ENGLISH PROTESTANT REACTIONS TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

A Thesis Presented to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies
University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

---

by
Ben Harder
1973

ENGLISH PROTESTANT REACTIONS TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

by

BEN HARDER

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

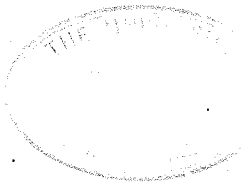

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

C.S.P.F.	Calendar of State Papers Foreign, 1560-61.
C.S.P.S.	Calendar of State Papers Spanish, 1558-1567.
C.S.P.V.	Calendar of State Papers Venetian, 1558-1580.
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography.
L.P.	Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.
O.L.	Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation.
S.T.C.	A Short Title Catalogue of English Books printed in England...1475-1640.
Z.L.	The Zurich Letters.

INTRODUCTION

The Protestant Reformation destroyed whatever remained of the concept of the unity and authority of the Medieval Church. The rapidity with which the heretical doctrines of Luther spread across Europe only served to indicate the extent to which dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical system had penetrated European society. Within a few decades, Protestantism had swept Central Europe and was challenging the supremacy of the Roman Catholic church in the north and west.

The effect on the Roman Catholic Church was devastating. The territorial and numerical losses, great as they were, were overshadowed by the profound effect the Protestant movement had on the unity and authority of the Medieval Church. The demand for reform was not new. Luther merely echoed the reform sentiments of Catholic intellectuals, devotees of the via moderna, and German humanists.[1] The Catholic church had stubbornly resisted, or perhaps more correctly, had not seen the immediacy of the need to reform. For this oversight she was to pay dearly. The success of the Lutheran revolt demonstrated vividly how irrelevant the church had become to a broad spectrum of society.

---

[1] For a discussion of this see L. Spitz, The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists (Cambridge:1963).

This crisis which Catholicism faced precipitated new internal demands for reform. Such reform, it was generally believed, was the work of reforming councils, and it was to such a council that Christendom now looked for a remedy of its ills and the recovery of its lost fortunes. Jedin argues that it was this persistent "...belief in the need and in the reforming virtue of...(a)...Council... (which)...became one of the most powerful factors to which the Council of Trent owed its convocation."[1] But the call for a council came not only from Catholics. Throughout the early years of the Reformation the demand for an ecclesiastical council was promoted by Protestants and Catholics alike who hoped through the council to accomplish a reconciliation through effective reform. The General Council which finally convened at Trent in 1545 soon frustrated those expectations. It soon became apparent that no reconciliation was in fact possible. What Trent accomplished was the consolidation of Catholicism through the re-affirmation of the Church's theology and the eradication of obvious ecclesiastical abuses. Trent was Catholicism taking the offensive. Its canons and decrees left little room for reconciliation with "heretical" Protestantism. In the final analysis Trent served only to widen the breach between the opposing camps.

---

[1] Hubert Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent, trans. Dom Ernest Graf (New York: 1957), I, 118.

At issue was the whole question of authority and it was apparent from the outset that Protestants and Catholics held opposing conceptions of what a council should be and do. Continental Protestants, inspired by Luther, had demanded a "free general Christian Council."[1] By this they meant a council that was truly representative, uncontrolled by the Pope, and subject to the authority of Scriptures as interpreted by the reformers. Lutherans again and again insisted that they were ready to submit to such a gathering.

The Roman Catholic conception of a General Council differed greatly.[2] The basic Catholic premises of a conciliar

---

[1] A particularly good discussion of this demand by Continental reformers is found in Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent, I, 166-219. Jedin's primary focus is on Luther and his apparent willingness to submit to the decrees of such a "free Christian council" while at the same time maintaining that Scripture was above "Pope and council." When it became apparent that no council was forthcoming Luther was spurred on to some of his most violent attacks on the Papacy, an attitude picked up, Jedin points out, by most Continental Protestants. Cf. Ludwig von Pastor, The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, trans. F.I.Antrobus (2nd ed.; London: 1891-1940), Volumes X through XIII.

[2] An excellent discussion of the backgrounds to the whole conciliar question of the sixteenth century is Brian Tierney, Foundations of the Conciliar Theory (Cambridge: University Press, 1955). In addition, both Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent, and Pastor, History of the Popes, have excellent summaries of the conciliar question of the sixteenth century, noting particularly the flux and change in Catholic conciliar theory since the Council of Constance. Helpful material is also found in H.O.Evennett, The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent (Cambridge: University Press, 1930) Evennett is primarily concerned with the French orientation to the concept of a general council, but his discussion includes material on prevailing European conciliar theory.

settlement were a recognition of papal authority, both in calling and presiding over such a Council, and that all reform measures must of necessity be in conformity with the traditions of the church. Furthermore, Catholics generally pressed for Protestants to acknowledge that their beliefs were heretical and the basic premise underlying Protestant participation was an agreement "...beforehand to accept the principle that decisions of the council were final and definitive."[1]

However, there was still another dimension to the conciliar question, namely, the position taken by the Emperor Charles V and most of the German Princes. Though Catholics, they were much more concerned with the political realities of the moment. They bypassed, Pauck says, "...the question of truth and authority, and attributed primarily a functional authority to the council."[2] They felt that the main points of dissension could be reconciled, and that the issues regarding ecclesiastical organization could be settled through concession and compromise. These varying conceptions of the impending council predetermined its fate as a means to unite Christendom. When it finally convened, after numerous abortive attempts, at Trent on December 13, 1545, the dyes were

---

[1] Wilhelm Pauck, The Heritage of the Reformation (New York: 1961), p.147.

[2] Ibid., p.148.

too deeply cast to effect reconciliation.

Protestant reaction to such a council was predictable.[1] Trent was convoked according to Catholic conciliar definition which left little room for meaningful Protestant participation. The long delay in convening the Council, and then the repeated postponements, were interpreted by Protestants as insidious Papal plots to avoid the fundamental Reformation issues.

One aspect of Protestant reaction to the Council of Trent which has not been fully investigated is the attitudes of English Protestants to the Council. The English Reformation initially did not develop the same intense theological orientation as its Continental counterpart. Its orientation was political. It was only after the political break from Rome was basically resolved that the Reformation in England turned its attention to matters relating to ecclesiastical organization and theology. For this reason the early preparations for the Council of Trent prompted very little response from early English Protestantism. What reaction there was, was conditioned to a great extent by the

[1] Perhaps the fullest treatment of Protestant reaction generally to the Council of Trent is Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent. German Protestant reaction is very well documented in Robert Stupperich, "Die Reformatoren und des Tridentinum," Archiv fur Reformation Geschichte, XLVII (1956), 20-64. A brief summary is found in Pauck, The Heritage of the Reformation, pp.145-161.

influence of Continental reformers.

Initial reaction to the conciliar question was associated with Henry VIII's attempts to frustrate Papal plans for a general council.[1] The propaganda campaign was official to the extent that a few of the items bore the royal seal, and numerous of the tracts were issued by Berthelet, the King's printer. The tracts, taken collectively, did not develop a coherent conciliar theory. They were propagandist, and echoed to a great extent the standard, anti-conciliar arguments of Continental Protestantism. They were, however, important in the development of the idea of sovereignty. This association will be investigated later.

Another period of reaction to the conciliar question, though perhaps more indirect, is that associated with Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury during Henry's and Edward's reign. Cranmer endeavoured to organize a pan-Protestant council, in opposition to Trent, which would formulate a Protestant creed acceptable to all Protestant groups. Cranmer did not succeed in thus unifying Protestantism. Had he been successful the last session of Trent and likewise Papal relations with England from that point on would doubtless have been much different.

The main period of reaction to the conciliar question

---

[1] This whole question is discussed in Chapter I.

in England came as a result of the Elizabethan religious settlement early in 1559. On her accession Elizabeth was faced with England in "...full communion with Rome, the pope was acknowledged as head of the church and the doctrines and rites of Roman Catholicism were universally enforced."[1] That she contemplated change was immediately evident with the dismissal of Mary's principal advisers and the appointment of Sir William Cecil, a leading reformer, as Secretary of State. The clearest indication, however, of the direction the new regime was taking in religion was the famous Religious Settlement of May, 1559. This action made it apparent that Elizabeth intended to allow no right or authority beyond hers in matters political or ecclesiastical in England.

This new orientation of English politics coincided with the accession of Pius IV to the Papal chair on December 26, 1559. Pius was generally regarded as a perfect choice for the position. He was well versed in canon law, theology and the traditions of the church, was an able administrator, and had the support of the most influential elements of the Catholic church.[2] Pius IV's main interests were the restoration of England to the Roman See, and the unifying of Christendom according to Roman Catholic definition, a work begun

---

[1] C.G.Bayne, Anglo-Roman Relations 1558-1565 (Oxford: 1968), p.17.

[2] A full treatment of Pius IV is found in Pastor, History, XV, 85 fw. and Bayne, Relations, p.41 fw.

by the previous sessions of Trent in 1545-47 and 1552-53, but which had lagged since then. Pius considered the reconvening of the Council of Trent as absolutely essential, the success of which would be greatly enhanced by the restoration of England to Roman Catholicism. Pius IV and Elizabeth were on a collision course and strained Anglo-Roman relations were inevitable. The third session of Trent, finally convened by Pius in 1563, was inextricably bound to English politics and therefore is of major importance to our study.

The man who became the outstanding Protestant apologist in England during this period was John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury. Jewel, a Protestant refugee in Strasburg and Zurich during Mary's reign, returned to England in March, 1559 and immediately became actively involved in the reform movement. He was one of the main participants in the Westminster Disputation, March 31, 1559, a debate between reformers and Catholic bishops regarding basic tenets of theology. During the summer of 1559, he was commissioned to assist in a visitorial commission of England's west counties to enforce the new acts of parliament. He was elevated to the episcopate as Bishop of Salisbury on January 21, 1560. During the summer of that year, Jewel engaged in a brief dispute with Henry Cole and made his mark, at least popularly as a ready polemicist for the reformed cause.

It was during this time that the conciliar question again emerged. Pius IV, in November 1559, had issued the bull summoning the Council of Trent to convene early in the new year. Elizabeth viewed that development with alarm, especially when news came that Martinengo, Papal nuncio, was on his way to request her to renounce her reforms, and send representatives, as a good daughter of the church, to Trent. As much as she despised having to do so, Elizabeth placed herself firmly on the side of the Reformation by refusing the nuncio's entry to England. This action, however, created a pressing need to make Anglican theology definitive, and also legitimize English opposition to the Council of Trent. Jewel was called to this task. His Apologia Ecclesia Anglicana, 1562, became the first official definitive statement of Anglican theology and English conciliar theory. It was widely circulated and quickly became adopted as having Royal approval. Jewel emerged as the first champion of Anglicanism.

In short therefore, I propose to investigate English Protestant reaction to the Council of Trent beginning with reaction prior to Elizabeth's reign. The main period of investigation will be the early Elizabethan period to the end of the Council of Trent, 1563. During this period, Jewel is the leading English conciliar spokesman. His theory, and

that of English Protestantism, is virtually synonomous.

Jewel, however, will have to be considered against the backdrop of "official" English reaction reflected by the attitudes and policies of Elizabeth, and the influence of Sir William Cecil. If in fact Jewel was commissioned by Cecil to write the Apology, this backdrop becomes essential to the investigation.

Almost nothing has been written on the subject. On Jewel's Life, a few old biographies are available, the 1573 edition of Lawrence Humphrey J. Juelli, Episcope Sarisburiensis, and The Life of Bishop Jewel published by C. W. LeBas in 1873. G. W. Bromiley published John Jewel, 1522-1572, The Apologist of the Church of England in 1948. Most recently, two books have been published, W. M. Southgate's, John Jewel and the Problem of Doctrinal Authority, and John E. Booty's John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England. Both Booty and Southgate deal with the theology of the Apology as it represents a statement of Elizabethan "Anglicanism".

Jewel's works, his Apology, Defense of the Apology, his debates with Harding, his sermons, some letters and the Epistle to Scipio are important. Jewel's letters have been published by the Parker Society in the Zurich Letters and the Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation. In ad-

dition, parts of Jewel's works, as well as ancillary primary material are published in Pollard and Redgrave, Short Title Catalogue of English Books, John Strype's Annals of the Reformation, E. Cardwell's Documentary Annals, and John Foxe's Actes and Monuments. Some select sermons are also published by the Camden Society and in Gilbert Burnet's History of the Reformation. Primary sources for the official English reaction are the publications of the Public Record Office, the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Domestic Series, Spanish, Venetian and Roman Series.

I. THE COUNCIL IN ENGLISH PERSPECTIVE

The English Reformation had a rather unique development when compared to the reform movements on the Continent. This was largely due to the fact that the reformation movement began as a dispute revolving around the "great matter" of Henry VIII and the problem of the position of the English king in the English church. This made for a political orientation to the English experience which was lacking on the Continent, a political movement initiated by an English king who could be very pragmatic in religious questions as situations dictated.

The early phase of the reformation in England therefore was not built on the great theological issues so fiercely debated on the Continent. Continental reform movements were intensely religious, gained widespread popular acceptance, and owed their origin and early development to the charisma and theological uniqueness of a small number of great leaders. None of these characteristics were present in England in the early years to the same degree. England initially had no Luther, Zwingli or Calvin to fuel the fires of a popular reform movement. England initially produced no great theologian to systematize Protestant faith. In fact, the English reformation could hardly be called religious at all in its

early years, except as religious issues were inextricably bound to the whole question of the outworking of the *plenitudo potestatis* of the Papacy in English politics.

This is not to say, however, that there was no reform movement, only that it was not important politically. Traditional reform currents had been as persistent in England as elsewhere. The shadow of Lollardy still hung over England and enjoyed, though in a very limited sense, popular sympathy and support. Lollardy in fact had experienced somewhat of a revival in the early sixteenth century and was very much in evidence in England when the first waves of Lutheranism made their way across the channel.[1] This aspect of the background to the reformation in England is significant because Lollardy and Lutheranism found much common ground.

Agitation for reform came likewise from a flourishing contingent of humanists, disciples of the Erasmian school, who "...did much to prepare the intellectual milieu of Reformation controversy..."[2] Sponsors of the movement in

[1] See the excellent discussion by J.A.Thompson, *The Later Lollards, 1414-1520* (London: 1965). Also James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, (4 volumes; London: 1908), particularly Volume I; A.G.Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-1558* (London: 1959); Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, (3 volumes; London: 1950-54), I, 126 fw. and H. Maynard Smith, *Pre-Reformation England* (New York: 1963), p.267 fw.

[2] James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* (Oxford: 1965), p.2. The impact of humanism is also discussed by Smith, *Pre-Reformation*, p.420 fw.

England, Colet, More and Fisher, were individuals thoroughly immersed in and dedicated to the "...simplification of doctrine and reform of practice, especially through infusion of humanistic values into the aridities of late fifteenth century theological controversies."[1] English humanists, McConica points out, were extremely influential in determining the flux and change of early Tudor policy, especially as the efforts of the state were directed to programs of ecclesiastical reform.

In addition to these reform efforts, another movement was gaining momentum in England which was to exercise a profound influence on the course of the English Reformation. This movement consisted of a small group of Protestants, especially after 1520, who were influenced by the reform movements on the Continent and endeavored to spark the fires of reform in England. These early Protestants, "... greatly misunderstood, suffering ...severe handicaps... hounded by ecclesiastical, imperial and royal authorities..."[2] were instrumental in blending

---

[1] McConica, Humanists, p.3.

[2] William A. Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants 1520-35 (London:1964), p.3. For more general treatments of the English Reformation see Hughes, Reformation, the classic Catholic treatment, A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation (London: 1964), J. R. H. Moorman, A History of the Church of England (London: 1953), and T. M. Parker, The English Reformation to 1558 (London: 1950).

> the salient insights of biblical humanists and continental Protestants into a moralistic theology and a scriptural religion designed to appeal to England's liberal intellectuals no less than common men and women still attached to old Lollardy.[1]

Most of these early Protestants had come under the strong influence of the Continental reform movements. Initial and in most cases lasting exposure came through the cells of Protestant sympathizers found in numerous university communities. The most famous of these was the "little Germany" cell group at Cambridge which met regularly at the White Horse Tavern. In the course of the Reformation this group produced many great men who were destined to make their contribution to the English Protestant tradition, men such as Tyndale, Barnes, Bilney, Cranmer, Parker, Latimer, Ridley, among others. This initial exposure was supplemented and reinforced as these men travelled, studied and worked on the Continent through voluntary or imposed exile. William Tyndale (1494-1536), perhaps the greatest of England's earliest Protestants, matriculated at the University of Wittenberg, the heart of the Lutheran reform movement in 1524.[2] His most notable contribution to the English Reformation was his work of translating the Scriptures and select works of

---

[1] Ibid., p.3.

[2] Ibid., p.139. For a discussion of English reformers who studied at Wittenberg in the 16th century see Preserved Smith, "Englishmen at Wittenberg in the 16th Century," English Historical Review, XXXVI (1921), 422-433.

Luther into English, a work carried on at Antwerp, a centre of English Protestant activity. Robert Barnes (1495-1540), a leading Protestant who was to rise to prominence in the employ of the English crown, likewise travelled extensively on the Continent and became thoroughly immersed in Lutheranism at Wittenberg where he enrolled as Antonius Anglus in 1533. In typical Henrician fashion, Barnes met his death on the scaffold in 1540. Other prominent Protestants who fled to the Continent, studied and promoted the English cause there were George Joye, compiler of the first English primer which became, Clebsch maintains, the model for almost every known edition prior to 1545; William Roy, assistant to Tyndale and active translator; and John Frith who "...displayed the finest mind, the most winsome wit, the boldest spirit among the men who wrote theology in English between 1520 and 1535."[1] These more prominent individuals were joined by a host of other translators, theologians, writers and propagandists[2] who assimilated the tenets of Continental Protestantism and made the thought of the reformers available to the English people.

We cannot conclude, however, that this profound exposure to Continental Protestantism relegated the English

---

[1] Ibid., p.78.

[2] Ibid., p.139.

Protestants to being mere imitators of the Continental Reformation. Quite the contrary. England's earliest Protestants made significant and unique contributions even though the primary materials perhaps for that work came from established sources in Europe. Their work was to be a necessary antecedent to the work of the Jewels and Hookers who were later to make English Protestant theology definitive.[1]

One aspect of the Reformation debate, the conciliar question, so fiercely debated on the Continent, was largely ignored by the early English theologians. Perhaps the conciliar question did not have the same immediacy in England as on the Continent where the conciliar problem was so closely entwined in the web of European politics. Representative perhaps of early Protestant reaction was William Tyndale. In the tradition of his Continental counterparts he argued that all councils must use the Scriptures as the ultimate norm in deciding matters of faith,[2] that councils were usually held at locations which would be of benefit to the Papal cause,[3] that general councils instigated

---

[1] Ibid., pp.305-318.

[2] William Tyndale, An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, edited by Rev. Henry Walter for the Parker Society (Cambridge:1850), p.99.

[3] William Tyndale, Expositions and Notes, edited by Rev. Henry Walter for the Parker Society (Cambridge:1849), p.272.

by the Pope had always been under his influence and therefore not truly free,[1] and that it was useless for the Papacy to seek for unity from the Protestants when even the different Papal camps could not come to agreement among themselves.[2]

The first major period of reaction to the conciliar developments on the continent came as Henry VIII's divorce was nearing a climax later in 1533. The intransigence of the Papacy, especially as a result of Hapsburg pressure, reached its foregone conclusion when Clement VII decreed against Henry on March 23, 1534, upholding the validity of Henry's marriage to Catherine. Henry's answer was the Act of Supremacy of November 3, 1534, which made it a treasonable offence to refuse to recognize the English king as supreme head of the Church of England. Opposition to the Act was harshly dealt with. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester was beheaded on June 22, 1535, followed by Sir Thomas More on July 6. "These executions", says Jedin, "were an open declaration of war on the Papacy and were regarded as such."[3]

---

[1] Tyndale, Answer, p.158.

[2] Ibid., p.99.

[3] Jedin, Council, I, 303. Jedin's treatment of the general Henrician attitude to the impending council is comprehensive. A treatment of Anglo-Roman relations during the early part of this period is G. de C. Parmiter, The King's Great Matter (London: 1967). Also excellent is J.J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII (Berkely: 1968), p.305 fw. In addition see Pastor, History, XII, 460 fw., and G.R.Elton, England Under the Tudors (London: 1955), p.127 fw., Conrad Russell, Crisis of Parliaments (London: 1971), an excellent synthesis of the whole Tudor period.

Although Henry had successfully concluded his "great matter" it soon became apparent that he had left himself in a rather precarious position in European politics. The Pope would have moved against Henry immediately with the bull of excommunication, which was prepared by the end of August, 1535. But the effectiveness of that Papal sanction against Henry depended on assistance from French and Hapsburg quarters. If in fact a coalition could be negotiated against Henry, he might yet be brought to heel, thereby bringing England back under the umbrella of Papal sovereignty. The Pope's chances would also be greatly enhanced if he could gain the official sanction of a General Council to move against Henry. A coalition of Christian princes thus executing the mandate of a General Council could well have taxed English power and reserves to the limit. The key to the plan, however, without which neither Council or coalition would materialize was the reconciliation of "Valois and Hapsburg." "It accordingly," Jedin says, "became the aim of English diplomacy to keep them apart and to exacerbate their mutual hostility as well as to thwart a Council by every available means."[1]

Jedin argues further that Henry had two natural allies, Francis I's aggressive plans which soon were to lead him into

[1] Jedin, Council, I,304.

conflict with Charles V, and the League of Schmalkalden which likewise feared a General Council. "Henry exploited both in masterly fashion."[1]

It soon became apparent that the first of the two natural allies Henry had worked to his advantage. Francis I throughout remained resolutely intent on maintaining Henry's friendship. Charles in the meantime was engaged in campaigns in Tunisia and had no time for other matters. In any event, Catherine's death in January of 1536 followed by the execution of Anne Boleyn in May of the same year removed the main obstacle to the Anglo-Hapsburg detente. The woman whom Charles had been bound to defend by dynastic loyalty, and likewise "the usurper whom none of the Catholic world could accept,"[2] were removed. "Charles," says Scarisbrick, "was now confident that the storm was over and that Henry could be brought back into the fold, perhaps by remitting his differences with the Pope to a General Council."[3] The Pope apparently shared these sentiments.

Both Paul III and Charles V failed to comprehend the extent of the Anglo-Papal breach. These optimistic plans and the conciliatory attempts of Campeggio of course came to nothing. Henry felt threatened as long as the ban of excommunica-

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p.335.

[3] Ibid.

tion hung over his head. He therefore steadfastly resolved to continue to oppose a council which might have rallied Europe to the Pope's standard. The summons of Paul III in June of 1536 to a General Council at Mantua the following year was viewed with great suspicion by Henry in spite of the new Papal overtures. Undoubtedly Paul III wished to bring Henry and England back into the Papal fold by whatever means necessary. But whatever chance Paul III had of achieving that objective disappeared in the summer of 1536 with the resumption of the Hapsburg-Valois hostilities. Scarisbrick concludes that, "...Charles and Francis enabled Henry to turn the tables on...(the)...acute danger and became the most sought after personage in Europe, thereby winning for himself, as it was to prove, two more year's breathing space."[1] This "breathing space" however was not without its problems. One of the programs of the new regime in 1536 was the dissolution of the monasteries. This yielded the crown substantial wealth, but also became the "straw that broke the camel's back." In the midst of the dissolution the government was suddenly faced with a massive rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace which finally swept all of the north in the latter part of 1536.[2] The causes

[1] Ibid., p.336.

[2] Perhaps the most complete study of the Pilgrimage, just republished, is M.H.Dodds and R.Dodds, The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy (2 volumes, 2nd ed.; London: 1971). A recent excellent discussion is in G.R.Elton, Policy and Police (Cambridge: 1972).

for the rebellion were multiple, but the Pontefract articles were in fact a wholesale condemnation of the breach with Rome. Scarisbrick states that

> The Pilgrimage must stand as a large scale, spontaneous authentic indictment of all that Henry most obviously stood for; and it passed judgment against him as surely and comprehensively as Magna Carta condemned King John or the Grand Remonstrance the government of Charles I.[1]

The rebellion, however was doubly dangerous for Henry because the succession was in grave doubt. By declaring his marriage to Anne null and void, Elizabeth became a bastard daughter. This meant that Henry now had two bastard daughters and no legitimate male heir. This he was soon to have as a result of his marriage to Jane Seymour, but Henry's throne, in the interim, and especially the succession, was in grave danger.

Little wonder that Paul III viewed the situation in England with great expectations. He immediately dispatched Reginald Pole, now a Cardinal, to Flanders "...nominally to call upon Henry to repent and submit, but also to muster support for the Pilgrims and maybe, to come to England at the head of a military force."[2] The intent of course was to expedite the ban of excommunication. Henry was fortun-

---

[1] Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p.341. Cf. Elton, England, p.145 fw. and Russell, Crisis, p.102 fw. Elton, Policy, treats the Pilgrimage from the standpoint of the enforcement of the Reformation.

[2] Ibid., p.342.

ate that Pole did not set out for England until February 1537[1] when the rebellion was already put down. Whatever expectations Paul III had of resuscitating the conflict or of marshalling Continental support at that point against Henry were misplaced. All that Papal intervention accomplished was to alienate Henry more and make him more determined than ever in his opposition to Rome. With the passing of this crisis in Henry's favor, Paul III lost perhaps his last opportunity to affect any concerted action against England.

Henry had however been seeking support from the Schmalkalden League in his opposition to a General Council.[2] Both the English king and the members of the League opposed a General Council which opposition set them against Pope and Emperor. Henry had vacillated considerably in his attitudes to the Continental Reformers, principally the Lutheran branch, and most of his vacillation depended on political

---

[1] L.P., XII, i, 779.

[2] For a recent excellent treatment of the question of Anglo-Lutheran relations from 1530 to 1538 see Neelak Serawlook Tjernagel, Henry VIII and the Lutherans (St. Louis: 1965), particularly p.135 fw. Also good is H.Maynard Smith, Henry VIII and the Reformation (London: 1948), and Preserved Smith, "Luther and Henry VIII," English Historical Review, XXV (1910), 656-669. In addition Erwin Doernberg, Henry VIII and Luther (London: 1961).

expediency. He had initially come out very strongly against Luther for which he was given the dubious title of Defender of the Faith. However, as complications set in over the divorce issue, and as the threat of a General Council became more serious, Henry was forced by circumstances to seek aid from the very man he had earlier condemned.

Anglo-Schmalkalden negotiations began very amiably in February of 1531.[1] But these negotiations quickly broke down when Continental reformers condemned Henry for seeking a divorce from Catherine. Henry therefore was not able to begin serious negotiations with the League until the divorce issue was settled in late 1534. These began with the mission of Dr. Robert Barnes to Wittenberg in March, 1535. His mission was to forestall the suspected alliance between Francis I and the Schmalkalden League and make certain that the League continued to oppose the impending General Council. Henry hoped for a formal Anglo-Schmalkalden alliance, a hope never realized because of lingering suspicions in Germany about his sincerity. The mission therefore, despite all diplomatic congeniality, was frustrated. Henry's negotiations through his crisis years with the League were finally terminated in 1538 when because of other developments he no longer needed the League's support.

---

[1] Tjernagel, Henry VIII, p.136.

In spite of the fact that the Council of Mantua had not materialized, Paul III still hoped for some way to marshal a general European reaction against Henry. Fresh prospects for such a move presented themselves with the Truce of Nice in the summer of 1538 between France and the Empire. Jedin contends that in the fall of that year

> ... the two monarchs led the Pope to think that they would lay an embargo on England's trade on condition that he published the Bull of Excommunication which had been kept back for two years.[1]

This was done on December 17, 1538.[2] Apparently however both Charles V and Francis I had long pledged to Henry VIII not to assent to any hostile measures that a future Council might take against him. Charles V refused the embargo because it would damage Netherland trade in the process, While Francis I made his embargo contingent on that of the Emperor.[3] Neither therefore moved against Henry. In the meantime, however, Henry had made a move back to Catholicism in that he

> ... compelled the clergy to subscribe to the Six Articles ... broke off negotiations with the Schmalkalden League, and made overtures to Charles V.[4]

---

[1] Jedin, Council, I, 353.

[2] Pastor, History, XII, 468 fw.

[3] Jedin, Council, I, 353.

[4] Ibid.

Apparently this proved sufficient reason to have the matter of the King's excommunication removed from the agenda of the future Council, thus removing the prime reason for Henry's opposition to the Council in the first place.

To what extent Henry VIII's efforts actually resulted in stultifying Papal plans for a Council is a moot point. The Catholic states were probably not capable of coalescing sufficiently to launch a united Continental thrust against Henry. This, however, Henry did not know. He felt that self-preservation lay in resisting the conciliar movement on the Continent, and resist he did.

As much however as Henry VIII was threatened by developments on the Continent from 1534 to 1539, he likewise faced a threat from within his own realm. The process culminating in the Act of Supremacy of 1534 ran contrary to the traditional relationship of regnum and sacerdotium which had been the hallmark of Medieval political theory.[1] Royal Supremacy meant a breach with Rome and the shattering of religious and social traditions in England which had persisted for centuries.

---

[1]The traditional relationship was the Catholic doctrine of the two swords, both which were divinely vested in the universal church. The development of nationalism in the Renaissance and particularly the new theories of the relationship of church and state which emerged during the early years of the Reformation had a profound effect on developments in England. An excellent discussion of the new political thinking of the 16th century is J.W.Allen, History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (London:1928).

It became imperative therefore "...to impress the English people with the fact that usurpation is not usurpation...",[1] that in fact "...for centuries Christians had been misled by popes and church doctors about the proper relationship between regnum and sacerdotium..."[2] Henry saw a pressing need for the English to comprehend the character of and the need for Royal Supremacy, particularly as this affected the relationship between Pope and King, between King and English church, and most important for our study, between King and General Council. The printing press therefore was called to the aid of the crown, and a veritable flood of anti-Papal literature written by Henrician pamphleteers and propagandists appeared during the crisis years from 1530 to 1539.[3]

[1] Franklin Le Van Baumer, Early Tudor Theory of Kingship (New Haven: 1940), p.35.

[2] Ibid.

[3] For an excellent discussion see Baumer, Theory, particularly pp.34-84 inclusive and Appendix A, p.211 fw. Also significant is Pierre Janelle, L'Angleterre Catholique, particularly the two chapters entitled, "L'Expression intellectualle du Schisme." For an excellent treatment of Stephen Gardiner's tracts see Pierre Janelle, Obedience in the Church and State (Cambridge:1930). This work by Janelle is valuable for an English translation of Gardiner's De vera obedientia. Also excellent are P.A.Sawada, "Two Anonymous Tudor Treatises on the General Council," Journal of Ecclesiastical History. XII (October, 1961), 197-214, and W.G.Zeeveld, Foundations of Tudor Policy (Cambridge:1948). A recent work dealing with the topic of propaganda is G.R.Elton, Policy and Police (Cambridge:1972). Elton however is more interested in political intellectual expression and gives only a cursory treatment of the conciliar literature.

This anti-Papal or pro-Royal literature varies in content, or more specifically, evolves paralleling the English political barometer.[1] It is therefore with the threat of a General Council in 1536 that the pamphleteers concentrate their attacks on the whole matter of conciliar theory. Henry VIII, as previously mentioned, had resisted all attempts to convene a General Council, and the new literature was intended to legitimatize his opposition to it. There was a plethora of tracts and treatises which appeared by a great variety of authors, many of them being anonymous though issued by Berthelet, the King's printer. But in spite of the variety, the tracts basically used the same arguments and repeated the same thing. There was initially no well developed anti-conciliar theory as was developed later by Jewel and Hooker, but that was hardly to be expected. A sample therefore of the anti-conciliar literature of the period will suffice.

---

[1] This is the thesis of Baumer's work. Appendix A, entitled "Henry VIII's Propagandist Campaign", pp.211-224, gives a listing of the most important pro-Royal tracts released from 1528-1539, indicating authorship and printer. His commentary on his listing is excellent. Other important works in addition to the ones discussed, are found in the University of Michigan microfilm series of A.W.Pollard and G.R.Redgrave, A Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in England...1475-1640 (London:1926). They are Robert Barnes, Supplication to Henry VIII, 1534, S.T.C. 1470 (Reel 25), Stephen Gardiner, De vera obedientia, 1535, S.T.C. 11585 (Reel 294), Thomas Starkey, Exhortation to Christian Unity, S.T.C. 23236 (Reel 865), and two official tracts, Sententia de concilio, 1537, S.T.C. 1308, and Epistola ad Carolum, 1538, S.T.C. 13080 (Reel 102).

The first major tract to speak to the issue of a General Council appears as a speech of Cranmer in Cox's collection of Cranmer's works.[1] The authorship however of that tract has been much in dispute and Sawada[2] proves conclusively that the author was not Cranmer but most likely a royal secretary, possibly Cole.[3] Sawada simply catalogues the tract Hatfield Manuscript No. 46, a tract which does not appear in print except as summarized by Cox. Sawada feels that it was written sometime during or after 1536, the time when the threat of a General Council was increasing. The treatise begins[4] by stating that a Council was general when the tota ecclesia gave general consent to its calling and authority, which the English as part of that tota ecclesia were not about to do unless it served their wishes. It was necessary that there be "...a head in the General Council, but this need not necessarily be the Pope as any bishop could be such..." by the consent of the as-

---

[1] Thomas Cranmer, Works, ed. by Rev. J.E.Cox for the Parker Society (2 volumes; Cambridge: 1846), I, 76-78.

[2] Sawada, "Treatises", p.177 fw.

[3] Henry Cole, later to rise to prominence under Mary. The same Cole who responded to Jewel's challenge sermon. Cf. Sawada, Ibid., and T. Cooper, "Cole, Henry", D.N.B., XI, 266-268.

[4] I will be using Sawada's summary of the content of Hatfield Ms. No. 46. It is more complete and analytical than the one by Cox in Cranmer, Works, I, 76-78.

sembly. The Pope was answerable to the General Council both in matters of morals and heresy, and could be deposed for any manner of notorious living even if not formally declared heretic. The Bishop of Rome, in fact, as had been argued by Medieval canonists, should not be the unqualified head of the church.[1] This should be a position subject to the consent of the tota ecclesia. The Pope, it was argued, was but a vicar of the church and was limited by the church, itself represented in the General Council. The "...Conciles have power to condepne the bishop of Rome, to sett an ordre upon his liffe, to put him down and chuse an other."[2] Further the function of a General Council historically, "...was to judge heresies, to define matters of faith in accordance with the word of God and the apostles, and not according to man-made traditions,"[3] by which the author undoubtedly meant papal decrees and the interpretation of church doctors. "Temporal matters," it was argued, "should be defined by temporal power and spiritual matters by the spiritual authority."[4] The author of the treatise confessed his doubts about "...the reliability of conciliar authority...," because of

---

[1] Good discussion in Tierney, Foundations.

[2] Quote from Hatfield Ms. No. 46 as used by Sawada, "Treatises", p.200.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

the contradictory nature of their canons in the past. He allows however for authoritative General Councils as long as they are properly ordered according to previous definition.

The crux of the treatise is the final section where the author states explicitly that the Pope cannot be head of the Council. Numerous reasons are cited. A judge must in the first instance be impartial, which in fact the Pope could not be. The author does not attempt to define impartiality, but leaves the impression that anyone pro-Protestant would do. In addition the "...belief that his primacy was based on Scripture was found to be untrue, and the truth known that that primacy was originally provided by men for the practical purpose of preventing schisms."[1] The primacy was not initially nor since established by the consent of the whole of Christendom. In any event, the reason which had made the bishop of Rome the presidens concilii now ceased to exist. The final conclusion, therefore, was that it was easier to make a new head than reform the old.[2] Hatfield Ms. No. 46 therefore concentrated its discussion on the ius praesidendi of the Pope in the General Council and concluded he had no legitimate right to exer-

---

[1] Ibid., p.202.

[2] Ibid., p.203.

cise that function.

Pope Paul III issued the Bull Ad dominici gregis curam on June 2, 1536 which summoned the long awaited General Council to meet at Mantua on May 23, 1537. What Henry VIII feared most was now pending, and as expected, royal pamphleteers set about discussing the whole problem of King and General Council with renewed vigour. To an extent the Council had been anticipated and some significant releases were made as early as 1535. Most significant as an historical corollary to English efforts was the famous Defensor Pacis by Marsiglio of Padua, which Scarisbrick called that "...specially-trimmed translation...that major textbook of anti-papalism and Erastianism."[1] Baumer points out that the chapters dealing with conciliar theory in Marsiglio's work were carefully deleted, "...doubtless because Marsilius had retained the Pope as the titular head of his hypothetical council."[2] Marsiglio though had argued that the church included all faithful christians, not just those of Catholic persuasion, and a General Council was only such if it faithfully and truly was composed from representatives of the Church thus constituted. The Council was to include among its representatives lay as well as clerical individuals, which body exercised the legislative

[1] Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p.388.

[2] Baumer, Theory, p.53 fw. The English translation of Marsiglio is found in S.T.C. 17817 (Reel 126).

function of the Council. Marsiglio's theory can be found faithfully reproduced in English conciliar literature after 1536.

The Bull of 1536 prompted the release by Berthelet in early 1537 of the famous tract, A Protestation...that neyther his hyghenes, nor his prelates, neyther any other prynce or prelate, is bounde to come attende, to the pretended conncell... at Mantua.[1] The tract seeks to establish first that "...we never went from the unitie of this fayth, neyther that we woll depart on ynche from it."[2] This point the English tried to make, to be consistent with their arguments as to who should participate in a General Council. The author insists, "We wolde have a councelle, we desyre it, ye and crave nothynge so often of God, as that we maye have one."[3] But this "councelle" is to be called according to strict definition, "...suche as Christian men ought to have."[4] It should be "...franke and free, where everyman, without fear may say

---

[1]The full title is A Protestation made for the most mighty and mooste redoubted kynge of Englande & his hole counsell and clergie, wherin is declared, that neyther his hyghness, nor his prelates, neyther any other prynce, or prelate, is bounde to come or sende, to the pretended councill, that Paule, byshoppe of Rome, first by a bul indicated at Mantua, a citie of Italy, S.T.C., 13090 (Reel 68).

[2]Ibid., A. vi.

[3]Ibid., A. viii.

[4]Ibid.

his mynde."[1] "We desyre", the author says, "that it be an holy councell, where everyman maye go about to set up godlyness, and not apply all their study to oppressynge of trouthe."[2] In addition the council should be "...generall, that is to say, kept at suche tyme, and in suche place, that everyman, which seeketh the glory of God, maye be presente..."[3] Following is a general discussion of "...by what law, power or honest title, take they upon them to cal kinges, to somen princis, to appere, where their bulles commande them..."[4] The author then marshals the standard historical argument used in so many of the Tudor tracts that "...formerly councells...(were)...called by consente and authoritie of kynges, emperors, princes...,"[5] implying that it was not the Pope's prerogative to summon General Councils. The tract concludes by stating that safe conduct to the Council was not guaranteed, Mantua was too far away, and so by design, Paul III didn't want the English present in any event.

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., B, iii.

[5] Ibid.

1538 was a banner year for anti-conciliar literature. Though the General Council, called for May of 1537 had not materialized, new efforts were being made in 1538 to convene a Council in Vicenza. This prompted the re-issuance of the Protestation of 1537, just discussed, which was appended to a Berthelet publication entitled, An Epistle of the Moste myghty and redouted Prince Henry the VIII... written to the Emperours maiestie, to all Christen Princes etc.[1] This Epistle, directed to the Emperor, was no doubt intended to ameliorate the Anglo-Hapsburg tensions, especially in light of the truce of Nice between Charles V. and Francis I. The tract began by specifically stating Henry's position as "...kyng of England and of France...supreme head of the churche of England, nexte under christe."[2] The tract was written to "...playnely declare why the Kynges hyghenes owght neyther to sende nor go to the Councell at Vincena, and also how perylouse a thynge it is for all suche as professe the trewe doctrine of Christ to come thether."[3] Henry

---

[1]The full title is An Epistle of the mooste myghty & redouted Prince Henry the viii, by the grace of God Kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, lorde of Irelande, defender of the Faith, and supreme heed of the churche of Englande, nexte under Christe, written to the Emperours maiestie, to all Christen Princes, and to all those that trewly and syncerely professe Christes religion, S.T.C., 13081 (Reel 44).

[2]Ibid., from the title page.

[3]Ibid., A, i.

refers Charles V to "...the boke...",[1] by which no doubt he meant the Bishop's Book of September 1537, which had emphatically set out the case for royal supremacy, declaring papal claims to be nothing but usurpation and tyranny.[2] Henry maintains that this "boke...conteyned many causes, why we refused the Councylle, that by the byshoppe of Romes' usurped power fyrste inducted atte Mantua..." and that this "...boke sufficiently proves..."[3] that the Pope has no legitimate power to summon Christendom to a Council anywhere. The bishop of Rome and his courts "...by subtiltie and craft do invent ways to mock the worlde by newe pretended general councilles..."[4] "And yet we protest," says Henry, "that we neyther put forth that boke, neyther yet used we this epistle to be set afore it, that thereby we shulde seme lesse to desyre a generall Councille thanne any other prince or potentate."[5] Henry argues that the English are "...rather more desirous of it...,"[6] but it needs to be "...free for

[1] Ibid., A, ii.

[2] Hughes, Reformation, I, 33 fw.

[3] S.T.C., 13081, A.ii.

[4] Ibid., A, iii.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

all partes and universal."[1] Henry goes on to argue that no prince desired a General Council more than he, but this Council had to be within the definition of the appended Protestation, that is "...franke and free...an holy councell ...generall..."[2]

Perhaps the most concise of all the tracts on the conciliar problem was the anonymous A Treatise concernynge generall counciles the Byshoppe of Rome and the Clergy, published by Berthelet in 1538.[3] Whereas the previous tracts considered had attacked the ius praesidendi of the Pope in the General Council, this tract devoted itself to pressing the claims of regnum against sacerdotium. The tract begins stressing the divine origin and supreme authority of the king within his dominion both over church and state. The bishop of Rome's claim to be the infallible head of the Church, of having the various exclusive and universal rights of granting bishoprics, to summon kings and princes to general councils where only the clergy had the right of

[1] Ibid.

[2] S.T.C., 13090, A. viii.

[3] This tract is catalogued in S.T.C. as no. 24237. There are only, according to Sawada, two copies of this book known to be extant, one in the Durham University Library and the other at Lambeth Palace. It has not been put into print. I have therefore, for the purpose of this summary, used the relevant material in Sawada, "Treatises", p.204 fw.

vote, to depose kings and princes and to have jurisdictional powers over the universal church, are declared unlawful pretensions. The treatise goes on to maintain that the clerical pretensions that

> ...they and they only constituted the infallible church, that they had the authority to interpret Scripture and define articles of faith with binding force, that they were entitled to excommunicate the laity, but were themselves immune from worldly justice...[1]

were false. The most harmful assertion of all was the Papal claim to have principal jurisdiction in the church. The author maintains that initially, until kings and princes were converted to Christianity, the right to convene councils was Peter's and his successors. Once however Christian princes ruled there "...beganne the auctoritie of the catholike general councilles in the churche of God."[2] Sawada concludes, "What was apparently implied here was that the power to rule over the General Councils had devolved to kings and princes."[3]

A General Council, it is further maintained, is limited to defining doctrine according to the standard of Scripture, to determining the canonical books, to evaluating and

---

[1] Ibid., p.204.

[2] Quoted by Sawada, Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p.205.

if necessary condemning the lives of Christian princes in the light of Scripture, and above all to judging heresy. A Council could not take "...coercive, punitive measures against those who disobeyed conciliar decrees and make process of excommunication except with the king's assent."[1] The first heresy enunciated is that of calling the bishop of Rome head of the universal Church of Christ. The Bishop of Rome is bound to obey Imperial decrees since the Emperor was king of Italy. If the Pope arrogates to himself the authority to call a General Council, the decrees of which would be binding on kings and princes, he does so with a "...flagrant disregard both of the supremacy of the prince, and of the fact that the Universal Church was the congregation of all the faithful, and not of bishops and priests only..."[2] In the primitive church, the apostles merely invited attendance at councils, as for instance the Council of Jerusalem, and did not take vindictive action against those who refused to come. Coercive measures, committed by the Papacy, are indications of pride and it is "...a most pleasing thing to God, and the easiest way to convert infidels, if every king and prince in their realms should destroy this pride."[3] The treatise then proceeds to show

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

how "...unlawfully the authority of the Papal Church had been erected,"[1] and states that the treatise has been written to expose clerical and papal usurpation which have "...developed to the prejudice of charity...peace...and to the purity of christian doctrine."[2] It is incumbent therefore that temporal sovereigns reform this "...hole ceremonial fashion of lyuing..."[3] especially now "...in this dangerous tyme."[4]

As much as Henry VIII opposed a General Council for political reasons, he wanted desperately to make that opposition appear legitimate from an ecclesiological and conciliar perspective. He wanted above all not to be considered a schismatic and to prove conclusively that the English and he desired nothing more than a General Council ordered properly according to Scriptural and Patristic historical precedent. It was important therefore to re-examine and explain the true nature of the tota ecclesia, the relationship of the Pope not only to the tota ecclesia generally but more specifically his ius praesidendi in a General Council, the claims of regnum as opposed to sacerodotium, and the relationship of the King to the segment of the tota ecclesia

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Quoted by Sawada, Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

under his political jurisdiction. This task the Henrician pamphleteers undertook with enthusiasm. Though there is considerable repetition, and very little by way of considered work on conciliar theory during this period, these did lay, however modest, a foundation on which others were to build.

Henry VIII therefore was careful that his revolution, both in politics, but especially in religion was built on a basis which had established historical roots. "For everything they did," says Elton, "they claimed the authority of ancient prescription...(and)...adhered to the forms of the old law."[1] The essence of that revolution was the new concept of sovereignty which fast became the basis of the new political and religious direction the government was taking. This new concept derived from the historic claim that "...imperium - lay authority - derives as much from God as does the pope's authority."[2] As the doctrine finally developed, it was expressed as follows.

> England is an independent state, sovereign within its territorial limits. It is governed by a ruler who is both supreme head in matters spiritual and king in matters temporal, and who possesses by grant divine 'plenary, whole, and entire power, preeminence, authority, prerogative, and jurisdiction to render and yield justice' to all people and subjects resident within the realm.[3]

---

[1] Elton, England, p.160.

[2] Ibid., p.161.

[3] Ibid., p.161 fw.

Elton claims that the matter of Henry's supremacy in the church was only possible because sovereignty, thus defined, was accomplished by the Act of Supremacy in 1534. The former was dependent on the latter. This point the Treatise of 1538 tried to make.[1] It pressed the claim of regnum as against sacerdotium, emphasizing that Henry could claim to be supreme head of the church in England because in fact he was sovereign in the realm. One logically followed the other. The tract stressed his imperium as deriving from God, and made that the basis of his sovereignty in the church. This point the Judgment of the clerical convocation of the episcopal see of Canterbury had already made. In their session of 1536 they concluded that no Pope could call a General Council without the consent of Christian princes, especially of those princes who "...have within their own realms and seignories imperium merum, that is to say, of such as have the whole, entire, and supreme government and authority over all their subjects..."[2] Thus the religious settlement of 1559, re-established first the Act of Supremacy, which became the basis for the implementation of the Act of Uniformity.

The other major period of reaction to the conciliar movement on the Continent prior to Elizabeth's accession

---

[1] This has already been discussed.

[2] Cranmer, Works, II, 463.

was associated with Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1533 to shortly before his death under Mary in 1556. Cranmer's role in the English Reformation has been the subject of much debate.[1] Suffice it to say that he persistently promoted the cause of reform in England during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI and left his theology and character indelibly etched in the fabric of the English Reformation.[2]

Though Cranmer never became actively involved in the Henrician campaign opposing a General Council, he certainly was in sympathy with its ultimate objective. It was probably to his credit that he didn't become involved because to a great extent the campaign was carried on on a propagandistic rather than an intellectual level. As early as

[1] General literature on Thomas Cranmer is abundant. In addition to works already cited in this study as histories of the Reformation, see particularly the excellent study, Jaspar Ridley, Thomas Cranmer (Oxford: 1962). Also T.Maynard Smith, The Life of Thomas Cranmer (London: 1956); G.W.Bromiley, Thomas Cranmer, Theologian (London: 1956), Archbishop and Martyr (London: 1956); C.H.Smyth, Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI (Cambridge: 1926); A.F.Pollard, Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation (Hamden: 1965). Good for biographical material is the D.N.B. and Cox's history in Cranmer, Works, II, vii fw. Primary material is found in Carl Meyer, Cranmer's Selected Works (London: 1961), the two-volume edition of Cranmer, Works, and O.L.

[2] On Cranmer's theology see Bromiley, Cranmer.

1535 he was arguing[1] that there were a great many things commonly held to be sacred which were in fact due merely to the traditions and inventions of men rather than direct issuance from Scripture. If they were "...witnessed to be so by some bishops...priests...clergy...by decrees and laws made by the byshops of Rome...,"[2] then Cranmer argued that "...no man is bound to accepte them, nor believe them, as they are bound to believe Scripture."[3] This, in spite of the fact that "...many of the sayd opinions have been affirmed and approved by general councils..." in which case it "...may therefore be lawfully doubted whether such councels were gathered in the Holy Ghost..."[4]

The clerical convocation of the see of Canterbury met in session early in 1536 to discuss numerous implications of the Royal Supremacy, particularly the subject of General Councils. Cranmer, as archbishop along with Cromwell, was no doubt very influential in the debate and final judgment handed down by the assembly on July 20th.[5] The Judgment begins by arguing that there is nothing as necessary

---

[1] Treatise of Unwritten Verities, as found in John Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials (Oxford: 1822), II, 413-414.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. For a good discussion of Cranmer and his attitude to the authority of Scripture see Bromiley, Cranmer, p.12 fw.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Cranmer, Works, II, 463.

> ...for the establishment of our faith, for extirpation of heresies...abolishing of sects and schisms...reducing of Christ's people into one perfect unity and concord...than by the having of general councils...[1]

To accomplish this however, such a council must be "congregated in Spiritu Sancto..."[2] and conform and agree with the "...usage for which they were at first devised and used in the primitive church."[3] On the other hand there is not

> ...anything in the world more pestilent and pernicious to the common-well of Christendom... whereby the truth of God's Work...may be sooner defaced or subverted...

or which leads to

> ...more contention, more discord, and other devilish effects...than when such general councils have or shall be assembled, not christianly or charitably, but for... private malice and ambition...[4]

Here the assembly, and Cranmer, stressed two cardinal points contained in English opposition to the conciliar movement, namely that the English desire a General Council according to proper definition, but are against a General Council called according to Papal definition. The focal argument in the Judgment is

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p.464.

> ...we think that neither the bishop of Rome, nor any one prince, of what estate, degree, or pre-eminence soever he be, may by his own authority, call, indict or summon any general council, without the express consent, assent, and agreement of the residue of christen princes, and especially such as have within their own realms and seignories imperium merum, that is to say, of such as have the whole, entire, and supreme government and authority over all their subjects, without knowledging or recognizing of any other supreme power or authority.[1]

This the assembly thought to be true "...by many and sundry, as well examples, as great reasons and authority."[2] This Judgment was signed by Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cantuariensis (Cranmer), Johannes London, with thirteen bishops and forty-nine other clerics.[3] Another convocation of bishops and clerics issued a joint verdict in 1536[4] on General Councils, maintaining that it was the responsibility of Christian princes and not the Pope to summon General Councils. The list of signatories to this judgment is headed by Cranmer.[5]

Thus Cranmer shared the sympathies of the Henrician pamphleteers, but he himself had a much more radical and

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p.467. Cox's notes place this Judgment in 1536, after Paul III had issued the bull summoning the Papal Council at Mantua.

[5] Ibid.

ambitious project than simple opposition to the convocation of a Papal General Council. Cranmer always feared the religious isolation of the English Church from the Continental Reformation experience, and harbored the ambition of a pan-Protestant confession that would

> ...establish one sound, pure, evangelical doctrine, agreeable to the discipline of the primitive church ...a formula that could unite all the divergent forces of the Reformation against the common foe...[1]

Cranmer had much in common with the Continental Reformers, particularly the Lutherans. As the resident English ambassador to the Imperial court at Ratisbon, he had developed close relationships with many Lutheran reformers, particularly in his contacts with the city of Nuremberg. Perhaps his closest friend was Osiander who officiated at Cranmer's marriage to Margaret.[2] Ridley suggests that Margaret may have been very influential in making Cranmer sympathetic to Lutheranism as well. In addition Cranmer kept up a voluminous correspondence with Continental Reformers, and read widely in the reformation literature from the Continent. Because of these associations, it was natural for Cranmer to engage in this project. What in effect he was attempting to do was draw around him an association of international

---

[1] Smyth, Cranmer, p.36. It is important to note that Cranmer's ambition for this pan-Protestant confession coincided with the opening of the first session of Trent, March 15, 1545.

[2] Ridley, Cranmer, p.44 fw.

Protestant theologians to compile the English Prayer Book[1] and hopefully make it a standard in liturgy and theology of all Protestant confessions. This purpose is stated in a letter from Cranmer to Albert Hardenberg, dated July 28, 1548.

> We are desirous of setting forth in our churches the doctrine of God...to transmit to posterity a true and explicit form of doctrine agreeable to the rule of the Scriptures; so that there may be set forth among all nations a testimony respecting our doctrine... that all posterity may have a pattern which they may imitate. For the purpose of carrying this important design into effect we have thought it necessary to have the assistance of learned men, who, having compared their opinions together with us, may do away with doctrinal controversies, and establish an entire system of true doctrine.[2]

The disaster of Muhlberg with the defeat of the Schmalkalden forces by Charles V in April of 1547, boded ill for the Lutherans of Germany. Cranmer promptly offered asylum in England to any of the Lutheran theologians or pastors who wished to come. By the time the Interim had been proclaimed in 1548, numerous eminent Reformers had already arrived. The Italians Peter Martyr and Ochino arrived before the end of 1547. Peter Alexander, Chaplain to Mary of the Netherlands, Dryander, a Spanish Lutheran, Tremellio, an Italian Jew and Valerand Poullain who had succeeded Calvin

---

[1] Smyth, Cranmer, p.38.

[2] Cranmer, Works, II, 422.

as pastor of the French church in Strassburg, arrived shortly after.[1] These reformers, Cranmer thought, made up the nucleus of a godly synod which hopefully could be added to. The key of course to making it an authoritative synod was to have the most eminent of the Continental Reformers, Melanchthon, attend, as well as Martin Bucer, from Strassburg and John a Lasco, a Polish reformer.

Cranmer wrote Bucer first on October 2, 1548[2] to come to England for asylum as well as to help in Cranmer's important design. Bucer did not commit himself till early in 1549, when together with Fagius and funded by Cranmer, they arrived at Lambeth in April of that year. Bucer was summarily appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Fagius accompanied Bucer to Cambridge in a lesser capacity.

The exact date of Cranmer's first correspondence with Melanchthon is not known. But in his letter to John a Lasco, July 4, 1548,[3] Cranmer indicated that he had written Melanchthon at least two times previously, but as yet had no commitment from him. Melanchthon sent two replies, both very cordial, but vague and non-committal.[4] In the

---

[1] Smyth, Cranmer, p.40.

[2] Cranmer, Works, II, 424.

[3] Ibid., p.422.

[4] Smyth, Cranmer, p.39.

first he expressed his warm approval of the proposed conference and reminded Cranmer that he had always wished "...that a summary of necessary doctrine might be publically set forth."[1] In the second he was equally as gracious, and offered to "...declare my own opinion in my turn and offer the reasons for my opinion...",[2] but he steadfastly refused to accept Cranmer's invitation to come to England. This reluctance was rather difficult to understand because initially the idea of such a conference had been his.

In a letter sent to Henry VIII March 26, 1539[3] he had urged the necessity of such a mutually acceptable confession of faith which could be the result of a dialogue between English and Lutheran divines. But Melanchthon, for reasons not explained wished not to come. Cranmer therefore wrote John a Lasco,[4] who at this point had also begged off coming because of "...the unlooked-for intervention of some other engagement...,"[5] and entreated him to add his encouragement and exhortation to Cranmer's, which apparently he did. Cranmer was convinced that with a Lascos' encouragement, Melanchthon would be "...persuaded to accept an invitation

[1] Ibid., p.40, as quoted by Smyth.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Strype, Memorials, I, Part II, Appendix 101, 393-394.

[4] O.L., I, 16.

[5] Ibid.

so often repeated."[1] To pressure Melanchthon even more, Cranmer wrote to Albert Hardenberg three weeks later on July 28, 1548, in which he solicited Hardenberg's help in persuading Melanchthon to come to England.[2] Cranmer stated his disappointment with Philip and wondered how he could "...neglect this summons, especially as he must perceive that he has no certain vocation yonder which he can properly place in opposition to it."[3]

Almost in desperation, Cranmer wrote Melanchthon again February 10, 1549,[4] but to no avail. Melanchthon would not come and without Melanchthon there could be no authoritative decision on Protestant faith. The reform of liturgy had however to go on, and thus the English Prayer Book appeared in 1549.

Cranmer however was not ready to forget the idea of a "General Council" of Protestantism. Pope Julius III had convened the eleventh session of the Council of Trent, May 1, 1551, with the decree concerning the eucharist soon to be discussed. The Protestants were by no means united on the theology of the eucharist with Lutherans, Calvinists

---

[1] Ibid., p.17.

[2] Cranmer, Works, II, 423.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

and Zwinglians at odds on the issue. Cranmer however hoped that the various Protestant camps could compose their differences, especially on the eucharist, in view of the discussions at Trent. On March 20, 1552,[1] Cranmer wrote to Henry Bullinger, minister of the Reformed church at Zurich, to persuade him to support "...a synod of the most learned and excellent persons, in which provision might be made for the purity of ecclesiastical doctrine, and especially for an agreement upon the sacramentarian controversey."[2] Cranmer had approached Edward VI and had apparently "...perceived that the mind of his majesty was very favourably disposed."[3] Cranmer could not presume that such a gathering would be a General Council because the Henrician pamphleteers had insisted that only princes could call a General Council. It could however be a very authoritative godly synod if all Protestants could be represented. Cranmer also wrote to John Calvin,[4] and again to Philip Melanchthon[5] inducing them to "...deliberate among yourselves as to the means by which this synod can be assembled with the greatest convenience."[6]

---

[1] Ibid., p.431.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., dated March 20, 1552.

[5] Ibid., p.433, dated March 27, 1552.

[6] Ibid.

Neither Bullinger, Calvin or Melanchthon was enthusiastic about the synod, and Cranmer thus dropped the matter permanently.

It could possibly be argued in retrospect that Cranmer's dream of a universal Protestant congress in opposition to Papal conciliar efforts had no chance of succeeding whatever. The theological dyes of the Reformation were already too deeply cast for Cranmer, despite all his tact, to affect any reconciliation, particularly on the eucharist. Had Cranmer however succeeded in thus destroying the isolation of the English church by such a congress, the course of English history would doubtless have been different.

The second session of the Council of Trent was recessed on April 28, 1552. Almost ten years was to lapse before the conciliar problem again became an item of concern in Europe generally and particularly in England. The Protestant press during that interval, and particularly during the Marian reaction, was almost totally silent on the conciliar issue. One reason perhaps was the suspension of the Council and the subsequent hostilities which engaged the attention of the European states during those years. The major reason though was more probably the restoration of Catholicism in England under Mary, and the effect that had on the Protestant cause. Leading Protestants, as for instance Ridley and Cranmer,

were put to death. Because of Catholic opposition generally during this period, many of England's Protestants fled to the Continental centres of exile, Frankfort, Strasburg, Zurich and Geneva, where they remained till Mary's death. English Protestantism, thus scattered, turned its attention to the immediate political and religious concerns in England, condemning Mary and her cohorts and encouraging each other, particularly those persecuted, to steadfastness and patience. Some Protestant writings were rather vitriolic, as for instance William Turner's The Huntyng of the Romyshe Wolfe[1] and John Olde's A Short Description of the Antichrist,[2] to say nothing of the writings of John Knox. There were also the more conservative as John Scory's An Epistle wrytten unto all the faythfull that be in prison in Englande.[3] But of anti-conciliar literature there was very little.

The first two sessions of the Council of Trent thus prompted only a spasmodic and a somewhat incoherent reaction from English Protestants. Paul III, sensing the need for a General Council, pressed for such a Council to be convoked, first at Mantua, and then at Vicenza, to no avail. It was in this decade, prior to the actual opening of the Council of Trent on March 15, 1545, when debate on the conciliar

[1] S.T.C. 24356.

[2] S.T.C. 18798.

[3] S.T.C., 21854.

question was lively on the Continent, that Henry VIII's great matter was coming to a head. Henry felt that self-preservation consisted in opposing conciliar plans. The Henrician propaganda machine was an attempt to legitimize English opposition to a Council, and likewise to gain the support of the English for the new direction in English politics.

The official opening of the Council of Trent on March 15, 1545, coincided with Cranmer's attempts to create a pan-Protestant confession thereby establishing a doctrinal authority in opposition to Trent's decrees. Cranmer was particularly concerned that some definitive Protestant statement be made on the eucharist, the major item discussed at the second major session of Trent which had convened May 1, 1551. Cranmer's plans came to naught. The second session of Trent adjourned April 28, 1552, and English Protestants did not become involved in the conciliar question to any significant degree until the reign of Elizabeth in 1558.

Protestants of the Henrician and Edwardian periods thus reacted to the conciliar movement on the Continent. This reaction however was spasmodic and lacked coherence and clear purpose. To a great extent they simply mirrored the arguments of their Continental counterparts. Some of the writings did cover the key issues of the relationship of church

and state and the concept of sovereignty, both in the state and church. John Jewel expressed these same opinions. He however went beyond these early Protestants to develop a more reasoned and convincing statement of England's opposition to Trent.

II. ANGLO-PAPAL RELATIONS FROM ELIZABETH'S SUCCESSION TO THE PUBLICATION OF JOHN JEWEL'S APOLOGY

It became apparent soon after Elizabeth's accession to the English throne November 17, 1558 that changes were contemplated both in the political and religious realm. Politically Mary had merged English with Spanish interests by her marriage to Philip II, King of Spain. That Elizabeth was intending to model English interests on English policy rather than on Spanish policy was soon suspected by Count de Feria, Philips' ambassador, who had been sent to present Philip's good wishes to Elizabeth. De Feria, "...journeyed down to Hatfield to inform her that her succession was assured, and that she owed her good fortune to the kind services of his master (Philip)."[1] Obviously Philip wished to continue his vested interests in English politics. Elizabeth however, in characteristic fashion, informed de Feria that she ruled by consent of the people of her realm. Apparently de Feria was treated even more brusquely by the Privy Council, which led him to complain to Philip that "...they are so suspicious of me that not a man amongst them dares to speak to me."[2]

---

[1] J.B.Black, The Reign of Elizabeth (Oxford, 1959), p.6. Black's work is particularly good as a thorough review of Elizabeth's reign.

[2] C.S.P.S., No. 4, p.8. The letter is dated December 14, 1558.

He went on to inform Philip that, "They are all very glad to be free of your Majesty as if you had done harm instead of very much good..."[1] De Feria apparently could not even get the characteristic lodging at Whitehall and couldn't understand why "...they run away from me as if I were the devil."[2]

Elizabeth however also contemplated changes in religion. In this realm however she wisely proceeded slowly. Mary had left England militarily and financially weak. Elizabeth dared not make any changes which would in any way encourage a united Catholic offensive to bring England under Papal control by force of arms. In addition, the French were promoting the case of Mary Stuart, Elizabeth's cousin, as the legitimate heir to the English throne. Paul IV provided yet another reason for caution. Paul possessed an almost insane hatred of heresy. The assessment of Pastor is "...he regarded princes not as his sons but as his subjects...the utterances of his volcanic nature were as sudden as the eruptions of Mt. Vesuvius."[3] It was imperative therefore to move cautiously, to give the impression at least that the religious issue was not decided, and hold out the olive branch of peace at least until the new regime was firmly

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Pastor, History, XIV, 69-70.

established.

In spite of her caution, however, Elizabeth gave some indications what her religious preferences were. One of these was the appointments made to the Privy Council.[1] Elizabeth retained thirteen of Mary's Catholic advisors, but added seven new ones, all Protestants. The most influential of these, and certainly the most powerful in the council were Knollys, Cecil and Bacon. Though the council had the appearance of balance "...the really significant part was protestant."[2] Elizabeth showed her Protestant leanings as well in the appointment of Sir William Cecil as her principal secretary.[3] He was admirably suited for the task. He proved himself above all, dedicated to the establishment of the reformed cause in England. In addition there were lesser indications of Elizabeth's intent. Though she deliberately issued a proclamation placing any subject under severe penalty for altering the state of religion in the realm,[4]

---

[1] William Camden, The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England, edited by Wallace T. MacCaffrey (Chicago: 1970), p.10.

[2] Black, Elizabeth, p.8.

[3] The work I found most valuable in understanding Cecil's role during the early part of Elizabeth's reign was Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (London: 1955). Also good was Alan Gordon Smith, William Cecil (New York: 1934).

[4] John Hayward, ed., Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Elizabeth (Camden Society Publication, London: 1840), p.2.

she felt quite at liberty to delete the Pope's name from the list of embassies to be duly notified of her accession.[1] One of the regular court appointments was the cleric to preach at Paul's Cross, the sounding board so often for official government policy. The first such appointment by Elizabeth was William Bill, a protestant who delivered a rousing sermon on allegiance to the Crown. The following Sunday, Bill was refuted by Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, who was summarily put under house arrest.[2]

One of the more telling indications of Elizabeth's own religious sentiments was when she twice left service before the host was elevated and refused to receive the communion in one kind, according to the old rite. This happened at Christmas, 1558, and just after her coronation ceremony on January 15, 1559. In addition Carne, English ambassador at Rome was recalled in February, 1559, ostensibly because his presence in Rome was no longer necessary. By now it was apparent that changes in religion were being seriously contemplated and the opening of Parliament, January 25, 1559, marked the beginning of the first crisis which would dictate the future course of the English church. Catholic presentiments had in fact reached considerable

---

[1] Bayne, Relations, p.18.

[2] Black, Elizabeth, p.9.

proportions to the point at least that de Feria comments to Philip II, "The Catholics are very fearful of measures to be taken in this parliament."[1]

The Elizabethan religious settlement has been the subject of much discussion.[2] To summarize briefly, the settlement consisted of two acts passed into law by Elizabeth's first parliament, the Act of Supremacy, and the Act of Uniformity, both passed in April, 1559.[3] The Act of Supremacy

[1] C.S.P.S., No. 13, p.25 fw. Letter dated January 31, 1559.

[2] Two individual works I found very useful on the topic were H.N.Birt, The Elizabethan Religious Settlement (London: 1907) and Claire Cross, The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church (London: 1969). Two articles by J.E.Neale are important, "The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity," English Historical Review, LXV (1950), 304-332, and "Parliament and the Articles of Religion," English Historical Review, LXVII (1952), 510-521. Another excellent study is C.S.Carter, "The Anglican via media: a Study in the Elizabethan Religious Settlement," Church Quarterly Review, XCVII (1924), 233-254. On the matter of Anglo-Papal relations the most complete is the study by Bayne, Anglo-Papal Relations 1558-1565. Bayne presents the Anglican view. The Catholic view of the period is thoroughly discussed by Philip Hughes, The Reformation in England, and John Hungerford Pollen, The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (London: 1920). Another excellent study, recently re-issued, is Arnold Oskar Meyer, England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth, translated by Rev. J.R.McKee (London: 1967). A full popular treatment of the subject is given by F.W.Maitland in his chapter in New Cambridge Modern History, Volume II. L.Pastor, History of the Popes, XIV and XV, is generally useful as a study of Pius IV and his pontificate during these critical years. The political implications of the settlement are discussed fully by J.E.Neale Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559-1581 (London: 1953).

[3] Henry Gee and W. J. Hardy, eds., Documents Illustrative of English Church History (London: 1910), p.442 fw.

removed all of Mary's reactionary legislation, renewed Henry VIII's legislation against Rome and reimplemented Edward's Act to restore the administration of the sacrament in both kinds. It abolished any jurisdiction in England of any foreign prince or prelate, spiritual or temporal, and specifically imposed an oath on all ecclesiastical and lay officials. Refusal to take the oath was met with severe penalties. Elizabeth, however, allowed one change in the Act which was intended perhaps to soften its impact. Henry had declared himself supreme head of the church. Elizabeth contented herself with supreme governor. This change in title was significant in its implication and Meyer is of the opinion that, "...this modification in the title of the royal supremacy explains, at least to a considerable extent, the remarkable fact that Elizabeth's ecclesiastical reform met with so little opposition."[1]

The Act of Uniformity reintroduced the Edwardian Prayer Book of 1552 with a few slight alterations. The controversial "Black Rubric" was deleted, and a section on ornaments included which stated, "...that such ornaments of the church...shall be retained and be in use, as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the

---

[1] Meyer, Catholic Church, p.25 cf. Cross, Royal Supremacy, p.21 fw.

second year of the reign of King Edward VI."[1] This referred to the Prayer Book of 1549. It was significant that the Prayer Book of 1552 was used instead of the 1549 version because it indicated that Elizabeth was under considerable Protestant pressure in drafting the Act.

The Act of Uniformity was followed by a set of Royal Injunctions,[2] which were intended to standardize public worship and aid in bringing uniformity to church worship and ministry. The royal visitation of the summer of 1559 was to enforce the actions of Elizabeth's first parliament.

The settlement in the final analysis satisfied no one. The Catholics certainly opposed it. Catholicism was driven underground with worship restricted and bishops and clerics removed from their positions.[3] The Marian refugees were

---

[1] Gee and Hardy, Documents, p.466 fw.

[2] Ibid., pp.417-442.

[3] A good discussion of the fate of Catholics as a result of the settlement is Meyer, Catholic Church, p.26 fw. Also Pollen, English Catholics, p.36 fw. For a list of prominent bishops deprived see Bayne, Relations, p.54. The actual figures used by various historians of the Marian clergy who refused the oath are widely discrepant. Camden, Annals, p.17, estimates the number of clergy at 9,400 and non-jurors at 177. Birt, Religious Settlement, p.203 raises the number of non-jurors to 700, but adds another 1,175 who abandoned the ministry for conscience sake. This out of a total of 8000. Pollen, English Catholics, p.39 fw. estimates that 600 were non-jurors out of a total of 8000.

disappointed because the settlement had not gone far enough. Protestants like Jewel, later to be made Bishop of Salisbury, expected a much greater shift to Calvinism. Instead he, like the others, generally felt betrayed, complaining to Peter Martyr that, "The scenic apparatus (ornaments and vestments) of divine worship is now under agitation; and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at, are now seriously and solemnly entertained by certain persons..."[1] Thus the settlement became a compromise, a via media solution.[2] The Protestant faction found some comfort in that a number of them were promoted to the episcopacy in the new religious regime,[3] and later used their influence in the Protestant cause. The settlement was quickly and efficiently accomplished. England had again altered her religious course.

---

[1] Z.L., II, Letter IX, 23, Jewel to Peter Martyr.

[2] This is the opinion of Neale, Elizabeth I, p.51 fw. Elton, England, p.273 fw. comments, "it is usual to call this settlement a compromise and so it was, but not in the sense commonly supposed...the compromise was between the queen and her protestant subjects represented in parliament, and it involved greater concessions from her than from them."

[3] The most prominent Protestant appointments to the episcopate by Elizabeth were Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, and William Whittingham, Dean of Durham.

The effects of the settlement however could not be confined to England. The ramifications of this new direction of English religious experience were felt throughout Europe. Obviously, the Papacy was concerned about the settlement. Paul IV was intolerant when it came to heresy in Christendom. He regarded himself as the guardian of the universal church. "Church law," says Pollen, "was the acknowledged, the efficacious international law of Europe."[1] Heresy demanded ecclesiastical censure, the usual weapon being excommunication of any kings or princes who harbored or promoted heresy within their kingdoms.[2] Elizabeth's heresy was particularly annoying because England had just recently been rejoined to full communion with Rome. Paul IV's course was clear. He must deal decisively with Elizabeth. Canon law demanded it. His own nature and presentiments prompted it.

The issue however for Paul was not just the release of certain items of ecclesiastical hardware to accomplish his purpose. To excommunicate Elizabeth would have been a relatively simple task. The essence of any excommunication pro-

---

[1] Pollen, English Catholics, p.49. Pollen has an excellent discussion of the role of canon law in 16th Century European politics.

[2] Paul IV clearly intended Elizabeth to be warned by his bull of February 16, 1559 which declared that heretical sovereigns were immediately deprived of their jurisdictional rights. Though general in content, it coincided closely with Elizabeth's accession and was probably aimed at her. Cf. Pollen, English Catholics, p.51.

cedure, however, was its execution. "Deposing the tyrant" could only be done by invoking external powers to execute the sentence.[1] Here Paul was in difficulty. It is axiomatic that sixteenth century rulers no longer feared papal bulls. If it is true they no longer feared them, it is also true that they were much more hesitant to become involved in their execution.

Such certainly was the case with Philip II of Spain, the logical executor of Paul's intentions. Philip was the strongest Catholic prince in Europe, who in the previous reign had been married to Mary and ruled in Spain and England as "his Catholic Majesty." As much as Philip desired to retain the Catholic faith in England, he was equally concerned with his own position in the European balance of power. Philip feared France's intentions and felt that self-preservation consisted in maintaining Elizabeth as friend and ally. Philip therefore consistently counselled patience and restraint in Papal dealings with England. Shortly after Elizabeth had given her royal assent to the Acts of the settlement on May 8, 1559, Philip began his correspondence with Rome, requesting the Pope not to act against Elizabeth until negotiations undertaken by Philip were given a chance to succeed.[2] The negotiations apparently were to marry

[1] Ibid., p.50.

[2] For all this see Bayne, Relations, p.34 fw.

Elizabeth to the son of the Emperor Ferdinand. In continuing correspondence to July, Philip pressed his Roman ambassador, Caracciolo, to "...dissuade the Pope by every means in his power from any proceedings against Elizabeth or the English."[1] Philip would inform Paul when the opportune time would be to move against Elizabeth. Paul apparently trusted Philip's judgment in the matter and waited in vain.[2] This reluctance of Philip, perhaps more than anything else, kept Paul from moving decisively against Elizabeth. This lack of action on the part of the Papacy during the summer of 1559 enabled the religious settlement to become a fait accompli.

> The unforeseen result of the policy adopted by Spain and the Empire during these critical years was to shelter Elizabeth from Rome and France, and to leave the English reformation to take its course free from foreign interference.[3]

Paul IV died on August 18, 1559. The new pontiff, Pius IV, consecrated December 26, 1559, ushered in a new era in Anglo-Papal relations. Pius was a much different man from Paul. Where Paul had been given to extreme measures and

---

[1] Ibid., p.35.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Meyer, Catholic Church, p.38 fw.

dogmatic treatment of theological issues, Pius tended to be more open minded and liberal in his actions. He was given to "...compromise and half-measures..."[1] Pius comes down as a statesman rather than as a theologian. This is not to say he was less orthodox than his predecessor. Quite the contrary. But Pius was content to bide his time if in fact tact, ingenuity, and patience would bring the desired result. Pius had two ambitions. In the first place he longed to see England brought back into the Roman communion. He also had a burning ambition to reopen the matter of a General Council. To both of these projects he applied his energies almost immediately.

His first concern was to open communication with England. Though Elizabeth on the surface appeared hostile, Pius had reason to believe that she could perhaps be won over by persuasion and gentle prodding. The first impulse in that direction came from a communique received in Rome from an anonymous person.[2] It urged restraint in treating with Elizabeth but held out the real hope that the situation in England was reversible. The general proposal to Pius IV was that he should send a Papal nuncio to England to establish communica-

[1] Bayne, Relations, p.40. Also Pastor, History, XV, 82 fw.

[2] See Meyer, Catholic Church, p.465.

tion with Elizabeth. There was every reason to believe, the source indicated, that Elizabeth would look with favor on such a venture. This initial proposal was acted on in Rome and became what is known as Parpaglia's mission.

A number of individuals were considered for the mission. Edward Carne, English ambassador in Rome under Mary was considered and dismissed. Other possibilities included Sir Francis Englefield who went to Rome in the spring of 1560 ostensibly to discuss the matter with the Pope.[1] Englefield had been in Mary's Council and also an Ambassador to Rome under Mary and it was Quadra's assessment "...that his coming (to England as Papal nuncio) will please many people..."[2] The final choice however to act as nuncio was Vincenzo Parpaglia, abbot of San Solutore who had lived with Cardinal Reginald Pole for many years as Pole's secretary, and had visited England with Pole numerous times. After much discussion between Englefield, Parpaglia, Morone, Protector of England and Carpi, Protector of Ireland,[3] it was agreed that Parpaglia should travel alone through France and Flanders. On arrival he was to present Elizabeth with the Pope's

[1] C.S.P.F., No. 544, pp.307-308. Cf. C.S.P.S., No. 112, p.162.

[2] C.S.P.S., No. 112, p.162.

[3] See Bayne, Relations, p.43. Cf. C.S.P.F., No. 74, p.42 fw.

friendly admonitions. If the Queen refused these Parpaglia was to have recourse to the usual Papal censures to be applied if needed by Spain and France.

Pius IV had reason to believe that Elizabeth could be won. In the spring of 1560, paralleling the Parpaglia mission, England appeared on the verge of war with France. The matter at issue was English involvement in Scottish affairs. England had come to the aid of Scottish insurgents because France had sent a garrison to help the Scotch resist the religious rebellion. England feared that France was really intending an invasion of England from the north where Mary, Elizabeth's half sister, was being promoted as the legitimate heir to the English throne by the French. On January 23, 1560 an English fleet, in support of the Scottish rebellion, defeated a fleet of French ships at the Firth of Forth. After concluding an alliance with the insurgents' leaders on February 27, 1560, Elizabeth sent an army north to drive out the French in May. In most situations such action would have been sufficient cause for war. Little wonder that Pius IV viewed the situation in England with hope.

Elizabeth greeted the news of Parpaglia's impending visit with alarm. To de Quadra she "...seemed surprised and somewhat alarmed, and thought he (Parpaglia) was after no good."[1] De Quadra seems to have read Elizabeth's reason-

[1] C.S.P.S., No. 109, p.159.

ing correctly because he offers the information to the Bishop of Arras that the Pope should have sent "...anyone other than this abbe, who is a staunch Frenchman and is considered tricky here. He is unpopular, as he was the servant of Cardinal Pole..."[1] English Catholics and others looked on the undertaking with great expectancy. That expectancy was soon to be frustrated. English Catholics who were suspected of being involved in the scheme were arrested.[2] This indicates perhaps with what alarm Elizabeth regarded Pius's machinations.

The Parpaglia mission came to naught. Elizabeth received a reprieve from quite an unexpected source. Parpaglia, de Quadra had declared, was a staunch Frenchman. The continual policy of France, led by the Cardinal of Lorraine, was to have Elizabeth excommunicated. This in itself was sufficient reason for Philip II to prevent Parpaglia's mission from succeeding. Parpaglia's choice had been very unfortunate for the Spanish, as they had arrested him in Flanders the previous year, (1559) and accused him (Parpaglia) of being a French spy.[3] Pius IV, in the light of Spanish opposition, relented and sent a directive to Parpaglia now in Brussels, to wait there for further instructions.[4] On July 25, 1560, Quadra wrote Philip II that he had written Parpaglia "...dissuading him from com-

[1] Loc.cit.

[2] C.S.P.S., No. 117, p.170 fw. Cf. Bayne, Relations, pp.46-61.

[3] C.S.P.V., No. 176, p.229.

[4] C.S.P.F., No. 501, p.289 fw.

ing..." because Elizabeth is "...very dissatisfied with the person of the nuncio, and knows that he is coming at the instance of the French and in league with some of the Catholics here."[1] She requested de Quadra to stop the mission as she wished to offend no one. Elizabeth would rather not commit herself to saying either yes or no to the nuncio. However part of the reason for her boldness with de Quadra was undoubtedly the Treaty of Edinburgh just negotiated with France (July 6, 1560) which provided for French withdrawal from Scotch soil. This was a great victory for Elizabeth and no doubt made her more confident in her dealings with the Papacy and for that matter with Philip II. Pius, sensing that the mission could not be pursued except at great loss of Papal prestige, recalled Parpaglia by September.[2]

Parpaglia's abortive mission throws considerable light on the motives and interests of the various parties involved. Pius IV acted in his ambition to recover Elizabeth and England to the Holy See. He demonstrated he was quite prepared to use both gentle and harsh means to accomplish his purpose. Bayne concludes succinctly, "In sending a mission to Elizabeth when she was involved in difficulties with France, and in choosing for his envoy a man whose connexions and sympa-

---

[1] C.S.P.S., No. 117, p.170.

[2] Bayne, Relations, p.59.

thies were notoriously French, he signified not obscurely that he hoped more from her fear than her goodwill."[1]

Both the actions of France and Spain were motivated more by politics than religion. France wished Elizabeth excommunicated and Catholic Mary Stuart placed on the throne as the legitimate heir. France thus favoured Parpaglia and hoped much for his mission. Spain feared Francis involvement in the whole affair and opposed it out of hand. Though the "champion of orthodoxy", Philip feared more from French political quarters than English religious quarters.

The nature of the Parpaglia mission indicated to Elizabeth the real attitude of Pius IV to her. Though Pius was conciliatory and meek outwardly, he nonetheless was determined, by whatever means was necessary, to bring Elizabeth to her knees. In addition, Elizabeth had a much-needed ally in Philip, and a determined enemy in France. Above all she discovered that the exigencies of the times dictated political alliances more than religious sentiment. Political expediency had again won the day, and Elizabeth, as she was to do so frequently, "...found her safety in the jealousies of her more powerful neighbours."[2]

---

[1] Ibid., p.60.

[2] Ibid., p.61.

Parpaglia's mission was Pius's first attempt to bring England back into the Roman Communion. Even before it concluded he had initiated his second attempt, namely the resummoning of the Council of Trent, the assembly which was to regulate Anglo-Roman relations for the next two years. The Council of Trent, of course, was summoned to deal with a broad spectrum of ecclesiastical reform. The English problem was peripheral to the Council's overall deliberations. But Pius wanted the English problem discussed at and hopefully acted on at Trent because of the added force this would give to an ecclesiastical censure. If Elizabeth was condemned by a General Council, Catholic princes might be induced to enforce such a censure.

The second session of Trent had ended abruptly on April 28, 1552. The intervening years had witnessed intermittent hostilities between European powers, which were more or less successfully concluded with the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis on April 2, 1559.[1] There still was a general feeling abroad in Christendom that the religious factions eventuated by the Reformation could perhaps still be reconciled by the time honoured ecclesiastical remedy. Protestant factions, particularly those in England and Germany, reiterated their de-

[1] This peace brought to a conclusion formal Anglo-French hostilities, principally over Calais.

mands for a Council "...independent of the Pope, and that it should admit them to an operative share in its deliberations."[1] The Pope, Ferdinand, Philip II and the French party insisted on a Council patterned on traditional lines. The issue was resumption of the old Council of Trent, or indiction, the summoning of a new Council. The Protestants, of course, favoured indiction, as did Ferdinand and the Guises of France. This, however, for quite different reasons. The Protestants hoped for the revision of Catholic theology to conform to the pure standard of Scripture. Ferdinand, however, favored indiction because of the situation in Germany. There Protestant strength had grown and in fact was threatening to sweep the country. Ferdinand felt that Protestants might be induced to attend a new Council. "To resume the sittings of the old body would merely confirm existing divisions."[2] The Guises likewise, especially after the death of Henry II on July 10, 1559, were disturbed by the rapid spread and growing strength of Protestantism. They argued that Christendom could not possibly be reconciled unless it were possible for Protestants to attend. The only chance of that happening was for the Council to start anew. Spain on the

---

[1] Bayne, Relations, p.62. This issue was discussed at length at the Diet of Augsburg, March 1559 where German Protestants argued for indiction and the usual Protestant ordering of the Council.

[2] Ibid., p.64.

other hand, as well as the Pope, were in favour of resumption. Indiction would make the decrees of the first two sessions lapse, whereas resumption would maintain them in force. Both Pius IV and Philip II felt that too much had been gained in prior sessions to void them so easily. The essence of Pius's hope for a Council was still to deal with heresy and he was averse to appearing too conciliatory which would "...merely encourage protestants in obstinancy."[1]

The hand of Pius IV was finally forced by developments in France.[2] The Guises were disturbed at delays in summoning a Council so they acted independently and issued an edict September 10, 1559, convoking a national congress for January 20, 1560. The Guises insisted that this assembly was to be provisional only. Pius IV however saw the implicit dangers in such an assembly and immediately issued his bull on November 25, 1560 reconvening the Council of Trent for Easter, 1561 in the city of Trent.

England of course was very concerned with the reconvening of the Council. Elizabeth suspected rightly that though the Council had broader aims, one of them certainly was to deal with her. Pius understandably was not content to let matters in England lie. Discussion about the Council in

---

[1] Ibid., p.63.

[2] For a full discussion of French involvement in Anglo-Papal relations during this period see Evennett, The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent.

England had been going on throughout the summer of 1560, so much so that John Jewel was prompted to report to Peter Martyr in July that everyone was talking about it.[1] Throgmorton, English ambassador in France, repeatedly mentioned it to Cecil and Elizabeth and expressed himself as being in favour of the Council and recommended that England should have representatives there. Apparently, as Bayne points out, Throgmorton must have hoped for a Council on Protestant lines. He also obviously did not appreciate that the only English ecclesiastics who would be acceptable to the Pope were those who had refused the oath.[2] The opinion at the Spanish court was that Elizabeth would recognize the assembly, and according to Chamberlain, Elizabeth's Ambassador, Spanish statesmen dropped convenient hints of the "...risks she would run if she ignored such a body or refused to accept its decrees."[3]

Elizabeth, though concerned by the Pope's intentions, met the impending crisis with her usual cool and calculating ambiguity. Bishop Quadra's letter to Philip II as early as March indicated, "...she tells me that she is desirous that a concilio should be held and that she is not so fond of this new theology as I (Quadra) think."[4] She insisted that she

[1] Z.L., II, Letter XXXVI, 90.

[2] Bayne, Relations, p.48.

[3] Ibid.

[4] C.S.P.S., No. 92, p.135.

dearly desired to see Christendom united, but that it was the responsibility of temporal princes, not the Pope, to summon such an assembly. In fact she stated to Bishop Quadra that she did not acknowledge the power of General Councils.[1] She however, according to Bayne, did give some hope "...that she would submit to the one which was about to meet."[2] Quadra however was not taken in by these reassurances and comments to Philip, "...if I did not know her character, (she) might perhaps convince me."[3] Elizabeth to all who knew her well, and especially those who knew Cecil, steadfastly resisted the impending Council despite her assurances to the contrary. In reality the die had been cast and she could hardly do otherwise.

As soon as the decision to convene the Council had been made, Pius IV sent nuncios to various European states. Delfino and Commendone were commissioned to Germany where they presented the Pope's invitation to the meeting of Protestant princes at Naumberg in January, 1561.[4] Pius, because of Spanish resistence and ultimate sabotage of Parpaglia's mission, decided to consult Philip II before choosing a nuncio

[1] Ibid., No. 117, p.170.

[2] Bayne, Relations, p.71.

[3] C.S.P.S., No. 92, p.135.

[4] Martinengo's mission is discussed at length by Bayne, Relations, p.73 fw.

to broach the invitation to England. Philip again counselled patience, primarily on the advice of the Duchess of Parma of the Netherlands.[1] Pius, however, in spite of Spanish resistance to the project, finally appointed Girolamo Martinengo, abbot of the wealthy monastery of Leno for his nuncio. Martinengo was admirably suited for the task,[2] and set out from Rome March 14, 1561, and reached Brussels by the middle of April.[3] From Brussels he was to write Elizabeth for a letter of safe-conduct.

Philip II, on hearing that Pius had decided to proceed despite the pleas of Vargas, Philip's Ambassador at Rome, to the contrary, decided to make the best of the situation. Philip desired to see England reunited with Rome. Elizabeth, Philip knew, could not be manipulated, and he was waiting for the opportune time for the Pope's case to be presented. Philip was in sympathy with Pius's objective, but he dreaded the failure of Martinengo's mission. Its failure would almost certainly mean Elizabeth's excommunication at Trent, a sentence which Philip thought, would be carried out by France. In Martinengo's case, however, part of the reason for Philip's hesitancy was due to a scheme already in the making which,

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p.75.

[3] Ibid., p.78.

if successful, would have accomplished the Pope's purpose. The scheme involved Lord Robert Dudley, son of the duke of Northumberland who had been Elizabeth's favorite from almost the beginning of her reign. Elizabeth's affection for Dudley was no secret, and when Amy Robsart, Dudley's wife, was found dead under suspicious circumstances on September 8, 1560, it was generally rumored that the last obstacle to the Queen's marriage to Dudley had been removed. Elizabeth however, was hesitant to commit herself to the marriage. Part of this delay was due to generally hostile feelings in England about the match, and part of it was due to Cecil's objection.[1] Dudley sensing the problem, appealed to Spain for help. The plan as outlined "...was to buy Philip's support; if Philip would help him (Dudley) marry Elizabeth he would bring England back to communion with Rome."[2] This initial appeal was made through Sir Henry Sidney, brother-in-law to Dudley, to de Quadra. Because of de Quadra's hesitancy to present the plan to Philip,[3] Dudley approached de Quadra directly and he "... again made me great promises and assured me that everything should be placed in your Majesty's hands and even as regarded religion, if the sending of a representative to the Concilio

[1] Cecil's part is discussed by Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil, p.198 fw.

[2] Bayne, Relations, p.85.

[3] C.S.P.S., No. 122, p.179; No. 127, p.196.

did not suffice, he would go himself."[1] Philip however, distrusted Elizabeth's intentions expressed through Dudley, and asked her to indicate her good faith by releasing the Catholic bishops, granting toleration to Catholics, sending representatives to the Council of Trent, and submitting unconditionally to the Council's decrees.[2] Philip wrote the same day to Vargas in Rome, requesting him to petition the Pope that Martinengo be delayed for fear that his inopportune arrival would upset this delicate scheme. This Vargas accomplished with great difficulty.[3]

In the meantime however Cecil had been working relentlessly against the Dudley intrigue. To his advantage, and perhaps by his design, a supposed Catholic conspiracy was "discovered" which apparently was centred in the Spanish embassy and the person of de Quadra.[4] Rumours had been circulating that the English Catholics were expectantly awaiting a turn of fortunes in England, and specifically that the Catholic bishops would soon be released.[5] The specific instance which was used by Cecil was the arrest of a priest

[1] Ibid., No. 123, p.182.

[2] Ibid., No. 124, p.185.

[3] Hughes, Reformation, III, 255.

[4] Bayne, Relations, p.106 fw.

[5] Meyer, Catholic Church, p.43.

at Gravesend in April, 1561 who, in defending himself, accused Thomas Wharton and Edward Waldegrave, members of Mary's government, of religious crimes which were punishable in England. Others likewise were betrayed. Cecil, seeing the potential in the situation, began a systematic interrogation and punishment of those accused. Numerous individuals were sent to the Tower, or were otherwise imprisoned, and Arthur Pole, Cardinal Pole's nephew, was sent to the fleet. Waldegrave apparently had suspicious letters in his house which to a point supported Cecil's charges. In one of these "...the bishops hoped soon to be released by the good offices of the nuncio and de Quadra, who would put pressure on the queen to send representatives to the council, release the bishops, and let catholics live according to their conscience."[1] This was sufficient excuse to interrogate the imprisoned bishops. The conclusion Cecil and others reached in due course was that plans were underfoot to overthrow the Protestant party and force England back into the Roman communion when the nuncio arrived.[2]

Other events added to the supposed evidence of a Papal conspiracy. David Wolf's mission to Ireland as Papal legate early in 1561, was viewed with concern. His great popularity,

[1] Bayne, Relations, p.101. This concern is expressed in Royal Papers in Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth (1) XVI, No. 50, p.173 fw.

[2] Ibid., p.106.

his attempts to consolidate Catholic faith, but more so his arrival just prior to the outbreak of Shane O'Neill's rebellion tended to connect his mission to the conspiracy. The event, however, which finally convinced Elizabeth against the Dudley marriage was the refusal of the knights of the Garter at a meeting in April 1561, to countenance the marriage.[1] By the end of April, Bayne contends, Cecil had persuaded Elizabeth not to admit Martinengo to England.[2] This refusal to come to terms with the Council of Trent agreed, despite assurances to the contrary, with England's continued policy of resistance to the Council. While Philip II was being encouraged by the apparent willingness on Elizabeth's part to cooperate, Elizabeth's agents were sent to Germany and France early in 1561 to endeavor to incite German and French resistance to the Council.[3] These were more accurate gauges of Elizabeth's real policy than all assurances to the contrary made to de Quadra.

The final step was taken May 1, 1561 when the Privy Council agreed unanimously, indeed they could not do otherwise, to refuse to admit Martinengo.[4] The reasons given in

[1] Ibid., p.107 fw.

[2] Ibid., p.108.

[3] Ibid., p.78 fw.

[4] Ibid., p.110.

the decision, revealed to de Quadra in May 5, were that precedent allowed for the refusal, the Pope's jurisdiction was renounced by the Act of Supremacy, and because of disaffection in England over the purpose of his visit. Elizabeth gave her usual protestations in favor of a Council conceived according to Protestant definition. Thus after four months of intrigues and counter-intrigues, Martinengo's mission was a failure.

The Martinengo mission of early 1561 was perhaps the last of the Papal attempts to affect an Anglo-Papal reconciliation which had any real prospects of success. It is true there were other efforts, as for instance the mission of Vergecius in June 1561 and the efforts of Commendone during the summer of the same year.[1] The most concerted attempt was perhaps that of the Cardinal of Ferrara, who though legate to France, had instructions which dealt with England. The plan Ferrara was to promote included first the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to some powerful Catholic prince who would have Spain's approval. If the marriage could thus be consummated, the Pope would support Mary's claim to the English throne and approve of whatever means were necessary to effect the restoration of Catholicism in

---

[1] Ibid., p.123.

England.[1] These attempts, with their resultant failures, led eventually to the movement to have Elizabeth excommunicated at the Council of Trent in the summer of 1563.[2] The main supporters of the attempt were the Marian bishops and the Catholic refugees at Louvain. It was probably French intrigue in this venture, as in other ventures, which led to Philip's and also Ferdinand's resistance to the scheme. This was sufficient to have the item removed from the agenda of the Council. No further attempts were made at Anglo-Papal reconciliation until the Council of Trent had run its course.

Anglo-Papal relations from 1558 to mid-summer, 1561, indicate to what extent the harsh realities of 16th century politics influenced the motives and decisions of European religious and ecclesiastical statemen. Philip II was the statesman to whom Elizabeth ultimately owed her good fortunes. His determined resistance to her excommunication at all levels virtually guaranteed the failure of all Papal schemes. Spanish influence and military might was essential in implementing any ecclesiastical censure, and their inavailability rendered Pius helpless.

---

[1] This project is discussed at length in J.H.Pollen, Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots 1561-67 (Edinburgh: 1901). Pius's instructions to Ferrara are cited on p.60.

[2] See Meyer, Catholic Church, p.50 fw.

Pius IV was to some extent the victim of circumstances. To compound the problem of Spanish resistance, Pius had to contend with misinformation from Catholic exiles about the state of religion in England. They generally concluded that the majority of Englishmen were true to the old rite, with Sanders, their leading light, maintaining in 1561 "...that not one hundredth part were infected with heresy."[1] They likewise contended that Elizabeth was far from committed to any one theological persuasion and held out hopes that she could be induced to embrace Catholicism. In addition Spanish sources counselled patience, partly because Elizabeth, it appeared, was quite willing to submit to the Council's wishes in due course. Pius therefore entertained much more optimism than was warranted by the actual circumstances. He likewise showed himself a man of political expediency by the manner in which he so quickly both supported and squashed the excommunication attempts. Above all, Pius's orthodoxy was tempered by great tact and patience, virtues which he perhaps used to excess in his relations with Elizabeth. Perhaps in the final analysis, any attempts at reconciliation would have come to nothing. The foundation of the English reformation was the Act of Supremacy with its denial of any foreign (i.e. Papal) jurisdiction. On the matter of his

[1] Bayne, Relations, p.220.

right to jurisdiction Pius would have been as inflexible as Elizabeth would have been in denying it. The only option with any chance of success open to Pius was the overthrow of Elizabeth by force of arms. Spain made that option unworkable.

The most perplexing person in the period is Elizabeth. By the settlement of 1559, the direction of her religious policies were clearly spelled out. Yet she successfully managed to hold out the olive branch of peace till May, 1561 to allow her the precious time she needed to consolidate her religious settlement. Elizabeth dreaded Papal excommunication, especially if proclaimed with the added authority of a Council. She realized only too well that her safety lay in Philip II's support. This she cultivated with consummate skill. When she wavered in her loyalty to the English Protestant cause, as she seemed to do in the Dudley affair, Cecil was there to guide her. Cecil perhaps more than Elizabeth should be credited with the successful implementation of the religious settlement. No other individual exerted a greater influence on her than he did. Cecil was a staunch Protestant, committed to reform. Anglo-Papal relations during these years were determined to a great extent by his policies.

Elizabeth finally had to declare herself either for or

against the Papacy in the Martinengo affair. Philip had reprieved her from such a declaration during the Parpaglia mission. The issue this time, however, was forced. It surprised no one who knew Elizabeth, Cecil and English affairs that she decided in favor of religious independence. The declaration of May 1, 1561 was a true measure of Elizabeth's religious policy. Subsequent attempts at reconciliation by the Pope fell on deaf ears. "England had taken her place finally on the side of the Reformation."[1]

The result of the May 1 declaration undoubtedly added an element of stability to the Church of England. On the other hand it also created a great need for the definition and clarification of Anglican doctrine. Opposition to the Council of Trent needed to be legitimized for Catholic and Protestant benefit, and Anglican claims to continuity and Catholicity needed to be substantiated.[2] John Jewel thus enters as the first official apologist of the Anglican settlement. To his work we now turn.

---

[1] Ibid., p.230.

[2] H.O.Evennett, "England and the Council of Trent", The Dublin Review, CLXXX-CLXXXI (1927), 216.

III. JOHN JEWEL, APOLOGIST OF THE ELIZABETHAN CHURCH

Before we turn to a consideration of John Jewel's work as an apologist, it is important to look briefly at his life prior to his elevation as Bishop of Salisbury under Elizabeth.[1]

Jewel was born May 24, 1522 near Berrynarbor, Devonshire. After primary education, he entered Oxford's Merton College in July 1535, where he was placed under the tutelage of John Parkhurst, who was later to be elevated to the Bishopric of Norwich under Elizabeth. Parkhurst was "...thoroughly imbued with the humanistic approach to biblical criticism and... distrust of scholastic methods..."[2] To Parkhurst, Jewel owed his initial exposure to humanistic ideas and methods. With Parkhurst he was deeply involved in textual criticism of the

---

[1] The complete works of John Jewel are published as John Jewel, The Works of John Jewel, ed. by John Ayre (4 vols.; Cambridge: 1845-1850). These are of course indispensable to a study of his life and work. Volume IV, v-xxx, contains a "Memoir", written by John Ayre, of Jewel's life. Ayre has drawn his material from all previous biographies to the initial publication of Jewel's works by Daniel Featley in 1611. Additional letters by Jewel are published in the Z.L., in two volumes. Other biographies include Lawrence Humphrey, J.Juelli, Episcope Sarisburiensis (London: 1573); C.W.LeBas, The Life of Bishop Jewel (London: 1835); G.W.Bromiley, John Jewel, 1522-1572, The Apologist of the Church of England (London: 1948); W.M.Southgate, John Jewel and the Problem of Doctrinal Authority (Cambridge: 1962); John E. Booty, John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England (London: 1963); and the excellent article in the D.N.B. XXIX, 378-382.

[2] Southgate, Jewel, p.4.

Scriptures, and one of Jewel's more ambitious projects was a textual comparison of the well-known Tyndale translation of the New Testament with the recently completed version by Miles Coverdale. This Southgate comments, was a "...radical project indeed, in view of the government's rigorous repression of unauthorized translations."[1]

Parkhurst, realizing Jewel's scholastic potential and interest, procured entrance for him to the more prestigious Corpus Christi college. Perhaps the main reason for this was the greater scope given to humanistic studies there. Jewel entered Corpus Christi August 19, 1539, and quickly distinguished himself, mastering Greek and Latin, the classics, rhetoric, philosophy and mathematics.[2] He likewise was exposed to a study of St. Augustine, and apparently also reformed theology. His theological preference apparently was no secret because Moren, dean of his College and an avowed Catholic commented, "I should love thee Jewel if thou wert not a Zwinglian. In thy faith I hold thee a heretic; but surely in thy life thou art an angel: an excellent person, but a Lutheran."[3] Jewel's interest led him especially to patristic studies, early and modern theologians and par-

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ayre, Works, IV, vi.

[3] Quoted by Ayre, Ibid.

ticularly the writings of Erasmus. For this vast interest Corpus Christi was particularly well suited and Jewel availed himself of every opportunity to broaden his intellectual horizons. This vast learning, acquired at the expense of his health,[1] was to provide the rich resource of material he later drew from in his prodigious writing. Jewel graduated with his B.A. on October 20, 1540. Subsequently he was elected a fellow of the College on March 18, 1542, and completed his M.A. degree by January, 1545.[2]

Because of his growing reputation, Jewel was invited to remain at Corpus Christi where he was appointed reader in humanity and rhetoric in 1547. He quickly became the rage of the university and students as well as his seniors came to hear his lectures. Parkhurst, his old tutor, often came from Cleeves, where he apparently was now richly endowed, to hear and marvel at his former pupil. Southgate quotes Danial Featley, early 17th Century biographer of Jewel, as remarking that he lectured with such "...diligence and facilitie that many came from divers other Colledges to behold Rhetoric so richlie set forth...by the dexteritie of his wit and learning."[3]

---

[1] D.N.B., XXIX, 378.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Southgate, Jewel, p.7.

Edward VI came to the throne January, 1547. Thomas Cranmer during this time was involved in a plan to bring the leading Continental reformers to England to develop a pan-Protestant confession. The two most distinguished reformers to respond to Cranmer's invitation were Peter Martyr Vermigli and Martin Bucer, professor of theology from Strasbourg. Martyr arrived late in 1547 and was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1548. Martin Bucer was given a similar position at Cambridge early in 1549. Martyr, in addition to being a theologian of first rank, was also an excellent classicist and possessed a thorough knowledge of the early Greek and Latin church fathers. He was a combination of reformer and learned classical scholar, qualities which were certain to appeal to Jewel.

Peter Martyr's coming to Oxford was the turning point in Jewel's life. They quickly developed a warm personal friendship, based on mutual interest and academic respect and trust. Jewel from this point on always regarded himself as Martyr's disciple. Indeed Humphrey, Jewel's earliest biographer, then a student at Magdalen, talks of Martyr as "...Jewel's spiritual father, and Jewel as Martyr's disciple."[1] During the later years of exile, and also during the years of prominence in England, Jewel relied heavily upon Martyr's

[1] Quoted by Southgate, Jewel, p.9.

encouragement and support. Jewel quickly became Martyr's secretarial assistant and was soon recognized as one of the leading lights in the reform group that was gathering around Martyr at Oxford.

Jewel however was not content to remain just in academics, he wanted a small parish to provide him with "... some cure of souls."[1] When exactly Jewel took holy orders is not known, but Strype indicates that he was a licensed preacher by December, 1551 and became vicar of Sunningwell, near Oxford, the same year.[2] His last degree taken at Oxford was the B.D. in 1552.

One of the individuals Jewel became associated with at Oxford was Richard Chambers, an apparently wealthy individual who patronized promising young reformers. Jewel, shortly after enrolling at Oxford, came to Chambers attention and received an allowance of six pounds annually for his studies. Nothing much is known of Chambers and Garrett concludes that he was an agent of the Earls of Bedford.[3] Chambers patronage of many of these young scholars continued during the years of exile.. Jewel's association with Chambers was unfortunate in that it became the basis of his dismissal from

[1] D.N.B., XXIX, 378.

[2] Strype, Memorials, II, ii, 298.

[3] C.H.Garrett, Marian Exiles (Cambridge: 1938), pp.111-114. Cf. Southgate, Jewel, p.10.

Oxford early in Mary's reign.

It was only natural with Mary's accession that the Catholic party would be ascendant at Oxford. Corpus Christi College was purged of those suspected of reform sympathies and Jewel naturally lost his fellowship. He was welcomed to Pembroke Hall by his friend, Thomas Randolph, who was its principal. Here he felt reasonably secure. This may account for his delayed flight out of England.[1] Jewel wrote Parkhurst regarding the situation explaining that they were miserable enough "...but better perhaps than they like who are vexed that we still live at all."[2] Tension however soon mounted, with both Martyr and Parkhurst fleeing. Jewel however stayed at Oxford, apparently not concealing his reform sentiments, and even acted in 1554 as Cranmer's and Ridley's notary in their disputation just prior to their martyrdom.[3]

In the fall of 1554 however, the purge at Oxford came to a head and Jewel was confronted with an official visitation. He was asked to sign articles giving his assent to the basic tenets of Catholic theology. Jewel demurred but eventually signed the articles of recantation.[4] Much has

---

[1] Southgate, Jewel, p.12.

[2] Jewel, Works, IV, 1192.

[3] John Foxe, Acts and Monuments (8 volumes; London: 1877), VI, 471. Cf. D.N.B., XXIX, 379.

[4] Ayre, Works, IV, xi, footnote 4.

been written as to whether Jewel meant it or not.[1] From Jewel's hasty flight to the Continent immediately after making his peace with the new regime, it appears that this was simply another typical Tudor recantation. Jewel certainly felt the deepest remorse over it and was most emphatic in renouncing it later in Frankfort. Sensing impending danger, Jewel fled England with the help of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton and arrived in Frankfort March 13, 1555.

His time at Frankfort, early in 1555, caused him perhaps as much anxiety as his last few months at Oxford. Though in no physical danger, Jewel received a stony welcome from the English refugees there. The primary reason for this was Jewel's recantation at Oxford. Garrett summarizes it this way: "...Frankfort gave Jewell no welcome. He was referred to indignantly as 'A stranger craftely brought in to preache, who had bothe byn at masse and also subscribed to blasphemous articles'."[2] John Knox apparently preached against him "...rousing the congregation's distrust to such a pitch that Jewel soon accepted Peter Martyr's invitation (to Strasbourg)."[3] The history of the Frankfort exiles had, prior to Jewels' coming, been a stormy one. The problem

---

[1] Southgate, Jewel, p.13 fw. Also Garrett, Exiles, p.198 fw. This matter came up later in the dispute Jewel had with Harding.

[2] Garrett, Exiles, p.198 fw.

[3] Ibid.

concerned the order of the church service with William Whittingham and John Knox promoting the Calvinistic form and another party headed by Thomas Lever, opting for the English Prayer Book.[1] This caused a deep rift in the congregation, so much so that the burghers of Frankfort were nearly compelled to expel all the English exiles.[2] Jewel thus seems to have come at a particularly bad time. Little wonder that his recantation excited so much alarm.

Jewel however had little patience with the plethora of squabbles which continually erupted among Protestants from Frankfort, Geneva, Zurich and Strasbourg. Each it appeared had a theological hobby-horse which was promoted to the exclusion of other Protestant thinking. Jewel at Frankfort had seen the deep personal and congregational rifts this type of conflict resulted in. Jewel's preference was the peaceful academic life, and in late spring, 1555, he accepted Martyr's invitation to join him at Strasbourg. Here Jewel was most happy. Martyr had gathered about him a fairly large group of exiles, academics, clerics and laymen. "Here they formed a kind of College, converting their place of exile into a seminary of learning and a school of piety."[3]

[1] Southgate, Jewel, p.16.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ayre, Works, xiii.

This brief time at Strasbourg was infinitely important to Jewel. Not only did he become thoroughly immersed in reformation theology, he likewise developed strong personal friendship with individuals who were to become prominent in the Elizabethan period. These included Sandys, Grindal, later to become Archbishop of Canterbury, Ponet, the deprived bishop of Winchester, John Cheke, Richard Morison, Anthony Cooke, Nowell, who was later dean of St. Pauls', among others.[1] Southgate comments, "...the central role that Jewel was called upon to take only two years later came in part because these men had come to know him and appreciate him during the exile."[2]

Early in 1556, Martyr was given the invitation to accept the responsibility of professor of Hebrew at Zurich. The opening had resulted due to the death of Conrad Pellican early that year. Martyr accepted, although he had declined an earlier invitation to go to Geneva in the same capacity. This perhaps indicated his more moderate position, especially in relation to Calvin.[3] Martyr moved to Zurich in July, 1556, with Jewel accompanying him. Here he came into contact with more English exiles, notably Pilkington, who later became bishop of Durham, Thomas Lever, Lawrence Humphrey, Jewel's biographer, and especially John Parkhurst, his old tutor.[4]

[1] Ibid.

[2] Southgate, Jewel, p.21.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ayre, Works, xiv.

Of particular importance was the new acquaintance made with Henry Bullinger, Zwinglis' successor, as pastor of the church at Zurich. His time at Zurich was spent in study, academic debate and correspondence with English Protestants on the Continent exhorting them to steadfastness and explaining that "...these present miseries shall not last an age."[1] This correspondence undoubtedly also developed general friendships which laid the basis for his effective leadership later in England.

Queen Mary died November 27, 1558. Almost immediately English exiles from the Continent made their way back to England. Jewel arrived later than most and reached London on March 18, 1559. Upon arrival, many of his expectations at immediate reform measures overthrowing the Marian church were frustrated. He complains to Martyr that conditions in England were not really what he had anticipated on the basis of advance information,[2] and later in another letter expresses his disappointment at the remnants of Catholic worship left in the Act of Uniformity.[3] "His ignorance," Southgate suggests, "reflects the natural optimism of a returning exile, out of touch with reality and, like exiles in all ages, prone to an oversimplified view of circumstances infinitely compli-

[1] Ibid.

[2] Z.L., I, 21.

[3] Ibid., p.23.

cated."[1] Jewel had definite Calvinistic leanings, and would have liked more far-reaching reform measures. In gauging the situation, and in the recognition particularly of Elizabeth's intentions, it was to Jewel's credit that he was flexible enough to adapt to existing realities and bide his time.

Jewel reached England when Elizabeth's first Parliament was more than half over. By then the general direction of the reform movement had already been indicated and Jewel expressed his disappointment at the lack of progress made. Jewel felt that Elizabeth, though she favoured their cause, was "...afraid to allow any innovations."[2] This Jewel felt was partly due to her friends, by whom he probably meant the conservative members of the Privy Council. He also meant the influence of Count de Feria, Philip's ambassador.[3] He did however express hope for progress in a disputation which was to take place later in March for the ostensible purpose "...that our bishops may have no ground of complaint that they are put down only by power and authority of law."[4] Jewel seemed to regard this as a real disputation, with no

[1] Southgate, Jewel, p.25.

[2] Jewel, Works, IV, 1200.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

side having the advantage. Given the situation, the Protestants undoubtedly had the advantage. Pollen goes so far to suggest that the disputation was an utter farce, intended only to humiliate an already pre-judged Catholic episcopacy. "A rather droll idea," comments Pollen, "when one remembers the sequel."[1] The sequel referred to was the committal of White of Winchester and Watson of Lincoln to the tower and the fining of all the rest, the sum apparently reaching three thousand, three hundred and eighty pounds.[2] With the bishops thus publicly bullied and humiliated, the government proceeded to pass the Act of Uniformity.[3]

The disputation took place at Westminster, March 31st. The Protestant side was represented by Jewel, Cox, Scory, Grindal, Whitehead, Sandys, Horne, Aylmer and Edmund Guest. Catholics were represented by five bishops including the Abbot of Westminster, Cole, Chedsey and Harpsfield.[4] The Protestants chosen for the disputation are an important indication to whom Elizabeth looked for her new religious leadership. All were former exiles on the Continent except Guest, and each one, with the exception of Whitehead, probably be-

---

[1] Pollen, English Catholics, p.32.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Jewel, Works, IV, 1200.

cause of his age, were promoted to the episcopacy.[1] The reformers won the disputation. Jewel later called it a "...useless conference..." and made a mockery of Catholic participation in it.[2] Whatever the interpretations of its actual proceedings, the disputation meant the beginning of the end for the Catholic episcopacy in England.

After the disputation in March, it appears probable that Jewel, along with others, became involved in the revisions to the English Prayer Book which was the basis of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity.[3] Little however is known of that involvement. During the next few months, he preached at different times at Paul's Cross by royal invitation. In late June, 1559, Jewel was appointed to the visitorial commission in charge of the western counties, a responsibility he shared with Henry Perry and William Lovelace. Before, however, proceeding to that work he was nominated Bishop of Salisbury on July 27, 1559. Jewel worked at his task unpretentiously and thoroughly. It is interesting that one of the episcopate deprived during this visitation was Thomas Harding, the individual who later debated so vigorously with him. Perhaps the intensity of the later debates was

---

[1] Southgate, Jewel, p.27.

[2] Jewel, Works, IV, 1204. Letter from Jewel to Martyr, April 6, 1559.

[3] See Southgate, Jewel, p.30, footnote 20. Cf. Neale, "Supremacy and Uniformity," p.326 fw.

due not only to theological differences. Jewel returned to London November 1, and was consecrated bishop at Lambeth Palace on January 21, 1560.

Shortly after his return, Jewel was again asked to preach at Paul's Cross. In a sermon on November 26, 1559 he put forward his famous challenge. "If any learned man of our adversaries," Jewel said, "be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor, or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the holy scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive church..." in support of generally accepted Catholic theology, "...I promise that I will give over and subscribe to him."[1] This challenge was repeated in sermons on March 17, March 30 and May 10, 1560.[2] The challenge was accepted by Henry Cole and led to a short series of letters between them. This short disputation was inconclusive, but it did place Jewel in the forefront as a ready polemicist for the Protestant cause.[3] At the end of May, Jewel retreated to his diocese where he spent almost a year in regular diocesan duties and private study.

England at this time was facing a concerted threat in

---

[1] Jewel, Works, I, 20,21. This sermon is the copy of the one preached sometime in March, 1560. Jewel however, indicates the content is identical to that of November 26, 1559.

[2] D.N.B., XXIX, 379.

[3] The correspondence on the debate with Cole is reproduced in Jewel, Works, I, 1-80.

the attempt to reconvene the Council of Trent. Pius IV issued the Papal Bull for that purpose on November 25, 1560, and dispatched Martinengo to England early in 1561 to secure Elizabeth's support and representation at Trent. It was during this time that Jewel was approached by Cecil to draft an official statement of Anglican theology, and to legitimize English refusal to participate in the Council of Trent. The Apologia Ecclesia Anglicana was Jewel's answer. It was immediately recognized for its prodigious exposition of Anglican theology and soon was acknowledged as the official statement of Elizabethan Anglicanism. Originally published in Latin because it was intended for Continental publication, it was soon translated into English and became widely read and accepted in England. The Apology made Jewel an overnight sensation, and the official champion of Anglicanism. His work became the target of much discussion and debate, particularly with Harding, the Louvain theologian. These debates occupied his time and pen for the balance of his life. He died peacefully on September 23, 1571 and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

IV. JOHN JEWEL'S CONCILIAR THEORY

It became important, once the decision had been made to deny Martinengo admission to England, to legitimize both the English religious settlement and English refusal to participate in the Council of Trent. "Protestantism," says Hughes, "is not mere anti-Catholicism."[1] The task that became an immediate imperative was a systematic statement of the theological essence of Anglicanism, and likewise, a thorough explanation of why Elizabeth refused to participate in the proceedings at Trent.

As much however as the settlement was politically conceived and executed, it had great implications for the average Englishman apart from the purely religious results. The settlement, and subsequent Anglo-Papal hostilities, boded ill for England politically and economically. What Elizabeth feared after the break of 1561, was a united Continental effort to enforce Papal censures. Also a possibility was a blockade which would isolate England economically. Successful resistance to either contingency would depend on popular support. That support would be easier to attain if there was general understanding of and support for the religious break with Rome. The Elizabethan propaganda campaign, of

[1] Hughes, Reformation, III, 60.

which Jewel's work was an integral part, devoted itself to fulfil that need.

It is important to realize that Jewel's Apology was a piece of official Elizabethan propaganda.[1] Jewel was well-suited for the task. He was well-educated, articulate, violently anti-Catholic, and had shown himself quite ready, as in the challenge sermon and the dispute with Henry Cole, to come to the Crown's defense. It appears that Cecil approached Jewel as early as spring of 1560 to draft a statement of Anglican theology. After his final reply to Henry Cole of May 18, 1560, Jewel apparently spent a number of days with Cecil. Southgate feels that this was the time when Jewel was officially asked to write on the government's behalf.[2] Nothing is heard from Jewel until April, 1561 when he returned to London with the completed Apology. Elizabeth's and Cecil's delay in the Martinengo affair may have been the result of the time it took to draft the Apology. In any event, Jewel immediately engaged in a series of conferences with Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Young, Archbishop of York, Horne, Bishop of Winchester, Bacon the Chancellor and Cecil. De Quadra, Spanish ambassador, suspected something

---

[1] Ibid., p.64. Of particular importance is the chapter entitled, "The Scholarly Approach", p.48 fw.

[2] Southgate, Jewel, p.56.

was afoot because he dutifully notified Philip in May 5 of these conferences.[1] What in fact was being discussed was Jewel's Apology.

Throgmorton, English ambassador in Paris, had repeatedly requested of Cecil that the English church devise some statement of Anglican theology. Throgmorton was trying to influence Protestant developments in France and felt he needed some statement of doctrine.[2] When the Apology was thus nearing completion, Cecil wrote to Throgmorton on May 8 that

> for the satisfaction of such doubts concerning the position of the English clergy I have caused the Bishop of Sarum (Jewel) to feign an epistle sent from hence thither, and have printed it secretly, and send you herewith several copies. If more be printed there the matter shall have more probability. I have caused an apology to be written, but not printed, in the name of the whole clergy, which is wisely, learnedly, eloquently, and gravely written, but I stay the publication of it until it be further pondered.[3]

The feigned Epistle Cecil mentioned was an interim reply, written by Jewel, to satisfy Throgmorton till the Apology could be further studied and published. Cecil's "staying" of the publication of the Apology was perhaps natural, as Southgate suggests, because this was Parker's task as Archbishop.[4] Parker readily gave his approval, and the Apology

---

[1] C.S.P.S., No. 128, p.201.

[2] Booty, Jewel, p.48 fw.

[3] C.S.P.F., 1561-62, p.104.

[4] Southgate, Jewel, p.58.

was published early in 1562. Throgmorton received his first copy early in 1562 when he reported to Cecil in January 24.

> I saw...the bysshop of Saulsbery apology: I wolde he had as well answeryd the Calveynysts and suche as he greyved with retayning so many ceremonies for the church of England as he hathe done the papysts, syche are offendyd with takyng away so many.[1]

The only reference Jewel made to the Apology in his correspondence was in a letter to Peter Martyr, Feb. 7, 1562 in which he indicated, "We have lately published an Apology for the change of religion among us, and our departure from the church of Rome."[2] Jewel modestly stated he did not think the work worth sending all that distance. It is also interesting that he disclaimed sole authorship for it.

The Apology enjoyed immediate acceptance in England,[3] and likewise rapid circulation on the Continent. Throgmorton received his copy January 24, 1562. Soon copies were to be found all over Europe. By the summer continental reformers possessed copies and Martyr writes to Jewel in August:

---

[1] C.S.P.F., 1561-62, p.504.

[2] Jewel, Works, IV, 1247.

[3] Grindal proposed, for instance, in the Convocation of 1563, that the Apology should be placed in all churches. For this see Gilbert Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England (3 vols.; Oxford: 1865), III, 516 fw. Booty, Jewel, p.7, expresses the same opinion of the Apology's acceptance.

> As for the Apology it hath not only in all points and respects satisfied me,...but it appeared also to Bullinger...and also to Gualter and Wolfius, so wise, admirable and eloquent, that they can make no end of commending it, and think that nothing in these days hath been set forth more perfectly. I exceedingly congratulate your talents upon this excellent fruit, the church upon this edifying of it, and England upon this honour.[1]

Martyr's comments indicate not only the circulation of the Apology, but also the high regard Protestant contemporaries generally had for the work. Copies of the Apology likewise reached the English recusant community at Louvain in 1562,[2] for one of the recusants, Richard Smith, printed a short reply to the Apology late that year.[3] Because of its great popularity, the Apology was translated into numerous languages. Jewel, in his famous Defence stated to Harding[4] that it had been

---

[1]The letter is dated August 24, 1562. Z.L., I, 339.

[2]For a good discussion of English Catholic refugees at Louvain see P.K.Guilday, "The English Catholic Refugees at Louvain, 1559-1575," Recueil de travaux publices par les members des Conferences d'Histoire et de Philologie, IV (1914), 175-189.

[3]Booty, Jewel, p.56.

[4]Thomas Harding was one of the leading theologians in the recusant community at Louvain. He accepted Jewel's challenge, and became Jewel's chief protagonist in the running theological battles of the next decade. He and Jewel had known each other for a number of years. Both came from Devonshire, and attended the same school at Barnstaple, this however at different times. They formally met at Oxford where both were won over to Protestant convictions as a result of Peter Martyr. Later during the official Marian visitation of the university, both Jewel and Harding subscribed to Roman articles, articles which Jewel later renounced. They met for the last time in 1559 when Jewel was serving in the visitorial

> imprinted in Latin at Paris and hath beene sithence translated into the French, the Italian, the Dutch and the Spanish tonguee and hath been sent, and born abroad in France, Flaunders, Germany, Spain, Poole, Hungarie, Denmark, Sveveland, Scotland, Italy, Naples and Rome itself.[1]

This wide circulation and varied translation Harding did not dispute. In addition, Jewel maintained in the same statement to Harding

> Yea it was read, and sharply considered in your late covent at Trident, and great threats made there, that it should be answered: and the matter by two notable learned bishops taken in hand, the one a Spaniard, the other an Italian...[2]

Jewel, Booty concludes, was correct in stating that the Apology had been read at Trent.[3] Apparently two Catholic divines, Catharinus, Archbishop of Canza and Cornelius, bishop of

---

commission of the western countries to enforce the religious settlement. Harding at that time was a member of the Salisbury cathedral chapter. Because of his refusal to subscribe to the oath, Harding was deprived of his ecclesiastical duties, while Jewel was made, ironically enough, bishop of Harding's former charge. Harding summarily fled to France and settled with numerous other English Catholic exiles, at Louvain. From here he carried on his literary war with Jewel. He wrote a few articles in response to Jewel's challenge sermon of 1559, but he became prominent with his famous, A Confutation of a book Entitled An Apology of the Church of England, published in 1565. Jewel responded with his monumental Defence of the Apology, to which Harding again replied with a book entitled, A Detection of Sundry Foul Errors etc. During these debates, Harding distinguished himself as a theologian of first rank. See Canon Perry, "Harding, Thomas." D.N.B., XXIV, 339.

[1] Jewel, Works, III, 186.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Booty, Jewel, p.56.

Bitonto, did reply to it.[1] Henry Middlemore wrote Cecil from Paris that a certain Aliphanus episcopus alias Noarre, delegate to Trent, "...hathe taken in hande and doth wryte against the late Apollogy."[2] Whether or not the Apology as such was ever formally dealt with at Trent cannot really be established with certainty. The content of the Apology however was common knowledge, and certainly was read in the context of Anglo-Papal relations.

It must be remembered, however, that the Apology was, first and foremost, a very effective piece of anti-Catholic propaganda. Though it has been hailed as a definitive statement of Anglican theology, it was that only in selected areas. The Apology, Hughes says, "...is a propagandist's answer, directed to what he chooses is charged against him...it is an answer meant to begin an attack...to bring his enemy to battle on ground of his own choosing."[3] As a propagandist, Jewel was concerned with conciliar authority. In late 1560, Pius IV issued his bull reconvening the recessed Council of Trent for early the next year. This created new problems for England, as previously indicated. English refusal to admit

---

[1] General Index to the Publications of the Parker Society, compiled by Henry Gough (Cambridge: 1855), p.245.

[2] C.S.P.F., 1563, p.70.

[3] Hughes, Reformation, III, 97. Hughes has a particularly good discussion of the whole Elizabethan propaganda campaign, p.96 fw.

Martinengo created an urgent need for a definition of the nature of conciliar authority as conceived by the new ecclesiastical authorities. Originally the last chapter of the Apology which dealt with the conciliar problem, was not included in the original draft. But it became urgent to include a statement on the conciliar problem when it was evident that England would not admit Martinengo. Thus Jewel drafted and included the conciliar section early in 1561.

The crux of Jewel's conciliar theory revolved around the question of authority.[1] The problem of authority, doctrinal and interpretive, was at the heart of the Reformation debate. Reformers repeatedly asserted that they had replaced the authority of the church of Rome with the authority of the Bible. This however was too simplistic. The Roman Catholic Church also prided itself in its use of and adherence to biblical authority. Admittedly tradition was used to bolster biblical authority, but to Catholics, tradition itself was founded on Scripture. The issue therefore was not that of the authority of the Bible. "It was rather," as Southgate says, "that from this single ultimate authority each side derived very different and even contradictory doctrines."[2] The problem ultimately had to do with interpretation.

[1] I am particularly indebted to the excellent discussion of Jewel's concept of authority in Southgate, Jewel, p.111 fw.

[2] Southgate, Jewel, p.111.

This problem had been solved by the Catholic church by the application of the vested authority of Catholic tradition, and of course by conciliar authority.

The early reformers, particularly Luther, did not consider authority a problem. Luther placed unquestioned faith in his ability to understand Scripture without the interpretive assistance of the catholic church. To him the message of Scripture was clear and it became the final authority on matters of faith.

Such individual interpretation, however, was fraught with obvious difficulty. Luther assumed that his interpretation of Scripture, so manifestly clear, was the only interpretation possible. He was soon to discover, however, that other reformers, equally as zealous as he, came to very differing conclusions about the right meaning of Scripture. Who, in the final analysis, was to pass judgment upon the validity of Luther's interpretation? This of course was the immediate charge brought against the reformers by Catholic theologians. Luther's naive biblicism, it was argued, would lead to a plethora of divergent interpretations. It was to the credit of the reformers that this did not happen. It is true that there were radical elements in the Reformation, but by and large, Reformation theology crystallized around two major traditions, the Lutheran and Reformed.

Initially English Protestants did not consider authority a problem. They accepted the standard Reformation doctrine of the individual interpretation of Scripture. This centrality of "pure" Scripture led Tyndale, Joye and Coverdale to make the Bible available in the vernacular of the English people.

When Henry VIII broke with the Catholic Church, he intended that the English church should remain Catholic in tradition and doctrine. Constitutionally the ties with Rome were severed. "The constitutional change," says Southgate, "necessarily involved a basic change both in doctrine and the sources of doctrinal authority, for Rome, deprived of any constitutional control over the English Church, inevitably lost authority over doctrine."[1] The great task, therefore, of the English church was to formulate an authority to supplant Roman authority in doctrinal matters.

John Jewel attempted to formulate such an authority. Like his Reformation counterparts on the Continent, Jewel accepted the finality of the authority of Scripture.

> We receive and embrace all the canonical Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament...these be the heavenly voices, whereby God hath opened unto us his will;...in them be abundantly and fully comprehended all things, whatsoever be needful for our salvation...they be the very might and strength of God to attain to salvation;... the foundations of the prophets and apostles,

---

[1] Ibid., p.116.

> whereupon is built the church of God;... the very sure and infallible rule, whereby may be tried, whether the church doth stagger or err, and where unto all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account.[1]

But as much as he accepted the authority of Scripture, he did not allow that the truth derived from individual interpretation was or could be infallible. His concern was to provide an interpretive authority without accepting either the Catholic solution of an authoritative church, or the Protestant extreme of subjective individual interpretation. Jewel admitted that the framework of traditional authority employed by the Catholic Church was of value, but he questioned that Rome could be the judge of tradition. On the other hand, truth must still meet the time-honoured test of collective consensus. Jewel found an interpretive authority, within which doctrinal truth could be evaluated and resolved, in the writings of the early church fathers, the councils of the early church, and in general councils, e.g. provincial synods.

The key to his framework of interpretive authority was the patristic literature of the first centuries. Jewel found rather curious the Catholic charge that the English

---

[1] Jewel, Works, III, 62.

> ...set nought by the authority of the ancient fathers and councils of old time;...have rashly and presumptuously disannulled the old ceremonies, which have been well allowed...many hundred years past...have by our own private head, without the authority of any sacred and general council, brought new traditions into the church...[1]

Jewel's countercharge was that it was not the English, but the Catholic church which could be charged with heresy, if in fact heresy could be defined as "...a forsaking of salvation, a renouncing of God's grace, a departing from the body and spirit of Christ."[2] Jewel felt that on the basis of a right, i.e. Protestant, interpretation of Scripture, and the doctrinal purity of the early church, it was the English church, more so than the Catholic, which could claim to be truly apostolic and catholic. "We do shew it plain," says Jewel, "that God's holy gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive church do make on our side...(we)...have rather returned to the apostles and old catholic fathers."[3] The basis on which he could make this claim was that they had come, as "...near as we possibly could..."[4] to the purity of the patristic church. "We have searched out of the holy

---

[1] Ibid., p.54.

[2] Ibid., p.57.

[3] Ibid., p.56.

[4] Ibid., p.100.

bible," says Jewel, "which we are sure cannot deceive, one sure form of religion, and have returned again unto the...very foundations and headsprings of Christ's church."[1]

Harding of course attacked Jewel's concept of the interpretive authority of the early fathers, claiming that Jewel was no better than other reformers because he interpreted Scripture which was "...scanned only by your own wits."[2] Harding suggested that Jewel should have his doctrine "tried and examined...by the rule of ecclesiastical tradition..."[3] Jewel, however, had confidently stated his case;

> Throughout the whole discourse of this Apology, in the defence of the catholic truth of our religion, next unto God's holy word,...(we)... have used no proof or authority so much as the expositions and judgments of the holy fathers. We...give God thanks in their behalf, for that it hath pleased him to provide so worthy instruments for his church.[4]

The doctrines held by the English Church, says Jewel, were "...not of wit, but of faith; not of eloquence, but of truth; not invented or devised by us, but from the apostles and holy fathers and founders of the church by long succession brought unto us." The English, therefore, were only the "...keepers;

---

[1] Ibid., p.106.

[2] Jewel, Works, IV, 900 fw.

[3] Ibid., p.901.

[4] Jewel, Works, III, 225.

not the masters, but the scholars...we believe...(what)... they did; we say...(what)...they said...marvel not...if ye see us join unto them."[1]

Catholics had always charged that the individual interpretation of Scripture would, in the final analysis, result in unchecked individualism and religious anarchy. Jewel, of course, tried to prove, by his appeal to patristic authority, that the English church had avoided such excesses. To Jewel, "...patristic tradition was objective and substantial. It led neither to Rome nor to anarchy."[2] In his development of this point, Jewel takes the offensive. If anyone can be charged with having left the true doctrine of the church, it is the Catholic Church which must take the blame. "We find you the more blame-worthy," says Jewel, "...having without cause renounced the judgment and orders of the primitive church and ancient fathers...ye...make vaunt of your antiquity, and fray the world with a vizard of the church and a shew of old fathers..."[3] We, however, says Jewel, "...take them and embrace them as the witnesses of God's truth."[4] In thus setting forth Anglican theology as supported by the fathers, Jewel felt he had disclosed

---

[1] Jewel, Works, II, 810.

[2] Southgate, Jewel, p.177.

[3] Jewel, Works, IV, 901.

[4] Ibid.

"...the infinite follies and errors of your (Catholic) doctrine."[1]

As much, however, as Jewel emphasized patristic authority, he regarded the fathers as only interpreters of Scripture rather than as original authorities in themselves. The supreme authority throughout his work was Scripture. The fathers were

> ...interpreters of the Word of God...learned men... learned fathers; the instruments of the mercy of God, and vessels full of grace...we read them, we reverence them...They were witnesses unto the truth...worthy pillars...Yet they may not be compared with the word of God. We may not build upon them; we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience.[2]

This was in no way belittling the fathers as an authority. It was simply "...(allowing)...the ancient fathers the same credit that they themselves have ever desired."[3]

This appeal to patristic authority however was fraught with difficulty. Patristic literature was, to a great extent, a rather disingenuous collection of writings covering a plethora of subjects. There was little in it by way of a studied, systematic treatment of Christian doctrine. Varying interpretations could be arrived at depending on the patristic authorities cited. Jewel, therefore, needed to set himself

---

[1] Jewel, Works, III, 229.

[2] Jewel, Works, IV, 1173.

[3] Jewel, Works, III, 176.

a framework within which he could gauge the validity even of patristic authority.

The first important principle of Jewel's hermenuetic was that since the fathers interpreted Scripture, Scripture must be looked at in conjunction with the fathers to ascertain the validity of interpretation. An interpretation is to be held because it can "...persuade...either by other canonical writers or else by some likely reason."[1] In addition Jewel felt that the authenticity of patristic texts should not be taken for granted. Jewel questioned a variety of sources used by Harding, and insisted that only texts of undisputed validity be used as authoritative.[2] The main principle governing Jewel's judgment on patristic authority was that patristic teaching "...must represent a general agreement among the fathers..."[3] This had been the attitude of the early church bishops who "...evermore taught us to esteem and weigh the fathers."[4] Thus each doctrine was supported by a volume of patristic material. One citation in defense was not sufficient. An isolated opinion simply could not be regarded as authoritative. Collective agreement, however, was

[1] Ibid., p.227.

[2] Examples of this are found in Jewel, Works, I, 189-191; III, 311.

[3] Southgate, Jewel, p.183.

[4] Jewel, Works, III, 239.

authoritative. As much as Jewel argued that the fathers were but men, he reserved a special authority for their collective consensus. As a group they were, in the words of Athanasius, "...inspired from heaven...,"[1] men who possessed a "...spirit of understanding and knew Christ's meaning."[2] For Jewel, such a tribunal could not err. He was content to rest his case squarely on its judgment.

Jewel's appeal to patristic authority was the essence of his new interpretive framework for doctrine. In addition, however, Jewel also held to a modified conciliar authority, a collective consensus.

This English Protestantism had always claimed, from the propagandists of Henry VIII, to the more reasoned emphasis of Cranmer, and the assurances of the early Elizabethans. In the Apology Jewel stated the case as follows, "But peradventure they will say, it was treason to attempt these matters (the religious settlement) without a sacred general council: for in that consisteth the whole force of the church."[3] Jewel points out that the Catholic church through the centuries, but most recently, has "...spoiled and disannulled almost all, not only ordinances, but even the doc-

[1] Ibid., p.238.

[2] Jewel, Works, I, 127.

[3] Jewel, Works, III, 93.

trine of the primitive church..."[1] without the consultation of a general council. It is true, Jewel contends, that councils are authoritative, but can no truth be established without the decisions of councils? "Why I beseech you," he asks, "except a council will and command, shall not truth be truth and God be God?"[2]

Jewel is quick to point out, however, that the English "...do not despise councils, assemblies, and conferences of bishops and learned men...,"[3] and argues that "...neither have we done that we have done altogether without bishop or without a council."[4] The conciliar authority Jewel claimed was parliament, and the "...notable synod and convocation."[5] Thomas Harding immediately questions the validity of such authority, primarily because of insufficient episcopal representation, and also because of the very nature of the assembly. Jewel's notable synods and convocations he dismisses as "...small and obscure meetings of a few Calvinists of one little island,"[6] which pale into insignificance when compared

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Jewel, Works, IV, 903.

to Trent. Harding concludes in jest, "Lastly, if they will needs have their matters seem to depend of their parliament, let us not be blamed if we call it parliament-religion, parliament-gospel, parliament-faith..."[1]

Jewel however continues to insist on the legitimacy even of parliamentary decisions. Appealing to historical precedent, Jewel concludes, "Hereby it appeareth that kings and princes are specially and of purpose appointed by God, not only to defend, but also to govern and rule the church."[2] If parliaments and synods err, even as councils err, it is still God's concern. "If anything want," Jewel says, "the arm of the Lord is not shortened: he is able to supply the same."[3] The early church repeatedly had recourse to "...remedy our own churches by a provincial synod...", and even in such important matters as the Arian controversy, Ambrose "...appealed to his own clergy and people, that is to say, a provincial synod."[4]

But as much as Jewel believed in conciliar authority, he was violently opposed to prevailing Catholic conciliar theory because recent councils, and particularly the Council

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p.905.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Jewel, Works, III, 102.

of Trent, were under the control and ultimate authority of the Pope. This had been argued repeatedly by Continental Protestants and provided probably the main obstacle to meaningful Protestant participation in the Council. This point Jewel chose to attack. He felt that papal supremacy and authority "...within the church was more vulnerable to attack than the authority of the church in general."[1] The matter of Papal supremacy, and especially his supremacy in Council, was by no means an accepted fact throughout the Catholic Church. Jewel "...thus endeavored at all times to identify the Roman Church with the Papal supremacy, knowing that the identification once definitely made, the disproval of the authority of the Pope would inevitably mean the disproval of the authority of the Roman Church."[2]

This point Jewel sought to affirm repeatedly. In his preface to the Defence of the Apology, Jewel stated to Queen Elizabeth:

> The main ground of his (Harding's) whole plea is this, that the Bishop of Rome, whatsoever it shall like him to determine in judgment, can never err; that he is always undoubtedly possessed of God's Holy Spirit; that at his only hand we must learn to know the will of God; that in his only holiness standeth the unity and safety of the church; that whatsoever is divided from him must be judged an heretic;

---

[1] Southgate, Jewel, p.123.

[2] Ibid.

> that without the obedience of him there is no hope of salvation.[1]

Though the doctrine of papal infallibility was not to be officially decided until the first Vatican Council in 1869, Jewel felt that the Papacy already professed these claims in his time. The Pope, Jewel said

> hath authority above all general councils, and fulness of power to expound the scriptures; to whose determinations the whole church of God must of necessity submit itself without contradiction;...unto whom all appeals ought to lie...[2]

What Jewel objected to was the ultimate authority reserved by the Holy See to judge even decisions of councils. The Council of Trent, therefore, "...is a conspiracy, and not a council..." since all the "...bishops, whom the Pope hath now called together, be wholly sworn and become bound to bear him their faithful allegiance."[3] In similar vein, Jewel concluded that

> ...the pope's legates, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops and abbots, all being conspired together... all bound by one oath, sit alone by themselves... and at last...bring all their opinions to be judged at the will and pleasure of the pope.[4]

Jewel pointed to the last session of Trent at which it was concluded that decisions were made, "Saving always the author-

---

[1] Jewel, Works, III, 116.

[2] Jewel, Works, I, 338.

[3] Jewel, Works, III, 102.

[4] Ibid.

ity of the see apostolic in all things."[1] To Jewel this simply meant that the Pope "...alone may add, alter, diminish, disannul, allow, remit, and qualify..."[2] any of the council's decisions. Since the Pope, in addition, could not err, and since conciliar decisions were dependent on his judgment in any event, why have councils at all, if ultimately the matter rests with one man? To Jewel it was inconceivable that the one part should be greater than the whole. This simply disannulled conciliar authority altogether. "It is madness," says Jewel, "to think that the Holy Ghost taketh his flight from a general council to run to Rome, to the end,...he may take counsel of some other spirit, I wot not what, that is better learned than himself."[3]

Jewel was particularly concerned that Trent was not really interested in ecclesiastical reform, but was meeting only to "feather its own nest." Trent, Jewel felt, was dedicated "...to protecting the vested interests of the Roman Church."[4]

This was not to say, however, that Jewel denigrated the authority of conciliar decisions. Jewel was quick to point out that early church councils were not under the

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p.94.

[4] Southgate, Jewel, p.130.

Pope's jurisdiction, that they decided doctrine solely on the authority of Scripture. Jewel wished for Trent that they "...meet as the apostles met..."[1] that councils again be "...free, honest, and christian."[2] Jewel accepted the early church councils as authoritative, an authority albeit inferior to patristic authority.

In addition to Papal dominance of the Council, Jewel charged the Council of Trent with being nothing more than a conspiracy. This represented one of the main reasons why the English, as well as Continental Protestants, refused to send representatives. If England's case had been prejudged, as indeed it had, there was little need to engage in empty discussion. Pius IV's attempts were not directed at arriving at a compromise solution with the English church. Elizabeth, and the religious settlement, were already under Papal condemnation, and Pius IV's attempts were directed at bringing England back into the Roman communion. Elizabeth and the new English bishops were guilty of heresy. On that there could be no compromise. The emissaries assembled at Trent had shown themselves "...open enemies of the Gospel..."[3] who will "...neither have the case to be freely disputed, nor yet, how many errors soever there be (in the Catholic

---

[1] Jewel, Works, IV, 1122.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Jewel, Works, III, 95.

church) suffer they any to be changed."[1] Jewel was convinced that

> ...we neither shall have place nor be able to do any good; where as we can obtain no audience;...and where as also all we be condemned already, before trial; as though the matter were aforehand dispatched and agreed upon.[2]

To Jewel therefore, any English representation at Trent would serve only to humiliate the English in the eyes of Christendom generally. This needed to be avoided at all costs.

Jewel likewise challenged Trent's claim to universality. A general council, Jewel argued, could only claim to be authoritative if it was truly universal in representation. Trent certainly did not qualify. In Jewel's mind the English parliament and convocation could even be more properly called a general council.

> What manner of council, ween you, was the same last at Trident? or how might it be termed a general council, when out of all Christian kingdoms and nations there came unto it but only forty bishops.[3]

Jewel's real point was that without representation of the entire church, particularly the Protestant factions, no council could claim to be general and authoritative. Harding

[1] Ibid., p.94.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p.103.

immediately challenged Jewel's estimate of only forty bishops present at Trent and commented, "It is well known that there were at this late council of Trent...well near two hundred bishops,"[1] a number more accurate than Jewel's pared figure. The actual number, however, is incidental to Jewel. Protestants had not participated, and that, in itself, made the council suspect. What Jewel wanted was a truly representative, i.e. Protestant and Catholic, and free Council which he knew very well would never materialize. By free he meant simply a council where everyman could come to express himself freely without coercion. Jewel, as well as his opponents, would have resisted such an assembly actually taking place. It boggles the mind to imagine such an assembly actually deliberating. For Jewel, however, it made a convenient debating point.

Jewel's framework of interpretive authority for doctrine, however, was inextricably bound to its corollary, his concept of the church. English Protestantism held to an Erastian view of the Royal Supremacy. "Like Erastus," says Cross, "they held that in a christian state all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and secular, belonged exclusively to the christian magistrate."[2] This obviously presented grave problems for the English church in the area of doctrine.

[1] Jewel, Works, IV, 1051.

[2] Cross, Supremacy, p.27.

If the jurisdictional rights of the Christian monarch included the definition of doctrine, Jewel's elaborate theory of interpretive authority would be of no consequence. Jewel realized the problem and set about to delineate what in fact the relationship of the English Church was to the English state.

Jewel's starting point was a definition of the church itself. He regarded the English church as a significant part of the universal catholic Church. The Roman Catholic church had too limited a view of Catholicity, namely, "...that Catholicity was only within the confines of the Roman jurisdiction."[1] Jewel saw a universal catholic church, "...the church of Christ, which containeth the churches through the world...joined together in the unity of the Spirit...(and bound by)...the holy scriptures."[2] The boundaries of this church were not circumscribed by certain traditions and institutionalization, they were "...not shut up...into some one corner or kingdom."[3] This church derived its unity rather from the unity of the Spirit[4] the headship of Jesus Christ,[5] and adherence to the

---

[1] Southgate, Jewel, p.193.

[2] Jewel, Works, II, 819.

[3] Jewel, Works, III, 59.

[4] Jewel, Works, II, 819.

[5] Jewel, Works, III, 59.

holy Scriptures.[1] Adherence to the Scriptures, of course, was determined by comparison to the early church and patristic authority.

Jewel thus broadened his concept of catholicity, so that the Church of England could claim to be part of the universal catholic church. But Jewel was interested in more than a simple definition of catholicity. He wanted a catholicity which was in itself authoritative. The Roman Catholic Church possessed such authority in its doctrine of apostolic succession. True catholicity, to Jewel, consisted in more than succession of persons. True catholicity "...was to be measured only by the degree of its conformity to the teachings of the early church...rightful succession lay therefore in the possession of right doctrine."[2] Jewel's theory of doctrinal succession thus supplanted apostolic succession as a measure of true catholicity. To Harding's complaint that the English church could not claim succession, Jewel responds, "To be Peter's lawful successor it is not sufficient to leap into Peter's stall. Lawful succession standeth not only in possession of place, but also, and much rather, in doctrine and diligence."[3] Thus Jewel claimed that

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Southgate, Jewel, p.197.

[3] Jewel, Works, III, 201.

> though we have departed from that church, which these (Roman Catholic) men call catholic...we are come, as near as we possibly could, to the church of the apostles and of the old catholic bishops and fathers; which church we know hath hitherto been sound and perfite...and have directed according to their customs and ordinances not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments, and the form of common prayer.[1]

One aspect of ecclesiology Jewel does not develop fully is the ultimate relationship between the English church and the English state. If in fact English sovereigns exercise sovereignty in their realms, what then of the application of that sovereignty in the ecclesiastical realm? Jewel seems to have contented himself with a modified concept of a Christian res publica, a doctrine developed more fully later by Richard Hooker in his Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.[2] Jewel hints at this when he argues that the matter of the change of religion culminating in the religious settlement of 1559, was not arbitrarily arrived at, but had been discussed in "open parliament."[3] Jewel, therefore, made Parliament the authority of the realm or commonwealth, to which all estates, including the church, were ultimately subject. "The Tudor Reformation," says Allen, "involved the evolution and partial

---

[1] Jewel, Works, III, 100.

[2] See the excellent discussion of Hooker's theory in J.W.Allen, A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (London: 1928), p.184 fw.

[3] John Jewel, Works, III, 93.

acceptance of a theory that made the church and state two espects of one thing, the Commonwealth."[1] To this theory Jewel subscribed. He apparently however did not see the need to develop such a doctrine fully because it was not immediately necessary. Jewel was primarily interested in abolishing the Roman system. This meant stressing Royal supremacy. Apparently he simply assumed, as contended by A. W. Pollard for the early Elizabethans, that, "...the fundamental contention underlying the Elizabethan settlement was that a national church had the right to determine its own faith, ritual and organization."[2]

Jewel, therefore, believed that the English church possessed true catholicity, and as such was a legitimate part of the church universal. The English church likewise possessed the method and inherent right to determine true doctrine. This of course presented a practical problem to Jewel for the fact of royal supremacy dictated that the very ministers who proclaimed doctrine, thus defined, were themselves oppointees of the crown. Jewel therefore "...attempted to prove that in doctrinal matters the clergy retained their independence while the monarch in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction remained the supreme governor."[3] Jewel differ-

[1] Allen, Political, p.169.

[2] Cited by Allen, Ibid., p.178.

[3] Cross, Supremacy, p.29.

entiated between the titles supreme head of the church, which Henry VIII had claimed, and supreme governor, the title which Elizabeth claimed. To Jewel, the Elizabethan title, supreme governor, indicated that Elizabeth had decided to limit herself to jurisdictional matters in her dealings with the church. Jewel "...distinguished sharply between the sphere of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in which he considered the monarch had a God-given right to act, and the sphere of doctrine where the truths of religion were beyond human interference."[1] In his support of the divine origin of royal supremacy, Jewel simply reiterated what was becoming a generally accepted truth in the sixteenth century. He argued

> that the prince is the highest judge and governor over all his subjects whatsoever, as well as priests. As laymen, without exception, it is most evident by that hath been already said... by the whole course of the Scriptures, and by the undoubted practice of the primitive church. Verily the prince...had both the tables of the law of God evermore committed to his charge; as well as the first, that pertaineth to religion, as also the second, that pertaineth to civil government.[2]

To Harding's reply that princes can claim only to rule by popular consent, Jewel replied simply, "Touching the prince's power, we are certainly assured by God's holy word it is from God."[3]

---

[1] Ibid., p.28.

[2] Jewel, Works, IV, 974.

[3] Ibid., p.1037.

To Jewel, therefore, the divine origin of secular power was a fact. The practical problem implicit in that doctrine however, was the extent to which princely authority extended into the spiritual sphere. The main function Jewel allowed for the prince in the spiritual sphere was the reform and nurturing of the church. The prince was

> to be the nurse of God's religion; to make laws for the church; to hear and take up questions of faith, if he be able; or otherwise to commit them over by his authority unto the learned; to command the bishops and priests to do their duties, and to punish such as be offenders.[1]

The prince, Jewel insisted, never performed priestly functions. Jewel pointed with pride to English monarchs from Henry VIII to Elizabeth, indicating that they had never usurped the priestly office. The reason for this was that "...the prince and the bishop have not one kind of charge. The bishop's charge is to preach...minister sacraments...order priests... excommunicate...absolve."[2] In comparison, the prince's functions are "...not to do any of these things himself, in his own person, but only to see that they be done, and orderly and truly done, by the bishops."[3] The prince may not "...bind and loose, or minister sacraments, or preach the gospel, or

[1] Cited in Cross, Supremacy, Document 12, p.142.

[2] Jewel, Works, IV, 959.

[3] Ibid.

...hear confessions."[1]

Not only is Jewel adamant in a basic difference of charge possessed by prince and bishop, he is equally adamant that in matters of doctrine the prince is inferior to the bishop. While it would normally be arrogant for a bishop to be placed above a king, Jewel allowed it in the area of Scriptural interpretation. "...thus is the king inferior, not only to a bishop, as you say, but also to every inferior priest...For the prince is bound to the obedience of God's word no less than if he were a private subject. If he refuse to here...he is accursed."[2] Even more pointed is his statement, "Touching the knowledge of God's word and cases of religion, certain it is the king is inferior to the bishop."[3]

While this was theoretically true, Jewel faced the fact that religion had been altered, under Mary and then Elizabeth, by act of parliament. This charge Harding immediately brought against him, that the English possessed only "parliament religion." Jewel immediately retorted that such was not the case. The matter of religion, Jewel said, had been treated in open parliament, a body for him which represented "...a body of Christians, both lay and clerical, representing the

[1] Ibid., p.976.

[2] Ibid., p.674.

[3] Ibid., p.675.

whole christian commonwealth in a way in which convocation, which represented the clergy alone, could not do."[1] Jewel obviously was caught in a dilemna in substituting the authority of parliament for the authority of general council. Though he was the first to admit the imperfections of parliament to judge in doctrine, he regarded parliament as a practical necessity. He contented himself with the explanation that his doctrine was "...grounded upon God's word..."[2] and that by parliament it was "...authorized and set forth by the queen's majesty, and by the assent of the whole realm."[3] The origin of doctrine therefore was not in question. The function of parliament was simply to make doctrine official.

Jewel does not tackle the problem of the practical ability of Elizabeth to interfere in matters of doctrine. "There seems to have been no conflict," says Southgate, "in the fundamentals of doctrine, the result perhaps of the skill with which the episcopal bench had been selected - or royal indifference."[4] It was fortunate for Jewel that in his eyes official doctrine was also right doctrine. Had this not been the case, the problem certainly could not have been avoided.

---

[1] Cross, Supremacy, p.30.

[2] Jewel, Works, I, 31.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Southgate, Jewel, p.209.

As it was, Jewel tactfully decided to keep silent, wisely "letting sleeping dogs lie."

In contrast, therefore, to conciliar authority as represented by the Council of Trent, Jewel established a framework of interpretive authority for the English church. Foundational to this new authority was patristic literature, the supreme guide to the determining of true doctrine. By this the English church established its true Catholicity, and could claim to be, along with other member parts, a legitimate part of Christ's universal church.

In addition to these more basic objections to prevailing conciliar theory, Jewel touches on more practical and propagandistic issues. He, of course, touches on the matter of the corruption of the Papacy, and in particular that of the Council of Trent. Even of the forty bishops who attended, numerous of them could not even read or write, and a number of them, in Jewel's opinion were "...so well learned, that they had never studied divinity!"[1] Jewel attacked the "... priests keeping concubines...so many dumb bishops, with so many thousands of common harlots...open stews...fornications..."[2] Jewel is quick to point out the case of "...two others of your said so many and notable learned and holy

---

[1] Jewel, Works, III, 102.

[2] Jewel, Works, IV, 906.

bishops...(who)...were even there killed in adultery..."[1] "For these and other causes," says Jewel, "Henry the French king, openly...protested against the same council..."[2] In addition Charles V, "...made open protestation against your Tridentine conventicle..."[3] If "...such is the opinion your own princes have of your assemblies,"[4] Jewel asks, why cannot the English also disagree without reprisal?

Harding specifically asks, "...then why came ye not to the chief and most lawful consistory of the world, the late general council of Trent?"[5] To this Jewel retorts immediately, "...ye have already our excuse. The journey was too long to be taken in vain."[6] Harding retorts that the English had a promise of safe-conduct, but Jewel disagrees. The bishops of the last session of Trent "...were very loth to allow any tolerable safe conduct at all, either to the Germans or to any others."[7] Jewel argues that not even Popes, e.g. Eugenius IV, and certainly not heretics, e.g. Hus, were

[1] Ibid., p.905.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p.1052.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p.898.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p.953.

immune. He concludes, "No, yourselves have already ruled in case in your said council. For this ye say, ye may hold no faith unto them that ye call heretics."[1]

The Epistle to Scipio also reflects Jewel's conciliar theory. There has been some debate whether the Epistle is actually the work of Jewel. It first appeared as a work of Jewel in an Appendix of Nicholas Brent's translation of Paolo Sarpis', History of the Council of Trent which appeared in 1629.[2] However, it is Ayre's conclusion that "...there can scarcely be any reasonable doubt that Jewel was the author."[3]

To a great extent the Epistle is simply a repetition of previous explanations found in the Apology and its Defence, why the English did not participate in the Council of Trent. The English, Jewel argues, were "...beforehand condemned for heretics, and openly pronounced excommunicate...first condemned and punished, and then brought to trial..."[4] "The English...(will not)...come to the council only to be indicted."[5] He indicates to Scipio that the English are in favor of a council where "...all things be referred to the

[1] Ibid., p.955.

[2] S.T.C., 21761 (Reel 1034).

[3] Jewel, Works, IV, 1094, footnote 1.

[4] Ibid., p.1096.

[5] Ibid.

rule of God's word, and the truth only be obeyed."[1] If however councils are called, as Jewel believed Trent certainly was, to establish tyranny and ambition, factions, appetites and lust, then "...there is nothing more pernicious for the church of God."[2] Jewel reiterated the standard claim that the Popes have no inherent right to summon councils. This right had always been reserved for Christian kings and princes.

Jewel is quick to excuse the English bishops from attendance at the Council. Absentees, he argued, had always been valid, especially in cases of emergency. This was true in the early church, and certainly, he felt, was true at the Council of Trent. "What if our bishops," says Jewel, "should now give the same answer, that they can spare no time from their sacred function...that they cannot be absent five, six, seven years..."[3] Anglican bishops were not as idle as Roman bishops "...that live luxuriously in their palaces, and dance attendance upon the cardinals, and hunt after benefices."[4] The churches in England were so ruined, says Jewel, that they cannot be repaired "...in a small time, or with

[1] Ibid., p.1097.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p.1101.

[4] Ibid.

mere ordinary diligence."[1] Jewel charges the Catholics with deliberately seeking to encroach on their time to hinder "...the advancing of the gospel at home..."[2] In the latter part of the Epistle, Jewel repeated his criticisms of the purpose of the council, the corruption of the bishops at council, and the restrictive nature of Papal authority. For those reasons then, Jewel says in summary "...we choose rather to sit at home, and leave our whole cause to God, than to journey thither; where as we neither can have place, nor be able to do any good; where as we can obtain no audience... as also we be all condemned already, before trial; as though the matter were aforehand dispatched and agreed upon."[3]

Jewel's Apology came under attack immediately from Catholic quarters, particularly from the English recusant community at Louvain. Reference has already been made to Thomas Harding, Jewel's chief opponent. Harding upheld the doctrines attacked by Jewel in his great work, A Confutation of the Apology of the Church of England. The Confutation is a brilliant and concise restatement of the essence of Catholic doctrine. Where Jewel's Apology became the pattern for all later works directed against the Catholic Church, so Harding's

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p.953.

Confutation, and other writings set the pattern for recusant literature. The Confutation and subsequent Defence began a duel which engaged both for the rest of their lives.

In addition to Harding however, others picked up Jewel's challenge, though none as eloquently or as completely.[1] Thomas Stapleton, John Rastell, Thomas Dorman and Thomas Heskyns all attacked Jewel's works.[2] Pollen indicates that the English recusants living at Louvain were responsible for producing forty-one volumes against Jewel and his fellows, all between the years 1564 to 1568.[3] These recusants included Harding, Stapleton, John Martiall, Nicholas Sanders, Richard Shocklock, Heskyns and William Allen. The literary controversy

[1] Hughes, Reformation, III, 48 fw.

[2] The following is just a sampling of some of the more important tracts directed at Jewel. Thomas Stapleton's A Returne of Untruthes upon M. Jewelles replie published at Antwerp, appeared in 1566, S.T.C., 23234. John Rastell published, A briefe shew of the false wares in the Apology of the Church of England at Louvain in 1567, S.T.C., 20725. Other less important works by Rastell include A confutation of a sermon, published in Antwerp, 1564, S.T.C., 20726, and A Treatise entitled, Beware of M. Jewel, also published at Antwerp, in 1566, S.T.C., 20729. Thomas Dorman wrote, A proufe of certeyne articles in religion denied by M. Jewel, which was published at Antwerp in 1564, S.T.C., 7062, and A Request to M. Jewel, that he kepe his promise made in his sermon, Louvain, 1567, S.T.C., 7063. Thomas Heskyns wrote a minor work entitled, The Parliament of Chryste of his bodie and blood impregned by M. Iuell, Antwerp, 1566, S.T.C., 13250.

[3] Pollen, Catholics, p.107.

which resulted from Jewel's challenge sermon and the Apology, eventually involved so many disputants that it became known as the great controversy.

This controversy however, soon turned its attention away from the conciliar question to the more intense theological questions of the developing recusant controversy. This was due no doubt to the fact that the Council of Trent had recessed without taking any punitive action against Elizabeth. The contingencies therefore which Elizabeth feared never materialized, and English ecclesiastics could turn their attention to the theological maturing of the English reformation.

CONCLUSION

John Jewel as the first official Elizabethan apologist, was confronted by some major tasks. In the first place he needed to assert the Royal supremacy in opposition to papal supremacy. The Tudor revolution, after all was concerned primarily with the establishment of Royal supremacy, and Jewel, borrowing from Continental and early English Protestants, accepted and expostulated without question the doctrine of the divine origin of secular authority.

As much, however, as Jewel desired to break with Roman absolutism, he was reticent about delivering himself and the English church into bondage to another form of absolutism, either institutional or as practiced by radical Protestantism. Roman absolutism had, after all, meant an ultimate ecclesiastical authority for the English church, both institutionally and doctrinally. The absence of that authority, meant that a new authority needed to be established. This new authority for doctrine, interpretive rather than declarative, Jewel found in the early church. The purity of the early church and its doctrine, guided as they were by the apostles and early fathers, was the vast reservoir which provided the ultimate point of reference in determining right doctrine. Jewel therefore substituted patristic and early church conciliar authority for the authority of Rome.

Jewel not only disallowed the ultimate declarative authority of Rome, he disallowed likewise the declarative authority of the government of the Church of England. What appears to be an essential contradiction, Royal supremacy as opposed to ecclesiastical independence, Jewel qualified into a *via media* solution in church/state relations. On the one hand, royal supremacy in the church was upheld. Jewel prescribed certain duties to the prince which were his divinely ordained functions. On the other hand, Jewel limited Royal supremacy, especially in matters of doctrine. The weakness implicit in this *via media* position did not appear as a problem to Jewel simply because the circumstances in England did not require a stricter definition. Official doctrine, in Jewel's eyes, happened also to be right doctrine. Puritan attacks on the established church were to prove that Jewel's solution was tentative indeed.

The very nature of Jewel's work, that of the development of an interim *via media* solution in the application of the Royal supremacy, dictated its essential strength and weakness. Jewel's work was not complete. But in the popular mind, he supplied, however tentative, a successful defense of the English church. Jewel's work "...served to strengthen the church in the eyes of men outside, and, far

more important, it gave Englishmen confidence and even faith in their church."[1]

---

[1]Southgate, Jewel, p. 219.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Cardwell, E. Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England. 2 vols. Oxford, 1839.

Cranmer, Thomas. Works. Edited by Rev. J. E. Cox for the Parker Society. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1846.

Gee, Henry and Hardy, W. J., eds. Documents Illustrative of English Church History. London, 1910.

Gough, Henry, ed. General Index to the Publications of the Parker Society. Cambridge, 1855.

Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth (1), Vols. I-VI (1558-1563). London, 1863-1869.

Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vols. I-XXI (1509-1549). London, 1862-1910.

Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers, Spanish. Vol. I (1558-1567). London, 1892.

Great Britain. Public Record Office. Calendar of State Papers, Venetian. Vol. VI (1558-1580). London, 1890.

Hayward, John, ed. Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Elizabeth. London, 1840.

Jewel, John. Works of John Jewel. Edited by John Ayre for the Parker Society. 4 vols. Cambridge, 1845-50.

Meyer, Carl, ed. Cranmer's Selected Works. London, 1961.

Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation. Edited by Hastings Robinson for the Parker Society. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1847.

Parker, Matthew. The Correspondence of Matthew Parker. Edited by J. Bruce and T. T. Perowne for the Parker Society. Cambridge, 1853.

Pollard, A. W. and Redgrave, G. R. A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England - 1475-1640. London, 1926.

Strype, John. Annals of the Reformation. New ed. 4 vols. New York, 1968.

_____. Ecclesiastical Memorials. 3 vols. Oxford, 1824.

Tyndale, William. An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue. Edited by Rev. Henry Walter for the Parker Society. Cambridge, 1850.

The Zurich Letters. Edited by Rev. Hastings Robinson for the Parker Society. First Series. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1845.

Secondary Sources

Allen, J. W. History of Political Thought in the 16th Century. London, 1928.

Baumer, F. le Van. Early Tudor Theory of Kingship. New Haven, 1940.

Bayne, C. G. Anglo-Roman Relations 1558-1565. Oxford, 1968.

Beckingsdale,, B. W. Burghley: Tudor Statesman. New York, 1967.

Birt, H. N. The Elizabethan Religious Settlement. London, 1907.

Black, J. B. The Reign of Elizabeth. Oxford, 1959.

Booty, John E. John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England. London, 1963.

Bromiley, G. W. Archbishop and Martyr. London, 1956.

_____. John Jewel, 1522-1572, The Apologist of the Church of England. London, 1948.

_____. Thomas Cranmer, Theologian. London, 1956.

Burnet, Gilbert, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England. 3 volumes. Oxford, 1829.

Camden, William. The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England. Edited by W. T. McCaffery. Chicago, 1970.

Clebsch, William A. England's Earliest Protestants 1520-35. London, 1964.

Cross, Claire. The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church. London, 1969.

Dickens, A. G. The English Reformation. London, 1964.

_____. Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-1558. London, 1959.

Dictionary of National Biography. 22 vols. 1908-09.

Dixon, R. W. History of the Church of England. 6 Volumes. Oxford, 1902.

Dodds, M. H. and Dodds, R. The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy. 2 vols. London, 1971.

Doernberg, Edwin. Henry VIII and Luther. London, 1961.

Elton, G. R. England Under the Tudors. London, 1955.

_____. Henry VIII: An Essay in Revision. London, 1962.

_____. Policy and Police. Cambridge, 1972.

_____. Reformation Europe 1517-1559. London, 1963.

_____. The Tudor Constitution. Cambridge, 1960.

Evennett, H. O. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent. Cambridge, 1930.

_____. The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation. London, 1970.

Fenlon, Dermot. Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation. Cambridge, 1972.

Figgis, J. N. The Divine Right of Kings. Cambridge, 1914.

Foxe, John. Acts and Monuments. Edited by S. R. Cattley and G. Townsend. 8 vols. London, 1877.

Gairdner, James. Lollardy and the Reformation in England. 4 vols. London, 1908.

Garrett, C. H. Marian Exiles. Cambridge, 1938.

George, H. The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation. Princeton, 1961.

Grimm, Harold. The Reformation Era. New York, 1954.

Haugaard, W. P. Elizabeth and the English Reformation. Cambridge, 1968.

Hughes, Philip. The Reformation in England. 3 vols. London, 1954.

_____. Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England. London, 1942.

Humphrey, Lawrence. J. Juelli, Episcope Sarisburiensis. London, 1573.

Hutchinson, F. E. Cranmer and the English Reformation. London, 1960.

Janelle, Pierre. Obedience in Church and State. Cambridge, 1930.

_____. The Catholic Reformation. Milwaukee, 1949.

Jedin, Hubert. A History of the Council of Trent. Translated by Ernest Graf. 2 vols. London, 1957.

Kidd, B. J. The Counter-Reformation, 1550-1600. London, 1958.

Knappen, M. M. Tudor Puritanism. Chicago, 1939.

LeBas, C. W. The Life of Bishop Jewel. London, 1835.

Levine, M. The Early Elizabethan Succession Question, 1558-68. Stanford, 1966.

Lewis, C. S. English Literature in the 16th Century, excluding drama. Oxford, 1954.

MacLure, M. The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642. Toronto, 1958.

McConica, James Kelsey. English Humanists and Reformation Politics. Oxford, 1965.

McGrath, P. Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I. London, 1967.

Meyer, A. O. England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth. Translated by Rev. J. R. McKee. London, 1967.

Moorman, J. R. H. A History of the Church of England. London, 1953.

Mosse, G. L. The Struggle for Sovereignty in England from the Reign of Elizabeth to the Petition of Right. East Lansing, 1950.

Neale, J. E. Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments 1559-1581. London, 1953.

_____. Queen Elizabeth I. New York, 1951.

New Catholic Encyclopedia. 15 vols. New York, 1967.

Parker, T. H. L. ed. The English Reformers. Philadelphia, 1964.

Parker, T. M. The English Reformation to 1558. London, 1950.

Parmiter, G. de C. The King's Great Matter. London, 1967.

Pastor, Ludwig. The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. Translated by F. I. Antrobus. 2nd ed. 40 vols. London, 1906-1968.

Pauck, William. The Heritage of the Reformation. New York, 1961.

Pollard, A. F. Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation. Hamden, 1965.

Pollen, J. H. The English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth. London, 1920.

_____. Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots 1561-67. Edinburgh, 1901.

Porter, H. C. Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge. Cambridge, 1958.

Read, Conyers, ed. Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485-1603. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1959.

Read, Conyers. Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth. London, 1955.

_____. The Tudors: Personalities and Practical Politics in 16th Century England. New York, 1936.

Ridley, Jasper. Thomas Cranmer. Oxford, 1962.

Rupp, E. G. Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition. London, 1947.

Russell, Conrad. Crisis of Parliaments. London, 1955.

Sabine, G. H. A History of Political Theory. New York, 1937.

Scarisbrick, J. J. Henry VIII. Berkely, 1968.

Schenk, W. Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England. London, 1950.

Schroeder, H. J. ed. Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. St. Louis, 1941.

Smith, A. G. William Cecil. New York, 1934.

Smith, H. Maynard. Henry VIII and the Reformation. London, 1948.

_____. The Life of Thomas Cranmer. Oxford, 1962.

_____. Pre-Reformation England. New York, 1963.

Smith, L. B. Tudor Prelates and Politics. Princeton, 1953.

Smyth, C. H. Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI. Cambridge, 1926.

Southgate, W. M. John Jewel and the Problem of Doctrinal Authority. Cambridge, 1962.

Spitz, L. The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists. Cambridge, 1963.

Thompson, J. A. The Later Lollards, 1414-1520. London, 1965.

Thompson, J. V. P. Supreme Governor. London, 1940.

Tierney, Brian. Foundations of Conciliar Theory. Cambridge, 1955.

Tjernagel, N. S. Henry VIII and the Lutherans. St. Louis, 1965.

Wernham, R. B. Before the Armada. London, 1966.

Wilks, Michael. The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages; the Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists. Cambridge, 1963.

Williams, C. H. The Making of Tudor Despotism. New York, 1967.

Zeeveld, W. G. Foundations of Tudor Policy. Cambridge, 1948.

Articles

Anonymous. "Queen Elizabeth and the Foreign Ambassadors." Dublin Review, CXLVIII (1911), 115-133.

Beck, E. "The Elizabethan Persecution." Dublin Review, CLXXXIII (1923), 263-282.

_____. "The English Martyrs." Dublin Review, CLXXXVII (1930) 20-32.

Carter, C. S. "The Anglican via media: a Study in the Elizabethan Religious Settlement." Church Quarterly Review, XCVII (1924), 233-254.

Cowell, Henry. "English Protestant Refugees at Strasburg, 1533-38." Hugenot Society Proceedings, 15(1934), 69-120.

Evennett, H. O. "England and the Council of Trent." The Dublin Review, CLXXXI (1927), 207-229.

Guilday, P. K. "The English Catholic Refugees at Louvain, 1559-1575." Recueil de travaux publices par les members des Conferences d' Histoire et de Philologie, IV (1914), 175-189.

Kuttner, S. "The Reform of the Church and the Council of Trent." Jurist, 22(1962), 123-142.

Maitland, F. W. "Elizabethan Gleanings: Supremacy and Uniformity." English Historical Review, XVIII (1903) 517-532.

_____. "Queen Elizabeth and Paul IV." English Historical Review, XV(April, 1900), 324-339.

Neale, J. E. "The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity." English Historical Review, LXV(1950), 304-332.

_____. "Parliament and Articles of Religion." English Historical Review, LXVII(1952), 510-521.

Plomer, H. R. "The Protestant Press in the Reign of Queen Mary." Library, Series 3, I(1910), 54-72.

Pollen, J. H. "The Passing of Elizabeth's Supremacy Bill." Dublin Review, CXXXII(1903), 44-63.

_____. "The Politics of English Martyrs during the Reign of Elizabeth." Month, XCIX(1902), 43-60.

_____. "The Writings of the Venerable English Martyrs." Dublin Review, CXXXIII(1903), 341-359.

Sawada, P. A. "Two Anonymous Tudor Treatises on the General Council," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XII (October, 1961), 197-214.

Smith, Preserved. "Englishmen at Wittenberg in the 16th Century." English Historical Review, XXXVI(1921), 422-433.

_____. "Luther and Henry VIII." English Historical Review, XXV(1910), 656-669.

Southgate, W. M. "The Marian Exiles and the Influence of John Calvin." History, 27(1942), 148-152.

Stupperich, Robert. "Die Reformatoren und des Tridentinum." Archiv fur Reformation Geschichte, XLVII(1956), 20-64.

Torr, V. J. B. "Local Records of the Elizabethan Settlement." Dublin Review, CLXIX(1921), 60-74.

Vocht, H. de. "Thomas Harding." English Historical Review, 35(1920), 172-190.

Weaver, F. J. "Anglo-French Diplomatic Relations 1558-1603." Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, IV(1927), 73-86; V(1928), 13-22; VI(1929), 1-9; VII(1930), 13-26.