MATTHEW PARKER[1]

1504—1575[2]

MATTHEW PARKER was born at Norwich in 1504, and was instructed in reading, writing, singing and grammar by the parish priest and others. His education was

[1] Parker is a surname derived from occupation and means the custodian or keeper of the park. It is found in every part of England and is almost a rival of the most common names, Smith, Brown, Jones, etc. In older documents it appears thus: Adam le Parker, Peter le Parker (1273), Martin le Parkar and Hamo le Parkire. Before the sixteenth century it was written simply Parker. The founder of the commercial prosperity of the Archbishop's family was Nicolas Parker, principal registrar of the Spiritual Court of Canterbury, 1450, a man of great integrity and honour. When in after years the Archbishop visited Norwich at the time his brother was Mayor, he proudly pointed to the fact of his connection with the great middle class in England with which his brother was connected. In those days the College of Heralds was a reality, and no one could obtain a grant of arms until he had established the gentility of his family. Nicolas Parker was granted the distinction, and the Archbishop inherited the arms and obtained an addition to it. Matthew Parker was through his mother connected with Howard, Earl of Nottingham, a fact which accounts for the Earl's presence at Parker's consecration. His contemporary account is of value in the question of the consecration. The Earl says that he was ordained by the form in King Edward's Common Prayer Book. "I myself," he says, "had the book in my hand all the time and went along with the Ordination, and when it was over I dined with 'em, and there was an instrument drawn up of the form and order of it, which instrument I saw and redd over."

[2] Born at Norwich, 1504. Sent to Cambridge, 1522. Subdeacon, 1526. Deacon and Priest, 1527. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, 1527. Refused Wolsey's offer to join the staff of Cardinal College, Oxford, 1528 (about). Chaplain to Anne Boleyn and Dean of the College of Stoke-by-Clare, 1535. Rector

conducted at home, and no mention is made of his attendance at any school. When he was twelve his father died, and his mother, carrying out the father's wishes, sent him at seventeen to be educated at Cambridge. The family was of commercial importance, and always possessed good means, so that his mother bore the University expenses. The choice of a College (Corpus Christi) was probably determined by the fact that one of his tutors was a member of Corpus Christi. He matriculated in 1521 and entered in 1522 as Bible-clerk, to which was attached the status of a scholarship, on the foundation of the Duchess of Norfolk. He is

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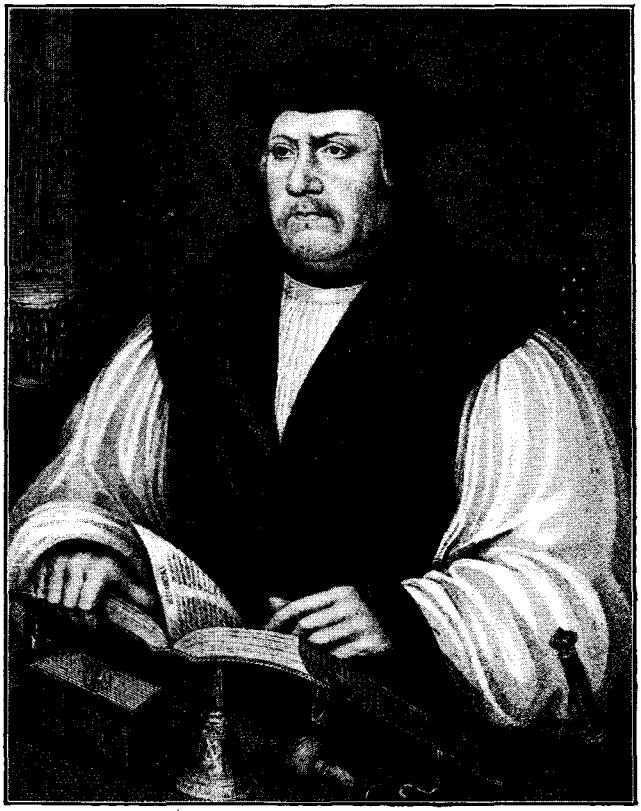
of Ashdon in Essex and Prebendary of Ely, 1542. Rector of Burlingham in Norfolk, 1544. Rector of Landbeach near Cambridge, 1545. Master of Corpus Christi College by Royal Mandate, 1544. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, 1545, and again in 1549. Married, 1547. Dean of Lincoln, 1552. Deprived of all preferment under Queen Mary because of his being a married man. Consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, December 17, 1559. Died at Lambeth, May 17, 1575, and buried in the private chapel in a tomb which he had prepared for himself. This tomb was destroyed in 1648 and Parker's remains were disinterred. After the Restoration, Sancroft, under the authority of the King and Lords, restored them to their original resting-place, and placed an inscription in the ante-chapel of Lambeth Palace recording both the desecration and restoration of the tomb. The inscription and the epitaph were—

(*a*) "Corpus Matthaei Archiepiscopi hic tandem quiescit."

(*b*) "Matthaei Archiepiscopi Cenotaphium.

Corpus enim (ne nescius lector)
In adyto hujus sacelli olim rite conditum,
A sectariis perduellibus anno MDCXLVIII.
Effracto sacrilege hoc ipso tumulo,
Elogio sepulchrali impie refixo,
Direptis nefarie exuviis plumbeis,
Spoliatum, violatum, eliminatum;
Etiam sub sterquilinio, (proh! Scelus) abstrusum:
Rege demum (plaudente coelo ac terra) redeunte
Ex decreto Baronum Angliae sedulo requisitum,
Et sacello postliminio redditum,
Et ejus quasi medio tandem quiescit.
Et quiescat utinam
Nonnisi tuba ultima solicitandum.
QUI DENUO DESECRAVERIT, SACER ESTO."



ARCHBISHOP PARKER. [*Page* 105.

described as "a painful student," *i. e.* painstaking, and his studies from the first were largely in the Holy Scriptures. He took his degree (B.A.) in 1525, and in 1527 was ordained both deacon (April) and priest (June). He was not twenty-three until August 6. His pastoral work began in his native city, but the following year, after refusing an offer from Cardinal College, Oxford, he was elected to a Fellowship at his college. From this time he devoted himself wholly to theological studies, and graduated B.D. in 1535 and D.D. in 1538.

In 1544 he was appointed Master of his College by Henry VIII's mandate, which describes him "as well for his approved learning, wisdom and honesty as for his singular grace and industry, in bringing up youth in virtue and learning, so apt for the exercise of the said room (Mastership) that it is thought very hard to find the like for all respects and purposes." He exercised a watchful care over the College revenues, and reformed some abuses caused by the carelessness or peculation of past bursars. Because most of the benefactors of the College belonged to Norfolk, he secured the appointment of Norfolk men as Fellows. The library was in a state of neglect, and so great were his benefactions to it that he is justly regarded as its founder. He began now the study which he continued throughout his life, and never lost an opportunity of securing manuscripts, which have made the library of Corpus famous throughout the world. As Vice-Chancellor, Parker had trouble with the Chancellor (Bishop Gardiner), whose haughty spirit could never brook opposition. The dispute was about a play performed by the students of Christ's College, which ridiculed Romish services and the Papacy. Parker had an interview with Henry VIII in 1546 at Hampton Court upon the subject of University property. An account of this in Parker's handwriting remains, and the King, after hearing the petition, said, "He thought he had not in his realm so many persons so honestly maintained in living by so little land and rent." This royal opinion protected the University, and the College

properties were saved from the all-devouring jaws which had closed upon the lands and possessions of the religious houses. In June, 1547, *i. e.* a few months after Henry's death, he married. Such clerical marriages were by law not void but voidable, but in 1549 the marriage of the clergy was made legal.

In Edward's reign Parker became again Vice-Chancellor, and was busy in matters of University reform. By this time two other preferments were added to his Mastership, including the Deanery of Lincoln, but he refused both the Mastership of Trinity College, "I was once nearly named Master of Trinity," and a bishopric, both in the gift of the King, preferring his own college where he had lived happily for so many years. He was in these years a frequent preacher at Norwich and elsewhere. In 1553 this life of studious and congenial activity came to an end.[1] Parker, who had so often refused to take part in public affairs in London, unlike the more prominent men who fled abroad at the beginning of Mary's reign, after being deprived of every preferment he held, was allowed to live in retirement at the house of one of his friends. He fled from Cambridge by night, fracturing his leg by a fall from his horse,[2] and lived the next five years without

[1] A letter of his about this time shows him to have been a keen observer of character. Speaking of three prominent men of his day he says, "The third is a dissembler in friendship, who used to entertain his ill-willers very courteously and his friends very imperiously; thinking thereby to have the rule of both; whereby he lost both. For while his ill-willers spread how he would shake up his acquaintance, they gathered thereby the nature of his friendship towards his old friends, and therefore joyed not much of his glorious entertainment, and his friends indeed joyed less in him, for such his discouragement that they felt at his hands expertus loquor." Very shrewd and true remarks, true now and always.

[2] Dean Hook conjectures that this fall took place the night he fled from Cambridge. He was privy to Northumberland's plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and when Northumberland heard Mary had been proclaimed in London, to escape suspicion he proclaimed her at Cambridge. Parker was one against whom the anger and fury of the Cambridge citizens, who abhorred the plot, was directed. He was always reticent about the events of that night.

the persecution which some have stated to have existed upon his family inheritance, busy with his studies and delighting in the leisure and tranquillity and the freedom from care.[1]

Parker's Private Studies.

Before we proceed to his official life, it may be well to speak of Parker's literary tastes and achievements. He had a great love of antiquity and Church history. As Dean of Lincoln he made extensive collections of the property belonging to the Dean and Chapter and bequeathed his work to his College at Cambridge. He studied Saxon and projected the compilation of a Saxon lexicon. The earliest editions of Gildas, Matthew Paris and many other early chroniclers of English history are due to him. As Archbishop his position gave him opportunities of securing literary treasures which had been dispersed at the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and he used this to the full, both at home and abroad. He wrote the history of his predecessors at Canterbury, from Augustine onwards, and superintended the writing of the story of his own episcopate.

He loved to study college statutes, and during the twelve happy years as Dean of the College of Stoke by Clare he revised the statutes, and with the help of his secretary wrote the history of the College. With the instincts of an historian he collected the original letters of his contempories and documents illustrating Church history, and bequeathed his many manuscript volumes to his well-loved College of Corpus Christi at Cambridge. He took part in conjunction with Whitgift,

[1] Parker's place of retreat was in the house of a friend near Norwich, where he lived with his wife and two children. Writing of those days he says, "I lived so joyful before God in my conscience, and so neither ashamed nor defected that the most sweet leisure for study to which the good Providence of God recalled me, created me much greater and more solid pleasures than that former busy and dangerous kind of living ever pleased me." At the end of the time he had only a few pounds (some £30, worth much more in present value) left of his personal estate.

Sandys and Grindal in compiling new statutes by which the constitution of the University of Cambridge was materially modified. His most distinguished service to theological studies was the publication of the Bishops' Bible, upon which he with others spent five years. As a promoter of education he founded a grammar school in connection with Stoke by Clare, and afterwards one at Rochdale in Lancashire. When Elizabeth summoned him to London "for matter touching himself," he strove hard to be allowed to go back to his College at Cambridge to undertake University work, which was most to his liking. Apart, therefore, from his public life, he was a student and lover of antiquities, and these things formed his solace in the days of anxiety and contest which came in his great office. His domestic life was singularly happy. With a wife of most refined mind and manners and with the capacity of domestic management, all was peace and joy at home. There are one or two pathetic pictures of Parker as an old man, widowed and suffering from the disease which brought him to the grave, drawn by his own hand in his correspondence. Writing to Burghley he says, "I have of late been shamefully deceived by some young men and so have I been by some older men," and again, "I have little help when I thought to have most. I toye out my tyme partly with copieing of books, partly in devising ordinances for scholars to help the ministry, partly in genealogies and so forth."

Had Parker then never become Archbishop he would have been a worthy English parish priest and scholar, with the loftiest conceptions of duty and service, and would have bequeathed many literary gifts to the Church in addition to the example of an honourable, industrious and blameless life. Of his general character, a recent Roman Catholic writer says, "We have the known piety, soberness, moderation and integrity and the general uprightness of Matthew Parker to fall back upon, and these alone should shield him from the imputation of having lent himself, or that he could possibly lend himself in any way, to the perpetration of such a

meaningless and impious act" (*i. e.* the fable of Nag's Head).[1]

Parker made Archbishop.

Parker, who in Edward's reign had shrunk from publicity, was made, by his five years' obscurity and retirement under Queen Mary, still more disinclined for prominence. Writing to Cecil, he says, "The truth is, what with passing those hard years of Mary's reign in obscurity without all conference or such manner of study as now might do me service, and what with my natural vitiosity of overmuch shamefacedness, I am so abashed in myself that I cannot raise my heart and stomach to utter in talk with other which (as I may say) with my pen I can express myself indifferently without great difficulty."

Queen Elizabeth began to reign on November 17, 1558, and from the first Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, was in her confidence. She at once issued a proclamation to forbid preaching. Public prayer, already by law received, was to be used with the Litany, Lord's Prayer and Creed in English until she and the three estates of her realm had considered the subject of public worship. The funeral sermon of Queen Mary was preached by White, Bishop of Winchester, and was so offensive and indiscreet that he was ordered by the Council to confine himself to his house for a week. The Coronation was held on January 15, 1559, the Bishop of Carlisle placing the Crown on her head because Canterbury was vacant and the Archbishop of York refused to comply with the Queen's request that there should be no elevation of the host. The service was substantially the same as that used at the Coronation of George V last year, and the other bishops, with the exception of Bonner of London, were present and took their parts. Meantime a commission including Dr. Parker was appointed for liturgical revision.

[1] See the *Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, by H. N. Birt, p. 250.

Queen Elizabeth's writ summoning Parliament did not use the title "Supreme Head of the English Church," although it had been used by Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Mary, with the exception of the writ of summons to her last Parliament in 1558. The Commons, afraid of some invalidating consequence to their acts, appointed a Committee to inquire into the legality of the writs of Mary and Elizabeth, which reported that they were both valid, notwithstanding the omission of the title "Supremum Caput." Parliament met on January 25, 1559, and Convocation the following day. Convocation asked that Papal authority and doctrine might remain in force. A committee of sixteen, eight for the Pope and eight against, was appointed to discuss the whole question. It met in Westminster Abbey on March 31 and broke up on April 3 because two Bishops, White of Winchester and Watson of Lincoln, refused to continue in the Conference. They were both sent to the Tower for disobedience and contumacy. When Parliament rose on May 8, the great change in the English Church had been once more legally and decisively accomplished. The Act of Supremacy passed in April revived Henry VIII's act, excepting that the title Supreme Head was dropped, and "only Supreme Governor of this realm and of all other her highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal," was substituted for it. The title of the act is "An act to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and abolishing all foreign powers repugnant to the same." The same month an Act of Uniformity was passed by which the worship of the English Church was once more taken back from Romish rites and ceremonies.[1] In all this legislation Convocation, since the breaking up of the Conference on April 3, was not consulted.

Thus was England once more freed from Rome. Elizabeth notified her accession to every friendly

[1] On "Eucharistic Vestments," see Appendix G, p. 230.

sovereign, but not to the Pope. He was studiously ignored throughout. The Book of Common Prayer was to be used from June 24, and the oath of the Act of Uniformity had to be taken by ecclesiastical persons, so that the hour of decision was drawing nigh. The English episcopate at this time consisted of twenty-seven members, but ten of the sees were vacant. Bonner of London was the first to be deprived on May 30, and the aged Tunstall of Durham, while no favourer of Papacy, was shocked at the defacing of churches, etc., and finally refused and was deprived in October, six weeks before his death. Two only of the Marian Bishops, Kitchen of Landaff and Stanley of Sodor and Man, conformed. The number of clergy who refused to conform is more difficult to determine. It has been usual to say that less than 200 out of 9400 refused to sacrifice their benefices, and that of these about 100 were dignitaries.[1] First the number, 9400, must be considerably reduced for pluralities and vacancies. The Bishops' Registers of Institution, which record the reason for each vacancy, ought to answer the question with accuracy, but unfortunately many of them were at this period most carelessly kept. After examining what evidence is available for me,[2] I conclude that the number of clergy must be decreased and the number of refusals somewhat increased, and yet the main fact remains substantially the same, viz. that on the whole the English clergy did accept the change, adopt the Prayer Book and go on in their parishes. The experiences of the previous twenty-five years had unsettled many minds and numbers of the clergy had used an English Prayer

[1] Dr. Creighton, Bishop of London, in his *Queen Elizabeth* says: "The clergy were prepared to acquiesce in the change. Out of 9400 clergy in England only 192 refused the oath of supremacy. . . . In England generally the religious settlement was welcomed by the people and corresponded to their wishes. . . . They detested the Pope, they wished for services they could understand and were weary of superstition" (p. 53).

[2] See Gee's *Elizabethan Clergy*, 1558–1564, and the *Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, by H. N. Birt (Roman Catholic), chaps. iv. and v.

Book before, besides most of them were waiting for something to turn up. Elizabeth or Cecil might die, or in some other way a change might come. At all events they acquiesced, whether from expediency or conviction. In forming a judgment we must not lose sight of the large number of clergy who would have welcomed something less definite in Church worship than the Prayer Book, and of the number who though inclined to Rome were shocked and alienated by the atrocities of Mary's reign. The English clergy, after enjoying freedom from Rome for twenty years, had tasted for five years the flavour of her authority, and there was no rebellion but a quiet acquiescence in the change. In all times of change the heroic souls who face deprivation or imprisonment or death in any cause are few in number.

We now come to the choice of Parker for the Primacy. On December 30, 1558, Cecil summoned him to London, saying, "The Queen's Highness minding presently to use your service in certain matters of importance, at which your coming up I shall declare unto you her Majesty's further pleasure and the occasion why you are sent for." The negotiations were carried on in private, and for some time Parker pleaded ill-health and unfitness. On March 1, 1559, he gave Lord Keeper Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, his views of the man needed for Canterbury, "God grant it chanceth neither on arrogant man, neither on faint-hearted man nor on covetous man." He still urged his own unfitness, but on May 17 he was told that the Queen-in-Council had resolved he should be Primate, and on May 19 the threatened mandate reached Parker, "after our hearty commendations these be to signify unto you that for certain causes wherein the Queen's majesty intendeth to use your service her pleasure is, that you repair hither with such speed as you conveniently may and at your coming up you shall understand the rest." No answer was returned, and on May 29 a letter demanding a reply was sent. Parker wrote then to the Queen that he regretted his inability "inwardly in knowledge and

outwardly in extern sufficiencies to do her grace any meet service," but he desired her to exercise her own judgment upon the subject. So the die was cast, and Parker humbly and yet most reluctantly accepted the office he fain would have refused. No doubt other names were considered during these months of Parker's reluctance. It is stated the position was offered to Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, and to Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster. The latter offer is incredible. Feckenham remained resolute in his refusal to accept the new oath of Supremacy.

Into the many questions which have arisen about Parker's consecration space forbids me to enter. The controversy, between Roman Catholic writers and ourselves, was continued for generations, after the first charge against its genuineness had been made some fifty years after the event. Now at last there is agreement upon the following facts: (1) Parker was nominated by Queen Elizabeth. (2) He was elected by the Chapter of Canterbury under the Queen's licence "according to the ancient manner and laudable custom of the aforesaid Church anciently used and inviolably observed." (3) His election was confirmed at Bow Church (by proxy), Parker not being present. (4) He was consecrated at Lambeth on December 17, 1559, by four Bishops, Barlow, Hodgkins, Scory and Coverdale, using the English Ordinal. Barlow (1536) and Hodgkins (1537) had been themselves consecrated under the Pre-Reformation Pontifical, and Scory (1551) and Coverdale (1551) under the English Ordinal. Each of the four bishops repeated the words of consecration.[1] (5) He was enthroned at Canterbury (by proxy). (6) The temporalities were restored to him by the Crown on March 1, 1560. The spirit in which Parker began his work is expressed in the words he wrote in his diary on the evening of the day of his consecration. "Alas! alas! O Lord God, for what times hast Thou kept me. Now

[1] See *Apostolic Succession in the Church of England*, by A. W. Hadden, 1869; and *Ordinum Sacrorum in Ecclesia Anglicana Defensio*, by T. J. Bailey, 1870.

I am come into deep waters and the flood hath overwhelmed me. Answer for me and establish me with Thy free Spirit, for I am a man that hath but a short time to live, etc."

Whilst then the question has been narrowed so that never again will any credible Roman writer repeat the old fable of Nag's Head or doubt the above facts, Rome still maintains her own objections. The question of English Orders was raised in 1896 by the Bull of Leo XIII, which dealt chiefly with the "form" and "intention" of Consecration and Ordination. The argument of the Bull is, your Ordinal is not according to the Catholic rite, and therefore valid orders cannot be conferred under it. To which our reply is, there never has been one Catholic rite of consecration universally received in the Church of Christ. There were before the Reformation and still are various "forms" of ordination, and in the Roman Church her present "form" has existed only from the Council of Trent and was composed at various periods.[1] The different ceremonies in Ordination have been varied in the order of their use, and the principles laid down by Leo XIII invalidate very many of their own past Roman consecrations and ordinations. As regards "intention" in the English Ordinal, this is plainly expressed in the Preface. It is "to the intent that these Orders (Bishops, Priests and Deacons) may be continued and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England." A sentence in the answer of the English Archbishops sums up the position thus: "In overthrowing our orders he overthrows all his own and pronounces sentence on his own Church." The whole argument resolves itself at last into the simplest form and can be expressed thus: "Rome says you do not do what we do, nor hold the same doctrines about Church government and Transubstantiation, and as we are right you must be wrong." Our reply is, that the very reason of the English Reformation was the appeal against this same claim of

[1] See *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII on English Ordinations* (1897).

infallibility, and if we have departed from you in doctrine and services, we have done so to make the English Church more nearly to coincide with the Universal Church in the earliest and purest days. Argument can carry the matter no further. If any change be wrought in the unbending attitude of Rome, this will come not from without but from within, from honest and devout souls claiming the right to use reason and truth against the imperious dictates of authority, though in our own time the right to think for themselves has been sternly denied by Rome to her own children.[1]

Church Administration under Parker.

Queen Elizabeth ruled largely without Parliament, which during the forty-three years of her reign sat on only 770 days, *i. e.* little more than an average of eighteen days a year. Periods of two, three and four years passed without any Parliament being summoned. When the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity had been passed, the Queen resisted all attempts at further interference, and requested in 1572 that no Bills about religion be received by the Commons till they had been approved by the Convocations. Ecclesiastical government was by the Crown and through the Court of High Commission. Elizabeth issued her own injunctions, and allowed Parker and the other bishops to issue theirs for dioceses and cathedrals, but Parliament was not consulted. The Thirty-nine Articles of 1571, "read and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Upper House and by the subscription of the whole clergy of the Nether House in their Convocation in the year of our Lord 1571," were executed within the realm by the assent and consent of the Queen, who sent a message to the Commons that they were not to be dealt with in Parliament. Parliament thereupon, in spite of the Queen's objection, passed an act requiring subscription to the Articles.

[1] See *Through Scylla and Charybdis*, by George Tyrrell, 1907.

In the same session an act to reform certain disorders touching ministers of the Church became law. This was directed against those priests and deacons who had taken orders in Queen Mary's reign, but not under the English Ordinal. They as well as all others were required to assent to the Thirty-nine Articles before being admitted to a benefice. The contention that this act allowed men to be admitted to benefices without recognised ordination is groundless.

The Queen would neither allow Parliament to touch articles of faith nor define them herself. In 1569 she issued a proclamation that she pretended "no right to define articles of faith, to change ancient ceremonies formerly adopted by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, or to minister the word or sacraments of God, but she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience of the Christian religion, to see all laws ordained for that end duly observed and to provide that the Church be governed and taught by Archbishops, Bishops and Ministers." Queen Elizabeth therefore drew a very definite distinction between "Supreme Head," which title she rejected, and "Supreme Governor," which is defined as meaning that no foreign prince, prelate, etc., was to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within her realm. The relation of Elizabeth to Rome is interesting, and her attitude greatly puzzled both Paul IV and Pius IV. The former was most insolent. He called her a bastard and claimed her kingdom. The latter tried the gentler means of persuasion. He wrote to her on May 5, 1560, as his "dearest daughter," and asked her to come into the bosom of the Roman Church. He also offered to approve the Book of Common Prayer if she would acknowledge his claims to supremacy and receive it on his authority.[1] For ten more years the

[1] This is denied by Rome, but the Queen herself talked openly of it. There is no documentary evidence to be found. The offer was made through an ambassador, and in matters of diplomacy the most important things are not always written, though such a

Queen succeeded by diplomacy, marriage negotiations and general astuteness in keeping the Pope and the European sovereigns in doubt about her intentions, and then the day of decision came.

In February 1570, the Roman Courts, having sat in judgment upon Elizabeth, pronounced her to be excommunicated and deposed. This decision dispensed her subjects from their oath to her and assigned the Book of the Common Prayer and the Oath of Supremacy to the flames. On February 25 Pius V issued his Bull of deposition, and from that day Romanism began to be identified in England with treason. By this time the Queen, who with all her faults was the darling of her people, laughed at the impotent rage of Pius V. Philip of Spain, who was not consulted, deplored its unwisdom. Urban VIII, many years later, said, "We yet deplore it with tears of blood." "It is easy," says H. N. Birt (p. 500), "to be wise after the event and to censure errors of judgment when their results have already condemned them, but in this case the errors are so glaring, the extenuating and impelling circumstances so conspicuously wanting, that unqualified condemnation alone can be meted out to the leaders and chief agents in this ill-considered enterprise." Such is the opinion of this Roman Catholic writer. The fact to be remembered is that the Church of England did not create the final breach, but was thus at last denounced by Rome itself after the thirty-six years of embittered controversy.

Parker lived only five years after these events, and the Spanish Armada, so carefully designed to conquer England and destroy the throne and Church, was not to come for eighteen more years. We now look at some of Parker's grave difficulties in steering the English Church during the fifteen and a half years of his

letter is said to have existed, whether written by the Pope or ambassador. Lord Justice Coke, speaking of this in 1606, said, "I have often heard from the Queen's own mouth, and I have frequently conferred with noblemen of the State who had seen and read the Pope's letter on this subject as I have related it to you."

episcopate through the hurricanes and storms which then beset her.

When Parker began to administer the Act of Uniformity, it was considered that a common worship was as essential in the Church as uniformity of law is to the State. Six years sufficed to destroy this theory, and the first safety valve for discontent was opened by the first schism in the English Church, when in 1566 a number of people began to meet for private worship in their own houses and even to administer the Sacrament. They disliked the whole constitution of the Church as lately reformed. In government they were opposed to episcopacy and in doctrine were Calvinistic. As some words are loosely used in Church history, it will be well here to define certain terms. "Puritan" was first used to describe the seceders of 1566. "Nonconformist" is the generic name of those who nearly a hundred years later refused to conform in 1662, and "Dissenter" is the name used for those Nonconformists (with the exception of Romanists and Unitarians) who were tolerated by the act of 1689. It is a mistake to suppose that England was whole-hearted in its allegiance to Rome under Queen Mary. The pent-up rebellion broke out at the very beginning of Parker's episcopate, and it resisted anything which seemed to savour of Rome in the authorised formulæ of faith and doctrine under the Prayer Book of 1558. An examination of these attempts to overturn the English Church in both government and doctrine belongs to the Lecture upon Richard Bancroft, but Parker's difficulties were caused by the self-same spirit.

The Act of Uniformity had restored "the ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof," which were prescribed in the first Book of Common Prayer. A proviso added, "until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the queen's majesty with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical or of the metropolitan of the realm." [1] The same authority

[1] It will be noticed that there is no reference to the Metropolitan of York. The Province at that time contained three

could "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." Queen Elizabeth then could proceed in one of two ways, through the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission or through the Metropolitan. The act established the Eucharistic Vestments, and left in other hands all the difficulties of maintaining their use. When the Prayer Book appeared (1558) an Ornaments Rubric was inserted [1] without a word of reference to any further order. Nor can we blame the Queen or Parker for this. The vestments "of the second year of the reign of King Edward VI" had been presented and the further order was not yet forthcoming. What was done afterwards and by what authority are questions which have been keenly debated in our own time. We give a summary of the history and nothing more. Eight years passed before Parker's Advertisements appeared in 1566. They were agreed upon and subscribed by the Archbishop and the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, Winchester, Lincoln and others (an indefinite phrase). They contain forty-six clauses dealing with doctrine, preaching, prayer, sacraments, ecclesiastical polity, apparel, etc., and refer to vestments [2] in only three clauses. The

bishoprics and was ignored by Parliament in ecclesiastical legislation.

[1] "And here it is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Comunion and at all other tymes in hys ministracions shall use suche ornamentes in the Church as wer in use by authoritie of parliamet in the second yere of the reygne of king Edward the VI according to the acte of Parliamet set in the begining of thys booke" (Prayer Book of 1558).

For the verbal difficulties between this and the Act of Parliament see Appendix G, p. 230.

[2] These are—

1. In the ministration of the Holy Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, the principal minister shall use a cope with gospeller and epistoler agreeably, and at all other prayers to be said at that Communion Table to use no copes but surplices.

2. That the Dean and prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk

preface states that the Queen has by her letters directed the Archbishop, with the assistance and conference held with other bishops, viz. such as be in commission for causes ecclesiastical, to take some orders to stay diversities and to bring about one manner of uniformity throughout the whole realm. Apart from the history of the preparation of these Advertisements, probably no question as to their authority would have been raised. The Archbishop drew up his Articles in 1564 and sent them through Cecil for the Queen's signature. This was refused, but on January 25, 1565, the Queen wrote to Parker a peremptory letter reproaching him for inaction, and ordering him to confer with the other bishops of his province and the Universities and to stop the general disorder in the Church, especially in rites and ceremonies. He was to proceed by order, injunction or censure, as the cases should require, according to the laws provided by act of Parliament. Thus commanded, Parker took up again the matter of the Articles, and after draft copies had been sent to and fro between the Queen, Cecil and himself, he forwarded on March 10, 1566, the completed document. A second time the Queen refused her signature, and so Parker issued the document under the title of Advertisements without the specific royal sanction or authority. He was careful in the preface to make reference to the Queen's letters addressed to him. Was this action then the taking of other order prescribed in section 25 of the Act of Uniformity, 1558? The document refrains from saying it was, and the fatal flaw in the completeness of those who contend it was is the refusal of the Queen's signature. It would appear that she compelled Parker to act, but would not give him the final signature for which he pleaded and without which he feared he could not enforce the orders. Neither Queen Elizabeth nor

hood in the choir, and when they preach in the Cathedral or Collegiate Church to wear their hood.

3. That every minister saying any public prayers or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves to be provided at the charges of the parish.

Archbishop Parker could have foreseen that the imperiousness which commanded but would not accept full responsibility, and the timidity which sought to do nothing illegal and shrank from using an authority which would be questioned, would more than three hundred years afterwards cause arguments in the courts of law and heated discussions between men separated in conviction by the same fundamental differences of Church doctrine and polity as then existed.

If we ask how far the Eucharistic Vestments were in use during the eight years before 1566, the question does not admit of an easy answer. The Queen through lay and clerical visitors and the Archbishops and bishops had all been busy during that time by articles, injunctions and inquiries in restraining the growing spirit of revolt against the traditions of the past. The Queen's insistence that something must be done to check diversity and establish uniformity, and the Archbishop's orders in the Advertisements, had reference not only to Vestments but to every part of Church worship and sought to obtain a minimum rather than to enforce a standard which would have led to further disorder.

Parker's chief difficulties soon became those arising from the growing spirit of Puritanism, which hated Rome and anything which was even reminiscent of it. The Zurich Letters (see No. 71) give us an idea of what the Puritans were contending for. These are some of the blemishes which they held to be attached to the Church of England. (1) In the public prayers, although there is nothing impure, there is a kind of popish superstition. (2) Exquisite singing and the use of organs was becoming more general. (3) Sponsors answered for infants and the sign of the Cross was used in baptism. (4) The sacred habits, viz. the cope and surplice, were used at the Lord's Supper. (5) Popish habits were worn out of Church and the bishops wore a rochet. In addition matters of licences and doctrine were objected to. The duty of carrying out the orders of the Advertisements fell upon Parker and Grindal, Bishop of London. Parker, Grindal and the other

bishops were neither proud nor arrogant nor greedy of power, but the Queen and Cecil threw upon them all the odium incurred by the suspension and deprivation of those who would not conform. The Puritans then began to contend that episcopacy was contrary to Scripture, and appealed from both the Queen and the bishops to Parliament. In 1572 they presented the famous Admonition to Parliament, which was preceded by a letter "to the godly readers," which speaks of the "lordly Lords, Archbishops, Bishops, Suffragans, Deans, Doctors, Archdeacons, Chancellors and the rest of that proud generation whose kingdom must down," "whose authority is forbidden by Christ." "Pope-like, they take upon them to beat them, and that for their own childish Articles being for the most part against the manifest truths of God." The Admonition was a fierce denunciation of Church worship and ritual, and contains twenty-one paragraphs of objections to the Prayer Book. At this stage Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop and at that time Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, intervened at Parker's request or with his encouragement and published "An Answer to a certain libel entitled an Admonition to the Parliament, 1572." He told the Puritan clergy that they were gently entreated, though some one or two had been displaced most of them had been allowed to keep their livings, all kinds of friendliness had been offered to them, and where they would not conform they had been asked only to be quiet and hold their peace. "If your doings," he argues, "proceed indeed of a good conscience, then leave that living and place which bindeth you to those things that be against your conscience . . . or what honesty is there to swear to statutes and laws, and when you have so done contrary to your oath to break them and yet still to remain under them and to enjoy that place which requireth obedience and subjection to them."

At the same time the battle was being fought out in Cambridge, from which Whitgift's answer had come. Pilkington, Master of S. John's, and Cartwright, Lady

Margaret Professor of Divinity, combined to cause a revolt in Trinity and S. John's, where both fellows and scholars defied the law by appearing in chapel without surplices. Cartwright, a man of great literary power, finally rebelled against the whole Church system and declared that the offices of bishop and deacon were not allowable, that every minister ought to be chosen by the people and every one ought to be chief in his own case. The statutes of the University were put in force against him, and he was deprived of both his Professorship and Fellowship and retired to Geneva, where his new friendships served only to conform him in his convictions. From this place of exile he continued the warfare with a strong personal hostility to Whitgift, who replied showing that the English Church ought to be distinctly English and dominated neither by Rome nor Geneva. Richard Hooker afterwards took up the argument from this point, and refers in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical Polity* to Cartwright's arguments. "This reply of T. C. consisteth of two false principles and rotten pillars; whereof the one is that we must of necessity have the same kind of government that was in the Apostles' time, and is expressed in the Scriptures, and no other; the other is, that we may not in any wise or in any consideration retain in the Church anything that hath been abused under the Pope."

We are now coming to the time when Parker's life was drawing to a close, and therefore we end our story, only adding some account of the last days of the sorely tried and brave-hearted Primate.

Parker's Last Days.

A word first as to the outcome of the controversy with the Puritans. It was a struggle between the maintenance of an historical national Church and the formation of a new one. Nor did the struggle end with Parker's life. He was succeeded by Grindal,[1] whose sympathies

[1] Bishop Creighton thus writes of Grindal, "Sensible, judicious, learned, with much personal charm, he seemed likely to take a

were so strongly Puritan that it was thought he would be able to control and restrain the party. Experience only served to show that he was less successful than Parker. Nor need we feel any surprise at this. Principles will win when expediency leaves only defeat accompanied with bitterness. The battle had to be fought again under Whitgift, to whom and to Parker the English Church largely owed its Catholicity, and without whose principles it would have lost in the closing years of the sixteenth century its continuity with the past, and its claim to be the ancient Church of the realm, reformed but not dissevered from its own past life.

And now we bid farewell to Parker, and look at him once more in his closing days as we have been following him through the years of his life of service and devotion to the Church. Throughout his busy life he remained a student, and especially an editor of ancient chronicles and a diligent collector of manuscripts. This love of past days was his solace in the midst of exacting and often thankless public labours. Queen Elizabeth proved a haughty and imperious mistress, ready to give her support to the Archbishop when this suited her purpose, and equally ready to disclaim his actions when it was politic so to do. Parker retained her personal regard as long as he lived. The Archbishop's generosity was continuous. His bounty to his native city of Norwich was great, and two or three colleges at Cambridge profited by his gifts. As part of his income he received the rectorial tithes of many parishes, and he fully recognised his responsibility to repair the chancels of the parish churches. His life at Lambeth was filled with generous hospitality, though he was often burdened with the maintenance of State and political offenders, who by the custom of the time were committed to his custody. Some of the deprived Marian Bishops were

prominent part in shaping the future of the Church under Elizabeth, but though he was put in positions of importance he made little mark and his tenure was disastrous to the dignity of the archiepiscopal office."

sent to live with Parker and were placed under his charge. His consideration for and kindness to these distinguished and disappointed brethren made their lives as pleasant as the conditions of Church life would permit. To these and other "prisoners" at Lambeth he assigned different chambers, and the whole household was accustomed to dine together in the great hall. Mrs. Parker and the children had their private apartments, and it was not customary for the lady of the house to be present in the great dining-hall. The custom which so long prevailed of assigning sons of the nobility to the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury was still in vogue and the Primate moved amongst all, from the young lords to the servants, with a gracious and personal interest in every life. Each day the great household assembled for Matins and Evensong, and no business was allowed to prevent the Archbishop's attendance upon the King of kings and Lord of lords. Parker ate sparingly and drank scarcely any wine. In company he was reserved and shy, but in private unrestrained and facetious. Such was the life at Lambeth, which was rendered more solitary by the death of Mrs. Parker in 1570 and of the second son in 1574. Towards the close of 1574 Queen Elizabeth visited the Archbishop at Canterbury and was entertained by him in great state. On his return to Lambeth Parker was taken ill, and he set himself to get ready for his departure. He prepared a tomb of black marble for his body, and on April 5, 1575, dictated his will, which contains these words, "I profess that I do certainly believe whatsoever the Holy Catholic Church believeth and receiveth in any articles whatsoever pertaining to faith, hope and charity, and wherein these I have offended my Lord God in any ways, either by imprudence, or will, or weakness, I repent from my heart of my fault and error, and I ask forgiveness with a contrite heart; which remission and indulgence I do most firmly hold I shall obtain by the precious death and merits of my most indulgent Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

On May 17 the tired soul found rest, and Matthew

Parker breathed his last breath. To say he had enemies is only to repeat what is true of every man called upon to rule in high office, whether in Church or State, and especially in troublous times. He had also many devoted and attached friends, who lightened his burdens and cheered his official and private life. "By nature and by education, by the ripeness of his judgment and the incorruptness of his private life, he had been pre-eminently fitted for the task of ruling the Church of England through a stormy period of her history, and though seldom able to reduce the conflicting elements of thought and feeling into active harmony, the vessel he was called to pilot had been saved, almost entirely by his skill, from breaking on the rock of medieval superstition or else drifting away into the whirlpool of licentiousness and unbelief" (Hardwick's *History of the Articles of Religion*).