This powerful corporation paid only a doubtful and undefined allegiance to Rome, and was not at all in the condition of vassalage in which most of the Continental churches were. It was in order to gain this vassalage from the English Church that the pope was induced to grant to Duke William the licence which sanctioned his attack upon England. The Conquest thus assumed almost as much of an ecclesiastical as a secular character. Hence the hard measure meted out to Saxon bishops and abbots. Hence the completion of Dunstan's work in enforced clerical celibacy and the exaltation of monasticism. Hence the complete separation of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and the exceptional immunities given to churchmen. The conqueror was crowned, not only by the archbishop of York, but also by two Roman cardinals as legates of the pope. These emissaries joined in a council with the Norman-English bishops (1070), authorizing, on the part of the pope, the deposition of the English primate and other bishops, and the spoliation of the monasteries, and effecting the complete subjection of the English Church to Rome. The establishing of the papal sovereignty over the English Church, and the settling of the Romish system in England, was entrusted to Lanfranc, a Lombard by birth, and lately abbot of Caen in Normandy. This very able man, becoming archbishop of Canterbury, contrived to overpower the rival claims of Thomas, archbishop of York, and, aided by the pope's authority, to rule with absolute sway over the English clergy. A vast increase of vigour was everywhere soon discernible in the Church of England. The Norman prelates, skilled in architecture, erected those grand cathedrals which still in many places remain to do honour to their taste and munificence. The sees were generally transferred from the small places, in which they had been located by the English, to towns which had grown into greater importance and population. Thus Dorchester gave place to Lincoln, and Thetford to Norwich. All places of trust and dignity in the church were soon in the hands of foreigners. Yet Lanfranc could not effect the complete supremacy of the monastic system. In the new foundation of Lincoln, secular canons were established as the chapter rather than monks, and about half the cathedrals of England retained this constitution. King William also soon showed signs of resistance to the claims of that *imperium in imperio* which his policy had created. He refused fealty to the pope on the ground that none of his predecessors had paid it. He claimed for himself the right of deciding between the rival claims of popes, and that no canons should be promulgated by the clergy without his consent—the very claim which, after nearly five centuries of contention, the clergy themselves admitted in the time of Henry VIII. The sagacity of the Conqueror must soon have discovered that he had introduced into the land an influence of necessity antagonistic and dangerous to the kingly authority. The name of Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc as primate, is famous in English church history as having boldly maintained a contest, during two reigns, for the privileges of the church, not only against the king, but also against the bishops and clergy, who were all ready to yield to the royal claims. The issue of this contest (1107) was that the crown was obliged to abandon its ancient right of investing the bishop in the jurisdiction of his see by the gift of the ring and crozier, accepting in lieu of that merely his homage for his temporalties, that henceforth the church was to be free to hold synods and enforce discipline, and that appeals were to lie to Rome. To Anselm thus must be allowed the credit (if it be a credit) of having emancipated the church from feudalism to the state and transferred its feudalism to Rome. It is hardly to be wondered at that his successor William of Corbeil, in order to make this supreme authority of Rome more available for the purposes of his administration, consented to accept the appointment of legate of the pope (1125). There remained for the completion of the system two other points to be fought out under succeeding primates, viz., the exemption of clerks from the civil jurisdiction, and the right of the pope to nominate bishops in spite of the crown. During this century the Roman Church was at the height of its power and influence, the celibacy of the clergy, strenuously pressed by Rome, was becoming the rule rather than the exception, and a great revival of monasticism had given birth to divers orders in which the lax discipline of the old Benedictines was replaced by an ascetic strictness. Of these the most famous was that of the Cistercians or white monks, which was introduced into England in 1128, and which soon numbered 30 houses in England, some of which were conspicuous for their magnificence and beauty. The settlement of the Cistercians in England not only gave an immense impetus to monasticism, but it introduced into the church of the land a principle most disastrous in its after effects to the discipline and well-being of the church. The Cistercians were, by the charters granted to them by the pope, to be exempt from all episcopal visitation and control. They were only amenable to the rule of abbots of their own order. This exemption was naturally destructive of all discipline, and it was a privilege so greatly coveted by houses of other orders that they stopped at no deceit or forgery of documents in order to obtain it. St Albans was the first great Benedictine abbey that obtained this privilege. Many others were occupied in a continued struggle for it. The military orders and their affiliated houses enjoyed it. The exemption of the abbey from episcopal control carried with it the exemption of the churches, often numerous, which were connected with the religious house by its having become possessor of their tithes. Hence sprang the greatest disorders and difficulties, resulting, in fact, in the abeyance of all order, and the grievous licentiousness of many religious houses. That which ecclesiastics were striving after in the matter of church laws, the laity were encouraged to endeavour to obtain in the matter of civil laws. The privilege of being tried only in church courts, and being amenable only to church censures, was claimed for all connected with the church. To obtain this right, laymen took some degree of minor orders, or entered into the service of some ecclesiastic. As all such could plead "benefit of clergy," and, in fact, obtain a practical immunity from law, the greatest abuses prevailed. William of Newberry tells us that hundreds of murders were committed by "clerks," for which no punishment was exacted. To abate this scandal was the great work of King Henry II., the most able of the early sovereigns of England, and the founder of that judicial system which has borne such good fruit. To uphold it was the work of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. By the Constitutions sworn to at Clarendon (1164) a sort of compromise was made. Clerks accused of crimes were obliged to plead in the courts of common law, but, on proving their clerkship, were to be proceeded against in courts Christian, under the surveillance of the lay authority. Should they plead guilty, they were to be dealt with by the lay courts. The same Constitutions enacted that there should be an appeal from the archbishop to the king, which should be final, thus cutting off the appeal to Rome. Bishops were to be elected by the clergy, but subject to the approval of the king. The power of excommunication and interdict was also limited, and the king had the revenues of all vacant bishoprics given to him. These Constitutions, which appear so favourable to the cause of the crown, did not, in fact, settle the dispute. The archbishop at once repudiated them. The pope declared them void, and the issue of the struggle was, in the event, in

favour of the claims of the clergy. In the miserable reign of John, a vigorous pope claimed and obtained the right of nominating to the primacy and sees of England, without any regard to the king or the national church. The country was subdued by the savage expedient of an interdict, which the superstition of the age did not allow it to disregard; and the king, at length completely prostrate at the feet of the pope, made a shameful cession of his kingdom, and received it back as a fief of the church. The pope, having achieved the right to dispose of English bishoprics, now claimed the right of disposing of English benefices, which were granted in great numbers to Italians and other foreigners, who never troubled themselves to visit the church assigned to them, but merely received the revenue through an agent. The degradation and disgrace of the Church of England reached its extreme point during the long and inglorious reign of Henry III., when the first symptoms of reaction began to manifest themselves. The most famous scholar of his day, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, after being long a strong supporter of the papal claims, became their outspoken opponent. The extreme vigour and fearlessness of his character, and the high reputation he enjoyed, enabled Grosseteste first to break down the claims for exemption from episcopal control set up by the monastic bodies, then to bring under his control the chapter of his cathedral church, and finally to refuse to admit a nominee of the pope to a stall in Lincoln. For this last act of independence he was excommunicated, but he utterly disregarded the sentence, declared that in acting as he had done the pope was no better than antichrist, and encouraged the English to assert the nationality of their church and to disregard the claims of Rome. At the same time, violent popular tumults were excited against the foreign incumbents, and remonstrances were poured into Rome from the barons and chief men against the injustice inflicted on the English Church. At the synod of Merton, held in 1255, the claims of the church to a special and dominant jurisdiction were pressed to their highest point. The vigorous administration of Edward I. introduced various checks to the growing power of the clergy. Parliament had now become a reality, and was able to contend with and check the church synods, which about the same time were reinforced in strength by the admission of representative proctors from the clergy. The Statute of Mortmain (7 Edward I. c. 2) restrained the acquisition of lands by the church. That of *circumspecte agatis* limited the claims made at Merton. The inability of the clergy to refuse taxes to the crown, even when they were supported by a papal bull, was clearly demonstrated (1297), and a bishop of Worcester, who had ventured to accept a grant of the temporalties of his see from the pope, was obliged to renounce the bull and submit to a fine of 1000 marks. At the parliament of Carlisle (1305) stringent regulations were made with the view of checking papal exactions, and the provisor statutes of Edward III. effectually limited the papal power of disposing of English benefices. The *præmunire* statute (16 Richard II. c. 5) opposed a firm barrier to papal claims; and had not the necessities of the house of Lancaster obliged its princes to court the church, and the confusions of the Wars of the Roses supervened, it is probable that the teaching of Wickliffe would have inaugurated in England as complete a revolt from Rome as that witnessed in the 16th century. The immense power and wealth enjoyed by the Church of England during the Middle Ages, and its complete freedom for self-regulation, did not preserve it from great shortcomings and corruptions. A continuous catena of satirists and censors, from William of Malmesbury to Dean Colet, have brought the most grievous charges against the mediæval clergy, on the grounds of simony, negligence of duty, and licentiousness. In 1250 Bishop Grosseteste, before the council of Lyons, spoke of the clergy of that day in terms which are absolutely appalling. In the 15th century the letter of Pope Innocent to Cardinal Morton describes the regulars in England in language almost as strong as that employed afterwards by Bale and Foxe. It may, however, not unfairly be alleged that these general charges are of far too sweeping a character. To the student who looks a little deeper, there are many evidences of simple and earnest devotion discernible in the mediæval church. The establishment of the mendicant orders in the 13th century produced at first a great revival of religion in the church. Many of the chief towns had been utterly neglected by the clergy; and the country villages were mostly dependent on the chance ministrations of a monk of some neighbouring monastery, which had absorbed the tithes of the parish under pretence of supplying its spiritual needs. The Franciscans, obliged by their rule to tend the sick and suffering, ministered among a population scourged by leprosy and decimated by epidemics; the Dominicans, or preachers, brought into use a more attractive and homely style of sermon, and conveyed instruction to many utterly dark places. Yet the corruption of the friars by worldly influences was very speedy, and when in the 14th century William Langland and John Wickliffe wrote, it was specially against the friars that their attacks were directed. The great work of Wickliffe was to raise a protest against Rome, to oppose the prevailing superstitions on the eucharist, and to give to his countrymen a vernacular version of the Scriptures. His writings were not altogether free from a communistic tinge, but they were of immense value in recalling the minds of the men of his age to scripture truth, and the vast effect they produced was not only perceptible in his own time, when it was said by the chronicler Knighton that every other man was a Wickliffist, but was also perceptible 150 years later, at the beginning of the English Reformation. There must have been, therefore, preachers or teachers of his views during all this time, though obscured and concealed on account of the persecutions which fell upon the Lollards. Indeed, did space allow it, an under-current of simple scriptural faith might be traced all through the mediæval period, while the rulers of the church, in a spirit of thorough worldliness, were sanctioning every gainful form of superstition, and were in too many instances given to luxury and licence. In the 16th century all the old devices for upholding the faith seemed to be drooping and ready to die. The monastic system had fallen into utter disrepute, and for 150 years but six monasteries had been founded in England. The friars, changed from being preachers into pedlars and sturdy beggars, had a bad reputation everywhere. Pilgrimages had become mere promenades for amusement and licence. Relics vying with each other in grotesque pretensions were a mere subject of ridicule to all but the most ignorant. Meanwhile the traffic in indulgences had shocked the moral sense even of that corrupt age; and a series of popes, either soldiers, sceptics, or men of pleasure, had not availed to recommend the system of which they were the heads. In England the bishops were almost universally either statesmen, lawyers, or diplomatists. The clergy had absolutely abdicated the preaching function and the pastoral care, and contented themselves with a meagre circle of routine duties. When, in cathedrals or on high occasions, sermons were preached, the audience was destined to hear nothing but the ingenious subtleties of Aquinas or Scotus, portions of whose writings were often taken for a text. The church seemed to be threatened with an absolute collapse, unless some renovating power could be brought to bear upon it.

Reformed Period.—In this state of weakness and corruption, the accession to the throne of England of a young and vigorous sovereign (1509) gave an impulse towards im-

provement in both church and state. The tastes of Henry VIII. were decidedly ecclesiastical. He had been well educated, and was very fairly learned. He had chosen for his chief minister a churchman who had raised himself by ability from a low origin, and who entertained the highest views of the prerogatives of learning, and the value of education, while he was hampered by no superstitious reverence for effete institutions, nor prepared to condemn and punish as heresy every departure from commonly received opinions. The conjuncture seemed favourable for such a reformation as was desired by Erasmus, Thomas More, and John Colet, who were then living much together, and endeavouring by lectures and writings to bring about some resurrection of learning and intellectual life from the death-like trance in which they were lying. How far the plans of the educational reformers might have proved successful cannot be judged, for the opportunity for calm measures rapidly passed away. The Saxon monk Luther threw down the gauntlet before the pope, and proclaimed internecine war. This scattered the ranks of the educational reformers, turning some of them into fierce persecutors, and placing even the relentless satirist Erasmus, the determined foe of the monkish superstitions, on the side of those whom he had so violently assailed. Luther's Treatise *De Babylonica captivitate Ecclesiæ* was published in 1520, and by the next year there is abundant evidence, not only that it was well known in England, but that it had produced much effect. In that year both Archbishop Warham and Bishop Longland write to Cardinal Wolsey, urgently calling upon him to take some steps for the suppressing of the growing Lutheranism of Oxford. Wolsey, thus constrained to act, went through the pageant of a public burning, at St Paul's, of all the Lutheran books which could be collected, some time in August 1521. In the same month (August 25) came forth King Henry's treatise against Martin Luther (*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, edita ab invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege et domino Hiberniæ, Henrico, ejus nominis octavo*). This attack, which was very violent, and which elicited equal violence in reply, produced a complete schism between the literary reformers of England and the religious reformers of Germany and Switzerland. Two of the former, Bishop Fisher and Sir T. More, joined in the conflict, the latter with somewhat disgraceful violence, while the king, flattered by the title of Defender of the Faith conferred on him by Pope Clement, was enlisted as a thorough-going partisan against the Lutherans. There is reason to believe, however, that this was not the case to anything like the same extent with Cardinal Wolsey. In 1523 he distinctly refused to send a commission to Cambridge to drive out Lutheranism. In his splendid structure and grand conception of Cardinal College, which was fast growing towards completion in Oxford, he nominated as fellows a band of Cambridge men who were known to be pronounced Lutherans. This great man seems to have believed in the power of truth to defend itself, and to have been thoroughly averse to coercive punishments for heresy. But in this he stood nearly alone, and the march of events soon transferred to a party of Englishmen that bitter hatred which had been conceived by the king, Sir T. More, and the bishops against the followers of Luther. In 1526 William Tyndale, by birth a Gloucestershire man, by education connected with both Oxford and Cambridge, published his first two editions of the New Testament in English at Worms. The English bishops, who knew that Tyndale had been in communication with Luther, immediately took steps for hindering the circulation of these books in England. Many were burned at Cheapside (1527); but the supply was by no means stopped, and in addition a large number of English works, printed abroad, and all breathing the extreme violence and thoroughness of Luther's spirit, made their way into England. Sir Thomas More was selected by the bishops as the champion of orthodoxy, and urgently pressed to undertake the refutation of these books. Hence commenced the controversy between him, Tyndale, Fryth, and Barnes, which continued for some years. Sir Thomas More was specially angered by a clever but somewhat scurrilous brochure, entitled *The Supplication of Beggars*, written by Simon Fish, a quondam lawyer of Gray's Inn, in which the doctrine of purgatory is mercilessly satirized. To this he replied in the *Supplication of Souls*, an imaginary appeal of the souls in purgatory against the new doctrines, which were likely to leave them bereft of the aid of prayers and masses. Meanwhile the unfortunate divorce case had proved the ruin of Cardinal Wolsey; and Sir T. More, succeeding him as chancellor, had used his power, with the full concurrence of the king and the bishops, to bring many of those who held with Luther or Tyndale to the stake. But while the authorities were thus embittered against reformation which, under other circumstances, they might have treated more favourably, there had been steadily growing since the commencement of the reign a feeling of bitter dislike and exasperation of the laymen against the clergy, which was destined to produce very remarkable results. This had been fostered by several causes, among which the determined attempt made by the clergy to resist an enactment of parliament designed to restrict the privilege of benefit of clergy (4 Henry VIII. c. 2) was one. Another was the case of Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor of London, committed to prison by the bishop, and found hanging dead in his cell. His murder was freely attributed to the bishop's commissary, and the fact of his dead body having been burned on the plea of heresy increased the odium excited by this suspicion. That the king shared in the prevailing feeling is evident by his severe treatment of convocation for their trial of Dr Standish, who had justified the Act of Parliament directed against the privileges of the clergy. On this occasion (1516), Henry is said to have clearly claimed and explained that supremacy over the church which was afterwards conceded to him (Keilway's *Reports*). But that which most tended to exasperate the laity against the clergy at this period was, without question, the state of the church courts, and the vexatious disciplinary proceedings to which, on the information of any disreputable person, the laity were constantly subjected. The evil was admitted by some of the bishops, but it seemed as if they were powerless to remedy it. Archbishop Warham had called upon his convocation to help him in the matter, but Wolsey unwisely interfered, desiring to show his supreme power as legate. He afterwards summoned the convocations of the two provinces to meet as a legatine synod (June 1523) to treat of the reformation both of the laity and the clergy. Nothing, however, was done to remedy the crying grievance, and the laity determined to take their cause into their own hands. There were thus two elements at work in the country at this period likely to produce important changes in the ecclesiastical system, viz., the rapid development in England of the religious opinions of the foreign reformers, and the growing feeling of bitterness entertained by the laity against the clergy. To these was added, before the meeting of the famous parliament of November 1529, another very important factor, in the disappointed and angry temper of the king. Henry, who had imagined that his will must needs be law, had found himself thwarted in the matter of his divorce by the pope and the Roman curia; and the abortive termination of the trial at the legatine court of Blackfriars had roused him to fury. His anger was directed first of all against Wolsey, but he was inclined to be harshly disposed also against the whole of the clerical body, while he already

contemplated taking vengeance on the pope by the extremest legal enactments. Thus a state of feeling had been generated in England altogether different from that which had existed before Luther began to write, and when merely educational and literary reforms were contemplated. More violent and trenchant reforms seemed to be required, and these were now to find expression in the work of the parliament and convocation of 1529. In the first session of this parliament three measures affecting the revenues and fees of the clergy were passed, and Bishop Fisher, who assumed a very high tone in defending his order, was complained of by the Commons and censured by the king. The clergy saw themselves seriously threatened, and when, after Wolsey's fall, the whole of the clerical body was declared by the judges to have incurred the penalties of the præmunire statute, the convocations, acting for their brethren, were ready to purchase immunity by the sacrifice of very large sums. But the king, not satisfied with this, demanded more from the clergy than a mere money payment. He demanded of them their acceptance of his claim to supremacy over the church, which was in fact a distinct renunciation of their allegiance to Rome. After much disputing as to the terms, this was at last agreed to by the two convocations (February and May 1531), but with the saving clause—*As far as is permitted by the law of Christ*. When the Act of Parliament which embodied this acknowledgment of the clergy came afterwards to be drawn, this saving clause was omitted. From the moment when the clergy agreed to accept the royal supremacy, the rupture with Rome went on apace, and was embodied and carried out in one statute after another. The clergy who had yielded to the menaces of the præmunire law were soon compelled, by an attack brought upon them by the extreme unpopularity of the church courts, to concede another very important point. On March 18, 1532, the Commons presented to the king an address specially directed against the ordinaries, or those of the clergy who possessed jurisdiction, but bringing also many heavy charges against the whole of the clergy. The answers drawn up by convocation satisfied neither the king nor the Commons, and the convocation was called upon to promise that from henceforth no new canons should be made or promulgated without the king's consent, that a review of all the old canons should take place by a body of commissioners, and that only those ratified by the king should hold good. This complete surrender of the whole code of church law into the king's hands was to a certain extent evaded by the clergy, but substantially they agreed to the king's requirements (May 16, 1532). Henceforth no convocations could be summoned but by the king's writ, no church law could be made but such as the king approved, and the old canons were to be subjected to review. This important transaction, known as the *Submission of the Clergy*, may be considered as the supplement to their acknowledgment of the royal supremacy, and as completing their rupture with Rome. The acts of the convocation which followed—the petition against the payments exacted from them by the pope, the formal renunciation of the supremacy claimed by him—were natural sequents of the other. Meantime the parliament went rapidly forward in the work of breaking off the fetters of Rome, and securing the independence of the national church. In the session of 1533 was passed the famous statute for *restraint of appeals*, which, grounding itself upon historical precedent, makes all ecclesiastical appeals from henceforth terminable within the kingdom (24 Henry VIII. c. 12). Other acts embodied the concessions made by the clergy (25 Henry VIII. c. 19), made illegal papal appointments to bishoprics (25 Henry VIII. c. 20) and papal dispensations (c. 21), and enacted the royal supremacy in the strongest terms (26 Henry VIII. c. 1 and c. 13). The last work of this remarkable parliament was to give to the king all monasteries of less value than £200 a year, and all others which within a year after the passing of this Act (February 1536) should be surrendered to him. The way towards this measure—which was revolutionary, not only in its religious, but also in its social aspect—had been paved by the proceedings of Cardinal Wolsey in providing a foundation for his contemplated colleges. A papal bull had authorized the suppression of forty of the smaller religious houses for this purpose. Wolsey had only imitated the example of Chicheley, Waynflete, and Wickham, and it was suggested to the king, by Thomas Cromwell, that he could not be wrong in following these eminent churchmen. Cromwell had been secretary to the cardinal, and had distinguished himself by advocating his cause after his fall. For some time past he had been the principal adviser of Henry in all the measures taken to free the land from Rome, and the most remarkable use which the king had made of the ecclesiastical supremacy conferred upon him by the clergy and the parliament was to appoint Cromwell his vicar-general, with full powers to exercise the undefined authority belonging to the royal supremacy over all churchmen and churches. By virtue of this power Cromwell had made a visitation of the monasteries by means of certain commissioners; and a report strongly censuring their state, both moral, disciplinary, and financial, had been presented to parliament. On the strength of this report, the Act suppressing all the smaller religious houses of friars, canons, monks, and nuns was passed. The larger houses were destined soon to follow, for a rebellion having been excited in the north by the suppression of the smaller houses, the opportunity of its suppression was made use of to induce the greater abbeys to surrender, in the hope of thus escaping inquiry into their complicity in the rising. An Act confirming these surrenders was passed (1539), and the king thus became possessed of the whole monastic wealth of England both in movables and lands. A court called the Court of Augmentations was established to regulate the transfer. Small pensions were assigned to the monks and nuns thus forcibly driven into secular life, and the remainder of the sum, amounting in modern value to not less than £38,000,000, was expended in various ways. Six new sees were founded, some grammar schools were established, some forts built, but the greater part of the money was given with reckless prodigality to the courtiers. While the suppression of the monasteries was in progress, many acts were done tending to establish the new state of things, and to complete the revolt of the Church of England from the dominion of Rome. The king had pressed the acknowledgment of his supremacy, and had sacrificed, in doing this, many victims, and among them, two of the most eminent men in England, Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More (1535). In 1536 the first authoritative statement of reformed doctrine was made. Ten articles were drawn up by the king and accepted by the convocation of the clergy, which speak only of three sacraments, declare that the whole Christian faith is to be found in the Bible, and disparage the worship of images, the invocation of saints, and the belief in purgatory. In the following year (1537), a larger body of reformed teaching was put forth in a book sanctioned by authority, called *The Institution of a Christian Man*. But that which tended most of all to the rapid spread of reformed doctrine was the publication of the Bible in English. In 1530 the king had promised that this should be conceded. In 1534 the convocation, at the instance of Archbishop Cranmer, had reminded him of his promise, and petitioned for its fulfilment. But there was no immediate prospect of this coming about. Consequently Cromwell, whose political life was staked on the progress of the Reformation, employed Miles Coverdale, in concert with Tyndale in Germany, to make

and print a translation of the Scriptures from the Latin and German versions of them. This was published in England (October 1535), and though not formally approved, was tolerated by the king. Another version, which embodied all Tyndale's translations, appeared in 1537 (Matthew's Bible), and in 1538 Cromwell ventured to insert in a body of injunctions, issued by him for the direction of the clergy, an order that each parish should procure a copy of what was called the Great Bible. This referred to an edition not yet published, which came forth in the following year (1539), and in the next (1540) was republished with a preface written by Archbishop Cranmer. The English Bible being thus fairly launched in the country, the attempts made by the reactionary party to check the advance of reformed opinions all proved abortive. The king vacillated strangely between one influence and the other. In 1539 he was himself the author of a law intended to uphold the old faith with extreme severity. Under this the punishment of death was decreed against all who refused to acknowledge the doctrine of transubstantiation, and very rigorous penalties against five other proscribed opinions. The fall of Cromwell soon followed, and the reactionary party seemed for a moment to have triumphed. But the influence of Archbishop Cranmer with the king could not be overthrown, and further progress in reformation was soon to be discerned. The law of Six Articles was modified and allowed to lie dormant; the service-books were reviewed and amended by convocation; the litany was published in English; the king himself put out an English primer, in which the strongest statements are made as to the desirability of having prayers and services in English. In fact, an English prayer-book and an English service for the mass were both in course of construction by convocation when King Henry died (1547). By his will he nominated sixteen councillors to administer affairs during the minority of his son Edward VI., and in this council the reforming or Protestant element soon had complete sway. A book of homilies containing reformed doctrine was ordered to be read in all churches. In 1548 a service in English was published to be appended to the Latin service of the mass, and provision was made in this for the reception in both kinds by the laity. In 1549 an English prayer-book, carefully drawn up from the old service-books of a body of divines, accepted by convocation and parliament, was given to the church, and the use of it was made compulsory by an Act of Uniformity. Images were soon removed from churches, altars taken away to be replaced by tables, and Archbishop Cranmer, zealously bent on the work of reformation, earnestly invited all the most distinguished foreign Reformers to visit England, that, if possible, the lovers of reformation might agree to a confession of faith, to be opposed to the confession of the Romish Church then being formulated and settled at the Council of Trent. Many of the foreigners thus invited did in fact visit England, and their influence was very considerable. With their help a body of 42 articles was drawn up by the English divines, which, having been approved by convocation and sanctioned by the king, the clergy were called upon to subscribe. In 1552 was published a second prayer-book, which, with some additions, and a considerable retrenchment of the first book in the matter of ceremonial, had altogether a much more Protestant character than its predecessor. The ordinal was also a second time reformed. The extreme rapaciousness of the chief men of the state at this period led to a seizure of church property, which greatly impoverished and kept back the growth of the church in after years. The impropriate tithes, which in very many cases had been acquired by monasteries, went, at their suppression, into lay hands, and no suitable provision was made for the remuneration of the clergyman of the benefice. Hence the clergy for a long period were of a low social grade, and very few of them competent through learning to become preachers. When, on the death of Edward (1553), Queen Mary succeeded him, the majority of the clergy accepted without hesitation the re-establishment of the old superstitions. There was, however, a certain number, estimated variously from 1500 to 3000, who were incapacitated from doing this. These were the clergy who had taken advantage of the enabling law, passed in the last reign, to contract matrimony. These clergy were now everywhere expelled from their benefices, and some of them were harshly treated. About 800 of the laity and clergy who favoured reforming views, foreseeing the danger to be apprehended from the queen, escaped at her accession to various towns on the continent; the remainder of like views in England soon found their way into prison, until it should be determined what policy to adopt towards them. There is reason to believe that Bishop Gardiner, who was Mary's chief adviser at the beginning of her reign, was in favour of a lenient policy, and that Cardinal Pole, who arrived in England as papal legate (November 1554), was also opposed at first to harsh measures. But the temper of the prince whom Mary had married, as well as her own, were both favourable to persecution, and it was determined in the council to proceed to the extremest measures sanctioned by the law against the so-called heretics. A commission of bishops was opened (January 1555) for the trial of heretics. On February 4 was burned for alleged heresy at Smithfield Mr Rogers, prebendary of St Pauls; on February 8, at Coventry, Mr Saunders, rector of All Hallows Bread St.; on February 9, Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, at Gloucester, and on the same day Dr Taylor, rector of Hadleigh, at that place; on March 30, Farrar, bishop of St David's, at Carmarthen. On October 16 Bishops Ridley and Latimer were burned at Oxford, and finally at the same place, on March 22, 1556, was burned Archbishop Cranmer, for 23 years the primate of England. These executions of leading divines were accompanied by those of others, many of whom were illiterate persons, many also women. In the year 1555 were burned 75; in 1556, 83; in 1557, 77; in 1558, 51,—making a total of 286 in four years. So far, however, was this savage persecution from exterminating the reforming spirit from the church that, when, on the welcome death of Queen Mary (1558), a new queen who favoured the reformation succeeded, the whole of the clergy of England, with the exception of 189, accepted the change. The chief danger to the Church of England now arose, not from the cruelty of the Romanists, who were henceforth kept down with a strong hand, but from the contemptuous and insubordinate spirit developed among some who held reforming views. During their sojourn abroad the English exiles had become familiar with a type of reformed religion different from that which had been adopted by their own church, and they endeavoured to press this upon the acceptance of the Church of England. It was seen that no change of importance, and certainly none in the Protestant direction, was to be expected in the formularies of that church. The queen was a lover of ceremonial. The primate (Parker) was a moderate man, but with no tendency to favour the foreign reformers, and inclined to exact obedience to law. The prayer-book was reviewed, but the only alterations made in it tended rather in the direction of increased ceremonial. The disciples of the foreign reformers, who soon obtained the name of Puritans, could not for a time believe that the ceremonial would be really enforced against them with vigour. But the queen was determined to compel the bishops to exercise discipline. When the Puritans discovered this, some of them formally separated from the church (1566); many more deliberately set themselves to devise plans for evad-

ing the laws and still keeping their benefices. The ministers who acted thus were strongly supported by a numerous party in the House of Commons, and only the untiring vigour and courage and the unfailing popularity of the queen saved the church from disruption. On the one hand Elizabeth constrained the bishops, often with the roughest menaces, to act. On the other she exercised a most dictatorial authority over parliament, and prevented its interference. Yet all this time the chief supporters of the Puritans were among her own favourites and ministers, Lord Leicester and secretary Walsingham being the most conspicuous. So imperiously did the queen treat the chief ministers of the church, that at her demand the Star Chamber suspended the primate Grindal from the exercise of his office, and kept him in this enforced inaction till near his death. His offence was that he refused to obey the queen's orders to put down certain meetings and exercises of clergy and laity which were called prophesyings, and which were judged by the queen to have a tendency to encourage Puritanism. In the next primate, Archbishop Whitgift (1583), the queen found a man after her own mind—an unsparing disciplinarian, without the least tendency to undervalue the requirements of his position. Under Whitgift the subscription test was applied much more thoroughly than before, and in consequence the number of dissenters increased, while a complete conformity was produced in the church. The Puritans, despairing of obtaining legislative relief, and soured and embittered by the harsh treatment which they often experienced from the courts of ecclesiastical commission, allowed themselves to fall into the unjustifiable practice of writing railing libels against the bishops and clergy. These, which were known by the name of the Mar-Prelate libels, from a *nom de plume* assumed by one of the writers, became most bitter and fierce about the time of the great danger of the country from the Spanish Armada (1588). They were at length put down, and the writers of them punished with much severity; and by a law passed in 1593, which, making Puritanism an offence against the statute law, put the punishment of dissenters into the hands of the common law judges, the resistance to the church was well-nigh overcome. The chief of the Puritans now quitted England. The last ten years of Elizabeth's reign were comparatively free from religious contentions, and the church grew and flourished. In 1563 a review of the 42 articles agreed upon under Edward VI. had issued in the number being reduced to 39, the introduction of some new matter, and the exclusion of some previously adopted. The amended articles were accepted by the convocation of Canterbury and representatives of that of York, and, being ratified by the queen, were ordered to be subscribed by the whole of the clergy. An Act of Parliament making this compulsory was passed 1571. A second book of homilies was also now sent out by the convocation for the use of the clergy, and continual efforts were made to improve the learning of the parochial clergy, and to provide a larger supply of ministers competent to preach. During the reign of Elizabeth the theology of the church of England in its reformed state acquired form and substance. Jewel's great work (*The Apology*) stated its case as against the Romanists. Whitgift, Bancroft, Hooker, and Bilson defended its teaching and discipline against the Puritans. The ground taken by this latter class of writers became gradually higher, until at length a divine right and claim were demanded for episcopacy. These higher views were readily accepted by the new sovereign James I., who, himself a theological writer, and thoroughly alienated from the Presbyterians by the rough treatment he had received at their hands, was ready to accord high authority to the church as he demanded it for the throne. His absolutist views of government soon embroiled him with the parliament, and the church shared in the unpopularity of the monarch. At the commencement of the reign of James, the Puritans entertained great expectations of obtaining changes favourable to their views. A petition, signed by nearly a thousand ministers who held with them, had been presented to the king, and a conference was arranged to be held at Hampton Court (January 1604) to consider the points in dispute. Very small changes were the issue of this conference. It afforded an opportunity for the king to exhibit his theological skill, and to threaten the Puritans that they must expect rough treatment if they did not conform. Severe measures followed. Bancroft, the new primate (December 1604), demanded not only the act of subscription to the formularies, but a declaration from the clergy that they made it *ex animo*. Through this many were deprived. Under Abbot, who succeeded him (1610), Calvinistic opinions were much favoured in the church, and the king, who at that time appeared to hold these views, sent four English divines to represent him at the synod of Dort (1618). But towards the latter part of the reign a change both in politics and in the theology which found favour is very apparent. Arminian opinions began now to be freely advocated by divines, and the parliament, which was strongly opposed to these opinions and to the milder treatment of Romanists with which they were accompanied, began to make fierce personal assaults on the chief maintainers of them. Thus Bishops Neile and Harsnet, and Mr Montagu, one of the king's chaplains, were attacked by the House of Commons. The accession of Charles, who was more strongly imbued with the opinions so distasteful to parliament than even his father, while it encouraged the court divines to bolder flights, made the temper of parliament more hostile both to them and the king. The angry dissolution of the parliament in 1629 was followed by an organized attempt on the part of the church rulers to preach up absolutist doctrines and the divine right of kings. The king's trusted adviser, Laud, was at the same time the autocratic ruler of the church, having, through the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber, an absolute power over both clergy and laity. Laud aspired not only to exact conformity, but to regulate the opinions and teaching of the whole body of clergy after the court pattern. He at the same time sought to improve the solemnity and decency of public worship, and to introduce many much-needed reforms into the church. But his measures were often taken without regard either to policy or justice, and, in consequence, a vast store of unpopularity was accumulated against him, which found vent when, early in 1640, during the sitting of the Short Parliament, a convocation met, and proceeded under royal licence to make canons. An unfortunate mistake in the hasty wording of a canon, which, leaving an "&c." in the list of church officers to whom obedience was to be sworn, seemed to suggest the possibility of a trap laid for the unwary, caused a general ferment throughout the country. The unwise policy of continuing the convocation after the dissolution of parliament, in order that it might grant the king a benevolence, added fuel to the fire, and when, in November 1640, the Long Parliament met, a most violent attack was at once made on Archbishop Laud and the clergy generally. Laud and two other bishops were committed to the Tower, awaiting articles of impeachment; the bishops were expelled from the House of Lords, the court of High Commission was taken away, and committees were appointed both in parliament and in the country to deal with the numerous petitions presented against the clergy. Soon the king and parliament were at open war, and the severest measures were directed against the clergy, who were mostly loyal to the king. In 1643 met an assembly of divines at Westminster, to which was committed the task of recasting the whole of the formularies and constitution of