

A TRUE ACCOUNT
OF THE
ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS,
IN THE
REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

PART I.

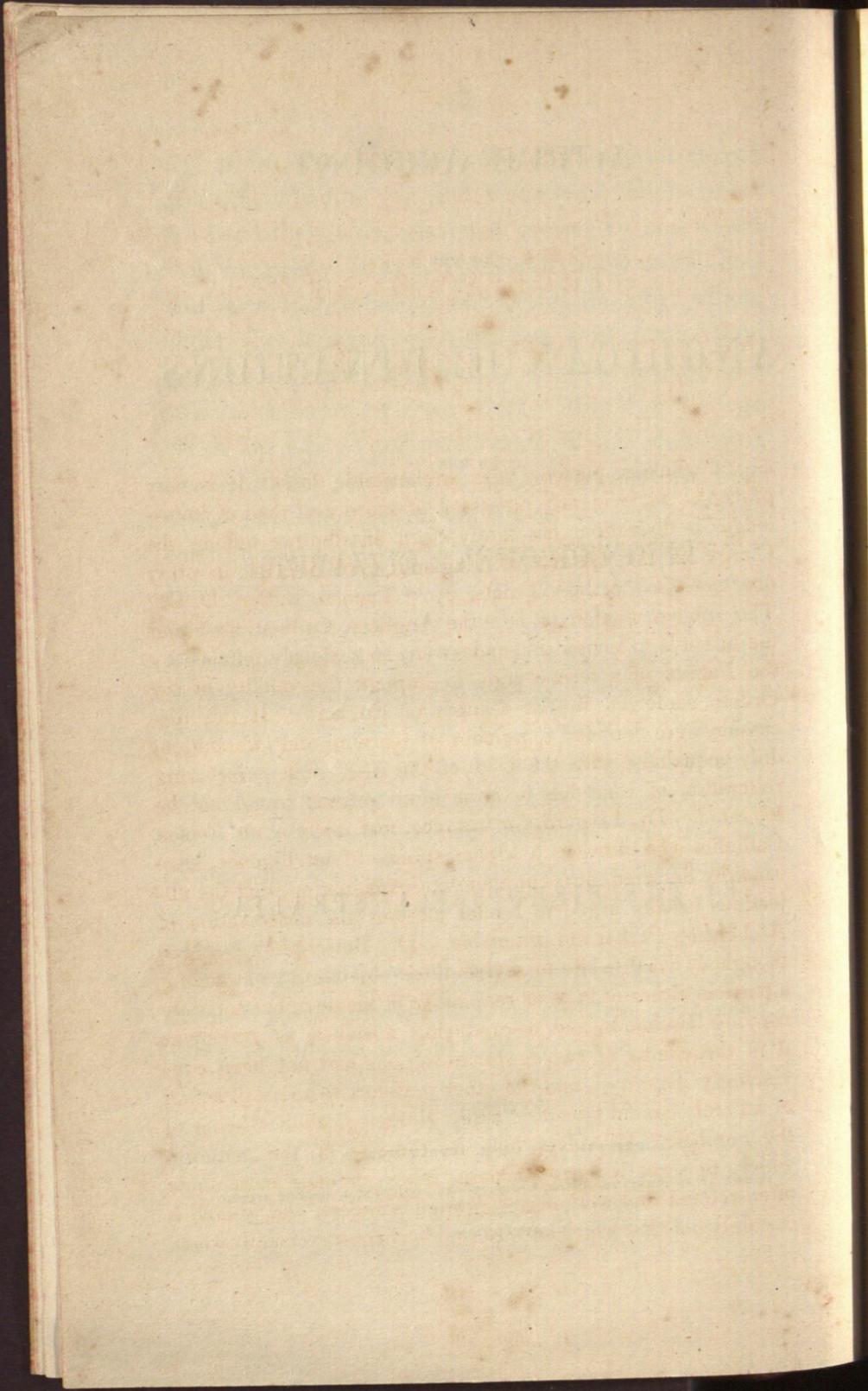
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MDCCCLIII.



TRUE ACCOUNT,

&c., &c.

I.

SOME officious person, with a charitable intent it is very probable, but evidently possessed of more zeal than of knowledge or discretion, has lately been distributing among the Clergy of the Church of England (and perhaps in other quarters also) certain Tracts, by "Thomas Butler, D. D." The subject treated of is "the Anglican Ordinations," and the intent is to revive the endeavour, so zealously pursued by the Papists of a former age, to impugn the validity of the Orders conferred in the Church of England. If this discussion were confined to persons of learning and information, duly acquainted with the facts of the case, such persevering reiteration of what has been so often refuted would not be tolerated. Dr. Lingard, for instance, and many other Roman Catholics who move in a higher sphere of intelligence, have candidly declared, after an elaborate examination, that the objections usually urged to render dubious the consecration of Archbishop Parker are untenable. Dr. Butler, however, has thought it worth while to revive those objections; not adding a particle either of facts or reasonings of his own, but servilely copying falsehoods, and re-producing mistakes, as gravely as if in the course of two centuries the one had not been convincingly disproved, and the other rectified, to the satisfaction of all truly candid persons; many Roman Catholics being of the number. Whatever may be thought of the morality, which, to serve a party purpose, rakes up once more these often-refuted and well nigh forgotten slanders, the ground is certainly not that which an unscrupulous controversialist would

be very ready to relinquish. The case is of such a nature that, when once the real circumstances are known, nothing more is needed to expose the fiction and demolish the objection. But then, how easy and how safe it is to argue upon one side of a question when the unacquaintance of most hearers with the facts may safely be presumed! The information required to enable any one to form a correct opinion, lies dispersed in a variety of books and records, where it will be sought by those alone (and they are comparatively few) who make the History of the Reformation a subject of regular study. Dr. Butler and the like may very naturally be fond of the repetition of a tale which is pretty sure of finding acceptance with that party to whose prejudices it is addressed; while its effect cannot be lost upon the too general want of accurate information existing on the other side. His purpose is in a great measure answered if nothing more than *uncomfortable doubts* are generated by his confident assertions. Such doubts find their way most readily into the most serious minds, and naturally make the deepest impression where habits of reflection are combined with want of information. Such persons, it may be said, know not what to think; they cannot banish the notion that there is something wrong: they are almost at the mercy of Dr. Butler, both for facts and arguments; being furnished with no contradiction of the one, and at a loss for any source from which they may derive a better acquaintance with the other. Thus, being led to regard the "Anglican Ordinations" as of questionable validity, they more readily open their ears to the artful insinuations which are poured into them; calling in question the sufficiency of the ordinances, and the efficacy of the sacraments which they partake of, in a church whose ministry (it is pretended) is not of genuine and legitimate descent from the Apostles.

The design of the following pages is chiefly to clear those doubts and scruples by shewing that there is *no* ground for the representation which has given rise to them. To this end,

little more than a plain statement of facts will be attempted; and some of the principal resources of the adverse party, derived from misrepresentation, being thus cut off, the Church of England is quite ready to abide by the judgment of candid and Christian enquirers.

It will be necessary, in doing what is thus proposed, to traverse ground which has been often trodden by others. But it has been suggested to me that, to render the sketch which I propose to give more useful, it should be full, and perfectly elementary, so as to be fitted for the comprehension even of those who have known beforehand little or nothing of the question. It will be more satisfactory to have to apologise, to those who have studied the case, for the insertion of so many particulars with which they are already familiar, than to frustrate the enquiries of others by omitting points of necessary information upon the presumption that it is too common to require repetition.

To go back, then, to the commencement of Queen Mary's reign, (6th July, 1553) the Episcopacy of England was thus constituted. Archbishops—*Canterbury*, Thomas Cranmer; *York*, Robert Holgate. Bishops—*London*, Nicholas Ridley; *Winchester*, John Poynet; *Salisbury*, John Salcott; *Bath and Wells*, William Barlow; *St. Asaph*, Robert Parfew; *Carlisle*, Robert Aldrich; *Chester*, John Bird; *Oxford*, Robert King; *Norwich*, Thomas Thirlby; *Peterborough*, John Chambers; *Bristol*, Paul Bush; *Llandaff*, Anthony Kitchen; *Sodor*, Henry Mann; *St. David's*, Robert Ferrar; *Worcester and Gloucester*, John Hoper; *Exeter*, Miles Coverdale; *Chichester*, John Scory; *Lincoln*, John Taylor; *Hereford*, John Harley. The following Sees were actually vacant, or speedily became so, by the death of their possessors:—*Durham*, *Bangor*, *Coventry*, *Ely*, *Rochester*.

Of the above Prelates, Salcott, Parfew, Aldrich, King,

Thirlby, Chambers, and Kitchen, complied with the change of religion introduced by Mary, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, Harley, Taylor, Poyntet, and Bush, were deprived of their Sees. Cranmer, Ridley, Ferrar, Hoper, (and Latimer, formerly Bishop of Worcester) were burnt as heretics.

In addition to the above, there were also several Bishops styled Suffragans; so called by way of distinction from the Bishops of the principal Cities or Sees. Before the Reformation they had been constituted by the Archbishops and Bishops acting, as was the case in regard to all ecclesiastical affairs, by authority derived from the Pope. By the act 26 Henry VIII. cap. 14, the number was fixed at twenty-six, that number of towns being named which should "be taken and accepted as Sees of Bishops Suffragans to be made in this realm."

Archbishop Cranmer received the crown of martyrdom on the 25th March, 1556; and *on the following day* Reginald Pole (Cardinal) was consecrated as his successor. By this unseemly and inhuman haste, he exposed himself to severe sarcasm in the application to him of the words, "hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" Queen Mary died on the 17th November, 1558; and Cardinal Pole within sixteen hours after. The hierarchy on the accession of Elizabeth was thus constituted. Archbishops—*Canterbury*, vacant; *York*, Nicholas Heath. Bishops—*London*, Edmund Boner; *Durham*, Cuthbert Tonstall; *Winchester*, John White; *Ely*, Thomas Thirlby; *Llandaff*, Anthony Kitchen; *Gloucester*, James Brookes; *Bath and Wells*, Gilbert Bourn; *Coventry and Lichfield*, Ralph Bayne; *Worcester*, Richard Pates; *Exeter*, James Turberville; *Chester*, Cuthbert Scot; *Lincoln*, Thomas Watson; *Peterborough*, David Poole; *Carlisle* Owen Oglethorpe. The following Bishopricks were, or shortly became, vacant:—*St. Asaph*, *Chichester*, *St. David's*, *Salisbury*, *Norwich*, *Rochester*, *Bristol*, *Gloucester*, *Oxford*. Of the Bishops

who were ejected at the accession of Mary, the following still survived:—Barlow, formerly of *Bath and Wells*; Coverdale, formerly of *Exeter*; Scory, formerly of *Chichester*.

The act of Henry VIII. for the nomination and consecration of Suffragan Bishops had been “repealed, made frustrate, void, and of none effect,” by the statute 1 Philip and Mary, cap. 8. Of the Suffragans themselves there remained, so far as is known, but two alive—Salisbury, of *Thetford*; Hodgkins, of *Bedford*.

Thus we have traced the steps which led to that position of affairs in which Queen Elizabeth found herself placed. One Archbishoprick and nine Episcopal Sees required to be filled. There were (as has been stated) *in actual occupation* of Sees, one Archbishop, and fourteen Bishops. Three Bishops formerly in possession, but now *deprived*, were living; as were also two *Suffragan* Bishops.

The individual selected for elevation to the primacy was Matthew Parker, Doctor in Divinity, of the University of Cambridge, where he had been Master of Corpus Christi, the college in which he was educated. He was the third son of William Parker, a reputable tradesman or manufacturer in Norwich, and of Alice his wife, who was of the family of Monins, settled in Suffolk. In April, 1527, Parker was ordained Deacon: and Priest in the following June; being then in his 24th year. His character and acquirements obtained for him a variety of preferment. Among the rest he had the appointment of Chaplain to the Queen Anne Boleyn, who not long before her death gave him a particular charge to take care of her daughter Elizabeth. This circumstance may have had some share in recommending him to that daughter, now become Queen of England, for advancement to the See of Canterbury. But he had a character and known abilities quite sufficient by themselves to have brought him into notice.

“The Queen,” as Strype writes, “left the ordering of Church matters for the most part to Secretary Cecil (afterwards the great Lord Burleigh), and Sir Nicolas Bacon (Lord Keeper), who, in serious debate between themselves, concluded on Dr. Parker as the fittest man to be preferred to the Archbishoprick.” (*Life of Parker*, vol. i. chap. 8.) On the 9th December, 1558, Sir Nicolas Bacon summoned him to London, “for certain matters touching himself, which he trusted would turn to his good.” But our modest learned man, suspecting by these words some public high honor in the Church designed for him, endeavoured earnestly to put it by. On the 20th December he returned an answer to Bacon; but does not so much as notice the matters “touching himself,” on account of which he had been summoned to the Ministers’ presence. On the 30th he received a more peremptory letter, written by the Secretary (Cecil), signifying to him “by the Queen’s command,” that “he should forthwith upon the sight thereof put himself in order to make his undelayed repair unto London.” On the 4th January, 1559, the Lord Keeper sent again to him, adding that “he willed him to come off immediately, if his health would suffer, for certain weighty matters touching the Queen’s service.” In reply, he says, “my quartan hath so distempered the state of my health, that without apparent danger I cannot as yet commit myself to the adventure of the air. And further yet, in confidence of your good old heart to me, I would be a suitor to you, as I was once by Sir John Cheek, my entire good friend and patron, to the said Sir William Cecil, that whereas he was desirous, by his mediation, to do me good (as here you use to call it), even as I was then framed in mind, so am I at this day. I would be inwardly heavy and sorry that this favorable affection should procure me any thing above the reach of mine ability, whereby I might both dishonest myself and disappoint the expectation of such as may think that in me which I know is not. But specially I might clog and cumber my conscience to God-ward; before whom I look every day to appear to make my answer, which

I think, and as I trust, is not far off. To tell you my heart, I had rather such a thing as (the mastership of) Bene't College is, in Cambridge, a living of twenty nobles by the year at most, than to dwell in the Deanery of Lincoln, which is two hundred at the least." He came however to London, but returned speedily home without having accepted the Archbishoprick, but rather, as he expresses it, "hoping he had half got himself off for this honor." In March following he writes again to the Ministers, saying that "by God's favour and their good helps, he never intended to be of that (episcopal) order;" and while he set forth his own bodily infirmity (taken by a fall from his horse in his flight in the night-time from the emissaries of Queen Mary), his want of suitable abilities, and his "vitiosity of over-much shame-facedness," he described with plain but earnest eloquence the kind of man who should be made choice of: "God grant it chanceth neither on an arrogant man, nor a faint-hearted man, nor a covetous man. The first shall both sit in his own light, and shall discourage his fellows to join with him in unity of doctrine, which must be their whole strength; for if any heart-burning be betwixt them, if private quarrels, stirred abroad, be brought home, and so shall shiver them asunder, it may chance to have that success which I fear in the conclusion may follow. The second man would be too weak to commune with the adversaries, who would be the stouter upon his pusillanimity; the third man not worth his bread, profitable for no estate in any Christian commonwealth to serve it rightly." The Lord Keeper replied on the 17th of May, that "if he knew a man in whom the description which he gave might more justly be referred than to himself, he should prefer him before Parker; but knowing none so meet, he took it to be his duty to prefer him before others." Two days after a letter of office was despatched to him on behalf of the Council, desiring him, on the Queen's affairs, "to repair up with such speed as he conveniently might." But such was his extraordinary avoidance of the Bishoprick that he gave no answer, nor took his journey for

some days : so that May 28th, Cecil and Bacon wrote to him again, that it was "the Queen's pleasure he should come up with all the speed that was *possible*"—no longer with only such as might be *convenient*. On his coming he addressed an humble petition to the Queen, praying her "to discharge him from that so high and chargeable office." He expressed regret for his mean qualifications in inward knowledge and external sufficiencies to do her any meet service as he could wish; especially as "besides his duty of allegiance to her princely dignity, he was otherwise, for the great benefits which he sometime received at her honorable mother's benevolence, most singularly obliged above many others to be her most humble beadsman." "But," the historian adds, "nothing would do; and Dr. Parker must be the man pitched upon, for his admirable qualities and rare accomplishments, to fill the See of Canterbury." The Queen's determination was formed; and he yielded when he could no longer oppose.

These full details of his nomination are given in order to shew what manner of man was Matthew Parker; in what modest estimation he held himself, and what opinion was held of him by others—by the ablest judges of human character; men of renown in their own age, and whose names are among the most celebrated in the history of our country. Is it not in the highest degree improbable, may it not be pronounced even morally impossible, unless it could be proved by evidence too clear for contradiction, that the same Parker who thus reluctantly, and in obedience at last only to the will of his Sovereign, permitted himself to be nominated to the Archbishoprick, should, within less than six months from that time, have made himself an accomplice in the profane and atrocious imposture which is stated to have been practised in the matter of his pretended consecration?

Nominated however he was; and the next step is his election. On the 18th July, the Royal Mandate was addressed to

the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, granting them license to elect an Archbishop, and recommending Parker. On the 22nd, the Chapter was summoned to assemble; when the Dean and four of the (twelve) Prebendaries attended. The other members of the body had been summoned with due formality, but failed to appear. The absentees were Hugh Turnbull, Richard Fawcet, Ralph Jackson, Robert Collins, John Knight, Thomas Wood, and Nicholas Harpsfield. It is right to insert these names; because, a reference to their known histories and opinions will supply a ready explanation of the cause of their non-attendance. They were, in fact, devoted adherents of the party whose final discomfiture, there was every reason to expect, would be ensured by Parker's election. Nicholas Harpsfield was brother, and allied in principles no less closely, to that Archdeacon John Harpsfield, who was selected by convocation to go to Oxford to dispute with Cranmer. (*Remains of Thomas Cranmer*, by Jenkyns, vol. iv., page 67.) Nicholas, a thorough-going supporter of Papal claims and doctrines, had been appointed to the Archdeaconry of Canterbury on the deprivation of Edmund Cranmer, the late Archbishop's brother. He was in attendance at the trials of Bishop Hoper and Rowland Taylor, before Gardiner, for heresy; and subscribed his name as a witness to the Acts of their condemnation to the flames. He also, with the above-named Robert Collins, Richard Fawcet, Hugh Turnbull, and three others, had been included in a commission issued by Cardinal Pole against heretics; and through the information given by them, three men and two women were burned to death at Canterbury, on the 10th November, 1558. Ralph Jackson had been promoted, early in the reign of Mary, to the mastership of the Savoy in London; whence his religious sentiments are not difficult to conjecture. Thomas Wood, another of the absentees, had been selected to preach in the Cathedral at Pole's Diocesan Visitation, in 1556. Of the remaining one, John Knight, nothing appears to be known, except that he was made Prebendary subsequently to

that visitation; and, consequently, nothing can be more certain that he was an enemy to the Reformation. Thus the cause of the non-attendance of these parties is perfectly intelligible. It was their own voluntary act: they were not deterred by force or menace. The Dean, and those associated with him, were in a legal capacity to execute the Queen's commission. It would have been absurd and criminal that they should hesitate to proceed. In an orderly manner they made and declared their election; and sent "a certification of the same under their common seal" to the Queen, as by law required. The party so presented by them would now "be reputed and taken by the name of the Lord Elect of the said dignity and office." (Stat. xxv. Henry VIII., cap. 20.)

To complete the induction of Parker in a canonical and lawful manner, or to qualify him duly to exercise the spiritual functions of a Bishop, and to hold those temporal possessions which were annexed to his See, *confirmation* and *consecration* were next to follow. By the statute last referred to it was required, that the Metropolitan Elect should be presented by the Queen to "one Archbishop and two Bishops," or else "to four such Bishops as should be assigned by Her Majesty;" requiring them, "with all speed, to invest and consecrate the person so presented."

It behoved the Queen and her advisers to act with the greatest circumspection at every step in the process, lest room to question the regularity and lawfulness of their measures should be given to those who were jealously, and even malignantly, observing them. Providentially, the direction of affairs was lodged with Divines and Statesmen, fully qualified, so far as learning, honesty, and firmness could effect it, to conduct every thing to a secure termination. The ancient rule of the Church, which they were first to consult, could not be more accurately expressed than it had been by that Canon of the Council of Nice, which requires the assistance of all the bishops

of the province, if they could conveniently attend the Ordination. But forasmuch as that, either through urgent necessity, or by reason of their great distance, it might happen that all of them could not be present, it is added that in that case, Three Bishops should be sufficient to ordain. (*Nic. Can. 4.*, also *Bingham's Antiquities*, II. 11. 4.) General practise had made that to be the rule which was at first the exception; or the sufficiency of three Bishops to consecrate was held to be unquestionable.*

There could be no more doubt that, if precedents were to be their guide, the officiating Bishops should be in actual possession of Sees within the province. This was the rule confirmed by general practice; and it was plainly shewn by what followed that there neither was any disposition to evade that rule if it could be adhered to, nor would it be departed from except under the pressure of irresistible necessity. The proceedings of the Queen at this juncture are marked by a degree of caution and discrimination which has not been sufficiently noticed. Of the fifteen Marian Bishops occupying Sees at the time of her accession, nine had at this time been deprived for declining the oath of Supremacy. The remaining six were still in possession as Bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York. On *this* account, and *not* because (as Dr. Butler would have it) "she knew that the real episcopal character was vested in these persons,"

* It must be observed that there were great variations in the observance of this rule. Thomassin says, "The Council at Arles (Can. 20.) considered it most desirable that seven bishops at least should attend: but allowed three to suffice where more could not be had. In the same passage they also advert to the fact that a single Bishop had sometimes consecrated another. By the first Apostolical Canon license to officiate is given to two or three. The Sardican Canon not only permits, but makes it an act of duty, that 'should a single Bishop only survive in a Province containing several Sees, he must ordain other Bishops; nor, except in the case of his failing so to act, does it authorize Bishops from neighbouring provinces to consecrate such new Bishops.'" (*Vet. et nov. Eccl. Discipl.* vol. II. p. 318.) But this learned writer, though he admits the validity of consecration by a single Bishop, under circumstances of such necessity, yet expresses his opinion that it is desirable to have more in attendance whenever possible.

she included them in a warrant for Parker's consecration, dated on the 9th September, from Redgrave. Dr. Butler does not appear to comprehend the policy of Elizabeth and her advisers; the very drift of which was to *contradict* the assumption that the power of giving valid episcopal ordination rested exclusively with the Roman Catholic Prelates. Of these there were yet six remaining undisturbed; and had the commission been addressed to those six, and to none else, it might have been justly inferred that the Queen admitted their exclusive, or at any rate their superior, character and competency. But this was the very acknowledgment which she was bent upon avoiding. Her warrant is addressed, it is very true, to six prelates; but not exclusively to the papal ones. Of these, no more than four were selected. "Cuthbert, bishop of Durham; Gilbert, Bishop of Bath and Wells; David, Bishop of Peterborough; and Anthony, Bishop of Llandaff." With these are united (to make up the number) "William Barlow, Bishop, and John Scory, Bishop." It was impossible to express more significantly the persuasion of the Protestant party that the two plain Bishops, Barlow and Scory, were equally competent with their endowed and titled brethren to convey the episcopal character: for the warrant was so framed as to require that the whole number (six) and not any four or three at the least (which was the more usual form) should officiate at the consecration. This was tantamount to a declaration, that in point of qualification to communicate the episcopal character, all stood upon equal ground; and it might be understood to signify that, if the prelates in possession of Sees should decline the proposal, recourse might be had to unbeneficed Bishops to continue the succession. At all events it had been provided by the terms of the commission that the four Roman Catholic Bishops should not by any manœuvre set aside the services of those who were associated with them; and thus give additional currency to an impression that they alone were empowered to propagate the episcopal succession. Whether it arose from a dislike of being forced into this association, and a sense of the inference which could not but be

drawn from it, or whatever else may have been the cause, there is no doubt that they all, excepting one, declined to discharge the service required; and those three, having the oath of Supremacy tendered, and refusing to take it, were successively deprived of their Sees, between the latter end of September and the middle of November.

Affairs were now reduced to this state, that there remained but a single Bishop (Anthony Kitchen) in possession of his See; that of Llandaff. But Barlow and Scory (already Bishops and named as such in the previous commission) had been elected respectively to the Sees of Chichester and Hereford: so that nothing but confirmation was required to give them the complete standing of beneficed Bishops. On the 6th of December therefore a fresh warrant was issued, addressed to "Anthony, Bishop of Llandaff; William Barlow, formerly Bishop of Bath, now elect of Chichester; John Scory, formerly Bishop of Chichester, now elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter; Richard of Bedford* and John of Thetford, Bishops Suffragan; and John Bale, Bishop of Ossory:" requiring them, or at least four of them, to confirm the election of Parker by the Dean and Chapter, and to consecrate him as Archbishop and Pastor of the Church of Canterbury; and to do all things pertaining to their office, according to the form of the Statutes in that case made and provided. At the conclusion, was added this unusual clause—"Supplying nevertheless, by our supreme royal authority, of our mere motion and certain knowledge, if, either in things which, according to our foresaid command, shall by you be done, or in you or any of you, from your condition, state, or power, there be, or

* An attempt is made to impeach the authority of this document because "by a misnomer, not usual in written documents, Hodgkins is called *Richard*, when his name was really *John*." (Tract v. p. 6.) Such mistakes may not be very common, but nevertheless they occur, as a recent instance proves. In the commission appointing the late Captain Hobson to the Government of New Zealand, and in the London Gazette which notified it, he is called *John*, though as it is well known, his name was really *William*.

shall be, any defect of things required or necessary by the statutes of this realm, or by the laws ecclesiastical in this behalf; the condition of the times, and the necessity of circumstances so requiring." On the 9th of December (three days after the issue of this commission) the confirmation of the election took place, at the Church of St. Mary le Bow, in Cheapside; and was followed by the consecration of Parker, in the Archiepiscopal Chapel at Lambeth, on Sunday, the 17th of December, by the Bishops Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins. In the Lambeth Register is contained a particular description (written in Latin) of the ceremonial observed on this occasion. A translation of the same, from Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker (vol. i., p. 113,) and compared with the original, is here inserted, as reference to it will be necessary for the due comprehension of much which follows.

"First of all, the chapel on the east part was adorned with tapestry, and the floor was spread with red cloth, and the table used for the celebration of the Holy Sacrament, being adorned with a carpet and cushion, was placed at the east. Moreover, four chairs were set to the south of the east part of the chapel for the Bishops, to whom the office of consecrating the Archbishop was committed. There was also a bench placed before the chairs, spread with a carpet and cushions, on which the Bishops kneeled. And in like manner a chair, and a bench, furnished with a carpet and a cushion, was set for the Archbishop on the north side of the east part of the same chapel.

"These things being thus in their order prepared, about five or six in the morning the Archbishop entereth the chapel by the west door, having on a long scarlet gown and a hood, with four torches carried before him, and accompanied with four Bishops who were to consecrate him: to wit, William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Coverdale, and John Hodgkins, Suffragan of Bedford. After each of them, in their order, had taken their seats prepared for them, Morning Prayer was

said, with a loud voice, by Andrew Pierson, the Archbishop's Chaplain; which being finished, Scory went up into the pulpit, and taking for his text, *The elders which are among you, I beseech, being also a fellow elder, &c.*, made an elegant sermon.

“Sermon being done, the Archbishop, together with the other four Bishops, go out of the chapel to prepare themselves for the Holy Communion; and, without any stay, they come in again at the north door thus clad: the Archbishop had on a linen surplice; the Elect of Chichester used a silk cope, being to administer the Sacrament; on whom attended and yielded service the Archbishop's two Chaplains, Nicolas Bullingham and Edmund Gest (or Gheast,) the one Archdeacon of Lincoln, the other of Canterbury, having on likewise silk copes. The Elect of Hereford and the Suffragan of Bedford wore linen surplices; but Miles Coverdale had on nothing but a long cloth gown. Being in this manner appareled and prepared, they proceed to celebrate the Communion, the Archbishop being on his bended knees at the lowest step of the chapel. The Gospel being ended, the Elect of Hereford, the Suffragan of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale, brought the Archbishop before the Elect of Chichester, sitting in a chair at the table, with these words: *Reverend Father in God, we offer and present to you this godly and learned man to be consecrated Archbishop.* This being spoken, forthwith was produced the Royal Instrument or Mandate for the Archbishop's consecration; which being read through by Thomas Yale, Doctor of Laws, the oath of the Queen's Primacy, or of defending her supreme authority, set forth according to the statute in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was required of the said Archbishop: which when he solemnly had performed, *verbis conceptis*, the Elect of Chichester having exhorted the people to prayer, betook himself to sing the Litany, the choir responding. Which being ended, after some questions propounded to the Archbishop by the Elect of Chichester, and the making of some prayers and suffrages to

God, according to the form of the book lately set forth by authority of Parliament, the Elects of Chichester and Hereford, the Suffragan of Bedford, and Coverdale, laying their hands upon the Archbishop, said (*inquiet*) in English, *Take the Holy Ghost ; and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of hands : for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.* These words being said, they delivered the Holy Bible into his hands, using these words to him : *Give heed unto thy reading, exhortation, and doctrine. Think upon these things contained in this book ; be diligent in them, that the increase thereby coming may be manifest unto all men. Take heed unto thyself and unto thy teaching ; and be diligent in doing them. For in doing this, thou shalt save thyself and them that hear thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* After they had said these things, the Elect of Chichester (delivering no pastoral staff to the Archbishop) proceeded to the other solemnities of the Communion, with whom the Archbishop and the other Bishops before named did communicate together, with some others.

“These things being finished and performed, the Archbishop goeth out through the north door of the east part of the chapel, accompanied with those four that had consecrated him; and presently, being attended with the same Bishops, returned by the same door, wearing an episcopal white garment, and a chimère of black silk; and about his neck he had a rich tippet of sable. In like manner the Elects of Chichester and Hereford had on their episcopal garments, surplice, and chimère; but Coverdale and the Suffragan of Bedford wore only their long gowns. The Archbishop then going forward toward the west door gave to Thomas Doyle his steward, John Baker his treasurer, and John March his comptroller, to each of them white staves, admitting them after this manner into their places and offices. These things therefore thus performed in their order, as is already said, the Archbishop goeth out of the

chapel by the west door, the gentlemen of his family of the better sort in blood going before him, the rest following behind. All and singular these things were acted and done in the presence of the reverend fathers Edmund Grindal, Elect Bishop of London; Richard Cocks, Elect of Ely; Edwin Sandes, Elect of Worcester; Anthony Huse, Esq., Principal and Primary Registrar of the said Archbishop; Thomas Argal, Esq., Registrar of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury; Thomas Willet, and John Incent, Public Notaries; and some others."

A copy of the foregoing Register (with only a few verbal differences) is lodged in the Library of MSS. which Archbishop Parker bequeathed to his College, Corpus Christi at Cambridge.

The office of consecration used in this instance was, as appears from the words quoted from it in the above instrument, the same as had been set forth in 1549, in the reign of Edward VI.; of the introduction and legal establishment of which new Ordinal it may be proper to give some account. "The form of consecrating according to the Roman Pontifical, though without Bulls from Rome, seems," Bishop Gibson says, "to have continued all Henry the Eighth's reign, and until the establishment of the new form, in the 3rd year of Edward the Sixth." In that year it was enacted, that "all the forms in previous use should be abolished, extinguished, and forbidden for ever to be used or kept in this realm," (cap. 10); and further, that "such form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church, as by six Prelates and six other men of this realm, learned in God's law, by the King's Majesty to be appointed, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth before the 1st day of April, 1550, should be lawfully exercised and used, and none other," (cap. 12). Subsequently (5 Edward VI., cap. 1), the same form (slightly corrected) was

declared to be "of like force, authority, and value as the *Book of Common Prayer*," whereunto such form was now appointed to be annexed. Mr. Soames gives the following account of it:—"The principles upon which the Commissioners proceeded were, that prayers and the imposition of hands are the essentials of ordination. Hence, in the service for consecrating Bishops no rubrics were inserted enjoining the use of gloves, sandals, mitre, ring, or crosier. In that office, and in the one for ordaining Priests, was omitted also the practice of anointing; which had sprung up in the Latin Church, and had proved the parent of many superstitions." (Hist. of Reformation, vol. iii., p. 524.) This corrected form of episcopal consecration was first used on the 29th of June, 1550, in the consecration of John Poynt (generally believed to be the author of the Church Catechism),* who was afterwards driven by persecution from the See of Winchester, on Queen Mary's coming to the Crown, and died in exile. The next instance was that of Hoper, Bishop of Gloucester, on the 8th of March, 1551, who suffered martyrdom in the flames on the 9th of February, 1555, with attendant circumstances of dreadful barbarity. Miles Coverdale and John Scory were consecrated on the same day (August 30, 1551) according to the new form; and it was used in two other instances during the reign of Edward. Very early in the reign of Mary (1 Mary, cap. 2) the act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer (5 Edward VI., cap. 1) by which the new forms of consecrating and ordaining had been established, was ordered to be "utterly repealed." On the accession of Elizabeth, another law was passed (1 Elizabeth, cap. 2) repealing the foregoing repeal, and enacting that "after the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, in 1559, the said Book of Common Prayer, with the Order of Service and Administration of the Sacraments, shall stand and be in full force and effect." Such was the state of the law at the date of Archbishop Parker's consecration.

* "But it certainly passed through a *review* by Ridley, and probably by Cranmer." (Dr. Wordsworth.)

II.

The previous section, which contains what may be called the case of the Church of England, is chiefly historical. In proceeding now to bring forward the objections raised by the Roman Catholic party, in the first instance against the *validity*, and afterwards against the *reality*, of Parker's ordination, the same course will be pursued: the intent of this publication being to furnish a summary statement of facts for the service of those who desire to form a correct opinion, but require to obtain first of all an exact acquaintance with the circumstances.

At one of the first interviews of Queen Elizabeth with the Prelates of the (then) Church of England, "the Archbishop of York (Nicholas Heath) in the name of the rest was intreated to move her Majesty that she would seriously recollect to memory her gracious sister's zeal unto the Holy See of St. Peter at Rome, as also the covenant between her and that Holy See made soon after her coronation, wherein she had promised to depress heresies and all heretical tenets; binding both her gracious Majesty, her successors, and this realm, under perpetual ignominy and curse if not perfected by them; and that upon these conditions the Holy See would be pleased once more to take her and her realm into its bosom, after so long a heresy increasing in this isle." The Queen, in her reply to this harangue, stated "that she had assembled her parliament, together with them of the clergy, to contract with God, not with the See of Rome: that it lay not in her sister's power to bind her, her successors, or her realms unto the authority which was usurped: that therefore she with her predecessors who had (as our records justified) ejected that usurped and pretended power (which for future times would

be precedents for her heirs and successors to imitate and to dive into) did absolutely renounce all foreign jurisdiction; as her crown was no way either subject to, or to be drawn under, any power whatsoever, saving under Christ the King of Kings; that the Bishop of Rome's usurpation over monarchy shewed his desire of primacy over the whole earth, which to him and his successors would prove confusion; and that finally she should therefore esteem all her subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, as enemies to God and her, who should henceforth own his usurped, or any foreign power whatever." (*Annals of the Reformation*, vol. i., part i., pp. 205-8.)

This was indeed bringing to a direct issue the point upon which our controversy with the See of Rome really turns. If that particular Bishop has, by divine right, or by the appointment of Christ, "a primacy over the whole world, and is himself the successor of the blessed Peter the first of the Apostles, and the true vicar of Christ; and is the father and teacher of all Christians; and if to him in blessed Peter was committed by our Lord Jesus Christ full power to feed, direct, and govern the Church universal," then it must be evident that the suppression of the Roman Pontifical by Edward VI., and the establishment (as we have seen) of a new order of consecration for Bishops, not only without but against the consent of the Pope, must be a schismatical act, and therefore invalid; as consequently would be all consecrations or ordinations thus solemnized in opposition to the will of the supreme head of the Church upon earth. If, on the other hand, the power of the Pope within this realm were, as Queen Elizabeth maintained, a usurped and pretended power, then the nation and Church of England, in virtue of their independence on all foreign control, had a *right* to introduce and observe such forms of conferring holy orders as were conformable to the word of God, and the practice of the primitive Church: and all consecrations or ordinations made according to them, by persons having the requisite character, would be valid to

continue the succession, whatsoever the Bishop of Rome or his adherents might advance to the contrary. Their whole objection, it is plain, rested upon one circumstance—the denial and abolition of the Pope’s right to spiritual supremacy in this realm. After his condemnation there was a pretended degradation of Cranmer from the rank of Bishop, as well as from that of Priest and Deacon, because he at his consecration had been furnished with Bulls from Rome, and had taken the oath to the Pope, though under protest. (*Todd’s Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii., p. 464.) But in the instance of Ridley, Latimer, and Ferrar, who were consecrated according to the Pontifical service (only substituting the oath for Royal instead of Papal supremacy), the claim to the episcopal character was not allowed, and they were degraded only from the order of Priests. (*Wordsworth’s Eccles. Biogr.*, vol. ii., p. 663; and *Fox’s Acts and Monum.*, vol. vii., p. 25, Townsend’s edition.) It was therefore plain that they who held such views could not consistently admit the validity of orders conferred according to the ritual of Edward VI., which included a declaration on oath that the party to be consecrated did “utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake the Bishop of Rome, and his authority, power, and jurisdiction.” Other objections may have been since devised; but this, it is plain, was the real grievance: otherwise what ground could there have been for disputing the episcopal character of Latimer, Ridley, and Ferrar, who had been consecrated “with the use of gloves, sandals, mitre, ring, and crozier,” and with no variation from the Roman order except in the omission to sue for the Pope’s Bull, and in the matter of the oath.*

* It must be, however, admitted that it is exceedingly difficult to fix the principle according to which the Papal authorities determined what they would recognise as a valid ordination; if it be not impossible to discover any principle whatever upon which they acted. In the Brief of Julius III., containing the terms upon which Cardinal Pole was empowered to reconcile England to the See of Rome, it is provided that “he might use, and freely use, his faculty on behalf of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates of churches, &c., as well as in

But amidst the reserve and caution of the See of Rome itself, in refraining to pronounce any decided opinion, it remains clear that the generality of Roman Catholics denied from the first the *validity* of Parker's consecration, owing to the irregular manner in which, and the incompetency of the persons by whom, it appeared to them to have been effected. Thus Harding asks Jewel, "How say you sir? you bear yourself as though you were Bishop of Salisbury; but how can you prove your vocation? By what authority usurp you the administration of doctrine and sacraments? What can you allege for right and proof of your ministry? Who hath called you? Who hath laid hands on you? By what example hath he done it? How, and by whom, are you consecrated?"—(*Confutation of a Book, called an Apology.*) So Stapleton, in his answer to Jewel's *Reply*, pursues the same strain:—"How chanced it then, Mr. Jewel, that you and your fellows, bearing yourselves for Bishops, have not so much as this congruity and consent, I will not say of the Pope, but of any Christian Bishops at all—but have taken upon you that office without any imposition of hands, without all ecclesiastical authority, without all order

the case of other the inferior clergy; also in regard to orders which they had not at all or not rightly received, and to the function of consecration which had been conveyed to them by other Bishops, or Archbishops, even heretical or schismatical, or in any other way less regularly, *without adhering to the accustomed form of the Church.*" (Burnet Hist. of Ref. Records, book iii., No. 17.) On the other hand, in the sub-commission issued by Pole to his Chapter at Canterbury to reconcile heretics, he appoints, with respect to the clergy, that "any contracted irregularity, or other the premises notwithstanding, they should retain their orders obtained by them even from heretical and schismatical Bishops, and not regularly, *provided that in conferring such orders the ecclesiastical form and intention should have been maintained, and even though, at the time of ordination, they might have taken the oath against the Roman Papacy;* inasmuch as the circumstances of the time, the scarcity of ministers, and the necessities and advantage of the Church so required." (Strype's Memor. of Archb. Cranmer, Appendix No. 80.) The first of these conditions would have included such cases as those of Ridley and Parker; but under the second even those whom Ridley had ordained, or had assisted in consecrating, must be excluded. It seems that the infallible may be inconsistent.

of canons and right? I ask not who gave you Bishopricks, but who made you Bishops?" Similarly he says to Horn—"Is it not notorious that you and your colleagues, Parker, &c., were not ordained according to the prescript, I will not say of the Church, but even of the very statutes?"* How, then, can you challenge to yourself the name of Lord Bishop of Winchester?" It is evident that Stapleton thus, in fact, admits the ordination, though he holds it up as a mere nullity, in consequence of what he and his brethren were pleased to consider its attendant irregularities; principally the absence of the Pope's consent and confirmation. When Harding says, "Who hath laid hands on you?"—and Stapleton, that they "Had taken upon themselves the office without imposition of hands," their meaning is, that these consecrations were by *such* hands as not being endued with virtue from, or set in motion by, the pretended Bishop of Bishops, were incompetent to confer the episcopal character. In this sense Jewel evidently understood them; and, so far as he thought fit to reply to these taunts, he meets them upon that ground. "Ye tell us," he says, "full often, we are no Bishops; *I trow, for that we have not sworn our obedience to the Pope. And therefore ye give the world to understand we can consecrate no ministers; we can hold no Synods; we can do nothing. But, Mr. Harding, it booteth not to try our titles before you. We will only say, with St. Paul, 'By the grace of God we are that we are;'* and we trust we have not his grace in vain."—(*Epis. to Harding*, prefixed to the "*Reply.*") But, though he would not be driven, on the demand of such an adversary, to enter into a vindication of his own and his brethren's title, he yet is not afraid, on proper occasions, to declare that it was founded on an observance of the strict law of succession. "Where you say," he observes to Harding, "that according to the eccle-

* Resting upon the objection afterwards taken up by Boner, that at the time of these consecrations, through an omission or oversight in the restoring statute, the Ordinal of Edward VI. was not in force, and that the use of it on those occasions was therefore contrary to law.

siastical canons, ever from the Apostle's time, Bishops have evermore been consecrated by three other Bishops, with the confirmation of the Bishop of Rome, as if without him no man might be allowed to be a Bishop, ye should not so unadvisedly report so manifest untruth. For I beseech you where be these ecclesiastical canons? Who devised them? Who made them? Who gave the Pope that singular privilege that no Bishops should be admitted in all the world but only by him? I remember your Canonists have said, 'Papa potest solo verbo facere episcopum'—*The Pope may make a Bishop only by his word.* We deny not the consecration of (by) three Bishops. We deny not the confirmation by the Metropolitan. *We ourselves are so consecrated, and so confirmed.* The matter that lieth between us *is this*: Whether, through the whole Church of Christ, no man may be allowed for a Bishop without the confirmation of the Pope? *Thereto*, I say, where be your ecclesiastical canons? who devised them? who made them? If ye have any, shew them forth hardily: they will further your cause. If ye have none at all, why should you vaunt yourself of empty store?"—(*Defence of the Apology*, Part II., chap. v., div. 1.)

Can any one believe it possible that such a man as Bishop Jewel (*Vir singulari eruditione, ingenio acutissimo, judicio gravissimo*, as he is justly styled in his epitaph) should have fallen into the absurdity of such a reference to his confirmation by the Metropolitan, had he been conscious that it could be retorted on him that this very Metropolitan had himself never been consecrated? The times were not yet ripe for the spreading of such a ridiculous charge. The adversaries of the Church, during the life-time of Parker and Jewel, and till long afterwards, continued to harp upon one string—the invalidity of our episcopal consecrations, as wanting the allowance and confirmation of the Pope, or as having been solemnized according to a defective and unlawful form; as that of Edward VI. was by them asserted to be.

Forty-five years after the occurrence, that is in 1604, a Jesuit, named Holywood (more commonly known by the appellation of *à Sacrobosco*) published a work, the memory of which is preserved by the single circumstance of its having been *the first* to promulgate the assertion, that the English Bishops had met on a certain day, at a tavern in Cheapside, the sign of which was the Nag's Head, where some burlesque ceremony had been performed by Scory; and that this was *all* the consecration they had ever received. This statement, however ridiculous in itself, was greedily adopted and repeated by the whole tribe of Jesuits. It was referred to, with augmentations and variations, during the ten years next ensuing, by Fitzherbert, Parsons, Fitzsimon, Kellison, Champney, and others; most of them, if not all, members of that society. As Champney was the last of this number who wrote, it may be sufficient to copy his statement, which it may fairly be presumed contains the essence of all the others:—"In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Catholic Bishops being deposed and imprisoned, others were to be ordained and substituted in their places. They who were nominated and elected to this dignity met at London, by appointment, at the Nag's Head in Cheapside. Thither, likewise upon invitation, came the Bishop of Llandaff, (Kitchen) grown decrepid by reason of his age, and a simple, timorous man, from whom the new candidates expected ordination. But Boner, Bishop of London, then in prison on account of religion, hearing of it, threatened Llandaff with excommunication if he ordained them; who, being terrified by this message, and perhaps being inwardly touched with the stings of conscience, drew back, and refused to lay his hands upon them, alleging the weakness of his eyes as the cause. The new candidates, being thus deceived in their expectations, and thinking themselves imposed upon, began to revile the old man, whom they had before treated with a great deal of reverence and respect, some of them saying, *This fool believes we cannot be made Bishops unless we are greased with oil*; ridiculing as well the old Bishop, as this

Catholic custom in consecration. But being thus deprived of a consecrator, they were forced to seek for a new expedient, and they had recourse to Scory, an apostate monk, for their ordination; who, under Edward VI., had usurped a Bishoprick without any consecration,* as shall be made to appear hereafter. This man, who had, together with his religious habit, put off all conscience, soon performed what they desired, using this ceremony:—they all kneeling before him, and he, laying the Bible on the head of each of them, said, *Receive power to preach the Word of God sincerely*; and thus they all rose up Bishops.” The absurdity of supposing that men of station and character could consent to, and be parties in, an act thus needless, thus wicked, and which exposed them to such serious penalties, is so flagrant, that no one who has a proper sense of the value of time, can be willing to bestow any portion of it upon a serious refutation of such a statement.† The first con-

* This is altogether untrue. Dr. Scory, who had been Chaplain to Cranmer, and one of the six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, on the 30th of August, 1551, by the Archbishop (Cranmer), Bishop Ridley, and Hodgkins, Suffragan of Bedford. In the following year he was translated to Chichester.

† “That story,” observes Dr. Wordsworth, “has been many times thoroughly examined, and proved as often (by Francis Mason, Bishop Bramhall, Bishop Burnet, Thomas Browne, &c., &c.) to be a ‘late-invented, inconsistent, self-contradicting, and absurd fable.’ And yet a work has recently been re-published in Ireland, to which between one and two hundred Roman Catholic Priests have suffered their names to be prefixed as subscribers, in which this matter is once more revived, without one word of apology, exception, or retraction; and the validity of all the ordinances and offices by all the Ministers of the Church of England is openly and daringly denied, and that denial is accompanied by an overflow of the grossest and most virulent invectives against Protestantism and Protestants that an unchristian and malignant temper ever suggested. What the designs of the patrons of such a work can be, at this time, it is not for me to say; but it is a circumstance which ought to give pain to every good man, Protestant or Papist, to find that there are so many individuals, professing to be Preachers of the Gospel of Truth and Love, who have been induced to sanction, with the authority of their names, the falsehoods, malignity, and intolerance, and all the manifold outrages against Christian truths and Christian morals in which the book in question—(Ward’s *Errata of the Protestant Bible*)—abounds.” (*Ecclesiastical Biogr.*, vol. iii., p. 375.)

sideration, therefore, must be given to the Record of Archbishop Parker's consecration, contained in the Register at Lambeth, and preserved also among the MSS. in the library at Corpus Christi College. A plain narrative of the facts connected with that document will afford the surest guidance to ascertain its character and value.

It is not true that Catholics and Presbyterians, or any class of persons, were to be found denying the *fact* of Parker's consecration until after the appearance of Sacrobosco's book in 1604. That was the first public mention made of the Nags-head story. Of the *validity* of the consecration there had been a constant denial from the time of Harding and Stapleton. But that very denial of *validity*, contained an admission of the *fact*: and argument was met by argument, as has been shewn by the extract from Jewel. It would have been useless to refer to documents in proof of that which was not disputed. But when, in 1604, it was positively denied that Parker had received *any* consecration, the point at issue was changed; and it became necessary (which it had not been before) to refer to documents in proof of the certainty of the occurrence. It could not even then be expected that immediate notice would be taken of a statement which appeared to carry with it its own refutation. But inherent improbability is no bar to belief when bigotry and fanaticism are addressed. The tale continued to be repeated, and was greedily credited by Papists and Presbyterians; as tending to the discredit of that which they equally held in aversion—the Church of England. When unfavorable inferences might have been drawn from the continued absence of all contradiction, the task of refutation was undertaken, and triumphantly executed by one in every way qualified—the Reverend Francis Mason: “who is worthily stiled (Anthony Wood says) “*Vindex Ecclesie Anglicanae.*” He was a Fellow of Merton College Oxford, Chaplain to King James the 1st: and Archdeacon of Norfolk. His elaborate work, which must have occupied several years in preparation, is entitled “A

Vindication of the Church of England, concerning the Consecration and Ordination of the Bishops:" and was published in 1613. "From this book" says the biographer already quoted, "it appears that the author was a general read scholar, thorough-paced in the Councils and all sorts of histories; whether divine, civil, or profane." In this work first appeared in print a copy of the Lambeth and Cambridge Record of Parker's consecration; which has been already inserted. Such a testimony appears to have fallen like a thunderbolt upon the Romanist party: who, under the impression, that at such a distance of time no authentic proof remained of Parker's consecration, and perhaps really believing what they hoped, were already exulting in the persuasion that episcopacy and priesthood had ceased in the Church of England. Their first suggestion, on recovering from the astonishment into which they had been thrown by the publication of Mason's book was that the record must be a forgery: and Dr. Butler, and persons of the same obduracy, persist against all fair argument, in maintaining the assertion to the present day. "The charge of forgery" Dr. Lingard observes, with reference to this question, "is easily made, and therefore requires strong evidence to support it; it is the last refuge of the obstinate and the dishonest; and therefore, if it be disproved, recoils with double force against those who make it." (*Catholic Mag.* vol. v, p. 711. 1834.)

To the first ground of objection, founded upon the late appearance of the Register in public, a reply has been already given. It did appear as soon as the occasion called for it, or the production of it could be of any use. Neither after its appearance in print was the document itself kept back from examination; as we learn from the following note written by Mr. Mason with his own hand in a copy of his "Vindication," which he presented to the Library of Merton College:—"Whereas Mr. Fitzherbert hath lately sent a book from Rome against the Most Rev. Bishop of Ely (Dr. Lanct. Andrewes), to which he hath annexed an Appendix concerning the Records

and Registers by me produced, and desiring that some of their discreet Catholics might view and consider whether they be true or counterfeit, know therefore that upon the 12th of this present May, an. 1614, his Grace of Canterbury" (Dr. George Abbot, whose chaplain Mason then was) "sent for Mr. Colleton, the Archpriest; Tho. Leake, a Secular Priest; as also one Jesuit, called Lathwaite, &c., and shewed unto them the Register and other Records of his predecessor, Matthew Parker, which they perused over and over, and found that the said Parker was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel (and not at the Nag's Head, in Cheapside) by certain Bishop's that had been ejected in Queen Mary's reign."* Since that time the Register has undergone repeated careful examinations, one of which was in February, 1722, in presence of Le Courayer (and for his satisfaction) with four witnesses, two of whom were Romanists. This ended in the unanimous conviction of the parties present that the entry in question (describing Parker's consecration) was made at the time assigned to it. "You may depend upon it," says Archbishop Wake, "that the whole entry of the acts of Parker's consecration, with all the instruments relating to it in my Registers, are written in

* "All Father Lathwaite could say was, 'that he found himself unable to form any certain opinion:' and if this was the answer of one so prepossessed against the document, so interested to prove it spurious, we may safely conclude that there was nothing on the face of it to justify suspicion; nothing that wore the appearance of foul dealing." (Dr. Lingard, *ub. sup.*) Mason, it may be observed, translated his "Vindication" into Latin; and it was published (in 1625) after the author's death, by Dr. Nathaniel Brent. Prefixed is an address (by Mason) to Henry De Gondy, Archbishop of Paris, to whom he appeals to review the evidence, and pronounce a decision. After referring to the application of Fitzherbert, and the consequent exhibition of the Register, he proceeds—"Should you, most Honorable Sir, be desirous that a similar examination should be allowed to any friend of yours from France, permission will, I feel assured, be granted to inspect and thoroughly to investigate these living and breathing monuments of true antiquity and of ancient truth; so unquestionable and so clear that they may seem to be written as with a sun-beam. So far are they from dreading the inspection or condemnation of any, even the most rigorous of critics."—(Sig. B. 4.)

the same hand with the other acts of what passed during his Archbishoprick, and all at the time that they were done." But if any person without proof, and against all these proofs, can bring himself to believe that Mason could be guilty of the forgery of such a document, there is one difficulty to be surmounted before that charge can be admitted. There exists not only the copy of the Register at Lambeth, but (as has been stated) there is another in the Corpus Christi MS. Library, at Cambridge. If Mason, or any other, could have successfully practised such a fraud *at Lambeth*, there would be a difficulty (not an ordinary one, it must be admitted) in repeating the same without detection *at Cambridge*. The very terms annexed by Archbishop Parker to the bequest of his MSS. to the College, renders this next to impossible. The library is held by the College under the following restrictive condition established by the Archbishop himself:—"That every year, on the 6th of August, the library shall be visited by the Masters, or *locum tenentes*, of Trinity Hall and Caius College, with two scholars on Archbishop Parker's foundation; and if, on examination, twenty-five books be missing, or cannot be found within six months, the whole collection devolves to another College." Now, although this precaution and threatened forfeiture be designed to prevent the diminution of the number of volumes, it is plain that, where books are counted over once a year and strictly compared with a catalogue, it must be equally effectual to prevent the introduction of any beyond the original collection without discovery. Independently of this, Bishop Burnet testifies that he "saw and read it," and that "it is as manifestly an original writing as any that he ever had in his hands." (*Hist. of Ref.*, part ii., B. iii., A. D. 1559.) And in his Collection of Records he inserts the following testimonies to the same effect (Records, No. ix.):—

I.

"Cambridge, January 11th, 1674.

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, having seen the original whereof this writing" (namely, the instrument in Latin of Dr. Parker's

consecration) "is a perfect copy, and considered the hand and other circumstances, are fully persuaded that it is a true and genuine Record of the rites and ceremonies of Archbishop Parker's consecration, and as ancient as the date it bears. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, the day and year above written.

"Henr. Paman, Orator Publ.; Henr. More, D. D.; Ra. Widdrington, S. T. P. et Dom. Margar. Prof."

II.

"Corp. Chr. Coll., Cantab.

"We, the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, in the University of Cambridge, do hereby declare and certify, that this writing, being a narrative of Archb. Parker's consecration, in Lambeth Chapel, is faithfully transcribed from the original Record in our College; and that we are fully satisfied that the said Register is as ancient as the date it bears, and the occasion to which it doth refer. Nor can we doubt but the plain and evident tokens of antiquity which it carries will as much satisfy any ingenious persons who shall have a sight thereof: which therefore we shall readily afford to those who shall repair to the College for that purpose.

"John Spenser, D. D., Master of the Coll.; John Peckover, B. D.; Erasmus Lane, B. D.; Ri. Sheldrake, B. D.; Sam. Beck, B. D.; Henr. Gosling, B. D.; Will. Briggs, M. A.; John Richer, M. A.

Upon this part of the question one remark may be offered. The Lambeth and the Cambridge copies of the narrative still exist, and have been constantly open to inspection and examination during the hundred and seventy years which have elapsed since the above certificates were signed. They have courted and challenged enquiry. According to the principles of common sense is it not to be concluded that if the Roman Catholics, who burn with such ardent desire to destroy their credit, entertained the remotest suspicion of their being spurious, they would have availed themselves of this direct mode of verifying their doubts? Their declining this test is in itself a sufficient proof of their conviction that the record is genuine; that they *cannot* dispute it; and they therefore leave the documents to slumber amid learned dust, because they are sensible that every fresh reference to them must only more fully confute the conclusion which they are so anxious to establish.

But it may be asked, are there laws of evidence—or is there honesty in the world? If there be, how can Roman Catholics, consistently with either, persevere in loose assertions and insinuations, when the means of a conclusive determination are within their reach, and have been so during two centuries? They are bound to bring the matter to this issue: either to shew by internal evidence that these Registers are forgeries, or to admit that they are genuine and hold their tongue. But as to internal evidence, their appeals to it are truly frivolous and vexatious. Not a single particular asserted in these records has ever been contradicted upon opposite evidence; not a single inconsistency has ever been detected. Was it ever heard of in any court of enquiry, that documents subjected to such jealous scrutiny, and coming forth from it without injury to their credit, should derive no advantage from that failure on the adverse part? Let our documents then be investigated; and the more minutely this is done, the more satisfactory will be the evidence which they supply of their own rectitude. Ward, the author of the Errata of the Protestant Bible, objects to the “exactness to a hair in every punctilio—the chapel’s being adorned with tapestry towards the east, a red cloth on the floor, a sermon, communion, Coverdale’s woollen gown, &c.,” as if this minuteness in “ridiculous circumstances rendered them a whit the more credible.” (Errata. p. 75, Dublin edit., 1824.) Dr. Butler re-echoes, as usual: “What necessity was there to mention that the chapel towards the east was hung with tapestry? That there was a red cloth on the floor? That there was a sermon, and a concourse of people? When the ceremony, we are informed, took place about five or six in the morning, that is two or three hours before daylight? The minuteness of these details alone suffices to give rise to suspicions of some sinister design. *Nimia cautio dolum prodit.*” (Tract vi., p. 10.) Thus it is when prejudiced men write without reflection, and without authority. It might, with greater justice, and with more appearance of reason, have been said that if this were a mere

forged and imaginary narrative of what never took place, the writer would have been moved by common discretion to say no more than was necessary for the purpose he had in view, and to avoid details; since every additional particular introduced augmented the risk of detection in some inaccuracy. The thing in question was whether Parker had been consecrated or not; and if Mason could have been base enough to forge a document which should give the desired credence to his story, he must surely have been wise enough at the same time to reflect that a plain dry record exhibiting names and dates alone (such as the records of consecrations in general are) would be equally sufficient and more safe. But if the Lambeth Register be examined more attentively, it will be found to supply natural reasons for all the peculiarities which are noticed in it. They are undesigned coincidences, which suit very well the circumstances of the contemporary writer (if they do not shew that writer to have been Parker himself) while they are such as could scarcely suggest themselves to the suborned compiler of a fictitious register. "The Archbishop," says Strype, "took pleasure sometimes to recollect how he was consecrated, and that he was the first of all the Archbishops of Canterbury that came into that See without any spot or stain of Popish superstitions and vain ceremonies, required of all before him; without any Bull of approbation from the Pope of Rome; without any old idle ceremony of Aaronical garments; nor with gloves, nor rings, nor sandals, nor slippers, nor mitre, nor pall; but more chastely and religiously, according to the purity of the Gospel; by four Bishops, according to law in this case, who placed him in his chair; and such Godly stipulation by him interposed as was equal to be required of an evangelical pastor. And yet that the consecration was not celebrated without the becoming garments of a Bishop, nor without the Godly prayers, as well of ecclesiastical ministers as of the people, and a pious sermon preached by a Bishop to all present; and all christianly concluded with the reception of the holy communion." (*Life of Archb. Parker*, vol. i., p.

122.) The Register is framed accordingly; as if intended to place upon record that while there was a total absence of those "superstitions and vain ceremonies" which the Roman Pontifical enjoins, all things were done agreeably to the Apostolic injunction "decently and in order," and in conformity also with the law of the land (25 Henry VIII., cap. 20), as to the use of "benedictions, ceremonies, and all other things requisite for the same." The vain objector asks "Why was it necessary to state there was a red cloth on the floor?" The answer is prompt. To mark that it was *not* a consecration under the Papal ritual; according to which (this 17th of December being the third Sunday in *Advent*) the colour must rather have been *violet* or *purple*. "*Violaceo colore utitur (Ecclesia Rom.) a prima Dominicâ Adventûs in primis vespers, usque ad missam vigiliæ Nativitatis Domini.*" (Gavanti, *Thes. Rituum Sac.*, vol. i., p. 49.) Indeed the purposed contrast and opposition to the Roman usages will appear more evidently if the arrangements for the Lambeth ceremonial, and the Pontifical rubrick pertaining to the office "*De Consecratione Electi in Episcopum*" be ranged in opposite order:—

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The chapel on the east part was adorned with tapestry, and the floor was spread with a red cloth; and the table, used for the celebration of the Holy Sacrament, being adorned with a carpet and cushion, was placed at the east.

Moreover, four chairs were set to the south of the east part of the chapel for the Bishops, to whom the office of consecrating the Archbishop was committed. There was also a bench placed before the chairs, spread with a carpet and cushion, on which the Bishops kneeled. And in like manner a chair, and a bench, fur-

ROMAN PONTIFICAL.

In the church where the consecration takes place, two chapels are fitted up, the larger for the Consecrator, and the smaller for the Elect; and in the larger, upon an altar prepared beforehand, there shall be a cross in the centre, and at least four candlesticks.

On the ground before the steps of the altar shall be carpets spread, upon which the Elect is to prostrate himself; but the Consecrator and others to kneel. In a place adjoining is prepared also a credence for the Consecrator, upon which shall be a clean napkin, two candlesticks, vessels for washing hands, towels,

LAMBETH REGISTER.

nished with a carpet and a cushion, was set for the Archbishop on the north side of the east part of the chapel.

The Archbishop entereth, having on a long scarlet gown and hood.*

Morning Prayer was said.

Scory went up into the pulpit, and taking for his text, &c.,—preached.

Sermon being done, the Archbishop, together with the other Bishops, go out of the chapel to prepare themselves for the Holy Communion; and, without any stay, they come in again thus clad:—the Archbishop in a surplice; the Elect of Chichester used a silk cope.

On whom attended and yielded service the Archbishop's two Chaplains, having on likewise silk copes.

* In her vestments the Church employs five different colours:—On the Feasts of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, &c., she makes use of white; on the Feasts of Pentecost, of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross, &c., she employs red. Purple (or rather violet) is the colour assigned for the penitential times of Advent, &c.—(*Hierurgia*, by Daniel Rock, D.D., vol. ii., p. 657.) Agreeably to the Pontifical ceremonial, the habit of the Archbishop Elect, on this occasion, should have been *white*.

ROMAN PONTIFICAL.

a vessel with holy water, a censer for the incense, &c., &c.; also all the Pontifical vestments, of the colour proper for the season, and suited for the office of the Mass: that is to say, sandals, amice, alb, girdle, pectoral cross, stole, tunic, dalmatic, gloves, planeta, (or chasuble) Pontifical ring, pastoral staff, maniple, and gremial. Also there is provided an ornamented fald-stool for the Consecrator, and three chairs for the Elect and two assisting Bishops.

“The vestments of the officiating and other Ministers ought to be of the colour suited to the office and Mass of the day, according to the usage of the Roman Church.”—*Gavanti*.*

He proceeds in the Mass as far as *Hallelujah*.

No sermon is appointed by the Pontifical

The assisting Bishops conduct the Elect to his own chapel, and there putting off his cope, they put on him his sandals, pectoral cross; the stole is fitted on him so as to hang from his shoulders; and then are put on the tunic, dalmatic, chasuble, and maniple.

Let the Consecrator have *three* Chaplains at least, wearing surplices.

Other adverse arrangements might easily be pointed out, which shew convincingly that the minuteness of detail, noticed as suspicious by Dr. Butler and other such critics, was deliberately and designedly introduced for the express purpose of marking contrast and opposition to the Roman ceremonial. At the same time, studious care was taken to adhere even scrupulously to usages which prevailed in the Church before Popery was diffused. For example—we are told, “the ceremony took place about five or six in the morning, that is, two or three hours before day-light,” (Butler, Tract vi., p. 10) as if that were an unusual or a suspicious order. But herein he betrays, not only malice, but a total unacquaintance with ecclesiastical custom. Such was the *proper* hour for consecrations, and faithfully observed in the Church of the first centuries. Gelasius, (Pope) in his Epistle to the Bishops of Calabria and Campania, mentions *Saturday evening* as the suitable time; on which Martene remarks—“not that the celebration actually took place on Saturday; but that it was then commenced, so as to be completed early on the Sunday.”—(*De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. i., cap. 7, art. 8, vol. i., p. 10.) From authorities, furnished by that profound ritualist, it appears most evident that the stricter fast, which invariably preceded admissions to holy orders, commenced on the evening of Saturday, and was persisted in by the Consecrators and the Elect for consecration until the office was finished. Urban II. (Pope) published at the Council of Clermont (A.D. 1095) a canon for the revival of this solemn custom; and the Council of Rouen (A.D. 1072) decreed that holy orders should be conferred after Saturday, or in the morning of Sunday, all parties fasting—(*die dominico mane, jejunis a jejunantibus conferantur.*) From Martene we also gather that Heribert, Bishop of Cologne, was thus consecrated, during the night preceding the Nativity of our Lord—*inter Missarum solennia, quæ ex more celebrantur paulo ante vel circa ortum diei*—“during the solemnities of the Mass, which, by custom, are celebrated a little before or towards day-break.” Lietbert, Bishop of Cambray, received ordination at

the conclusion of the hymns at Matins. Indeed Leo I., (Pope) in his Tenth Epistle to the Bishops of the Province of Vienne, lays so much stress upon this as to declare, that there was no dependence to be placed on the validity of holy orders, *unless* conferred on Saturday in the evening, as it begins to dawn to the first day of the week, or on the Lord's day itself—(nec sibi constare, status sui noverit firmitatem, qui non die Sabbati vespere, quod lucescit in primâ Sabbati, vel ipso die Dominico, non fuerit ordinatus.) There is another note of internal congruity, such as seldom attends on deceptive proceedings, but falls in most satisfactorily with that studious effort to adhere to canonical ordinances which marked all Parker's doings. The day on which the consecration is affirmed to have been held was the 17th of December, the Third Sunday in Advent that year, and one of the *four seasons* at which, according to the strictest rules of discipline, holy orders ought always to be given. That rule is now principally adhered to with relation to the inferior orders; but in the beginning it was not so. Amalarius ("than whom," says William of Malmesbury, "no one has written more correctly on the offices of the Church") states, that the early Apostolic Fathers always solemnized *consecrations* in the month of December, when the Nativity of our Lord is celebrated; and this until the time of Pope Simplicius (A.D. 470). He was the first who consecrated in February. (*De Officiis Eccl.*, lib ii., cap. 1.)

But there is a farther circumstance connected with this, which appears to exhibit still more distinctly the determination to adhere to a canonical season for this solemnity. The original writ of Queen Elizabeth for the consecration of the Archbishop (from Redgrave) is dated on the 9th of September; and therefore was adapted to provide for the solemnity's falling within the Ember season, which follows closely after the 14th day of that month of September. When, from the causes already explained, that opportunity had been missed, there is no reason so probable why another three

months should have been suffered to elapse, without the issue of a fresh warrant, as that it had been determined not to proceed except at one of the proper seasons.

If, with all these evidences, direct and indirect, of authenticity, and without one single valid or reasonable objection to be urged against it, persons can yet be found to persist in rejecting this document as a forgery, the utmost extension of charity can lead us but to say of them, in the language (somewhat softened) of Sir Nathaniel Brent—"that which was at first published to the world with no other view than to impose upon the credulity of the uninformed populace, nestled itself at length into the belief of the authors of the fraud; and among the Papists, especially abroad, acquired the credit of an authentic history. Thus the mind, predisposed to think and speak evil of those on the contrary part, finds everywhere materials suited for its purpose." (Dedication of *Vindiciæ Ec. Angl.* to King James I.)

It is unavailing to urge to such persons the force of these considerations, when, out of the most trivial circumstance, they can manufacture pretexts for rejecting whatever does not square with their predetermined conclusion. For example, in the year 1601, Francis Godwin, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, published, in English, a "Catalogue of the Bishops of England;" but by no means a perfect one, as some Sees were altogether omitted. In this, is not found the narrative of Parker's consecration; which, says Dr. Butler, "is almost conclusive that, at that time, he was not aware of its existence." (Tract No. v., p. 8.) A hasty inference indeed! unless it be justifiable to think that a writer must be unaware of the existence of whatever he omits to publish. What motive had he to publish that narrative in his "Catalogue?" It is *not true* (as Dr. Butler asserts) that "in 1601 the *fact* of Parker's consecration was contested." It never was publicly contested till the appearance of Holywood's book, in 160 $\frac{3}{4}$, and of others

in succession, repeating his assertion: it was *that alone* which made the narrative of importance. Accordingly when Godwin, in 1616, republished his work (in Latin), he inserted the account of Parker's consecration from the Lambeth Register. And what does this shew but that Godwin (one of the best adepts and judges in the study of ancient records) was convinced of its authenticity, after that the public submission of it, a year and a-half before, to the examination of the Roman Catholics, had provoked the attention and enquiry of all whose minds were turned to such subjects. Neither may it be said that Godwin might be blinded and biassed by partiality to his own order. This was the farthest from his disposition; for, from his puritanical turn, he had expressed himself in such language, that "W. Prynne, the most inveterate enemy to the Bishops that ever appeared in the horizon, from his labours takes all advantages, whether truth or not, to raise arguments against, or to bring a scandal upon, the prelatical function." (Anthony Wood *Athen. Oxon. Art. Fran. Godwin.*) A Prelate thus frigid in the maintenance of episcopal credit was not the most likely to adopt, without jealous inspection, a document principally valuable as it tended to uphold a succession which, by him, was not regarded as in a high degree important.

In the same year with Godwin's work, *de Præsulibus Angliæ*, were published the first two parts of the learned William Camden's Annals of the reign of Elizabeth, in which he mentions the occurrence of Parker's consecration, but does not insert the Lambeth Record at length, though he gives the substance. It is pitiable to find Dr. Butler speaking in such terms as these: "Camden first published his 'Annals' two years after the appearance of Mason's work. Now what more natural than that he should adopt the narrative which Mason had published, especially as this was the one most likely to find favour with the court for which he wrote, his book being dedicated to James I." (Tract v. *ub. sup.*) What then was the favour

of a court to a man who was at this time sinking to the grave under complicated sufferings; and who was already provided with more than a sufficiency for the supply of his very moderate wants in a life of severe study and application? What can be more *unnatural*, we may ask, than this attempt by a person addressed as *Reverend*, wantonly to stab the venerable reputation of our great antiquary; who, if Mason had published a fictitious narrative, would have been the first, as he was the best qualified, to expose it? But so it is. Bigotry is as undiscerning as it is unsparing: and there must be neither "goodness, righteousness, nor truth" upon earth, rather than that the orders of the Church of England should be admitted to possess validity. Equally desperate is the attempt made to set aside the testimony left by Archbishop Parker himself to the fact of his consecration. For the indulgence of his own literary taste, he kept, as he says, "at wages within his house drawers and cutters, painters, limners, writers, and bookbinders," (*Letter to Lord Treasurer Burleigh*, 1573. No. 89, in *Appendix to Strype's Life*), and he had particularly a secretary named Josselyn, who was his assistant in collecting information suitable to his pursuits. With the aid of this person he had completed, and forwarded to the Lord Treasurer with the above letter, a book which he had privately printed, entitled, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, &c., cum Archiepiscop. ejusdem 70 historia.* (Of the Antiquity of the Church of England, &c., with the history of 70 Archbishops of the same.) Concerning this book he speaks in the following terms to the Treasurer:—"Because neyther my helthe nor my quiet wold suffer mee to be a common preacher, yet I thought it not onfyt for mee to be otherwyse occupied in some poyntes of religion. For my meanyng was bi this my pore collection, thus caused to be prynted, (and yet reserved to my self,) to note at what tyme Augustyne, my first predecessour, cam into this land, what religion he brought in with hym, and how it contynued, how it was fortified and increased. Which by most of my predecessours may appeare, as I could gather

of such rare and wrytten authors that cam to my hondes; until the dayes of King Henry the VIIIth, when the religion began to grow better and more agreeable to the Gospel. Which boke I have not govyn to iiii men in the whole realme, and peradventure shal never com to sight abroad, though som men smelling of the prynting of it, seame to be very desirouse cravers of the same. I am content to referre it wholly to your judgement, to stond or to fall. To kepe it by me I yet purpose whiles I lyve, to adde and to amende as occasion shal serve mee, or utterly to suppress it, and to bren it." Is it greatly to be wondered, after this declaration, that copies of this book should be *scarce*? Twenty-one only have been discovered. But unfortunately for the impugners of the Anglican ordinations, thirteen of these copies contain a life of Parker (the 70th Archbishop in the succession), in which it is related *totidem verbis* that he was "elected in the year 1559 by the Dean and Chapter of the metropolitan Church of Canterbury; and afterwards, during the same year, *on the 17th of December, consecrated by four Bishops.*" What then can be the resource for denying the fact of that consecration in the face of this positive testimony? The same again as Dr. Lingard names, the easy one of a charge of forgery. Incredible as it may appear, Dr. Butler and others proceed to the extremity of maintaining that the whole of the lives of the 70 Archbishops were forged, and printed with a false date of 1572 in the title page, after the appearance of Mason's work, for the sake of that one short sentence which appears in the life of Parker, affirming that he *was* consecrated on the 17th December, 1559. We know for certain, (for Parker's autograph letter to Burleigh yet in existence proves) that such a work *did* exist in 1573; that he dispersed the copies very sparingly, and was undecided whether he might not burn the whole impression. It must really remain for the determination of candid judges whether the small number of copies to be met with, and the omission of any open mention of the work until controversy drew attention to it, are sufficiently and naturally accounted for by the cir-

cumstances under which it was composed and printed; or whether it is a legitimate mode of argument to affirm, without a shadow of proof, that the entire work was forged, to serve a purpose, forty years after the death of the reputed author. After this it could not be expected that any documentary evidence connected with the Archbishop would be treated with common fairness or respect. There is another record, a Diary in Parker's own hand-writing, stating the principal events of his life, from the day of his birth, in 1504, till the death of his wife, in 1570. It contains the names of his parents, dates of their decease, his education, admission at college, name and qualifications of his tutor, (*parum docto*) the chief occurrences of his university course, his ordination as Deacon and Priest, the time of his first preaching, and the churches in which his first sermons were preached, his several preferments, his marriage, the births of his children, deprivation of his benefices, and a variety of ordinary domestic circumstances, which give to this little sketch the most natural character imaginable, and seem almost to defy the attempt at forgery. Yet a forgery Dr. Butler will have it to be. But is much dependence to be placed upon his judgment, when (if it were worth while to correct his mistakes) it might be shewn that he is so little acquainted with the subject he is writing upon, as to confound this Diary with a copy of Parker's Life in the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, which Courayer speaks of and appears to have examined? (*Defence of the Validity of Engl. Ordin.*, i., p. 36.) But the Diary, in Parker's own hand-writing, is on "a parchment scroll, which Dr. Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln (1691) afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, procured and gave into the hands of Dr. Stanley, then Master of Bene't (or Corpus Christi) College, to be repositied in the library there among the rest of Archbishop Parker's MSS." (Strype's *Life*, i., 64.) In that Diary there is contained, under the date "17th December, 1559," the following entry:—"I was this day consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Alas! alas! O Lord God, unto what times hast thou preserved me!

Now have I come into the deep waters, and the floods have gone over me." The only other extract from this Diary, which it may be serviceable to insert, is the following, dated 26th October, 1557, when he had been nearly four years spoiled of his Deanery, and of every portion of Church and University preferment:—"Since then I have lived a private life; so joyful before God in my conscience, and so neither ashamed nor dejected, that the most sweet leisure for study to which the good providence of God recalled me, created for me much greater and more solid pleasures than that former busy and dangerous kind of living could ever bestow. What will hereafter happen to me I know not; but to God, who takes care of all, and who will one day reveal the secrets of men's hearts, I commend myself wholly, and my devout and most chaste wife, with my two most dear little sons. And I beseech the same most great and good God that we may for the time to come, with unshaken minds, so bear the reproach of Christ, as always to remember that we have here no abiding city, but may seek one to come, by the grace and mercy of my Lord Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be all honor and dominion. Amen." This was not the man to climb like a thief into the fold, or to purchase an Archbishoprick by a fraud.

Other collateral proofs there are of the emptiness of the assertion, that Parker was consecrated after the irregular and scandalous manner hereinbefore mentioned. The silence of determined adversaries, who were so placed as to have had full opportunity of fathoming the truth of that story, if there had been any truth in it, affords a most convincing argument that it deserves no credit. After their deprivation, several of the Bishops of Mary's reign were placed in charge of those who had succeeded them; in whose houses, and at whose tables, they lived as favoured guests, and received the entertainment of friends and brethren. It is needless to go through many instances, as two may be selected which will suffice to exemplify the nature of the connection between the old Papal Clergy, and

those who now held the benefices of the Church. These are the instances of Gilbert Bourn and Thomas Thirlby, the deprived Bishops of Bath and Ely; who were assigned to the charge, the one of Nicholas Bullingham, now Bishop of Lincoln; the other, to that of Archbishop Parker himself. In their houses, the deposed Prelates lived upon terms of easy familiarity. Bullingham had been Chaplain to the Archbishop, and in the Register is represented as having been duly at his post, officiating at the consecration. If it took place, he certainly would be there; and if it did not take place (as Holywood and others assert), he could not be ignorant of the omission. Bullingham so gently intreated Bishop Bourn, that when he came to attend the Parliament, he made it a suit to the Secretary, that his guest, as he always termed him, might accompany him to London, and be at large in his own house. Thirlby, who had been engaged in the trial and degradation of Archbishop Cranmer, continued till the end of his life an inmate in the family of Cranmer's successor. "And so was Thirlby entertained henceforward with the Archbishop in all courteous and gentle manner, both at Bekesbourn near Canterbury, and at Lambeth, until his death, which happened August 26th, in the year 1570. The Archbishop took care to have him decently buried in the chancel of Lambeth Church, and a fair stone laid over him, with an inscription on brass, still remaining."* (*Strype's Parker*, vol. i., p. 278.)

Now, if we give to Parker and Bullingham the most entire credit for discretion, so that if they had a dangerous secret in their keeping they would not needlessly have betrayed it, yet, if the story of the Nag's Head transaction were true, and the consecration at Lambeth a fable, is it to be credited that, in the course of so many years' familiar association, nothing should have been said which should arouse the wakeful suspicions of these naturally jealous and vigilant observers?

* The worthy Bishop Tunstall, the deprived of Durham, was also placed in the household of the Archbishop Elect; with whom he continued resident until his death, in November, 1559; when he was buried, also in the chancel at

The Archbishop, we know, was accustomed to refer with some exultation to the manner of his consecration, "without gloves, rings, sandals, slippers, mitre, or pall." Was he never led, in some communicative moment, to betray that he was consecrated even without a church and without an altar, without prayers and without a sacrament, by a profane burlesque mockery of sacred things; or rather that he had not been consecrated at all? If he were impious enough to submit to the profanation, he might, on some one or other occasion during ten years, have been impudent enough to allude to it. But granting he were so cautious and prudent as not to have done so, still as his episcopal guest had free intercourse with all his visitors (including at one time or other all the Protestant Bishops whom he had consecrated), and also with all those persons holding offices under him, who were necessarily in a position to know most certainly how he had himself been consecrated, was there never found among these one incautious, discontented, or ungrateful person to whisper the matter to Thirlby? The contrary may be inferred most positively from his total silence upon the subject. Supposing that policy, or the better principle of gratitude for the kindness and hospitality shewn to them, might restrain Bourn and Thirlby from making their suspicions (if they were led to entertain any) the subject of common conversation, is it possible to believe they would never, in the confidence of friendship, have imparted what they knew to any of those professors of their own creed with whom they kept up constant intercourse? And if they had done so must not the important disclosure have been repeated, and so have obtained circulation among the Roman-

Lambeth, at the private expense of Parker, whose own circumstances were at that time sufficiently narrow. On opening the ground for the interment of Archbishop Cornwallis, in 1783, the body of Thirlby was found entire, wrapped in fine linen, and deposited in a leaden coffin. "The face was perfect, the beard white and of great length: on the head was a silk cap, adorned with point lace, and under the arm a slouched hat with strings. The coffin was properly closed up again, and covered with a brick arch." (*Appendix to the History of Lambeth*, p. 89.)

ists? If the deprived Bishops had maintained a scrupulous reserve during their lives, how can it be accounted for that not a scrap nor a memorandum of any sort should have survived them to shew that they had heard a rumour (let it be the faintest and of most ambiguous character, but still at all events a *rumour*) that their obliging episcopal hosts had received their consecration in a tavern? Not a breath of suspicion, however, proceeded from that quarter; and if they, who were thus favourably placed, in the midst of the chief actors and accomplices in the plot (if there were one) yet failed in the course of so many years to notice even an unguarded expression which could put them upon making enquiry, and thus coming to an acquaintance with the truth, it is not much to be expected that any evidence producing conviction should be collected from other quarters.* But it may be right to make enquiry

* It is proper to bear in mind that although Bourn and Thirlby should, from motives of individual regard, have felt a disinclination to impeach the credit and character of their entertainers, yet they must have felt it incumbent on them, under a sense of public duty to the Church, not to stifle a fact of such importance to its interests: and under the seal of confession, at least, they must have discharged themselves of the weighty suspicion. That they did not so act is evident; or the world would long ere now have heard of the accusation as grounded upon their authority. To strengthen this inference it may be added that there exists no reason whatever for imputing to Bourn or Thirlby any disposition to waver in their religious persuasions; but their fidelity to the Church of Rome remained steadfast to the last. Thirlby, in particular, appears to have been regarded as partaking in his person of the odour of sanctity. "Sometimes, it seems, he lodged in London, in Blackfriars, at one Mrs. Blackwell's. In his bed-chamber, some years after, died one Mrs. Catherine Carus, a Lancashire woman, a zealous Papist widow of a Justice of Peace of that name. Which gentlewoman, it is likely out of her devotion, hired that chamber in her age to die in, upon the supposed holiness and merit thereof, which the said Thirlby might be thought to convey to it. This news of her death thus Fleetwood, Recorder of London, wrote to the Lord Burleigh:—"Katherin Carus, the late Justice' wife, my countrywoman, with all her pride and Popery, is this week gone, I trust, to God. She died in Bishop Thirlby's chamber, in Mrs. Blackwell's house, in the Black Friars.'" (*Life of Parker*, i., 280.) The same Thirlby was appointed as a commissioner to assist Boner in the degradation of his friend and former patron Archbishop Cranmer, and he obeyed the mandate although his private feelings were such that he shed tears in the execution of it.

from what quarter the whole of the information which we possess upon the subject was in fact primarily derived. It is said to depend upon the authority of one individual—Thomas Neal, Chaplain to Boner, Bishop of London. But in truth we have not the testimony of Neal himself. Thomas Haberley, a Seminary Priest, under confinement and in danger from the law against sedition, and Thomas Blewet, a Priest, imprisoned at Wisbeach, declared to Champney or other Jesuits, that Neal *had told them* of what he witnessed at the Nag's Head, namely, the burlesque consecration of the Bishops by Scory. So that the tale comes to us, at the best, only at second hand; and there is ground enough to say either that Neal never conveyed such a report, or that he was not credited by those who would have been most delighted by such news.* The

A man who could make this sacrifice to a sense of duty was not to be suspected of suppressing information, even amounting but to a surmise, so adapted to inflict an incurable wound upon the Church of England as the imputation of Parker's non-consecration. This silence of *all* the deposed Prelates must be admitted to prove either that none of them ever heard of that story, or if any of them did (as there is some reason to believe Archbishop Heath may) that they utterly discredited it.

* If testimony at second hand is thus to be allowed to have weight in support of this abominable story, then the same kind of evidence must be admitted on the contrary side; and if so, there is a contradiction upon record which would at once put an end to the controversy. Charles, the renowned Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, who defeated the Spanish Armada, who was born in 1536, and died in 1624, at the age of 87, and was a Roman Catholic, was asked by a friend, in 1616, whether he recollected the consecration of Archbishop Parker? at the time assigned for which he was 23 years of age. He replied as follows:—"That he well remembered it, from the circumstance of his having been particularly invited and requested to attend; and that he did attend at Lambeth on that occasion, as well as at the entertainment given in celebration of it; at which many other noblemen also were present. And, moreover, that the reason why the Archbishop so particularly gave him the invitation, and he himself was so anxious to accept it, was because there was some degree of relationship between them." (Mason's *Vindiciae*, E. A., Lib. iii., cap. 8, p. 339.) This declaration it appears was not made until 1616, three years after the appearance of Mason's work in English, and therefore was not published until the Latin translation came out in 1625. As this was after the death of the Earl of Nottingham, no reference can be made to his authority except at second

ground is this. By the 5 Eliz., cap. 1, any Archbishop or Bishop of this kingdom was empowered to administer the oath of supremacy to any spiritual or ecclesiastical persons resident within his diocese; and the names of recusants were to be certified to the Court of Queen's Bench. Robert Horn, Bishop of Winchester, under the authority of this law, caused the said oath to be proposed to Boner, late Bishop of London, then imprisoned in the Marshalsea, within the diocese of Winchester; by whom it was refused, and the refusal justified upon the plea that *Horn was not a lawful Bishop*, and consequently not empowered to administer the oath. The Judges agreed that this was such an exception as might be regularly pleaded, and would avail in the issue *in case it should appear to be true*.* This issue never came to trial; but the objection of Boner, so far as it can be ascertained, appears to have been of this nature: That the 5 Edward VI., cap. 1, *added* the Forms of Consecration and Ordination to the Book of Common Prayer, to be of the like force, authority, and value with it. By the act 1 Mary, cap. 2, the aforesaid statute was declared to be "utterly repealed," thus abolishing both the Book of Common Prayer and the consecration services. Again, by 1 Eliz., cap. 2, it was declared that "the said statute of repeal, only concerning *the said Book*, and the Service, Administration of the Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies contained in, or appointed by, *the said Book*, shall be void and of none effect; and that *the said Book*, with the Order of Service, and of the Administration of Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies shall stand and be in full force and effect." The restoration of the order of service being thus pointedly confined "only to the

hand. But if it be urged that this destroys the value of his testimony, how much more forcibly must such objection apply to the testimony of Neal, whose statement comes wholly through the medium of Haberley and Blewet, and is supported entirely upon their credit.

* "Et fuit mult debate inter omnes Justice in Camera Dni Catlin si Boner poit doner en evidence sur ceste issue, et resolue per omnes que si la veritie et matter soit tiel in fait, il à ceci serra bien receive sur cel issue et le jurie ceci triera."
(*Dyer's Reports.*)

said Book" of Common Prayer, without any mention of the services which had been *added* to it, a doubt was raised whether or no the office for consecrating Bishops, appointed by Edward VI. had been by due form of law revived. The entire objection, it is evident, was purely technical, not touching the merits of the case. In an ecclesiastical sense the reality of Horn's episcopal character could never be dependent on the construction which Lawyers might put upon the terms of an act of parliament; although, in a legal point of view, the omission of formalities required by law might be a bar to his competency in the exercise of an authority not pertaining to his episcopal character *per se*, but only created and annexed to it by a statute of the realm. The Parliament, however, took the wisest view of the question, by giving Boner the benefit of his legal objection, and declaring a general exemption from impeachment or molestation "by occasion or mean of any certificate heretofore made by any Archbishop or Bishop, touching the refusal of the oath."

To connect this with the question concerning the reality of Parker's consecration, what opinion must be entertained of the consistency of Boner in allowing the matter thus to drop, and being satisfied with his own personal escape, if he really possessed that information which it was afterwards pretended to trace to the authority of Neal? Neal was Boner's chaplain, and specially sent by him, so the story goes, to the Nag's Head; and therefore Boner could hardly be unacquainted with anything which his emissary knew. Neal was at Oxford, where he read the Hebrew lecture, when the business was before the Court of Queen's Bench. When the issue was whether Horn was a lawful Bishop (and his title must be involved in Parker's), why was not Neal produced to testify a fact, which he might have done if the Nag's Head story were true, at once conclusive of the question? The Judges denied Boner no advantage in the conduct of his cause, but debated long and earnestly on the admissibility of the several pleas

which he put in, and assigned to him three eminent counsel for his support. Would the latter have been content to urge against Horn a mere technical point and question of law in maintaining that Horn had not been *lawfully* consecrated, when they had in Neal a witness to shew that he had no consecration at all? Besides, Barlow yet survived, Scory was still living; and why, then, were they not called upon to explain their share in this most unaccountable transaction, if any such had ever taken place? Nay, more than this, Barlow and Scory were not only living, but were sitting with Parker in their places in the House of Lords when the bill was introduced and passed into an "Act declaring the making and consecrating of the Archbishops and Bishops of this realm to be good, lawful, and perfect." The reasonableness of such an act to quiet doubts which turned upon so trivial a point as has been mentioned was so apparent, that the act appears to have passed *sub silentio*, without one word in opposition from the Roman Catholic party in Parliament, or the necessity of defence on the part of the Church. Were, then, the Roman Catholics of 1566 so entirely at variance in their feelings and views of policy with those of 1604 and of all succeeding time, that whereas the latter have ever cherished the "foolery of the Nag's Head," as Dr. Lingard terms it, as one of the most serviceable weapons in their armoury, those of the earlier age, contemporaries with the event, permitted it to be kept back from publicity at a moment when there was every conceivable motive to produce it? For if well-founded it must then have been susceptible of proof: if proved it must have led to the immediate disgrace, if not certain dissolution, of the Prelacy of the Church of England. Whether, having had that occasion given them, and having so passed it by, they can justifiably, at this late period, urge the tale as if entitled to any weight or consideration, whether this is usual, or fair, or christian-like, or even agreeable to the general law of reasoning among mankind, let others judge; let others speak their sentiments.

But to turn from them to another party, we are to be reminded again that Barlow, Scory, and Parker, were at this time Peers of Parliament, and were thus parties to the passing of an act for removing doubts as to the legality of the form according to which two of those here named had consecrated the other. That act declares, first, that the Act 1 Eliz., c. 2., in re-establishing and confirming the Book of Common Prayer, "and all things therein contained," had re-established and confirmed the order appointed under Edward VI. for consecrating and ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. This was the *intent* of the law; though, by the special pleading of Boner, doubts had been raised how far that intent had been lawfully carried out. But, such doubts being now removed and quieted by a new and declaratory law, and it thence following that the form for consecrating Bishops had been in reality in force from the first year of the Queen's reign, the statute naturally proceeds farther to declare that, "whereas, sithence the beginning of her reign Her Majesty had at divers times caused divers and sundry grave and well-learned men to be *duly* elected, made, and *consecrated* Archbishops and Bishops, *according to such order and form, and with such ceremonies in and about their consecrations,* as were allowed and set forth by the said acts, statutes, and orders, annexed to the said Book of Common Prayer, all acts or things heretofore had, made, or done, by any person or persons in or about any consecration, confirmation, or investing of any person or persons elected to the office or dignity of Archbishop or Bishop, by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters patent or commission, sithence the beginning of Her Majesty's reign, be and shall be by authority of this present Parliament declared, judged, and deemed, at and from every of the several times of the doing thereof, good and perfect to all intents and purposes." Unquestionably there is a positive absurdity involved in the supposition that Parker and his brethren could sit with gravity to concur in an act declaring his consecration to be duly performed, with such ceremonies in and about it, as were allowed by law, and that it should be

good, and valid, and perfect, to all intents and purposes, from the time of doing thereof, when he was all the while inwardly conscious that there had been *no* such time, *no* such ceremonies, *no* such consecration.

The last particular which this act enables us to clear up, is the intent and meaning of the unusual clause which it has been said was inserted by the Queen in the letter's patent for Parker's consecration. It may be here repeated:—"Supplying nevertheless, by our supreme royal authority, of our mere motion and certain knowledge, if, either in the things which, according to our aforesaid command, shall by you be done, or in you, or any of you, from your condition, state, or power, there be, or shall be, any defect of things necessary or required by the statutes of this realm, or by the ecclesiastical laws in this behalf; the condition of the times and the necessity of circumstances so requiring." This clause is thus referred to in the act:—"Her Highness, for the avoiding of all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecrations of the said Archbishops and Bishops, hath not only used such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used by the said late King Henry and King Edward, in their letters patent made for such causes, but hath also used and put in divers other general words and sentences, whereby, by her supreme power and authority, she hath dispensed with all causes or doubts, or any imperfection or disability that can or may in anywise be objected against the same; so that to all those that will well consider of the effect and true intent of the said laws and statutes, and of the supreme and absolute authority of the Queen's Highness, and which she, by her said letters patent hath used, and put in use in and about the making and consecrating of the said Archbishops and Bishops, it is and may be very evident and apparent that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt, can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations, or consecrations, or any other material thing meet to be used or

had in or about the same; but that everything requisite and material for that purpose hath been made and done as precisely and with as great care and diligence, (rather more) as ever the like was done before Her Majesty's time, as the records of her said father and brother's time, and also of her own time, will more plainly testify and declare."

From this it is evident, that the object of the "supplying" clause in the letters patent, was to "avoid all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the *lawful* consecrations of the said Archbishops and Bishops." The Queen and her advisers were well aware that "every thing requisite and material" to the consecration of an Archbishop, so far as his spiritual character might be concerned, was within their reach; that the surviving Bishops, though ejected from their temporal stations, were yet in number sufficient, and in canonical order competent, to continue the succession. But they were no less sensible that, although they might make true and unquestionable *Bishops* in a canonical sense, yet the thing desired being not only to prolong the episcopal line, but to uphold it with temporal honor and privileges (which are the creatures of law), it was necessary to have a *lawful consecration*, or such as would make lawful Prelates—Bishops who, in the eye of the law, would be acknowledged as in a capacity to protect their own property, and to enforce measures (authorised by law) which, as in the case of Bishop Horn, might even affect the civil rights and liberty of the subject. It was evident that, to give them *that* capacity, it would not be enough to say they were Catholic Bishops (which is a purely spiritual title); it was necessary to shew that they were also *lawful* Bishops. Against this it was natural to anticipate that the defeated party, headed by Boner, would interpose every kind of "scruple, ambiguity, and doubt;" and it was against such merely technical objections that the "supplying" clause was intended to provide. Herein was the error. The Queen undertook, by her supreme authority or prerogative, to define what should be the force and

intent of Acts of Parliament. In the reign of her father, Henry VIII., or any of his predecessors, the sufficiency of that dispensing power would probably have been allowed. But the truly great Elizabeth, even while she appeared in her own person to act upon arbitrary principles, yet had in her character that genuine spirit of independence which first awakened ideas of constitutional privileges in the minds of her countrymen and subjects. In the preamble of the act now under consideration, complaints are made of "divers questions by overmuch boldness of speech and talk among many of the common sort of people, being unlearned, upon the making and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, whether the same be duly and orderly done according to the law or not." But this boldness of speech was no more than the natural expression of that dissatisfaction which was felt at the Sovereign's undertaking, by pure prerogative, to dispense with formalities of law upon the plea that essentials had been adhered to. Formalities they probably were; and if the mere collation of spiritual offices had been in question, those formalities would either not have been appointed, or a casual departure from them would have been overlooked. But when the result would be, in addition to conferring such spiritual offices, to invest the holders of them also with large temporal possessions, and with civil jurisdiction, it was right that, if formalities were to be dispensed with, it should be so ordered, not by the supreme power of the Sovereign, but by her assent to an enactment by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in Parliament assembled. The Queen, therefore, came at last whither she should have been advised to go at first: and they passed a declaratory act to this effect—that the same consecration which gave ecclesiastically and spiritually the character of Bishops, should be held sufficient to confer it also legally; or to qualify them for exercising those civil privileges and authorities which the law had seen good to annex to the episcopal station.

Neither the clause, therefore, nor the act of Parliament

affected to touch the question as to the validity of the consecration for all spiritual purposes; but, admitting or assuming that the episcopal character was duly imparted, confined themselves to the disposal and regulation of temporal interests.

In a second Part of this publication the remaining branch of the controversy will be considered: that is, it will be shewn that agreeably to the laws of the Church, the consecrations and ordinations of the Anglican branch of it are, and have never ceased to be, *valid*. The present argument has been directed merely to establish a *fact*; namely, that *Matthew Parker was, beyond all doubt, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 17th of December, 1559, according to the Ordinal of Edward VI.*

END OF PART I.

