of the Canon ;

not opposed to a real Uniformity.

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“ings and crossings, &c., which have a tendency to give a “different character to the Service.” Yet unless it can be shewn that the “liberty” as to Gestures, &c, appended in Edward’s 1st Book, “destroyed” that object and altered the “character” of “the Service” then; it may fairly be disputed whether a like freedom would be destructive now. Does Mr. Goode think that this *object* is not attained, or that this *character* is altered by the notorious *lack* of exact *compliance*, in things *prescribed*, by some both of those who do and of those who do not complain of such as they think exceed what is written? There is one *apparent* remedy; and that is, some such minute code of Directions on most, if not on all, points as is to be found in the *General* and other Rubrics of the *Roman Office* Books; or in the less detailed Rubrics of those very Books which the Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10, as revived in this Reign (see p. 340), abolished. However, unless Clergy of all views and opinions are to be mere machines in celebrating Divine Service it is useless to discuss what no Act of Uniformity could ever enforce; and what, the observation of many inclines one to think, is not so rigidly enforced, as some believe, even in the Roman Communion.

Intention of
Can. 14 and 15
not fully stated
by Mr. Goode.

The 15th Canon, and part of the 14th, Mr. Goode quotes, in “Section IV.” on the “Place and Position of the Minister,” to shew (1.) the “*Place where the Common Prayers and Lessons are to be read*” and (2.) the “*Place where the Litany is to be said or sung.*” Two qualifying remarks, only, it seems necessary to make upon his conclusion that—“after all that could be said, the power of ordering the matter “would clearly rest with the Ordinary.” *First*, that, as to the Litany, the Injunctions both of Edward and Elizabeth (see pp. 27 and 139) direct it to be said “in the midst of the “Church:” *Secondly*, that none of the directions given from Edward’s days downwards shew any intention of the Prayers being said out of the Choir, excepting in such a case of necessity as that mentioned in No. 5 of Hooper’s Injunctions (p. 72): while, as to the position of the Minister, it is not a little illusory to say that “the older Episcopal Injunctions, “however, are clearly in favour of his turning towards the “people”, and then only to quote *Grindal’s* Injunctions of 1571 and his Articles of 1576, without adverting to the fact that older and contemporary Directions are *silent* upon the

matter, and that the situation of the Choir seats, which were not to be altered, was certainly an obstacle to that position.

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Again, at p. 37, he refers to Canons 24, 25, and 58 ; remarking that "These Canons having been passed in Convocation, and ratified by the Crown, clearly show the intentions of our Ecclesiastical authorities at that period ; while, nevertheless, the Rubric of Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book was still at that very time in the Book of Common Prayer as then authorized : " then, quoting the authority of Dr. Bennet and Archdeacon Sharp in favour of the opinion " that our present Rubric also is to be limited by the ' Advertisements ' and the Canons of 1604," he concludes that " Much, therefore, is to be said in favour of the *reasonableness* of following, even now, the course sanctioned by these Canons in the matter of Vestures." I have already alluded to this opinion of Mr. Goode's (at p. 206) as being one that may claim some concurrence : to what is said there it need only be added—that in proportion as that Puritan necessity diminishes which compelled the Bishops in past times to acquiesce in almost the lowest possible amount of Ornament, Ritual, and Ceremonial, so it is equally *reasonable* that efforts should be made to raise that Standard towards the height which the Law sanctions. That these Canons are not *now* the Law, in the sense of *governing* the Rubric, Mr. Goode distinctly holds ; for, after remarking (p. 29) " My object in this work, as I have already stated, is to point out fairly and impartially the law of our Church on the subjects here discussed," he proceeds to say—

Mr. Goode on
Can. 24, 25, & 58:

an argument
from his view of
their *reasonable-*
ness.

The Rubric,
Mr. Goode thinks
is *superior* to the
Canon, though
inconsistent
with it.

"It is remarkable, however, and is certainly a proof of the unsatisfactory state in which some questions of this kind are left in our Church, that the direction given in the 58th Canon of 1604 (the Code of Canons now in force) is inconsistent with that contained in this Rubric. At the same time, it must be admitted, that a Rubric sanctioned both by Convocation and Parliament in 1662, cannot be invalidated by a Canon that had the sanction of Convocation only in 1604. Glad, therefore, as I should be to take the ground suggested by Mr. Robertson, that ' it is not to be supposed, that those who [in 1662] re-enacted it [the Rubric], intended to contradict and abrogate the 58th Canon,' I cannot in fairness do so, because we have nothing to do with their intentions, or, in fact, with anything but the law as it stands. Neither can I adopt the view of those who wish to throw a veil over such matters. I believe it to be for the

1603-4. interests of peace as well as truth, in the end, that the true state of
James I. the case should be clearly understood."

And again, at p. 39, he says—

"I admit that our present Rubric, which leaves out the reference to Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, and expressly enjoins the ornaments of King Edward's First Book, cannot be thus got rid of."

But—not to re-argue the question, whether it is warrantable to translate the expression of the Rubric "second year," by the words "Edward's First Book," and without committing oneself to the opinion that "we have *nothing* to do with their "*intentions*" who were responsible for the Rubric of 1662—I cannot but think that the *inconsistency* which Mr. Goode speaks of may be reconciled by remembering that the spirit which evoked the Canon was not quelled when the Rubric passed in 1662, neither has it been laid since: so that, to whatever extent the last Reviewers might have been desirous to restore the Ornaments and Vestures of Edward's second year, they may have felt the necessity then—a necessity which, I fear, has not wholly ceased now—of retaining a Canon which, being *directory*, prescribed the lowest usage they meant to *tolerate*; though, not being *negative*, it could not exclude a higher practice when and where circumstances should combine to favour it.

The inconsistency reconciled.

Canon 30 mis-applied by Mr. Goode.

To Canon 30, Mr. Goode refers, at p. 26, (among other authorities already noticed) to prove that any use of the sign of the Cross, except in Baptism, is *disallowed* by the Church of England, and that "the language of" the Canon

"clearly tends in the contrary direction, because it confines its defence of the use of the sign of the Cross to its use in Baptism, and admits that 'the sign of the Cross was greatly abused in the Church of Rome.' It gives no sanction to its use except in Baptism, which tacitly implies that it is not to be used on other occasions, at any rate in the *public* Service of the Church by its ministers."

Yet surely this is an attempt to abridge the individual liberty of the Laity no less than of the Clergy, which is wholly foreign to the spirit which dictated the Note in Edward's First Book (see p. 48), and quite unwarranted, as it seems to me, by the terms of the Canon and by the circumstances under which it was compiled. The Canon really is both a *Defence* of the Cross and an *Apology* for its use: we may re-

gret that *any* circumstances should have necessitated either the one or the other; but so it seems to have been: it is strange indeed that they who were often loudest in their professions of a desire *to glory only in the Cross* of Christ should have shewn themselves such strong denunciators of its Symbol as even to desire its abolition in the Sacrament of Baptism, and thus to compel an argumentative Canon in its behalf. But such inconsistencies in Christian men were not new. The question here is whether the Canon was meant to *prohibit* every use of the sign of the Cross save that which it *enjoined*? and, with all deference to Mr. Goode's opinion, I venture to answer **NO**. It was not to be expected that, at a time when, doubtless, the framers of the Canon found it as much as they could do to retain the use of the Cross in Baptism, they should have regulated its use in other cases; probably they took the wisest course, under the circumstances of those days, in laying down, as they did, a *principle* which was amply sufficient to govern other cases. That principle is contained in the famous words "*the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it;*" and what that *lawful* use is, in respect of the Cross,^a may be plainly gathered by a comparison of the

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True principle
of the Canon.

^a The following striking passage from "*An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, made by William Tindale,*" Martyr, 1536, may very appropriately be appended here.

"OF WORSHIPPING OF SACRAMENTS, CEREMONIES, IMAGES, RELICS,
AND SO FORTH."

"Now let us come to the worshipping or honouring of sacraments, ceremonies, images, and relics. First, images be not God, and therefore no confidence is to be put in them. They be not made after the image of God, nor are the price of Christ's Blood; but the workmanship of the craftsman, and the price of money, and therefore inferiors to man.

"Whereof of all right man is lord over them, and the honour of them is to do man service; and man's dishonour it is to do them honourable service, as unto his better. Images then, and relics, yea, and, as Christ saith, the holy day too, are servants unto man. And therefore it followeth, that we cannot, but unto our damnation, put on a coat worth an hundred coats upon a post's back, and let the image of God and the price of Christ's Blood go up and down thereby naked. For if we care more to clothe the dead image made by man, and the price of silver, than the lively image of God, and price of Christ's Blood; then we dishonour the image of God, and Him that made him, and the price of Christ's Blood, and Him that bought him.

"Whereof the right use, office, and honour of all creatures, inferiors unto man, is to do man service; whether they be images, relics, ornaments, signs, or sacraments, holy days, ceremonies or sacrifices. And that may be on this manner, and no doubt it so once was. If (for an example) I take a piece of the Cross of Christ, and make a little cross thereof, and bear it about me, to look thereon with a repenting heart at times when I am moved thereto, to put me in remembrance that the Body of Christ was broken, and His Blood shed thereon, for my sins; and believe stedfastly that the merciful truth of God shall forgive the sins of all that repent, for His death's sake, and never think on them more:

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two statements of the Canon (1.) *First*, that *that* "use of the "sign of the Cross" which it describes "was held in the primitive Church, as well by the Greeks, as by the Latins, "with one consent and great applause;" (2) *Next*, that it was not "the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and "reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or "any such like Churches" excepting "in those particular "points wherein they were fallen both from themselves, in "their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches "which were their first founders." So that, so far from the words of the Canon being a *tacit implication* that the Church of England *disallows* the sign of the Cross except in Baptism, its language seems to me to imply, as plainly as words can imply, that no such uncatholic limitation was contemplated, though the Church had fallen upon evil days which would barely endure that *one* occasion in which she *commanded* it to be used. To employ the words of another—

"In the Church of England it is commanded to be used only in

then it serveth me, and I not it; and doth me the same service as if I read the testament in a book, or as if the preacher preached it unto me. And in like manner, if I make a cross in my forehead, in a remembrance that God hath promised assistance unto all that believe in Him, for His sake that died on the cross, then doth the cross serve me, and I not it. And in like manner, if I bear on me, or look upon, a cross, of whatsoever matter it be, or make a cross upon me, in remembrance that whosoever will be Christ's disciple must suffer a cross of adversity, tribulations, and persecution, so doth the cross serve me, and I not it. And this was the use of the cross once; and for this cause it was, at the beginning, set up in the Churches.

"And so, if I make an image of Christ, or of anything that Christ hath done for me in a memory, [*From the Latin word memoria, which had been used by Latin Fathers for a shrine, or small chapel.*—*Editor's Note*], it is good, and not evil, until it be abused. And even so, if I take the true life of a saint, and cause it to be painted or carved, to put me in remembrance of the saint's life, to follow the saint as the saint did Christ; and to put me in remembrance of the great faith of the saint to God, and how true God was to help him out of all tribulation; and to see the saint's love towards his neighbour, in that he so patiently suffered so painful a death, and so cruel a martyrdom to testify the truth, for to save other, and all to strength my soul withal, and my faith to God and love to my neighbour; then doth the image serve me, and I not it. And this was the use of images at the beginning, and of relics also. And to kneel before the cross, unto the word of God, which the cross preacheth, is not evil. Neither to kneel down before an image, in a man's meditations, to call the living of the saint to mind, for to desire God of like grace to follow the ensample, is not an evil. But the abuse of the thing is evil, and to have a false faith: as to bear a piece of the cross about a man, thinking that, so long as that is about him, spirits shall not come at him, his enemies shall do him no bodily harm, all causes shall go on his side, even for bearing it about him; and to think that if it were not about him, it would not be so; and to think, that if any misfortune chance, that it came for leaving it off, or because this or that ceremony was left undone, and not rather because we have broken God's commandments, or that God tempteth us, to prove our patience; this is plain idolatry: and here a man is captive, bond and servant unto a false faith, and a false imagination, that is neither God nor His word. . . ."—pp. 59—61. Ed. Parker Society. 1850.

It does not limit
the use of the
Cross to Baptism.

the Sacrament of Baptism, and perhaps in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, where it may be implied in the direction, that the priest shall lay his hand on the bread and wine when he consecrates them."

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And again the same writer says—

"On the same principle, [that is the principle contained in the passages just cited,] pious persons desire that the Cross may continue to stand on every sanctuary devoted to the true worship of the CRUCIFIED, and on every altar where His sacrifice is commemorated. Why, indeed, should an emblematic ornament, so full of deeply interesting meaning, and the very name of which is made, in Holy Writ, to represent the essence of the Christian's faith, and all that is well-founded, holy and true in the Christian's hope, be discarded? Why should we admit into our Churches the lion and the unicorn, and yet banish the Cross? Why head our processions with flags and colours denoting political partizanship, and giving rise to angry political feeling, and leave it to Romanists to bear before them the Cross, the badge of Christianity?"—*Hook's Church Dictionary* pp. 308-10. Fifth Ed. 1846.

The last of these Canons which calls for notice here is the 82nd, which is cited by both Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode, and is, as might be expected, the great authority on which they rely to prove what is (or rather what is not), in their judgment, the proper covering for the Communion Table. Mr. Goode (whose remarks it will be the more convenient to notice first), after quoting the Canon, says (p. 82)—

Canon 82:
how applied by
Mr. Goode.

"It will be observed here, that the covering of the Table in time of Divine Service, when the Communion is not about to be administered, is to be such as shall be 'thought meet by the Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it;' and consequently it is entirely in the power of the Ordinary to prevent the use of any such tinsel trappings and Popish 'altar-cloths' as have been of late introduced among us. The specific recognition by the Canon of the power of the Ordinary in this respect places this beyond doubt."

Now I pass over these epithets with the single remark—that they are unworthy of a man who professes (pp. 1 and 29) that his "object . . . is to point out fairly and impartially the "law of our Church" on the subjects he discusses, and that, too, "without any regard to theological prepossessions." With respect to Mr. Goode's summary mode of settling "any "question" made of these Coverings, by the power which he contends is thus lodged with the Ordinary; it may be at once disposed of by reminding him that his view of the

Inconsistent
with his view
of the Rubric.

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superior authority of the Rubric to the Canons (see p. 331) at once deprives the Ordinary of the power which he here assigns him: for, the Rubric on Ornaments requires those of Edward's Second year, and it is beyond all doubt that then, and later, even the smallest Churches had a considerable variety of the Coverings he repudiates: if he should reply—that those were *Altar Coverings*, and we have now no *Altars* to be covered, but only *Tables*—then it may be rejoined that, as the Rubric of the Communion Table does not require any Covering at all for it save the Linen Cloth, so (if the Rubric supersedes the Canon) no question can be made of its *material*, on which the Ordinary can be called to decide.

Mr. Goode further observes—

“ I need hardly add, with respect to these coverings for the Table, that *images* upon the cloth of the Communion Table fall under the same prohibition that excludes them from other parts of the Church.”

This is certainly a 19th Century developement of the anti-image movement which it may well be doubted whether *Parkhurst* in his zeal against Altar-hangings and Images (see pp. 225 & 305) or *Grindal* in his condemnation of “fat Images,” (see p. 256) ever contemplated. Did Mr. Goode, when he wrote these words, consider that, as he includes Crosses in his definition of Images, so he has condemned that, not modern, I H S which was within these very few years, I believe is now, to be seen on the Altar and Pulpit Coverings of not a few Churches?

His other authorities on Altar-coverings not applicable.

Of three other authorities quoted by Mr. Goode on the subject of Altar-coverings, *viz.* the Orders of 1561, and Grindal's Injunctions and Articles of 1571 and 1576, (see pp. 276, 255, and 285), I need only remark that, as their language shews, they do not refer at all to this Covering, but to a covering for keeping clean the Linen Cloth, which latter it is plain they contemplated being left on the Altar “out of “the times of receiving the Communion”—a practice which is now considered by some to be at variance with the present Rubric, and even Popish.

Dr. Lushington's application of the Rubric on the Linen Cloth,

To refer now to Dr. Lushington's remarks. The learned Judge first disposes of the *Linen covering*: having quoted

the Rubric prefixed to the Communion Office, he observes:—

“Here is a plain, intelligible direction, so precise that there can be no room for a mistake. The covering is to be a fair white linen cloth; and any addition to it of any kind would not fall within the description, but necessarily be forbidden, and would not be consistent with it.”—*Judg.* p. 57.

Now, if one were dealing with anything short of a Judicial decision, it would be a temptation to say—that such language is a trifling with words. As it is, I am curious to know how the Judge of the Consistory would prove that the cloth would not be *Linen*, if its ends were fringed out, or were “bordered” with “elaborately worked lace”—by what process it could be declared not *white* because it was “embroidered”—or why it should be the less *fair* in consequence of being “worked.” I venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that he would never have thought of applying such a Canon of interpretation to any secular Table-covering which might have been condemned on these grounds. Did it never occur to him that this direction of the Rubric and the Canon was probably drawn from the Provincial Constitutions already cited at p. 66, and that the design was to *secure* what those Constitutions meant to secure—a Covering clean and worthy of the High Mystery which was to be celebrated upon it? Had the complaint been that the Cloths were dirty, or full of holes, or not linen, or of a shape which enveloped the whole Table, instead of lying “upon it”—no “*novelties*,” I am afraid, some of these—then Dr. Lushington might indeed have said, that they must “necessarily be forbidden” by the authorities he quotes: I will add, that if his apparent interpretation of the words of the Rubric are to be rigidly adhered to, then they are as fatal to the multitude of *Diaper* Communion Cloths used throughout the Kingdom, as they are to those condemned by the Court: and yet the former are probably, in material, though not in shape, the traditional remnant of that “aulter clothe of *dieper*,” which, equally with the “*playne alter clothe of lynen*,” is several times mentioned in the Inventories contained in these pages.

One more remark may be made to shew the weakness of Dr. Lushington’s statement. Before Edward’s First Prayer Book, the *Albes* in use were of various kinds, some plain,

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James I.

overlooks its object and that of the Canon,

and is fatal to the common usage he approves.

1603-4. some embroidered, some with "apparells": the Rubric of James 1. Edward's Book ordered "a white Albe plain": I do but ask—were those which were not *plain*, not *white*?

Dr. Lushington's view of the legal bearing of Canon 82:

The Judge proceeds from this subject to discuss the 82nd Canon, and its bearing upon the "divers cloths" complained of to the Court. Having said of it, that "if the terms be "sufficient," all previous "Injunctions and Canons" passed between "the first Statute of Uniformity" and it, might "be "repealed a Canon in these matters being all-powerful, "except to repeal or alter an Act of Parliament"; he goes on to remark that—

"This Canon is in entire conformity with the Rubric, so far as relates to the time of the ministration of the Sacrament, and it is not opposed to the Statute in the other directions given by it. It is, therefore, valid, and must be considered to be the law of the Church on the subject. It must be observed, however, that it applies only to the time of Divine Service, and that it does not leave an absolute discretion to the Ordinary, but only, if the carpets be not of silk, the Ordinary shall determine what is the other decent stuff. The Ordinary could substitute nothing which was inconsistent with this Canon; but if there be connected with the coverings of the Table anything not comprised within the terms of the Rubric, or the Canon, then recourse must be had to the notice prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer, or to the general authority which belongs to the jurisdiction of the Court."

Let us see, then, whether "the use of divers cloths, ornamented or not," and "of different colours," "at fixed periods "of the year," is inconsistent with the principles here laid down.

Now, first of all, the Canon says nothing about *colour*, but only *material*, so that if Dr. Lushington's own rule be true, the Ordinary can be no judge here; and, as I have argued at p. 335, his position would not be improved by that further "recourse" which the learned Judge here claims for him: indeed, on this point of *colour* what is to guide even the Court? Only one thing that I can see (for various colours have been and are in use, though *Crimson* has been the more general), and that is, the general Rubric on Ornaments: but this would at once introduce us to exactly that arrangement against which Dr. Lushington raises a prejudice by saying, that it is "in precise accordance with the usages of the Roman

reconcilable with divers Altar-coverings:

for no *Colour* is prescribed.

“Catholic Church, the colours being emblematic of particular periods.” Well, does the Church of England condemn the observance of “particular periods”? Certainly not, if her Calendar and the Statute 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 3 (see p. 79) are of any authority. Is the disuse of various coloured Frontals to mark such periods, one of those things in which she intends “to forsake the churches of Italy,” &c.? If so, then, she fails; for, I believe, they have for the more part done the like, and, therefore, her course would be to *use* them. But, not to proceed with arguments of this kind, how are “*the terms of the Rubric, or the Canon,*” departed from, if in “the time of Divine Service” the Covering be at one period *Red*, at another *White*, on a third *Green*, and so on; or if on one occasion the Cloth be plain, at a different period embroidered? Dr. Lushington admits “that three or four different cloths of a description accordant with the Canon” is permissible; he has not shewn that those complained of are “inconsistent with” it; but has simply denounced them as being prompted by a “particular motive,” which *common charity*, if not the *impartiality* which is ascribed to the Seat of Justice, should not have permitted to be even breathed.

Again, having convinced himself that, “as not a word is” found in the Canon “of divers cloths to be used at different periods, or of any Ornaments at all,” it “could not be said to support the practice,” he goes on to ask:—

“But does the matter rest here? Had it been intended that divers cloths with lace ornaments should be used at stated periods, and that according to events which then occurred, and in acknowledgement of such events, would not the Canon made for the regulation of these matters have expressed the intention, and conferred authority on the practice?”

To this I unhesitatingly answer NO; and for this very obvious reason: the Canon was ordering what was deemed *essential*, and what had to be provided *at the cost of the Parish*: apart then from the consideration of the Puritan opposition under which it was made (and which I have already remarked upon at p. 331), there would have been no more effectual mode, perhaps, of organizing a determined opposition to the keeping of Festivals, or of leading the people to neglect them, than to compel them to pay the, not small, costs in those

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James I.

His explanation
of the Canon's
silence,

not the true one

It prescribed the
duty of the
Parish:

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James I.

days of such a complete set of Coverings for the Altar, as would serve to indicate the Feasts themselves.

but did not pro-
scribe their or
others' liberality.

But surely it is a wholly different thing to refuse or to cast out the Offerings of those, more or less, wealthy persons whose piety desires to decorate the Altars of God, and thus to assist in beautifying His Temple. It cannot be proved, I am persuaded, that either Rubric or Canon ever designed thus to dam up that stream of religious liberality, which has flowed afresh in these days; and which, while it does not neglect, what Documents here quoted call, "the living Images of Christ," *i. e.*, His poor, will not "dwell in" its own "ceiled houses" while God's "House" lies "waste," or is, as it believes, not fittingly adorned with such things as the Church of England has nowhere prohibited. And after these observations I leave the subject with a simple demurrer to the words of the learned Judge—"Surely "the silence of the Canon shows, that in the contemplation of "the Church no such practice was intended," as that which he condemned.

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3 and 4 Edw. VI.
c. 10. against
Books and
Images revived.

To proceed now with the History. During the Session of the Parliament which was at this time being held, the important Statute 3 and 4 Edward VI. c. 10, A.D. 1549, "for "the abolishing and putting away of divers Books and "Images," (see p. 56) was revived: this was effected by the passing of the "Stat. 2. [*vulgo* 1] Jacobi 1, c. 25, A.D. 1604," intitled "An Act for continuing and reviving of divers Statutes, and for repealing of some others," which repealed the Statute 1 Mariæ, Sess. 2, c. 2, A. D. 1553. (See p. 115).—*Stephens's Eccl. Stat.* vol. I. p. 509.

The Eighth Section runs thus—

"And be it further enacted by the Authoritie of this present Parliament, That an Acte made in the firste yeere of the Raigne of Queene Marie, intituled An Acte for the Repeale of certain Statutes made in the time of Kinge Edward the Sixte, shall stande repealed and voide."—*Statutes of the Realm*, vol. IV. pt. 2. p. 1052.

There does not seem to have been any special object in view in reviving this Statute of King Edward; at least the Journals of Parliament afford no clue to it: it was one of a large number of Acts all of which were revived together by the same Statute.*

* It is not unlikely that it may have had a similar object with the Statute passed

With a view to stop further agitation on Ecclesiastical subjects, and in the hope of procuring compliance with the Prayer Book as recently settled, the King issued "*A Proclamation enjoining conformity to the form of the Service of God established.*" It is dated from "Otelands, the 16th day of July, in the second year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the seven and thirtieth, anno Domini MDCIV." In it his Majesty says—

1604.

James I.

Proclamation
to stop Ecclesi-
astical agitation.

"The care, which we have had, and pains, which we have taken to settle the affairs of this church of England in an uniformity as well of doctrine, as of government, both of these agreeable to the word of God, the doctrine of the primitive church, and the laws heretofore established for those matters in this realm, may sufficiently appear by our former actions."

It then refers to the Hampton Court Conference, and states that—

"The issue was, that no well grounded matter appeared to us or our said council, why the state of the church here by law established, should in any material point be altered. Nor did those that before had seemed to affect such alteration, when they heard the contrary arguments, greatly insist upon it, but seemed to be satisfied themselves, and to undertake within reasonable time to satisfy all others, that were misled with opinion that there was any just cause of alteration."

Then it proceeds to express the King's disappointment in this respect, mentions the efforts which had been made in the late Parliament to procure further changes, and adds that therefore—

"We have thought good once again to give notice thereof to all our subjects by public declaration, who we doubt not but will receive great satisfaction, when they shall understand that after so much impugning, there appeareth no cause, why the form of the service of God, wherein they have been nourished so many years, should be changed; and consequently to admonish them all in general to conform themselves thereunto, without listening to the troublesome spirits of some persons, who never receive contentment, either in civil or Ecclesiastical matters, but in their own fantasies, especially of certain ministers, who under pretended zeal of reformation, are the chief authors of divisions and sects among our people."

in the following year—3 James I. c. 5, "An Acte to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by Popish Recusants:" the § xxvi. of which makes it lawful to search their houses "for Popishe Bookes and Reliques of Popery," and orders that if "a Crucifix or other relique of any price" be found, the same shall "be defaced at the Generall Quarter Sessions of the Peace in the County where the same shall be found."—*Stat. of the Realm*, vol. IV. pt. 2, p. 1082: and *Stephens's Eccl. Stat.* vol. I. p. 532.

1604.

James I.

It threatens penalties, but defers them.

The Proclamation concludes by saying "that what untractable men do not perform upon admonition they must be compelled unto by authority ;

and therefore, though sufficient warning had been already given, it will

"give time to all ministers disobedient to the orders of the church, and to Ecclesiastical authority here by law established, and who for such disobedience, either in the days of the queen our sister of famous memory deceased, or since our reign have incurred any censures of the church, or penalties of laws, until the last of November now next ensuing, to bethink themselves of the course they will hold therein."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. II. pp. 80—84.

Bancroft appointed to Canterbury.

On the 4th December 1604, *Bancroft* was translated from London to Canterbury.

He informs his Suffragans that the time allotted in the Proclamation had expired.

On the 22nd of the same month the new Archbishop transmitted from Lambeth to his Suffragans a Letter from the Council dated "Whitehall the tenth of December, MDCIV." informing them that as the time had expired which had been

"prescribed and limited to all those of the clergy, for the conforming of themselves unto the laws and orders of the church government established within this realm"

and that as those who had refused to do so had become

"subject to the penalty of deprivation from their benefices, and other church livings, of deposition from their ministry, and other censures of the church, which were as well at all times heretofore, as presently, in vigour and force"

therefore they were to take care, in their several Dioceses that when such "removing and displacing of them" occurred, no

"opportunity and advantage may be taken by men of a corrupt mind and disposition (having the patronage and donation of some of the benefices so made void) to prefer ignorant and insufficient men into their places"

and to secure this, each Bishop was to inform himself

"of the party's learning and integrity, and to be as well answerable for his sufficiency to instruct his [Majesty's] people, as to be conformable to his laws;"—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. II. pp. 88—93.

His directions how to proceed with the Non-conformists.

To this Letter from the Archbishop there was appended his "*directions to the same purpose*" which ordered that the 36th and 37th Canons should be strictly observed in respect of those "Ministers" not "already placed in the Church,"

"so as none of them be admitted hereafter to execute any Eccle-

siastical function without subscription, according to the tenor of the said canons:"

while, with regard to "the others already placed," being "of two kinds," who "as having heretofore subscribed" might "be (as revolters from the same) by an ordinary course of "justice deposed from the ministry," yet of whom

"the one offereth and promiseth conformity, but is as yet unwilling again to subscribe; the other in his obstinacy will be induced to yield to neither"

the former were to have "respite" from "their subscription "for some short time," "forasmuch as the near affinity "between conformity and subscription doth give apparent "hope" that they will yield ultimately to subscribe again: but the latter were to be at once proceeded against.—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. II. pp. 93—6.

This Letter was followed up by another from the Archbishop on "the twelfth of March 1604[-5].

"Touching such courses as he [the King] wisheth should be held with popish recusants, being most desirous to rid his kingdom as well of these pestiferous adversaries, as of the former."

In their case the Bishops were not

"to depend altogether upon the cxivth canon, expecting still the minister's diligence in presenting of recusants, but to use your own best endeavour, by the labour and means of all your officers and friends, to inform yourself as well of the number, as of the qualities of them; and the same to certify unto me with all convenient speed :. ."

The Letter goes on to give further directions in the matter, which need not be repeated here, and ends with a "Post-cript" stating that, with regard to the "factious ministers" who might be deprived, the King directed "order" to be taken "with the next incumbent, as that the party so deprived may have two or three months' liberty to remain still in the parsonage or vicarage house, if he have no other of his own; that so he may have that time to provide for himself, and not be thrust out into the streets upon a sudden."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. II. pp. 96—101.

The Archbishop held his first Metropolitan Visitation in 1605—the *Articles* were 76 in number—those which bear upon Ornaments and Ceremonies are—

- No. 6. Against impugning the Rites and Ceremonies.
- 12. Whether the Prayer Book was adhered to.
- 14. Whether reverence in Church was observed.

1604.

James I.

1604-5.

The Abp's Letter
against Popish
recusants.

1605.

The Archbishop's
Visitation
Articles.

1605.
James I.

16. Whether the Churchwardens provided sufficient "fine white bread" and "good wine" for the Communion—the latter to be brought in a clean and sweet standing pot of pewter, or of other pure metal."
17. Whether the Minister celebrated so often as to afford all the opportunity to communicate "at the least thrice in every year, whereof once at Easter": whether he received himself every time he celebrated; and, also, used "the words of the institution," according to the 21st Canon, whenever "the bread and wine had to be renewed."
21. Whether the sign of the Cross was used in Baptism.
32. Whether Surplice and Hood were worn in saying Prayers and administering Sacraments.
40. Whether the "register book" was provided.
44. Whether the minister wore the apparel ordered by the 74th Constitution.
48. Whether was provided—the Homilies, "a font of stone set up in the ancient usual place; a convenient Communion Table with a carpet of silk, or some other decent stuff, and a fair linen cloth to lay thereon at the Communion time"—the table so placed as most convenient for being heard and for the greater number to communicate—the "Ten Commandments, set upon the East end of your Church or Chapel where the people may best see and read them, and other sentences of Holy Scripture written on walls likewise for that purpose."
49. Whether "a convenient seat for your Minister to read service in a comely pulpit with a decent cloth or cushion for the same, a comely large surplice, a fair Communion cup of gold, silver, or other pure metal, and a cover agreeable for the same, with all other things and ornaments necessary for the celebration of Divine Service and administration of Sacraments" was provided.
51. Whether "bells be rung superstitiously upon holidays or days abrogated by law."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. II. pp. 102-111.

Collier, referring to the Archbishop's proceedings, says of him:—

"This Prelate govern'd with great vigour, and press'd a strict conformity to the Rubric and Canons, without the least allowance for latitude and different persuasion."

"In short, *Bancroft's* unrelenting strictness gave a new face to religion: the Liturgy was more solemnly officiated: the Fasts and Festivals were better observ'd: the use of Copes was reviv'd, the Surplice generally worn, and all things in a manner recover'd to the first settlement under Queen *Elizabeth*. Some ministers of consideration lost their livings to preserve their conscience," owing to their refusal to sign the 36th Canon already adverted to.

Some "*Lincolnshire Ministers*" published a pamphlet called the

"*Abridgment*" which "made an attack upon the Doctrine, Ceremonies, and Government of the Church;" it was replied to by *Dr. Burgess*, who had previously been "laid aside" for his Nonconformity, but was afterwards restored.—*Collier E. H.* vol. 2, p. 687-8.

1605.
James I.

Archbishop Bancroft died on Nov. 2nd, 1610. He was succeeded by *Abbot* Bishop of London, who was translated through the influence, apparently, of the Earl of Dunbar; though the Bishops were anxious that *Andrews*, then Bishop of Ely, should supply the vacancy. "The King's pitching upon *Abbot*, instead of *Andrews*," says Collier, "was no advantage to the Church."

1610.
Death of *Bancroft* and appointment of *Abbot*.

Archbishop Abbot, held his first Metropolitan Visitation for the Province of Canterbury in 1616—his Articles betray no change in the legal Ornaments and Ceremonies: those which bear upon them are the following:—

1616.
His Metropolitan Visitation Articles, as to

"*Concerning the Church, the Ornaments thereof*" &c.

"Imprimis, Whether have you in your several Churches and chapels, the whole Bible of the largest volume, and the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth by his Majesty's authority, both fairly and substantially bound; a font of stone, set up in the the ancient usual place; a convenient and decent communion table with a carpet of silk,^a or some other decent stuff, continually laid upon the table at time of Divine Service, and a fair linen cloth upon the same at the time of the receiving of the Holy Communion. And whether is the same table placed in such convenient sort within the Chancel or Church, as that the minister may be the best heard in his prayer and administration, and that the greatest number may communicate. And whether it is so used out of time of Divine Service, as is not agreeable to the holy use of it, by sitting on it, and by throwing hats on it, and writing on it; or is it abused to other profaner uses. And are the Ten Commandments set upon the east end of your Church or Chapel, where the people may best see and read them, and other sentences of Holy Scripture written on the walls likewise for that purpose.

Church Books, Font, and Altar;

"2. Item, Whether have you in your said Church or Chapel a convenient seat for your Minister to read service in, together with a comely pulpit set up in a convenient place, with a decent cloth or cushion for the same, a comely large surplice, a fair communion cup with a cover of silver, a flagon of silver, tin, or pewter to put the wine in, whereby it may be set upon the communion table at the

Pulpit, Altar-plate, &c.;

^a Mrs. Price, in the year of our Lord 1614 did . . . send fair and rich Ornaments for the said Pulpit [which she had erected] as also for the Communion Table [in St. Botolph's Bishopsgate] for the Communion Table, a goodly large carpet of crimson velvet, edged with a deep gold fringe; also a fair table cloth of fine cambrick, to be used upon the communion days, with a cambric cloth laced, to cover the Bread upon the table."—*Stow's London* v. I. Bk. I. c. 15. p. 91. fol. 1720.

1616.

James I.

time of the blessing thereof, with all other things and ornaments necessary for the celebration of Divine Service and Administration of the Sacraments : and whether have you a strong chest for alms for the poor, with three locks and keys, and another chest for keeping the books and ornaments of the Church, and the register book : and whether you have a register book in parchment for christenings, weddings, and burials, and whether the same be kept in all points according to the Canons in that behalf provided. And whether have you in your said Church or Chapel a table set of the degrees wherein by law men are prohibited to marry."

" Concerning the Ministers.

Times of
Service ;

" Whether doth your Minister distinctly and reverently say Divine Service upon Sundays and holidays, and other days appointed to be observed by the Book of Common Prayer, as Wednesdays and Fridays, and the eves of every Sunday and holiday, at fit and usual times. And doth your Minister duly observe the orders, rites and ceremonies prescribed in the said book of Common Prayer, as well as in reading public prayers and the Litany, as also in administering the Sacraments, solemnization of matrimony, visiting the sick, churching of women, and all other like rites and offices of the Church, in such manner as in the said Book of Common Prayer he is enjoined, without any omission or addition. And doth he read the book of the last Canons once yearly, and wear a surplice according to the said Canons.

Administration
of Communion ;

" 2. Doth your Minister bid holidays and fasting days, as by the Book of Common Prayer is appointed. And doth he give warning beforehand to the parishioners for the receiving of the Holy Communion, as the 22nd Canon requireth : and whether he doth administer the Holy Communion so often and at such times, as that every parishioner may receive the same at the least thrice in every year, whereof once at Easter, as by the Book of Common Prayer is appointed. And doth your Minister receive the same himself on every day that he administereth it to others, and use the words of institution according to the Book at every time that the bread and wine is renewed, accordingly as by the proviso of the 21st Canon is directed. And doth he deliver the bread and wine to every communicant generally. . . . Doth he use the sign of the cross in Baptism, or baptize in any basin or other vessel, and not in the usual Font. . . ."

Rogation days ;

" 11. Doth your Minister in the rogation days go in perambulation of the circuit of the parish, saying and using the prayers, suffrages, and thanksgiving to God, appointed by law, according to his duty ; thanking God for His blessings, if there be plenty on the earth, or otherwise to pray for His grace and favour, if there be a fear of scarcity."

Clerical Apparel ;

" 20, Doth your Minister use such decency and comeliness in his apparel, as by the 47th Canon is enjoined :"

" Touching the Churchwardens and Sidemen.

Provision for the
Communion.

" 3. Whether have there been provided against every communion, a sufficient quantity of fine white bread, and of good and wholesome

wine for the communicants that shall receive. And whether that wine be brought in a clean and sweet standing pot of pewter, or of other purer metal."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. II. pp. 168-82.

1616.
James I.

In the year 1622—among the directions given by the King, to "*Maw and Wren*" the Chaplains to Prince Charles, for the management of the Prince's private Chapel at Madrid, who went there to court "the Infanta Maria" are the following:—

1622.

Directions for
Prince Charles's
Chapel.

"2. That it [the Room] be decently adorn'd chapel-wise, with an Altar, Fonts, Palls, Linen-Coverings, Demy-Carpets, Four Surplices, Candlesticks, Tapers, Chalice, Pattens, a fine Towel for the Prince, other Towels for the Household, a Traverse of Waters for the Communion, a Bason and Flaggons, two Copes.

"4. That the Communion be celebrated in due form, with an Oblation of every Communicant, and admixing water with the Wine, the Communion to be as often used as it shall please the Prince to set down: smooth wafers to be used for the Bread."—*Collier Eccl. Hist.* p. 726.

James died—27th March, 1625.

1625-6.

Death of James
and Accession of
Charles.

CHARLES 1ST. ACCESSION MARCH 27TH, 1625.

".... for the better adjusting every part of the Ceremony" of the King's Coronation (which took place February 2nd, 1625-6)

"to the Service and Orders of the Church of England, the King issues a Commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some other Bishops, *Laud* being one of the number, to settle the form. This Committee having compared the *Ceremonial* used in the late reign with the Public *Rituals*, 'twas agreed to make some alterations and additions in the *Ceremony* and the Prayers. For instance, the unction was to be made in the Figure of a Cross, which was accordingly done by Archbishop *Abbot*.

Preparation for
the Coronation.

"In the other solemnities of the Coronation, the Abbots formerly, and after them the Deans of *Westminster*, had a considerable share: they had the custody of the old *Regalia*, that is the Crown, the Sword, the Sceptre, the Spurs, &c., of King *Edward the Confessor*: These Royal Curiosities are never made use of, excepting at a King's Coronation, or his going to Parliament. *Williams*, the late Lord Keeper, was now Dean: but being under the King's disfavour, had orders not to appear at this Solemnity: but to depute one of the Prebendaries to officiate in his place. This order put him somewhat to a stand: he was unwilling to nominate *Laud*, then one of the Prebendaries, because he look'd on him as his rival at Court: but then to have overlooked a Bishop, and named another of a lower rank, would have been too plain a discovery of disaffection. He, therefore, prudently, sent the King the Names and Distinctions of all the Prebendaries, leaving the choice to his Majesty, who pitch'd upon *Laud*.

Laud substituted
for the Dean of
Westminster.

1625-6.

Charles I.

Laud, being thus nominated, did the Dean's part, in preparing for that pompous appearance. And finding the *old Crucifix* among the *Regalia*, he plac'd it upon the Altar, according to ancient usage."—*Collier E. H.* vol. 2. p. 735-6, and *Heylin's Life of Laud* p. 144.

Bishop Andrews

In any Ecclesiastical account of this period it would be a great omission not to notice the proceedings of the famous Bishop Andrews—a Prelate whose character and learning make him an important witness for the principles of the Church of England, however inconvenient his testimony may be to those whose model for an English Bishop would be more likely to be formed upon some one of those who, in Elizabeth's days, bore the Episcopal character, defaced though it was by the Genevan influences which had followed and surrounded it. He was much esteemed both by Elizabeth and James Ist—the former appointed him Prebendary, and afterwards Dean, of Westminster; the latter conferred upon him, successively, the Bishopric of Chichester, the post of Lord Almoner, the Bishopric of Ely; then that of Winchester, and the Deanery of the King's Chapel; "which two "last preferments he held to his death, which happened about "eight years after, in the third year of the reign of our late "King Charles, with whom he held no less reputation than he "had done with his father before him."—*Isaacson's Life, in Ang. Cath. Lib.* p. 10.

His Visitation
Articles enquire
as to

In his Articles for Winchester, 1625, the following enquiries occur: those parts of the Articles, which are not found in his Articles of 1619, are printed in CAPITALS.

"Touching the Church.

Pews and
Chancel-Screen;

"1. WHETHER IS THERE ANY NEW PEWS ERECTED IN PLACES WHERE NONE WERE BEFORE, OR OLD ALTERED? BY WHOM AND BY WHAT AUTHORITY? Is there a partition between the body of the Church and the Chancel, and, if not, when and by whom, and by what authority, was it taken down!

Books;

"2. Whether have you in your Church the whole Bible of the largest volume, the Book of Common Prayer, two Psalters, THE

* The Archbishop, however, in his own account of his trial, says:—"Thirdly, they say, there was a Crucifix among the *Regalia*, and that it stood upon the Altar at the Coronation, and that I did not except against it. My Predecessor executed at that time, and I believed would have excepted against the Crucifix had it stood there: but I remember not any there; yet if there were, if my Predecessor approved the standing of it, or were content to connive at it, it would have been made but a scorn had I quarrelled with it."—*State Tryals* vol. I. p. 426. fol. 1719.

BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS,^a all fairly and substantially bound?

1625-6.

Charles I.

"3. WHETHER HAVE YOU A COMELY LARGE SURPLICE, WITH WIDE AND LONG SLEEVES, AND WHAT IT COSTS BY THE YARD? a higher Pulpit for preaching, a lower to say Service in, a Font of stone, with a cover, set in the ancient usual place, a decent Table for the Communion, AND WHAT IT IS WORTH TO BE PRIZED? Whether is the Communion Table abused by sitting on it, throwing hats on it, writing on it, or otherwise, as is not agreeable to the holy use of it? Have you a carpet of silk or other decent stuff, continually lying on it in the time of Divine Service, with a fair linen cloth at the time of Communion, AND WHAT MIGHT EITHER OF THEM BE WORTH? Have you a fair Communion Cup of silver, with a large cover of silver, to deliver the bread? and a flagon of silver or tin,^b for the wine to be set on the Communion Table?

Surplice, Font,
Altar, and Plate;

"4. And whether have you a registrar book of parchment for Christenings, Marriages, and Burials? and whether is the same kept in all points according to the Canons in that behalf provided? Another book wherein strange preachers are to subscribe their names, and the name of the Bishop by whom they were licensed? A chest as well for keeping the books and ORNAMENTS of the Church, as the said registrar? Another strong chest, with a hole in the lid, for the alms, with three locks and keys, one for the Minister, the other two for the Churchwardens? A TABLE SET OF THE DEGREES WHEREIN BY LAW MEN AND WOMEN ARE PROHIBITED TO MARRY?

Register and
other Books;

Alms-chest, &c.;

"5. Whether have any bells, ornaments, or other utensils, anciently belonging to your Church, been aliened, and by whom?

"Touching Ministers, Service, and Sacraments.

"7. Whether doth he observe the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, in reading Public Prayers and the Litany, in administering the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in solemnizing Matrimony, in visiting the Sick, burying the Dead, Churching of Women, in such manner and form as in the said book is enjoined, without omission or addition?^c

Observance of
the Prayer Book;

"8. Whether doth he, in the time of Divine Service, wear a Surplice both morning and evening, and never omit the same in ministering the Sacraments AND OTHER RITES OF THE CHURCH?

"13. Whether doth he use the sign of the Cross in Baptism, or baptize any child in a basin, or other vessel, and not in the usual Font?

"16. Whether doth your Minister, before the several times of the administration of the Lord's Supper, admonish and exhort his Parishioners, if they have their consciences troubled and disquieted, to resort unto him, or some other learned Minister, and open his grief, that he may receive such ghostly counsel and comfort, as his con-

Confession and
Absolution;

^a "The Book of Homilies allowed." 1619.

^b "Pewter." 1619.

^c "Without diminishing, (in regard of Preaching, or any other respect,) or adding anything in the matter or form thereof." 1619.

1625-6.
Charles I.

science may be relieved, and by the Minister he may receive the benefit of absolution, to the quiet of his conscience, and avoiding of scruple? And if any man confess his secret and hidden sins, being sick or whole, to the Minister, for the unburthening of his conscience, and receiving such spiritual consolation; doth, or hath, the said Minister at any time revealed and made known, to any person whatsoever, any crime or offence so committed to his trust and secrecy, contrary to the 113 Canon.

Ministration of
Communion;

“21. WHETHER DOETH HE RECEIVE THE HOLY COMMUNION HIMSELF FIRST, KNEELING? Or deliver it to any other, but such as kneel? or to any that refuse to be present at public prayers.

“22. Whether doth he use the words of Institution every time that the bread and wine is received [? renewed]?

“23. Whether doth he deliver the bread and wine to every communicant severally?

Clerical Apparel;

“32. Whether doth your Minister use decency or comeliness in apparel, and wear a cloak with sleeves (called a Priest's cloak), in his going abroad?

Rogations;

“36. Whether doth he go in perambulation in the Rogation week, using the prayers and thanksgiving to God for His blessings, or otherwise entreat His grace and favour, if there be fear of scarcity?

“*Touching the Churchwardens.*

Duty of Church-
wardens.

“Whether have the Churchwardens, with the advice of the Minister, from time to time provided a sufficient quantity of fine white bread, and wholesome wine, for the number of Communicants?

“6. Whether have any Churchwardens lost, sold, or detained any goods, Ornaments, Bells, Belfry, Rents, or implements of the Church?”—*Andrew's Minor Works*. Ang. Cath. Lib. 1854, pp. 127—140.

Archdeacon
(afterwards
Bishop) Cosins—
his Articles of
inquiry.

And, again Archdeacon (afterwards, in 1660, Bishop) Cosin is too prominent at this time to be unnoticed here: in his “Articles to be inquired of by the Churchwardens and “Swornmen of every parish within the Archdeaconry of the “East Riding in York in the ordinary visitation of the Arch-
“deacon there, Anno 1627,” the following are to be found:—

Nos. 1, 2, 3, which correspond to Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, of Bishop Andrews “*Touching the Church.*”

13 and 14	„ „	7 and 8	“ <i>Touching Ministers,</i> ” &c.
19 and 20	„ „	13	„ „
26 and 27	„ „	16	„ „
30 and 31	„ „	21, 22, and 23	„ „
47 and 38	„ „	32 and 36	„ „

The only additions in Cosin's Articles being *The Homilies, Bishop Jewell's works, two Surplices where required, Register Book for the Church Ornaments, a Hearse for carrying the dead,* and “a little faldstool, or desk, with some decent carpet over it, in the middle aley of the Church, whereat the Litany may be said.”

Cosin, indeed, was already suspected of, nay even charged with, Popish tendencies and practices: thus Collier, writing of this period, says—

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“About this time there was a Book published, entitled, *A Collection of Private Devotions, or the Hours of Prayer*. 'Twas written by *Cozens*, Prebendary of Durham.

Charge against him.

“This Book, though approv'd by *Mountaign*, Bishop of London, and licensed with his own hand, was somewhat surprising at the first view; and some moderate persons were shocked with it, as drawing too near the superstitions of the Church of Rome; at least they suspected it as a preparation to further advances. The top of the frontispiece had the name of Jesus in three capital letters J. H. S. Upon these there was a † incircled with the sun, supported by two angels, with two devout women praying towards it. This representation, though innocent enough, did not pass without censure. 'Twas not long before *Pryn* and *Burton*, two malcontents, appear'd against it.” —*Ibid* p. 742.

And we have only to examine the *twenty one* Articles of impeachment which the House of Commons set up against him on the 15th March 1640-1—Articles which related to his conduct as Prebendary of Durham at and a few years after this time—to see that, though most of them were false or exaggerated, he did not incline at all to the Puritan side in Ritual and Ceremonial.

The practice of Andrews and Cosin proves that their Articles were not meant to *prohibit* all that was not *prescribed*.

Now here are two marked and eminent men, both of them notoriously belonging to what would now be called “The High Church School:” yet it will be seen that, (although the Visitation Articles of both of them vary so little from the general tenor of similar Documents of the period that they may be said to be of the same character, nevertheless) they, alike, did and sanctioned a variety of things which, if the theory that—*what is not expressed is prohibited* in Ecclesiastical matters—be true, were not only *illegal* but plainly contrary to their own Authoritative enquiries. Thus, the description of Bishop Andrews, own Chapel reveals a variety of Ornaments and Utensils which are wholly foreign to anything named in his own Articles or in the Canons and Injunctions to which those Articles refer: to mention only some, leaving the reader to examine, if he will, the list for himself; we find, among “the daily furniture for the Altar,” the following—

1625-6.

Charles I.

Two candlesticks with tapers; the silver and gilt canister for the wafers (a); the tonne, upon a cradle (b): a linen napkin (called the aire) to cover the Chalice, embroidered with coloured silks; the tri-canale, being a round ball with a screw cover, whereout issued 3 pipes, and is for the water of mixture; a sier [side?] table, on which, before the communion, stand (a) and (b) upon two napkins; a basin and ewer, to wash before consecration; the towel appertaining; a triquertral censer, wherein the clerk putteth frankincense at the reading of the first lesson; the navicula, out of which the frankincense is poured; five copes.—*Minor Works* p. xvii.

Things used in
Bp. Andrews's
Chapel.

1627.

Abp. Abbot sus-
pended:

On October 9th, 1627, Archbishop Abbot was suspended: he had offended the King by refusing to licence the printing of Dr. Sibthorp's Assize Sermon at Gloucester, because he thought it "carried the Prerogative to an unwarrantable length," as Collier says: a Commission was issued by the King to the Bishops of *London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells*, to act for him.

Sometime in the course of this, or at the beginning of the following, year (for the date is uncertain) appeared "*His Majestys Declaration*" relative to the Thirty-nine Articles; the Declaration being prefixed to them, in the Prayer Book, it is sufficient to mention it here.

1628.

restored,

About Christmas 1628, Abbot was restored.

Soon after this a Committee of the House of Commons was formed which, though not ordered for that purpose, took upon itself to enquire into the state of Religion on the plea of Popery and Arminianism—"Mr. Pym spoke to the following effect" among other matters—

The House of
Commons takes
up the question
of Ceremonies.

"3rdly, They were to take notice of the breach made upon the law, by bringing in superstitious ceremonies. And here he instances in the Innovations pretended to be practis'd at *Durham*, by Mr. Cozens: such as Angels, Crucifixes, Saints, Altars, Candles on Candlemas-day burning in the Church."

Upon which Collier remarks—

"Now if Pym meant Invocation of Saints and Angels, and worshipping the Cross or the Altar, 'twas a downright calumny on Cozens."—*Collier Eccl. Hist.* p. 748.

1631.

Restoration of St.
Paul's Cathedral.

In 1631, *Laud*, being then Bishop of London, made great exertion for the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral: a Royal Commission was issued authorizing contributions to be raised for that purposd throughout the kingdom. The project was very favourably received, and the appeal for Funds most successful, notwithstanding that, as Heylin relates:—

“ It cannot be denied, but that it met with many rubs, and mighty enemies. The *Puritan* Ministers and their adherents inveighed against it, as the repairing and adorning of a *Rotten Relique*; insinuating to the people (as they found occasion) that it was more agreeable to the rules of piety to demolish such Old Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry, than to keep them standing.”—*Life of Laud*, bk. 3, p. 209.

1631.
Charles I.

This occurrence may be taken as an indication of the then reviving feeling against that neglect of the Ecclesiastical Fabrics, which was so much complained of in Elizabeth's days: and the following account which Stow relates of “The Lady “Duddely's gifts” this year to the *Parochial* Church of St. Giles in the Fields, shews also an increasing regard to internal Decoration, and points out the character of the Ornaments then used. The Church, he says—

“ Began to be built [again] *Anno* 1623, and was finished with the wall about it, *Anno* 1631, many hundreds of good Christians in other parishes contributing to so good a work. And then did this Lady give to the said work, and the wall encompassing the Church, many Hundred Pounds.

Ornaments given
by Lady Duddely
to St. Giles' in the
Fields.

“ The Church being finished, that the inside of it might correspond with that which is without, the said Lady gave Hangings of Watchet Taffata, to cover the upper end of the Chancel, and those bordered with a silk and silver Fringe.

“ *Item*, For the back of the Altar, a rich green Velvet Cloth, with these three letters in gold, I. H. S. embroidered on it.

“ Two Service Books in folio embossed with gold.

“ A green Velvet Cloth with a deep gold fringe, to cover the Altar on *Sundays*.

“ A Cambric Altar Cloth, with a deep Bone-Lace round about.

“ Another fine Damask Altar Cloth.

“ Two Cushions for the Altar richly embroidered with gold.

“ A large Turkey carpet, to be spread on the week days over it.

“ A beautiful skreen of carved Work: which was placed where the former in the old Church stood [*i.e.* in the Chancel]. Moreover, she gave a neat pair of Organs, with a case richly gilded.

“ *Item*, Very costly handsome rails, to guard the Altar from prophane abuses.

“ *Item*, The Communion Plate of all sorts in silver and gilt: for that sacred use: which is as large and rich as any in the city and suburbs.

“ Besides all this, she was at the charge of paving the upper end of the Church with marble. And gave the great bell in the steeple; which, as oft as it ringeth, sounds her praise. And was at the charge of casting and hanging the other five Bells.

“ Only this Bell, and the foresaid Plate excepted, all the forenamed Ornaments of the Church (being counted superstitious and Popish)

1631.

Charles I.

were demolished and sold (under pretence of relieving the poor out of the money received for them) by the *Reformers* (as they were called) in the Civil War Time."—*Stow's London*, vol. 2, bk. 4, c. 4, p. 83.

Some of them
not ordered by
Rubric or
Canons.

Now, on the principle of *silence being prohibition*, there are several things in this List for which no sort of authority can be found in the Prayer Book and Canons, so that had Dr. Lushington's judgment been invoked in the Consistory Court of that day, he must, by his own rule, have decreed against them: and yet, probably, with the exception of the Screen and the "Cambric Altar Cloth" with its "deep Bone lace," there is nothing which the Remonstrants of Belgravia might not be inclined to tolerate—*Popish* as these Ornaments were deemed to be by their kindred spirits in the days of the Great Rebellion.

1633.

Abp. Abbot's
decision on the
situation of the
Communion-
Table at
Crayford.

-A dispute having arisen at *Crayford* in Kent, as to the position of the Communion Table at the time of Communion, Archbishop Abbot in a Letter of July 8th, 1633, to the "parson, churchwardens and other the parishioners," decided, after "a mature and deliberate hearing of the parties interested" in the said difference," which had been held on the previous "21st day of May," in the presence of the "Vicar General" and divers others," that the Communicants—

"Shall repair unto the two ascents, or foot paces in the chancel before the Communion Table, and there mats being laid upon the said two ascents, or foot paces, to kneel upon, and mats being also laid on either side above the said steps to kneel upon, (if by reason of the number of communicants it seems requisite, the two ascents or foot paces being first filled,) they shall in decent and reverend manner humbly kneeling upon their knees, on the said two ascents or foot paces, receive the Holy Communion and Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and after the first company hath received the same, they to return to their seats and places in the said Church; and to give way for a second company to receive in like manner; and the second, after they have received in like manner, to return and give way for a third company, and the third to the fourth, and so successively, until all the communicants there have received the Holy Communion in manner and form aforesaid."^a—*Card. Doc. Ann.* v. II. p. 228.

^a Dr. Cardwell has the following note upon this Letter:—"The petition that gave occasion to this Letter grew out of the different interpretations of the 82nd Canon, which required that at the time of the Communion the Table 'shall be placed' [&c. see p. 325]. The one party desired that it should be placed in the body of the Church, in order that the Eucharist might be considered as a religious

Archbishop Abbot died, August 4th 1633: Collier says of him—

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“He was apparently somewhat leaning towards the *Puritan Persuasion*. Under this disposition he is reported over-remiss in his Discipline. By holding the reins thus loose, the People were practis'd upon by the *Dissenters*, and gain'd over to *Calvinism*. The ceremonies of the Church were neglected: and thus in many places the worship of God being left too much at discretion the pressing *Conformity* afterwards was clamour'd against, and interpreted to rigour and innovation.”—*Ecccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 757.

Abbot's death.

Laud succeeded him: he was Nominated on the 6th of August, and the Translation was completed on September 19th 1633. The same Writer remarks:—

Laud succeeds him.

“It has been observ'd the remissness of *Abbot* introduc'd a negligent latitude, not to say prophaneness, in Divine Service. The Churches had neither Ornaments or Decency, or so much as reparation bestowed on them; and the Sacraments were administer'd when the people had most mind to receive them (Lord Clarendon's History vol. I.) This prophane indifference the Archbishop was resolv'd to reform, and call'd upon his *Suffragans* for their concurrence. The recovering the Churches from a condition of offensiveness and scandal, and bringing the circumstances of devotion to an Uniformity, was without a question a commendable undertaking: but whether through the obstinacy of the people, the expence of the Execution, or want of temper in the management, the design miscarried in some places, and made the Discontents against the Hierarchy run higher.”—*Ibid* p. 760

Shortly after *Laud's* Translation the King issued “Instructions”^a to him, “concerning certain Orders to be observed

The King gives instructions to the Archbishop.

feast, the other wished it to be placed altar-wise at the east end of the Chancel, in order that it might correspond with the nature of a religious sacrifice. Thus a difference in the position of the Table was made to distinguish two opposite views in a theological dispute now re-appearing in the Church; and there arose in consequence another article of dissension between the two great parties, into which the whole community, whether churchmen or laymen, were divided. See No. cxl. [*i. e.* The Order in Council p. 357]. It is worthy of notice that the decision in this instance was given by Archbishop Abbot, and would be considered adverse to the wishes and sentiments of the puritanical party in the Church, to which he was supposed to belong.”

^a Dr. Cardwell appends the following observations to this Document:—“It is evident from these Instructions that Lecturers, who had always been objects of suspicion in the Church, had been encouraged and increased by the influence of puritanical principles, and had in their turn contributed to the growing spirit of independency. They were employed as Chaplains in private houses, as occasional lecturers in market towns, and as preachers before Corporations; and in all these cases they were engaged by the dissatisfied parties in the Church, and naturally adopted such practices, and inculcated such opinions, as were agreeable to their employers. But the evil had been made more conspicuous by the system and organization that had been given to it. Twelve persons, all belonging to the puritan party, had formed themselves into a society for purchasing impropriations, or establishing lectureships, for hiring schoolmasters, and for other purposes of

1633.
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“and put in execution by the several Bishops of his Province”: they are fourteen in number, and relate chiefly to the residence of Bishops, to their management of Episcopal property, and to their regulation of Ordinations and of Lecturers, but only the three following require notice here—the first two, as relating to Divine Service and the Apparel of the Clergy; the last, as connecting the narrative with some later proceedings of the Archbishop:—

Some particulars
of them.

“[V.] 2. That every Bishop take care in his Diocese, that all lecturers do read Divine Service, according to the Liturgy printed by authority, in their surplices and hoods, before the lecture.

“3. That where a lecture is set up in a market town, it may be read by a company of grave and orthodox divines near adjoining and of the same Diocese, and that they ever preach in such seemly habits as belong to their degrees, and not in cloaks.

“XIV. Lastly, we command every Bishop respectively to give his account in writing to his Metropolitan of all these our instructions, or as many of them as may concern him, at or before the tenth day of December yearly, and likewise that you out of them make a brief of your whole province, and present it to us yearly by the second day of January following; that so we may see how the Church is governed, and our commands obeyed: and hereof in any wise fail you not.”—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. 2, pp. 229—33.

Holy-Rood
Chapel to follow
the English Use.

Among the Instructions sent, on October 8, 1633, by the King to *Ballantine*, Bishop of Dumblane, for conforming the Service in the Chapel at *Holy-Rood House* to the English use, there occurs this direction:—

“vii That the Copes which are consecrated for the use of our Chapel be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon Inventory by him, and in a Standard provided for that purpose, and to be used at the

a similar nature; and being supported by ample subscriptions, they became the centre of a large religious party, and seemed likely to acquire a permanent control over the affairs of the Church. In the year 1630, Dr. Heylin, in an Aet sermon preached in Oxford, first pointed out the dangerous character of this new society; and, in the year 1632, it was dissolved, and its property confiscated, on an information which had been laid against it by Noy, the Attorney-general, as being an illegal association. Archbishop Laud speaks of it in his Diary (Feb 13, 1632), as being ‘the main instrument for the puritan faction to undo the Church.’ (Heylin’s Laud, p. 198, Canterb. Doom, p. 386. Wood’s Ath. Ox. vol. iii. p. 554. Neal, Purit. vol. i. p. 548. Collier, vol. ii. p. 754. Rushw. vol. ii. p. 30. Lingard, vol. vi. p. 302.) This was the first grievance to which the Archbishop turned his attention, and he found his remedy in these Instructions and in his Letters respecting titles for ordinations, which he issued immediately after his appointment.” The Letters here referred to are one from the King to the Archbishop, “against ordaining any ‘sine titulo,’” which was issued on the day of Laud’s translation; and another from the Archbishop to his Suffragans, dated October 24, 1633, enclosing the Royal Letter: they are given by Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* No. cxxxix. vol. 2, p. 233.

Celebration of the Sacrament in our Chapel Royal. (*Biblio Regia*, Sec. 2. Numb. 2.—*Collier Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 760.

1633.
Charles I.

It seems however that—

“ Notwithstanding Archbishop *Laud* exerted himself for retrieving the usages of the Church, he found the *Puritan-novelities* very difficult to deal with. *Calvin*, and some others of that complexion, were in many places the idols of the people: insomuch, that to practice up to the Primitive Church, to worship God *in the Beauty of Holiness*, and guard the Solemnity from contempt, was interpreted to superstition. To give an instance of the undistinguishing obstinacy of these men. The parishioners of *St. Gregory's* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, had been at a considerable expense in ornamenting their Church: amongst other Furniture they had prepar'd a Table for the Holy Eucharist. Now the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul's* being *Ordinaries* of the place, directed them to set it at the East end of the Chancel, that by this situation it might recover its ancient standing, and be conformable to the Mother Church. About five of the parishioners contesting this order, appealed to the Dean and [? of] the Arches; and the Dean and Chapter to countermine them, referr'd the Decision to the King. On the 3rd of November the matter was brought before the Council Board, the King being present, After the cause had been pleaded at length on both sides, his Majesty having first declared his dislike of all innovation, gave sentence for the Dean and Chapter: the Parishioners had urged the 82nd *Canon* to prove the liberty of placing the Communion-table in a situation of most conveniency. But here the King's decision takes notice, 'That this liberty is not to be so understood, as if it was left to the direction of the Parish, and much less to the singular fancy of every humoursome person, to over-rule this matter. To make this inference was a wide misconstruction of the *Canon*: For these circumstances, both of place and time, were to be governed by the direction of the Ordinary.' (*Bibl. Reg. Sec. 3. Nu. 17.*) This *Judgment* in behalf of the Dean and Chapter was a serviceable precedent, and encourag'd the *Ordinaries* in other Dioceses to go through with the same regulation."—*Ibid.* pp. 761-2; and *Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. II. p. 237.^a

Dispute as to the place of the Communion-Table in *St. Gregory's*, London.

The King and Council's decision.

Further important information as to what was done at this period, in regard to the then so much debated position of the Altar, is given by *Collier* in the following passages:—

1634

“ This year [1634] the Archbishop of Canterbury began his Metropolitan Visitation in the Diocese of *Lincoln*; and in the first place, the Bishop and the six Archdeacons were suspended the

The Archbishop's Metropolitan Visitation at *Lincoln*.

^a Where the Order is given in full. Two sentences are worth extracting here—the table is said to be “ placed altarwise, in such manner as it standeth in the said Cathedral, and mother church, as also in all other Cathedrals, and in his Majesty's own Chapel, and as is consonant to the practice of approved antiquity:” and again, that the “ Cathedral mother church,” was that “ by which all other churches depending thereon ought to be guided.”

1634.

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exercise of their jurisdiction; during the time of this Visitation. Bishop *Williams* at first refus'd to acknowledge this Archbishopal Privilege, and pretended a *Papal* exemption. But the business being brought before the *Council Board*, and the Records of either side examin'd, this Plea was found insufficient. This obstruction being got over, *Brent*, the Vicar-general goes on with the Visitation, and pursuant to his *Articles*, enjoins the Church Wardens to remove the Communion-Table to the East end of the Chancel and inclose it with a decent rail The bringing the Communion-Table into the Chancel, which situation had been long discontinued in several places; occasioned a warm contest, both in this Diocese and elsewhere. As to Bishop *Williams*, he seems formerly to have been entirely in *Laud's* sentiment. For in his own chapel at *Bugden*, the Communion-Table was plac'd at the East End, where the Altar stood before: The Table stood in the same posture in his Cathedral of *Lincoln*, and in the Collegiate Church of *Westminster*, where he was Dean. But now he chang'd his opinion in some measure, and gave Orders for railing in the Communion-Table in the middle of the Chancel, and not at the East End. And to support his Practice, he writes two *Tracts* upon the Controversy: one entituled, *A Letter to the Vicar of Grantham*, and the other call'd, *Holy Table, Name and Thing*. Both these performances were answered by Doctor *Heylin*. — *Collier E. H.* p. 760 (*repeated.*)

Bishop Williams opposes Laud's Order as to the place of the Altar.

“ . . . the Metropolitanical Visitation was continued from year to year, till the whole *Province* was gone through. The Vicar-general *Brent* having given the Charge, and allow'd the Churchwardens time for returning their Cetificates, left the further management to their respective Bishops. And here the placing the Communion-Table at the East End of the Chancel was not every where understood; particularly, this Visitation Article was not carried without contest in the Diocesses of *Litchfield* and *London*: *Pierce*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells* had better success. To make this alteration pass smoothly he endeavoured to convince his people of the reasonableness of it. 'He suggested, 'twas ordered by Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, that the Communion Table should stand in the place of the Altar; that there ought to be some difference between placing the Lord's Table in the Church, and that of a common table for eating in our own Houses: that 'twas not decent the people should sit above God's table, or above His minister, the Priest, when he consecrates; that by this situation of the Communion-Table at the East End the Chancel would be enlarged, and more room left for the Communicants. That the Priest officiating upon an ascent would be seen and heard to more advantage, than if the Table stood upon a level in the middle. That 'twas highly proper the Parochial Churches should conform to the custom of their respective Cathedrals. And lastly that being fenced with a Rail in this Situation, would be the only way to secure it from prophanation and common business.' And thus by convincing their understandings, before he commanded their practice, he reconciled a great part of his diocese to this commendable Usage.” — *Ibid.*, p. 761 (*repeated.*)

The Visitation continued in other Dioceses:

the Bishops support the Order.

“The Archbishop went on to the regulation of Cathedrals, for a precedent to the rest.” . . . And to recommend his method, he began his reformation with his own Cathedral at *Canterbury*;^b and here he found things in a tolerable Order: The Table was placed at the East End of the Choir, and bowing us’d towards it, by the appointment of the Dean and Chapter. This decency and devotion being thus far settled, he advanc’d another step, and ordered new Ornaments of Plate and Hangings for the furniture of the Altar, and to keep things from relapsing into negligence and disuse, he drew a new Body of Statutes for the Cathedral, and got them confirmed under the *Broad Seal*. By one Article in these Statutes, the Deans, Prebendaries, and Officers were oblig’d by Oath to worship God by bowing towards the Altar at their coming in, and going out of the choir. Resembling regulations were made this year by the Vicar-General, at *Winchester* and *Chichester*; where directions were given to provide four Copes, to rail in the Communion-Table, to place it in the Altar-situation, to bow towards it, and constantly read the *Epistles* and *Gospels* at it. The Statutes of *Hereford* being imperfect, he threw them into a new form, and sent them down fortified with the *Broad Seal*. ‘By this regulation the Prebendaries were bound to officiate on Sundays and Holidays in their Copes: to stand up at the Creeds, Gospel, and Doxologies, to bow at the name of Jesus, and towards the Altar, and not suffer any Person to be cover’d in the Church; and that the Prayer before their Sermons should be made pursuant to the Fifty-fifth Canon.’ By these appointments we may collect how far this Cathedral had warp’d towards *Puritanism*, and gone off from the Rules of the Church. This reformation was carried through other Diocesses: and thus, by degrees, Religion appear’d more venerable, and the Cathedrals were recover’d to their ancient splendour and solemnity.

“After all, the Archbishop was not singular in placing the Communion-Table, and worshipping towards the Altar: for *Davenant* of *Salisbury*, and *Morton* of *Durham*, two Bishops altogether unsuspected of any bias towards Popery, were of the same sentiment. For the purpose, there happening a dispute between the Parson and Churchwardens, in *Wiltshire*, about placing the Communion-Table, the business was referr’d to Bishop *Davenant*, who determin’d in favour of the Incumbent: and by a Decree under his Episcopal Seal, order’d the Table should stand in the place of the Altar: in this Decree there are two remarkable passages: First, *That by the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, and by the Thirty* [*? eighty*] *second Canon under King James, the Communion-Tables should ordinarily be set, and stand with the Side to the East Wall of the Chancel.* And Secondly, *That it is ignorance to think that the standing of the Table in that place does relish of Popery.* (Archbishop’s Speech, June 16, 1637.)

“Further, for Adoration towards the Table, Bishop *Morton*’s tes-

^a The different regulations in the old and new Foundations caused great difficulty, the new having but very incomplete Statutes.

^b One of the new foundations.

1634.

Charles I

The Cathedra's
Visited:their Ornaments
and Ceremonial
restored.The Bishop of
Salisbury's Decree on the place
of the Commu-
nion-Table.

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Bishop Morton's
opinion of bowing
towards it.

timony is a sufficient purgation. This Prelate in a Tract against the Sacrifice of the *Mass*, founded upon the belief of Transubstantiation, has these words: 'The like difference, says he, may be discern'd between their manner of Reverence in bowing towards the Altar for Adoration of the Eucharist only, and ours in bowing as well when there is no *Eucharist* on the Table, as when there is, which is not to the Table of the Lord, but to the Lord of the Table, to testify the Communion of all the faithful Communicants therewith, even as the people of God did in adoring Him before the Ark, His *Footstool*, Psalm 99.'—*Collier, Eccl. Hist.*, vol. II. pp. 761-2. (repeated.)

1635.

The effect of these steps of the Archbishop, just related, may be judged of, from the "Account of the State of his Province," which he sent to the King this same year, *viz.*, 1635. With respect to his own Diocese his only complaint seems to be that—

Effect of the
Archbishop's
Proceedings.

"The *French* and *Dutch* Churches at *Canterbury*, *Maidstone*, and *Sandwich*, notwithstanding they made some shew of conformity to his *Injunctions*, had not complied so thoroughly as might reasonably be expected."

Of *London* he only mentions *four* Clergy who had been—

"Convented for breach of *Canons*. But upon their promise of Amendment and submission, the Bishop proceeded no further against them.

"The Bishop of *Lincoln* certified, that he knew but one Non-conforming Clergyman in that large Diocese. By the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* his certificate to the Archbishop, it appeared the Diocese was brought forward to very good order. *Corbet*, Bishop of *Norwich*, being dead, there was no certificate returned from thence. But the Archbishop, by his *Visitation*, perceived the whole Diocese was much out of order; The Bishops of *Oxford*, *Sarum*, *Ely*, *Chichester*, *St. Asaph*, and *Bristol*, certify an entire conformity of all the Clergy, without so much as a single instance to the contrary. The Bishop of *Llandaff* found only two noted schismatics. The Clergy in the Diocesses of *Hereford*, *Winchester*, *Peterborough*, *Rochester*, and *Exeter*, were regular and well managed, and paid a due submission to his Majesty's *Instructions*. The late Bishop of *St. David's* (now translated to *Hereford*) complains, that few Clergymen in that poor remote Diocese were tolerably qualified to instruct the people. The Bishop of *Gloucester* informs his Metropolitan, that upon the score of the great number of *Impropriations* in his Diocese, the Clergy are very slenderly supported: and that their poverty draws them to popularity and faction. From the remaining Bishops of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Worcester* and *Bangor*, the Archbishop had received no certificate (*Hist. of the Troubles, &c., of Archbishop Laud*)."—*Collier E. H.* Vol. ii. pp. 765—6.

In the early part of next year a dispute arose between the

1636.

Charles I.

The Archbishop's
claim to visit the
Universities,
established.

Archbishop and the two Universities, as to his right of Visiting them: the case was decided by the King in Council, on the 21st June, 1636, in favour of the Archbishop: upon which Collier remarks:—

“This decision fortify'd the Archbishop's character, and made him more regarded in both *Universities*; even in *Cambridge*, when his authority was less, his measures for conformity were better pursued. The Communion-Tables of the University Church, and several College Chapels, were railed in. The Ornaments were richer, and the Worship more solemn than formerly. In *Oxford*, where *Laud* was Chancellor, he met with no difficulty; here his motions were smooth and strong, and everything answered to inclination.”—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. 2, p. 766.

Bishop Wren had now been appointed to the vacant Diocese of Norwich: among his “*Particular orders, directions, and remembrances given in*” his “*primary Visitation,*” 1636, occur the following:—

Bishop Wren's
Visitation
Articles.

“1. That the Communion Service . . . be read at the Communion Table unto the end of the Nicene Creed before the Sermon or Homily; yet so as in very large Churches the minister may come nearer to read the Epistle and Gospel

“3. That the Communion Table in every Church do always stand close under the East wall of the Chancel, the ends thereof north and south, unless the Ordinary give particular direction otherwise, and that the rail be made before it, according to the Archbishop's late Injunctions, reaching cross from the north wall to the south wall, near one yard in height, so thick with pillars that dogs may not get in.

“4. that at all times the minister be in his surplice and hood, whensoever he is in public to perform any part of his priestly function:

“14. That the font at Baptism be filled with clean water, and no dishes, pails, nor basons be used in it, or instead of it.

“16. That no wicker bottles or tavern pots be brought unto the Communion Table, and that the bread be brought in a clean cloth or napkin:

“18. That the holy oblations be received by the minister standing before the Table at their coming up to make the said oblation, and then by him to be reverently presented before the Lord, and set upon the Table till the Service be ended.

“20. That the minister's reading desk do not stand with the back towards the Chancel, nor too remote or far from it.

“21. That the Chancels and alleys in the Church be not encroached upon by building of seats; and if any be so built, the same to be removed and taken away; and that no pews be made over high, so that they, which be in them, cannot be seen how they behave themselves, or the prospect of the church or chancel be hin-

1636.
Charles I.

dered; and, therefore, that all pews, which within do much exceed a yard in height, be taken down near to that scautling, unless the Bishop by his own inspection, or by the view of some special commissioners, shall otherwise allow."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. ii. pp. 251-6.

Now, in singular contrast with all this which has just been related, it is best, if not necessary, to quote the following remarks of Mr. Goode when discussing in "Section I. The Principle on which the legality of Church Ornaments, Vestures, Ceremonies, and Gestures, is to be determined." He says, p. 9—

" . . . it seems not a little surprising, that those who are now so prominently putting forward the plea of *conscience* for strictly abiding by the Rubric as *the rule* which they have undertaken to follow, should be the very parties who most violate it by their unauthorized additions, and would be the most opposed to its being consistently obeyed."

Mr. Goode unfairly charges pleaders for the Rubric

Before proceeding with the quotation it will be as well to make at once the remarks which these words suggest to one. And, *First*, it is to be regretted that Mr. Goode should use words which *seem* to imply *insincerity* in those of whom he speaks: but, passing over a point in which human cognizance must ever be imperfect, it is enough to say that those referred to would probably be among the first to accord sincerity and conscientious motives to such as notoriously *fall short* of the Rule which Mr. Goode, again and again, contends is not to be *exceeded*. *Next*, let me say that, while I doubt the accuracy of ascribing to them the *Rule* which Mr. Goode alleges, and believe that they equally with himself do not exclude the legitimate authority of the *Canons* of 1603; they can at least summon him as a witness for the superior claims of the Rubric. *Thirdly*, it may be observed, that the whole question in dispute is—what are "unauthorized additions," and therefore Mr. Goode *assumes* what has to be *proved* of those whom he opposes. And, *Lastly*, I venture to think that—while they would be entitled to demur to those views of *consistent obedience* which Mr. Goode advocates, as being only a counter opinion to their own—the persons of whom he speaks would probably not be the *last* to yield their own views in matters not *essential*, provided there were any likelihood of such a *general* Uniformity as should fully and honestly come up to

the *positive* Directions of the Rubrics and Canons fairly and generously interpreted, with a due regard to the *spirit* of the Book of Common Prayer, by those to whom that office belongs in virtue of their Episcopal authority.

But Mr. Goode continues thus:—

“ Our professedly strict Rubricians and Canonists are sadly inconsistent with their professed principle, and would be very sorry to be compelled to carry it out; for, instead of having the Communion Table placed *permanently*, as it now is, at the east end of the Church, which enables them to make it wear the appearance of an Altar, they would have to move it, when the Communion was administered, so as would take away this appearance. For the Rubric directs that at the Communion time it ‘ it shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the Chancel, *where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said.*’ And Canon 82 orders that at the Communion time ‘ it shall be placed ’ [&c. see p. 325]. And in Queen Elizabeth’s Injunctions it was directed, ‘ that the Holy Table ’ [&c. see p. 141]. And such was the custom for a long period. But Archbishop Laud, —seizing with characteristic sagacity upon an accidental circumstance of the bread being once carried off by a dog from the Table,— in his Metropolitanical Visitation in 1635, ordered the Table to be surrounded by low rails, as it stood at the east end of the Church, which, of course, had the effect of leaving it permanently ‘ in the place where the Altar stood,’ which was one step gained towards its recognition as an ‘ Altar.’ Now, as it is not impossible to keep dogs out of the Church, and low rails are not a very effectual guard against a hungry dog, some people thought that the order had a much higher object in view than the prevention of such occurrences; and, as might have been expected, many stoutly refused compliance. And it is clear, from Laud’s own expressions (Hist. of Troubles, &c., of W. Laud, by Wharton, vol. i. p. 543), that he felt he had no right to insist upon such an order being obeyed. It was, in fact, directly against the Rubric. But with the High Commission Court to back him, nothing (so to speak) was impossible to him in matters of that kind, and so the custom gradually prevailed.

“ Now I should be very sorry to disturb such an arrangement, after it has existed so long, and people have become accustomed to it. But when we hear so much about *conscience* compelling a man to abide strictly, in every respect, by the Rubric, and the laws of the Church, and see the Church thrown into confusion, for the sake of reviving some practices that have been long disused (to say nothing now of practices directly illegal), we may be permitted to ask, how it is that these tender consciences have never thought of reviving the practice prescribed by law in this matter.”—pp. 9 and 10.

Passing by, then, these further observations as to the inclination and conscience of others, which occur at the beginning and end of this extract, with the single remark—that

with unwillingness to conform to the Rubric and Canon, as to the place of the Altar at Communion time.

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Their practice
Legal: consistent
with various
Authorities:

that end of the controversy, which Mr. Goode states to be his only aim, cannot be furthered by seeming imputations such as these, and others in his Book, which one reads with regret—I will try to answer the question implied in the last sentence. And my reply is—*that the revival Mr. Goode speaks of would plainly be a BREACH of the Law, unless the NECESSITY exists which that Law mentions.* What then is that NECESSITY? *Ridley* considered it to be “that the Minister with the Communicants may have their place separated from the rest of “the people,” and, therefore, ordered the Table to be “in “such place of the quire or chancel as shall be thought most “meet” (See p. 65).—*Hooper* took the same view, though he further desired that they might “be seen” (p. 72).—*Elizabeth's Injunctions* held the convenience of hearing and communicating “in more number” with the Minister, to be the ground for so placing it “in good sort within the chancel” as that this might be effected (p. 142)—the *Interpretation of the Injunctions* thought the smallness of the Choir on “great “feasts of receivings” a reason for taking it “out of the “Choir into the body of the Church, before the chancel “door” (p. 181)—the *82nd of the Canons of 1603—4*, for the like reasons assigned in Elizabeth's Injunctions, directs it to be “placed in so good sort within the Church or Chancel,” as to secure these objects (p. 325)—Archbishop *Bancroft*, in 1605, on the same grounds, made the same enquiry as to its place (p. 344)—and Archbishop *Abbot*, in 1616, uses exactly the same language (p. 345).

best adapted to
fulfil the inten-
tions of the Re-
formers:

But does the practice, of keeping the Communion-Table *permanently* in the place where the Altar stood, really thwart any one of these purposes? So far is this from being the case, that, excepting under the circumstance of *small Chancels* (a fault which certainly cannot be attributed to those whom Mr. Goode charges with inconsistency in the passage now under consideration), no position is so well fitted to satisfy these several requirements. *Ridley's* and *Hooper's* object it would undoubtedly fulfil, if the practice of their day were now followed; it does *so far* meet it, that, in many Country Churches, to this day the practice has been retained of the *Communicants* coming into the *Chancel* just before the First or

Second Exhortation, though, indeed, a custom has grown up of the non-communicants departing from the Church. With regard to one of the two remaining requirements, no person will pretend, I suppose, that, even on "great feasts of "receivings," any better or more convenient place could be found for the Communion-Table, than the ancient position of the Altar: while, with respect to the other, unless it can be shown that a long Chancel is a practical impediment to the Celebrant and his Assistants being *heard*, the only further reason assigned for removing the Altar "at the Communion "time" is wholly taken away; and, as to this latter case, the result of experience (not to say the Laws of Acoustics) would probably prove that the desire to hear is, at least as well, perhaps better, gratified by a deeply recessed Altar (especially if the Office is *intoned*), than when it is situated in, what I must call, the *apologetic* Chancel constructed in a few modern, but in more not quite so modern, Churches. Be it remembered, however, that those of whom Mr. Goode complains are by no means the major number of occupants of large Chancels: and it, at least, admits of question whether those who do not make that "conscience" of the Rubric which he refers to, would be a whit more willing, than those who do, to remove their Altars, from time to time, in the manner allowed under certain contemplated exigencies: indeed, Mr. Goode himself "would "be very sorry to disturb" the existing "arrangement."

But, independent of these arguments, there is a most conclusive answer to that question of Mr. Goode's which they are designed to meet: that answer is to be found in the three important *interpretations* of the Law by Archbishop Abbot, the Privy Council, and Bishop Davenant, already mentioned at pp. 354, 357, 359.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Goode should not have adverted to these Authorities,—the more so as they might have modified his language on this point: if he was not aware of them, perhaps he will not be sorry to have them pointed out; but it is surprising he should not have noticed the Crayford and the St. Gregory's cases, related as they are by Dr. Cardwell, in a book to which Mr. Goode several times refers.^a

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and allowed by
Mr. Goode;

who, however,
does not notice
the Decisions of
Abp. Abbot, the
Privy Council
and Bishop
Davenant.

^a They are given in both Editions of the Book.

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Dr. Lushington
sanctions the
permanent
position of the
Altar.

Abbot, certainly, was above any suspicion of Roman tendencies, and, I suppose, the Council was not likely, either, to move in that direction: those, then, whether "tender consciences" or not, who "have never thought of reviving the practice" which Mr. Goode says is "prescribed by law in this matter," need do nothing more than point to these Orders as an irresistible proof that they are obeying the Law. They can, indeed, now appeal further to the learned Judge of the Consistory, who has decreed in favour of the legality of a Communion-Table which is *practically* immoveable, mainly on the ground that "in these days the custom of moving the table "has altogether," he says, "as I believe, ceased": though they need not perplex themselves to reconcile the strange inconsistency which could condemn another Communion-Table, more, apparently, because "the whole material is stone," though "not, indeed, a solid mass of stone," than because it was fixed—an argument from which it may reasonably be inferred that a Wooden Frame with a Stone Slab, though practically not more *moveable* is yet not *illegal* by the Judgment of Dr. Lushington.

Reply to
Mr. Goode's
attack upon
Abp. Laud for
railing in Altars.

A few words will suffice to reply to Mr. Goode's attack upon Archbishop Laud for railing in the Communion-Table—an attack which would not have less weight had it been couched in more respectful, perhaps (considering the subject) in more reverent language. It may well be thought that the idea of preventing the risk of dogs getting at the Altar, and carrying off the Sacramental Bread (in days when the guardians of the fabric seemingly took little or no trouble to exclude them from the Church, though in other ways, as Visitation Articles shew, they profaned the Sanctuary) was only a "characteristic sagacity" of a *reverent mind*, and, therefore, not deserving of reprobation. Is it quite so certain, however, that this occurrence was the *origin* of Altar Rails in that day, considering that Altar Rails had been erected in St. Giles's Church in 1631, (see p. 353), three years before, and that the accident with the dog seems to have occurred in 1638,^a four years after the Archbishop began the Visitation

^a The only narrative of this kind that I have met with, occurs in the Archbishop's Annual Account of his Province to the King for the year 1638, where, in his Report of the Diocese of Ely, he says, "There happened also in the town of Tadlow

which ordered the Rails? And with regard to Laud's having "felt he had no right to insist upon such an order being "obeyed," because "it was in fact against the Rubric"; it must be remembered, *First*, that he could appeal to Abbot's and the Council's decisions given two years before, and thus he had a strong argument for railing in the Altars: *Secondly*, even Bishop Williams, his antagonist in this matter, *railed in* the Table in the middle of the Chancel, and thus might also have been suspected of "a much higher object," *viz.*, to imitate the Genevans by *keeping it out* of the place where the Altar stood: and, *Thirdly*, the "expressions" of his which, I presume, Mr. Goode refers to, while they do not betray any doubt of his "right" to order the Rails, are really about *receiving at the Rails*, and prove that he had no desire to enforce even this without a due consideration for the prejudices that were to be encountered. The following are his words—respecting this same Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln, in his "Annual Accounts of his Province "to the King," for the year 1636:—

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Laud's regard
for prejudices
on this subject.

"The second [of the 'two particulars fit for your Majesty's knowledge'] is, that there are risen some differences in the southern part of his Diocese, about the Ministers urging the people to receive at the rails, which his Lordship, saith he, hath procured to be placed about the Holy Table, and the people in some places refusing so to do. Now, because this is not regulated by any Canon of the Church, his Lordship is an humble suitor that he may have direction herein. And truly, I think for this particular, the people will best be won by the decency of the thing itself; and that I suppose may be compassed in a short time. But if your Majesty shall think fit, that a quicker way be held, I shall humbly submit,"

Upon which the King remarks:—

"C. R. Try your way for some time."

a very ill accident on Christmas-day, 1638, by reason of not having the Communion-Table railed in, that it might be kept from profanations. For in Sermon time a dog came to the Table, and took the loaf of Bread prepared for the Holy Sacrament, in his mouth, and ran away with it. Some of the parishioners took the same from the dog, and set it again upon the Table. After Sermon, the Minister could not think fit to consecrate this bread; and other fit for the Sacrament was not to be had in that town; and the day so far spent, they could not send for it to another town: so there was no Communion. And this was presented by four sworn men of the town aforesaid."—*Works*, vol. V. pt. ii. p. 367. Oxford, 1853.

There may, indeed, have been an earlier similar occurrence; if so, then the Tadlow accident only tends to show that the Archbishop's "sagacity" was well-timed.

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The other particular which the Archbishop relates is also well worth inserting here: it runs thus:—

“ My Lord, in his certificate,^a mentions two particulars fit for your Majesty's knowledge: the first is, that one of his clergy in Bedfordshire,^b a learned and pious man (as he saith) set up a stone upon pillars of brick, for his Communion-table, believing it to have been the Altar-stone. And because this appeared to be but a grave-stone, and for avoiding of further rumours in that country, among the preciser sort, his Lordship caused it to be quietly removed, and the ancient Communion-table placed in the room of it: but did not further question the party, because they found him a harmless man, and otherwise a deserver. But how deserving soever he be, I must judge it a very bold part in him to attempt this without the knowledge and approbation of his Ordinary.”

He and the King
thought Stone
Altars Legal.

The King's observation upon this is—

“ C. R. This may prove a boulder Part in the Bi^{pe} and the poore Prist in no falte; as the other Day his inf^{tion} proved concerning the Ship Business at the Cou^{cl} Board: therefore examine this further.”
—*Works of Laud*, vol. V. pt. ii. p. 343. Ang. Cath. Lib. Oxford. 1853.

It would seem then that the King and the Archbishop did not consider Stone Altars to be *against* the Canon: though the latter apparently deemed the Ordinary's consent necessary for their erection.

Archbishop Laud
wishes to restore
Ornament and
Ceremonial.

But there can be no doubt that Archbishop Laud was desirous to improve the condition of the Church of England in respect to Ornament, Ritual, and Ceremonial: that he was fully justified in doing so, if only he kept within the limits of the Law, will not, perhaps, be denied: nay, more, if he felt the existing Laws to be inadequate, owing to their lack of explicitness, or from any other cause; or if he thought that further Regulations might with advantage be provided, he was surely at perfect liberty to endeavour to carry out his views, if he could obtain the concurrence of Convocation, and such sanction of the Crown as was requisite. Whether the Archbishop *did* exceed his authority is a question to be determined by evidence, not one to be settled by previous prejudices against him, or by prepossessions in his favour. Dr.

^a “ See Bishop Williams' Account of his Diocese, December 29, 1636. MSS. Lamb. numb. 943, p. 51.”—*Editor's Note*.

^b “ Dr. Jasper Fisher, R. of Wilsden. See Hacket's Life of Williams, par. ii. p. 104, and Wood's Ath. Ox. iii. 636.”—*Ibid*.

Lushington certainly betrays a very strong disinclination to give much consideration to Laud's proceedings; and the very little he does say is only in a tone of condemnation. Thus, at p. 39, he remarks—

“It has been truly stated in the course of the argument, that there have always been two parties in our Church; and it has been said, Why should greater weight be attributed to Archbishop Grindall and his school than to Archbishops Laud and Juxon, or to Bishop Montague? I am, I think, relieved from the necessity of pronouncing any opinion upon this question; though, if need were, I do not believe I should have much difficulty in stating it. I am not called upon to say which was the most eminent divine, Archbishop Grindall or Archbishop Laud; but whose testimony, according to legal principles, ought to have the greatest weight in proving the fact at issue, —the ornaments in use in King Edward's time.”

And, again, he says, p. 40—

“If any doubt remain as to the relative value and weight of the evidence, the test is the usage of our Church, and whether that accords with the opinions and acts of Archbishop Grindall and the divines of his period, or with those of Archbishop Laud and the divines of his period.”

Now (while following so far the example of the learned Judge, as not to discuss the relative Theological merits or the comparative “weight” of those whom he thus contrasts, and contenting myself with the remark—that, having regard to Grindall's associations and to his statements, especially that given at p. 220, there is at least reason to pause before yielding the palm to Grindall, as Dr. Lushington plainly implies *he* should do) it would be most unfair to judge of Laud's acts without looking to what he did on those occasions when he had to exercise his Visitorial powers in his Diocese or Province. According to Dr. Lushington's own proposal (p. 29) of taking into his “consideration all that passed from 1549 to 1662, “either by the authority of the Sovereign, or by canons, or by “visitations,” he was *bound* to include in his estimate of the worth of Laud's “testimony,” the Visitation Articles issued by that Prelate; they must be acknowledged to be an important element in any question which may be made of his conformity to the Law: and for this purpose there can be no better test than the Articles used in his Metropolitanical Visitation during this year. In order to shew how far these enquiries

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Dr. Lushington's unwillingness to quote Laud:

inconsistent with his proposal to examine *all* the evidence.

Laud an important witness.

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were *uniform* with any previous Articles of his own, or were *consistent* with those of his predecessors in the See of Canterbury, I propose to compare such of his enquiries, relating to Ornament and Ceremonial, as appear in extant copies of his Visitation Articles, with those of Archbishop Abbot—one who cannot be accused of any attempt to introduce the “innovations” charged upon Archbishop Laud.

The following Table will exhibit the correspondence of Laud’s Visitation Articles, at the several dates attached to them, and those of Abbot given at p. 345:—

A comparative view of his Visitation Articles with those of Abp. Abbot:

Abbot, Abp. of Cant., Metropolitan Visitation. 1616.	Laud, Bp. of St. David’s. 1622.	Laud, Bp. of London. 1628.	Laud, Abp. of Cant., Met. Visitation. Winchester. 1635.	Deanry of [Shorham] Kent. 16[37].
<i>“Concerning the Church, the Ornaments thereof,” &c.</i>				
No. 1. ^a	1. ^b	1, 2, 3, 4, 5. ^c	1. ^d	1, 2, 3, 4,
2.	2.	6. ^e and 20. ^f	2.	correspond to 1 & 2 of Abbot.
<i>“Concerning the Ministers.”</i>				
1.	3.	2, 5.	1.	7.
2.	4.	3, 4, 9, 19, 36.	3.	8, 10.
11.	13.	23.	12.	
20.	22.		21.	14.
<i>“Touching the Churchwardens and Sidemen.”</i>				
3.	3.	3.	3.	26 & 20. ^g

The following Articles do not occur among those of Archbishop Abbot.

DIocese of LONDON. 1628. No. 29 “*Concerning Parishioners, and other of the Laity*”—“Whether there be any in your parish, who are known or suspected to conceal or keep hid in their houses any mass-books, portesses, breviaries, or other books of popery or superstition, or any chalices, copes, vestments, albes, or other ornaments of superstition uncanceled or undefaced, which is to be conjectured they keep for a day, as they call it?”

DIocese of WINCHESTER. 1635. No. 6 “*Concerning the Church,*” &c.—“Whether have any ancient monuments or glass

^a Communion-Table to be in “convenient sort within the Chancel or Church.”

^b Communion-Table to be in “convenient sort within the Chancel.”

^c Communion-Table to be in “convenient sort within the Chancel or Church.”

^d Communion-Table to be in “convenient sort within the Chancel or Church.”

The *Canons* of 1603-4 and the *Homilies* are added in these.

^e No *Flagon* is named in these; a *Preacher’s Book* is mentioned.

^f *i. e.* of the Articles “*Concerning Parishioners, and other of the Laity.*”

^g *Ibid.*

windows been defaced, or any brass inscriptions, lead, stone, or anything else belonging to your Church or Chapel, been at any time purloined, and by whom?"

No. 2. "*Concerning the Clergy.*"—"Whether have you any lecturer in your parish, who hath preached in his cloke, and not in his gown, and whether have you any lecturer who will not profess his willingness and readiness to take upon him a living or benefice, with cure of souls, or who hath refused a benefice when it hath been offered unto him?"

DEANRY OF SHORHAM. 1637. No. 33. "*Concerning the Parishioners, and other of the Laity,*" is the same as No. 29 for London.

No. 48. "Lastly, you the Churchwardens are at the expence of your parish to provide a convenient large sheet and a white wand to be had, and kept within your church or vestry, to be used at such times as offenders are censured for their grievous and notorious crimes."—*Visitation Articles*. Works of Laud, vol. V. pt. II. pp. 381-452. Ang. Cath. Lib. 1853.

Whatever, then, may have been Laud's *wishes*, these Articles evince no design of introducing what are called "novelties" much less of any attempt to *enforce* them upon the Parishes within his Province: so far are they from this, that Dr. Lushington might have advantageously quoted them to show what was "the usage of our Church," at that time: they would have been as valuable for this purpose as those of Grindal in Elizabeth's reign, or of Abbot at a later period: and the fact that these proceedings of Laud's were thus analagous to the proceedings of his predecessors, is, at least, presumptive proof that when he ordered, or advised, or sanctioned things not referred to in his Visitation Articles, he had no intention whatever of running counter to the *Law* of the Church of England, or of introducing anything inconsistent with it, but was merely using that *discretion* with which the Law invested the Episcopate, and for the *exercise* of which he considered the time to have arrived. Whether he was *premature* or not in his proceedings then, is a question on which, perhaps, even those who consider that he had the Law on his side may differ in opinion; but—that he *exceeded* that Law—is an assertion the proof of which may safely be left to those who take upon themselves to make it.

It may, indeed, be very *convenient* to Mr. Goode, when seeking to prove that "Images—that is, Statues or Pictures 'of Saints, Crucifixes, and Crosses—in Churches" are *con-*

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shows his regard for Law and Custom while using his discretion to restore what was disused.

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trary to Law, to say, at p. 75, after quoting various authorities, all of which, except a passage from Bishop Barlow in 1692, have already been noticed in these pages, that

“ The doctrine of our Church on this subject, therefore, is beyond question. Nor does the attempt of the Laudian Bishops in the middle of the 17th Century to revive the use of crosses &c., in our Churches, (which was defended greatly by the example set in the Royal Chapel, and other privileged places) at all shake the argument against it grounded upon the authorities and testimonies given above ; and therefore of their proceedings no notice need be taken.”

Mr. Goode's
general neglect
of the testimony
of the Laudian
Bishops;

But even if Mr. Goode had succeeded in establishing his position by the aid of the authorities he quotes—a position which perhaps has been shewn to be one of very doubtful security—it was at least due to the station occupied by Laud and the Bishops who co-operated with him, that “ their proceedings” should have been noticed, even had they been less prominent and important than they were: summarily to dispatch them, as Mr. Goode does, might indicate a mis-giving that “ the argument grounded upon the” other “ testimonies” would risk its stability, frail as that is, if it had to encounter “ the attempt of the Laudian Bishops:” but for this consideration, it would be hard to assign a reason for rejecting testimony which claims no less attention than that which Mr. Goode has produced. Why the acts of men who were striving to turn or stop a foreign stream, which notoriously had borne away so many of their predecessors, and had carried desolation in its course, should be wholly disregarded, many probably would fail to perceive: the more so if it be remembered that they disavowed all desire of innovating upon established Law, and professed only to be restoring what the neglecters or breakers of that Law had swept away or suffered to disappear. Indeed, when any of those acts support a proposition which Mr. Goode wishes to maintain, then (not unlike perhaps most persons who have a point to carry) he does not refuse the aid of those whom, else, he passes by. Thus, at p. 38, the *silence* of Laud is claimed by Mr. Goode “ as a proof that the directions of the Advertisements and “ Canons had beyond question *practically* superseded the “ Rubric” on Ministerial Vestures: he says—

inconsistent with
his *occasional*
reference to
them.

He misapplies

“ I would observe, that in all the Parochial Articles of Inquiry I

have seen, even of Archbishop Laud and the Bishops of his party, I find no inquiry as to albes, vestments, copes, or tunicles."

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But, while admitting, as I have done already, this *practical* supersedence, the very silence which is here referred to by Mr. Goode may be claimed as his testimony to their moderation and to their regard for the phase which the Law then presented: they trod in those foot-steps of *custom* which indicated the course pursued by the Law when no longer rigidly followed up: their doing so is, however, no evidence that they *approved* that course; on the contrary, the sanction which they gave to departures from that track both testified their preference for another path and their belief that it was a legitimate one to tread in. It is for those who are content to be with the Laudian Prelates where they abide with the other Bishops whom they name, to show why their company is to be deserted when they diverge into a way which, not only does not lead them apart from their Episcopal Brethren, but opens out the ancient, yet still existing, road which the Law has not *abandoned*, and which both might *safely* traverse, though, having been long neglected, it would probably prove a rough and an uneven one.

Laud's silence
as to some
Vestments;

Laud, however, did make one enquiry in reference to these Vestments: his Visitation Articles of 1628 for the Diocese of London and of 1637 for his Archiepiscopal Peculiar of Shorham (see p. 370) demand to know whether such things were in the secret possession of any of the Laity: the explanation of this is, of course, that such a concealment of these things was then accounted presumptive proof of adherence to the Pope; and, as the Bishops were required to search out all "Popish recusants," this was one method of detection which they employed. It is a most legitimate inference from this enquiry—that the public retention of those Articles in Parochial or Cathedral Churches, whether used or not, was not an infraction of the Law.

Again, at p. 47, he quotes, among other authorities, Art. No. 2 of the Metropolitan Visitation Articles "Concerning 'the Clergy'" (see p. 370) to prove that "the legal Dress for 'Preaching' is not necessarily the *Surplice*, and that "*a gown was a common dress for preachers from the first:*" but,

his Article on
the Preaching
Dress;

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unless the distinction which Mr. Goode himself draws between *The Parochial Clergy* and *The Lecturers* be overlooked, plainly this instance is not to the point except as regards the Preaching Dress of the latter.

his Enquiry as
to Prayer for the
Royal Family;

So, too, Laud is cited, at p. 104, as witnessing, in No. 8^a of these same Articles, that “the law of the Church” of England

“(viewed strictly) clearly is, that the preacher, on ascending the pulpit, should immediately give out his text, and then in the commencement of his discourse introduce an exhortation to prayer in the form given in the [55th] Canon, adding the Lord’s Prayer”

though, as Mr. Goode observes, “a previous Article [No. 1] “specially asks, whether the Book of Common Prayer has “been adhered to, ‘without any omission or *addition*.’”

Now I do not intend to enter upon a discussion of this question, *first*, because it is not very pertinent to the object of these pages, and *next*, because, so far as one has considered the subject, I incline somewhat to part of Mr. Goode’s opinion. Yet, as the reference to Laud’s Visitation Articles has brought up the point, I may as well observe here—that the various authorities which Mr. Goode cites seem distinctly to prove that, if the “law” is to be followed exactly, *either the Bidding Prayer must be used, or none at all*. For as to the Rubric beginning “Collects to be said after the Offertory,” &c. which Mr. Goode quotes with the remark (p. 91)—

and the Rubric
on Collects after
the Offertory

“Now certainly this Rubric is not sufficiently specific to enable any one to say, that it *expressly* authorizes the use of these Collects before and after Sermon; but it does, I humbly conceive, go far to *justify* their use at those times”

it is enough to say that, not only has Mr. Goode made no attempt to shew how it justifies this use, but the language of it is so explicit that it would seem impossible thus to apply it. And therefore his apparent opinion that those who do not use the Bidding Prayer should be tied to the Collect, of which he says “Custom, however, has long decided in favour “of the general use of the very appropriate Collect for the

^a “Doth your minister use to pray for the King’s majesty King Charles, and for the queen’s majesty, prince Charles, and all the royal progeny, with addition of such style and titles as are due to his highness, and exhort the people to obedience to his majesty, and all magistrates in authority under him? And doth he also pray for all archbishops, bishops, and other Ecclesiastical persons?”

“Second Sunday in Advent, before the Sermon,” seems devoid of any foundation on which to rest. It appears to me that this Rubric is just as distinct from, though not opposed to, the 55th Canon, as is the *second* of those two Articles of Laud’s, which Mr. Goode quotes on this matter, in relation to the first. I will only further say, in reference to both these comparisons—that it requires, I think, an ingenuity to make the opposite features of each indicate a mutual concurrence in the practice which Mr. Goode seeks to draw from them, which is not all demanded in any argument to shew that the “Gestures and Ceremonies,” which Mr. Goode so much condemns, are not prohibited by that word “*addition*” which he, in this place as also its counterparts elsewhere, does not fail to *italicize*.

With these remarks, and with the intimation that Mr. Goode says “I am no advocate for its [the Bidding Prayer]” being again enforced, the previous service having anticipated “almost every thing it contains, and the introduction of such a “prayer in the Sermon, after the previous service, appearing “incongruous and out of place,”—a feeling in which I quite sympathize—this subject might have been closed here, had it not been that Mr. Goode has seen fit to continue this passage in the following words—

“But I fear there is as much ground for it now, as there was in the times succeeding the Reformation; for there seems as much reluctance, in a large party among us, practically to recognize the Sovereign as ‘Supreme Governor over all persons in all causes as well ecclesiastical as temporal,’ as could have existed among the Crypto-Papists or Puritans of those times.

“Before I quit the consideration of this Canon, I must also point out one fact connected with it, the observance of which may be of importance in the present day, as shewing the doctrine of our Church on a point on which her views have been much misrepresented. It will be observed, that the Canon defines ‘Christ’s holy Catholic Church’ as ‘the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world,’ and requires us to pray especially for the ‘Churches of England, *Scotland*, and Ireland.’ Now, when this Canon was drawn up, the Church of Scotland was *Presbyterian*.

“On several grounds, therefore, we need not be surprised that the claims of this Canon have not yet been discovered by our recent revivalists of Rubric and Canon Law.”—p. 106.

This is not the first occasion, in the course of this exami-

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Charles I.

Necessity for
noticing Mr.
Goode’s remarks
on the Bidding
Prayer.

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nation of Mr. Goode's Book, on which it has been necessary to notice his imputations of unworthy or wrong motives to those who are opposed to him on these questions of Ornament and Ceremonial: I would gladly have made no further allusion to the matter, but the passage just quoted,^a mounting up as it does to an insinuation of *disloyalty*, leaves one no alternative. And the question at once suggests itself—what possible object was to be attained by such observations? Certainly they are not calculated to win attention to his own statements or views from those whose opinions Mr. Goode combats; and thus they may even deter some from such an *impartial* examination of the subject as Mr. Goode states to be his own desire; and so the cause of *truth*, which he wishes to advocate, may suffer, while assuredly that of *peace* and *charity* will not be advanced.

Apart from these, not light, considerations, it was surely an unwarrantable assumption—that indifference to “the claims of this Canon” is a test of “reluctance” to own the Royal Supremacy, even had the fact been other than it is; for it

^a As I have no desire to return again to this subject, it will be best to refer here to a Note which Mr. Goode has printed, at p. 86, in his Section on the “Furniture of the Communion-table.” It is as follows—“In connexion with this subject, I feel it a duty to caution the reader against allowing himself to be misled as to the legitimate ceremonial of our Church by a work published a few years since, entitled ‘Hierurgia Anglicana, &c.,’ edited by Members of the ‘Cambridge Camden Society.’ The work consists of extracts derived principally from the writings of violent Puritans, giving palpably exaggerated and often false statements respecting the practices prevailing in our Church. Of this the Editors are so conscious, that in one place, where the extracts from these writers charge their Laudian friends with ‘the adoration of saints, angels, and images,’ they are ready enough to inform us that those passages ‘are, in many particulars, shamelessly untrue,’ (p. 33); and yet the greater part of the evidence they have collected on our ecclesiastical ceremonial, and to which they point us as a proof of the recognition of various Popish usages by our Church, is derived from the representations of these writers. A large portion of the volume is also devoted to accounts of the ceremonies and ornaments introduced by Laud and the prelates of his party into their private Chapels, and the Cathedrals over which, as Deans or Bishops, they obtained the control. The work is a painful specimen of the unscrupulous way in which the party from which it emanated have been striving to inoculate the country with their views, and to represent as the legitimate ceremonial of our Church practices altogether abhorrent from her known and declared principles.”

Now much might be said both on the tone of this passage and the serious charge it brings against the persons attacked: but it will be most effectually met by stating ONE FACT which I have taken the trouble to ascertain—viz. That this much reprobated Book contains 183 extracts from 63 Writers who can at all be classed as *Puritan*: and 503 extracts from 191 sources of the most varied character, comprising (together with many of the Authorities referred to in these pages) County Histories, Biographies, Parochial Accounts, Travels, Antiquarian Researches, Manners and Customs, Topographical enquiries, and many others.

The *length* of the Extracts bear a similar proportion to their number.

Its omission
no ground for
accusing any
of indifference
to the Royal
Supremacy;

must, one would hope, have escaped Mr. Goode's memory when he wrote these words, that the revival of the Bidding Prayer was one of the suspicious acts which were supposed to indicate attachment to the "large party" of whom he here speaks; nor do I think that they would be the last, or the most unwilling, to resume this Prayer, in any general restoration of it. This is not the place to discuss the nature or the limits of the Royal Supremacy: it is enough to say here, that objections to this or that development of it, as being at variance with the original "*Submission of the Clergy and restraint of Appeals*," are perfectly compatible with an honest acceptance of the principle itself—that the Crown is Supreme in and through the Law whether Ecclesiastical or other—and with a loyal submission to its exercise even in cases where the Principle seems to be departed from. To speak as Mr. Goode does in the passage now before us, is in fact to say—that *they* demur to own the Queen as "Supreme Governor" who do not take *his* view of what constitutes that Supremacy. What that view is, is not indeed stated; but that it, too, has its limitations may be at least inferred from a passage already alluded to at p. 136^a—a passage which it would be difficult to prove to be a less invasion of the *Principle* of the Royal Supremacy than the views and statements to which I imagine Mr. Goode alludes. I will only further say upon this part of his remarks—that it would be just as reprehensible to say that *that* "large party," with whom I presume Mr. Goode would identify himself, objects to Episcopacy or disbelieves in the Communion of Saints, because they, notoriously, prefer not to use the Bidding Prayer, as it is to deny the maintenance of the Royal Supremacy by those who, while advocating Ritual or Ceremonial revivals, do not press for the restoration of this Prayer.

With regard to Mr. Goode's other, more than, hint—that

^a The passage is—"our 80th Canon distinctly recognizes the power of the Crown to explain such points, when it directs Parishes to get the Prayer Book of James I. 'lately explained in some few points by his Majesty's authority, according to the laws and *his Highness's prerogative in that behalf*.' And this was said of 'explanations' that added the most important doctrinal part of the Catechism. I am no advocate for making the prerogative extend so far as that, especially in a matter settled by Act of Parliament. But for explanations of doubtful points of order, with the proper Ecclesiastical advice, the Church might, I think, be thankful."—p. 2.

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Charles I.

on the mode of
exercising which,
as Mr. Goode
shews, opinion
is free;

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Charles I.

or of aversion
to the Kirk of
Scotland.

an unwillingness to recognize the *Presbyterian* Communion as *the Church of Scotland*, blinds the “revivalists of Rubric “and Canon Law” to the “claims of this Canon”—it would be as easy to surmise, by way of retort, that an unwillingness to acknowledge the Greek and Roman Communions to be portions of “Christ’s Holy Catholic Church” inclines others to a similar short-sightedness. But it is a preferable course, on many accounts, to meet the suggestion by saying—that no feeling, however strong, of the lack of Apostolical Organization in that part of the Body of Christ, and of the consequent losses which it entails, need, one would think, compel any one to disuse a form of Bidding to Prayer because of an expression which does not necessarily *contradict* that feeling: not to say that, in the mind of such a person, the very lack he lamented would surely be an additional argument for prayer itself.

I leave the subject with the remark—that as on neither side does there appear any intention to call for the restored use of this Bidding Prayer, while both sides appear to prefer some other practice; so this tacit concord is an additional reason for refraining from language, on either side, calculated to arouse or strengthen prejudices which only serve to make Charity grow cold.

Mr. Goode thinks
the Act of Uni-
formity sanctions
the *Lord’s Prayer*
before the Ser-
mon.

But it is gratifying, in passing from these remarks of Mr. Goode’s to find some common ground on which to unite: thus at p. 92 of the Section from which I have been quoting, he says—

“With respect to the Lord’s Prayer following the Collect before the Sermon, we have express authority for such a use of it in the first Act of Uniformity, 2 Edw. VI. c., 13 and which enacts, (§ 7) that ‘it shall be lawful for all men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly *any psalms or prayer taken out of the Bible*, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the Service, or any part thereof, mentioned in the said Book.’

“From the way in which this Act is spoken of in the last Act of Uniformity, 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 4, § 24, I conceive that this proviso is still in force.”

Dr. Burn’s
further view of
the permission
given by the Act.

Dr. Burn had expressed a similar opinion of the permission given by the Act of Uniformity in this respect: perhaps Mr. Goode may not follow him entirely, though it does not seem inconsistent with the passage just cited: Dr. Burn’s words are—

“By the several acts of uniformity, the form of worship directed in the Book of Common Prayer shall be used in the Church, and no other, but with this proviso, that it shall be lawful for all men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly any psalms, or prayer taken out of the Bible, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service, or any part thereof, mentioned in the said book. (2 & 3 Edw. VI, c. 1, s. 7.)”—*Burn's Eccl. Law*, vol. III. p. 439, Ed. 1842.

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Charles I.

It seems to me not very improbable that the object of the clause in Edward's Act was to sanction a continued use of the Hour Offices, or of some modification of them, which, else, might have been supposed to be prohibited altogether, from public use, by the introduction of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.: but, whether this conjecture can be sustained or not, the subsequent abolition of all the Old Office Books makes the Clause inapplicable now in respect of them. If, however, Dr. Burn's interpretation of the Statute be a true one, it opens a way to provide for a great and increasing want—*viz.* shorter and more varied Services, in addition to those contained in the Prayer Book.

Possible intention of the Act in this respect.

Whether the Statute meant to leave a general discretion and control, as to the choice of “these psalms or prayers,” with the Minister of the place, is a question which would have to be considered in any attempt to use the alleged permission: but there can hardly be a doubt that it would, at least, rest with each Diocesan Bishop.

I venture therefore most respectfully to suggest that a remedy may be at hand for a pressing and extensive complaint: it would be no very difficult task for individual Clergy, with the concurrence of their Diocesan, to provide additional Services of the kind prescribed by the Statute, suitable to the needs of their several parishes. There would seem to be no necessity for restricting them to one stereotyped form: a sufficient unity, or even uniformity, being probably secured by the Source from which they are required to be taken; any risk of excesses being moreover sufficiently guarded against by the Bishop's supervision; the more so, if regard were had to the structure and character of Ancient Offices, containing, as they do, so much which cannot fail to be appreciated, one should think, even by opposite Theological Schools among us.

Facility offered by Dr. Burn's view, to provide additional Services in Church.

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Is it too much to hope that, in some such way as this, Religious Offices might be provided, popular enough to attract the various ages and classes of our population upon whom existing Services are practically lost; and thus something be done to infuse a little leaven of Devotion into those masses which look more heathen than The Heathen—a leaven which might gradually prepare them to use and to appreciate those Prayers and Sacraments which would not cease to be said and ministered.

Visitation
Articles of
Bp. Curle,
relative to

The various Visitation Articles which have hitherto been quoted, all proceed from men generally well known and eminent in their several ways: it is satisfactory therefore to meet with similar Documents issued by those who have not signalized themselves, since they serve to illustrate the tone of the period and may by some be regarded as more impartial evidence. One such testimony is furnished by the

“Articles to be enquired of by the Churchwardens and Swornmen, in the Triennial visitation of the Right reuerend Father in God, WALTER [Curle] *Lord Bishop of Winton, within the Diocese of Winchester, Anno 1636. Imprinted at London, Anno 1636.*”

The following are all of them which relate to the subjects here discussed.

“*Articles touching the Church.*”

Service Books
and Alms-chest:

“5 Whether haue you in your Church the Bible in the largest volume, the Booke of Common Prayer lately authorized by his Majestie, the Bookes of Homilies, the two Psalters, a conuenient Pulpit for the preaching, a decent seat for the minister to say Seruice in conueniently placed, a strong chest with an hole in the lidde, and three lockes and keyes, one for the Minister, the other for the Churchwardens, for the Almes of the poore, and the keeping of the Register Booke of the Christenings, Marriages and Burials?”

Font and
Communion-
Table:

“6. Whether haue you in your Church a Font of stone for Baptism, set in the ancient usual place, a decent Table for the Communion conueniently placed, couered with silk or other decent stufte in time of Diuine Seruice, and with a faire linen Cloth ouer that at the Administration of the Communion?”

Bells, Altar-
Plate, and
Registers:

“7. Whether haue you all such Bells, ornaments, and other utensils as haue anciently belonged to your Church, a Communion cup of Silver with a couer; a faire standing pot or stoope of siluer or pewter for the Wine upon the Communion table, a pulpit cloth, cushion, a comely large surplesse with large sleeves, a Register booke of parchment for Christenings, Marriages, and Burials; a

^a From a copy in the British Museum.

booke for the names of all strange Preachers, subscribed with their names, and the name of the Bishop, or others by whom they had Licence."

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"Touching the Ministry, Service, and Sacraments.

"4. Whether doeth your Minister as oft as he administereth the Communion, first receive it himself? Whether doth he use any Bread or Wine newly brought, before the words of Institution be rehearsed, and the Bread and Wine present on the Table, whether doeth hee deliver the Bread and Wine to every Communicant severally?"

Consecration and Administration of the Eucharist:

"8. Whether hath your Minister administered the Communion to any but such as kneele, or doe any refuse to kneele? hath he administered to any who refuseth to be present at Publicke Prayer?

"13. Whether doeth your Minister in saying the publicke prayers, and administering the Sacraments, wear a decent surplesse with sleeves, and being a graduate, doeth he weare therewith a Hood, by the order of the Universittes, agreeable to his Degree?"

Vestures for Service:

"14. Whether hath your Minister or any other Preacher in your Church preached anything to confute and impugne any Doctrine delivered by any other Preacher, and hath he and they used the Prayer for Christ's Catholike Church, &c., as is prescribed by the Canon?"

Bidding Prayer:

"28. Whether doeth your Minister in his journey, weare a cloake with sleeves called a Priest's cloake?"

Dress of Clergy:

"31. Whether is there any that useth not due and lowly obeysance at the blessed name of JESUS when it is read in the Gospel?"

Bowing at the Name JESUS.

Touching the Parish Clerke and Sexton.

"2. Whether doeth your Clerke meddle with anything above his Office, as churching of women, burying of the bread, reading of Prayers, or such like?"

Restraint of Parish Clerks:

"4. Whether doeth your Clerke or Sexton, when one is passing out of this life, neglect to toll a Bell hauing notice thereof?"

Passing Bell:

Touching Parishioners.

"12. Whether haue any been married in the times wherein marriage is by law restrained, without lawful license, viz, from the Saturday next before Aduent Sunday, until the fourteenth of January: and from the Saturday next before Septuagesima Sunday, until the Monday next after Low Sunday: and from the Sunday next before the Rogation weeke, until Trinitee Sunday?"

Times in which Marriage is restrained:

"14. Whether haue you in your Parish, any dweller or sojourner, a maintainer of Popish Doctrine, or suspected to keepe Schismaticall bookes, or to frequent or favour any heresiee or errour?"

Maintainers of Schism:

"19. Whether doe any refuse to pay to the reparations, ornaments, and other things required in your Church, as they are sessed by a lawful vestry, or any other dwelling out of your Parish, which hold land in your Parish?"

Reparation of Ornaments:

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Bread and Wine
for Communion:Custody of
Church Goods.They condemn
the practice of
not using the
words of delivery
to each Commu-
nicant.Their prohibi-
tion of Marriage
at certain
seasons,*“Touching Churchwardens and Swornemen.”*

“3. Whether haue the Churchwardens with the aduice of the Minister, from time to time provided a sufficient quantity of fine white bread and wholesome wine for the number of Communicants?”

“6. Whether haue any Churchwardens lost, sold or detained any goods, Ornāments, Bels, Rents, or implements of the Church?”

Now these Articles, it will be seen, follow the common type of such Documents, indeed they are more *general* in their enquiries than most: there are, however, two noticeable points in them which bear witness to important principles: the *first* is Article 4. “Touching the Ministry,” &c., which is an additional witness, (see pp. 346, 389) to the true interpretation of the Rubrics prefixed to the words directed to be used in communicating the people: it (with them) shews most plainly the wrongfulness of a practice which unquestionably is still too rife among us, and which is a matter of very common and frequent complaint—that of saying the words of delivery *only once* either to a whole company, or to two or more Communicants. The excuse commonly alleged, by those who do not plead that they are not opposing the Rubric, is—the time occupied by the single delivery, especially where the Communicants are numerous: but the experience of those who *conform* to the Rubric, in Congregations where quite as large numbers communicate, would prove that no great addition of time is really needed, though, if it were, that would be no warrant for departing from express directions in so important a matter as the right mode of administering to the people: and, it must be added, that the obvious and simple way to remedy any inconvenience is to increase the number of Communion: for it would probably be found that the Churches where this, at least irregular, practice prevails are just those in which *monthly* Celebrations is the prevailing rule.

The other point which calls for notice in these Articles is, the prohibition (in Art. 12, “Touching Parishioners”) of Marriage at certain times, unless “lawful license” be obtained. It will be remarked that the Article speaks of Marriage being “by law restrained” at such seasons: and the question immediately occurs—*where is there any such Law?* Not, certainly, in the Prayer Book; nor in the Canons of 1603-4; nor in any of the authoritative Documents to which Dr. Lushington

and Mr. Goode refer when advocating their theory that silence is equivalent to prohibition. Bishop Curle, then, and those who held the same view—a view which, most probably, would prove to have been no uncommon one, if the bulk of Visitation Articles could be consulted—he and they must have relied upon the force of the general Canon Law when not repugnant to later existing laws. If they were right in this—and it would be a bold thing to assert the contrary—then it cannot be wrong to resort to the same Law—the *Authority of Parliament*—in justification of Ornament and Ceremonial not specified in the Documents which, it is contended, can alone regulate them.

1636.
Charles I.

supports the
authority of the
Canon Law :

Moreover, these restraints as to the times of Marriage are one sufficient answer to Dr. Lushington's question (p. 52). "Is it true that it is still open to us, without check or restraint, to wander amongst canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synods provincial?" Bishop Curle (who is not, that I am aware, especially to be ranked as a *Laudian* Bishop) evidently thought himself free to go among them, not, of course, "without check or restraint"; and Dr. Lushington must have known that the practice of his own and of other Ecclesiastical Courts is certainly not to avoid altogether these ancient ways.

answers Dr.
Lushington's
objections to it;

And, further, this Article of Bishop Curle's may most fairly be opposed to Dr. Lushington's allusion to Roman usages when condemning the introduction of various Altar-coverings: he has only to read the Rule^a of the Latin Communion as to the Seasons for Marriage, and then, comparing it with Bishop Curle's Inquiry, he could ask with as much confidence, but with as little propriety, "What is this but a servile imitation of the Church of Rome?" though, all the while, there would array itself before him the Bishop's formidable 14th Article "Touching Parishioners" suspected of favouring "Popish Doctrine.... or Error."

and disposes of
his allusion to
Roman usages.

^a The following is the Rule of the Council of Trent:—"The Holy Synod enjoins, that the ancient prohibitions of solemn nuptials be carefully observed by all, from the Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ until the day of the Epiphany, and from Ash-Wednesday until the Octave of Easter inclusively;"—*Sess.* xxiv. chap. 10. Or, as is given in The Golden Manual, a Book of Roman Catholic Devotion published with the sanction of Cardinal Wiseman, "The solemnizing of *Marriage* is forbidden from the first *Sunday* in Advent until after the *Twelfth-day*, and from the beginning of *Lent* until *Low-Sunday*."—Ed. 1854.

1638.

Charles I.

The accusations formerly brought by the Puritan party against Richard Montague gave him a prominence which prevents his being overlooked, and secures some attention to his acts, when the occupant of an Episcopal Throne: accordingly his Visitation Articles for the Diocese of Norwich, (to which See he was translated from Chichester, May 4, 1638,) claim a distinct notice here both on his own account and because of their detailed and specific character. I propose therefore to quote fully such of them as relate directly or indirectly to the present enquiry. They are intitled:—

Bp. Montague's
Visitation Arti-
cles, relate to;

“ARTICLES” of Enquiry and Direction for the Diocese of NORWICH, in the first Visitation of the Reverend Father in God, RICHARD MOUNTAIGU Bishop of that Diocese, *Anno. Dom. 1638, Et translationis sue primo.*

“¶ *This Book of Articles, being extremely negligently printed at London, (which Impression I disavow) I was forced to review, and have it printed again at Cambridge.*

R. Norw.”

“Titulus I.

“¶ Concerning the Church and Chancell.

“*Haggai* I. 4. Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in cieled houses, and the house of the Lord to lie waste?

Seats and Pews:

“6. Is your Church sweetly and cleanly kept; dust, cob-webs, and the like nusances, being weekly carried forth? Are the walls whited and kept fair? Are the seats and pews built of an uniformitie? or do they hinder and incumber their neighbours, in hearing God’s word and performing Divine Service?

Separation of the
Sexes:

“7. Do men and women sit together in those seats, indifferently and promiscuously? or (as the fashion was of old) do men sit together upon one side of the Church, and women upon the other?

Chancel-Screen:

“8. Is your Chancell divided from the nave or body of your Church, with a partition of stone, boards, wainscoat, grates, or otherwise? wherein is there a decent strong doore to open and shut (as occasion serveth) with lock and key, to keep out boyes, girls, or irreverent men and women? and are dogs kept from coming to besoil or profane the Lord’s table?

Altar Steps:

“9. Is your Chancell well paved with fair stone, brick, or paving tile? doth it altogether lie upon a flat, or hath it ascents up unto the altar?

“Titulus 2.

“¶ Concerning the Church-yard, and other consecrated appenages to that holy place.

“*Johsua* 5. 15. Put off thy shoe from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.

* From a Copy in the British Museum.

“ 14. Have any Monuments or Tombs of the dead in your Church or Church-yard been cast down, defaced, ruined? have any Arms or Pictures in glasse-windows been taken down, especially of our Saviour hanging on the crosse, in the great east window, and white glasse or other set up in place thereof? have any leaden or brazen inscriptions upon grave-stones been defaced, purloyned, sold? by whom?

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Crucifixion in
East Window

“ *Titulus 3.*

“ ¶ Of Sacred Utensils, Church-ornaments, Ministers Vestments.

Micah 6. 6. How shall I come before the Lord, or appear before my God?
Answer. As becometh Saints.

“ 1. Is there in your Church a Font for the Sacrament of Baptism, fixed unto the Lord’s free-hold, and not moveable? of what material is it made? where is it placed? whether neare unto a Churchedoor, to signify our entrance into God’s Church by Baptisme? is it covered, well, and cleanly kept? at time of Baptisme is it filled with water clean and clear? or is some bason, bowl, or bucket filled with water set therein?

Place of Font :

“ 2. Have you a comely and convenient Pew of wainscoat, for your Minister to read Divine Service in? and another to preach in? doth it stand in the face of the Congregation, as much as conveniently may be, so that they may behold, and heare, and understand the Minister in what he readeth, preacheth, or prayeth? have you a cloth and cushion for either, to be laid upon the desk?

Reading-Pew :

“ 3. Have you a Bible of the largest volume and biggest letter? a Service-book in folio, with the reading-psalms; the order of Consecrating Bishops, of ordaining Priests and Deacons? be they well and fairly bound and embossed? and at end of Divine Service, are they clasped or well tied up with fair strings, to keep out dust and soil, and to prevent tearing of the leaves?

Service Books :

“ 4. Have you two fair large Surplices for your Minister to officiate Divine Service in, that the one may be for change when the other is at washing, and also serve for him that at Communion assisteth the chief Minister; that no part of Divine Service may be done but with and in ministeriall vestments?

Surplices :

“ 5. Of what assise be the Surplices, large or scantling? of what loth, course or fine? what are they worth, if they were to be sold? or not cheapnesse but decentnesse is to be respected in the things of God.

“ 6. Have you a Register Book, for the Christenings, marriages, burials, of parchment, well bound and kept in a Chest for Church-utensils?

Registers :

“ 7. Is your Communion-Table, or Alter, of stone, wainscot, wyers-work, strong, fair and decent? what is it worth in your opinion, were it to be sold?

Altar :

“ 8. Have you a Covering or Carpet of Silk, satten, damask, or some more then ordinary stuff, to cover the Table with at all times, and a fair clean and fine linen covering, at time of administering the Sacrament?

Altar-coverings :

1638.

Charles I.

“9. Have you a Chalice or Communion-cup with a cover, of silver, and a flagon of silver or pewter (but rather of silver) to put the wine in? which is to be consecrated, and not to be brought into the Church and set on the Table in leather or wicker bottles or tavern wine pots, which being of vulgar, common and profane employments, ought not to be presented in the Church or at the Lord’s table.

Altar-Plate :

“10. Have you a plate or patten fair and deep, of the same materials, for the bread? as also a corporas cloth or napkin of fine linen, to cover the bread consecrated, (which cannot all at once be contained in the patten,) and to fold up what is not used at Communion? Are all these sacred Utensils, clean kept, washed, scowred, rubbed, as often as need or conveniency requireth?

Altar Rails :

“11. Is your Communion-table enclosed and ranged about with a rail of joiners and turners work, close enough to keep out dogs from going in and profaning that holy place, from watering against it, or worse? and is there a doore of the same work, to open and shut? do any persons presume to enter thereinto, except such as be in Holy Orders?

Place of Altar :

“12. Is the Communion-table fixedly set, in such convenient sort and place within the Chancell, as hath been appointed by Authority, according to the practice of the ancient Church, that is, at the East-end of the Chancell, close unto the wall, upon an ascent or higher ground, that the officiating Priest may be best seen and heard of the Communicants, in that sacred action?

“13. Whether is the Communion-table removed down at any time, either for, or without Communion, into the lower part of the Chancell, or body of the Church? by whom, at whose instance, direction or command is it done?

Colour and consecration of Wine for Communion :

“14. Is the Wine for the Communion white, or reddish, which should resemble blood, and doth more effectually represent the Lord’s passion upon the Crosse, whereof the blessed Sacrament is a commemorative representation?

“15. If the consecrated wine fail, or sufficeth not, doth your Minister, before he give it to the Communicants, consecrate that also which is newly supplied, as the former, or doth he give it as it cometh from the tavern, without benediction? For there is no Sacrament, untill the words of Institution be pronounced upon it; This is my blood, &c.

Water not to be given for Wine :

“16. Doth he instead of wine, give water unto any person that is abstemious and naturally cannot indure the wine? If any such be, such persons abstaining altogether from water or any other Element not ordained by Christ, ought to be taught that they are rather to communicate of the blessed Cup in their humble vote and desires, then that the Minister or they shall presume against our Saviour’s expresse Institution. For onely Institution maketh a Sacrament. And as the popish half-communion is a sacriledge, so this is presumption, to change the Element appointed and used by Christ.

“ *Titulus 4.*

“ ¶ Concerning Priests and Ministers of the Church, their calling, persons, and deportment.

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Charles I.

“ You are the salt of the earth, the light of the world.

“ 7. Is he riotous or unseemly in his apparel beyond his means, not fitting his calling, above his degree in schools, contrary to the statute of this land ? Dress of the Clergy :

“ 8. More particularly, doth he commonly go in silk, satten, velvet, or plush ? are his clothes rather horsmens coats and riding-jacquets, then priests clokes ? doth he wear long shaggy hair, deep ruffs, falling bands down to his shoulders, or useth he other indecent apparel, rather fitting a swaggerer then a Priest ?

¶ Concerning Lecturers and Lectures.

“ 5. Doth he often and at times appointed reade Divine Service, and administer the Communion in his Surplice, and Hood of his degree ? Lecturers :

“ *Titulus 5.*

“ Of Divine Service, Sacraments, and Sacramentals.

“ *Eccles. 5. 1.* When thou goest into the house of God, look unto thy feet, and be more ready to heare, then to offer the sacrifice of fools : for they consider not that they do evil.

“ 13. Do your Parishioners at their entrance within the Church-doores, use that comely and decent deportment which is fitting for God's house, where God, whom heaven and earth cannot contain, is said to dwell and doth manifest His goodnesse and mercy to man out of His word ? Do they uncover their heads, sit bare all Service-time, kneel down in their seats, bowing towards the Chancell and Communion-Table, and use those severall postures which fit the severall acts and parts of Divine Service ? Bowling to the Altar :

“ 14. do they . . . bend a bow at the glorious, sacred, and sweet name of JESUS, pronounced out of the Gospel read ? and at the name of Jesus :

“ 15. Do your Parishioners accompany the Minister in his perambulations in Rogation-week, not only to set out, and continue the known bounds of the Parish, but especially upon view and sight, to consider the fruits of the Earth then in prime ; and upon the increase or empayring of the same, to give God thanks for His goodnesse, and to procure by prayer the continuance thereof on the one, and to deprecate His anger for the other, and intreat His future blessing upon the same ? For what the eye seeth, the heart rueth, and more effectually apprehendeth. Rogations

“ 16. Doth your Minister officiate Divine Service in due place, upon set times, in the habit and apparel of his Order, with a Surplice, an Hood, a Gown, a Tippet ; not in a Cloak, or sleevelesse acquet, or horseman's coat ? For such I have known. Vestures for Service

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" Titulus 6.

"¶ Of the Sacraments and Sacramentals, remembered in the Service-book.

" Accedat Verbum ad Elementum, et fiet Sacramentum.

Mode of Baptism :

" 3. Doth your Minister baptize the child at the Font, not at his Pew, nor in a bason of Water, thither brought and set upon some moveable frame, nor in any bucket, or a bowl-dish? doth he use rose-water, or other liquor then pure meere water from the well &c. ?

" 7. In the ancient Church, the child to be baptized, was thrice dipped in the Font, in the Name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost: semblably is he to be thrice aspersed with water on his face (if for fear of danger not dipped, as the Book of Common Prayer appointeth) the Priest using those Sacramentall words. After which act doth he receive the child into his arms, unto Christ's flock, and then set the badge of Christianitie upon him, signing him with the signe of the Crosse ?

" Of Marriage.

Ceremonies and times of Marriage:

" 13. Is Marriage solemnized in Lent, or other prohibited times ?

" 14. Are any married without a Ring, joyning of hands, or the fees laid down upon the Book ?

" 17. Have any been married in the times wherein Marriage is by law restrained, without lawful licence, viz. from the Saturday next before Advent-Sunday, untill the fourteenth of January; and from the Saturday next before Septuagesima-Sunday, untill the Munday next after Low-Sunday; and from the Sunday before the Rogation-Week, until Trinitie-Sunday ?

" Visitation of the Sick.

Passing Bell :

" 22. When any party is in Extremity, is there a passing bell tolled, that the neighbours thereby moved, may (remembering their own mortality) recommend his state unto God in their private prayers, or (as the ancient Church used) accompanie him in his departure with intercession unto God's judgment-seat ?

" 23. When he is departed, doth the bell ring out his knell, that others may take notice, and thank God for his deliverance out of this vale of misery ? Both which tolling and ringing out, be in many places neglected.

" Buriall of the dead.

Position and depth of Grave:

" 27. Is the grave made east and west? Is the body buried with the head to the west? Is the grave digged seven foot deep? and being made up and covered, preserved from violation ?

" Churching of Women after child-birth.

Place for Churching of Women :

" 29. Doth he administer it in his Pew or reading-seat, using the words of the Service in generall, as if he intended it to all in the Church ? or doth he descend onely unto her seat in the Church, and

there perform it? or doth he not (as he ought to do) go up into the Chancell, the woman also repairing thither, kneeling before the Communion-table at the steps or rail? and if there be a Communion, doth she receive?

“30. Doth she come to Church in her ordinary habit and wearing-apparel, or with a fair vail dependent from her head, that she may be distinguished from her accompanying neighbours, and that such as take notice of it, be thereby put in mind for her, and with her, to give God thanks for her deliverance?

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Their Apparel:

“Titulus 7.

“¶ Concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

“Do this, as often as you do it, in remembrance of me.

“6 Are the names of such as intend to receive, taken by the Minister over night, or the day before, they repairing unto him, that he may examine or instruct them, they pay their offerings, and not disquiet that sacred action in the Chancell or Church, by collecting of them then or there, and that he may proportion the multitude of receivers according to the capacity of his Chancell, and not be pestered or crowded with multitudes, who thereby may be occasioned and desire to sit in their Pews in the Church, and not come up and draw neare unto the Altar or Holy Table, as they are bound to do?

“7. Before the Communicants ascend up into the Chancell out of their seats in the Church, that exhortation is to be said, which in the Communion-book beginneth, *We be come together at this time, &c.* And then this exhortation, *Dearly beloved, we are come together &c.* When after this exhortation, the Communicants are come up into the Chancell, before they dispose themselves to kneel in their several places, (which are orderly and decently to be appointed for them) this is to be said, *You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sinnes &c.* Is this order of the Communion-book observed? if not, let it be amended hereafter.

Place for Communicants:

“8. Doth he first receive himself in both kinds (for I have known where the Minister hath unorderedly received last) upon his knees, at the Altar, having consecrated the bread and wine by the solemn and powerfull words of our Saviour, and none other?

“9. Doth he next to himself give it to Clergy-men, if any be present, that they may assist him in giving the Cup; and afterwards to every Communicant, not standing, sitting, or going up and down, but humbly expecting till it be brought and given unto him, in such places of the Chancell as the Ordinary hath already appointed, or shall hereafter think fit? doth he receive it from the Minister, meekly kneeling upon his knees, which is the fitting posture for Communicants?

Reception by Celebrant and Assistants:

“10. Doth he deliver bread and cup, severally to each communicant, and not in grosse to all, or some part, using the words, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee; The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee?* At pronunciation of which words directed unto them, each severall Com-

Individual Ministration to Communicants:

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municant was wont in the Primitive Church to say *Amen*, as professing his consent unto, and approbation of the truth thereof: which words cannot be used, being spoken not severally, but in grosse to many at one time.

Quality of Bread and Wine:

“11. Is the bread and wine of the best sort, fine, clean, sweet, not musty, or unsavoury? which beside the profanation, of my knowledge hath been occasion to some of turning Papists; who could not swallow it of disrelishment, and abhorred such negligence and contempt of Christ’s institution in their Minister.

Name of *Altar*:

“12. And whereas it offendeth many, that we sometimes call the Lord’s Table an *Altar*, and dispose of it Altar-wise; that we use the phrase of *Sacrament of the Altar*: in oppugning whereof, it hath been charged with Popery, and constantly (but ignorantly) affirmed, that in the Primitive Church it was not named an *Altar* for CCC years after Christ: to give satisfaction herein, and hereabout, both to Priests and people, I avow, upon certain knowledge out of my poore reading, That for all the time articulate, the word *Table* is not above thrice used, but ever *Altar*; and of Ecclesiastical writers, within that time, only *Dionysius Areopagita* hath it, and that but once, and occasionally: Which assertion (I am sure) cannot be refel- led: and therefore if we will (as we professe to do) follow the course and practice of the ancient, Primitive, Apostolicall Church, we ought not to traduce or be offended at the name, thing, or use of *Altar*, whereat a manifold Sacrifice is offered to God.

“*Titulus 8.*

“¶ Touching Parishioners.

Reparation of Ornaments &c:

“2. Do any refuse to pay to the reparations, ornaments, and other things required in your Church, as they are cessed by a law- full vestry? or any dwelling out of your Parish, which hold land in your Parish?

“*Titulus 9.*

“¶ Of Clerks, Sextons, Church-wardens, and Side-men.

Removal of Com- munion-Table:

“5. Do you, or have any of you, meddled with setting, placing, displacing, removing the Communion-table up and down, of your own heads, without the Minister; or with him, not by order from the Bishop?

“6. Do you know of any Parishioner, or forreiner, who hath committed, or attempted such an act? If you can learn them, present their names.

“*Titulus 10.*

“¶ Concerning School-masters, Physicians, and Chirurgicalians.

Schools in the Church.

“2. Do any teach in your Church or Chancell? which is to the profanation of the place.

“*Titulus 11.*

“¶ Concerning Ecclesiasticall Offices, and Fees.”

These Articles are very observable from their minute and

more precise enquiries which distinguish them from all the Visitation Articles hitherto quoted: this is probably due to the circumstance that Montague, himself desirous to raise the tone of the Church of England, had now come to a Diocese always, as it would seem, more notorious than any other for its lack of Discipline, and apparently unyielding to the efforts of its strictest Bishops. In Chichester he had met with disorders which, by general consent, would be likely to be more deeply-seated in his new See: accurate and definite questions such as these would serve to detect them, and might help to remedy them: any how they indicated care and vigilance in the new Ecclesiastical Ruler; and they bore, on the face of them, a Reforming aspect which looked wholly in the *Catholic*, not in the *Puritan* direction.

Yet nothing appears in them *contrary* to the, then existing, Law; or which *ran counter* to the general tenor of Visitation Articles of the period: they are more particular in their requirements and more explanatory in their directions; but they possess a character which identifies them distinctly with the Church of England as the medium of Catholic Communion in this Land.

In three important particulars they distinctly contradict the theories of Dr. Lushington: (1) *First*, They require a Chancel-Screen; (2) *Next*, They rank the Communion-Table among Church *Ornaments*; (3) *Thirdly*, They make the *material* of the Altar (which name they defend by an appeal to Antiquity) to be indifferently of *Stone*, *Wainscoat*, or *Joiner's-work*. Of course, however, as the learned Judge intimated that he could easily, if necessary, dispose of the weight claimed for Bishop Montague in common with other Laudian Bishops, he was not likely to listen to his words: yet it would be well to remind him that only four years later his judgment and learning were so far, outwardly at least, respected, that he was placed on the Lord's Committee for considering how far the Prayer Book could be altered to meet the Puritan demands—a Committee which, as we shall see, could not be said to be overburthened with the High Church element.

Mr. Goode (p. 48) has quoted one of these Articles—No. 16 *Titulus* 5.—to prove that a Gown is the proper dress for

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Character and probable cause of these Articles :

Their accordance with Law and Custom.

They oppose some views of Dr Lushington.

The Bishop's claim to be heard.

Mr. Goode's partial reference to him.

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Preaching; ^a though, he owns, "the words are ambiguous:" it would have been a *consistent* and a *fair* act to produce the Bishop and suffer him to speak for himself on the many other questions raised in Mr. Goode's book to which he was as well qualified to give an answer as the other writers whom he quotes.

Some further important evidence on the subjects just referred to, as well as some valuable testimony on other points, is contained in another Visitation Document which bears date one year later, and is styled—

"ARTICLES TO BE ENQUIRED OF IN THE ORDINARY VISITATION OF THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL MR. DOCTOR PEARSON, ARCHDEACON OF *Suffolke*, Anno Domini. 1639.

"London, printed by *Thomas Paine*. 1639.

Visitation
Articles of
Archdeacon
Pearson.

They relate to

I extract all those which have any reference to the present enquiry: they are as follows:—

"CHAP. III.

"*Concerning the Church, the Furniture, and Possessions thereof.*

Books for
Service:

"1. First, have you in your Church or Chappell, the whole Bible in the largest volume, and of the last translation, the booke of Common Prayer, the two bookes of Homilies, and Bishop *Jewels* Apology, all well and fairly bound? and have you also in your Church the forme of the Divine Service for the fift day of *November*, and for the twenty seventh day of *March*, and the booke of constitutions or Canons Ecclesiasticall?

Font, Altar, and
Tables of the
Ten Command-
ments:

"2. *Item*, Whether have you in your Church or Chappell, a Font of stone set up in the ancient usuall place, whole and cleane, and fit to hold water? a convenient and decent Communion Table, with a Carpet of silke, or some other decent stuffe continually laid upon the Table, at the time of Divine Service, and a faire linnen cloath thereon laid at the time of administring the holy Communion, and is the same Table placed conveniently, so as the Minister may best be heard in his administration, and the greatest number may reverently communicate? to that end, doth it ordinarily stand up at the East end of the Chancell, where the Altar in former times stood, the ends thereof being placed North and South? is it at any time used unreverently, by leaning or sitting on it, throwing hats or anything else upon it, or writing on it; or is it abused to any other prophane or common use? and are the tenne Commandments set up in your Church or Chappell, where the people may see and reade them, and

^a Mr. Goode quotes (p. 47) with the same object, No. 12 of Bishop Duppa's Visitation Articles for Chichester, 1638, "Doth he *preach* in such a solemn habit as becomes him, in a long gown and cassock, not in a riding or ambulatory cloak?" I have not been able to meet with a copy of these Articles: but the question suggests itself, whether here, as in other cases, the Article refers to *Lecturers* not to Parochial Clergy?

other chosen sentences also written upon the walles of your Church or Chappell, in places convenient for the same purpose ?

“ 3. *Item*, Whether have you in your said Church or Chappell a convenient seate for your Minister to reade divine service in, where doth it stand, how farre from the Chancell, and which way doth the standing thereof cause the Minister to turne his face when hee kneeleth therein at Prayers ? Have you also a common Pulpit, set up in a convenient place, with a decent cloth or Cushion for the same, a comely large surplice, a faire Communion Cuppe of silver, and a cover agreeable to the same ; a flagon of silver or pewter, with all other things and ornaments, fit for the celebration of divine service, and administration of the Sacraments ? and have you a Chest, wherein to put the Almes for the poore, with all three lockes and keyes unto it, and another for the keeping of the Bookes, the Communion vessels and ornaments of the Church, or where are they kept, and who keepeth the keyes of the said Chests ?

“ 7. *Item*, Whether are your Churchwardens carefull to take speciall order that no dogges be at any time suffered to come into the Church, to the disturbance of the Divine Service, and the polluting of that holy place of the Christian Congregation ? and doe any of the inhabitants of what condition soever, or of their company, bring their Hawkes into the Church, or usually suffer their dogges of any kind to come with them thither, to the prophantion of the house of God, and His holy worship ?

“ 9. *Item*, Whether hath any private man or men (of his or their owne authority, for ought you know) erected any Pewes, or builded any new Seates in your Church, and what pewes or seates have been of late years new built, by whose procurement, and by whose authority ? and are all the pewes and seates so ordered in the Church, that they which are in them may all conveniently kneele downe in the time of prayer, and have their faces up Eastward towards the holy Table ? Is the Middle Alley of the Church, or any other of the Alleyes, or Isles, or the body of the Chancell, built upon any part thereof, for the setting up of pewes or seates, or for the enlarging of any there adjoining ? are there also any kind of seates at the East End of the Chancell above the Communion Table, or on either side up even with it ?

“ CHAP. V.

“ *Concerning the Ministers, Preachers, and Lectures.*

“ 3. *Item*, Whether doth your Minister, Preacher or Lecturer begin his Sermon at any time, or part of Divine Service, but immediately after the beliefe called the Nicen Creeds ? Doth he before his Sermon or Homily (if he reade one) use any forme of prayer which is of his owne private conceiving or collecting, and of his own inventing or choosing, or doth he containe himselfe within that briefe forme only, which is prescribed by the Church in the fifty fift Canon, thereby to moove the people to joyne with him in prayer for Christs holy Catholique Church, and for the Kings most Excellent Majestie, naming him and his royall titles : for the Queene, the Prince, and the Royal issue, for the Archbishop, and also the Bishops, for the

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Reading-Desk.
Pulpit, Commu-
nion-Plate,
Alms-Chest :

Animals in
Church :

Pewes :

Prayer before
and after
Sermon :

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Councell, the Nobility, the Maistracie, and Commons of the Land, and to give thankes to God for the faithfull departed out of this life, and doth he alwaies conclude it with the Lord's Prayer? Doth the Preacher or Minister also after his Sermon wholly forbear to use any kinde or forme of Prayer, not being prescribed, as also to pronounce the blessing out of the Pulpit, wherewith the Church useth to dismisse the people, and doth he conclude there, with glory to God, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, &c., and then coming from the Pulpit, (if the Sermon were made within the Church or Chancell) doth he, (or whosoever then officiates) in the same place where he left before the Sermon, proceede to reade the remainder of the divine service, and at the close of all to give the blessing?

Ministers
Vestures:

"5. *Item*, Whether doth your Minister and Curate, at all times as well in Preaching or Reading the Homilies, as in reading the Prayer and the Letany, and administring the holy Sacraments, solemnization, of marriage, burying of the dead, churching of women, and all other offices of the Church, duely observe the Orders and rites prescribed without omission, alteration, or addition of anything? and doth he in performing all and every of them, weare the Surplice duely, and never omit the wearing of the same, nor of his hood if he be a graduate?

mode of
Baptism:

"6. *Item*, Whether doth your Minister goe to the Administration of holy Baptisme ever immediately after the Second lesson? doth he alwaies at first aske whether the child be baptized or no? afterwards doth he ever use and never omit both to take the child in his hands, and also to make the signe of the Crosse so, as to touch the child's forehead in making the same? doth he at any time baptize but in the Font, or with any Basin or paile or other vessell set into the Font?

Afternoon
Sermons:

"8. *Item*, Whether are your afternoone Sermons (if there were wont to be any) turned into Catechising by question and answer, where and wheresoever there is no great cause apparent to the contrary, and is this truely and sincerely prepared, without illusion, or in shew only?

Ministration of
the Eucharist:

"9. *Item*, Whether doth your Minister alwaies when he administred the holy Communion, first receive the same himselfe kneeling, and doth he alwaies use the words of institution according to the booke of common prayer, without alterration, and at every time that the bread and wine is renewed? doth he also use to deliver the bread and wine to every communicant severally, and with his owne hand, repeating to every one all the words appointed to be said at the distribution of the Holy Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus; and upon no pretence omitting any part of the words, or saying them all but now and then to many at once?

Ceremonies in
Marriage:

"10. *Item*, Whether hath your Minister . . . married any which doe not audibly say and answer in all things appointed by the Liturgie, or any without a Ring, or in times prohibited, . . . and doth he begin in Body of the Church, and then goe up to the holy Table as is appointed? also doth your Minister so often as there is any marriage, appoint to have a Communion; . . . ?

" 15. *Item*, Whether . . . doth he [your Minister] usually were a gowne with a standing collar, and sleeves straight at the hands, and a square cap? doth he in his journeying use a Cloake with sleeves, commonly called a Priest's Cloake, without guards, buttons, cuts: doth he at any time in publike, wear any coyfe or wrought night-cap, but only a plain cap of black silke, satten or velvet? doth he at any time goe about in his doublet and hose, without a cassock, or wear any light coloured stocking? or is he in any way excessive in his apparell, either he himself or his wife?

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Clerical Habit :

" 18. *Item*, Whether doth the Lecturer whosoever he be, reade the Divine Service, according to the Liturgie appointed by authority in his Surplice and Hood before every Lecture?

Lectures :

" Concerning Matrimonie.

" 6. *Item*, Whether have there beene any persons married in your Church in the times prohibited by the law, *viz.*, from Advent Sunday, untill eight days after the Epiphanie; from Septuagesima, untill eight dayes after Easter day; from three days before the Ascension, untill Trinity Sunday; without a lawful licence or dispensation first obtained from the Bishop of the Diocese his Chancellor or Commissary?

Times of Marriage :

" CHAP. VIII.

" Concerning the Parishioners.

" 6. *Item*, Whether doe all your Parishioners of what sort soever (according as the Church expressly them commandeth) draw neere, and with all christian humility and reverence come to the Lord's Table when they are to receive the Holy Communion, and not after the most contemptuous and unholy usage of some (if men did rightly consider) sit still in their seates or Pewes, to have the Blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour goe up and downe to seeke them all the Church over?"

Place for receiving the Holy Communion.

Dr. Lushington, in deciding the question of the Stone Altar at St. Barnabas, relied upon and agreed with the Judgment of Sir H. J. Fust, delivered in the Arches Court on the 31st January, 1845—a Judgment which it is to be regretted was not appealed from at the time: he says (p. 21.)

Dr. Lushington's reference to Sir H. J. Fust's Judgment on Stone Altars.

" I apprehend that the judgment of 'Faulkner *v.* Litchfield' has pronounced all tables of stone to be illegal. All the reasoning, and all the authorities cited therein, necessarily lead to that conclusion. In conformity with that judgment, and in obedience to it, I must pronounce that the altar in St. Barnabas Church is not authorized by law. It is right that I should add, that my own opinion as to the law entirely concurs with the judgment of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust."

Now the late Dean of the Arches seems to have attached considerable weight to the *testimony*, if not to the *arguments*, of Bishop Williams in a publication of his already referred to (see p. 358) "The Holy Table, Name and Thing," &c., of

Bp. Williams, as quoted there, opposed to Archdeacon Pearson.

1639. which he says, "The Treatise certainly displays considerable
 Charles I. "learning (for that at least Lord Clarendon is willing to give
 "the Bishop due credit); though there was a feeling of ani-
 "mosity towards Archbishop Laud." (*Judg.* p. 44. Robert-
 son's Report): the Book was *published* in 1637, though it
 purports to have been "written long ago by a Minister in
 "Lincolnshire:" and as these Articles of Archdeacon Pearson
 are nearly contemporaneous, being only two years later, they
 (as also Bishop Wren's, p. 361) may fairly be contrasted with
 Bishop Williams' statements, which it will be convenient first
 to notice in this place. From his Treatise, Sir H. J. Fust quotes
 portions of a Letter addressed by the Bishop to the Vicar of
 Grantham, in consequence of a dispute between him "and his
 "parishioners, with respect to the place where the Holy
 "Table should stand," the Vicar having removed it into the
 Chancel. I give the passage as it stands in the Judgment of
 the Dean of the Arches, p. 47.

Bp. Williams's
 statement.

"That your Communion Table is to stand altar-wise, if you mean
 in that upper place of the chancell where the altar stood, I think
 somewhat may be said for that, because the injunction, 1559, did so
 place it. And I conceive it to be the most decent situation when it
 is not used, and for use too, where the Quire is mounted up by steps
 and open, so as he that officiates may be seen and heard of all the
 congregation. Such an one, I am informed, your Chancell is not.
 But if you mean by altar-wise that the table should stand *along close
 by the wall*, so as you be forced to officiate at the one end thereof
 (as you may have observed in great men's chappells), I do not be-
 lieve that ever the Communion Tables were (otherwise than by casu-
 alty) so placed in country churches.' It appears that in Cathedral
 Churches the altars and tables were suffered to stand, in the manner
 stated, along the wall: but he says, 'I do not believe that ever the
 Communion Tables were (otherwise than by casualty) so placed in
 country Churches. For, besides that the country people, without
 some directions beforehand from their superiors, would (as they told
 you to your face) suppose them *dressers* rather than *tables*. And
 that Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners, for causes Ecclesiastical, di-
 rected that the table should stand, not where the Altar, but where
 the steps to the Altar formerly stood. (Orders 1561.) The
 Minister appointed to read the Communion, which you (out of the
 books of *Fast*, in I mo. of the King) are pleased to call second
 service, is directed to read the Commandments, not at the *end*, but
 at the *North side* of the Table, which implies the End to be placed
 towards the East great window. (Rubric before the Communion.)
 Nor was this a new direction in the Queen's time only, but practised
 in King Edward's reign, For in the plot of our Liturgy, sent by

Mr. Knox and Whittingham to Mr. Calvin, in the reign of Queen Mary, it is said *that the Minister must stand at the North side of the Table.* (Troubles at Frankford, p. 30.) And so in K. Edw. Liturgies, the Minister standing in the *midst of the altar*, 1549, is turned to his standing at the North side of the Table, 1552. And this last Liturgie was revived by Parliament, 1 Eliz. c. 2, and I believe it is so used at this day in most places of England. What you saw in Chappels or Cathedral Churches is not the point now in question, but how the Tables are appointed to be placed in parish Churches. In some of these Chapels and Cathedrals the altars may still be standing for aught I know, or to make use of their *covers, fronts, and other ornaments*, tables may be placed in their room, of the same length and fashion the altars were of. We know the altars stand still in the Lutherane Churches, and the Apologie for the Augustane Confession, Article II, doth allow it. The altars stood a year or two in the reign of King Edward, as appears by the Liturgie printed 1549; and it seems the Queen and her Council were content they should stand, as we may guess by the Injunction, 1559. But how is this to be understood? The sacrifice of the Masse abolished (for which sacrifice altars were erected), these (call them what you please) are no more altars, but *tables of stone or timber.* And so was it alleged 24th of November, 4th Edward VI., 1550. *Sublato enim relativo formali, manet absolutum et materiale tantum.*”

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To which passage the late Dean of the Arches appends this further remark—

Remark of the late Dean of the Arches upon it.

“ So he goes on to argue that where they were made of stone they were not in effect and essentially altars, but they became tables, upon which the Communion might be administered. If the principles of the Reformation could have been carried into effect stone tables might have been continued, but it was feared, without their removal, the notion amongst the simple, that a *real* sacrifice was offered up, would have remained.”

It is a rare thing to meet with such signal support from an opponent as these passages seem to me to furnish in favour of the *lawfulness*, *i. e.* the not being *contrary* to Law of a *stone* Communion Table or Altar (call it which we will) such as that condemned by Sir H. J. Just in 1845, or by Dr. Lushington in 1855. *First*, Bishop Williams not only admitted the *East End* of the Chancel to be a *lawful* place, but even *approved* the situation if the Minister could be seen and heard *by all*. It is true that where the Chancels are *long* some few of the Congregation could not *see*, but that can be of no consequence on the theory of most opponents of Ornament and Ceremonial, who seem to think there is danger in gratifying the sense of *sight* in matters of Religion; or, be it so that

Argument to be derived from Bp. Williams: *viz.*

that the *place* of the old Altars is the true one for the Communion-Table:

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they would contend for *seeing* and *hearing*, then, there is the risk lest, by removing the Communion Table or shortening the Chancel, the intention should be frustrated which required *all* the *Communicants* to assemble in the Chancel.

Again, Bishop Williams objected to the Table being *altar-wise* in *Parish* Churches; *First*, because he did not think they had, in practice, followed the *Cathedral* custom; but then he overlooks the fact that they were *meant* to do so. (See pp. 179, 204, 231, 357), and therefore *ought* to have complied: *Secondly*, because the Orders of 1561, as he says, directed the Communion Table to "stand not where the *altar*, but where "the *steps* to the altar formerly stood;" but a more extraordinary perversion of the words of the Order (See i. c. p. 276) can hardly be conceived: what says it? "the steps "which be as yet at this day remaining in any cathedral, collegiate, or *parish* church, be not stirred nor altered;..... "as well in *chancel*, church or chapel:" how then was it *possible* for the Table to stand *East* and *West* on these steps? True, it directs farther that "if in any chancel the steps be "transposed, that they shall not be erected again, but that the "place be decently paved, where the Communion-Table shall "stand out of the times of receiving the Communion," and therefore, in all such cases (and probably they were quite the majority considering the reckless destruction which there had been), the Table *could* stand *East* and *West*; but are the Commissioners (who wished to stop "strife and contention," and whose office it was to promote *uniformity*) to be charged with the absurd incongruity presented by such diametrically opposite positions of the Communion-Table? *Thirdly*, his objection was founded upon the alleged impossibility of complying with the Rubric which required the Minister "to read "the Commandments, not at the *end*, but at the *North side* of "the table;" to which it may be replied, that the Celebrants "in Chappels or Cathedral Churches" would have been equally perplexed—though it seems most probable, and appears a natural solution of the Bishop's difficulty, to say, that the object of the direction was to prevent the Celebrant from going to the *South* side of the Chancel when he was no longer to commence the Office in "the midst of the Altar," and

that their position is its true one:

that the North-side not the North end is the place of the Celebrant at the beginning of the Office:

thus to forestal the difficulty in which, else, he would have found himself as to his intended position at the Altar.

In the next place ; Bishop Williams admits the probability of Altars remaining in some Chapels and Cathedrals, or of " tables of the same length and fashion " being placed in their room " to make use of their *covers, fronts, and other ornaments :*" if then (as who will doubt) he is a competent witness of facts, he shews that it was not *illegal* for the new Tables in such places to wear the dress of the old Altars, and thus he further proves that the Communion-Tables of Parochial Churches might then, and may now, exhibit the same appearance (since they were to conform to the Mother Churches) and that the *material* of the Table could be of no moment whatever, in either case, seeing it was to be covered up.

Once more : Bishop Williams in similar *words*—though not, I feel satisfied, in the same sense—with Dr. Lushington (Comp. p. 54) says " The sacrifice of the Masse abolished. . . . " these (call them what you please) are no more altars, but " *tables of stone or timber :*" if then what Sir H. J. Fust called " a *real* sacrifice " by which I presume he meant an *actual carnal* sacrifice, is not now " the notion amongst the " simple ", no nor among the educated, of the Church of England (may I not add—of the Church of Rome also ?) : if " the purpose " has been fulfilled " for which," as the late Dean of the Arches said, Bishop Ridley, in 1550 enjoined the Parishes " to set up a table in the form of a *table*, no " longer in the form of an *altar* formerly used," *viz.* " for " the express purpose of preserving not only unity in the " Diocese, but for removing all superstition connected with " the ancient altars." (Judg. p. 29)—an object which no one can deny was so effectually accomplished that all notions of *decency*, not to say *propriety* or *reverence*, were utterly lost by the bulk of the people—then, looking at all these considerations, it does seem at variance with the *spirit* and with the *letter* of all Ecclesiastical Legislation on the subject to pronounce a structure to be *illegal* which Bishop Williams, even, held to be only a TABLE of *Stone* when detached from considerations which had erected it into an *Altar*.

Nor do I see how, if the Bishop's theory is to be admitted, we are to escape from the Second of his conclusions, which

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that the ancient coverings of the Altar are lawful :

that a Stone structure used for the Celebration of the Eucharist may be truly called a Table :

that, therefore, on these grounds, Stone Altars are not contrary to Law.

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Difficulty of Bp.
William's view :

however neither Sir H. J. Fust nor Dr. Lushington admitted. and which it may well be doubted whether opponents of Stone Altars are prepared to advocate in its entirety, *viz.* that

“ 2. This (table without some new Canon) is not to stand altar-wise, and you at the North end thereof, but table-wise, and you must officiate on the North side of the same, by the Liturgie.”

his theory
opposed by Arch-
deacon Pearson;
Bp. Montague;
Bp. Wren, and
other Bishops.

Against such a theory, however, the Article of Archdeacon Pearson (CHAP. III. No. 2, p. 392) is most express: he plainly considered it to be *according to Law*, and moreover recognised it on the ground of *convenience* and *reverence*, that the Communion-Table should “*ordinarily* stand up at “the East end of the Chancell, *where* the Altar in former times “stood, the end thereof being North and South.” In this he laid down a Rule which Bishop Montague had distinctly made the year before (See p. 386) and which Bishop Wren had enunciated with great plainness in 1636 (See p. 361): indeed, having regard to Archbishop Laud's Reports of his Province and to other statements already referred to (See pp. 354, 357—9, 367), Bishop Williams, so far from being a reliable authority as to the *Law* of the Church of England on the subject of Altars, appears to have been opposed, both in his theory and his practice, to most of his Episcopal brethren.

Some other points
in Pearson's
Articles.

There are some further points in these Articles of Archdeacon Pearson which claim a notice; thus No. 3 of Chap. III., taken with No. 9 *implies* that Prayers were not to be said towards the people, as Mr. Goode (See p. 330) considers to have been an authorized practice. No. 7 shews the lax practice of the period in bringing animals into the Church or suffering them to remain, and thus proves that Archbishop Laud was impelled by a real necessity to order the Communion Rails, if any decency and reverence was to be restored. No. 3 Chap. V. affords useful information with regard to the subject of Prayer before and after the Sermon: No. 5 is a strong testimony to the Surplice being the proper Preaching Dress: No. 9 is, perhaps, the most distinct and precise direction hitherto quoted as to the duty of administering *severally*, and with *all* the appointed words, the Sacrament to every Communicant: and No. 10 and No. 6 “Concerning Matrimonie” enforce the Law as to prohibited Seasons of Marriage, and require a Celebration of the Eucharist at every solemnization of it.

On January the 2nd, 1639-40, four years after his former Report, the Archbishop, who had continued to send Annual Accounts to the King of the state of his Province, made another Report to his Majesty: it was very similar to the one just quoted, though, to some extent, it showed that Puritanism was on the increase: Collier remarks upon it:—

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“This was the last annual information the Archbishop sent the King. Now if we consider the condition of the Church at *Laud's* coming to *Canterbury*, we shall find him very successful in his Administration: and had not the rebellion come on, and thrown him out of his *Seat*, he would, in all likelihood, either have converted, or crushed, the *Puritan Sect*, and recovered his Province to an entire Conformity.”—*Eccl. Hist.* p. 791.

The Archbishop's
last account of
his Province.

On the 14th April the Convocation met; in the course of the Session it agreed to a body of 17 New Canons, which are styled, “*Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Presidents of the Convocations for the respective Provinces of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of those Provinces: and agreed upon with the King's Majesties License in their several Synods begun at London and York.*” 1640.”

1640.

The Convocation
meets and enacts
Canons.

In the Letters Patent, prefixed to the Canons, is the following passage:

“Forasmuch as We are given to understand, that many of Our subjects being misled against the Rites and Ceremonies now used in the Church of England, have lately taken offence at the same, upon an unjust supposal, that they are not only contrary to Our Laws, but also introductive unto Popish Superstitions, whereas it well appeareth unto Us, upon mature consideration, that the said Rites and Ceremonies, which are now so much quarrelled at, were not onely approved of, and used by those learned and godly Divines, to whom, at the time of Reformation under King Edward the Sixth, the compiling of the Book of Common-Prayer was committed (divers of which suffered Martyrdom in Queen Maries days), but also again taken up by this whole Church under Queen Elizabeth, and so duly and ordinarily practised for a great part of her Reign, (within the memory of divers yet living) as that it could not then be imagined that there would need any Rule or Law for the observation of the same, or that they could be thought to savour of Popery.

Declared neces-
sity for them:
viz.

“And albeit since those times [*viz.*, Elizabeth's reign], for want of an express rule therein, and by subtile practices, the said Rites and Ceremonies began to fall into disuse, and in place thereof other, foreign and unfitting usages by little and little to creep in; Yet, for-

offence at some
Ceremonies:

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neglect of others:

asmuch as in our own Royal Chapels, and in many other Churches, most of them have been ever constantly used and observed, We cannot now but be very sensible of this matter, and have cause to conceive that the authors and fomenters of these jealousies, though they colour the same with a pretence of zeal, and would seem to strike only at some supposed iniquity in the said Ceremonies: Yet, as we have cause to fear, aim at Our own Royal Person, and would fain have Our good subjects imagine that we Our Self are perverted, and doe worship God in a Superstitious way, and that we intend to bring in some alteration of the Religion here established”

The King, after denying the imputation, proceeds to say :—

lack of a *general* revival.

“ But forasmuch as we well perceive that the misleaders of Our well minded people do make the more advantage for the nourishing of this distemper among them from hence, that the foresaid Rites and Ceremonies, or some of them, are now insisted upon, but only in some Diocesses, and are not generally revived in all places, nor constantly and uniformly practised thorowout all the Churches of our Realm, and, thereupon, have been liable to be quarrelled and opposed by them who use them not:”

Examples which the King proposed to follow.

and then states that, following the examples of Edward's and Elizabeth's Injunctions, and of King James in the Canons of 1603-4 :—

“and (according to the Act of Parliament in this behalf) having fully advised herein with Our Metropolitan, and with Our Commissioners authorized under Our great Seal for causes Ecclesiastical, have thought good to give them free leave to treat in Convocation: and agree upon certain other Canons necessary for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of His holy Church, and the due reverence of His blessed Mysteries and Sacraments:”

The Letters end by stating that the Convocation having met, and having—

“ agreed upon certain Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, to the end and purpose by Us limited and prescribed unto them, and having thereupon offered and presented the same unto Us, most humbly desiring Us to give Our Royal Assent unto the same, according to the form of a certain Statute, or Act of Parliament made in that behalf, in the five and twentieth year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, and by Our said Prerogative Royal and Supreme Authority in causes Ecclesiastical, to ratifie by Our Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of England, and to confirm the same, the Title and Tenour of these being word for word as ensueth.”

Titles of the Canons.

Then follow the Canons, the Titles of which are these :—

“ 1. Concerning the Regal Power.

“ 2. For the better keeping of the day of his Majesties most happy Inauguration.

" 3. For the suppressing the growth of Popery.

" 4. Against Socinianism.

" 5. Against Sectaries.

" 6. An Oath enjoyned for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.

" 7. A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.

" 8. Of Preaching for Conformity.

" 9. One Book of Articles of Enquiry to be used at all Parochial Visitations.

" 10. Concerning the Conversation of the Clergy.

" 11. Chancellours Patents.

" 12. Chancellours alone not to censure any of the Clergy in sundry cases.

" 13. Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest.

" 14. Concerning Commutations, and the disposing of them.

" 15. Touching concurrent Jurisdiction.

" 16. Concerning Licenses to Marry.

" 17. Against vexatious Citations."

Only the two following Canons, however, relate to the present enquiry :—

VII. *A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.*

" Because it is generally to be wished, that unity of Faith were accompanied with uniformity of practice, in the outward worship and service of God ; chiefly for the avoiding of groundless suspicions of those who are weak, and the malicious aspersions of the professed Enemies of our Religion; the one fearing the Innovations, the other flattering themselves with the vain hope of our backslidings unto their Popish superstition, by reason of the situation of the Communion-Table, and the approaches thereunto, the Synod declareth as followeth :

" That the standing of the Communion-Table side-way under the East-window of every Chancel or Chappel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God, either expressly, or by immediate deduction, and therefore that no Religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of reforming this Church from that gross super-stitution of Popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people, both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof ; especially of the Idolatry committed at the Mass, for which cause all Popish Altars were demolished ; yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed memory, that the holy Tables should stand in the place where the Altars stood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chappels of three famous and noble Princes, and in most Cathedral, and some Parochial Churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said Tables from any illegality, or just suspicion of Popish superstition or innovation. And, therefore, we judge it fit and convenient, that all

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Those which
apply here
treat of :

position of the
Communion-
Table ;

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Churches and Chappels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the Cathedral or Mother Churches, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishop by Law, during the time of Administration of the Holy Communion. And we declare that this situation of the holy Table, doth not imply that it is, or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: but it is, and may be called an Altar by us, in that sence in which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and in no other.

Rails to it;

“And because experience hath shewed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under the Communion-Table in time of Divine Service: for the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present Synod, that the said Communion-Tables in all Chancells or Chappels be decently severed with Rails, to preserve them from such or worse profanations.

place for Communicants;

“And because the Administration of holy things is to be performed with all possible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the Service-Book established by Act of Parliament, *Draw near, &c.* that all Communicants with all humble reverence shall draw near and approach to the holy Table, there to receive the Divine Mysteries, which have heretofore in some places been unfitly carried up and down by the Minister, unless it shall be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place, or other inconvenience, by the Bishop himself in his jurisdiction, and other Ordinaries respectively in theirs.

bowing towards the Altar;

“And lastly, Whereas the Church is the House of God, dedicated to His holy Worship, and therefore ought to mind us, both of the greatness and goodness of His Divine Majesty, certain it is that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We, therefore, think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obeysance, both at their coming in, and going out of the said Churches, Chancells, or Chappels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. The reviving therefore of this ancient and laudable Custom, we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good people, not with any intention to exhibit any Religious Worship to the Communion-Table, the East, or Church, or anything therein contained in so doing, or to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of *Jesus Christ* on the holy Table, or in mystical Elements, but only for the advancement of God's Majesty, and to give Him alone that honor and glory that is due unto Him, and no otherwise; and in the practise or omission of this Rite, we desire that the Rule of Charity prescribed by the Apostle, may be observed, which is, That they which use this Rite, despise not them who use it not; and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it.

“ IX. *One Book of Articles of Enquiry to be used at all Parochial Visitations.*

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uniform Visitation Articles.

“ For the better setting of an Uniformity in the outward Government and administration of the Church, and for the more preventing of just grievances which may be laid upon Church-wardens and other Swornmen, by any impertinent, inconvenient, or illegal Enquiries in the Articles for Ecclesiastical Visitations : This Synod hath now caused a Summary or Collection of Visitory Articles (out of the Rubricks of the Service-Book, and the Canons and warrantable rules of the Church) to be made, and for future Direction to be deposited in the Records of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: and we do decree and ordain, That from henceforth no Bishop or other person whatsoever having right to hold, use, or exercise any Parochial Visitation, (shall under the pain of a months suspension upon a Bishop, and two months upon any other Ordinary that is delinquent, and this to be incurred *ipso facto*) cause to be printed or published, or otherwise to be given in charge to the Church-wardens, or to any other persons which shall be sworn to make Presentments, any other Articles or forms of enquiry upon Oath, then such only as shall be approved and *in terminis* allowed unto him (upon due request made) by his Metropolitan under his Seal of Office.

“ Provided always, that after the end of three years next following the date of these presents, the Metropolitan shall not either at the instance of those which have right to hold Parochial Visitations, or upon any other occasion, make any addition or diminution from that allowance to any Bishop of Visitory Articles, which he did last before (in any Diocess within this Province) approve of; But calling for the same, shall hold and give that only for a perpetual Rule, and then every Parish shall be bound only to take the said Book from the Archdeacons and others having a peculiar or exempt Jurisdiction, but once from that time, in three years, in case they do make it appear they have the said Book remaining in their publick Chest for the use of the Parish: And from every Bishop they shall receive the said Articles at the Episcopal Visitation only, and in manner and form as formerly they have been accustomed to do, and at no greater price then what hath been usually paid in the said Diocess respectively.”

Immediately after the last of the Canons (No. 17) the Ratification follows in this form :—

The Ratification

“ We Have therefore for us, Our Heirs and Lawful Successours, given, and by these presents do give Our Royal Assent, to all and every of the said Canons as they are before written. And furthermore We do straightly enjoine and command the same to be diligently observed, executed, and equally kept by all Our loving Subjects of this Our Kingdom, both within the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, in all points wherein they do or may concern every or any of them according to this Our will and pleasure hereby signified and expressed The Book of the said Canons to be provided at the charge of the Parish, betwixt this and the Feast of *St. Michael*, the Archangel,

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next ensuing, Witness Our Self at *Westminster*, the thirtieth day of *June*, in the sixteenth year of Our Reign."—*Sparrow's Collection*.

Collier, after noticing the Confirmation of these Canons, remarks :—

Opposition to the
Canons.

"But all this Countenance, and regular Proceeding, was not sufficient to screen them from censure. Some were unpleas'd with the Seventh *Canon*, entituled, *A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies*: This *Canon* recommends bowing towards the Communion Table, or Altar: however, 'tis couch'd in very inoffensive Terms, and lays no Penalty upon the omission of this Ceremony; and which is more, all persons are desired to manage by the *Rule of Charity*, and neither blame the *Practice* or *Omission*: However, notwithstanding the indifferency the matter seem'd to rest in, some thought those who forbore the Ceremony would be look'd on as short in their Conformity, and stand with disadvantage in the opinion of the Prelates."—*Ecl. Hist.* vol. 2, p. 793.

The further proceedings to which these Canons gave rise is thus stated by the same writer :—

"On the third of *November* the Long Parliament, which proved so fatal to the King, met at *Westminster*. At the opening this Session the Commons made speeches against the Crown and the Church in a very remarkable manner, and gave early indications of what followed The Lord *Digby* thought the late *Convocation* misbehaved themselves, and harangued strongly against their Proceedings. . . .

Proposal in Con-
vocation to re-
scind them,
rejected.

"On the fourth of *November* the Convocation met at *St. Paul's*, the Sermon was preached by *Bargrave*, Dean of *Canterbury*. The Lower House chose their old *Prolocutor*, and adjourned to King *Henry* the 7th's Chapel, the Archbishop made a Speech: He lamented the unhappiness of the Times; put them in mind of the storm rising upon the Church; exhorted them to perform the duty of their respective places, and stand their ground with resolution. There was nothing of moment transacted in this *Convocation*. But *Warminstre*, one of the Clerks for the Diocese of *Worcester*, made a motion which must not be forgotten; 'twas, that according to the direction of the *Levitical Law*, they should endeavour to cover the Pit which they had opened; that is, they should prevent their enemies and null the offensive *Canons*, which had pass'd in the last Convocation. But the House seem'd to have a better opinion of the *Canons*, and rejected the motion."—*Ecl. Hist.* vol. 2, pp. 795—6.

Increasing
power of the
Commons in
Church matters.

The House of Commons had now begun to arrogate to itself singular administrative powers in matters of Religion: one instance of this occurs in the following Report made to it on November 20th, 1640, which, moreover, furnishes another example of Bishop Williams's strange interpretation

of the Law, and exhibits a disposition for *compliance* which certainly was not demanded by Rubric or Canon.

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“Sir *Robert Harley* Reports from the Committee for the Communion, That none should sit in that House after the Communion-day, but those that had first received the Sacrament. And a Committee was appointed to go to the Lord Bishop *Williams* Dean of *Westminster*, to desire that the elements might be Consecrated upon a Communion-Table standing in the Middle of the Church according to the Rubrick, and to have the Table removed from the Altar thither. The Dean replied, *He would readily do it at their request, and would do the like for any Parishioner in his Diocese.*”—*Rush. Hist. Coll.* vol. I. pt. 3, p. 53.

A further illustration of the cognizance, in matters wholly beyond their province, exercised by these Representatives of the people, who professed to be such jealous guardians of the Law of the Land, is afforded by another Document presented to the House in which—

Further proof
of it.

“Mr. *White* Reports from the Committee for Religion, *That the Petition against Doctor Layfield, Vicar of Alhallows, Barking, London, was examined by the Committee and fully proved. He hath set the Communion Table Altar-wise, caused Rails, and ten several Images upon those Rails, to be set at the Altar. He bowed three times at his going to the Rails, twice within the Rails, and once at the Table, and so in the Return. But since the Images were taken down, upon complaint made by the Parish, he has bowed but twice, and that is within the Rails, and at the Table, which is an argument he bowed before to the Images. He hath caused I. H. S. to be set up in golden Letters upon the Table, and forty places besides; said to the people, Heretofore we saw Christ by Faith, but now by our fleshly eyes we see Him in the Sacrament. When these Images were taken down he charged them with sacrilege. He refuseth to give the Sacrament to his people, unless they come to the Altar, though they have offered reverently kneeling to receive the same in the body of the Church.* *Rush. Hist. Coll.* vol. I. pt. 3, p. 53.

On December the 11th, 1640, a Petition signed by 15,000 persons was presented to the House of Commons from “many of his Majesty’s Subjects in and about the City of *London*, and several Counties of the Kingdom,” in which the Petitioners desired the *abolition* of all Episcopal Government: in proof of the necessity for such a step they presented “*A Particular of the Manifold Evils, Pressures and Grievances caused, practised and occasioned by the Prelates and their Dependants.*” In this List of 28 Complaints there occur the following—

Petition to them
against the
Bishops.

“14. The great conformity and likeness both continued and en-

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Its complaint
as to Church
Ornaments and
Ceremonies.

creased of our Church to the Church of *Rome*, in Vestures, Postures, Ceremonies and Administrations, namely, as the Bishop's Rotchets and the Lawn-Sleeves, the Four-cornered Cap, the Cope and Surplice, the Tippet, the Hood, and the Canonical Coat, the Pulpits clothed, especially some of late, with the Jesuites badge upon them every way.

"15. The standing up at *Gloria Patri*, and at the reading of the Gospel, prayer towards the East, the Bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, the bowing to the Altar towards the *East*, Cross in Baptism, the Kneeling at the Communion.

"16. The turning of the Communion Table Altar-wise, setting Images, Crucifixes, and Conceits over them, and Tapers and Books upon them, and bowing or adoring to, or before them; the reading of the second Service at the Altar, and forcing people to come up thither to receive, or else denying the Sacrament to them; terming the Altar to be the Mercy-seat, or the place of God Almighty in the Church; which is a plain device to usher in the Mass.

"17. The Christening and Consecrating of Churches and Chappels, the Consecrating Fonts, Tables, Pulpits, Chalices, Church-yards, and many other things, and putting holiness in them; yea, re-consecrating upon pretended Pollution; as though everything were unclean without their Consecrating; and for want of this, sundry Churches have been interdicted, and kept from use as polluted.

"18. The Liturgy for the most part is framed out of the Romish *Breviary*, *Rituales*, *Mass Book*, also the Book of Ordination for Archbishops and Ministers framed out of the Roman Pontifical."—*Rush. Hist. Coll.* Vol. I., pt. 3, p. 95.

After the Reading of the Petition the Commons appointed the following Thursday for its consideration: the result seems to have been that, on January 23rd, 1640-1, the House

The House
orders the des-
truction of the
Ornaments com-
plained of.

"Ordered, That Commissioners be sent into all Counties for the defacing, *demolishing*, and quite taking away of all *Images*, *Altars*, or Tables turned Altar-wise, *Crucifixes*, superstitious Pictures, Monuments and Reliques of Idolatry, out of all Churches or Chappels."—*Ibid*, p. 153.

Lord Digby
opposes the
Prayer of the
Petition to
abolish the
Episcopate.

The Debate upon the request of the Petition, *viz.* the Abolition of Episcopacy, was resumed, however, on the 9th of February, when the *Lord Digby* spoke against it as abounding in "mixtures of things, *contemptible*, *irrational*, and *pre-sumptuous*," and as demanding the Abolition of what was "according to *God's Word*" and "establish'd by Acts of Parliament": and he proposed that, instead of the Petition being committed, a Committee should be formed "to collect all grievances springing from the misgovernment of the Church . . . and to represent it to this House in a Body": but,

after several other Speeches his amendment was overruled, and the further consideration of the Petition was referred to the Committee.

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“ Upon the 15th of *December* the Commons attacked the “late *Convocation* in form; and resolved *Nullo Contradicente*—

The House of Commons condemns them as *illegal*.

“(1.) That the Clergy of *England* convened in any Convocation or Synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any Constitutions, Canons, or Acts whatsoever in matter of Doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the Clergy or Laity of the Land, without common consent of Parliament.

“(2.) That the several Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, Presidents of the Convocation for the respective Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of those Provinces, and agreed upon with the King’s Majesty’s Licence in their several Synods begun at *London* and *York*, 1640, do not bind the Clergy or Laity of this Land, or either of them.

“ The next day, the same subject being resumed, ’twas resolved *Nullo Contradicente*—

“(1.) That these Canons do contain in them many matters contrary to the King’s Prerogative, to the Fundamental Laws and Statutes of this Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous consequence.

“(2.) That the several Grants of the Benevolences, or Contributions granted to his most excellent Majesty by the Clergy of the *Provinces* of *Canterbury* and *York*, in the several Convocations or Synods holden at *Canterbury* and *York*, *Anno Dom.* 1640, are contrary to the Laws, and ought not to bind the Clergy.”—*Collier Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 796.

Mr. Goode, in a very summary manner, disposes of these Canons in his remarks, at p. 25, on “ Gestures and Postures, such as Crossing, &c.”: he there says—

Their authority denied by Mr. Goode.

“ The custom of bowing, on entering the Church, towards the East, or the Communion Table, may no doubt plead various precedents in its favour, but certainly no authoritative sanction; for the Canons of 1640, into which Laud introduced it, are of no authority.”

Now it is quite true that these Canons seem to have been little regarded from soon after* they were passed, and do not

Probable causes of the neglect of them.

* “ At their first publication, they were generally approved in all parts of the Kingdom; and I had letters from the remotest parts of it, full of approbation; insomuch that not myself only, but my brethren which lived near these parts, and which were not yet gone down, were very much joyed at it. But about a month after their printing, there began some whisperings against them by some ministers in London; and their exceptions were spread in writing against them;

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appear to have been revived at the Restoration: but their neglect at the time is easily accounted for by the fact that, barely six months after their enactment, the Commons of England *condemned* them, with a marvellous inconsistency that led them to profess a zeal for Law which they were all the while breaking by interfering in a matter wholly beyond their province: and their non-recognition in the succeeding Reign may, presumably, be assigned to two causes (1) *First*, a resolve not to give importance to an act of the Commons which had no legal authority; (2) *Next*, an unwillingness to provoke a fresh opposition by calling attention to Canons which had been a cause of offence more, apparently, as Collier says, because of the Convocation "drawing the First Canon so much to the service of the *Crown*, and flatly condemning resistance of the Government upon any pretence whatsoever," (p. 794), than from any *Ceremonial* regulations, objectionable as these were to the Puritan party.

Their obsolescence no disproof of their authority

To say that these Canons are *obsolete* would have been a safe assertion, though indeed the term is as unhesitatingly applied to the Canons of 1603 by those who seem to object to both Codes alike: but to pronounce the former to be of "no authority" is to speak more confidently than probably Her Majesty's Judges at Westminster would feel warranted in doing, considering that both sets of Canons were Ratified in the same terms and in virtue of the power invested in the Crown by the Statute 25th Henry the Eighth, chap. 19, to which the Letters Patent in both cases refer.

Bp. Williams disregarded them.

It is more to the purpose, though no confirmation of Mr. Goode's view just noticed, to say, as he continues at p. 25—

"in opposition to the testimony of Laud and his party in favour of the practice [before mentioned], we have that of Archbishop Williams, an equally good witness, on the contrary side. For in his Articles of Inquiry, when Bishop of Lincoln in 1641, he inquires,— 'Do you know of any parson, vicar, or curate, that hath introduced any offensive rites or ceremonies into the Church, not established by the laws of the land; as, namely, that make three courtesies towards

and this set others on work, both in the western and the northern parts. Till at last, by the practice of the faction, there was suddenly a great alteration, and nothing so much cried down as the Canons."—Hist. of the Troubles and Tryal of Abp. Laud, vol. III. p. 291. *Ang. Cath. Lib.*

the Communion Table ; that call the said Table an Altar ; that enjoin the people at their coming into the Church to bow towards the East, or towards the Communion Table ?' (Articles to be Inquired of in the Diocese of Lincoln, Lond. 1641. 4to.)”

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But, unless the Convocations of Canterbury and York, in 1640, are to be accounted synonymous with “Laud and his party,” this testimony of the Bishop of Lincoln is here opposed to a witness with which it seems scarcely fair to Williams himself that he should be compared. It may be difficult, indeed, to account entirely for this conduct of Williams in counterworking the Ratified Canon of a Synod of which he was *doubly* a member, as Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Lincoln (though it is, in part, explained by what is related, at p. 396, of his personal opposition to Laud who, most likely, was the author of the Canon) yet the *terms* of his Inquiry may serve to shield him from any *intended* breach of Ecclesiastical Laws the passing of which he does not seem to have at the time opposed.^a For, it will be observed, he speaks of “rites or ceremonies . . . not established by the laws of the land” ; and, plainly, so far as these Canons were concerned,

Strangeness of his course.

Force of his Article.

* Laud in his own account of his Troubles and Tryal says—“In the debates concerning these Canons, I dare be bold to say, never any Synod sat in Christendom that allowed more freedom either of speech or vote. The Canons which were made were in number seventeen ; and at the time of the subscription no man refused, or so much as checked at any one Canon, or any one branch in any one of them : saving a canonist or two, who excepted against two or three clauses in some of the last of the Canons, which concerned their profit and their carriage towards the Clergy ; in which they were publicly, and by joint consent, overruled in the House : and excepting Godfrey Goodman, Lord Bishop of Gloucester, who was startled at the first Canon, about the proceedings against the Papists.”—vol. III. p. 287. *Ang. Cath. Lib.*

The Bishop did, however, ultimately subscribe, with the rest, on the 29th of May. It appears that one plea which he urged for not signing was that the Canons were made “out of Parliament time” : but this seems to have been an excuse, for, as Laud says, he had been “formerly satisfied by the lawyers’ hands as well as we.” The King had wished the Convocation to continue its sittings after the Parliament had been prorogued, both to finish the Canons and that he “might have the Subsides which” the Convocation “had granted him” : but, to use again Laud’s words, “some little exception was taken” by “two or three of the Lower House of Convocation whether we might sit or no. I acquainted his Majesty with this doubt, and humbly besought him, that his learned council, and other persons of honour, well acquainted with the laws of the realm, might deliver their judgment upon it. This his Majesty graciously approved, and the question was put to them. They answered as followeth under their hands :— ‘The Convocation being called by the King’s writ, under the Great Seal, doth continue, until it be dissolved by writ, or commission under the Great Seal, notwithstanding the Parliament be dissolved.’ ‘H. MANCHESTER [Lord Privy Seal.] JOHN BRAMSTON [Chief Justice of K. B.] EDWARD LITTLETON [Chief Justice of C. P.] RALPH WHITFIELD [Serg. at Law.] JOHN BANKES [Attorney General.] ROB. HEATH [Serg. at Law.]’ ”—*Ibid.* p. 285.

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they were not *established*; the utmost that the Canon did was to "heartily commend" them "to the serious consideration "of all good" and "well-affected people", and therefore the Bishop may have thought himself free to *discourage* what he, seemingly, did not think "must needs be pious in itself, pro-
"fitable unto us, and edifying unto others." It may, farther, be pleaded, perhaps, in his excuse that he did not issue this Visitation Article until after the House of Commons had condemned the Canons, and thus he may have had a doubt of their Legality, of which, with his views, he might not be sorry to avail himself. Whether there is anything in his other Articles which may explain or justify his conduct, I am unable to say, not having been able to meet with any copy of them: yet, in any case, and after making all allowances, it may safely be said—that it would seem to have been a wiser course had he abstained from exciting or fostering a feeling of that being "offensive", the "practice or omission of" which was to be regulated by the "Rule of Charity prescribed by the Apostle"—a Rule by following which, at all events, Laud trod in the steps of the Edwardine Reformers, who used the same language in reference to a much more important matter when they directed—"That they which use this Rite, despise not them who use "it not; and that they who use it not, condemn not those that "use it."—*Comp. Can.* 7. p. 404, and *Exhortation* in the *Communion Office*, 1st P. Book. Edw. 6.

Possible ground
for his conduct.

The conduct of the Commons during this Session seems to have compelled the Lords to take measures on the subject: thus, according to Collier and Cardwell:—

The Lords
appoint a Com-
mittee on Church
matters.

"On the 1st March 164[0]-1, the house of Lords appointed a Committee consisting of Ten Earls, Ten Bishops, and Ten lay Barons, to 'take into consideration all innovations in the Church respecting religion.' On the 10th of the same month, they were empowered to associate with them as many learned Divines as they pleased, and Archbishop Usher, and Drs. Prideaux, Warde, Twisse, and Hacket are particularly mentioned as selected for the purpose. But the object for which they were professedly appointed gives little information as to the extensive powers they possessed. It would appear to have been the intention of the house that they should consider and report upon the minute regulations adopted by Archbishop Laud and other Bishops in their respective Dioceses, regulations which had been made the subject of constant complaint, not merely by all the avowed opponents of the Church, but also by great numbers of its

members. These were the innovations which the Committee were required to examine; but with an understanding on all sides that they were to carry their enquiries into the whole field of doctrine and discipline, and suggest such measures as might tend to allay the great and general feeling of discontent. Bishop Williams, at this time Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Lincoln, presided over the committee, as well as over the sub-committee, that was appointed soon afterwards, and proceeded without delay to enter upon its important duties."—*Card. His. of Conferences*, p. 238, and *Collier E. H.* p. 799.

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Of this Committee Cardwell remarks—

"A meeting consisting of such persons as Bishops Williams, Moreton (of Durham) and Montague (of Norwich), Archbishop Usher, and the following Divines, Warde, Prideaux, Sanderson, Featley, Brownrigg, Holdsworth, Hacket, Twisse, Burgess, White, Marshall, Calamy, Hill, many of whom were eminent for their learning and their attachment to the National Church, could not fail to attract general notice, and to give much weight and sanction to the measures they recommended. It is probable that the greater number of them entered upon their task with views derived altogether from the strange necessities of the times, rather than in compliance with their own deliberate judgment. . . . In the ensuing month of May they found that motions were entertained in the House of Commons which left no further doubt as to the impending ruin of the Established Church, and their undertaking was then abandoned.

Character of the
Committee.

"But it was already known that they had agreed upon many important changes in the Book of Common Prayer, some of them likely to be granted, but others destined to meet with the greatest opposition."—*Ibid.* p. 239.

Among the changes which they recommended they proposed "*that the Rubric with regard to Vestments should be altered*"—the others related chiefly to—using the new translation for all the Scriptures in the Prayer Book; to decreasing the Apocryphal lessons: to omitting some Saints from the Calender: to omitting the Benedicite: to omitting, explaining, or altering—kneeling at Communion, the Cross in Baptism, the form of Absolution in the Visitation of the sick:—things which, says Cardwell,

Changes which
they proposed.

"Would meet with the most strenuous opposition, and tend to increase the causes of discontent, instead of abating them."—*Ibid.* p. 240.

In "*A copy of the proceedings of*" this Committee given by Cardwell, the following statement, headed "Innovations in

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Their List of
alleged *Innova-*
tions indicates a
common *Use* of
the period.

“Discipline,” plainly shews what must have been a very considerable *use* then as to Ornaments and Ceremonies.

“1. The turning of the Holy Table altarwise, and most commonly calling it an Altar.

“2. Bowing towards it, or towards the East, many times, with three congees, but usually in every motion, access, or recess in the Church.

“3. Advancing candlesticks in many Churches upon the Altar so called.

“4. In making canopies over the Altar so called, with traverses and curtains on each side, and before it.

“5. In compelling all communicants to come up before the rails, and there to receive.

“6. In advancing crucifixes and images upon the parafrant, or altar cloth, so called.

“7. In reading some part of the Morning Prayer at the Holy Table, when there is no communion celebrated.

“8. By the Minister turning his back to the West, and his face to the East, when he pronounceth the Creed, or reads prayers.

“9. By reading the Litany in the midst of the body of the Church in many of the parochial Churches.

“10. By pretending for their innovations, the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, which are not in force, but by way of commentary and imposition; and by putting to the Liturgy printed ‘secundo, tertio Edwardi sexti,’ which the Parliament hath reformed and laid aside.

“11. By offering of Bread and Wine by the hand of the Churchwardens or others, before the Consecration of the elements.

“12. By having a *Credentia*, or side table, besides the Lord’s Table, for divers uses in the Lord’s Supper.

“13. By introducing an Offertory before the Communion, distinct from the giving of alms to the poor.

“14. By prohibiting the Ministers to expound the Catechism at large to their parishioners.

“15. By suppressing of Lectures, partly on Sundays in the Afternoon, partly on week days, performed as well by combination, as some one man.

“16. By prohibiting a direct prayer before a Sermon, and bidding of Prayer.

“17. By singing the *Te Deum* in prose after a Cathedral Church way, in divers Parochial Churches, when the people have no skill in such music.

“18. By introducing Latin-service in the Communion of late in Oxford, and into some Colledges in Cambridge, at Morning and Evening Prayer, so that some young students, and the servants of the colledge, do not understand their prayers.

“19. By standing up at the hymns in the Church, and always at *Gloria Patri*.

“20. By carrying children from the baptism to the altar so called, there to offer them up to God.

“21. By taking down galleries in Churches, or restraining the building of such galleries where the parishes are very populous.”—*Card. His. Conf.* p. 272.

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Such being the *Innovations* complained of, it is easy to understand why it was proposed to alter the Rubric which made the *Second Year* of Edward the Sixth the Standard for Ornaments.

Mr. Goode, indeed, twice refers to this List of “Innovations” as though it furnished satisfactory historical proof that the things complained of were *Innovations*: thus, at p. 26, where he treats of “Gestures and Postures, such as “Crossing, &c.,” he says—

Mr. Goode's
reference to
this List,

“The practice of turning to the East when the Creed is recited, is equally without authority; and was called an innovation by the House of Lords’ Committee in 1641.”

So again, at p. 85, in treating of the “Furniture of the “Communion-Table,” after quoting passages already noticed, he remarks—

“And among the ‘innovations’ complained of by the House of Lords’ Committee in 1641, as having been introduced by the Laudian divines, are the following :—”

then he quotes Nos. 3, 4 and 6 in the preceding Catalogue.

Now these passages are calculated to leave a wholly false impression upon the mind of their reader; for, unless he happened to remember the circumstances under which this Committee was appointed and the character of its composition, he would be inclined, most likely, to say at once—the *testimony of a Committee of the House of Lords cannot surely be gainsayed*. But, first of all, it has to be shewn that the List of complaints *was* one of their own devising: is it very unlikely that the Catalogue of grievances was framed by others and laid before them? Yet, next, if they did draw it up, it by no means follows that it expressed *their own belief*, or was anything more than a Memorandum of points to be discussed, which one or other of the Committee knew to be publicly canvassed. And, thirdly, even if the Document could be shewn to be a *Resolution* declaratory of the mind of the Committee, then it is essential to remember the fact, of which Mr. Goode does not give the slightest hint,—that, as Collier

likely to mislead

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says, (p. 799,) "The greatest part of the company being " *Calvinists*, either in Doctrine or Discipline, 'tis no wonder to " find them remonstrate against the management of Church " Matters;" and therefore they could easily outvote such men as *Montague* or *Morton*, the former of whom certainly was not likely to yield to their views, probably not the latter either; though they might meet with concurrence in *some* points from *Usher* or, more particularly, from *Williams*.

and of no force.

With regard to the two points which Mr. Goode invokes their authority to condemn, it is obvious to remark—that they may most safely be justified, seeing that they were reprobated by a body which alike discovered *Innovations* "in " reading some part of the Morning Prayer [by which no " doubt was meant the *Ante-Communion Service*] at the Holy " Table, when there is no Communion celebrated" and "By " reading the Litany in the midst of the body of the Church, " in many of the Parochial Churches"—practices which were distinctly ordered by authority long before the Laudian period (See pp. 27, 140, 255, and Rubrics at the end of the Communion Office in Q. Elizabeth's P. Book). In one sense indeed even these latter practices may have been *Innovations*, *i. e.* they had fallen into more or less neglect, in the gross laxity which had so long prevailed; but this, I apprehend, is not what the Puritan complainers or Mr. Goode refer to; they seem, evidently, to mean by *Innovations*, practices which, though revived, could not plead in their defence some distinct order in the Canons or the Book of Common Prayer. So then, this List of Complaints, instead of helping Mr. Goode's argument, is one of the best proofs we could have that the alleged *Innovations* were practices consonant with that *Authority of Parliament* which it was then wished to abrogate.

The List really a witness for the lawfulness of the alleged *Innovations*.

The House of Lords was not, however, it seems wholly indifferent to the popular attempts to interfere with the existing Law, for on June 14, 1641—

"A Complaint was this day exhibited to the House of Lords, by the Minister and several inhabitants of *St. Saviour, Southwark*, against some unruly people, who not only refused to receive the Sacrament kneeling, but abused the Minister in the Celebration thereof; and came a day or two after, and violently pulled down the Rails which were placed about the Communion-Table, having no authority so to do."

Some Ecclesiastical Rioters punished by the Lords.

Three days after the Lords

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“sentenced Two of the riotous delinquents, fining them Twenty Pound a piece, to stand two several Market-days in the Pillory, and imprisonment during pleasure; and two others they referred to the Quarter Sessions, to be there indicted and prosecuted according to Law.”—*Rush. Hist. Coll.* vol. I. pt. 3, p. 292.

The Lower House was now becoming more and more presumptuous: as if intoxicated by the favourable reception of its previous proceedings, it went on to make a Declaration upon the 8th September, 1641, which was intended to have the force of Law throughout the Kingdom: Collier thus relates the history of this Order:—

The Commons, contrary to the wish of the Lords, publish a Declaration against Church Ornaments:

“.. The Commons had lately [Sep. 1st] revived the debate^a touching Innovations in the Church, and passed several votes against them. The Lords at the same time repeated their *Declaration* for the observation of the Book of *Common Prayer* without omission or alteration. These votes which look'd like clashing, occasion'd a Conference between both Houses; at which the Commons [on Sep. 8th] desired their Lordships to consent to the following *Declaration*. To this the Lord's returned no answer; and which further disgusted the Commons, they resolved upon the question, that their [own] Order on the 16th January, 1640-1, ^b should be printed and published.

“The Commons declaration to which they desired the Concurrence of the Upper House, was as follows:—

“Whereas divers Innovations in or about the worship of God have been lately practised in this Kingdom, by injoining some things and prohibiting others without Warrant of Law: to the great grievance and discontent of His Majesty's subjects. For the suppression of such Innovations, and for preservation of public peace, it is this day order'd by the Commons in Parliament assembled, That the Churchwardens in every Parish Church and Chappel respectively do forthwith remove the Communion Table from the East End of the Church, Chappel or Chancel into some other convenient place; and that they take away the Rails, and level the Chancels as heretofore they were before the late Innovations.

“That all Crucifixes, Scandalous pictures of any one or more

^a “The debate against *Innovations* in the Church, and setting up of rails before the Communion Table, and for taking away Images, Crosses and Crucifixes &c. and passed several votes concerning the same.”—*Rushworth's Hist. Coll.* pr. 3, vol. I. p. 385.

^b viz. “That Divine Service should be performed as it is appointed by the *Statutes* of this realm; and that all such as shall disturb the commendable Order, shall be severely punished according to Law: and that the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates in their respective Parishes shall forbear introducing any Rites or Ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by the *Laws* of the Land.” The Order was passed in consequence of some 60 persons having been taken into custody on the previous Sunday Afternoon, by the Churchwardens of St. Saviour's, for holding a Religious Meeting in the time of Divine Service.—*Rush.* vol. I. pt. 3, p. 144.

1641. Persons, of the *Trinity*, and all images of the Virgin Mary, shall be taken away and abolish'd; and that all Tapers, Candlesticks and Basons be removed from the Communion Table.

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“That all Corporal bowing at the Name (Jesus), or towards the East end of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, or towards the Communion Table, be henceforth forborne.”

the presumption of it:

The Order was made to include all Cathedrals, all Collegiate Churches or Chapels in the Universities, the Temple Church, and the Chapels of the Inns of Court. Collier comments upon it in the following words—

“Thus the usages of Antiquity, the Orders of the Bishops, the Canons of the Church, are superseded, and the Clergy enjoin'd obedience to this extraordinary declaration. One would almost have thought so peremptory a decision must have come from the Apostolick *Synod* at *Jerusalem*, or at least, from one of the Four General *Councils*! But this, after all, was no more than an Order of the Lay-Commons, and that without consulting the *Convocation*, without the concurrence of either Lords or Sovereign. *Pym*, the Chairman of the Committee, sent down the *Declaration* into the country after the *recess*, enjoin'd the reading it on the Parochial Clergy, and executed the order with more than Patriarchal authority.”—*Collier E. H.* vol. II. p. 806.

its lawfulness questioned by a Member opposed to the alleged Innovations:

The Order, however, was not undisputed; for, a complaint having been made to the Commons, that some persons in *Cripplegate* had not obeyed the order, Sir Edward Deering, in his speech on the 21st of October, when the Parliament had re-assembled, questioned the legality of it on two grounds, asking:—

- “1. How far an Order of this House is binding?
- “2. Whether this particular order be continuant, or expired?”

He asserted that it was not binding, as being not “grounded upon the Laws of the Land”; that it was “arbitrary”; and moreover that it had expired; and concluded his speech with these words:—

“My humble motion, therefore, is this, I beseech you to declare, That upon this our reconvention, your Order of the 8th of September is out of date: and that the Commons of England must (as you say) *quietly attend the Reformation intended*; which certainly is intended to be perfected up into Acts of Parliament. And, in the meantime, they must patiently endure the present laws, until you can make new, or mend the old.”—*Rushworth's His. Coll.*, vol. XIV. p. 393, fol. 1692.

And the circumstance that Sir E. Deering was himself

strongly opposed to what the House of Commons called "Innovations," makes this statement of his all the more valuable as an important testimony—that the Ornaments and Practices here complained of *were not contrary to the Law*, except in so far as the expression "Scandalous Pictures of any one or more Persons, of the *Trinity*" concurred with that *Article of Belief* imposed upon the Clergy in 1559 (see p. 156) wherein they were required to "disallow . . . all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove." If then, these Things, which had undoubtedly been in use in the Second Year of King Edward the Sixth, could plead such a threefold Legal sanction as the Provincial Constitutions and later Canons, the Rubric of the Prayer Book which referred to the Ornaments of that year, and the *non-prohibition* of them by those "present laws" which the Commons were told, by one who was much of their mind, "they must patiently endure . . . until" they could "make new or mend the old"—it was within the province of every *Parochial* Minister to use them, and much more was it within the *discretion* of the several Bishops, or the Provincial authority of the Archbishop, to direct them to be restored.

To whatever other cause the refusal of the House of Lords to join in the late Order of the Commons is to be ascribed, it was most likely due in some measure to the presence of the Bishops in that Assembly: it is easy therefore to understand that the Lower House would be anxious to remove such an impediment to their own schemes, and that the Upper House would not be altogether reluctant to concur in a proposition which might lessen the chances of collision between the two bodies. "The design of throwing the Bishops out of the House of Lords" had already been "going on," and "the Temporal Lords were contriving" it, in part, by "treating them with unusual neglect in the Parliament House:" but now, as Collier continues—

"The Bishops interest giving way in the Upper House, the Commons resolved to push the opportunity: to this purpose Mr. Pym, at a Conference with the Lords [on the 26th October] made a speech in which he mentioned "two Propositions"

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this opposition
a proof that they
were legal.

Unfavourable
position of the
Bishops in the
House of Lords.

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Propositions
of the Commons
against them.

which, he said, the House of Commons held to be “of very
“great importance, and necessary to be put in execution at”
that “time.”—

“*First*, That those thirteen Bishops which stand accused before
your Lordships for making the late Book of Canons, and putting
them in execution, may be excluded from their Votes in Parliament.

“*Secondly*, That all the Bishops may be excluded from having any
Vote in that *Act*, come from the House of Commons to your Lord-
ships, entitled, *An Act to take away the Bishops Votes in Par-
liament, &c.*”—*Eccl. Hist.* p. 807.

They send a
Remonstrance
to the King
against the
Bishops.

On the 22nd November the Lower House, after an adverse
speech from Sir E. Deering, “carried but by a few,” and
after a Debate which “lasted from three in the Afternoon till
“three in the Morning,” a *Remonstrance*” to the King, con-
taining two hundred and six Paragraphs “*of the State of the*
“*Kingdom* :” it was presented to the King, at Hampton Court,
on the 1st of December (after his return from Scotland on the
25th November) together with a Petition that his Majesty
among other things, would consent to deprive the Bishops of
their Votes: the *Remonstrance* alleged, as one cause lying at
the root of the evils of which they complained, that there
was a design to subvert “the Fundamental Laws of the
“Kingdom,” and that among the “Actors and Promoters” of
it, were—

“2. The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who
cherish Formality and Superstition, as the natural Effects and
more probable Supports of their own Ecclesiastical Tyranny, and
Usurpation.”

They further complain of them that—

“85. The Archbishop and other Bishops and Clergy continued
the Convocation [of 1640], and by a new Commission, turned it into
a Provincial Synod, in which by an unheard of Presumption, they
made Canons that contain in them many matters, contrary to the
King’s Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of the
Realm, to the Right of Parliament, to the Property and Liberty of
the Subject, and Matters tending to Sedition and of dangerous con-
sequence, thereby establishing their own Usurpations, Justifying their
Altar Worship, and those other Superstitious Innovations, which
they formerly introduced without warrant of Law.”—*Rush. Hist.*
Coll. vol. I. pt. 3, pp. 439 and 444.

The King’s reply
to it.

The King replied to it by remarking, among other state-
ments, that, he did not admit everything to be true which was

contained in it, especially the allegation that there was “a Wicked and Malignant Party prevalent in the Government” and in the “Privy Council;” and with regard to complaints of *Innovations* in Religion he said—

“Unto that clause which concerneth Corruptions (as you stile them) in Religion, in Church Government, and in Discipline, and the removing of such unnecessary *Ceremonies* as weak Consciences might check at: That for any *Illegal* Innovations which may have crept in, We shall willingly concur in the removal of them. That if our Parliament shall advise Us to call a National Synod, which may duly examine such Ceremonies as give just cause of offence to any, We shall take it into consideration, and apply Ourselves to give due satisfaction therein: but we are very sorry to hear in such *general* terms, *Corruption* in Religion objected, since we are persuaded in Our conscience, that no Church can be found upon the Earth that professeth the true Religion with more Purity of Doctrine than the Church of *England* doth, nor where the Government and Discipline are jointly more beautified, and free from *superstition*, than, as they are here established by Law.”—*Ibid*, p. 452.

The Order, however, of the Commons, notwithstanding its illegality, had already begun to do its intended work: Heylin (who, as a contemporary writer, is a valuable witness), referring to this act of *Pym's*, says:—

“The first great interruption which was made at the officiating of the public Liturgy, was made upon a day of Humiliation, when all the Members of the House of Commons were assembled at *St. Margaret's in Westminster*. At what time, as the Priest began the second service at the Holy Table, some of the *Puritans* or *Presbyterians* began a Psalm; and were therein followed by the rest in so loud a tune, that the Minister was thereby forced to desist from his duty, and leave the Preacher to perform the rest of that day's solemnity. This gave encouragement enough to the rest of that Party to set as little by the Liturgy in the Countrey, as they did in the City; especially in all such usages and rites thereof, as they were pleased to bring within the compass of *Innovations*. But they were more encouraged to it by an Order of the Lower House bearing date on the 8th of *September, Anno 1641*.

“Hereupon followed such an alteration in all Churches and Chapels, that the Church-Wardens pulled down more in a Week or two, than all the Bishops and Clergy had been able to raise in two Weeks of Years. And hereupon there followed such irreverence in God's public Service, and such a dis-continuance of it in too many places, that his Majesty was compelled to give new life to it by his Proclamation of the tenth of *December*; and taking order in the same for *punishing all the wilful Contemners and Disturbers of it*. But this Proclamation being published in that point of time in which the Commons were intent on the War of *Ireland*, and the *Puritans*

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Charles I.

The ill effects of
the Commons'
Order,

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as much busied in blowing the trumpet of Sedition in the Kingdom of *England*; it only *shew'd the King's good meaning, with his want of Power.*"—*Hist. of the Presbyterians*, p. 341. 4o. 1670. And *Walker's Sufferings of Clergy*, p. 25.

compel the
King to issue
a Proclamation
against it :

The Proclamation declared that, as it was the duty of the Crown to preserve "the Peace and tranquility of the "Church,"—

"His Majesty doth therefore charge and command, *That Divine Service be performed in this his Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales*, as is appointed by the Laws and Statutes Established in this Realm ;

"His Majesty doth further command that no Parsons, Vicars, or Curates in their several Parishes shall presume to introduce any Rite, or Ceremonies, other than those which are established by the Laws and Statutes of the Land."—*Rush. Hist. Coll.* vol. I. pt. 3, p. 457.

probable advantage taken of it by the opponents of Ornaments.

The Proclamation, doubtless, was far from being *intended* to afford any sanction to those who were then busily striving to abolish Ornaments and Ceremonies, yet they would hardly be slow to claim it, and perhaps it may have strengthened the proceedings of

"A Committee [which on Feb. 25, 1641-2] sate in the Court of Wards concerning *Relicks, Crucifixes, Organs, and Images* in Churches, wherefore it was ordered by the House, that between this time and a prefixed day in the Month of *May*, all those *Relicks* should be taken down, and in case of the Church-Wardens neglect herein, any two Justices of the Peace, within that County, should have power to Execute the Parliament's commands: and some were so zealous in taking down Crosses and Crucifixes, as they took down the *Sign of Charing Cross*, being the sign of a *Tavern*, near that place where *Charing Cross* stood."—*Rush. Hist. Coll.* vol. I. pt. 3, p. 558.

Riotous attempts to keep the Bishops out of the House of Lords.

Attempts had been made to induce the Bishops to yield their right of voting, in order to satisfy the Commons, upon, as Collier says,

"an Assurance that the Temporal Lords would be bound in honour to support them in all the Essentials of their character. But the Bishops had too much Discretion and Courage to betray their interest, and throw up their Peerage. But this Business, though now in agitation, was not finished till two Months forward: in the mean time, to succeed against this repulse, and batter the resolution of the Lords' *Spiritual*, the Apprentices were drawn down to *Westminster*, to assist the faction, and over-awe the honest party. These Auxiliaries came to the Parliament doors in great bodies, and cry'd, *No*

Bishops. And for a further reinforcement, Petitions to the *Houses* came up from several Counties, setting forth, that the Bishops were a common *Nusance*; that the decay of Trade, the clogging and disappointing of all Business in Parliament, was occasioned by the Bishops. From hence they advanc'd to downright railing at and insulting their persons, and throwing stones at them; so that they could not come to the Lords House, either by Land or Water, without apparent hazard of their lives. The rabble thus flesh'd and encourag'd, made their next assault on *Westminster Abbey*: and some of them spake out, their design was to pull down the Organs, and deface the Monuments. Archbishop *Williams* [the Dean], to prevent this horrible ravage, and secure the *Regalia* from being seized, made fast the doors, and maintain'd the Abbey against them. However, the *Reforming Mob* press'd on, and endeavour'd to force their entrance; but were beaten off with Stones from the Leads by the Scholars, the Choir, and the Officers: and in this skirmish one Sir — *Wiseman* a *Kentish Knight*, who headed the rabble, was killed by a Tile from the Battlements. But the Assailants being not yet broken, some of the Archbishop's retinue sally'd out, and with Sword in Hand, forc'd them to retire and disperse.

"The Houses taking no notice of this Outrage, the Tumult continuing in the same phrenzy and numbers, and the Bishops going to the Parliament being altogether impracticable, they met at the *Dean of Westminster's Lodging's*, and subscribed a *Protestation* for preserving their Right of sitting in Parliament. It was drawn up by Archbishop *Williams* in the Form of a *Petition*, and was to be presented to his Majesty in the House of Peers. Five of the Sees being vacant, and some of the Bishops gone into the Country, it was sign'd only by Twelve, *viz.* the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *Durham*, *Litchfield*, *Norwich*, *St. Asaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Hereford*, *Oxford*, *Ely*, *Gloucester*, *Peterborough* and *Llandaff*."—*Eccl. Hist.* pp. 817-8.

The Bishops
compelled to
protest against
acts done in
their absence

The *Protestation* which was designed to oppose such proceedings as the "*Root and Branch*" Bill for abolishing *Episcopacy* and introducing *Presbyterian Government*, was dated December 29th, 1641, and declared "*all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations,*" passed "*in their absence, since the 27th*" of that month, and such as should be passed during their compulsory exclusion, to be "*in themselves null and of none effect.*" It was entrusted to the Lord Keeper *Littleton* to present to the King when he should come into the House of Peers, but, contrary to his instructions, he communicated it to "some unfriendly Members of both Houses." Upon which "the Anti-Episcopal Lords desired a Conference with the Commons": the latter "resolv'd to seize the opportunity, and make use of the pre-

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Charles I.

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impeached and
committed to
the Tower.

tended advantage: thus within half an hour after the *Instrument* was put into their hands, they sent up to the Lords, and without farther Debate Impeach'd the Twelve Bishops, who signed the Protestation, of High Treason. (*Ld. Clarendon. Rushworth, Hist. Collect.* p. 3, p. 467.)—*Collier Eccl. Hist.* p. 819.

They were all committed to the *Tower*, on the 30th Dec., except the Bishops of *Durham* and *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, who “in regard of their Age and ill Health had” as Collier observes “the favour of being remitted to the custody of the *Gentleman Usher*.” Having put in their several denials by way of answer to the Impeachment—

“the Bishops petition'd the House of Lords for Tryal or Bail: upon which the Lords assign'd them the 25th of *January* for their Tryal, but remanding them in the mean time to their former confinement; where they continu'd till the beginning of May the next year [i. e. 1642]; at which time without making any application to the *Commons*, the Lords admitted them to Bail. In short, they liv'd where they pleas'd, without ever being call'd upon for their Tryal; which is another clear evidence they had done nothing unwarrantable by Law. For had they been any ways obnoxious, their enemies would not have fail'd in the Prosecution.”—*Eccl. Hist.* p. 819.

1641-2.

The King assents
to a Bill for
excluding the
Bishops.

Meanwhile, the Bill for excluding the Bishops having passed the two Houses in *February*, the King was at length induced, partly by a Message from the Parliament, partly by the mistaken advice of those about him upon whom he relied, to give his Royal Assent to it at *Canterbury* on the 14th of *February*.

Soon after this, according to Collier,

“The King, fore'd by Tumults from *White-hall*, goes into *Yorkshire*, and prepares for Defence. During his stay in this Country, the remarkable *Nineteen Propositions* were sent him by the two Houses; the Eighth of these Propositions relating to the Church, desir'd, *That his Majesty would be pleas'd to consent to such a Reformation of the Church Government and Liturgy, as both Houses of Parliament should advise: And that for this purpose they intended to consult with Divines, as was expressed in their Declaration.* ’Twas likewise desir'd, *That his Majesty wou'd contribute his best assistance for raising a sufficient Maintenance for Preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom: And that he wou'd be pleas'd to give his consent to Laws for taking away Innovations and Superstitions, and Pluralities, and against scandalous Ministers.*”—*Eccl. Hist.* p. 820.

The King in reply repeated his answer to the *Remonstrance*, mentioned at p. 421, and reminded them of his Message when

he signed the Bill relative to the Bishops' Votes, in which he had expressed his willingness

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Charles I.

“to refer the whole consideration to the wisdom of Parliament, which he desir'd them to enter into speedily; that the present Dis-tractions about the same might be composed; that he desir'd not to be pressed to any single Act on his part, till the whole was so digested and settled by both Houses, that he might clearly see what was fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away.”—*Ibid.*

Further prop-
osals to the
King for *Church
Reform* not ac-
cepted.

Early in the following year, Feb. 2nd, 1642-3, further “Propositions for Accommodation” were sent to the King, who was then at Oxford, “from the Members at *Westminster.*” One of the Articles was:

1642-3.

“That his Majesty would be pleased to give his Royal Assent for taking away superstitious Innovations, and sign the Bill for the utter abolishing and taking away all Archbishops, and Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chantors, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors and Sacrists, and all Vicars Choral and Choristers, old Vicars or new Vicars of any Cathedral or College Church; and all other their under Officers out of the Church of England. They likewise desired his Majesty's Assent to the Bill against scandalous Ministers, to the Bill against Pluralities, and to the Bill for Consultation with godly, religious, and learned Divines; that his Majesty would be pleased to pass such other Bills for settling of Church Government as upon Consultation with the Assembly of the said Divines, shall be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament, and by them to be presented to his Majesty.”—*Ibid.* p. 821.

The Parliamentary Commissioners, however, who waited upon the King were so tied to their instructions that no understanding was arrived at: but this did not perplex the Houses; for, upon the return of the Commissioners, they proceeded to pass an *Ordinance* enabling them to convene an *Assembly* by their own authority—their new Convocation in fact—which they chose on the 12th of June,^a and which consisted principally of *ten* Noblemen; *several* Members of the House of Commons; Archbishop Usher, and the Bishops of *Exeter* and *Bristol*; *two* Episcopal Divines; *thirty-three* of the Presbyterian party, viz. *eighteen* belonging to Cambridge and *fifteen* to Oxford; and some who had previously gone to *Holland* to avoid the penalties for Nonconformity. They so conform to the practice of the *Convocation* as to meet

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The Parliament
organizes a new
Convocation.

^a See Abp. Laud's remarks upon this, p. 434, Note a.

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in Henry the *Seventh's* Chapel; also they opened their proceedings with a *Sermon* by their Prolocutor at which both Houses of Parliament were present. "And now," as Collier remarks, "the City Preachers prayed for a blessing upon their debates, and Books were dedicated to them, in the style of the *Most Sacred Assembly*."—*Eccl. Hist.* p. 824.

Another
Ordinance
against Church
Ornaments.

The Ecclesiastical Government being thus practically vested in the two Houses of Parliament, it need be no surprise that on August 28, 1643, another Ordinance passed, similar to that of 1641, directing that "*All Monuments of Superstition or Idolatry should be removed and demolished.*" This Ordinance

"in the Beginning of the next Summer was reinforc'd with another of a resembling purport^a: By virtue of this latter provision, *all representations of any Angel or Saint, in any Cathedral, Collegiate, or Parish Church, or Chapel, or in any open Place, was to be taken away, defac'd, and utterly demolished. The Chancel ground of every Church or Chapel, raised for any Altar or Communion Table, was to be levell'd: no Copes, Surplices, superstitious Vestments, Roods, or Holy Water Fonts, as they call'd them, were to be us'd: no Cross, Crucifix, or representation of any Angel or Saint was to remain upon any place or other Furniture belonging to the Worship of God: and all Organs were taken away, and with the other superstitious Vestments above mentioned, utterly defac'd (Scobell's Collect, &c. fol. 69).*"—*Collier E. H.* Vol. ii. p. 830.

It proves their
extensive use.

The Order itself, however, is a proof that the things which it condemned must have been then to a great extent in use; and the usurping steps by which the Parliament had attained the *power* to issue such an Order, together with the strange combination of the Ornaments and Vestments which it abolished, furnish strong evidence of the general lawfulness of what was prohibited: while the following sentence from Walker indicates one motive for their acts; he says—

"Mr. Greenhill; in his discourse before the Commons in 1643, saith thus: '*If Justice be at a stand, and cannot take hold of Living Delinquents, to keep the Axe from Rust, let Justice be executed on liveless Delinquents; are there no Altars, no high Places, no Crucifixes?*' (Dissenter's Sayings, Part 2, p. 23.)"—*Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 17.

^a This was "An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition:" and is dated, "9 Maii, 1644."—*Collection of Ordinances, &c.*, fol. 1646.

A question this to which the same writer gives one answer when he relates that on:—

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“April 17, 1644, ‘The Candlesticks, Crucifixes (forsooth), and other Plate, that stood heretofore upon the Altar,’ [of St. Paul’s Cathedral] were order’d to be sold by the *Committee at Grocer’s Hall*, and the Money to be employ’d for the Public Safety.”—*Walker’s Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 13, fol. 1714.

Effects of the Order.

The Episcopate being abolished, some substitute was necessary; accordingly

An Assembly substituted for the Episcopate.

“In *October* following, an *Ordinance* was passed touching *Ordination*. By this Provision, some *Assembly-men* of Distinction, and certain *London* Ministers, or any Seven or more of them were impower’d to *lay their Hands* on such persons as they found qualify’d for the Holy Ministry. To this a Clause of Privilege was added, that all Persons so ordained, should be reputed Ministers of the Church of *England*, sufficiently authoriz’d for any Office or Employment in it, and capable of all Advantages appertaining to the same.” *Collier Eccl. Hist.*, p. 830.

“Archbishop Laud having been three years imprisoned, his Jurisdiction and Patronage seized, and his Estate sequester’d, was now impeached of High-Treason before the Lords.” (*Collier E. H.*, vol. 2, p. 830.) The charge was first made, December 18th, 1640. To use his own words—

Impeachment of Abp. Laud.

“Upon this day, Mr. Densell Hollis, second son to John Earl of Clare, by order from the House of Commons, came up to the Lords, and accused me of high treason; and told the Lords, they would make proof thereof in convenient time; but desired in the meantime that I might be committed to safe custody.”—*Hist. of Troubles and Tryal*. Laud’s Works, vol. III. p. 275. Ang. Cath. Lib.

This was accordingly done: a permission having been granted him “with some difficulty,” as he says, “to go home” to Lambeth “to fetch some papers, necessary for” his “defence.” After he had “been full ten weeks in restraint, at Mr. Maxwell’s house,” the Officer of the Black Rod, the

* “December 18, 1640. It is this day ordered, that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (being accused of high treason by the House of Commons, in their own names, and in the name of the whole Kingdom of England) be committed to the safe custody of the Gentleman Usher attending this high Court, and that he be sequestered from the said House until his Grace shall clear himself of the accusation that shall be laid against him by the said House.

“The Lords further ordered that no member of the House should visit the Archbishop without leave of the House.”—*Laud’s Troubles and Tryal*, vol. III. p. 276. Note.

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Charges were brought against him, in fourteen Articles, on Feb. 26th, 1640-1, and were read to him at the bar of the House of Lords: having made a short general reply to them, he was re-committed to custody, and on Monday, March 1st, was compelled to exchange his former lodging for the Tower. There he found himself entirely at the mercy of Parliament which, professing to regard his Office, *compelled* him to do Official acts: thus they, mockingly, *asked* him to present his vacant Benefices to men whom they nominated, resolved all the while, of course, not to heed his refusal—a state of things most painful to the Archbishop; who knew well that continued resistance on his part would only increase their rage against him, and from which he was rejoiced to be relieved by an Ordinance of May 16th, 1643, which prohibited him from giving any Benefice or Spiritual promotion until after his Trial, and appointing his Vicar-General to discharge that Office.

Conduct of the
Parliament to-
wards him while
in prison.

On the 31st May, 1643, *Pryn*, his great opponent, armed with a Warrant from both Houses, came to the Tower to search his Papers: "He took from me," says the Archbishop,

"twenty and one bundles of papers, which I had prepared for my defence; . . . a little book or diary, containing all the occurrences of my life; and my book of Private Devotions:" "he promised me a faithful restitution of them within three or four days, yet to this day, (being almost five months after) I had received but three bundles of the twenty and one which he had from me,"—*Ibid.* vol. IV. pp. 26 and 35.

nor, indeed, were they ever restored to him.

His Trial.

On the 24th of October, *Pryn* having, as *Laud* says, "hammered out something," he was served "with a Copy of ten additional Articles," and was required to make his "answer in writing by the thirtieth of the same month," but owing to various causes, chiefly because *Pryn* was not prepared, the Trial did not commence until Tuesday, March 12th, 1643-4. From the Archbishop's Defence I purpose to extract a few passages as best showing his own view of the *Lawfulness* of those Ornaments and Ceremonies, the revival or introduction of which he had sanctioned in his own Chapel or elsewhere. And first, with regard to the position of the Com-

munion-Table "at the upper end of the Chancel," the Archbishop, on the fifth day of his Examination, said—

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"That it is no innovation against law, appears by the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, where it is commanded expressly to be set there. The words are: 'The holy table in every church' (not cathedrals only) shall be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood.' Now all men know, that with us in England the altar stood north and south, at the upper end of the chancel; and to set it east and west had been cross the place where the altar stood, and not in it. And this being law in the beginning of the Reformation, cannot now be an innovation."—*Troubles and Trial*, vol. 4, p. 121.

His defence of
the Communion-
Table placed
Altarwise:

Again, the Archbishop defended Painted Windows thus:—

of Painted
Windows:

"But here the statute of Edward VI. was charged against me, 'which requires the destruction of all images, as well in glass windows as elsewhere.'" And this was also earnestly pressed by Mr. Brown, when he repeated the sum of the charge against me in the House of Commons. To which I answered at both times: First, that the statute of Edward VI. spake of other images; and that images in glass-windows were neither mentioned nor meant in that law: the words of the statute are, 'Any images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth; graven, carved, or painted, taken out of any church, &c., shall be destroyed,' &c., and not reserved to any superstitious use. So here's not a word of glass-windows, nor the images that are in them. Secondly, that the contemporary practice, (which is one of the best expounders of the meaning of any law) did neither destroy all coloured windows, though images were in them in the Queen's time, nor abstain from setting up of new, both in her and King James his time.

"But to the statute Mr. Brown added, 'that the destruction of all images, as well in windows as elsewhere, was commanded by the Homilies^b of the Church of England, and those Homilies confirmed in the Articles of Religion, and the Articles by Act of Parliament.' This was also urged before; and my answer was, first, that though we subscribed generally to the doctrine of the Homilies, as good; yet we did not express or mean thereby to justify and maintain every particular phrase or sentence contained in them. And secondly, that the very words of the Article to which we subscribe, are, 'That the Homilies do contain a godly and a wholesome doctrine, and necessary for those times.' Godly, and wholesome for all times; but necessary for those, when people were newly weaned from the worship of images: afterwards, neither the danger, nor the scandal alike.^c—*Ibid.* p. 199.

^a 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10. §. 2. See p. 56.

^b Another reading suggested by Abp. Sancroft is—"that all images, as well in windows, as elsewhere, were condemned by the Homilies' &c.—*Troubles and Trial*, vol. IV. p. 200.

^c Compare the words of Bp. Burnet. See p. 194.

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Charles I.

Further; as to bowing towards the Communion Table, the Archbishop contended—

of Bowing
towards the
Altar:

“This was usual in Queen Elizabeth’s time: and one of them, which have written against the late Canons, confesses it was usual in the Queen’s time; but then adds, ‘that that was a time of ignorance.’ What, a time of such a reformation, and yet still a time of ignorance? I pray God the opposite be not a time of profaneness, and all is well. Shall I bow to men in each House of Parliament, and shall I not bow to God in His House, whither I do, or ought to come to worship Him? Surely I must worship God, and bow to Him, though neither altar nor communion-table be in the Church.

“‘For organs, candlesticks, a picture of a history at back of the altar, and copes at communions, and consecrations,’ First, these things have been in use ever since the Reformation. And it is not to be thought, that Queen Elizabeth and King James would have endured them all their time in their own chapel, had they been introductions for Popery. And for Copes, they are allowed at times of Communion, by the Canons of the Church. So that these, all or any, are very poor motives from whence to argue an ‘alteration of religion.’”—*Ibid.* p. 201.

of Consecrating
Churches and
Altar-Plate:

The Consecration of Altar Plate and of Churches he defended as having been practised “in all ages of the Church, especially since Constantine’s time, that religion hath had “public allowance”: he argued for it from Scripture; and declared that the only form he had used was that of Bishop Andrewes. Further it was complained of the Archbishop that “there was a fair crucifix in a piece of hangings hung up “behind the Altar,” in the Chapel at Whitehall: to this he replied, *Thirdly*, that if his accuser were offended

of the represen-
tation of the
Crucifixion over
the Altar at
Whitehall
Chapel:

“because it was a crucifix, why did not the old one offend Sir Henry’s conscience as much as the new? For the piece of hangings which hung constantly all the year at the back of the Altar, thirty years together upon my own knowledge, and somewhat above, long before, (as I offered proof by the vestry men,) and so all the time of Sir Henry’s being in Court, had a crucifix wrought in it, and yet his conscience never troubled at it. 4. *Fourthly*, that he could not possibly think that I intended any Popery in it, considering how hateful he knew me to be at Rome, beyond any my predecessors since the Reformation. For so he protested at his return from thence himself.”—*Ibid.* p. 207.

of the Credence-
Table.

To the charge of using a *Credence Table* in his Chapel at Lambeth, he replies—

“Where’s the offence? For first, the Communion Table was little,

and there was hardly room for the Elements to stand conveniently there, while the service was in administration. And secondly, I did not this without example ; for both Bishop Andrews and some other Bishops used it so all their time, and no exception taken."—*Ibid.* p. 210.

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Charles I.

And, once more, to the allegation that "There was a Crucifix in Lincoln College Chapel since" his "time"; he says—

"If there be, 'tis more than I know. My Ld. of York [Williams] that now is, when he was Bp. of Lincoln, worthily bestowed much cost upon that Chapel; and if he did set up a crucifix, I think it was before I had aught to do there."—*Ibid.* p. 221.

1644.

The Archbishop's trial lasted *twenty* days, from March 12th 1643-4, to July 1644: on the 2nd September, according to an Order from the Lords, he was allowed to make a Recapitulation of his whole defence, and on the 14th of the same month his Counsel were heard on the general charge of Treason and the proof alleged in the Articles exhibited against him. The House of Commons, on Nov. 13th, voted him "guilty of high treason," and sent up their Ordinance to the Lords, who, however, refused to affirm it until Jan. 4th, 1644-5, when they "passed the Ordinance of Attainder; whereby it was ordained, that he should suffer death, as in cases of high treason. And on the 6th of January it was ordered by both Houses, that he should suffer accordingly on Friday the 10th Accordingly, on the 10th of January, he was conducted from the Tower to the scaffold on Tower Hill," and there was beheaded, having made a speech to the people in which he said—

He is found
guilty of High
Treason;

1644-5.
and beheaded.

"I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of England established by law; in that profession I have ever since 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. What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep a uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt."—*Ibid.* p. 434.

His declaration
of faithfulness
to the Church of
England.

He was "decently interred," says Dr. Heylin,

"in the Church of All-hallows, Barking, (a church of his own patronage and jurisdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England. In which it may be noted as a thing

1644-5.
Charles I.

remarkable, that being, whilst he lived, the greatest champion of the Common Prayer-Book here by law established, he had the honour, being dead, to be buried by the form therein prescribed, after it had been long disused, and almost reprobated in most churches of London."—*Troubles and Trial*, vol. IV. p. 439.

The Lords prohibit the use of The Prayer-Book and substitute The Directory.

The same day that the House of Lords passed the Ordinance of Attainder against the Archbishop of Canterbury, Jan. 4, 1644-5, they likewise prohibited the Book of Common Prayer, and substituted the Directory; this Ordinance was reprinted on August 23, 1645, with the addition—that the Prayer Book should not be used in any private family: a *penalty* was also now annexed to the Ordinance of *Five Pounds* for the first offence, *Ten* for the second, and for the third, *a year's imprisonment without Bail or Mainprize*. The King issued a Proclamation against the Ordinance on the 13th November following, in which—after referring to the useful character of the Prayer Book, to its establishment by Law, and to the mischievous character of the Directory, and to its enforcement contrary to the Law—he commanded the Prayer Book still to be used, concluding the Proclamation in the following words:—

The King's Proclamation against their Order.

"And we do hereby let them know, That whensoever it shall please God to restore us to Peace, and the Laws to their due course, wherein we doubt not of His assistance in His good time, we shall require a strict Account and Prosecution against the breakers of the said Law, according to the scope thereof. And in the mean time, in such places where we shall come, and find the Book of Common Prayer suppressed and laid aside, and the Directory introduced, we shall account all those that shall be Aiders, Actors, or Contrivers therein, to be persons disaffected to the Religion and Laws established: And this they must expect, besides the great Loss they shall sustain by suffering themselves to be deprived of the Use and Comfort of the said Book."—*Rush. Hist. Coll.* pt. iv. vol. I. p. 208.

1646.

The Parliament abolishes Archbishops and Bishops.

On the 9th of October 1646, the two Houses passed another Ordinance

"For the abolishing of Archbishops and Bishops and providing for the payment of the just and necessary debts of the Kingdom, into which the same hath been drawn by a War, mainly promoted by and in favour of the said Archbishops and Bishops, and other their Adherents and Dependents," by seizing and settling upon trust all their Episcopal possessions, Lands, and "Hereditaments whatsoever for the use of the Commonwealth."—*Ibid.* p. 373.

Various attempts were made to induce the King to give

his Royal Assent to this outrageous proposal; not indeed, as the event shewed, that it mattered much to the Parliament, but that it would have facilitated their designs, and would have legalized their intended spoliation: at length the King gave a partial consent, agreeing to dispense with the *Ecclesiastical* though not with the *Spiritual* Organism of the Church: for it is related that—

1648.

Charles I.

The King would only consent to dispense with the *Hierarchy*, not with the *Episcopate*.

“This day [October 23, 1648] Sir *Peter Killigrew* returned from the Isle of Wight, and brought a message from his Majesty of the 21st of *October*, of his Majesty's further concessions touching Episcopacy, :—

“1. He hath particularly consented to the abolishing of Archbishops, Chancellors, Deans, and Chapters, &c., and the whole Hierarchy, save Bishops.”—*Rush. Hist. Coll.* pt. 4, vol. II. p. 1301.

This was voted unsatisfactory: and the King, in answer to further statements of the House, replied, on the 18th November, that he could not

“with a good conscience consent to the total Abolition of the Function and Power of Bishops, nor to the intire and absolute Alienation of their Lands, as is desired, because he is yet persuaded in his judgment that the former is of Apostolical Institution, and that to take away the latter is Sacrilege; neither can his Majesty communicate in a public Form of Divine Service, and administration of the Sacrament, where it is wholly uncertain what the Minister will offer to God; and therefore he cannot recede from his former Answer in any of those particulars.”—*Ibid.* p. 1334.

Foiled in this their scheme, and crossed in some other plans, the Parliament determined not to send any more addresses to the Crown, but to act irrespective of the King: having thus seized upon the Supreme Power, and made themselves masters of him by whom it was lawfully wielded, it did not require, probably, much argument to persuade themselves that they could with advantage be rid of a most inconvenient obstacle to their cherished designs; nor any very forced violation of conscience to inflict capital punishment, only two months afterwards, upon one whom they had come to treat as an imprisoned subject: accordingly the King was beheaded January 30th, 1648-9.

The Parliament resolved not to address the King: and at last executed him.

Of the well known occurrences which happened to the Church of England, during the fifteen years which transpired

1649-60.

Charles I.

Providential
care of the
Church of
England during
the miseries of
the Common-
wealth.

from the abolition of the Book of Common Prayer to the termination of the Commonwealth, it is needless to say more here than that—considering the misguided zeal, or malevolent hatred, which, under the disguise of Scriptural purity, extirpated our compendium of Ancient Rituals; the politico-religious spirit, which, clad in the garb of Ecclesiastical reform,^a banished the Apostolical Ministry; the fanatical fury which, under pretence of opposition to idolatry, plundered and desecrated the Churches^b—looking, I say, at all this, the marvel is that sufficient reverence, faith, and veneration remained wherewith to revive the Church of England: though the fact that she was, in a great degree, restored to her spiritual activity, seems an undeniable attestation that she was watched with a Providential care, and brought safely through this and other trials, because she is a component portion of that Mystical Body of which He is the Head Who, one must believe, has hitherto guided and sustained her; and will never fail of His protection, if she be but true to the FAITH which He revealed, and valiant for the *Doctrine* and

^a The “Assembly” chosen to conduct these Reforms is mentioned at p. 425. Archbishop Laud, in his History of his troubles and trial, makes the following observations upon this Body:—

“The Names of these Synodical men are to be seen in the Ordinance, printed Junii 12; where any man that will, may see a great, if not the greater part of them, Brownists, or Independents, or New-England-Ministers, if not worse, or at the best refractory persons to the doctrine or discipline, or both, of the Church of England established by law, and now brought together to reform it. An excellent conclave! But I pray God, that befall not them, which Tully observes fell upon Epicurus, *Si qua corrigere voluit, deteriora fecit*. He made everything worse that he went about to mend. I shall for my part never deny, but that the Liturgy of the Church of England, may be made better; but I am sure withal it may easily be made worse. And howsoever, it would become this Synod well, to remember, that there is a Convocation of the English Prelates and Clergy, lawfully chosen and summoned, and by no supreme or legal authority as yet dissolved. And can there be two national Synods at one time, but that one must be irregular. Belike we shall fall to it in the Donatists’ way: they set up *altare contra altare* in Africk; and these will set up *synodum contra synodum* in England: and this, without God’s infinite mercy, will bring forth a schism, fierce enough to rent and tear religion out of this kingdom; which God, for the merits of Christ, forbid.”—vol. IV. p. 29. Ang. Cath. Lib.

^b Stow, in giving an account of the monies which had been collected for the Repairs of St. Paul’s, after the fire (*viz.*, £101,330 4s. 8d., from 1631—43), mentions that the Civil war put a stop to the repairs, and that the Parliament seized the balance of the funds, and then he adds, “The next following year, [*i.e.*, 1644] (Isaac Pennington, being Lord Mayor) the Famous Cross in the Churchyard was, (with the rest of the Crosses about London and Westminster) by further order of the said Parliament pulled down to the ground.”—*Stow’s London*, vol. I. bk. 3, c. 8, p. 152. And Archbishop Laud’s Diary records thus,—“Maii. 2, [1643] Tuesday, The Cross in Cheapside taken down.”—*Works*, vol. III. p. 251.

the *Discipline* which Antiquity, Universality, and Consent, sanction as being its legitimate developments.

1660.
Charles II.

The Throne, usurped by the Protector Cromwell since the death of the late King, was taken possession of by his son,

CHARLES THE 2ND, ON MAY THE 29TH, 1660,

The King had been waited upon at the Hague by a Commission consisting of six Peers and twelve Members of the Lower House of Parliament; the Corporation of London sent fourteen Representatives; and "about eight or ten" Presbyterian Divines went in company with these Commissioners." Collier relates that—

Deputation to
Charles 2nd at
the Hague.

"These *Divines* took the freedom to suggest: That the *Common-Prayer* had long been discontinued in England: That many of the people had never once heard it; and therefore it would be much wonder'd at, if his Majesty at his first landing should revive the use of it in his own Chapel: And therefore to prevent the People's being shocked at such uncustomary Worship, they intreated him not to use it in Form, and by *Rubrical* Directions. But only to order the reading some part of with the intermixture of good Prayers.

"The King reply'd with somewhat of Resentment, that since he gave them their Liberty; he should by no means resign his own: That he had always used that Form of *Service*: That he thought it the best in the World; and that he had never discontinu'd it in Places, where it was more dislik'd, than he hop'd it was by them: That when he came into *England*, he would not make any strict enquiry how they officiated in other Churches; tho' he did not question he should find the *Liturgy* regularly receiv'd in many Places: But let that be as it would, he was resolv'd not to suffer any other publick Devotion in his own Chapel."

The King refused to comply with the Presbyterian desire that the Prayer Book and the Surplice might not be revived.

"These Addressers despairing to carry this Point, importun'd his Majesty, 'That the use of the *Surplice* might be discontinued by his Chaplains, because the sight of this habit would give great offence to the People.' But this Request made no Impression. The King told them plainly, 'he would not be restrain'd himself, when others had so much indulgence; That the *Surplice* had been always reckon'd a decent habit, and constantly worn in the Church of *England*, all these late ill Times; and that he had all along retain'd the Use of it in foreign Parts; that tho' he thought himself oblig'd for the present to connive at Disorder, and tolerate a Failure of solemnity and Decorum in religious Worship, yet he would never bet any such Irregularity by his own Practice, nor discountenance the ancient and laudable Customs of the Church in which he was bred.' (Ld. Clarendon, *Hist. Rebel*, vol. III.)

"This firmness in his Majesty was no small disappointment to these *Divines*: They expected to have found him more compliant

1660.
Charles II.

with their schemes. However, they declin'd giving him any more trouble upon this head, hoping to meet with a more favourable opportunity in England."—*Collier Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 870.

The result of this was, that—

"Immediately after the return of the King, the Liturgy of the Church of England was restored to his Majesty's chapel; and a few days afterwards, the two houses of Parliament ordered that Prayers should be read before them according to the ancient practice."—*Card. His. of Conf.* p. 249.

Shortly after this, by an arrangement which his Majesty appears to have proposed, the Presbyterians presented to the King a Paper called, "*The first address and proposals of the Ministers*": in this it is complained, among other matters which they conceived "were amiss in the Episcopal government, as it was practised before the year 1640,"

The Liturgy revived at the Restoration.

The King desires the Presbyterians to state their complaints and proposed Reforms.

"4. That some of the Bishops exercised an arbitrary power, as by sending forth their book of articles in their Visitations, and therein unwarrantably enquiring into several things, and swearing the Churchwardens to present accordingly. So also by many innovations and ceremonies imposed upon Ministers and people not required by law; and by suspending ministers at their pleasure."—*Ibid.* p. 281.

Accordingly, in their plan "for reforming" the various "evils" which they had pointed out, they "humbly crave" "leave to offer unto" the King certain proposals, of which, among those "*Concerning Ceremonies*," one is couched in the following words:—

"May it therefore please your Majesty, out of your princely care of healing our sad breaches, graciously to grant, that kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and such holy-days as are but of humane institution, may not be imposed upon such as do conscientiously scruple the observation of them: and that the use of the Surplice and Cross in Baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, rather than the name of Christ, or Emmanuel, or other names whereby that Divine Person, or either of the other Divine Persons, is nominated, may be abolished; these things being, in the judgment of the imposers themselves, but indifferent and mutable, in the judgment of others a rock of offence, and in the judgment of all not to be valued with the peace of the Church.

"We likewise humbly represent unto your most excellent Majesty, that divers ceremonies, which we conceive have no foundation in the law of the land, as erecting altars, bowing towards them, and such like, have been not only introduced, but in some places imposed; whereby an arbitrary power was usurped, divers ministers of the gospel, though conformable to the established

ceremonies, troubled, some reverend and learned Bishops offended, the Protestants grieved, and the Papists pleased, as hoping that those innovations might make way for greater changes."—*Ibid.* pp. 284-5.

Now, especially taking this statement in connexion with their prayer in this same paper—

"That no bishops, nor any ecclesiastical governors, may at any time exercise their government by their own private will or pleasure; but only by such rules, canons, and constitutions, as shall be *hereafter* by Act of Parliament ratified and established; . . ."—*Ibid.* p. 281.

Their proposition a proof that the alleged *Innovations* were lawful.

I cannot but ask whether this is not something like presumptive proof that the *innovations* referred to were really consistent with the law? It is evident, I think, that the Presbyterians felt that what they objected to could claim a sanction from the general Law of the Church of England; and, therefore, as on a former occasion (see pp. 413 & 418), they saw that their true policy and real security lay in some *new* Legal Code which, while abrogating all existing Ecclesiastical Laws, should be set forth by the Authority of Parliament.

To these Proposals the Bishops made a reply, in which—

"They pronounce the *Offices* in the *Common Prayer* altogether unexceptionable; and conceive the *Book* cannot be too strictly enjoined: especially when Ministers are not deny'd the exercise of their gifts in praying before and after Sermon; which liberty for extemporary or private compositions, stands only upon a late custom, without any foundation from Law or *Canons*: and that the common Use of this Practice comes only from connivance. However, they are contented to yield the *Liturgy* may be review'd, in case his Majesty thinks fit. As for the *Ceremonies*, they are unwilling to part with any of them; being clearly of opinion, that the satisfaction of some private persons ought not to overrule the publick Peace, and Uniformity of the Church: and that if any Abatements were made, it would only feed a Distemper, and encourage unquiet people to farther demands. (Calamy's *Life of Baxter.*)"—*Collier Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 873.

The Bishops' reply to the proposals.

Matters being in this state, the King proceeded to issue "*His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects of his Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, concerning Ecclesiastical affairs.*"

The King issues a Declaration upon the subject in which he proposes to

The Declaration bears date, 25th October, 1660, and contains the following words:—

"VIII. Lastly, concerning ceremonies, which have administered

1660.

Charles II.

so much matter of difference and contention, and which have been introduced by the wisdom and authority of the Church, for edification and the improvement of piety, we shall say no more, but that we have the more esteem of all, and reverence for many of them, by having been present in many of those churches where they are most abolished, or discontinued; and it cannot be doubted, but that as the Universal Church cannot introduce one ceremony in the worship of God, that is contrary to God's Word expressed in the Scripture, so every national Church, with the approbation and consent of the sovereign power, may, and hath always introduced such particular ceremonies, as in that conjunction of time are thought most proper for edification and the necessary improvement of piety and devotion in the people, though the necessary practice thereof cannot be deduced from Scripture; and that which before was, and in itself is indifferent, ceases to be indifferent, after it is once established by law: and therefore, our present consideration and work is to gratify the private consciences of those, who are grieved with the use of some ceremonies, by indulging to and dispensing with their omitting those Ceremonies, not utterly to abolish any which are established by law, (if any are practised contrary to law, the same shall cease,) which would be unjust, and of ill example; and to impose upon the conscience of some, for the satisfaction of the conscience of others, which is otherwise provided for. As it could not be reasonable that men should expect that we should ourself decline, or enjoin others to do so, to receive the blessed Sacrament upon our knees, which in our conscience is the most humble, most devout, and most agreeable posture for that holy duty, because some other men, upon reasons best, if not only, known to themselves, choose rather to do it sitting or standing; we shall leave all decisions and determinations of that kind, if they shall be thought necessary for a perfect and entire unity and uniformity throughout the nation, to the advice of a national synod, which shall be duly called after a little time, and a mutual conversation between persons of different persuasions hath mollified those distempers, abated those sharpnesses, and extinguished those jealousies, which make men unfit for those consultations: and upon such advice, we shall use our best endeavour, that such laws may be established, as may best provide for the peace of the Church and State. Provided that none shall be denied the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, though they do not use the gesture of kneeling in the act of receiving.

relieve private
consciencies, not
to alter the Law :

to summon a
National Synod :

to allow a liberty
as to the Cross in
Baptism,

“ In the mean time, out of compassion and compliance towards those who would forbear the Cross in Baptism, we are content that no man shall be compelled to use the same, or suffer for not doing it; but if any parent desire to have his child christened according to the form used, and the minister will not use the sign, it shall be lawful for that parent to procure another minister to do it; and if the proper minister shall refuse to omit that ceremony of the Cross, it shall be lawful for the parent, who would not have his child so baptized, to procure another minister to do it, who will do it according to his desire.

"No man shall be compelled to bow at the name of Jesus, or suffer in any degree for not doing it, without reproaching those who out of their devotion continue that ancient ceremony of the Church.

"For the use of the surplice, we are contented that all men be left to their liberty to do as they shall think fit, without suffering in the least degree for wearing or not wearing it; provided that this liberty do not extend to our own chapel, cathedral or collegiate churches, or to any college in either of our Universities, but that the several statutes and customs for the use thereof in the said places, be there observed as formerly."—*Card. Hist. Conf.* pp. 295-6.

Five months afterwards, as Collier says—

"The King having promised in his late *Declaration*, that the Liturgy should be reviewed, in order to have it farther accomodated to a general satisfaction; a Commission was granted to several persons of each persuasion for this purpose."—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 876.

The Instrument bears date, "25 March, in the thirteenth year of our Reign."—*i.e.*, 1661.

The terms of the Commission are very important: the Commissioners (who consisted of 12 *Bishops*,^a with 9 *Coadjutors*,^b and of 12 *Presbyterian Divines*,^c also with 9 *Coadjutors*,^d were—

"To advise upon and review the said Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient Liturgies, which have been used in the Church, in the primitive and purest times:..... to advise and consult upon and about the same, and the several objections and exceptions, which shall now be raised against the same. And if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections and amendments therein, as..... shall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient..... but avoiding, as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the forms and Liturgy wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England."—*Card. Hist. Conf.* p. 298.

The first Meeting of the Commissioners was held on the

^a *Frewen*, Abp. of York; *Sheldon*, Bp. of London; *Cosin*, Bp. of Durham; *Warner*, Bp. of Rochester; *King*, Bp. of Chichester, *Henchman*, Bp. of Sarum; *Morley*, Bp. of Worcester; *Sanderson*, Bp. of Lincoln; *Laney*, Bp. of Peterborough; *Walton*, Bp. of Chester; *Sterne*, Bp. of Carlisle; *Gauden*, Bp. of Exeter.

^b Dr. Earle, Dean of Westminster; Dr. Heylin; Dr. Hacket; Dr. Barwick; Dr. Gunning; Dr. Pearson; Dr. Pierce; Dr. Sparrow; Mr. Thorndike.

^c *Reynolds*, Bp. of Norwich; Dr. *Tuckney*, Master of St. John's, Cambridge; Dr. *Conant*, Reg. Prof. Div., Oxford; Dr. *Spurston*; Dr. *Wallis*, Sav. Prof. Geom., Oxford; Dr. *Manton*; Mr. *Calamy*; Mr. *Baxter*; Mr. *Jackson*; Mr. *Case*; Mr. *Clarke*; Mr. *Newcomen*.

^d Dr. *Horton*; Dr. *Jacomb*; Dr. *Bates*; Dr. *Cooper*; Dr. *Lightfoot*; Dr. *Collins*; Mr. *Woodbridge*; Mr. *Rawlinson*; Mr. *Drake*.

1660.

Charles II.

bowing at the Name of Jesus, and the use of the Surplice.

1661.

Royal Commission to review the Prayer Book.

The terms of it.

Meeting of the Commissioners.

1661. 15th of April, "in the Master's lodgings, in the Savoy, in Charles II. "the Strand," when the Bishop of London stated that—

"As the Nonconformists and not the Bishops had sought for the Conference, nothing could be done till the former had delivered their exceptions in writing, together with the additional forms and alterations which they desired."—*Card. Hist. Conf.* p. 259.

Exceptions of the
Presbyterians to
the Prayer-Book,
viz.

This was done on the 4th of May: in their paper of "*The exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer*," which was laid before the Episcopal Commissioners by the Presbyterian Divines, the following passages occur:—

That it contained
doubtful matter:

"First, that all the prayers, and other materials of the Liturgy may consist of nothing *doubtful or questioned* amongst pious, learned, and orthodox persons, inasmuch as the professed end of composing them is for the declaring of the unity and consent of all who join in the public worship; it being too evident that the limiting of Church-communion to things of *doubtful disputation*, hath been in all ages the ground of schism and separation, according to the saying of a learned person.*

"'To load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the most sovereign way to perpetuate schism to the world's end. Prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of the Scriptures, and administration of the Sacraments in the plainest, and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy, though nothing either of private opinion, or of church-pomp, of garments, or prescribed gestures, of imagery, of musick, of matter concerning the dead, of many superfluities which creep into the Church under the name of *order* and *decency*, did interpose itself. If the special guides and fathers of the Church would be a little sparing of incumbering churches with superfluities, or not over rigid, either in reviving obsolete customs, or imposing new, there would be far less cause of schism, or superstition; and all the inconvenience were likely to ensue, would be but this, they should in so doing yield a little to the imbecility of their inferiors; a thing which St. Paul would never have refused to do. Meanwhile, wheresoever false or suspected opinions are made a piece of Church-Liturgy, he that separates is not the schismatick; for it is alike unlawful to make profession of known or suspected falsehood, as to put in practice unlawful or suspected action.'

was not suited
to Protestants:

II. Further, we humbly desire that it may be seriously considered that as our first Reformers, out of their great wisdom, did at that time so compose the *Liturgy*, as to win upon the Papists, and to draw them into their Church-Communion, by varying as little as they well could from the Romish forms before in use; so whether in the present constitution, and state of things amongst us, we should not, according to the same rule of prudence and charity, have our

* "Mr. Hale's Tract on Schism."

Liturgy so compos'd, as to gain upon the judgments and affection of all those who in the substantial of the Protestant religion are of the same persuasions with ourselves.

1661.

Charles II.

“VI. That the religious observation of saints'-days appointed to be kept as holy-days, and the vigils thereof without any foundation (as we conceive) in Scripture, may be omitted. That if any be retained, they may be called festivals, and not holy-days, nor made equal with the Lord's-day, nor have any peculiar service appointed for them, nor the people be upon such days forced wholly to abstain from work, and that the names of all others now inserted in the Calendar which are not in the first and second Books of Edward the Sixth, may be left out.

made Saints'-
days too im-
portant:

“VII. it is desired that there may be no such imposition of the Liturgy as that the exercise of that gift [of Prayer] be thereby totally excluded in any part of public worship. And further, considering the great age of some ministers, and infirmities of others, and the variety of several services oft-times concurring upon the same day, whereby it may be inexpedient to require every minister at all times to read the whole; it may be left to the discretion of the minister, to omit part of it, as occasion shall require: which liberty we find to be allowed even in the first Common Prayer Book of Edward VI.

left no discretion
to omit parts of
the Services:

“X. That the Minister be not required to rehearse any part of the Liturgy at the Communion-table, save only those parts which properly belong to the Lord's Supper; and that at such times only when the said holy supper is administered.

required all the
Com. Office to be
said at the Altar:

“XVIII. Because this *Liturgy* containeth the imposition of divers Ceremonies, which from the first *Reformation* have, by sundry learned and pious men, been judged unwarrantable, as

imposed
Ceremonies.

“1. That publick worship may not be celebrated by any Minister that dare not wear a surplice.

“2. That none may baptize, nor be baptized, without the transient image of the *Cross*.

“3. That none may receive the Lord's Supper that dare not kneel in the act of receiving;”

“We do therefore most earnestly entreat the right reverend fathers and brethren,to joyn with us in importuning his most excellent Majesty, that his most gracious indulgence, as to these ceremonies, granted in his Royal Declaration, may be confirmed and continued to us and our posterities, and extended to such as do not yet enjoy the benefit thereof.”—*Card. Hist. Conf.* pp. 304-12, and *Collier Eccl. Hist.* p. 879.

In the list of special exceptions, appended to their general complaint, we find the following:—

They object to
the Rubric on
Chancels:

To the 1st Rubric (see p. 131) they say:—

“We desire that the words of the first Rubric may be expressed as in the Book established by authority of Parliament, 5 & 6. Edw. 5, thus; ‘The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such

1661.
Charles II.

place of the Church, chappel, or chancel, and the minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear, and if there be any controverſie therein, the matter ſhall be referred to the ordinary.’”

To the 2nd Rubric (ſee p. 131) they ſay:—

Ornaments;

“Forasmuch as this Rubric ſeemeth to bring back the cope, albe, &c., and other Veſtments forbidden by the Common Prayer Book, 5 & 6 Edw. 6, and ſo our reaſons alleged againſt ceremonies under our 18th general exception, we deſire it may be wholly left out.”

To the Rubric “Then ſhall the miniſter firſt receive the “Communion in both kinds,” &c., they ſay:—

individual
Communion;

“We deſire, that at the diſtribution of the bread and wine to the communicants, we may uſe the words of our Saviour as near as may be, and that the miniſter be not required to deliver the bread and wine into every particular communicant’s hand, and to repeat the words to each one in the ſingular number, but that it may ſuffice to ſpeak them to divers jointly, according to our Saviour’s example.

Kneeling at
Communion.

“We alſo deſire that the kneeling at the Sacrament (it being not that geſture which the Apoſtles uſed, though Chriſt was perſonally preſent amongſt them, nor that which was uſed in the pureſt and primitive times of the Church) may be left free, as it was 1 and 2 Edw., ‘As touching kneeling, &c., they may be uſed or left as every man’s devotion ſerveth, without blame.’”

They deſire the
reſtoration of the
Rubric on Kneel-
ing at Commu-
nion;

They further deſired the reſtoration of the Rubric, on Kneeling at the Sacrament, which was placed at the end of the Communion Office in Edward’s Second Book: the important difference in this and our preſent Rubric (maintaining more clearly as this does a *Real* though not a *Physical* Preſence in the Sacrament) will be ſeen by comparing the latter with the following words of Edward’s Rubric—

“... leſt yet the ſame kneeling might be thought or taken otherwiſe, we do declare that it is not meant thereby, that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the ſacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or to any real and eſſential preſence there being of Chriſt’s natural fleſh and blood....”

Whereas the Rubric of 1662 runs thus:—

“..... Yet, leſt the ſame kneeling ſhould by any perſons, either out of ignorance and infirmity, or out of malice and obſtinacy, be miſconſtrued and depraved; It is hereby declared, That thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there Bodily received, or unto any Corporal Preſence of Chriſt’s natural Fleſh and Blood.....”

diſuſe of the
Ring in Marri-
age;

To the direction in the Marriage Service, as to putting on a Ring, their words are:—

“... it is deſired that this ceremony of the ring in marriage may be left indifferent, to be uſed or forborn.”

And, with regard to the direction as to the place for Churching of Women, they remark that :—

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“ In regard that the women’s kneeling near the table is in many churches inconvenient, we desire that these words may be left out, and that the minister may perform that service either in the desk or pulpit.”—*Card. Hist. Conf.* pp. 314—335.

omission of Rubric on the place for Churching of Women.

These particular exceptions, which were very numerous, are given at length by Cardwell, but the above ten are those which refer to the question of Church *Ornaments* and *Ceremonies*.

The Bishops, in their *Answer*, remark on these several points as follows :—

The Bishops’ Answer,

“ Prop. 1. §. 1. To the first general proposal we answer, That as to that part of it which requires that the matter of the Liturgy may not be private opinion or fancy, that being the way to perpetuate schism ; the Church hath been careful to put nothing into the Liturgy, but that which is either evidently the word of God, or what hath been generally received in the Catholic Church ; neither of which can be called private opinion, and if the contrary can be proved, we wish it out of the Liturgy.

defends the matter of the Book ;

“ §. 4. To those generals ‘ loading public form with church pomp, garments, imagery, and many superfluities that creep into the church under the name of order and decency, incumbering churches with superfluities, over rigid reviving of obsolete customs, &c.,’ we say, that if these generals be intended as applicable to our Liturgy in particular, they are gross and foul slanders, contrary to their profession (page ult.) and so either that or this contrary to their conscience ; if not, they signify nothing to the present business, and so might with more prudence and candour have been omitted.

denies it to be overloaded with Ceremonies ;

“ §. 5. It was the wisdom of our Reformers to draw up such a Liturgy as neither Romanist nor Protestant could justly except against ; and therefore as the first never charged it with any positive errors, but only the want of something they conceived necessary, so it was never found fault with by those to whom the name of Protestant most properly belongs, those that profess the Augustan confession : and for those who unlawfully and sinfully brought it into dislike with some people, to urge the present state of affairs as an argument why the book should be altered, to give them satisfaction, and so that they should take advantage by their own unwarrantable acts, is not reasonable.

asserts that it is suited to those strictly called Protestants ;

“ Prop. 6. The observation of Saints’-days is not as of Divine but Ecclesiastical institution, and therefore it is not necessary that they should have any other ground in Scripture, than all other institutions of the same nature, so that they be agreeable to the Scripture in the general end, for the promoting piety. And the observation of them was ancient, as appears by the rituals and liturgies, and by the joint consent of antiquity, and by the ancient translation of the Bible,

justifies the observance of Saints’ days ;

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as the Syriac and Ethiopic, where the lessons appointed for holy-days are noted and set down; the former of which was made near the Apostles' times. Besides our Saviour himself kept a feast of the Churches institution, *viz.* the feast of the Dedication (St John xii. 22.) The choice end of these days being not feasting, but the exercise of holy duties, they are fitter called Holy-days than Festivals: and though they be all of like nature, it doth not follow that they are equal. The people may be dispensed with for their work after the service, as authority pleaseth. The other names are left in the calendar, not that they should be so kept as holy-days, but they are useful for the preservation of their memories, and for other reasons, as for leases, law-days, &c.

objects to omissions in the Service;

“ Prop. 7. §. 1. This makes the Liturgy void, if every minister may put in and leave out all at his discretion.

contends for Catholic usage;

“ Prop. 10. That the minister should not read the Communion Service at the Communion-Table, is not reasonable to demand, since all the Primitive Church used it, and if we do not observe that golden rule of the venerable Council of Nice, ‘ Let ancient customs prevail, till reason plainly requires the contrary,’ we shall give offence to sober Christians by a causeless departure from catholic usage, and a greater advantage to enemies of our Church, than our brethren, I hope, would willingly grant. The priest standing at the Communion-Table seemeth to give us an invitation to the holy Sacrament, and minds us of our duty, *viz.* to receive the holy Communion, some at least every Sunday; and though we neglect our duty, it is fit the Church should keep her standing.

maintains the Ceremonies and Ornaments; especially

“ Prop. 18. §. 1. We are now come to the main and principal demand, as is pretended, *viz.*, the abolishing the laws which impose any ceremonies, especially three, the Surplice, the sign of the Cross, and kneeling. These are the yoke which, if removed, there might be peace. It is to be suspected, and there is reason for it from their own words, that somewhat else pinches, and that if these ceremonies were laid aside, and these or any other prayers strictly enjoined without them, it would be deemed a burden intolerable: it seems so by No. 7, where they desire that when the Liturgy is altered, according to the rest of their proposals, the minister may have liberty to add and leave out what he pleases.

the Surplice,

“ §. 13. cer. 3. There hath been so much said not only of the lawfulness, but also of the conveniences of those ceremonies mentioned, that nothing can be added. This in brief may here suffice for the surplice; that reason and experience teaches that decent ornaments and habits preserve reverence, and are held therefore necessary to the solemnity of royal acts, and acts of justice, and why not as well to the solemnity of religious worship. And in particular no habit more suitable than white linen, which resembles purity and beauty. wherein angels have appeared, (Rev. xv.) fit for those, whom the Scripture calls angels: and this habit was ancient. Chrys. Ho. 60 ad. po. Antioch.

the Cross,

“ §. 14. The Cross was always used in the Church ‘ in immortal lavacro,’ (Tertull.) and therefore to testify our communion with

them, as we are taught to do in our Creed, as also in token that we shall not be ashamed of the Cross of Christ, it is fit to be used still, and we conceive cannot trouble the conscience of any that have a mind to be satisfied.

“§ 15. The posture of kneeling best suits at the Communion as the most convenient, and so most decent for us, when we are to receive as it were from God's hand the greatest of seals of the kingdom of heaven. He that thinks he may do this sitting, let him remember the prophet Mal. Offer this to the prince, to receive his seal from his own hand sitting, see if he will accept of it. When the Church did stand at her prayers, the manner of receiving was ‘more adorantium,’ (S. Aug. Ps. xcvi. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 5,) rather more than at prayers, since standing at prayer hath been generally left, and kneeling used instead of that (as the Church may vary in such indifferent things). Now to stand at Communion, when we kneel at prayers, were not decent, much less to sit, which was never the use of the best times.

Kneeling at
Communion;

“§. 1. rub. 1. We think it fit that the rubric stand as it is, and all to be left to the discretion of the ordinary.

upholds all the
Rubrics objected
to.

“§. 2. rub. 2. For the reasons given in our answer to the 18th general, whither you refer us, we think it fit that the rubric continue as it is.

“§. 9. Com Kneel. It is most requisite that the minister deliver the bread and wine into every particular communicant's hand, and repeat the words in the singular number; for so much as it is the propriety of sacraments to make particular oblation to each believer, and it is our visible profession that, by the grace of God, Christ tasted death for every man.

“§. 10. Kneel at Sacr. Concerning kneeling at the Sacrament we have given account already; only thus much we add, that we conceive it an error to say that the Scripture affirms the Apostles to have received not kneeling. The posture of the paschal supper we know; but the institution of the Holy Sacrament was after supper; and what posture was then used the Scripture is silent. The rub. at the end of the 1 Ed. C. that leaves kneeling, crossing, &c. indifferent, is meant only at such times as they are not prescribed and required. But at the Eucharist kneeling is expressly required in the rub. following.

“§. 12. This rub. is not in the Liturgy of Queen Elizabeth, nor confirmed by law; nor is there any great need of restoring it, the world being now in more danger of profanation than of idolatry. Besides the sense of it is declared sufficiently in the 28th Article of the Church of England. The time appointed we conceive sufficient.

“§. 1. p. 36. ex. 1. It is fit that the woman performing especial service of thanksgiving should have a special place for it, where she may be perspicuous to the whole congregation, and near the holy table, in regard of the offering she is there to make. They need not fear Popery in this, since in the church of Rome she is to kneel at the church door.”—*Card. Hist. Conf.* pp. 337-363.

Concessions of
the Bishops.

The Bishops close their Answer with a list of 17 “Con-

1661. "cessions" which they are willing to make; only the two following refer to Ornaments or Ceremonies:—

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"§. 10. That the manner of consecrating the elements may be made more explicit and express, and to that purpose those words be put into the rubr., 'Then shall he put his hand upon the bread and break it,' 'then shall he put his hand unto the cup.'

"§. 11. That if the font be so placed as the congregation cannot hear, it may be referred to the ordinary to place it more conveniently."—*Ibid.* p. 363.

The two Convocations meet.

On the 8th May, 1661. The Convocation met, the Bishop of London (Gilbert Sheldon) presided instead of the Archbishop (Juxon) who was ill: it was continued by successive adjournments. The Northern Province met soon after.

Conclusion of the Conference.

The Savoy Conference ended on the 24th July, the four months having expired to which the Commission had been limited: but, as Cardwell says—

"the Bishops had already made preparations for such changes as they deemed expedient, in the Book of Common Prayer, and the general government of the Church."—*Hist. Conf.* p. 369.

Revision of the Prayer-Book.

It was not however until "the 21st November, the first "Session that took place after the close" of the Conference, that the Convocation "entered upon the consideration of the "Book of Common Prayer," when, as Cardwell says, they

"directed the Bishops of Durham (Cosin), Ely (Wren), Oxford (Skinner), Rochester (Warner), Salisbury (Henchman), Worcester (Morley), Lincoln (Sanderson), and Gloucester (Nicholson), to proceed without loss of time in preparing it for their revision. So earnest, however, were they in this matter, and so clearly directed in their judgment, as well by the recent discussions, as by the strong expression of public opinion, that they were able at once to supersede their newly-appointed committee, and to make considerable progress in the revision of the Liturgy at the same meeting."—*Hist. Conf.* p. 370.

Concurrently with the proceedings of the Province of Canterbury the York Convocation was in operation: Collier thus abridges the history of its acts in relation to the Review of the Prayer Book:—

Concurrence of the York Convocation.

"Upon the 10th of *June*, this summer, the King directed his *Writ to Accepted Frewen*, Archbishop of *York*, to summon a Convocation for that Province. And upon the 22nd of *November* following, his Majesty, in a letter to the said Archbishop, empower'd this *Synod* to review the *Common Prayer* and the *Ordinal*, and to make such additions or alterations as they thought proper. But his Majesty

requiring all possible expedition, and this Northern *Synod* considering they were too far distant for consulting with the *Canterbury* Convocation; and that the sending despatches to *London*, and receiving them from thence, would take up too much time: for this reason the Upper and Lower House agreed to make *Proxies*, to transact in their names, with the Province of *Canterbury*; obliging themselves to abide by their Vote, under the forfeiture of all their Goods and Chattels."—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 887. And *Card. Hist. Conf.* p. 372. Note.

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The same writer sums up the result of the united conferences of the two Provincial Convocations in these words:—

"This weighty business [of Reviewing the existing Offices] engaged the whole *Synod* till December 20, when the Book of *Common Prayer*, revis'd and amended, was approv'd and signed by all the *Members* of each House. In the 56th Session [Jan. 29, 1661-2] the Upper House consulted about the *Act for Uniformity of Publick Prayers*.

In the 70th Session [March 18, 1661-2] the President sent for the Lower House, and told them, *that the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England, together with the Form of Ordaining and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as revis'd by the Convocation, had been well received by the House of Lords: and that all the Temporal Peers returned Thanks to both Houses of Convocation for their great Care and Industry in that matter.*—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 886. And *Card. Hist. Conf.* p. 381.

Approval of
Parliament.

The various changes in and additions to the Prayer Book made by this Convocation will be conveniently given in the annexed account of them by Dr. Cardwell:—

"Of the alterations made at this time in the Prayer-book the following are the most important. The Sentences, the Epistles and Gospels, and other extracts from the Bible (except the Psalter, the Ten Commandments, and other portions of the Communion Service) were taken generally from the version of 1611. The Absolution was ordered to be pronounced by the "priest" alone, instead of the "minister." The Book of Bel and the Dragon was re-inserted in the Calendar of Lessons. The prayers for the King, the royal family, the clergy and people, together with the prayers of St. Chrysostom and the Benediction, were printed in the Order both of Morning and Evening Service, instead of being left, as formerly, at the end of the Litany. The Evening Service, which previously began with the Lord's Prayer, was now opened with the Sentences, the Exhortation, the Confession, and Absolution, printed as in the Morning Service. In the Litany the words "rebellion" and "schism" were added to the petition respecting "sedition, privy conspiracy," &c. In a subsequent petition the words "bishops,

Description of
the changes in
the revised
Prayer-Book.

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priests, and deacons" were employed instead of "bishops, pastours, and ministers of the Church." Among the occasional prayers and thanksgivings were now introduced a second prayer for fair weather, the two prayers for the Ember weeks, the prayers for the parliament and for all conditions of men, a thanksgiving for restoring public peace at home, and the general thanksgiving. New collects were appointed for the third Sunday in Advent, and for St. Stephen's day. The Genealogy, which previously made part of the Gospel for the Sunday after Christmas, was now omitted. A distinct collect, Epistle, and Gospel, were provided for a sixth Sunday after the Epiphany. The Gospels for the Sunday next before Easter and for Good Friday were shortened, having formerly contained within them respectively the second lesson for the day. In several places, as in one of the collects for Good Friday, in those for the fifth and sixteenth Sundays after Trinity, for St. Simon and St. Jude, and in other places, the word "church" was used for "congregation." A distinct collect was supplied for Easter-even. The first of the anthems used on Easter-day was added. A distinct epistle was provided for the day of the Purification. The last clause respecting saints departed was added to the prayer* for the Church militant. The rubric was added as to 'covering what remaineth of the elements with a fair linen cloth.' The order in council respecting kneeling at the Lord's supper, which had been introduced in 1552 and removed by Queen Elizabeth, was restored, with this alteration; instead of 'any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood,' it is now read, 'any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' A new office was appointed for the 'baptism of such as are of riper years;' and some alterations made in the other offices of baptism. The Preface to Confirmation was curtailed, and the clause respecting the undoubted salvation of baptized infants dying before the commission of actual sin, was placed after the office for Infant Baptism. Some changes were made in the offices for Confirmation and Matrimony; and in the rubric at the end of the latter, the receiving the communion on the day of the marriage was no longer made imperative. In the Visitation of the Sick the words 'if he humbly and heartily desire it' were added to the rubric respecting absolution: the Benediction also and the prayers that follow, appear now for the first time. In the Order for Burial the first rubric respecting persons unbaptized or excommunicate was added. Forms of prayer were supplied to be used at sea:

* "In 1662 the words 'and oblations' were added; the preceding rubric was changed thus . . . 'shall receive the alms for the poor and other devotions of the people in a decent basin . . . and reverently bring it to the priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy table;'

"At the same revision, and immediately before the Prayer for the Church Militant was also added this rubric: 'And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient.'"—*Hist. Conf.* p. 382. Notes.

That the Elements were *not* to be placed on the Altar before the commencement of the Service, but immediately after the presentation of the Alms, is perfectly plain from the very next Rubric "*After which done the Priest shall say, Let us pray*" &c.

and, lastly, offices were provided for the 30th of January and 29th of May, and the old service for the 5th of November was corrected. These and many other minor alterations, amounting as Dr. Tenison computed to about 600 in number, were made in the Book of Common Prayer, by the convocation of 1662, and were finally ratified by the Act of Uniformity."—*Hist. Conf.* pp. 380-86.

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To this summary Dr. Cardwell appends the following observations, which will fitly conclude this notice of the Revision of the Prayer Book:—

"It will be observed that in this long enumeration there is no mention of any of those characteristic points which had been the subject of strife and division in the Church from the earliest days of Puritanism: that the use of the Apocrypha, the expressions complained of in the Litany, and in the services for baptism, marriage, and burial, the rubric with regard to vestments, the kneeling at the communion, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the declaration as to infants dying immediately after baptism, the absolution for the sick, though some of them slightly modified, continued in principle the same. All these and several others had been conceded by the committee of 1641; they had also been virtually withdrawn by the royal Declaration of October 1660; and some of them had been abandoned by the bishops in the Savoy Conference. But they were all of them retained and confirmed by the Act of Uniformity, on the plea that the Non-conformists had lost whatever claim they might once have had for consideration and forbearance, and that the other party, consisting at once of the orthodox and the royalists, saw nothing in such alterations but inconvenience and error. And this feeling was so strong both in convocation and in parliament, that several changes of an opposite character were approved, which could not fail to be galling to the Presbyterians. The substitution of 'church' for 'congregation,' the specific mention of 'bishops, priests, and deacons,' instead of a more general designation, the re-introduction of Bel and the Dragon into the Calendar, and other similar alterations, though none of them new in principle, seemed designed to convince the Non-conformists that instead of any wish to admit them to further power or privilege within the Church, there was a distinct and settled desire to restrain or exclude them. So strongly did they themselves feel this conviction, that it was proposed on their behalf in the house of lords, that the existing Liturgy should be continued, and all the corrections made in convocation should be abandoned."—*Hist. Conf.* pp. 387 and 388.

The new Book contains all the things objected to by the Puritans;

and even adds others disliked by them.

On May 19th, 1662, the Act of Uniformity (Stat. 13 and 14 Caroli 2, c. 4.) received the Royal Assent, and thus the present Prayer Book became the authorized Use for the Church of England.

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The Act of Uniformity passed.

It was stated at p. 439 that Bishop Cosin was one of the Reviewers of the Book of Common Prayer; and as he and

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Bp. Cosin a true
expositor of the
intentions of the
Reviewers.

his co-reviewers are the truest exponents of the meaning of their own acts, any documents or statements which they put forth subsequently to the establishment of the revised Prayer Book may fairly be accounted satisfactory evidence of the intentions of Convocation and therefore of the meaning of the present Law in the matter of Ornaments and Ceremonies. One such testimony, so far as it goes, is supplied by the

“ARTICLES OF INQUIRY, CONCERNING MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL, EXHIBITED TO THE MINISTERS, CHURCH-WARDENS, AND SIDEMEN OF EVERY PARISH WITHIN THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM IN THE FIRST EPISCOPAL VISITATION OF THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, JOHN [COSIN] BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM: IN THE SECOND YEAR OF HIS CONSECRATION, ANNO DOM. MDCLXII.

His Visitation
Articles relate to,

“*London, Printed by T. Garthwait, 1662.*”

The following are all which bear upon the subject.

“TITUL. I.

“CONCERNING THE FABRIC, REPAIRING, KEEPING CLEAN, AND FURNISHING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

“2. Are . . . the tables of the ten Commandments and other sentences of Scripture well placed? . . .

“4. Is there a Font of marble, or other stone, decently wrought and covered, set up at the lower part of your Church, for the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism? Is there a partition between your Church and your Chancel, a comely fair Table there, placed at the upper part of it, for the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper? Are there two fair and large coverings for it, one of silk-stuff or fine cloth, another of fine linen, with a plate or paten and a cup or chalice of silver, and two fair flagons of pewter or purer metal, belonging to it? . . .

Church Orna-
ments:

Furniture:

“5. Have you in your Church, or in your Chancel, a convenient seat erected for your Minister, wherein to read the daily Morning and Evening Service, a desk whereat to say the Litany in the midst of the Church, according to the Injunctions set forth in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and a Pulpit for sermons with a comely cloth before it? Are you provided of a Bible in the largest volume, and of the last approved translation, and what year was it printed? Have you two books of Common Prayer set forth by public authority, and are they both also of the largest volume, one for the Minister, and another for the Clerk, to use at the celebration of all Divine Offices? Have you likewise a book of the Sermons, or Homilies, that were set forth in the time of King Edward VI., and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, together with the works of Bishop Jewell in defence of the Church of England, which King James commanded to be had in all Churches, and a book of the Constitutions or Canons Ecclesiasti-

Books:

cal, the books or forms of Divine Service for the fifth of November, the thirtieth of January, and the twenty ninth of May, and a table of Marriages prohibited by the law of God?

“6. Have you a large and decent Surplice (one or more) for the Minister to wear at all times of his public ministration in the Church, and another for the Clerk, if he hath heretofore been accustomed to wear it, when he assisteth the Minister? Are not either of their Surplices now grown old and torn? and what are they at this time worth? or, if new have been lately bought, how much did they cost by the yard?

“7. Have you in your vestry, a hood or tippet for the Minister to wear over his Surplice, if he be a graduate? a book of parchment, wherein to register the christenings, marriages, and burials, of your parish? another book of paper, wherein to record the licences of strange Ministers, that are admitted at any time to preach in your Church or Chapel? and a third book, wherein to write down the accounts of the Church-wardens, and to keep an inventory of all things provided, and belonging to your Church? Have you a strong chest, with locks and keys, wherein to keep all these books, and other furniture for Divine Services, in safe custody? And, lastly, have you a box, wherein to put and keep alms for the poor, and a bier with a black herse-cloth for the burial of the dead?

“TITUL. III.

“CONCERNING MINISTERS, PREACHERS, AND LECTURERS.

“3. Doth he use any other words or form, than what is prescribed in the book of Common Prayer in the public reading of the daily Morning and Evening Service, and in the Litany which is to be added to the Morning Service upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, weekly, and at all other times when it is appointed by the Bishop; as likewise at the reading of the Communion Service, and the administration of the two Sacraments, (Baptism, and the Lord's Supper,) at the celebration of matrimony, churching of women after child-birth, burying the dead, and pronouncing God's commination against impenitent sinners? And doth he all these without omission, addition, or alteration of any of them, using all the rites and ceremonies appointed in that book?

“4. Doth he always, at the reading or celebrating any Divine Office in your Church or Chapel, constantly wear the Surplice, and other his Ecclesiastical habit according to his degree? And doth he never omit it?

“9. Doth he, or his Curate, observe the three Rogation days before the feast of our Lord's Ascension, saying the Litany, the ciii. and the civ. Psalm, with the Churchwardens and others that accompany him, in the perambulation of your parish? and, when the perambulation is ended, doth he go into the Church with them, and read unto them one of the Sermons set forth and appointed for that purpose?

“10. Doth he or his substitute use any other form of prayer

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Vestments:

Registers:

Alma-Box:

Bier:

complete use of
Offices:use of prescribed
apparel:observance of
Rogations:use of Bidding
Prayer:

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before his Sermon or Homily, but what he is directed and enjoined to do by the constitutions of the Church ?

“ TITUL. IV.

“ CONCERNING THE PARISHIONERS.

reverence in
Church :

“ 5. Doth every person at his entrance into the Church reverently uncover his head, and so continue all the time of Divine Service and Sermon, until his departure thence ? Do they all reverently kneel at the Prayers, and stand up when the Creed is said, and when the Gospel is read, making due reverence when the Name of our Lord *Jesus* is mentioned ? Do they join with the Clerk of the Church in answering at the Psalms, Hymns, and other parts of the Service, as is appointed for them ?

communicating
at the Altar :

“ 8. Do they leave their common seats, and draw near to the Communion-Table, when they are to receive the Sacrament, all decently behaving themselves, and humbly kneeling upon their knees in honour of our blessed Saviour, whose precious Death and Passion is then set forth and remembered by the Church ?

repairs and
Ornaments :

“ 13. Are there any belonging to your Parish, who refuse to pay their duty for Easter offerings to your Minister ? or any that refuse to contribute, and pay the rate assessed upon them, for the repair of your Church or Chapel, and for the providing of such books, furniture, and ornaments, as be requisite for the performance of all Divine Offices there ?

pews or seats :

“ 17. Is there no strife and contention among any of your parish for their pews or seats in your Church ? And whether have they erected any pews in your Chancel, or elsewhere in the body of your Church or Chapel, without leave and licence from the Ordinary ?

“ TITUL. V.

“ CONCERNING PARISH CLERKS AND SEXTONS.

duties of Clerk :

“ 1. Have you, a parish Clerk aged twenty one years at the least ? Is he chosen by your Minister, and doth he duly attend him in all Divine Services at the Church ? Doth he wear a gown, when he so attendeth, and a surplice over it, if heretofore the custom hath been such among you ?

and Sexton :

“ 2. Doth he, or your sexton, (if there be any such appointed in your Parish,) diligently look to the doors of your Church, that they be locked and opened at due time ? And doth he keep your Church or Chapel clean from noisome dust, cobwebs, litter, straw, or any other annoyance ? Doth he toll or ring the Bells at the due accustomed hours before the beginning of Divine Service, morning and evening, that the people may be warned to come unto the Church ? And, when any person is passing out of this life, doth he, upon notice given him thereof, go and toll a bell, as hath been accustomed, that the neighbours may thereby be warned to recommend the dying person to the grace and favour of God ?

"TITUL. VII.

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"CONCERNING CHURCHWARDENS AND SIDEMEN.

"5. Do you suffer no misbehaviour or disorder to be done by men, women, or servants, or children, in your Church or Chapel? Are you careful, that none of them sit, lean, or lay their hats, upon the Communion Table? Do you permit no minstrels, no morris-dancers, no dogs, hawks, or hounds, to be brought or come into your Church, but set your Sexton to keep them out, that the Congregation, and the Minister performing Divine Service, or preaching his sermon, may not be disturbed by them?

decency in Churches:

"6. Do you, against the time of every Holy Communion appointed in your Church or Chapel, provide a sufficient quantity of fine white bread, and of good wine, according to the advice and direction given by your Minister, for the number of Communicants?

provision for Communion:

"7. Do you cause all Preachers (coming from other places to make sermons in your Church or Chapel) to subscribe their names, the same day they preach, in the book provided for that purpose?"—*Cosin's Works*, vol. IV. pp. 507—20. Ang. Cath. Lib. 1851.

record of strange Preachers.

It would be difficult to detect in these Articles any thing betraying Cosin to be a *Laudian Innovator*, as he had been considered to be by the Puritan party: they are characterized by the same tone which runs through other Visitation Inquiries put forth by unsuspected persons: and yet the Bishop's known opinions and elsewhere declared views confirm the belief already expressed (see pp. 351 & 371) that he, as others, held various Ornaments and Ceremonies to be *lawful*, i.e. *not against the Law*, besides those distinctly named in the Rubrics of the present Book of Common Prayer or in the Canons of 1603-4, though he *could not require* the Parishes to provide *more* than those Authorities intimated to be *essential* for Divine Service, and *did not*, probably out of regard to the temper of the times, order *everything* which he himself deemed to come within the *directions* of the Law.

These Articles prove *Cosin* not to have been an *Innovator*.

His Articles, however, do express his judgment on some of the points now in dispute: thus the expression "well-placed" (Tit. 1. Art. 2. p. 450) implies that he did not consider the East of the Chancel to be necessarily the best, and therefore the only *legal*, place for the Ten Commandments. Art. 4 proves that he considered a Chancel Screen of some kind, high or low, to be necessary; and the East End of the Chancel the place for the Altar. Art. 6 Tit. 1 and Art. 1 Tit. 5. (p. 451, & 3) shew that the Parish Clerk might wear a Surplice and thus

Cosin's Articles shew his mind on some of the now disputed, as well as other, questions, viz.

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are an implied authority for the use of Surplices by Choir men and boys, who equally *assist* the Minister in Divine Service : Art. 3. Tit. III. (see p. 451) furnishes an argument against Mr. Goode's view, already noticed (see pp. 48, 271, 295, and 327), for the Bishop does not say that no *addition* may be made to *prescribed Ceremonies*, though he distinctly orders all the *Offices* of the Prayer Book to be used "without omission, addition, or alteration," and directs *all* "the rites and ceremonies appointed in that Book" to be employed. And Art. 4, which requires *the Surplice* to be "constantly" worn "at the reading or celebrating any Divine Service, is a most striking proof that Cosin, following the practice of the Rubrics and Canons, did not consider everything *prohibited* which was not *ordered*.

Further evidence from Cosin's Notes on the Common Prayer as to,

But there is much more important evidence of Bishop Cosin's than these Articles furnish : his three Series of Notes on the Prayer Book afford abundant information on these questions, and shew what his opinion was upon this subject. Thus his belief as to lawful Ornaments (and it was the belief of a leading Reviewer of the Prayer Book) is unhesitatingly set forth in the following passage where, speaking of Bucer's Censure upon Edward's First Prayer Book, he says :—

Lawful Ornaments :

"He likewise finds fault there with those Ministers that still used vestments and lights in the Church ; with the gestures of bowing and crossing ; with making clean the chalice ; taking the bread and wine into the priest's hand, when he repeats the words of institution over them ; removing the Service Book from the right to the left side of the table ; (as they did when they read the Epistle ;) setting the table in the same place where the altar stood ; and with shewing the bread and the cup (though they did not elevate) to old dotting and superstitious persons, who were ready to adore them. All which he wished to have altered ; and so it was in the 5th of Edw. VI.

"But in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, all the Ornaments of the Church were restored again, by the Act of Uniformity, and the posture of the table in the place where the altar stood, was specially appointed by the queen's injunctions."—*Notes on the Book of Common Prayer*. Third Series. Works. vol. V. p. 418. Ang. Cath. Lib. 1855. See also p. 438, part of which will be found p. 7 *supra*.

the Vestments implied in the words "in use ;"

So too, in commenting upon the words, "*as were in use*," in the Rubric of the Communion Office in Elizabeth's Book, he says :—

"And then were in use, not a surplice and hood, as we now use,

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but a plain white alb, with a vestment or cope over it; and therefore, according to this rubric, are we all still bound to wear albs and vestments, as have been so long time worn in the Church of God, howsoever it is neglected. For the disuse of these ornaments, we may thank them that came from Geneva, and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, being set in places of government, suffered every negligent priest to do what him listed, so he would but profess a difference and opposition in all things (though never so lawful otherwise) against the Church of Rome, and the ceremonies therein used."—*Ibid.* First Series, p. 42. See also, *Second Series*, pp. 230 and 305.

Again, speaking of the abolition of Ornaments in Edwards *Second Book*, he remarks:—

the Restoration
by Elizabeth of
Ornaments dis-
used in Edward's
2nd Book :

"But by the Act of Uniformity [of Elizabeth] the Parliament thought fit, not to continue this last order, but to restore the first again; which since that time was never altered by any other law, and therefore it is still in force at this day."—*Ibid.* Third Series, p. 440.

With regard to the Two Lights on the Altar, the Bishop thus expresses himself:—

the Altar-Lights :

"Among other ornaments of the Church also then in use, in the second year of Edw. VI. there were two lights appointed by his injunctions (which the parliament had authorized him to make, and whereof otherwhiles they made mention, as acknowledging them to be binding,) to be set upon the high altar, as a significant ceremony of the light which Christ's Gospel brought into the world; and this at the same time, when all other lights and tapers superstitiously set before images were by the same injunctions, with many other absurd ceremonies and superfluities, taken away. These lights were (by virtue of this present [Elizabeth's] rubric, referring to what was in use in the second of Edw. VI.) afterwards continued in all the queen's chapels, during her whole reign; and so are they in the King's, and in many cathedral churches, besides the chapels of divers noblemen, bishops, and colleges to this day.

"It was well known, that the Lord-treasurer Burleigh (who was no friend to superstition or popery) used them constantly in his chapel, with other ornaments of fronts, palls and books, upon his altar. The like did Bishop Andrewes, who was a man who knew well what he did, and as free from popish superstition as any in the kingdom besides."—*Notes.* Third Series, p. 440. See also, *Second Series*, pp. 231 and 306.

Altar-Coverings:

On the subject of *Altars* he thus speaks:—

"In King Edward's first service-book, the word altar was permitted to stand, as being the name that Christians for many hundred years had been acquainted withal. Therefore when there was such pulling down of altars, and setting up of tables at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, she was fain to make an injunction to re-

Altars :

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strain such ungodly fury, (for which, St. Chrysostom says, the Christians in his time would have stoned a man to death, that should have but laid his hands upon an altar to destroy it. Hom. liii. *ad Pop. Antioch. Siquis vellet hoc altare subruere, nonne illum lapidibus obrueritis? &c.*) and appointed decent and comely tables covered to be set up again in the same places where the altars stood; thereby giving an interpretation of this clause in our communion-book. For the word table here stands not exclusively, as if it might not be called an altar, but to shew the indifferency and liberty of the name; as of old it was called *Mensa Domini* as well as *Altare Domini*, the one having reference to the participation, the other to the oblation of the Eucharist.

“There are that contend, how it was the intent and purpose of our Church at this Reformation, to pull down and wholly extinguish the very name of an altar; but all their reasons being only the matter of fact that altars were then pulled down, and this place of the Liturgy that here it is called a table, we answer, that the matter of fact proves nothing, being rather the zeal of the people that were new come out of the tyranny that was used in Queen Mary’s time. But if this were not by order of the Church, or according to the intent and meaning of the Church and State at the Reformation, how came it to pass then from that day to this the altars have continued in the kings’ and queens’ households after the same manner as they did before? They never dreamt there of setting up any tables instead of them: and likewise in most cathedral churches, how was it that all things remained as they did before, but only that the court and governor of those places [a line is crossed out here *Ed.*] and therefore were more likely to know the true intent and meaning of our Church, by letting the altars stand still as they had done before. And it will be worthy the noting that no Cathedral Church had any pulling down, removing, or changing the altar into a table, no more than in the court, but in such places only where deans, and bishops, and prebends were preferred, that suffered themselves more to be led by the fashions which they had seen at Strasburg in Germany, and Geneva in France, and Zurich in Switzerland, than by the orders of the Church of England established, and continued in her majesty’s family, the likeliest to understand the meaning of the Church and State of any other place. Therefore they that will not either endure we should have, or they that will not believe we have, any altar allowed and continued in our Church (howsoever as it is here, and as it is in most of the fathers sometimes called a table,) let them go to the King’s court, and to most of our Cathedral Churches, and enquire how long they have stood there and kept that name only, as being indeed the most eminent and the most usual among Christians.”—*Notes. First Series, pp. 85 and 86.*

Credence-Table:

That the Bishop allowed a *Credence Table* is plain by his quoting with approval, the following passage from Bishop Andrews:—

“Into his hands the priest from a by-standing table on the south

side, reacheth first the wafer-bread, in a canister close covered, and lined with linen. 2ndly. The Wine in a barrel on a cradle with four feet. These the bishop offereth in the name of the whole congregation, upon the altar."—*Ibid* p. 93.

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Moreover he did not consider the *mixed Chalice* to be contrary to the Law of the Church of England, for, after quoting some Fathers on the necessity of using Wine, he says:—

The Mixed
Chalice :

"This were enough to free our Church from any heinous offence, though it uses not commonly to mix water with wine, as the Church of Rome doth. And yet, we must confess the custom is very ancient, consonant to the figures of the Old Testament, which St. Cyprian, Ep. iii. lib. ii., reckons up, and of the New, where water and blood issued out of Christ's side; and agreeable (as there is great probability) to Christ's own practice, when He did first institute this holy Sacrament; Our Church forbids it not,* for aught I know, and they that think fit may use it, as some most eminent among us do at this day; yet for the approbation of our most common practice, which is to consecrate wine alone without water, we have all this on our side;"—*Notes*. First Series, p. 153.

With respect to *Anointing the Sick* his words are:—

Anointing
the Sick :

"If we anoint not now with the oil, it is because we doubt whether it be lawful to continue that Extraordinary and miraculous custom, that was well used in St. James's time. And herein we do no more than Decentius the Bishop of Eugubium did, *Anno Dom.* 416, Mar. 19, who professes so much ignorance in that matter, that he wrote to Innocent the First (then Pope of Rome) to be resolved whether it were lawful for a bishop to anoint the sick or no. *Ep.* 1. c. 3, *ab Isidoro de Off.*, lib. ii. c. 26, *descript.*"—*Notes*. Third Series, p. 495.

The Rubric that "*the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past*" he explains thus:—

arrangement
of Chancels :

"That is, distinguished from the body of the Church by a frame of open work, and furnished with a row of chairs or stools on either side; and if there were formerly any steps up to the place where the altar or table stood, that they should be suffered to continue so still, and not to be taken down and laid level with the lower ground, as lately they have been by violence and disorder, contrary to law and custom."—*Ibid.* Second Series, p. 228.

And, once more, he recognizes prohibited seasons of Marriage, though there is no direction upon the subject in

prohibited times
of Marriage.

* This opinion of Bishop Cosin is, I think, a sufficient answer to Mr. Goode's assertion that "The withdrawal of the order [for the mixed cup given in Edward's 1st Book] amounts, in fact, to a direct prohibition of the practice, because it shews an intention to exclude it."—p. 88.

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the Prayer Book or Canons of 1603-4, by saying of the Marriage office :—

“ It is not here ordered at what time of the service this form of marriage shall be celebrated. Nor at what time of the year (according to other laws) the solemnization of Matrimony is prohibited.” —*Ibid.* Third Series, p. 523.

No reason for thinking that Cosin changed his views before the revision of the Prayer Book.

It is true that all these Notes of Bishop Cosin appear to have been chiefly written long prior^a to the Revision of the Prayer Book in 1662, and therefore it might be suggested that perhaps he changed his opinions on some or all of them before the latter time; but as it seems certain that most of the changes in the Book were made at his suggestion, we have only to examine the summary of them already given at p. 447, to see that there is no ground for the surmise. Some of his proposals indeed, though *approved* by his co-reviewers, were not *adopted*: one of these relates to the meaning of the Rubric on Ornaments, of which he says :—

His proposal to specify the Ornaments not adopted.

“ But what these Ornaments of the Church and of the Minister, were, is not here specified, and they are so unknown to many, that by most they are neglected. Wherefore it were requisite that those Ornaments used in the second year of King Edward, should be here particularly named and set forth, that there might be no difference about them.”—*Particulars to be considered, explained, and corrected in the Book of Common Prayer.* Works, vol. V. p. 507.

Probable reason of this.

Why this suggestion, so important as the pending suit on Church Ornaments proves it to have been, was not acted upon, there seems to be no explanation; but it may fairly be surmised that the temper of the period forbade it: to have specified all the legal Ornaments of Edward's second year would probably have raised the Puritan opposition to such a height that it might have proved an insurmountable barrier to any attempt to revive their use; and it may therefore have been considered the safer and more prudential course to do no more than re-erect the general standard, leaving it to more favourable times to display its detailed characteristics.

The authority of the Provincial Constitutions recognized since the last Act of Uniformity in the

It has already been contended in this work (see pp. 7, 11, 22, 38, 114, & 311) that the Provincial Constitutions, where not repugnant to later Laws, are to be regarded strictly as part of

^a The Editor of the Oxford Reprint of the Notes here quoted from, considers that the *First Series* was written between 1619 and 1638; the *Second Series* between 1638 and 1656; and the *Third Series* mostly before 1640.

“the Authority of Parliament” which regulates the use of Ornaments and Ceremonies: it is satisfactory therefore to meet with any Visitation Inquiries, subsequent to the last Review of the Prayer Book, which recognize this principle: such is the case with the following Articles which, *throughout*, refer to the Ancient Canons, and speak of them as “*Ecclesiastical Laws now in force*,” though, beyond this circumstance, there is no enquiry in them which demands particular notice; indeed they are as *general* in their questions as they well could be. They are intitled:—

Visitation
Articles of
Archdeacon
Booth, *cir.*
1710-20.

“Articles of Enquiry:” according to the Rubricks of the Book of *Common Prayer*, and other Ecclesiastical Laws now in force, for the help of the Church-wardens of every Parish within the Archdeaconry of *Durham*, in the Visitation of the Honourable and Reverend ROBERT BOOTH, Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of *Durham*. *Anno. Dom. 171*.^b

“*Newcastle upon Tyne*: Printed by John White, at his house on the *Side*.”

I quote the following as relating to the present subject:

They enquire
as to,

“TIT. I. *Section 4.*”

“Doth he [your Minister] give notice of *Holy-Days*, and *Fasting-Days*, of the *Lent-Fast*, and of the *Ember-Weeks*, that the people be minded to pray to [?] for] such as are to be solemnly called to the work of the Ministry? Doth he give notice of the yearly *Perambulation* in *Rogation-Week*, for preserving the Bounds of the Parish, and for desiring God’s blessing upon the Fruits of the Earth? And doth he at certain convenient places sing or say, the two Psalms,

Holy-days,
Fasting-days,
Ember-Weeks,
Rogations;

^a These Articles, together with those given at pp. 380, 384, & 392, are contained in a volume of Pamphlets in the British Museum, marked “Theology, 1566. 636—1829,” and Catalogued “13 L L K, 1566.”

^b In a MS. Note on the Title-page they are called “Articles of Inquiry in the Archdeaconry of Durham, A.D., 1663. vid. Pam. 42, p. 2.” The reference seems to be to some Collection of Pamphlets with which these Articles had been bound up by their possessor. There appears, however, to be some error in this date, for no record occurs of any Archdeacon of Durham of that name before 1691: Le Neve, in his List mentions “Robert Boothe, S. T. B., succeeded 15th May, 1691: void by the deprivation of Grenvile (Reg. Dunelm). Died 7th Aug. 1730, and buried at Bristol, of which Cathedral he was dean.”—*Fasti. Eccl. Ang.* vol. III. p. 305. Oxford, 1854. So too among the “Archdeacons of Northumberland,” he names “Robert Booth, 15 May, 1691.”—*Ibid.* p. 308. The coincidence of Dates seems to prove that it was the same person who held both offices, and the different spelling of the name, without an *e* in this latter case, suggests him to have been the Archdeacon of Durham to whom the Articles are attributed. In any case, however, the Articles are *subsequent* to the last Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, which is the reason for here quoting them: and as one of them (not here given) refers to “Stat. *Will.* III. chap. 4,” and to “*An Act Anno. 6 and 7 Guil. 3.*,” both of which were made in 1695, it seems most probable that the date of these Articles is between 1710 and 1720, the last figure after “171” having apparently dropped out.

Rogation
offices;

beginning, *Benedict anima mea* (i.e. 103, 104) with the Litany and Suffrages thereunto, with one Homily of Thanksgiving to God, already devised and divided into four Parts.

"1. *Rubrick after the Nicene Creed, Can. 13. 5th and 6th of Edward the 6th, chap. 3. Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz. 1. 14. Car. 2. Q. Eliz. Injunc. 1559.*

"2. *Concerning Days of Fasting or Abstinence, at the beginning of the Common Prayer Book, Can. 31. Concil Agath. c. 15, apud Gratian. Dist. 50. Can. 64, in Capite Concil. Meldense Can. 76. Anno 845. Concil. Moguntium, Anno 813: Can. 34. Canones Regis Edgari Anno 967. Spelm. T. 1. p. 460. Leges Regis Canuti C. 16.*

"3. *Q. Eliz. Injunct. 1559, 1564. Concil Aurelianense 1, mum. Anno 511, Can 24.*

"Section 7.

the usage as to
Prayer before and
Benediction after
Sermon;

"Doth he use any other Prayer before Sermon in the Pulpit, than what is enjoyn'd by the Canon? Does he also after his Sermon wholly forbear to use any Kind or Form of Prayer of his own Invention or Composure? And does he pronounce the *Blessing* wherewith the Church useth to dismiss the People? Doth he in time of Divine Service, use due and lowly Reverence at the mention of the Blessed Name of JESUS, instructing others to do the like, not as an Adoration of the bare Sound of the Word, but as an acknowledgement that there is not in Heaven or Earth, any Name, by which we shall be saved, but that alone.

"1. *Can. 55. K. Edward's Injunction. Q. Eliz. Injunctions, 1559.*

"2. *Rubric at the end of the Communion Service.*

"3. *Philip. 3. 10. Can. 18. Q. Eliz. Injunctions, 1559. Concil. Bitterense. Anno 1351. Can. 1. Concil. Avenionense, Anno 1326. Can. 4.*

"Section 11.

Times of
Marriage;

"Whether hath he married any Persons in the Time wherein Marriage is by Law restrained, without a lawful License, viz. from the Saturday next before *Advent Sunday* until the 14th of *January*, and from the *Sunday* next before *Septuagesima Sunday*, until the *Monday* next after *Low Sunday*; and from the *Sunday* next before the Rogation Week until *Trinity Sunday*? Whether hath he married any, at any other Times, than between the Hours of *Eight* and *Twelve*, or in any private House, or before their Parents and Governors (the Parties being under the age of 21 years) have testified their consent.

"1. *Extr. de Feriis Cap. Capellanus Lynd. L. 3. Tit. 16. p. 185. L. 4. Tit. 2. p. 274.*

"2. *Can. 62. 3. Can. 62. 100.*

"TIT. 1[1].

"Concerning Things appertaining to Churches.

"Is your Church and Chancel decently and comely kept, as well within as without; are the Seats well maintain'd, the Steeple and

Bells preserved; the Windows well glazed; the Floor kept plain and even; and all things in orderly and decent sort without dust or any Thing that may be either noisome or unseemly for the House of God, as is prescribed in a Homily to that effect, and the 85 Canon?

Condition of the Church;

“ Section 3.

“ Have you a decent Font set up at the lower part of your Church for the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptism?

Font;

“ *Can. 81. Lynd. 3. Tit. 24. Lib. 3. Tit. 27.*

“ Section 4.

“ Have you a convenient Pew, for your Minister to read Divine Service in? A *Pulpit*, with a decent Cloth and Cushion? A large Bible, and the Book of Common Prayer, both well and substantially bound? Have you likewise the Book of *Homilies*? A Book of Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical? A printed Table of *De-grees*, wherein Marriage is forbidden?

Desk, Pulpit, Books:

“ 1. *Rubrick before Morning Prayer*, *Can. 82, Can. 83, Can. 80, Lib. Can. Discipl. Ecl. Angl. 1571. Spar. 4, Can. 80.*

“ 5. *Ratifications of the Canons at the end of them.* *Can. 99.*

“ Section 5.

“ Have you a decent *Communion Table*, for the Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper? Are there two fair and large Coverings for it, one of Silk, Stuff, or fine Cloth; another of fine Linen; with a Plate or Paten, and a Cup or Chalice of Silver, and two* fair Flagons of Pewter or purer Metal belonging to it?

Altar, Coverings, Plate;

“ 1. *Can. 82.—2. Can. 82. Rubric before the Communion. Articles for Doctrine and Preaching, 7th Eliz. Constit. de Archidiacon. Lynd. Constit. Provinc. Concil. Oxon. Steph. Cant. Archiepi. Lynd.*

“ 3. *Constit. Provinc. Concil. Oxon. Steph. Cant. Archiepi. Lynd. Constit. Rich. Wethershed. Cant. Archiep. Lynd. Concil. Triburiense Anno. 895. Canon 18.*

“ Section 6.

“ Have you a large and decent Surplice (one or more) for your Minister to wear at all Times of public Ministration in the Church, with an Hood or Tippet to wear over it? Have you a *Terrier* of the Glebe-Lands, and other Possessions belonging to your Church?

Vestments.

* There is a similar enquiry in the Articles of the Rev. Knightly Chetwood, Archdeacon of York, 1705—“ *TITUL. 1, 3. Have you a Patten to put the bread on, a Chalice to put the Wine in, and have you one or more Flagons of pewter or better Metall ?*”

Bishop Cosin asks the same question in Art. 4, Tit. I., and it is worth notice that in all the previous Visitation Articles—only *one* Flagon is required; I do not say this is a proof that the *second* Flagon was meant to be used for Water to be mixed with the Wine; but the question suggests itself—could there have been need of *two* Flagons for the Wine? If not, may it not have been intended to furnish the means of returning to the ancient (and not prohibited) practice when circumstances should favour it?

Chetwood's other Articles are very similar to those of Archdeacon Booth.

Register-Books,
Alms-Box, Bier,
Herse-cloth,

Have you a Book of Parchment, wherein to Register the Christenings, Marriages and Burials of your Parish? Another Book, wherein to Record the Licences of all strange Ministers, that are admitted at any Time to preach in your Church or Chapel? And a third Book, wherein to write down the accounts of the Chureh-Wardens; and to keep an Inventory of all Things provided and belonging to your Church? Have you a strong *Chest*, with Locks and Keys, wherein to keep all those Books, and other Books, and other Furniture for Divine Services in safe Custody? And lastly, have you a *Box*, wherein to put and keep Alms for the Poor, and a Bier, with a Black Herse-Cloth, for the Burial of the Dead?

“1. *Can.* 58.—2. *Lynd de Officiis Archidiacon.*—3. *Can.* 58.—4. *Can.* 87.—5. *Can.* 70. *K. Edward's Injunctions.*—6. *Can.* 52.—7. *Can.* 84.—8. *K. Edward's Injunctions, Q. Eliz. Injunctions, 1559.*—9. *Lynd. Lib.* 3. *Tit.* 27.

“TIT. 11[1.] *Section* 8.

Provision for
Repairs;

“Have you any in your Parish that refuse to contribute to, and pay the Rent assessed upon them for the Repair of the Church or Chapel, or the providing any Books, Utensils, or necessary Ornaments to the same belonging.

“*Can.* 91. *Can.* 85.

“TIT. IV. *Section* 4.

Duties of Clerk
and Sexton.

Is your Clerk or Sexton diligent in keeping clean the Church, Ringing the Bells in due Time, and Tolling a Passing Bell when any Persons are departing, to the Intent that they who are within hearing of it may be moved in their Private Devotions to recommend the State of the departing Soul into the Hands of their Redeemer?

“1. *Can.* 67.—*Articles for Doctrine and Preaching, Anno. 1564. Sparrow.*”

Results of this
examination of
Documents.

I have now gone through, I believe, every known Document of any *authority*, relating to changes in Ornament, Ritual, and Ceremonial, issued during the 330 years which preceded the establishment of the present Prayer Book *i.e.* from 1532 to 1662: the final result of this attempt to ascertain what was thereby abolished and what retained is to be looked for in the Catalogue already given of what was *lawful* at the end of Elizabeth's reign (pp. 308-11) *re-inforced* and perhaps somewhat *augmented* by the re-enactment of the present Rubric on Ornaments, which Rubric the last Act of Uniformity imposes as Statute Law. I say *somewhat augmented*, because the Rubric of 1662, (referring us back, as it does, to the SECOND year of *Edward the Sixth*) wholly ANNULS whatever was done in the way of abolishing Ornaments between these

The Last Act
of Uniformity

two periods : in support of this we have the distinct judgment of Dr. Lushington (see p. 7) and the apparent testimony of Mr. Goode (see p. 331). Thus, whereas the various directions of Elizabeth's reign, subsequent to her Act of Uniformity, rendered it *doubtful* whether *e.g.* STONE ALTARS, IMAGES, THE CHASUBLE, THE AMICE, THE PHANON, could be *legally* used under the *general authority* of her Rubric on Ornaments ; there can be no question that they are *lawful* now, unless they are REPUGNANT to the *character* and *directions* of any of the Established Offices. That *Altars* are not, has been, I think, fully proved at pp. 65, 68, 142—144, 395—400 ; and the statements of Bishop Cosin (see p. 455,) entirely confirm what is there advanced : nor does it, I think, require any argument to prove that a Rubric re-imposed, despite the resistance of the Puritan party (who opposed it on the ground that it would "bring back the cope, albe, &c., "and other vestments forbidden by the Common Prayer Book, "5 and 6 Edw. VI.") does legalize Ornaments which are quite as consistent with the letter and the spirit of the Prayer Book Services : on this point, too, we can appeal to the authority of *Cosin* as the chief Reviewer of the Book. Of CREDENCE-TABLES it is enough to say that—a *necessity* for them, or for some analogous preparation of the *Elements*, being *created* by the *new* Rubric of the present Book—they or any structure, used in Edward's second year, for the purpose now required must be perfectly lawful at this day.

restores some
Things abolished
since Edward's
second year.

It was mentioned at pp. 38 and 311 that the Ancient Constitutions and Canons, passed before the Reformation, must be consulted in any endeavour to frame a *complete* List of Ornaments and Ceremonies now lawful in the Church of England : I propose therefore now to examine these with a twofold object : *First*, to ascertain what Ornaments and Ceremonies, not specified in the Prayer Book and the Canons of 1603 and 1640, are there enjoined : *Secondly*, to test the accuracy of the Catalogues of Ornaments and Ceremonies retained at the *conclusion* of Edward's Second Year and of Elizabeth's reign respectively. This end will perhaps be best accomplished by extracting such portions of this old Canon Law as relate to Ornament and Ceremonial, and to point out

Necessity of
consulting the
Ancient Canon
Law in order to
know what
Ornaments
are Legal.

Authority of
these Canons :

in parallel columns the particulars in which they have been modified, changed, or abolished by any later enactments possessed of a repealing power.

The Authority of these Constitutions and Canons, where not inconsistent with or repugnant to more recent Ecclesiastical Laws, has ever been recognized since they were endued distinctly with Statutory force by the 25 Hen. 8. c. 19. § 7, and 35 Hen. 8, c. 16, § 2. The following passages from Dr. Burn will point out distinctly the light in which they are to be viewed: having mentioned some of the Sources of our Ecclesiastical Law he proceeds to speak thus:—

Dr. Burn's
opinion :

“ Besides the foreign canon law, we have our *legatine* and *provincial* constitutions.

“ The *Legatine Constitutions* were made and published within this realm in the times of *Otho*, legate of Gregory the Ninth, and of *Othobon* (afterwards Pope Ardian the Fifth,) who was legate here to Clement the Fourth: and these are illustrated by the learned comment of *John de Athon*.

“ These Legatine Constitutions did extend equally to both Provinces, having been made in *national* synods or councils, held here by the respective Legates.

“ The *Provincial Constitutions* were made in Convocation in the times of the several Archbishops of Canterbury from *Stephen Langton* to *Henry Chichester*, containing the Constitutions of those two Archbishops, and of these several Archbishops intermediate, to wit, *Richard Wethershed*, *Edmund of Abingdon*, *Boniface*, *John Pecchan*, *Robert Winchelsey*, *Walter Reynold*, *Simon Mephum*, *John Stratford*, *Simon Islepe*, *Simon Langham*, *Simon of Sudbury*, and *Thomas Arundel*. These were collected and adorned with the learned Gloss of *William Lindwood*, official of the Court of Canterbury, and afterwards Bishop of St. David's, in the reign of King Henry the Fifth. Which constitutions, although made only for the province of Canterbury, yet were received also by the Province of York in Convocation, in the year 1463.

“ There were other constitutions of divers prelates, both before and after: but these which have been mentioned, having been introduced to public notice by the two learned canonists above named, have been principally regarded.

“ Concerning this whole body of the Canon Law, it is enacted by the Statute of the 25 Hen. 8. c. 19, as followeth: ‘ that such canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial, being already made, which be not contrariant or repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the King's prerogative royal, shall now still be used and executed as they were afore the making of this act, till such time as they be viewed, searched, or otherwise ordered and determined by the said two and thirty persons [who were to be selected to revise them], or the more

part of them, according to the tenor, form, and effect of this present act.'"^a—*Eccles. Law.* Vol. I. Preface p. xxiii. Phillimore's Ed. 1842.

Johnson's
opinion.

The selection here made of these Ecclesiastical Laws is taken from JOHNSON'S ENGLISH CANONS, originally published in 1720, and reprinted in the Anglo-Catholic Library, 2 vols. Oxford 1850. In assigning his reasons for translating and publishing these Canons, Johnson speaks thus:—

“XIX. Another end I proposed to myself in this collection, was to give my reader a more full view of our present constitution than he can have from the Liturgy, Acts of Parliament, and Canons in English, made since the Reformation. For it is certain that the very worst part of the Constitutions contained in these papers, I mean those made by Archbishop Langton and his successors down to Chichley, are partly yet in force: these are the Constitutions upon which Lyndwood wrote his gloss, and of these the words of the Statute (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.) are to be understood, viz. ‘Provided always that such Canons [&c.]’ From this clause it is evident that all Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, which were in force before the making of this Statute, do so still remain. What were contrary to Statute, Custom, (that is, common law,) and Prerogative Royal, could not legally be executed before the making of this Statute (though they often were in fact.) But such as might lawfully be put in practice before, (excepting such Canons as concern appeals to Rome,) may be put in practice still; unless they have been abolished by some Statute made since this of King Henry VIII; and many of them have, in whole or in part, been annulled by the Acts of Uniformity which establish the use of the Common Prayer Book: which both in very many particulars contradict these Constitutions. No Canons made since this Act have so direct and express a ratification given them by Statute, as these which were made and executed before that time. Therefore, though generally speaking, where two Canons clash with each other, the last is of greatest authority; yet the Canons of 1603 being confirmed by the King only, and not by Act of Parliament, cannot abate the force of the old Constitutions: for these Canons made in the year 1603 are only by implication, not by express words, allowed to be put in execution, by Statute 13. Car. I. c. 12.

“XX. The words of this Statute of Henry VIII. are so understood as to confirm not only these Constitutions, so far as consistent with statute law, or prerogative royal, but even so much of the Pope's Canon law as was here commonly received: as for instance, it passes as good law in our temporal Courts, that the Lateran canon against pluralities is of as great force as an Act of Parliament. What part of the Canon Law was received in England, and the manner of putting that and our domestic constitutions in practice, is to be learned from Lyndwood: for by the common consent of lawyers, what he delivers as the common law of the Church is so to this day,

^a He also refers to 27 Hen. 8, c. 15, and 35 Hen. 8, c. 16, as enforcing them.

excepting where it is annulled by statute. And the legatine constitutions of Otto and Othobon are to be reckoned among our own domestic constitutions. Lyndwood every where speaks of them as in force: but, the glossator on these constitutions last mentioned, John Athone, is not a writer of so much authority as Lyndwood."—*Preface*, p. XXV.

Titles of the
Canons, &c. now
to be cited.

The Titles of the several Constitutions and Canons now to be cited, are as follows: the Letters A.B.C. &c. correspond to the references and are used to avoid the frequent repetition of the Titles:—

- A.—A.D. 740. THE EXCERPTIONS OF THE LORD ECBRIHT, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK: COLLECTED OUT OF THE SAYINGS AND CANONS OF THE HOLY FATHERS.
- B.—A.D. 747. CUTHBERT'S CANONS AT CLOVES-HOO.
- C.—A.D. 785. LEGATINE CANONS AT CEALCHYTHE.
- D.—A.D. 957. ELFRIC'S CANONS.
- E.—A.D. 960. CANONS MADE IN KING EDGAR'S REIGN.
- F.—A.D. 994. THEODULF'S CAPITULA.
- G.—A.D. 1071. LANFRANC'S CANONS AT WINCHESTER.
HEADS OF A COUNCIL CELEBRATED AT WINCHESTER.
- H.—A.D. 1102. ANSELM'S CANONS AT WESTMINSTER.
- I.—A.D. 1126. ARCHBISHOP CORBOYL'S CANONS AT LONDON.
- J.—A.D. 1138. LEGATINE CANONS AT WESTMINSTER.
- K.—A.D. 1175. ARCHBISHOP RICHARD'S [CANTERBURY] CANONS.
- L.—A.D. 1195. HUBERT WALTER'S LEGATINE CANONS AT YORK.
- M.—A.D. 1200. HUBERT WALTER'S CANONS AT WESTMINSTER.
- N.—A.D. 1222. ARCHBISHOP LANGTON'S CONSTITUTIONS.
- O.—A.D. 1223. SUPPOSED CONSTITUTIONS OF ARCHBISHOP LANGTON.
- P.—A.D. 1236. ARCHBISHOP EDMUND'S CONSTITUTIONS.
- Q.—A.D. 1237. LEGATINE CONSTITUTIONS OF OTTO [or OTHO].
- R.—A.D. 1250. ARCHBISHOP GRAY'S CONSTITUTIONS.
- S.—A.D. 1268. LEGATINE CONSTITUTIONS OF OTHOBON.
- T.—A.D. 1279. ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM'S CONSTITUTIONS AT READING.
- U.—A.D. 1281. ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM'S CONSTITUTIONS AT LAMBETH.
- V.—A.D. 1305. ARCHBISHOP WINCHELSEY'S CONSTITUTIONS AT MERTON.
- W.—A.D. 1322. ARCHBISHOP REYNOLD'S LATIN CONSTITUTIONS.
- X.—A.D. 1342. ARCHBISHOP STRATFORD'S EXTRAVAGANTS.
- Y.—A.D. 1367. ARCHBISHOP LANGHAM'S CONSTITUTIONS.
- Z.—A.D. 1463. ARCHBISHOP BOURCHIER'S CONSTITUTIONS.

The marks between the two columns are intended to indicate the following facts:—

- ✠ means that a Canon is *unrepealed*.
- † means that a Canon is *partly* repealed.
- ‡ means that a Canon is *unrepealed* but *obsolete*.
- * means that a Canon is *wholly* repealed

PRE-REFORMATION CANONS.

HOW SINCE MODIFIED.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications.

Orders of Ministers.

"10. There are seven orders appointed in the Church: the first is ostiary, the second lector, the third exorcist, the fourth acolyth, the fifth sub-deacon, the sixth deacon, the seventh presbyter.

† This is quite consistent with "The Preface" to the English Ordinal, which only says "*that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.*"

"11. The ostiary is keeper of the church-doors, who is to notify the time with the bells, and to unlock the church to believers, and to lock out the unbelievers.

† The Office retained in the Clerk, or the Sexton, though no longer ordained to it.

"12. The lector is to read in God's church, and is ordained to publish God's word.

† One duty of the Office is maintained by unordained persons being allowed to read the Lessons in Divine Service.

"13. The exorcist is, in plain English, he that with invocations adjures malignant spirits, that delight in vexing men, through the Almighty's Name, to depart from them.

† The Office not retained, but its duties recognized in Can. 72, A.D. 1603-4.^a

"14. He is called the acolyth, who holds the candle or taper, at the divine ministration, when the Gospel is read, or the housel hallowed at the altar, not as if he were to drive away the obscure darkness, but to signify bliss by that light, to the honour of Christ, Who is our Light.

* The Office practically, though not formally, abolished, partly by the Lights before the Sacrament being placed on the Altar, partly by the disuse of the other Ceremony.

"15. Sub-deacon is plainly the under-deacon, he that brings forth the vessels to the deacon, and humbly ministers under the deacon with the housel vessels at the holy altar.

† The duties merged in those of the Deacon: but the Office not being inconsistent with the requirements of the Prayer Book, can be legitimately revived by the Bishops.^b

^a In illustration of this remark it is worth noticing an incident which occurred in the Arches Court before Sir J. Dodson, during the argument on appeal from Dr. Lushington's Decision. The learned Advocate for Mr. Liddel, remarking upon the question—whether *Canons* (unlike Acts of Parliament) could be repealed by desuetude?—said, "I will take one which you would hesitate, sir, some little time before you enforced, namely, the 72nd Canon:—

"Neither shall any Minister, not licensed [by the Bishop, as specified in the Canon] presume to attempt, upon any pretence whatsoever, either of possession or obsession, by fasting and prayer, to cast out any Devil or Devils, under pain of the imputation of imposture or cosenage, and deposition from the ministry.

"Is it meant to be seriously contended that that Canon is in force in the present day?

"The COURT.—Suppose any one was to do that, would it not be in force?

"Dr. PHILLIMORE.—Is it meant to be said that any Minister by license and authority may attempt to cast out devils?

"The COURT.—He might be punished for doing it without.

"Dr. PHILLIMORE.—Does the Court think a Minister could be so punished?

"The COURT.—I should not be surprised."—*Argument*, Third Day, May 22, 1856, p. 175. Lond. 1856.

^b Vide "Suggestions for the extension of the Ministry and the revival of the order of Sub-deacons,"—*Charge of Arch. Hale*, May 24, 1852: also "Suggestions for the extension of the Ministry, by the revival of the lesser Orders of Ministers."—*Charge of Arch. Hale*. May 3, 1853.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued

"16. The deacon is he that ministers to the mass-priest, and places the oblation on the altar, and reads the Gospel at the divine ministration; he may baptize children and housel the people. They ought to serve their Saviour in white albs, and preserve the heavenly life with purity, and let all be done as becometh that order. The priest that remains without a deacon, has the name not the attendance of a priest.

"17. Presbyter is the mass-priest, or elder, not he that is old otherwise than in wisdom. He halloweth God's housel as our Saviour commanded: he ought by preaching to instruct the people in their belief, and to give an example to Christians by the purity of his manners. There is no more between a bishop and a priest, but that the bishop is appointed to ordain, and to bishop children, and to hallow churches, and to take care of God's rights; for they would be abundantly too many if every priest did this, he hath the same order, but the other is more honourable."—D. Vol. 1, p. 392.

✠ "It appertaineth to the Office of a Deacon, . . . to assist the Priest . . . specially when he ministrETH the Holy Communion, and to help him in the distribution thereof. . . ."—*Ordering of Deacons*, Prayer Book.

"Take thou Authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God,"—*Ibid.*

✠ "Take thou Authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments"—*Ordering of Priests*, Prayer Book. And compare duties of the Priest in the Communion Office.

"Will you be faithful in Ordaining, sending, or laying hands upon others?"—*The Consecration of Bishops*, Prayer Book. See also Office of Confirmation and last Exhortation in Office for Public Baptism of Infants.

Ministers to be provided with Office Books.

"21. And [the Priest] shall have the furniture for his ghostly work before he be ordained, that is, the holy books, the psalter, and the Pistol-book, Gospel-book, and mass-book, the song-book, and the hand-book, the calendar, the paschal,^d the penitential, and the lesson-book. It is necessary that the mass-priest have these books: and he cannot be without them, if he will rightly exercise his functions, and duly inform the people that belongeth to him. [And let him take care that they be well written.]"—D. p. 394.

† This Canon, so far as it relates to the old Office Books, is repealed by 2 James 1, c. 10 (see p. 340), though it is substantially in force as regards all which is incorporated in the Prayer Book; e.g., the Psalter, Epistles, Gospels, Communion Office, Calendar. Its spirit (*viz.*, the necessity for Priests understanding their duties beforehand) is preserved in Canons 34, 35 and 36, which require a knowledge of the Prayer Book as one condition of Ordination.

"32. And that a priest never celebrate mass without book; but let the Canon be before his eyes to see to, if he will, lest he mistake."—E. Vol. 1, 418.

✠ The requirements of these two Canons are recognized in Canon 80 (see p. 325).

"34. And that every priest take care to have a good book, at least a true one."—E. Vol. 1, p. 419.

^d Or "Passional [which] was the same with the martyrology."—*Editor's Note.*

Ordinary Apparel of Clergy.

"36. Ye ought not to be gorgeously drest with rings: nor let your garment be made in too gorgeous, nor yet in too sordid a manner: but let everyone wear what belongs to his order;"—D. Vol. I, p. 303.

"10. That priests' clothes be all of one colour, and their shoes plain."—H. Vol. 2, p. 26.

"11. From the council of Meaux. Let none that would appear to be clerks wear or bear arms, but make their manners and clothes suitable to their profession, or else be degraded as despisers of the canons and of ecclesiastical authority; for none can be a soldier to God and the world at once."—I. Vol. 2, p. 62.

"11. We ordain also that priests go not in copes with sleeves, but in apparel suitable to their order, that as they are superior to others in dignity, so they may give them a more perfect scheme and pattern of decency."—L. Vol. 2, p. 78.

"30. We decree, by the authority of this present Council that archdeacons, deans, all parsons and dignified men, all rural deans and priests, go in a decent habit with close copes:"—N. Vol. 2, p. 113.

"14. Because laymen take great scandal at the unclerical habit of clergymen, which makes them look like soldiers therefore we charge and ordain that they have garments of a decent length, and that they in holy orders use close copes, especially in the church, and before their prelates, and in assemblies of clergymen, and such as have rectories with cure of souls everywhere in their parishes"—O. Vol. 2, p. 161.

"5. . . . a moderation in the exterior habit has been by tradition prescribed to us both by ancient and modern fathers, and this is to be observed by clergymen, Christ is deserted by His soldiers wearing a strange livery, so that the eye cannot distinguish a clerk from a layman, to the scandal and abhorrence of all that are truly faithful"—S. Vol. 2, p. 217

"2. . . . We do by our Metropolitan authority, with the unanimous assent and consent of our venerable brethren the lords the bishops, and of the whole clergy

These several directions as to the *Ordinary Apparel of Clergy* are re-enforced generally by Can. 74 (see p. 324), and are generally recognized in the several Royal or Episcopal Orders or Visitation Articles quoted in these pages, compare especially the following:—

Elizabeth's Inj. No. 30, p. 141.

Interpretation of Eliz. Inj. p. 181

Abp. Parker's Visit. Art. p. 183.

Advertisements of Eliz. p. 205.

Abp. Grindal's Visit. Art. No. 5,

p. 284.

Abp. Whitgift's Visit. Art. No. 4,

p. 291.

Abp. Bancroft's Visit. Art. No.

44, p. 344.

Abp. Abbot's Visit. Art. No. 20,

p. 346.

Bp. Andrew's Visit. Art. No. 32,

p. 350.

Bp. Montague's Visit. Art. No.

7 and 8, p. 387.

It does not seem clear what these *Copes* were: perhaps they were a kind of Cloak corresponding to the "Priest's Cloaks" of Can. 74, though Archbishop Bouchier's Constitution terms it a *gown*. If so, the Canon reversed the old direction by ordering them to have "sleeves."

On the length of the garments compare Can. 74, "Poor beneficed men and Curates (not being able to provide themselves long gowns) may go in short gowns of the fashion aforesaid."

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

of the province of Canterbury, by a decree of the present provincial council, enact and ordain that no priest, or clerk in holy orders, or beneficed, do publicly wear any gown or upper garment, but what is close before, and not wholly open, nor any bordering of skins or furs in the lower edges or circumference: and that no one who is not graduated in some university, or possessed of some ecclesiastical dignity, do wear a cap [*rather hood*], with a cape nor a double cap, nor a single one with a *cornet*, or a short hood after the manner of prelates and graduates (excepting only the priests and clerks in the service of our lord the King), or gold, or anything gilt on their girdle, sword, dagger, or purse”—Z. Vol. 2, p. 516.

The 74th Can., 1603, distinguishes “all other ministers” except those it names, and, therefore, non-graduates, by directing them not to wear the *Sarcenet Tippet*; it allows the *Cap*.

Apparel in Church.

“10. Let no minister of the altar presume to go to celebrate the mass with naked legs”—C. Vol. 1, p. 271.

† The principle retained by the requirement to wear *Cassocks*.

“46. And that no mass-priest, or minister priest ever come within the church door, or into his stall without a stole, at least that he do not minister at the altar without his vestment.”—E. Vol. 1, p. 421.

✠ Re-enforced by the General Rubric requiring the Ornaments of Edward's second year.

Decency in Churches.

“26. And that priests keep their churches with all honour for Divine ministrations and pure services and to no other purpose; and that they allow of no indecent thing either in it or next it, nor of any idle word or work, nor of indecent drinking. Nor let any dog or swine come within the verge of the church, so far as man can govern.”—E. Vol. 1, p. 417.

✠ Re-enforced by Can. 88, p. 326.

“27. And that nothing be lodged in the church that is not befitting it.”—*Ibid.*

Recognized generally in—Elizabeth's Letter to Abp. Parker, 1560-1, p. 178.
Canons of 1571, No. 3, p. 245.
Bp. Montague's Visit. Art. No. 6, p. 384.
Arch. Pearson's Visit. Art. No. 7, p. 393.

“8. We often see corn, hay, or any such like worldly thing kept in the churches. Now we will not that any thing be kept there, but what belongs to the ornament of the churches, that is, the holy books, the housel vessels, the mass vestments, and the furniture of the churches, as to all particulars, whether in vails or implements; lest if we [do] otherwise it be said to us as it was to the Jews, ‘My house shall be called,’ &c.”—F. Vol. 1, p. 456.

✠

The Hour Services to be said diligently.

"2. That all priests, at the proper † hours of the day and night, toll the bells of their churches, and then perform their sacred offices to God; and instruct the people how, and at what hours, God is to be worshipped."—A. Vol. 1, p. 185.

"19. Now it concerns mass-priests † and all God's servants to keep their churches employed with Divine Service. Let them sing therein the seven-tide songs, that are appointed them, as the synod^a earnestly requires, viz., the^b uht-song, the prime-song, the^c ufern-song, the mid-day song, the noon-song, the even-song, the seventh [or night] song."—D. Vol. 1, p. 393.

"5. . . . let no parish priest cele- † brate mass till he hath finished matins, prime and ufern . . ."—W. Vol. 2, p. 338.

Altars.

"139. [141.] Pope Virgilius.^d If the † altar be taken away, let the church be consecrated anew. If the walls are only altered, let it be reconciled with salt and water: if it be violated with murder, or adultery, let it be most diligently cleansed, and consecrated anew."—A. Vol. 1, p. 214.

"31. And that the priest never cele- † brate mass at least without a hallowed altar."—E. Vol. 1, p. 418.

"5. Of altars, that they be of stone." † —G. Vol. 2, p. 8.

"3. . . . that there may be in it [the † Church] a table, at which the living Bread which came down from heaven is eaten by way of intercession for the quick and dead, . . ."—S. Vol. 2, p. 215.

Re-enforced as to Matins and Evensong by the following Rubrics in Prayer Book of 1662:—

"And all Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause.

"And the Curate that ministereth in every Parish-Church or Chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the Parish-Church or Chapel where he ministereth, and shall cause a Bell to be tolled thereunto a convenient time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's Word, and to pray with him."

† Not repealed: but practically recognized, as to Matins, by the arrangement of the Prayer Book.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

† Not repealed by any subsequent Law: but no modern Office has been provided for the Reconciliation of Churches. Dr. Lushington decided, in TURNER v. PARISHIONERS OF HANWELL, that "if the Alter has been taken down there must be a re-consecration."—Quoted by Dr. Phillimore, *Argument*, p. 169.

† Practically re-enforced by the Consecration of Churches.

† Never repealed.

† Consistent with No. 5, and re-enforced by Can. 82, p. 325: which also is in no way opposed to No. 5.

^a "Perhaps the Synod of Nantz, A.D. 890."—*Johnson's Note*.

^b "Commonly called matins, sometimes nocturne."—*Ibid*.

^c "Nine a clock in the forenoon with us; tiers, the third hour with the Latins."—*Ibid*.

^d "Virgilius. A.D. 538-555."—*Editor's Note*.

Care of Altars.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

"42. And that all things near the altar, or belonging to the church, be very cleanly and decently ordered, and let what is holy be laid up with reverence, and let nothing come near it;"—E. Vol. 1, p. 420. ✠ Confirmed by the tenor of the Post-Reformation directions as to *Decency in Churches*. Compare also Can. 85, A.D. 1603-4.

"4. Let rectors of churches and priests be diligent in what concerns the honour of the altars, especially when the holy Body is there reserved, and mass is celebrating;"—W. Vol. 2, p. 337. †

"5. Let the linen cloths, corporals, palls, and other altar-cloths be whole and clean, and often washed by persons assigned by the canon for this purpose, out of regard to the presence of our Saviour, and of the whole court of heaven, which is undoubtedly present at the sacrament of the altar while it is consecrating, and after it is consecrated"—W. Vol. 2, p. 338. ✠

Altar Vessels.

"10. . . . We have also forbidden the chalice or paten for sacrificing to be made of an ox's horn"—C. Vol. 1, p. 271. ✠ The *principle* embodied in these several Canons, *viz.*, that the Chalices and Patens are to be of *Metal*, and that of the *purest character* which the circumstances of the Parish or Church allow, is distinctly recognized in—

"22. Let his chalice likewise be made of ^a pure wood, not subject to rottenness; and also the paten; and let the corporal be clean, so as befits Christ's ministration. A thing of this sort is not to be treated without great care ^b; but he shall be even honoured with God, who ministers to him in wisdom and purity." D. p. 397. †

"41. And that every chalice in which the housel is hallowed be molten, and that no man hallow it in a wooden chalice."—E. Vol. 1, p. 420. ✠

"16. That chalices be not of wax or wood."—G. Vol. 2, p. 9. ✠

Abp. Grindall's Visit. Art. No. 2, p. 285.

Abp. Bancroft's Visit. Art. No. 49, p. 344.

Abp. Abbot's Visit. Art. No. 2, p. 345.

Bp. Andrew's Visit. Art. No. 3, p. 349.

Abp. Laud's Visit. Art. No. 2, p. 370.

^a "The Danes by their depredations had reduced the English to wooden chalices. . . ."—*Johnson's Note*.

^b Two other readings of the Anglo-Saxon are given on the authority of Thorpe:—

1. "Let his chalice also be wrought of pure material, incorruptible, [of gold, or silver, or tin, or glass] and so also the dish and the corporal be clean, such as is befitting to Christ's ministrations. Such things cannot be produced without labour.

2. "And know, that every chalice be wrought of molten material, of gold or of silver, of glass or of tin; let it not be of horn, especially not of wood."—*Editor's Note*.

"16. From the council of Rheims. [cir. A.D. 630.] We charge that the Eucharist be not consecrated in any chalice not made of gold or silver; and that no bishop bless a chalice of tin."—J. Vol. 2, p. 64.

"9. Also let the Sacrament of the Eucharist be consecrated in a silver chalice, where there is a sufficiency for it"—L. Vol. 2, p. 78.

"11. We ordain that every church have a silver chalice, with other decent vessels"—N. Vol. 2, p. 107,

† Bp. Curle's Visit. Art. No. 7. p. 380.

Bp. Montague's Visit. Art. No. 9, p. 386.

Arch. Pearson's Visit. Art. No. 3, p. 393.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

✠ But it is a remarkable fact that, with the exception of these ancient Canons, there is no law whatever (so far as I know) regulating the material of the Paten and Chalice: the only order relating to the Altar Vessels being Can. 20 (p. 319), which, however, refers to the *Flagon* alone.

The practice of reconsecrating Altar Vessels is recognized in No. 4 of Edward 6th's Visitation Articles, 1547.

Care of Altar Vessels.

"18. Let there be no man of the sacred, especially of the lay order, that dare presume to use either the cup or the dish, or any of the vessels, which are hallowed to Divine Service, for any worldly purpose . . ."—F. Vol. 1, p. 461.

✠ Entirely in force.

Ornaments and Vestments for Celebration of the Eucharist.

"22. He [the Minister of the Altar] shall have his mass vestment, that he may reverently minister to God, as is becoming; and let not that vestment of his be sordid, at least not to the sight; and his altar cloths well made"—D. Vol. 1, p. 397.

"33. And that every priest have a corporas when he celebrates mass, and a subblem^b under his alb, and every

✠ All these Canons were enforced by the *Authority of Parliament* in Stat. 1 Edw. 6, c. 1, §. 7, Nov. 4, 1547 (see p. 11), by virtue of which "The Order of Communion" of March 8, 1547-8, second year of Edw. 6th, was put forth: this Order forbade the "varying of any other rite or cere-

^a "Item, Whether they do take excessive sums of money for consecrating again, either of the Churchyards, or of any other ornaments for the use of altars, or of bells, where is no need of consecration, but is superstitious and lucrative."—*Card. Doc. Ann.* Vol. 1, p. 23.

^b "I no where else meet with this term; Mr. Somner turns it *subucula*. To me it seems so called, q. *vestis subumbilicalis*, and to signify the amyth which, as it had a head-stall, and came over the shoulders, so it was strait about the reins, in *renibus stringitur*, says Durandus, lib. 3, c. 2.—*Johnson's Note*.

"The words of Durandus, lib. 3, c. 2, refer only to the amictus, *amice*, and the way in which it was fastened. The *subucula* seems to mean the linen garment worn by the priest next over his common clothes, under the *amice*, alb, and other mass-vestments, and to be the same as the 'surplice' mentioned in Johnson's next note and by Durandus; but the latter name did not prevail at the date of these Canons, being first used in the laws of King Edward the Confessor. *De Latronibus interceptis*, etc., c. 36; Thorpe, p. 199.

"The surplice is recognized by one of the directions of the missal as a garment preparatory to the mass-vestments properly so called.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

mass vestment^c decently put on."—E. Vol. 1, p. 418.

"42. let a light be always burning in the church when mass is being sung."—E. Vol. 1, p. 420.

"8. Let ministrations be performed with ornaments proper for them."—L. Vol. 2, p. 78.

"11. We ordain that every church have a clean white large linen cloth for the altar: let the old corporals which were not fit for the altar be put in the place appointed for the relics, or be burnt in presence of the archdeacon (if they are consecrated). And let archdeacons take care that the cloths and other ornaments of the altar be decent; that books be fit for singing and reading; that there be two suits of vestments for the priests: and that the attendants at the altar wear surplices, that due esteem be paid to Divine offices."—L. Vol. 2, p. 107.

"32. Let the priest have near to the altar a very clean cloth, cleanly and decently covered, and every way enclosed to wipe his fingers and lips after receiving the sacrament of the altar."—P. Vol. 2, p. 142.

mony in the mass" until the new Book was provided (see p. 12). This *Order* continued in use throughout the whole of Edward's 2nd year, and until his First Prayer Book was provided in his *third* year, March, 1548-9 (see p. 10).

† They were also further maintained by the Rubric in this First Book (p. 206); by the Rubric of Elizabeth's Book (p. 131); by the various Royal or Episcopal Orders already noticed; and are enforced, where not inconsistent with the present Prayer Book, by the Rubric which refers to the Authority of Parliament in the *second* year of Edw. 6th.

"Quibus ita dispositis, accedit ad' [&c.] Ritus celebrandi Missam. De preparatione Sacerdotis. See Dr. Rock's 'Church of our Fathers,' Part 1, c. 5, §. 10, and c. vi. §. 1."—*Editor's Note.*

^c "Here it may be seasonable to mention the whole missal attire of the priest, as we have it in Durandus, lib. 3, c. 2-7. The amytt before mentioned covered the head and shoulders, encompassed the breast and reins, and was tied with two strings. This was usually the innermost garment, but Durandus commends the practice of some in wearing a surplice over their own clothes under the amytt; next was the alb embroidered, made of fine linen, or byssus; it was strait, without any surples, and had strait sleeves, it had a head-stall, and covered the whole body: then the girdle; next was the stole, or scarf, which came round the neck, and down to the knees on each side: over this was the chesible, or planet, which was a surpled garment, stood up on the shoulders, and at the priest's lifting up his hands it opened itself on both sides. Last was the maniple, that was a napkin or handkerchief to be laid at his left hand to wipe off the sweat of his face Durandus further says, c. i. of the said book, that the Archbishop had eight vestments, beside the ornaments of his hands and feet, and c. 10, 11, after the alb they put on a tunic, and some two of them, and over the tunic a dalmatic, which, he says, succeeded the colobium of the Apostles: the bishop also had a surcingle, which was an ornamental addition to the girdle. He mentions also the pluvial, or cope, in this chapter, but says it was used only on the greater festivals. He mentions also the dalmatic of the deacon, as straiter than that of the bishop; and the tunicle of the sub-deacon, as straiter than the dalmatic of the deacon. Ostiaries, lectors, exorcists, and acolyths, says he, go all in white, that is in surplices, with an amytt, an alb, and belt, c. i., and having there mentioned the name of the other vestments, he adds, there is also a surplice, which they who teud at the altar, and other holy offices, ought to wear over their common clothes."—*Johnson's Note.*

"4. we charge that they who tend at the altar be clothed with surplices."—W. Vol. 2, p. 337.

"5. let no clerk be permitted to attend at the office of the altar without a surplice: and let two candles, or one at least, be lighted at the time of high mass. . . ."—W. Vol. 2, p. 338.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

Elements for Communion.

"98. [100.] The Canon of the Saints. † Let the priests of God always diligently take care that the bread, and wine, and water, (without which masses cannot be celebrated,) be pure and clean; for if they do otherwise, they shall be punished with them who offered to our Lord vinegar mixed with gall, unless true penitence relieve them."—A. Vol. 1, p. 204.

"10. Let bread be offered by the faithful, not crusts"—C. Vol. 1, p. 271.

"37. and let him [the Priest] beware that the oblation have not been too long baked, lest it be unsightly; and let him always mingle water with the wine. For the wine betokeneth our redemption through Christ's Blood; and the water betokeneth the people for whom He suffered . . ."—D. Vol. 1, p. 403.

"39. And that a priest never presume to celebrate mass, unless he hath all things appertaining to the housel, viz., a pure oblation, pure wine, and pure water"—E. Vol. 1, p. 420.

"5. And we charge you that the oblations which ye offer to God in that holy mystery, be either baked by yourself, or by your servants, in your presence; and that ye know that it be done in purity and chastity;^a and that both the oblation, and the wine and the water, that belongs to the offering in the mass-song, be provided and regarded with all purity and diligence, and with the fear of God; and that nothing be done unchastely or impurely,^b for there can be no mass-song without these three things, viz., the oblation, the wine, and the water, as the Holy Writ says, 'Let the fear of God be with you; and do all that is here with great carefulness.' [2 Chron. xix. 7.] The wine betokens the Lord's sufferings,

† The *mixed* chalice was distinctly *ordered* by the following Rubric of the 1st Prayer Book of Edw. 6th—" the minister putting the wine into the chalice, putting thereto a little pure and cleau water" In Edward's 2nd Book this direction, together with the whole Rubric on the Oblation of the Elements, was omitted. The same is true of Elizabeth's Book, and its amendments, until 1662. Meanwhile, the instances mentioned at pp. 347 and 252 shew that the mixed Chalice did not cease to be recognized and used, and was accounted *lawful*.

In the present Prayer Book the Rubric on the Oblation is revived, though without mention of the *water*: but *silence* alone is not prohibition; and these Canons, never having been expressly repealed, are still binding, being not *repugnant* to the directions of the Prayer Book made statute law by the Act of Uniformity. The alleged *necessity* of water to make a *valid* Eucharist must be held to be denied by the Rubric only *ordering* what it deemed *essential*: this, too, was the view of Cosin, the principal reviser (see p. 457).

The *omission* of the Rubric as to the *mixed* Chalice is no more a proof of intended disuse, than is the omission of the Rubric on Oblation a proof of like intention.

^a "Cleanly and neatly."—Another reading.—*Editor's Note*.

^b "So that there be no uncleanness or impurity in it."—*Ibid*.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

which He endured for us; the water the people for which Christ shed His Blood.”—F. Vol. 1, p. 455.

“6. That the sacrifice be not of beer, † or water alone, but of wine mixed with water only.”—G. Vol. 2, p. 8.

“1. let the Minister of the † Altar be sure that bread and wine, and water, be furnished for the sacrifice”—L. Vol. 2, p. 76.

The *principle* of the other directions of these Canons, as to the purity of the Oblation, consists strictly with the various directions to Clergy and Churchwardens quoted in these pages (see pp. 144, 319, 344, 345, 350, 382, 386, 390).

Rules for Celebration and Communion.

“37. the man who has not his † sight ought not to presume to celebrate mass, when he does not see what he offereth to God, whether it be clean or foul”—D. Vol. 1, p. 403.

“35. And that no priest celebrate * mass alone, without one to make responses to him.”—E. Vol. 1, p. 419.

“36. And that no man take the housel † after he hath broke his fast, except it be on account of extreme sickness.”—E. Vol. 1, p. 418.

“40. And that it never be, that a † priest celebrate mass, and do not eat the housel himself, or hallow again that which was hallowed before.”—E. Vol. 4, p. 418.

“1. Whereas an error in Divine Offices † endangers both the souls and bodies of men, it is wholesomely provided by this Council, that the words of the Canon be roundly and distinctly pronounced by every priest in celebrating [mass;] not curtailed by an hasty, or drawn out into an immoderate length by an affectedly slow pronunciation. In like manner that the hours and all the offices be rehearsed plainly and distinctly without clipping or mangling the words:”—M. Vol. 2, p. 84.

“5. Let the words of the canon † be fully and exactly pronounced, and with the greatest devotion of mind; with an especial regard to those [words] which concern the holy sacrament Yet let not the priest through affectation make the office nauseous to the hearers, and take away the marrow and fatness of their devotion, for dead flies destroy the sweetness of the ointment”—W. Vol. 2, p. 338.

Never repealed, and, obviously, important on other grounds beside that specified.

Superseded by *Communicants* being *required* at every Celebration.

Unrepealed, though custom and the late hour of Celebrations have modified it in the Church of England.

Enforced by Rubric in Communion Office, “*Then shall the Minister first receive,*” &c., by Can. 21, 1603, and by Rubric ordering the consumption of *all* which has been *consecrated*.

Enforced by several Rubrics, and in the Preface “Concerning the Service of the Church,” by the words “ all things shall be read and sung in the Church in the *English* Tongue, to the end that the Congregation may be thereby edified.”

Reverence in Celebrating Sacraments and saying Divine Offices.

"37. the priest ought purely and carefully to perform the Divine ministration with clean hands and clean heart"—D. Vol. 1, p. 405.

"1. Whereas the salutary host hath a pre-eminence among the other sacraments of the church, therefore the devotion of the priests ought to be more particularly employed upon it; that so it may be consecrated with humility, received with awe, administered with reverence . . . and let it not be celebrated without a lettered minister:"—L. Vol. 2, p. 76.

"6. We decree with the general council [Lateran, A.D. 1216], that both the nocturnal and diurnal office be celebrated with diligence and devotion, as God gives ability: and that all the Sacraments, those of baptism and of the altar especially, be performed with such devotion as God inspires: that the words of the Canon, especially of the consecration of Christ's Body, be perfectly pronounced. After the priest hath received the Lord's Body and Blood at the altar, let him not twice drink the wine poured into the chalice, or spilt on [rather poured over] his fingers, though he do celebrate again the same day."—N. Vol. 2, p. 105.

Neither of these three Canons has ever been repealed; they are entirely consonant with the whole spirit and letter of the Prayer Book, excepting the last clause of No. 6, to which we have no equivalent direction: the object of it was to prevent a priest, who had to celebrate twice, from breaking his fast (as he was held to do) by consuming the rinsings of the Chalice after his first Celebration. But the difficulty probably does not often occur with us, and when it does the Canon is easy of application.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

Eucharist not to be sopped.

"15. From the decree of Pope Julius. ✠ Unrepealed. [A.D. 335.]

"We forbid the Eucharist to be sopped, as if the Communion were by this means more entirely administered. Christ gave a sop only to that disciple whom He pointed out for a traitor, and that not to denote the institution of this sacrament."—J. Vol. 2, p. 63.

No Celebration on Good Friday.

"37. Housel ought not to be allowed on Long Friday, because Christ offered for us on this day. But yet what concerns the day must be done, for wo lessons are to be read, with two tracts, and two collects, and Christ's passion, and afterwards the prayers, and let them pay their adoration to the rood, then let all greet God's rood with a kiss. Afterward let the priest go to God's altar with the remains of the housel which he consecrated on Thursday, and with unhallowed wine mingled with

The chief part of this Canon is, obviously, repealed by the abolition of the Office Book containing the Ceremonial Directions. and by our rule of non-reservation: the latter creates a difficulty as to *Celebrating* on Good Friday; but, as the Canon permits *Communicating* on that day, it would seem not inconsistent with it to *Celebrate*, considering that, otherwise, there can be no

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

water, and cover them with a corporal, and then presently say, *Oremus, præceptis salutaribus moniti, et pater noster*, to the end, and then let him say with a low voice, *Libera nos quæsumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis*, and aloud, *per omnia secula seculorum*. Then let him put a particle of the housel into the chalice, as it is customary, but with silence. Then let him go to housel, and whoever else pleases”—D. Vol. 1, p. 403.

Communions in the Church of England. More, however, may be said for and against Celebration on a Good Friday than can be mentioned here.

How often a priest may celebrate.

“37. And that no priest celebrate mass more than thrice at most in one day.”—E. Vol. 1, p. 420.

“2. A priest may not celebrate mass twice a day, unless the necessity be urgent. When he does, let nothing be poured into the chalice after the receiving of the Blood at the first celebration; but let the least drops be diligently supped out of the chalice, and the fingers sucked or licked with the tongue, and washed, and the washings kept in a clean vessel to be had for this purpose; which washings are to be drunk after the second celebration; except a deacon or some other considerable minister be present to drink the washings at the first celebration”—M. Vol. 2, p. 84.

“7. We forbid any priest to celebrate mass twice on the same day, except Christmas and Easter, or when a corpse is buried; in which [last] case the first mass must be that for the day, the second for the dead.”—N. Vol. 2, p. 106.

“3. Let none presume to celebrate mass twice a day, unless on the day of the Nativity or Resurrection of our Lord, or when one has a corpse to bury, and that in his own church only; and then let not the celebrator drink the washings of his fingers and of the cup”—Y. Vol. 2, p. 440.

Communion not to be celebrated in unconsecrated places without license.

“25. They [the holy fathers] have also decreed that mass be not celebrated in any house but what is hallowed, except in case of necessity, or^a if the man be sick.”—D. Vol. 1, p. 397.

All these laws are still in force, and might be a most useful and very practical guide to the Clergy of the Church of England, seeing that no directions, upon the points mentioned in them, are given in the Prayer Book, or later Canons. A comparison of the four Canons shews that *ordinarily* a Priest may Celebrate but *once* a day; and that the *maximum* number, even in cases of necessity, is *three* times.

All these Canons are substantially enforced by Can. 71, 1603, “*Ministers not to preach or administer the Communion in private houses*” unless in the

^a “Not on the account of any layman’s sickness, but of the priest who was to officiate. See Can. 30, 960.”—*Johnson’s Note*.

“30. And that no priest celebrate mass ✠ “times of necessity” there specified: also by the Office of “The Communion of the Sick.”
in any house but a hallowed church, except on account of some man’s extreme sickness.”—E. Vol. 1, p. 417.

“11. Moreover it is not lawful to sing ✠
mass in any place but churches, not in houses, nor in any place but what God hath chosen (as it is written, ‘offer not thy sacrifice’ [&c. Deut. xii. 13]), except it be in the army; then let a tent be had to this only [use,] and a hallowed altar, and on that let the ministration of the mass-song be accomplished.”—F. Vol. 1, p. 459.

“8. That masses be not celebrated in ✠
churches, before they have been consecrated by bishops.”—G. Vol. 2, p. 8.

“1. We, with the consent and ✠
advice of our brethren, decree, that whosoever celebrates masses in oratories, chapels, houses, or places not dedicated, without license of the diocesan first obtained, contrary to the canons, do for the future incur suspension from the celebration of divine service *ipso facto* for the space of a month”—X. Vol. 2 p. 360.

The Sacrament to be always ready for the Sick.

“22. That priests have the Eucharist * All these laws are, of course, always ready for the sick, lest they die repealed by the abolition of the practice of reserving the Sacrament in the Church of Eng-
without the Communion.”—A. Vol. 1, p. 187.

“38. And that the priest have the *
housel always in a readiness for them that may want it; and that he keep it with diligence, and purity, and take care that it does not grow stale if it be kept so long that it cannot be received, then let it be burnt in a clean fire, and let the ashes be put under the altar; and let him who was guilty of the neglect diligently make satisfaction to God.”—E. Vol. 1, p. 418.

Mode of Reservation.

“1. Let care be taken that the *
host be reserved in a clean and decent pyx”—L. Vol. 2, p. 76.

* “Not on account of any layman’s sickness, the thirty-eighth canon (see p. 479) provides for this; but in case any priest had vowed, or through zeal was resolved, or had it enjoined him in penance to say mass, and was yet too sick to go to Church. See also Can. 25, Elfric 960. [?957]”—*Johnson’s Note.*

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tinued.

"7. We charge that for the future the most worthy Sacrament of the Eucharist be so kept that a tabernacle be made in every church with a decent enclosure according to the greatness of the cure and the value of the church, in which the Lord's Body may be laid, not in a purse or bag, but in a fair pyx lined with the whitest linen, so that it may be put in and taken out without any hazard of breaking it:"—T. Vol. 2, p. 264.

"4. let the Holy Eucharist be kept in a clean pyx of silver, or ivory, or otherwise as befits the Sacrament."—W. Vol. 2, p. 337.

Reserved Sacrament, how long it may be kept.

"37. Some priests reserve the housel that was hallowed on Easter-day over year for sick men. But they do very greatly amiss, who cause the holy housel to putrefy, and are unwilling to understand how great satisfaction the penitential directeth in relation to them, if the housel be putrefied, or musty, or lost, or if a mouse eateth it, through carelessness. The holy housel ought to be kept with great diligence, and not be permitted to be stale, but another be always hallowed anew for sick men, in about a seven-night or fortnight, so as that it may not be musty at least. For that housel that was now hallowed to day is altogether as holy as that which was hallowed on Easter-day. That housel is Christ's body, not corporally but spiritually; not the body in which He spake, when He blessed bread and wine for housel one night before His passion, and said of the bread blessed, 'This is My Body'; and again of the wine blessed, 'This is My Blood, that is shed for the forgiveness of sins.' Know now that the Lord who was able to change the bread into His Body before His passion, and the wine into His Blood, in a spiritual manner, He Himself daily blesseth bread and wine by the hand of His priests into His spiritual Body and Blood"—D. Vol. 1, p. 405.

"2. That the Body of Christ be not reserved above eight days"—J. Vol. 2, p. 43.

"1. let it [the salutary host] be renewed every Lord's day."—L. Vol. 2, p. 76.

* The commencement of Canon 37 is a protest against what was a real *superstition*: and the latter part a clear statement of doctrine by an author, whose Homily on the subject Archbishop Parker and others republished. (See p. 253, *Note b.*)

"2. ... Let the Host be renewed every *
Lord's day. And let there be a certain
distinction between the consecrated and
unconsecrated Hosts, that the one be not
taken for the other"—M. Vol. 2,
p. 84.

"7. we charge that the vene- *
rable sacrament be renewed every Lord's
day"—T. Vol. 2, p. 264.

"4. Let not the host be reserved
above seven days after consecration, but
be renewed every week"—W. Vol.
2, p. 337.

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cations: con-
tinued.

Who to carry the Sacrament to the Sick.

"2. that it [the Body of *
Christ] be not carried to the sick but by
a priest or deacon; in case of necessity
by any one, but with the greatest reve-
rence."—J. Vol. 2, p. 43.

Sacrament how to be carried to the Sick.

"2. As often as the Communion is to *
be given to the infirm let the priest in
person carry the Host in a clerical habit
suitable to so great a Sacrament, with a
light going before It, unless the rough-
ness of the weather, or the difficulty of
his way, or some other obstacle, do not
admit of it."—L. Vol. 2, p. 76.

"2. Further, let the Eucharist *
be reserved in a clean decent pyx, and so
carried to the sick with a clean cloth laid
over it, and a candle and cross before it,
unless the sick man dwell at too great a
distance"—M. Vol. 2, p. 84.

"21. We add, that when the Eucharist *
is to be carried to a sick man, the priest
have a clean, decent box, and in it a very
clean linen cloth, in which to carry the
Lord's Body to the sick man, with a
title bell going before, to stir up the devo-
tion of the faithful by its sound, and let
the priest go on this occasion with his
crosier, and in his surplice, if the sick man
be not too far distant. And let him have
silver or tin vessel, always to carry with
him to the sick, appropriated for the
special purpose, that is, for giving the
ashings of his fingers to be drunk [by
the sick man] after the taking of the
Eucharist."—P. Vol. 2, p. 319.

"7. We decree also that this *
Sacrament be carried with due reverence
to the sick, the priest having on his surplice

All these Canons are neces-
sarily *repealed* by the fact that
non-reservation makes them
wholly *inapplicable*. Moreover,
some of their directions were
expressly abolished, even while
the practice of reservation for
the sick was retained: thus the
Light and *Bell*, but not the
Cross, were prohibited in Ed-
ward's 3rd year by No. 13 of
his amended Injunctions (see
p. 51.)

It seems desirable to notice
the direction in No. 21, as to
the "silver or tin vessel," be-
cause Johnson appears very
needlessly to have said of it,
"Horrible indignity to God
and man! to take the sacra-
mental cup from the people,
to which God had given them
a right, and instead thereof to
give them the washings of the
priests' hands." But though a
protest against Communion in
one kind was legitimate enough
in the proper place, this Order
has no connection with it; the
object being to secure the con-
sumption of any particles of the
Sacrament which might have
adhered to the priest's fingers in
administering it: these the *Priest*
might not consume himself, as
is shewn by Nos. 36, 6, 2, 3,
pp. 476 & 478, which required
the Sacrament to be received
fasting, and forbade a Priest to
consume the rinsings of the

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and stole, with a light in a lantern before him, and a bell to excite the people to due reverence, who are discreetly to be informed by the priest that they prostrate themselves, or at least make humble adoration, wheresoever the King of Glory is carried under the cover of bread.”
—T. Vol. 2, p. 264.

Chalice if he had to celebrate again the same day.

“4. let it [the Sacrament] be carried with reverence by the priest, or in case of extreme necessity by the deacon, with a light and lantern going before; unless the distance of place, or the shortness of time, forbid this. And let the ministers so behave themselves going and coming that the sick man have the office duly performed to him, and they who hear and see them be invited to pay due reverence to the Sacrament” —W. Vol. 2, p. 337.

The Font and Baptism.

“42. An Item. There are some who mingle wine with the water of baptism, not rightly. And Christ commanded to baptize with water, not with wine.” —A. Vol. 1, p. 193. ✠ Enforced by Rubric in Baptismal Office “..... the Font to be filled with pure Water.”

“32. The priest shall also have oil hallowed distinctly for children” —D. Vol. 1, p. 400. * These are repealed by the abolition of unction in Baptism (see p. 110), and of hallowing

“37. Let no oil be put into the Font [on Easter Eve], except a child be there baptized” —D. Vol. 1, p. 404. * the Font on Easter Eve.

“66. And that every priest have . . . oil for Baptism” —E. Vol. 1, p. 425.

“1. We charge that the fonts in which children are baptized be of stone; or, however, whole and decent, that they may occasion contempt or aversion in none, but be had in veneration by all.” —O. Vol. 2, p. 122. ✠ Compare No. 10.

“9. Let baptismal fonts be kept under lock and key for [fear of] sorcery, as also the chrism and the holy oil” —P. Vol. 2, p. 134. † Repealed as to the chrism and oil which are no longer used.

“10. In every baptismal church let there be a baptistery of stone, or, however, one that is sufficient,^b handsomely covered and reverently kept, and not used for any other purposes. Let not the water in which a child has been baptized be kept in the baptistery above seven days.” —P. Vol. 2, p. 134. ✠ Enforced, as to the Font, by Can. 81, 1603 (see p. 325). The other direction commends itself.

^a “That is all churches that have lay people belonging to them.” —*Johnson's Note.*

^b “Large enough for dipping such as are baptized in it, says Lindwood.” —*Ibid.*

Private Baptism.

"1. Let priests often instruct laymen, that they ought to baptize children in case of necessity, and it may be done even by a woman, or by the father or mother of the child. Let the priests diligently enquire of the layman who has baptized a child what he said; and if he find that it was done discreetly, and in due manner, and that he pronounced the form of words in his own tongue, let him approve what has been done; but if not, let him rebaptize the child in honour to baptism, let the water with which the baptism was performed be thrown into the fire, or be carried to the church to be put into the font. . . . We charge that the vessels in which any have been [so] baptized be carried to church, and there be applied to some necessary use, and not to any common purpose, out of reverence to the sacrament"—O. Vol. 2, p. 122.

"10. If a child in case of necessity have been baptized by a layman at home, let that water, in honour to baptism, be either thrown into the fire, or carried to church in order to be poured into the baptistery; and let the vessel [in which baptism was performed] be burnt, or deputed to the use^a of the church."—P. Vol. 2, p. 134.

"11. Let the priest always diligently enquire of the layman, who has baptized a child in case of necessity, what he said, and what he did; and if he find by full evidence that he did clearly perform the baptism in the form of the church, let him approve the fact, whether he did it in Latin, French, or English; but if not, let him baptize the child as ought to be done according to the form of the church."—P. Vol. 2, p. 135.

† Except the direction in No. 1 *instructing* lay persons to baptize in case of necessity, these Canons are still in force. The chief objectors to lay Baptism were the Puritans, because it implied the general necessity of Baptism, though, indeed, they opposed it on other grounds: this led ultimately to the insertion of the words "*lawful Minister*" in the Rubric of the Book of 1603, only, however, upon the authority of King James 1st, after the Hampton Court Conference. In the Book of 1662, the Rubric was made more stringent, *viz.*, "*the Minister of the Parish (or in his absence, any other lawful Minister that can be procured)*"; and this is sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity which authorized the Book.

But, though these changes were meant to act as a *prohibition* of lay baptism, they do not render it *invalid* when once administered.

Bishop Cosin says, ". we take just exceptions against a layman, or a woman, that presumes to give it; yet if once they have done it, we make not their act and administration of Baptism *void*; nor presume we to *iterate* the Sacrament after them."—*Letter to Mr. Cordel*, 1650.

And the Dean of the Arches, May 8, 1841, in the case of *Mastin v. Escott*, decided that the law of the Church is beyond all doubt that a child baptized by a layman is validly baptized." See other authorities in *Bulley's Variations of the Com. and Bap. Offices*. Oxford, 1842.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

Anointing of the Sick.

"21. That, according to the direction † of the holy fathers, if any one be sick, he † These Canons stand in a peculiar position: they are not

^a "For washing the Church linen, says Lyndwood."—*Johnson's Note*.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

be anointed by the priests with consecrated oil, together with prayer."—A. Vol. 1, p. 185.

"32. The priest shall also have oil † hallowed distinctly for † sick men; and solemnly anoint the sick in their bed. Some sick men are full of vain fears, so as not to consent to the being anointed. Now we will tell you how God's Apostle Jacob hath instructed us in this point, he thus speaks to the faithful: 'If any of you be afflicted,' [&c., James v. 13—16]."—D. Vol. 1, p. 400.

"66. And that every priest have. . . . † oil for the anointing the sick. . . ."—E. Vol. 1, p. 425.

"3. Let the sick man's oil be carried † with great reverence to the sick, and let † the priests anoint them with great devotion, and with the celebrity of prayers provided for this purpose. . . . and let the holy oil and chrism be kept safely under key, that no profane hand may reach it for horrible purposes. . . ."—W. Vol. 2, p. 336.

Who to consecrate the Oils.

"67. And that every priest know to † make answer, when he fetches the chrism, † as to what he has done in relation to the prayers for the king and the bishop."—E. Vol. 1, p. 425.

"21. . . . we. . . . do exhort [Arch- † bishops and Bishops] that out of † care to their flock, and for the comfort of the churches which they have espoused, they be present especially in the solemn days in Lent and Advent at those [churches] to which they have plighted their faith, and there consecrate the holy chrism, and the holy oil, and the oil for the sick on Maunday Thursday every year. . . ."—S. Vol. 2, p. 235.

"6. Whereas the consecration of the † chrism is annually to be performed by † the bishop of every place according to the sanction of the sacred canons, and the chrism consecrated by them annually is annually to be delivered to the faithful, and what remains of the old chrism to be burnt in the church; let the priests who preside in the churches be bound to fetch the chrism for every

repealed by any subsequent prohibitory direction, such as that relative to the reserved Sacrament: but they are practically repealed by the entire omission, in all the later Books, of the order relating thereto in the First Prayer Book of Edw. 6th. Why so Scriptural a practice should have been abandoned it is difficult to account for, except on the ground that, the temper which led to the substitution of Edward's *Second* Book for the First was one which reprobated every practice which had even an *apparent* counterpart in the Latin Communion.

It would seem then that, as they are not *opposed* to any other Law of the Church of England, they could be revived by the Bishops, if they deemed it desirable to restore the practice of Edward's First Book: without their co-operation the Rite plainly could not be restored, for, as No. 21 compared with No. 21 of the following section shews, the Bishop of the Diocese is the Consecrator of the Unction.

The absence of any Office, either for the Consecration of the Oil, or for Anointing the Sick, cannot be regarded as a prohibition to such action of the Episcopate; for the Consecration of Churches, which is ordered by No. 3, is a parallel instance, so far as regards the existence of any modern *law* for it: yet the Bishops continue a practice which would be *illegal* on the principle that *silence is prohibition*, and, moreover, they use an Office which can make no claim to *authority* such as the Prayer Book possesses. *Custom*, indeed, which is a kind of Ecclesiastical Common Law, sanctions this; but as *desuetude* does not repeal a

^a ". . . no doubt sorcery, witchcraft, &c."—*Johnson's Note.*

church every year from the bishops of the places before the feast of Easter, or as soon as may be, by themselves, or by their deacons, or subdeacons, And the same we take to be understood in a sound sense of the holy oil of the catechumens."—T. Vol. 2, p. 263.

law, so it would appear that any Diocesan Bishop is *free* to act upon these Canons.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

Consecration of Churches.

"3. we find it providently ordained that all . . . churches be consecrated by the diocesans to whom they belong, or by others authorized by them within two years from the time of their being finished gratis, and without demanding anything at all excepting due procuracy"—S. Vol. 2, p. 215.

✠ Can. 71, 1603, says, "houses are here reputed for private houses, wherein are no Chapels dedicated and allowed by the Ecclesiastical Law of this Realm." This, I believe, is the only post-reformation Authority for *Consecration* of Churches, and it is a very *indirect* one; but it is observable that the last expression must point, apparently, to these Ancient Canons.

Sacraments to be free of all charge.

"2. We charge that no price be demanded for chrism, oil, baptism, visiting or anointing the sick, for the Communion of the body of Christ, or for burial."—I. Vol. 2, p. 35.

✠ "Whilst these Sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Church-wardens, or other fit persons shall receive the *Alms* for the Poor, and other *devotions* of the people. . . ."—*Rub. in Commun. Office.*

"1. Following the canonical institutes of the fathers we forbid by apostolical authority any price to be demanded for chrism, oil, baptism, penance, visitation of the sick, espousals of women, unction, communion of the Body of Christ, or burial, under pain of excommunication."—J. Vol. 2, p. 42.

" the Man shall give unto the Woman a Ring, laying the same upon the Book with the *accustomed duty* to the Priest and Clerk."—*Rub. in Marriage Office.*

"7. From the synod of Triburia, or Trevar.^a

✠ "The Minister should not omit earnestly to move such sick persons as are of ability to be liberal to the poor."—*Office for Visit. of the Sick.*

"The holy synod detests simoniacal heresy, and ordains that nothing be demanded for orders, chrism, baptism, extreme unction, burial, communion, nor the dedication of a church; but what is freely received be freely given; let the offender be anathema."—K. Vol. 2, p. 61.

"The Woman that cometh to give thanks must offer *accustomed offerings*."—*Office for Churching of Women.*

"8. According to the Lateran Council [A.D. 1215, c.7], we forbid anything to be demanded for inducting or instituting priests, or other clerks, for burying the dead, or giving the nuptial benediction, for chrism, or any of the sacraments . . ."—M. Vol. 2, p. 89.

✠ Can. 40, A.D. 1603. "An Oath against Simony at Institution into Benefices."

Can. 135, A.D. 1603. ". . . no fee or money shall be received, either by the Arch bishop, or any Bishop, or Suf

^a "See Conc.. Tribur. A.D. 895. can. 16. Concil. tom. xviii. col. 140."—*Editor's Note.*

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

"27, We firmly forbid burial, baptism, any ecclesiastical sacrament, or the contracting of matrimony, to be denied to any on account of money. Our will is that the Ordinary do justice as to what is used by custom to be given, according as it is more largely expressed in the statute of the general council [Lateran A.D. 1216, c. 66]. To demand anything for chrism or the holy oil we judge unreasonable, because it has so often been forbid."—N. Vol. p. 112.

"7. Let not a corpse be deferred to be buried on account of the fee. But after the funeral, if any thing be given, let it be accepted as an alms."—P. Vol. 2, p. 133.

"8. Further we forbid the selling of masses, and charge laymen and others to give or bequeath nothing in their wills for annals, or trentals of masses . . ."—P. Vol. 2, p. 134.

"2. We ordain and charge that the sacraments of the church, in which as in heavenly vessels the means of salvation are contained, as also the consecrated oil and chrism, be purely and devoutly administered by the ministers of the church without any spice of covetousness under pretence of a custom, by which, say they, they who receive these sacraments make certain payments to certain persons . . ."—Q. Vol. 2, p. 152.

✠ fragan, either directly or indirectly, for admitting of any into sacred orders . . ."

✠ "Art. 3, A.D., 1549. "That none buy or sell the Holy Communion, as in Trentals and such other."—See p. 50. And comp. Elizabeth's Injunctions, No. 25.

✠ These orders plainly shew the intention to conform to the principle of these Ancient Canons. The scales of Fees now in use probably grew out of the direction in No. 27: but there seems no authority for *demanding* fixed fees, especially for Baptisms and Churchings, particularly in cases where the parties are too poor to afford them.

Rogations.

"16. They agreed in the sixteenth head, that the litanies, that is, rogations, be with great reverence kept by the clergy and all the people on these days, viz., the seventh of the kalends of May, according to the rites of the Church of Rome, where this is called the greatest litany; and also according to the custom of our ancestors, on the three days before our Lord's ascension into heaven, with fasting till nones and celebration of masses, not with a mixture of vanities, as is the fashion of many, who are either negligent or ignorant; that is, with games, and horse-races, and great banquets; but rather with fear and trembling, with the sign of Christ's passion, and of our eternal redemption carried before them, together with the relics of saints. Let all the people, with bended knees, humbly intreat the pardon of God for their sins."—B. Vol. 1, p. 250.

† This Canon is unrepealed, except as regards the observance of "the seventh of the Kalends of May," and the bearing of *Relics* in the procession.

"Days of Fasting, or Abstinence.

" The Three Rogation days, being the *Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday* before *Holy Thursday*, or the *Ascension* of our Lord."—*Book of Com. Prayer*.

Probably "the relics" here mentioned were included in the "monument of superstition" which Grindal forbid to be used in Rogations.—See pp. 173 and 257.

Clergy to go to Synods prepared to Celebrate.

"3. And that at every synod every year they [God's servants] have their books, and vestments for divine ministrations"—E. Vol. 1, p. 413.

"4. When the bishop requires a genitor [synod], take with you such a vestment for the mass, such a book, such housel vessels, and such conveniences as may serve for the ministrations committed to you, and two or three priests, or as many laymen, to make the responses; that they, with you, may worthily solemnize the holy service; that so it may appear how earnestly and diligently you perform your ministrations to God."—3. Vol. 1, p. 454.

† These Canons are *obsolete*, owing to the disuse of the custom of holding such synods: but the *principle*, of the various Clergy summoned being prepared to Celebrate the Eucharist at the Bishop's desire, is strictly applicable to Ruridecanal Meetings, to Archidiaconal and Episcopal Visitations, and to Synods whenever revived.

Ancient Canon Law, its later *practical* modifications: continued.

Who to provide the Church Ornaments.

"1. Whereas great controversy often riseth between the rectors or vicars of churches, within the province of York, and their parishioners, concerning divers ornaments and things belonging to the church; therefore, that it may be known what the rectors or vicars are concerned to uphold and repair, and what things and ornaments of the church are to be repaired by the parishioners; we ordain, that all our parishioners be so well informed in the following particulars, as that they do all in every respect observe them, that is the chalice, the principal mass-vestment of the church, with the vesible, the alb, the amynt, the stole, the maniple, the girdle, with three towels and corporals, and other decent vestments for the deacon [and subdeacon], according to the condition of the parishioners, and the church, with a silk cope for the principal festivals, and two others for presiding in the choir at the feasts aforesaid, a cross for the processions, and another lesser cross for the dead, a bier for the dead, a vessel for the holy water, an osculatory, candlestick for the paschal taper, a cense-pot, a lanthorn with a little bell, a waten veil, two candlesticks for the colts,* the legend, the antiphonar, the psalter, the troper, the ordinal, the missal, the manual, which are the books: the frontal for the high altar, three surplices, a decent pix for the Body

† ". . . . a decent basin to be provided by the Parish for that purpose," viz., to "receive the Alms for the Poor, and other devotions of the people."—*Comm. Office.*

" a decent and comely Surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the Parish."—Can. 58, A.D. 1603. See p. 123.

One parchment Register Book for Christenings, Weddings, and Burials, and a Coffer for the same, to be provided by the Parish.—Can. 70, 1603, *Prayer Book, Bible, Books of Homilies*: to be provided by the Parish."—Can. 80, p. 325.

Font: not ordered to be provided by the Parish; but the Canon (No. 81, p. 325) refers to "a former Constitution"; the only direction, however, except those pre-reformation Canons, answering this description, occurs in Elizabeth's Advertisements, 1564, "That the Font be not removed, nor that the Curate do baptize in parish Churches in any basons"—there is no order here, or in any post-reformation Document that I know of (except

* "So our ancestors called the acolyths, or candle-bearers, as they are styled."—*Johnson's Note.*

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

of Christ, banners for the rogation days, great bells with their ropes, the holy font with a lock and key, the chrismatory, the images in the churches, the principal image (in the chancel) of that saint to which the church is dedicated; the repair of the books and vestments, with all the things aforesaid, as occasion shall be; the beam-light in the church, the repair of the body of the church, and building of it, with the steeple within and without, the glass windows, the fence of the church-yards, with the wings of the body of the church, and every thing which is known to belong to the parishioners.

"All other things shall belong to the rectors or vicars, according to their several ordinations [*i.e.*, endowments]; that is, the principal chancel with the reparations thereof, as to the walls, and roofs, and glass windows, with desks and benches, and other decent ornaments, that they may sing with the prophet, 'Lord, I have loved the comeliness of Thy House,' together with the manse of the rectory, and the reparation thereof from time to time. And let rectors or vicars know that they may be compelled to these and other things not written in this book, by the ordinaries of the places, according to this and other constitutions approved in this respect."—R. Vol. 2, pp. 176—8.

Archbishop Peckham, in his Constitutions at Lambeth, gives a nearly similar list of the things to be provided by the PARISH: he omits the following—*Stole*; *three Corporals*; *Vestments for the Deacon and Subdeacon*; *Silk Cope for the Principal Festivals*; *two other Copes for the Choir*; *two Candlesticks for the Acolytes*; *Frontal for the high altar*; *three Surplices*; *Pix*; *Chrismatory*; *the principal Image in the chancel*; *the Beam light*: the books are, apparently, all included under the term "Manuals"; the repair of the *Altars* he especially assigns to the Parish; he only names *two* towels.

He adds, *Salt and Bread, and Bells*.

"All other particulars and ornaments, with the reparation of the chancel within and without, ought to be found by the rectors or vicars, according to the divers approved ordinations and constitutions."—U. Vol. 2, p. 302.

Archbishop Winchelsey mentions nearly the same things as Archbishop Grey; his PAROCHIAL Catalogue does not contain

Bonner's Articles, p. 118), as to who must furnish the Font. To these Ancient Canons then it would seem, appeal must be made if the question arose—*Who is to provide the Font?*

The *Communion Table*, a *Covering* for it, and a *Linen Cloth*; the *Tables of the 10 Commandments*; a *seat for the Minister*; a *Pulpit*; an *Alms-Chest*; to be provided by the Parish.—*Can.* 82, 83, 84, p. 325.

The other Ornaments, both of the Church and the Minister, whether expressly mentioned in the Prayer Book and Canons of 1603, *viz.*, *Patent Chalice*, *Flagon*, *Fair Linen Cloth* for covering the unconsumed Sacrament, *Bell*; or ordered in the Canons alone, *viz.*, *Hood*, *Cope*, *Tippet*; or included in the General Rubric on Ornaments—all these are left *without any order as to who is to provide them* (so far as I know), except the direction of these pre-reformation Canons: in them alone, it seems, is to be found any *Law* regulating which belong to the Parishioners and which to the Clergy.

It will be seen, by a comparison of what each is to provide, that the Parishioners were and are responsible for whatever was or is *essential* to Divine Service; the Priest for "*other decent ornaments*," in addition to his liability to maintain "*the principal Chancel*." This, then, seems a distinct answer to a prevalent notion, no less than to some deliberate statements which are to be met with, to the effect,—that the Clergyman has nothing whatever to do *with ordering the Ornaments of the Church*. So far is this from being true, that the Canon says he "may be compelled" by the Ordinary to find them."

the following—*Albe; Amyt; Stole; Maniple; Girdle; Corporals; Vestments for Deacon and Subdeacon; Silk Cope for Principal Festivals; Chrismatory; Beam Light*; he only orders *one Cope* for the Choir, but adds, “and its appendages.”

He also orders a *Dalmatic; a Tunic; and a Rochet.*

“The rectors and vicars of the places are to repair all the rest, the chancel, and whatever is here omitted, or they to whom it belongs at their own cost.”—V. Vol. 2, p. 318.

Other things to be provided.

“43. And that no hallowed thing be † *Obsolete*, but apparently not neglected, as holy water, salt, frankincense, bread, or anything that is holy.”—*repealed*, except the *salt*, which had been used in Baptism.—E. Vol. 1, p. 420.

Ornaments not to be put to common use.

“13. Let the chrysons be made use of * Apparently repealed by the for the ornaments of the church only; seeming intended omission of let the other ornaments of the church the Ceremony.—See p. 111. which have been blessed by the bishop be applied to no common use”—P. Vol. 2, p. 135.

Preaching.

“3. That on all feast's and Lord's ✠ Wholly conformable to the days, every priest preach Christ's gospel letter and spirit of the Prayer Book and Canons.—Compare to the people.”—A. Vol. 1, p. 185. *Can. 43, 45, 46, and 47. A.D. 1603.*

Ornaments, &c., to be enquired of at Visitations.

“5. The design of Visitation ✠ Visitations are recognized in is to see to what concerns the cure of Can. 111, A.D. 1603, but it souls, and that every church have a silver contains no detail of duties. chalice, a sufficiency of decent vestments for the priest, necessary books, and utensils, and whatever is necessary for the honour and dignity of the sacrament”—M. Vol. 2, p. 87.

“25. Let archdeacons take care in their visitations according to the † Repealed, so far as relates to the General Council [Lateran, A.D. 1216, c. 20], that the host, the chrism, and holy oil be kept under lock and key. And let them have all the ornaments and utensils of the church set down in writing: and let the books and vestments be viewed by them every year; that they may know what additions are made by the parson's diligence, or what the church hath lost.”—N. Vol. 2, p. 110. *the Host, Chrism, and Oils.*

A distinct confirmation of the statement at p. 488, that the Clergy may provide some Ornaments.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: continued.

Who to see that Ornaments, &c., are provided.

Ancient Canon Law, its later practical modifications: concluded.

"4. let archdeacons provide that † the linen cloths, and other ornaments of the altar, be decent, and that the church have books fit for reading and singing, and two suits of priest's vestments at least;"—W. Vol. 2, p. 337.

Not repealed, except so far as regards the direction to provide *two* suits of Vestments; *one* only being apparently *required* by the Canons of 1603: but it is so to be considered whether these Ancient Canons are not of greater authority, as having the force of *Statute Law*.

"5. We enjoin archdeacons and ✠ their officials in their visitations of churches [to cause the vessels, vestments, books, and other things belonging to the said offices to be written down and] have a special regard to the fabric of the church, and especially of the chancel; and that they fix a certain time for the supplying such defects as they find therein under some penalty;"—W. Vol. 2, p. 339.

Entirely unrepealed.

Enforced, as to repair of Churches, by Can. 86.

Result of this comparison.

Having thus extracted from these Ancient Ecclesiastical Laws all that relates to Ornament, Ritual, and Ceremonial, and having tested them by all the subsequent enactments or prohibitions which possess any *repealing* force, what evidence do they furnish of Ornament and Ceremonial which can claim to be *legal* by Authority of Parliament?

Bearing in mind the meaning of the Signatures between the columns, as explained at p. 466, it is only necessary to glance at the pages to see how large a proportion of these Laws are, not only formally *unrepealed*, but also, either partially or entirely in force, and, so far from being repugnant to, are consonant with the spirit and the letter of the existing formularies of the Church of England. But the case will be even more distinct upon an inspection of the following List of Ornaments, Utensils, Ceremonies and Customs collected from the above comparative analysis and now Legally *usable*, though I have nothing to do here with advocating the *use* of all: any which are doubtful are marked thus*.

Ornaments, Utensils, and other Things for the Church.

1. Altar or Table of Stone or other material.—p. 471.
2. Frontal for the same.—pp. 488-9.
3. Paten. 4. Chalice.—pp. 482 and 487.

5. Font of Stone, with a Cover.—pp. 482 and 488.
6. Images. 7. Bells.—pp. 488-9.
7. Processional Cross. 8. Cross for the dead.—p. 487.
9. Bier for the dead.—p. 487.
10. Service Books.—pp. 487-8.
11. Two *Lights* on the Altar.—p. 475.
12. Two Candles at reading the Gospel *.—p. 487.
13. A Paschal or Easter Candle *.—p. 487.
14. A Pax *. 15. A Pyx * (pp. 487-8). The latter could only be lawful in the event of the Bishop permitting the Sacrament to be reserved for the sick in cases of necessity. (See p. 479).
16. A Censer and Incense.—pp. 487 and 489.
17. Linen Cloths for the Altar.—p. 472.
18. Corporals. 19. Palls.—p. 472.
20. Towels. 21. Mundatory.—pp. 474, 487-8.
22. Banners for Rogations.—p. 488.
23. Vails *. 24. Lenten Veil *.—pp. 470 and 487.
25. Desks and Benches for the Chancel.—p. 488.
26. "Other decent Ornaments" for the *Chancel* especially, but also, apparently for the Church (pp. 488-9). For these the Incumbent or the Impropiator is liable: they would clearly include an ALTAR CROSS and a CHANCEL - SCREEN CROSS, which cannot be denied to be "decent" *i.e.* fit Ornaments for a Church. At p. 477, an Altar Crucifix and a Rood over the Screen, the form in which the Crosses appeared before and at the time of the Reformation, are *incidentally* recognized, though not expressly named among the Ornaments at pp. 487 and 488. The Altar Cross (or Crucifix) was also required by the Rubrics of the Missal (see p. 44).

Ornaments of the Minister.

1. Surplice. 2. Alb. 3. Girdle.—pp. 473 and 487-8.
4. Stole. 5. Dalmatic. 6. Tunicle.—pp. 470, 487 and 489.
7. Chasuble (*or* Vestment). 8. Cope.—pp. 473, 487-8.
9. Amice. 10. Cape (*or* Tippet).—pp. 470, 487 and 489.
1. Maniple. 12. Hood. 13. Cassock.—pp. 470 and 487.

for the Minister

14. Distinct and suitable Apparel when not in Church.—
p. 469.

Ceremonies and Customs.

1. Consecration of Churches and Ornaments.—pp. 473 and 485.
2. Reconciliation of Churches.—p. 471.
3. Re-consecration of Churches, if the Altar be removed.—
p. 471.
4. Anointing of Sick (with co-operation of the Bishop).—
p. 484.
5. Rogation Processions, with Prayers.—p. 486.
6. Exorcism, with license of the Bishop.—p. 467.
7. Bread, Wine, and Water to be used in Celebrating the
Eucharist.—p. 475.
8. Water to be *pure* for Baptism.—p. 482.
9. Fonts to be kept locked.—p. 482.
10. Water used for Private Baptism to be put in the fire or
the Church Font.—p. 483.
11. Vessel used for Private Baptism to be applied to Church
purposes.—p. 483.
12. Priests to wear Vestments at Communion of the Sick.
—p. 481.
13. Old Altar Cloths, &c. to be burnt.—p. 474.

Difference
between this
List and that of
Elizabeth.

If, then, we compare this List with a similar List at the end of Elizabeth's reign (see pp. 308-10) it will be found that—

Among the *Church Ornaments*, &c. Nos. 3, 4, 9, 11, 12,
13, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 23;

Among the *Ornaments of the Minister*, Nos. 5, 9 and 11;

Among the *Ceremonies and Customs*, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10,
11, 12 and 13—

can claim an Authority, more or less definite, which from the various changes during the Elizabethan era, seemed then to be of doubtful application. On the other hand—

Nos. 11, 12 and 14, of the Elizabethan *Church Ornaments*;

No. 1, of the *Ministerial Ornaments*;

appear to be more modern than the Pre-reformation Canons,

though neither they, nor the other Ornaments and Ceremonies, which do not occur in both Lists, are inconsistent with each other.

Difference
between this
List and that of
Edward.

Again, a comparison of the List derived from the Pre-reformation Canons with the List at the end of Edward's *second* year (see pp. 37 and 3), gives the following result:—

No. 6 (p. 491) of Church Ornaments; *viz.* Images, are lawful now, though they only remained for the *first month* of Edward's second year.

Nos. 5, 6, 9 and 11 of Church Ornaments;

Nos. 1 and 4 to 10, of the Ceremonies, and all of 14, except Crossing the *forehead* in Baptism, are abolished by their inconsistency with our present Offices.

These comparisons, then, plainly prove, I think, that there is no practical difficulty in ascertaining which of the Ornaments in use by Authority of Parliament in Edward's *second* year, are strictly applicable to the Services of the Church of England now as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

Before I proceed to sum up the bearing of the evidence furnished by the preceding pages on the particular Ornaments adjudicated upon in the Consistory Court, it will be desirable to notice some few remaining observations of Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode which could not conveniently be considered in the course of the narrative. Thus, with regard to the main question, *What was the Authority of Parliament in the Second Year of Edward 6th?* Mr. Goode says (p. 76) that the Rubric "sanctions only those Ornaments that were prescribed by the first Common Prayer Book of Edward VI.;" and Dr. Lushington, after expressing his opinion that the term is *equivalent* to Edward's First Prayer Book, says (p. 25)—

Further remarks
on the state-
ments of Dr.
Lushington and
Mr. Goode.

"I apprehend it to be clear, that as orders are to be found in the first book regulating the ornaments of the ministers, reference, so far as relates to the ornaments of ministers, must be looked for in the first book alone, for it would be productive of the greatest confusion, and contrary to all rules of sound construction, when you have precise directions in the book specially referred to, to go back to former times where you might find ornaments utterly inconsistent with those specially prescribed. Then, if this be so as to the ornaments of the minister, should not the same construction be applied to the ornaments of the church, which are comprised in the very same sentence, and governed by the very same words?"

Dr. Lushington
thinks the Prayer
Book *alone* the
authority for
Ornaments.

Error of his rule
of construction.

But, apart from the fact that the Book is *not* specially referred to, if Dr. Lushington's rule of construction is wrongly applied to the Ornaments of the *Minister*, then, on his own showing, it is inapplicable to the Ornaments of the *Church*: that it is misapplied in the former case a little consideration will shew. The great mistake, into which he and Mr. Goode have both fallen here, is the supposition—that Edward's First Book was intended at the time to be a Directory for the number and character of the Ornaments both of the Church and of the Minister; and that there are "precise directions" in that Book. Such a notion, however, is utterly at variance with the history and the probabilities of the case. I have already adverted to the subject at pp. 6, 11, and 42—46; but it is requisite to say farther—that, with the exception of the Rubric giving a discretion as to the use of the *Surplice* in certain Offices when not used in *public* (see p. 48), there is not a single direction throughout the whole Book, as to Ornaments of any kind, unless in connection with some act in the Public Services: in other words, the persons concerned, whether Clergy or people, were simply told how or when to use certain of the Ornaments or Things already provided, and this occurred only where there were variations from the previous practice, or where similar directions had been given in the Missals.

Thus, *e. g.*, the Rubric at the commencement of the Communion Office "Upon the day, and at the time," &c. (see p. 206) what was it but the counterpart of the direction which the Priest had been accustomed to see in the like place in the Sarum^a and other uses? Or, again, when the Cele-

^a SARUM, "*Ad missam dicendam dum sacerdos induit se sacris vestibus dicat hymnum: Veni Creator,*" &c.

BANGOR. "*Ad missam dicendam executor officii cum suis ministris se induant. Dum induit se sacerdos vestibus dicat hunc hymnum: Veni Creator,*" &c.

HEREFORD. "*Ad introitum missæ postquam sacerdos induerit se amictum et albam: stans altare incipiat Antiphonum: Introibo ad altare.*"

EBOR. "*Quando presbyter lavat manus suas ante missam dicat hanc orationem: Largire sensibus,*" &c.

Upon this last Rubric Mr. Maskell has the following Note:—

"It will be observed that the *York Use* makes no mention of any vestments, and the *Hereford* speaks only of the Amice and the Alb. We must remember that though now they are lost, there were formerly numerous other volumes in which complete instructions were to be found for the due vesting of both the Celebrant and his Assistants: in the Missal, sometimes they were but alluded to, at other times omitted altogether. There cannot be a shadow of a doubt, that

brant was bidden to say the Lord's Prayer and the Collect following "standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar," it would but remind him of words which had ever met his eye in the Ordinary^b of the Mass. And, once more, was he told, when making the Oblation, to lay "the Bread upon the Corporas, or else in the Paten," the Ornaments were no novelties to him, nor would the Rubric^c perplex him as if for the first time seen. Neither the Clergy nor the Churchwardens of that day would have thought of looking into the New Prayer Book for a *Catalogue* of Ornaments, and if they had, their disappointment would have been sore; for not only would they have found hardly anything prescribed, but even what was mentioned was described in the vaguest way. Suppose, for instance, the Priest turned to the Rubric already mentioned, to ascertain in what Vestures he should go to the Altar, he would see that he must have "a white Albe plain, with a vestment or Cope," but whether the latter was to be *Red*, or *White*, or *Yellow*, or any other colour how was he to determine, or indeed how is any one to determine now, if the Rubrical Vestments were revived, remitted as he is by Dr. Lushington to Edward's "first book alone"? To the Priest of 1549 no difficulty would have presented itself; using his common sense, he would have said—here, in this Church, are Vestments of all sorts and colours, I am not told to disuse them in saying the new Office of "the Mass" or "Holy Communion," therefore I must of course, do as I have always done: but I see my Albe is to be *white* and *plain*, so I suppose I am not to use the *coloured* or *embroidered* ones.

Can any one reasonably doubt that this would have been the construction of this Rubric then, or that, if "resort" had been had to Archbishop Cranmer, or any other Bishop, by any that happened to "doubt, or diversely take anything" in that Book, the answer would have confirmed such construction?

The full number of vestments was required by the order of the Church of Hereford as well as by the Church of Salisbury: and if one would argue from this rubric, postquam sacerdos induerit se amictum et albam, that the Chausuble (for example) was not also necessary, he might as well attempt to prove from the York rubric, that in that Church the Celebrant was not vested at all, and was simply to wash his hands. . . ."—*Ancient Liturgies compared*, p. 2.

^b SARUM, BANGOR, EBOR, HEREFORD. "Pater noster," &c.—*Maskell*, p. 9.

^c SARUM, BANGOR, HEREFORD. Ordinarium Missæ, "ponatque panem super corporalia decenter," &c.—*Maskell*, pp. 56 and 57.

Illustration from the probable occurrences when the Missal was abolished in Edward's reign.

Common Law
now and the
Ancient Canon
Law, are the
Authorities for
all Ornamnts.

And if this were true of the Ornaments of the Minister, it must, upon Dr. Lushington's own principle, have been true of the Ornaments of the Church: *provision, custom, non-prohibition*, and whatever else went to make up what may be called the Ecclesiastical Common Law of the period, must have furnished ample and sufficiently exact guidance had there been nothing else to appeal to: but, as I have already shewn at pp. 11 & 38, there was the explicit *Authority of Parliament* provided by the 25 Hen. viii. c. 19, and 35 Hen. viii. c. 16, which endued the former Provincial Constitutions and Canons with the force of Statute Law, besides the directions of certain Office Books not at that time abolished. The only question which would then have had to be considered was this—what is there in the Ornaments prescribed in these several sources at variance with or repugnant to the Office now imposed by the authority of King Edward's Parliament? That question there could have been no difficulty in answering: the Injunctions of 1547, distinctly recognised *as being authoritative* in the first Rubric at the end of the Communion Office in Edward's first Book, stated exactly what Ornaments had been abolished; and the Preface on Ceremonies in that same Book, explaining as it did why a whole mass of Missal Rubrics, relating to them, had been omitted in the new Book, would at once shew that whatever Ornaments, whether of the Minister or the Church, those Ceremonies involved, were also abolished, provided only, is, that they were inconsistent with or were not required for such Offices of the Church as were still retained.

Dr. Lushington
sanctions the
reference to
Edward's 2nd
year alone.

Referred then as WE are, by the Rubric of the present Prayer Book, to the Authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward the Sixth, our duty plainly is to look to that period, *and that alone*, if we wish to discover whether a particular Ornament of the Church or of the Minister can claim the *direct sanction* of the last Act of Uniformity: for this position we have the express approval of Dr. Lushington in the following passage, though, indeed, he creates for himself a difficulty which is purely imaginary and sprang from his evident unwillingness, on that occasion, to face an authority which must have been perfectly familiar to him in the ordinary practice of his Court: he says (p. 27)—

“Let me for one moment review the situation in which I, as a

judge, am placed, and consider to what alternative I am necessarily reduced. I am ordered by Act of Parliament to conform myself to what has been prescribed by the authority of Parliament; and nothing has been prescribed by that authority. What is to be done under such circumstances? How does the law direct me to proceed? One conclusion, already adverted to, necessarily follows; that all which has been done from the second year of Edward the Sixth up to the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Charles the Second has no binding force or efficacy. Any royal injunction, any act of convocation, any canon, is utterly void and of no effect to alter the last Act of Uniformity; for it is a simple and universally acknowledged principle, that an Act of Parliament can only be revoked or altered by an Act of Parliament."

Importance of
this principle.

Here then, in the learned Judge's "conclusion", is a most simple and intelligible PRINCIPLE—a principle which has been kept distinctly in view throughout these pages: had Dr. Lushington fairly acted upon it he would not have perplexed, as he did, a comparatively easy subject: but instead of taking the words "Authority of Parliament" in their widest sense (as including acts of the Crown or Privy Council, of the Episcopate or the Convocation, done in virtue of powers conferred upon them or confirmed by Parliament) the Judge of the Consistory chose to interpret them by the phrase "Act of Parliament", and then, failing to discover an Act of the second year of Edward the Sixth *prescribing* Ornaments, he imagines some objector telling him that he has

no right to look to what was done before or after, by any authority whatever short of Parliament, whether to injunctions, canons, usage, or anything else."—*Judg.* p. 28.

The obvious delusion, however, which Dr. Lushington practices upon himself, in this statement, is the supposed objection that he might not look at anything done "*before*" Edward's second year; and so, instead of arguing that it was his duty to search for some "Authority of Parliament" which, though enacted *prior* to that second year, was in force therein, he proceeds to say—

Delusive objection supposed by
Dr. Lushington.

"I feel bound in candour and for the sake of truth to say, that this difficulty presses me very sorely, and that I cannot overcome it with satisfaction to my own mind. It is, however, equally my duty to look at the consequences of assenting to such an argument. The consequences are inevitable, either that no church ornaments being mentioned, none are lawful, or that there would be no law at all applicable to church ornaments; and I need not say, what mischief and confusion would arise from such a state of things. Even if I

could venture to say, despite the Statute, that all church ornaments were lawful which could not be proved to be illegal, I should not overcome the difficulty."—*Ibid.*

His mode of dealing with it :

How, then, does the learned Judge propose to escape from this difficulty which, as it seems to me, is entirely one of his own creating? He says "I have determined to look at and "consider everything". But then this "everything", when we come to examine it, is *only* what was done between 1549 and 1662—the very period of which the Judge had just before said that nothing done during it has any "binding force or "efficacy"; a period too which, so far from affording any, *continuously*, reliable contemporaneous evidence of the Church Ornaments in use by Authority of Parliament in Edward's *second* year, either, as in Mary's reign, points us to what was authorized before Henry the Eighth's reforms, or starting with the later years of Edward, leads us through the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, times these in which Puritanism was doing its best to root out all traces of the Ornaments of Edward's *second* year. If it be said—true, but you have stopped considerably short of 1662, and have overlooked a period in which great attempts were made to restore the alleged Ornaments of Edward's *second* year—the answer is, that I am only stating the course *actually* taken by Dr. Lushington, who, with a marvellous inconsistency and with an utter disregard of the rule laid down for himself, wholly ignored the anti-puritan endeavours of Charles the First's reign, though they were avowedly based upon the principle of reverting to Edward's *second* year, and cannot be shewn to have departed from that principle. The learned Judge, like Mr. Goode, plainly had no sympathy with the "new tone of "Ecclesiastical feelings and views" which, the latter says Archbishop Laud and his party "...laboured to introduce" into "our Church", following the "example" to be gathered from the continued "usages" of "Cathedral and Collegiate "Churches (not to mention Royal and Private Chapels)" and so it is easy to conceive that he would justify this omission upon grounds similar to those of Mr. Goode, who says :—

inconsistent with himself;

"We need take, however, but a very superficial view of the history of our Church to be convinced, that evidence of the existence of

certain usages and practices in various Churches at different periods since the Reformation, particularly at the Laudian era, is no proof of their legality."—p. 9. and opposed to facts,

Indeed this is obviously the view of Dr. Lushington who, speaking of Crosses, says—

"I have not any very precise information . . . but I presume the fact to have been that under the auspices of Archbishop Laud and some other of the bishops crosses were again introduced into some of our parish churches. In the time of the Commonwealth they were destroyed."—*Judg.* p. 33.

Yet this is a most deficient and unsatisfactory representation of the state of things at that period: to judge from it and from Mr. Goode's remarks quoted above at p. 372, it would be supposed that there was only a very partial and limited revival in Charles the First's reign, of the Ornaments now so denounced: but it must be a very narrow view indeed of the history of that time which could arrive at such a conclusion: he who adopts it must entirely disregard the complaints of those days (See pp. 352 and 407), the Orders of the Houses of Lords and Commons (pp. 408, 417 and 426), the proceedings of the Lords' Committee (p. 414), the directions of the Committee "in the Court of Wards" (p. 422) and at Grocer's Hall (p. 427), the popular violence in acting upon these Orders (p. 421)—occurrences which form but a small part of the acts in that Reign relative to these matters. Surely it is impossible to look at all this and then to affirm that the revival of Church Ornaments at that time could not be called *general*: if history ever proved anything, this history most abundantly testifies that the so-called "Innovations" were wide-spread throughout the kingdom, and formed the *rule*, not the *exception*. And the fact being so affords one of the strongest proofs which could be desired—that what was done, was *legally* done; it is to make a demand upon imagination, not to say common sense, which cannot be complied with, to assert that so extensive a usage had been adopted in about 12 years, *contrary* to the Ecclesiastical Law, and despite as vigorous and sustained an opposition from the Puritans as can well be supposed. Nor does it help the case in the smallest degree, to say that the Parliament decreed the changes to be illegal, unless it can be proved that History belies its acts in representing

which prove the
legality of what
he condemns.

Evidence of the
Laudian period

them to have been devoid of all regard for Law. It rests therefore with those who, like Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode, reject the evidence furnished by the Laudian times, as to Lawful Church Ornaments, to shew why it is less trustworthy than the periods which they select; or how it came to pass that Bishops, Clergy, Church-wardens and Parishioners, in so great numbers and in such a proportion of Parishes, promoted or acquiesced in a revival of Ornament and Ceremonial if it was, as is alleged, contrary to Law and opposed to the intentions of the Edwardine Reformers, the rule of whose second year was adopted as their standard.

and of the early
Elizabethan
times not to be
passed over.

It is quite true, however, that the records of the *early* Elizabethan period furnish, as these pages testify (see 121-2, 123, 126-9, 139, 152 and 157), very sufficient evidence of what the Edwardine records prove to have been in use by *Authority of Parliament* in Edward's second year; but this is just the evidence which Dr. Lushington neglects, while he relies upon the conduct of Bishops and others who owned (see pp. 125, 220 and 301) that Elizabeth's rule for Ornaments and Ceremonial was made previously to their appointment and without their concurrence, that they were opposed to what they deemed its Popish character, and that they were doing what they could to procure its abolition.

It seems, then, that though Dr. Lushington did not accept one part of his supposed objector's view, *viz.*, that he was prohibited from considering what was done *after* Edward's second year—he was not slow to avail himself of the other part of the same conjectural statement in relation to what occurred *before* that period: this appears to have been the natural consequence of a settled unwillingness to investigate any probable authority previous to the second year of Edward, which would be likely to clear up the difficulty; for, having observed that the Rubric of 1662 upon “the most latitudinarian construction . . . referred to a guide, the existence of which” he could not “with certainty discover,” he adds—

“It is no part of my duty to attempt an explanation how it happened that the Legislature left the matter in this state. It may be a question of antiquarian research, but it is not within the scope of my duty, inclination, or ability, to tread in that path”—*Judg.* p. 27.

Directly connected with the Rubric here adverted to, is the following remark of Dr. Lushington:—

“ I think great weight is justly due to usages in the second year of King Edward the Sixth ; but to make this argument avail it must be shewn, not that any particular ornament might be occasionally found, but that its legality and acceptance was proved by general use and acknowledgment.”—*Judg.* p. 35.

Dr. Lushington admits that the usage of 2 Edw. VI. is *weighty* :

Now, of course, this principle is perfectly true, and its enunciation would have been most pertinent if the point in discussion had been whether the disputed Ornaments were in use towards the *end* of Edward's or of Elizabeth's Reign or subsequently to the latter ; but to raise the question in reference to Edward's *second* year is simply, what is called, throwing dust in people's eyes ; for if anything could well be beyond dispute, it is the universal prevalence of these Ornaments in the Church of England at that time ; nor am I aware that the fact has ever been called in question ; indeed it would be as unreasonable to doubt it as to discuss whether a Paten and Chalice are in general use in the Church of England now. Having, however, started the inquiry, the learned Judge pursues it further in these words :—

“ Assuming the inquiry to be [&c., see p. 39.] The expression ‘ in use,’ I conceive we must all agree is not properly applicable to that which was only done occasionally, and not in all places ; it must mean that which was generally accustomed to be done. Some twenty instances go but a little way to form a general use.”—*Judg.* p. 36.

but not *general*.

The concluding sentence of this paragraph I can only imagine to refer to an affidavit made by Mr. Beresford-Hope, mentioning 13 Churches in which Altar Crosses now exist : yet unless the learned Judge was under the (improbable) impression that the Crosses had been retained since the second year of Edward the Sixth, the allusion was not only wholly irrelevant, but calculated to create a prejudice on the subject. To the rest of this passage a sufficient answer has, I think, been given in the observations just made : but if a more distinct proof is needed that Crosses “ were ” *generally* “ in this Church ‘ of England ’ ” at that time, the Letter of the Privy Council, April 30th, 1548 (see p. 33), is incontrovertible ; to this may be added the fact that the Mass was everywhere Celebrated *all through* Edward's second year without any variation in its

Ceremonial, and therefore in its Ornaments, by a distinct Rubric in "The Order of Communion," published March 8th, 1548 (see p. 11): no "antiquarian research" was necessary to obtain *this* evidence; it lay under the Judge's hand in Cardwell and Strype, books to which he referred; though, perhaps, he was not aware of the still more positive proofs to be found in the Inventories of Church Goods made by Edward's Commissioners, a large portion of which, as already mentioned, remain in the Record Office at Carlton Ride.

It is curious, however, to see the kind of evidence which Dr. Lushington substitutes for this which he alleges to have been unattainable: he says—

"When precise evidence as to the particular period fails, the best and most legitimate evidence would be what had been the usage for the last 300 years. Such a usage would be the best evidence attainable of what was in use before;—the absence of such a continuing usage the best evidence that no such usage existed at the particular time."—*Ibid.*

One sentence excepted, it is marvellous that the learned Judge should have committed himself to so fallacious an argument: most true, indeed, a continued usage for 300 years since the year 1548, would be the best possible proof that a particular Ornament was used in that year, *unless* it was known to have been introduced in the year 1549; but it is simply delusive to point to three centuries which in the most marked way were characterized by opposition to, rebellion against, and indifference of all Ornament and Ceremonial, and to say that the *usage* of that period is "the best and most legitimate evidence" of the usage of Edward's *second* year; while, too, it is perfectly absurd to contend that "the absence of such continuous use is the best evidence that no such usage existed at the particular time." To take a very simple illustration: supposing a Statute were to be now passed enacting that such public carriages should "be in use" as were in use in London and Westminster in the second year of George the Fourth, would the non-continuous usage of Hackney Coaches since that period be any proof that they were not in use in 1821? Further, if the Law continued on the Statute Book, though the Home Secretary and the Commissioners of Police failed to re-introduce them, being met by the objec-

Weakness of
evidence relied
upon by Dr.
Lushington.

tions that they are antiquated in shape and unsuited to modern fashions, and if a dispute arose 50 years hence, is it probable that a person, conscious of great changes having happened in the interval, would determine the usage of 1821 by the usage between 1856 and 1906?

A similar fallacy presents itself in another part of Dr. Lushington's Judgment, when contending that the "use" referred to must be shewn "by legal evidence"; he says—

Fallacy in his notion of legal evidence.

"that whatever was constantly in use without objection for centuries after the Reformation may perhaps, though this is a doubtful proposition, be presumed to have been in use and sanctioned by Act of Parliament in the second year of Edward the Sixth. But the converse of this proposition is, I think, true :—that whatever was repudiated by competent authority, and disallowed generally from the time of the Reformation, was not in legal use at that time."—*Ibid.* p. 41.

The difficulty in dealing with this passage, as indeed with other statements of Dr. Lushington, arises from his indefinite use of the term *Reformation*: to some extent this may have been unavoidable, owing to the fact that the Reformation was not the work of any given year: but then, as at one period of the Reformation, *viz.* the first year of Elizabeth, a given Rule for Ornaments was adopted, and has never since been changed, however little it may have been followed, it must not be spoken of as though it had been a fluctuating standard which was depressed or raised by the variations of the Episcopal mind subsequent to its erection, but must be regarded as impressed with a definite character by the Act which authorized it and the Book in which it was first exhibited. In other words, the Rubric of Elizabeth's Prayer Book *legalized* all the Ornaments of the Church and of the Minister which had Parliamentary sanction in Edward's second year *minus* only those which were not *usable* by the nature and structure of the Offices in that Book. It is nothing to the purpose, then, to say that Parker advised the Queen to remove the Crucifix and Lighted Candles from her Chapel, or that Cox was distressed at the toleration in the Churches of "the image of the Cross and of "Him who was crucified," or that Sampson was warlike against the "relics of the Amorites," or that Sandys hoped that the "Popish vestments" *viz.*, "the Copes" would "not

“last very long,” or that Jewell thought there was “a little too much foolery” in “ceremonies and maskings,” or that Grindal disapproved of an Organ and would rather minister without a Surplice—their acts and wishes did not *alter* the Law though to a great extent they rendered it obsolete and brought it into greater disrepute with the Puritans; but the Act of 1662 entirely revived its *force* though it remained for better days, upon some of which we have fallen, gradually to point out its reasonableness and to endeavour to restore its practice.

His mistake as to selection of Ornaments made by the Reformers.

In considering “*what* Ornaments are sanctioned by our “Church,” Dr. Lushington, referring to the Rubric, says:—

“this, however, is clear to my mind as an inevitable inference,—that all the ancient usages of the Church are not sanctioned, but that a selection is made. If the contrary had been intended, the phraseology must have been wholly different. If all the usages in indifferent matters in the ancient or primitive Church were to be sanctioned, our Reformers would so have declared. Had such been the intention, words might have easily made it clear. They have done the contrary.”—*Ibid.*

Now in one sense this alleged “selection” is true; that is, the use of certain things was *intended* not to be continued: but this is not the same as to say that a *choice* was made of all that *was* to be *used* or that a *list*, so to speak, was drawn up which was designed neither to be added to nor diminished. The language of Dr. Lushington here, as elsewhere, would just suit the mistaken idea that the Reformation was a *constructive* and not an *eliminating* proceeding; it would be both true and appropriate if tradition, custom, law, had all been clean swept away at a particular period and an entirely new state of things had occupied its place. But, the reverse of all this being the fact, it would have been difficult to find words which could more accurately describe what Elizabeth and her Councillors plainly meant to do. Mary had restored the “Service” and “Administration of Sacraments,” not entirely as it had been at the commencement of Henry’s reforms, but to the state in which it was left “in the last year of Henry “VIII. ;” the Ornaments and Vestments followed the same rule: for these Offices, however, soon after Elizabeth’s accession, it was determined to substitute the Services of Edward’s

second Book with certain alterations which deprived it in part of the character which the Genevan Reformers had contrived to get imparted to it. This being decided upon, what was to be done with the Ornaments, Vestures, and other things which were seen and were in use in the Churches? Were all to remain, or were they to be reduced again to that bare and meagre condition in which they were found at Edward's death? Neither the one nor the other. It was considered that certain things having been abolished by Edward the Sixth, while the old Offices remained, in addition to what his father had removed, enough had been done in that direction, and that the Ornaments of his *second* year were not incongruous with the Services proposed to be used; while to prevent any mistakes or contentions on the subject, and to provide an Authority by which the existing Ornaments could be reduced to that standard, the Queen issued a body of Injunctions which were mainly a re-production of Edward's (the authority of which had ceased, I presume, at the King's death), though *e. g.* his Injunction to remove *Images* was not included.

Such being the course which matters took, I apprehend it is quite immaterial, to the proof of what Ornaments Elizabeth's Rubric meant to establish, whether Dr. Lushington is right or wrong in the view he takes of Edward's Injunction, in the following passage, though I venture to maintain an entirely opposite opinion: he says—

“ Very early in King Edward the Sixth's time, viz., in 1547, he issued an injunction in the following words: ‘ All ecclesiastical persons [&c. see No. 3, p. 27].’ I have already expressed my opinion that this injunction is not entitled to the force of an Act of Parliament, nor proved to be issued under any such authority; but the injunction is strong and undeniable proof of what in the early times of the Reformation was deemed right on this subject, and sanctioned by Royal authority. There can be no doubt, also, that this injunction was accepted and acted upon by Archbishop Cranmer. It is equally clear, however, that this use of candles is not expressly authorized by the Second and Third of Edward the Sixth, nor by the First Book of Common Prayer. Subsequently, as the Reformation grew in strength, and approached its present proportions, the setting lights on the communion table was expressly prohibited; and no other ceremonies were to be used than those appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayer. This appears from the visitation articles issued by Royal authority, shortly after the First Book of Common

Unimportance
of his view of
the Injunctions
of 1547.

Prayer.—(*Cardwell's Documentary Annals*, pp. 63, 64.)—*Judg.* p. 50.

Consequences
of it.

Of the fatal consequences, to his theory of abolished practices, which inevitably attend Dr. Lushington's view of the injunctions, I have already spoken at p. 29. In this passage he admits the *Royal*, though not the *Parliamentary*, sanction given to Altar Lights "in 1547," and allows that Cranmer acted upon them; he might have added—in Edward's *second* year; for Cranmer's Visitation Articles bear that date. But then the learned Judge tells us that their use was not "expressly authorized" by Edward's First Act of Uniformity and Prayer Book: this, indeed, is perfectly true though it is not the slightest proof that they were not meant to be used; for, as I have before observed, the Prayer Book, like the Old Service Book, was not a *Directory* for Ornaments, and if the learned Judge had looked into the Missals, he would have found that even they gave no directions for Altar Lights.—(See pp. 43 and 44.) The Judge has, however, in another passage, indirectly (and perhaps unintentionally) affirmed their use in Edward's *second* year: his words are—

He incidentally
maintains their
authority.

"Before the Reformation, the use of candles and tapers and images of wax beyond doubt prevailed, and especially when Mass was performed. Lyndwood mentions "a constitution of Archbishop Reynolds in these terms:—'Tempore quo missarum solennia peraguntur, accenduntur duæ candelæ, vel ad minus una.'") *Lyndwood's Provinciale*, lib. 3. tit. 23, p. 136.) The lighting of those candles was intimately connected with a rite of the Roman Catholic Church"—*Ibid.*

But "Mass *was* performed" *all through* and *after* Edward's *second* year, therefore these *two Lights* were also used, though Edward's Injunctions, which retained them, had abolished the other things which Dr. Lushington mentions: what "Rite" of the Roman Church they were "intimately connected with" Dr. Lushington has not told us, and he would find it very hard to discover any purpose which they were designed to serve in the pre-reformation Communion Office, except that very symbolical use for which Edward's Injunction retained them, *viz.* "the signification that Christ is the "very true light of the world"—a usage which one should have thought none the less beautifully appropriate in these

days when such great *professions* are made of the, never indeed to be forgotten, duty of "preaching Christ". Moreover to mention the Lights in this connexion is, at once, to arouse prejudices, and either to overlook the fact of their prevailing use throughout the Lutheran Communion or, so far, to invest that Protestant body with a distinct Romish character.

It was most needless, too, and wholly wide of the question, for Dr. Lushington to press the fact—that, subsequently to Edward's second year, these Lights were prohibited: no one disputes that: to say, however, that it was co-eval with the *growing strength* of the Reformation is exactly to reverse the principle which enacted Elizabeth's Rubric on Ornaments, and omitted to re-enact these repealing Injunctions; that principle being—that the Reformation had gone too far in the Genevan direction, and that it was necessary to retrace its steps towards Edward's *second* year: while the circumstance that Elizabeth's Rubric was re-enacted in 1662, and that, too, without any such Statutory provision as that which gave Elizabeth power to take *further Order* respecting Ornaments, exhibits a *deliberate intention* to make that year the Standard, and to reduce the Puritanically developed and unhealthy "proportions" which the Reformation had so unhappily assumed. Rejecting, however, all notion of a Symbolical use, as one great means of teaching the people through their *visual* organs, Dr. Lushington, with the examples of Chapels Royal and Cathedrals before his eyes, and looking to the *consequences* of prohibiting Altar Candles in SS. Paul and Barnabas, compromised the case by allowing them to remain for the purpose of "giving necessary" "light": with this conclusion I cannot but contrast Mr. Goode's remark (in addition to one already noticed), when he says:—

"No doubt, if lights are required on the Communion Table for lighting the Church when the service is performed by candle-light, and unlighted candles are placed on the Communion Table in the former part of the day, with the intent (real or professed) that they may be ready for that purpose, it might be hardly worth while, in ordinary cases, to notice such a practice. But as it is open to the supposition that there is a superstitious object in view in placing them there, it is surely a wiser course, and certainly looks more honest, not to adopt such a practice. And I suppose few will think it can produce any good effect upon the minds of the worshippers to have

Non-necessity of his reference to the period after 2 Edw. VI.

Mr. Goode's opinion, as to Altar Candles, preferable to that of Dr. Lushington.

unlighted candles upon the Table at the administration of the Communion, or at any other time. A *bad* effect it *may* produce in more ways than one; and one certainly is, that if noticed at all, it can only provoke a smile, as a palpable absurdity.—p. 81.

With Mr. Goode's last remark I entirely agree, and will add that (as a much better substitute could be found if such candles are to be used for "necessary light") they had far better be abolished altogether than thus perpetuate the delusive mockery that the Church of England by such a practice is conforming either to the spirit or the letter of those Ancient models which she professes to follow, or is consistently carrying out the intentions of Elizabeth and Charles the Second with regard to Edward's second year. What the "superstitious object" can be which Mr. Goode thinks may be imagined, I certainly cannot divine; nor am I aware that the opposition to them from those whom Mr. Goode calls "the leading divines of" Elizabeth's "day" (p. 80) was ever grounded upon any notion of *superstition*, save that their unhappy exile in Mary's days seems to have imbued them, more or less, with the superstitious notion—that to do anything which the Church of Rome did was an act of *superstition*. Mr. Goode quotes, indeed, a passage from Bishop Jewell in which, as he says, Jewell

"replies to Harding's charge against our Church, that 'lights at the Gospel and Communion be not had'"

chiefly by quoting three passages from the Fathers (one only of which seems to the point) to shew that the

"Christians in old time had lights in their Churches . . . to solace them against the dark, and not for any use of religion So likewise saith St. Hierome . . . We light not our tapers at mid-day, but only by this comfort to ease the darkness of the night."—p. 79.

It is to be observed, however, that Harding's charge was a much more comprehensive one, and did not relate to what the primitive Church did: he says—

"Concerning ceremonies, if ye shew us not the use of chrism in your churches, if the sign of the cross be not borne before you in processions and otherwheres used, if holy water be abolished, if lights at the gospel and communion be not had, if peculiar vestments for deacons, priests, bishops, be taken away, and many such other the like; judge ye whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church."—*Def. of the Apol.* p. 176. Jewel's Works, Parker Society, 1848.

Insufficiency of
Jewell's evidence
as quoted by
Mr. Goode.

Opinions may fairly differ as to whether Jewel's reference to the early Church was the best answer to Harding, considering the language of the 20th Art. "The Church hath "power to decree Rites or Ceremonies": but it is remarkable that in Jewel's reply he does not notice either the Cross or the Vestments, much less quote Antiquity against them, though, as the preceding pages (see pp. 125, 152 and 166) shew, he objected alike to all. The question, however, is not—what did Bishop Jewel think of these things, especially ten years after Elizabeth's Rubric had been enacted and when Puritan inroads had made havoc of the Church's Ornament and Ceremonial? but—are Altar Lights among those Authorized Ornaments of Edward's second year which may be *consistently* used with the Present Prayer Book? Jewel's opinion or dislike of them, proves nothing as to their *legality*; neither does the passage from the Homilies, which Mr. Goode quotes, shew "the doctrine of our Church on this subject". He says:—

It and Mr. Goode's quotation from the Homily answered by the Acts of Cranmer and others.

"So the third part of the Homily against Peril of Idolatry (in the Second Book of Homilies, published in 1562) when speaking of the Romish practice of lighting candles before images, adds what is strictly applicable to the practice now in question,—'For in the day it needeth not but was ever a proverb of foolishness, to light a candle at noon-time'."—p. 80.

It seems to me to be a sufficient answer to this (as also to the opinion of Jewel) to ask—what are we to think of the views of Cranmer and those who advocated the symbolical use of Altar Lights in Edward's Injunction, together with their views who, in Elizabeth's reign, made a Rubric which maintained them? Were they to be accounted advocates of "foolishness"?

Allusion was made, at p. 372, to Bishop Barlow, as one of the authorities relied upon by Mr. Goode (when classing Crosses, Crucifixes, and Images together) he endeavours to prove them to be all alike *illegal*: referring to "Stat. 1 Jac. 1, "c. 25, §. 48" which revived the 3 & 4 Edw. 6, c. 10 (see p. 340) Mr. Goode says:—

Opinion of Bp. Barlow on Images;

"our learned Bishop T. Barlow remarks, in a little treatise on this subject ' [the Statute] so remains still obligatory.'"—p. 50.

The Treatise referred to occurs in a little Book of "Cases

wrongly alleged
by Mr. Goode as
applicable to
Crosses.

“of Conscience” resolved by the Bishop “Lond. 1692”, and is called “*A Breviate of the Case concerning Setting up Images in the Parish-Church of Moulton, in the Diocess and County of Lincoln, Anno 1683-4.*”

It seems, from the Bishop’s account, that—

“Upon pretence of adorning and beautifying the Church some of the Parishioners did,

“1. Wash out all the Sentences of Scripture formerly writ upon the Walls in that Church.

“2. Then (without the Approbation and Advice, or the general consent of the Parish) they set up the Images of five or six of the *Apostles*; which giving great Offence (*for thirty-seven of the Parishioners did under their Hands protest against it*), they procured an Order from the Deputy-Chancellor of *Lincoln*, to approve and confirm what they had done, and authorize them to set up (as they were pleased to call them) *more Effigies*.

“3. By this Order and Authority they set up the Images of *thirteen Apostles*, *St. Paul* being one: the Image of *Peter* they placed above the *Ten Commandments*; and that of *Paul*, above the *King’s Arms*; and the *Holy Ghost* in the form of a *Dove*, over them; and (in contempt of the *Translation* of the Bible, approved and received in the *Church of England*, and in compliance with the *erroneous and ridiculous Vulgar Latine* they picture *Moses with Horns*.

“4. Then (when they had done all this) they did (*ex post facto*) petition the Bishop^a for his Approbation of what they had done, who denied their petition, and for Reasons given them (some of which here follow) told them, that he *never would, nor (de jure) could approve what they (without and against Law) had done*.

“5. Lastly, the Chancellor *nulls the Order* of his Deputy, as to the *setting up of those Images*: and those who had done that work (without the *Consent of the Parish*) appeal to the *Archies*, where now that Appeal depends.”

What became of the Appeal the Tract does not state: but the Bishop goes on to argue the question of the Lawfulness of Images, and, among other Authorities to which he appeals, he thus remarks upon the Statute above referred to:—

“2. And about three or four Years after [Edward’s Injunction], in the same King’s time, it is by Act of Parliament expressly required, *that all Images graven, carved or painted, which yet stand in any Church, should be defaced and destroyed.*”

It will be seen, however, by reference to p. 56, that the Bishop has misquoted the Statute: it does not order the destruction of Images then in Churches, but only the destruc-

^a Bp. Barlow himself as it seems.

tion of such as had been, or should be, taken out of the Churches and should get into private hands. I do not mean to say that all Images had not been previously ordered to be removed from Churches; it is certain that they had; but as the Bishop relied upon this unrepealed Act, as authorizing the removal of Images from Churches, it is essential to notice that it seems to contain no such power.

Moreover it is worth noting here, that, even if it were to be admitted that Images and Crosses come under the same category, the case does not favour the complaints of the promoters of the suit to which these pages refer: that is not a case of Ornaments set up *without sanction*, but one in which the Ordinary had both allowed them and Consecrated the Churches in which they had been put up. Neither is it a case in which *some* Parishioners had acted without the rest, nor one in which, as the Bishop complains,—

“And this they did without any *Advice or Direction of their Minister*, or any who had the *Cure of their Souls* :”

for the then Incumbent of the Church was a party to, and a chief promoter of, all the arrangements.

Apart, however, from any Law of the case, Bishop Barlow denied the admissibility of Images on other grounds: if then the *opinion* of Bishops or Divines is to have weight in the matter, it is sufficient to quote, in answer to Barlow, the following words of Archbishop Tennison, written about 1700, hardly twenty years after. He says:—

“For the images or pictures of saints, in their former estate here on earth, if they be made with discretion, if they be the representations of such whose saintship no wise man can call in question, if they be designed as their honourable memorials, they who are wise to sobriety do make use of them: and they are permitted in Geneva itself, where remain in the quire of S. Peter the pictures of the twelve Prophets on one side, and on the other those of the twelve Apostles, all in wood; also the pictures of the Virgin and St. Peter in one of the windows. And we give to such pictures that negative honour which they are worthy of; we value them beyond any images besides that of Christ, we help our memories by them, we forbear any signs of contempt towards them. But worship them we do not so much as with external positive signs; for if we uncover the head, we do it not to them, but at them, to the honour of God, who hath made them so great instruments in the Christian Church, and to the subordinate praise of the saints themselves.”—*Discourse on Idolatry*,

The Bishop's mistake as to 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 10.

Opposing opinions of the Bp. and of Abp. Tennison as to Images.

p. 296. *Book of Fragments*, p. 207, quoted in "Hierurgia Anglicana," p. 213.

Conduct of the Trustees of St. Paul's wrongly quoted by Mr. Goode against Crosses.

Mr. Goode, in order to maintain what he calls "the doctrine of our Church," that "Images—that is, Statues or Pictures of Saints, Crucifixes, and Crosses" are "forbidden in our Churches," ends his chapter on the subject thus (p. 75):—the bracketed and italicized portions appear to be Mr. Goode's.

"Much might easily be added on this head. But I will only adduce one more testimony of modern date, shewing how decided has been the feeling in our Church on the subject, even within a comparatively recent period, and in the case of those whom no one will accuse of being inclined to Puritanism. In the year 1773, some of the Royal Academicians offered their services for the decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral with paintings representing Scripture histories.

"'But the trustees of the fabric, the Archbishop of Canterbury [Fred. Cornwallis] and the Bishop of London [Terrick] disapproved the measure. Bishop Terrick, both as trustee of the fabric and as Bishop of the diocese, *strenuously opposed it*; whether he took it amiss that the proposal was not first made to him, and by him the intelligence conveyed to his Majesty, [a somewhat unfair suggestion from an adverse party, especially as the Archbishop took the same view,] or whether he was really afraid, *as he said*, that it would occasion a great noise and clamour against it as an artful introduction of Popery. Whatever were his reasons, *it must be acknowledged, that some other serious persons disapproved the setting up of pictures in Churches.*'—*Life of Bp. T. Newton*, p. 107 in his works, 1782, 4to. vol. i."

"If such was the feeling with respect to historical pictures, there needs no proof what would have been the reception given to an attempt to restore anything that had been in Popish times an object of worship."

Their timidity contrasted with

We live in days, however, when such fears and prejudices as to *Pictures* in Churches can hardly be said to exist with many, or to have much weight: we have witnessed the restoration of the Paintings in the Dome of this very Cathedral, and have heard a good deal of serious proposals to do the very thing which the Trustees of the fabric in 1773 seem to have been too timid to venture upon: perhaps that very timidity has been a gain in that we may hope for a display of higher Art and perhaps more suitable Subjects than might have been resorted to then. If therefore this absurd fear of anti-popish clamours has passed away as to Pictures, which Mr. Goode condemns alike with Crosses and Images, is it too much to hope that reason and common sense will exercise their influence

in no longer denouncing a Cross or Sculptures, contrary to the very principle of the 30th Canon, that "the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it"?

the opinion of
Abp. Tenison.

"No one," says Mr. Goode, "will accuse" these Trustees "of being inclined to Puritanism": to which I reply, no one will accuse Archbishop Tenison of being inclined to Romanism: his words then, in 1678, may most fitly be quoted as being an admirable comment on the acts of those Trustees, and the best possible reply to Mr. Goode's deduction from them. He remarks, in his Discourse on Idolatry—

"To say, with men that run into extremes, that devotional pictures are no helps to excite memory and passion, is to forget that they are called mute poems, to speak against common sense, and to impute less to a crucifix than to the tomb of our friend, or to a thread on our finger. They may be used as monitors in a Christian commonwealth, where their worship is plainly and frequently forbidden, and by all understood to be prohibited. And it is high superstition in those who, in our late unhappy revolutions, defaced such pictures and brake down such crosses as authority had suffered to remain entire, whilst it forbad the worship of them, and was in that particular so well obeyed, that none of them (it may be) ever knew one man of the communion of the Church of England to have been prostrate before a cross, and in that posture to have spoken to it."—Quoted in *Wilson's Ornaments of the Church considered*. Appendix, pp. 22, 23. See Dr. Phillimore's *Argument*, p. 135, where the passage is cited: and *Tenison on Idolatry*, p. 279.

It remains now to analyze the evidence which the previous pages contain, and to ascertain how far it establishes the **LAWFULNESS** of the several Things upon which the Judgment of the Consistory Court of London was invoked, *viz.* an *Altar* or *Table of Stone* or of *Solid Wood*: a *Credence Table*: an *Altar Cross*: a *Cross* upon a *Chancel Screen*: *Altar Lights*: *Frontals*, of various Colours: *Linen Cloths embroidered, fringed, or edged with Lace*: a *Chancel-Screen and Gates*: and *The Tables of the Ten Commandments to be set up over the Altar*. The result of such an examination is as follows:—

Analysis of
the previous
evidence fur-
nishes

A STONE ALTAR or TABLE is Lawful.

1. BECAUSE the Rubric of 1662 requires "such Ornaments of the Church, . . . as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth."

Reasons for the
Legality of a
Stone Altar.

Reasons for the
Legality of a
Stone Altar,
continued.

2. BECAUSE it is an *Ornament*.

Vide George Withers to the Elector Palatine, A.D. 1567, p. 227 : Abp. Abbot, Visit. Art. No. 1, A.D. 1616, p. 345 : Abp. Laud, Visit. Art. No. 1, St. David's, A.D. 1622, and Winchester, A.D. 1635, p. 370 : Bp. Montague, Visit. Art. No. 7, A.D. 1638, p. 385 : Bp. Cosin, Notes on Com. Prayer, 3rd Series, p. 454, and also the following passage : "*Such Ornaments as were in use in the second year of King Edward VI.* To this head we refer the organ, the font, the altar, the communion-table, with the coverings and ornaments of them all ; together with the paten, chalice, and corporas, which were all in use in the second of Edw. VI. by the authority of the acts of parliament then made".—*Cosin's Works*, vol. V. p. 441.

3. BECAUSE it is *Furniture* and Furniture is *Ornament*.

Vide Parishioners of St. Gregory's, A.D. 1633, "had been at a considerable expense in their church : amongst other *Furniture* they had prepared a *Table* for the Holy Eucharist". p. 357 : Arch. Pearson, Visit. Art. p. 392 ; Bp. Cosin, Visit. Art. p. 450.

4. BECAUSE it is ordered by the Ancient Canons which were "Authority of Parliament" in 2 Edw. VI., in virtue of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16, which gave them the force of Statute Law.—*Vide* "Altars", No. 5, p. 471.

5. BECAUSE it was notoriously "in", and in use in, and throughout the *Second* year of Edward VI.—*Vide* p. 37.

6. BECAUSE it was, after Edward's second year, taken down not on account of the *material*, but because of an alleged "Popish opinion" that it was *essential* for the ministration of the Eucharist, and therefore led to superstition.

Vide Ridley's Inj. No. 5, p. 65, compared with his "*Third Reason*", p. 68.

7. BECAUSE the (a) material or the (b) form is, in itself, *in-different*.

Vide (a and b) Privy Council's arguments in the Order for taking them down, A.D. 1550, Note a, p. 69 : Bp. Ridley's "*Second Reason*," Note a, p. 143 : Elizabeth's Inj. "For tables in the Church", A.D. 1559, p. 141 : (a) opinion of Charles I. and Abp. Laud, p. 368 : Bp. Montague, Visit. Art. A.D. 1638, No. 7, p. 385 : Bp. Williams, the great opponent of Stone Altars, *temp.* Charles 1st, quoted by Sir H. J. Fust, p. 397, and *comp.* p. 399 : (b) Ancient Canons, No. 3, p. 471.

8. BECAUSE they remained (a) in Cathedrals and Chapels Royal, which were intended as the pattern (b) for Parish Churches, so far as the *means* of the latter permitted.

Vide (a) Bp. Williams, p. 396 : Bp. Cosin, p. 456 : (b) Elizabeth's Letter to Abp. Parker, p. 179 : Order of Charles 1st and Privy Council, Note a, p. 357.

9. BECAUSE the *name* is *indifferent* and proves nothing as to its intended use.

Further Reasons
for the *Legality*
of a Stone Altar.

Vide First Prayer Book of Edw. VI. where it is called "The Altar" and "the Lord's Table" and "God's Board": Privy Council's Order to Bp. Bonner, A.D. 1549, directs "the holy blessed Communion, according to the Act of Parliament" to "be ministered at the high altar", p. 53: Bp. Ridley's "*Second Reason*", Note a, p. 143: directions of James 1st for Prince Charles's Chapel at Madrid, p. 347: Bp. Montague, Visit. Art. No. 7, p. 385, and No. 5, p. 390: Can. 7, A.D. 1640, p. 404: Bp. Cosin, p. 456.

10. BECAUSE the English Communion Office is *substantially* the Ancient Office of the Mass freed from later additions; and, therefore, what was fitly used for the Celebration of the latter is, so far as applicable, suitable for the former.

Vide Title of the Communion Office in the *First* Prayer Book of Edward VI. "The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass": reply of Edw. VI. to the Devonshire Rebels, A.D. 1549, p. 54.

11. BECAUSE, if "covered" as required by Can. 82, A.D. 1603, it equally looks like an Altar, whatever its material.—
Vide p. 399.

12. BECAUSE (a) the Table was meant to occupy the place of the Altars which were taken down: (b) was not intended to be moved without a real necessity: has by long custom, which is Common Law, and by the use of Altar-rails become *practically fixed*: and therefore *any material* is *Legal*.

Vide (a) Elizabeth's Inj. A.D. 1559, p. 141: Orders of Eccl. Commissioners, A.D. 1561 [c] pp. 276 and 277: Elizabeth's Advertisements, A.D. 1565, p. 204: Judgment of Abp. Abbot, A.D. 1633, p. 354: Decision of Charles 1st and Privy Council in St. Gregory's case, p. 357: Orders of Bishops, A.D. 1634, pp. 358 and 359: Order of Bp. Wren, A.D. 1636, p. 361: Visit. Articles of Bp. Montague, A.D. 1638, Nos. 11, 12, and 13, p. 386, and 5 and 6, p. 390: Articles of Arch. Pearson, No. 2, p. 392: statement of Bp. Williams, p. 396: Can. 7, A.D. 1640, p. 403: opinion of Abp. Laud, p. 429: Visit. Articles of Bp. Cosin, A.D. 1662, No. 4, p. 450: Notes of Bp. Cosin, p. 456: (b) remarks and references, pp. 364 and 397-9.

13. BECAUSE (a) the complaints of the Puritans in the Reign of Charles 1st, and (b) the *illegal* Orders of the House of Commons at the same period, proving the *general* use then of Altars or of Tables which had the appearance of Altars, is evidence of the best kind that they were Lawful.

Further reasons
for the *Legality*
of a Stone Altar.

Vide (a) Petition of 15,000 persons to the Commons, No. 15, p. 408: Proceedings of the Lords' Committee, No. 1, p. 414: (b) Orders of the Commons, pp. 408 and 417: Speech of Sir E. Deering, p. 418.

14. BECAUSE Dr. Lushington has allowed a solid Altar of Wood to remain in St. Paul's Knightsbridge, which, for all *practical* purposes, is quite as immovable as the Stone Table at St. Barnabas.

To these reasons must be added the important consideration of the *Legal Effect* of removing an Altar, though it does not prove the *legality* of the Altar itself, *viz.*:—

15. THAT to take down an Altar involves, by the Canon Law, the *re-consecration* of a Church.—*Vide* "*Altars*", No. 7, p. 471: Judgment of Dr. Lushington in *TURNER v. PARISHIONERS OF HANWELL. Ibid.*

A CRESCENCE TABLE is *Lawful*.

Reasons for the
Legality of a
Crescence-Table.

1. BECAUSE, in the Communion Office of the present Book of Common Prayer, there is a Rubric, which appeared for the first time in 1662, ordering that "*when there is a Communion, the Priest shall THEN [i.e., after the Alms, collected during the reading of the Offertory Sentences, have been presented and placed 'upon the Holy Table'] place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine, as he shall think sufficient.*"

"AFTER WHICH DONE, the Priest shall say, Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth."

2. BECAUSE, this Rubric *requires* some place where the Bread and Wine shall remain until the time specified; and it is, obviously, most convenient that that place should be near to the Altar.

3. BECAUSE, if there is no *structural* place near the Communion-Table which can thus be used, common sense points to the use of some small Table, or to the erection of a Ledge suitable for the purpose.

4. BECAUSE, throughout the *second* year of Edward the Sixth, A.D. 1548-9, to which the Rubric of 1662 refers as the general Standard for Ornaments of the Church, the Missal was everywhere in use in England, and it contained Rubrics similar to that of the present Prayer Book. They are as follows:—

SARUM. BANGOR.

“*Post offertorium vero por-
rigat diaconus sacerdoti
calicem cum patena et
sacrificio; et osculetur ma-
num ejus utraque vice.
Ipse vero accipiens ab eo
calicem: diligenter ponat
in loco suo debito super
medium altare: et inclina-
to parumper elevant calicem
utraque manu offerens
sacrificium Domino, di-
cendo hanc orationem.*”

“*Oratio Suscipe, sancta Trinitas hanc obla-
tionem,*” &c.

“*Dieta oratione. Qua dicta
reponat calicem, et coope-
riat cum corporalibus po-
natque panem super corpo-
ralia decenter, ante cali-
cem vinum et aquam con-
tinentem, et osculetur pa-
tenam et reponat eam a
dextris super altare sub
corporalibus, parum coope-
riendo.*”

—MASKELL'S ANCIENT LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, pp. 54-7, ed. 1846.

EBOR.

“*Postea lavet manus
et componat hostiam
super corporales pan-
nos et dicat:*”

“*Item calicem cum
vino et aqua et dicat:
“Acceptum sit,” &c.*”

HEREFORD.

“*Quo dicto ministret ea
quæ necessaria sunt sa-
cramento: scilicet panem,
vinum et aquam in cali-
cem infundens: bene-
dictione aquæ prius a
sacerdote petita hoc mo-
do:*”

“*Benedicite.
Sacerdote sic dicente:
Dominus ab ipso sis
benedicta, de cujus latere
exivit sanguis et aqua.
In nomine Patris, etc.
Amen.*”

“*Et postea sumat pate-
nam cum hostia et ponat
super calicem, et tenens
calicem in manibus suis
dicat devotè:*”

“*Suscipe, Sancta Trini-
tas, hanc oblationem,*”
&c.

“*Qua dicta reponat cali-
cem, et cooperiat eum
cum corporalibus: ponat-
que panem super corpo-
ralia decenter, ante cali-
cem vinum et aquam
continentem, et osculetur
patenam, et reponat eam
a dextris super altare
sub corporalibus, parum
cooperiando.*”

Further reasons
for the Legality
of a Credence-
Table.

5. BECAUSE, in the *First Prayer Book* of Edward VIth, which began to be used in his *third* year, A.D. 1548-9, a similar Rubric occurs, *viz.* :—

“*Then [i.e. after the Offertory] shall the Minister take so much Bread and Wine, as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the Holy Communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose: And putting the wine into the Chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup, prepared for that use (if the Chalice will not serve), putting thereto a little pure and clean water: And setting both the bread and wine upon the Altar: Then the Priest shall say,*

“*The Lord be with you,*” &c.

6. BECAUSE it is notorious, among Architects, Archæologists, and Ecclesiologists, that before, at, and after the period when the Books mentioned in Nos. 4 and 5 were in use, there was a Niche in the walls of the Church, to serve the purpose of the Rubric.—*Vide* Note a, p. 309.

Further reasons
for the Legality
of a Credence-
Table.

7. BECAUSE, though the Rubric of Edward's *First* Book did not appear in his *Second* Book, A.D. 1552 (which bore the impress of the Foreign Reformers), nor in Elizabeth's Book, A.D. 1559, there seems no evidence that the custom of the Oblation of the Elements, *after* the Offertory (which was revived in Mary's reign), was *entirely disused*, though the increasing development of Puritanism in both Reigns, aided by the fact that the Niches seem to have been commonly plastered over, together with the places where Images stood, apparently led to its gradual neglect.—*Vide* Note a, p. 309.

8. BECAUSE the ceremony of Oblation was revived in the reign of Charles 1st, and with it the use of Credence Tables.

Vide Practice of Bp. Andrews, A.D. 1625, p. 352 : Bp. Wren's Orders, A.D. 1636, No. 18, p. 361 : Proceedings of the Lord's Committee, A.D. 1640-1, No. 12, p. 414 : Defence of Abp. Laud, A.D. 1643, p. 430 : Notes of Bp. Cosin, p. 456.

9. BECAUSE it is a DECENT ORNAMENT for the Chancel, and, therefore, may be *lawfully* provided by the Incumbent or Impropiator, as required by the Canon Law.

Vide "Who to provide the Church Ornaments," p. 488.

AN ALTAR CROSS is *Lawful*.

Reasons for the
Legality of an
Altar-Cross.

1. BECAUSE it was "in," and in use in, "this Church of "England" in and after that *second* year of Edward VIth. to which the present Rubric refers as the guide for Ornaments of the Church.

Vide Incidentally mentioned in the Missals which were everywhere in use until the 3rd year of Edward VI. p. 44 : specified in Inventories of Church Goods taken so late as 6 and 7 Edward VI. A. D. 1552-3, pp. 90, 94, 105, 106, and Note a. 105 : not sold in 1553 by the Churchwardens of St. Martin, Outwich, though most of the Goods were sold p. 94 : not put into the King's Inventory of things to be taken by the Crown, A. D. 1552-3, p. 90.

2. BECAUSE even a Crucifix and *à fortiori* a Cross did not come within the description of Images forbidden to be retained by 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10, A. D. 1549-50 ; for it was of a different *material* as well as character : and Edward's Injunction forbade Lights before *Images*, but ordered them to remain on the Altar, where the Cross was between them ; *ergo*, a Cross or Crucifix was not included among the Images.

Vide Statute p. 56 : Dr. Lushington's observations on the Statute p. 57 : other remarks pp. 58—62 : Inj. No. 3, p. 27.

3. BECAUSE "a Crosse" *i. e.* a Crucifix "with *Mary and John*" was not sold until A. D. 1551, 5th of Edw. VI., thus proving incidentally that it was not an Image within the meaning of 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10.—*Vide* p. 105.

Further reasons
for the *Legality*
of an Altar-Cross.

4. BECAUSE in the *second* year of Edw. VI. A. D. 1548, the Privy Council ordered "Crosses of Silver" not "to be alienated" but to be used according to their original purpose or for some "other necessary and convenient service of the Church."—*Vide* p. 33.

5. BECAUSE it is most improbable that it should have been abolished when those Ornaments were left which are implied in the Ceremonies maintained by the *First Prayer Book* of Edw. VIth.—*Vide* p. 47.

6. BECAUSE the seizure of Church Goods and Ornaments by the Crown in A. D. 1552-3, 6 and 7 Edw. VIth., had no reference to their *character* but to their *value*.—*Vide* Note a. p. 88: Observations of Mr. Stephens, p. 86.

7. BECAUSE a (*a*) discretion was given to the Commissioners employed to execute the above Order, to leave "other Ornaments" for the use of the Churches besides those specified: and was (*b*) *apparently exercised* in regard to the Cross.

Vide (*a*) Commission p. 83: (*b*) Remarks on Inventory, p. 92.

8. BECAUSE the Bishops did not leave off their Processional Crosses until A. D. 1552, 6 Edw. VIth., *ergo* it was not likely that the Altar Cross was previously abolished.—*Vide* Strype's Account, p. 78.

9. BECAUSE the Reformers before and in the Reign of Edward VIth., not only did not object to, but defended the use of (*a*) the Cross *nominatim*; and of (*b*) Images; therefore they approved of a Cross or a Crucifix even if it be ranked as an *Image*.

Vide (*a*) and (*b*) Bp. Latimer, A. D. 1532, pp. 12 and 13: Abp. Cranmer, A. D. 1536-7, pp. 13 and 15: Tyndal, A. D. 1536, p. 333: (*a*) Bp. Hooper, Visit. Art. No. 46, p. 27, only objected to *creeping* to the Cross.

10. BECAUSE it was restored by *Mary* and guarded by the *Stat. 1 Mariæ Sess. 2, c. 3*, A. D. 1553.—*Vide* p. 115.

11. BECAUSE, as persons were (*a*) punished for taking down

Further reasons
for the Legality
of an Altar-Cross.

Images in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and the Queen (*b*) wished to retain *Images* so, whether the Crucifix and the Cross be *Images* or not, it is reasonable to suppose that she wished to retain them also, unreasonable therefore to think that they were *illegal*.

Vide (*a*) Strype's Account, p. 122 : (*b*) Burnet's Statement. Note a. p. 120 : Collier's Remark, p. 156.

12. BECAUSE the question of Secretary *Cecil* to *Guest* as to retaining "the Image of the Cross"; the unfavourable answer of *Guest*; and the course taken notwithstanding; are most circumstantial evidence that it was meant to be and was retained.—*Vide* pp. 126 and 127.

13. BECAUSE the (*a*) Letter of *Sandys* to *Parker* proves, with or without reference to (*b*) Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, that the Standard for Ornaments was Edward's 2nd year not his 1st Book, and therefore that Altar Crosses were lawful Ornaments unless subsequently abolished.

Vide (*a*) Letter and Remarks, pp. 127 and 128 : (*b*) Sect. XXV. p. 130.

BECAUSE the OMISSION of Edward's Injunction No. 3, against *abused Images*, in Elizabeth's edition of the Injunctions published A.D. 1559, after her Act of Uniformity, and notwithstanding all the remonstrances which, up to that time, had been made with her against *Images*, seems an unanswerable argument that Crucifixes and Crosses were not abolished.—*Vide* Note b, p. 139.

15. BECAUSE (*a*) the continued use of the Crucifix in the Queen's Chapel; (*b*) the remonstrances of Bishops and others with her against it and *Images*; (*c*) their Letters to others on the subject generally: are most positive proofs that both were *lawful*, else, it is most improbable that they would have omitted the argument of *illegality* with one whom some of them (*d*) confessed to be very jealous of the Law.

Vide (*a*) Knollys to *Parker*, A.D. 1559, p. 150, and Note b. : *Parker* to *Cecil*, A.D. 1559, p. 152 : Bp. *Jewel* to P. *Martyr*, A.D. 1559, p. 152 : *Sampson* to P. *Martyr*, A.D. 1559-60, p. 158 : Bp. *Cox* to the Queen, A.D. 1559-60, p. 160 : Strype's Accounts, A.D. 1560, p. 170 : *Parkhurst* to *Bullinger*, A.D. 1563, p. 196 : (*b*) *alleged* Address of Bishops to the Queen, A.D. 1560, pp. 160-4 : Mr. *Goode*'s remark, p. 233 : Abp. *Parker*, A.D. 1570-1, p. 241 : Note, p. 305 : (*c*) *Grindal* to P. *Martyr*, A.D. 1559, p. 153 : *Jewel* to P. *Martyr*, A.D. 1559-60, p. 166 : Bp. *Cox* to *Cassander*, A.D.

1560, p. 167: (*d*) Jewel to P. Martyr, A.D. 1558-9, p. 125: *alleged* Address of Bishops to the Queen, A.D. 1559, p. 143: Bp. Cox to Gualter, A.D. 1570-1, p. 242: Bp. Grindal to Zanchy, A.D. 1571, p. 262: Bp. Pilkington to Rodolph Gualter, A.D. 1573, p. 267.

Further reasons
for the *Legality*.
of an Altar-Cross

16. BECAUSE their arguments and remonstrances relative to the abolition or restoration of the Cross were in fact against the *Crucifix*, *ergo* even if they proved the *illegality* of the *latter* they do not affect the *legality* of the *former*.

Vide ALLEGED Address of the Bishops to the Queen, A.D. 1559-60, p. 161: *Ibid.* p. 164: Jewel to P. Martyr, A.D. 1560, p. 166: Bp. Cox to P. Martyr, p. 157.

17. BECAUSE, however, that an Image of *Christ* was not forbidden though an Image of the *Father* or of the *Holy Ghost* was prohibited.

Vide Eleven Articles, A.D. 1559, No. viii. p. 156: Requests and Petitions of Lower House of Convocation, A.D. 1562-3, No. VII. p. 190: Nowell's Catechism, A.D. 1570, p. 236: Bp. Parkhurst's Inj. p. 305.

18. BECAUSE their wanton destruction was, obviously, an abuse of Elizabeth's 23rd Injunction which corresponded with the 28th of Edward's Injunctions: neither of them having any reference to Images in general, but only to certain "monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition," whether they were *Pictures*, *Windows*, or other things specified.

Vide Note b, p. 148: Collier's Account of the Queen's Proclamation, p. 174: Heylin's remarks, Note b. p. 156.

19. BECAUSE its (*a*) apparent retention in some Churches and the (*b*) confession of Bp. Cox, are proofs that it was not *prohibited* though the Queen permitted its *disuse*: moreover *disuse* (*c*) is not *legal* abolition.

Vide (*a*) P. Martyr to Sampson, A.D. 1559, pp. 146 and 151: Requests of Convocation, No. VII. p. 190: (*b*) Bp. Cox to P. Martyr, A.D. 1559, p. 157, and remarks pp. 158 and 159: (*c*) Note a, p. 296: remarks, p. 315.

20. BECAUSE *e.g.* the Injunctions of Abp. Grindal to destroy *Crosses* are no proofs of their illegality, for he gave the like order as to "*all Vestments*" though the Cope was positively enjoined.

Vide Inj. No. 7, A.D. 1571 and 1576, pp. 256 and 285, and remarks, pp. 259 and 286.

21. BECAUSE it is not mentioned in the Orders of the Eccle-

Further reasons
for the *Legality*
of an Altar-Cross.

siastical Commissioners, A.D. 1561, though *Images*, which were much less likely to have remained in the Churches at that time, are specified.

Vide pp. 277 and 308. See also Notes on *Bp. Parkhurst's Injunctions*, p. 305.

22. BECAUSE the strong language of the (a) Homilies (which indeed are not (b) *Law*) proves (c) too much and condemns Pictures and Painted Windows; while the (d) Apology of Bishop Jewel, which has a fuller Authority, does not prove the *illegality* of even a Crucifix and of Images, and does not touch a Cross *simpliciter*.

Vide (a) Extracts, pp. 191 and 193. (b) Bp. Burnet, p. 194: Abp. Laud, p. 429: (c) remarks, p. 192: (d) Jewel, pp. 186 and 195.

23. BECAUSE (a) the Puritan complaints, (b) the Orders of the Commons, (c) of the Committee of Wards, (d) of Parliament, (e) of the Committee at Grocer's Hall, prove a most extensive *legal* revival of it in the Reign of Charles I.

Vide (a) Petition to the Commons, No. 16, p. 408: Lord's Committee, No. 6, p. 414: (b) Orders, pp. 408 and 417: (c) p. 422: (d) p. 426: (e) p. 427.

24. BECAUSE it is sanctioned by (a) the *principle* of Can. 30, A.D. 1603; (b) by the argument of the Bishops in 1661; and comes within the letter of the Ancient Canon Law which (c) requires "other decent Ornaments" to be provided by the Incumbent or Impropiator.

Vide (a) remarks, p. 333: (b) §. 14, p. 444: (c) Canons, No. 11, p. 474, and No. 1 of Abp. Gray's Constitutions, p. 488: Abp. Peckham's Constitutions, p. 488: and Abp. Winchelsey's Constitutions, p. 489.

A CROSS on a CHANCEL-SCREEN is *Lawful*.

1. BECAUSE reasons Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22 and 24 which were assigned for the *Legality* of an *Altar Cross* are applicable to this.

2. BECAUSE, as Elizabeth proposed to restore the *Rood*, which she would not have done had it been prohibited by *Law*, *ergo* a Cross, without the Images, on the Chancel Screen, cannot be improper or illegal, seeing that the real opposition was to the Images—*Vide* Bp. Sandys to P. Martyr, A.D. 1560, p. 171.

3. BECAUSE the Order of Parliament, A.D. 1642, implies

Reasons for the
Legality of a
Cross on a
Chancel-Screen.

a considerable *legal* restoration then of some such Ornament.
—*Vide* p. 426.

4. BECAUSE, as “some convenient crest” was ordered to be “put upon” the “cross-beam” of the Screen for Ornament, when the Rood-loft was taken down, so to erect a Cross upon it, which in itself is a most suitable Ornament for a Church, is to comply with the spirit of that Order.—*Vide* Abp. Grindal’s Visit. Art. No. 4, p. 285.

The TWO LIGHTS ON THE ALTAR are LAWFUL.

1. BECAUSE, by Injunction No. 3, Edw. VIth., A.D. 1549, which had the force of Law, they were ordered to *remain*, though all Lights before *Images* and *Pictures* were *forbidden*.

Reasons for the
Legality of Altar-
Lights.

Vide Inj. p. 27 and compare the Injunction of Hen. VIII. A.D. 1538, p. 17.

2. BECAUSE, if the Injunction was not *Law*, it neither *removed* them nor abused Images; and the old Canon Law which was then, and is now, in force by Authority of Parliament, (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16) *ordered* these LIGHTS, not Candles *unlighted*.

Vide Remarks p. 29: “Ornaments and Vestments for Celebration of the Eucharist.” No. 5, p. 475.

3. BECAUSE they were distinctly in use *throughout* the *second* year of Edw. VIth., for they were *removed* by another Injunction in his 3rd year, after the Act of Uniformity had passed.—*Vide* Amended Inj. No. 2, p. 50.

4. BECAUSE, though restored by Mary, they were not *forbidden* by Elizabeth’s Injunctions (which did not contain either of the Injunctions referred to in Nos. 1 and 3) nor by any subsequent competent authority either in her Reign or since.—*Vide* Notes i and k, p. 140.

5. BECAUSE their continued use in the (a) Queen’s Chapel, (b) in Cathedrals, and in College Chapels, is presumptive evidence of their Legality.

Vide (a) Sampson to P. Martyr, A.D. 1559, p. 158: Bp. Cox to the Queen, A.D. 1559-60, p. 160: Strype’s Account, p. 170: comp. Parkhurst to Bullinger, A.D. 1562 and 1563, pp. 186 and 196: Bp. Andrew’s, A.D. 1626, p. 352: (b) Cosin’s Statement, p. 455.

6. BECAUSE they are justified by Bp. Cosin, the principal Reviewer of the Book of Common Prayer in 1662.—*Vide* p. 455.

7. BECAUSE the reasons Nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 18, 23, in support of Altar-Crosses apply equally to the Lights.—*Vide*. pp.518-522.

VARIOUS ALTAR FRONTS are LAWFUL.

1. BECAUSE, as the Inventories shew, they everywhere prevailed in and after the *second* year of Edward VIth.

Vide. Stamford in the Vale, pp. 90 and 91 : St. Martin Outwich, p. 97 : Winchester Cathedral, pp. 106—8 : other examples, and Mr. Chambers's Catalogue, Note a. p. 105.

2. BECAUSE they were never *abolished* by any "Authority of Parliament."—*Vide* Note b. p. 309.

3. BECAUSE the Royal Commissioners in 1552 were (*a*) directed to leave "coverynge" (*plural*) for the Communion-Table ; and there seems (*b*) evidence that they did so.

Vide (*a*) Commission p. 85 : (*b*) Inventory p. 91, and remarks p. 92.

4. BECAUSE it was consistent with the Act for observing Festivals, 5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 3, A. D. 1552, that they should be used the more effectually to teach the people.—*Vide* Stat. and remarks, p. 79.

5. BECAUSE the (*a*) Canon of 1603, following the (*b*) ancient Canon Law, prescribes the *minimum* of Ornaments to be found by the Parishioners ; but the latter so far from *prohibiting* NUMBER and VARIETY, distinctly (*c*) encourages both.

Vide Can. 82, p. 325 : (*b*) "Who to provide Ornaments" No. 1 &c. pp. 487-9 : (*c*) remarks, pp. 335, 336, 338—40.

6. BECAUSE there is some evidence that such as remained out of the (*a*) general confiscation in 5 and 6 Edw. VI. and the (*b*) indiscriminate and illegal destruction in 1559, (*c*) were used ; and that there was an (*d*) occasional and at length a (*e*) general restoration of them, contemporaneous with revived decency and care in Churches.

Vide (*a*) Note a, p. 88 : (*b*) Note b. p. 148 : (*c*) Statement of Bp. Williams, p. 397, and remarks p. 399 : Notes of Bp. Cosin, p. 455 : (*d*) St. Giles's in the Fields, p. 353 : (*e*) Complaints of the Puritans and proceedings of Parliament, No. 4, p. 414.

Ornamental LINEN CLOTHS are *Lawful*.

1. BECAUSE such Ornament is nowhere *prohibited*, and is entirely consistent with the requirement of Canon 82, A.D. 1603 and the Rubric of the Prayer Book.—*Vide* Remarks p. 337.

Reasons for the
Legality of
various Altar-
Frontals.

Reasons for the
Legality of Orna-
mental Linen
Cloths.

BECAUSE reason No. 5, as to Frontals, strictly applies here, and there is some proof that such gifts have been accepted and used.

Vide St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, A.D. 1614, Note a, p. 345; St. Giles-in-the-Fields.

A CHANCEL-SCREEN with GATES is *Lawful*.

1. BECAUSE it is well known to have been in the Churches in and after the *Second* year of Edward VIth.—The Rood-Lofts prove this.

Reasons for the *Legality* of a Chancel-Screen with Gates.

2. BECAUSE the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in 1562, distinctly forbad it to be taken down when the Rood-loft above it was removed, and ordered it to be re-erected if pulled down.—*Vide* Orders i. a. b., p. 276, and remarks, p. 277.

3. BECAUSE it was enquired for, or ordered to remain, in Visitation Articles.

Vide Abp. Parker, No. VI. p. 231: Abp. Grindal, No. 5, p. 256, and No. 4, p. 285: Bp. of Norwich, pp. 273 and 274: Bp. Andrewes, No. 1, p. 348: Bp. Montague, No. 8, p. 384: Bp. Cosin, No. 4, p. 450, and Notes, p. 457.

4. BECAUSE the removal of *Gates* was complained of: and they were ordered.

Vide "Misorders . . . by the Parson of Eastwell," p. 293: Bp. Montague's Articles, No. 8, p. 384.

Tables of the TEN COMMANDMENTS are *Lawful*, but may be *dispensed* with, or placed at the East end of the NAVE.

1. BECAUSE, being originally ordered by Elizabeth for *Ornament*, when the Chancels were in a disgraceful state, they are *needless* where other suitable Ornament is provided.—*Vide* p. 179, and Note b.

Evidence as to the Tables of the Ten Commandments.

2. BECAUSE, though also ordered "for edification" then, and even in 1603, that "the people may best see and read "them", no such necessity exists now that Prayer Books and Catechisms are or may be in the hands of everybody.—*Vide* p. 179, and Note a.

3. BECAUSE, if they are intended to be read by the people, the East end of the *Nave* is obviously the best place in which to erect them, and there is (a) evidence that this position was considered equally suitable with the East end of the Chancel.

Vide "Misorders . . . by the Parson of Eastwell," p. 293: and

the following extract from the ACCOUNTS OF ST. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER, in the reign of Edward VIth,—“Paid to Thomas Stockdale, of xxxv ells of cloth for the fronte of the rood-lofte, whereon the commandments be written . . .”—*Pugin on Chancel-Screens.* p. 70.

Such, then, are the Reasons which the preceding pages furnish in favour of the various Ornaments which were *condemned* or *qualifiedly allowed* by the Judge of the Consistory Court of London: I venture, with modesty though with confidence, to think that, whether or no, taken singly, they are equally strong or impregnable, yet as a whole, they constitute a defence which it is impossible to overthrow by any legitimate mode of attack. It will be seen, throughout, that that same idea of *Lawfulness* has been preserved which is admitted in relation to all Civil matters, and which is strictly applicable to Ecclesiastical and Religious subjects, *viz.*, That the practices contended for must either (1) be able to produce *direct legal sanction*, or (2) be shewn to be *not contrariant or repugnant to Law*: in other words, that they must be the subjects of a *positive enactment*, or must not be the objects of an *implied prohibition*.

What is
Lawfulness.

Mr. Goode, indeed, when considering “the principle on which the legality of Church Ornaments, Vestures, Ceremonies, and Gestures, is to be determined,” remarks that—

“By the Preface prefixed to all the Common Prayer Books issued in this country by public authority from the first of Edw. VI. inclusive, we are informed that some of the ceremonies that had been previously in use in our Church were ‘*abolished*’: and reasons are given ‘why some of the accustomed ceremonies be *put away*, and some retained and kept still.’ No enumeration is made of those so ‘*abolished*,’ and ‘*put away* ;’ and, consequently, the only sure guide we have as to those that are retained, consists of the *positive* directions to be found in the Rubrics and other authoritative documents of our Church, as to the rites, ceremonies, and gestures to be used in the public services of the Church.”—p. 3.

I have already dealt with this view at pp. 48 and 49, but it is necessary further to observe that, first of all, it is obvious to remark—that “*the principle*” embodied in these words is wholly inapplicable to *Ornaments* of the Church or of the Minister, unless they are *such* Ornaments as would become *absolutely useless* or *altogether inconsistent*, when the Ceremonies had disappeared in which they were employed. Thus,

Mr Goode's
view. of the
*Preface on
Ceremonies,*
examined.

for instance, as the Reservation of the Sacrament, except for the sick, seems to have been abolished by the First Prayer Book, it would necessarily follow that Ceremonies connected with the Reserved Sacrament ceased also, and with their disuse the retention of the Tabernacle, or the Monstrance, or the Easter Sepulchre, as Ornaments of the Church, was a palpable incongruity: but how could this apply *e. g.* to the Altar Cross? The Eucharist itself did not cease to be celebrated; one object of its Institution was to “shew forth the Lord’s death till he come;” what Ornament then could be so appropriate to the Altar whereon, and to the Church wherein this Commemoration was commanded to be made, as the Cross, which is the Emblem of His Passion? Can it for a moment be reasonably supposed, that a change which professed, as stated in this very Preface, which Mr. Goode quotes, that—

The Principles of that Preface,

“the most weighty cause of the abolishment of certain Ceremonies was, that they were so far abused, partly by the superstitious blindness of the rude and unlearned, and partly by the unsatiable avarice of such as sought more their own lucre, than the glory of God,” could ever intend to put away the Cross? It may readily be admitted that Ceremonies were here adverted to, akin to those which had been condemned by a King and an Archbishop, thirteen years before, (see p. 14,) as having led to “superstition” and “lucre,” and therefore that the Images which had been decked, or the Shrines which had become the object of Pilgrimages, or those Relics which had been falsely alleged to work Miracles, were condemned; but the *onus probandi* lies with Mr. Goode, and with those who accept his view, to shew a like previous abuse in every Ceremony not prescribed in the present Book of Common Prayer, in order to sustain his principle with regard to *Ceremonies*, and *much more*, with respect to ORNAMENTS of the Church.

really condemn Mr. Goode’s theory.

Moreover, it is to lose sight of those facts of history, subsequent to the publication of Edward’s First Book, which have been cited in these pages, to maintain that *nothing was retained* which was not therein *directed*, and that, consequently, the same rule must prevail now: while, if this evidence were lacking, nothing could be more improbable than that those who set forth a Prayer Book for the whole Church of Eng-

The History since 1549;

the nature of
the First Prayer
Book ;

land which still called the Communion Office “ the Mass ;” which retained *nominatim* Albes, Vestments, Copes, Tunics; which continued Exorcism, and Anointing in Baptism, Unction for the Sick, and other Ceremonies and Ornaments, should be the indiscriminate rejecters of every Ornament and every Ceremony, save those which were mentioned directly or indirectly in the new “ Use” which they published. What their view of Ceremonies, and therefore it may be fairly inferred of Ornaments, was, is distinctly enunciated when anticipating the complaints of those who would “ be offended, “ for that some of the old Ceremonies are retained still :” they are reminded that—

and the Preface
on Ceremonies ;

“ they ought rather to have reverence unto them for their antiquity, if they will declare themselves to be more studious of unity and concord, than of innovations and new-fangleness.”

And then it is said of those retained that—

“ they be neither dark nor dumb Ceremonies, but are so set forth, that every man may understand what they do mean, and to what use they do serve.”

suggest the true
use of,

Apply this principle, (as Mr. Goode does other portions of this Preface,) to any one of those Ornaments which were condemned by Dr. Lushington, and any man may be safely challenged to produce a single reason for their prohibition: nay, it can be boldly contended that every one of them subserves, more or less plainly, the object which these words describe—the CROSS, reminding its beholder of the Sufferings of Him Who died upon it, and calling him to take up his own Cross of trial and follow Christ in humility and patience: the LIGHTS instructing him that the Gospel of Him Who is “ the Light of the World,” does not cease to illuminate men’s minds: the various ALTAR COVERINGS bespeaking his attention to the successive Seasons of the Christian Year and bidding him to remember the Days more particularly dedicated to the honour of Christ, and in memory of His Apostles, Saints, and Martyrs: the STONE ALTAR, by its very durability, the better reminding him of the perpetuity of that Sacrifice, once for all, made upon the Altar of the Cross, for the sins of the whole world: the CRESCENT TABLE, whence are presented to God the Oblations of the people, instructing him to yield himself an offering to Him

from Whom he hath received life and all things. Surely of these, at least, it may unhesitatingly be declared, in the words of this same Preface, that they "be apt to stir up the dull mind of man," whether high or low, poor, or rich, "to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified," and "that it is not like that they in time to come should be abused as other have been."

and so sustain the Ornaments objected to.

Dr. Lushington, indeed, travelling as it seems to me out of the Judicial province, has thought fit to import into his Decision the consideration of *abuse* apart from the question of *legal prohibition*: thus, at p. 41, he says—

Dr. Lushington's opinion on the subject of *abuse*,

"As to the argument, that an ornament or article is not illegal merely because it is used in the Roman Catholic Church, it may be admitted abstractedly to be true, but very erroneous deductions will be drawn from it, unless duly qualified. The first qualification I will mention, exclusive of the illegality of what is not expressly allowed, is, that such ornaments and articles have not been abused to superstitious purposes. If they have, I apprehend that they are not allowed by our Church. The whole object of the Reformation was to abrogate, not only practices idolatrous in themselves, but all things and all usages, indifferent in themselves, which had been abused to superstitious purposes, and for reasons which I deem all sufficient, and to which I will presently advert."

Then, having cited, at p. 42, the Stone Altar and the Crucifix, as examples of things not only "indifferent" but "innocent" in themselves, he asserts that "the Crucifix had been abused," and that the "all powerful reason" why our "ancestors" saw fit to "reject the common argument" founded on the distinction between use and abuse, was "the fear that superstitious practices might thereby be revived."

And immediately after follows this sentence—

"If this reasoning be true, why should not crosses be put in the same category as crucifixes? Surely I need not waste time in shewing that they have been equally perverted to superstitious practices. Indeed, I think no man can travel on the continent, and not see that such is the case, even at this day."—*Judg.* p. 42.

Now as all this is simply *extra-judicial*, and only the *private opinion* of the learned Judge, there need be no hesitation in dealing with it: enough would be done by merely confronting it with the opinion of Archbishop Tenison, already quoted at pp. 511 and 513—an opinion which, considering his station,

answered by reference to

the actual occur-
rences of the
Reformation :

his general views, and the circumstances under which it was uttered, may challenge at least *equal* attention with that of Dr. Lushington. But (to pass over the assertion, already, I think, abundantly disproved—that silence is prohibition) I cannot refrain from asking, whence the Judge of the Consistory drew his view of “the whole object of the Reformation?” Nothing surely can be more opposed to History, aye, and to the Prayer Book, than the assertion on this point, which proceeded from the chair of the Consistorial Court of London on the 5th December, 1855.^a It is true, indeed, that things, which sound strange to our ears and for which it seems hard to find a sufficient reason, were done at the several leading periods of the Reformation; more especially during the Reign of Elizabeth: there may, too, have been some real necessity in the circumstances of those times (of which we, living at this distance, perhaps are not adequate judges,) for destroying the very Linen Cloths, and for disusing or melting down the identical Chalices which had been used in the Celebration of Mass (see Visitation Articles, pp. 231, 255, and 285,) no less than for breaking down the Altars; but even these proceedings (extreme as, perhaps, it is not too presumptuous to think them) fail to establish the position which Dr. Lushington would maintain: to secure that, it had been essential not only to *destroy* the actual Things that were used, but also to *prohibit* the employment of any new Articles of a like character: then, what defence can be set up for the use of a LINEN CLOTH or of a CHALICE now? On the other hand, if *they* may be used, as for other reasons so, (to use the implied argument of Elizabethan Prelates) because they are not the *identical* Things alleged by them to have become “profane,” why is a Cross, or a Stone Altar, or indeed any other Ornament, not

^a With Dr. Lushington’s language it is worth while to contrast the fact that, on the 4th June 1549, the Protector SOMERSET wrote a Letter to CARDINAL POLE, in reply to his Letter of the 6th May, at the end of which, after expressing his hope that he sees the abuses of the Church of Rome, and inviting him to return to England, he says—“And to thintente ye may the better know of our doings we have delivered to those which brought your Letters the Boke of Comen Service. The same whereof here before we have spokin. Agreed on in the Parliament. In the which if ye can *justly* fynde any faulte we shall gladly receive your letters and hear your judgment given thereuppon. And shall as gently cause the reasons to be rendered unto you, wherewith we do not fear ye shall be satisfied.”—(*State Papers*, Domest. Edw. VI., Vol. VII.) Whether SOMERSET, in writing thus, believed POLE to have become what Dr. Lushington would, apparently, call *Protestant*; or whether the Protector thought the new Prayer Book to be what others would call *Catholic* in its character, and so invited the *Cardinal* to come hither and use it, I may leave to the learned Judge to determine.

inconsistent with our present Services, to be *prohibited* on the ground that it was once *abused*, though, in fact, Dr. Lushington has not even attempted to prove such abuse. It is so far satisfactory that the learned Judge guards his conclusion, as to Crosses, by the condition, "If this reasoning be true:" that it is not true has, I hope, been proved: therefore, on his own theory, we are entitled to claim the *use* of what he has condemned upon a fallacious principle of abuse; and are equally fortified in the employment of Ornaments, which the terms of his argument establish to be equally *legal* with, a Surplice, an Albe, a Vestment, a Cope, a Tunicle—neither of which he could venture to call *unlawful*, though they were alike obnoxious to those who denounced a Cross, an Altar, Lighted Candles, and Frontals. Of the learned Judge's reference to what he considers the present *abuse* of Crosses on the Continent, it is enough to say that, not only is it nothing to the purpose as regards their *lawful use* in the Church of England, but that it must be accounted at variance with the views of those who introduced and of those who have continued the Preface on Ceremonies; for their words are "in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only."

This question of use and abuse may be fitly summed up in the words of Bp. Sanderson: discussing the question "whether *Statues* and *Pictures* may not be permitted in Christian Churches," he says:—

"I never heard substantial reason given, why they might not: at the least, so long as there is no apparent danger of superstition. And *secondly*, whether things either in their first *erection*, or by succeeding *abuse* superstitious, may not be profitably continued, if the *superstition* be abolished? Otherwise, not Pictures only, and Crosses, and Images; but most of our *Hospitals*, and *Schools*, and *Colleges*, and *Churches* too must down: and so the hatred of *Idolatry* should but usher in licentious *Sacrilege*, contrary to that passage of our Apostle in the next Chapter before this (Rom. 2. 22), *Thou that abhorrest Idols, committest thou Sacrilege?*"—*Visitation Sermon* at Boston, April 24th, 1621. *Sermons ad Clerum*, p. 34. 7th Ed. fol. 1681.

Dr. Lushington, however, adverting to this very Preface, further says:—

"We must bear in mind, too, that all these matters ought to be kept wholly distinct from questions of doctrine. . . . Now, being

and by the opinion of Bishop Sanderson.

His view of the authority by which Ancient Usages may be appropriated,

things indifferent and allowable, by competent authority, the proper inquiry is, not whether they were in use in primitive times, but whether they have been engrafted into our Reformed Church, and confirmed by competent authority."—*Judg.* p. 39.

compared with
his own state-
ment of what
that Authority is,

That they were so engrafted, is established beyond all reasonable doubt by the History of Edward's Second Year, coupled with the learned Judge's own declaration that "be yond all possibility of doubt the Legislature has referred to "the usage by law of Parliament in" that year: that they have been "confirmed by competent authority," he has himself proved by the declaration that "nothing done from 1549 "to 1662....has in itself force or binding authority;" to which may be added THE FACT that nothing was done by competent authority from the period in which Elizabeth's Prayer Book set up the second Year of Edward 6th as the Standard for Ornaments: that there is a great distinction between Ornament and Doctrine no one will deny; but then it cannot be disproved that with the loss of Ornament there has been a corresponding loss of Doctrine, yes and of Religion, in the Church of England: to quote the words of a very impartial writer in sketching the destruction of Altars in Edward's Reign—

"When they saw an altar broken down with every indignity, and all its costly furniture supplanted by a linen cloth, and the conveniences of a domestic table, no preaching could make them yield the latter a reverence denied by their teachers to the former. It is not surprising, then, to find both parties deploring the natural, if not the inevitable result. John Bradford, preaching in the succeeding reign, when the harbingers of persecution were gathering round him, exclaimed, 'The contempt of the Sacrament in the days of Edward hath caused these plagues upon us presently' (Sermon on the Lord's Supper). Brokes, on the other hand, traced all the death of religion to 'the defacing of churches, in spoiling their goods and Ornaments, the breaking down altars, throwing down crosses, casting out of images, the burning of tried holy relics....change in altars, change in placing, change in gesture, change in apparel.' (Sermon before Queen Mary, 1553.)"—*Haweis's Sketches of the Reformation*, p. 114.

and with the real
question to be
determined.

The real question in this case is—whether they, who in a desire to rescue the Services of the Church of England from indifference or contempt and with a wish to render them worthy of her claim to *continuity* from the Ancient and *unity* with the present Catholic Church, are to be condemned for

and prohibited from doing what they believe to be, and what I trust these pages have proved is, **LAWFUL**? Dr. Lushington has said in most emphatic words—

“I wholly deny that the Statute of Edward the Sixth, passed in the Second Year of his reign, or the Statute of Uniformity, can be affected by non-usage. By the Law of England no Statute can fall into desuetude. It is true that a Statute may become obsolete in one sense; that is, not enforced. It is true that no call may be made on the judges of the land to enforce it, that by common consent a Statute may lie dormant; but if once a Court is called upon to carry it into execution, it must do so. The case of wager of battle is all powerful to prove this proposition.”—*Judg.* p, 35.

They whose practices are pronounced to be *illegal* in this Judgment, have no desire (I think I may venture to affirm), if their Appeal from it should prove them to be *lawful*, that the learned Judge's position should be taken up and that the Law should be *enforced* throughout the Church of England. What they claim is—**PROTECTION** for themselves in *obeying* what they deem the Law has *prescribed*; at least **TOLERATION** in doing what they are satisfied it has nowhere *prohibited*. I will add my own conviction that it would be a disastrous step, in the present condition of the Church of England, to enjoin, upon every Parish and Congregation in the Kingdom, the use of what the Defendants in the Consistorial Court believed, and believe, to be **LAWFUL ORNAMENTS**; though Dr. Lushington, deciding against them, said “So long as” the “Law” “remains it must be obeyed.”

The true CLAIM of those who advocate the condemned Ornaments.

That there is abundant reason to dispute the Judgment of the London Consistory Court, these pages have, perhaps, shewn: and, if there were no other reasons for calling it in question, the summary way in which (at pp. 52 & 53) Dr. Lushington dismissed the whole Canon Law, though not denying its general Statutable force, would be an ample justification. For what does that Law declare in reference to this very question of Church Ornaments? **ABP. GRAY** in 1250, **ABP. PECKHAM** in 1281, **ABP. WINCHELSEY** in 1305 (see pp. 488 & 489) after prescribing the *minimum* of Ornaments, Utensils, and other Things which the *Parishioners* are to find, and the repairs which they are bound to execute, all decree that the *Incumbent* or the *Impropiator* are to provide “OTHER DECENT ORNAMENTS,” or “ALL OTHER PARTICULARS

Dr. Lushington's treatment of the Canon Law, a reason for questioning his Judgment:

“AND ORNAMENTS,” or “WHATEVER IS HERE OMITTED;” and these, too, not only “*for the principal chancel*” but for “*all the rest of the Church.*” Abp. Gray adds “let Rectors or Vicars know that they may be compelled to these and other things not written in this Book, by the Ordinaries of the places, according to this and other Constitutions approved in this respect;” and he assigns a reason for their attention to this Constitution, which ought to weigh with all who have any regard for the honour of God and the fitness of His earthly Temples; his words are “that they may sing with the Prophet ‘Lord, I have loved the comeliness of Thy House:’” indeed an earlier Constitution, that of ABP. LANGTON in 1222, distinctly implies a *commendation* of the Clergy who have a regard for what some have thought fit to designate *unworthy trifling* (not to say harder names), when it directs that “Archdeacons take care in their Visitations” to have Inventories made of the Goods of the Church, “that they may know what additions are made by the parson’s diligence, or what the Church hath lost.”—See No. 25, p. 489.

for the Ornaments
he prohibits are
in accordance
with the

direction which
the Canon Law
gives to the
Clergy.

Are then CROSSES, STONE ALTARS, CREDESCENCE TABLES, ALTAR FRONTALS, EMBROIDERED LINEN, DECENT ORNAMENTS for the Church of England? If they are, is a Clergyman now to be told that he has nothing to do with providing these or any other Ornaments of the Church? Is he to refuse the generous Offerings of his Parishioners or his Congregation who wish thus to consecrate some portion of their goods to the Service of God’s House? Is he, in this Nineteenth Century of boasted liberty and toleration, to be subjected to harassing prosecutions in Courts Spiritual for obeying the Ecclesiastical Law, sanctioned and made Statute Law, as it is, by Acts of Parliament which have rendered it binding upon the whole Laity and Clergy of the Kingdom?—a Law, but for which, I believe I am accurate in saying, there would be absolutely no Authority to determine so simple a subject as the *material* of the Paten and Chalice or to decide *at whose cost* these Utensils are to be provided (See Remarks on Nos. 9 & 11, p. 473, also p. 488); to say nothing of the multitude and variety of graver questions relating to all kinds of Ecclesiastical Duties and Subjects

which are not determined by the Prayer Book and the Canons of 1603-4 and 1640.^a

It is true that in one sense the Ornaments complained of are, as they are termed, *Novelties*: but that is only saying in one word—that the internal appearance of even our better Churches has been, for the most part, as unlike the type set up in the Rubric of the Prayer Book as could well be conceived; to which must be added—that the condition of the rest has been either as bare as possible, or so disgraceful that the wonder is how any semblance of Religion was preserved in the Parishes where they are situated. The fact is that the Church of England has not had, so to say, *fair play* except for about a year after that First Prayer Book was “set forth”, as the Act declared, “by the aid of the Holy “Ghost”, which was designed to maintain an Uniform Order of Service in combination with all the then existing Ornament and Ceremonial which was not repugnant to its character and contents. It had hardly become the settled Use throughout the Kingdom when the pernicious influence of the Foreign Reformers procured the substitution of the 2nd Book, deteriorated in Doctrine, deficient in Ritual, Ceremonial and Vestures—accompanied, too, by a corresponding loss in Ecclesiastical Ornament, due, in part to the Genevan leaven which was operating, but more, to the necessities of the State which enriched the Royal Treasury by the sacrifice of the Church’s abundant stores.

With the Accession of ELIZABETH the Puritan element, which had acquired strength in exile, gathered up its forces for a contest with the Catholic Principles and Practices which the

The allegation—that these Ornaments are *novelties*—overlooks the disturbing elements in *Edward’s* Reign:

in the *Elizabethan* and later times:

^a I have assumed here the validity of these Canons on the ground that they received the Royal Assent in precisely the same form as those of 1603-4 (See pp. 409-10). The only thing which might seem to cast a doubt upon them occurs in the Stat. 13 Caroli. 2. c. 12. A.D. 1661, intitled “*An Act for Explanation of a Clause contained in an Act of Parliament made in the seventeenth Year of the late King Charles, intituled, ‘An Act for Repeal of a Branch of a Statute Primo Elizabethæ, concerning Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical:’*” the 5th Section of this Act is a Proviso that, among other things, it is not “to abridge or diminish the King’s Majesty’s Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters and affairs, nor to confirm the *canons made in the Year one thousand six hundred and forty*, nor any of them, nor any other Ecclesiastical laws or canons not formerly confirmed, allowed, or enacted by parliament, or by the Established laws of the land, as they stood in the Year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and thirty nine.” (*Stephens’s Eccl. Stat. vol. 1, p. 567*). The effect of these words seems only to be, to exclude them from any *Parliamentary* Authority which the Act might be supposed to confer upon them: but then it places also the Canons of 1603-4 on exactly the like footing.

Queen and her advisers intended to retain out of that restoration which Mary had effected. What course it took and what was the amount of its success these pages have, unhappily, been compelled to testify. It received indeed some check in the Reign of JAMES, but it was not until CHARLES succeeded him that anything material was done to counterwork its baneful effects and to restore in the Churches some amount of becoming Ornament and Decoration. Then came the Great Rebellion followed by its Fifteen Years of misrule, displaying the wanton desecration of Churches, the abolition of the Services, and the banishment of the Clergy. The RESTORATION stayed the plague, but it was an age too vicious and, consequently probably, too poor to effect much improvement in our Ecclesiastical Edifices: nor were the succeeding 150 years (with the exception perhaps of the Reign of ANNE) at all calculated to favour a development of Ceremonial and Ornament: it was a period, for the most part, too chilled by Presbyterian coldness; too hardened by Infidel indifference; too dulled by Worldly carelessness, to pay regard to Doctrine and Discipline, much less to the decencies and proprieties of Divine Worship. How bad things had become may be gathered from the, almost prophetic, words of the Lower House of Convocation in 1702, in an Address to the Upper House over which Abp. Tenison was presiding, wherein they state:—

“That a general neglect of divers Canons and Constitutions now in force, doth (among other great inconveniences thence arising) tend to introduce such customs and usages, as may in time be interpreted to amount to a prescription, and thereby the authority and force of the said Canons may be evaded, the Clergy lose their undoubted rights, and be involved in fruitless contests and lawsuits with their parishioners.”—*Cardwell's Synodalia*, fol. 2. p. 708.

The *Evangelical Movement* in the Church of England had (as I believe in the order of Providence) its own special work, to arouse the age just spoken of, and was, besides, too early in the revival of Art and Decoration to be likely to exercise any influence in this one of the various directions which Ecclesiastical affairs have since taken. It remained pretty much, though by no means entirely, for what is popularly called the *Tractarian Movement*, which was nearly co-eval with the general revival of Architecture and Art in England, to enlist

and in the Great Rebellion.

No favourable opportunity of repairing the ill effects of that period,

until the middle of this century.

Æsthetics in the exhibition of the more direct *Doctrinal* phase of that general Religious revival which, in common with the movement last spoken of, it has been assisting to carry on. Its lot has fallen in a day when ANTIQUITY has been the ruling principle which has governed the construction or restoration of numbers of secular Edifices, and the decoration or furniture of house after house: what more natural, then, than that a teaching which is avowedly based upon that Catholic Antiquity which the Church of England again and again professes to follow, looking also at the tendencies of the age, should turn to the period which the Prayer Book distinctly points to, and should seek there for Ornaments and Decoration fitted to add a dignity yet simplicity to the administration of the Sacraments and Rites of the Church, tending to win for them attention and reverence, and calculated, as it believes, to assist and elevate Devotion.

Antiquity the natural guide to modern Church revival.

That this is no imagination, the experience of many an English Clergyman who has, more or less, acted upon these views, could amply testify—the grateful feelings of thousands upon thousands (it is no exaggeration) comprising high and low, rich and poor, learned and simple, yes, too, and that important middle class which forms the great staple of our community, would readily and cheerfully bear witness to, if called upon. Indeed it is impossible to mix even a little in general society or to hear recounted the opinions of people moving in various spheres of life, and not to learn the wish that they could have in their own neighbourhood a Church wherein Divine Service should be conducted with some such beauty, order, and reverence, as they have witnessed in Churches of the description complained of to the Consistorial Court of London. Nay, what is more, it is one frequent argument, if it may be called an argument, for prohibiting this developement in the Church of England—that the longer it is permitted, the more people are accustomed to it, and begin to approve it.

Beneficial consequences of the past attempt.

But it may be asked—why are they who dislike these things or who feel them to be a hindrance rather than a help to devotion, to be obliged to attend a Church where they are used? To this I reply, first of all, by another question—why are they who approve these things or who

The case of those who dislike the Revival, considered.

are conscious of the aid they afford, to be obliged to attend a Church where they are not used? It is obvious that in a divided state of opinion and in a tentative process of revival like that in which we find ourselves, the one or the other must yield, perhaps both a little; and it is but reasonable that, the *minority* in a Parish or a Congregation should defer to the wishes of the majority, and further that that majority, to be at all a fair test, should be the majority of Regular Communicants. Here then comes in the *discretionary* power of the Bishop or other Ordinary—a Discretion to be exercised in such a way that his “order” be *not contrary* to anything contained in” the Book of Common Prayer, and therefore *not contrary* to that Canon Law, already remarked upon, which constitutes a main part of that Parliamentary Authority for Ornaments referred to in the Rubric on that subject. In such an exercise of his Discretion the Ordinary surely should find his own security against a succession of harassing, perhaps frivolous, complaints whether from Churchwardens (who, it seems to have been assumed too much on both sides have a control in these matters which, with great diffidence, I venture to think the Law does not invest them) or from Parishioners or Members of a Congregation, yes and even from non-members and non-parishioners—the object of which, too often, is to gratify their own wishes at the expense of the desires of others perhaps even more entitled to consideration than themselves.

Discretion of the Ordinary applicable to it.

The relative claims of the objectors

In the cases which formed the subject of the proceedings before Dr. Lushington there cannot surely be a doubt that the discretion of the late Bishop of London, so far as it was exercised, was rightly exercised in not interfering with the Ornaments complained of, wholly apart from any question arising out of Consecration. For what is the fact? On the one hand *Seventeen* persons, whose names it would be curious but invidious to analyse, make an Affidavit that they are precluded from attending St. Paul's, Wilton Place, their Parish Church.

“in consequence of their conscientious objections to the articles of furniture introduced into the said Church, to wit, the altar instead of a proper communion-table, the credence-table, the cross affixed to the said altar, the gilded candlesticks, and the multiplication of

cloths embroidered in a fanciful and unseemly manner with which the said altar is from time to time decorated. . . ." *Affidavits* 1 & 2 *Judg.* pp. xx, & xxi.

On the other hand *One Hundred and forty one* persons address the Bishop of London in terms of attachment towards and confidence in the Incumbent and "earnestly deprecate "any attempt to enforce alterations which would do violence "to the religious feelings of many of the Congregation. . . ."

—*Exhibit A. Judg.* p. xxiii.

In the case of St. Barnabas no Complainants appeared before the Court save the Prosecutor of the Suit.

The facts speak loudly for themselves and need no comment beyond this—that if a case could be imagined in which those Principles are to be claimed and applied which were laid down in the "Address of the Twenty four Archbishops "and Bishops," on this very subject, dated March 29, 1851, this is that case: their Lordships, speaking indeed of *introduction* not of *abolition*, say—

"that any change of usages with which the religious feelings of a congregation have become associated is in itself so likely to do harm that it is not to be introduced without the greatest caution. . . ."

After all, however, what really practical difficulty is there in dealing with objections based upon such grounds? If it were the case that those who attend Public Worship were in the habit everywhere of resorting to their *Parish* Church alone, the case might indeed be harder yet not unable to be dealt with on the Principles just considered. But, it being notoriously otherwise, to a very large extent, in London and the Great Towns of the Kingdom, the comparatively few persons (as I believe) whose conscience is so quick or whose feelings are so strong that they could not on any account worship in a Church where these Ornaments are allowed, can have no difficulty in finding a resting place amid the unhappy diversities of practice which abound: though if, on their account, the *general* use of such things were to be prohibited, then, it would be but simple fairness that others, if there be such, who feel *equally* strong on the other side, should have a similar resort left for them.

To pass now to another point. No doubt it will be said again, as it has been said before, that the re-introduction of the Ornaments and the Ceremonial complained of, has led

and the approvers, simplify the case at SS. Paul and Barnabas.

The objection that—the revival of the Ornaments

and Ceremonies,
complained of,
leads to Rome,
answered.

and will lead to Rome. This consideration evidently influenced greatly the Decision of Dr. Lushington, as appears at pp. 37 to 39 and elsewhere in his Judgment. Whether, excluding as he did the question of *discretion*, and deciding the case upon alleged *Legal* grounds alone, he was justified in entertaining such considerations at all, I will not discuss here. As relates to the past, such a statement is, as I believe the knowledge of those of us who have had to deal with minds perplexed about the Church of England could testify, for the most part certainly, a perversion of facts. The cause of secessions to the Roman Communion has lien much deeper than any question of Ornament and Ceremonial: it has been based upon a conviction, not wholly unfounded, however exaggerated, that the Church of England manifests, at least, an *indifference* to FAITH and DOCTRINE—some have gone further and said a *denial* of them—which is incompatible with its existence as a part of the Catholic Church. One thing is certain—that an analysis of the *Clergy*, whose loss we have to lament, would prove unanswerably that, as a whole, they were not great advocates of Ornament and Ceremonial. As concerns the future, what may be the effect, if this Judgment be *affirmed* in the Superior and much more in the Highest Court, it may be difficult to foresee clearly: but there is a strong conviction in the minds of those who have opportunities of forming a judgment—that, if this *prohibitory* Law of Dr. Lushington is to be applied not only in the Churches now in question, but throughout the Provinces of Canterbury and York, it would add another element to the confused ingredients which already embitter the minds of thousands of attached members of the Church of England—an element, which no remonstrance on the weakness or the folly of regarding its presence, would probably succeed with some in inducing them to be indifferent to its existence. Two Bodies there are, in this Country now, which boldly and perseveringly (I must add, too successfully) demand the allegiance of members of the Church of England: these are the ROMANISTS and the IRVINGITES; the former claiming to be alone the descendants of England's Ancient Church—the latter pretending a New Revelation which has Divinely entrusted to them the full developement both of Doctrine and Polity, and

Considerations
for not checking

the entire complement of the Church's Hierarchical Constitution. Both these possess Ritual and Ceremonial attractions for the multitude of minds which yearn for something better than the bare, cold, stiff, formal Services which have endamaged the Church of England and have so ill represented her true mind and character—the Irvingites apparently satisfying those who are unable to accept the Doctrine or the Discipline of Rome. It remains to be seen whether the Church of England shall be pronounced so intolerant of Ornament, Ritual, and Ceremonial as to furnish a *most plausible*, I do not admit a *genuine*, excuse for exchanging her Communion with either of these.

the present
Ritual develop-
ment.

On every ground, therefore, whether of *History*, of *Law*, of *Discretion*, of *Consequences*; it is no light matter which is involved in this Suit which is still *sub-judice*. Bound up, happily, as the Church of England is,^a and as the larger proportion of her Episcopate only six years ago claimed^b her to be, with the Church of the Past, it is essential that her HISTORY be not forgotten: that History, as the previous

Important Prin-
ciples involved

^a A remarkable illustration of this occurs as these Sheets are passing through the Press: in *The Times* of Tuesday Oct. 14, 1856, the following paragraph appeared in Leader Type:—"THE BISHOPRIC OF LONDON.—Yesterday the Venerable W. Hale Hale, Archdeacon of London and Canon of St. Paul's, took the customary oaths, and was admitted before the Vicar General, Dr. Twiss, to the office of Official within the city and diocese of London during the vacancy of the See of London. This appointment is made under an ancient composition between Archbishop Boniface, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, under which the latter body have the privilege of nominating three of the Canons of their Cathedral Church, from whom the Archbishop of Canterbury selects an Official, who is empowered to discharge the functions usually performed by the Vicar-general of the Archbishop during the vacancy of a Diocesan See."

^b Speaking, in the Document already quoted at p. 539, of a principle which their Lordships *mistakenly*, as I believe, supposed to be held by some—viz.—"that as the Church of England is the ancient Catholic Church settled in this land before the Reformation, and was then reformed only by the casting away of certain strictly defined corruptions; therefore, whatever form or usage existed in the Church before its Reformation may now be freely introduced and observed, unless there can be alleged against it the distinct letter of some formal prohibition"—the Bishops proceeded to say "Now against any such inference from the *undoubted identity of the Church before and after the Reformation*, we feel bound to enter our clear and unhesitating protest. We believe that at the Reformation the English Church not only rejected certain corruptions, but also, *without in any degree severing her connection with the ancient Catholic Church*, intended to establish one uniform ritual, according to which her public services should be conducted."

No doubt their Lordship's Protest was necessary on the Principle *alleged*: but I apprehend they overlooked such a phrase as "*plain implication*" which, I believe, formed an *essential part* of the Principle really contended for. It is to be considered also how the Uniform Ritual which, doubtless, was meant to be established, came to be abandoned.

in the present
subject.

pages testify, not only exhibits the Source of her present Rule of Ornament and Ceremonial, but also tells in no uncertain sound the rise of its flagrant neglect. Her LAW must be remembered: for it is the Law of Centuries, which she cannot disavow, unless she is prepared also to abandon her Antiquity which, as yet, she rightly persists in claiming. Her DISCRETION is not to be eliminated: for it is the very foundation on which she has rested her Corporate right to vary, alter, and “decree Rites or Ceremonies” not “contrary “to God’s Word written”—the ruling power for Edification with which she entrusts her Bishops, to be exercised, however, not according to *personal predilections*, but only in conformity with that general Law whence she derives it to them.^a CONSEQUENCES are to be regarded in the *administration* of that LAW, and in the *use* of that DISCRETION: *the consequences of that Law’s REJECTION*, as seen in that utter lawlessness which set free a spirit, too akin to that which now seeks the abolition of Ornament and Ceremonial to be forgotten,—a spirit whose devastating work did not cease with overthrowing at once the Altar and the Throne; *the consequences of its NEGLECT*, as manifested in the disordered, often disgraceful, condition of our Churches—the ill-regulated, frequently distressing, conduct of the Services, which the last twenty years have done much to remedy; *the consequences of Discretion TIMIDLY AND RELUCTANTLY EMPLOYED*, as seen in the encouragement it affords to the dissatisfied to renew agitation; *the consequences of its PARTIAL AND ONE-SIDED EXERCISE*, as stamping with a mark of suspicion and distrust those whom it ungenerously refuses or barely and coldly sanctions.

On all sides we hear it proclaimed (how accurately I am not concerned here to enquire) that the Church of England has lost her hold on the mass of England’s people, especially on the great Middle Class population: in almost every direction enquiries have been pursued to detect the cause and to devise a remedy: but by most it seems to have been over-

Complaints of
the inefficiency
of the Church
of England:

^a This is exactly what the late Bishop of London did: *personally* he preferred that some of the Ornaments complained of should not be used; but not deeming them to be *illegal* and being assured that they were not unacceptable to the majority of the Congregations at SS. Paul and Barnabas, he permitted their use.

looked or to have been even ridiculed if thought of—that one great Source of the evil is to be discerned in the almost entire neglect of all that is OBJECTIVE in our Services: we seemed nearly to have lost any true idea of Worship, as an external act, by reason of the disappearance of most of what clothed it with form and substance. No one, I think, who reads the History of the Church of England with a candid and an unprejudiced mind can deny that with the loss of Ritual, Ceremonial, Ornament and Decoration, there has been a corresponding declension in Doctrine and in Worship. That it could be otherwise, is contrary to all History, all Experience, aye, and to the very Constitution of man's nature. That the Ritualistic Movement of the last twenty years *has had* some share in recovering people to, and satisfying the disaffected within, the Church of England, no one can deny who possesses any knowledge of the facts. That more might have been done, but for vain fears of Rome (which, too commonly, by a sort of moral pathology, only makes people more susceptible of its attacks) or from unwillingness to enter upon a course which was deprecated * and might perchance be pronounced illegal—there is no reason to question. Unhappily the condition of our Cathedrals (which were meant to be, and once were, the type upon which Parochial Services were modelled, so far as the means of Parishes permitted) has been, and for the most part still is, such as to confirm the notion that what is now complained of is an innovation and a novelty: had they well used all their great means and appliances, as the Reformation designed them to be used, to maintain the Worship of God in all its dignity and splendor, then, instead of being the confessed models of negligence and laxity they would have proved themselves the true Standard for a genuine Reform in the thousands of their dependent

the lack of Objective Worship:

the loss of its type in Cathedral Services:

* Somewhere about twenty years ago a Resolution was passed, I believe, in the Church Building Society (at the instance, it was said, of the late Bishop of London) to the effect—that, in future, Churches aided by the Society should be so arranged as that the Altar should not be obscured by the Pulpit and Reading Desk: a great outcry was raised at the time and charges were made, in no very measured terms, against the Bishop and the Society for yielding to influences which, it was said, only tended to Romanism. Yet who now thinks of so arranging Churches as to contravene a Principle which seems *generally* to be admitted to be in all respects both convenient and appropriate? Apply this example to other Ornaments, and it may be hoped that similar considerations will, in time, remove vain fears or long prejudices.

are reasons for
not discouraging
the present re-
vival.

Churches. In saying this, it would be most unfair and ungenerous to suppress all mention of the great improvements which have been of late effected, or to lose sight of the circumstance that the best intentioned and most energetic Authorities have, too commonly, to engage in an almost hopeless contest with some impracticable members of their Chapter, when endeavouring to redeem the character of their Cathedral.

Is it *wise* then; is it *politic*; is it even *prudent* to attempt to stop this developement of Church Ornament and Church Ceremonial? Are we to refuse to educate a man's SOUL, whether he be poor or rich, through his *visual* faculty with which God has endowed him, and that, too, in a day when the greatest efforts are being made to educate his *mind* by that same instrumentality? Are Ornament and Decoration to be every where elevated before him through the medium of Architecture, Art, Manufacture—whether in Palaces, in the Senate House, in Courts of Justice, in Public Exhibitions, in National Monuments—but is he to be forbidden to behold them in the House of God, and are they to be cast forth from its sacred enclosure?

Apparent present
need of the
Church of Eng-
land,

What the Church of England seems to need at this time from Authority, and most especially from her EPISCOPATE, is a firm yet gentle, an even-handed yet not indifferent treatment: not enforcing upon her Congregations what they are not prepared to accept without fuller teaching; but not withholding from them what they are ready to welcome, or at least to receive with consideration. Go back to the condition of forty years ago is a thing, I believe, impossible: it would be a retracing of steps not to be dreamed of, and which even the *earnest minded* and *zealous*, among those who dislike or are afraid of what is now demurred to, will not tolerate. A POLICY which, *on the one hand*, shall PERMIT, apparently with little or no remonstrance, one or more of things so notorious as these, *viz.* an entire neglect or a studied disregard of the most plainly prescribed Ornament and Ceremonial—Basins set in, or used instead of, Fonts—ricketty, worm eaten, or not “decent” Communion-Tables—tattered, threadbare, or common green-baize or such like Altar-Coverings—a table cloth

and napkin, often far from "fair," as Altar Linen—ordinary wine bottles instead of Flagons made "of Pewter, if not of "purer metal"—the Elements for the Holy Communion placed on the Altar before the commencement of Divine Service, in direct violation of the Rubric—the Holy Sacrament dealt out to a whole party of Communicants, after *one* instead of individual pronouncement of the Sentences—its administration so careless, that even not over-particular persons are often scandalized at the irreverence which suffers quantities of Sacramental crumbs to indicate the track of the administrator—monthly or only quarterly Celebrations—entire omission of Daily or Saints'—day Services, or both—mutilated Offices—avowed denial from the Pulpit of the plainest Doctrines of the Church, sometimes admitted by the preacher himself to be taught in the Prayer Book—deliberate and designed omission of the Athansian Creed: A POLICY which, *on the other hand*, shall DEPRESS or DISCOURAGE any or all of these following, *viz.* a clear definition of the Faith as embodied in the Creeds—a full exhibition of the whole Sacramental System and Doctrines of the Church—the entire and Rubrical use of all the Church's Offices, with the addition, if apparently profitable, of any details of Ceremonial which do not contradict the *Letter* and are in harmony with the *Spirit* of the Rubrics—a diligent endeavour to comply with the directions of the Prayer Book in the maintenance of Daily Services and the observance of all the Church's Festivals and Fasts—the Celebration of the Eucharist so frequently, and at such hours, that none may have occasion to complain that they are deprived of Communion—its careful distribution into the hands^a of Communicants, with individual application of the

is a liberal and
tolerant Policy.

^a It is quite in place to make a remark here upon Sect. XII. p. 89 of Mr. Goode's Book, intitled "On the mode of delivering the Bread and Wine to the Communicant;" in which he more than insinuates that "a practice" has been "adopted from the First Prayer Book of Edw. VI., clearly opposed to what is now required:" his implication is—that the Sacramental Bread is put into the *mouths* of Communicants, and that the *Chalice* is not given into their hands. I am sorry that Mr. Goode did not acquaint himself more accurately with facts before writing this: for, without meaning to say that there have not been such cases, he would have found that the one thing aimed at *was* to get persons to "receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body" into their *HANDS*, not their *fingers*, to prevent irreverence: and that any appearance of withholding the Chalice has arisen most commonly from an apparent hesitation or seeming nervousness on the part of the Communicant, and so it has been held partially or wholly by the Ad-

so far as consistent with her true Principles,

words of Delivery—the use of a Credence Table or some equivalent mode of complying with the Church's direction to offer the Elements at a particular time of the Service—the employment of all necessary or becoming Linen, Vessels, Utensils, and those of the best material which circumstances afford, as being due to God's glory in the Celebration of that Sacrament of His death which the Son of God instituted—the use of rich, varied, and handsome Frontals for the Communion-Table, in accordance with the 82d Canon, and to assist in instructing the people as to the change and succession of Saints'-days, Festivals, and Holy Seasons commanded both by the State and by the Church to be observed—the application of the most solid, durable, or valuable materials, for the structure of the Altar, which opportunity affords—the desire to have such Fonts for Baptism as are worthy of that Sacrament—the general care for whatever in Ornament and Ceremonial would most tend to glorify God, commend His Worship, and edify His people: SUCH A POLICY, as I have described in these two opposing courses, is one which can only, sooner or later, drive the Church of England upon a Rock of Schism which must entirely shatter her, unless, under God, that Policy be restrained by an unmistakable expression of the reasonable Public Opinion of her members—possibly even of those who refuse her Communion.

towards all Parties within Communion.

It cannot be disguised that there are PARTIES in the Church of England: that large Party whose adoption of more Ornament and Ceremonial, in the House and in the Service of God, than has been accustomed, is now sought to be prohibited by the Spiritual Courts, perhaps by the final Court of Appeal—have never sought to *coerce* those of their brethren who notoriously refuse or omit to act up to the *positive requirements* of the Church: on what principle then are the former to be blamed or proscribed? If the one is to be *tolerated*, why not the other? Is the Church of England so narrow, are her needs so small, that there is not room enough for the energies and the devotion of both? One thing is certain—there must be either a GENEROUS FREEDOM or a RIGID UNI-

ministrator to avoid accident. I well know that some of those who have been most accused of not giving the Chalice into the hands of the Communicants, are the very persons who have urged strongly upon people, both verbally and in writing, to take it.

FORMITY for all : if the latter could not be maintained, no not even by a series of *Mandamuses* to compel Bishops to compel Clergy to comply exactly with the Church's requirements, can there be any doubt that the former course must be adopted if the Church of England is to be wisely governed in the great work she has to fulfil in this land?

I have done. In the comments which this subject has elicited, my object has been to write freely and fairly—I trust not too boldly. The time seems to have arrived when it is necessary to speak openly and distinctly; albeit in language which must be TEMPERATE, MODERATE, RESPECTFUL—above all, CHARITABLE.

ERRATA.

Page 45, Note, line 7 from top, *dele* "Altars or."

„ 104, Line 4 from bottom, *for* "was parted with," *read* "nothing was parted with."

„ 129, Last line, *dele* "to be used."

„ 346, No. 2, last line but one, *for* "generally," *read* "severally."

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APPENDIX.

Remarks on the Judgment of the Right Hon. Sir John Dodson, delivered in the Arches Court of Canterbury on Saturday December 20th 1856, in the Appeal LIDDELL v. WESTERTON.

Since the preceding pages were in type the Dean of the Arches has pronounced Judgment on the Appeal carried to that Court from the decision of the Consistory Court of London upon this case. The Judge of the Provincial Court of Canterbury has affirmed the Decree of the Court below in all points upon which his decision was invoked, *viz.*, *The Stone Altar; The Credence Table; The Cross upon the Altar; The Cross upon the Chancel-Screen; The various coloured Altar-Cloths; The Linen Cloths ornamented with Lace or Embroidery*; no appeal was made from the Judgment of the Lower Court on *The Chancel-Screen and Gates, and the Altar Candlesticks and Candles*, which had been allowed to remain; or on *The Tables of the Ten Commandments*, which were ordered to be put up.

Matters in Appeal before the Court of Arches.

If it was necessary, as it was, to discuss the Judgment of the Diocesan Court in this case, it becomes still more important to examine a decision of the Provincial Court which, while it establishes the Decree of the inferior Court, makes that Decree applicable to every Church within the limits of the Province of Canterbury: but, apart from this grave consideration, the fact that the two learned Judges arrived at their joint conclusion by entirely opposite interpretations of Law and by the most widely divergent views of the bearing of authorities which both allowed, renders it essential that the Judgment of Sir John Dodson should be carefully investigated. The task will be less difficult than it was in the case of Dr. Lushington's decision, because the Dean of the Arches has travelled over a comparatively narrow field of enquiry;

Necessity for examining Sir J. Dodson's Judgment.

and, happily, it will be much more agreeable, inasmuch as the remarks of Dr. Dodson are entirely free from those expressions of opinion on the motives and conduct of the advocates of the disputed Ornaments, which painfully characterized the statements of the Judge of the Consistory Court, and notoriously diminished the respect with which it would, else, have been received by not a few who were opposed to the Things which it condemned.

The Judgment of the Dean of the Arches not having been printed by him renders it necessary to rely upon the Newspaper Reports of it, and thus there is some risk of inaccuracy: but as the following remarks are founded upon a comparison of the four best Reports which I have seen—*viz.* *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Weekly Reporter*, and *The Observer*, with my own Notes, I hope to avoid any material error in quoting the statements of the learned Judge.

Sir John Dodson, after some few introductory remarks on the position of the case as it came before him, proceeded to consider the question—Whether “Crosses placed on the Altar or Communion-Table and upon the Screen between the Chancel and the Church,” being “admitted on all sides” to be “Ornaments,” are “now legally admissible in the Church of England?” Having observed that “It was also admitted that the Rubric in the present Book of Common Prayer,” commencing “And here it is to be noted” etc., “was to be deemed the primary Law upon this point,” he remarked that—

“The question, then, is whether Crosses are within the true intent and meaning of the Rubric. What was the Parliamentary Authority applicable to Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof in the second year of Edward VI. ? Were Crosses to be included among such Ornaments as were in the Church of England in the second year of King Edward VI. by the authority of Parliament ?”

The learned Judge then proceeded to examine the *authority* of the Statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, A. D. 1533, the 7th Section of which (see p. 464), he observed, “had been mainly relied upon in support of the affirmative of the” proposition—that *Crosses* “were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.” Having further ad-

Question proposed to be discussed by the Judge—are Altar and Chancel-Screen Crosses legal?

25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, §. 7. an alleged authority for them.

verted to the fact that the power (apparently limited as to time) conferred upon the King by that Statute to appoint 32 persons to review the old "Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances, and Synodals Provincial," was continued for *three years* by the 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15, A.D. 1535, and was still further renewed for *life* by the 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16. A.D. 1543, he quoted the 2nd Section of the Act, which runs in the following words:—

"§. 2. . . . that till such tyme as the Kinges Majestie and the saide xxxij personnes have accomplished and executed the effectis and contentis aforerehered and mentioned, that suche Canons Constitutions Ordenaunces Synodall or Proviniall or other Ecclesiastical Lawes or Jurisdiction spirituall, as be yet accustomed and used here in the Church of Englande, which necessarily and conveniently are requisite to be put in ure and execution for the tyme, not being repugnaunt contrariaunt or derogatorie to the Lawes or Statutes of the Realme, nor to the Prerogatives of the Regall Crowne of the same or any of them, shalbe occupied exercised and put in ure for the tyme within this or any other the Kinges Majesties Dominions; And that the Minystres and due executours of them, shall not incurre any damage or daungier for the due exercising of the foresaid Lawes, so that by no cullor or pretence of them or any of them, the mynstre put in ure any thinge prejudiciall or in contrarye of the regall power or lawes of the Realme;"—*Statutes of the Realm*. Vol. III. p. 976.

Upon these words the Dean of the Arches remarked that they

"appear to enlarge the proviso of the 7th Section of the 25th Henry VIII. cap. 19, inasmuch as that section related only to canons, constitutions, and ordinances synodal or provincial, such as were not repugnant, &c., whereas the 2nd Section of the later Act is made to include such other Ecclesiastical Laws or jurisdiction spiritual as might be yet accustomed and used here in the Church—which necessarily and conveniently might be put in use and execution for the time, not being repugnant to the regal authority, &c.—in short to include the Ecclesiastical common Law as well as the Canons Synodal and Provincial."

Pursuing the enquiry the Judge stated the fact that Henry "never exercised the powers conferred upon him" by these Acts, and therefore

"it had been strongly contended that upon the event of his death they became wholly and altogether inoperative."

In this view, however, he did not coincide, but observed that

"as regards the power to appoint Commissioners and so forth

It and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 19. held by the Judge to enforce the old Canon and Common Law.

This was Authority of Parliament at Edward's Accession.

there can be no doubt that the Statute ceased to have effect, but it is by no means equally clear that the same temporary character is to be ascribed to the several clauses respecting canons, constitutions, ordinances, and other Ecclesiastical Laws &c., and especially to the second clause of the 35th of Henry VIII. which it is to be observed is an enacting clause, and not a mere proviso, as in the former act. The language of the sections to which I have adverted scarcely, I think, warrants me in saying that at the death of Henry VIII., and the accession of his son to the throne, there was no Parliamentary Authority for the use of any Ornaments whatever in the Church, although there may be very great difficulty in ascertaining what particular Ornaments had the sanction of that authority."

Difference
between Dr.
Lushington and
Dr. Dodson on
this.

Now to some extent Dr. Lushington's opinion coincides with these remarks, for he does not deny the *general* authority of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, though (as has been already noticed at p. 504) he considers it to be repealed, as to *details* of the Canons which it maintained, by the Acts of Uniformity: he passes over, however, the 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16, which Sir John Dodson states to be of greater weight. But then Dr. Lushington presented for solution a variety of (what I must call *unreal*) difficulties which he alleged necessarily arose out of these Ancient Laws: those difficulties have, I think, been effectually disposed of at pp. 497, 500; and the views there stated derive confirmation from the conclusion of the Dean of the Arches who did not consider himself "warranted" "in saying," as the Judge of the Consistory held, that upon "the accession of" Edward VI. "to the throne, there was no "Parliamentary Authority for the use of any Ornaments "whatever in the Church." Sir John Dodson, indeed, thought "there may be very great difficulty," in discovering what "particular Ornaments" were sanctioned by this Authority, but he did not pronounce it *impossible*; and probably the extracts from these Pre-Reformation Laws given at pp. 467-490, compared with the directions for abolishing certain Usages, given in the Reign of Hen. VIII. (See pp. 12-23) will indicate with sufficient, if not entire, accuracy what was in use by Authority of Parliament at the time of Henry's decease. No one, who has even slightly looked into the history of the period, can reasonably doubt that, with the exception of some few changes noticed in the pages

last referred to, the old Offices were entirely in use throughout the Kingdom, and that what is *popularly*, though *inaccurately*, called "The Catholic Religion," *minus* the Papal Supremacy, everywhere prevailed; and this being so, the doubt would be as unreasonable—that *Ornaments* were abolished though the *Ceremonies* which involved them were retained.

With regard to THE CROSS, Sir John Dodson next makes a remark which must not be overlooked; he says:—

*Use of these
Crosses admitted
by Sir J. Dodson.*

"I may here observe that no particular canon, constitution, or other Ecclesiastical Law has been pointed out as directly authorizing the use of Crosses in Churches, or the manner in which, being there, they are to be made use of. It cannot, however, be seriously denied that, for the most part at least, they were admitted and used in the Churches before the Reformation."

This last admission of the Judge as to general *usage* is of itself sufficient to prove the *legality* of Crosses at the period of which he was speaking, seeing that he had established the Ecclesiastical *Common Law*, of which *usage* formed a part, by his view of the force of 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16. (see p. iii. App.); and therefore the *necessity* is spared of satisfying his previous proposition: but it will materially strengthen the case if the desired satisfaction can be given; the more so as Dr. Lushington contended

"that there is no *direct* proof that [Crosses and Crucifixes] were in use at all in the Second year of King Edward the Sixth, much less by authority of Parliament" (*Judg.* p. 46) and, moreover, asserted "that the *onus probandi* clearly lies upon those who undertake to prove the affirmative."—*Ibid.*, p. 43.

I must admit, at the outset, that there is an *apparent* difficulty in complying with these demands; for it will be seen by an examination of the List of Church Ornaments ordered in the Pre-Reformation Canons and Constitutions (see p. 487) that no *Altar Cross* or other Cross to be put up in the Church is ordered,^a and I am not aware of any other *like* authority in which a direction upon the subject is to be found, though "a Cross for the Processions, and another lesser "Cross for the dead" (see p. 487) are distinctly ordered to be provided by the parishioners. Whether the former were included among the "other decent Ornaments" of "the principal "Chancel" which "the rectors or vicars" were *bound*, by the same Constitutions to furnish, seems left to conjecture: the

*They are not
mentioned in the
old Canons.*

*Mode of proving
their Parliamen-
tary Authority—
viz.*

^a But the *Altar Cross* is *incidentally* referred in No. 37 "No Celebration on Good Friday," (see p. 477). Compare the extract from the Missal No. 3. p. ix. App.

main question here, though not the only one, as will be seen hereafter, is—were they to be provided at all? And this, despite the seeming difficulty, is a question not very hard to answer.

For, it is essential to recollect that, on the principle already established of the *Statutable* authority of these Canons and Constitutions at the time now under consideration, there were then other Parliamentary Authorities of a *different nature* but of *equal force*: those Authorities were the several Office Books which the Parishioners were bound to provide for use in the Church; their names are given in the Laws directing “Who to provide the Church Ornaments” at p. 488: one, and the most important, of these was THE MISSAL which, I apprehend, it must be allowed had *just as much* Parliamentary Authority then as the Book of Common Prayer has now: the two Statutes of Henry the Eighth were to the *former* what the Acts of Uniformity are to the *latter*, though one step removed in the case of the Missals, *viz.* the Canons which the Statutes enforced. This was their position at the demise of Henry the Eighth.

But there is an additional and more direct Parliamentary Authority for the use of the Missal in the famous *second year* of Edward the 6th. The Statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 1. A.D. Nov. 4, 1547, (see p. 31) intitled “An Act against such as “shall unreverently^a speak against the Sacrament of the Altar,

^a It is desirable to give the passage of the Statute, both as shewing the nature of the offence, and as directly bearing, in the words I have italicized, upon the pending suit relative to WHAT the wicked eat in the Lord's Supper: it is as follows:—“ . . . which sacrament [of the Altar] was instituted of no less author than of our Saviour, both God and Man, when at his last supper, amongst his apostles, he did take the bread into his holy hands, and did say, Take, eat; this is my body [Matt. xxvi. 26], which is given [Luke xxii. 19] and broken for you [1 Cor. xi. 24]. And taking up the chalice or cup, did give thanks, and say [Matt. xxvi. 27], This is my blood of the New Testament [Mark xiv. 24], which is shed for you [Luke xxii. 20] and for many [Mark xiv. 24], for the remission of sins [Matt. xxvi. 28], that whensoever we should do the same, we should do it in the remembrance of him, and to declare and set forth his death, and most glorious passion, until his coming. Of the which bread whosoever eateth, or of the which cup whosoever drinketh unworthily [1 Cor. xi. 27], eateth and drinketh condemnation and judgment to himself, *making no difference of the Lord's body* [1 Cor. xi. 29]. The institution of which sacrament being ordained by Christ, as is before said, and *the said words spoken of it here before rehearsed*, being of eternal, infallible, and undoubted truth: yet the said sacrament (all this notwithstanding) hath been of late marvellously abused by such manner of men. . . . who of wickedness, or else of ignorance and want of learning, for certain abuses heretofore committed of some, in misusing thereof, have condemned in their hearts and speech the whole thing, and contemptuously

1. The Canons ordered the Missal:

2. Order of Communion provided by 1 Edw. VI. c. 1:

“and of the receiving thereof under both Kinds” (an Act which, while it is scarcely less demanded by profane talkers in the present day, is still *unrepealed*, and could, I apprehend, be enforced) ends with the following clause:—

“ . . . be it enacted by our said sovereign lord the King, with the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said most blessed sacrament be hereafter commonly delivered and ministered unto the people within the church of England and Ireland, and other the King’s dominions, under both the kinds that is to say, of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise require, and also that the priest which shall minister the same, shall, at the least, one day before, exhort all persons which shall be present likewise to resort and prepare themselves to receive the same. And when the day prefixed cometh, after a godly exhortation by the minister made, (wherein shall be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them which worthily receive the said holy sacrament, and danger and indignation of God threatened to them which shall presume to receive the same unworthily, to the end that every man may try and examine his own conscience before he shall receive the same,) the said minister shall not without a lawful cause deny the same to any person that will devoutly and humbly desire it; any law, statute, ordinance, or custom contrary thereunto in any wise notwithstanding: not condemning hereby the usage of any church out of the King’s majesty’s dominions.”—*Stephens’s Eccl. Stat.* vol. I. p. 293, or *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. IV. pt. 1, p. 2.

In pursuance of this Statute the “Order of the Communion” was compiled and

Date of the
Book.

“Imprinted at London, the viii daye of Marche, in the second yere

depraved, despised, or reviled the same most holy and blessed sacrament, and not only disputed and reasoned unreverently and ungodly of that most high mystery, but also in their sermons, preachings, readings, lectures, communications, arguments, talks, rhimes, songs, plays, or jests, name or call it by such vile and unseemly words, as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed: . . .”—*Stephens’s Eccl. Stat.* vol. I. p. 291.

A Royal Proclamation, based upon this Statute, was issued on the 27th December following; the subjoined passage from it shews *one* kind of the irreverent talking, and is a key to the various statements put forth against a then *carnal*, *physical* view of the Sacrament which evidently was, more or less, popularly held. The passage speaks of those who, not content with such words of Scripture, concerning the Sacrament, as shew “that the body and bloud of Christ is there”, proceed to “search and strive unreverently whether the body and bloud aforesaid is there really or figuratly, locally or circumscriptry, and having quantity and greatness, or but substantially and by substance only, or els but in a figure and manner of speaking; whether his blessed body be there, head, leggs, armes, toes and nails, or any otherways, shape and manner, naked or clothed; whether he is broken and chewed, or he is always whole; whether the bread there remaineth as we see, or how it departeth; whether the flesh be there alone, and the bloud, or part, or ech in other, or in th’one both, in th’other but only bloud; and what bloud; in that only which did flow out of the side, or that which remained: with other such irreverent, superfluous, and curious questions, . . .”
—*Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. I. p. 35.

of the reign of our Sovereigne lorde Kynge Edward the Sixt. By Richard Grafton, printer to his most royall Majestie. In the yere of our Lord M.D. XLVIII."

It was prefaced by a Royal Proclamation which referred to the Statute, and then directed

"that the said blessed Sacrament be ministered unto our people, only after such form and manner as hereafter, by our authority, with the advice before mentioned [*viz.* the Duke of Somerset...and other of our Privy Council] is set forth and declared."—*Liturgies of Edw. the 6th*, Parker Society 1844, or *Cardwell's Two Liturgies compared*. Appendix.

3. This *Order* directs the Mass Office still to be used :

Now in this "Order of Communion", immediately after the First Exhortation, there is a Rubric (see p. 12) which distinctly commands that there should be *no variation in the Mass* until another *Order* was provided: that Order did not appear until exactly a *year* afterwards, or a full *month* after the commencement of Edward's *third* year (see p. 9); and, what is more, it was only in *partial* use throughout England until June 9th, *three months* later, for sufficient Books were not printed and the Act of Uniformity did not require its *general* use until the Feast of Pentecost. So that for full *four months* of Edward's *third* year, the Common Prayer Book was in use in some parishes, the various Missals (York, Salisbury, Hereford, Bangor, Lincoln) and also the old Hour Offices, in all the others.

4. Everywhere used in and after 2 Edw. VI:

It has been shewn then, I think, beyond all possibility of cavil, that the MISSAL was in use by authority of Parliament at the decease of Henry the Eighth, and even more distinctly so *throughout* the *Second* year of Edward the Sixth and during part of his *Third* year. The next question therefore is—did the Missal prescribe the use of an Altar Cross and of a Cross set up in any other part of the Church? for, if it did, then, plainly, such Crosses had precisely the same Parliamentary Authority as the Missal itself.

5. Analogy of Prayer Book :

If, indeed, any one should look into the English Missals of that period expecting to find in them a *List* of Ornaments to be used in the Church or by the Minister, he would be (as was shewn at pp. 42-46) just as disappointed as if he examined the Book of Common Prayer for the like purpose. Yet if in the Communion Office he found that an *Alms Bason*, a *Patén*,

a *Chalice*, were *incidentally* mentioned in Rubrics whose directions they were meant to subserve, could he possibly question that they had Parliamentary Authority though wholly unnoticed in Acts of Uniformity or in the Canons of 1603 and 1640? By the same reasoning then it seems to me impossible to deny—that if an Altar or other Cross is incidentally mentioned in the Missals referred to, it did possess precisely the required authority, though it is not specified by any of those Ancient Canons and Constitutions which derived their Parliamentary sanction from the two Statutes already considered.

Do then the Missals in use at the close of Henry's reign, and during the first two years of his successor Edward the Sixth's sovereignty, incidentally prescribe an Altar Cross and a Cross set up elsewhere in the Churches? THEY DO. Thus in the "Ordinarium Missæ", of the *Hereford* Missal, the Priest being immediately in front of the Altar and looking towards it, is directed in the following Rubric (1) "*Postea sacerdos adorans CRUCIFIXUM dicat*" to say "Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum. Miserere nobis, qui passus es pro nobis."—*Maskell's Ancient Liturgies of the Church of England, compared.* p. 75, 2nd Ed. 1846.

6. Missal Rubrics
for Altar Cross :

There is no corresponding Rubric or prayer in either of the other *Uses* which he gives, *viz.*, Sarum, Bangor, Ebor; but, as we shall see, this would be no disproof of the use of Altar Crosses in the Churches where those Missals were employed. For towards the end of the "Canon Missæ" in the *Bangor* Book there occurs this Rubric—(2) "*Hic sumat totum sanguinem: quo sumpto et calice altari superposito, inclinans se sacerdos cum magna veneratione in medio altaris et CRUCEM respiciens dicat hanc orationem sequentem.* Gratias tibi ago, "Domine," &c.—*Ibid.* p. 124. The Rubric is altogether wanting in the Ebor and Hereford Books and does not contain the words "cruce[m] respiciens" in the Salisbury Use.

Again, in a *Salisbury* Missal of 1534, among the directions for the "Feria VI. in die parasceves" occurs the following passage:—

(3) "*Sacerdotes vero tenentes CRUCEM retro altare et diaconi ad gradum chori dicentes. Agnos. Semper sint stantes. Item sacerdotes*

loco non mutato dicant. S. Quia exduxi. Diaconi. Agnos. Chors. Sanctus Deus. Item Sacerdotes loco non mutato dicant. S. Quid ultra. Diaconi. Agnos. Chorus. Sanctus Deus. Deinde Sacerdotes discooperientes CRUCEM juxta altare in dextra parte: canant hanc ant. Ecce Lignum. Chorus cum genuflexione osculando formulas rindeat. Crucem tuam. Ps. Deus miseratur nostri. Totus ps. dicant sine. Gloria Patri. A toto choro. et post unumquemque versum repetatur ant. similiter a toto choro cum genuflexione: et interim ponant CRUX solemniter sup. tertium gradum ab altari juxta quam sedeant predicti sacerdotes unus a dextris et alius a sinistris. Deinde procedant clerici ad CRUCEM adorandam nudatis pedibus: incipientes a majoribus. Finitio psalmo cum eum ant. cantetur sequentes hymnus a duobus sacerdotibus. interim sedentibus. juxta CRUCEM modo supradicto. Hyss. CRUX fidelis. Chorus idem repetat post unumquemque versum interim sedendo. Itemsacerdotes dicant. S. Pange Lingua. S. De parentis. S. Hoc opus. S. Quando venit. S. Lustra sex. S. Hic acetum. S. Flecte ramos. S. Sola digna. S. Gloria et honor. His finitis deportetur CRUX per medium chori a predictis duobus. sacerdotibus ubi a populo adoretur ante aliquid altare. Et interim cantetur sequens ant. in choro cum suo versu a toto choro interim sedente. Cantor incipiat ant. Dum fabricator. S. O admirabile Aperto. Adorata cruce et finita ant. predicta cum suo versu: predicti sacerdotes ea reverentia qua CRUCEM antea exportaverunt altare iterum reportent," &c.—Missale ad Usum Ecclesie Sarisburiensis. M.D.xxxiiij. fol. 79, and Missale ad Usum insignis Ecclesie Sarum, &c. 1527, fol. 62.^a

Thus much then with regard to the mention of *Altar Crosses* in the English Missals: do the same Books give us any intimation of a Cross on the Chancel Screen? The following Rubric from the Sarum Missal of 1534, with its equivalent in that of 1527, will answer this question. It occurs in the Office for "Dominica in ramis palmarum" where, after describing the several ceremonies of the Procession outside the Church and its entrance within the fabric, it continues:—

for Screen Cross.

(4) "...Hic fiat quarta statio: scilz ante crucem in Ecclesia ...qua finita intrent chorum..." fol. 62.

Whether a similar Rubric occurs in the other Uses I am unable to say from personal examination, not having had an opportunity of inspecting them: but it is immaterial, since the Sarum was the more general Use.^b

^a Both of these are in the British Museum.

^b Dr. Rock, a most reliable authority, says, "York and Sarum quite agreed in the Ceremonies for Palm-sunday."—*Church of our Fathers*, vol. III. pt. 2, p. 232.

He also gives the following account of the Ceremony mentioned in the above Rubric:—"...Walking up the nave till they reached the rood-loft, they knelt

It is established then by these four Rubrics that Altar Crosses (or rather Crucifixes) and Crosses (*i.e.* Roods) over Chancel Screens were sanctioned by Authority of Parliament: that they were only *temporarily* placed there, for a particular Ceremonial, is what I suppose no one would maintain; the way in which they are mentioned shews as plainly that they were in *permanent* use, as the incidental mention of a *Pulpit* in our present Communion Service implies that it is always to be found in the Church. There is but one conceivable objection, I think, to the force of Rubrics 3 & 4; and it is this—that as Henry Eighth had two years before his death abolished the custom of Creeping to the Cross on Good Friday (see p. 23) and as Edward Sixth had, at the close of his *first* year, determined that “palms” should not be “used any longer” (see p. 31); so the Ornaments connected with those Ceremonies were not in use by the required Authority either at Henry’s decease or in Edward’s *second* year. That this objection is of no force whatever, will be best shewn in considering Sir John Dodson’s position that the Cross was abolished before Edward’s second year: meanwhile the Rubrics 1 and 2 are in themselves sufficient to prove the Parliamentary Authority of *Altar* Crosses at that period, inasmuch as the Ceremonial of the *Mass* remained untouched until Edward’s *third* year (see p. 11): and therefore I may proceed to consider the next point which the Learned Judge has raised in the following passage:—

“Omitting for the present any further discussion on that point [viz. the one just considered], I proceed to inquire whether any and what law has been enacted by Parliament, or made under

down there and made the fourth and last station. That large curtain which, throughout Lent, had been hanging at the Chancel-arch so as to hide from the people’s sight the crucifix there, was now drawn away; and, on beholding the rood, the celebrant and choir hailed it thrice with *Ave rex noster fili David redemptor*, and each time knelt down and kissed the floor, and afterwards passed into the Chancel. This ceremony is noticed in the extract given just now [p. 222] from the *Arrivall of Edward IV. in England*, and is still further attested by friar Parker, while he affords us the truly Catholic explanation of it in these words:—‘On Palme Sondaye (says DIVES) at procession the priest drawith up the veyle before the rode, and falleth down to the ground with al the people, and saith thrise: *Ave rex noster*, hayle be thou our Kyng, and so he worshippeth that image as King. PAUPER. *Absit*. God forbede. He speketh not to the image that the carpenter hath made, and the painter painted, but if the prest be a fole, for that stock or stone was never king, but he speaketh to him that died on the cross for us all, to him that is kyng of all thyng.’—(*Dives and Pauper*, fo. xv. b.)”—*Ibid.* p. 229. Compare the Explanation of Latimer, p. 12.

1 Ed. VI. c. 12,
supposed by the
Dean of the
Arches to *repeal*
25 Hen. VII. c.
19, and 35 Hen.
VIII. c. 16.

authority, revocatory of or inconsistent with the law as it stood, or as it was supposed to have stood, at the death of Henry VIII. Now, the authority first mentioned, although not the first in point of date, was the Rubric of the present Prayer Book, which is universally admitted to be Parliamentary authority. I think it is necessary to call attention to the 1st Edward VI., cap. 12, which I believe has not been noticed by the Court below, or in the arguments in this Court. It was nearly one of the last acts that were passed in his reign. It was entitled 'An act for the repeal of certain statutes concerning treasons, felonies, &c.'; therefore it would not be expected that much would be found about ecclesiastical laws in that statute; but this 'et cetera' seems to have been a very comprehensive affair and [the Act] went into many subjects, and among others, the revoking of the power of the King to issue Proclamations. It repealed a number of acts which it set forth, and then it went on to repeal all and every act concerning doctrine and matters of religion. The question is whether it did not operate as a revocation of the very statutes upon which I have commented, and which gave authority to the Ecclesiastical Law. I conceive it must operate as a revocation of the former acts, and consequently there would now be no statutory authority whatever for the use of those ornaments in the Church. Supposing I am right in that view, it would put an end to the question; but I am by no means so positive of it as not to feel that it is my duty to enter into other parts of the case and consider how the law stands upon them. I should have been more decided if the statute 1st Edward VI. c. 12. had been referred to in the Court below, or in the arguments of counsel in this Court, and which statute repealed all acts relating to doctrine and matters of religion. This Act passed after the Injunctions of Edward VI., but before the statute of the second and third of that Monarch's reign for establishing the Prayer Book. I certainly had not expected to find such a provision in an act of so miscellaneous a nature as that to which I have referred."

This position
examined.

Now one need not wonder at the learned Judge's hesitation to affirm positively his opinion of the revocatory force of this Statute, or his non-expectation of finding such a provision in it; the marvel is how he could have put such a construction as he did upon the words "doctrine and matters of religion". It is true indeed that strange consequences have sometimes followed the use of a slight expression in an Act of Parliament, though it was well known that the framers of it had not the slightest intention of doing what it was ruled the Statute had really effected. Whether more pains and less haste were taken by ancient than by modern Legislators is a question which perhaps they only are competent to answer who, in the course of Legal practice, have been compelled to

consider the exact bearings upon each other of earlier or of later Laws : but, without presuming to determine the precise effect of words the *legal* bearing of which must be decided upon principles and rules familiar only to Lawyers, it is a duty to examine evidence which, as it seems to me, can leave no doubt that Sir John Dodson's interpretation of the Statute which he relies upon is wholly irreconcilable with a variety of FACTS which it is impossible to gainsay.

As this Statute (1 Edward VI. c. 12.) is assumed by the Learned Judge to be one of such great importance in the determination of what Church Ornaments are lawful, and as, not being printed in the ordinary Books of Statutes, it is not commonly accessible, it is desirable to print at length all those portions of it which bear in any way upon the present enquiry.

It was passed in the Parliament which began Nov. 4, 1547, in the First year of Edward the Sixth, and continued to the 23rd December in the same year; the Title of it is "An Acte for the Repeal of certayne Statutes concernynge Treasons and Felonies": the Statute runs as follows:—

"No thinge being more godlie more sure more to be wisshed and desired betwixte a Prynce the Supreame Hed & Ruler & the Subjects whose Governour & Hed he is, then on the Prynces pte great clemencye and indulgencye, & rather to muche forgiveness & remission of his royall power & just punishment, then exacte severitie & justice to be shewed, & on the subjects behalfe that they should obeye rather for love & for the necessitie & love of a King & Prynce, then for fear of his streight & severe Lawes; yet such tymes at some tyme comethe in the commonwealthe that it is necessarie & expedient for the repressinge of the insolencye & unrulynes of Men, & for the foreseeing & providing of remedies against rebellyon insurrection, or such mischiefs as God sometyme with us displeased for our punishment dothe inflicte and laye upon us, or the Devill at Godd's pmission to assaye the good & God's electe dothe sowe and sett amongst us the which Allmightie God with his helpe & mans pollicye hath alwaies bene content & pleased to have stayed that sharper lawes as a harder byrdle should be made to staye those men & facts that might ells be occasion cause & authors of further inconvenyence; The which thing caused the Prynce of most famous memorie Kinge Henry theight father to our saide Sovereaigne Lorde the King, & other his Highnes progenitors, with thassent of the Nobles & Commons at divers parliaments in their severall tymes to make & enacte certaine lawes & statutes which might seeme & appere to men of exterior Realmes & manny of the King's Majesties Subjects verie streighte sore extreme & terrible, allthoughe they were then when they were

Contents of the alleged repealing Act, &c.

"Principles of Government and Obedience in the Prince and Subjects:

"Occasional necessity of severe laws;

“and of their
subsequent
relaxation ;

made not without greate consideracion & pollicye moved and established and for the tyme to thadvoydaunce of further inconvenyence verie expedyment & necessarie ; But as in tempest or winter one course & garment is convenyent, in cawlme or warme weather a more liberall rare or lighter garment bothe maye & ought to be followed & used, so we have seen divers streight & sore lawes, made in one parliament the tyme so requiringe, in a more cawlme & quiet reigne of a nother Prince by like auctoritie & parliament repealed and taken awaie ; the which moste highe clemencye & Royall example of his Majesties moste noble progenitors, The King's Highness, of his tender & godlie nature most given to mercye & love of his Subjects willing to followe, & perceiving the hartie & syncere love that his moste lovinge subjects bothe Lordes and Commons dothe beare unto his Highness now in this his Majesties tendre age, willing also to gratefie the same therefore, and myndinge further to provoke his saide subjects with greater indulgencie & clemencye shewed on his Highness bihalfe to more love & kyndnes towards his Majestie (yf it maye be), and uppon trust that theie will not abuse the same, but rather be encouraged thereby more faithfullie & with more diligence (yf it maye be) & care for his Majestie to serve his Highness now in this his tender age, is contented & pleased that the severitie of certaine Lawes here followinge be mitigated & remitted : BE it therefore ordeigned & enacted by the King our Sovereigne Lorde with thassent of the Lordes spirituall & temporall & of the Commons in this present parliament assembled & by thauctoritie of the same, That from hensfurthe, none acte dede or offence, beinge by Acte of parliament or Statute made Treasone or petit Treasone by wordes writinge cipring dedes or otherwise what so ever, shalbe taken had demed or adjudged to be highe Treasone or petit Treasone, but onlie suche as be Treasone or petit Treasone in or by the Acte of parliament or Statute made in the XXVth yere of the Reigne of the most noble Kinge of famous memorie Kinge Edwarde the thirde touching or concerninge Treasone or the Declaracion of Treasones, And such offences as hereafter shall by this present Acte be expressed & declared to be Treasone or petit Treasone, & none other ; Nor that anny paynes of death penaltye or forfeiture in anny wise ensue or be to anny of the offenders for the doing or committinge anny Treasone or petit Treasone, other then suche as be in the saide Estatute made in the said XXVth yere of the reigne of the saide Kinge Edward the thirde, or by this present Estatute, ordeyned or provided ; Anny Acte or Actes of parliament Statute or Statutes had or made at anny tyme heretofore, or after the saide XXVth yere of the Reigne of the saide late Kinge Edwarde the thirde, or anny other declaration or matter to the contrarie in anny wise notwithstanding.

“ And also be it enacted by thauctoritie aforesaide, that all Actes of parliament & Estatutes towchinge mencynonge or in anny wise concernynge Religion or opinyons, That is to saie aswell the Statute made in the [first^a] yere of the Reigne of the Kings noble progenitor

^a “Fyrst O—fifth *Some modern Printed Copies.* The Act 5 Ric. II. stat. 2. c. 5. was doubtless intended to be referred to: See Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14, §. 2.”

Kinge Richarde the Second, and the Statute made in the Seconde Yere of the Reigne of King Henry the fifthe, and the Statute also made in the XXVth yere of the Reigne of Kinge Henry theight concerninge punishment & reformation of Heretykes and Lolardes, & everie provision therein conteyned, & the Statute made for the abolishment of diversitie of opinions in certaine artycles concerninge Christian Religion commonlie called the Sixe Articles, made in the Parliament begonne at Westmenster the xxvijth daie of Apryll in the xxxjth yere of the Reigne of the most noble & victorious Prynce of moste famous memorie King Henry theight father to our saide moste drad Sovereigne Lorde the Kinge that now is, and also the acte of parliament & statute made at the parliament begoone at Westmenstre the xvjth daye of Januarye in the xxxiiij yere of the Reigne of the said late Kinge Henry theight and after that proroged unto the xxijth daye of January in the xxxiiij yere of the Reigne of the saide late Kinge Henry theight, touchinge mentioninge or in anny wise concerninge bookes of the old & newe Testament in Englishe, and the pryntinge utteringe sellinge giving or delivering of bookes or writings & reteyninge of Englishe bookes or writings, & readinge preachinge teaching or expownding of Scripture or in anny wise touchinge mentionynge or concerninge anny of the same matters, And also one other Statute made in the parliament holden at Westmenstre in the xxxvth yere of the Reigne of the saide late King Henry theight, concerninge the qualificacion of the Statute of Sixe Articles, & all & everie other Acte or Actes of parliament concerninge doctryne [and^a] matters of Religion, and all & everie branche artycle sentence & matter paynes & forfeitures conteyned mentioned or in anny wise declared in anny of the same acts of parliament or Estatutes, shall fromhensfurthe be repealed and utterlie voyde and of none effecte.

“ And be it further ordenyed and enacted by thauctoritie aforesaide, that all Offences made felonye by anny Acte or Acts of parliament Statute or Statutes made sithens the xxiiijth daie of Apryll in the first yere of the Reigne of the saide late King Henry theight, not beinge felonye before, and also all and everie the branuches and articles mentioned or in anny wise declared in anny of the same Statutes concerninge the making of any Offence or Offences to be felonye not beinge felonye before, and all paynes and forfeitures concerninge the same or anny of them, shall from hensfurthe be repealed & utterlye voyde & of none effect.

“ And be it also ordeyned & enacted by thauctoritie aforesaide, that one Acte made in the parliament holden at Westminster in the xxxjth yere of the Reigne of the saide late King Henry theight, that proclamacions made by the Kings Highness by thadvise of his honourable Councell shoulde be obeyed & kepte as though they were made by auctoritie of parliament, And also one other Acte made in the parliament holden in the xxxiiijth yere of the Reigne of the saide late Kinge Henry theight for the dewe execucion of the saide proclamacions, & also all & everie branche artycle & matter in the same

“ II.
All Acts respecting Doctrine and Matter of Religion repealed; namely,
5 R. II. st. 2. c. 5;
2 H. V. st. 1. c. 7;
25 H. VIII. c. 14;
31 H. VIII. c. 14;

“ 34, 35 H. VIII. c. 1;

“ 35 H. VIII. c. 5;

“ III.
All new Felonies made by Statute since 23 April, 1 H. VIII. repealed.

“ IV.
St. 31. H. VIII. c. 8, 34, 35. H. VIII. c. 23, rendering Royal Proclamations valid as Acts repealed.

Statutes & in everye of them mentioned or declared, shall from hencefurthe be repealed & utterlye made voyde & of none effecte.

"V.
Penalty on affirming by Words that the King is not Supreme Head of the Church, or that the Pope, &c. is or ought to be so, or that the King ought not to be King, or by Words compassing his Deposition or asserting the Title of any other;

" And be it enacted by thauctoritie aforesaid, that yf anny parsonne or parsons at anny tyme after the first daie of Marche next comminge by open preaching expresse wordes or sayings doo affirme or sett furthe that the Kinge his heires or successor's Kings of this Realme for the tyme being is not or ought not to be supreamed in Earthe of the Church of Englande & Ireland or of anny of them immediatlye under God, or that the Bishopp of Rome or any other parson or parsons other then the Kinge of Englande for the tyme being is or ought to be by the Lawes of God supreamed hedd of the same churches or of anny of them, or that the King his heirs or successors Kings of this Realme is not or ought not to be King of Englande Fraunce & Ireland or of anny of them, Or after the saide firste daye of Marche doo compassed or imaged by open preaching expresse wordes or sayings to depose or deprive the King his heires or successors Kings of this Realme from his or their Royall Estate or Tytles to or of the Realmes aforesaide or doo openlye publishe or saye by expresse wordes or sayings that anny other parsonne or parsons other then the King his heires or successors Kings of this Realme of right ought to be Kings of the Realmes aforesaide or of anny of them or to have & enjoye the same or anny of them; That then everie suche offendor, being thereof dewlye convicted or attaynted by the Lawes of this Realme, their aydors comforters abettors procurers & counsailors for his or their suche first offence shall loose & forfait to the Kinge all his & their goods & cattells and also shall have & suffer emprisonment of his & their bodies at the Kings will and pleasure; And yf anny parsonne being ons convicted or attaynted of anny of the said Offences shall after his saide conviction or attaynder estones committ or ppetrate anny of the Offences before mentioned, other then suche as be expressed in the said Estatute made in the said xxvth yere of [the] Kinge Edwarde the Thirde, & shalbe thereof dewlie convicted or attaynted by the Lawes of this Realme, That then everie suche offendor their aydors comfortors abettors procurers & Counsailors for his or their saide Second Offence or Offences shall lose & forfait to the King the hole Issues & proffits of all his & their Landes Tent^s & other hereditaments benefices prebends & other spual promocons for tearme of the Life of suche offendor & offendor^s, & also shall lose & forfait to the King all his & their goods & cattalls & also suffer during his & their Lyfes ppetuall Imprisonment of his & their bodies: And yf anny psonne being twoo tymes hereafter convicted or attaynted of anny of the same offences, shall after his saide Second conviction or attayndor estones committe or ppetrate againe anny of the saide offences, & be thereof dewlie convicted or attaynted by the Lawes & Statutes of this Realme, That then everie suche third Offence or Offences shallbe demed and adjudged Highe Treasone, and the offendor & offendor^s their aydor^s comfortor^s abetto^s procurers & counsailor^s being therein convicted or attaynted according to the Lawes & Sta-

" First offence, Forfeiture of Goods and imprisonment during the King's pleasure;

" Second offence, Forfeiture of Lands and imprisonment for life.

" Third offence, High Treason.

tutes of this Realme shall be demed & adjudged Highe Trayto^{rs}, and shall suffer paynes of Deathe & lose & forfaitie all their Goods & Cattalls Landes & Tent^s to the King as in caces of Highe Treasone.

“ And be it further enacted by thauctoritie aforesaide, that yf anny parson or parsons at anny tyme after the saide first daye of Marche next cominge by writing prynting overt dede or acte doo affirme or sett furthe that the King of this Realme for the tyme being is not or ought not to be supreamed in Erthe of the Churche of Englande & Irelande or of anny of them immediatly under God, or shall by writing prynting overt dede or acte after the saide first daye of Marche affirme or sett furthe that the Bisshopp of Rome or anny other parson or psons other then the Kinge of Eng- land for the tyme being is or ought to be by the Lawes of God or otherwise the Supreamed in earthe of the same [Churche] or anny of them, or doo after the saide first day of Marche compasse or imagine by writing prynting overt dede or acte to depose or de- prive the King his heires or successo^{rs} Kings of this Realme from his or their Royall Estate or Tytles of the King of England Fraunce and Irelande or of anny of them, or by writing prynting overt dede or acte doo affirme that anny other parson or psons other then the King his heires & successo^{rs} is or of right ought to be King of the Realmes of Englande Fraunce or Irelande or to have & enjoye the same or anny of them, That then everye such Offence & Offences shalbe demed & adjudged Highe Treasone and the Offendor & Offendo^{rs} their aydo^{rs} comforto^{rs} abbetto^{rs} procurers & counsailo^{rs} therein convicted or attaynted according to the Lawes & Statutes of this Realme shalbe demed and adjudged High Trayto^{rs} and shall suffer paynes of deathe & lose & forfaitie all their goods & catalls landes and ten^{ts} to the King as in cases of Highe Treasone.”

“ VI
Affirming by
Writing, Print-
ing, or Deed,
that the King
is not such
Supreme Head,
or that the Pope,
&c. is or ought
to be so, or by
Writing, &c.
compassing the
King's depo-
sition, or assert-
ing the Title of
any other, de-
clared High
Treason.”

It will suffice to give the Marginal Indexes of the remaining Clauses of the Statute: they are as follows—

Summary of the
other Clauses.

“ VII. Not to repeal Acts relative to counterfeit Coin; nor the Act 27 Hen. VIII. c. 2, against counterfeiting the King's Sign Manual, &c.

“ VIII. Heirs to the King, or Successors to the Crown under the Limitations of St. 35 H. VIII. c. 1, usurping on each other, or on the King, declared guilty of High Treason.

“ IX. Privileges of Clergy & Sanctuary taken away in Murder, & other Offences specified.

Benefit of Clergy allowed in all other Felonics, as before 1 H. VIII.

“ X. Confirmation of all Acts of H. VIII. relating to Challenges and Trial of Foreign Pleas.

“ XI. This Act shall not extend to Persons actually arrested, &c. for Treason before a time specified.

“ XII. Killing by Poison shall be deemed Murder.

“ XIII. Benefit of Clergy given to a Peer of Parliament for the

first Offence of Felony (except Murder), although he cannot read; without burning, or loss of inheritance, &c.

“ XIV. Peers shall be tried by Peers for Offences under this Act.

“ XV. Clergy allowed to Persons, although twice married, &c.

“ XVI. Wife of Person attainted, &c. of Treason or Felony, shall have her dower.

“ XVII. Saving of Titles or Attainders, &c.

“ XVIII. Stat. 27 H. VIII. c. 17, against Servants stealing their Masters' Goods, &c., confirmed.

“ XIX. Limitation of Prosecution for Offences by Word, only, 30 days, &c.

“ Accusation shall be declared to one of the Council, &c.

“ XX. Concealment of High Treason declared to be Misprision of Treason.

“ XXI. The French King may be called King of France without offence against this Act.

“ XXII. Two witnesses on Confession required to Treason or Treasonable Words.—*Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. 4, pt. i. pp 18—22.

Object of the Statute.

Now nothing can well be more distinct than the principal object of this Statute as set forth in its preamble. Laws, not less necessary than severe, as the Statute alleges, had been enacted in previous reigns, and especially during the reign of the late King, making the maintaining of certain Religious Opinions or the holding of Heresy to be a *treasonable* or *felony* offence, and as such punishable by the Laws applicable to Treason and Felony: several of these were directed against the Lollards and persons suspected of Lollardism, who, rightly or wrongly, were deemed both Religiously and Politically dangerous, the fomentors alike of Heresy and Sedition, and the enemies of Church and State. The young King, or his advisers, thought the time had come to relax these severe Laws; trusting, therefore, to the apparent growing affection of his subjects, and “myndynge further to provoke” them “with greater indulgence and clemencye,” the Parliament proceeded to repeal the obnoxious Statutes. A description is given of them in the Statute itself, but it is necessary to look at the Acts themselves in order to see with accuracy their relation to the repealing Statute, and further to ascertain what key they furnish to those “all & everie other Acte or Actes of Parliament concernynge Doctryne and Matters of Religion” which, in common with them, were then repealed.

“ The Statute referred to in § 1, viz. 25 E. III. st. 5. c. 2,

1351-2, is, as styled in the Marginal Index, a "Declaration of what Offences shall be adjudged Treason:" its only conceivable relation to "Religion" is, that it makes "when a Man secular or Religious slayeth his Prelate to whom he oweth Faith and Obedience," such an Offence.—*Statutes of the Realm*, vol. I. p. 320.

Analysis of the Acts expressly repealed.

The Statutes referred to in § II. are (I.) "the Statute made in the [first] yere of .. Kinge Kichard the Second:" but the only Acts made in the year 1377, which could anyhow be included under the term "Religion," are, as called in the Index, c. 3. "Action for Prelates against Purveyors;" c. 13. "Malicious Indictors for suing in spiritual Courts shall suffer as false Appellors under Stat. Westm. 2. 13 E. I. c. 12.;" c. 14. "In Action for Goods taken away, on Claim of Tythes, General Averment shall not be received;" c. 15. "Penalty for arresting Priests during Divine Service." (*Statutes of the Realm*, vol. II. pp. 2, and 5.) The Editors of these "STATUTES OF THE REALM," reprinted by command of his "Majesty George the Third, in pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons," consider that there is a mistake in the reference to I Rich. II., and that the Act 5 Rich. II. stat. 2, c. 5, was doubtless intended to be referred to: "See Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14, §. 2." (*Stat of the Realm*, vol. IV. pt. 1, p. 19.)

Referring then to 5 Rich. II. stat. 2, c. 5, A.D. 1381, the Title, in the Index, is "The King's Pardon to those who repressed or punished his Rebels."—(*Ibid.* vol. I. p. 20.)

(II.) The next Statute, repealed by the Act, is 2 H. V. st. 1, c. 7, intitled "Suggested Evils from the Religious Sect called 'Lollards.'"—(*Ibid.* vol. II. p. 181.)

(III.) The third is 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14, A.D. 1533-4, intitled "An Acte for punysshment of Heresy."—(*Ibid.* vol. III. p. 454.)

(IV.) The fourth is 31 H. VIII. c. 14, A.D. 1539, intitled "An Acte abolishing diversity in Opynions." It is observable that the preamble of this Act distinctly recognizes the King's Supremacy and this, of course, rendered necessary §§ 5 & 6 of this Stat. 1 Ed. VI. c. 12, else the Royal Supremacy would have been abolished so far as it was maintained by the 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14.—(*Ibid.* vol. III. p. 739.)

(V.) The fourth is 34, 35 H. VIII. c. 11, A.D. 1542-3 intitled "An Acte for thadvancement of true Religion and for thabolishment of the contrarie."—(*Ibid.* vol. III. p. 894.)

(VI.) The fifth is 35 H. VIII. c. 5, A.D. 1543-4 intitled "A Bill concerning the vj Articles."—(*Ibid.*)

Looking, then, at the Titles of these Six Repealed Statutes it is perfectly obvious that all, excepting the first, related with great distinctness to Religious Doctrines and Opinions: a perusal of their contents (which it is needless to give when the Titles are so clear) must convince any one that no sort of doubt could be fairly raised whether the expression "doctrine and matters of Religion" was applicable to them. It would

Their exact correspondence with the general repealing terms of the Statute.

seem therefore to follow of necessity that the "all and everie" "other Acts or Actes of parliament concernyng doctrine and" "matters of Religion" repealed also by the 2nd Section of the Act, must correspond, either in their Titles or their Contents, to the Acts relating to Doctrine and Religion expressly named in the repealing Statute.

Are there, however, any such Acts to be found; or is there anything in the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16, which requires them to be included among the Acts repealed by these words of the Statute? To answer this question it is unnecessary to look to any Acts passed prior to what is commonly regarded as the formal commencement of the English Reformation, for the enquiry entirely relates to the alleged repeal of certain post-reformation Statutes: it will afford more than sufficient data if the examination is commenced from the beginning of the Reign of Henry VIIIth.

Titles of other Acts supposably answering the definition "doctrine and matters of Religion."

Omitting a number of what may be called *Private Acts*, and some few which must be *strained* for the purpose, the following is, I believe, an accurate account of all the Acts passed from the 1st of Henry the 8th to the 1st of Edward the 6th, c. 12, which could be supposed in any way to be affected by the words "doctrine and matters of Religion" in this repealing Statute of Edward's:—

(1) 4 Hen. VIII. c. 2, A.D. 1512, intituled "P murd' and felon" by which "Benefit of Clergy" was "taken from Murderers and Robbers."—*Stat. of the Realm*, vol. III. p. 49.

(2) 21. Hen. VIII. c. 1, A.D. 1529, intituled "The Kynges Highnesse his generall pardon": in this Act among other *exceptions* such as High Treason, Murder, Sacrilege, Premunire &c. is the following "And also all offences committed by dyggyng downe or castyng downe of any crosse or crosses whiche stode or were set in in any comen or High way or wayes:"—*Ibid.* p. 283.

(3) 21 Hen. VIII. c. 2, A.D. 1529, intituled "An Acte concerninge such as shall take Seyntwary for Fellonye or Murder": which enacted that if such took Sanctuary in any "Church, Churchyarde or other Holy Place" they should make their Abjuration at the time appointed by the Coroner and be branded in the hand with the Letter A or else lose the benefit of such Sanctuary.—*Ibid.* p. 284.

(4) 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6, A.D. 1529, intituled "An Acte concerninge the takinge of Mortuaries or demaundinge receivinge or clayminge of the same:" which limited the *sum* to be demanded for such "Mortuaries otherwise called Corse presentes" and described who should be exempt from such liability.—*Ibid.* p. 288.

(5) 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13, A.D. 1529, intituled "An Acte that no

spirituall persons shall take to ferne of the King or any other person any Londes or Tenementes for terme of life, lyves, yeares or at will &c. And for pluralities of Benefices; and for Residence:" one especial object of which was to promote "the more quyte & vertuous increase and mayntenaunce of Dyvyne servyce, the prechyng and techyng the worde of God with godly and good example gyvyng"—*Ibid.* p. 292.

The same
continued.

(6) 22 Hen. VIII. c. 2, A.D. 1530-1, intituled "An Acte for avoydyng offoreyn Pleees pleded by Felons" which revived No. 1.—*Ibid.* p. 319.

(7) 22 Hen. VIII. c. 9, A.D. 1530-1, intituled "An Acte for poysonyng:" which condemned one Richard Roose to be guilty of High Treason for putting poison into a vessel in the Bishop of Rochester's kitchen, whereby two persons were killed; and declared all future murders by Poison to be High Treason, punishable by boiling to death without benefit of Clergy.—*Ibid.* p. 326.

(8) 22 Hen. VIII. c. 14, A.D. 1530-1, intituled "An Acte concernyng Abjuratyons into Seyntuaryes:" which forbad Sanctuarymen to leave the Realm and forfeited their Benefit of Sanctuary upon the commission of new Offences.—*Ibid.* p. 332.

(9) 22 Hen. VIII. c. 15, A.D. 1530-1, intituled "An Acte concernyng the pardon graunted to the Kyngs Spirituall Subjects of the Provynce of Canterbury for the Premunyre": which, in consideration of a Subsidy of £100,000 granted by the Clergy of that Province, pardoned all previous offences against the Statutes of Premunire; with certain specified exceptions such as High Treason, Felony, Sacrilege.—*Ibid.* p. 334.

(10) 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1, A.D. 1531-2, intituled "An Acte that no person commytting Pety Treason Murder or Felony shalbe admitted to his Clergye under Subdeacon."—*Ibid.* p. 362.

(11) 23 Hen. VIII. c. 9, A.D. 1531-2, intituled "An Acte that no personne shalbe cited oute of the Diocese where he or she dwelleth excepte in certayne cases."—*Ibid.* p. 377.

(12) 23 Hen. VIII. c. 10, A.D. 1531-2, intituled "An Acte for Feoffments & assurance of landes & tenements made to the use of any parissh Church Chapell or such like": which annulled, with certain limitations, Conveyances to the use of Churches or Chapels, or for Obits, &c.—*Ibid.* p. 278.

(13) 23 Hen. VIII. c. 11, A.D. 1531-2, intituled "An Acte for breking of Prison by Clerkes convicte": which declared their doing so to be Felony without benefit of Clergy.—*Ibid.* p. 379.

(14) 23 Hen. VIII. c. 19, A.D. 1531-2, intituled "An Acte concernyng the Kynges gracyous pardon of premunyre graunted unto his spirituall Subjects of the provynce of York": which, in consideration of a Subsidy of £18,840 Os. 10d., granted them the same pardon as that given to the Clergy of Canterbury in No. 9.—*Ibid.* p. 383.

(15) 23 Hen. VIII. c. 20, A.D. 1531-2, intituled "An Acte concernyng restraynt of payment of Annates to the See of Rome".—*Ibid.* p. 385.

(16) 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, A.D. 1532-3, intituled "An Acte

The same
continued.

that the Appelles in such cases as have been used to be pursued to the See of Rome shall not be from hensfurth had ne used but wythin this Realme".—*Ibid.* p. 427.

(17) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 16, A.D. 1533-4, intituled "An Acte that every Judge of the High Courts may have one Chaplayne beneficed with cure".—*Ibid.* p. 457.

(18) 25 Hen VIII. c. 19, A.D. 1533-4, intituled "An Acte for the submission of the Clergie to the King's Majestie": the purport of which is shewn in the following marginal Indexes:—

"Acknowledgment and Petition by the Clergy with respect to Ecclesiastical Constitutions, &c. and the Examination of them :

"The Clergy shall not make any Constitutions except in Convocation with the King's Assent, &c.

"On Penalty of Fine and imprisonment.

"II. The King may assign 32 persons to examine former Canons, &c. and to approve or repeal them with the King's Assent.

"III. No Canons, &c. shall be enforced contrary to the King's Prerogative.

"IV. No appeals to Rome ; or otherwise than according to St. 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12.

"Appeals from Archbishop's Court to the Chancery, and to be determined by Commissioners to be appointed by the King.

"V. Penalty on suing Appeals to Rome, &c. Premunire as under the Statute Rich. 2, cap. 5.

"VI. Appeals from all Places exempt shall be into Chancery, instead of to Rome.

"VII. Present Canons, &c. shall remain in force till reviewed."—*Ibid.* p. 460.

(19) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20, A.D. 1533-4, intituled "An Acte restrayning the payment of Annates" &c.: the purport of which is also shewn by the following Marginal Indexes:—

"Recital of Statute 23 Hen. VIII. c. 20, against Payment of First Fruits, &c. to the See of Rome.

"The Pope informed of the said Act ;

"Royal Assent to and Confirmation of the said Act.

"II. No Archbishop or Bishop shall be presented to the See of Rome, nor procure Bulls from thence, nor pay First Fruits there.

"III. All Elections of the Archbishops or Bishops shall be made by the Deans and Chapters, &c. under the King's Licence and Letters missive naming the Person to be chosen ; and in Default of such Election the King shall present by his Letters Patent.

"IV. Consecration of Archbishops or Bishops on the King's Presentment.

"Proceedings and Consecration on Election by Deans and Chapters, &c. of Bishops.

"Of Archbishops.

"V. Such Elections, Consecrations, &c. declared effectual.

"VI. All persons who shall neglect to Elect or Consecrate Bishops, &c. or shall obey any Censures, &c. for so doing, shall incur a Premunire under Statutes 25 E. III. stat. 5, c. 22, and 16 Rich. II. c. 5."—*Ibid.* p. 462.

(20) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21, A.D. 1533-4, intituled "An Acte for the exoneracion from exaccions payde to the See of Rome": the 1st Section of which declares the Independence of this Realm upon all Foreign Interference whatever.—*Ibid.* p. 464. The same continued.

(21) 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1, A.D. 1534, intituled "An Acte concernynge the Kinges Highnes to be supreme heed of the Church of Englande & to have auctoryte to reforme & redresse all errors heresyces & abuses yn the same."—*Ibid.* p. 492.

(22) 26 Hen. VIII. c. 3, A.D. 1534, intituled "An Acte concerninge the paiement of Firste Fruites of all dignities beneficies and promocyons spirituall; and also concerninge one annuell pencyon of the tenth parte of all the possessions of the Church, spirituall and temporall, graunted to the Kinges Highnes and his heires."—*Ibid.* p. 493.

(23) 26 Hen. VIII. c. 12, A.D. 1534, intituled "An Acte for purgacion of Convictes in Wales" which required that "Clerks" convicted in Wales and admitted to benefit of Clergy should give certain sureties.—*Ibid.* p. 507.

(24) 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13, A.D. 1534, intituled "An Acte whereby divers offences be made high treason, and takynge waye all Sanctuaries for all maner of high treasons."—*Ibid.* p. 508.

(25) 26 Hen. VIII. c. 14, A.D. 1534, intituled "An Acte for nominacyon & consecratyon of Suffragans wythin this Realme."—*Ibid.* p. 509.

(26) 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15, A.D. 1535-6, intituled "An Acte whereby the Kynges Majestie shall have power to nominate xxxij psonnes of his Clergie & Lay fee for makynge of Ecclesiasticall Lawes." The provisions of this Statute are as follow :

"Recital of the Tenor of the Statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, so far as relates to the Ecclesiasticall Canons, &c. viz. §. 1. "That no Canons shall be made without the King's assent ;

"§. 2 ; Authorizing the King to appoint 32 Commissioners to examine the Canons, &c. ;

"§. 3 ; Saving for the King's Prerogative.

"§. 7 ; Saving for existing Canons ;

"Such Commissioners not yet named ;

"The King authorized to nominate such 32 Commissioners at any time within Three years after the end of this Parliament."—*Ibid.* p. 548.

(27) 27 Hen. VIII. c. 20, A.D. 1535-6, intituled "An Acte conteynyng an Order for Tithes thorowe the Realme."—*Ibid.* p. 551.

(28) 27 Hen. VIII. c. 21, A.D. 1535-6, intituled "An Acte lymytyng an Order for payment of Tithes wythin the Citie of London."—*Ibid.* p. 552.

(29) 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28, A.D. 1535-6, intituled "An Acte whereby all Relygeous Houses of Monks Chanons & Nonnes whiche may not dyspend Manors Lands Tenements and Heredytaments above the clere yerly value of ij Cli. are given to the Kings Highness his heires & Successours for ever."—*Ibid.* p. 575.

The same
continued.

(30) 28 Hen. VIII. c. 1, A.D. 1536, intituled "An Acte that Felons abjuring for Pety Treason murder or Felony shall not be admytted to the benefyte of their Clergye."—*Ibid.* p. 651.

(31) 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10, A.D. 1536, intituled "An Acte extynguysshing the auctoryte of the Busshop of Rome." To refuse the Oath required by this Act was adjudged High Treason.—*Ibid.* p. 663.

(32) 28 Hen. VIII. c. 13, A.D. 1536, intituled "An Acte compellyng spirituall persons to kepe resydence upon their Benyfyces."—*Ibid.* p. 668.

(33) 28 Hen. VIII. c. 16, A.D. 1536, intituled "An Acte for the release of suche as have obteyned pretended Lycences and Dispensacions from the See of Rome."—*Ibid.* p. 672.

(34) 31 Hen. VIII. c. 9, A.D. 1539, intituled "An Acte for the King to make Bisshops."—*Ibid.* p. 728.

(35) 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13, A.D. 1539, intituled "An Acte for the dissolucion of Abbeys."—*Ibid.* p. 733.

(36) 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12, A.D. 1540, intituled "Concerning Sanctuaries."—*Ibid.* p. 756.

(37) 32 Hen. VIII. c. 15, A.D. 1540, intituled "Commissions to be made to Bishops Chancellers Commissaries Archdeacons &c. concerning Christen Religion."—*Ibid.* p. 764.

(38) 32 Hen. VIII. c. 22, A.D. 1540, intituled "For Bishops concerning payment of tithes."—*Ibid.* p. 774.

(39) 32 Hen. VIII. c. 26, A.D. 1540, intituled "Concerning Christes Religion." The purport of this Statute is thus described in the Marginal Index:—

"Evil of Discord in Religious points:—

"Assembly of the Clergy appointed for declaring Articles of the Christian Faith ;

"All Decisions of the Clergy confirmed by the King, in matters of Religion, shall be valid and obeyed, as if hereby fully enacted ;

"not being contrary to the Laws and Statutes."—*Ibid.* p. 783.

(40) 32 Hen. VIII. c. 49, A.D. 1540, intituled "The Kyngs Generall Pardon :—" from which those persons were *excepted* who held "these heresyes & erronyouse opynyons herafter ensueing, that is to say ; That infants ought not to be baptized and if they be baptized they ought to be rebaptized when they come to lawfull age ; That it is not leafull for a Christen man to beare office or rule in the Commen Wealthe ; That no mans lawes ought to be obeyed ; That it is not leafull for a Christen Man to take an othe before any Judge ; That Christe toke no bodily substance of our blisshed lady ; That Synners after baptisme cannot be restored by repentaunce ; That every manner of death, with the tyme and houre theof is so certainly prescribed appointed and determyned to every man of God, that neither any prynce by his word can alte it, ne any man by his owne wilfulness prevent or change it ; That all things be common and severall ; .."—*Ibid.* p. 812.

(41) 33 Hen. VIII. c. 31, A.D. 1541-2, intituled "A Bill for the dissevering off Bishopriche of Chester, and off the Isle of Man

from the Jurisdiction off Cantorbery to the Jurisdiction off Yorke." —*Ibid.* p. 870.

The same continued.

(42) 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16, A.D. 1543-4, intituled "A Bill for the examination of Canon Lawes by xxxij personnes to be named by the Kings Majestie."

The following are its provisions as given in the Marginal Index :—

"Recital of Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15, empowering the King to appoint 32 Commissioners for Examination and Reformation of the Canon Law ;

"Such power not yet exercised ;

"The King authorized during his Life to appoint such Commissioners, &c.

"and to supply vacancies on Death, &c.

"II. Existing Canons, &c. not contrary to Law or the King's Prerogative, allowed to be used, &c.

"III. Ecclesiastical Laws, to be made by the King and the said Commissioners, and proclaimed under the Great Seal, declared valid."—*Ibid.* p. 976.

(43) 35 Hen. VIII. c. 18, A.D. 1543-4, intituled "The Kings Majesties generall Pardonne:" the benefits of which were excepted (among a variety of cases such as Treasons of different kinds, Premunire, Witchcraft, throwing down Crosses &c.) from "all and all maner of heresies and erroneous opynions."—*Ibid.* p. 982.

(44) 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4, A.D. 1545, intituled "An Acte for the dissolucion of Colledges."—*Ibid.* p. 988.

(45) 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17, A.D. 1545, intituled "An Acte that the Doctors of the Civill Lawe may exercise Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction;" this having been denied to such persons by the Authority of the Roman See.—*Ibid.* p. 1009.

(46) 37 Hen. VIII. c. 21, A.D. 1545, intituled "An Acte for Union of Churches."—*Ibid.* p. 1013.

(47) 1 Edw. VI. c. 1, A.D. 1547, intituled "An Acte against suche as shall unreverentlie speake against the Sacrament of the bodie & bloude of Christe commonlie called the Sacrament of the Altar, & for the receiving thereof in bothe Kynδες."—*Ibid.* vol. IV. pt. 1. p. 2.

(48) 1 Edw. VI. c. 2, A.D. 1547, intituled "An Acte for the Election of Bisshops, & what Seales & Style they & other spirituall persons exercising Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall shall use."—*Ibid.* p. 3.

(49) 1 Edw. VI. c. 9, A.D. 1547, intituled "An Acte for the uniting of certaine Churches within the Citie of Yorcke."—*Ibid.* p. 14.

Of these *Forty-nine* Statutes (all passed between the 1st Hen. VIIIth and the repealing Act of Edward now under consideration) *three*, Nos. 21, 40, and 47, especially the two latter, relate to "doctrine"; the rest, all, more or less

Out of these

directly, to “matters of religion”; and the precise question to be considered, in order to determine whether they are affected by the general repealing words upon which Sir John Dodson relies, would seem to be this:—Does any one of these Acts SO refer to *doctrine* or *matter of religion* as to make the holding or doing, of either or both, constructive *High Treason*, *Petit Treason*, or *Felony*? If it does, then, I apprehend, such a Statute with its pains and penalties is entirely repealed by the words of the 2nd Section. But upon a careful perusal of them all they seem to stand thus:—

only the following seven answer to the repealing words.

- No. 26 had previously expired, as it was limited to three years.
- No. 30 had, as we learn from 6 Geo. IV. c. 25, “been considered to have been repealed by an act passed in the “first year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, “intituled, ‘An Act for the repeal of certain Statutes “concerning Treasons and Felonies’, or by an act passed “in the First year of the Reign of Queen Mary, intituled “an Act repealing and taking away certain Treasons, “Felonies, and Cases of Premunire”.
- No. 31 might perhaps come within the required terms, inasmuch as it adjudged the refusal of the Oath which it required, respecting the Bishop of Rome, to be *High Treason*: Mr. Stephens, however, considers that it was “Repealed by Stat. 1 & 2 P. & M. c. 8. *Vide* Stat. “13 Eliz. c. 2”.—*Eccl. Stat.* vol. I. p. 204.
- No. 34 repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.
- No. 37 repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, because it was grounded upon 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14, which was expressly repealed by the same Statute. Mr. Stephens says, “The Statute “31 Hen. 8, c. 14, having been repealed by 1 Edw. 6, “c. 12, this Statute is become obsolete”.—*Eccl. Stat.* vol. I. p. 254.
- No. 39 which Mr. Stephens says was “repealed by 1 Edw. 6, “c. 12.”—(*Ibid.* vol. I. p. 262). Its Title—“Concerning “Christe’s Religion”—would certainly seem to *satisfy* the words of the Statute “all & everie other Acte or Actes “concernyng doctrine or matter of religion”. But then, if this was the fact, it raises a very important question—

viz. by what authority did Edward the 6th sanction the Forty-two Articles in the year 1552?

No. 40 was, most likely, affected by Edward's repealing Statute, because persons, holding the particular Religious opinions therein mentioned, were *specially excepted* from the King's pardon confirmed by it to all Treasons, Felonies, Offences, etc.

Deducting, then, these Seven, there are still *Forty-two* Acts which, so far as I can discern, wholly fail to respond to the question above mentioned; and therefore, speaking with the hesitation which only a lawyer might discard, not one of these Forty-two are at all affected by the repealing clauses of 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

The Dean of the Arches, however, elicits from the words of the Statute a much more general test than that which I have supposed the Act strictly to afford: he takes the words "doctrine and matter of religion" apart from any alleged connection with those particular offences of Treason and Felony towards which the Crown had determined to be indulgent, and then argues—that the two Statutes, 25 Hen. 8, c. 19 and 35 Hen. c. 16, must be repealed by them, because those Statutes have to do with *Religion*. I believe I am correct in saying that the learned Judge's words as spoken in Court made this view still more distinct than do the published reports.

Now, taking the word *Religion* in a broad and general sense, of course, these two Statutes do relate to Religion: whether that is the technical word likely to have been used in a Legal document, if meant to comprise a variety of *Ecclesiastical* matters and not merely to limit itself to Religious *Opinions* (for that, I apprehend, was intended by the term "matters of religion") may well be doubted. But, assume that Sir John Dodson has precedent or authority for so interpreting the word, then how stands the case? To give Parliamentary *sanction*, under certain limitations, by one Statute, to a continued use of "canons, constitutions, ordinances, and "synodals"; by another Statute to enact them, together with the Ecclesiastical Common Law, with like reservations, to be the Law of the Land, until revised, was, says the learned

Larger sense of the word *Religion* applied to them by Sir J. Dodson.

Extraordinary consequences of such a definition;

Judge, to deal with a matter of Religion: most true no doubt, seeing that the Church is the guardian of Religion, and that these Laws were Laws of the Church. But what necessarily and unavoidably follows from such an argument? nothing short of this surely—that every other Act, and every clause of every other Act, which related to the practice or rules or government of the Church, was repealed too, unless there was any saving Clause to the contrary. For it must be remembered that the repealing part of 1 Edw. 6. c. 12, was not limited to sections or parts of Statutes, but was as comprehensive as could well be devised—“all and everie other Acte or Actes of parliament concerninge doctryne and matters of Religion, and all everie braunche artycle sentence & matter paynes & forfeitures conteyned mentioned or in annywise declared in anny of the same acts of parliament or Estatutes, shall from hensfurthe be repealed and utterlie voyde & of none effecte.” There is no escaping from this, I apprehend: but mark the consequences.

The Statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, did much more than sanction certain Ecclesiastical Laws: it forbade the Clergy, according to a previous promise to the King “*in verbo sacerdotii*”, to enact Canons “in their Convocations in times ensuing”, without the King’s Assent, upon pain of imprisonment and fine at the King’s will: but the Archbishop’s Judge thinks this Act of “Submission of the Clergy” was perforce repealed by Edward’s Act: therefore, so far as the 25th Hen. 8, c. 19, was concerned, they might make what Canons they pleased, nothing dreading the wrath of the King.

Again, the same Statute parenthetically declares that the Convocations “alway shall be assembled by authority of the King’s Writ”: but it was repealed: therefore they might be lawfully called without the Writ.

Further, after Easter 1534, the Statute forbad any appeals, in causes originating within the Realm or dominions of the King of England, to be carried to the See of Rome, and required them to be “prosecuted within this realm” according to the 24th Hen. VIII. c. 12: but it was repealed: therefore they might be carried to Rome, and need not be heard in England.

Moreover, "for lack of justice at or in any the Courts of the Archbishops of this realm, or in any the King's dominions, it shall be lawful to the parties grieved", said the Statute, "to appeal to the King's Majesty in the King's Court of Chancery": but the Statute was repealed: therefore such an appeal was no longer lawful.

Once more, the Statute pronounced a *Premunire*, as enacted by 16 Rich. II. c. 5, against any person or persons who after "the said feast of Easter" made any kind of Appeal to the Roman See or executed "any manner of process" therefrom, contrary to or to the hindrance of the Statute itself: but the Statute was repealed: therefore people might, to their hearts' content, sue for and obey the decrees of the Roman Pontiff, in no alarm at the terms of a legal *Premunire*.

Lastly, all appeals from any exempt jurisdiction such as often was granted to Abbots and others, were, by this Statute, to be carried into Chancery and not to the Pope: but the Statute was repealed: therefore the Pope might be applied to, the Court of Chancery might not hear them.

But, though there is more than enough here to make a person hesitate before accepting Sir John Dodson's interpretation of 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, this is but a very small part of what it effected if his view be correct: it will be sufficient briefly to enumerate the astounding charges which, upon such a supposition, those five short words "doctrine and matter of religion" made in the state of the Law before the end of Edward's First Year: the Numbers indicate the Statutes referred to.

Thus, then (omitting Nos. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 23, 24, and 36, which appear to have been guarded or modified by the provisions of §§ 3, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17, and also Nos. 18 and 42, which are the Statutes in dispute,) the King's general pardon (2 and 43) was extended to destroyers of wayside Crosses; (4) The abolished Extortionary demands for Mortuaries were not forbidden; (5 and 32) Spiritual persons might take Farms, be pluralists, need not reside and so might neglect their Ecclesiastical duties; (9 and 14) Edward might enforce the *Premunire* which his father had withdrawn from the Clergy of Canterbury and York in consideration of their subsidy; (11) Per-

but also upon
39 of the other
Statutes enumerated.

sons *might* be cited out of their own Diocese in *any* cases ; (12) Feoffments and assurance of lands and tenements were *not* secured to the Churches for which they were left ; (15 and 19) There was no restraint upon the payment of Annates to Rome ; (16) It *was* perfectly lawful, as before, to carry accustomed Appeals out of the Kingdom, and was *unlawful* to seek the hearing of them within the Realm ; (17) The Judges of the High Courts might *not* have a beneficed Chaplain with cure of souls ; (20) England was *not* independent of Foreign Jurisdiction, nor exonerated from Exactions by the See of Rome ; (21) The King had *not* power, as " Supreme Head " of the Church of England, to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses of the same ; (19 and 22) The King had *no* claim to First Fruits, but the Pope had ; (19, 25, and 48) There was no Law to regulate the Election, Confirmation, and Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops in England, but the power reverted to the Pope ; Archbishops and Bishops could *not* nominate Suffragans nor the King select from their nomination ; (27, 28, and 38) A General Tithe Act, one relating to the City of London, and another to Bishops, were extinguished ; (29, 35, and 44) The King had *no* power to suppress Religious Houses, nor *any authority* to retain the property of those which Hen. VIIIth had suppressed ; (33) They were *not* released who had received Licenses and Dispensations from Rome ; (41) Chester and the Isle of Man were *not* severed from the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury ; (46 and 49) certain Churches which had been united by two Acts were no longer *legally* in union ; (45) Doctors of the Civil Law might *not* exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; (47) and lastly, though by no means of inferior importance, Edward's own Act of the same year, forbidding irreverent speaking of the Sacrament of the Altar and ordering Communion in both kinds, was utterly void and of no authority.

I need not stop to discuss whether the repeal of some of these Statutes, if a fact, was an *advantage* or not ; probably there would be a variety of opinions on that question ; the real point on which to fix attention is the extraordinary inroad which was suddenly made upon a series of Acts of Parliament all bearing upon the morals and religion of the people, the authority of the King and the condition of their

Spiritual Rulers. What has been related, however, does not shew the full extent of the mischief nor exhibit the chaos which 1 Edward VI. c. 12, had, if Sir John Dodson be right, insensibly produced. For, if the whole Canon Law had thus bodily been swept away, as the learned Judge contends, what single authority was there regulating the powers of Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and Ecclesiastical Functionaries? by what Law were the duties of the Clergy defined or how could they be enforced? in what manner were the parishioners to ascertain their liabilities or, when ascertained by what process were refusers to be compelled to discharge them? The Ecclesiastical Law of Centuries had vanished, and there was an end to all Rule, all Discipline, all direction as to Practice. Can anything so monstrous be supposed; or, if it can be, how did it happen that no keen Lawyer of that day detected the strange confusion, and that no dis-contented Laic or Ecclesiastie or no sharp witted villain took advantage of it?

It might, perhaps, be said that in making these observations, one important provision of the very Statute under consideration has been overlooked; and that the Act itself has anticipated much, at least, of the alleged mischief by the terms of its 5th and 6th Sections which distinctly enact a certain increasing ratio of penalties, ending in the punishment due to High Treason, for affirming by *word* that the King was not "Supreme Head" of the Church of England and that the Pope or some other person was; and also making their *First* offence to be High Treason who by *writing, printing, overt deed or act*, should make the like affirmation.

Provisions of the Act, as to the Royal Supremacy not overlooked in these results.

But (as was remarked at p. xix, with regard to No. IV. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14, which the Act *expressly* repealed—that these two clauses were probably required by the abolition of that Statute, recognizing as it did the Royal Supremacy, so) it must not be overlooked that, lest one of the exemptions from the King's general pardon specified in No. 42, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 18, *viz.* High Treasons against the King as Supreme Head of the Church, should be supposed to have ceased by this Act, it was necessary to guard against any such misinterpretation of its intentions by inserting words declaring the

continued penalties for such offences. So that these Clauses would go to *maintain* existing Acts which were not at variance with the terms of this repealing Statute.

Moreover it is essential to recollect the *terms* of these two Clauses in order to estimate their *force*, upon the supposition that the Statute which contained them possessed the extensive repealing powers which have been considered. Could they compensate for the destruction of the Ecclesiastical System which it has been alleged must have followed upon the theory of Sir John Dodson? Certainly not, I apprehend. The clauses undoubtedly established the King to be "Supreme "Head," but they did nothing whatever towards shewing wherein that headship consisted or what were its powers, duties, and limitations: all this, those Statutes did which I have argued must have been repealed if the Dean of the Arches is right; and the very fact that they did, proves, I think, that no *general declaration* of Royal Supremacy could be a Law of action in the Church, though it might be a motive principle; and that the theory of the King's Headship in Edward the Sixth's day could only be worked out then, as at any other period, by a variety of enactments shewing the occasions and methods of its operation. There seems, then, nothing in the objection just noticed, to invalidate the former remarks: on the contrary, it would appear to confirm them.

Having regard, therefore, to the nature of the case and looking to the results of the wholly novel view set forth by the Dean of the Arches, it seems inevitable that such a view should be rejected.

But, more than this, there appears to be most positive evidence of another kind, which alone would destroy Sir John Dodson's position. It can hardly be supposed that the advisers of the Crown would be at the pains to pass an Act giving the King authority to have the Canon Law *revised* if that Canon Law was *abolished*: yet we find that two years after the passing of 1 Edw. 6. c. 12, it was determined to revive the power which had been given to the late King to nominate a Commission for reviewing the Ecclesiastical Laws. Accordingly, in the Session of 1549-50 the Parliament passed the 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 11, intitled "*An Acte that the Kings*

The Judge's view
not tenable.

Further disproof
of his view from
3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 11.

“ Majesty may nominat xxxij persons to peruse and make
“ Ecclesiasticall Lawes.”

Its provisions—
viz.

The Act, which is only a short one, runs as follows:—

“ Albeit the Kyng’s most Most Excellent Majestie, Govnor and Ruler under God of this Realme, ought most justly to have the government of his Subjects and the determinacion of their causes aswell Ecclesiasticall as Tempall, yet the same, as concernyng Ecclesiasticall causes, haveyng not of long tyme been put in ure nor exercysed by the reason of the usurped auctoryte of the Bysshop of Rome, be not perfectly understond nor knowen of his Subjects, and therefore of necessity as well for the abolyssing and putting to utter oblivyon the seid usurped auctoryte, as for the necessary admynstracion of Justice to his loveyng Subjects, yt may pleas his Highness that yt may be enacted by his most gracious assent with the assent of the Lords Spirituall and Tempall and the Commens of this present Parliament assembled and by auctoryte of the same, that the King’s Majestie shall fromhensforth during thre yeres have full power auctoryte and libertie to nomynatt and assigne by the advice of his Highness Counsell sixtene persons of the Clergie, whereof fower to be Bysshops, & sixtene persons of the Temporalty, whereof fower to be learned in the comon lawes of this Realme, to peruse and examyn the Ecclesiasticall Lawes of long tyme here used, and to gather order & compyle such Lawes Ecelesiasticall as shall be thought by his Majesty his seid Councell & and them or the more part of them convenient to be used practysed & sett forth within this Realm & other his Domynyons, in all Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall Courts & Convencions; And yf after suche nominacion any of the persones so to be nomynated happen to dye, that then his Highnes by the advice of his seyde Councell duryng the seid three yeres, shall have full power and auctoryte from tyme to tyme to nominate & assigne other in their places to supply the seid number of xxxij persons, & that the seid xxxij persones, so nominat as ys aforeseid, at all tymes from tyme to tyme during the seid thre yeres, shall have full power and auctoryte to assemble themselves by his Highnes commandment for the perfett colleccion compylyng & ordyryng of the seid Lawes.”

“ For administering Ecclesiasticall Lawes under the King’s Authority;

“ The King may appoint 16 of the Clergy and 16 of the Laity to peruse and compile Ecclesiasticall Lawes, for three years.”

The matter of the remaining clauses will be shewn with sufficient explicitness by quoting the Marginal Indexes:—

“ II. Lawes so compiled shall be valid.

“ III. None shall incur Premunire for executing such lawes.

“ IV. Ecclesiasticall Judges shall obey Prohibitions.

“ V. Lawes so compiled shall not be repugnant to the Common Law.”—*Statutes of the Realm*, vol. IV. pt. 1. p. 111.

Possibly, however, the objection may occur to some one—that it was quite competent to Parliament to authorize the examination of *repealed* Lawes, as affording useful material

Supposed objection—that the Act refers to repealed Canon—answered.

out of which to construct a new Ecclesiastical code, and that it may have been so in this case. I admit the premiss, but must reject the conclusion. The Title and the contents of the Act seem plainly to show that this was not the fact: the Act was to authorize certain persons "to peruse . . . Ecclesiastical Laws"—a term which surely would not have been applied by an Act of Parliament to *abolished* Statutes: and in the body of the Act it is still more distinctly said that the 32 persons to be chosen, were "to peruse and examyn the "Ecclesiasticall Lawes of long tyme here used"—words which cannot mean that they were Laws once in use but since repealed, as will be seen by considering them in connexion with the statement of the preamble, that the King's lawful "government of his subjectsconcernyng Ecclesiastical "causes haveyng not of long time been put in use nor exercised by the reason of the usurped auctoryte of the Bysshop "of Rome, be not perfectly understood nor knowen of his "subjects," for remedy of which the Statute at once proceeds to authorize the revision of the "Ecclesiasticall Lawes." It is quite true indeed that the complaint of non-usage must have referred, mainly at least, to the *Disciplinary* portion of the Ecclesiastical Laws, and not to such portions as those extracted at pp. 467—491, for there was a tolerably general compliance with them in matters of Ornament and Ceremonial—too exact indeed to please many of the Reforming party of that day: but the Ecclesiastical Law stood together as one compact whole, and therefore, if 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, had touched it at all, it was repealed *entirely*.

Third disproof of
Sir J. Dodson's
view, viz.

One other direct proof remains to be considered, showing that the 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, did not repeal the Ancient Canon Law. Immediately upon the Accession of Mary, divers Acts passed in the late Reign, relative to Public Worship, were repealed by the 1 Mariæ, Sess. 2, c. 2, A.D., 1553: but it was not until the following year that the Statutes passed against the Roman See were abolished: this was effected by the 1 and 2 Philippi and Mariæ, c. 8., A.D., 1554, intituled, "*An Acte repealing all Articles and Provisions made against "the See Apostolick of Rome, since the twentieth year of King "Henry the Eighth, and for the establishment of all Spiritual*

“*and Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the Laity.*” For in § 3. of that Act, among various Statutes described, *viz.* 23 Hen. 8. c. 9, 23 Hen. 8. c. 20, 24 Hen. 8. c. 12, 25 Hen. 8. c. 20, and 25 Hen. 8. c. 21, these words occur :

“And where at a Session of the sayd Parliament holden in the xxv yere of the raigne of the said late King, there was also one Acte made, intituled The submission of the Clergie to the Kinges Majestie; Be it enacted by thauctoritie of this presente Parliament, That the said severall Actes made for the restraint of paiment of the said Annates and First Fruites, and all other the said Actes made in the said xxiiij and xxv yeres of the raigne of the said late King & every of them, & all & every Branch Article Matter & Sentence in them & every of them contained, shalbe by auctoritie of this presente Parliament from hensforthe utterly void made frustrate & repealed to all intentes construccions & purposes.”—*Statutes of the Realm.* Vol. IV. pt. I. p. 247.

Now, unless the Legislation of that day was more hasty and less careful than is Legislation at the present time, it is most improbable that the Parliament would have omitted to ascertain whether the Statute was in force or not: there can be no doubt that they *believed* it to be unrepealed; and if contemporary evidence is ever to be relied upon, it surely must be in this case where the supposed repealing Act had passed only six years before and was probably drawn up by the very Lawyers who were responsible for Philip and Mary's Statute. They and the Parliament would hardly have been slow to avail themselves of an Act passed by *Edward* which had done the very work they had to do, especially as it would have given an air of popularity to their proceedings and would have lessened the invidiousness which, it is likely, Mary would gladly have avoided in abolishing Statutes made by her father and her brother.

On all these grounds then, either of which would suffice by itself, I venture to maintain, with that diffidence, however, which becomes one not a Lawyer—that the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19 and the 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16, were not repealed by the 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, and that therefore the Ancient Canon Law was in force, subject to the limitations of those Statutes at Edward's Accession and throughout his reign.

There is one remark, however, of Sir John Dodson's, in the

passage just considered, which it will be as well to notice in this place: speaking of the effect of Edward's Act upon the two Statutes of Henry, he is reported to have said that "consequently there would now be no Statutory Authority whatever for the use of those Ornaments in the Church": my own recollection certainly coincides with the Report; it must be supposed therefore that the learned Judge accidentally used the word *now* for *then*: the latter would have been a perfectly true statement upon his view of the State of the Law at that time: but it is most improbable he could have forgotten that the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19., though repealed by Mary, was *revived* by her successor in the Statute 1 Eliz. c. 1. A.D. 1558, and has remained unrepealed to the present day.

25 Hen. VIII.
c. 19, revived by
1 Eliz. c. 1. and
now in force.

Having disposed of the question as to the Parliamentary Authority of the Ancient Ecclesiastical Law in Edward's *second* Year, the Dean of the Arches proceeded as follows:—

"It has been contended in argument that the rubric has no application to the first Prayer Book, because the Statute establishing that Book did not come into operation until some time in the third year of King Edward's reign. In point of dates the matter stood thus:—King Edward succeeded to the Throne on the 28th of January, 1547, and was proclaimed King on the 31st of the same month. The second year of his reign would therefore terminate on the 28th of January, 1549. The Parliament met in his second year on the 4th of November, 1548, and the Statute for establishing the Book of Common Prayer was read for the third time in one house on the 15th of January, 1549, and in the other on the 21st of the same month, and consequently in the second year of the King's reign. On what day it received the Royal assent I have not been able to ascertain."

Alleged non-
reference of
Rubric to 1st.
Prayer Book
Ed. VI., con-
sidered by the
Judge.

I have already examined this important question at pp. 5—11, 127—129, and 131—33: a careful reconsideration of the subject entirely confirms the view there taken, and forces upon me the conclusion that, with great deference to the opinion of the learned Judge, the balance of evidence is entirely against the decision which he founds upon these and other data presently to be noticed: if this were purely a question of *Law* and not, as it mainly is, one of fact and of history, it would be a duty to speak less confidently; but the evidence is of a nature to exclude legal technicalities, and is therefore much more easily to be dealt with by an ordinary enquirer.

The date at which the Act of Uniformity, establishing the First Prayer Book, passed its final third reading, *viz.*, in the House of Commons, is not questioned; the Journals of Parliament shew it to have been the 21st of January, 1548-9: the difficulty is to ascertain when it probably received the Royal Assent, as there does not appear to be any record on the subject: if the Assent was not given within the next *six days*, that is before January 28th*, the Act was not one of the *second* year, but of the *second* and *third* years of Edward the Sixth; and so in fact the Statute is styled. Sir John Dodson thinks that the Royal Assent *was given* within Edward's *second* year, for, as he says,

"It was probable that no time was lost in this respect, because the book was known to have been in a state of preparation beforehand, and both Cranmer and the Protector Somerset must have been anxious that it should become law as speedily as possible."

Previous preparation of the Book no proof:

But there was nothing in the nature of the case to produce such an amount of anxiety in Cranmer and the Protector as to lead them to advise a departure from the customary practice of the time, which was for the King to give his Royal Assent in person at the End of the Session to all the Bills which had been passed during it. (See Note a. p. 9.) It is plain that they could not have thought it a matter of such pressing importance to get the Royal Assent as soon as the Bill had passed, for the Act was not to come into *general* operation until more than *four Months* afterwards, nor at the *very earliest*, that is to say in places where the New Book could be obtained sooner, until "within three weeks" after it had been procured, and that obviously would have been in the *third* year of the King. (See p. 10.)

The learned Judge says that "the book was known to have "been in a state of preparation before hand": quite true: but in *what* state was it? Unquestionably, so far as there is any evidence on the point, not in so forward a state as to be ready for use before the 28th January 1548-9, which was the first day of Edward's *third* year. They did not work off Books

for it was not ready till after Session 2 & 3 Edw. VI. had ended.

* Sir John Dodson has made a slight error, in saying that Edward's second year would "*terminate*" on the 28th of January, 1549: it *ended* with the 27th of that month.—See p. 9.

in those days so rapidly as the Queen's Printers do now; and the few specimens which remain prove that the Book was printed in separate parts, and that the *oldest* portion, *viz.* the Communion Office, was not printed until the 8th March, nor any *complete* copy until the 16th March. (See p. 10.) Cranmer and the Protector could not have been ignorant of the fact that there was no prospect of *any* of the Books being ready for use before the close of the Session, and that even then but few parishes could be supplied; why therefore should they have asked the King to depart from the usual course of Parliamentary practice, when they knew that to do so would not in the least facilitate their plan to get the New Office into use as early as they could? The Session ended on the 14th March, two days before a single copy of the Book was ready so far as we know; the King was then present in person; can there be even a very slight doubt that this was the date of the Royal Assent? And that was *six weeks* after the commencement of Edwards *third* year. Sir John Dodson admits that:—

Its non-usage in Edward's second year admitted by the Judge.

“It is true, the book was not in actual use in the churches until after the expiration of the second year, but the law itself had passed in that year, and the book was to be in use throughout the Kingdom at the ensuing Pentecost, and at an earlier period where practicable.”

On his own shewing then, if the Rubric means by “second year”, Edward's *First* Book, there was no *Book* at all, either “in” or “in use”, by “Authority of Parliament”, except the Missal, the Order of Communion in both kinds, and the other Ancient Office Books, in Edward's *second* year, and consequently no Ornaments, whether of Church or Minister, save those which the usage of these Books required: you would have sought in vain then in any Parochial or Cathedral Church, or even in the King's Chapels Royal, for any copy of the new Office Book; and when, at a later period, you found one, the plain tale told on its title page or colophon would be, that it was a Book of “the third yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lorde Kynge Edwarde the VI.”

It is perfectly true, as the learned Judge says, that—

The general statement of Commentators,

“The best commentators on our present Book of Common Prayer concur in thinking that the Rubric therein, refers to the first Book of Edward VI., and the second and third Statute of that Monarch's reign”;

but, as the examples given at pp. 6 and 7 shew, they say but little upon the subject, nor do they seem to have done more than either copy from each other or follow the general belief on the matter, without going into a careful examination of the question. It would not be the only occasion, as Mr. Maitland has ably shewn^a, that grave mistakes in Ecclesiastical or Political History have been perpetuated through a long series of years, from the simple fact that successive writers have assumed a common opinion to be the true one, or have followed the inaccurate statements of authors whom they have consulted. Bearing this in mind, it is no presumption, I think, to hazard a different opinion^b from that of the Commentators referred to by Sir John Dodson, when that opinion is based upon the very important facts which have been here mentioned. Indeed, the two Commentators to whose judgment most weight is due in this matter, Bishops Andrews and Cosins (*Additional Notes* to Nicholl, see p. 17), are so far from being contented with Edward's First Book as the sole Parliamentary Authority for Ornaments (though Bishop Cosin, for the words are his, does indeed speak of it as being "in force" in Edward's second year) that Cosin is compelled also to range Edward's Injunctions and the Ancient Canons under the standard of "Authority of Parliament"; and Andrews, as is well known (see pp. 7 & 352), believed himself authorized to use a number of Ornaments beyond what the Book prescribed.

on this point, of doubtful authority.

Now as *Andrews's and Cosin's Notes*, together with Nicholl's Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer, published in 1708, to which they were originally appended, probably rank high among the main sources used by later Commentators on the Prayer Book, it is worth while to pursue this point a little farther.

Apparent sources of

Bishop Andrews says extremely little; his words are simply these:—

"The Minister . . . shall use such Ornaments . . . as were in use by

^a *The Dark Ages*, by the Rev. S. R. Maitland.

^b It is perhaps just worth naming here, that Mr. Chambers, in his "Strictures" on Dr. Lushington's Judgment; the writer of the able Letters on the same subject, signed F. S. A., in "The Morning Chronicle" of Dec. 11, 1855, to Jan. 9, 1856, and the author of these pages, all arrived at the conclusion that the First Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth is *not* the Authority of Parliament referred to in the Rubric—without any communication upon the subject, and without the least notion that each was investigating the point.

the original
error.

authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth."

"Mention is there made of surplice, tippet, hood, *pro cujusque gradu.*"—*Notes on the Common Prayer.* Andrewes Minor Works, Oxford, 1854, or *Nicholls on the Com. Prayer*, Add. Notes, p. 18, 2nd Ed. fol. 1712.

And it is only by *inference* that we can suppose the Bishop to have connected in his mind the *First Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth* with the expression "*Authority of Parliament in the Second year,*" &c. : the inference follows from the fact that among the "Certain Notes" &c. (see p. 48) of that Book, the Ornaments which he mentions are prescribed. This is absolutely all that can be gathered from that Prelate as to the meaning of the words "Authority of Parliament" &c.

Bishop Cosin, indeed, goes much more into the question, as I have shewn at pp. 7, 454—8: in his First Series of Notes he quotes the above MS. Note of Bishop Andrewes with the additional word "cope", as one reading has it, remarking upon it, "I.C.—I find not that", and "in a later hand", as the Editor states, " ' But the Act of Parliament I see, refers ' to the Canon, and until such time as other order shall be ' taken '."—*Comp. Andrewes' Minor Works*, p. 146, Note k. with *Cosins Notes on the Book of Com. Prayer*, 1st Series, p. 43. Works, vol. V. Ang. Cath. Lib. 1855.

It would almost appear that Bishop Cosin had, at this time, overlooked the "Certain Notes" of Edward's First Book which Bishop Andrewes quoted, though he cites them in his 3rd Series, written some years later, and was thus led to the remark "I find not that"—an expression which, else, seems to be inexplicable.

His other observation requires to be particularly noticed because it contains a curious error, and one which relieves from any blame of presumption the suggestion already made—that Cosin may have been mistaken in speaking, as he does, of Edward's First Book as forming part of the Authority of Parliament in Edward's second year. The Bishop says, "the ' Act of Parliament, I see, refers to the Canon ": that he must have been referring to Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity is plain from two facts; *First*, that he was writing before, and probably long before, the Act of 1662, which, indeed, makes no

Reason for
thinking Cosin
to have been
mistaken in the
date: viz.

mention of any Canon or of Ornaments; *Next*, that the Statute of Elizabeth is the only one in which the expression "such time as other order" &c. is to be found. But Elizabeth's Act does not contain a syllable relating to any *Canon*; so that it is clear, unless some explanation can be given, that the Bishop (or whoever wrote the words, if they are not his) committed an error in this statement. There is, indeed, one conceivable explanation, *viz.* that the Bishop was contemplating the words "Authority of Parliament in the second year of the Reign of Edward the Sixth" as alluding to the Ancient Canon Law, and not to Edward's Book: but though this, if true, would be a useful, yet not necessary, argument (since the Bishop elsewhere makes it to include the former) I am afraid that Cosin's reference to the 58th and 14th Canons only just before, precludes this construction of the passage, and strengthens the conclusion that he did make a mistake.

his error as to
"the Canon."

The Bishop, in several passages of his *Notes*, assumes that Edward's first Book is to be accepted as part of the Authority of Parliament in Edward's *Second* year; I say *part*, because he nowhere treats it as *exclusive* authority: the following are some of them:—

Bp. Cosin's
repetition of
the phrase
"second year,"

(1.) "And that accustomed place [of Morning and Evening Service] was the quire, as appeareth by the first words of the first Book, set forth in the second year of King Edward the Sixth."—2nd *Series*, p. 227. Works, vol. V.

(2.) "And at the celebration of the Holy Communion it was ordained, by the rules and orders of the first Liturgy set forth by the Church of England, and confirmed by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the VI."—*Ibid.* p. 30.

(3.) "... it was declared by the same authority in the second year of King Edward the Sixth, 'Every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no.'"—*Ibid.* p. 231.

(4.) "*As were in use, &c.*] Among other ornaments of the Church that were then in use, the setting of two lights upon the communion-table or altar was one, appointed by the King's Injunctions (set forth about that time, and mentioned or ratified by the Act of Parliament here named [*i. e.* 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.] whereby all other wax-lights and tapers . . . being taken away," &c.—*Ibid.* p. 231.

(5.) "*By authority of Parliament.*] Which confirmed both the first liturgy and the Injunctions of King Edward the Sixth."—*Ibid.* p. 232.

(6.) "*In the Second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.*] For it is here to be noted, that in his time there were two several liturgies, and two several acts of parliament made to confirm them.

One in the second year, and another in the fifth year of his reign. . . . in the first year of Queen Elizabeth . . . the order appointed [for Ornaments] in the Second year of his [Edward's] reign was retained, and the same are we bound still to observe."—*Ibid.*

(7.) " . . . in the second year . . . of the reign of King Edw. VI.' And then by the same authority this order was in use, . . . viz. 'The priest who shall,' &c.—*Ibid.* p. 305.

(8.) "*Ceremonies abolished and retained.*] I find no difference between that in the 2nd year of King Edward's and ours, but in " &c.—3rd Series, p. 415.

(9.) " . . . the Act of Parliament, 2 Edw. VI., that authorized it [the first book of Edw. VI.]"—*Ibid.* p. 436.

(10.) "*Such Ornaments, &c.*] . . . The particulars of these Ornaments . . . are referred . . . to the second year of that King [Edw. VI.] when his Service-Book and Injunctions were in force by authority of Parliament. And in those books many other ornaments are appointed; as two lights to be set upon the altar or communion-table, a cope [&c.] . . . and those ornaments of the Church . . . in use, by virtue of the Statute 25 Hen. VIII. . . ."—*Ibid.* p. 438.

(11.) "*Such Ornaments as were in use in the Second Year of King Edward VI.*] In that year, by the authority of Parliament, was this order set forth, in the End of the Service-book then appointed. At Morning and Evening Prayer," &c.—*Ibid.* p. 439.

The same expressions "2 Edw. VI." or "Second Edw. VI." occur in *twenty-nine* other passages of this Third Series, which it is needless and would be only tedious to particularize: though there are also several places in which the Bishop uses the expression "First Edw. VI." when speaking of the same Book.

Now certainly this is a formidable number of passages, from one writer, to array against the view here maintained, *viz.*, that Edward's First Prayer Book was *not* Authority of Parliament in the *second* year of Edward the Sixth: but I wish to give the fullest weight to any counter statement, especially one emanating from such an authority as Bishop Cosin. The *repetition* of the statement is no proof, however, of its accuracy; for being once under the belief that Edward's First Prayer Book was of Edward's *second* year, the Bishop would naturally repeat the statement wherever he had occasion to refer to the date at which it was enacted. But it will be found upon examination of the eleven passages quoted that in two of them Bishop Cosin has fallen into an error which, added to the mistake just referred to, justifies the belief that

does not prove
its accuracy,
for,

he did not very critically investigate the position in which Edward's *First Act of Uniformity* and his *First Prayer Book* stood to his Second year.

in two of these passages, he errs about Edward's Injunctions.

Thus in Nos. 4 and 5 the Bishop states that Edward's *Injunctions* were "mentioned or ratified" and "confirmed" by Edward's *First Act of Uniformity*: but it is only necessary to look into the Statute to see that they are in no way there even alluded to: I am unable to find a single word in the Act which can by any device be construed into a *notice* of the *Injunctions*, much less into a *ratification* of them. If then the Bishop was misled on a point so easy of detection as this is, the conjecture is very far from being improbable that he was likewise misled in a statement which could only be tested by an accurate comparison of dates and by a consideration of other circumstances which, especially the matter of the Royal Assent, do not lie upon the surface.

Yet although the direct connection between Edward's Act of Uniformity and his *Injunctions* cannot be maintained, the latter appear to derive some Parliamentary Sanction from it by a process precisely parallel to that through which the Cross was shewn, at pp. vi—xi, to possess the Authority of Parliament. For at the End of the Communion Office in Edward's *First Book* this Rubric occurs:—

"Upon Wednesdays and Fridays, the English Litany shall be said or sung in all places, after such form as is appointed by the King's Majesty's *Injunctions*: or as is or shall be otherwise appointed by his highness."

As then the Statute sanctions the Book, so it must sanction whatever directions the Book contains; and because one of these directions points further to an order of the *Injunctions*, it would seem to follow that that Order in particular and, perhaps, the other *Injunctions* generally, had the *sanction*, if not the *force*, of Statute Law; just as the "Subscription required" of such as are to be made Ministers" to the three Articles of Can. 36, implies the Authority of *all* the Canons of 1603.

It was observed at p. xxxix, that the agreements among Writers may sometimes be traced to the fact of each having copied the statement of his predecessor without examination, not unfrequently at the cost of perpetuating an error: the *Injunctions* just referred to are apparently a case in point.

This error apparently copied by Wheatley;

It will be seen, at p. 6, that Wheatley, like Cosin, affirms them to have been "ratified" by Act of Parliament, though there is an apparent discrepancy in their reference to the Act: Cosin assigns the ratification to the first Act of Uniformity; Wheatley, seemingly, to the last; but then, as Wheatley would appear to rely upon § XXIV. of Stat. 13 and 14, Car. 2, c. 4, which confirmed "the several good Laws and Statutes" of this Realm, which have been formerly made, and are now "in force, for the uniformity of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments," (see Note a, p. 6), it is not unlikely that he coincided with Cosin's view as to the *original* confirming Statute.

So, again, with respect to the date of Edward's First Act of Uniformity and his First Prayer Book, it is evident that, in the first paragraph of Chap. II. Sec. IV.—*Of the Ministerial Ornaments*, he has followed Nicholls and, in part, used the language of his Note upon the Rubric on Ornaments: indeed this may be gathered from Wheatley's own remark, when naming some of the sources he used—"there is one thing" perhaps in which I have been deficient, and that is, in not "using sometimes the ordinary marks of distinction, when I "have taken the words as well as the thoughts of my author."—*Preface* p. vi.

Nicholls's own Notes upon the Rubric on Ornaments, as given at p. 6, shew how slender is the foundation he has there laid for any argument as to the Prayer Book being Authority of Parliament in Edward's Second Year: enough has, I think, been said to shew that we ought not to be required to follow implicitly a view upon this subject which, it can hardly be doubted, has been based mainly upon the observations of that Commentator and the Notes which he has appended to his volume: it does not detract from the general value of both to call attention to statements which, if erroneous, as I cannot but think they are, it is of great importance should not be perpetuated, seeing that they may involve consequences fatal to the maintenance of many of those very Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers which Nicholls, Andrews, and Cosin deemed to be Lawful. And therefore although the learned Judge had "no hesitation in stating that it is the

who has also followed a mistake of Nicholls's.

Nicholls does not seem to have examined the question.

“conviction of the Court that the Rubric does recognize the “first book as being of Parliamentary Authority in the “Second year of Edward’s reign,” it is not disrespectful to the Court to question its Judgment on this matter, seeing that, in great part, it appears to have been founded upon the opinion of Commentators whose statements in reference to this particular question there is sufficient reason to dispute.

Sir John Dodson, however, in support of his judgment upon this point, says—

Edward’s Journal, quoted by Sir J. Dodson, no proof of the alleged date.

“Moreover, the journal of the transactions occurring in his short reign kept by the young King, in his own handwriting, puts an end to all doubt upon the subject. Under the head of the Second year the King wrote :—‘ A Parliament was called, where an uniform order of prayers was institute, before made by a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in Windsor.’ ”

But, with all submission to the Dean of the Arches, this passage proves nothing whatever as to the time when the Book became Authority of Parliament, except that it was in the Parliament “called” in Edward’s second year: this, however, has never been disputed; for the Parliament is well known to have *begun* in the *second*, and to have reached into the *third* year of his reign; the Act therefore is correctly styled as 2 and 3 Edw. VI: the precise points to be determined are—(1) was the Book which was “institute” in the Parliament “called” in the second year, *completed* in that year—(2) did the Act which gave it Authority receive the Royal Assent *during* or at the *end of* the Session in the third year? If, as it would seem is the case, both these questions have received the most distinct answer in the negative which the evidence admits of, then those words of the King, so far from proving the opinion which the Court enunciated, distinctly confirm the opposite view here maintained, *viz.*—that Edward’s First Book was not Authority of Parliament until the *third* year of his reign.

In the next passage of his Judgment, Sir J. Dodson takes an entirely opposite view to that given by Dr. Lushington: he says—

Opposition between the two Judges as to the effect of the Rubric.

“But there remains another and a very grave question arising upon the terms of the Rubric. Supposing the Rubric to refer to the First Book of Edward as being of Parliamentary Authority (and the Court is of opinion that it does), could it be construed to mean

that it was exclusively so—that it could have the effect of revoking any Act of Parliament of a previous date authorizing the use of certain ornaments in the Church? The learned Judge of the Consistory Court appeared to have doubted whether it would not exclude all other ornaments not then prescribed—*i. e.*, that nothing was to be retained but what was in the Church by the authority of an Act of Parliament passed in that year. I profess my inability to arrive satisfactorily at the same conclusion. The words of the Rubric are certainly not free from ambiguity, but no affirmative direction can be found therein for any ornament to be placed in the Church, and no negative terms prohibiting the use of ornaments which might have been in the Church by Parliamentary Authority.

These words of Dr. Lushington, to which the Dean of the Arches refers, will be found at p. 5; the decision of the latter entirely confirms the view already stated at pp. 41—50 in opposition to the views of Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode; but why Sir John Dodson should think the Rubric not *unambiguous*, it seems difficult to say when it is examined. The Rubric directs certain Ornaments to “be retained and “be in use”: what they are it only describes by the words “as were in this Church of *England*, by the Authority of “Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King “*Edward the Sixth*”: he who would follow the Rubric had, and has, therefore, only to find out *what* the Authority of Parliament was in that year; it seems contrary to common sense to suppose (as Dr. Lushington and Mr. Goode suppose) that the imposers of the Rubric should continue the use of terms which, undoubtedly, would occasion, as Bishop Cosin thought (see p. 458), some little trouble in 1662 (though none at all, most likely, at the time they were framed, in 1559) when they could have taken the obviously simple course of saying “*Edward’s First Book*”, if that was the guide to Ornaments which they intended to point out.

But a *direction to do* a certain prescribed thing, cannot be a *prohibition against doing* any other thing which, in its own nature, or by some plain inference, is not *inconsistent* with obeying the given requirement. If, therefore, the Ornaments excepted against in the Consistory Court of London are Ornaments which can be shewn to be such “as were in this “Church of England by Authority of Parliament” in the Year specified, *they are* **LAWFUL Ornaments**: but even if they

cannot be found among the Ornaments of that Second year they are *equally* Legal Ornaments if not *at variance* with them.

as to things not specified in the Prayer Book and Canons of 1603-4 and 1640;

Suppose then a plain Cross (*i. e.* not a Crucifix), or White Bands, a Lectern, or a Black Scarf over the Surplice, are things alike no where *ordered* (as is the case) either in the Canons of 1603 and 1640, or in, the admitted primary authority, the Rubrics of the Prayer Book—does it follow that they are *illegal* Ornaments of the Church and of the Minister? Surely not: opinions may vary as to their necessity, or suitableness, or use, or beauty, but, unless they can be shown to be contrary or repugnant to the well known Ornaments of Edward's second year, they are not *unlawful*, though any should pronounce them to be unnecessary or inexpedient. What was in use in Edward's second year we are still legally bound to use: what was not in use in that year may be lawfully introduced, at least with the sanction of the Ordinary: the only, but an important, limitation in both cases being—that the Things employed must not be opposed to, or inconsistent with, the letter and the spirit of the present Prayer Book, based as it is upon Ancient Offices. Propriety and utility guided by Antiquity, not mere Archaism, would seem to be the Law of the Church of England, as of the rest of the Church Catholic; else it would follow that all which is novel in Design, recent in Manufacture, and modern in Art, must be consigned to adorn and make convenient the habitations of men—only that which the year 1548 exhibited in Ecclesiastical Edifices may be permitted in the Temple of God, amid the elegancies and refinements and inventions of the Nineteenth Century. To what a curious condition the Churches would be reduced, and to what positive inconveniences (as we should now consider them) the worshippers would be put, if nothing but what was “in” them in Edward's second year may lawfully appear there now, it is needless to point out.

It is plain that the pre-reformation Canons (see pp. 488-9) maintained a principle quite the reverse of this: certain necessary Things were secured by a direct specification of them, and by a distinct direction *which* the parishioners were

but consistent with the Ancient Canon Law.

to provide, *what* the Incumbent was to furnish: no one, I imagine, would contend that the *Parishioners* were not at liberty to find *more* than was required; and an *actual margin* was *given* to other parties, such as the Rector, Vicar, or Patron, with a positive *command* that they must endeavour, partially or wholly, to fill it. Unless, then, it can be shewn that any of the Ornaments now disputed are neither specified in these Canons, nor in later Laws, and are not “decent Ornaments,” *i.e.*, fit, becoming, appropriate, they are clearly *Lawful*: that a Stone Altar, and even a Crucifix (which latter has not been contended for), come within this definition, Dr. Lushington can be fairly quoted to prove, who asks—

“What can in itself be more indifferent than whether the Holy Communion shall be administered upon wood or stone; whether the table should be fixed or moveable; whether it should have one shape or another? Again, take the case of a Crucifix. What can be more innocent in itself than the figure of our Saviour on the Cross, in whatever material it may be exhibited? I am almost ashamed of the weakness of my expression when I use the term innocent. I might say with truth, what more likely to remind the pious of the great sacrifice made for their redemption.”—*Judg.* p. 42.

True, that learned Judge considers it to have been “the intention of the Reformation . . . to prohibit all things, “indifferent in themselves, which had been abused to superstitious uses,” and that therefore “Crosses” must “be put in the same category as Crucifixes;” but, apart from the consideration of his having misstated the fact in saying “It is admitted on all hands that the Crucifix is prohibited;” it is surely an open question and one which others are equally as competent as Dr. Lushington to decide, whether the Reformers, alleged “fear that superstitious practices might “thereby be revived” if these ancient Ornaments are re-introduced into the Church of England, is not a purely idle one: he must be, I think, either a most sanguine or a most unobservant man who can imagine that such a revolution is likely to be brought about in the minds of Church of England people now-a-days. There is little, if any, danger in this, too irreverent, age of what the *Reformers* denominated idolatry: that offences abound which must bear the appellation, there is the most abundant evidence; but

Dr. Lushington thinks a Stone Altar and a Crucifix, in themselves, appropriate.

Our danger of idolatry is not in the use of these.

then it is the idolatry of self, of nationality, of wealth, of power, of influence, aye, and not last or the least blameworthy—the idolatry of a Book which, nevertheless, it must be feared, not uncommonly shares, like the idols of Babylon of whom Baruch speaks (chap. VI.), in a *practical neglect* and a *real irreverence*, which such a temper too often produces. To the present writer it seems that the opinion of Dr. Lushington on this point wholly lacks the evidence which sustains that belief of “many” recently adverted to in the leading English Journal^a, who, though they think “the symbolical principle” to have been “grossly abused in the Roman Church” yet “have still considered that three centuries of a reasonable religion have guarded us from some dangers to which the just converted Protestant of the Reformation age was open.”

But, to resume the Judgment of the Dean of the Arches: he proceeds to say—

“Another point for consideration is, whether the Statute 2nd and 3rd Edward VI. c. I., being an act for the uniformity of service and administration of sacraments throughout the realm, and for establishing one uniform system of rites and ceremonies, did not as a necessary consequence repeal all previous laws and ordinances on these subjects. The Judge of the Consistory Court held, in reference to the 7th section of the 25th Henry VIII., c. 19, that it was necessarily inconsistent and could not co-exist with the Act of Uniformity, inasmuch as the 7th section of the Statute of Henry went to the establishment of a diversity of local ordinances and practices, many of which were well known to be at variance with each other. I agree with the Court below, that in so far as the Act of the 25th of Henry VIII. and the two subsequent Acts of his reign, established local ordinances and practices at variance with each other, or confined to some particular ecclesiastical district or districts, they were inconsistent with the Act of Uniformity, and were by it so far repealed. But if it could be shewn that under one or more of these ecclesiastical laws or ordinances the use of the Cross was authorized as an Ornament throughout all the ecclesiastical divisions of the kingdom, then the inconsistency with the Act of Uniformity would not present itself.”

Now upon this it must be remarked that, so far as the Offices of Edward's First Book are concerned, the effect of his first Act of Uniformity may at once be admitted to have been what is here described, without in the least perplexing the question

Sir J Dodson's
view of the effect
of 2 & 3 Edw. VI.
upon 25 H. VIII.
c. 19, at variance
with

^a See an article in *The Times* of Dec. 23, 1856, on Sir John Dodson's Judgment, containing some very sensible remarks on this subject.

of Ornaments: but the admission must be limited to the Book itself, because *e.g.*, as that Book recognized the use of Anointing and Chrism in Baptism, and Unction in the Visitation of the Sick, it is plain that the Book containing the Ceremonial for the Consecration of the Oils and the Chrism must have continued in use: the same is true of other Offices such as the Consecration or Reconciliation of Churches and Church-yards; the Consecration of Vessels and Ornaments of the Church; the mode of Penance and Excommunication; the method of reconciling Penitents and Apostates, and a variety of other things which it is not needful to enumerate: that the fact was so, is plain from the 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10, which, a year later, abolished those Books.—See p. 56.

Dr. Lushington's
imaginary
difficulty.

With respect, however, to any repealing action of the Statute upon “the laws and ordinances” confirmed as such by the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, the case seems to be purely imaginary as stated by Dr. Lushington, and cautiously but safely endorsed in part by the Dean of the Arches: for the fact is that the Ecclesiastical Laws supposed to be thus touched were not, as the Judge of the Consistory Court termed them, “a diversity of local ordinances and practices, many of which “were well known to be at variance with each other,” but a really compact body of Laws which, though it had been accumulating during Seven Centuries, presented perhaps even a more harmonious whole than any Digest of our Civil Code would probably manifest. A clear proof of their mutual accordance will be found in the selection given, at pp. 467-90, of those connected with Ornaments and Ceremonial, which, in fact, is the point here strictly to be regarded: while, as to their being “local,” if by that term Dr. Lushington means *Diocesan*, the charge is a simple fiction, for they were either made with the sanction of the Crown, and so were co-extensive with the Kingdom; or they were Legatine, and thus embraced both Provinces; or were Provincial and so were applicable to all the Dioceses of the two great Ecclesiastical Divisions of England within which they were enacted; though even this Provincial locality was removed by the fact which Burn states (see p. 464) that the Constitutions of the Province of Canterbury, which form the chief part of the collection, were received by the Province of York in 1463.

Dr. Lushington seems in fact to have confused the diverse Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York, &c , which the Act named and directly purposed to repeal, with the Provincial Constitutions which had no relation to them except that, being general Ecclesiastical Laws, they enforced the use of such Service Books as had obtained in the two Provinces and also compelled the use of such Ornaments and Ceremonies as, though required by the ordinary Services of the Church, were perfectly independent of these local Uses, while yet they satisfied their general demands. Practically the subject was attended with no real difficulty, at least, in the Province of Canterbury, for there the Use of Sarum seems to have for the most prevailed, owing, it is believed, to the circumstance that the Bishop of Salisbury was Precentor to the College of Bishops.

Apparent cause
of his error in
this respect.
viz.

Yet there were ample reasons for introducing an *Uniform Order* when a revised Service Book was proposed to be set forth throughout England. But then this Uniform Order must not be construed to mean, as both Dr. Lushington and Dr. Dodson seem to take it, an exact similarity in Ornaments and in all the details of Ceremonial in every Church: the terms "*Rites*" and "*Ceremonies*," as used both in Edward's Statute, and in his Book, will be found to have no reference to these things, at least, in their primary and chief signification. Thus, when the Act says that there were "diverse rites and ceremonies concerning" the "Mattens.... Even-song," and "the Holy Communion commonly called the Mass," and describes the pleasure or offence taken by those who executed or neglected "the said rites and ceremonies, in other form than of late years they have been used," it does not refer to varieties in the *mode*, or *gesture*, or *ornament* employed in doing them, but *e.g.* to the continuance or disuse of such customs, as "taking ashes upon Ash-Wednesday," or "bearing palm upon Palm-Sunday," or "creeping to the Cross" on Good Friday—customs about which a considerable latitude seems to have been allowed up to the issuing of the new Prayer Book (see p. 31), and which, in Ecclesiastical language, were called *Rites* or *Ceremonies*, though involving in their practice a more or less elaborate employment of what, in our phraseology, would be called "Ritual and Ceremonial."

his adoption of a
common mistake
which confuses
Rites and *Cere-*
monies,

So, too, when the Act states that the Archbishop and others had been appointed to “draw and make one convenient and meet order, *rite*, and fashion of common and open prayer and administration of the Sacraments”; mentions that the Parliament had been “considering....the godly prayers, orders, *rites*, and *ceremonies*” in the Book then prepared; calculates upon the benefit likely to arise from the use of “the one and uniform *rite* and order in such common prayer and *rites* and external *ceremonies*”; and attaches a penalty to those who “wilfully and obstinately” should “use” thereafter “any other *rite*, *ceremony*, order, form, or manner of mass....mattens, evensong, administration of the Sacraments, or other open prayer than that is mentioned and set forth in the said book”—we see, at once, that the words “*rite*” and “*ceremony*” refer mainly if not entirely to the nature, structure, and general arrangement of the various Offices contained in the Book, and not to what may be called the *modus operandi* of the Offices themselves.

with the *Ornaments and Ceremonial* therein used.

This, perhaps, will appear even plainer from the Title of Edward's First Book—a Title which has been preserved in all the later Books, including the present Prayer Book: it is called “The Book of the common prayer and administration of the Sacramentes, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England”; the terms “*Rites*” and “*Ceremonies*” being obviously used by way of distinction from the term “*Sacramentes*”; whereas had they been intended to apply to the Rubrical details of the mode of saying the Offices, we should surely have found some such Title as this—“The Book of the common prayer, administration of the Sacraments, and other Offices of the Church, together with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, after the use of the Church of England.”

These remarks, then, are, I think, sufficient upon the passage in Sir John Dodson's judgment to which they relate; it is unnecessary to say anything upon the concluding sentence of it in which, in the case of the Cross, the Judge proposes a mode of answering Dr. Lushington's alleged inconsistency of the pre-reformation Canons with the Act of Uniformity, as I have already acted upon this suggestion at pp. v to xi.

The Dean of the Arches next proceeds to consider the Statutes 26 Hen. viii. c. 1, 31 Hen. viii. c. 8, and 34 & 35 Hen. viii. c. 23, in order to ascertain whether or not the Injunctions of Edw. vi. A.D. 1547 had the force of Law: he determines, contrary to the decision of the Judge of the Consistory Court, *that they had*; and therefore that their directions must be regarded as possessed of *full authority* to make the changes which they prescribed in the then existing Law or Practice as to Ornaments and Ceremonies—in fact that they were issued under Authority of Parliament. It is unnecessary for me to examine this part of Sir John Dodson's Judgment, for two reasons, (1) because, if I may say so, it confirms my own view of the Injunctions, (2) because, as I have already argued at p. 20, whether they are held to have been Law or not, they, either way, sustain the Ornaments now in question; indeed, their support is perhaps even stronger if they are proved *not* to have had any *legal* force, for then they left the Law and Practice of the Church entirely unchanged. But, in passing, I may just observe that, Sir J. Dodson's opinion "that Collier was not stating "his own view of the question, but merely setting forth the "reasons assigned by Bishop Gardner" for opposing the Injunctions, appears hardly warranted by Collier's words; it seems to me that Collier did coincide in Gardner's view, though he does not expressly say so. Another remark also of the learned Judge it will be as well just to advert to: speaking of the Authority under which, as he considers, Henry viii. issued his *Injunctions* of 1536 & 1538, and also his "*Institution of a Christian Man*" (quoted in pp. 14, 15 & 17) *viz.* the *Act of Supremacy*, 26 Hen. viii. c. 1. (see No. 21 p. xxiii), Sir J. Dodson says—"The *Erudition of a Christian Man*, "published in 1542, subsequently to "the first of these [*i. e.* The *Institution*], does not assist in "throwing any light upon the question." I presume that he refers to "the question" of the King's power to issue orders having Parliamentary force; if so, a Book like the *Institution* or the *Erudition*, was hardly likely to furnish any evidence on the point unless, as *e. g.* Edward's "*Order of Communion*" which was prefaced, as I have shewn at p. viii.,

Sir J. Dodson determines that the Injs. of 1547 had the force of Law.

by a Royal Proclamation. But if the learned Judge means that the *Erudition* does not throw any light on the general question of the Cross and Images, then he is mistaken, for in "The Exposition of the Second Commandment of God" (*Formularies of Faith* p. 299) will be found a passage substantially the same as that quoted from the Institution at p. 15: indeed, it is on the whole, a more elaborate defence of their true use and advantage as a medium of instructing the people.

It is, however, essential to notice the argument which Sir J. Dodson draws from the Injunctions themselves: he says:—

"The injunctions are to be found in *Cardwell's Documentary Annals*.

The object of those injunctions clearly was to take away those images and other ornaments not essentially necessary to Divine worship, which had been abused. The question is whether the cross was included among them, whether it was included under the head of the pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, and idolatry and superstition which all deans, archdeacons, masters of collegiate bodies, &c., were enjoined to take away, so that there remained no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within their churches or houses. Was the Cross spoken of as an Image?"

In proof that it *was* considered an *Image*, and that it *was* a *Monument of Idolatry*, the learned Judge cites the following Authorities.

1. *Lyndwood's Provinciale* p. 253, where, as he says, "The *Effigies crucis* is spoken of in contradistinction to the real or original Cross."
2. A passage from Collier, which is in fact a quotation from Cranmer's Articles.—*See* p. 13.
3. A passage from the 2nd Book of Homilies.—*See* p. 195.
4. The Letter of Henry viiith. to Cranmer in which the King abolished "Creeping to the Cross."—*See* p. 23.
5. Expressions in the *Roman Missal* used on the Festivals of the *Invention* and *Exaltation of the Cross*; and in *Lyndwood* p. 252, implying *adoration* of the Cross.
6. A distinction drawn, in the "Homily against the Peril of Idolatry" A.D. 1562, between "historical paintings" and "an embossed and gilt image, set with pearls or stones."
7. The Letter of the Council to Cranmer, dated Feb. 21st, 1547—8, referred to at p. 32.

His argument from the Injunctions, considered.

After quoting these, Sir. J. Dodson says:—

“The conclusion to which I come is, that by the injunctions of Edward VI. it was intended to take away all ornaments that had been abused, or might thereafter be abused, as therein mentioned. I have shown that, reasoning *a priori*, the cross was an ornament that had been abused; and there is, to say the least of it, no sufficient evidence of its legal use afterwards to outweigh that reasoning. On the contrary, looking only to facts, the presumption is against such a use. The injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, which were almost a repetition of those of King Edward, appear to show almost beyond a doubt that crosses were taken away, and the construction put upon the injunctions in 1559 was a very good illustration of what was intended in 1547.

He contends that a Cross was held to be an abused Image.

Now with regard to Nos. 3 & 6 it is unnecessary, I think, to add anything to what I have already said at pp. 191—6: of Nos. 1 & 2 it is sufficient to say that the question to be determined is not whether a Cross *simpliciter* is in any sense an *Image* of the true Cross, but whether it was ever intended to be included under the general expression “Images” as used in the Injunctions? And on this point Dr. Lushington’s decision in the *negative*, when discussing the meaning of 3 & 4 Ed. vi. c. 10, (see p. 57) may be fairly opposed to Dr. Dodson’s.

His Authorities examined.

As to No. 4, whatever it may prove with respect to the *abuse* of Crosses, it cannot possibly prove that they were abolished even on that account by the Injunctions of 1547, for it is plain that the *Ceremony* itself was recognised by authority, fully one year later, though all punishment for its neglect was taken away.—*See* p. 31.

With reference to No. 5, I may observe (1) *First*, that it is to be regretted the learned Judge should have quoted the *Roman Missal*, since the very name at once excites prejudice and it was never in use in the Church of England, though the Sarum and other Uses did contain the Offices referred to: (2) *Next*, that LATIMER’s opinion of this adoration (see p. 12) may fairly be opposed to Sir J. Dodson’s: (3) *Thirdly*, that Lyndwood’s important distinction in the very passage which the Judge quotes should not have been passed over: (4) *Fourthly*, that even if LYNDWOOD be discarded as a Writer of the “Dark Ages,” or LATIMER be pitied as only groping out of Romanism, some attention may be claimed

His view compared with that of TENISON.

for TENISON who, writing in 1677 “*Of the Idolatry charged on the Papists in the worship of Images,*” seems not unwilling, in treating “*Of the worship of the Image of Christ,*” to yield a candid consideration even to the Tridentine Council’s exposition of it: he says, speaking of the extravagant statements of a Roman Writer,—

“But we have heard better things from the Council of *Trent*, and some who follow it. And by such declarations their Church denieth to the Image itself the worship of the heart in Prayer, Thanksgiving and trust; and teacheth us to interpret the Forms used in their Letter to them, as not to them directed. Such a Form is that of *Hail holy Cross, our only hope—the sceptre of the Son—the Bed of Grace—Increase righteousness in the pious, and to the guilty vouchsafe pardon.* All this it seems, howsoever it soundeth, must be meant not to the very matter and form of the Cross, which Dr. *Bilson* will have to be adored in the Church of *Rome*, but only to Christ crucified. And this also I suppose they would suggest by the Cross pictured in their Books of Devotion, and particularly in the front of their Missal of *Paris* (1660), together with these words of the Apostle, *God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord.* Where *St. Paul* intended not to magnify the wood of the Cross, but the Sacrifice upon it. And this way of speaking used by the Apostle is followed in our Litany, in which we desire of Christ deliverance by His Cross, explaining it by His Passion.”—*Discourse of Idolatry* p. 282. 4to Lond. 1678.

Of No. 7, no more need be said, I think, than that the “antithesis” in the words, that “the lively images of Christ should not contend for the dead Images”, is not, as it seems to me, to be explained of Christians *v.* Images of CHRIST, but of Christians *v.* Images of *Saints*: nor can I find anything in Bp. Burnet to warrant the supposition of the learned Judge that that writer held it “would not apply to the Images of Saints.”—See *Burnet’s Reformation*, Part 2. Book i. p. 57, fol. 1715.

His view refutes itself.

So much then with regard to the learned Judge’s *Reasons* for his interpretation of the Injunctions: as to the interpretation itself I venture to urge with all respect for Sir J. Dodson’s opinion, that he refutes his own argument: he says that “the object of those Injunctions clearly was to take away all those Images and other Ornaments not essentially necessary to Divine worship, which had been abused:” suppose then it were to be admitted that the Cross had been *abused* in the manner stated by the learned Judge, it is plain,

on his own shewing, that it could not have been removed by the Injunctions, for, as I have already proved at length (at pp. v. —xi.) it *was essential* for Divine Service as it was ordered to be, and was, conducted for some 18 Months after the Injunctions were published.

Again it is perfectly clear by a comparison of Edward's Injunctions with those of Henry the 8th, issued in 1536 & 1538, that the latter were the basis of the former; indeed the Preface to Edward's Injunctions distinctly states that "part were given unto them heretofore, by authority of his "most dearly beloved father;" and it is only necessary to read Edward's 3rd Inj. (see p. 27) and Henry's 7th Inj. of 1538 (see p. 17 or Burnet's Ref. Bk. 3. Records p. 169) to discover their, almost verbal, *identity*: if then, as I apprehend is beyond all question, *Images* in Henry's Injunctions did not include Crosses or Crucifixes, upon what admitted or conceivable principle of interpretation is the word "Images" to be translated "Crosses" in *Edward's* Injunctions?

Once more: Sir. J. Dodson says that "the Injunctions of "Queen Elizabeth, which," as he truly states, "were almost "a repetition of those of King Edward, appear to show almost "beyond a doubt that crosses were taken away:" to which there is no alternative but to answer, with great respect, that I am afraid that the Dean of the Arches must have overlooked the most important fact—that, notwithstanding the strong appeals made to her to abolish Images, Elizabeth *entirely omitted* (see Note b. p. 139 and *Card. Doc. Ann.* vol. 1. p. 213) this very 3rd Inj. of Edward's, in her body of Injunctions which were published *after* her Book of Common Prayer was set forth: so that, to reverse the learned Judge's own expression, they "appear to shew almost beyond a doubt "that Crosses" and Images "were" NOT "taken away:" and this, I apprehend, was one of the strongest reasons why the Bishops and others could never allege the *Law* in their favour when they afterwards urged the Queen to put away the Crucifix and Lights in her own Chapel, but were compelled to say, as they did, that she was very *observant* of the Law: moreover the best answer, I think, to Sir. J. Dodson's remark that "the construction put upon the Injunctions in

Henry 8th's.
Injunctions the
basis of Edward's:
but they did not
forbid Images.

Elizabeth did not
insert Edward's
3rd. Injunction
on Images.

The proceedings as to Images, in 1559, seem to have been an abuse of the Injunctions.

“ 1559 was a very good illustration of what was intended in “ 1547 ” is this—that Bp. Sandys’ statement in the following year (see p. 171) that the Queen wished to replace Images in the Churches, coupled with the account of the, all but riotous, proceedings which accompanied the London Visitation in 1559 (see Note b. p. 148), affords very strong circumstantial evidence indeed that the proceedings of the populace, and apparently of the Commission, were to a considerable extent at least, a colourable misapplication of Elizabeth’s 23rd Injunction which was simply a copy of Edward’s 28th Injunction (comp. pp. 28 & 140) and cannot therefore, I submit, be held to be more inclusive than Edward’s 3rd Injunction which it is plain the Queen would not re-publish.

Upon that passage of the Judgment which relates to the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett’s evidence on the arrangement between himself and the late Bishop of London as to the Consecration of the two Churches of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, and the subsequent opinions of the Bishop on the Ornaments in dispute, it is unnecessary to say more than that while the learned Judge’s statement must be strictly accepted—“ if the “ use of the Cross in the Church be illegal, no consent of a “ Bishop or Archbishop could permit it to be there. The “ Law must be obeyed, and the question is whether it was “ legal or illegal ”—the fact that the Bishop did knowingly permit these Ornaments to be used, ought to be held a fully sufficient reason for not removing them, unless there is the clearest evidence that they are *unlawful*.

Sir John Dodson goes on to say :—

Sir J. Dodson’s view of the Privy Council’s,

“ The learned counsel for the appellants quoted a letter from the Council of Cranmer, dated the 11th of February, 1548. This letter, which would be found in Strype’s *Cranmer*, book 2, chapter 8, directed that a more considerable change should be made in the way of removing all images that had been abused for superstitious purposes. The learned counsel relied upon that letter to prove that crosses were to be retained in contradistinction to images; but the crosses mentioned were crosses of precious materials only, and were associated with chalices, bells, and jewels. The reason assigned for writing that letter was the information received that the churchwardens and parochians ‘ Do alienate and sell these ornaments which were not given for that purpose to be alienated at their pleasure, but either to be used for the intent for which they were first given or to some other necessary and convenient service of the church.’

The object of the letter clearly was that they should in nowise sell, give, or otherwise alienate such valuable ornaments. They were not directed to continue the use of them as theretofore in the churches, but, on the contrary, the expressions 'either to be used to the intent for which they were at first given or to some other necessary and convenient service of the Church' seem to imply that it was contemplated to apply some of them at least, and probably the silver crosses, for other uses than those for which they had been given before the Reformation. The uses to which many valuables of that kind were not infrequently converted by some of the grasping officials of those days is well known. The object of the letter clearly was to prohibit the sale of those valuables by the persons referred to in the letter. This view of the matter derives some confirmation from an act passed in the following year—the 3d and 4th Edward VI., cap. 10. The act shewed the *animus* of the authorities of the time to get rid of all images rather than any that had been abused should remain, and carried out the true meaning and spirit of the letter addressed by the Council to Cranmer in February 1548."

Letter of Apl. 30
1548, considered.

The learned Judge appears to have confused here two different Documents which were kept distinct by Dr. Phillimore *viz.* the Letter from the Council to Abp. Cranmer of Feb. 21st 1547-8 (see page 32) and their further Letter to that Prelate of April 30th 1548 (see p. 33), though Dr. Phillimore, following Burnet, has quoted the former as bearing date "the 11th of Feb. 1548:" it is clear, however, that BURNET has made a mistake in the *date* though not in the *Document*, for in the *margin* he says, "The general "taking away of all Images. Number 23" (Hist. of Ref. Part 2. bk. 1. p. 57. fol. 1715) and upon turning to his reference among the *Records* at p. 120 of the same volume, we find "Number 23. *An Order of Council for the Removing of "Images,"* dated "from Somerst House, the 21st of February, "1547" *i.e.* 1547-8. This, however, is not the Document which Sir J. Dodson cites from "*Strype's Cranmer Bk. 2. "chapter 8:"* the Order which Strype gives there is the Letter of April 30th 1548.—See p. 33.

This error corrected, let us examine the conclusion to which Sir J. Dodson arrives in opposition to Dr. Phillimore. The Dean of the Arches contends that the Letter of April the 30th does not prove that "Crosses were to be retained" for use in the Churches "in contradistinction to Images," but only shows that they were to be taken care of as valuable property which was not to be made away with by "the

His opinion of it
contradicted,

by its internal
evidence,

“grasping Officials of those days:” I have already maintained at pp. 32 & 33 that both this Letter and the former prove that Crosses were not meant to be prohibited from use in the Churches; here it may be added that the continued necessity for them in order to comply with the Ritual requirements of that period, already spoken of at pp. v.—x. is to my mind an unanswerable argument that they were not abolished, unless some *positive*, not *inferential*, evidence to the contrary can be produced. Nor does Sir John Dodson’s reference to the 3 & 4 Edw. 6. c. 10, in the least degree assist his view of this letter of April 30th, even if it could be shewn that that Statute had any reference at all to Crosses—a point which I need not here discuss having already argued it at length at pp. 56-62.

Further, it seems obvious to say—that the expression “either to be used for the intent for which they were first given or to some other necessary and convenient Service of the Church,” appears to have given an *option* of using them still, as Ornaments of the Church, which it would have been worse than idle to offer, if the Council’s intention, all the while, was that they should not be retained for such a purpose.

and by a Return
from the Bp. of
Chester in 1548.

But it seems to me that the matter is put beyond dispute by the two following Documents, curious and interesting in themselves, to which my attention has been drawn by Mr. Lemon’s valuable Calendar^a of State Papers, of the Reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, recently published.

The first of these is an—

ACCOUNT by JOHN BIRD, Bishop of CHESTER, of the sale of Church ornaments, plate, jewels, bells, &c within the diocese of Chester and of the appropriation thereof.

January 12, 1547—8.

STATE PAPER OFFICE, Dom. Edw. VI. Vol. 3, No. 4.

The Document, which is here printed entire, and is nearly

^a “Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth 1547—1580, preserved in the State Paper Department of her Majesty’s Public Record Office. Edited by Robert Lemon Esq, F. S. A. under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of her Majesty’s Secretary of State for the Home Department.”—LONDON: Longman & Co. 1856.

a *fac simile*, is as follows—

Pleasith itt your excellent Highnes that wheras of late bie force and virtue of your graces lres of commandement I have diligent serche and inquirie bie myn officers throwe owt the dioce of Chestre in all and singular churchis and chapellis conteyned in the same whed' anye of the ornamentis, plate, joellis, or bellis of anye of the said churchis or chapellis of late tyme have ben taken awaye solde or alienated and bie whom and to what uses the moneye growing ther upon hath ben empowed and to what values theye did extende. I therefore apon suche serche and enquerie made have fonde in all and singular the said church or chappellis as hereaft^r folowith.

DECANATUS DE RICHMONDE.

All the churches and chapellis of this deanrie as Richmond, Rumdall Crofte, Aynderbie, Aysbie, Sothconton, Merske, Melsabie, Burton Medilton, Rockbie, Ravinswarth, Wiske, Forcett, Barnengham, Bowes, Mansfelde, ecclia. sti. Joannis Grinton, Stratforth Guylling, Langton, Brig-nail, Marike, Caterike, Hewton, Danbie, Smeton, Wicliffe, Cowton, have not solde, alienated or put awaye anye plate, joellis, ornamentis or bellis out of ther said churchis or chapellis, but remayne ther still.

DECANATUS DE CATERIKE.

Bedall.

Solde ther a chales for the sune of XL^s to the repa-tion of the church bie us Marmaduke Poris, Willia Clapam, John Webstare, and Richarde Lumley churchwardens ther.

Well.

Solde ther bie us James Lambert Cutbert Andreson and Ric' Wilson this pcellis hereafter following iiiij^s olde sucttes of dyv^se vestimentis a cowpe of blewve velvett on of white damaske

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Lanc^r.

Solde ther bie the pich-ion^s to the handis of the churchwardens Ric. Burton, Ric Dowson, w^t others ij chales for the sune of v^l wich somme we do yet kepe in o^r handis for the payment of dettis belonging to the church.

Chepen.

Laid in gage ther on chales to Mr. Robt^r Sherburn bie the churchwardens to maytene o^r suite ageynst Mr. Doctor Wol-fitt o^r pson ther.

Kyrkham.

Pleaged ther bie the churchwardens, George Sharputs and Ric. Browne, a crosse of sylv^r to Ric. Hoghton for xx^l for the repa-cion of the church and roode lofte.

Polton.

Pleaged bie the church-wardens ther on chales of xxxiiij^s iiij^d to Mr. George Kyghley for the repa-tion of the church.

Stalmayn.

Pleaged ther ij chales to the nedis of the church.

Sci Michis.

Solde ther bie the church-wardens to Mr. Kyrkbe, and Willia^m Eccleston to chales for ix^l for the repa-tion of the church and bellis.

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DECANATUS CESTRIE.

Ecclia. S^{ti}. Petri.

Solde bie us Willia. Brasse and Ranulph Crue, churchwardens ther, a crosse of sylv^r for the sune of xlj^l xii^s vi^d wich was bestowed apon a side ile ther, bie cause we wanted rowme, and alsoe we paye xv^s yerlie for the same gronde as a *chiff*.

Ecclia. S^{ti}. Miches.

Solde ther bie Rob^t Percevall, Thomas Monkisfeld and others, the churchwardens, a crosse of sylv^r con-teyning lxxxij onces aft. v^s the o^r., to Petur Con-way and Ric. Massie, wich bestowed apon the cov'ing of the church newe and other necessarie repacions ther.

All other churchis of y^t deanrie have not alienated, solde or put awaye anye plate, joellis, ornamentis or bellis owt of ther said churchis or chapellis.

DECANATUS DE WIRRAL.

All the churchis of this deanrie as Esthum, Brom-broe, Heswall, Neston, Bacford, Stoke, Bebington. Woodchurch, Upton, Shot-wike, Burton, Walezeze, Westkyrkbe and Bidston, have not alienated or put awaye anye plate joellis, ornamentis or bellis of the said churches.

DECANATUS MEDII VICI CU DECANAT^o MACCLESFELDE ET BANG^o.

All the churches of thes deanries as Medill, Wich,

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on of blake saten on of reed saten iij tunacles, wh^h ij albis a horse of blake velvet ij corporastis casis a crosse of cop. all this pcellis solde for the buylding of a scole howse, and mending o^r bellis and other necessaries in o^r church.

All other churchis of the said deanrie as Hornbie, Masham, Cov^ham, Patrie Brompton Watles, Pericall, Thornton, Stewarde, Flet- ham, Medilham, Cansfeld, Burnston, Aiskerch, Strew- ton, Waith, Spenethorn and Fyngall have not solde, alienated or put away anye plate, joellis, ornamentis, or bellis owt of ther said churchis or chappellis but remayne ther still.

DECANATUS DE COPPLANDE.

All the churchis of this deanrie as Ponsbie, Synt Bridis, Herington, Lamp- luff, Arleckden Dean Eger- monde, Cundall, Synt Bees, Millome, Cleyter, Dregge, Hirton, Cokermowthe, Lyrton, Briggam, Gos- forth, Hale Botill, Wicliff and Corneye have not solde, alienated or put away anye plate, joellis, bellis or or- namentis of ther said churchis.

DECANATUS DE FORNES.

All the churchis of this deanrie as Penengton, Cart- mell, Ulv^hston, Dalton, Kirkbe, Welith and Ald- ingham have not solde, alienated or put away anye plate, joellis, bellis or ornamentis of ther said churchis or chapellis.

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Ribchest^r.

Nothing ther alienated, solde or put awaye.

DECANATUS LONSDALE.

Sedbor.

There was a crosse boght by James Cowp^r the church maisters are not certen whed^r he gave itt to the church or not.

Catton.

Solde ther a chales bie the churchwardens for the sume of v^{to} marks for the buylding of a scole howse.

All other churchis w^t in y^t deanrie as Clapam, Tat- ham, Bentham, Engleton, Thornton, Singham, Mell- ing, Lonsdalle, Tunstall, Claghton, and Wittington, have not solde, alienated or put awaye anye plate, or- namentis, joellis or bellis.

DECANATUS KENDALL.

Hewsham.

Solde ther bie John Sill Thomas Parke and others the churchwardes^e to Ed- warde Docey of Kendall, ij^{to} chales for ix^l for the repation of the church.

Kendall.

The church of Kendall hath not certiefied as yet, but deferris the tyme from day to day although they have ben oft urgad ther unto.

Warton.

The churchwardens ther do allege that theye have made ther certificate to the kynges visito^rs.

All other churchis of that deanrie, as Bolton. Burton, Bethum, Grismair, Windehamme, Halton, and Hesham, have not solde, alienated, or put awaye anye plate, joellis, orna- mentis or bellis w^t in ther church or chapellis.

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Davenham, Lawton, Brer- ton, Soubage, Gostrie, Holme, Swetna and Asburie in the deanrie of Medill, Wich, Bangor and Hanne in the deanrie of Bangor also Macclesfeld P^rsburie, Wil- ingstowe, Northen Chedill, Stopford, Mottrom, Tapall, Gawsworth, Pott, Mober- leye and Alderleye, have not alienated, sold, or put awaye anye plate, jvellis, ornamentis or bellis owt of ther forsaid church or chappellis.

DECANATUS VICI MALBANI.

Aldham,

Hugh Bolton, Thomas Eyton, and others, church- wardens of Aldham have sold chales to Edwarde Mynshall for vi^l xv^s iiii^d wich is bestowed in leed to cov^r the church.

Laurans Hefelde and Robt. Knyght, churchwar- dens of Mynshall, have solde to Thomas Walker, a chalis, a cowpe, and a ves- timent for x^o m^rkis wich is bestowed apou the church repation.

Mynshall.

Edmude Picton and Willia Clutton church- wardes of Wibunburie have solde a crosse and ij cruettes of sylv^r for xix^l wich we have bestowed apou o^r church beying in greatt decaye. And all the rest of the churches w^t in y^t deanrie have not alien- ated or put awaye anye plate ornamentis, joellis, or bellis w^t in ther chargis.

DECANATUS FRODSHAM.

Rostorn.

The churchwardens of Rostorn did sell ther crosse for xv^l and a chalis for iijj markis, to Jenken Broke, towards the mayntaining up of ther church wich is yett in buylding, and all the rest of the churchis w^t in that deanrie have not solde, alienated, or put awaye anye plate, joellis,

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bellis or ornamentis in ther churchis.

DECANATUS MAMCESTRIE CU
DECANA^a LEYLONDE ET
BLAGBURN.

All the churchis of thes deanrics aforesaid have not solde, alienated or put away anye plate, ornamentis, joellis or bellis owt of ther said churchis or chapellis.

DECANATUS ANDNES.

Broughton.

Solde bie the churchwardens ther ij chales, the one to maister Singleton, the other to Mr. Barton for the sume of iiijⁱ to the buylding of the roode lofte.

Preston.

Solde ther bie the churchwardens, Roger Elston, William Sudall, Ric. Thornboroe, and Alex. Hogekeynson, to Olyv^r Bredis a crosse of Sylv^r for iijⁱ vi^s viij^d wich was for the repacion of the church.

DECANATUS BOBOBRIGE.

All the churchis of this deanrie have not solde, alienated, or put away anye plate, joellis, ornamentis or bellis of ther church or chapellis, but all wich they were went to have remayne ther still.

DECANATUS MALPAS.

All the churchis of this deanrie at Malpas, Aldford, Handley, Tilston, Codington and Tatnall, have not solde, alienated or put away anye plate, joellis, ornamentis, or bellis owt of ther churchis.

DECANATUS DE WERINGTON.

Childwall.

Solde ther bie Willia Crosse and others churchwardens, a chales for xl^s wich was bestowed on or bellis.

Wiga.

Solde ther bie James Anderton and Robt. Chalno^r churchwardens iij chales for viiiⁱ xviii^s ix^d wich was bestowed towarde the payment of o^r bellis boght of the kyng.

Weringto.

Theris nothing alienated, solde, or put away ther but y^t ther is certen goodis of the church as apperis bie a bill indented delyvrt to John Rigewaye and others the churchwardens of Werington to the use of the church and att the yeris end theye to delyv^r them to the next churchwardens and in all other churchis of this deanrie ther is nothing solde, alienated or put away owt of ther said churchis or chapels.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimo^m promissorum nos Joannes pmission^m divina Cestran epus ad cas eccleasticas decidend^r infra dioc^u Cestren au^{cte} illustrissimi in Cristo principis et dni nri dni Edwardi sexti dei gra Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ regis fidei defensor et in terris ecclie Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ sub xro capit^{is} supremi l^{tie} fulcit sigillu nrm pn^{tibus} apposuimus. Dat. xii^{mo} die mensis Januarii Anno dni millmo quingen^{to} quadragesimo septimo et anno regni dictⁱ invictissimi principis p^{mo}.
John Chestre^e

Analysis of this Certificate proves that Crosses were not sold as being forbidden Ornaments,

Now Edward's Injunctions of 1547, seem to have been prepared before *May*, but the Visitation was suspended on the 16th *May*, and was not executed until three months later, when, as Bishop Burnet says (pt. 2, book I. pp. 25 and 29.) "Thus were the Visitors instructed, and sent out to make "their Circuits in August, about the time that the Protector "made his Expedition into Scotland." Yet here is a Return made, as it seems, many months after these had been issued, and when there had been ample time to act upon them: but, so far from furnishing any proof that *CROSSES* were being cast out from the Churches, *as being abused Images*, as Sir John Dodson thinks, it affords distinct evidence to the contrary. Of 139 Churches *named*, and of the Churches not *named* in eight Deaneries, it is declared that "they have not solde, alienated, "or put away any plate, jvellis, ornamentis, or bellis": of *ten* it is said that one or more *Chalices* were sold for Repairs of the Church or the Bells; and in *one* of these, *Broughton*, remarkably enough, they were sold for "the buylding of the "Rood-lofte": of *two*, that some of the Vestments were disposed of, also for Repairs, etc: while of *seven* only, is it stated that the *Cross* was parted with for the like objects; and even among these few, the *Cross* at *Kyrkham* was only *pledged* and that, moreover, "for the reparacion of the Church and "the Rood-lofte."

Can it seriously be contended then, that a *Cross* was an Image, condemned by the King's Injunctions, unless it be also contended that Chalices and Vestments were forbidden? If it was, I must leave it to others to explain how it happened that one Rood-lofte was built and another repaired—structures which were to carry an Ornament, which no one can deny was far more likely to have been an *Image* within the meaning of the Injunctions than was the *Cross*—unless, indeed, it can be shown that this occurred *before* the Injunctions were issued.

If any one asks—then why were the Crosses sold at all? I answer, for the same reason that the other Things were sold, namely, that it was apparently the only means of providing for the necessary expenses of repairs and for other special purposes; and that as the Churches possessed more than *one*

but from necessity.

of each, the Churchwardens and parishioners sold what they could do without, while yet not depriving their Churches of the Ornaments in question.

Further reason for not accepting Sir J. Dodson's application of the Injunctions to Crosses: viz.,

The second of these two Documents is a—

CERTIFICATE of the CHURCHWARDENS of the Parishes within the CITY OF LONDON and the several Deaneries in Essex and Hertfordshire of the sale of all the Church plate, ornaments, jewels, bells, vestments, &c. lately belonging to their respective Churches, and of the appropriation of the proceeds. December 1548. (?)

STATE PAPER OFFICE, Dom. Edw. VI. Vol. 5. No. 19.

THE CITY OF LONDON.

The parryshe of Sainte Martyns in Ironmonger Lane.

the subsequent Return of the Sale of Church Goods in the City Parishes.

Edmunde Brydges } Churchwardens doo pntē and say that they wth the
John Platte } consent of the said parryshe, hath solde thees parcelles
of plate hereafter ensuyng viz.

One Chalyce, one Sens^r two Cruettes wayenge lvi vncies at iiiis ii d the
vnce Sma xi li xiii s iiiii d

Item one Sens^r one Chalyce and a Shyppe wayenge liii^d vncies di, at
iiii^s ii^d Sm^a xi li ij s xi d

Item a tablett pcell gylte wt iii vncies di at iiiis vi d Sm^a xv s ix d
Sm^a totalis xxiii li xij s

Which some of xxiii^{li} xij^s ys layed owte and bestowed in and abowte the reparations and amendinge of the said pryshe churchē as the same churchwardens doo say

Allhalowes in Honylane.

John Eccleston } Churchwardens doo pntē and say, That the secunde
Thomas Cole } day of february a^d 1545 they wth the co'sent of the
moost parte of the parryshe there hathe solde thees parcelles of plate
following

Item a Crosse pcell gylte a Cens^r pcell gylte a Chalyce pcell gylte and
a basyn pcell gylte wayeing clxviii vnces at iiiis ii d ob the unce

Item a paxe double gylte wayeng xlii vnces at iiiis iiiii d the vnce
ix li ii s
Sm^a totalis xliii li xv s

Whereof ys layed owte and bestowede in and aboute the repaying of the churchē and churcheyarde and certayn houses belonginge to the said churchē in suyte of lawe and for the churchē debte xlj li x. x.

St. Petyrs at Paulyswharf.

John Rowllysley } Churchwardens doo presente and saye That the xviiith
Robert Turner } of Marche a^d RR^h Henⁱ viii. 36^d there was solde, by
William Haddon and Nycholas Pyggott this plate folowinge for diverse
necessaries for the churchē viz.

A broken plate solde for the some of xviii li xv s

Whereof they say they have bestowede xii li and so remaineth in th^r
hands of the said Pyggott vi li xv s

Return of Sale of
Church Goods, in
the City of Lon-
don, continued.

St. Martyns in the Vyntree.

Robert Day } Churchwardens doo presente and say That they in
John Hyckeson } anno 1546 have solde of the church plate there thees
pccells folowing

Two Chalyces wth Covers two lyttle Cruettes a lytle pyckes and a litle
sworde all gylte wayeng xlviij uncijs at iiiij s viij d the unce xi li

Item a basyn two cruettes a lytle pyxe and a paxe parcell gylte way-
enge lij uncijs di at iiiij s iij d unce

Sm^a totalis o xxij iii s

Whiche some they say ys hollie bestowede upon the reparations of an
house belonging to the same church

St. Bennetts' Sherrogge.

John Lyen } Churchwardens do pnte and say That Willm Foxe and
Henry Hall } Edward Deane late churchwardens there hathe solde
thees parcelles of the Church plate ensuyng, viz.

Dyverse parcelles of plate of goolde smythes worke wayeng xxvij ii
uncijs di at iii s viij d the unce: Sm^a xxiii vij s vi d

Item a Chalyce wth the patten a sens^r and a lytle pyxe gylte wayeng
altogether l^v uncijs at iiiij s the vnce

Sm^a totalis o xxxiii li iiiij s vj d

All whiche some they say ys layed owte and bestowede in and abowte
the buyldyng and reparations of the saide church.

St. Michaells' at Queenhythe.

Thomas Brooke } Churchwardens there doo pnte and say that ther
John Lounsden } hathe byn solde towards the glasinge and whytelym-
John Cockes } inge of the saide church, and repaying of diverse
Thomas Lieghe } tenemetes belonging to the same thees parcelles of
plate ensuyng whyche dyd belonge to a certayne brother hedde in the
same church,

A Chalyce wth the patent viij mater vandes a paxe and the hoopes of a
a buckett wth other ornemetes of sylvar and gylte amountinge in the
hole to xxxiiij xvij s viii d

St. Olaves in hertestreete.

Thomas Burnell } Parryshioners there doo pnte and saye That Henry
Robert Newton } Browne in Dece'ber ano dni 1545, with the co'sente
Alexander Haynes } of dyverse of the parryshe there, hathe solde thees
parcelles of the church plate hereafter folowing

Certayne parcelles of plate p'cell of gylte after iiiij s id the vnce ex-
tendyng to the some of lvj li xiii s i d

Item lxxxiii uncijs of plate all gylte at iiiij s iiiij d the vnce Soma xlii li

Item certayne brasse mettall and pewter amountyng to the some of
xliiii

Sm^a totalis o lxxvj. vj. i d

Of whiche some they say there ys implied and bestowede in makyng
of a wall in the church yarde and other thinges doon in the church

xvi li vj s iij d

And the resydue being lx li ys putt in thandes of iii yonge men of the
parryshe

St. Laurence in the Jurye.

Nycolas Bacon } Churchwardens there doo pnte and saye That in anno
Robert Whetston } 1545 James Browne late churchwarden there, hathe
solde of the goodes of the same church thees vneces of sylver folowing,

xxviii vncies of broken sylver at iij s ix d od the vnce 0 v li vi s ij d
 Whiche some they say was hollie employed and bestowed upon cer-
 tayne tenemetes belonging to the same church.

Return of the
 Sale of Church
 Goods, in the City
 of London, con-
 tinued.

St. Katheryne Colman.

Robert Jugliger } Churchwardens do pnte and say That there hathe
 John Cowper } (before three yeres past) been as moche of the plate
 belonging to the same church solde as amounted to the some of xxviii.
 ij s vj d whiche some they say was hollie bestowed in and abowte the
 reparations of the same church.

St. Edmundes in Lumbert streete.

John Rayse } Churchwardens wth other there do pnte and say,
 William Chester } That theye wth the consente of the parryshe hathe
 solde thees parcelles of the church plate hereafter folowinge

A crosse of sylver parcell gylte wayeng lx vnces at v s the unce, three
 chalyces wayeng lviii vnces at v s the unce two basyns wayeng lxiii unces
 at iii s viii the unce, two Candelstykes wayeng xlvi vnces at iii s viii the
 unce and a Cens^r wayenge xxx li vnces at iii & viii the unce. The
 money wherof comynge they say was bestowed and layede owte hollie
 in buylding a new yle to the same church, and in other reparations done
 in and aboute the same church

St. Matthewes in Fryday strete.

Rychard Doo } Churchwardens there doo pnte, That there hathe been
 Thomas Lewyes } solde of the Church Plate by Thomas Porter and
 Rycharde Doo esmouche as amounted to the some of xxxi li xvj v d by the
 consente of the parsonne and certayne of the hedde prishioners. whereof
 they say was payede for the debt of the saide church xxx li the thyrde
 of December anno 1545

St. Anthonyens.

John Bolthar } Churchwardens doo pnte and say That he the same
 Thomas Mydleton } John Bolthar and William Lamberte wth thadvyse
 Henry Shusshe } of the s^d Thomas Mydleton and Henry Shusshe,
 dyd sell as moche of the church plate as amounted and came to the
 some of lxxx li and odde money wherof the say they have layed owte
 and bestowede upon the leading of the said church xlii vi s viii d and
 the residue of the said iiij^{xx} li and odde money they have also implyde
 and bestowede vpon other reparations of the same church, as they saye

St. John Zachary.

Rycharde Kynwelmsh } Doo saye, That the Churchwardens wth the
 Rycharde Lowde } consente of the parryshe there hathe solde
 thees parcelles of the church plate folowinge viz. A crosse of sylver
 and gylte wayeinge lxviii unces two chalyces wth patentes all gylte way-
 eng liiii vncies, a monster of sylver all gylte wayenge xxii vncies a paxe
 of sylver all gylte wayeng xx vnces di two sensores of sylver parcell
 gylte wayeng lii vncies a shyppe of sylver parcell gylte wayeing vi unces
 and an halfe two Candelstyks of sylver pcell gylte wayeing xxxv unces
 and lytle bell of silver waying liiii unces di.

All whiche plate was solde for the some of xv poundes whereof they
 say the must laye owte and bestowe in and about the reparations of the
 said church xxxix li xvi s

Return of Sale of Church Goods, in the City of London, continued.

Gyllhall Collidge.

Roger Ashe Custos } Do presente and say That they have solde for the
John Rychardeson } reparacons and newe buylding of certaine tene-
Chapleyne there } mentes belonging to the same Colledge, thees par-
celles of the said Colledge plate ensuyeing

A Croose of Sylver wayeng xⁱⁱ uncies with the pynce of woodd and tynne. A pyxe parcell gylte wayeng xiiii uncies. A monstrate wayeng vi vnces. A Goblett wth a cover parcell gylte not towched xxii uncies. A Salte wth a cover pcell gylte wthowte towche wayeng xvi vncies di wth the ledde in the bottome thereof. And a lytle cover parcell gylte wayeng two vncies. The money whereof comyng, they say was hollie bestowede vpon the reparacons and buylding of the same tenemetes.

St. Gyleswthoute Criplegate.

John Sheffelde } Doo say That there was solde of the Churche plate for
John Garrett } the reedyfyenge of the said Churche whiche was burned
Robert Langley } by fyer in Sept^r 1545 thees thinges folowing, and the
Rycharde Hyll } money thereof comyng hollie implied in reedyfying
of the same churche

Certayne plate belonging to our lady brotherhedde in the same churche solde for the some of lvjii li vij s iiiii d

Item CCxlviii^{ti} vncies of the churche plate solde after iii s iiij d the vnce Sm^a liij li xiiii s viii d

Item CCxlv^{ti} uncies of the churche plate at iii s ix d the vnce o lviii li xij d

Item a chalyce and a paxe of sylver and gylte wayeng bothe xxvj^{ti} vncies iii qters di/ at vs iiiii d the vnce vii li iij s iiiii

Item a chalyce wayeng xvi vncies at v s iiiii d the vnce Sm^a iiiii li v s iiij d

All whiche parcelles of plate were solde by John Hall, John Helde, John Sheffelde, John Garratt, Robert Langley and Rycharde Hill some- tyme churchwardens there.

St. Nycholes Acon.

Thomas Hawke } Churchwardens there doo say That in anno 1545
Edwarde Cowke } Robert Kyng and Raphe Barnard churchwardens
there hath solde of the churche plate, thees parcelles folowinge to thuse
of the churche

A basyn and a chalyce of sylver all gylte wayeng lxxv vncies di and digto at iiiii s iiiii d the vnce Sm^a xvi li vii s vi d

Item two Cruettes, a waterstocke wth a sprynkell and one sens^r pcell gylte wayenge xxvij vncies qr at iiij s xi d the vnce Sm^a o vli vj s vi d

Sm^a totalis o xxi li xiiii s

St. Albans in Woodstreete.

Rycharde Maynarde } Parishioners there do say That two yeres agoo
William Raynton } there hath by the cosente of thole parryshe been
solde of the Churche plate thees parcelles folowinge and the money
thereof comyng hollie employed and bestowed in and abowte the repa-
rations of the saide churche.

A Cens^r of Sylver pcell gylte over wone wayeng xxxi vnces di at iiiii s vi d ob the vnce Sm^a vii li iii s ob

Item an old broken Chalyce of Sylver pcell gylte wayenge xvi uncies and a quarter after iiiii s vi d ob the vnce iii li viii s ix d

Item a lytle broken Crosse of sylver pcell gylte wayenge xii uncies and a half after iiiii s vii d the vnce lvii s ii d ob

Item a paxe of sylver pcell gylte wayenge ix vncies iii quarters at iiiii vii the vnce xliiii vii d

Sm^a xvli xviii s ix d ob

St. Martyns Orgor.

Robert Westmo^r } Parryshioners doo say, That he the same Thomas
 Thomas Hubberde } Gyllett Churchwarden in anno 1545 wth the con-
 Thomas Gyllett } sent of the parryshe hathe solde the parcelles of the
 church plate ensuyng and the money thereof comyng hathe employede
 in and abowte the makynge of a wharfe called the blacke Ravyn. lx vncies
 di of gylte plate at iiiij s vi d the vnce Sm^a xiii li xii s iii d
 Item vii vncies di of sylver at iiiij s ii d the vnce Sm^a xxxi s iii d
 Item xxⁱⁱ vncies of sylver at iiiij s the vnce iiiij li
 Sm o xix li iii s vi d

Return of the
 Sale of Church
 Goods, in the City
 of London, con-
 tinued.

St Myldredes in Bredestreete

William Boxe } Churchwardens and others there doo say That in
 William Flecton } anno 1544 William Vstewayte and Clemete Kylling-
 worthe then being churchwardens of the said parryshe wth the cosente
 of the same, dyd sell towards the newe buylding amending and reparations
 of the saide parryshe church, thees pcelles of the Church plate
 hereafter ensuyng And they say also that the money thereof comyng
 and moche more farre above the same wes employede and bestowede in
 and abowte the reparations aforesaide.

Twoe Candlestyckes of sylver and gylte wayenge liijⁱⁱ vncies at iiiij s
 the vnce x li ix s

Item one Crysmatorie of sylver and gylte one pynacle of sylver and
 gylte wayenge lxxj vnces qto at iiiij s vi d Sm^a xiiij li xvi

Item one Sens^r of sylver two Cruettes one Sheeppe and one spoone
 wayenge xlviⁱⁱ vncies qto at iii s x d o viii li xvj s iiij d

Item one Chalyce of sylver and gylte wth a patent and one paxe of
 sylver and gylte wayeng xxxiii vncies iii qters at iiij s iii d o viii li iii s iiij d
 Sm^a totalis o xlj li vj s v d ob

St Petyrs in Westechepe.

Rycharde Malory } Parryshen^{rs} there doo say, That they wⁱⁿ two yeres
 George Sympson } paste have solde of the church plate to the some
 Rycharde Folkes } of xxxi li x s viii d whereof they say they have
 bestowede upon one tenemete called tholde Swanne in Thamys streete
 xxii li and the resydue ys to pay and sustayne suche debtes and reparations
 as belonged to the saide church.

St Magnus.

Roger Wolhouse } Parryshioners doo say, That William Lyvers and
 Thomas Clerke } John Cowper some tyme churchwardens there by
 the cosente of the worshipfull of the parryshe there hathe solde in anno
 1544 of the church plate to the some Cij li ix s ij d ob whiche some they
 say was hollie dysbursed and layede owte in and abowte the reparation
 of a certayne waterworke called the Churcheyarde Aleye, belonging to
 the same Church.

Allhalowes in the hall.

Thomas Whytebrooke } Churchwardens there doo say That Henry
 Rycharde Logston } Wylkockes and William Stookes some tyme
 churchwardens of the same church, by the cosente of the parryshe there
 hathe solde of the church plate for and towards the buyldinge of the
 steple of the same church and other reparations doon upon the same
 church, thees parcelles of plate folowing viz.

A Crosse of Sylver and gylte wayeng lxiii vncies di at iiiij s ii d the
 vnce xiii li iii s vii d

Return of the
Sale of Church
Goods, in the City
of London, con-
tinued.

Item a payre of Senso^a, a Chalyce, a pyxe wth other tryfells all pcelles
gylte wayeng lxxv vncies and qto at iii s xi d th^e vnce. xiiii li xiii s ix d
Sm xxvii li xix iii

Whiche some they say ys holli bestowide and layed owte in and
abowte the reparations abovesaid.

St Swythyns at London Stone.

William Bone } Churchwardens there doo saye, That for necessarie
John Parpoynte } reparations to be doon upon the said churche they
have lately solde of the churche plate to the value of xxvii s ix d
viz. Two Candlestykes, a lytle basynne a sheppe for ensense and a
sens^r all pcell gylte wayeng cix vncies at iiiii s ix the vnce.

Allhallowes Barkinge.

Nycholas Mychell } Doo say that the Churchwardens there wth the con-
John Hancookes } sente of thole parryshe hathe solde the iiiii^b of Septe-
bre 1547 of the Churche plate CCCij vncies qto extending to the some
of lxxvij li vij xd ob whereof they say, they have layed owte and bestowede
in and abowte the reparations of the said churche xxxvij li xii s iiiii d

St Gregories.

Thomas Jackett } Churchwardens there doo say That the xxi of
John Wylkynson } Septebre a^d 1547. They have solde the parcelles of
Churche plate hercafter ensuyng and the money thereof comyng hathe
employede and layed owte in and abowte the repayinge and amending
of the saide churche viz.

A Cross of woode covered over wth sylver plate parcell gylte wayeng
xxv vncies of iiiii s viii d the vnce. A monster of byrrall garnysed with
sylver and gylte wayeng xiiii vncies at iiiii s viii d the vnce a payre of
Cruettes wayeng xi vncies at iiiii s viii d the vnce, a broken shippe of
sylver wayeng xiiii vncies at iiiii s vi d the vnce. Sm^a xiiij l xv s iiiii d
Item a lytle boxe of bone wth strackes of sylvar iiiii s

Allhallowes the more in Thames streete.

Nicholas Bell } Churchwardens there do say that there hathe beene
Edmonde Key } sold of the churche plate by the cosente of John
Wheele psonne and Rycharde Olycke and Nycholas Bell church-
wardens there wth the cosente of thole parryshe vi^{xx}ix vncies of brooken
sylver, at vs the vnce Sm^a xxxij li vs and also cxxxv vncies qto at vs iiij d
the vnce Sm^a xxxv li Sm^a totalis o lxvij. vs
Whiche plate they say wes solde to be layede owte and bestowede upon
the needful reparations of the same churche.

St Olaves in Silver Streete

William Assheton pson } Doosaye That they have layede owte to gage for
Rycharde Ryddge } reparations and other necessaries to bee doon
Mathewe Woodde } in the same Churche ij Chalyces and a paxe
Thomas Mawede } of the Churche plate wayeng xxxvij li vncies
Rycharde Wylson } for the some of viii li

St Petyrs the poore

John Dalton pson } Churchwardens there doo say, That there hathe
John Quarles } beene solde in Anno 38 RR^{is} nuper henr. octavi of
William Watson } the churche plate there a pyxe of sylver and gylte
and a lytle boxe for relyques wayeng xv vncies at vs the vnce sm^a iii li
xv s And they say the same was solde to be employede and bestowede
upon the reparations and for the debte of the said churche

St Marye Wolchurche.

Geffrey Jones pson } Doo say that the churchwardens there the xth day
 William Bennyng } of Octobre 1547 wth the consente of the same
 parryshe hathe solde of the church plate there a broken Croosse gylte
 wayeng lxxxvii uncies at vs iiiii the unce. A pyxe wayenge xlix vncies
 di at vs iiiii d the vnce And other broken sylver wth two masers sold for
 v l ii s viii d amountyng in thole to the some of xlj li x s viii d And the
 same sum they say ys agreeed by thole parryshe to be bestowede in and
 abowte the reparationes of the sayd church.

Return of the
 Sale of Church
 Goods, in the City
 of London, con-
 tinued,

St Marye Cholchurche

Robert Holby } Churchwardens there doo say, That they have solde of
 John Murfyn } the Church plate an holywater stocke, and a stycke
 of sylver wayenge xlii vncies at iiiis viii d the vnce ix li xvj s And a
 brooken paxe wayenge xv uncies iii quarters at iiiii s viii d the vnce iij li
 xiii s vi d And the same somes they say ys bestowede in and abowte the
 reparations of the same church and the steple thereof

The Trynytie parryshe besyde olde ffyshe streete

Gervyce Walter } Churchwardens doo say, That they and Henry
 James Castelyn } Robertes, John Robynson and Hughe Gryffyn wth
 the consent of thole parryshe have solde so muche of the church plate
 as came to the some of ix li ix s viii d And the same some ys agreeed
 to be bestowede in and abowte the repations of the same church as they
 say.

St Martyns Owtewyche

John brewe }
 John warryn } Doo say that there is solde certayne brookyn peeces
 Henry Townesende } of sylvar belongyng to the same church coteyning
 Rychard Davye } ii vncies and di qto for the some of viii s whiche
 Sylvar and gylte } some was bestowede in mendyng of a Crosse of

St Botulphe wt owte Bysshopsgate

Mathewe Whyhe } Churchwardens doo say, That abowte two yeres
 Robert Woodde } paste John Howell and Robert Warner being
 Churchwardens there dyd sell of the Church plate one Chalyce wayeng
 xix vncies a pyx wayeng xi vncies di and two cruettes wayeng x vncies
 at iiiii s the vnce amountyng to the some of viii li ij s which some they
 say was bestowede upon the tyleing and other reparations of the said
 church

St Stephyn in Colman Streete

John Wysdome } Doo say, That they have solde of the church
 Hughe Reede } plate to the some of xxiiii li xviii s ix d And
 Richarde Poynter } have bestowede the same as they say in in makyng
 newe pewes and in other necessarye reparations in the same church

St Androos in holbone

Nycholas burton pson } Churchwardens there doo say that they the
 Richard hunt and } same Churchwardens with the cosent of the
 William Howbye } parryshe hathe solde of the church plate one
 Croosse for xiii li iiiis ix d And two Sensors and a Chalyce for xiii li
 xvi s vi d whereof they say they have bestowede in paving of the same
 church x li And the resydue they saye they must bestowe in repayreing
 the churchewalles w^{ch} be very ruynouse and in greate decay as they say

St Mychaelles at the Querne

Return of the
Sale of Church
Goods, in the City
of London, con-
tinued.

William Smythe } Churchwardens doo say, That they have solde of the
Thomas Kyng } Churches goodes in brooken masers bandes and cer-
tayne peeces of olde brooken sylver wayenge all to gytheres xix vncies
amounting to the some of *iiii li xix s* They say also that they have
layede to gage two whyte Candlesticks of sylver and a Chalyce partly
gylte for the some of *x li* whiche thinges they say they were enforced to
do for the leddinge tylinge and other necessarie reparations of the same
churche

St Dunstanes in the weeste

Henry lee } Churchwardens there, doo say, That of late they
William Rydgeley } wth the cosentes of thole parryshe hathe solde thees
pcells of the churche plate hereafter followinge viz a Sens^r a shippe a
spooone a basyn and a payre of Candelstykes being all sylver and pcell
gylte wayeng all to gytheres / *vi xx xvi vncies at iii s x d* the vnce

Item a Chalyce wayeng *xxxiii^d* vncies qto at *v s iiiii* the vnce
Sm^a *xxxij li xvij s iiiij*
viiiij li xvii s iiiii d

Item one Crosse layede in gage for *xi li v s*
All which somes they saye bee holly layede owte and bestowede vpon
a newe tenete newlie erecte belongyng to the same churche

St Brydes

John Taylor vicar } Churchwardens doo say, That of late they
John Hulson and } wth the cosentes of thole pryshe hathe solde of
Walter Childrhouse } the churche plate thees parcelles folowinge

A Pyxe of sylver and gylte called a monster and a paxe of sylver
and gylte wayeng both to gytheres *xlviij^d* vncies at *v s ij d* the vnce
xij viii s

Item two Senso^r a shippe and a spooone of sylver wayeng *lxx* vncies
at *iiii s viii d* the vnce
xvj li vi s viii d

Of whiche some they say they have layed owte and bestowede in
whytelyminge and new payntinge the said churche and other necessarie
reparations doone upon the same
xxvi li

St Alphees

Robert Martyn p son }
Chroper Hole } Parryshioners there doo say that George flooyster
James Sweetman } and Thomas Hudson beinge Churchwardens of the
Thomas Baxter } said parryshe wth the cosent of the parryshion^{rs} there
Thomas Reeve } dyd lay to gage for the some of *xlⁱⁱ* poundes which
Chrofer Wotton } they payede to the Kynges Maiestie that dedde
ys, for the purchase of the churche and belles of the late dyssolved
Pryory of Asyngspyttell thees parcelles of the churche plate here-
after folowing and the same yet remayning in gage for the same
some, Two basynnes of sylver two Candelstykes of sylver and one
Senso^r of Sylver

St Botulphs wth owte Algate

Robert Owen } Doo say that their be solde certayne Latten bowles
Thomas Rutter } Candelstykes and Lampes w^{ch} served for the lyghtes
in the same churche to bee layed owte and bestowede upon the repara-
tions of the same churche

St Ollyns

Androo Judde
 Anthony Bonvyce
 Guye Crayford
 Thomas Colshill
 Jerom Shellos
 Rycharde Pryor

Parrysheno^m there doo say, That they towards the buylding of the parryshe churche there have gaged of the plate of the same churche, so myche as came to the some of *xlj li xvi s vi d*

and concluded.

St Bennete Grace Church

Rycharde Hunte
 Raff Clarvyes
 John Starky
 Edward Braynewall

Parrysheners there doo say, That they have pnted and shewed to the Kinges maiesties visit^{o^m} apoynted for his hignes visitation in the Citie of London, howe they hadde solde a Chalyce, a Crosse and Pyxe of Sylver, and declared in the same their pntemente howe and after what sorte they employede and speente the money for w^{ch} they solde the same.

St Sepulchres

Rycharde Browne
 Humfrey Aleyn
 Anthony Sylver

Doo pnte and say that there ys solde certayne Latten to the value of Syxe ponneds of and for the reparations of the churche

This Return, which is considered, in the State Paper Office Calendar, to be of December, 1548, *i. e.* eleven months later than the Return from the Diocese of Chester, still more distinctly confirms the view here contended for—that CROSSES were not included as Images in the Injunctions of 1547. It will be seen, by an analysis of the Return, that, of the 43 Churches mentioned in it, 9 *sold* and 1 *pledged*, one or more CHALICES, SENSERS, CRUETTS, &c., for Repairs, &c.; 1 *pledged* ALL THE PLATE for building the Church; 18 *sold* SUNDRY PLATE, for Repairs, &c.; 2 *sold* BROKEN PLATE for the like purpose; 1 *viz.* St Martin's Outwyche, *sold* BROKEN PLATE for "*mending of a Crosse of Sylvar and gylte*;" 10 *sold* CROSSES, one "of Woode covered over with sylver plate "parcel gylte," the rest of Silver or of Silver parcel gilt, for Repairs, &c.; and 1 *pledged* a Cross of Silver for the like object. Moreover in 18 instances it is stated that these sales or pledgings were made with the consent of the Parish, thus shewing (1) to whom the Church property was then considered to belong—a most important point to be borne in mind in any proceeding likely to involve the abolition of any Church Ornaments now—(2) that it was no ROYAL INJUNCTION which compelled the Clergy and Parishioners to part with their Church Goods, but simply an urgent need for

Results of this Return.

funds to prosecute necessary Repairs—a need which surely would justify the sale of *some* of their abundant stores of Plate rather than that the *Fabric* which contained such a profusion of rich and valuable Ornaments should be in disorder and decay.

The Certificates prove that Crosses were not sold *as such*, but like other Goods, to procure Funds for Repairs, &c.

It is obvious, too, that *Crosses* were not sold, *because* they were Crosses, but simply because, in this or that case, the Parish could more conveniently spare a Cross than a Chalice; just as, in other cases, a Chalice would be missed less than a Cross out of the number which the Parish possessed. That this is no mere conjecture, is perfectly plain from the fact that of those Churches named in this Return, and of which the Inventories of 1552-3 (as given by Mr. Chambers) yet remain in Carlton Ride, 7 of those Churches which are not said to have sold *Crosses* in or before 1548 possessed Crosses in 1551-3, viz—*St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane*, one of silver and gilt—*St. Benet, Sherehog*, one of silver, parcel gilt—*St. Nicholas, Acon*, one Crucifix with Mary and John—*St. Olave's, Silver Street*, one of silver and gilt—*St. Catherine, Coleman Street*, one of silver and gilt—*Trinity, Old Fish Street*, one of Silver and gilt—*St. Botolph, Aldgate*, one of silver: while of those Parishes mentioned in the same Return as having *sold* a *Cross*, the like comparison proves that in the 5 & 6 Edw. 6. they had still one or more left, viz—*All Hallow's Bread Street*, a Cross of silver—*St. Edmund's, Lombard Street*, two Crosses of Latteen—*All Hallow's the Less*, one Cross—*St. Gregory, Castle Baynard*, one of silver and gilt—*St. Mary, Woolnoth*, a Cross silver gilt, with Mary and John—*St. Andrew's, Holborn*, a silver Cross—*St. Benet, Gracechurch*, a silver Cross—and *St. Martin's, Ongar*, two Crosses of Latteen.

Looking, then, at all this and bearing in mind the further fact which these Returns prove—that in 1544 and 1545, the latter years of Henry 8th., *Crosses, Chalice, Sensers, Cruetts, Patens, &c.* were sold for the like purposes of Repairs, &c., at a time when no one can dispute that they were all in requisition for the Public Service, it seems to me to be incontestible that Crosses were not sold in Edward the Sixth's Reign as things *prohibited* by that King's Injunctions.

The Return from the Deaneries in Essex and Hertfordshire, which forms the larger remaining portion of this Document, I have not thought it necessary to print; but it may be as well to state, that its features entirely accord with those of the Returns for the City of London: thus, of the 127 Churches which it names, 100 sold *Sundry Plate* for Repairs; 4 sold *broken Plate* and 1 *old Copes*, for the same purpose; 10 sold a *Cross* of silver, 4 *pledged* each a *Cross* of silver, and 8 sold their *Latteen Crosses* to procure funds for the like needful Repairs.

Other Returns would shew the same.

The Dean of the Arches next endeavours to strengthen his view, that Crosses were abolished with Images, by examining the evidence derivable from the Inventories of Church Goods made in 1552-3: he says—

Sir J. Dodson's opinion of the Carlton Ride Inventories,

“Some reliance was placed upon the circumstance of crosses having been actually found in several, and perhaps not a few, of the churches, as testified by the returns of the several commissions in the 6th year of King Edward's reign. But if the mere *de facto* existence of crosses was to be taken as proof that they were legally in use, the same argument would tend to prove the legality of other ornaments, images, &c., which had unquestionably been abused and prohibited by law. The mere circumstance of such articles being found at some place or other within the walls of a church, was hardly sufficient to show that they continued down to that time, to be in the church for the purposes of Divine service, much less that they were lawfully used for such purposes. The incompleteness of the manner in which the law had been carried out was sufficiently attested by the letter to Cranmer to which I have referred.”

Now I must say, that the first paragraph of this passage is a *dilution* of the evidence which is not at all warranted by facts: the words of Sir John Dodson would naturally leave his reader under the impression that the existence of Crosses in the Churches at that period was the *exception*, not, as it was, the *rule*. It must be remembered that the Inventories at Carlton Ride, though very numerous, are by no means a complete return, and of these many are imperfect, and some almost illegible: but, so far as they go, they undoubtedly are irrefragable proof of, what may be called with strict accuracy, GENERAL *de facto* existence of Crosses at that time. A second personal inspection of them enables me to attest this, no less than confirms the remark in Note, a. p. 88.

examined,

and replied to.]

Moreover, Mr. Chambers does not profess that his list of 415 Churches, in London and eleven Counties, is by any means a complete one: thus, of *Norfolk*, after giving the names of 90 Churches, where one or more Crosses remained, he says: "The above list contains about two-fifths of the County; the remaining three-fifths produce the same results;" this at once brings up his number to 550; while, of *Essex*, he observes that the returns "do not include more than one-third of the Churches;" of *Worcestershire*, "the rest of the County produces the same results" as the 15 Churches which he selects; and of *Oxfordshire* and the *County of Stafford*, "The other Hundreds yield the same results" as the 29 instances mentioned. Further, it must be noticed that his Catalogue represents only *ten* Dioceses in the Province of Canterbury: and I may mention that, though Mr. Chambers only names some of the Churches of the City of Exeter, there is an Inventory at Carlton Ride, of 452 Churches in Devonshire, giving a List of the Bells and Chalices that remained in the 7th. of Edw. VIth., and the names of those to whose custody they were committed—Churches of which the general Inventories are very incomplete, though, so far as they extend, they exhibit the possession of Crosses and other Ornaments similar to those in other places. Add to all this—that *none* of these are for the Province of *York*, and it may be confidently asserted, that if any one had the leisure to make a *complete* account of all the Inventories at Carlton Ride, they would prove incontestably that Sir John Dodson's expressions, "several" and "perhaps not a few" are as far from representing the proportion of Churches which possessed a Cross or Crosses in 1552, as are the Affidavits of Mr. Beresford-Hope, and others, upon which the learned Judge comments, deficient in proving, what they were never designed to prove, any considerable use of Crosses in Churches in 1856.

The Dean of the Arches, however, says that if this *de facto* existence of Crosses proved *legal use*, it would equally "tend to prove the legality of other ornaments, images, &c., which had unquestionably been abused and prohibited by Law." This is a very broad statement, but I am afraid

His argument,
that the Inven-
tories

there is no sufficient proof to support it. For *First*, the Inventories do not prove the existence then of any "Images:" *next*, as to the "other Ornaments" which they do mention, though, doubtless most of them had been abolished or rendered useless by the *Second* Prayer Book, then just published, there is not one, I believe, which had been abolished in Edward's *second year*; scarcely more than one or two, *viz.* the "Monstrance" and the "Canopy" for the Reserved Sacrament, which had been abolished by Edward's *First* Prayer Book: and *Thirdly*, it must be observed that even were the other Ornaments, or most of them, proved to have been repugnant to the Divine Offices in use at either of these three periods, it would have to be shewn that the Cross was equally repugnant, before the illegality of *those* would prove the unlawfulness of *this*.

would prove too much, answered from them

There remains, I think, an unanswerable reply to this view of the learned Judge now under consideration, and it is this—If Crosses were Images, as he contends; if the Injunctions of 1547 abolished all abused Images, and Crosses were abused Images as he alleges; if the Council's Letter to Cranmer, of February 21st. 1547-8, prohibited *all* Images, whether abused or not; if the 3 & 4 Edw. VIth. cap. 10, completed the work of abolition, by ordering the destruction of all "images of stone, timber, alabaster or earth, . . . which heretofore have been taken out of any Church or Chapel, or yet stand in any Church or Chapel:" then, how is it to be accounted for that these hundreds and hundreds of "Images," *i. e.* Crosses, were to be found in the Churches in 1552-3, whole and unmutilated, so far as anything appears to the contrary, though the Statute expressly forbade even the Churchwardens to keep them in custody for more than 3 months after the 30th. June, 1549, but ordered them to deliver them up to "the Archbishop, Bishop, Chancellor, or Commissary of the Diocese. . . . to be openly burnt or otherwise defaced or destroyed!"

and from 3 & 4 Ed. 6.

Most likely it would be said that these Crosses, in the Inventories were of *Metal*, and therefore the Act did not reach them: but then those who may urge this, are bound to shew how they were less provocative of idolatry and super-

The Material of the Crosses

does not affect
the question.

stitution than the Images specified in the Act; wherein if they fail they are further bound to explain why no measures were taken for their destruction in common with the rest. It will avail nothing to urge that the Council's Letter of April 30th, 1548, forbade the alienation of "Crosses of Silver" because, as Sir John Dodson says, they "were associated with chalices, bells, and jewels," for the Inventories, generally, prove that the larger proportion were not of Silver; and the List given by Mr. Chambers, so far as he has accurately distinguished the material, shews that there were 57 Silver, or Silver Gilt; 6 of Crystal; 4 of Brass; 41 of Latteen; 112 of Copper; 218 of various Metal, not Silver; 1 of Tin; 6 of Wood, Gilt or plated with Brass or Silver; and 1 of Wood only.

Proof that *Plain*
Crosses were
used.

In what proportion the Crosses mentioned in the Carlton Ride Inventories were *Plain*, or *Engraved* with a Picture of Christ Crucified, or bore an *Image* of the same, or had in addition the Images of Mary and John, it might be difficult to ascertain with any accuracy: but that there were all these varieties is quite plain from the descriptions in the Inventories themselves. The same thing is shewn by such *Illuminations* as remain out of the general destruction of old Office Books: in the British Museum there are several beautifully executed Pictures of Altars on which Crosses and Crucifixes are both to be found, though the latter are more frequent: thus in a Psalter of A. D. 1420, "Domitian A. 17," executed for Hen. Vth. or VIth., at fol. 12, is an Altar with a Plain Cross standing upon it. Again, in a French Book of Hours of A. D. 1440, "No. 18, 192," is a Picture of a Priest administering the Holy Sacrament; an Acolyte is kneeling near the Altar bearing a Lighted Candle, upon the Altar itself stands a large Plain Cross, with the ends floriated, behind it a Picture of what may or may not be the Crucifixion, (for all but the arms of the Cross is hidden by the Altar Cross,) with three figures standing on each side looking towards the Cross. The same Book also contains a representation of a Mass for the Dead, the Altar duly vested, and at the back of it a Picture of a Plain Cross with two figures standing on each side and turned towards it.

To return, however, to the Judgment of the Dean of the Arches : he remarks—

Sir J. Dodson's arguments, from the Reign of Elizabeth,

“It is not requisite that I should further observe upon the events which occurred in the reign of Edward VI. and, as it is certain that no act of the Legislature which passed after the second year of that King's reign, and before the act of Uniformity in 1662, could have any binding effect in respect to the ornaments to be used in the Church of England, it would at first sight seem quite useless to comment on what took place in the interval. Some things, however, did occur which may properly be inquired into, as tending to throw light on what was the real state of things in the second year of King Edward. In regard to the reign of Queen Mary it is scarcely requisite to mention that a period was put to the Reformation, and that the Church of Rome, under her auspices, resumed its full powers. On the accession of Elizabeth another change took place. Her act of Uniformity, 1 Elizabeth, c. 2, passed on the 12th of April, 1559. That act legalized the second Prayer Book of King Edward, and by the 25th section it was enacted that such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, should be retained and be in use, as were in the Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI. In the same year she issued 53 injunctions, several of which closely resembled those of Edward, more especially the second, forbidding the extolling of images, relics, or miracles ; and the 23rd ordering the destruction of all monuments of superstition and idolatry. The last was, in fact, identical with the 28th of King Edward's. The publication, immediately after the Queen's Act of Uniformity, of injunctions in relation to the Church Ornaments of the very same tenor and effect, and in great part in the very same terms as those issued by King Edward, affords a strong presumption that the precedent of that year was to be followed.”

It will be seen that in the commencement of these remarks the learned Judge takes precisely the same course as that followed by Dr. Lushington: he ignores entirely the *legal* effect of all that happened after the second year of Edward until 1662, but determines to attach considerable importance to what passed in Elizabeth's Reign, as a contemporaneous exposition: upon this subject it is wholly unnecessary to do more than refer the reader to what has been already said at pp. 371-3. With regard, however, to the learned Judge's view of the Queen's *intention*, in her Injunctions, it seems to me that the “presumption” upon the evidence, is most materially opposed to that which he gathers from it, except in reference to No. 2 which corresponds with No. 1 of Edward's (comp. pp. 27 & 140); this however only forbids the *extolling* of

considered

and replied to.

Images, which is a totally different thing from *forbidding their use*. It is quite true, as the learned Judge says, that Elizabeth's 23rd Inj. is "identical" with Edward's 28th, save in the last clause, (see p. 141): but then if Edward's 28th. Inj. had nothing whatever to do with *abused IMAGES*, as seems plain from its language and from the fact that distinct provision was made for them in his 3rd Injunction, we are bound, I think, to construe Elizabeth's 23rd Injunction in precisely the same manner: add to this the fact already noticed (at p. lvii.), of which Sir John Dodson does not seem to have been aware, that Elizabeth rejected Edward's 3rd Injunction, and it seems to me impossible to maintain, with the learned Judge, "that the precedent" of 1547 "was to be followed" in 1559.

In support of his view that Crosses are Images and that therefore, together with Images, they were meant to be abolished by the Queen's Injunctions, the learned Judge cites 1. The proceedings of the Royal Commissioners in 1559 (see p. 147): 2. Bp. Sandys to P. Martyr, April 1, 1560 (see p. 171): 3. Jewel to P. Martyr, Nov. 5 & 16, 1559, and Feb. 4, 1560 (see pp. 152 & 166): Sampson to P. Martyr, Jan. 6, 1560 (see p. 158): Cox to P. Martyr, 1559 (see p. 157): and Grindal to P. Martyr, 1559 (see p. 153): these have all been remarked upon in the several places where they occur, and a review of what is there said confirms the belief that they do not furnish the evidence which Sir J. Dodson wishes to draw from them.

On the other hand, the Dean of the Arches entirely passes over in his Judgment, evidence which seems to me clearly to afford additional disproof of his inferences from the passages just mentioned: I allude to the following—1. Cecil's question to Guest, in 1559, as to retaining the Image of the Cross (see p. 126): 2. Sandy's Letter to Parker on the Standard proposed by the Parliament for the Ornaments which were to be continued (see pp. 127 and 128): 3. The fact that the 3 & 4 Edw. 6. c. 10, was then repealed, and that therefore, as Dr. Lushington argued, the Elizabethan Bishops could not rest their opposition to Images upon that Statute (see p. 133): 4. Collier's account of the Queen's indis-

Evidence, opposed to his view,

position to permit the disuse of Images (see pp. 150 and 157): 5. Grindal's account to P. Martyr that the Queen wished to continue and to set up again the Crucifix (see p. 153): 6. Bishop Cox's Letter to Cassander, shewing that it was in contemplation, by others besides the Queen, to retain it (see p. 167): and 7. Collier's account and the Queen's Proclamation of Sept. 19, 1560, touching the excesses which had been committed (see p. 174): these, one and all, I think, are as strong testimonies as can well be desired, that no abolition of Crosses, or even Images, was intended, though both had been very generally got rid of in the zeal or the excesses which prevailed.

not noticed by
the Dean of the
Arches.

Sir John Dodson in quoting the Letter of *Bp. Cox* to *P. Martyr* in 1559 (see p. 157) appears to me to put a most unnatural interpretation upon his words: the Bishop said "We are only constrained to our great distress of mind to tolerate in our Churches the image of the Cross and of Him who was crucified:" the learned Judge translates "*Churches*" by "the Queen's Chapel," urging that Cox's objection, apparently soon after, to minister in the Queen's Chapel, on account of its Crucifix and Lights, makes it appear "that the Crucifix and Cross and Lights were confined" to it alone. But why should the Bishop have used the word "Churches," thus leading P. Martyr to believe that the state of affairs was so much worse in this respect than it actually was, if the Royal Chapel *only* retained this Ornament? Surely the much more probable explanation is—that the rash proceedings at the Visitations had not abolished *all*, though apparently the greater part of, the Crosses from the Churches; that Cox well knew they had not been *legally* prohibited; that he felt the Queen's practice to be a great hindrance to getting the Law altered; and that therefore he remonstrated with her against continuing the usage of her Chapel. This view of the case seems to me to be entirely borne out by the contemporary history given in these pages.

His explanation
of a Letter of
Bp. Cox.

The Dean of the Arches then notices Dr. Phillimore's argument—that the Queen had the Law on her side—as collected by the learned Counsel, more particularly from the (alleged) Address of the Bishops to the Queen against

of the Address
to the Queen on
Images ;

Images, and from Jewell's Letter to P. Martyr of April 14, 1559 (see pp. 125 and 161 : Sir John Dodson thinks that the reliance placed by Mr. Liddell's Advocate upon the prayer of the Address—that Elizabeth would use "her regal authority" to prohibit Images—is overborne by its later expressions ; but I venture to submit again, the considerations already urged as to this Address (at pp. 160-4), as proving that there is no contrariety in the Address itself,—and that the real object of it was to induce the Queen not to use her Authority for the "*Establishing of Images*" by *restoring* them in the Churches ; this view seems to me to be confirmed by the Letter of *Sampson to P. Martyr*, Jan. 6, 1559-60 (see p. 159), though the learned Judge applies it to establish his own position.

and of a Letter
of Bp. Jewell,

The Letter of Jewell, Sir John Dodson disposes of by saying that "having confessedly been written before the "passing of 1 Elizabeth, c. 2." it "does not go far in support of such an argument" as

"that she never would have suffered the Cross or Crucifix to have remained in her chapel if they had not been sanctioned by the Law passed in the Second year of King Edward's reign."

To which he adds that—

"The fondness of Elizabeth for pomp and show is well known ; and it only proves that she temporized and remonstrated against their abolition so long as the law of her predecessor, Queen Mary, was unrepealed. After the Statute 1 Elizabeth, c. 2, we do not find that she made use of this argument."

compared with

Nor indeed do we find that *she* used it before : the point is, that one used it of her ; and *we do* find that it *was* used by another long after the passing of the Act : *viz.* by Bishop Cox to Gualter in 1570-1 (see p. 242) : while, as to the learned Judge's view of Elizabeth's policy before and after the repeal of Mary's "law," and his reason drawn from the priority of Jewell's Letter to her Act of Uniformity ; the answer seems to be—that it has yet to be proved that the Queen *did* repeal Mary's Law, so far as the use of Crosses and other Ornaments is concerned, by enacting Edward's 2d Year as the Standard, and by leaving the 1 *Mary. Sess. 2. c. 3.* on the Statute Book, where it still remains (see p. 115) ; and further, that *Cecil's* questions to *Guest* and *Sandy's*

Letter to *Parker* (see pp. 126—8) afford the strongest presumption that Elizabeth never did effect such a repeal.

One of the last references to Elizabeth's Reign, which the Dean of the Arches makes, relates to *Grindal's* Letter to Zanchy in 1571 (see p. 262): that Letter, he considers, proves that the Cross was not in use, else "such a precisian as Grindal" would have been loud in his complaints of it—it would "have formed a prominent grievance with him:" and, further, that "If the Cross had been removed otherwise than by law, he could not have used the words 'the law hindered the removal.'" But, with submission, I reply—*first*, that no one contends, so far as I am aware, that the Cross was in general or even partial use in 1571; and *next*, that while Grindal's words do describe the general state of the Law then, he is only applying that Law to the, then pending, *Vestitarian* controversy; but that, anyhow, if disuse shews *legal prohibition*, then Sir John Dodson's argument would prove too much by shewing that various Vestments, at that very time notoriously abandoned, owing to the Puritanism of Grindal himself, no less than that of others, were *unlawful* as well as the Cross.

other occurrences
of Elizabeth's
Reign.

Of the learned Judge's reference to Whitgift's and King James's replies to the Puritans, it appears to me unnecessary to say more than I have already said at pp. 296, Note a. and 314-16: as I venture to think, with all possible respect for Sir John Dodson's opinion, that his observations upon those occurrences leave my argument from them entirely unimpeached.

His reference to
Whitgift; James
1st;

It is, I think, to be regretted that the Dean of the Arches met the argument drawn from the general revival of Crosses in Charles the First's time with no other reply than that "they remained until 1641, when they were removed by "order of the House of Commons;" because his words have given an *apparent* (though one must feel a most *unintentional*) sanction to one of the most illegal proceedings which English History records.

Order of Com-
munion *temp.*
Charles 1st.;

The learned Judge terminates his discussion on the subject of Crosses by referring to the proceedings connected with the last Revision of the Prayer Book and the Act of 1662: he

Baxter; and
Cosin, considered.

quotes Baxter's objection to the Rubric on Ornaments (see p. 442) and the passages from Cosin's Notes cited and referred to at p. 455, and then he remarks "We have his "several enumerations of the Ornaments he conceived "legalized under it. Was it credible that Cosin would "have omitted all mention of the Cross if he had considered it to be a legalized Ornament?" To this it may be replied—that neither does COSIN enumerate some other Ornaments which he undoubtedly considered *legal*, e. g., Pictures, Eagles, Litany Desks, which were equally the abhorrence of the party which broke down the Crosses in the great Rebellion: while the very fact of that abhorrence was surely a sufficient reason to induce the Bishop not to mention them or anything else which might aggravate the already numerous complaints of the Presbyterian party.

Into the subject of Stone Altars and Credence Tables, the learned Judge declined to enter beyond referring to the Decision of his predecessor, Sir H. J. Fust, and abiding thereby.

The question of Altar Frontals and Altar Linen, Sir J. Dodson disposed of by treating it as a matter of Discretion for the Ordinary whose Judgment, as he said, had "been obtained" in "the "Consistorial Court:" but then as the Rubric, which commits such a discretion to the Bishop, also allows an Appeal to the Archbishop, it would seem not unnatural that the Archbishop's Judge should deal with the case, even though it was not a matter "of very grave importance."

Duties of Church-
wardens,

In closing this review of Sir John Dodson's arguments, I venture, with great diffidence, to raise one question, as bearing not only upon this case, but also upon the general relation of Clergy to Churchwardens in reference to Church Ornament and Decoration: it is this—have we not, on all sides, assumed too much, that Churchwardens have to do with *providing* Church Ornaments, beyond seeing that the Parishioners find what is *required* of them; or are free to interfere with such Decoration of the Church as the Minister shall think fit to use, subject to the Discretion of the Ordinary? I have no wish to undervalue the Office of the Churchwarden, and should be sorry to see its legitimate power

crippled; but we live in days when, what I must call, its tyrannical exercise over the Parochial Clergy has been so glaring in such numerous cases, that there is an absolute necessity for defining with more accuracy the position, relation, and duties of these Officers of the Church of England.

as to Ornaments,
&c., perhaps
over-rated.

Having thus considered at length, and with no material omission, I hope, the Judgment of the Dean of the Arches, I am wholly unable to discover any ground on which the learned Judge could affirm, as he did, the Decision of the Court below; and one cannot therefore but indulge some faint hope that Decisions, the same in tenor and effect, based on such entirely *contradictory*, and, as I trust I have shewn, such *unsatisfactory*, grounds, may be reversed or materially modified in the FINAL COURT OF APPEAL to which they have been carried—THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE, OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Conclusion.

extended but weaker in days when, what I now call, the
 "mild" season over the Atlantic (July) has been so
 strong in each instance, that they are absolute
 necessity for dealing with more severely the present, etc.
 that, and during of those winters of the 17th of 18th
 century, then considered to length, and with an unusual
 extension, I hope, the judgment of the Board of the School, I
 am, really, unable to discover any ground on which the
 present, etc. could claim, as the title, the position of the
 "mild" season; and one would rather be satisfied with
 the present, etc. than in any other way, and as I have shown,
 or any other, especially, and as I have shown,
 with much better results, may be viewed as naturally
 required in the present, etc. or, at least, to which they
 have been given—the present, etc. or, at least, to which they
 have been given—the present, etc. or, at least, to which they

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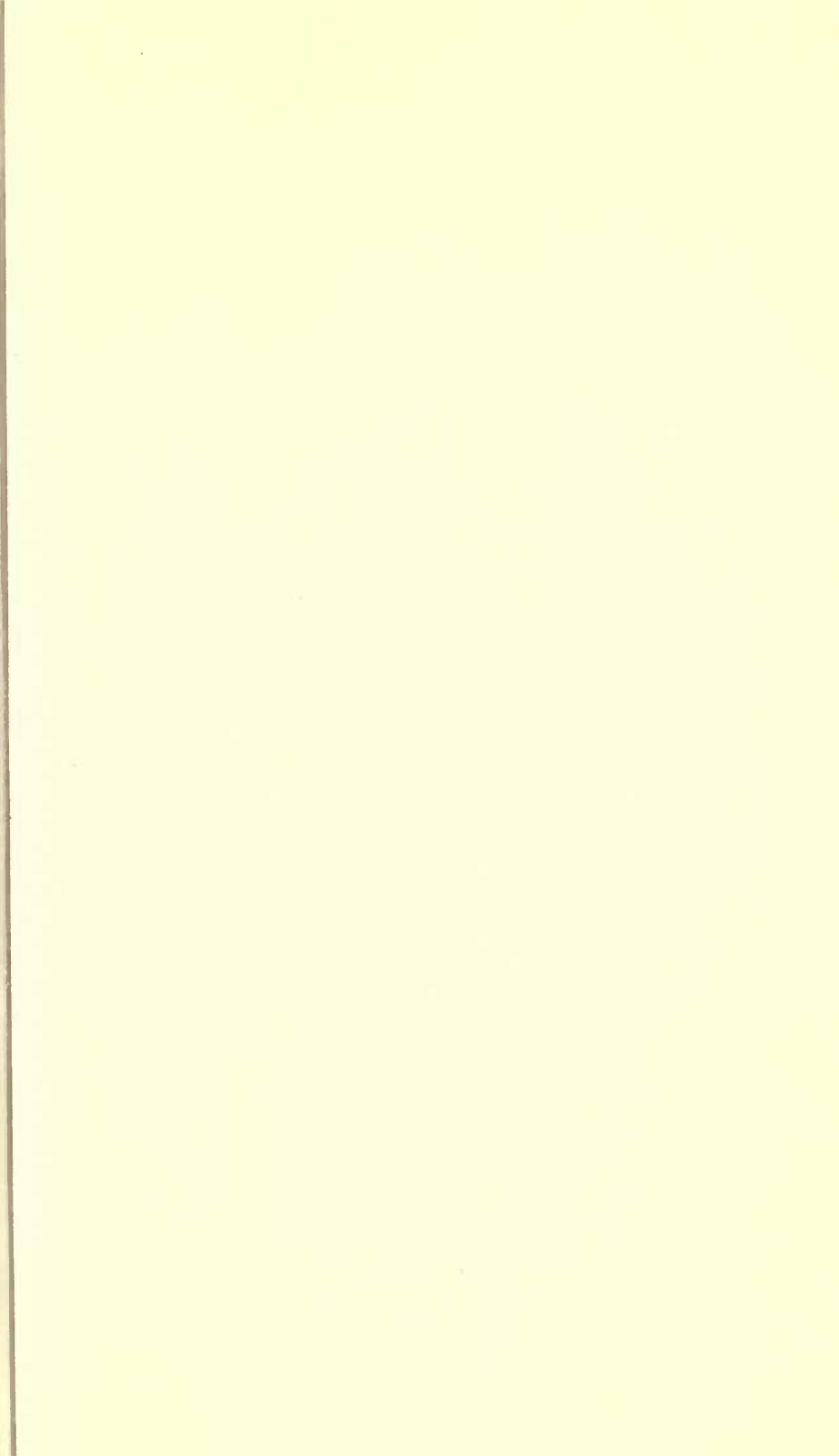
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