

LAUD AND THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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LAUD AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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The aim of this Thesis has been triple: first, to study the 'high-church' theology of the Church of England under Charles I., and its relations with Puritanism and Catholicism; secondly, to see to what extent this theology was put into practical effect; and, finally, to estimate the influence, in all this, of Archbishop Laud. Inasmuch as it was in and through the latter that this theology achieved materialization, our study has been largely limited to the years between 1625 and 1640. Many apparently startling omissions have been made, such as any discussion of the relations of the English Church with that of Scotland, or Laud's attempt to achieve conformity at the Hague and elsewhere. But we have strictly limited the whole to a discussion of the three primary points; namely, the ideas behind the 'high-church' point of view, the extent to which they were realized, and the influence therein of Archbishop Laud.

LAUD AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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CHAP. I - P.I

In order to understand the position of the Church of England in the first half of the 17th century, it is, of course, necessary to know something of the century that went before. The knowledge required, however, need be little more than elementary. It should be enough to recall to mind the state of the Church at Mary's death in 1558. The history of the period immediately preceding that event had been marked by a certain, hectic quality. The closing years, for example, of Henry's reign during which one might be burnt for avowing the Pope's supremacy, or condemned to the very same flames for denying the purely Roman doctrine of transubstantiation. Followed by that short period during which the strongly Protestant wing under Cranmer threw off all catholic guise and joined hands with those men who desired the same end for political reasons. And then the sudden reversal under Mary and the reaffirmation of Papal supremacy, that was to be followed, in seven years' time, by her death. So that in 1558 the country was faced with a most delicate ecclesiastical situation. At that time the majority of England's inhabitants was undoubtedly Roman Catholic; but it was not an age when majorities made their influence easily felt, so what, then, of the important people? For them, Protestantism had become to some extent an economic necessity; while for Elizabeth, Catholicism

brought with it illegitimacy. "With her hard common sense, the Queen saw the conditions much more nearly in their true light [than most]. She must make the definitions of her new Church as vague as possible in order to enroll under its banner every subject who could bring himself to abjure the allegiance of Rome. A Catholic in doctrine she might be, but a Catholic recognizing the bonds of the Holy See, that she could not be. As the daughter of Anne Boleyn, the child declared illegitimate by papal bull, she could not accept the claims of Rome."¹ Elizabeth was greatly inconvenienced by the fact that a majority of her bishops desired to remain orthodox, but Protestantism was in full flood on the Continent and in England, in due time, the trend turned from Rome, and expatriate divines and their sympathisers, having sensed the state of affairs, began to return home from Holland. The new Queen had that high degree of practical ability most often found in characters untroubled by strictly logical extremes and implications. She was also shrewdly aware of the political atmosphere, hence her decision to effect a compromise in the ecclesiastical realm need cause no surprise. The difficulties she surmounted, or attempted to surmount in achieving a due consecration of Reginald Pole's successor in

1. R.G. Usher. The Reconstruction of the English Church.
V.I. P. 201.

the See of Canterbury,¹ argue either a large Catholic element which must not be unduly alarmed, or else an innate desire on her part to be Apostolic if she could not be Roman. Whether or not she was a Catholic at heart, her love of ceremony and order, at least, are obvious. For "But for its Supreme Governor, the English Church would in all likelihood have carried its own purgations far beyond the degree that had been fixed by the secular legislative."²

During all her reign Roman Catholicism declined under the pressure of persecution and the ever increasing fervour of nationalism. It was not so, however, with Puritanism. Bishop Andrewes, who was born in 1555, quotes a certain Genebrand as saying that there arose in England, in 1560, a new sect of Puritans, so called because they would not pray in the churches that were the catholics', nor wear a surplice.³ A condition that was, of course, coincident with the influx of Puritan divines returning from their Marian banishment. From then on the rise of Puritanism can be traced from Vestiarian controversy, to Marprelate tracts, to Puritan Classis, on up to the Lambeth

1. Cam.Mod.Hist. II. Article by F.W.Maitland. P.572. "In a document redolent of the papal chancery Elizabeth 'supplied' all 'defects', and at length on the 17th of December, in the Chapel of Lambeth, Parker was consecrated with Edwardian rites by Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkin."
2. Cam.Mod.Hist.II. Article by F.W.Maitland. P.590
3. Works II. P. 369.

Articles by which Archbishop Whitgift made an unsuccessful attempt to bind the Church of England to a most rigid Calvinism. For the breaking up of the venerable and rigid institution that had for so long systematized England's thought and life was followed by a century of exuberant speculation, strife, and widely divergent theorising.

This, then, was the situation when James came from Scotland to fill Elizabeth's place. Scarcely had he started his travels, and left Presbyterian domination behind him, than he was confronted with the Millenary Petition, purporting to come from a thousand Puritans. Conditions had arrived at no less than an impasse, and soon, after his arrival, the King called a conference at Hampton Court to discuss the reform of the established Church. At this point few if any knew the King's mind, for he had shown sympathy to the Puritans, to the Romans, and to the followers of Elizabeth's shrewd compromise. Now the followers of the latter had not been quiescent under attack from both sides, for beginning with Hooker, Field, and Bilson, and going on to such men as Andrewes, and Overall, there had been an ever-increasing elaboration and consolidation of a middle theology. One can image the anxiety, then, as this momentous conference opened. The very first day disclosed to some extent the King's mind, for he fancied himself as a

theologian, and begged to know of those bishops present what they thought on such vexatious questions as private baptisms, absolution, and excommunication. James' remarks on the second point are not without interest. He is reported to have said that he knew not how absolution was used in the English Church although he had heard it likened to the Pope's pardons. His Majesty's opinion was that there were "only two kinds thereof from God, the one general, and the other particular: for the first, all prayers and preachings do impart an absolution: for the second, it is to be applied to special parties, who, having committed a scandal, and repenting, are absolved: otherwise, where there procedes not either excommunication, or penance, there needs no absolution."¹ While such an expression of thought would not warrant one in taking a sacramental view of absolution, it is, nevertheless, definitely anti-Presbyterian in character. James, indeed, quickly found himself in sympathy with the bishops of the established Church. From the Puritan point of view, the Conference must have been a definite failure; going, in fact, from bad to worse, until finally James quite disclosed his sympathies by uttering those famous words: "No Bishops. No Kings." The Puritan faction was thrown a few sops, and promised that translation of the Bible which led to

1. Barlow's Tract. P. 172. Cardwell Hist. of Conferences. 1841.

our Authorized Version. Soon after this Conference the King issued a proclamation in which he said ".....at our very first entry into the realm being entertained and importuned with information of sundry ministers we were moved ... to settle the affairs of religion But we cannot conceal, that the success of that conference was such as happens to many other things, which moving great expectation before they are entered into, in their issue produce small effects. For we found mighty and vehement information supported with so weak and slender proofs And last of all we do admonish all men that hereafter they shall not expect nor attempt any further alteration." ¹ In all likelihood James' more than vigorously Presbyterian upbringing had now caused in him a tendency to swing to the other extreme. ² At any rate we know that the Catholics had great hopes of him. ³ Hopes which were not without basis until the gunpowder plot brought an end to that toleration which James had afforded them.

1. Gee & Hardy. Church Docs: 1921. pp. 512-515.
2. He is reported to have once said, "As for our neighbour Kirk in England their service is an evil said Mass in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the liftings." Overton. Hist. of C. of E. 1847. P. 2. In 1616 he referred to that same 'neighbour Kirk' as the most pure and nearest to primitive of churches. Speech to Star Chamber. Pub'd in 1616.
3. C.S.P. Dom. James I. VIII. 125. July 1604.

The modern mind may perhaps be puzzled by the stress which was then laid on religion, or should we perhaps say ecclesiastical, unity. But it is little less than a truism to state that in the 16th century it was generally held that no nation could stand firm while divided in religious organization. The first half of the 17th century found the same view still predominant. Bishop Laud expressed this quite clearly in a sermon at Whitehall in 1622: "And by reason of the knot which God himself hath knit between the bodies, which is, that the same men, which in respect to one allegiance make the Commonwealth, do, in respect of one faith, make the Church; the walls of the State cannot be broken, but the Church suffers with it, nor the walls and the fences of the Church trampled upon, but the State must be corrupted by it;" ¹ To this idea that one church was necessary politically there must be added whatever may have remained of the old idea of 'the church'. That is to say that there could not be more than one true church.

Before 1600 it was held that since Protestantism was such a simple obvious truth which each could ~~not~~ find in the Bible, uniformity of worship would follow on uniformity of doctrine. Forty years' experience with turbulent Puritanism,

1. Works I. P. 23.

however, must surely have discredited such a notion. Unity of institution by reason of unity of belief had failed. Might there not remain the course of firmly attempting unity of belief through unity of institution.

It was in this respect that the Convocation of 1604 marked the definite beginning of a new era in English Church history. The stage was indeed well set for some great constructive move: a King of undoubted Protestant tendencies occupied the throne of France; England herself seemed safe at last from foreign invasions, and the royal succession also seemed safe; while, last but not least, a generation had grown up which had been born in the establishment, and which had never known any other church. The Church was ready for consolidation and strengthening, and this was to be effected along the lines already suggested: namely, conformity of belief by way of unity of institution.

The clergy were, on the whole, outwardly conformable to the laws and ordinances of the Church. Yet, the standard of conformity espoused by Elizabeth had been one easily attained, for "'many learned preachers', declared Rudd, Bishop of Chester, in the Convocation of 1604, 'enjoyed their liberty herein conditionally yit (sic) they did not by word or deed openly disgrace or distrust the state established'. It was a political

and not an ecclesiastical test which the Queen had instituted
.... It brought with it no guarantee of learning or of
consistent endeavour, gave no assurance that the minister would
always and punctually observe the rights and ceremonies required
by law; did not vouch for his doctrinal soundness and contained
no pledges of loyalty to the Church as an institution..... To
say, therefore, that the clergy in 1603 was conformable meant
only that it was not actively hostile to the Church to which it
belonged.¹ It was to reform such conditions as these that in
1604, the year following the Conference, this new set of Canons
was formulated. The opening Canon asserted for the English
King a supremacy such as the Jewish kings and early Christian
Emperors enjoyed. Next in order came canons threatening with
excommunication all who impugned the articles of the Church,
or its orders and rites; likewise all separatists and authors
of schism. Then followed a section devoted to ceremony and
liturgical questions in general, which could not fail to
intensely irritate any of puritanical temper. Canon XVIII, for
example, containing these words, ".....testifying by these out-
ward ceremonies and gestures, their inward humility, Christian
resolution" But even more troublesome for the Puritans
would be the group of canons dealing with such matters as
Ordination, for these would make it very difficult for any but

a church-man to be ordained or inducted. The Canons closed with a group intended to reform weaknesses and abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts.¹ Thus we can see that those present at James' first Convocation must have had one purpose clearly in view: to strengthen Elizabeth's vague compromise, and to force the Puritan element to a show-down by bringing about institutional unity. Of course, many of these canons were not new inasmuch as they were based on previous experiments and orders, but it was a codification and consolidation that clearly denied the doctrinal and disciplinary requests of the Puritans, and rendered more efficient the means of enforcing what it had propagated.

No resume of church conditions at the opening of the 17th century would be complete without mention of the Court of High-Commission. When England, at the Reformation, abjured the Papacy, it also lost not only the old quasi-divine sanction for legislation ecclesiastical, but any adequate means of enforcing the same. It is true that the legal structure of the Church had been left intact,² but the driving power had been cut off. The Court of High Commission had more and more grown to fill this function, by reason of

1. The Canons of 1604 may be found in Cardwell. Synodalia V.I. pp. 245-329.

2. W.S.Holdsworth. Hist. of Eng.Law. 1903. Vol. I.

its visitorial and deprivatory powers.

Now on the third day of the Hampton Court Conference, ".... His Majesty, fell into discourse about the High Commission, wherein he said, that he understood how the parties named therein were too many and too mean; that the matters they dealt in were base, and such as ordinaries at home in their courts might censure; that the branches granted out to the bishops in their several dioceses were too frequent and large." ¹ Such objections to the Court were easily answered, but there were more serious ones. The Puritans hated the High Commission because it was the one thing that could make the Establishment effective. The common-lawyers hated it because it was a rival not only in the realm of fact but of theory. These two forces joined hands and made a particularly vicious attack during the first decade of the 17th century. Eventually, the questions at stake were whether the King could make orders and constitutions for the government of clergy without Parliament, and whether the Commissioners held the power of deprivations, etc., by reason of the Canon Law of the Realm. The common-law lawyers under Sir Edward Coke used prohibitions against the High Commission indiscriminately, and were thus able to bring about more or

1. Cardwell. Hist. of Conferences 1841. Barlow's Tract. P. 205.

less 'test' cases. By 1611 they had to admit an at least
temporary defeat.¹ "Thus ended the period of growth and
strife. During the remainder of its life the Commission
exercised almost solely its functions as a court of law. The
great changes made in the institutions in order to meet the
needs of the Church, and the bitter struggle for the mainten-
ance of its position had, in fact, defined and crystallized
its procedure and jurisdiction as nothing else could, and had
greatly hastened the very development which the common lawyers
so particularly wished to check. In the Letters Patent of
1611 the procedure and organization of the Commissioners as
a court received their first official sanction."²

Much of this development in the organization of the
Church was due to Archbishop Bancroft, to whom R.G. Usher has
referred as "leader in the reconstruction of the English Church,
ablest and most influential Churchman of his generation and
one of the most capable administrators the Church of England
has ever known." In 1609 Bancroft died, and, to the astonish-
ment of many, James named George Abbot as the new Primate.
Abbot was a man of small executive ability, and undoubted

1. The whole question of the common-law struggle under
Coke against the Court of H-C. is treated at length
in Chaps. 8 & 9. of R.G. Usher's Rise & Fall of the
High-Commission. 1913.

2. Usher. Rise & Fall of H-C. 1913. P. 236.

Calvinistic tendencies. Possibly we may find some clue to this strange appointment in the character of James himself. The prime quality of the King was undoubtedly shrewdness, for his reign was lacking in the sweep, romance, and colour of abandon. Parsimony and postponement were the key-notes of his rule. Peace; a dangle with Spain; attempts to settle the great financial question; and a giving of some rein to Parliament: - such were his policies. He was a shrewd judge of situations - possibly with the shrewdness of parsimony - but that is a trait usually coupled with sound judgment of men. Therefore, when not ruled by his emotions, he was probably a good judge of men. After such a childhood, his one great desire must have been to cling to his throne, but he was well aware of a great opposition to anything Roman. It therefore seems possible that the King, having got, as it were, the Puritans well in hand and fearful of antagonizing them too much, had deliberately given this appointment to one of their sympathisers. The Primate was to be tinged with Calvinism, and agreeable to the Puritans; but the King's friend, the intellectual leader, the controversialist, was to be Launcelot Andrewes - a scholar, a mystic, a catholic in mind. Andrewes it was who was James' protagonist against Cardinals Bellarmine and Perron, not Abbot.

Meanwhile the years passed by and nothing much happened, but currents were setting in, in both ecclesiastical and political life, which were bound to promote a crisis sooner or later. James attempted little cure, but merely applied the age-old remedy of postponement. The downright despotism of the Tudors had given way to a more vague and mystical notion of regal power, similarly the sturdy independence and nationalism of Elizabeth's Church had tended towards a more vague and mystical catholicism. Opposed to both was the same temper manifested in two forms. A temper of opposition to authority outward and corporate: a temper manifesting itself in the forms of parliamentary and Puritan opposition. For the consolidation of compact nationalities like England and France, and the growth of the civic idea, had begun to lead to something far more than the superseding of one form of government by another: it was a change in the whole conception of authority, which, from being an absolute and heaven-ordained relation of subservience to a theocratic and monarchic system, was threatening to become a mutual agreement between the ruler and the ruled.

Thus we see that James had attempted to keep the Puritan element more or less satisfied, by restraining the Catholic-minded element, represented by Andrewes, to the

study rather than the office. For although it must be admitted that Andrewes was made a member of the Privy Council in 1616, he mixed but little in temporal and civil matters and would not remain at Council meetings unless there was business to be done concerning the Church.¹ James had also kept some sort of peace with the parliamentary opposition. But in 1624 he came near a break with both over the question of Charles' marriage with the Infanta; and Abbot was moved to passionate remonstrance. "I have been too long silent ... your Majesty hath propounded a Toleration of Religion By your act you labour to set up the most Damnable and Heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Whore of Babylon lest by the toleration and discountenancing of the true profession of the Gospel, wherewith God hath blessed us, and this Kingdom hath so long flourished under it, your Majesty do not draw upon this Kingdom in general, and yourself in particular, God's heavy Wrath and Indignation ... Now Sir do what you please with me."

Then, in the same year, the King of a sudden fell ill and died. What was to be the fate of the Church? Abbot was still Archbishop of Canterbury though an old man. Andrewes was also old. What type of man would Charles favour? Would he continue his father's policy of cautious half-measures?

1. Lancelot Andrewes, by D. Macleane. 1910. P.121

Or would he accept the overtures of Rome contained in that letter which Urban VIII. wrote him when the Spanish match was imminent and expressed thus: "The Roman Church, which England revered long ago, as the Mistress of Truth, whose belief you confess you hate not, desires forthwith to open the Gates of the Heavenly Kingdom, and to bring you back into the possession of your Ancestors."¹

Would he turn towards the rising group of anti-authoritarians in politics and theology, or would he boldly attempt to cut the Gordian Knot and set up a Church united at least outwardly, and a government founded like his Church on authority? There was no room in England for a strong, efficient, monarch, and a powerful group of independent men expressing themselves through parliament. There was no room in England for a historic, authoritative, sacramental Church, and the keenly independent followers of Geneva. It has been said that Charles might have saved his throne by abandoning his Church. It has been said that the Church might have saved herself by not allying with a falling cause, but "more philosophic historians have seen clearly that there was a necessary solidarity at that juncture between the defense of altar and of throne. The rising flood was moving to engulf the former even more than the latter. The authoritarian

1. Rushworth. Hist.Coll. V.I. p.98. Rome.Oct.15,1623.

principle, the principle that authority is devolved from above, not delegated from below, was everywhere at stake; ..."

In writing history it is a temptation to ascribe to characters of the period that clarity of vision which can only come with the passing of time and the ensuing emergence of the relevant. It must not be thought that the occupants of royal and episcopal thrones worked out a basis of common concern and hence pooled their interests, but rather that Church and Crown would naturally tend to a mutual sympathy. All we can say is that had Charles been more astute he would at least have attempted to play off one against another the various turbulent forces threatening his balance. But Charles I. was the man who had said: "I cannot defend a bad,
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nor yield in a good cause."

1. Laud's Diary. Works III. Feb. 1st. 1623/24.

Statistics are at all times misleading. In the first place, as one travels backward in history, it becomes increasingly difficult to be certain of accuracy, and, secondly, there can be no more fallacious way of estimating the relative strength and importance of movements, organizations, and thoughts than the strictly numerical. The true use for statistics of population, etc. should be as a ballast in the ship of speculation. In discussing the mental forces at play in any period it is wise to have a background of cold figures to act as a brake to the imagination.

Although England had a population of about four million at the opening of the seventeenth century,¹ it must always be borne in mind that it was essentially a period of oligarchy (compared to the present). Only a small handful of people can have been of any consequence. Then again it must not be thought that early Stuart England was the scene of organized parties. One should not talk of a Puritan party, for example, in the sense of an organization, but rather as a number of groups united in opposing the established church. This is clearly shown by the fact that "The real leaders, the real backbone of the Disciplinary party, who drew the Millenary Petition, who were threatened with deprivation and aroused the sympathy of the House of Commons, were thirteen men."² According to Usher, the turn

1. A.O. Meyer. England & the Cat. Ch. under Elizabeth, 1916. P. 64.
2. Usher. Rec'n. of the English Church. V. I. P. 254.

of the century found England with some three hundred to three hundred and fifty Puritan ministers, to which must be added the unknown number of those who were more discreet with regard to disclosing their religious views. A map on page 255 of Usher's 'Reconstruction' shows clearly that the non-conforming ministers were located almost entirely in the middle and East of England. This condition was not solely caused by the fact that that section was the most thickly populated, because a similar map of Catholic laymen demonstrates exactly the opposite condition of affairs. It has been said that one must not think of the Puritans as an organized party. The same cannot be said of the Catholics, despite the rift in their harmony caused by the Jesuits, who first became really active in England about 1580. The Catholics, however, while having the advantage of homogeneity, could never exert an influence equivalent to that of the Puritans. There are many reasons for this: unfortunate international implications for example; or the fact that it was possible for Puritans, even after the canons of 1604, to work in and through the Establishment, because of the change the Reformation had wrought in the manner of presentation to benefices. The same circumstances which had put the right of presentation into temporal hands made such rights heritable and saleable. "There can be little doubt that some few of the gentry exercised this legal privilege, and that several of the town

corporations thus received control of one or more benefices in the town, and forthwith filled the vacancy with Puritan preachers and lecturers." This was possible to the Puritan alone, but we must not leave the impression that the great Catholic landowners were without influence. As occasional justices of the peace, as powerful landlords, and by the sheer weight of their prestige if not their power, they must have wielded considerable influence over the near-by peasantry.

It does not seem possible to arrive at any really reliable figures for the Puritan and Catholic population of seventeenth century England. Particularly is this the case with regard to the Catholic element. Usher¹ hazards the guess that there were between seven hundred and fifty thousand and a million of the latter in the year 1600 A.D.; having based his estimate on the assumption that in those counties where they were strong many must have avoided the recusancy rolls entirely. The more reliable Meyer,² however, numbers them at one hundred and fifty thousand, having paid particular attention to the word of such contemporaneous and well informed Catholics as Panzani and Bentivoglio. According to the latter authority there were six hundred priests in the country at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and each priest served about thirty families. Allowing six or seven to a family, we approximate the approved number of

1. Reconstruction of the C. of E. V. I. P. 159.

2. England and the Cat. Ch. under Elizabeth. 1916. P. 64.

one hundred and fifty thousand. But if there were only six hundred priests in a country the size of England, it would seem quite likely that not a few who were Catholic at heart must have lived and died without ever coming into real contact with any Roman authority. In other words the Catholic party of that time was probably not sufficiently organized to know its own numbers. At any rate, one can say with some safety that the total number of Catholics must have definitely numbered less than a quarter of a million. This gives us a total proportion of about one in twenty, although there would be, quite naturally, a higher rate of Catholics amongst old, established^{gentry,} for they had always suffered far less than others from anti-Catholic persecution.

Of the three hundred-odd Puritan ministers mentioned by Usher, only sixty were deprived in 1604. This means that we are faced with the almost impossible task of deciding how many outward adherents of the establishment were Puritans at heart. Father Cyprian de Gamache said that England in the 'thirties' was full of various sects opposed to one another, and all hostile to the Catholics. He added that Laud determined to reduce the Puritans who outnumbered the Protestants.¹ But Father de Gamache was a foreigner and lived mostly in London which was a great deal more Puritan than the country at large; moreover, we do not even know the sense in which he used the words 'Puritan'

1. Hist. of the Capuchin Mission. Birch Crt. & Times of Chas. I. Vol. II. Pp. 303 - 346.

and 'Protestant' - though we have a suggestion to make in that respect later on.¹ Many historians have referred to the ever-growing numbers of the Puritans under James and Charles, and doubtless based their remarks on just such evidence as moved the Capuchin Father. But there is another explanation which would fit the phenomena; not a growth in Puritanism, but a development in Anglicanism. A development, that is to say, that would displease many erstwhile adherents, and throw them more and more into sympathy with the out and out Puritans.

Thus we find that the great majority of Englishmen were neither Roman Catholic or Puritan when James came to the throne. On a prima facie argument, then, one should conclude that England was largely behind the Establishment. Largely, that is to say, but not enthusiastically. A wide view of English history bears out this statement, which brings with it, ^{as} a corollary, that the short lived Puritan domination under the Commonwealth owed its success to something far more than mere religious convictions. We shall see, during the course of this essay, whether such a view may be maintained. "The Puritans, then, were not a great 'party' with the best third of the English clergy and nearly a third of the laity enlisted in its support, and asking only for the change of some few ceremonies. So far/^{as} there was any party, it was mainly composed in 1603 of some three hundred and fifty men," supported by the gentry and town corpora-

1. See Chapter 11, Pages 4 and 5.

tions of their districts in the face of more or less apathetic congregations, having the adherence of perhaps fifty thousand able-bodied men, pretty well distributed over the eastern countries, the Midlands, and the South. Their object was the securing of changes of ritual and ceremony as a preliminary and necessary step to the transformation of the church into presbyterianism," according to the Book of Discipline.¹ The aim of the Catholics on the other hand, would be, as always, constant and uniform - absolute submission to the Papacy in discipline and dogma.

We have attempted a numerical estimate of the Puritans, but only as a preliminary to the far more important task of estimating the influence of their minds and results of their thoughts. The Puritan domination of England may have been short-lived, but it stands out prominently in a history of even the greatest scope. It is a phenomenon both wierd and wonderful. Zealous, brave, and sincere, 17th century Puritanism was like a flame which enveloped all that was before it, and burnt itself out by its own ardour. We must attempt the delicate and difficult task of setting out this whole type of mind and way of thinking on a few sheets of paper. There is no want of material from which to construct such a synthesis, for the first half of the seventeenth century witnessed a veritable flood of argument and controversy, charge and counter-charge, pamphlet and counter-pamphlet, the difficulty lies rather in the selection and

1. Usher. Reconstruction of the Eng. Ch. V.I. P. 280

estimation. It will scarcely be possible to prove any such estimates," and in many cases even demonstration will be difficult. So much of what the student thinks on such subjects is not based on any definite facts but on ^{general} atmosphere and impression after reading many 'Puritan' works.

There are two dominant chords in the type of mind we are now discussing, and a clear appreciation of these will do much to help us through the world of ideas that lies ahead. First there is that feeling of awe and fear in the presence of God which runs through the whole period. The Puritan feels alone with his Maker. He is pervaded with a feeling of dreadful responsibility for his soul. A keen independence of spirit is his main characteristic. Hence that fierce ardour which characterised the Puritan, hence, in part, that gloom in which so many walked. Their God was primarily Jehovah, the Lord: just but stern, implacable and awesome. Who, then, was man compared to such greatness, and what hope was there for him: a miserable creature? "Oh you House of Commons, tremble and sin not;;most in the World sin and tremble not. Do you tremble and sin not! We are all in God's hand, as a fly in the paw of a roaring lion, as the clay in the hand of the potter." ¹ The second dominant characteristic is a burning even fanatical hatred of the Roman Church, that scarlet woman, the whore of Babylon. Coupled with this is an intense nationalism.

1. Sermons by Ed Calamy before H. of Commons in 1642, and printed at their desire. P. 8.

To the Puritan all knowledge was to be found in the old and new Testaments. Each man was to read and learn for himself. It follows, therefore, that a priesthood or 'divine' church is superfluous, although the ministerial function is necessary to the planting of faith. "As if," Thomas Beard, the well-known Puritan, once wrote, "As if all Christians were not priests under the Gospel." ¹ While one of his contemporaries said, "Conditional assent, and cautionary obedience we may and must perform to our spiritual Pastors, Overseers, and Governors, albeit we see not express commission out of Scripture, to warrant these particulars, whereunto they demand assent or obedience." ²

In essence that fundamental which divides religious thinkers is nearly always the question of authority. This was not unrecognized for, as Thomas Beard wrote, at the time, "if this be wrung from them, that the Scripture is the only judge and rule of faith, actum est de regno Pontificio, the Romish Kingdom goeth to wrack utterly." Burton, that Puritan who had suffered so much for his views, wrote that if the Scripture, Christ's own voice, was not sufficient to interpret itself by comparison of one passage with another, how could any man, men, or church be able so to do." ³ ^{Archbishop} And went on to say of/Laud,

1. Retractions from the Romish Religion. 1616. P. 62.
3. Ans. to Laud's Relation of Conference with Fisher. 1640. P 70-1
2. Thos. Jackson. Eternal Truths of Scripture. 1613. P. 255.

"Here is the grand difference between you and Rome: She makes her tradition always a Word of God unwritten infallible (sic), you, yours not always: sometimes therefore; and so it is blasphemy."¹

To sum up this view-point, one might say "That the infallible rule whereupon every Christian, in matters of written verities absolutely and finally, (without all appeal, condition or reservation) is to rely, must be the divine written Oracles themselves, some of which every Christian hath written in his heart by the finger of God's Spirit, and believes immediately in and for themselves, not for any authority of men, and these to him must be the rule for examining all other doctrines, and trying any matters of faith."² Such a view of church origin and structure runs directly counter to the sacramental conception. It must be remembered that the Reformation cut the number of sacraments from seven to two, and with the Puritans the sacrifice of the Mass quickly became^{an} infrequent ceremony of remembrance, while we find Bishop Gauden writing, in the middle of the century, that the Puritans had even slackened up in baptism, together with the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and burial services.³ Or again, Richard Mountagu mentioned, quite casually, in Part 33 of his 'Gag', how he and his high-church friends had defended the use

1. Retraictive from the Romish Religion. 1616. P. 62.
2. Eternal Truth of Scripture. Thos. Jackson. 1613. P. 253.
3. Tears, Sighs, & Groans of Ch. of E. 1659. P. 51. et sequens.

of baptism against English Puritans. We can readily understand this Puritan point of view, for, to a rigid predestinarian of the old type, the Catholic conception of such sacraments as baptism would give the appearance of interfering with or limiting Almighty God. Again, to one who doubts that sanctifying grace can be lost - once obtained - the comforting sacrament of penance would appear to be of little use. In short the sturdier type of seventeenth century Puritan felt that the whole idea of sacraments, by which grace was not only signified but caused, was derogatory to the omnipotence of the Lord.

The Puritan's feeling of complete insignificance in the eyes of the Lord, has already been mentioned. This was the result of a strong emphasis on original sin. The flesh was all evil, and therefore "no flesh should glory in His presence."¹ This led to a belief that the Reformed Church should have no ceremony at all of man's devising, for how could that be called a Reformation which retained anything either unnecessary or superstitious.² The essential part of any service should be the sermon, for it was necessary that all should understand God's word, and preaching was therefore God's ordinary means to salvation.³ Gauden wrote of such people as "utterly casting

1st.

1. Corinthians. 2. 29.
2. Burton. Ans. to Laud's Rltn. 1640. P. 107.
3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1634-35. CCLXVII. 90. May 15th, 1634.
Ans. of Wm. Dodson, Northampton, to articles objected against him by Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical.

off and abhorring all outward form and profession as well as inward power and persuasion of godliness; counting all religious duties to be no better than consecrated rattles." ¹ With this went a dislike of mechanically repeated prayers from a set liturgy, and of all robes, vestments, organs, and decoration in general. The fruits of nature and human art were not worthy to be dedicated to Jehovah, moreover, they were apt to distract from that pure spiritual worship that was so much to be desired. Feasts and holy days also came under the ban of stern disapproval. Such things were wicked, if not silly. Thus, for the Puritans, Sunday became the Jewish Sabbath in all its rigour and enforced by all the prestige of a divine commandment.

So much for ceremony, in theology the main contribution of the Puritan mind was that grim and infinitely complicated doctrine - Predestination. The question of the play and interplay of grace and free-will is one of the most intricate in theology. In fact it is one of the divine mysteries of the Roman faith. English and Scotch Puritans, under the influence of Calvin, seized upon and isolated certain passages from St. Augustine, neglected the softening influence of even the mildest form of Pelagianism, and thus forged that depressing but majestic theory of election. By this doctrine the Deity was given the last attribute of absolute power and domination over the souls of men, for the latter were no longer free to choose for themselves.

1. Tears, Sighs, Groans of C. of E. P. 66.

Grant the truth of all that has been said so far, and how readily can we sympathize with Burton's impassioned outburst to Laud:

"Who are Puritans, my Lord, such as will not conform to your new discipline and ceremonies: Such as will not read in their congregation the Edict for Sports on the Lord's day: Such as will not observe the King's order for not preaching of Predestination, and other doctrines of Grace: Such as will not observe the order for bare catechising out of the Booke, by simple question and answer, without any exposition: Such as will not forbear preaching in the afternoon..... : Such as though for fear they submit to their Prelate's domination, yet you suspect them to be disaffected with your Church Government, as being an intolerable tyranny."¹

The outstanding characteristic of the Puritan was his loathing of the Roman Church. He was not alone in his hatred; but was probably unapproached in the intensity of his feelings. Closely bound up with this¹ were all the emotions raised by love of country. The rising national spirit of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had everywhere in Europe strained the Catholic notion of the world. In France it had taken the form of what was known, or to be known, as Gallicanism. In Spain it had taken the form of attempting to control the Papacy for use as a political weapon. But probably nowhere had it reached such heights of 'Romano-phobia' as in England. Possibly it was just because England was a "tight little isle" that she had, by the seventeenth century, a nationalistic

1. Burton. Ans. to Laud. 1640. P. 27.

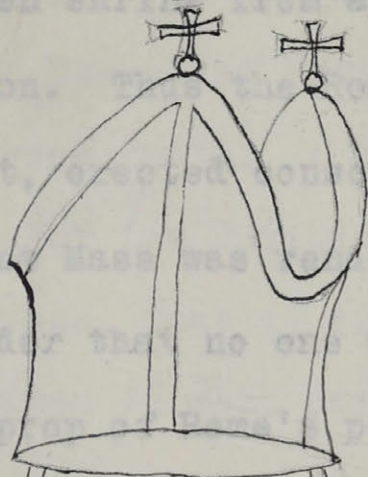
spirit of such intensity. By the end of Elizabeth's reign and after the Armada, Catholic and Spaniard, priest and traitor, were practically synonymous. Thus in a tract of the times we find a Catholic addressed as follows, "Are not your religion and treason so linked together, that you cannot play the priests, but you must play the traitors also." ¹ For years Spain had been the traditional and active enemy: and how was one to distinguish the Escorial from the Vatican? The threatening Hapsburg dominance of political Europe had become inextricably interwoven with the threatening Papal dominance of ecclesiastical Europe. Had not the Catholic peers revolted against good Queen Bess? Had not Catholic Mary Stuart intrigued with Spain, and had not these same Catholics attempted to destroy King and Parliament by gunpowder? Particularly striking examples of this feeling may be found in three tracts published in 1624, the year of Prince Charles' visit to Spain on matrimonial mission. The first is called England's Joy for Suppressing the Papists, etc. and the author ^{is} Thomas Scott, B.D. It is written in an exultant old Testament strain, and the author gloats over the averted marriage, while taking it for granted that now Papists and such like will be turned out of England. He seeks to prove that Roman Catholics and civil governments do not go well together. Another is Boanerges, or Humble Supplication of Scot's Ministers, which rakes up all sorts

1. More Work for a Mass Priest.
P. 2.

of atrocities but may be summed up in the words - keep away from Rome and Spain. The last is called Vox Coeli, and purports to report conversations in Heaven between, Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Mary (apparently saved), Prince Henry, and Queen Anne. The preamble tends to show the largely political nature of England's hatred of Spain. The writer (Thos. Scot again) fears that Spain will control the Empire and encircle France and England. "For the King of Spain is a greater, and more professed enemy to our Sacred King, and his royal posterity, than either the Emperor, or Duke of Bavaria, and is so to be held and esteemed of us." He proposes "that our English Romanists may be taught either to love, or to fear England." The tract itself claims that Spain and the Papacy are leagued together for mutual aggrandizement. It covers the history of Spain's aggression all over Europe: England's past and future relations with Spain are discussed and the match with the Infanta strongly deprecated. "If usurpation be Rome's Doctrine, and Spain's Delight and Practice, my soul did well to make me hate the one, and detest the other."

Quite apart from all nationalistic feelings, however, the Puritan instinctively hated Rome, that wanton on the hills, and hated above all else its hierarchical system, for as early as the Apostles' time Satan had begun to brood and hatch that mystery of iniquity - hierarchy, or prelacy, which is anti-Christ.

A petition sent to King Charles in Scotland, November 18th, 1641, from the House of Commons and requesting the banishment of Jesuits and other ill-affected persons, has as frontispiece an amusing sketch of a bishop's mitre and a poem as follows:-



"The Daughter of Mystery, the child of Error,
Mother of tyranny, of Wars, of Terror,
The idol of Reproach, Rock of Offence
To Jew and Gentile, Source of Indulgence
For all Impieties, and the usurping Crest
'Bove Diadem, the State, the Churches' Pest
Is now discovered, and all the world awake
Makes proud Rome, and the opprobrious Miter
shake."

To the average Puritan the Christian religion was a simple and easily understood thing, to be taken in an honest and straightforward fashion from the Bible, which had of itself sufficient light for its own exposition. The Puritan has always mistaken subtlety of thought for tortuousness, and fine distinctions for hypocrisy. This is why Thomas Beard once wrote of Catholics, "And we see with what supple and intricate distinctions, they labour

to reconcile them [i.e. doctrines of Gospels and those of Rome] together: but truth is naked, and needeth no such shift-¹ings." Minds akin to Beard's so exalt God and despise the flesh, that at times they even shrink from applying the fruits of the human brain to religion. Thus the Roman Church was seen as a vast edifice of deceit, erected consciously to that end. It was said, for example, that Mass was rendered in Latin and spoken lowly in places in order that no one would understand it, inasmuch as the main prop of Rome's power was ignorance.² And in another place it was written that "Papistry is a pile, or timpany rather, of doctrines and ceremonies, cemented and built with admirable skill.. All the subtleties and counsels and cunning flights of human wit have been employed in the framing of it."³ Common objections raised by the Puritan against Rome were: that she gave dispensation to commit incest, adultery, and perjury, and that there could be no sin so grievous but that a pardon might be purchased for it; that their confessional made it easy to be rid of sin; that they shuffled beads and knew not what they said, and that they equivocated; that they used pagan and Jewish rites, and that they worshipped images instead of God - also worshipping crosses and altars; that they

1. Thos. Beard. A Retractive from the Romish Religion. 1616, P. 344.
2. P. du Moulin. The Antibarbarian. 1630. Passim.
3. Thos Beard. A Retractive from the Romish Religion. 1616. P. 120.

set up the Pope as a rival to the Holy Trinity, that they kept their coffers full by putting up for sale passes from Purgatory; and so on ad infinitum. The whole thing may be summed up in one quotation from Burton's 'Answer to Laud', "Now the Church of Rome, as it is the Church of Rome, namely the Papal Church holds not any one saving truth. I say again, it holds not any one saving truth."¹ For the Puritan always knew, what the Anglican could never see, that if the Roman Catholic Church did not come from Heaven it most certainly came from Hell.

Most of our quotations illustrative of this anti-Romanism have been culled from the writings of two or three men. It must not be supposed that this was from necessity alone, nor is there any need to feel that such writers are not representative of their group as a whole. Burton, for example, was a popular figure in the Puritan world and must have attracted a considerable following. Moreover all those incalculable little incidents and impressions which are so important in history tend to show that the views sketched in above were widely held - some still are today for that matter.

The Puritan theology of the seventeenth century has been dealt with at some length, because it is largely a dead theology. What remains of it has mainly turned into American fundamentalism, or that liberal-Protestantism which is every day turning more towards a form of Unitarianism. It will not be

necessary to describe the beliefs and aims of the Roman Catholics, for they are the same today as they were yesterday,¹ although there has undoubtedly been a change in emphasis, due to a change in the direction from which attack comes. Moreover it will be an easy task to reconstruct the Catholic attack from the Protestant defense, and the Catholic defense from the Protestant attack. Such, then, was the intellectual world amidst which the Church of England had to live and grow, Attacked from two sides, she would form her theology in the battlefield of controversy.

1. An interesting example of this is found on P. 40 of Beard's *Retractive*, where he describes the Pope "who (as they affirm) cannot err whilst he sits in the chair of Peter, to determine matters of faith." Even the wording is curiously similar to that in which the doctrine was formally defined in 1870.

In the previous chapter an attempt was made to give the point of view of Roman Catholic and of Puritan, but we must now set ourselves the more difficult task of attempting to understand a third type of mind which we shall call, for convenience' sake, the Anglican. Strictly speaking, one should designate as Anglican all those men who were, to all outward appearance, adherents of the Church as established by law in England. But while the vast majority of Englishmen in the seventeenth century cannot have been disloyal to the Church as expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles, yet it is extremely doubtful that any coherent theology was common among them. The Church had been established as a compromise, and its fundamental articles show every sign of having been framed to that end. Either the men who, in 1562, drew up those articles, wished consciously to leave them vague, or else their authors were men moved to action more by hatred of Rome than by any consistent theology of their own. For the first forty years of its life the Elizabethan Church was, like all new organisms, more concerned with establishing its position than pondering its condition. It was more concerned in saying what it was not, than in saying what it was. But by the seventeenth century the situation was greatly changed. Politically, the Church was ~~xxx~~ secure, and, as it were, a natural part of the landscape. The more bitter Puritan had by then been forced to leave the organization he had once attempted to control, and the Roman Catholic was become more a controversial opponent than an

actual physical threat. Doubtless the Thirty-nine Articles were still perfectly satisfactory to the average layman or the average cleric, for it is not such as he, who are worried by dogmatic or ceremonial niceties. Doubtless there were still many ecclesiastics of high position who enjoyed that peculiarly English gift of being able to practise a workman-like compromise, without burning midnight oil to discover whether or not their inner motives were capable of complete ratiocination on paper. But with such men as Hooker we begin to find a new type of mind which is neither pro-Roman or anti-Roman, nor pro-Calvinist or anti-Calvinist, but consistently and positively Anglican. It is the sort of mind possessed by Bishop Andrewes, who, on behalf of King James, entered into a lengthy controversy with Bellarmine, the great Roman apologist. Andrewes was among the first of this group, which was later to move from the study to the control of Sees. They formulated a theology which probably never touched the ordinary man in the street, but theirs is the type of mind which must be studied here. Let us see if it will be possible to find any essential ideas which underlay their new theology, and by which their actions and thoughts might be explained.

Since Christendom first began, one great issue has been at stake. Priests have persecuted, and scholars have suffered; kings have tyrannized, and subjects have revolted; philosophers have pondered, and armies have marched; meta-

physicians have spun theories, and scientists have amassed detail, all because of authority. The question of authority lies at the bottom of nearly every great problem the last two thousand years have placed before us. The only real, irreducible, and fundamental difference between agnostic and Christian, Catholic and Protestant, scientist and theologian, or roundhead and cavalier, lies within the realm of authority. Looking back on seventeenth century England we can see this question everywhere perplexing people. The essential quality of Rome was, and is, control of the individual conscience by an authority exercised by men assuming to act in the name of Heaven. The essential quality of Geneva was control of the individual conscience by an authority exercised by men on behalf of a book assumed to be written in the name of Heaven. Like all extremes, both stands were capable of logical defense in the days before 'Higher Criticism'. The English Church, as expressed by such men as Andrewes and Laud, attempted to walk between this Scylla and that Charybdis, thus subjecting themselves to fire from both sides. The immediate result was disaster.

Let us see what views the established church of the seventeenth century held on this question of authority. Did its leaders, for example, believe in a church one, holy, catholic and apostolic; and if so, in what manner did they believe it? Was it, perhaps, *de jure divino*? Or was such a view invalidated by the fact that Archbishop Whitgift, and

other Elizabethan divines, did not regard episcopacy as a divine institution but justified it rather by history and expediency.¹

We have already suggested that Elizabeth was moved more by political than theological motives when she altered the established religion. But the tone in which her successor spoke, suggested a mind tuned to a more theoretical key. On meeting his first Parliament, for example, James said, in his speech: "For as my Faith is the True, Ancient, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith, grounded upon the express word of God, so will I ever yield all reverence to antiquity in the points of Ecclesiastical Polity. And by that means shall I ever, with God's grace, keep myself from either being an Heretic in Faith, or Schismatic in matters of Policy."² These words seem to imply a belief in the divine origin of the church; and such an interpretation is greatly strengthened by what Bishop Williams of Lincoln said in his funeral sermon after James' death: "..... as he patronized the Doctrine, so did he also the discipline of this church. I mean the Hierarchy of the Bishops, and the use of Chapters, and Cathedral Churches, as a Government received from Christ, and his Apostles, and the only discipline that ever agreed with the fundamental laws of any Christian Monarchy."³ Williams went on to say that the King, on his deathbed, "..... repeated the Articles of the Creed one by one, and said he believed them

1. Usher. Rec'n of Church of England. 1910. V I. P. 70.
2. McIlwain. Political Works of James 1st. P. 276.
3. Great Britain's Solomon. P. 50.

all, as they were received and expounded by that part of Catholic Church which was established here in England." ¹

So much for the Stuart King, whose heir is reported to have said that no one who understood the Reformation in England would date it from Henry VIII. James had chosen Abbot to administer this Church, but it was Andrewes whom he chose to represent her in public controversy. And it was this Andrewes, for instance, who insisted on the valid ordination of England's Bishops, and taught that by such ordination they were made conduits of grace for others. "This Breath, though not into them for themselves, yet goeth into and through every act of their office and ministry, and by them conveyeth His Saving ² Grace into us all."

As we get well into the seventeenth century the note of catholicity is sounded more firmly and surely by certain Anglican divines. It is typical of the new spirit that in 1622 a conference was held between Bishop Laud and a Jesuit. It was then that Laud said that the Church of England "professes the Ancient Catholic faith, and yet the Romanist condemns her of novelty in her doctrine; she practises church government as it hath been in use in all ages and all places where the Church of Christ hath taken any rooting, both in and ever since the Apostles' time, and yet the Separatist condemns her for Anti-

1. Great Britain's Solomon. P. 69.

2. Whitsunday Sermon 1616. See Life of Andrewes by D. Macleane, 1910. P. 239.

christian in her discipline." ¹ Rome countered by asking where his church was before Luther, and Laud went on"..... for it was just there, where theirs is now. One and the same church still, no doubt of that, one in substance, but not one in condition of state and purity: their part of the same church remaining in corruption, and our part of the same church under reformation". ² Many lesser figures of the English Church wrote in a similar vein. Gauden, for example, even though he wrote under the Commonwealth, said that "Rome lapsed from the Primitive Institution of Christ, the pattern of the Apostles, the ancient Communion of Christian Churches, and the fraternal co-ordination of Bishops, who were always united in orderly, happy, and harmonious aristocracies, rather than subordinate to any one monarchical supremacy, as to Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction". And that the Reformation of the Church of England was one "which didn't abolish, but reform and continue that ancient and apostolic government of the church, which was primitively planted in these British churches, as in all others throughout the world, long before the Bishop of Rome had any influence or authority among them". ³ Or as Cosin put it, "we never withdrew ourselves from the Obedience of His Church, and were never more in blindness than when we were (for a time) obedient to them (Rome), in many things that were contrary to

1. Conference with Fisher. Works. II. Intro: P. XIII.

2. Ibid.

3. Gauden. Tears, Sighs and Groans of the Ch. of E. 1659, Pp. 85. 304.

the Word of God, the rules and canons of the Catholic Church,
and the laws and statutes of our own kingdom".¹ While
Mountagu proudly stated "Our church hath always been visible,
..... for we claim a succession from the Apostles".² These
quotations from the works of but three or four divines may not
be considered as very conclusive evidence, but they indicate
the whole temper of the Church of England in the first half of
the seventeenth century under Laud.

It is our aim, in this chapter, to find those fund-
amental ideas on which the new middle theology was built, and
we have already suggested that it is along the line of author-
ity that our answer ~~xxx~~ may be found. Now such a view of the
church, as we have sketched in above, would naturally affect
the question of authority. Andrewes thought that a certain and
infallible interpretation of the Bible could be obtained by the
private judgment of those who were in the church, and by such
means as prayer, research, and comparison. He denied all
infallibility to Fathers, Councils, and Popes.³ Such, however,
was not the view of later divines. Bishop Mountagu believed
that church representatives true and lawful, never yet erred,
and cannot err in fundamentals. According to his view the
church could not err at all collectively, while representatively⁴
it could not err in points of faith. Laud, while holding the
first four general councils as infallible, and admitting that

1. Works. IV. P. 284.

2. New Gag for an Olde Goose. 1624. P. 5.

3. Andrewes's Works. VII. P. 57.

4. Gag for Goose. Mountagu. 1624. P. 4.

all general councils have the assistance of the Holy Ghost,
which is without error, for necessary truths,¹ nevertheless
tried to keep within the Articles by stating that the findings
of such councils should only be subscribed to until Scripture,²
or a demonstration to the contrary disproved them.³ He
limited infallibility to the Holy Catholic Church at large,³
"as there is no power in the council, no assistance to it, but
what is in and to the church".⁴

Laud and his fellow Bishops had an exalted notion
of their own importance and responsibility, but while thus
emphasizing their catholicity they also managed to feel a
strong nationalism. They divided their responsibility in the
following fashion, as written by Laud: - "And all this forensical
jurisdiction (in foro contentioso), I and all Bishops in England
derive from the Crown. But my order, my calling, my jurisdiction
in foro conscientiae, that is from God, and from Christ, and by
Divine and Apostolical right".⁵ "Nor did I ever deny, that the
exercise of my jurisdiction, was derived from the Crown of
England". "But..... my order as a Bishop, and my power of
jurisdiction, is by Divine Apostolical right, and unalterable
(for aught I know) in the Church of Christ".⁶ The question
then arises of the relative power of the two sources of authority.

1. Conference with Fisher. Works II. P. 254.
2. Ibid. P. 246.
3. Ibid. P. 158.
4. Ibid. P. 253.
5. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. Works. IV. P. 196.
6. Ibid. Works. III. P. 406.

It is doubtful if such men as Laud analyzed their feelings on such matters in great detail. Under such kings as James and Charles the High-Church Bishops can never have been worried much by the prospect of a divided loyalty. Thus Laud, with all his pride in his calling, was willing to admit that the King and his High Court of Parliament could turn Christianity into Mohammedanism if they so pleased.¹ According to him such absolute power was only limited by natural justice and equity. "Nor is the absolute power of King and Parliament any way unjust in itself, but may many ways be made such, by misinformation or otherwise".² After all it is only natural for the official party to cry up the supporting secular power. But one wonders what would have been the High Church attitude had history repeated itself: had Parliament and Crown swept aside Canterbury's Church, as it swept aside Rome in 1559; and called and overawed a conference, as in 1562, and thus with equity and justice, set up Presbyterianism? For he who has altered, should not object to being altered.

It will readily be seen that the Caroline divines held no really clear views on the question of authority. This should cause no surprise. Such men as Laud, Andrewes, or

1. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. Works. III. P. 352-3.
2. All this, of course, was written when face to face with a jealous Parliament set on revenge. Laud had said some 18 years earlier, "The Church of England, God be thanked, thrives happily under a gracious prince, and well understands that a Parliament cannot be called at all times; and that there are visible judges besides the law-books, and one supreme (long may he be, and happy) to settle all temporal differences....." Conference . Works. II. P. 234.

Mountagu were born into a church which had but recently separated from the main stem. They attempted to justify what they already found in existence and were forced into this delicate compromise on authority by attacks from both sides. To the Puritan, the Catholic Church of the Creed meant the society of the elect¹ and there was need of no authority but the Bible. But if Laudians accepted this view, then all order and tradition were of little consequence and the Puritans were^{as} justified in leaving Canterbury, as Canterbury had been in leaving Rome. After all, such men as Laud worship authority; and as a Priest of Christ's Church, would he not have authority from the highest power, the King of Kings. Mountagu, in writing his New Gag for an old Goose, was like a runner sent forward into the sweet land of authority, but it soon developed that the grapes brought back were sour. The Puritans were, quite naturally, alarmed, and forced a conference to be held at York House before the Duke of Buckingham. The Puritan Lords, Say and Seale, and Brooke, were present, and the 'High Church' Party were forced to the most subtle, if not quibbling, distinctions in order to defend Mountagu without running counter to the twenty-first Article.² There was danger also from the Catholic side, as Laud must already have realized in his conference with Fisher, the Jesuit. As may have been noticed,

1. Burton. Ans. to Laud. 1640. P. 135.

2. Cosin's Works. II. Cosin was present at this conference.

nearly all the quotations of Laud's views on the subject have been taken from his relation of that conference. Fisher must have been pushing him hard on this question, and no wonder, for if once the infallibility of even a general council is admitted, it becomes easy to prove that England's church is in schism and needs must return to the fold. On the other hand if the only source of authority is to be found in Holy Scripture, then by what right did Canterbury enforce doctrinal and disciplinary rules on the Puritans? In answer to the latter, Laud could only appeal to history and state that in all times and places, Church Synods have declared some points of doctrine, condemned others, altered ceremony, and made constitutions, and had never been accused of innovation for the foundation of religion had still remained firm and unmoved.¹ An answer little likely to appease the Puritan, who knew full well that such councils had not been accused of innovation before his time because they themselves had blasphemously attributed inerrancy to their findings, and anathema to their opponents.

Imagine a mind at once authoritarian, antiquarian, and nationalistic. Then place these traits in the setting of seventeenth century England. Nationalistic and born in such a setting, our imaginary character would have the greatest repugnance toward the Roman yoke. Antiquarian and worshipping in the great Cathedrals of old, such a character would be loath to regard all the piety, devotion, and charity of his forefathers

1. Hist: of Troubles & Trials. Works. III. P. 321.

as nothing but a fantastic pageantry. Authoritarian, he would hesitate to "alter the sacred streams and currents of ecclesiastic power, authority and order, from those fountains where Christ first broached it, and those conduits by which the Apostles derived it; which unquestionably was by Bishops and Presbyters."¹

We have thus attempted to sketch in the mental background of such Caroline divines. Let us now give some attention to its application and working out. It will be seen at once that this Anglican view of the church is fundamentally a sacramental one. Although they held but two sacraments officially, they had more in practice. "'Two only, as generally necessary to salvation', quoth Mr. Cosin, out of the catechism; 'and in that sense there are many in the Church of Rome that hold no more. In a larger acceptation the Church of England hath been accustomed to call Confirmation, and many other rites and ceremonies, by the name of Sacraments'."² For example their conception of Holy Orders is definitely a sacramental one. They also utilized the 'sacrament' of absolution; open as in the prayer book, and also privately. The evidence for this is conclusive. Bishop Williams in his funeral oration on James, relates how "being told, that men in Holy Orders in the Church of England do challenge a power, as inherent in their function, not in their Person, to pronounce and declare remission of sins, to such as being penitent do call for the same; and that they

1. Gauden. Tears. etc. C. of E. 1659. P. 169.

2. Cosin's Works. II. P. 34.

have a form of absolution for that very purpose, set down in the Book of Common Prayers; he answered that he believed it
..... " ¹ Sir Edward Conway, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton a month later, confirms this, saying that he was there at the time. ² Cosin ³ and Laud ⁴ (in their writings) both refer to the priestly power of absolving penitents from their sins. That absolution was commonly practiced may be affirmed from such evidence as a letter from one Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering in which he describes how Sir Robert Cotton, before dying, was strictly confessed, reconciled with God, and absolved by the Reverend R. Holdsworth. ⁵ Or Burton's outburst against Laud. "Now though you do not yet openly profess yourselves to be sacrificing Priests, as the Romish Priests do; yet you take upon you to do that, which never any priests under the law did, or might by their office do, namely, to forgive sins." ⁶ Then again we can know for a fact that private confession was not unknown, for even back in the sixteenth century, Hooker is said to have had a confessor, ⁷ and it is told of Andrewes that as a Prebend in St. Paul's he would walk at certain hours in a certain aisle, and that some (but not many) came to him there

1. G-B's Solomon. 1625. P. 70.
2. Birch. Crt. & Times of Chas I Vol. I. P. 2. Whitehall, March 31st, 1625.
3. Works. IV. P. 254-255.
4. Works. III. Devotions. P. 107.
5. Birch. Crt. & Times of Chas. I. V. 2, P. 112. May 12th, 1631.
6. Answer to Laud's Relation. 1640. P. 57.
7. C. Bigg. Wayside Sketches in Eccles'l Hist. 1906. P. 201.

for advice.¹ Cosin claimed that Priests were bound not to reveal confessions by the 113th Canon,² and considered the point worthy of insertion in his visitation articles. While one bold fellow even claimed that confession to a Priest was implicitly required by St. John. XX. 23, as necessary to salvation,³ but such was not the orthodox view, which was expressed by Wentworth in a letter to Laud. "For howbeit auricular confession to the Parish Priest is not allowed as a necessary duty to be imposed upon the conscience, yet did I never hear any but commend the free and voluntary practice of it to such a worthy and holy person as should be thought fit to communicate with in so serious and important a business."⁴ Laud himself put the matter succinctly when he wrote, "..... and, if you mark it you shall find that our Saviour Christ, who gives the Priest full power of the Keys 'to bind and loose', that is, to receive confession, and to absolve or not absolve, as he sees cause in the delinquent, yet you shall not find any command of his to enforce men to come to the Priest to receive this benefit".⁵ There is even a possibility that the Royal Household still had an official confessor, for, in 1625, Bishop Andrewes wrote to Secretary Conway that nothing had been done in the matter of the Confessorship but with the King's know-

1. Harrington's Memoirs of Andrewes. Works. VII. P. XXXVII.
2. Works. II. P. 11.
3. C.S.P. Dom. 1637-8. Chas. I. CCCLXXXV. 68. March 12th, 1657/8. St. Peter's Coll. Cambridge. Dr. John Cosin to Dr. Steward.
4. Knowler. Letters of Strafford. V. 2. Dublin. Aug. 7th, 1638, P. 195.
5. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. Works. III. P. 332.

ledge. Mr. Beckett, the present Confessor, appointed by the late Bishop of Winchester, had been suffering from palsy for some years. The King had signified that he would have him remain for life, whereupon he had been sworn by Bishop Andrewes.¹ Such was the gist of the letter, but it has been impossible for me to substantiate the suggestion, made by the editor of the Calendar of State Papers Domestic, that the confessorship in question relates to the Royal Household.

There is other evidence of the sacramental nature of England's Church under the first Stuarts, for many divines of that period taught that Jesus was really present in the Blessed Sacrament. Andrewes taught this most emphatically, and in doing so even drew near the idea of purgatory as in the following, "The Eucharist ever was, and by us is considered, both as a Sacrament and as a Sacrifice..... The Sacrifice of Christ's death is available for present, absent, living, dead (yes, for them that are unborn)." All this he said when engaged in public controversy with Cardinal Perron, and went on to say, "For offering and prayer for the dead, there is little to be said against it, it cannot be denied but that it is ancient."² Similarly, when Laud was upholding the catholicity of the English Church against a Jesuit, he claimed no more against Purgatory than that it was not and should not be de fide.³

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1625-26. IX. 23
2. Reply to Card. Perron's Reply Pp. 6. 9.
3. Conference with Fisher, Works. II. P. 392.

It was Laud who once wrote, "For after the words of consecra-
tion are past, be the minister never so unworthy, yet 'tis¹
infallibly hoc est corpus meum to every worthy receiver."

"For all sides agree in the faith of the Church of England,
that in the most Blessed Sacrament, the worthy receiver is,
by his faith, made spiritually partaker of the 'true and real
Body and Blood of Christ, truly and really,' and of all the
benefits of His Passion. Your Roman adds a manner of this
his presence, 'transubstantiation', which many deny; and the
Lutherans a manner of this presence, 'consubstantiation', which²
more deny." Much the same thought is expressed in a tract

written by John Preston, 'we say the thing is really done, but
it is done spiritually, it is done mystically, it is done³
sacramentally.' It would never do, however, to give the
impression that there was any clear-cut and widely held view of
the real presence. For example, Bishop Goodman, in a sermon
before his Majesty in 1625, came so close to Rome in this matter
that his sermon was discussed in Convocation and finally referred
to Abbot, Andrewes, and Laud. This Committee satisfied itself
by saying that some things had been said less warily than others,
by none falsely.⁴ Small wonder, then, that Burton wrote with
impatience. "..... both holding a real presence, Rome explicitly

1. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. Works. IV. P. 284.
2. Conference with Fisher. Works. II P. 320-1.
3. The Cup of Blessing. 1633. P. 2.
4. Heylyn. Cyprianus Anglicus. P. 97.

by transubstantiation, and England implicitly, not daring to speak plainly how; only willing to come as near Rome, as the time will give leave."¹

Once more was the English Church teaching a doctrine that was practically indistinguishable from the corresponding Roman dogma; and once more was she to find that it is difficult to follow any other course than complete acceptance or complete denial of the entire Roman claims. Such views as these on 'real presence' soon brought their adherents dangerously close to the sacrament of extreme unction. Thus Bishop Andrewes, while disputing with Cardinal Perron about reservation, said, in connection with reservation for those in illness, "For it is sure, they [the Primitive Church] made far greater account of the receiving of it, as their viaticum, than some do now. But neither does this touch us, who at the desire of any that is in that case (dying), may not refuse but to go to him, and minister to him. So that reservation needeth not; the intent is had without it."² In accordance with this teaching is the manner in which a news-writer of the time mentioned quite casually how Lord Mountnorris, being near death, called Dr. Howell to come and administer the sacrament to him.³ Cosin went even further, in his funeral sermon over his sister,

1. Answer to Laud. P. 67.

2. Answer to Card. Perron. Pp. 5-6.

3. Birch. Crt. & Times of Chas. I. Vol. 2. P. 246. Rossingham to Sir Thomas Puckering, London, May 4th, 1636.

and related how, on her death-bed, she received with such reverence and humility "that we might easily understand she knew very well what a Majesty she was to adore, and what admirable and mysterious benefits she was to receive."¹

To one who has a full concept of the sacramental idea, it becomes difficult to deny that children dying unbaptized shall not see God. It, therefore, becomes imperative to allow baptism by laymen. And so it is with interest that we note that although the Hampton Court Conference decided against lay baptism, several Bishops thought it sometimes justified.² The Conference decided, humorously enough, that if an infant die unbaptized it did not, of necessity, go to Hell; but that if a clergyman refused a call to baptize, he did go. Laud, writing in prison, said "..... the absolute necessity of baptism (in the ordinary way of the Church, leaving God (as He is) most free to save with Baptism, or without, as Himself pleases) is no 'Popish error', but the true tenet of the 'Catholic Church of Christ', ...³ In other words, Laud allowed the Roman theory of baptism by water and by desire, but avoided the question of unbaptized infants altogether. Gauden, writing some years later, stated that it was a great detriment for an infant to die unbaptized, and a crime on the parents' part.⁴ Confirmation, finally, was considered necessary by the Church, but was not recognized as a sacrament. This was partly due to a fear⁵ of detracting from the dignity and validity of baptism.

1. Cosin's Works. I. P. 29.

2. Cardwell. Hist. of Conferences. Barlow's Tracts. P. 172.

3. Hist. of Troubles & Trial. Works. III. P. 326.

4. Tears, Sighs & Groans. P. 295.

5. Barlow's Tract. P. 172. Cardwell. Hist: of Conferences.

So far we have attempted to portray a certain attitude towards authority, and then to show how such an attitude led on to a sacramental view of religion, but the God of the sacramentalist is an immanent God. Very different is He from the far distant Lord of the Puritan. The God of the Catholics not only was born of matter in the person of Jesus Christ, but immolated himself in the Blessed Sacrament in the form of the same Jesus, and entered into his Priests in the form of the Holy Ghost. A God who was not only close but personal. A God who was so far from disdaining matter that he glorified it for his purposes, and at times, by an extraordinary work of wonder, made virtue proceed from the relics of Saints.¹ The Church of such a Deity is holy, always, not only at times of service, and it is fitting to consecrate to his service the fruits of man's mastery of matter. Therefore, should God's Temple be decorated and adorned, and music and beauty lent to his service. Therefore, should His House be entered reverently at all times, and His public worship conducted with decency and with respect. Moreover, there were to be degrees of reverence, "..... that is, to the Lord your God, and to his Altar (for there is a reverence due to that too, though such as comes far short of Divine Worship) and this is in the manner, as Ecclesiastical Persons both worship and do reverence."² "And no man will deny, but that there is a derivative and a relative holiness in places, as well as in vessels,

1. Mountagu. New Gag. Question number XXXI.

2. Speech of Laud in Star Chamber against Prynne, B & B . 1637.

and other things dedicated to the service of God." ¹ The Church of England, then, was to have ceremony; ceremony, moreover, derived from Rome; "For every line in the Mass-book, or other Popish rituals are not all evil and corruptions. There are many good prayers in them; nor is anything evil in them, only because 'tis there. Nay, the less alteration is made in the public ancient service of the church, the better it is, provided that nothing superstitious or evil in itself be admitted or retained." ² Other reasons there were, also for ceremony. In rooting out superstition, the early reformers had let irreverence in; until "some ignorant though presumably well meaning people are afraid to testify their duty to God, even in His Own House, by any outward gesture at all." Whereas, "..... ceremonies are the hedge that fence the substance of religion from all the indignities which profaneness and sacrilege too commonly put upon it....." External worship of God in the church was also xx regarded as a great witness to the world of inner rightness of heart.

No wonder the Puritan grew alarmed when the leaders of the establishment affirmed the real presence, demanded good works, ³ recognized the Roman distinction between divine and honorary worship, and leant countenance to genuflection and

1. Hist. of Troubles & Trial. Works. IV. P. 248.
2. Works of Laud. V. 3. Hist. of Troubles & Trial. P. 341.
3. Andrew's answer to Perron's 18th Chap. P. 15. "We hold good works necessary to salvation: and that faith without them saveth not. We hold that no man is predestinate to do evil. We think it not safe for any man peremptorily to presume himself predestinate."

ceremony. The Puritan felt instinctively what the Roman proudly asserted, that the whole body of Catholic "doctrines are members of one family, and suggestive or correlative, or confirmatory, or illustrative of each other. One furnishes evidence to another, and all to each of them; if this is proved, that becomes probable; if this and that are both probable, but for different reasons, each adds to the other its probability. From the doctrine of Mediation follow the Atonement, the Mass, the merits of Martyrs and Saints, their invocation and cultus. From the sacramental principle come the Sacraments properly so-called; the unity of the church, and the Holy See as its type and centre; the authority of Councils; the sanctity of rites; the veneration of holy places, shrines, images, vessels, furniture, and vestments."¹ No unbiased observer can deny that auricular confession and belief in good works lead to doing penance for sin, and, once one admits penance, it becomes difficult to deny the existence of purgatory. Now, the Puritan could see that the Church of England most certainly approved of penance for its own sake if not for God's, and even if such thoughts only lay in his mind as a dormant suspicion, would they not be aroused by such a publication as Bishop Mountagu's treatise, the Invocation of Saints, published in 1624, in answer to an accusation that he

1. Newman. Development of Doctrine. P. 93-4.

approved of prayers to Saints in time of need. Mountagu wrote with great subtlety and splitting of theological hairs. One may pray to one's guardian angel, but invocation of saints is too much a question of conjecture to be made a point of Faith. The Roman Church is not so much impious as unduly dogmatic, and, at times, a little foolish - such were his claims. The High-Church party felt that secondary or mediate prayers were not to be used, because they led to incorrect practices,¹ but, Andrewes could write "we celebrate the memories, we hold the feasts of the Blessed Martyrs; as, of Saint Stephen, and the Blessed Innocents; as well, for imitation, as that we may be partakers of intercession, and attain to the Society of that which they have obtained."²

It has already been pointed out that Laud and his contemporaries paid more honour to the church councils than the somewhat older Andrewes. To the former the church was the key to the Bible, a necessary prelude. Besides it was but right that difficult passages be referred to the living church which, while not infallible, had the continual and fitting assistance of the Holy Ghost;³ better still, such passages might be referred to the early Fathers, for as Gauden once said "it is not to be doubted but the stream of Christianity ran clearest, the nearer it was to the Apostolic fountains."⁴ However "..... Scripture doth truly infallibly confirm the authority of church traditions,^A so-called; but

1. Cosin's Works. V. I. P. 147.

2. Answer to 18th Chap. of Perrin's Reply. 1629. P. 8.

3. Conference with Fisher. Laud: Works. II. Pp. 103, 107.

4. Tears, Sighs, etc. P. 540.

doth but morally and probably confirm the authority of the
 Scripture." ¹ The Puritan mind, as may well be imagined, was
 infuriated by the claim that men were led to believe in the
 Bible by the authority and tradition of the church. ² With his
 more forthright mentality, the Puritan must have felt that such
 delicate compromises as Laud's can have been at heart only
 hypocrisy; for if, by reason of the Apostolic Succession, the priest
 has ³ hood something (i.e. the Holy Ghost) by which they are enabled
 to expound doubtful passages, then this expounding must be right,
 that is to say the church must be infallible not only in general
 but in particular. If it is fallible, then its explanation is
 no better than that of any one else. To this the Establishment
 countered with the authority of probability. The longer a belief
 had been held, the more certain was its truth. It was essenti-
 ally an antiquarian and authoritarian view, for the more author-
 ities one piled up, the more certain was the point in discussion.
 The entire body of belief in the church under Laud was like a
 target. In the centre were undeniable and essential truths, on
 the other rim were mere possibilities such as invocation of
 Saints. Thus Cosin thought he was criticising Rome when he
 wrote that she held all her doctrines "with one and the same

1. Laud. Works. II. P. 112.

2. Burton. Answer to Laud's Relation. Passim.

3. The Reformation, quite naturally, caused a rush to see what
 the early Fathers had said. The leading Anglican divines
 were constantly quoting from early writers, but were
 hampered by ignorance of the history and literary style
 of such early ages. In 1635 an English translation of a
 continental Compendium of Fathers was published.

faith that we believe in one God and the Incarnation of our Saviour." ¹ Such men as Laud must always stand with their back to the future, with gaze fixed in contemplation of a by-gone, and, to some extent, an imaginary past. The Puritan, on the other hand, would prefer the nearest learned doctor to even the most ancient of the Fathers.

And so we have to add a third definite theology to the two which have already been mentioned, and in succeeding chapters we will see how the exponents of this new view came to control the Church of England and put their theories into practice. All sorts of interesting questions now arise, such as the connection between the first two Stuart Kings and this 'Anglican' party, or the possibility of development in doctrine from Hooker and Overall, to Andrewes, and so on to Laud and down to Cosin and Gauden, but all such points may be more fully considered later on. In this chapter nothing has been attempted save the analysis of a certain type of mind and a sketch of the ensuing implications. The most important result of such a theology was the part played in it by the church. To the sacramentalist the church is more than a vital part of God's plan, it is almost part of Christ Himself. It no more comes between Man and God, than the neck can be said to interfere between head and shoulders. And was it not Laud who said, "..... for Christ and His Church are 'head and body', and,

1. Works. IV. P. 319.

therefore, they must needs have one common cause..... Nay, more, no man can wilfully corrupt the church in her doctrine, but he would have a false God; not persecute the profession of the church, but he would have no God; nor rend the church into sects, but he would have many gods; nor make the church base, but he would pluck God as low, were God as much in his power as the church is; and, therefore, the church's cause is God's cause."¹
And did not Andrewes call marriage a holy institution inasmuch as it resembled that holy and mystic union between Christ and His Church?²

Union, communion, and adoration of God are the key-notes of such a religion: Union, that is to say, with Christ in His Church and bound to Him by its sacraments, communion with Him by means of the Blessed Sacrament, and a discreet physical and mental adoration. Thus Laud boldly wrote, while facing his doom, "I answered as before, and added, that in all ages of the church, the touchstone of religion was not to hear the Word preached, but to communicate."³ Such teachings probably reached their greatest height as written in the gentle Andrewes' Private Devotions. "Let me so receive these mysteries (the body and blood of Christ) that I may be worthy to be engrafted into Thy

1. Sermon at Whitehall. July 5th, 1626. Works. I. P. 132.
2. Works. II. P. 233.
3. Hist. of Troubles & Trial. Works. IV. P. 284.

Body.

"Which is the Church;
"That I may become one of thy members,
"And thou my Head;
"That I may remain with Thee,
"And thou with me;
"That now, not I in myself,
"But Thou in me,
"And I in Thee. 1.

To paraphrase Lytton Strachey, the Caroline divines saw a transcendent manifestation of Divine power, flowing down elaborate and immense through the ages; a consecrated priesthood, stretching back, through the mystic symbol of the laying on of hands, to the very Godhead; a whole universe of spiritual beings brought into communion with the Eternal by means of the Sacrament of the Eucharist; a great mass of metaphysical doctrines, at once incomprehensible and of incalculable import, laid down with varying degrees of certitude; they saw the supernatural everywhere and at all times, a living force, floating invisible in angels, inspiring saints, and investing with miraculous properties the commonest material things. This they saw, and with it an institution owing much to the divorce of a King, and the later intrigues of a Queen. The vision and the fact they brought into concordance by regarding Christ's Catholic Church as preserved in the priesthood - - - a priceless deposit handed down from generation to generation, and subsisting less by the will of men than through the ordinance of God.

England, in 1625, not only received a new ruler; she received a young one. Now this would not be without importance to many of her citizens, for the Crown was still the government. All would be anxious to bind the new ruler to their views, or else to take advantage of his youthful and inexperienced opposition. The influence exerted by the Duke of Buckingham over James needs no mention. The son was to fall even more under his sway, and through the gay, magnificent Duke lay the road to preferment. It is, therefore, not without interest to note the ever increasing favour which William Laud, Bishop of far-off St. David's, found in his eyes. The connection between the volatile favourite and the indefatigable ecclesiastic is easy to demonstrate,¹ and difficult to understand. It must be remembered that the Duke would represent, power, position, and authority - qualities not unattractive in the Bishop's sight. Moreover Laud was industrious, ambitious, and attached to that symbol by which Buckingham had risen from inconsequence to fame - the Crown. Any explanation of their alliance should proceed along such lines. Under James, Laud had languished in the barren See of St. David's, but under the benign influence of the favourite he rapidly advanced in the new King's favour. ^{Now} James' favour had not only been shown to Buckingham, but to Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, whose "extraordinary learning enabled him to act as a

1. Laud's Diary - Passim. Works. III.

as a living common place book for King James, who delighted in his learning and political views because he could talk scholastic divinity every day, and all day long." ¹ Williams, too, basked for a while in the friendship of Buckingham, that power behind the throne, and favourite of the King; and in 1621 he was appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the last great ecclesiastic to hold such an office.

So far little more has been attempted than a rapid sketch of some of the more important characters and forces at play during the period under discussion. Since this is a particular and not a general history, only those people who have bearing on the English Church have been mentioned. To repeat, Charles found his subjects divided into three main religious groups: Roman Catholics, Puritans, and Anglicans; and two main political groups: royalists and parliamentarians. Each group was in turn composed of maximisers and minimisers, and no section was without interest in international or not economic policies. The whole constituted a difficult team to manage. It was a situation demanding a supple hand on the reins, demanding one who had patience and cunning, coupled with pliancy: one who knew men and how to manage them, to play one force against another, to combine and to separate.

One of the first acts of the new King was to mitigate ² all pains and penalties suffered by his Roman Catholic subjects.

1. Ivor Bowen. Life of Williams, P. 8

2. C.S.P. Dom. 1625-26. Chas. I., II., I. May 1st, 1625.
Charles to Lord Keeper Williams.

He was moved to this, no doubt, by his contemplated marriage with the Catholic Henrietta Maria, for it was, indeed, a part of his marriage promise. We must not infer from this that Charles approved of his Catholic subjects, but rather that he felt sufficiently well disposed toward them to make the idea of tolerance permissible. He had reckoned, unfortunately for the Papists, without his High Court of Parliament. On April 18th, 1625, Salvetti, the Florentine Ambassador, reported "Yesterday the writs for the election of Members of Parliament were dispatched to all parts of the Kingdom. It is set forth that the elections are to be conducted in conformity with law and usage. Notwithstanding this declaration, it appears that the Puritanical faction is already exciting tumults that they may make sure of a majority. Another section of the voters are adherents of the Anglican Church, but they are a minority. As to the Catholics they are almost entirely excluded, as they are from all government employment." ¹ When the Ambassador wrote, he must surely have been referring to none but adherents of the new and active Anglican Church, for in no other way can his statement be justified. Thus we might infer that but few of the ordinary people approved, or perhaps had even heard, of the new view of affairs. If they were in ignorance, they were not to remain so long, for it was Laud who preached the opening sermon. He spoke boldly, and such thoughts as the following

1. H.M. Com. 11th Rep. App. I. ~~Mss.~~ H.D. Skrine. P. 5 - London.

greeted the ears of the duly elected. "And the power which resides in the King is not any assuming to himself, nor any gift from the people, but God's power, as well in, as over, him." "So God and the King stand very near together."¹

The Parliament proceeded rapidly to a discussion of matters religious. Its members would appear to have been united in feeling that any concession to the Roman Catholics would be dangerous to the realm. Eliot, that firm upholder of parliamentary power, rose to his feet, saying: "For where there is a division in religion, as it does wrong divinity, so it makes distractions among men. For the unity, I wish posterity might say we had preserved for them that which was left to us."² Eliot was far from being a fanatical Puritan; but he could meet with the latter point of view on the common ground of strong individualism. The final result of all this was that Parliament pressed the King to execute the penal laws in all their strictness and to take other measures to prevent the spread of the doctrines of the Roman Church. This was promised them despite the engagements entered into with the French. Either Charles and his advisers saw the wisdom of not antagonising the House of Commons, or else such toleration as they had afforded had not been very whole-hearted. Perhaps

1. Works. V. 1. P. 94.

2. S.R.Gardiner. Hist. of E. 1883. V. 5. Chap. LII.

the motives of the Court may be more clearly shown in their reaction to Parliament's treatment of Richard Mountagu. As may have been surmised, his writings¹ caused an uproar among the Puritans. Both his Treaties of the Invocation of Saints and New Gag for an olde Goose had been published in 1624, and the 'Appello Caesarem' in 1625, the 'Gag', according to Cosin, on the authority and command of James himself.² In these works a theology is set forth that can ~~only~~ be differentiated alone. from Rome by subtle distinctions, [^] They give the impression of having been written by a theological virtuoso who delighted in showing with what skill and accuracy he could time and again skate over the thinnest ice to the very brink of Rome, and yet flash by unharmed. In doing so the Thirty-nine Articles were subjected to discreet juggling, particularly with reference to general councils. These books constituted a bold rebuff to all of Calvinistic views, and Charles' first Parliament called the author to the bar and committed him to prison, but "Saturday, it pleased his Majesty King Charles to intimate to the House of Commons, that what had been said there and resolved, without consulting him, in Mountagu's case, was not pleasing to him."³ Parliament was adjourned, and Mountagu not only withdrawn from prison, but promoted to a royal chaplaincy.

1. See Chap. 3.

2. Works - Vol. 2. P. 49. See Also Laud's Works. VI. P. 245.

3. Laud's Diary. III. P. 167. July 9th, 1625.

also
Parliament had^A made a great assault on Buckingham, and, ten days before it was dissolved, Laud, Howson of Oxford, and Buckeridge of Rochester, wrote to the Duke. While they were apprehensive for the person of Mountagu, they feared even more for his cause. Unlike Rome, the Church of England was not too busy with every particular school point; for there could be no unity among Christians if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars disputed in schools. Now some of Mountagu's points were of such a class, and to them learned men, (and he was a very good scholar) should be left to their own discretion. Moreover if Parliament was allowed to judge in doctrine, they would depart from Christ's ordinance, and the continual course and practice of the Church. Thus they wrote, and quietly added "if the Church be once brought down beneath herself, we cannot but fear what may be next struck at."¹ The affair of Mountagu was probably a trial of strength between seriously opposed forces. How else can one explain its persistency? Less than half a year after the abrupt conclusion of his first Parliament, the King ordered five bishops (Neile, Buckeridge, Montaigne, Laud and² Andrewes) to hold a consultation on the matter. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, they stated that they found no fault in his writings. Nevertheless there soon followed a formal conference before the Duke at York House. Among those present

1. Laud's Works. VI. P. 244. 2nd August, 1925.

2. Ibid. P. 249. Winchester House - Jan. 16th, 1625/6

were Cosin, a follower of Laud, and the Puritan Lord Sey and Seale. As has already been said, Mountagu was upheld after some measure of subtle distinctions, but he also owed something to the forceful chairmanship of Buckingham. A letter of the time refers to the Duke as "the great protector of the Mountagutians; so that the business of religion is like to follow his standing or downfall."¹ This 'great protector' was none other than the man who had nearly submitted to Rome in 1622, and whose mother and wife were zealous for the Faith. Meanwhile Charles' second Parliament had opened, and Laud, once more the chosen preacher, soared to even more dangerous oratorical heights. "For these three, God, the King, and the Church, that is, God, His Spouse, and His Lieutenants upon earth, are so near allied, - God and the Church in love, God and the King in power, the King and the Church in mutual dependence upon God, and subordination to Him - that no man can serve any one of them truly, but he serves all three."² Laud had written in his diary, concerning Mountagu, "Methinks I see a cloud arising, and threatening the Church of England. God in his mercy dissipate it."³ He had forecasted well, for only the dissolution of Parliament saved Mountagu for the second time, while in the Parliament of 1628 he fared little better. Indeed the Reverend Jospeh Mead

1. Birch. I. P. 105. Dr. Meddus to Rev. Mead. London, May 22nd, 1626.

2. Works. I. P. 79.

3. Works. III. P. 180. Jan. 29th. 1625/6.

wrote to Sir Martin Stuteville that the Committee of Religion had questioned not only Mountagu, but also Mainwaring and¹ Cosin.

Despite continued parliamentary opposition, Mountagu remained in favour, even attaining the dignity of a Bishopric in 1628. Soon after, Attorney General Heath wrote² that^{he} had prepared a pardon for the Bishop, as commanded by the King. It would set him free in foro civili, but Heath feared Parliament might call things past into question all the more because of it. He suggested that the Bishop review his book, and remove the acrimony of the style. In January 1629 the Appello was³ suppressed entirely. This matter had filled London with discussion, and there was^{EVEN} a story current that Mountagu had written to Archbishop Abbot rejecting five tenets of Arminianisms, and saying that all of the Appello was not written by him.⁴

We have seen how Laud advanced in favour under Charles, and also Mountagu, but they were not alone, for the whole high-church party was sweeping into office. Mainwaring, who had been impeached by the House of Commons for attributing too great a power to the Crown, was pardoned in 1628 and given preferment; while old Bishop Mountain, who had licensed his sermons, achieved

1. Birch. I. P. 335. Christ College. March 29th, 1628.
2. C.S.P. Dom. 1628-9, Chas. I. CXVIII. 33. Oct. 7th, 1628.
3. Rymer's Foedera XX. 26.
4. Birch. Crt. & T. of Chas. 1st, VI. P. 449. Mr. Pory to Rev. Jos. Mead, London. Dec. 12th, 1628.

the Archiepiscopal See of York. This left the difficult and important See of London vacant and it went to Laud, who had already written in his diary the following abrupt but pleasant little passage, "The Duke related to me what the King had further resolved concerning me, in case the Archbishop of Canterbury should die, etc." ¹ Howson, whom Gardiner calls one of Laud's chief supporters, received the great See of Durham. While Buckeridge, Laud's erstwhile tutor, and constant supporter, was translated from Rochester to Ely. What could this mean, if not a tacit declaration of war on the non-conformist? Besides it must always be remembered that the more moderate Bishop of Lincoln had fallen into grave disfavour, ² that the more gentle Bishop Andrewes had died, and that the very Primate himself was under a cloud. Abbot, writing in 1627, attributed his disgrace at Court to his indispositions which had kept him away and also to the fact that Buckingham "would endure no man that would not depend upon him." ³ but the Florentine Ambassador wrote to his Grand-Duke, "..... the Archbishop's disfavour has been ripening for some time; for during the last Parliament he showed a want of confidence in the Duke of Buckingham and he favours the Puritanical faction and is hostile to the Roman Catholics." ⁴

1. Works. III. P. 196. Oct. 2nd. 1626.

2. See Chapter 8.

3. Rushworth. Hist. Coll. I. P. 434-5.

4. H.M.C. 11th Rep. App. I. Mss. H. Skrine. P. 125. London. July 31st, 1627.

Rightly did Dr. Meddus say to the Reverend Joseph Mead, while discussing the rumpus about Mountagu in '26, "meanwhile the Archbishop is sick of politic gout, and hath lost time to prevent a schism."^{1.}

The Court had challenged the Puritans, but it was also entering a death struggle with Parliament. We have seen how Mountagu and Mainwaring had been pardoned, but other signs of union between Royalist and High-Churchman are not lacking. In April 1629, Abbot wrote to a Bishop in his province that his Majesty had found that since the late discussion in Parliament preachers did little less than divulge that religion did totter and the purity of the Gospel was in hazard. The King commanded, therefore, that the Bishop preach in person obedience to the highest magistrate as Lieutenant of God, and that neither clergy nor temporality interfere in questions not belonging to them. He was principally to keep his ministry from preaching that any alteration in religion was considered.² In a draft letter³ dated the following month the King requested Abbot to command all his Bishops to their Sees, save those required at Court, in order to set a better example to inferior clergy. This draft has an addition in the handwriting of Laud, a point of some

1. Birch. Crt. of Chas. 1st. 1849. I. P. 105. London, May 22nd, 1626.
2. C.S.P. Dom. 1628-9. Chas. I. CXL. 37. Lambeth.
3. Ibid. CXLII. 75. May 13th, 1629, Greenwich.

importance when one recalls the Bishop's by now dominant position at Court (Buckingham being dead), and the Archbishop's retirement. So powerful did he become, indeed, that one, Richard Kilvert, wrote in 1633 that no man was so powerful with the good King," and that as he increased in favour men better understood him, or at least they professed to love and honour him.¹

The fear of the Puritans at this time was more instinctive than general. This is borne out by their use of the word Arminian, which was their stock reproach against the High-Church Party who, on their part, indignantly repelled the insinuation. This label was forever being bandied about without the slightest explanation of its meaning. One is reminded of our modern use of the word Bolchevist, which has a universally acknowledged implication but little definite meaning. Arminius himself appears to have been a mild theologian of Holland, who affirmed free-will and a general broad-minded belief² untinged by bitter anti-Romanism. To the Calvinist, however, those who were not for Geneva in all things, were against it in

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCXLV. 36. Aug. 29th, 1633.

2. A. Duncan-Jones on P. 113 of his Life of Laud quotes an M.P. as saying, "I desire that we may consider the increase of Arminianism, an error that maketh the grace of God lackey it after the will of man, that maketh the sheep to keep the shepherd, and makes mortal seed of an immortal God. I desire that we look into the very belly and bowels of this Trojan horse, to see if there be not in it men ready to open the gates to Romish tyranny, and Spanish monarchy; for an Arminian is the spawn of a Papist."

all things. This may be clearly shown from the Remonstrance¹ which the Commons of 1628 prepared against Buckingham: "Yet there is a general fear conceived in your people of secret working and combination to introduce into their Kingdom innovation and change of our Holy Religion, more precious unto us than our lives and whatever this world can afford." Papists, they claimed, were daily increasing. "So are the hearts of your good subjects no less perplexed, when with sorrow they behold a daily growth and spreading of the faction of Arminians, that being, as your Majesty well knows, but a cunning way to bring in Popery." Bishop Neile and Laud² "are justly suspected to be unsound in their opinions that way. And it being now generally held the way to preferment, and promotion in the Church, many scholars do bend the course of their studies to maintain those errors." The Remonstrance goes on to state³ that books by orthodox anti-Arminians were being prohibited by that very Proclamation of his Majesty, whereof they know the meaning was quite the contrary. Moreover "..... means hath been sought out to depress and discountenance pious, and painful, and orthodox preachers, and how conformable soever,

1. Rushworth. Hist. Coll'tn. V.I. P. 620-2
2. Works. V. III. Diary. March 10th, 1628/9 "The Parliament which was broken up this March 10th laboured my ruin; but, God be ever blessed for it, found nothing against me."
3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1628-9 CXXXVI. 81. Feb. (?) 1629. Bp. Hall to Turner, Licenser and Chaplain to Laud. That he consents to omit from his 'Reconciler', then under consideration, those passages declaring strongly the anti-Arminian character of the Church of England.
If a bishop of the establishment could be so restrained, then how much more an unorthodox divine.

and peaceable in their disposition and carriage they be, yet the preferment of such is opposed, and instead of being encouraged, they are molested with vexatious courses, and pursuits, and hardly permitted to lecture." What was this Proclamation? What were these means? The first question is easy to answer, for in 1628 a committee of Bishops (in which Laud is said to have taken an active part) composed a preface¹ to the thirty-nine articles. This preface, which was publicly declared by the King in the same year, contains some interesting thoughts. For example: "That therefore in these both curious and unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, we will, that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print, or preach, to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense." But all knew that the thirty-nine Articles were most discreetly vague on certain hotly disputed points, and the Preface could only

1. Gee & Hardy. Church Documents. P. 518.

mean a closure on criticism or, at best, acceptance of the official view. On January 26th, 1629, the Commons formed a committee on religion to consider the subject of religious grievances. About that time the King wrote telling them either to rest content with his publication for keeping unity in the Church, or show in what respect it failed.¹ In February this committee issued a full report.² True religion was in danger, and popery was increasing, while the subtle and pernicious Arminian faction was spreading, and was sufficient to ruin their religion by dividing them from the Reformed Churches abroad. It was this Arminianism which cast doubts on religions professed and established, and by rendering certain articles suspicious inclined unstable minds to popery, to which those tenets in their own nature had prepared the way. Among divers causes of danger were books of such as Mountagu and Cosin, also "the bold and unwarranted introducing, practising, and defending of sundry new ceremonies," and laying of injunctions upon men by governors of the Church and others, without authority, in conformity to the Church of Rome; as, for example, in some places erecting of altars setting up of pictures, lights, and images in churches; praying towards the East, crossing ad omnem motum et gesture." They begged his Majesty to "confer bishoprics and other ecclesiastical preferments, with advice of his Privy

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1628/9. CXXXIII. 28. Jan. 29 (?) 1628/9
The editor doubts if the letter was delivered.
2. Gee & Hardy. Church Documents. P. 521.

Council, upon learned, pious, and orthodox men." It was also suggested that such men as Bishop Howson of Durham were Papists in disguise.

Thus we see what Parliament meant when it complained of the King's Preface, and we begin to see what 'means' were used to dissuade Puritan Divines. Let us turn to the actual facts of history and see what light they may throw on the question. To do so with any hope of reaching a fair conclusion we should attempt to achieve a fair perspective of the fundamental relation of Puritan and Anglican. First of all, let it be stated again that the ideal of all was one Church. Separatists were regarded by all as tearers of Christ's seamless coat. There could be but little institutional life for the man who had definitely broken with the Church established by law. In this lies the particular importance of the Canons of 1604, by which many of the stricter sort of non-conforming Puritan ministers¹ were forced to suffer deprivation. On the whole, however, there can have been little to prevent groups of strongly evangelical men from attaining in and through the establishment that simple form of church doctrine and worship which their souls demanded. London was strongly, in fact turbulently, Protestant; and in the country what could even the most minute triennial

1. Cardwell Documentary Annals. 1844. V. II. P. 83. from a Royal Proclamation of July 16th, 1604. Recalcitrant ministers are to have until November 31st to "bethink themselves of the course they will hold therein after that day, we shall not fail to put in execution all ways and means that may take from among our people all grounds and occasions of sects, divisions, and unquietness."

visitation achieve in permanence. The visitation articles of such a man as Andrewes contain a multitude of searching questions on points of discipline, ceremony, doctrine, and decoration, but it would be easy to put up a good front, and difficult for the Bishop to enforce his orders. True there was the Court of High Commission ready to lend weight to his decrees, but then was the Primate for twenty-three years not George Abbot? And was not the first Stuart a wise man? Besides the rich Puritan could make sure of hearing God's Word well and frequently expounded by buying up impropriations and thus endowing some sound lecturer. Let it by no means be thought that the Puritans suffered no interference and no deprivation in the first quarter of the seventeenth century; but the average form of worship throughout England must have been what we would now call definitely 'low'. How else can one explain the continued charge of Parliament against the new Caroline divines - that of innovation? How else explain entirely the vast wave of opposition which met the increased strictness of Laud and his followers?

Even by 1622, however, some action was taken to counteract what can only be described as the rising Puritanism.¹ In that year James drew up directions concerning preachers, by which all incumbents and lecturers were forced to restrict² their texts for afternoon sermons to catechism, creed,

1. Gee & Hardy. P. 516.

2. This was the favourite time for the 17th century lecturer, who desired to preach at more length than the liturgy of morning service would allow.

commandments, or Lord's Prayer. No preacher under the title of Dean was to be allowed to touch on such mysterious subjects as predestination or God's grace. "Lastly, that the archbishops and bishops of the Kingdom, whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for this former remissness, be more wary and choice in licensing of preachers, and revoke all grants made to any chancellor, official, or commissary to pass licenses in this kind, and that all the lecturers throughout the Kingdom (a new body severed from the ancient clergy of England, as being neither parsons, vicars, or curates) be licensed henceforth in the Court of Faculties. "This explains why the Parliament of 1628-9 pled for the liberty to hear preached those controverted points concerning which they claimed that the essence of the thirty-nine Articles was known and proved, as well as for the punishment of maintainers of papist and superstitious opinions, and for such similar ends.

The official answer to the demands of the Parliament of 1628-9 was the issue of further royal injunctions of a restrictive nature. In January 1630 Laud wrote to Secretary Dorchester from London House that infirmity had kept him from returning an answer about the injunction, moreover divers canons and constitutions of Elizabeth's reign had to be taken into consideration.² In the same month he wrote to his

1. Gee & Hardy. P. 521. Report of Committee of Religion.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1629-31. CLVIII. 18. Jan. 5th, 1629/30

Archdeacon informing him of the instructions that his Majesty had just issued out of his love for the Church.¹ According to this letter, the third Article of the instructions concerned the King's Declaration, that so differences^{and} questions might cease; the 5th lecturers; the 7th private chaplains in the houses of men not qualified to have them, and the 8th recusants or any that absent themselves from Divine Service. Finally, a year later, Abbot wrote Dorchester that his Bishops all reported that his Majesty's injunctions were well observed.²

Meanwhile let us see what was actually being done against the Puritans during the years in which Laud was Bishop of London. It must always be borne in mind, however, that the City of London was a centre of Puritanism.³ An interesting example of what was going on may be found in the treatment meted out to one Mr. Thomas Hooker who had accepted the lectureship of Chelmsford about 1626. Apparently Hooker paid little attention to the restrictions laid on him, for in the month of May, 1629, Samuel Collins wrote to Dr. Duck⁴ that he had spoken with Mr. Hooker, and hoped that Laud would not bring

1. Works. V. VI. P. 268. Jan. 4th, 1629/30.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1629-31. CLXXIV. 96. Oct. 28th, 1630. Lambeth.
3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1631-33. CXCI. 69. June 11th, 1631. Exeter Palace. Bp. Hall to Laud. Hears there are several congregations of separatists in London, furnished with their idly-pretended pastors. Knows his vigilance over that populous world of men.
4. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1628-9. CXLII. 113. May 30th. Braintree.

him before the High Commission, but permit him quietly to depart out of his diocese. Some honourable persons and discreet divines thought it would be the safest way for the peace of the Church in those parts to grant his desire. All men's ears are filled by the obstreperous clamours of his followers against Laud as a man endeavouring to suppress good preaching and advance popery. If suspended by the High Commission his friends had promised him maintenance in Essex. His genius would still haunt all the pupils, for he is especially popular with young ministers, to whom he is an oracle and their chief library.¹ The following month brought another letter saying that Hooker had gone to London. Good hopes were conceived of Laud's favour if he would quietly leave the diocese. All men were taken up with the question. Cambridge discussed it pro and con, and it drowned the noise of tonnage and poundage. If he were once quietly gone, Laud had overcome his greatest difficulty in governing that part of his diocese.² November brought a letter to hand from Dr. Browning saying that Hooker still continued his practices. People thereabouts were too much addicted to 'hearing the word' as they called it, to the neglect of God's service and worship. Might he offer his services for quieting the people on Hooker's removal.³ The same month found the harassed Bishop receiving a petition⁴

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1628-9 CXLII. 113. May 20th. Braintree.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1628-9 CXLIV. 36. June 3rd, 1629.
3. Ibid. CLI. 12. Nov. 3rd. 1629. Rawreth.
4. Ibid 45. Nov. 10th.

from forty-nine beneficed clergymen of Essex recommending Hooker to Laud's favour and intreating his continuance: it also brought one ¹ from forty-one others in Essex asking for the direct opposite.

In 1630 Hooker, having been cited before the High Commission, fled to Holland. Three years more found him tempting the deep and settling down in that Calvinist Heaven, New England. It will be remembered that the Mr. Browning who complained of Hooker in November 1629, also volunteered his services for 'quieting the people in his removal'. It is, therefore, with double interest that we read Aylett's letter to Laud ² dated the following March. In it he said that he had been to Chelmsford lecture, where Dr. Browning of Rayleigh (sic) ³ read both first and second service in hood and surplice and made a good sermon. Now, said he, that the wheels were set agoing, if the people were followed up in this way they would be as pliable to order as they had been violently against it. The whole incident speaks for itself and needs no comment of mine. It is a vivid cross-section of that religious problem which was to help rend England in two.

The persecution of Dr. Leighton, who wrote that

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1628-9 CLII. 4. Nov. 17th
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. CLXIII. 45. March 24th, 1629/30.
3. One month before (Ibid CLXI. 54) Aylett wrote Laud that Mr. South had preached a sermon at Chelmsford that would soon make the people love conformity. But Mr. South had not conformed in hood or surplice. Should he order him to do so?

famous book, Sion's Plea, in which he bitterly attacked episcopacy, is too well known to merit description here.¹ But it is very much to our purpose to see what repercussions it effected among the people. For example it is said that a certain fiery Scotsman actually cast a letter into Laud's house, bidding him see to it that Leighton came off well, or else he would have a pistol² or something else in his belly. One would have thought that the High Church party when attacking such popular figures as Hooker or Leighton would have moved quietly and with circumspection, but they seem to have decided on quite the opposite course. That is to say they boldly challenged opposition, and forged ruthlessly ahead in their attempts to enforce conformity. For example it was not considered sufficient to hale Leighton before the Court of High Commission, but several other unfortunate men also suffered the same fate. Their faults consisted of inviting Leighton to Leicester. There they treated him as a great man, and held a disputation about the lawfulness of the Prayer Book, in which he was conceded the victory. They were also charged with having said contemptuous words against the commissary to the Bishop of Lincoln, and having held several irregular and puritanical³ meetings for worship. Such drastic action can be explained in two ways: either Laud and his followers found Puritanism so

1. See S.R.Gardiner Hist. of Eng. V. VII. P. 144.

2. Birch. Crt. & T. of Chas. I. 1849.C.2.P.61.Rev. Jos. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Christ College. Feb. 27th, 1629/30.

3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1629-31/CLXXVIII. 25 1630 (?).

repellent and persistent that they felt strong measures justified; or else they were afraid and felt that if non-conformity was not stamped out quickly it would soon be too late. It is possible, just possible, that they flourished loudly the trumpets of their power, lest the people guessed how weak they really were. Possibly I exaggerate, for it is not in a nature like Laud's to be tolerant of opposition. Lest it be thought that the bluntness of the prosecution has been too heavily stressed, let us mention the case of Henry Sherfield. He was the Recorder of Salisbury, and had noticed in the Church of St. Edmund a glass window in the likeness of God Almighty. The vestry had ordered its removal inasmuch as it was idolatrous, but their Bishop forbade the action. Whereupon the shocked Mr. Sherfield smashed it himself.¹ This resulted in Mr. Sherfield's taking an enforced trip to London to appear before the mighty Privy Council in its judicial capacity. Not only was he ordered to make a public and degrading acknowledgement of his insolency, but Secretary Windebank, writing from Court, instructed Bishop Davenant of Salisbury to make this punishment² as public and as severe as possible. It may cause surprise that so much fuss was made about a window, but the authority of Bishops was dear to the High Church Party. Moreover they were not satisfied with having deprived the Puritan of the right to

1. C.S.P. Dom Chas. I. 1631-33. CCXI. 20. Feb. 6th. 1631/2. Notes of Star Chamber proceedings.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1631-33. CCXXXII. 56. Feb. 16th, 1632/3.

hear every point in the Bible expounded, but were also fully prepared to impose upon him their form of ceremonial in all it implied. This can be easily exemplified. In 1629 the parisioners of St. Mary's humbly petitioned Laud to restore a certain Mr. Dalton to his ministry,¹ and Dalton's rector wrote² affirming that the man's judgment was now clear for ceremony. A little later we find record of an examination of Dalton in which he admitted having left out the sign of the cross (essential from the sacramental point of view) when baptising two children. He expressed regret and promised never to offend³ again. The matter of ceremony and conformity must have been considered important, for in 1629 we find Chief Justice Hyde writing to Laud for advice as to what course of action should be taken against a certain Mr. Salisbury who had, in a sermon, regretted the changes introduced into the Church and the unhappy dissensions in Parliament.⁴ Even the stiff knee⁵ of the proud Puritan was to be forced to bend, and careful⁶ check was kept of any who omitted to wear a surplice. Moreover all this was to be done at once, as we can see from a letter written by Samuel Collins from Braintree to Dr. Duck. It was to the effect that his congregation had been disorderly for fifty years, and if he had suddenly fallen on the practice

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1629-31 CXLVII. 67. July 30. 1629.

2. Ibid 72. July 31st, 1629.

3. Ibid CLIV. 98. 1629 (?)

4. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1628-9.CXLII. 94 May 17th, 1629.

5. Ibid. 1631-33. CCV. 100 1631 (?) Certificate to Laud of 6 men's compliance.

6. Ibid. CCXVIII. 43. June 12th, 1632. Dr. Aylett to Laud.

of conformity he would have undone everything and broken the town to pieces. He had tried toleration and drawing them from their conformity, and had thus attained some success. He had kept some from New England, and hoped to settle some of their judgments. Since the last Court, he had gone on by degrees to conformity, but was deeply sorry his actions had wounded, or rather provoked, Bishop Laud. The Bishop need not employ the High Commission against him, for his least finger would suffice.¹ Two Churchwardens of Braintree also wrote to Duck that since the Bishop of London's last Court, their minister, Collins, had conformed to the orders of the Church of England.² It is true that Laud was once praised for his patient forbearance with ministers who refused to conform,³ but unfortunately the praise came from one who was denying that he had ever traduced the Bishop.

Although Laud was still only Bishop of London, he was already recognized as the greatest power in the English Church,⁴ Why else should Bishops Mountagu⁵ and Corbet write to him for advice? Why else should he appear to interfere with Christ Church Norwich in the King's name?⁶ And then when he accompanied the King on a trip Northward do we not find copies of letters from the King at York to the Deans and Chapters of

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. CCX. 41. Jan. 18th, 1631/2,
2. Ibid. 42.
3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1631-33, CCII. S. Oct. 19th, 1631. Dr. W. Gouge to Laud.
4. C.S.P., Dom. Chas. I. 1631-33 CCX. 36. Jan. 16th, 1631/2, apparently from Mountagu.
5. Ibid. CCXXXIV. 20. March 19th, 1632/3. Ladham.
6. Ibid. 1628-9. CXXXIX. 30. Mar. 20st, 1628/9. Laud to Gen. Heath.

York¹ and Durham² ordering them to pull down the houses in and around the sacred precincts, and are not these copies in the handwriting of Laud's secretary.

It is difficult to see how a church which does not claim to speak with the very voice of God, could dare to enforce such rigid uniformity. But the answer is easy to find. First of all unity is essential for faith, and "..... is so good, that none but the worst willingly break it." Then again although the Church of England held her beliefs with varying degrees of certainty, the High-Church Party felt that every essential was clearly defined in their organization, while, as for the more difficult points, it was as well to prevent disturbing views on such uncertain matters.³ Let the more moot points be kept vague so that all might join the Church. And thus it was that Burton wrote "And the present Oracle of the Church of England, (*papa alterius orbis*) hath so handled and hammered the matter in his forge, that by a Declaration before the Articles of

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCXXXIX. 56. May 27th, 1633.
2. Ibid. CCXL. 10. June 2nd, 1633.
3. This is clearly shown in a letter from Dr. Brooke to Laud from Trinity College. Cambridge. Dec. 1st, 1630. (C.S.P. Dom. 1629-31. CLXXVI. 2) He announces the approaching completion of a tract on Predestination which clears up the old difficulties and troubles without innovation. He thinks it would please Arminians or the Spanish Ambassador. Fifteen years ago he had agreed with Laud that such matters were unanswerable, but now he has an issue from that word. Laud encouraged the work but refused it publication because of its violence. (See Works. Vol. VI. P. 292.)

Religion, he hath with no great difficulty, made those articles concerning Grace, so to speak, as to please both the dissenting parties." ¹ As for ceremony, that they considered not only fitting but useful. Was not outward unity conducive to inward unity? And was it not the slovenly condition of external worship that dissuaded converts from the Roman Church?

Such men as Laud believed that they were members of that branch of Christ's Church by law established in England. They believed that that Church taught firmly and truly all essential points of faith, while holding to a reverent and decent view with regard to more doubtful points. A Church so broad and tolerant that any might submit in good conscience. A Church adorned and sustained by such Godly external worship as it had been thought fit to maintain after the Reformation. Plainly then any one who thought or behaved differently was merely contumacious.

The Puritan, however, probably instinctively realized the paradox that you can't really have an official doubt unless you have an official certainty. You can't have a mystery unless you have infallibility. In other words, it is not logical to presume to limit private judgment unless you assume to speak under Divine Assistance. But whether or not the Puritan thought that; he certainly objected to the mechanical and superstitious ceremonial forced on him. To such a man no place was holier

1. Answer to Laud's Relation. 1640. P. 68.

than another. As there were no degrees of sin, so were there no degrees of holiness. Why should he cringe and duck on entering the place of worship, or bow his head at the name of Jesus as though something holy could inhere in a mere word? Rather would he go to the other extreme and clump into Church with his hat on. Yes, and talk, and eat, and drink there too, if he wanted to.¹ One Puritan actually asked in what respect a Church was any more sacred than his hogstye.² One would have thought that ridicule would have been the best solvent of such behaviour, but Laud seems to have been incapable of such wisdom, and it was he who in 1633 became Archbishop of Canterbury.

1. There are many references to such behaviour. About 1629, for example, the Archbishop of York ordered affixed to all churches in his jurisdiction instructions intended to reform all the above mentioned abuses. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1629-31. CLIV. 94.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXX. 91.

1633 was the twenty-third and last year of George Abbot's occupation of the archiepiscopal throne. His later years cannot have been happy ones, for not only did he have to bear with disfavour, but he must have recognized full well that the impetuous Bishop of London was casting impatient eyes on his Palace of Lambeth. Bishop Laud may be likened to a rapidly revolving, powerful screw. Humming busily in the diocese of London he had been dangerous enough, but to attach him to the main shaft of the Church of England was fatal. The Church was not a strong vessel. Founded on Gallicanism, amatory scandals, and queenly intrigues, it was an unbalanced and much patched construction: not even solidified by time. The driving power was too strong; and the whole vessel shook, vibrated, and, eventually broke down.

Nothing could be more illuminating than a comparison between Abbot's last, and Laud's first annual account to Charles. Abbot stated that all was really quite well in his diocese and province, but Laud wrote, "And first, for my own diocese of Canterbury, I hear of many things amiss."¹ Laud had finally achieved command of the Church for which he had so many ambitions, and so vast and far-reaching were his designs for the Establishment that he determined to revive the ancient right of Metropolitan Visitation. This meant that every diocese in the Province of Canterbury would be visited

1. Laud's Works. V. 5, gives both reports.

either by himself or his deputy. The new Archbishop was an exceedingly busy man, and so for three years his Vicar-General, Sir Nathaniel Brent, went through the length and breadth of England south of the Trent. Let us look at some of the results, and see with what vigour and detail this Metropolitcal Visitation, which began in 1634,¹ was carried out.

Brent's report for the year 1635 may be found on Page XXX., of the preface to the Calendar of State Papers Domestic for 1635, and is adequately dealt with by Gardiner in Chapter LXXVIII., of his History of England, and so need not be discussed here. Fortunately the State Papers also contain² Brent's report of his Visitation in the Diocese of London, held from February 28th, 1636/37 to March 15th. The general report mentioned above had been full of references to decay in church ornaments and structure, to irreverence, and to general opposition. But the report of London diocese is very different, for it is evident that Brent had here to deal with organized groups of Puritans, and bold non-conforming divines who were not without a following. Thus we find Brent setting down that Mr. Sanders, "whom your Grace suspended for unconformity," lurked.

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCLXIII. 67. March 31st, 1634. King to Laud, appointing Brent and others as a Commission to visit all churches, hospitals, houses for the poor, and schools, within the diocese and province of Canterbury.
2. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCLI. 100.

about Brentwood and did much damage amongst factious people. It was suggested that Sanders be brought before the High-Commission if found. The same suggestion was made with regard to two curates suspended by Laud while Bishop of London. Possibly it would not be without interest to give paraphrases of several entries as follows: - Mr. Rogers, of Messing, (mentioned in your Grace's paper,) came not to me for an order for railing in his altar. But I gave a general order for it, both there and in all other places where I passed. - Mr. Marshall, vicar of Finchingfield, (mentioned in the paper) is held to be a dangerous person, but exceeding cunning. No man doubts he has an inconformable heart, but externally he observeth all. It is fit, in my opinion, that Mr. Chancellor of London should keep an eye on him, because he governs the consciences of all the rich Puritans in those parts and in many places far remote, and is grown very rich. - Mr. Harrison, a lecturer, where Sir Thomas Barrington dwelleth, prayed and preached, and curtailed the prayers set out by authority. He is very old and seemed sorry for what he had done. He escaped with an admonition because divers testified to his conformity - . The communion table in the chapel of Highgate (mentioned in your Grace's paper) is already placed in the upper end of the 'choir' and railed in. In the parish church of Edmonton I have ordered a fair monument removed from the chancel and the communion table put in its place. -

And so the Visitation went on. Nothing seemed to be too small for attention, for even such a small matter as holding a muster in a church-yard did not go unnoticed.¹ In the Cathedral of Lincoln, Brent objected to the bad condition of communion table and altar-rail. The organs, he said, were old, and the capes and vestments had been stolen. Many prebendaries had never seen the church, and appointed insufficient men to preach for them. From there, Brent went to the various towns of that diocese, where he found decayed churches and some Puritanism, but on the whole little of which to complain.² At Winchester Cathedral, despite the fact that it had been Andrewes' See ten years before, the chapter received many instructions, amongst them being:

- I. That they should provide four capes.
- II. That they send Laud a copy of their statutes.
- III. That they should remove buildings and a garden from their church-yard.
- IV. That the Dean and Prebendaries were to bend a knee on entering and leaving the choir, and stand while the Gospels were read.
- V. That no one of the choir was to read Gospel or Epistles unless in Holy Orders, and that these should be read at the Holy Table of the Eucharist.
- VI. That the Holy Table was to be railed in. 3

While this was the first Metropolitan Visitation for some time, the several Bishops had never neglected to make a diocesan visitation every three years. As one might have expected, the bishops of the southern Province objected strenuously to this disturbance by Laud under cover of an

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1634-5. CCLXXVI. 35. Oct. 27th, 1634. Brent to Farmerie.
2. Ibid. CCLXXIV. 12. Sept. 9th, 1634. Abstract of proceedings.
3. Ibid. 1635. CCXCI. 16.

authority not utilized within the memory of man. Williams of Lincoln seems to have objected with particular energy. He claimed exemption from visitation altogether, but requested that if he was visited, it should not be in 1634 which was the year of his own triennial visitation, and that his ordinary jurisdiction be not interfered with. Laud, as one might have guessed, caused history to be ransacked for favourable precedents. Sir John Lambe, Dean of the Court of Arches of Canterbury, collected evidence from records in the Archbishop's registry, Bishop Godwin's *Catalogus Episcoporum*, and Archbishop Parker's *Antiquitates Britannicae*.¹ These, or similar notes, were then sent to Attorney General Noy in support of the claim that the Visitation inhibited a bishop in all things jurisdictionis.² Needless to say, the Attorney-General found against Williams on every point.³ It was also considered questionable at first whether the Archbishop could visit London diocese because of the continual power exercised by his courts in that diocese, and because of lack of precedent.⁴ It would seem, however, that in the end the various bishops became accustomed to Laud's action and carried on as before, for in 1637, at the very close of the great visitation

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCLIX. 89. Feb. 22nd, 1633/4. Notes in Lambe's writing indorsed by Laud.
2. Ibid. CCLXIII. 35. March 24th, 1633/4.
3. Ibid. 42. March 25th, 1634.
4. Ibid. 1635-36. CCCXII. 68. Jan. 29th, 1635/6. Paper endorsed by Laud.

we find evidence that the Bishop of Peterborough was holding a visitation, and, strangely enough, in the church referred to at least, a great deal was wrong. The report of his visitation concerned All Saints Church, Northampton, and stated that the condition of the altar was not satisfactory and that the communion cups resembled common drinking bowls rather than chalices. There was no bowing, they reported, at the name of Jesus, no heeding of Holy Days, and no catechising in the afternoons although the minister delighted in preaching according to his own fancy.¹ Such was the condition of the church, and yet only a year or two before this date the great Sir Nathaniel Brent had held his visitation in the diocese of Peterborough.

We have seen how the Bishops objected to the Metropolitan Visitation; but far stronger objections were raised by such universities as Oxford and Cambridge.²

However, the indefatigable Lambe garnered notes from various sources to prove the historical right of an Archbishop not only to inhibit his suffragans, but to visit universities:³
- - - - - Volume five, for example, of Laud's works contains thirty pages of papers relating to his right to visit Cambridge. The matter was further complicated by the fact that Laud was Chancellor of Oxford. In 1635 he wrote to the Vice-Chancellor

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXX. 51. Oct. 26th. Report of two commissaries.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635. CCXCVI. 48, also CCXCVII. 2.
3. Ibid. 1635-36. CCCVIII. 53-61. 1635 [?]

and Heads of Houses at Oxford that he would visit the University as an Archbishop for those things which were of ecclesiastical cognizance only, for although some of his late predecessors had made omissions in that kind, yet the Archbishop's right of visit-¹ing was most unquestionable. To prove this point Laud gave quotations: of which the earliest dated from the time of Richard II. In the following year we find a draft order from the King in Council backing up the Archbishop's claims, and adding that the Universities were exempt from episcopal and archdiaconal visitation, and that the Archbishop, after his first visitation, might visit in any emergent cause after obtaining his Majesty's approval.² The following January the actual letters patent were issued.³ One might have expected an ordinary man to waive or delay his claims in the face of such great opposition, but Laud had a one-track mind. To him the thing was either right or wrong, and if it was right - and did not history say it was - he would do it cost what it would.

Apart from any unusual visitation, each Bishop had to make a yearly report of the condition of his diocese. Apparently Laud did not feel that these afforded him sufficient means of keeping a check on the church at large, nevertheless, they give us a useful view of affairs throughout the country-side. Judging from these reports alone, it would seem that Archbishop Neile of York had not been idle while his industrious confrere

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635. CCXCI. 108. June [?] 1635.
2. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCXXVII. 18. June 21st, 1636. Hampton Court.
3. Ibid. CCCXLV. 39. Jan. 30th, 1636/7. Westminster.

to the South of him had been ferreting so busily for abuses. In 1634. Neile reported to the King that in his Province two dioceses (Chester and Carlisle) had departed far from uniformity, and that many did not know how to read the service from the Book. He had to report much profanation of sacred places, and other similar offences, and Charles, having read this, jotted down in the margin: "The neglect of punishing Puritans breeds Papists." ¹

Two years later the Archbishop was able to turn in a more satisfactory certificate. In his own diocese he said scarcely a beneficed minister was stiffly 'unconformable", and in all places (which are very few) where weekly sermons by visiting ministers were permitted, the rule was to obey his Majesty's directions about preaching, or else have no sermon at all. His church-wardens were negligent in not presenting those who came to sermons but not to public prayers. Some read the Book of Sports with reluctance, but the recently written book of the Bishop of Ely soon brought them around. In three archdeaconries alone nearly £7,000. had been spent in repairing and decorating churches. He inclosed a certificate from Bishop Bridgeman of Chester, showing that in that diocese all his Majesty's instructions were observed save that concerning frequent attendance at divine service [It was a strongly Roman Catholic section] ; and one from Bishop Potter of Carlisle, who stated that he had done his best but that the churchwardens and Justices of the Peace failed him. ² In 1637,

Bridgeman reported that since the excellent work begun by the Metropolitan Visitation, he had brought many of his churches to decency and uniformity, whereon the laity had cheerfully bestowed many thousand pounds.¹ Potter of Carlisle was not so cheerful for although he had achieved general conformity, yet the insufficiency of stipends forced him to admit poor scholars as deacons, and his churchwardens were still refusing to present anyone for absence from church.²

Of course it must never be forgotten that while Canterbury was chiefly troubled by Puritans, York found its main enemies in the Roman Catholics. Thus while Wren of Norwich was reporting an abundance of lectures in his diocese and particularly in Suffolk;³ Bishop Parr of the Isle of Man wrote that he had found people practicing gross superstition in a chapel to St. John Baptist on that Saint's day.⁴

Neile once said that although he was a great enemy of the Puritan factions, he had always tried to reform non-conformists rather than to deprive them,⁵ but things were very different under Laud, ~~and~~ Even the most superficial study of what material has come down to us shows that a great effort was being made to reform every single abuse in the Church: 1635, for example, brings us an order, or proposed order, to one of the universities

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1636-37. CCCXLV. 85. I. iii. Jan. 1636/7
2. Ibid. ii.
3. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCXXVII. 19. Dec. 7th, 1636. Wren to Laud.
4. Ibid. CCCXLV. 85. Jan. 1636/7.
5. Ibid.

for withdrawing licenses to preach from non-conformable ministers.¹
We can rest assured, at any rate, that existing regulations
against lecturers were stringently enforced, for Cottington wrote
to the Earl of Strafford, "His Grace of Canterbury is a gallant
man, and like to continue so. Amongst other Reformatations he hath
forbidden all preaching in private houses, amongst which is her
Grace's of Richmond."² Certainly the regular clergymen were being
checked up, for the State Calendar of Papers Domestic for these
years shows very many examples of such entries as the following.
"Articles to be objected by the Commissioners for causes eccles-
iastical against Peter Buckley, rector of Odell near Bedford for
refusing to wear the surplice and use the sign of the cross in
baptism 'accounting them ceremonies superstitious and dissent-
aneous [sic] to the holy word of God.'"³ Or else of certificates
of conformity on the part of some unfortunate vicar. Even the
minister of the Inns of Court did not escape Laud's eye, and
received an order to use surplice and hood, and read his services
from the Prayer Book.⁴ It is only fair to state, however, that
possibly the desire of the authorities at times was to intimidate
the parsons by wholesale though temporary suspensions, for in
1636 a letter from Norwich states "This morning here was eight
of our Norwich Ministers suspended for not conforming to the
diocesant's commands, but I believe most of them will be absolved

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCVIII. 44. 1635 [?]
2. Knowler's Letters of Strafford. V. I. P. 141. Oct. 29th, 1633, Charing Cross.
3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCVIII. 27. 1635 [?]
4. Ibid. 1633-34. CCLIV. 49. Dec. 1633. Lambeth. Laud to Inns of Court.

this night again, upon promise of conformity." ¹ And in the following year the Bishop of Norwich claimed that only about fifteen of the fifteen hundred clergymen in his diocese were excommunicated or suspended. ²

Archbishop Laud, however, has fully prepared to prosecute clergymen who were really slack in matters of ceremonial. Now the disputes about ceremony mainly centred over the position of the altar or communion-table. This had long been a matter of contention, and many books had been issued arguing the matter pro and con, among the authors being Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. The whole question came to a head in 1633 over the case of St. Gregory's near St. Paul's in London, and the result was an order of the King in Council stating that the liberty of placing the communion-table where it was thought most fit was to be left ³ to the judgment of the ordinary. Now an ordinary is an ecclesiastic whose jurisdiction is not delegated, thus the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's were the ordinaries for St. Gregory. Having achieved this decision, the High-Church party proceeded to develop their ideas. Their stand can be aptly illustrated from a copy order of Bishop Davenant of Salisbury to the parish of Aldbourn. He related how the table should ordinarily stand at the East end according to the Injunctions of Elizabeth and the 82nd Canon of 1604, but stated, also, that these and the 1st

1. H. Mss. Com. 10th Rep. App. II. Gawdy Mss., P. 158. March 26th, 1636. Anthony Mingay to Framlingham Gawdy, West Harling Hall.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-37. CCCXXXVII. 19. Dec. 7th, 1636.
3. Ibid. 1633-34. CCL. 12. Nov. 3rd, 1633, Whitehall.

Article of the visitation of their reverend Metropolitan showed that the placing of the Table was a thing indifferent to the church and only to be guided by conveniency. Therefore, argued the Bishop, the East position of the altar cannot savour of Popery. But, he went on to say, the judging of conveniency belonged not to the laity, but to those of ecclesiastical authority. Therefore they were to keep the table altar-wise.¹ We know that Laud approved of such views,² and of course ultimately this 'judgment by those of ecclesiastical authority' could only refer to himself. Thus we find a vicar of London applying directly to the Archbishop for an order as to the position of his altar, and for an altar-rail, that he might prevent disorder during service.³ Of course this was before Sir Nathaniel Brent had ordered all London altars to be set in the chancel,⁴ and possibly the vicar in question feared opposition from his parishioners and wished to be able to flourish an order from no less than the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Certainly one bishop at least was still ordering his clergy to bring down the table for communion as late as about 1637,⁵ despite the fact that they had spent a great deal of money to have it built up in stone with 'curious' workmanship.

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLVI. 122. May 17th.
2. See his speech of censure on Bastwick, June 14th, 1637.
3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCVIII. 24. 1635 (?)
4. See P. 3.
5. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1636-37. CCCLI. 18. March 27th, 1637. Ed. Latham to Lambe. The Bp. in question being Wright of Lichfield.

In the summer of the year before one of the commissioners of the Metropolitcal Visitation wrote to Sir John Lambe that he had caused many tables to be railed in, etc., with much opposition from the people because they said they saw no such thing in the churches of London. But that since the article books for the visitation were delivered they had found an article which they conceived allowed them to move the altar at the time of celebration. The writer desired to know the Archbishop's pleasure and intentions.¹ My own opinion is that Laud allowed his articles to give that impression because such was in keeping with legal precedent, but that he was determined to do all he could, on his own authority, to keep the altars firmly placed in the East. The matter was undoubtedly considered serious, for two churchwardens were excommunicated for a year because they disobeyed Bishop Pierce's order on the subject, and were only absolved after publicly acknowledging their offence in three different churches.² So far did some of the High-Church party go, that Mountagu preached before the King and recommended the substitution of stone altars for communion tables,³ while Mainwaring proudly reported to Laud that he had already done so.⁴ This eastern position of the altars is symbolic of an entirely new conception of churches, and church worship. That is why a Londoner wrote in 1637 that the Temple Church was locked up, so that none could

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. 1636-37. CCCXXVIII. 101. June 29th, 1636. Feering.
2. Ibid. 1637. CCCLXIII. 91.
3. Gardiner. V. 8. P. 143.
4. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635. CCXCVIII. 43. Sept. 24th, 1635.

walk there as they had used to do. While at Divine Service morning and evening wax candles burned upon the Communion Table,¹ and the pulpit had been removed to the side of the church.¹ And that is why the parishioners of Allhallows, Barking, petitioned Laud that their doctor had recently placed many images in their church, and would not take them down.² No sooner were the altars attended to, and the rails in place, than attention was given to communicants. No more were they to sit irreverently in their pews or seats and receive, but rather come to the altar-rail and there communicate on their knees. Clergymen who administered otherwise were prosecuted,³ and it was said of young Harry Vane that "He hath abstained two years from taking the Sacrament in England, because he could get nobody to administer it to him standing."⁴

Wherever William Laud had held office, beginning with his appointment to the deanery of Gloucester in 1616, he had been a builder and a repairer. St. Davids, St. John's College, the Chapel at Lambeth, all bore testimony to his charity and his constructive energy. Laud believed God's House worthy of the richest decoration. Thus it is without surprise that we note the wave of repair and renewal that passed over the Establishment shortly after his accession to the primatial see. And once his

1. H. Mss. Com. 10th Rep: App. II. Gawdy Mss. P. 166. Nov. 1637. William Davy, Fleet Street, to F. Gawdy, West Harling Hall.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCLXXV. 99. 1637 [?]
3. Ibid. 1635. CCCII. 16.
Ibid. 1636-37. CCCXXXIV. 55.
Gardiner. V. 8. P. 110.
4. Knowler. Strafford's Letters. V. I. P. 463. Petworth, Sept. 1st 1635. Mr. Garrard to Strafford.

visitation was under way parishioners were liable to be rated for repair of their church.¹ They were even liable to excommunication if they failed to pay such an assessment, for several parishioners, who had been so treated by the Bishop of Bangor for that offence, applied to Laud for aid,² claiming that they were too poor, and that heretofore such expenses had been defrayed by Bishop, Dean and Chapter. Certainly churchwardens were liable to excommunication on such grounds, for we have a certificate of the churchwardens of St. Mary-le-Bow, London, of the progress made in repairing their church. Also we have a minute of proceedings before Lambe, whereupon, on proof of the above certificate, he released the churchwardens from their excommunication.³ Church-yards were also attended to, and owners of houses encroaching on them were liable to be called to answer before the Court of High-Commission.⁴ Meanwhile the King was having new 'chaire' organs installed in the Royal Chapels at Hampton Court, Whitehall, and Greenwich at a cost of £140. apiece.⁵ And the parishioners of St. Michael's Crooked Lane, were beseeching Lambe not to put them to the expense of setting up their organs which hadn't been used since Queen Mary's time.⁶ Not so parsimonious

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCXIX. 105.

2. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCXLIV. 47. Jan. 20th, 1636/7.

3. Ibid. 1635. CCCI. II.

4. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCLI. 36. March 29th, Aylesbury Court. Lambe to Laud.

5. Ibid. CCCXLVII. 4. Feb. 14th, 1636/7. Warrant to Ed Norgate.

6. Ibid. CCCLI. 102. March [?] 1636.

was the Vicar of West Rasen, in Lincolnshire, who asked Laud for an order to repair his organ - of which there was a little left - and to allot 20 marks annually out of the church-corn to the upkeep and for singing books.

Laud undoubtedly took a personal interest in all this, and himself requested the Dean and Chapter of Wells Cathedral to consult together for providing ornaments. He also wrote to all ecclesiastical persons in the archdeaconry of Buckingham saying that he had been informed that many churches in the archdeaconry were growing ruinous. Not only were they requested by law to take care of churches, but by his Majesty's Proclamation of October 11th, 1629. He requested them, therefore, to return certificates of repairs. Other cathedrals were not behind in the good work, for the Dean and Chapter of Norwich asked for the aid of their tenants toward repairing the cathedral according to its former magnificance and state, as being a great beauty to God's house. And Rossingham wrote to Sir Thomas Puckering: "It seems the cathedral church in Lichfield is lately very beautifully set out with hangings of arras behind the altar, the communion-table handsomely railed in; and the table itself set out in the best manner, and the bishop's seat fairly built."

1. A custom in some parishes by which one sheaf out of every land let at 18 or 20~~s~~ per annum went to the churchwardens.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXXII. 25. Nov. 23rd.
3. H. Mss. Com. 10th Rep. App. III. Wells. Mss. P. 257.
4. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCXCII. 12. June 4th, 1638. Lambeth.
5. H. Mss. Com. 11th Rep. App. VII. Le Strange Papers. P. 97. 10th March 1633/4. Dean to tenants.
6. Birch. Crt. & Times of Chas. I. V 2. P. 259. Jan. 4th, 1636/7.

All this was, of course, subsequent to the Metropolitan Visitation of all the southern cathedrals, which had taken place between the years 1634 and 1636; and which had, in each case, attempted to find out whether "the cathedral church be sufficiently repaired both in the body, chancel, and all the other aisles and places belonging to the church..... " And had also often raised the question of ceremony and decoration, to which Salisbury was not alone in having had to reply, "There are no copes in our church, most of them were sold away about sixty-six years since, and the rest turned into pulpit clothes and cushions, neither have any been provided since..... there is [also] a great defect of ornaments about our altar."¹

And so we see that the cathedrals were once more bedecking themselves in their ancient glory, and looking to their rights. Probably this was due as much to the High-Church view of the divine right of episcopacy, as to the active instigation of the Visitation, and it must have pleased Laud to see the cathedrals of his bishops displaying externally the glory that was theirs. To make the triumph more complete, and to increase the solemnity of divine service, the King, in many cathedral towns, requested mayor, aldermen, and their company to attend on Sunday and holy days, and to attend without

1. H. Mss. Com. Rep. 4. App. I. H. of Lords. Mss. Pp. 124-159, for all these visitation articles.

the insignia of their authority.¹ To the Mayor, etcetera, of Norwich, for example, the King wrote that Bishop Wren had informed him that they had no morning service, but held sermons in the afternoon the the neglect of catechising. They were to reform this by coming to the cathedral and demeaning themselves with Christian reverence and devout obedience.² All this was instrumental in causing a perfect rash of irritation to spread across England. How was authority in cathedral cities to be divided? Where was the Mayor to sit? Was the close part of the city, and who and how many were to be justices of the peace? Confusion ran high, and in April 1637, the Attorney and the Solicitor General made a report to the harrassed King.³ Norwich, York, Peterborough,⁴ Salisbury, London,⁵ and Chichester,⁶ all were involved.

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCLXXV. 73. 1637 [?]
Dean and Chapter of York to the King.
2. Ibid. 1635-36. CCCXVI. 8. March 14th, 1635/6. Westminster.
3. Ibid. 1637. CCCLIV. I. April 15th.
4. Ibid. CCCLXVII. 70.
5. Ibid. 1637-38. CCCXCV. No number. P. 551.
6. Ibid. 1635-36. CCCXXV. 74.

The whole history of this period betrays an atmosphere that was markedly hectic. Laud became Archbishop in 1633, and within a few years he had slighted at least the older bishops and had profoundly irritated the universities. All through the South of England, the people were confronted with commands to repair their churches and found their communion tables turning into altars and their ministers becoming priests. Not a country vicar but must have feared suspension for not performing some function which had not been heard of for years. The Visitation was too big and too busy a thing to understand local conditions, and when Sir Nathaniel Brent appeared in a town not even illness¹ excused any concerned from attendance. At each session the usual questions would be asked, followed by threats or suspensions, and what would be the result? Lectures would greatly diminish, a few repairs would be made to the church, and the altar would be set in the East end of the chancel, and that is all.² But the people, the people themselves, must have been profoundly irritated. It is not in human nature to welcome criticism and correction even when deserved, but how doubly annoying to have to receive advice from a stranger acting in the name of a power not before used in the memory of man. And

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1634-35. CCLXXVIII. 34.
2. H. Mss. Com. Rep. 10. App. II. Gawdy Mss. P. 158. May 3rd. 1636. Anthony Mingay, Norwich, to F. Gawdy, West Harling Hall. "Our new visitors are very strict here in taking of verdicts..... and do menace much conformity by their presence, which I doubt will be as soon forgot in their absence."

so bishops felt slighted, and universities held grudges, and the ordinary man felt irritated, all for what? All this was done that the Puritans might be driven to outward submission or exile, and that the outward face of the English Church might again show forth a reverence and a conformity that was far from being felt by its subjects. The new commander of the church was attempting to dragoon and drill the people into conformity with the church of his ambitions. The attempt was made with boldness and forcefulness, but its success would depend on the length of time the clamps could be held down. The high-church party was faced with the necessity of holding firm against opposition until a new generation had grown up, a generation accustomed to the forms it had imposed.

In the past chapter we have, in some small measure, recounted a few of the changes that came over the Church of England in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century. But while Archbishop Laud's Vicar General had thus been busy enforcing conformity, Laud, personally, had not been idle and had made his influence felt in many other ways.

From his treatment of his new See, for example, we may easily reconstruct his desires for the church at large. Now it was in the summer of 1633 that Laud had moved from Fulham to Lambeth, and few months had elapsed before he had installed Sir John Lambe to succeed Sir Henry Martin as Dean of the Court of Arches. Sir John had already established a certain reputation as an ecclesiastical lawyer, and was a strong supporter of the royal power, particularly where Puritans were concerned. When we remember that the Court of Arches was at once a court of appeal from all Diocesan Courts, and also a court of first instance in all ecclesiastical causes, this appointment does not appear without importance. For twenty-three years had Canterbury basked in the sun of inactivity, and now it had received the busiest little man in England for Archbishop. It cannot have taken the Dean and Chapter long to find out the difference, for, before the year was out, Laud was writing to them that he had received a complaint that greater fees than ordinary had been taken for confirmation of the patent of Dean of Arches, and that this was to be rectified. He intended, he said, to begin his visitation at his own seat and diocese, and hoped that all reports were not true, for he had heard that

some of that body had been a little too bold with him. If that were true, he would not forget that nine of the twelve prebends were in the King's gift.¹ In return, the Dean and Chapter placed all the blame on the late Dean of the Arches; and expressed polite pleasure that they were to have the honour of a visitation.² That had been in January 1634. Only two short months elapsed before the harassed Dean and Chapter were writing to Laud that they heartily concurred in his desire for a reformation. They requested until July, when, from their general chapter, they would present what they conceive fit to be added or altered in their statutes.³ By July, however, they were complaining of the extraordinary expense they had been put to for ornaments of the altar, a new frame of great bells, and the repair of church and steeple.⁴ Things had been stirred up with a vengeance, but Laud had little more than begun his plan for reform, and by February⁵ 1635 he was sending down questions relating to revenue, and the Dean and Chapter were busy investigating their ancient rights on several of their farms.⁶ Once again only two months elapsed before we have evidence of renewed activity. This time it was minutes of some abuses in Canterbury Cathedral suggested to Laud

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCLIV. II. Dec. 19th, 1633.
2. Ibid. CCLVIII. 24 and 25. Jan 7th, 1633/4. Christ Church Cambridge.
3. Ibid. CCLXVI. 51. April 28th, 1634.
4. Ibid. 1634-35. CCLXXI. 44. July 9th, 1634.
5. Ibid. CCLXXXIII. 83.
6. Ibid. 82.

for amendment. They principally concerned the celebration of divine service, and the mode of doing business adopted by the Dean and Chapter.¹ As far as we know, the Chapter enjoyed peace for a year after that, but the summer of 1636 found Laud² suggesting to them ways of improving their choir. It is almost certain that by this time there was little sympathy lost between Laud and his Diocese, and we have it on the word of Dell, his secretary, that he complained in public that he knew little of what was going on in Canterbury. In August, 1636, he received private information that thirteen men beneficed in or near³ Canterbury were living scandalous and drunken lives, and, just two days after receiving this, Laud sent off a letter to William Somner at Canterbury to the effect that Somner had not obeyed orders in giving a yearly account of the carriage of the clergy in the diocese. He would like to think that Somner had nothing to write about, but he knew otherwise. Therefore Somner would⁴ kindly render accounts in the future. Soon a whole new set of statutes arrived for the Cathedral, and the Dean and Chapter acknowledged their receipt and thanked the Archbishop for his⁵ care in perfecting so good and pious a work. Laud was always troubling Canterbury about things great and small, ranging from the numbers and ownership of keys, to the repair of the Dean's

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. CCLXXXVI. 55. April 8th, 1635.
2. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCDDVIII. 5.
3. Ibid. CCCXXX. 16.
4. Ibid. 17.
5. Ibid. CCCXLV. 30. Jan. 28th, 1636/7. Christ Church Canterbury.

house. One June 3rd, 1637, he rather naively wrote to his Dean, Dr. Isaac Bargrave, that it troubled him to have taken so much care for that church with so little success, one peevish difference or another still arising to disturb all that was well meant.¹

No matter how slack Canterbury may have been on Laud's elevation to the primacy, we must face the fact that the new Archbishop was something of an interfering busybody. Among his virtues, however, one was outstanding, namely, his great sense of justice. Laud may have worshipped authority, but he was no snob. If an important person like Lady Purbeck broke the moral code, she was to pay for it just as much as the village lass^{do} who had been forced to public penance, wearing a white sheet² and carrying a wand.

This trait of Laud's is well exemplified by the case of Sir Thomas and Lady Evelyn of Surrey. One day the minister of their parish - Long Ditton - wrote up to Laud saying that they had rendered him many indignities, especially after the service of morning prayer on a Friday in July. He reported that on that occasion Lady Evelyn rose in her seat and called

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCIX. 15.
2. Laud's Works. V. Visitation Arts: for the Peculiars of Canterbury, 1637. P. 450. "Lastly you the churchwardens are, at the expense of your parish, to provide a convenient large sheet and a white wand to be had, and kept within your church or vestry, to be used at such times as offenders are censured for their grievous and notorious crimes."

him a base unworthy priest. The minister cleverly added that he considered this a contempt to the priesthood,¹ and an insufferable indignity to the house of God. Immediately the Archbishop ordered Sir John Lambe to call the lady before the High Commission.² Luckily Sir Thomas himself petitioned Laud, and luckily, also, Laud under-wrote that he liked the petition well, for it was not until then that Laud adopted the more sensible course of ordering Lambe to hear the case privately, and make a peaceable end if he could.³ As we have said, Laud had too great a respect for the law to allow the question of personality to interfere.

It was this sturdy sense of justice which also led Laud to lend such a sympathetic ear to the plight of poor clergymen. Extracts from the register of the Archbishop of Canterbury show that the number of benefices in England about 1634,⁴ was 8,803; whereof 3,277 were impropriations. Of these livings, 4,543 were worth less than £40.⁴ Thus we see why the church so often allowed plurality of holdings. It was all very well for Parliament to complain of inadequate stipends, plurality of holdings, and overly well endowed bishoprics; but it was Parliament itself that blocked any chance of real reform by laying down impossible conditions: conditions that were tantamount to Presbyterianism. The financial difficulties of the Church of England were an inheritance from the Reformation and the changing economic conditions, and Laud had to struggle

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXIV. 101. July 31st. R. Hinde to Laud.
2. Ibid. 101. I.
3. Ibid. CCCLXV. 23. Aug. 5th.
4. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1634-36. 7.

along as best he could. But he never forgot the ranks from which he had risen, and as early as 1624 had drawn up a plan to relieve poor vicars.¹ This scheme of Laud's met with the approval of Williams and Buckingham, but when he communicated it to Abbot, he was received with jealous fury, and the plan came to nothing. When Laud succeeded Abbot he remembered the poverty of his clergy, and again interested himself on their behalf. In his first general account to the King he mentioned that in all the dioceses he had visited he had found one great complaint very fit to be redressed; namely, the general grievance of poor vicars that their stipends scarcely fed and clothed them. And, what is more, this condition was most prevalent in market towns.² However, divines who felt oppressed by such taxations as ship-money could always appeal to Laud for relief, and received a sympathetic hearing. It was he, for example, who appears to have sent a questionnaire to all the vicars in the county of Lincoln, asking them to suggest ways in which their revenues might be raised, to which some replied that they desired to have their tithes paid in kind, others answered that the augmentation could best be effected out of the impropriation.⁴ To close, one might say that Bishop Wren put the matter most succinctly when he referred to the Archbishop as one "whose commiseration for distressed churchmen the writer is well assured of."⁵

1. Diary. P. 151. March 29th, 1624. Works. III.

2. Ibid. V. P. 327.

3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1636-37. CCCXLI. 32. is but one example.

4. Ibid. 1637-38. CCCLXXVIII. 107 et sequens.

5 Ibid. 1635-36. CCCXI. 37. Jan. 8th, 1635/6. Westminster Wren to Bray, Laud's Chaplain.

Few would begrudge Laud praise for his work on behalf of poor clergy, or his interest in church renovation, but he aroused the enmity of many by his actions with regard to games and sports, and the related question of the Sabbath. Since the Puritan placed so little faith in the church as such, but believed only what could be found in the strict letter of the Bible, he was naturally led to confuse Sunday with the ancient Sabbath. The Puritan soul was, quite naturally, most at home in the Old Testament. The thunder and lightening of Jehovah were more closely allied to their theology than the rather gentle pages of the New Testament, with their vague reflections of sacramental comfort. The severer sort of Puritan had retained all the Catholic notion of the enormity of sin, without any of the compensating reliefs which the older church offered. But many of these took refuge from their own unimportance by threatening great figures like Laud with all the wrath of the ancient Jehovah. Thus it was that a man like Richard Farnham would fulminate in prison and call himself "a prophet of the most high God....."¹ An extreme case of this Puritan trait was that of John Traske, who laid such a stress on the Jewish distinction of meats and the Jewish Sabbath, that one of his followers actually became a real Jew. Needless to say Traske soon found himself in trouble. Andrewes made a speech against him in the Star Chamber, and, after quoting from early Councils and Tertullian, said "For the Sabbath had reference to the old Creation, but in Christ

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1636-37. CCCXLVIII. 13. Feb. 23rd, 1636-37. Petition to Laud.

we are a new creature; a new creation by Him, and so do have a new Sabbath....."¹ Despite these views, Andrewes had once taught that "the whole day must be employed in God's work," and that the Sabbath was not for revel or riot.² But such was not the view of later Anglicans, for Cosin, after much quotation from early fathers, came to the conclusion that Sunday had no connection with Sabbath or the 4th commandment.³ And a protégé of Laud's, called Peter Heylyn, wrote a whole history of the Sabbath in which he claimed that the Puritans had overburdened the Lord's Day with Jewish superstitions, quite contrary to the primitive church, and the Fathers. The Lord's Day, said he, was not instituted by Christ, commanded by the Apostles, or ordained first by any other authority than the voluntary consecration of it by the church to religious uses.

Now all this time there had been taking place a bitter struggle about this question of Sunday. On that day the Puritan desired to hear godly lectures, hold prayer meetings, or read the Book: in other words to maintain a reverent quiescence. The High-Churchman regard such action as, first of all, symptomatic of a wrong state of mind; and, secondly, as an ever-visible symbol of the Puritans' discontent and a means whereby they might unite in resistance. As early as 1618 James had prepared a

1. Andrewes' Works. VII. P. 91. Traske recanted in pulpit and print, but was still without pardon in 1639. See C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1628-29. CXLIV. 75.
2. Ibid. III. P. 154-157. 160.
3. Cosin's Works. IV. Pp. 451-461.
4. History of the Sabbath. Pub'd 1636.

declaration favouring the enjoyment of certain lawful sports on Sunday, in order that people who had laboured hard all week might not be deprived of innocent recreation by the Puritans. Being an astute man, he did not press the matter when he realized the strength of the opposition with which he was faced. Not so, however, Charles and Laud, who, in 1633, not only reissued that same Declaration but commanded all bishops to see to it that it was read in every church. All officials moreover¹ were to lend their aid to that end. There is still extant the King's order to Laud to have this Declaration printed,² and in the same month Cottington wrote to the Lord Deputy of Ireland - "There is also a Declaration in print by his Majesty's commandment, in favour of wakes and May-poles, which is hardly digested by the Puritans, as the putting down of Lectures, a thing which the Archbishop endeavours much."³ Cottington was right when he said it was 'Hardly digested,' for what had aroused opposition in 1618 was not received with favour in 1633. Sir Nathaniel Brent aided in the attempt to enforce it, and Bishops, in their annual accounts, thought it well worth their while to report how it was being received. Some parishioners were moved to complain of their vicars for preaching against this 'Book of Sports',⁴ while Dr. Andrewes [not the Bishop] had much to say

1. Gee & Hardy Documents of C. of E. P. 528.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCXLVIII. 12. Oct. 18th [?] 1633.
3. Knowler. Letters of Strafford I. P. 141. 29th Oct, 1633, Charing Cross.
4. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. CCLXVII, 1634-5, 6. or, 4 years later, in 1637-38.

of the laity on this and other points. He wrote to Lambe giving a long list of abuses, among which were:—that the King's Book of Sports had been read by few incumbents in the deaneries of Burnham, Wycombe, and Wendover, and that they who had been obedient were slandered; that the King's Injunctions of 1629 were neglected, and that the churchwardens wouldn't levy 12 d. on absentees; and that the orders of Sir Nathaniel Brent were not taken seriously, but if, perchance, a parson or vicar complained of all this the whole country-side made it hot for¹ him.

All this is, of course, closely connected with the question of wakes, or feasts. The 4th of October 1633 found Laud in his new Palace of Lambeth, writing to Bishop Pierce of Bath and Wells, "There hath been of late some noise in Somersetshire about the Feasts of the Dedications of Churches, commonly called the Wakes; and it seems, the Judges of Assize formerly made an order to prohibit them, and caused it to be published in some or most of the churches there by the minister, without my Lord the Bishop's consent or privity. The pretense of this hath been, that some disorders derogatory from God's service and the government of the commonwealth are committed at these times: by which argument, anything that is abused may be quite taken away. It seems there hath been some heat struck in the country about this,

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635. CCLXXXVI. 86. April 14th, 1635.

by the carriage of the Lord Chief Justice Richardson at the last two assizes, especially the last, with which his Majesty is not well pleased. And for the preventing of outrages, or disorders, at those feasts, no man can be more careful than his Majesty. But he conceives, and that very rightly, that all these may and ought to be prevented by the care of the Justices of Peace, and not [sic, still ?] leave the feasts themselves to be kept, for the neighbourly meetings and recreation of the people, of which he would not have them debarred for any frivolous pretenses.¹ The Archbishop went on to request Pierce to consult his gravest and best affected clergy on that point, and send an account to the King. The Bishop wrote back that he had consulted seventy-two ministers, and that all were in favour of continuing the Wakes. The preciser sort, he said, disliked them because they were kept on Sundays, which they never called but Sabbath, when they would have no recreation, neither roast nor sod [sic]. He reported that clerk-ales had been put down lately, and some ministers feared they would have no parish clerks.² Church-ales were mostly left off, but they had repaired many a church by the benevolence of the people at their sports and pastimes. Bid-ales were used to set up an honest man decayed in his estate, but this was also mostly laid aside. Pierce added that a learned divine near Taunton wished that Laud would prevent judges from sitting and condemning on the great

1. Works. V. VI. P. 319.
2. John Bruce on P. XVII. of his Preface to the 1633-34 volume of the C.S.P. Dom. says that the church used to make a profit from ale brewed by churchwardens and sold at Wakes, etc.

feast day of the Annunciation.¹ One can imagine how such a letter would enrage the honest Puritan: 'What! were people to engage in drunken revelry on the holy Lord's Day, and were not even the King's justices to sit on little Laud's day.' It is impossible to escape the thought that some of the great opposition to Wakes came from the fact that they were a means by which the hated Establishment could obtain that revenue of which it was so greatly in need.

Meanwhile the Separatist was being bitterly persecuted. In 1634 the High Commission wrote to all officers of the peace that inasmuch as there were still in divers parts of the Kingdom Brownists, Anabaptists, Arians, Traskites, Familists, etc. who met on Sundays under guise of sermons and corrupted his Majesty's subjects; the persons addressed were to enter any suspicious home and search for conventicles, and unlicensed books, bringing all that was meet before the Commission itself.² While two years later they empowered John Wragg to take such assistance as he needed, and search any house around London for conventicles, that he might bring such people before them.³ The very next month brought a complaint to Secretary Windebank that Wragg was grossly abusing his warrant.⁴ There are many examples

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCL. 20. Nov. 5th, 1633, Wells.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCLXV. 6. April 1st, 1634. Lambeth.
3. Ibid. 1635-36. CCCXIV. 34. Feb. 20th, 1635/6. Lambeth.
4. Ibid. CCCXVII. 36. March 26th, 1636.

of harsh treatment of such people. Five men of Northampton, for example, who met together for prayer and maintenance of puritanic-¹ al views, were hailed before the High Commission. But far more tyrannical was the treatment meted out to one Augustine Plumsted. According to him, and a certain Sir John Wentworth vouched for² his honesty, he was passing a barn quite peacefully when he suddenly heard a voice reading a sermon to a conventicle. He soon departed to a friend's home, and, being requested, read some notes of the sermon he had heard that day at Somerleyton Church. He did not pray at all, nor did he act in contempt of church-government: the danger of which he did not until then know. Having understood the same to be prohibited duties he³ voluntarily appeared and confessed. Laud referred this petition to Lambe, requesting him either to dismiss Plumsted or make a report. Or take the case of a man called Wharton, who claimed that⁴ he had been imprisoned seven times without reason by Lambe. Another asked Laud to tell him why he was imprisoned so long without⁵ coming to trial. Most pitiful of all was the petition to Laud of Elizabeth Withers on behalf of her son-in-law who lay in the Gatehouse, for some small matter of religion, and had three

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1634-35. CCLXXX. 33. 1634 (?)

2. Ibid. 1635-36. CCCXXV. 33. i.

3. Ibid. 33. June 2nd. 1636.

4. Ibid. 1637-38. CCCLXXIII. 3. Dec. 1st, 1657. Endorsed "Old Wharton's Letter."

5. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCXLVIII. 13. Feb. 23rd. 1636/7. Petition of R. Farnam, who styled himself "a prophet of the most high God."

motherless children depending on him.¹ Truly there was to be no pity for tearers of "Christ's seamless Cloak", even when some of them appeared, at worst, a little mad.

During all these years the Roman Catholics had not been idle. We have already mentioned how both James and Charles had made abortive efforts to ameliorate the pains and discomforts suffered by their Roman Catholic subjects. But while the Catholics had received little comfort from that direction, they could at least be thankful that active persecution was diminishing, and 1628 witnessed the last of that long line of executions which had added so many martyrs to the rolls of Rome.

It appears that in August of that year, Sir. H. Yelverton caused, at Lancaster, a seminary priest - Gutterich alias Rigby - to be executed.² Salvetti reported to his Grand-Duke that "a monk has been condemned by the Judges to be hanged and quartered in Lancashire. This is the first whom they have executed for a long time, and it is said that his Majesty does not approve of the conduct of the Judges in this case."³ By the time this news crossed the Channel it had grown right royally, for we find the Bishop of Fenn writing from Paris to Luke Wadding at Rome, "The letters from London do bring word that in the sessions of August

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCXV. 95. March 8th, 1635/6
2. Birch. Crt. & Times of Chas. I. V.I. P. 397. Rev. Mead to Sir M. Stuteville from Christ College. Sep. 25th, 1628.
3. H. Mss. Com. 11th Rep: App. I. Skrine Mss. P. 165. 20th Oct. 1628.

two Jesuits were put to death, one in Chester and the other in Lincoln, and two laymen for persuading others to become Catholics. We did not think that the proclamation which issued on the complaints of the Puritans in Parliament against Catholics should be put in execution; but we see that the reasons which moved the King to make the proclamation (viz. to satisfy the greedy peevishness of Puritans) made him also give way to the execution. Of course after Charles' quarrel with the House of Commons he had a freer hand for such matter, and according to Gardiner, the fines on Catholics, which had been fixed by law at two-thirds of the rental of a recusant landowner, were commuted for one-third, to be paid by all who came forward voluntarily to claim the benefit of the King's offer. Gardiner goes on to say that "Ostensibly there was no relaxation of the persecuting laws against the priests, but except in special cases they ceased to be put in force, and Mass was heard in secret wherever a Catholic family was desirous of the privilege."

Charles should have been more careful, for what could the ordinary man in the street think when he saw all puritanical tendencies severely suppressed, and heard new and strange words like priest, altar, and confession, and was told of the new tolerance towards Catholics? Would it not all look like a great conspiracy to tie England once more to the wheels of the Italian

1. H. Mss. Com. 11th Rep: Franciscan Mss. P..6..Oct..20th, 1628.
2. Hist. of England. V. 8. P. 130.

chariot? But worse was to come, for apart from any sympathy Charles may have had with Roman views, he had a kingly desire to get his Catholic subjects to take the oath of allegiance. Any follower of the Pope who worked to promote this was sure to find favour at Court. In April, 1634, Laud wrote to the Catholic, Thomas Preston, that the King had found of late that his Romish subjects were drawing back from the oath of allegiance, for which he thought the Jesuits were much to blame. Although Preston had been a great defender of taking the oath, the King heard that even he was cooling. He was therefore required to publish in print that nothing was required in that matter but what was just¹ and lawful. This 'cooling' that the King had noticed was, of course, due to the recent reception of several Papal Bulls. "Finally in December 1634, Gregorio Panzani, a priest of the Oratory, arrived in England with a special mission from Rome to settle the disputes amongst the Catholics, and to obtain from Charles, through the influence of the Queen, an alleviation of their situation. Charles, who would not openly receive him, appointed Windebank, a protege of Laud's, to hear what he had to say, and especially to ask that something might be done about the oath." He was received well at Court; and, after all, why not? The Queen was a Catholic, the late Treasurer had made a profession of faith on his death-bed, and Cottington, of the Privy Countil, made a profession of Catholicism every time he fell ill.

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCLXVI. 75. April 1634.

In such an atmosphere Panzani went gaily to work and quickly attracted such men as Windebank, or Bishop Mountagu who was glad to discuss sympathetically - even enthusiastically - the question of reunion.¹ Laud took alarm and threw all his influence against Cottington's ambition to be the new Treasurer, and March 6th, 1636, witnessed his victory, for on that day the King appointed as his Treasurer Juxon, Bishop of London. A whole year before, Cottington had written to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, "His Grace declares much his displeasure against me, and per-adventure it increaseth by my taking no notice of it; but that which is worst of all, they say, he can never be reconciled, where once he takes displeasure....."²

One upshot of Panzani's visit was that the Queen obtained permission to maintain an agent at Rome, and to receive, in return, a Papal Legate, of whom the first was a Scotsman named Con. The Queen at this time maintained a more or less open chapel at Somerset House, and had an active band of Capuchin Friars about her. The Capuchin Father de Gamache stated that their mission made many converts, and that on Sundays and festivals their confessionals were crowded. He added that every mass saw a great number of communicants, and that he and his band were always busy carrying the sacrament to sick and prisoners.³ One would be

1. Gardiner. Hist of England. V. 8. Chap. LXXIX.
2. Knowler. Letters of Strafford. VI. P. 449. Aug. 4th, 1635.
3. Birch. V. 2. Fr. Cyprian de Gamache's Account. Passim.

tempted to read this information with a great deal of mistrust, were it not for a petition of Robert White, sub-curate of St. Margaret's Westminster, to Laud. He said that two Popish priests, one of whom was called Southwell, went into houses and converted people under pretence of distributing alms sent from the friars at Somerset House. Southwell had bribed the watchman to say^{that} he only came to give alms, and the curate prayed that it might be stopped because it unsettled poor people in their religion, and because of the danger to the Queen on her coming to Somerset House, which these newly turned Roman Catholics¹ frequented.

The following March the rector, and others, of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, petitioned the Council that they were in a miserable estate due to the great increase of Roman Catholics. In Bloomsbury, according to them, there were² as many, or more, than Protestants. It is mentioned in this petition that most of the latest converts were those close to death with plague, which can only mean, to my mind, that many conforming Anglicans were Romans at heart. The Rev. Mr. Garrard wrote of this petition to 'Strafford', in Ireland, and blamed the increase of Popery in England to the easy access to the Chapel in Somerset House. "I wish" he added, "and pray to God with all my heart, that the Bishops of England would take this growth of Popery into their considerations, and seek by all means to retard that, as well as punish by suspensions and other ways those called Puritan ministers. I love neither of

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1636-37. CCCXXXI. 93. Aug. 1636.

2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1636-37. CCCXLIX. 116. Mar. 15th, 1636/7.

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their opinions, and so I leave them."

Retribution was indeed not far away, for October, 1637, brought an Order of King in Council that Secretary Windebank and Mr. Attorney-General were to look up the proclamations and orders of state since 1624 with reference to suppressing Roman Catholic priests, and restraining people from going to Mass in ambassadors' houses or elsewhere; and then to make a draft proclamation setting forth his Majesty's resolution to enforce the same. ² This bore an addition in Windebank's writing to the effect that the Roman Catholics had forgotten themselves lately, and taken liberties his Majesty had never intended. This course of action was largely due to Laud, who had taken alarm at the successes of the group headed by Con, the Queen, and such of her favourites as Walter Mountagu ³ and Sir Toby Mathew. He had, in fact, steadfastly, refused to see Con, and wrote, in later years, that it was "a strange world when a Pope's Legate shall be openly harboured so near the King and Court and have free access to both without control," ⁴ but the limit of his patience was reached when that group obtained the conversion of Lady Newport, and Laud promptly made a complaint before the Council. ⁵ There then ensued a struggle

1. Knowler. Strafford's Letters. V. 2. P. 57. London, Mar. 23rd, 1636/7.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXX. 27.
3. The youngest son of the 1st Earl of Manchester. He became R.C. in 1635.
4. Works. IV. P. 480.
5. Diary. Works III. P. 229. Oct. 22nd, 1637.

between Laud and the Queen as to what action should be taken.¹
The Archbishop wished to close her Chapel, as well as those of
the ambassadors, to English subjects;² and a proclamation to
that effect was eventually issued,³ but so complete was the
Queen's triumph that "even Con described it as 'so mild as to
seem rather a fraternal admonition to the Catholics than a
menace'."⁴ Laud's position at Court had indeed become difficult;
a state of affairs which Wentworth realized full well, having
written the Archbishop some months later to say - when discussing
the composition with recusants - "besides the recusants will all
be about you, engage the Queen, and God knows who besides, which
may chance to trouble you more than you are aware of....."⁵

There is no reason to doubt that Laud took what action
he did because of a perfectly sincere dislike of the Roman
teachings, and in this respect he was quite definitely not fully
in accord with Mountagu, who wrote the Archbishop in March 1638,
and closed by saying, as if by way of assurance, that he knew
they were of the same religion and drove^{to} the same end, though
not the same way.⁶ But other motives there must have been too:
jealousy, for example, because of the honour paid Con; and fear

1. Diary. Works III. P. 229. Oct. 22nd. 1637.
2. Gardiner. Hist. of Eng. V. 8. P. 240.
3. Rymer's Foedera. ~~VXX~~. P. 180. Dec. 20th, 1637.
4. Gardiner. Hist. of England. V. 8. P. 242.
5. Knowler. V. 2. P. 159. Dublin. April 10th, 1638.
6. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1639-38. CCCLXXXVI. 63.

lest he lose much of his authority in a general reconciliation with Rome. Then again he cannot have been blind to the fact that it was an opportune moment to demonstrate to the rising opposition that he himself was no Roman Catholic, for papers had lately been scattered in Somerset House saying that half the King's Council was Catholic already and urging the other half to follow suit;¹ and Laud himself knew that the Polish Ambassador had confidently reported his as a papist as far back as two years before.² Garrard wrote to 'Strafford', "Since my last of December, here is a Proclamation come forth to hinder the growth of Popery. But there was a proposition made at the Council Table which would do much good, were it put in execution over all England, which was to take away the eldest sons of all who were popishly affected, and breed them up in the religion established in the Church of England. My Lord Chamberlain fired [sic] at it, and moved the King³ and since my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, to have Percy Herbert's son..... Nothing is done of this kind yet, but my Lord Chamberlain presseth my Lord of Canterbury often in this particular." Doubtless Laud would have liked nothing better than to have taken some such action, but the Queen's influence seems to have remained preponderant at Court, for Garrard's letter of May 1638 told how the Spanish

1. Knowler. Letters of Strafford. V. 2. P. 142. Garrard to Strafford. Dec. 16th, 1637.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1636-37. CCCXXX. 47. Aug. 18th, 1626. Laud to Queen of Bohemia.
3. Knowler. Letters of Strafford. V. 2. P. 147. Garrard to Strafford, Feb. 7th, 1637/8.

Ambassador and some English, formed a great troop and walked from Denmark House (having done their devotions in the Queen's Chapel there) down the Strand to Con's house in Long-Acre, and thence to the Embassy. The King, he said, was annoyed and gave order for questioning those Englishmen who had taken part .

"'Tis true, notwithstanding all the care and vigilancy the King and Prelates take for the suppressing of Popery, yet it much increaseth about London, and these pompous shows of the Sepulchre contribute much to it, for they grow common; they are not only in the Ambassadors' houses, in Con's lodgings, nay at York House, and in my Lord of Worcester's house, if they be not liars who tell it. Our great women fall away every day." ¹ Thus, under Charles Stuart, London, that most Puritan of cities, saw Roman Catholic processions going through its streets; until even Father Cyprian de Gamache must have realized the danger to some extent, for he wrote, "These Nuncios [Panzani, Con, Rosetti] had successively their chapels open to all Catholics, to the great discontent of the Puritans....." ² All this the city witnessed, but its day of retribution was not far off.

1. Knowler. Letters of Strafford. V. 2. P. 165. Charter-house. May 16th, 1638.
2. Birch. Crt. & Times of Chas. I. 1849. V. 2. P. 330.

How one would like to understand the feelings of the various bishops during this period, with which we are dealing, but it is doubtful if any one will ever really know the true answer. It must, of course, be remembered that Laud had wielded great power at Court ever since the last days of James' reign, and we can only expect to find that many of the bishoprics would have been filled with his followers by 1633. Such men as Pierce, Wren, Juxon, or Mainwaring were his avid supporters, but we hear little of the average Laudian Bishop.

There can be no question but that Laud held exalted views of the office of bishop, but he held even more exalted views of himself. Laud rather gave himself away when he wrote in a fit of pique "The papacy of Canterbury and this other world is of greater value than an Italian cardinalship,"¹ and in doing so completely justified Sir Edward Dering for saying in the Parliament of 1641, "A Pope at Rome will do me less hurt than a patriarch at Lambeth."² Undoubtedly Laud was jealous for the priesthood and particularly for those who were successors to the Apostles, but respect for the office doesn't necessarily entail respect for its holder. Laud was not the sort of man to leave work to others, and we can be quite sure that he would never tolerate slackness or dishonesty. Therefore we must not be surprised if we find the Archbishop allowing himself the luxury of interfering with and correcting

1. Works. IV. 482.

2. See P. 8. of his speech printed as a tract in 1642.

his bishops, while permitting no such license to any other.

Outwardly much was done for the bishops between the years 1629 and 1640, and I see no reason to doubt that this was largely the work of Laud. The condition of the various bishoprics in the early 17th century was lamentable. Elizabeth had, of course, despoiled many, and ensuing occupants had followed the royal example. But apparently some attempts had been made, under James, to improve this situation by endowing bishoprics with extra livings held in commendam. And in 1616 the right of the sovereign to so grant preferments was raised in the 'case of commendams' - *Colt vs. the Bishop of Lichfield* - when Sir Edward Coke, the Chief Justice, was suspended for having questioned this power.¹ The poverty of bishops and their cathedrals was brought to King Charles' attention also, and in 1629 he instructed Archbishop Abbot that no bishop, on being nominated to another See, was to ruin his successor by making leases for twenty-one years or by spoliation of standing timber.² In the ensuing years much attention was given to this question, and various expedients were tried: to the Bishopric of Bristol a manor of good value was given,³ Mainwaring of St. Davids was given two rectories for his own disposal,⁴ while the Chapter of Peterborough was allowed to⁵ reserve £310. more than formerly from the rent of two manors.

1. Life of Bp. Williams. Ivor Bowen. 1929. P. 23.
2. Laud's Works. V. P. 308.
3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1631-33. CCXXXIV. 1. 1633.
4. Ibid. 1637. CCCLXIII. 80.
5. Ibid. 1634-35. CCLXXXI. 59. 1634 [?]

Much as the King disliked commendams, he was forced to allow many bishops to hold them, but only on condition that all bishops were to give a yearly account to their Metropolitan of all they had been or would be allowed to hold.¹ Apparently the King feared that the bishops might frustrate his intention by giving away their commendam to some kinsman or friend. The King also wrote to each bishop, that, notwithstanding any statute or pretence, they were not to let any lease into lives - (a life equals seven years) - which was not in lives already. Further, whenever they could, they were to reduce such as were in lives into years.² About the same time that Laud became Archbishop, dispensations to hold commendams were issued to the Bishop of Oxford,³ and to Wren of Norwich,⁴ Owen of St. Asaphs, Bridge-⁵man of Chester, and Lindsell of Peterborough.

It would seem that Charles had found that a discreet use of commendams was the easiest way out of his difficulty, and had decided that the end justified the means. To Mainwaring the King had written that he had weighed well the havoc that had been made of the church and its goodly endowments of former days, and added that he knew what inconveniences would arise to church and commonwealth if the authority of bishops was not properly supported.⁶ To Coke of Bristol he had expressed the desire that

1. King's instructions to Laud. 1634. Works. V. P. 314.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1634-35. CCLXX. 6. 1634.
3. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCL. 24.
4. Ibid. 1634-35. CCLXXIX. 16. 1634 [?]
5. Ibid. 1633-34. CCXXXVII. 58. 1633.
6. Ibid. CCCLXIII. 80. from Greenwich. July 9th, 1637.

all bishops should be able to maintain adequately their place and position.¹ And so we realize that not only had Laud attended to the repair and decoration of cathedral churches, but that he had also seen to it that the Bishops themselves should enjoy revenues worthy of their state. Indeed he went even farther than this in one case, for he persuaded Dr. John Bancroft, then Bishop of Oxford, to build a house at Cudsdon to be held for the bishops of that See in perpetuity, and mentions in his diary how he went to see it on the 3rd of September, 1635.²

Laud himself was not only Archbishop of Canterbury under Charles I, but also became Chancellor of Oxford and, possibly, the most important Councillor of the King. Once more was a great ecclesiastic become the leading figure of the Kingdom, and glad was Laud to see it so. He was not, however, satisfied that he alone of his Spiritual brethren should so honour the State and themselves, and decided to push forward the amenable Juxon. The latter's rise can be traced in two very frank entries in the Archbishop's diary.

On the 10th of July, 1632, Laud wrote "Tuesday, Doctor Juxon, the Dean of Worcester, at my suit sworn clerk of his Majesty's Closet. That I might have one that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grow weak or infirm; as I must have a time."³

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1631-33. CCXXXIV. from Westminster, March 16th, 1632/3.
2. Works. III. P. 224.
3. Works. III. 215.

So far one would hardly know whether Laud was working so much for the honour of the church as for his own influence. But he showed himself in his true colours when he wrote in his diary for March 6th, 1635/6, "Sunday, William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No churchman had it since Henry VII's time. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now if the church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more."¹ And as he wrote in his diary, there probably lay beside it on his desk that list of bishops who had been Lord Treasurer from the time of William the Conqueror to Edward IV., that list which is still in existence² and bears his indorsation.

In such a high regard did Laud hold the episcopacy, that he had little pity for individual bishops who failed to measure up to his standards. There is no reason to be surprised at this, for the correct functioning of the office of bishop was an integral part of Laud's scheme. Any bishop, for example, could ordain priests, and, by ordaining incompetent or puritanical men, render useless the Archbishop's endeavours for conformity. This was fully realized by Laud, and within a month of his move to Lambeth he had received power from the King to call into the Court of High Commission any bishop who should presume to give orders to any man that had not a title - a title, that is to say,

1. Works. P. 226. V. III

2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCXV. 61. March 6th, 1635/6.

judged by the ancient course of the church and the canon law
so so far as it was received.¹ Moreover, the State Papers
Domestic for 1635 contain a note indorsed by Laud, and written in
his secretary's handwriting, a note dealing with what was required
by the 33rd Canon, established in King James' time, in the matter
of titles before a man should be admitted to ordination. This
paper seems to have been written with a view to some royal order²
to bishops to observe the canon in question more strictly.

One of the few Caroline bishops who showed any signs
of an independent spirit was Hall. It is, therefore, not without
interest that we note the letter that this Bishop once wrote to
Turner, the Chaplain and Licenser to Laud, then Bishop of London.
In this letter Hall consented to the omission from his 'Reconciler',
then under consideration, those passages which declared strong-³
ly the anti-Arminian character of the Church of England. In
view of what the word Arminian could mean to some Englishmen,
this can hardly be termed a wise action. Another of the bishops
with whom Laud had little sympathy was Davenant of Salisbury,
who was, at worst, a moderate Calvinist. When preaching before
the court in 1631, Davenant had been rash enough to discuss the
dangerous subjects of predestination and election in a manner
contrary to the King's Preface to the Prayer Book. For this
offence the unfortunate man was forced to go on his knees before

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCXLVI. 49. Sept. 19th, 1633.
Westminster. King to Laud.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCVIII. 39. 1635.
3. Ibid. 1628-29. CXXXVI. 81. Feb. ? 1628/9.

the Council and listen to a vehement oration made against him by the Archbishop of York.¹ The lack of sympathy between Davenant and Laud can be readily explained when we remember that it was Davenant who once wrote "We ought not to make so much account of truth, as to be altogether careless of peace, neither are we to seek for such a unity whereby true faith may be lost....."² Dr. Goodman - who later became a Roman Catholic - also gave Laud a few uneasy moments. The Doctor, who was Bishop of Gloucester, had been promised the See of Hereford, but when the time came for his removal he petitioned the King that he might hold his former diocese in commendam for one year. He gave as his reason the poor condition of Hereford, but nothing could palliate such a monstrous claim and the King refused to allow him to be removed at all.³ This all took place towards the close of 1633, and the affair dragged on until eventually, in a fit of pique, Goodman desired to be allowed to withdraw from both dioceses. But that would never do, and Laud wrote to him in indignation that since Bishop Goodman knew that resigning his bishopric would not and could not make him any the less a Bishop, it would be a most contemptible thing for him, in a settled church such as their's," to bring himself and his calling into

1. See the Dic. of Nat. Biography. Davenant.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCLV. 41. No date. Letter to John Durie who was attempting to unite all reformed churches.
3. Birch. Crt. & Times of Cha. I. Vol. II. P. 229. E. Rossingham to Sir Thos. Puckering. London. Dec. 31st, 1633.

such scorn.¹ Goodman knew when he had met his master, and stayed on at Gloucester.

Charles and Laud were indeed zealous for the good name of their episcopacy, and not a breath of scandal was allowed to attach itself to any bishop. When, for example, early in 1633, complaints were received that the Bishop of Chester had been dealing privately with offenders of a class ordinarily persecuted in ecclesiastical courts, and receiving larger compositions from recusants than he had accounted for; Abbot was ordered to call a court of High-Commission as soon as possible in order that the Bishop might make good his protestations of innocence.² We know that the case was quashed on November 19th, 1633, so apparently the Bishop was well able to justify himself.³ It seems more than likely that these vague accusations against the Bishop were treated thus seriously and openly in order to show the people that they need not fear the slightest unworthiness amongst their spiritual peers.

This mention of ecclesiastical courts brings us to another aspect of the episcopal office, namely, the legal. We have already mentioned how the break at the Reformation left the local legal machinery of the church intact; and how the Court of High-Commission slowly evolved and put new life into the decapit-

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1634-35. CCLXXIV. 21. Sept. 13th, 1634. from Croydon.
2. Ibid. 1631-33. CCXXXIV. 46. March 25th, 1633. Sec Windebank to Abbot.
3. Ibid. 1633-34. CCL. 72.

ated courts. As might be imagined, the strenuous actions of Laud threw an enormous burden on these courts and demonstrated their incapacity, and, in due time, they also fell under the correcting hand of the energetic Primate. It will be as well, at this point, to give an outline sketch of those ecclesiastical courts in existence before the Civil War. First of all each diocese had a Consistory Court presided over by its chancellor, although the bishop never lost the right of withdrawing cases from it and hearing them himself. Similarly he sometimes delegated jurisdiction over certain parts of his diocese to his commissary. Each archdeacon, moreover, held a court for his archdeaconry, and an appeal could be made from it to the Consistory Court. Quite separate from these two courts were various sorts of peculiar courts, some of which were wholly exempt from episcopal or even archiepiscopal control. From such courts the appeal was to the High Court of Delegates, which was constituted anew each time the Crown in Chancery received a petition of appeal. Finally the two archbishops possessed various provincial courts. Those of Canterbury were as follows:- the Court of Arches, which was at once a court of appeal from all diocesan courts, and also a court of first instance in all ecclesiastical causes; the Court of Audience, in which the archbishop possessed a jurisdiction concurrent with that of the Court of Arches, just as the bishops had not deprived themselves of all their jurisdiction by delegations to officials or commissaries; the Prerogative Court, which took cognizance of the

testamentary jurisdiction belonging to the Archbishop and was said to have attracted most of the testamentary business of the country; and finally the Court of Peculiars, which was held by the Dean of Arches at Bow Church for the thirteen London parishes exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.¹ It will be readily seen that the whole constituted a most cumbersome and redundant system.

The quickened life of the church under Laud naturally added greatly to the business of these ecclesiastical courts; particularly by cases against laymen for failure to pay their rates toward church repair, or for not coming to church, or for talking to an excommunicated man;² and by cases against clerics for nonconformity, or for such offences as not reading the Book of Sports. It quickly appeared that the ecclesiastical courts were both corrupt and dilatory, and we can only believe, either that such conditions were openly tolerated under Abbot, or that the courts in his primacy had not had nearly as many cases pending.³ Many of these courts appear to have had no set rate of fees, and in 1635 Laud received a petition from a certain James Beck, who wrote to the effect that exactions and extortions abounded because of want of notice of fees due to officers in the ecclesiastical

1. For further information on the Ecclesiastical Courts see Vol. I. of W.S.Holdsworth's Hist. of Eng. Law. London, 1903.
2. This extraordinary offence is among those presented at an ecclesiastical court at Aylesbury in 1635, C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635. CCXLVI.
3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCVIII. 22.

courts. Beck begged for permission to cause the due fees to be imprinted in tabulated form and dispersed into the several parish churches of the province of Canterbury, and, in return, to receive such remuneration from the churchwardens as the Archbishop should think fit.¹ But more serious, by far, than this were the many abuses that vitiated the entire working of the courts. The whole system was inefficient in itself, but was further hampered by indiscriminate use of appeals and inhibitions. We have already mentioned how Laud, in the Autumn of 1634, appointed Sir. John Lambe as Dean of the Court of Arches; but even Sir. John seems to have accomplished but little in the way of reform during his first year of office. Laud was warned of this, and in November, 1634, ordered Sir. John and Sir. Charles Caesar who was in charge of the Court of Audience - to look into the abuse of dilatoriness in the Court of Arches in order that it might be put in good order for the visitation.² And by 'visitation' we can only suppose that the Archbishop was referring to the Metropolitan Visitation which had just got under way.

Even though the two abuses mentioned, namely, extortion and delay, had been remedied, the system would still have been far from perfect. There still remained, for example, the question

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCVIII. 35.
2. Ibid. 1634-35. CCLXXVII. 16.

months.¹ Laud also continued to receive such petitions as the following from John Hane, clerk, who stated that Lady Whorwood, the pretended appropriator, had appealed against him for the vicarage of Haddington Wilts. The case had been depending in the Court of Arches for six months, while, in the meantime, his rich adversary had been receiving the profits of the vicarage.² Thus we see that rich people could obtain a decided advantage by appealing to the Court of Arches; and then, if that gave them no satisfaction, there was still left the Court of Delegates. But while all these shifts were at the disposal of the rich, the poor were never quite undone, for the Archbishop was ever ready to listen to their petitions. Thus when William Withers, the rector of Thwaite, in Suffolk, prayed aid from Laud because the owner of half his parish had caused him trouble in the Arches and **next**, in the Court of Delegates itself, Laud ordered Sir John Lambe to give Withers the best directions he could and send in a report.³ Finally the administration of ecclesiastical law was further complicated by the apparently similar jurisdiction of the two Courts of Arches and Audience, so that strong administration of the one could be rendered ineffective by the weak administration of the other. Apparently a situation something like this actually existed, if we can judge from one letter from Sir. Robert Sibthorpe to Laud in which he mentioned a certain Puritanical clergyman who had been cited at the next

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCLXXXI. 60. Feb. 9th, 1637/8.
2. Ibid. CCCLXXX. 6. Jan. 29th, 1637/38.
3. Ibid. 1635-36. CCCXX. 60. May 9th, 1636.

court - probably diocesan - but who would probably appeal to the Audience, where Sir. Charles Caesar would drive a good trade¹ if that place was (as boasted) the asylum of the brethren.

So far, we have been discussing troubles, and abuses within the ecclesiastical courts themselves, but more difficult than any of these was the question of their relationship with the common law. As the reader will remember, the common law faction, led by Sir. Edward Coke, had been in open and violent opposition to the Court of High-Commission during the first decade of the seventeenth century; but the ill-feeling never quite died down, and, moreover, the High-Commission was not alone in experiencing interference from the common law. Just after Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury, he wrote a letter to 'Strafford' in which he said, "But, my Lord, to speak freely, you may easily promise more in either kind than I can perform, For, as for the church, it is so bound up in the forms of the common law, that it is not possible for me, or for any man to do that good which he would, or is bound to do. For your Lordship sees, no man clearer, that they which have gotten so much power in and over the church, will not let go their hold;²..... " We can well imagine that Laud would not be pleased to see any layman having "so much power in, and over the church," It was, of course, the law that any court of common law could

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCXCV. 79. July 22nd, 1638, from Brackley.
2. Knowler. Letters of Strafford I. P. 111. Sept. 9th, 1633. Fulham.

prohibit any ecclesiastical court from dealing with a case which it presumed to fall within its own jurisdiction, and such a situation frequently arose over cases about tithes. That is why the State Papers Domestic contain many petitions similar to the one sent to the King by the rector of Llandrinio on October 17th, 1637. The rector stated the ecclesiastical courts had judged that certain people should pay him tithes in kind,¹ but that by means of their landlord, they had got the above sentences controlled by prohibition and would not come to any just trial at common law. He went on to say that he was not able, by reason of his calling, to follow an uncertain and tedious suit against powerful opponents, and he therefore prayed a reference to some of the Council.² Besides it is not in the nature of the average Englishman to favour, or even understand, the external affairs of the church. This would particularly apply to those of legal training, and the legal side of England's government has often, in history, been opposed to the parallel ecclesiastical organizations. Doubtless some measure of this inherent antipathy was still to be found in the England of the seventeenth century. If so, then how easily can we understand why a report on tithing in certain sections of Kent should mention, quite casually, what incompetent judges the lawyers were commonly found in church causes and those of the clergy's dues, as in the case of tithes

1. Payment of tithes in kind served to increase revenues depleted by the fall in the value of money.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXIX. No number. P. 479.

and things pertaining to the honour of God; they having on
all occasions shown themselves averse and opposite in temper.¹
Or^{to} understand why Bishop Coke of Hereford, in writing to Laud,
should mention how difficult it was to get indifferent judges,
"which our juries in this country (sic), and many gentlemen, in
any business against the church, and especially against the
Bishop, are much doubted to be."²

While the lower ecclesiastical courts were thus
harassed, it was of course the High-Commission that suffered
most in this respect. Amongst the most famous cases, for
example, tried before the High-Commission in Charles' reign
were those in which Prynne, Burton, or Bastwick figured.
Prynne was a Puritan of the most rabid type and nourished a
particularly keen hatred for Laud, which led him on to acts
that brought him before the High-Commission on more than one
occasion. Now^{as} a letter dated November 15th, 1628, mentions how
Prynne had presented Laud in the Court with a prohibition from
the Judges of the Common Pleas obtained the day before. It³
adds that the bishops complained of this to his Majesty.
And in the following June, Dr. Lancy wrote to Cosin that Prynne,

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCVIII. 46. 1635 [?] endorsed
as written by Dr. Slatyer.
2. Ibid. 1637-38. CCCLXXIV. 51. Dec. 26th, 1637. Whitbourne.
3. Birch. Crt. & Times of Chas. I. Vol. I. Rev. Mead to Sir
M. Stuteville, from Christ College. P. 431.

and Burton had obtained a prohibition against the Court of High-Commission that term. He guessed it was for fear of similar action that Smart's case had been removed to York [which was probably only too true]. "The lawyers," he wrote "have pared our ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the quick..... if it go on thus, the commissioners may shut up shop." ¹ One wouldn't expect a man like Laud to remain quiescent under such conditions, and, as usual, he was quite prepared to return blow for blow. There seems to be little reason for doubting the truth of a story which the Rev. Joseph Mead recounted in his letter of May, 1631, to Sir Martin Stuteville. Writing from Christ College, he said that in connection with the heinous case of Sir Giles Allington, Laud was supposed to have said at the Council Table that if a prohibition had taken place, he hoped Abbot would have excommunicated through his province all the judges who had had a hand in it; for his own part he would have done it in his diocese, and personally denounced it in St. Paul's and other churches against the authors of so enormous a scandal to their church and religion. "I know not," wrote Mead, "what you will think of it in the country, but we say here it was spoken like a bishop indeed." ²

When Laud came to the archiepiscopal throne, he was more than zealous in safeguarding the power and position of his clergy. So that when two justices of the peace once imprisoned a

1. Birch. Crt & Times of Chas. I. Vol. II. ~~xxxxxx to xxx~~.
P. 21. from Winton House. June 25th, 1629.
2. Birch. Crt. & Times of Chas. I. Vol. I. P. 120.

clergyman for not reading a warrant of theirs in his church, Laud, in writing of this to Lambe, said that he thought the justices should have been made to understand themselves and the church a little better. He could almost find it in his heart to send for them to the Council Table, for the clergy did well to read nothing than came not from the King or their ordinaries. And on another occasion, when some of his officers had apparently been seeking aid or advice from the common lawyers, the Archbishop wrote, in a most pontifical strain: "I am not willing that any of my officers (of what rank soever) should go into Westminster Hall, and thereby give occasion to the temporal judges to think I have so little either care or power over my own." ¹
²

Coke, that champion of the common law, had died in 1634, and the same year Finch had been made Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. It was the same Finch who had been held down in the Speaker's Chair at the last Parliament, and was to be impeached at the next. He adopted a very different course from Coke, who had once held the same office. Take, for example, the letter he wrote to Laud in 1638, in which he said that he assured himself that the Archbishop knew how tender he was of other courts, especially those of ecclesiastical cognizance, as for the High-Commission Court, he knew it was a court of high and eminent nature, and it behoved them to be wary of

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1636-37. CCCXXIX. 65. July 30th, 1636. Croyden.
2. Ibid. 1634-35. CCLXXVII. 17. Nov. 6th. 1634. Reference of Laud's.

granting prohibitions to that court.¹

If Laud had less to fear from the common law after he became Archbishop of Canterbury, he had, nevertheless, still to on guard against a certain form of Puritan opposition. Between 1634 and 1635, the aforementioned three men, William Prynne, Henry Burton, and John Bastwick, had become leaders of Puritan opinion and were issuing pamphlet after pamphlet. In these they attacked the changes that had come over the Church of England and struck fiercely at episcopacy itself. Even the ecclesiastical courts were considered altogether abominable by Bastwick. Laud could not be consistent with the general policy he had chosen, and allow these vilifiers to go unpunished: thus it was that on June 14th, 1637, these three assailants of the bishops appeared before the Star Chamber to answer to a charge of libel. They were condemned to lose their ears, to be fined £5,000. apiece, and to be imprisoned for the remainder of their lives,² but not even then did the high-church party feel secure. One of the charges brought against the Archbishop had been that he was undermining the Royal authority by laying claim to a Divine right for his own order and infringing on the King's jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. This charge must have found favour with many, for why else should Charles have publicly referred the question to the judges within three weeks of the above-mentioned trial? The judges answered

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCLXXXI. 24. Feb. 3rd. 1637/8.
2. See Chap. LXXXIII. of Vol. VII. of Gardiner's Hist. of Eng.

favourably on every point, saying that processes might issue out of ecclesiastical courts in the name of the bishops, that a patent under the Great Seal was not necessary for the keeping of the said ecclesiastical courts, etc., and that bishops and other ecclesiastical persons might keep their visitation without commission under the Great Seal of England.¹ Having received this report, the King announced it in a proclamation "..... as well to vindicate the legal proceedings of his ecclesiastical courts and ministers from the unjust and scandalous imputation of invading or intrenching as his royal prerogative, as to settle the minds and stop the mouths of all unquiet spirits..."² Despite this action the opposition to ecclesiastical courts seems to have remained still active, for in the following February the King thought it necessary to write to the two Archbishops and the other members of the High-Commission that he understood divers withdrew from obedience to his ecclesiastical laws, and, being convented before them, were grown to such obstinacy that some refused to take their oaths, and others being sworn refused to answer the articles objected to them. Inasmuch as the commissioners were authorized by his letters patent, and their proceedings were not only in accord with civil or canon law, but, in some measure, with the Courts of the Star Chamber, Chancery, Requests, and Exchequer, therefore he appointed that all called before them should take a corporal oath and answer articles or else be held guilty, and that what he was

1. Rymer's Foedera. XX. P. 143. July 1st.
2. Ibid. P. 168. also C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXVI. No number. Issued at Lyndhurst, Aug. 18th.

writing should be sufficient warrant thereto.¹ But while mentioning this evidence of the unpopularity of all the ecclesiastical courts amongst a certain group of people, it would be most unfair not to suggest another side to the picture. The rabid Puritan was naturally alarmed when he saw the rulers of the Established Church making more efficient those weapons by which alone they could enforce conformity. That is to say, the Puritan did not attack the ecclesiastical courts per se, but rather because they were being used against themselves. Viewed in that light, the rising opposition of a certain group towards these courts is an index of their rising efficiency. Some system of ecclesiastical courts was necessary to the England of the seventeenth century, and personally I do not believe that the ordinary man of the time could have objected to what Laud made of those courts of and by themselves. Naturally, since at this time they all worked together, the policies of King and Church, and the functions of civil and religious government shared equally in any unpopularity that was current. R.G.Usher, who has made an exhaustive study of the subject, writes "The High-Commission under Laud was really no more illegal than it had been under Whitgift, Bancroft, and Abbot, but, by a peculiar array of circumstances, it seemed to many² men of Laud's day to be both new and illegal. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCLXXI. 29. Feb. 4th, 1637/8 from Westminster.
2. Rise and Fall of the High Commission. 1913. P. 255.

And so once more we have traced the active course of Laud's influence: this time in connection with the power and prestige of his bishops, and with the entire system of ecclesiastical law. Laud must have been busy night and day pushing forward all his schemes at once. And indeed he was busy, for he was hurrying - hurrying to raise dykes and ramparts that might last against the rising wave of anti-authoritarianism in church and in state.

If asked to name the chief contribution made by Archbishop Laud to the English Church, the answer would undoubtedly be that he gave it organized uniformity. He had all the strength that goes with what is commonly called a one-track mind. Always before him was the vision of an ideal church, and he drove straight on toward its fulfilment. No outside force could change him: not even in the smallest detail would he give way. How different was he, in this, from the more human and sensible Abbot. There still remains to us the knowledge of one incident, which in itself is sufficient to mirror and set in contrast these two characters. During Abbot's primacy, an Oxford man had written, in answer to Prynne, a book on bowing at the name of Jesus. The Archbishop refused to have this printed, because it was a theme of "small necessity" and of such heat and distemper that it would beget bitterness and intestine contestation that would be much better silenced than maintained. Abbot's secretary wrote to the author, "If you were out of your cell, and saw the world abroad, you would not meddle with things of such nature, wherein the governors and chief pilots of the church discern more harm and tempest to the church, than you, that are unacquainted with ecclesiastical estate and the well ordering¹ of it, can any way by speculation attain unto;....." Whereupon Laud¹ intervened, and, by virtue of his authority as Chancellor of Oxford, countermanded the order of Abbot, and had the book printed. - - - - -

1. Laud's Works. V. P. 39.

In this incident one has clearly portrayed the characters of the two men.

We can now begin to see what was so clearly manifested later on: that it was Laud's main work to put into practical effect what had until then existed largely as theory or scholarly ideal. Gardiner, indeed, said of Laud that "... his whole life was an effort to carry out in a hard practical way the ideas which cast a gleam of poetry over the unworldly Bishop [Andrewes]"¹ But that is not an entirely fair statement, for Andrewes was not all mystic, nor was Laud all executive as a glance at his Devotions will show. Besides I do not for one moment subscribe to the notion that any one man - Andrewes for example - thought out a working basis for a new theology, and that these ideas were then taken over in their entirety by men like Laud for application, and by men like Mountagu for recasting and addition. Neither do I entirely approve of the word development as applied to the change in such doctrines which time was bound to bring. Any growth that can be seen between the ideas of, say, Andrewes and Cosin, is no more than the unfolding of inherent implications. Hooker, Andrewes, Laud, Mountagu, Cosin, Gauden, all held certain fundamental ideas in common, and it mattered nothing that one held no General Council infallible and another the first four, or that one drew the line at communion tables placed as

1. Hist. of England. VII. P. 243.

altars, and another at communion tables turned into altars. What was important, and what they had in common, was a firm and unshaken belief that catholicism was right and that nationalism was equally right. There is something wonderful about the fervent patriotism of seventeenth century England; but this new nationalism and the old Catholic Christendom stood then, and still stand, like isolated peaks separated by an abyss rendered even more unfathomable by international intrigue and policy. It was the lot of such men as Andrewes to accept axiomatically both facts, and hence their pains to join the two together by webs of fine spun logic. Some swung more to one side, some to another, and each man's position was affected by his nature, his education, and his prejudices: for on the one hand would be nostalgia for Catholicism, and on the other a pride in England and her King, and an inherited anti-Romanism. Now the Catholic Faith is too vast to be grasped in its entirety by any one person, and human nature varies from man to man. It follows therefore, that we can only apply the word development to 'high-church' opinions in a strictly limited sense, for the matter is too highly personal. How easy will this make it to understand the minds of Andrewes and Laud. Andrewes was a gentle man, a dreamer and a mystic, who principally desired communion with God. It was the sacramental side of the old faith that particularly interested him, and therefore he stressed the Apostolic Succession and the divine right of bishops, that the validity of his sacraments

might be ensured. For authority he cared little; it was enough that he had his Saviour really present in the Blessed Sacrament and could there venerate him.¹ Since he cared so much more for that, than for authority or uniformity, he richly ornamented his own altar, but asked no more in his visitation articles than that the 'table' should be in a convenient place and fairly covered;² and left behind him papers dealing with the divine right of bishops, which no one had bothered to print until they fell into Laud's hands about 1627.³ In his love for the Blessed Sacrament, Andrewes came close to the Roman teaching, even closer than Laud, but on the question of authority he was as Protestant as any. Not so, of course, was Laud - and even less so Mountagu. It was in Laud's nature to be principally attracted to the authority that was in Roman Catholicism, and so he admitted that Peter was the solid rock against which the gates of Hell should not prevail, and that the faith was rooted and made firm in him every way, in Peter who received the key of Heaven. All that he admitted and then only saved himself at the last moment by adding "A primacy of order was never denied him [St. Peter] by the Protestants, and a universal supremacy of power was never granted him by the primitive Christian."⁴ And so we see that the only development that takes place in high-church doctrine is a reduction: a reduction of exaggerated nationalism or anti-

1. See his Answer to Cardinal Perron. P. 3
3. Diary. Works. III. P. 199. Jan. 17th. 1626/7.
2. Andrewes' Works. VII.
4. Works. II. Relation of Conference. Pp. 206-8.

Roman prejudice which frees the Catholicism already there. Viewed in this light, it becomes easy to give some estimate of the relative contributions of Andrewes and Laud to the English Church. The former gave her all the warmth of a strong sacramental life in all its direct implications, and taught her that her bishops were instituted by God, while Laud, his admirer, not only realized the connection between that and authority, but, as already mentioned, put the whole into practice throughout England. Laud not only strengthened the organization of the Church of England, but played a large share in rounding out the defense of a position in which minds such as his had already found themselves. The immediate result of his efforts was disaster, but under him the Church of England, while still remaining English, had tasted of the sweet fruits of catholicism, and, two hundred years later, she was to remember.

Andrewes has often been referred to as 'the gentle Bishop', but Laud was once called, and with some truth, 'a waspish man'. The many stories of the latter's brusqueness are too well known to be repeated here. Laud was too busy to go out of his way to be polite to others: although kind at heart, he lacked graciousness. In part, of course, this behaviour was caused by his complete lack of sycophancy, for while no man could have been more subservient to position, the Archbishop had no illusions about person. Shortly after he became Royal Chaplain, for example, he made so bold as to request that Charles should attend prayers and sermon, and that at no matter what point the King entered, the priest was not to stop the service; to all of

which Charles consented.¹ Respectful as Laud was to Charles as King, he was under no misapprehensions about him as a man. Shortly after Strafford's sad end Laud described the King as "a mild and a gracious prince, who knew not how to be, or be made great;"² And in that description we can read all the sadness of a man who had laboured hard to make many things great, and was writing in the midst of his failure.

We can see from Laud's treatment of his bishops and their cathedrals, that to him position and dignity were not mere empty words, and right royally did he maintain his own high office. When the King and Queen came to Oxford in 1636, Laud, as Chancellor of the University, received them with ceremony and provided, at his own expense, a magnificent banquet. He himself, in going to Oxford for the occasion, had travelled in a coach and six, attended by fifty horsemen, all of whom were his own servants.³ And yet no one could have been more generous than he in a charitable way: so generous indeed, that, a few months before the royal visit to Oxford, Laud was in debt. For it was in January, 1635/6 that Edward Nicholas had written to Laud from Westminster that the day was long past when he had infallibly expected payment of what Laud owed him, and he must therefore press that there be no more delay.⁴

1. Laud's Diary. Works. III. P. 197. Nov. 14th, 1626.
2. History of Troubles & Trial. Works. III. P. 443.
3. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1636-37. CCCXXI. 14. Sept. 4th, 1636. Hatfield. Geo. Garrard to Viscount Conway.
4. Ibid. 1635-36. CCCCII. 48.

It is well known that Charles' court suffered from a dearth of able men, and possibly that is why the Archbishop undertook so much personally. Yet, as Dr. Nicholas once wrote of him, to manage all can be no better than a glorious burden,¹ and Laud earned the enmity of many by showing so obviously his superior energy, ability, and integrity. Sir Thomas Roe took, to my mind, a very fair view of Laud when he described him as much better than his fame, and much better within than without.² For Laud suffered from only one of the seven deadly sins, and that the worst of all - pride: he had every Christian virtue save humility.

Laud's feelings for Andrewes had been those of an admirer - almost a disciple - far different were his relations with Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, the man who had risen so high under James and had since fallen so low. Williams differed greatly in character from Laud, and whereas the latter had never found great favour with James, the former had been welcomed for his readiness of speech and his worldly wisdom. Williams was always more of a statesman than an ecclesiastic, and, with his supple mind, was much at home in political ~~intrigue~~. It is said of him that he made a most successful Lord Keeper. Much of his early advancement he owed to the favour of Buckingham, but as early as December 1623 we find Laud writing in his diary that

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1634-35. CCLXXXV. II. March 17th, 1634/5. St. Nicholas Hospital, written to Ed. Nicholas.
2. Ibid. 1635. CCLXXXVII. 35. April 23rd. St. Martin's Lane. to the Queen of Bohemia.

he had been to see "My Lord Duke of Buckingham" at Whitehall, and that "There I found, that the Lord Keeper had strangely forgotten himself to him; and I think was dead in his affections."¹ While a month later, Laud entered in his diary that he "was much concerned at the envy and undeserved hatred borne to me by the Lord Keeper."² It is obvious, of course, that Williams was jealous of Laud because he felt that the newcomer was supplanting him in the Duke's affections. As long, however, as James lived, Williams was persona grata at court, but by the most sensible action of voting against the war with Spain, Williams displeased not only Buckingham but Prince Charles. The latter was hardly the man to appreciate the Bishop's merits as a councillor of moderation, while his defects of character, and he had many, would be sure to revolt him. Williams should have realized that his position was precarious after the death of James, but he continued to mix actively in politics and play the part of a candid critic. His very assumption of continued popularity probably further exasperated Buckingham. At any rate he quickly lost the position of Lord Keeper, and retired to Buckden in disfavour.

Williams took this disgrace very badly indeed, and in the following year petitioned the King and addressed him in ^{such} words as the following:- "..... For God's sake and your blessed father's

1. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~. Works. III. P. 144. Dec. 15th.
2. Works. III, P. 145. Jan. 25th.

sake, whose creature and most painful servant I late was, first that your Majesty would be pleased to mitigate and allay the council's displeasure and my lord duke's against me, who is so little satisfied with anything I can do or suffer that I have no means left to appease his anger," but my prayers to God, and your sacred Majesty..... " ¹ It is interesting to note that despite the great humility of the petition, the greatest concern of the writer was to have the King reinstate him in Buckingham's favour, and not, as one might have expected, the opposite. The Bishop's exile was not to be so easily ended, however, and many historians attribute its continuance to the influence of Laud. By 1628 the court had been sobered by the strength and persistency of the parliamentary opposition, and it is quite possible that Buckingham began to see the need of a man like Williams, who was preeminently a person of moderation and a maker of compromises. At any rate Williams was approached by the favourite's ² mother, and conversations ensued. Unfortunately the murder of the Duke put an end to Williams' chance of rehabilitation. With Buckingham gone, Laud achieved supreme influence with the King and, before the year was out, a charge was laid in the Star Chamber against Williams for revealing information contrary to his duty and oath as a Privy Councillor. And so began that unfortunate prosecution that was to drag on with several serious developments for nine long years. Personally, I

1. H.M.C. Report. 16: Verulam. Mss. P. 29.

2. See Gardiner. Hist. of England. Vol. 6. P. 339.

feel that this antipathy between the two bishops sprang from a fundamental difference in character. An incident connected with the Royal Injunctions¹ of 1629 exemplifies this, for Williams, while writing to Sir John Lambe about the Injunctions and their bearing on lectures, said that he allowed the preacher to a mixed congregation, instead of catechising, to explain the catechetical heads of doctrine from the pulpit; and went on to show how the prayers might be read partly by the lecturer and partly by the parson of the place.² Laud, on the other hand, had, in the very same year, suspended a man for not catechising³ according to the catechism in the Common Prayer Book.

It will be remembered that Laud had been bold to the point of rashness with reference to the position of altars: far different were the actions of Williams in this respect. This is aptly illustrated by his treatment of St. Margaret's, Leicester. On June 19th, 1633. Williams wrote, from his beautiful manor at Buckden, to Reginald Burdin, the surrogate of the ecclesiastical court at Leicester. In this letter he told Burdin that he had ordered the parishioners of St. Margaret's to remove their library from the choir of the church and there place the communion table. This, he wrote, they had done, but had assured him that it was more convenient in the old place because of room and audibility. He had, therefore, given them leave, by right of the liturgy,

1. Sec. Chap. 4. R. 12.

2. C.E.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1629-31. CLXII. 51. March 8th, 1629/30. Buckden.

3. Ibid. CLXXVI. 63.

Injunction, and the 82nd Canon, to put it in its former place during communion; and required Burdin not to trouble the parties¹ until he could legally disprove the aforesaid assurance. Having thus tactfully got the parishioners to remove their library, the Bishop interested himself and others in it and personally gave a subscription. A few months later found him writing to the Mayor of Leicester to thank him for providing so convenient a place for the library. He hoped that the chancel would now be repaired and the altar placed at the upper end, save during communion, and went on to write "only both then and all other times my earnest suit unto you is, that your table may be fairly covered and adorned wheresoever it stands, that whereas all men that are not extremely malicious must needs commend your wise and discreet managing of your civil, idle people may have no² occasion to tax your disposing of church affairs."

During all this time Williams had never been free from legal prosecution. The case against him, which had begun with the somewhat frivolous charge of 1628, "slumbered for some years until it was revived, on Noy's death, and at Laud's instigation, by a petty-fogging Attorney named Richard Milvert, one of Laud's creatures, a frequenter of the Fountain Tavern, Shoe Lane, London."³ The case quickly assumed serious proportions as it became evident that Williams' zeal had led him to tamper with

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1633-34. CCXLI. 18.
2. H.M.C. Rep. 20. Hastings Mss. P. 74. Sept. 18th. 1633. V.2. Buckden.
3. Ivor Bowen. John Williams of Gloddaeth. P. 38.

witnesses, but Gardiner states that despite this Williams might have obtained pardon from the King had not fresh evidence against him appeared in 1635; and Laud himself wrote to Strafford in November of the same year that Cottington was "bringing off the Bishop of Lincoln," and added in a sarcastic tone, "for he knows he [Williams] loves me heartily."¹ On turning to Bowen's life of Williams, we read that "In 1635 Laud instigated the prebendaries of Westminster to prefer articles of misgovernment against Dean Williams [he was also Dean of Westminster] touching the church and Divine Service; "² In view of this, and of the other knowledge we have gained, it does not seem an exaggeration to say that it was Laud, and Laud alone who had been behind the misfortunes of Williams. And was it not of Laud that Cottington had written "they say he can never be reconciled, where once he takes displeasure?"³ Once more Williams began to pen obsequious appeals to the King. In one of these, labelled in the State Papers Domestic, May [?] 1636, the over-humble Bishop prayed that he might be changed from a prisoner in the Tower at pleasure, to a perpetual prisoner in all the powers and faculties of his soul to his Majesty's commands and service.⁴ But inasmuch as Williams was not placed in the Tower until 1637,

1. Works. VI. P. 442. Nov. 16th, 1635.

2. John Williams of Gloddaeth. P. 35.

3. Knowler. Letters of Strafford I. P. 449. Letter to Strafford. Aug. 4th, 1635.

4. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635-36. CCCXXII. 47.

I feel that the petition may be misdated. As Williams' pardon appeared hopeless by 1636, he published anonymously in November of that year the Holy Table, Name and Thing. This book, which appeared in the form of an answer to Heylyn's Coal from the Altar, contained many arguments in favour of moderation with regard to the position of altars. The book, whose authorship was no secret, undoubtedly constituted a bid for Puritan support, for Williams was by no means averse to seeking a backing whenever he could get it: it was, in fact, one of his gifts.

In the Summer of 1637 Williams was brought to trial, and on June 16th Secretary Coke censured him, saying "We are now to censure a great prelate of the church, who if he had less meddled with temporal affairs, and applied himself wholly to his proper function, might happily have prevented any censure in this Court. Mr. Attorney hath pressed six charges against him, but the substance of all is, that he hath been too busy by himself and his servants in tampering with witnesses for the perversion of justice." ¹ On July 18th the commissioners, for Causes ~~Resiasticall~~, wrote to Williams from Lambeth that by sentence of the judges of the Star Chamber on the 11th instant, he was referred to them to be suspended ab officio et beneficiis. They therefore required him to appear personally before them at Lambeth, in the Manor House of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Monday the 24th, to hear such sentence of suspension pronounced. ²

1. H.M.C. Rep. 12 App. II. Coke. Mss. V. 2. P. 160. June 16th.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXIV. 12.

He was, however, spared the last indignity.¹ This time Williams was indeed a prisoner in the Tower, but even so the Archbishop was not satisfied and February 1639 again found Williams before the Star Chamber. By reading between the lines we can see that at the bottom of this last charge lay those letters in which Williams had foolishly but comorehensibly referred to Laud as "the little urchin" and "the little meddling hocus-pocus."

The relationship between Laud and Williams during all this period brings small credit to either of them, and yet I must confess that I am not without sympathy for the Archbishop. The characters of the two men were absolutely antipathetic, and while Williams was infinitely the wiser, Laud was by far the more honest and dependable. Even in 1635, when he must have realized how Laud disliked him, Williams was not beyond pleading with the Archbishop to intercede for him with his Majesty. And in this respect well earned the rebuke which Laud sent him: -
"..... if your Lordship..... shall think I have not performed towards you all I undertook, you wrong me, but if you think I shall forsake any just cause of the King's to assist you, you deceive yourself, for it is one thing to sue for favour, and another to do justice, if proofs arise, and you be left unto
2
them."

Not only did Bishop Williams suffer prosecution by the Star Chamber, but he was also subject to numerous petty annoy-

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXIV. 42.
2. Laud's Works. VI. P. 408. Laud to Williams. Jan. 10th, 1634/5.

ances at the hand of Sir John Lambe. Lambe owed his early advancement to Williams and had at one time been his commissary in the diocese of Lincoln, but as early as 1626 the Bishop's zeal had begun to cool and he refused to sanction some proceedings proposed by Lambe against Leicestershire conventicles, whereupon Lambe secretly informed the Privy Council. With wisdom but ingratitude Lambe attached himself to Laud, and so became, in time, Dean of the Court of Arches. By means of his new position Lambe was able to do much to irritate Williams, and seems to have lost no time in so doing, for as early as December 1633, Laud felt it necessary to write to Williams that he was "sorry for some occurrences" that had happened between the two.¹ Moreover, Lambe continued to keep in touch with matters,² as we can see by the letter that Dr. John Andrewes wrote to him in April 1633, from Beaconsfield, in which he said that until three years ago all those parts had been mistaught, and neither church or church-yard had been held holier than a stable. All days, he wrote, save Sabbath - as they were freely taught to nickname it - were held alike, even Christmas. He added that the women of the country-side cursed Lambe to the pit of Hell for suspending two men for not reading the Book of Sports.² Now of these two men, to whom Andrewes had referred, one had borne the name of Valentine. So it is not without interest that we note Lambe's

1. Laud's Works. VI. P. Dec. 11th. Lambeth.

2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635. CCLXXXVI. 31.

letter to Laud of October 18th, 1635, in which he said that Mr. Valentine had been excommunicated for not reading the Book of Sports, but that he had appealed to Bishop Williams and been absolved, which made a great rejoicing among the disorderly, who magnified his lordship for it. This action might, he thought, do much harm in those parts.¹ We may rest assured that Laud did act in this matter; as we can see by the petition which twenty-eight inhabitants of Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, sent to Laud in January 1636/7. This petition spoke of Valentine's conformity and use of ceremony. His curate, it reported, had read the Book of Sports, therefore Laud was requested to restore Valentine to liberty to officiate.² We have here seen how different were the actions of Williams and Lambe with regard to conformity, and indeed, their thoughts were also very different. Lambe, for example, once said that he would make a certain vicar not only read the Book of Sports, but declare that he approved of it, whereupon Williams wrote to him that in his opinion such approbation was not required, for he - Williams - measured the obedience of his clergy by their acting rather than allowing what in this kind they were commanded.³

By the beginning of 1637 Williams must have realized full well that he could no longer escape his doom, and signs are not lacking to show that he was determined to take what small

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1635. CCC. 2. Doctor's Commons.
2. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCXLIV. 37.
3. Ibid. CCCXXXV. 30. Nov. 8th, 1636. Buckden.

chances for revenge were left him. On December 29th, 1636, the Bishop once more wrote to Laud, but this time it was^{no} an abject appeal for aid: rather did Williams write with his tongue in his cheek and make fun of the Archbishop by exposing his weaknesses and playing up to his love of dignity and historical precedent.

"One", he wrote "of my clergy in Bedfordshire (a learned and pious gentleman) had set up a stone upon pillars of brick for his communion table, believing it to have been the altar stone, whereas it was a plain grave-stone..... I caused it quickly to be removed..... which yet I make bold to write unto your Grace, lest it should be more tragically represented. Some quarrels have risen in the southern parts of my diocese about some ministers forcing of the people to receive at the rails (which I have procured to be placed about the holy table)..... Wherein I spare to settle any order..... not knowing myself what is right where the Canon doth not prescribe it..... it is..... more respect than can be preceded by antiquity for the people to be permitted to approach so nigh. It was in former times the special privilege of kings and princes." ¹ Not only did Williams so write, but he began also to act against Laud's wishes, and remitted all presentments for misdemeanors among the Puritans of at least one parish. ² A petition to Laud dated April 25th, 1637, throws even more light on the Bishop's actions, although, of course, one

1. Laud's Works. VI. P. 476. from Buckden.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXX. 6.

cannot say to what extent it gives a trustworthy account of affairs. The petitioner - Thomas Hitchcock - wrote to the effect that the Bishop of Lincoln was 'alight' to see the Archbishop's orders 'pulled down'. He had sold a parsonage for £2,600, and his chaplain had helped to break all the chancel windows and throw out the communion-table, while the Bishop would listen to no complaints about it. The petitioner desired that this might be referred to Lambe. In Lancashire all orders of the church had gone to the wind, and surplices were called rags of Rome: this might be seen at Preston and Manchester where they suffered no organs, or sign of the cross in baptism, and altars were pulled down. When he had returned to Lincolnshire, and was going to Boston to bring the names of those who had abused the Archbishop, he had been threatened with murder.¹ Such was the information that came to Laud's ear, but he had not long to wait before he could act, for soon the Bishop's activities were cut short by the Tower and control of his great See fell into the Archbishop's hands.

Practically every historian, in writing of this period, has lamented the fact that Laud and not Williams won the favour of the King. But would Williams with his superficial shrewdness, his suppleness in mind and morals, and his virtuosity in intrigue, have been a better man for the church? Compromise is impossible between two antipathetic theologies, and Laud undoubtedly felt

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLIV. 91.

that the moderation and half-measures of Williams could only result in the eventual dominance of the more forceful Puritan element. Laud saw that the Church of England was too weak to compromise, and that if he wished his ideas of a church that was at once national but catholic, and scriptural yet apostolic, to survive, he must act and act quickly. England was in real danger of being bound by the paralyzing theology of strict Calvinism, but by the severity of Laud's action, and even more by the severity of the reaction which it produced, she was saved.

CHAP. 9. - P. 1.

Always, in dealing with history, one must guard against a tendency to forget that it is real, and that it all really happened. Not only were the actions of men like Laud real, but the opposition to them was also real. One might be tempted to regard the history of the Church of England under the first James and Charles as largely composed of dreamy exaggerations - half fact and half phantasy - were it not for one incident: that scene in the Tower when Laud laid down his life for the Church he had loved. It is so difficult for us, in this 20th century, to realize and appreciate the very tremendousness of what happened in the 17th, that we are apt to talk of such past events without fully realizing their significance. There is in us all a tendency to talk glibly of Charles Stuart and William Laud without realizing the awful fact that Englishmen once not only killed their King, but beheaded their Archbishop of Canterbury. This thing which has been called the 'civil war under Charles I' or the 'great rebellion' and so forgotten, turns out to have been what was possibly the most momentous occurrence in the inner development of the English nation. The historian on realizing that Charles, Strafford, and Laud were all executed, can only feel as one who, while thinking he watched

the duel scene in Hamlet, suddenly realized that it was no play-acting, but grim earnest.

So far, in this essay, we have dealt with the general conditions of the Church under Charles I, and we have mentioned the various types of religious mind. Then has followed a brief sketch of the history of those facts and theories in relation to one man - William Laud. But such a story will never be understood in its true significance and proportion unless the reader bears always in mind that scene at the block. How, it may be asked, could such a thing happen - and that is the question we must attempt to answer here.

Some writers, in attempting to explain the extremes to which events were carried during the reign of King Charles, have seen in it all little more than a struggle between enlightened liberty and dark oppression, but that will hardly suffice. It would, of course, be fairly easy to draw up a list of those forces which were playing against Laud and his work: that anti-clericalism, for example, which is always latent in the Anglo-Saxon breast; and the anti-Romanism even stronger then than now; and the mistrust of court-life and court-influence which is always present in some degree amongst any people; and that strong desire for absolute independence which was then affecting

all Europe. All this was ranked in opposition to Laud, and more besides, for we must not forget that all the old outer organisation of the Church had been preserved intact at the Reformation. The many forms of Church dues and tithes can never have been popular, and the same can be said of the whole system of ecclesiastical courts. But while these things had not been destroyed by the Reformation, they had, nevertheless, been greatly affected by changed feelings among the people and the new economic dispensation. How doubly aggravating, then, must have been their sudden stimulation by Laud. We have already set down quite a number of difficulties which stood in the way of such plans as Laud had in mind, and doubtless many more could be added to our list. But no accumulation of such grievances can quite explain what happened, and we must seek for deeper causes. It must be understood for example, that Englishmen then were made of a very different stuff than Englishmen now. More emotional were they then: much more easily moved to temper or to tears. Then again agnosticism was practically unknown, and faith was widespread. Everyone believed in Christianity in some form or other, and with real christian convictions there goes, of necessity, intolerance. It was an age almost untouched by any philosophy of probability and uncertainty. Moreover, we must never forget that the Elizabethan age was primarily

a period of enthusiasms. So many things were then new, exciting, and stimulating: it was an age of zest and vigour. This is particularly noticeable in the world of ideas, for there also were new worlds being discovered. Unrestrained by the wisdom of the old orthodoxy, England in the first half of the 17th century was seething with ideas and theories. That is why the end of Charles' reign was marked by a swarm of sects and theories. Not only was this the case with regard to the church but also in connection with the government: indeed the two often became inextricably mixed: 'Diggers', 'Levellers', 'Anabaptists', 'Adamites', 'Traskites', and a dozen others, all could find adherents. All this must have a place in any just estimate of the reason for Laud's immediate failure. It must also never be forgotten that England, in the 17th century, was in the first flush and pride of a new nationalism, and with this feeling the Stuart Crown and the Stuart Church had failed to ally themselves.

Such, then, were the more general reasons for the failure of that movement which was personified, if not caused, by William Laud. We have already mentioned several more immediate factors, and it will be well to pay some particular attention to these, now that mention has been made of their background. Anti-clericalism, for example, which is as old as the existence of priests, was then powerful in England. It is not too much to

say that it was this war against the priest, this denial of the whole sacerdotal function, which was at the root of the Reformation. How it must have grieved the Puritan, then, and even the ordinary adherent of the Establishment, to see the work of their forefathers undone: to see clergymen turning into priests, communion-tables becoming altars, and England's Bishops rapidly increasing in state. Not only were these people grieved, but they were stirred to opposition both active and passive. Much evidence of such opposition remains, and much of it is of interest, but I have not been able to demonstrate any increase in its intensity during Laud's primacy. However, a little a priori reasoning can easily demonstrate that such must have been the case. First of all, a great deal of what the high-church party taught and practiced had not been seen in England for two generations. It was new: and therefore opposition to Laud's church must have increased in direct proportion to the degree to which he achieved his ideals. Again, what might have been tolerated when there was little fear of 'popery' would arouse instant apprehension in an age of greater mistrust. The men who feared that their King and their Archbishop were Papists - and some did - would be apt to see the marks of the 'beast' everywhere.

As we have already seen in previous chapters, it was a dangerous time in which to express any disapproval of what authority had enjoined, and there must have been many who kept their feelings to themselves. In vino veritas, however, and we know of at least one poor man who had the misfortune to live up to that saying. It appears that about the 5th of July 1637, one, James Priest, was feeling depressed and sought consolation by drinking sack at the Falcon Tavern at Cambridge. For some time after that the poor man's mind was a blank, but others were not so forgetful and sent up to London information that James Priest of Cambridge, painter, came upon the market hill upon Sabbath day, the 5th of July, and said "Some scurvy bishop hath got a toleration for boys to play upon the Sabbath day after evening prayer, and so I will begin myself," and so danced and played, and used many unfit speeches. He said, also, "Some foolish bishop hath gotten a toleration for these boys to play upon the Sabbath day, which if the King did understand himself he would not suffer it, but he is over-ruled by his servants - a company of knaves." The use of altars also appears to have met with the poor fool's¹ displeasure. In this case it would seem that the people

1. C.S.P.Dom. Chas. I. 1635. CCXCIII. 97. CCXCVI. 45.

themselves had reported the misdemeanour, but most information of such opposition has to be collected from letters written by despairing clergymen or from cases before the High Commission. Thus in the articles abjected against Burton, the Vicar of St. Matthews in London, we read that he had said that there was a group desirous of overthrowing church and state and that to do this they had prohibited preaching on controversial points especially Arminian Heresies.. For errors, according to him, could easily grow when a minister could not¹ reprove them. Much the same view is expressed in a document which purports to be a faithful soul's meditation and prayer on the affliction of God's Church, and is dated 1635. Here we find it said that where the Gospel had once been purely preached, idolatry was creeping in and the enemies of the truth triumphed insolently. The night of ignorance, it said, waxed dark; God's holy name was blasphemed, and the doctrine² of salvation was trodden under foot by God's adversaries.

Many letters and petitions of the time, paint a somewhat similar picture. Take, for example, those which come from the years 1636-8: years when the effects of the

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I.1637-38. CCCXXXV. 69. Nov. 17, 1636.
2. Ibid. 1635. CCCI. 37. Nov. 7.

visitation were being felt. On June 13th, 1636, John Andrewes, D.D., the rector of Beaconsfield, wrote to Laud and told how the vicar of St. Peter's Chalfont had been violently importuned to allow lectures on Sunday afternoon. This was especially asked by new-comers, one of whom had said, "Since this same pragmatical bishop [Laud] kept his visitation there is a great gap open for the increasing of popery and spreading of Arminianism." There was, he said, a general non-observance of the King's instructions and articles by the clergy of those parts.¹

Another interesting letter is that which Dr. Mathew Nicholas wrote to his brother Edward, on the 4th of April 1637. The Doctor wrote that he had performed divine service at Wherwell, garbed in his hood and surplice, which were taken, among certain refractory men, for the marks of the beast. His summons to the communicants to come up into the chancel drove many out of the church, and he did not think there was a congregation in Hampshire so refractory to good order, but then, said he, their vicar was also so inclined.² In this case the vicar and his congregation would appear to have been in

1. C.S.P. Dom. Charles I. 1635-36. CCCXXVI. 18.
2. Ibid. 1636-37. CCCLII. 29. West Dean.

sympathy, but often it was the clergyman himself who appealed for aid against his own parishioners. One such petition to Laud is extraordinarily amusing and was sent to him by the parson of Normanton, one Robert Laxton, on the 6th of May 1637. This petition reads roughly as follows: that having always been very conformable and orthodox with respect to his holy mother the Church of England, he had suffered much from a barber named Thomas Bowyer, who, in the presence of clergymen and others of good quality, called him a fool, ass, stinking fellow, base fellow, etc., pulled his beard in a scornful manner, violently rushed his elbow upon his breast, flung a glass of burnt wine in his eyes, threw a candle-stick and a stool at him, struck him with a crabtree cudgel, drew blood of him in divers places, and tore his priestly habit. The parson prayed that Bowyer be prosecuted ex officio, since he could not be absent from his charge personally to prosecute, and Laud so ordered it. This Bowyer seems to have had at his command a wealth of means for demonstrating his displeasure, but undoubtedly a petition such as that sent to Laud by the vicar of Kilsby, in Northampton, describes a more normal state of affairs. This petition, which was written in June

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of the same year, describes how the parishoners read books like Martin Marprelate, despite the vicar's disapproval. The latter - Nicolas Darton - said that they refused to pay ship-money and treated him contemptuously, and he prayed the Archbishop's favour for suppressing such outrages suffered for the church's doctrine and discipline.¹

There is evidence to show that in London, even after the Metropolitcal Visitation, much was amiss, for a paper assigned to the year 1637 contains information concerning various irregularities to be seen there in divine service. According to this document, divers curates had licensed sub-curates, by which device they themselves avoided the penalties of non-conformity; the pews in the churches were so made that men as much sat as knelt during prayers; boys put on their hats during sermon time; the sacrament was given to many who sat in pews, and many communion-tables were not railed in, some, even, being in the middle of the chancel.² If this picture of such devices for evasion is a true one, then it argues not only an organised and determined opposition, but also a fairly strict enforcement, for otherwise such measures would not be necessary. In this, as in all other descriptions

1. C.S.P. Dom.Chas.I. 1637. CCCLXII. 96.

2. Ibid. CCCLXXI. 39. Nov. 6 (?)

of opposition to high-church practices, we note that the desire to have the holy table in the middle of the chancel, or in the nave, is coupled with a desire to receive while sitting, and indeed the two are inextricably bound together. Anyone familiar with the Anglican custom of administering the chalice can see at a glance that at best it is difficult for occupants of a pew to receive, and practically impossible if the wine has been consecrated at the far end of the chancel. Kneel for the sacrament the Puritan would not, rather let the new-fangled rails be cut down and the table moved by force.¹

It was this general opposition to the priest-craft which Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick had expressed, and when they went to the pillory, in 1637, to suffer for their views, the "light common people strewed herbs and flowers before." A news letter of the time mentions how "at the cutting off of each ear there was such a roaring as if every one of them at the same instant lost an ear," although it also relates that "the humours of the people were various; some wept, more² laughed, and some were very reserved." Laud had made a great speech in condemnation of these three, which was printed and

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCXCIII.15. a letter from Dr.S.Clark to Lambe, June 17th, 1638, Kingsthorpe, describes such conditions.
2. Ibid. 1637. CCLXIII. 42. July 6th by C. Rossingham.

"bought up so fast as they are not to be gotten."¹ It was a speech, however, which did not meet with complete approval. Particularly did it displease Mr. Henry Tailer of Hardingham, in Suffolk, who objected to it so strenuously that both he and his wife found themselves before the Court of High Commission. It was objected against Tailer that he had got many to believe that Laud was a Papist; and that he had said that the Archbishop's speech was ridiculous and that the latter was meanly thought of for it, because he had maintained therein that there ought to be a real adoration of the communion-table, for which reason papists bought up the speeches until they were scarce. While it was laid against Susan, his wife, that she had jeered at the service of the Church of England, and that she had expressed a wish to be in London because Hardingham's service was as good as a mass.² Laud, of course, had maintained nothing of the kind in his speech, but had said, "For my own part, I take myself bound to worship with body as well as in soul, whenever I come where God is worshipped. And were this kingdom such as would allow no holy table standing in its proper place, (and such places some there are) yet I

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXII. 76. June 29. News letter by C. Rossingham

2. Ibid. CCCLXXII. 109. Nov. (?)

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would worship God when I came into His house." Since Laud approved such outward reverence, he held it as only fitting that it should be directed towards the altar, "the greatest place of God's residence upon earth." Still one can well see how, to a mind like Tailer's, such fine distinctions would appear to be little better than popery. The more the authorities pressed their regulations, the more ominous became the opposition to all sacerdotalism; until even the King took fright, and wrote, in his preface to the Canons of 1640, that certain rites had been called popish ceremonies, but that the same had been used by the Godly Divines who drew up the Prayer Book of Edward VI. By want, he wrote, of an express rule they had fallen into disuse, yet in his own royal chapels and many other churches they had been well kept up. Some, under cover of zeal, had tried to weaken his royal authority by saying that he worshipped God in a superstitious way, and intended to alter established religion; but any saying such things were to be reported to either a civil or ecclesiastical

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magistrate. This preface, however, like the canons themselves, was ill timed: coming either too late or too soon.

1. Works, VI. pp. 56-7.

2. Laud's Works V, pp. 610-11.

Laud himself was under no misapprehension as to the cause of all this antagonism which was being manifested on all sides. Boldly did he stand forth in his speech against Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick and say, "For my care of this church, the reducing of it into order, the upholding of the external worship of God in it, and the settling of it to the rules of its first reformation, are the causes (and the sole causes, whatever are pretended) of all this malicious storm which hath lowered so black upon me and some of my brethren." And added, "Our main crime is (would they all speak out, as some of them do), that we are bishops; were we not so, some of us might be as passable as other men."¹

Bitterly were bishops being attacked when Laud said those words, but worse was to come. Much of this aversion can be explained by the prevalence of an anti-clerical feeling, but surely the very virulence of the attack must lead us to the conclusion that the bishops, under Laud, were increasing in power and position and taking unto themselves new airs! Take, for example, the information which comes down to us of the sayings of one Napier, a Scot ; information which is endorsed by Laud and bears the date August 8th, 1638. Herein

1. Laud's Works. VI. p.42

we read that Napier thought that Bishop Williams of Lincoln had more in him than all the others, and that these things (presumably the trouble with Scotland) would never have happened had he been Archbishop of Canterbury. Napier was also reported to have said that the bishops should have less money and follow their church callings rather than state matters, and that Juxon of London could not serve both God¹ and Mammon. It was, as Dr. Duppa had once said in a letter to Laud, an age of malice and envy, that thought no honour² well placed if conferred upon the clergy.

As everyone knows, the Parliament of 1640 was deeply divided on the question of episcopacy. According to that Puritan peer - Say and Seale - the question was "whether bishops shall be reduced to what they were in their first advancement over the presbyters (which although it were but a human device for the remedies of schism, yet were they in those times least offensive) or continue still with the addition of such things as their own ambition, and the ignorance and superstition of succeeding times did add thereunto, and which are now continued for several political ends."³ In the House of Commons,

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCXCVII. 26

2. Ibid. 1629-31. CLXV. 28. April 26th, 1630. Christ Church, Oxford.

3. Speech of, printed in 1641. p.1.

Sir Edward Dering was one of the most outspoken of those who disliked episcopacy. In a speech he made before that body he purported to quote from a Kentish petition to the effect that bishops had resurrected obsolete ceremonies, such as "standing at the hymns at Gloria Patri (sic), and turning to the East at several parts of the divine service, bowing to the altar, which they term the place of God's residence upon earth: the reading of the second service at the altar, and denying the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist to such as have not come up to a new set rail before the altar." Sir Edward went on to say that bishops were "strongly suspected to be confederate with the Roman party in the land, and with them to be authors, contrivers, or consenters to the present com-¹ motions in the North; ...". Meanwhile, however, the crown was falling, and with it was going the whole system of the ecclesiastical establishment. Parliament had begun with indecision, it is true, but soon fell under radical domination: a result greatly facilitated by the actions of London mobs. Lambeth Palace had been stormed, and Parliament itself was often so threatened. The Earl of Huntingdon described this condition of affairs in a letter which he wrote to his son, in January 1641/2, saying, "Upon Wednesday, 10,000 prentices were

1. Speech printed in 1642. pp. 11-12.

betwixt York House, and Charing Cross they cried,
"No bishops, no papist lords,....."¹ King and Bishop, both
were soon destroyed, and we can only echo the thoughts of
Bishop Gauden who, when writing during the Commonwealth, said,
"It is an observation not so strange as too true, that all
spirits which are anti-episcopal are in some respects anti-
magistratical, and mostwhat (sic) anti-monarchical."² For
it was all, at bottom, a question of authority.

As every one knows, Henry VIII gained much-needed
support for his work against the Church by allowing many of
his more important subjects to wax fat on its lands and
properties. This same greed for aggrandizement worked against
Charles and Laud, for the practice begun in the 16th century
was too lucrative to be abandoned in the 17th. Signs of such
activity are not wanting. Take, for example, the petition
which the incumbent of Liddiard Millicent, in Wilts, sent to
the King on July 31st 1638. It was to the effect that Sir
Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Christopher Richmond, having
enclosed their purlieus, had for two years refused to allow
the petitioner to enjoy his common, which he and his

1. H.Mss.Com. Rep.20. Hastings Mss. V.2.p.83. Jan.
1641/2. Earl of Huntingdon to his son.

2. Tears, Sighs and Groans. p.556.

predecessors had enjoyed for time out of mind for their cattle. They intended, he said, to wear him out with suits, and were so powerful that he was helpless.¹ But enclosure was not the only means by which powerful land owners could despoil the Church, as we can see by a letter written to Laud by Bishop Coke of Hereford in December, 1637. The Bishop wrote to the effect that a certain Christopher Pritchard had been presented to Thornbury by His Majesty, but that both he and Pritchard had been deluded by the patron - Mr. Barnaby - who had embezzled it to his own private use, although it was apparent that it was a presentative thing.² Another side of the question is brought to light by the petition of Roger Mainwaring, then Dean of Worcester, to the King. In this the Dean complained that Lord Craven was endeavoring, by two suits, to deprive the church of a portion of its tithes and a tithe barn, and he therefore implored the King's protection.³ Now if such cases as described above were not uncommon - and there is no reason to believe that they were - it follows that they must have been a fruitful source of irritation between the church and the gentry. Especially must this have been the case when we remember -

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCXCV. 103.
2. Ibid. CCCLXXIV. 51. from Whitbourne. Dec. 26th.
3. Ibid. 1634-35. CCLXXXI. 79. 1634 (?)

how Laud had attempted to strengthen and quicken the ecclesiastical courts. ^{However} √ Any clergyman so despoiled could always gain help from Laud, while, if he petitioned the King, there was always the recourse to the Court of Requests, on which Laud and some other bishop always had a seat.

Such matters as we have been describing would serve to make many of the rich dislike the church of Laud, but even the poor had their grievance. Only some of the people were affected by such measures as the curtailment of lectures, but all were subject to a thousand petty rates and forms of tithes. To these were added not only rates for repair of local churches, but also a constant pressure for contributions toward the repair of St. Paul's. The latter work was dear to Laud's heart, and in 1631 the King appointed ¹ commissioners to collect for that purpose. We hear nothing of all the places where this collection may have gone well, but the places where it went badly are many, as may be easily seen. Apart from the dislike to parting with money which is in every man, it must be remembered that cathedrals as such were not near to the Puritan heart. It was said, indeed, of the Puritan Lord Brooke, that in passing

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1631 - CCXIII - May 16th 1631. Statement by Laud. Also Rymer's Foedera. Vol. 19. p. 272.

St. Paul's he once said that he hoped to see the day when not one stone of it would remain standing.

It is without surprise, therefore, that we read such a letter as that sent to Laud by Dr. Robert Aylett from Feering on Sept. 3rd, 1632. It was the Doctor's opinion that, without a letter to the bailiff of Colchester, St. Paul's cause would have little favour. The writer said that in other places that year the officials had visited ecclesiastical and so compelled the several parishes to repair their own churches: two years before he had also visited ecclesiastical and had taken not a penny for his charges, but not so a Mr. Lake who had not only hindered the contribution to St. Paul's, but brought much obloquy upon himself and their profession.¹ Not only had the collectors to surmount such troubles but they were also faced, in places, by active opposition. Thus they wrote to the Privy Council from Sleaford that the collection was going very badly due to the dissuasions of Bartholomew Garwell, a yeoman. And we know that the collector experienced similar trouble in neighbouring country due to the efforts of Thomas Cotton - a brother-in-law of Bastwick - and William Ball.²

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1631-33. CCXXIII. 4, Sept. 3, 1632.

2. Ibid. 1634-35. CCLXXVI. 42. Oct. 19th, 1634. Little Horsley, William Lynne to Laud.

Another witness to the fact that the collection can not have gone well during these years lies in the fact that, on the 30th of May, 1637, the King wrote to the Lord Treasurer and other officers of the Exchequer, that all obligations and recognizances taken by order of his commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, and the penalties and forfeitures of the same, also all fines for causes ecclesiastical imposed by the said commissioners were to be paid to the Chamberlain of London for St. Paul's.¹ This action was unfortunate, for whereas a man might not object to paying a fine to the Crown direct, he might well dislike a forced contribution toward St. Paul's repair; might feel indeed, if he was a rich man, that the whole trial had been engineered for that purpose. This procedure, in fact, almost completely parallels Leo X's use of indulgences to build the Cathedral of St. Peter. While the collectors were scouring the country for money, and the Court of High Commission was adding its quota, Laud himself was not above importuning wealthy people. This may be seen by the letter he wrote from Lambeth to Sir Arthur Ingram, on the 19th of June 1638: "I have long", he said, "had it

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637 CCCLVII. 110.
Westminster.

in my thoughts to speak with you about St. Paul's Church
God hath blessed you with a great fortune, and you live in
a noble and generous way with it I should take it
for a great deal of kindness and respect to me, would you
be pleased sometime tomorrow morning to come over to Lambeth
and speak with me." ¹ If Laud was in the habit of thus
approaching rich or important men, how easily can we account
for the behaviour of Sir Richard Samuel, who was reported to
be so venomous against ecclesiastical jurisdiction that, when
a brief for collection came, he demanded whether an apparitor
brought it or not, and if it came from ecclesiastical power
his answer was always that he would give nothing. ²

Lest any one feel that these various descriptions
of opposition to Laud's measures give an exaggerated picture,
it only remains to mention its most outstanding result - the
exodus to New England. It was there that many zealous and
sincere souls felt forced to go - among them young Harry
Vane - and it was there that many non-conforming clergymen
threatened to go when faced, due to some visitation, with

1. H.Mss. Com. 15th Rep. Wood Lms. p.50. Lambeth
June 19th, 1638. Laud to Sir A. Ingram.
2. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637-38. CCCLXXIX. 110.
Jan. 26th, 1637/38. Northampton. R. Weldon to
Lambe.

alterations or 'new tricks'.¹ To such alarming proportions did this exodus grow, that in 1638 a proclamation was issued to restrain any transportation of passengers or provisions² to New England without license. In this fact may be seen proof not only of the strength of feeling which was opposed to any form of sacramentalism and its consequence, sacerdotalism, but also the measure of the immediate success of Laud's plans.

1. See the report of Sir Nat. Brent, and C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXVI. 17
2. Rymer's Foedera. XX. p.223.

The history of the trial of Archbishop Laud is too vast and too familiar a subject to merit exhaustive treatment here. It will, however, be very much to our purpose to devote a little attention to the specific charges laid against him in order to see what light they may throw on what we have already discussed. The manner in which the trial was conducted, and the treatment accorded to Laud need concern us little. Suffice it to say that Parliament left the preparation of its case largely to Prynne - that inveterate enemy of the Archbishop - and that we may therefore assume that no possible charge was overlooked. It is unfortunate that the only day-by-day account of the trial available is Laud's own, but it is presumable that his relation of the charges laid against him is accurate.

On the very first day a more or less general case was made against him, and many complaints were enumerated. It was said, for example, that he held many Popish and Arminian opinions; and, from the Puritan point of view, this is undoubtedly true, although neither the Pope nor Arminius would have admitted it. - That, of course, was the tragedy of the whole affair: it was all purely opinative and personal and therefore relative, and there could be no real contact between Laud and the Puritan mind for the two started from different premises and argued on different planes - It was also charged against the Archbishop that he had suffered the doctrines of transubstantiation, justification by merits, and purgatory to be preached, and, as we have already seen, that was probably no great exaggeration. Use of superstit-

ious ceremonies was also mentioned, and alleged profanation of the Lord's Day; and objection was made to his acquaintance and generally friendly relations with cardinals and priests. Finally he was accused with having caused, or allowed to be printed, sermons and books which set the King's prerogative above the law. All this was laid against him, this, and more besides - practically everything in fact that had happened in the preceeding fifteen ^{an} years or more. It was not ^aauspicious beginning for the Archbishop's trial, particularly as Laud had long been deprived of many papers necessary to his defence.

The first really specific charges against him concerned matters largely political: his bad influence on the King, for example; his licensing of anti-parliamentary books, and his preferment of bad or censured clerics. And as these charges were discussed during the ensuing two days it becomes evident to the observer that Laud had played an even more active role in the government of the country than might otherwise have been realized; which would, of course, be but another reason for the great hatred which Parliament undoubtedly bore the unfortunate Archbishop. Most of the accusations in this group claimed that Laud had interfered with the due course of the law by reason of his bad advice to the King, injudicious speeches, and treatment of the question of prohibitions, but most of them are justified only if he be regarded as a scapegoat for the Court of High-Commission

and the Privy Council. Once again the trial assumed the proportions of tragedy, for who could judge between Laud and Parliament on these questions. Englishmen have always known that there was a difference between the letter of the law and the spirit, between constitutional right and ordinary practice. Thus while Laud undoubtedly never broke the letter of the law in his life, he equally undoubtedly did break what was shortly to become recognized as its spirit.

It was, of course, as he pointed out, most unfair that he should be blamed for the corporate actions of such bodies as the High Commission or Privy Council, and he made the rather plaintive plea that "no ill effect did follow" on anything he had said before those bodies, and that his words there were "innocently enough though suddenly spoken, which he hoped might proceed from a man of such a hasty and circumspect humour as himself (made so as well by nature as by the multiplicity of vexations which were put upon him) without involving him in the crime or guilt of treason". But on the question of prohibitions he made a most valient counter-charge, saying, "..... there is a great difference touching prohibitions, and the sending of them, since the times of Reformation, and before. For before, the Bishops' Courts were kept under a foreign power, and there were then weighty reasons for prohibitions, both in regard of the King's power, and the subject's indemnity." ¹ All of which was more or less true, but little likely to appease a jealous Parliament. However, his

1. Works IV. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. P. 141.

prosecutors did not rest with accusations of thus attempting¹ to interrupt and pervert the course of justice in his Majesty's courts at Westminster, and other courts,.....," but also charged him with taking bribes and acting as an extortioner to the detriment of all honest suitors at law. To prove this charge they adduced against him many cases much like the following:

"The fifth instance was a charge concerning a lease in Lancashire held in three lives by Sir Ralph Ashton. 'Tis said by his son, Mr. Ashton, (the only witness in the case), that 'I, by power at Chester and York, and the High-Commission here," being landlord in right of my archbishopric, did violently wrest this lease of the rectory of Whally, in Lancashire, out of his hands against law, and made him take a lease for years, and pay a great fine besides, and other fines besides toward the repair of St. Paul's, and raised the rent sixty pound'.²" In this, as in all the similar instances, Laud cleared himself well, saying, "I challenged this lease as void, and had great reason so to do, both for the invalidity of the lease itself, and the unworthiness of the tenant, both to me and my See - " "For 'the raising of the rent sixty pounds', it was to add means to the several curates to the chapels of ease: and I had no reason to suffer Sir Ralph Ashton to go away with so much profit, and leave the curates

1. Works. IV. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. P. 89.

2. Ibid. P. 147.

both upon my conscience and my purse. And for his fine to St. Paul's I gave him all the ease I could. But since his son will force it from me; he was accused of adultery with divers women, and confessed all: and whither that fine went, and by what authority, I have already showed." ¹ I have said that Laud seemed to have cleared himself well in this and in all similar cases, but though they do not prove any guilt on his part, they do prove how widespread must have been the irritation caused by the quickened activity of the ecclesiastical courts, and by the fact that so often such cases ended in an involuntary contribution toward the repair of St. Paul's. Moreover, this group of cases betrays a deep fear amongst Laud's prosecutors that many judges had been intimidated and 'durst not' as they would because of 'higher powers', which seems all too likely in view of the Archbishop's imperious nature. Not only do the accusations betray this fear, but also a certain tenderness of feelings, amounting almost, shall we say, to an inferiority complex. Thus it was charged against Laud that he had said that the "High-Commission Court was above all." ² This he denied and we need not doubt his denial, but who can doubt that he would have liked to have said it. Probably his accusers had much the same thought: - that is to say, knowing that the Archbishop represented a view-point that was diametrically opposed to their own, they tried to reduce what was, in truth, an opposition in spirit, to actual points in law.

1. Works. IV. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. P. 148.
2. Works. IV. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. P. 138.

Speaking, however, from a more matter-of-fact and strictly historical view-point, Laud's only crime in this respect seems to have been that he tried to do too much, too quickly, and too tactlessly.

The seventh day of the Archbishop's trial found the unfortunate matter of the Canons of 1640 being raised. "He hath" they said, "traitorously caused a Book of Canons to be composed and published, and those Canons to be put in execution, without any lawful warrant and authority....." Much was made, of course, of the by-now famous oath included in those Canons, and the charge went on to pay Laud the compliment of saying "He hath traitorously assumed to himself a papal and tyrannical power, both in ecclesiastical and temporal matters....." The latter point being, in fact, backed up by such weak arguments that one can only view it in the light of a tribute to the Archbishop's efficiency as compared to his predecessor.

The next serious group of charges against the Archbishop was to the effect that he had "...traitorously endeavoured to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established in this realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish superstition and idolatry..... He hath urged and enjoined divers Popish and superstitious ceremonies..... and hath cruelly persecuted those who have opposed the same, by corporal punishment and imprisonment; and most unjustly vexed others who refused to conform thereunto, by ecclesiastical censures of excommunication, suspension, deprivation, and degradation, contrary to the law of

this kingdom." ¹ Now Laud was, of course, much too scrupulous a man ever to have acted contrary to the letter of "the law of this kingdom", and so we can pass over these accusations in silence, especially since we already know that he was instrumental in causing a great return to the use of such things as organs and copes, candelsticks and decoration. We have here the sad sight of the conformer being charged with inconformity, of the oppressor being oppressed. One thing, however, we cannot afford to miss, and that is his answer to the charge of bowing in churches. In a reply that is magnificently typical of the man and of the age, he said that "This was usual in Queen Elizabeth's time, and of old, both among Jews, as appears in the story of Hezekiah, 2 Chronicles, XXIX. 28, and among Christians, as is ² evident in Rhenanus his notes upon Tertullian". It was not, however, until about the fourteenth day of the trial that any really sound point against Laud was raised. On that day it was charged against the Archbishop that "he did abuse the great power and trust his Majesty reposed in him; and did intrude upon the places of divers great officers, and upon the right of other his Majesty's subjects [sic]; whereby he did procure to himself the nomination of sundry persons to ecclesiastical dignities, promotions and benefices belonging to his Majesty and divers of

1. Works. IV. Hist: of Troubles and Trial. P. 197.

2. Ibid. P. 201.

the nobility, clergy and others..... " It was also said that he had chosen as his chaplains men notoriously disaffected to the Reformed religion, and had "... committed [to them] the licensing of books to be printed, by which means divers false and superstitious books have been published..... " Despite the cases of Juxon, Mountagu, and Mainwaring it is difficult to see how Laud can, in this respect, have acted so much illegally as unwisely; yet it must be admitted, in all fairness, that with regard to many instances of bad licensing brought up against him, the Archbishop did not clear himself as well as might have been expected.¹

And so the trial dragged on, with little more of interest from our point of view. As the days passed, Laud's replies seem to lack more and more that boldness one might have expected. At times he considered it sufficient to mention that Bishop Andrewes, not he himself, had written the services which he was blamed for using.² And when he was accused of preferring none but popishly inclined men,³ his main defence lay in the rather weak statement that, in most cases, he himself was not really responsible for this advancement; instead of boldly upholding their theology - which was his - and emphatically denying their pro-Romanism.⁴ Other of his replies were equally

1. Works. IV. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. P. 260-270.
2. Works. IV. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. P. 203. for example.
3. Among those mentioned were Dr. Mainwaring, Mountagu, Bp. Corbet [Oxford 1628. Norwich 1632] , Bp. Pierce [Peterborough. Bath & Wells] , Bp. Wren [Hereford, Norwich. Ely] , Bp. Lindsay, A-Bp. Neile, and Drs. Cosin, Potter, Baker, Weeks, Bray and Heylyn.
4. Works. IV. Hist: of Troubles & Trial. P. 292. Passim.

weak, until one begins to get the impression that the so-called wonderful Christian humility and patience displayed by Laud during his trial were really caused by fear. Where were his old-time characteristics of bluntness and righteous indignation? Why does one sometimes get the impression that he was evading, compromising, even quibbling? Surely the answer is to be found in his fear and his despair. He was, by then, an old man, and living amidst the ruins of all his hopes, all he had lived for. Alone he had to face a hostile Parliament, and alone he had to combat and deny the multitude of details alleged against him. He must have known, too, that his task was hopeless, for as we have said, his mind worked on an altogether different plane from those of his accusers, and they would not have understood, even had he launched into a bold but necessarily intricate defence of his 'middle' position. Parliament saw in his actions "First a connivance, then a toleration, then a subversion" to Popery, and no mere use of argument could have convinced them otherwise.

Then, too, Laud was face to face with all the piled up hatred and irritation of the past twenty years, and was reaping the result of many things that had been said and done harshly, and unwisely. And other forces also played against him: the hatred borne him by the Scots, for example, and the prominent part he had played in upholding the authority and government of the King. Who can blame him, then, if he was afraid? But he was not afraid when it came to the end, and he really saw that he was

doomed, and he was not afraid to die. In his own writings may be found the cause of all his troubles, and the best answer to all his accusers, for he said, "I have, ever since I understood aught in divinity, kept one constant tenor in this my profession, without variation or shifting from one opinion to another, for any worldly ends. And if my conscience would have suffered me to shift tenets in religion with time and occasion, I could easily have slid through all the difficulties which have pressed upon me in this kind..... I could easily have seen a way through all this difficulty; and how to have been as gracious with the people as any, even the worst, of my predecessors. But I have ever held that the lowest depth of baseness, to frame religion to suit turns, and to be carried about with every wind of vain doctrine, to serve and please other men's fancies, and not a man's own either understanding or conscience." ¹ Sir Edward Dering spoke truly when he said of him, "Lastly, he was always one and the same man; begin with him at Oxford, and so go on to Canterbury, he is unmoved, unchanged: he neither (sic) complied with the times, but kept his own stand, until the times came up ² to him."

All through the account of the trial, one thing is very much in evidence; namely, the perfect equanimity with which the prosecution held the Archbishop directly responsible for the

1. Works. IV. P. 60 and III. P. 416. History of Troubles & Trial.
2. Speech in House. Printed 1642. P. 3.

countless actions of various under-officials. Any similar trial would, of course, show a like tendency. But even though we allow liberally for that, one fact stands clear, and that is that in the eyes of the people, Laud, and Laud alone, was responsible for the entire workings of the English Church under Charles. And that is a point worth remembering.

This treatment of the trial has of necessity been of a scanty nature, and by no means gives a fair idea of the enormous amount of detail alleged against Archbishop Laud. The aim has been rather to give a running synopsis of the more important points, and an idea of the character of the thing; those wishing to do so may read the account at length in Volume IV. of Laud's Works. Then again the chapter may have appeared overly opiniated, inconclusive, impressionistic, and vague; but it must be remembered that only one source was at hand for the Trial and that but the account of Laud himself. - - - - - And so we leave it.

And so we come to the end of our period, and it becomes necessary - as an epilogue - to attempt some sort of estimate of what has gone before. One thing at least should be by now clear, and, that is the large, nay, the utterly predominant, part played by William Laud in all the tragic history of the Church of England under Charles the First. He did not, of course, originate that theology which we have called by the general name of 'middle,'¹ but, as we have seen, he made a titanic effort to put it into practice throughout the length and breadth of England. By his very diligence and the multitude of his works, if not by his learning - and it was considerable - he overshadowed his ecclesiastical contemporaries. The English Church had lacked synthesis, both executively and theologically, and who but Laud could have had the energy - perhaps even the recklessness - to have attempted such an enormous task. Almost, one might say, it was his fate; for the very earliest records show him - even in his youth - as always "one and the same man". Always ready to battle for his beliefs, and ready always not only to argue but to act. Narrow-

1. As far as one can judge from the many visitation articles which have been collected by W.P.M. Kennedy - Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, V. III. - these 'new' ideas must first have become noticeable during the closing years of the sixteenth century. Throughout the greater part of Elizabeth's reign it is a common thing to find such articles as the following: "..... whether the altars and roodlofts, and all other signs and monuments of superstition and idolatry be clean taken away and defaced in your churches, and sentences of Holy Scripture written in their places?" But beginning with Bishop Cotton's articles of 1599 for Exeter, and Bishop Bancroft's articles of 1601 for London, we find more and more bishops requesting that communion be restricted to kneelers: which argues a very different viewpoint. Always, however, had baptism and the use of specific penances been demanded by Anglican bishops.

minded he might have been, but with the narrowness that drives to action and to ~~depth~~: never, for him, that 'Mikado'-like sloppyness that can sing "for you are right, and I am right, and all is right as right can be." Rather might he be likened to the plow that is well weighted down, but makes the furrow all the deeper. "'What', it may be asked, "is all that happened to the Church of England for twenty years to be attributed to him?" And the answer is "to whom else?" Laud was different from all the others because he really believed: believed with a burning faith that could only express itself in action. Of course the movement and the ideas existed apart from him, but it was through him that such things were able to realize themselves. His was the driving power, and all knew it. Even as Bishop of London, he held the centre of the stage, and was the oracle of his group, so that such a follower of his as Cosin could even go so far as to promise¹ to be ever observant of Laud's commands.

If his, then, is the responsibility, another question arises: what, if anything, did he achieve? We cannot deny that his efforts to change the outward appearance of England's churches, and especially her Cathedrals, must have met with a considerable degree of success: else why the fury of the opposition, or the exodus from England. Also, judging once more from the opposition aroused, he must have made more efficient the entire system of episcopacy. All that he did, but what was the measure of his success in the far more important task of winning the ^{spiritual} ~~the~~ allegiance

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1631-33. CCII. Oct. 22nd, 1631, letter from Durham.

of the people.

There is, of course, a certain glamour about any form of Anglo-Catholicism, and something, too, of the pleasure that comes from playing with fire. Moreover, many of the more-recently ordained men must have been pleasurably excited by the prospect of being, not after^{all} a clergyman, a plain cleric, but a priest, chosen by Divine will and sanctified by Divine mysteries. But while such a metamorphosis may have pleased the parson, it cannot have pleased the country gentleman who had to listen to him. This is borne by the complaint of the Bishop of Hereford¹ that men unbiassed against the church were hard to find, and the statement of Bishop Potter that church-wardens and justices of the peace failed him.² And this might explain the extreme conduct of Mr. Justice of the Peace Cole, who was reported to have said "in his charge last session at Bury, that if they knew any who used on Sundays any of those sports permitted in the King's Book and against the statute, or any minister who confined communion to kneelers at the rail, they should indict them, both the one³ and the other;"

1. See Chapter 7, P. 11.

2. See Chap. 5. P. 8. With regard to churchwardens, we are here reminded of the interesting statement made by the Fellows of Salisbury during the Metropolitcal Visitation. They said, "you may please to take notice that in most parishes in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and the western parts, there is still a Puritan and an honest man chosen churchwardens together. The Puritan always crosses the other in repairs and adorning the church, as also in the presentments of unconformities, and in the issue puts some trick or other upon the honest man, to put him to sue for his charges, he hath been at for the church." H. Mss. Com. Rep. 4. App. I. House of Lords. Mss. P. 131.

3. Birch. II. P. 277. E. Rossingham to Sir Thos. Puckering, Feb. 14th, 1636/7.

But it must never be forgotten that opposition to church and opposition to Throne were inextricably interwoven, for Presbyterianism and Parliamentarianism are both expressions of the same feeling of personal independence. And personal independency is a trait to be expected in the England of that time: an England which, from being relatively unimportant, had just experienced the glories of a golden age: an England which was just, as it were, coming from under the influence of vastly more powerful France and Spain, of the 'socially' more powerful Empire, and of intellectually and artistically more powerful Italy. Finally, there must be remembered that affinity between nationalism and anti-Romanism which even further confused the issue, so that it is difficult to know when we have a real case of lack of sympathy with the church under Laud per se. Especially is this the case since there must have been many like Thomas Robinson of Brinklow, who was reported to have said that before he would be a prey to any knave in the Kingdom, he would receive the communion on his knees, though it were against his conscience.¹

However, if we may assume that it was not unknown, at this time, to use the word 'Protestant' solely for those who were adherents of the new 'middle' theology, we then have for our aid the statement of the Florentine Ambassador that the adherents of the Anglican Church were less than the Puritan faction,² and of

1. C.S.P. Dom. Chas. I. 1637. CCCLXX. 91. Oct. Information of his scandalous words.

2. See Chap. 4. P. 3.

Father de Gamache that the Puritans outnumbered the Protestants.¹
That by the terms 'adherents of the Anglican Church' and
'Protestant', both writers meant those who followed the 'High-
Church' teaching is borne out by a little poem, dated 1622, which
was found amongst the Earl of Westmoreland's papers.² It reads
as follows:

"A Puritan is such another thing
As says with all his heart God save the King,
And all his issue, and to make it good
Will freely spend his money and his blood.

A Protestant is such another thing
As makes within his mouth God of the King,
And as if he did with his Crown inherit
A never erring and unfailing spirit.

A Romanist is such another thing
As would with all his heart murder the King,
That sayeth the House of Austria is appointed
To rule all Christians and for this annointed
By Christ's own Vicar."

Shall we not say, then, that the active supporters of
the Church of England under Laud, were few? And, indeed, how
could this be otherwise, for it was Laud's great trouble that he
had to attempt to explain to the masses and the classes every
intimate point, every fine distinction, every subtlety. He had
to lead his opponents, accusers, and enemies over vast gaps,
from peak to peak of complicated doctrine, by slender bridges of
fine-spun logic. Whereas, Rome would merely have thundered
infallibly her conclusion and demanded silence.

We have already mentioned how the new theological
spirit found itself in sympathy with royal authority and fostered

1. See Chap. 2. P. 4.

2. H. Mss. Com. Rep. 10. App. IV. P. 22.

an almost mystical conception of monarchy, but it displayed another affinity even more typical of its inner nature, and that was its relationship with the poetic muse. For in this respect the 'Catholic' type of mind is very different from the Puritan, who, in his preoccupation with ethics, has often undervalued the aesthetic side of life. To the latter a myth is either a hard fact or a wicked lie, and sacramental symbolism only fraudulent magic; but poetry plays a much larger part in life than the Puritan is willing to admit. How interesting, then, to note how many poets the church under Charles could produce. Donne, Herrick, Aylett, Crayshaw (who later turned Roman), and many others of lesser fame, all were ordained under Canterbury. Milton, of course, could be quoted to disprove the point in question, but then Milton's was rather a dual character, and much of his earlier and lighter work expressed this new 'catholic' spirit. Besides all this, there are many, as it were, affiliated characteristics to be noted in the age: the increased interest in church art, in music, vestment, and decoration, and even the interest in art in general that was typical of a Charles or a Manchester. Even the theatre was viewed very differently by Puritan and Catholic, for while it was Laud who organized plays at Oxford, it was Prynne who wrote *Histriomatrix*. - - - In truth, the popular distinction between cavalier curls and 'round-heads' strikes deeper than might at first have been thought. Then, too, one cannot afford to neglect the development at Little Gidding of a group of men and women leading a semi-monastic life and largely

occupied in producing artistic copies of the Bible. How different might the history of England ^{have} ^{the} ~~been~~, had not ~~a~~ nascent connection between aesthetics and religion been so rudely snapped under the Commonwealth.

Many historians, however, while admitting this softer and more attractive side of the church under Charles, have gone on to blame the Laudian episcopacy for their intolerance; while still others have censured the Archbishop for not employing that extraordinary tact and pliancy, which alone could have staved off disaster by changing the ecclesiastical system to meet new conditions as they arose. But all such objections are beside the point, as we shall attempt to show.

First of all the Church of England was badly in need of reform and synchronization, as Barlow had realized some years before. Decay, poverty, and sacrilege were rampant in the Establishment, even a common theology was lacking. Such was the condition of the church, and we must never forget it. But while many writers will admit this crying need for reform and unification, they still refuse to condone the method of cure adopted by Laud. The following, for example, expresses a common criticism of the church under the first Charles: - a "great point, however, was" later gained when "intellectual fallibility was recognized as the cause of difference of opinion, and therefore that the holding of opinions supposed to be erroneous need not be regarded as tantamount to, if not actually, a moral fault..... A great step was taken towards bridging the gulf of intellectual divergence by

community of moral aspiration on a Christian basis, which might even be put forward as a sounder principle of church unity than either intellectual agreement (consisting in a common assent to a certain body of doctrine or a particular form of church government), or the purely external test of conformity to a particular ritual or discipline. The seventeenth century had not succeeded in shaking off the Roman conception of dogmatic and ceremonial uniformity in favour of that charitable unity to which the spirit¹ of Protestantism pointed the way; "

But people who write that way seem never to have realized that Christianity presupposes a divine revelation; and where there goes revelation there also goes, of necessity, authority. Now, seventeenth century Protestantism realized this fully, and presented to the people a real system of thought. In this respect it differed greatly from so much of our present-day religious emotionalism. It was an age of sturdy intellectual beliefs, an age that would have scorned such loose thinking as is contained in the phrase "bridging the gulf of intellectual divergence by community of moral aspiration on a Christian basis, ... " All people of the seventeenth century, Catholics and Protestants alike, were sufficiently straight thinking to see that authority is the logical basis of any Christian effort. It was because of this that they were led to what are now called intolerant actions, not because " The seventeenth century had not succeeded in shaking

1. The Theory of Toleration. A.A.Seaton. 1911. P. 55.

off the Roman conception of dogmatic and ceremonial uniformity... " It was not a case of one group blindly copying the other, but of both being moved by the same cause. When one believes and holds a body of revealed truth, one cannot be tolerant of error and one cannot talk glibly of "intellectual fallibility". Especially is this the case if one is the Archbishop of Canterbury.

However we must, of course, admit that Laud and his group did take up a position on the question of authority that was closer to the Roman conception than to the Genevan; but, oddly enough, Laud's aid to authority thus acquired was not so much the living church, as the history of the church. And, to sustain themselves in this difficult position, Laud and his sympathizers had to take the further step of attempting the momentous task of dividing doctrine into the two categories of fundamental and non-fundamental a distinction fraught with possibilities as yet undreamed of. To sum up, one might say that all that the High-Church party under Charles I. really wanted was an agreement as ^{to} revealed fundamentals. Fundamentals, moreover, which they thought the Church of England held in a manner which ought to be agreeable to all. This they wanted, and, coupled with it, a decent uniformity of worship according to primitive custom: a uniformity which would also help to preserve unity in doctrine. Let us criticize Laud and his bishops for their views on authority if we wish, but let us not criticize them for putting into practice what they believed.

So much for the first of the two general criticisms so often levelled at the High-Church party under Laud: the second concerns the Archbishop's failure to bend before the storm. How often have we heard it said that in a situation requiring the most delicate handling, Laud foolishly led his church to destruction because of his lack of adaptability: and once again I quite disagree with the general opinion. People who talk that way fail, to my mind, to realize the seriousness of the situation that faced the English Crown and the English Church; and especially do they fail to realize that whereas the art of compromise is a virtue in state-craft, it is a vice in theology. We often talk of Laud's church as a compromise between Rome and Geneva, but such a view would have appealed but little to the Archbishop himself. Rather did he regard himself as one who walked the centre road of truth, avoiding error on both sides. To him the English episcopacy was a body of men preserving for their country a priceless heritage, preserving it, moreover, according to the very promise of Christ Himself. And opposed to this branch or member of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, he saw nothing but reckless and factious men who were schismatics, and tearers of Christ's seamless robe. In other words he regarded those who denied the apostolicity of the episcopacy not so much as personal opponents, but as defiers of God's plan. It was therefore intolerable to him that such men should be allowed to have their way. What, he must have felt, if his actions did lead to disaster, for even that was preferable to inaction, and to tolerance of error. As

he has said himself, "I have ever held that the lowest depth of baseness, to frame religion to suit turns, and to be carried about with every wind of vain doctrine, to serve and please other men's fancies, and not a man's own either understanding or conscience."

Surely, then, we must regard Laud as justified in making every effort to preserve, for that branch of the 'catholic' church of which he was the head, the glorious heritage that he thought to be hers. Surely, as Archbishop of Canterbury, he was justified in prosecuting, if not in persecuting, those of his clergy who were unorthodox, for a Christian Church cannot be, or teach, two different things. In all this I wish to rescue him from those who would call him narrow or bigoted. His persecution of those who wished to worship outside the Establishment is, however, a totally different matter. According to our standards, his actions in that respect were wrong, but one must always be careful to judge a man according to the standards of his age; and it has been well said that "The origin of such persecutions is to be sought rather in the Byzantine and mediaeval conception of the state, whereby every attack on the unity of the faith was regarded as an open crime against the unity and stability of the state, and one which had to be punished according to the primitive methods of the time."

But while blaming Laud for intolerance in this latter respect, many writers have gone on to say that the modern ideal of intolerance was not foreign to his age, and quote, in defence of this statement, the writings of a Falkland or a Chillingworth.

Now, Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland, was a young 'intellectual' who possessed a famous library at his country place at Tew. There he gathered around him a coterie of clever young men, and of this group was William Chillingworth, the brilliant young god-son of Archbishop Laud. While both Falkland and Chillingworth did undoubtedly write in favour of a general liberty of conscience, it seems possible that Falkland's was the tolerance of a dilettante, and of a man who had grown up under the importunity of a mother who, in her conversion to Rome, was more zealous than discreet; while it is even more possible that Chillingworth's tolerance was that of uncertainty, for, born an Anglican, he had become a Catholic, and then returned again to the fold only to write, in later years that "the shame of one more alteration" would not hold him if Rome should once more convince him of her superiority.¹ And so we return once more to our thesis, namely, that it was a time of intolerance, and that Laud should not be blamed for the characteristics of his age.

But if we thus attempt to justify the severity of Laud's dealings with the Puritans, how can we condone to greater laxity with which he treated the Catholics? Why did he once say "For the recusants and their composition, I can say no more than I have already, nor are they meddled with in any other way than as they give open and public scandal against the laws."² And why did

1. "Hyman, J.D. William Chillingworth and the Theory of Toleration. P. 40."
2. Knowler. II. P. 212. Laud to Strafford from Croydon. Sep. 10th, 1638.

'Strafford' write to him, in connection with these same recusants, and say of them that "if modestly and silently they exercise and keep their consciences to themselves, it was agreed they should be looked at through the fingers".? ¹ And why did Laud let things go on far that by 1640 he was forced to admit that open toleration to the 'Popish' religion was practised in Oxford, Wales, and the northern parts. ² And indeed, it would be difficult to exonerate Laud from inconsistency in this respect were it not for two things. The first is the simple fact that Laud probably gave rein to the Catholics in a vain attempt to off-set the ever-growing power of the Puritans. But, while that may or may not have been a factor, we still have a very valid second reason: namely, the fact that the historic Roman Church was, after all, very different from any mere conventicle. Laud might claim Catholicism for his church, but the truth of the matter was that Rome was in possession, and possession is still nine points of the law, even in theology. Thus Laud was prepared to defy the authorities, even when a mere youth, by upholding the constant and perfect visibility of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles through the Church of Rome, and not, as others held, through such odd sects as the Albigensians and Berengarians. So that no matter how much Laud loathed Rome he would still have to admit that she was incontrovertably a member of the Mystical Body of Christ, and hence on a totally different plane from any Puritan or other sect.

1. Knowler. II. P. 194. Dublin. Aug. 7th, 1638.

2. Works. IV. P. 484. Notes on 'Rome's Masterpiece'.

This difference between Rome and Geneva is even reflected in the various controversial engagements of time, thus Mountagu would join Rome "when.....", James would join "if.... ..", and Laud could not join her 'until.....'. In other words the whole emphasis in controversies versus Rome was directly opposite to what may be noticed in controversies with Puritans. Indeed the very strength with which 'High-Anglicans' denied Rome's claim to their allegiance manifests their real anxiety on that point, and, perhaps, not only their anxiety but their longing.

We must be careful, however, in thus attributing to the Laudians any considerable degree of nostalgia, for they proved themselves firm enough in their Anglicanism during all their troubles under the Commonwealth. One might have expected such strong believers in a Catholic and Apostolic Church to join Rome, no matter what her errors, or even the Orthodox Church, once their own communion was seemingly annihilated, but only Goodman appears to have taken that step, while the effect of exile on Cosin seems to have had the opposite effect of making him more Protestant than he had been before.

And so we come to the end of the first great attempt to achieve that giant paradox known as Anglo-Catholicism, that paradox of which even the name is a contradiction in terms. To its theology three main trends of thought were directly contributory: first a great feeling for the past and a sense of the great dignity of the church; then, also, a strong nationalism together with a strong appreciation of kingly power (which was

probably increased if not caused by reaction from the Papacy); and finally a strong belief in the divinity of the Episcopal mission. The whole, in fact, consisting of an attempt to graft the old ideas of service, subservience, and corporate unity, onto the growing, indeed swollen, conceptions of individualism and nationalism. In all this William Laud took a leading part, and, for his epitaph, what could be better than, I. Corinthians, XIV. 40, "Let all things be done decently and according to order."

APPENDIX - P.1

A 17th Century Communion Service.

As far as can be gathered, the ritual of an Anglican service under Laud must have been quite definitely more 'high' than has generally been realized. The work of Cosin, in this respect, at Durham, has, of course, achieved notoriety due to the objections raised to it by Peter Smart. As will be remembered, Cosin had there introduced the use of candles and intonation, although not nearly to the extent quoted in Fuller.¹ And in 1633 Sir William Webb wrote to Laud that he had been staying with Cosin and had received the sacrament, which was most reverently administered there.² But Cosin was not alone in introducing such changes, as we can tell from the various visitation articles of the period. Take, for example, Laud's request to ^{Winchester} ₂ that the second service be read at the altar, that no one below the rank of deacon read either Gospel or Epistle, and, finally, that both these readings take place at the altar.³ Moreover it is not an uncommon thing to come across occasional references to images in various churches, and we know that Montague

1. Cosin's Works. IV. p.390.
2. C.S.P. Dom. 1633-34. CCXLIII. 33. July 25th from Durham.
3. See Chap. 5. P. 4.

APPENDIX - P.2

approved of their use.¹ Another illuminating bit of evidence is the description of Bishop Andrewes' chapel which may be found in Prynne's Canterbury's Doome.² According to Prynne, Andrewes had decorated his altar with candlesticks, "basins for oblations," a cushion for his service book, and other things of a similar nature. He also alleged that the chapel contained patens, cruets, a cannister for wafers (this use of wafers instead of leavened bread is an important point), an embroidered napkin, copes, surplices, and altar cloths.

Fortunately, however, we have much more important evidence than all this, for we have the whole story of a communion service at St.Giles, as described by the parishioners in their petition to Parliament against Heywood, their vicar, who had once been chaplain to Laud. The irate parishioners said that their chancel was terminated by a large screen on which was carved three statues, and, seven or eight feet beyond this, there were three steps and a long rail from one wall to the other, beyond which only priests and subdeacons could go. They went on to say that, "..... the altar doth stand close up to the wall on the East side, and a

1. See Art: XLIII of his 'New Gag for an old Goose'.
2. pp. 121-124

APPENDIX -- P.3

desk raised upon that with degrees of advancement; this desk is overlaid with a covering of Purple Velvet, which hath a great gold & silk fringe round about, and on this desk are placed two great Books wrought with needle work, in which are made the pictures of Christ, and the Virgin Mary with Christ in her arms, and these are placed on each side of the Desk, and on this Altar is a double covering, one of Tapestry, and upon that a long fine lawn cloth, with a very rich Bone-lace. The walls are hanged round within the rail, with blue silk taffata curtains. In the exterior Acts of administering the Sacrament; For the preparation of that duty, the said Doctor and three Subdeacons do all go from the body of the said Church unto the West end, being there clothed according to their Order, some in Scarlet, silk, and fine linnen, they bend their course twoards the East, every one at their first entrance saluting the Church door with low congies, then they all move to the middle of the Church, where they all duck down towards the East, then they all advance to the beautiful gate where they stand; Then everyone bowing to the ground three several times as they go. They enter into the Sanctum Sanctorum, in which place they read their second Service, and it is divided

APPENDIX -- P.4

into three parts, which is acted by them all three, with change of place, and many duckings before the Altar, with divers tones in their voices, high and low, with many strange actions by their hands, now up then down, this being ended, the Doctor takes the Cups from the Altar and delivers them to one of the Subdeacons who placeth them upon a side table, then the Doctor kneeleth to the Altar, but what he doth we know not, nor what he meaneth by it. This dumb devotion being ended, and the Altar more holy, the Cups are returned to him in the same manner as he gave them, which the Doctor receives kneeling, and so doth he place them upon the Altar, with great adoration, in the bending of his body, and in touching each of them with his finger. The bread being set upon a plate, and some of the wine poured into a bowl, all are covered with a fine linnen cloth; which cloth hath the corners laid in the figure of a cross. This being ended, he continues in his dumb devotion on his knees towards the East, his back being towards the people, he taketh money out of his pocket, and layeth it upon the ground for a time, and then he taketh it up, and offereth it, being on his knees with a very great bending of his body to the Altar, which gift is reserved in a Basin for that use. In these dumb

APPENDIX -- P.5

devotions of his, the Organs play in a doleful low tone. When this is finished, the Doctor begins the Consecration, which being ended, the number of beckings, bowings, and bendings, by him and the Subdeacons before the Altar, are impious, ungodly, and abominable to behold.¹"

After reading such a description as the above, one cannot help being reminded of the fact that most Englishmen of the 17th century can never have seen a Mass, and so must have been all the more shocked by the high-church imitation. It is of course obvious that Heywood was one of those enthusiastic disciples who always carry things much farther than their masters; but even if this was a very extreme case, it would not have been possible without somewhat similar attempts elsewhere, a congenial atmosphere, and complaisant authorities.

1. page 5 of the Petition, printed in 1641.

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