

L'ANGLETERRE DE LA PREMIÈRE MODERNITÉ

EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

(1500-1689)



4V3ACIVP : Licence 2 – Semestre 3
Département d'études anglophones

Cover illustration:

Engraved illustration from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, 1563. It shows the changes to churches which took place in the reign of Edward VI. The British Library.

“[...] the image is divided in half horizontally, with the representation of Catholic practice in the upper half, and the newly reformed English church at the bottom. In the top half of the picture, an image is pulled down while the fleeing papists salvage what they can from the purging of the temple: the Mass Books, a pastoral staff, a censer and a papal tiara. The bottom left panel shows Edward delivering the Bible to the prelates, and in a church purged of all images and furnishings, a congregation of men, women and children are gathered to hear the Word of God expounded by a preacher.”

Source: Andrew Pettegree, *The Reformation World*, London, Routledge, 2000, p. 231.

Civilisation britannique
Early Modern England / L'Angleterre de la première modernité

Responsable : Yan Brailowsky, Professeur (yan.brailowsky@parisnanterre.fr)

Durée du cours : 2h hebdomadaires

Enseignant(s) : Yan BRAILOWSKY, Nicolas BOURGÈS, Thierry LABICA, Clotilde PRUNIER

Programme

Ce cours porte sur la période dite « de première modernité » (*early modern period*), qui s'étend du début du XVI^e siècle à la fin du XVII^e siècle. Il se concentre en particulier sur trois moments importants : 1) le règne du roi Henri VIII, qui rompt avec Rome et fonde en Angleterre une Église nationale indépendante, sur fond de Réforme protestante en Europe ; 2) la période élisabéthaine, au cours de laquelle se définit le protestantisme de l'Église d'Angleterre, au moment où le pays devient progressivement une puissance coloniale, rivale de l'Espagne catholique ; 3) le règne des Stuart au XVII^e siècle, dont la conception des relations entre la monarchie et le parlement conduit aux guerres civiles du milieu du siècle, conflit politique autant que religieux et diplomatique, qui aura des conséquences profondes sur les décennies suivantes, à travers l'expérience du Commonwealth. Le contexte intellectuel sera également abordé brièvement, en particulier le rôle de l'humanisme et de l'avènement de la science moderne dans les changements politiques et religieux de la période.

Bibliographie

HAIGH, Christopher éd., *The English Reformation Revised* (1987), Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2000.

HILL, Christopher, *Reformation to Industrial Revolution* (1967), Londres : Verso, 2018.

LEBECQ, Stéphane, Fabrice BENSIMON, François-Joseph RUGGIU et Frédérique LACHAUD, *Histoire des îles Britanniques* (2007), Paris : PUF, coll. « Quadrige », 2013.

MARSHALL, Peter, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (2003), Londres : Bloomsbury, 2012.

Une bibliographie complète sera distribuée au début du semestre.

Objectifs

En termes méthodologiques, l'objectif de ce cours est double : il s'agit d'une part d'apprendre à lire et à comprendre un document historique et, d'autre part, d'acquérir et de maîtriser la méthode du commentaire de texte en civilisation.

Modalités de contrôle

- Formule standard session 1 - Contrôle continu : un devoir écrit de 2h à mi-parcours (questions de cours + questions sur un document historique) 40% ; un devoir écrit de 2h en fin de semestre (commentaire de document historique) 50%, participation et travail personnel 10%.
- Formule dérogatoire session 1 : 1 devoir écrit de 2h (commentaire de texte)
- Session 2 : 1 devoir écrit de 2h (commentaire de texte)

Espace cours en ligne : à déterminer avec chaque enseignant

Langue(s) du cours : anglais

Cours ouvert aux étudiants d'échanges internationaux : oui

Pré-requis : anglais B2/C1

Course description

This course deals with the history of early modern England from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century. It focuses more particularly on three pivotal moments: 1) the reign of King Henry VIII, who broke with Rome and created a national independent Church of England, while the Reformation was taking place in Europe; 2) the Elizabethan era, when the Church of England adopted a form of Protestantism that is still extant today; at that time, England also progressively became a colonial empire and an opponent of Catholic Spain; 3) the reign of the Stuarts, whose conception of the relations between monarchy and parliament led to the 1640s civil wars, a political, religious and diplomatic conflict that had consequences on the following decades with the Commonwealth in the 1650s. The intellectual context, such as the role of humanism and the emergence of the new science, will also be briefly mentioned as they had an impact on the religious and political developments of the period.

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HAIGH, Christopher ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (1987), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

HILL, Christopher, *Reformation to Industrial Revolution* (1967), London: Verso, 2018.

LEBECQ, Stéphane, Fabrice BENSIMON, François-Joseph RUGGIU et Frédérique LACHAUD, *Histoire des îles Britanniques* (2007), Paris: PUF, coll. « Quadrige », 2013.

MARSHALL, Peter, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (2003), London: Bloomsbury, 2012.

Objectives

The aim of this course is twofold: first, students will learn how to read and understand a historical text, and second, they will learn how to analyse those texts and write commentaries in English following a specific methodological approach.

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DUFFY, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altar: Traditional Religion in England 1400 – 1580*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1992.

GREENGRASS, Mark, *Christendom Destroyed. Europe, 1517-1648*, London, Penguin, 2015.

HAIGH, Christopher ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (1987), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

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KING, John N. ed., *Voices of the English Reformation. A Sourcebook*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

LARKING, Irena, *Renovating the Sacred. Faith Communities and the Re-formation of the English Parish Church*, Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.

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RYRIE, Alec, *The Age of Reformation. The Tudor and Stewart Realms 1485-1603*, London, Routledge, 2017.

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TIMELINE: 1509–1689

Henry VIII: 1509–1547

21 April 1509: Henry VII dies and is succeeded by Henry VIII

1517: Luther publishes his 95 Theses in Wittenberg

17 October 1521: Pope Leo X grants Henry VIII the title “Defender of the Faith”

1527: Henry VIII appeals to Pope Clement VII to annul his marriage

25 January 1533: Henry VIII marries Anne Boleyn, following divorce from Catherine of Aragon

April 1533: Act in Restraint of Appeals

November 1534: Act of Supremacy makes Henry Head of the English Church

6 July 1535: Former Chancellor Sir Thomas More is executed for treason

1536: Henry VIII starts to confiscate and sell monasteries

27 October 1536: Pilgrimage of Grace disbands after meeting the duke of Norfolk

28 January 1547: Henry VIII dies and is succeeded by nine-year-old Edward VI

Edward VI: 1547–1553

20 June 1549: Norfolk Rebellion begins, the largest popular uprising of Tudor times

6 July 1553: Edward VI dies and is succeeded by Lady Jane Grey

Mary I: 1553–1558

19 July 1553: Mary becomes queen

7 February 1554: Sir Thomas Wyatt leads a rebellion against Mary

25 July 1554: Mary marries Philip of Spain despite widespread opposition

November 1554: Second Act of Repeal

1 November 1555: English Church in Geneva is founded by exiled Protestants

21 March 1556: Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer is burnt for heresy

17 November 1558: Mary dies and Elizabeth I ascends to the throne

Elizabeth I: 1558–1603

June 1559: Book of Common Prayer becomes the only legal form of worship

14 November 1569: Northern earls rebel in support of Mary Stuart (“Rising of the North”)

25 February 1570: Papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* declares Elizabeth I a heretic

c. 26 September 1580: Francis Drake arrives at Plymouth after circumnavigating the world

1583: Throckmorton Plot: an attempt by English Roman Catholics to murder Elizabeth in favour of Mary Stuart

March–July 1586: Babington Plot: a new attempt to murder Elizabeth in favour of Mary Stuart

25 October 1586 : Mary Stuart is convicted of treason at Fotheringay Castle

8 February 1587: Mary Stuart is executed

8 August 1588: English disperse the Spanish Armada at the Battle of Gravelines

8 February 1601: Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex attempts to seize London. He is executed for treason

24 March 1603: Death of Elizabeth I and accession of James VI of Scotland and I of England

James VI and I: 1603–1625

30 March 1603: Nine Years' War ends with the surrender of the Irish

January 1604: Hampton Court Conference: no relaxation by the Church towards Puritans; James bans Jesuits; England and Spain make peace

5 November 1605: Gunpowder Plot; Guy Fawkes and other Roman Catholic conspirators fail in attempt to blow up Parliament and James I

1607: Parliament rejects proposals for union between England and Scotland; colony of Virginia is founded at Jamestown by John Smith

1611: James I's authorized version (King James Version) of the Bible is completed; English and Scottish Protestant colonists settle in Ulster

1618: Thirty Years' War begins, lasts until 1648

1620: Pilgrims land at Plymouth Rock on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in the Mayflower

Charles I: 1625–1649

1625: Charles I, King of England; Charles I marries Henrietta Maria of France; dissolves Parliament which fails to vote him money

7 June 1628: Petition of Right; Charles I forced to accept Parliament's statement of civil rights in return for finances

March 1629: Charles I dissolves Parliament and rules personally until 1640

1639: First Bishops' War between Charles I and the Scottish Church

13 April 1640: King Charles I summons the Short Parliament, bringing his eleven-year Personal Rule to an end

5 May 1640: The King dissolves the Short Parliament when MPs refuse to grant him subsidies for war against Scotland

28 August 1640: The Scots defeat the English army at the battle of Newburn

3 November 1640: Desperately short of money, King Charles summons the Long Parliament

18 December 1640: Impeachment of Archbishop Laud

16 February 1641: The Triennial Act passed, guaranteeing that Parliament will be called at least once every three years

5 July 1641: Parliament abolishes the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber; the Council of Wales and the North abolished; powers of the Privy Council suppressed

1 September 1641: The House of Commons passes a resolution for the destruction of altar rails, crucifixes and other 'innovations' introduced under the Laudian reforms

1 December 1641: The Grand Remonstrance presented to King Charles at Hampton Court

Civil War: 1642–1649

1 June 1642: The Nineteen Propositions passed by Parliament, requiring the King to give up control of the militia and the right to appoint ministers

18 June 1642: The King rejects the Nineteen Propositions

10 July 1642: The first military action of the English Civil War takes place when a Royalist raiding party approaches Hull to burn down buildings outside the town walls, but is driven away by gunfire from the defenders

12 July 1642: Parliament resolves to raise an army. The Earl of Essex commissioned Captain-General

22 August 1642: King Charles raises the royal standard at Nottingham Castle. King and Parliament now at war.

13 November 1642: Royalist advance on London halted at Turnham Green

29 November 1642: The King's army withdraws to Oxford which remains the Royalist capital for the rest of the war

25 September 1643: The signing of the Solemn League and Covenant secures a military alliance between the English Parliament and the Scottish Covenanters

12 March 1644: The trial of Archbishop Laud opens in London

20 April 1644: Allied Parliamentarian and Scottish armies besiege York

2 July 1644: Battle of Marston Moor: Royalist power in the north of England ended

10 January 1645: Execution of Archbishop Laud

17 February 1645: New Model Army Ordinance passed by the House of Lords

14 June 1645: Battle of Naseby: the New Model Army inflicts a crushing defeat on the King's army

July-September 1645: String of victories for the New Model Army

5 May 1646: King Charles surrenders to the Covenanter army at Newark

30 January 1647: The Scots surrender the King to Parliament

6 August 1647: The Army occupies London

28 October 1647: Beginning of the Putney Debates between the Levellers and the army Grandees

11 November 1647: The King escapes from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight

26 December 1647: The King signs the Engagement with the Scots

17 January 1648: Parliament passes the Vote of No Addresses

April 1648: Pro-Royalist riots in London and Norwich

21 May 1648: Rebellion against Parliament breaks out in Kent

4 June 1648: Rebellion against Parliament breaks out in Essex

18 September 1648: Presbyterian MPs attempt a treaty with the King at Newport

2 December 1648: The Army occupies London

6 January 1649: The Rump Parliament assumes full legislative powers

20 January 1649: Trial of Charles I begins

30 January 1649: King Charles I beheaded

Charles II: 1649–1685

5 February 1649: Charles II proclaimed in Edinburgh

13 February 1649: Parliament sets up the Council of State to rule in place of the Monarchy and the House of Lords

15 August 1649: Oliver Cromwell arrives in Ireland

1 May 1650: Charles II signs the Treaty of Breda, securing an alliance with the Scottish Presbyterians

27 May 1650: Cromwell leaves Ireland, having secured most of Ulster, Leinster and Munster for the Commonwealth

20 June 1650: The Council of State resolves to mount an invasion of Scotland

23 June 1650: Charles arrives in Scotland and takes the Covenant. Cromwell appointed commander of the army to invade Scotland

17 July 1650: Treason Act passed: any claim that the House of Commons was not the supreme authority becomes an act of high treason

9 August 1650: Parliament passes the Blasphemy Act, aimed at suppressing radical religious sects

3 September 1650: Battle of Dunbar; Cromwell routs the Scots

27 September 1650: Toleration Act passed: compulsory attendance at parish churches abolished

24 December 1650: Edinburgh surrenders to Cromwell

1 August 1651: Cromwell advances on Perth, deliberately leaving the road to England open

5 August 1651: Charles and his Covenanter allies invade England

3 September 1651: Battle of Worcester; Cromwell defeats Charles and the Scots

13 October 1651: Charles II escapes to France

The Protectorate: 1653–1659

20 April 1653: Cromwell dissolves the Rump Parliament

16 December 1653: Cromwell installed as Lord Protector

23 February 1657: The Humble Petition and Advice presented to Parliament despite opposition from the Army. Offer of the Crown to Cromwell

8 May 1657: Cromwell formally refuses the Crown

3 September 1658: Death of Oliver Cromwell; his son Richard accepted as his successor by the Council of Officers and the Army

22 April 1659: Richard Cromwell forced by army officers Fleetwood and Disbrowe to dissolve the Third Protectorate Parliament

7 May 1659: Richard forced by the Council of Officers to reinstate the Rump Parliament

19 May 1659: Parliament elects a new Council of State

24 May 1659: Resignation of Richard Cromwell: end of the Protectorate

Restoration of the Monarchy: Charles II, 1660–1685

5 December 1659: Riots in London for the return of Parliament

11 January 1660: Lord Fairfax meets Monck at York and urges him to restore the Monarchy

3 February 1660: Monck's army arrives in London

21 February 1660: The Long Parliament restored: surviving MPs purged in 1648 re-admitted to Parliament under Monck's protection

16 March 1660: The Long Parliament calls free elections and votes for its own dissolution

1 May 1660: Charles II's manifesto the Declaration of Breda read in Parliament

14 May 1660: Parliament orders the arrest of all surviving regicides

29 May 1660: Charles II makes a triumphal entry into London

1661: Corporation Act excludes Nonconformists from municipal offices, and requires town officers to renounce The Solemn League and Covenant of 1643

1662: Act of Uniformity requires the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and the repudiation of The Solemn League and Covenant by the clergy

1664: Conventicle Act prohibits non-Anglican religious assemblies of more than five people

1665: Corporation Act prohibits clergymen from being within 5 miles of a parish from which they have been banished

1672: Declaration of Indulgence suspends penal laws against Catholics

1673: first Test Act requiring an oath of allegiance to anyone holding a public office

1678-1681: Exclusion crisis; some Members of Parliament try to have the Catholic James, Duke of York, excluded from the succession

April 1685: Charles II dies, his Catholic brother James II ascends the throne

James II: 1685–1688

4 April 1687: first Declaration of Indulgence

27 April 1688: second Declaration of Indulgence, which no longer guarantees that the Church of England is the Established Church

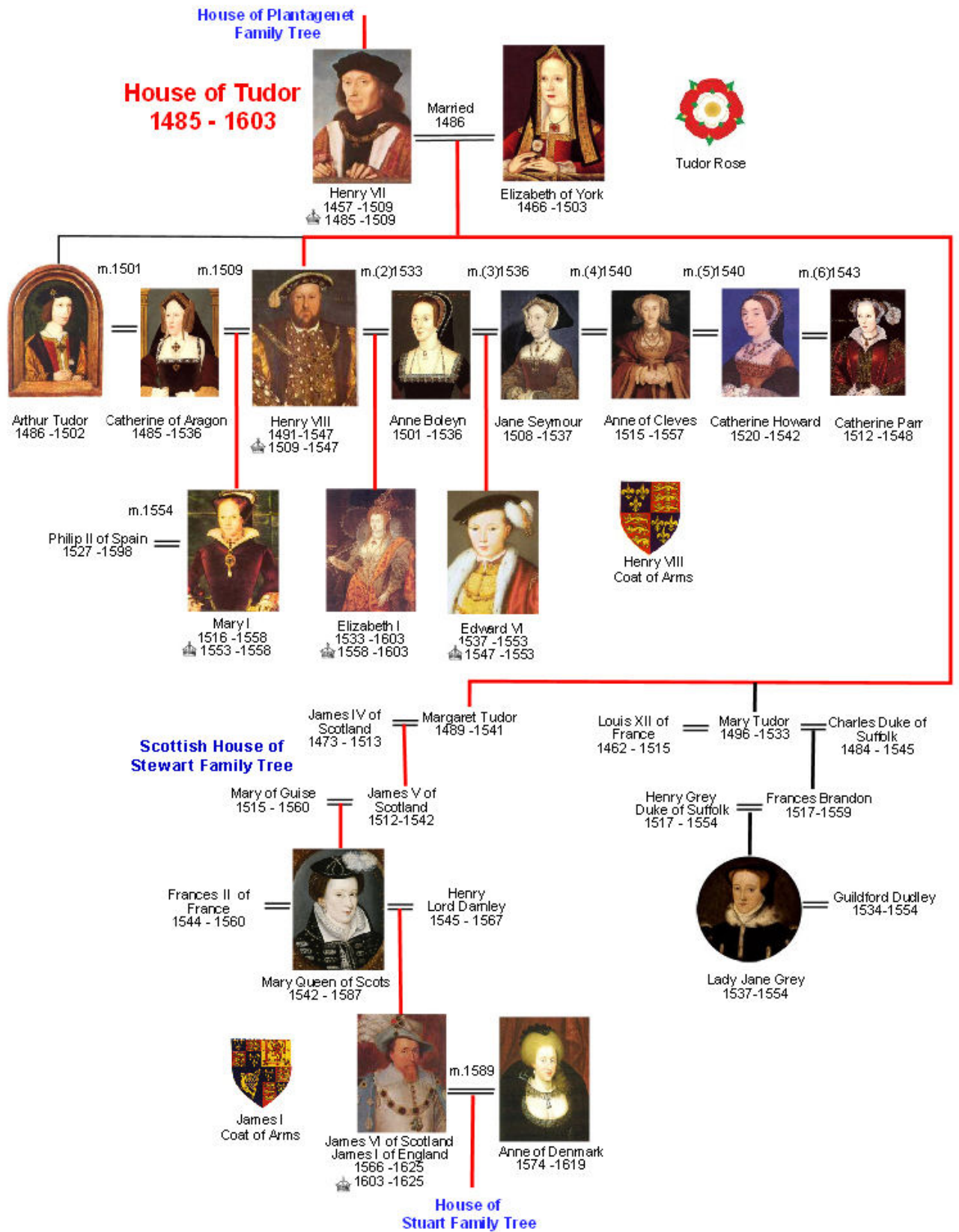
10 June 1688: birth of James Francis Edward Stuart, first male heir of James II and Queen Mary

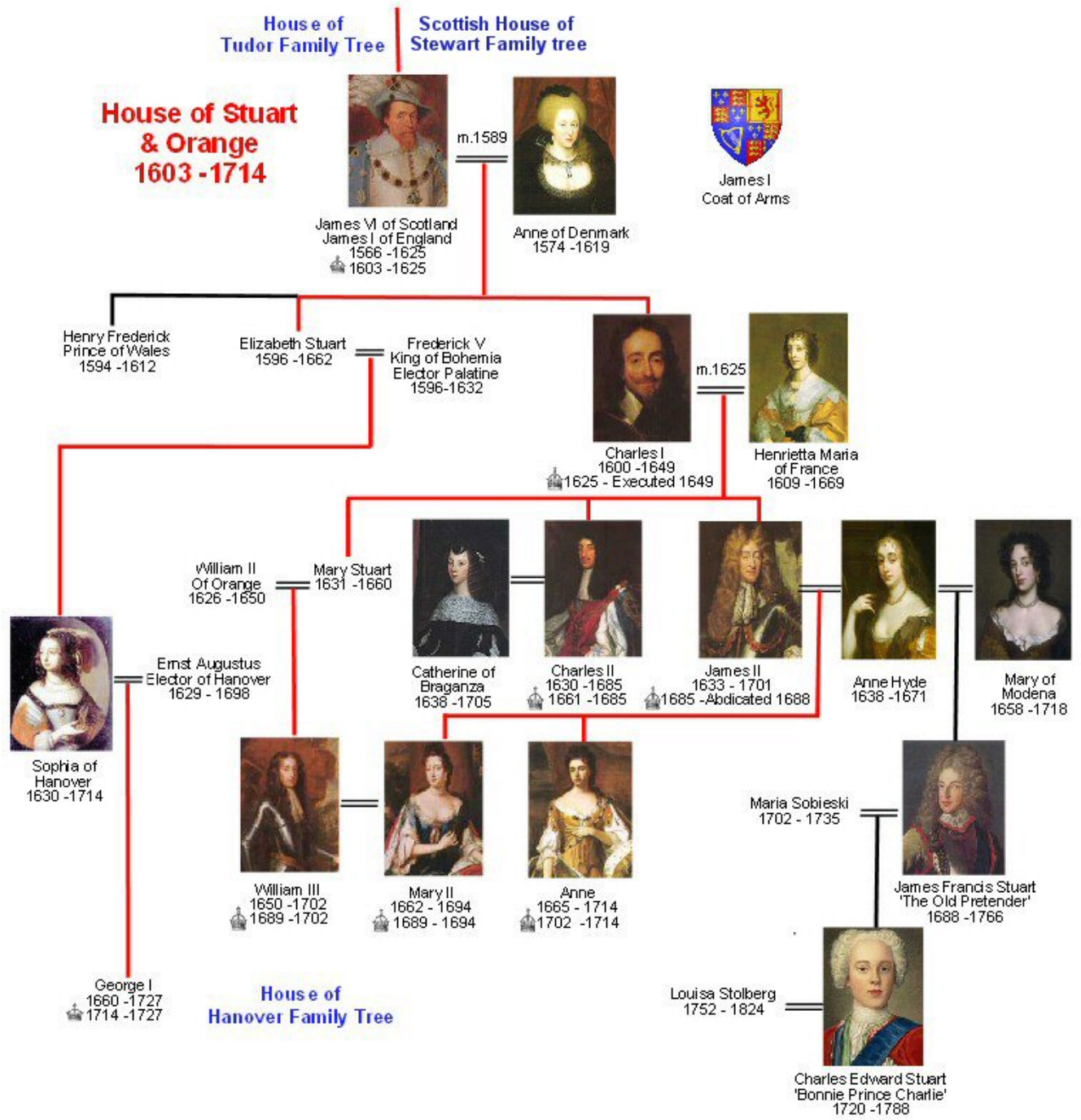
30 June 1688: the Immortal Seven write to the Prince of Orange

5 November 1688: William of Orange lands in England; James flees to France. Mary II proclaimed Queen of England and Scotland, with her husband, William III

December 1689: Bill of Rights

TUDOR AND STUART FAMILY TREES



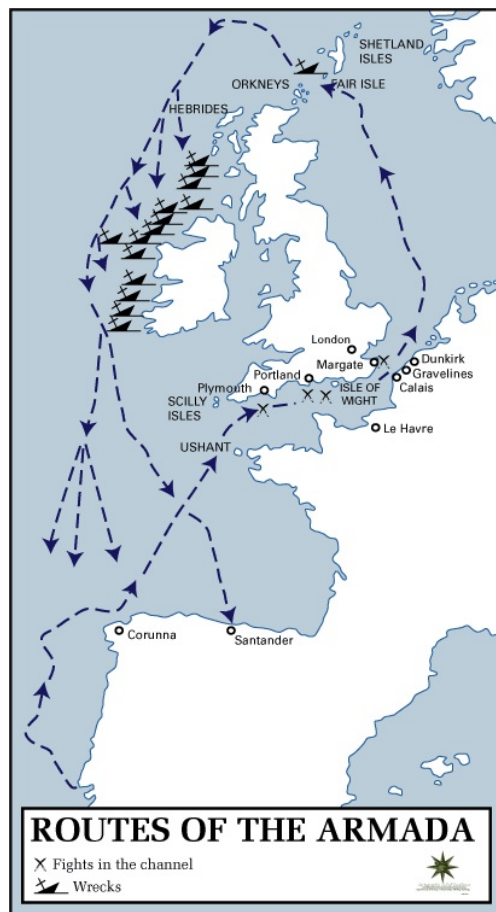


CATHOLIC CLERICAL DRESS



1. Surplice, 2. Preacher's Stole, 3. Cope, 4. Mass and benediction, 5. Benediction Burse
(source: www.sanctamissa.org).

THE SPANISH ARMADA (1588)



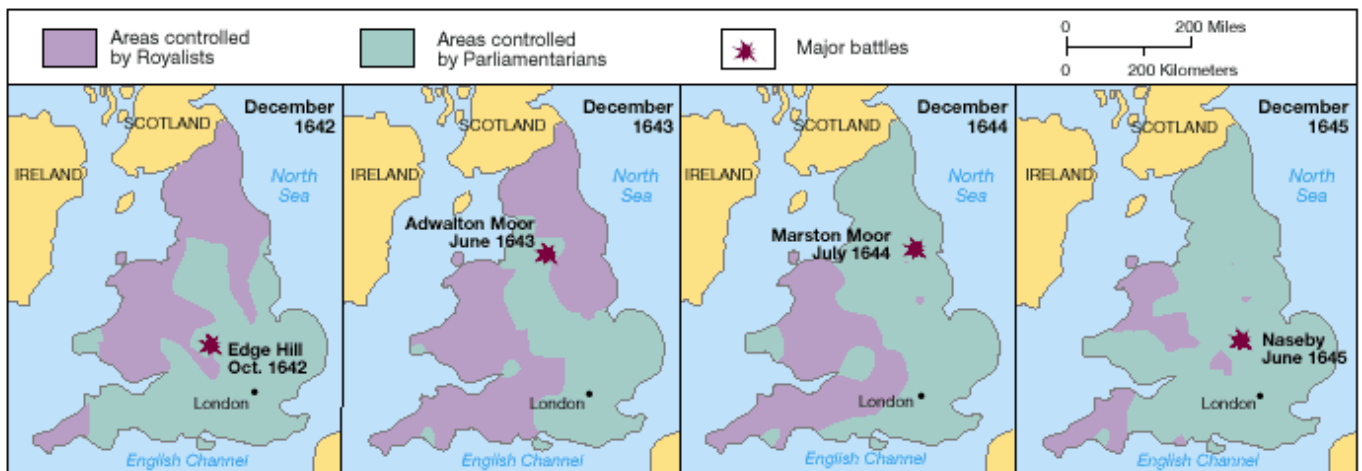
THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-1648)



THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

- Country or area with a Protestant majority
 - Habsburg Spain
 - Habsburg Austria
- ① 1620-1623: Defeat of the Czechs and the Electoral Palatinate
 - ② 1625-1629: Intervention and defeat of Christian IV of Denmark
 - ③ 1630-1632: Intervention of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden
 - ④ 1635: Intervention of France against Spain and the Emperor
1642: Occupation of Roussillon
1643: French victory at the Battle of Rocroi
 - ⑤ 1645-1648: Turenne's and Sweden's campaign in Germany

THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS



The English Civil War. The maps show the gradual triumph of the parliamentarians whose control of London and the coastal areas gave them a profound logistical advantage during the wars.

DOCUMENTS

The Dean of St Paul criticises the Church, 1511

The humanist scholar John Colet criticised the involvement of churchmen in worldly affairs in a sermon preached before Convocation. The clergy resented his outspoken views and sought his prosecution. These extracts are typical of humanist disenchantment with the late medieval Church.

5 Ye are come together today, fathers and right wise men, to enter council; in the which, what ye will do and what matters ye will handle, yet we understand not. But we wish that once, remembering your name and profession, ye would mind the reformation of the Church's matter. For it was never more need, and the state of the Church did never desire more your endeavours [...]

To exhort you, reverend fathers, to the endeavour of reformation of the Church's estate, (because that nothing hath so disfigured the face of the Church as hath the fashion of secular and worldly living in clerks and priests) [...] Wherefore Saint Paul said chiefly unto priests and bishops: *Be you not conformable to this world, but be ye reformed.*

10 And first for to speak of pride of life: how much greediness and appetite of honour and dignity is nowadays in men of the Church? How run they are, yeah, almost out of breath, from one benefice to another; from the less to the more, from the lower to the higher? [...] Moreover [...] the most part of them doth go with so stately a countenance and with so high looks, that they seem not to be put in the humble bishopric of Christ, but rather in the high lordship and power
15 of the world [...]

The second secular evil is carnal concupiscence. Hath not this vice grown and waxen in the Church as a flood of their lust, so that there is nothing looked for more diligently in this most busy time of the most part of priests than that that doth delight and please the senses? [...]

20 Covetousness is the third secular evil [...] O covetousness! of thee cometh these chargeful visitations of bishops. Of thee cometh the corruptness of courts, and these daily new inventions wherewith the silly people are so vexed [...]

The fourth secular evil that spoteth and maketh ill-favoured the face of the Church is the continual secular occupation, wherein priests and bishops nowadays doth busy themselves, the servants rather of men than of God; the warriors rather of this world than of Christ [...]

Source: J. H. Lupton, *Life of Colet*, London, 1887, p. 293–9.

Thomas More answers to the heretics, 1528

Thomas More was very concerned about the growth of heresy and thought that Simon Fish's writings were dangerous. Fish was the author of an anti-clerical pamphlet, *Supplication for the Beggars* (1529), which was condemned by the Church as heretical. The Bishop of London gave More a licence to keep such books so that he could defend the Church in his writings, particularly against the views expressed by William Tyndale.

Cuthbert, by divine permission bishop of London to the very reverend and distinguished Sir Thomas More, his very dear brother and friend, greetings in the Lord and blessing.

5 Since of late, after the Church of God throughout Germany has been infested with heretics, there have been some sons of iniquity who are trying to introduce into this country of ours the old and accursed Wycliffite heresy and its foster-child the Lutheran heresy, by translating into our mother tongue some of the most subversive of their pamphlets, and printing them in great quantity. They are, indeed, striving with all their might to defile and infect this country with these pestilential doctrines, which are most repugnant to the truth of the Catholic faith. It is greatly to be feared, therefore, that Catholic faith may be greatly imperilled if good and learned men do not strenuously resist the wickedness of the aforesaid persons ...

15 And since you, dearest brother, are distinguished as a second Desmosthenes in our native language as well as in Latin, and you are in the habit of championing Catholic truth most keenly in every discussion, you cannot better occupy your spare time (if you can steal any from your duties) than in publishing something in English which will reveal to simple and uneducated men the crafty wickedness of the heretics, and will better equip such folk against such impious supplanters of the Church. In so doing you have a very distinguished example, that of our most illustrious lord, King Henry VIII, who stood up in defence of the sacraments of the Church against Luther, when he was doing all he could to undermine them, and thus win for himself for all time the immortal title of Defender of the Church ...

20 Go forth boldly, then, to such holy work, by which you will both benefit the Church of God and lay up for yourself an immortal name, and eternal glory in heaven. We beseech you in God's name so to do, strengthening the Church of God with your support. And to that end we give and grant you facilities and licence to keep and read books of this kind.

Given on the 7th. day of March 1528 and in the sixth year of our consecration.

Source: C. H. Williams, *English Historical Documents, 1485–1558*, Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 828–9.

Edward Hall on the fall and death of Cardinal Wolsey, 1530

You have heard under the last year how the cardinal of York [Wolsey] was attained in praemunire, and despite that the king had given him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, with great possessions, and had licensed him to live in his diocese of York. Being thus in his diocese, grudging his fall and not remembering the kindness the King showed to him, he wrote
5 to the court of Rome and to several other princes letters reproaching the king, and as much as he was able stirred them to revenge his case against the King and his realm; so much so that various opprobrious words about the king were spoken to Dr Edward Kern, the king's orator at Rome, and it was said to him that for the cardinal's sake the king's matrimonial suit would have the worse speed. The cardinal would also speak fair to the people to win their hearts, and always
10 declared that he was unjustly and untruly commanded, which fair speaking made many men believe that he spoke the truth. And to be held in higher repute by the people he determined to be installed or enthroned at York with all possible pomp, and caused a throne to be erected in the Cathedral Church of such a height and design as was never seen before; and he sent to all the lords, abbots, priors, knights, esquires and gentlemen of his diocese to be at his manor of
15 Cawood on 6 November, and so to bring him to York with all pomp and solemnity.

The King, who knew of his doings and secret communications, all this year pretended to ignore them to see what he would eventually do, until he saw his proud heart so highly exalted that he intended to be so triumphantly installed without informing the king, even as if in disdain of the king. Then the king thought it was not fitting or convenient to let him any longer continue in
20 his malicious and proud purposes and attempts. Therefore he sent letters to Henry, the sixth earl of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the cardinal, and to deliver him to the earl of Shrewsbury, great steward of the king's household. When the earl had seen the letter, with a suitable number of men he came to the manor of Cawood on 4 November, and when he was brought to the cardinal in his chamber he said to him: "My Lord, I pray you have patience,
25 for here I arrest you." "Arrest me," said the cardinal; "Yes," said the earl, "I have orders to do so." "You have no such power," said the cardinal, "for I am both a cardinal and a peer of the College of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporal power, for I am not subject to that power, therefore if you arrest me I will withstand it." "Well," said the Earl, "here is the king's commission, and therefore I charge you to obey." The Cardinal somewhat remembered
30 himself, and said, "Well, my lord, I am content to obey, but although by negligence I fell under punishment of the praemunire and lost by law all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the king's protection and I was pardoned that offence. Therefore I wonder why I now should be arrested, especially considering that I am a member of the apostolic See, on whom no temporal man should lay violent hands. Well, I see the King lacks good counsel." "Well," said the earl,
35 "when I was sworn warden of the marches you yourself told me that I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of king, and now I am stronger for I have a commission for what I do as you have seen." The cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in his private chamber, and his goods seized and his officers discharged, and his physician, Dr Augustine, was also arrested, and brought to the Tower by Sir Walter Welshe, one of the king's chamber. On 6 November
40 the cardinal was conveyed from Cawood to Sheffield Castle, and there delivered into the keeping of the earl of Shrewsbury until the king's pleasure was known. About this arrest there was much talk among the common people, and many were glad, for surely he was not in favour with the commons.

When the cardinal was thus arrested the king sent Sir William Kingston Knight, captain of the
45 guard and constable of the Tower of London with some of the yeomen of the guard to Sheffield,

50 to fetch the cardinal to the Tower. When the cardinal saw the captain of the guard he was much astonished and shortly became ill, for he foresaw some great trouble, and for that reason men said he willingly took so much strong purgative that his constitution could not bear it. But Sir William Kingston comforted him, and by easy journeys he brought him to the Abbey of Leicester on 27 November, where through weakness caused by purgatives and vomiting he died the second night following, and is buried in the same Abbey.

Source: Edward Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (1548).

Tyndale attacks pilgrimages, 1531

In An Answer Unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, published in 1531, William Tyndale defends his translation of the Bible and criticises Catholic customs.

To speak of pilgrimages, I say that a Christian man, so that to leave nothing undone at home that he is bound to do, is free to go whither he will, only after the doctrine of the Lord, whose servant he is, and not his own. If he go and visit the poor, the sick, and the prisoner, it is well done, and a work that God commandeth. If he go to this or that place, to hear a sermon, or
5 because his mind is not quiet at home, or if because his heart is too much occupied on his worldly businesses by the reason of occasions at home, he get him into a more quiet and still place, where his mind is more abstract and pulled from worldly thoughts, it is well done. And in all these places, if, whatsoever it be, whether lively preaching, ceremony, relick, or image, stir up his heart to God, and preach the word of God, and the example of our Saviour Jesus
10 more in one place than in another, that he thither go I am content. ...

For there can nothing edify man's soul, save that which preacheth him God's word. Only the word of God worketh the health of the soul. And whatsoever preacheth him that cannot but make him perfecter.

But to believe that God will be sought more in one place than in another, or that God will hear thee more in one place than in another, or more where the image is, then where it is not, is a false faith, and idolatry, or image service. For first God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. (Acts xvii.) Item, Stephen died for the contrary, and proved it by the prophets. (Acts vii.) ... And the prophets did often testify unto the people that had such a false faith that God dwelt
15 in the temple, that he dwelt not there. Moreover, God in his Testament bindeth himself unto no place, nor yet thee; but speaketh generally (concerning where and when) saying, (Psalm xlix.) In the day of the tribulation thou shalt call on me, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me. He setteth neither place nor time; but wheresoever and whensoever: so that the prayer of Job upon the dunghill was as good as Paul's in the temple. And when our Saviour saith (John xvi.) Whatsoever ye ask John xvi. my father in my name, I will give it you, he saith not in this
20 or that place, or this or that day; but wheresoever and whensoever, as well in the fields as in the town, and on the Monday, as on the Sunday. God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in the spirit. (John iv.)
25

Source: The works of the English Reformers: William Tyndale and John Frith, Volume 2, 1831, p. 66–7.

Act in Restraint of Appeals, 1533

Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms, and by names of spirituality and temporality, be bounden and ought to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience: he being also institute and furnished, by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God, with plenary, whole, and entire power, pre-eminence, authority, prerogative and jurisdiction, to render and yield justice, and final determination to all manner of folk, residents, or subjects within this his realm, in all causes, matters, debates, and contentions, happening to occur, insurge, or begin within the limits thereof, without restraint, or provocation to any foreign princes or potentates of the world; the body spiritual whereof having power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the said body politic, called the spirituality, now being usually called the English Church, which always hath been reputed, and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this hour, sufficient and meet of itself without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties, as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain; for the due administration whereof, and to keep them from corruption and sinister affection. The king's most noble progenitors, and the antecessors of the nobles of this realm, have sufficiently endowed the said Church, both with honour and possessions; and the laws temporal, for trial of property of lands and goods, and for the conservation of the people of this realm in unity and peace, without rapine or spoil, was and yet is administered, adjudged, and executed by sundry judges and ministers of the other part of the said body politic, called the temporality; and both their authorities and jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due administration of justice, the one to help the other.

II. And whereas the king, his most noble progenitors, and the nobility and commons of this said realm, at divers and sundry parliaments, as well as in the time of King Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and other noble kings of this realm, made sundry ordinances, laws, statutes, and provisions for the entire and sure conservation of the prerogatives, liberties, and pre-eminences of the said imperial crown of this realm, and of the jurisdiction spiritual and temporal of the same, to keep it from the annoyance as well of the see of Rome, as from the authority of other foreign potentates, attempting the diminution or violation thereof, as often, and from time to time, as any such annoyance or attempt might be known or espied;

yet nevertheless since the making of the said good statutes and ordinances, divers and sundry inconveniences and dangers, not provided for plainly by the said former acts, statutes, and ordinances, have arisen and sprung by reason of appeals sued out of this realm to the see of Rome, in causes testamentary, causes of matrimony and divorces, right of tithes, oblations and obventions, not only to the great inquietation, vexation, trouble, cost and charges of the king's highness, and many of his subjects and residents in this his realm, but also to the great delay and let to the true and speedy determination of the said causes, for so much as the parties appealing to the said Court of Rome most commonly do the same for the delay of justice; [...]

In consideration whereof the king's highness, his nobles and commons, considering the great enormities, dangers, long delays and hurts, that as well to his highness, as to his said nobles, subjects, commons, and residents of this his realm, in the said causes testamentary, causes of

matrimony and divorces, tithes, oblations and obventions, do daily ensue, [...] shall be from henceforth heard, examined, discussed, clearly, finally, and definitively adjudged and determined within the king's jurisdiction and authority and not elsewhere [...] any foreign inhibitions, appeals, sentences, summons, citations, suspensions, interdictions, excommunications, restraints, judgments, or any other process or impediments, of what natures, names, qualities, or conditions soever they be, from the see of Rome, or any other foreign courts or potentates of the world, or from and out of this realm, or any other the king's dominions, or marches of the same, to the see of Rome, or to any other foreign courts or potentates, to the let or impediment thereof in any wise notwithstanding. [...]

50

55 X. And if it shall happen any person or persons hereafter to pursue or provoke any appeal contrary to the effect of this Act, or refuse to obey, execute, and observe all things comprised within the same, concerning the said appeals, provocations, and other foreign processes to be sued out of this realm, for any the causes aforesaid, that then every such person or persons so doing, refusing, or offending contrary to the true meaning of this Act, their procurers, factors, advocates, counsellors, and abettors, and every of them, shall incur into the pains, forfeitures, and penalties ordained and provided in the said statute made in the said sixteenth year of King Richard II., and with like process to be made against the said offenders, as in the same statute made in the said sixteenth year more plainly appeareth.

60

(1533. 24 Henry VIII. c. 12. 3 S. R. 427.)

Thomas Cranmer on the divorce of Queen Catherine, 1533

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Mr. Hawkyns the Ambassador at the Emperor's Court, upon the divorce of Queen Catherine, and the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn.

In my most heartie wise I commend me unto you and even so, would be right glad to hear of your welfare, etc. This is to advertise you that inasmuch as you now and then take some pains in writing unto me, I would be loathe you should think your labor utterly lost and forgotten for lack of writing again; therefore and because I reckon you to be some deal desirous of such news
5 as hath been here with us of late in the King's Graces matters, I intend to inform you a parte thereof, according to the tenure and purport used in that behalf.

And first as touching the small determination and concluding of the matter of divorce between my Lady Catherine and the King's Grace, which said matter after the Convocation in that behalf had determined and agreed according to the former consent of the Universities, it was thought
10 convenient by the King and his learned Council that I should repair unto Dunstable, which is within 4 miles unto Amptell, where the said Lady Catherine keepeth her house, and there to call her before me, to hear the final sentence in this said matter. Notwithstanding she would not at all obey thereunto, for when she was by doctor Lee cited to appear by [the end of] a day, she utterly refused the same, saying that inasmuch as her cause was before the Pope she would have
15 none other judge; and therefore would not take me for her judge. Nevertheless the 8th day of May, according to the said appointment, I came unto Dunstable, my lord of Lincoln being assistant unto me, and my Lord of Winchester, Doctor Bell... with diverse others learned in the Law being counsellors in the law for the King's part; and so there at our coming kept a court for the appearance of the said Lady Catherine, where were examined certain witnesses which
20 testified that she was lawfully cited and called to appear... And the morrow after Ascension day I gave final sentence therein, how it was indispensable for the Pope to license any such marriages.

This done, and after our re-journeying home again, the Kings Highness prepared all things convenient for the Coronation of the Queen, which also was after such a manner as followeth.
25 The Thursday next before the feast of Pentecost, the King and the Queen being at Greenwich, all the crafts of London thereunto well appointed, in several barges decked after the most gorgeous and sumptuous manner, with diverse pageants thereunto belonging, repaired and waited all together upon the Mayor of London; and so, well furnished, came all unto Greenwich, where they tarried and waited for the Queen's coming to her barge; which so done, they brought
30 her unto the Tower, trumpets, shawms, and other diverse instruments all the ways playing and making great melody, which, as is reported, was as comely done as never was like in any time nigh unto our remembrance. And so her Grace came to the Tower at Thursday at night, about 5 of the clock... In the morning there assembled with me at Westminster church the bishop of York, the bishop of London, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of
35 Bath, and the bishop of Saint Asse, the Abbot of Westminster with ten or twelve more abbots, which all revested ourselves in our *pontificalibus* (robes of office), and so furnished, with our crosses and croziers, proceeded out of the Abbey in a procession unto Westminster Hall, where we received the Queen appareled in a robe of purple velvet, and all the ladies and gentlewomen in robes and gowns of scarlet according to the manner used before time in such business; and
40 so her Grace, sustained on each side with two bishops, the bishop of Lincoln and the bishop of Winchester, came forth in procession unto the Church of Westminster... my Lord of Suffolk bearing before her the crown, and two other lords bearing also before her a scepter and a white

rod, and so entered up into the high altar, where diverse ceremonies used about her, I did set the crown on her head, and then was sung Te Deum, etc...

- 45 But now Sir you may not imagine that this Coronation was before her marriage, for she was married much about saint Paul's day last, as the condition thereof doth well appear by reason she is now somewhat big with child. Notwithstanding, it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm that I married [them after the Coronation]; which was plainly false, for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. And many other things be also reported of me,
- 50 which be mere lies and tales.

The Act of Supremacy, 1534

An Act concerning the King's Highness to be supreme Head of the Church of England and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, abuses in the same.

Albeit the king's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of the supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquility of this realm; any usage, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

26 Henry VIII, c. I

Henry VIII with the Sword and the Book, 1535



Figure 1. *Henry VIII with the Sword and the Book*. Hans Holbein the Younger. Coverdale Bible (Antwerp, 1535), title page woodcut. By permission of the British Library. Kneeling bishops and nobles acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry VIII as an “English Pope.” His bearing of the Bible and sword, which conflates the traditional regal figure of the sword of justice with “the sword of the spirit which is the word of God” (Ephesians 6:17), constitutes the definitive portrayal of English Protestant kingship. The flanking figure of Paul, the “Protestant saint” who symbolizes the New Testament, also bears the sword. Symbolic of his reputed authorship of the book of Psalms, King David plays upon the lyre in a representation of divine kingship and the Old Testament.

Source: John N. King, *Voices of the English Reformation. A Sourcebook*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, p. 20

The trial of Sir Thomas More, May 1535

[...] after the Indictment was read, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Norfolk spoke to Sir Thomas More [...]: *You see now how grievously you have offended his Majesty; yet he is so very merciful, that if you will lay aside your Obstinacy, and change your Opinion, we hope you*
5 *may obtain Pardon and Favour in his sight.* But Sir Thomas stoutly reply'd: "Most Noble Lords, I have great reason to return thanks to your Honours for this your great Civility, but I beseech Almighty God, that I may continue in the Mind I am in, thro' His Grace, unto Death".

The Court being sensible of his Weakness, ordered a Chair to be brought in, wherein he might seat himself, which he did accordingly, and then went on thus: "This my Indictment, if I mistake
10 not, consists of four principal Heads, each of which I purpose, God willing, to answer in order. As to the first Crime objected against me, that I have been an Enemy out of stubbornness of Mind to the King's second Marriage; I confess, I always told his Majesty my Opinion of it, according to the Dictates of my Conscience, which I neither ever would, nor ought to have
15 concealed: for which I am so far from thinking my self guilty of High-Treason, that on the contrary, being required to give my Opinion by so great a Prince in an Affair of so much importance, upon which the Peace of the Kingdom depended; I should have basely flatter'd him, and my own Conscience, had not I spoke the Truth as I thought [...]."

The second Charge against me is, That I have violated the Act made in the last Parliament: that is, being a Prisoner, and twice examined, I would not, out of a malignant, perfidious, obstinate
20 and traitorous Mind, tell them my Opinion, whether the King was Supreme Head of the Church or not; but confessed then, that I had nothing to do with that Act, as to the Justice or Injustice of it, because I had no Benefice in the Church: yet then I protested, that I had never said nor done any thing against it; neither can any one Word or Action of mine be alleged, or produced, to make me culpable [...].

I come now to the third principal Article in my Indictment, by which I am accused of malicious Attempts, traitorous Endeavours, and perfidious Practices against that Statute, as the Words therein do alledge, because I wrote, while in the *Tower*, divers Packets of Letters to Bishop
30 *Fisher*; whereby I exhorted him to violate the same Law and encouraged him in the like Obstinacy. I do insist that these Letters be produced and read in Court, by which I may be either acquitted or convinced of a lie; but because you say the Bishop burnt them all, I will here tell you the whole truth of the matter. Some of my Letters related only to our private Affairs, as about our old Friendship and Acquaintance: One of them was in answer to his, wherein he desired me to let him know what Answers I made upon my Examinations concerning the Oath of Supremacy; and what I wrote to him upon it was this, That I had already settled my
35 Conscience, and let him satisfy his according to his own Mind [...].

As to the principal Crime objected against me, that I should say upon my Examination in the *Tower*, That this Law was like a two-edged Sword; for in consenting to it, I should endanger my Soul, and in rejecting it should lose my Life [...]. These were my Words; what the Bishop answered, I know not: if his Answer was like mine, it did not proceed from any Conspiracy of
40 ours, but from the Similitude of our Learning and Understanding. To conclude, I do sincerely avouch, that I never spoke a Word against this Law to any Man living, though perhaps the King's Majesty has been told the contrary [...]."

Source: *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes*, London, 1719 (first edition, 4 vols).

The Dissolution of the Monasteries, 1536

Parliament met Feb 4, 1536. It received a digest of the report of the monastic visitors, and soon after passed the first Act of Suppression, dealing with the lesser monasteries, and covering, retrospectively, previous suppressions.

5 Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed among the little and small abbeys, priories and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns, where the congregation of such religious persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the governors of such religious houses, and their convent, spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well their churches, monasteries, priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands tenements, and hereditaments, as the ornaments of their churches, and their goods and chattels, to the great infamy of the King's highness and the realm, if redress should not be had thereof. And albeit that many continual visitations hath been heretofore had, by the space of 10 two hundred years and more, for an honest and charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living, yet nevertheless little or none amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious little shamelessly increases and augments, and by a cursed custom so rooted and infested, that a great multitude of the religious persons in such small houses do rather choose to rove abroad in apostasy, than to conform themselves to the observation of good religion; so that without such small houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious persons therein 15 committed to great and honourable monasteries of religion in this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives, there cannot else be no reformation in this behalf.

In consideration whereof, the King's most royal majesty—being supreme head on earth, under God, of the Church of England, daily finding and devising the increase, advancement, and 20 exaltation of true doctrine and virtue in the said Church, to the only glory and honour of God, and the total extirping and destruction of vice and sin, having knowledge that the premises be true, as well by the accounts of his late visitations, as by sundry credible informations, considering also that divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious 25 persons, as they ought and may keep—has thought good that a plain declaration should be made of the premises, as well to the Lords spiritual and temporal, as to other his loving subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled; whereupon the said Lords and Commons, by a great deliberation, finally be resolved, that it is and shall be much more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of this his realm, that the possessions of such religious 30 houses, now being spent, spoiled, and wasted for increase and maintenance of sin, should be used and converted to better uses, and the unthrifty religious persons so spending the same, to be compelled to reform their lives; And thereupon most humbly desire the King's highness that it may be enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that his majesty shall have and enjoy to him and to his heirs for ever, all and singular such monasteries, priories, and other religious 35 houses of monks, canons, and nuns, of what kinds or diversities of habits, rules, or orders soever they be called... manors, lands, tenements, rents, services, reversions, tithes, pensions, portions, churches, chapels, advowsons, patronages, rights, entries, conditions, and all other interests and hereditaments to the same monasteries, abbeys, and priories, or to any of them appertaining or belonging; to have and to hold all and singular the premises, with all their rights, profits, 40 jurisdictions, and commodities, unto the King's majesty, and to his heirs and assigns for ever, to do and use therewith his and their own wills, to the pleasure of Almighty God, and to honour and profit of this realm...

And it is also enacted, by... King's highness shall have and enjoy to his own proper use, all the ornaments, jewels, goods, chattels, and debts, which appertained to any of the chief governors
45 of the said monasteries... appertaining to any monasteries, abbeys, or priories heretofore given to the King's highness, or otherwise suppressed or dissolved, or which appertain to any of the monasteries, abbeys, priories, other religious houses that shall have and enjoy the said sites, circuits, manors, lands... and also his majesty will ordain and provide that the convents of every such religious house shall have their capacities, if they will, to live honestly and virtuously
50 abroad, and some convenient charity disposed to them towards their living, or else shall be committed to such honourable great monasteries of this realm wherein good religion is observed, as shall be limited by his highness, there to live religiously during their lives; and it is ordained by the authority aforesaid, that the chief governors and convents of such honourable great monasteries shall take and accept into their houses, from time to time, such number of the
55 persons of the said convents as shall be assigned and appointed by the King's highness, and keep them religiously, during their lives, within their said monasteries, in like manner and form as the convents of such great monasteries be ordered and kept.

The King will pay the debts of the suppressed monasteries... The King by grant, may continue undissolved and religious house... Monasteries to keep up hospitality and husbandry as before
60 accustomed...

Source: Statutes of the Realm, III, 575.

Edward Hall on the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536

5 The king was truly informed that there was a new insurrection made by the northern men, who had assembled themselves into a huge and great army of warlike men, well appointed with captains, horse, armour and artillery, to the number of 40,000 men, who had encamped themselves in Yorkshire. And these men had bound themselves to each other by their oath to be faithful and obedient to their captain.

10 They also declared, by their proclamation solemnly made, that their insurrection should extend no further than to the maintenance and defence of the faith of Christ and the deliverance of the holy church, sore decayed and oppressed, and to the furtherance also of private and public matters in the realm concerning the wealth of all the king's poor subjects. They called this, their
15 seditious and traitorous voyage, a holy and blessed pilgrimage; they also had certain banners in the field whereon was painted Christ hanging on the cross on one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with various other banners of similar hypocrisy and feigned sanctity. The soldiers also had a certain cognizance or badge embroidered or set upon the sleeves of their coats which was a representation of the five wounds of Christ, and in the midst
20 thereof was written the name of Our Lord, and thus the rebellious garrison of Satan set forth and decked themselves with his false and counterfeited signs of holiness, only to delude and deceive the simple and ignorant people.

25 After the king's highness was informed of this newly arisen insurrection he, making no delay in so weighty a matter, caused with all speed the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Shrewsbury and others, accompanied by his mighty and royal army which was of great power and strength, immediately to set upon the rebels. But when these noble captains and counsellors approached the rebels and saw their number and how they were determined on battle, they worked with great prudence to pacify all without shedding blood.

30 But the northern men were so stiff-necked that they would in no way stoop, but stoutly stood and maintained their wicked enterprise. Therefore the abovesaid nobles, perceiving and seeing no other was to pacify these wretched rebels, agreed upon a battle; ... but the night before the day appointed for the battle a little rain fell, nothing to speak of, but yet as if by a great miracle of God the water, which was a very small ford which the day before men might have gone over dry shod, suddenly rose to such a height depth and breadth that no man who lived there had
35 ever seen before, so that on the day, even when the hour of battle should have come, it was impossible for one army to get at the other.

40 After this appointment made between both the armies, disappointed, as it is to be thought, only by God who extended his great mercy and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons who in that deadly slaughter would have been likely to have been murdered, could not
35 take place. Then... a consultation was held and a pardon obtained from the king's majesty for all the captains and chief movers of this insurrection, and they promised that such things as they found themselves aggrieved by, all would be gently heard and their reasonable petitions granted, and that their articles should be presented to the king, so that by his highness' authority and the wisdom of his council all things should be brought to good order and conclusion. And
40 with this order every man quietly departed, and those who before were bent as hot as fire on fighting, being presented by God, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water.

Source: Edward Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (1548).

The Six Articles, 1539

An Act abolishing diversity in Opinions

Where the King's most excellent Majesty is by God's Law Supreme Head immediately under him of this whole Church and Congregation of England, intending the conservation of the same Church and Congregation in a true, sincere, and uniform doctrine of Christ's Religion, calling also to his blessed and most gracious remembrance as well the great and quiet assurance, prosperous increase, and other innumerable commodities which have ever ensued, come, and followed of concord, agreement, and unity in opinions, as also the manifold perils, dangers, and inconveniences which have heretofore in many places and regions grown, sprung, and arisen of the diversities of minds and opinions, especially of matters of Christian Religion; And therefore desiring that such an unity might and should be charitably established in all things touching and concerning the same, as the same, so being established might chiefly be to the honour of Almighty God, the very author and fountain of all true unity and sincere concord, and consequently redound to the common wealth of this his Highness's most noble realm and of all his loving subjects and other residents and inhabitants of or in the same: Hath therefore caused and commanded this his most high Court of Parliament, for sundry and many urgent causes and considerations, to be at this time summoned, and also a Synod and Convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned men of the clergy of this his realm to be in like manner assembled; And forasmuch as in the said Parliament, Synod, and Convocation there were certain articles, matters, and questions proponed and set forth touching Christian Religion The King's most royal Majesty, most prudently pondering and considering that by occasion of variable and sundry opinions and judgments of the said articles, great discord and variance hath arisen as well amongst the clergy of this his realm as amongst a great number of vulgar people his loving subjects of the same, and being in a full hope and trust that a full and perfect resolution of the said articles should make a perfect concord and unity generally amongst all his loving and obedient subjects; Of his most excellent goodness not only commanded that the said articles should deliberately and advisedly by his said archbishops, bishops, and other learned men of his clergy be debated, argued, and reasoned, and their opinions therein to be understood, declared, and known, but also most graciously vouchsafed in his own princely person to descend and come into his said high Court of Parliament and Council, and there like a prince of most high prudence and no less learning opened and declared many things of high learning and great knowledge touching the said articles, matters, and questions, for an unity to be had in the same; Whereupon, after a great and long deliberate and advised disputation and consultation had and made concerning the said articles, as well by the consent of the King's Highness as by the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and other learned men of his clergy in their Convocation and by the consent of the Commons in this present Parliament assembled -it was and is finally resolved, accorded, and agreed in manner and form following, that is to say;

First, that in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, it being spoken by the priest, is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of Our Saviour Jesu Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man;

Secondly, that communion in both kinds is not necessary ad salutem, by the law of God, to all persons; and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under the form of

45 the bread, is the very blood; and with the blood, under the form of the wine, is the very flesh;
as well apart, as though they were both together.

Thirdly, that priests after the order of priesthood received, as afore, may not marry, by the law
of God.

50 Fourthly, that vows of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought
to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempts them from other liberties of Christian
people, which without that they might enjoy.

Fifthly, that it is meet and necessary that private masses be continued and admitted in this the
King's English Church and Congregation, as whereby good Christian people, ordering
themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits; and it is
agreeable also to God's law.

55 Sixthly, that auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used
and frequented in the Church of God: ... It is therefore ordained and enacted ...

60 VI. And be it further enacted... that if any person or persons... contemn or contemptuously
refuse, deny, or abstain to be confessed at the time commonly accustomed within this realm
and Church of England, or contemn or contemptuously refuse, deny, or abstain to receive the
65 holy and blessed sacrament above said at the time commonly used and accustomed for the same,
that then every such offender.. shall suffer such, imprisonment and make such fine and ransom
to the King our Sovereign Lord and his heirs as by his Highness or by his or their Council shall
be ordered and adjudged in that behalf; And if any such offender ... do eftsoons... refuse... to
be confessed or to be communicate... that then every such offence shall be deemed and
65 adjudged felony, and the offender... shall suffer pains of death and lose and forfeit all his...
goods, lands, and tenements, as in cases of felony.

Source: http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/Documents/act_six_articles.htm.

John Bale, *The Image of both Churches*, 1545

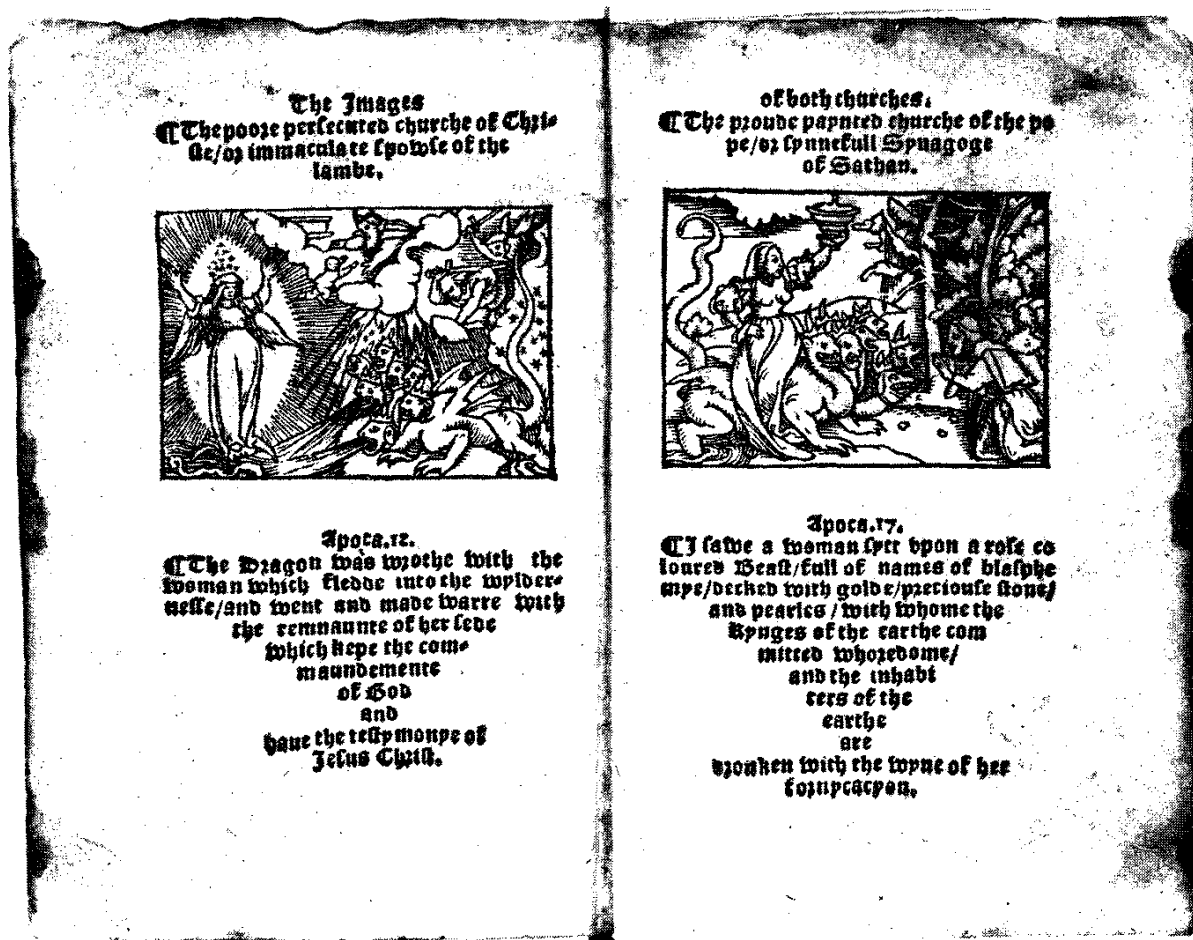


Figure 2. *The Images of Both Churches: The Woman Clothed with the Sun and the Whore of Babylon*. John Bale, *The Image of Both Churches* (Antwerp, c. 1545), woodcuts. By permission of the Bodleian Library. At the conclusion of Bale's commentary on the book of Revelation, two woodcuts represent the two women of Revelation as personifications of "The poor persecuted church of Christ, or immaculate spouse of the Lamb" (Rev. 12) and "The proud painted church of the Pope, or sinful synagogue [congregation] of Satan" (Rev. 17). These propagandistic images recur in Protestant attacks on the pope as Antichrist and the Church of Rome as the Whore of Babylon throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Stories in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and Spenser's personification of Una and Duessa in book 1 of *The Faerie Queene* are notable examples of this typology.

John Bale's *The Image of Both Churches* (Antwerp, 1545?) was the first complete commentary on Revelation printed in the English language. Working from Tyndale's version, Bale modifies the Augustinian and Lutheran belief that "true" church has existed ever since the time of Adam and Eve. He views the papacy of the most recent manifestation of the "false" church headed by Antichrist.

Source: John N. King, *Voices of the English Reformation. A Sourcebook*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, p. 23.

The Homily on Obedience, 1547

The twelve homilies of the First Book were collected and edited by Thomas Cranmer in the reign of Edward VI. The first part of the Homily on Obedience gives a description of the cosmic harmony created by God, an order which must never be disrupted. The second part shows that, similarly, the order of the commonwealth or civil society must be preserved since rulers are appointed by God. The following passage is taken from the third part.

- You have heard before, in this Sermon of good Order and Obedience, manifestly proved both by Scriptures and examples, that all subjects are bound to obey their magistrates, and for no cause to resist, rebel, or make any sedition against them, yea, although they be wicked men. And let no man think that he can escape unpunished that commits treason, conspiracy, or rebellion against his Sovereign Lord the King, though he commit the same never so secretly, either in thought, word, or deed, never so privily in his privy chamber by himself, or openly communicating and consulting with other. For treason will not be hid; treason will out at the length.
- 10 Therefore let us all fear the most detestable vice of rebellion, ever knowing and remembering, that he that resists or withstands common authority, resists or withstands GOD and his ordinance, as it may be proved by many other [more] places of holy Scripture. And here let us take heed that we understand not these or such other like places (which so straightly command obedience to superiors, and so straightly punished rebellion, and disobedience to the same) to be meant in any condition of the pretended or coloured power of the Bishop of Rome. For truly the Scripture of GOD allows no such usurped power, full of enormities, abusions, and blasphemies. But the true meaning of these and such places, be to extol and set forth GOD'S true ordinance, and the authority of GOD'S anointed Kings, and of their officers appointed under them. And concerning the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, which he most wrongfully challenges, as the successor of Christ and Peter: we may easily perceive how false, fained, and forged it is, not only in that it has no sufficient ground in holy Scripture, but also by the fruits and doctrine thereof.
- 25 For our Saviour Christ, and S. Peter, teaches most earnestly and agreeably obedience to Kings, as to the chief and supreme rulers in this world, next under GOD: but the Bishop of Rome teaches, that they that are under him, are free from all burdens and charges of the commonwealth, and obedience toward their Prince, most clearly against Christ's doctrine and S. Peter's. He ought therefore rather to be called Antichrist, and the successor of the Scribes and Pharisees, than Christ's vicar, or S. Peter's successor: seeing that not only in this point, but also in other weighty matters of Christian religion, in matters of remission and forgiveness of sins, and of salvation, he teaches so directly against both S. Peter, and against our Saviour Christ, who not only taught obedience to Kings, but also practised obedience in their conversation and living [...].
- 30

Source: *The First Book of Homilies* (1547), "An Exhortation concerning good Order, and obedience to Rulers and Magistrates" (the third part).

The first Act of Uniformity, 1549

[...] Of long time there hath been had in this realm of England and Wales divers forms of common prayer ... , and besides the same now of late much more divers and sundry forms and fashions have been used in the cathedral and parish churches of England and Wales, as well concerning the matins or morning prayer and the evensong, as also concerning the holy communion commonly called the mass...; and as the doers and executors of the said rites and ceremonies in other form than of late years they have been used were pleased therewith, so other not using the same rites and ceremonies were thereby greatly offended; and albeit the king's majesty, with the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the lord protector and other of his highness's council, hath heretofore divers times essayed to stay innovations or new rites concerning the premises, yet the same hath not had such good success as his highness required in that behalf: whereupon his highness by the most prudent advice aforesaid, being pleased to bear with the frailty and weakness of his subjects in that behalf, of his great clemency hath not been only content to abstain from punishment of those that have offended in that behalf — for that his highness taketh that they did it of a good zeal — but also to the intent a uniform, quiet, and godly order should be had concerning the premises, hath appointed the archbishop of Canterbury and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men of this realm to consider and ponder the premises, and thereupon, having as well eye and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture as to the usages in the primitive Church, should draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments, to be had and used in his majesty's realm of England and in Wales. The which at this time, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement is of them concluded, set forth, and delivered to his highness, to his great comfort and quietness of mind, in a book entitled The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church after the Use of the Church of England: wherefore the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons in this present parliament assembled ... do give to his highness most hearty and lowly thanks for the same, and humbly pray that it may be ordained and enacted by his majesty, with the assent of the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled and by the authority of the same ... , that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church, or other place within this realm of England, Wales, Calais, and marches of the same, or other the king's dominions, shall from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming be bounden to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper commonly called the mass, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book and none other or otherwise.

35 And albeit that the same be so godly and good that they give occasion to every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them, yet lest any obstinate person who willingly would disturb so godly order and quiet in this realm should not go unpunished ... , [be it] ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid that, if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister that ought or should sing or say common prayer mentioned in the said book or minister the sacraments, shall after the said feast of Pentecost next coming refuse to use the said common prayers or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish church or other places as he should use or minister the same ... , [he] shall lose and forfeit to the king's highness, his heirs, and successors, for his first offence the profit of such one of his spiritual benefices or promotions as it shall please the king's highness to assign or appoint coming and arising in one whole year next after his conviction; and also that the same person so convicted shall for the same offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without bail or mainprise....

Hugh Latimer, Sermon before Edward VI, 8 March 1549

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walk ordinately with God, and direct their steps with God. For both patriarchs, judges, and kings, had and have their authority of God, and therefore godly. But this ought to be considered which God saith, *Non praeficere tibi potes hominem alienum*; that is, 'Thou must not set a stranger over thee.' It hath pleased God to grant us a natural liege king and lord of our own nation; an Englishman; one of our own religion. God hath given him unto us, and [he] is a most precious treasure; and yet many of us do desire a stranger to be king over us. Let us no more now desire to be bye-walkers, but let us endeavour to walk ordinately and plainly after the word of God. Let us follow David: let us not seek the death of our most noble and rightful king, our own brother both by nativity and godly religion. Let us pray for his good state, that he live long among us.

Oh, what a plague were it, that a strange king, of a strange land, and of a strange religion, should reign over us! Where now we be governed in the true religion, he should extirp and pluck away altogether; and then plant again all abomination and popery. God keep such a king from us! Well, the king's Grace hath sisters, my lady Mary and my lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritors to the crown, who if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue? God knoweth. But God grant, if they so do, whereby strange religion cometh in, that they never come unto coursing nor succeeding. Therefore, to avoid this plague, let us amend our lives, and put away all pride, which doth drown men in this realm at these days; all covetousness, wherein the magistrates and rich men of this realm are overwhelmed; all lechery, and other excessive vices, provoking God's wrath (were he not merciful) even to take from us our natural king and liege lord; yea, and to plague us with a strange king, for our unrepentant heart. Wherefore if, as ye say, ye love the king, amend your lives, and then ye shall be a mean that God shall lend him us long to reign over us. For undoubtedly sins provoke much God's wrath. Scripture saith, *Dabo tibi regem in furore meo*, that is, 'I will give thee a king in my wrath.' Now, we have a lawful king, a godly king: nevertheless, yet many evils do reign. Long time the ministers appointed have studied to amend and redress all evils; long time before this great labour hath been about this matter; great cracks hath been made, that all should be well: but when all came to all, for all their boasts, little or nothing was done; in whom these words of Horace may well be verified, saying, *Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus*, 'The mountains swell up, the poor mouse is brought out.' Long before this time many hath taken in hand to bring many things unto pass, but finally their works came unto small effect and profit.

Now I hear say all things are ended after a godly manner, or else shortly shall be. Make haste, make haste; and let us learn to convert, to repent, and amend our lives. If we do not, I fear, I fear lest for our sins and unthankfulness an hypocrite shall reign over us. Long we have been servants and in bondage, serving the pope in Egypt. God hath given us a deliverer, a natural king: let us seek no stranger of another nation, no hypocrite which shall bring in again all papistry, hypocrisy, and idolatry; no diabolical minister, which shall maintain all devilish works and evil exercises. But let us pray that God maintain and continue our most excellent king here present, true inheritor of this our realm, both by nativity, and also by the special gift and ordinance of God. He doth us rectify in the liberty of the gospel; in that therefore let us stand: *State ergo in libertate qua Christus nos liberavit*; 'Stand ye in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.' In Christ's liberty we shall stand, if we so live that we profit; if we cast away all evil, fraud, and deceit, with such other vices, contrary to God's word. And in so doing, we shall not only prolong and maintain our most noble king's days in prosperity, but also we shall prosper our own lives, to live not only prosperously, but also godly.

‘In any wise, let not such a one prepare unto himself many horses,’ etc. In speaking these words, ye shall understand that I do not intend to speak against the strength, policy, and provision of a king; but against excess, and vain trust that kings have in themselves more than in the living God, the author of all goodness, and giver of all victory. Many horses are requisite for a king; 50 but he may not exceed in them, nor triumph in them, more than is needful for the necessary affairs and defence of the realm. What meaneth it that God hath to do with the king’s stable, but only he would be master of his horses? The scripture saith, *In altis habitat*, ‘He dwelleth on high.’ It followeth, *Humilia respicit*, ‘He looketh on low things;’ yea, upon the king’s stables, and upon all the offices in his house. God is the great Grandmaster [The office now called Lord 55 Chamberlain.] of the king’s house, and will take account of every one that beareth rule therein, for the executing of their offices; whether they have justly and truly served the king in their offices, or no. Yea, God looketh upon the king himself, if he work well or not. Every king is subject unto God, and all other men are subjects unto the king. In a king God requireth faith, not excess of horses. Horses for a king be good and necessary, if they be well used; but horses 60 are not to be preferred above poor men.

Source: <http://anglicanhistory.org/reformation/latimer/sermons/edward1.html>.

Hugh Latimer preaching before Edward VI, 1549



Figure 3. *Hugh Latimer Preaching Before Edward VI*. John Foxe, *Book of Martyrs* (1563), p. 1353, woodcut. By permission of The Ohio State University Libraries. Latimer's high standing as the most influential preacher during the reign of Edward VI may be noted in his delivery of sermons at the royal court. The young king listens at a casement window because a wooden pulpit was erected in the privy gardens when the Chapel Royal could not accommodate the throng of courtiers and other members of the congregation. Bibles in the hands of Latimer and the woman sitting on the steps typify the evangelical piety of this time. Figures of women and men reading from the Bible recur in other propagandistic pictures (see Figures 5, 10, and 16) as an endorsement of universal literacy so that humble individuals including women and children might read and understand the Bible in vernacular translation.

Source: John N. King, *Voices of the English Reformation. A Sourcebook*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, p. 69.

Second Act of Repeal, 1554

Whereas since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII. of famous memory, father unto your majesty our most natural sovereign and gracious lady and queen, much false and erroneous doctrine has been taught, preached, and written, partly by divers the natural-born subjects of this realm, and partly being brought in hither from sundry other foreign countries, has been
5 sown and spread abroad within the same:

By reason whereof, as well the spirituality as the temporality of your highness's realms and dominions have swerved from the obedience of the See Apostolic, and declined from the unity of Christ's Church, and so have continued, until such time as your majesty being first raised up by God, and set in the seat royal over us, and then by His divine and gracious providence knit
10 in marriage with the most noble and virtuous prince the king our sovereign lord your husband, the pope's holiness and the See Apostolic sent hither unto your majesties (as unto persons undefiled, and by God's goodness preserved from the common infection aforesaid) and to the whole realm, the most reverend father in God, the lord Cardinal Pole, legate de Latere, to call us home again into the right way from whence we have all this long while wandered and strayed
15 abroad;

And we, after sundry long and grievous plagues and calamities, seeing by the goodness of God our own errors, have acknowledged the same unto the said most reverend father, and by him have been and are the rather at the contemplation of your majesties received and embraced into the unity and bosom of Christ's Church, and upon our humble submission and promise made
20 for a declaration of our repentance, to repeal and abrogate such Acts and statutes as had been made in Parliament since the said twentieth year of the said King Henry VIII, against the supremacy of the See Apostolic, as in our submission exhibited to the said most reverend father in God by your majesties appears: the tenor whereof ensues:

We the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, assembled in this present Parliament,
25 representing the whole body of the realm of England, and the dominions of the same, in the name of ourselves particularly and also of the said body universally, in this our supplication directed to your majesties, with most humble suit, that it may by your grace's intercession and mean be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the lord Cardinal Pole, legate, sent specially hither from our most holy father the Pope Julius III and the See Apostolic of Rome,
30 do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant of the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions aforesaid against the said See Apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking, that might impugn the same: offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance we be and shall
35 be always ready, under and with the authorities of your majesties, to the uttermost of our powers, to do that shall lie in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present Parliament, as well for ourselves as for the whole body whom we represent: whereupon we most humbly desire your majesties, as personages undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God by His providence has made subject to
40 you, to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the See Apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly and generally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the Church we be fallen into; and that we may as children repentant be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's Church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in this unity and perfect obedience to
45 the See Apostolic and popes for the time being, serve God and your majesties, to the furtherance

50 and advancement of His honour and glory. We are at the intercession of your majesties, by the authority of our holy father Pope Julius III and of the See Apostolic, assoiled, discharged, and delivered from excommunications, interdictions, and other censures ecclesiastical, which have hanged over our heads for our said defaults since the time of the said schism mentioned in our supplication: it may now like your majesties, that for the accomplishment of our promise made in the said supplication, that is, to repeal all laws and statutes made contrary to the said supremacy and See Apostolic, during the said schism, the which is to be understood since the twentieth year of the reign of the said late King Henry VIII, and so the said lord legate does accept and recognize the same. [...]

Source: Statutes of the Realm, 1& 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8. 4 S. R. 246 (excerpts online: <http://home.freeuk.net/don-aitken/ast/mary.html>).

The Act of Supremacy, 1559

An act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same.

5 Most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty, your faithful and obedient subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this your present Parliament assembled, that where in time of the reign of your most dear father, of worthy memory, King Henry VIII, divers good laws and statutes were made and established, as well for the utter extinguishment and putting away of all usurped and foreign powers and authorities out of this your realm, and other your highness's dominions and countries, as also for the restoring and uniting to the imperial crown of this realm the ancient jurisdictions, authorities, superiorities, and preeminences to the same of right belonging and appertaining, by reason whereof we, your most humble and obedient subjects, from the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of your said dear father, were continually kept in good order, and were disburdened of divers great and intolerable charges and exactions before that time unlawfully taken and exacted by such foreign power and authority as before that was usurped, until such time as all the said good laws and statutes, by one Act of Parliament made in the first and second years of the reigns of the late King Philip and Queen Mary, your highness's sister, intituled an Act repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII, and also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity, were all clearly repealed and made void, as by the same Act of repeal more at large does and may appear; by reason of which Act of repeal, your said humble subjects were eftsoons brought under an usurped foreign power and authority, and do yet remain in that bondage, to the intolerable charges of your loving subjects, if some redress, by the authority of this your High Court of Parliament, with the assent of your highness, be not had and provided [...]

25 And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used or obeyed within this realm, or any other your majesty's dominions or countries, may it please your highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, preeminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm, or within any other your majesty's dominions or countries that now be, or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm, and all other your highness's dominions for ever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions, or any other matter or cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. [...] And that your highness, your heirs and successors, kings or queens of this realm, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act, by letters patent under the great seal of England, to assign, name, and authorize [...] all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and preeminences, in any wise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within these your realms of England and Ireland, or any other your highness's dominions or countries; and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, and the conservation of the peace and unity of this realm [...]

And for the better observation and maintenance of this Act, may it please your highness that it
45 may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every archbishop, bishop, and all
and every other ecclesiastical person, and other ecclesiastical officer and minister; of what
estate, dignity, preeminence, or degree soever he or they be or shall be, and all and every
temporal judge, justice, mayor, and other lay or temporal officer and minister, and every other
50 person having your highness's fee or wages, within this realm, or any your highness's
dominions, shall make, take, and receive a corporal oath upon the evangelist, before such person
or persons as shall please your highness, your heirs or successors, under the great seal of
England to assign and name, to accept and to take the same according to the tenor and effect
hereafter following, that is to say [...]

‘I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the queen's highness is the only
55 supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as
well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, and that no foreign prince,
person, prelate, state or potentate, has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority,
preeminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly
renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do
60 promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the queen's highness, her
heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-
eminences, privileges, and authorities granted or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs
and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and
by the contents of this Book.’

Source: H. Gee and William John Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, New York: Macmillan, 1896, 442–58.

The Act of Uniformity, 1559

An Act for the uniformity of common prayer and divine service in the Church, and the administration of the sacraments

Where at the death of our late sovereign lord King Edward VI there remained one uniform order of common service and prayer, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies in the Church of England, which was set forth in one book, intituled: The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies in the Church of England; authorized by Act of Parliament holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said late sovereign lord King Edward VI, intituled: An Act for the uniformity of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments; the which was repealed and taken away by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our late sovereign lady Queen Mary, to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion:

5 Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that the said statute of repeal, and everything therein contained, only concerning the said book, and the service, administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies contained or appointed in or by the said book, shall be void and of none effect, from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming; and that the said book, with the order of service, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this statute, shall stand and be, from and after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this statute; anything in the aforesaid statute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.

10 And further be it enacted by the queen's highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church, or other place within this realm of England, Wales, and the marches of the same, or other the queen's dominions, shall from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming be bounden to say and use the Matins, Evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book, so authorized by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward VI, with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise.

20 And that if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister, that ought or should sing or say common prayer mentioned in the said book, or minister the sacraments, from and after the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, refuse to use the said common prayers, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish church, or other places as he should use to minister the same, in such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book, or shall wilfully or obstinately standing in the same, use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of celebrating of the Lord's Supper, openly or privily, or Matins, Evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayers, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book (open prayer in and throughout this Act, is meant that prayer which is for other to come unto, or hear, either in common churches or private chapels or oratories, commonly called the service of the Church), or shall preach, declare, or speak anything in the derogation or depraving of the said book, or anything therein contained, or of any part thereof, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws of this realm, by verdict of twelve men, or by

45 his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and forfeit to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices or promotions coming or arising in one whole year next after his conviction; and also that the person so convicted shall for the same offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize.

Source: H. Gee and William John Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, New York: Macmillan, 1896, 458-67.

The Royal Injunctions, 1559

5 The queen's most royal majesty, by the advice of her most honourable council, intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of superstition throughout all her highness's realms and dominions, and to plant true religion to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses (as to her duty appertaineth), doth minister unto her loving subjects these godly Injunctions hereafter following. All which Injunctions her highness willeth and commandeth her loving subjects obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep, every man in their offices, degrees, and states, as they will avoid her highness's displeasure, and pains of the same hereafter expressed.

10 I. The first is, that all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and all other ecclesiastical persons shall faithfully keep and observe, and as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be observed and kept of other, all and singular laws and statutes made for the restoring to the crown, the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, and abolishing of all foreign power, repugnant to the same. And furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons having cure of souls shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely and sincerely, and without any colour or
15 dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations, that all usurped and foreign power having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, is, for most just causes, taken away and abolished; and that therefore no manner of obedience and subjection within her highness's realms and dominions is due unto any such foreign power. And that the queen's power within her realms and dominions is the highest
20 power under God, to whom all men, within the same realms and dominions, by God's laws, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth.

25 II. Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol the dignity of any images, relics, or miracles; but, declaring the abuse of the same, they shall teach that all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author and Giver of the same, and of none other.

30 III. Item, that they, the persons above rehearsed, shall preach in their churches, and every other cure they have, one sermon every month of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God, and in the same exhort their hearers to the works of faith, [...] that the works devised by man's fantasies, besides Scripture (as wandering of pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, or such like superstition), have not only no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them, but contrariwise great threatenings and maledictions of God, for that they being things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same most diminish His honour
35 and glory. [...]

And in this case an argument taken *Ab autoritate Scripturae negative* [it is not authorised by Scripture], is most strong: As for example: It is not to be found in Scripture, that the Bishop of Rome ought to be the head of the Church, and therefore it is not necessary to salvation, to believe that he ought to be the head of the Church, etc.

Source: H. Gee and William John Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, New York: Macmillan, 1896, 417-42.

<https://history.hanover.edu/texts/engref/er78.html>

John Jewel, *Apology of the Church of England*, 1562

John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, wrote his Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae in Latin, as the book was meant for an international audience. This English translation by the mother of Francis Bacon appeared in 1564.

But we truly, seeing that so many thousands of our brethren in these last twenty years have borne witness unto the truth, in the midst of most painful torments that could be devised; and when princes, desirous to restrain the Gospel, sought many ways, but prevailed nothing; and that now almost the whole world doth begin to open their eyes to behold the light; we take it
5 that our cause hath already been sufficiently declared and defended, and think it not needful to make many words, seeing the matter saith enough for itself. For if the popes would, or else if they could weigh with their own selves the whole matter, and also the beginnings and proceedings of our religion, how in a manner all their travail hath come to nought, nobody driving it forward; and how on the other side, our cause, against the will of emperors from the
10 beginning, against the wills of so many kings, in spite of the popes, and almost maugre the head of all men, hath taken increase, and by little and little spread over into all countries, and is come at length even into kings' courts and palaces; these same things, methinketh, might be tokens great enough to them, that God Himself doth strongly fight in our quarrel, and doth from heaven laugh at their enterprises; and that the force of truth is such, as neither man's power, nor yet
15 hell-gates are able to root it out. For they be not all mad at this day, so many free cities, so many kings, so many princes, which have fallen away from the seat of Rome, and have rather joined themselves to the Gospel of Christ.

And although the popes had never hitherunto leisure to consider diligently and earnestly of these matters, or though some other cares do now let them, and diverse ways pull them, or
20 though they count these to be but common and trifling studies, and nothing to appertain to the Pope's worthiness, this maketh not why our matter ought to seem the worse. Or if they perchance will not see that which they see indeed, but rather will withstand the known truth, ought we therefore by-and-by to be accounted heretics because we obey not their will and pleasure? If so be, that Pope Pius were the man (we say not, which he would so gladly be
25 called), but if he were indeed a man that either would account us for his brethren, or at least would take us to be men, he would first diligently have examined our reasons, and would have seen what might be said with us, what against us; and would not in his bull, whereby he lately pretended a council, so rashly have condemned so great a part of the world, so many learned and godly men, so many commonwealths, so many kings, and so many princes, only upon his
30 own blind prejudices and fore-determinations—and that without hearing of them speak or without showing cause why. [...]

We believe that there is one Church of God, and that the same is not shut up (as in times past among the Jews) into some one corner or kingdom, but that it is catholic and universal, and dispersed throughout the whole world. So that there is now no nation which may truly complain
35 that they be shut forth, and may not be one of the Church and people of God: and that this Church is the kingdom, the body, and the spouse of Christ; and that Christ alone is the Prince of this kingdom; that Christ alone is the Head of this Body; and that Christ alone is the Bridegroom of this spouse.

Furthermore, we believe that there be divers degrees of ministers in the Church; whereof some
40 be deacons, some priests, some bishops; to whom is committed the office to instruct the people,

and the whole charge and setting forth of religion. Yet notwithstanding, we say that there neither is, nor can be any one man, which may have the whole superiority in this universal state: for that Christ is ever present to assist His Church, and needeth not any man to supply His room, as His only heir to all His substance: and that there can be no one mortal creature, which is able
45 to comprehend or conceive in his mind the universal Church, that is to wit, all the parts of the world, much less able rightly and duly to put them in order, and to govern them rightly and duly. [...]

And that neither the Pope, nor any other worldly creature can no more be head of the whole Church, or a bishop over all, than he can be the bridegroom, the light, the salvation, and life of
50 the Church. For the privileges and names belong only to Christ, and be properly and only fit for him alone. [...] And therefore, sithence the Bishop of Rome will nowadays so be called, and challengeth unto himself an authority that is none of his; besides that he doth plainly contrary to the ancient councils, and contrary to the old fathers; we believe that he doth give unto himself, as it is written by his own companion Gregory, a presumptuous, a profane, a sacrilegious, and
55 an antichristian name: that he is also the king of pride, that he is Lucifer, which preferreth himself before his brethren: that he hath forsaken the faith, and is the forerunner of Antichrist.

Source: John Jewel, *The Apology of the Church of England*, H. Morley ed., 1888, excerpts from parts 1 and 2.

The Thirty-Nine Articles, 1563

1. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.
2. Of Christ the Son of God.
3. Of his going down into Hell.
4. Of his Resurrection.
5. Of the Holy Ghost.
6. Of the Sufficiency of the Scripture
7. Of the Old Testament
8. Of the Three Creeds.
9. Of Original or Birth-sin.
10. Of Free-Will.
11. Of Justification.
12. Of Good Works.
13. Of Works before Justification.
14. Of Works of Supererogation.
15. Of Christ alone without Sin.
16. Of Sin after Baptism.
17. Of Predestination and Election.
18. Of obtaining Salvation by Christ.
19. Of the Church.
20. Of the Authority of the Church.
21. Of the Authority of General Councils.
22. Of Purgatory.
23. Of Ministering in the Congregation.
24. Of speaking in the Congregation.
25. Of the Sacraments.
26. Of the Unworthiness of Ministers.
27. Of Baptism.
28. Of the Lord's Supper.
29. Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ.
30. Of both kinds.
31. Of Christ's one Oblation.
32. Of the Marriage of Priests.
33. Of Excommunicate Persons.
34. Of the Traditions of the Church.
35. Of the Homilies.
36. Of Consecrating of Ministers.
37. Of Civil Magistrates.
38. Of Christian men's Goods.
39. Of a Christian man's Oath.

X. Of Free-Will.

The condition of Man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

XI. Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings; Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

XII. Of Good Works.

Albeit that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgement; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith; insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XVII. Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination to Life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore, they which be endued

with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they through Grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they
25 walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing
30 up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchedness of
35 most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture: and, in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

XXIV. Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth.

40 It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.

XXV. Of the sacraments.

45 Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

50 There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

55 The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.

XXXI. Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

60 The Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

65 XXXII. Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

70 XXXV. Of Homilies.

The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

75

XXXVI. Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering: neither hath it any thing, that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated and ordered according to the Rites of that Book, since the second year of the forenamed King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same Rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

80

85 XXXVII. Of the Civil Magistrates.

The queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the queen's Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evildoers.

90

95

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England. The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences. It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

Source: <http://www.eskimo.com/~lhowell/bcp1662/articles/articles.html>.

Pope Pius V's *Regnans in Excelsis*, 1570

5 He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and earth, has committed one holy Catholic and apostolic Church, outside of which there is no salvation, to one alone upon earth, namely to Peter, the first of the apostles, and to Peter's successor, the pope of Rome, to be by him governed in fullness of power. Him alone He has made ruler over all peoples and kingdoms, to pull up, destroy, scatter, disperse, plant and build, so that he may preserve His faithful people (knit together with the girdle of charity) in the unity of the Spirit and present them safe and spotless to their Saviour.

10 But the number of the ungodly has so much grown in power that there is no place left in the world which they have not tried to corrupt with their most wicked doctrines; and among others, Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England and the servant of crime, has assisted in this, with whom as in a sanctuary the most pernicious of all have found refuge. This very woman, having seized the crown and monstrously usurped the place of supreme head of the Church in all England together with the chief authority and jurisdiction belonging to it, has once again reduced this same kingdom—which had already been restored to the Catholic faith and to good
15 fruits—to a miserable ruin. [...]

We, seeing impieties and crimes multiplied one upon another the persecution of the faithful and afflictions of religion daily growing more severe under the guidance and by the activity of the said Elizabeth—and recognising that her mind is so fixed and set that she has not only despised the pious prayers and admonitions with which Catholic princes have tried to cure and convert
20 her but has not even permitted the nuncios sent to her in this matter by this See to cross into England, are compelled by necessity to take up against her the weapons of justice [...] we do out of the fullness of our apostolic power declare the foresaid Elizabeth to be a heretic and favourer of heretics, and her adherents in the matters aforesaid to have incurred the sentence of excommunication and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ.

25 And moreover (we declare) her to be deprived of her pretended title to the aforesaid crown and of all lordship, dignity and privilege whatsoever.

And also (declare) the nobles, subjects and people of the said realm and all others who have in any way sworn oaths to her, to be forever absolved from such an oath and from any duty arising from lordship, fealty and obedience; and we do, by authority of these presents, so absolve them
30 [...]. We charge and command all and singular the nobles, subjects, peoples and others afore said that they do not dare obey her orders, mandates and laws. Those who shall act to the contrary we include in the like sentence of excommunication. [...]

Source: <http://www.tudorhistory.org/primary/papalbull.html>.

Admonition to the Parliament, 1572

5 Seeing that nothing in this mortal life is more diligently to be sought for, and carefully to be looked unto than the restitution of true religion and reformation of God's church: it shall be your parts (dearly beloved) in this present Parliament assembled, as much as in you lies to promote the same, and to employ your whole labour and study, not only in abandoning all popish remnants both in ceremonies and regiment, but also in bringing in and placing in God's church those things only, which the Lord Himself in His word commands...

10 May it therefore please your wisdom to understand, we in England are so far off from having a church rightly reformed according to the prescript of God's word, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same. For to speak of that wherein all consent, & whereupon all writers accord. The outward marks whereby a true Christian church is known, are preaching, of the word purely, ministring of the sacraments sincerely, and ecclesiastical discipline which consists in admonition and correction of faults severely... For whereas in the old church a trial was had both of their ability to instruct, and of their godly conversation also: now, by the letters commendatory of some one man, noble or other, tag and rag, learned and unlearned, of the basest sort of the people are freely received. In those days no idolatrous sacrificers or heathenish priests were appointed to be preachers of the Gospel: but now we allow popish mass-mongers, men for all seasons, King Henry's priests, King Edward's priests, Queen Mary's priests, who of truth (if God's word were precisely followed) should from the same be utterly removed...

20 Then election was made by the common consent of the whole church: now everyone picks out for himself some notable good benefice... Then no minister placed in any congregation, but by the consent of the people, now, that authority is given into the hands of the bishop alone, who by his sole authority thrusts upon them such... Then, none admitted to the ministry, but a place was void beforehand, to which he should be called: but now, bishops (to whom the right of ordering ministers does at no hand appertain) do make 60, 80, or a 100 at a clap.

25 Then it was painful: now gainful. Then poor and ignominious: now rich & glorious. And therefore titles, livings, and offices by Antichrist devised are given to them, as Metropolitan, Archbishop, Lord's Grace, Lord Bishop, Suffragan, Dean, Archdeacon... All which, together with their offices, as they are strange & unheard of in Christ's church, nay, plainly in God's word forbidden: So are they utterly with speed out of the same to be removed.

30 Appoint to every congregation a learned & diligent preacher. Remove homilies, articles, injunctions, a prescript order of service made out of the mass book. Take away the Lordship, the loitering, the pomp, the idleness, and livings of Bishops, but yet employ them to such ends as they were in the old church appointed for...

35 Not that we mean to take away the authority of the civil Magistrate and chief governour, to whom we wish all blessedness... but that Christ being restored into his kingdom, to rule in the same by the scepter of his word, and severe discipline: the Prince may be better obeyed, the realm more flourish in godliness, and the Lord himself more sincerely and purely according to his revealed will served then heretofore he has been, or yet at this present is. Amend therefore these horrible abuses, and reform God's church...

40 Is a reformation good for France? and can it be evil for England? Is discipline meet for Scotland? and is it unprofitable for this Realm? Surely God has set these examples before your eyes to encourage you to go forward to a thorough and a speedy reformation. You may not do as heretofore you have done, patch and piece, nay rather go backward, and never labour or

45 contend to perfection. But altogether remove whole Antichrist, both head, body and branch, and perfectly plant that purity of the word, that simplicity of the sacraments, and severity of discipline, which Christ has commanded and commends to his church.

50

Source: John Field and Thomas Wilcox, *An Admonition to the Parliament*, 1572, in *Puritan Manifestoes*, eds. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas, New York, 1907, p. 8-19.

Martin Marprelate – *The Epistle*, 1558

[...] Martin is a shrewd fellow, and reasons thus: Those that are petty popes and petty Antichrists ought not to be maintained in any Christian commonwealth. But every Lord bishop in England, as for example John of Canterbury, John of London, John Exeter, John Rochester, Thomas of Winchester, the Bishop of Lincoln, of Worcester, of Peterborough, and to be brief, 5 all the bishops in England, Wales and Ireland, are petty popes and petty Antichrists. Therefore no Lord bishop *(now I pray you, good Martin, speak out if ever you did speak out, that her Majesty and the council may hear you) is to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth. And therefore neither John of Canterbury, John of London etc. are to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth. [...]

10 *That our Prelates usurp their authority*

They usurp their authority who violently and unlawfully retain those under their government that both would and ought (if they might) to shake off that yoke wherewith they are kept under. But our Lord bishops retain such (namely other pastors), and unlawfully under their yoke, who 15 both would and ought to reject the same. For all the pastors in the land that deserve the names of pastors, are against their will under the bishops' jurisdictions. And they are unlawfully detained by them because no pastor can be lawfully kept under the pastoral (I mean not the civil) authority of any one man. Therefore our bishops and proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paltry, pestilent and pernicious prelates, Bishop of Hereford and all, are first usurpers, to begin the matter withal. [...]

Source: *The Epistle. Oh read over Dr. John Bridges, for it is a worthy work: Or an epitome of the first Book of that right Worshipful volume written against the Puritans...* [October 1558]. Modernised by J.D.Lewis. <http://anglicanlibrary.org/marprelate/tract1m.htm#o5>

Richard Hooker on the errors of the Puritans, 1593

Richard Hooker published the first four books of his Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity in 1593. In it, Hooker provided a general justification for the position of the Church of England, but he was especially concerned to defend it against Puritan attacks.

The Second Book: concerning their first position who urge reformation in the Church of England, namely, that Scripture is the only rule of all things which in this life may be done by men.

5 ... There is no necessity, that if I confess I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I should thereby acknowledge myself bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements besides Scripture may lead me to that, which if Scripture be against, they all give place and are of no value, yet otherwise are strong and effectual to persuade. ...

10 The Third Book: concerning their second assertion, that in Scripture there must be of necessity contained a form of Church polity the laws whereof may in no wise be altered.

15 ... Now as it can be to Nature no injury that of her we do we say the same which diligent beholders of her works have observed; namely, that she provideth for all living creatures nourishment which may suffice; that she bringeth forth no kind of creature whereto she is wanting in that which is needful; although we do not so far magnify her exceeding bounty, as to affirm that she bringeth into the world the sons of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings to spring up out of the earth for them. So I trust that to mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the Church's discretion in some things is not in any thing to impair the honour which the Church of God yieldeth to the Sacred Scripture's perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by us maintained, than only that Scripture must needs teach the Church whatsoever is in such sort necessary as hath been set down, and that it is no more disgrace for Scripture to have left a number of other things free to be ordered at the discretion of the Church, than for nature to have left it unto the wit of man to devise his own attire, and not to look for it as the beasts of the field have theirs ...

25 ... They which first gave out that nothing ought to be established in the Church which is not commanded by the Word of God, thought this principle plainly warranted by the manifest words of the Law ... Wherefore, having an eye to a number of rites and orders in the Church of England, as marrying with a ring, crossing in the one sacrament, kneeling at the other, observing of festival days more than only that which is called the Lord's day, enjoining abstinence at certain times from some kinds of meat, churching of women after childbirth, degrees taken by divines in universities, sundry church offices, dignities, and callings, for which they found no commandment in the Holy Scripture, they thought by the one only stroke of that axiom to have cut them off. But that which they took for an oracle being sifted was repelled. ...

30 ... Sundry things may be lawfully done in the Church, so as they be not done against the Scripture, although no Scripture do command them, but the Church only following the light of reason judge them to be in discretion meet ..., so that free and lawful it is to devise any ceremony, to receive any order, and to authorize any kind of regiment, no special commandment being thereby violated, and the same being thought such by them, to whom the judgment thereof appertaineth, as that it is not scandalous, but decent, tending unto edification, and setting forth the glory of God ...

40 The Fourth Book: concerning their third assertion, that our form of Church polity is corrupted
with Popish orders, rites, and ceremonies, banished out of certain reformed Churches, whose
examples therein we ought to have followed.

... Concerning rites and ceremonies, there may be fault either in the kind or in the number or
multitude of them. The first thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many things we have
45 departed from the ancient simplicity of Christ and his Apostles, we have embraced more
outward stateliness, we have those orders in the exercise of religion, which they who best
pleased God best, that in the prime of Christian religion faith was soundest, the Scriptures of
God were then best understood by all men, all parts of godliness did then most abound ... The
glory of God and the good of his Church was the thing which the Apostles aimed at, and
50 therefore ought to be the mark whereat we also level. But seeing those rites and orders may be
at one time more which at another are less available unto that purpose, what reason is there in
these things to urge the state of one only age as a pattern for all to follow? It is not I am right
sure their meaning, that we should now assemble our people to serve God in close and secret
meetings; or that common brooks or rivers should be used for places of baptism; or that the
55 Eucharist should be ministered after meat; or that the custom of church feasting should be
renewed; or that all kind of standing provision for the ministry should be utterly taken away,
and their estate made again dependent upon the voluntary devotion of men. In these things they
easily perceive how unfit that were for the present, which was for the first age convenient
enough. The faith, zeal, and godliness of former times is worthily had in honour; but doth this
60 prove that the orders of the Church of Christ must be still the selfsame with theirs, that nothing
may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully since have ceased?

Source: Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, in *The Works of Mr. Richard Hooker with an account of his life and death by Isaac Walton*, 1890, i, 249, 293, 294–5, 207–8, 351–3. Download other extracts here:

http://www2.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/noa/pdf/27636_16u31Hooker.1_6.tp.pdf.

Puritan Voices, 1582–1642

Nehemiah Wallington, Diary

5 A husbandman, grinding corn upon the Lord's day, had his meal burned to ashes. Another, carrying corn on this day, had his barn and all his corn therein burnt with fire from heaven the next night after.

A husbandman would needs go to plow on the Sabbath day, but mark the fearful judgment of God upon him; for, as he cleansed his plow with an iron instrument, the iron stuck fast in his hand, and could not he got out, but there stuck two years as a manifest token of God's wrath against him for that horrible sin.

10 On the 23d January, 1582, being the Lord's day, the scaffolds fell in Paris Garden under the people at a bear baiting, so that eight were suddenly slain, innumerable hurt and maimed. A warning to such who take more pleasure on the Lord's day to be in a theater beholding carnal sports than to be in the church in serving of God.

15 At Boston, in Lincolnshire, Mr. Cotton being their former minister, when he was gone the bishop desired to have organs set up in the church, but the parish was unwilling to yield; but, however, the bishop prevailed to be at the cost to set them up. But they being newly up (not playing very often with them), a violent storm came in at one window, and blew the organs to another window, and brake both organs and window down; and to this day the window is out of reputation, being boarded and not glazed.

20

Josias Nichols

The Plea for the Innocent (London, 1602)

25 In the beginning of her Majesty's most happy reign, the gospel being published and preachers ordained to teach the people, many people, within a while feeling some taste of the heavenly comfort, began to delight in hearing of sermons, singing of psalms, in reading, and godly talk of Holy Scriptures which they were taught; and therewithal did somewhat refrain profane and unprofitable customs; and sometimes they admonished their neighbors if they did swear, and

30 pray them to go with them to the sermon; the greater sort of the people, being old barrels which could hold no new wine, addicted partly to popery and partly to licentiousness, having many of them no other God but their bellies, would deride and scoff at them, and called them "holy brethren" and "holy sisters"; saying, "He is one of the pure and unspotted brethren!"

35

Anonymous

"Letter from Hell. Rome and the Inns of Court" (1641)

Articles of agreement made, concluded, and done this 28th of September, in the year of grace 1641, and of the world 5662, by and between the high and mighty prince, Lucifer, king of Styx and Phlegethon, the holy and most superstitious primate of the Roman Church, the cardinals, bishops, Jesuits, priests, and seminaries, of the one party; and Judge Bribery, Lawyer Corruption, Attorney Contention, Solicitor Sedition, Justice Connivance, Jailor Oppression, and State Negligence, of the other party, in manner and form following:

40 It is this day mutually agreed, by and between the several parties above named, that there shall

45 be a league, offensive and defensive, concluded and confirmed by both parties, at or before Holy-rood day next ensuing the date hereof.

Item : That whereas there hath been lately, by the subtle practices of some parliamentary reformists, a discord and dissension raised between the state ecclesiastic and the state of the inns of court, whereby there hath happened no small prejudice unto the ecclesiastic state; the like whereof is to be doubted may also fall upon the state of the inns of court, and so consequently upon the crown and dignity of our sovereign lord, King Lucifer; it is therefore mutually agreed that all former controversies and contentions between both parties shall cease, and that all unity, peace, and concord shall be embraced, on either side, according to the expressions in the precedent article, to the honor of our sovereign lord, King Lucifer, his crown and dignity.

Item : It is agreed that the said state of the inns of court and the state ecclesiastic aforesaid shall jointly and severally use the uttermost of their strength, power, and policy to resist and suppress all such proceedings of this present Parliament which shall any way tend to the reformation and suppression of oppression, extortion, bribery, contention, and tradition; and that they shall and will, with all their might, power, and policy, endeavor and strive to broach, advance, and maintain all the said several impieties again, to the honor of our sovereign lord, King Lucifer, his crown and dignity.

Item : It is agreed by and between our sovereign lord, King Lucifer, and the whole state ecclesiastic, of the one part, and Judge Bribery, that forthwith, upon the dissolution of this present Parliament, he, the said Judge Bribery, is then again to put in practice the taking of bribes, passing of false judgment, and maintaining his false and corrupt sentences and decrees to be things sacred and infallible; oppressing the innocent by close imprisonment, and also favoring all Jesuits, priests, and seminaries, if any of them happen by the instruments of justice to be laid hold on; animating and instructing all attorneys, solicitors, and clerks, for and to the sowing of strife and contention amongst the people of the land, to the honor of our sovereign lord, King Lucifer, his crown and dignity.

Anonymous

Aminadab Blower Rejects the Prayer Book

Some small and simple reasons, delivered in a hollow tree, in Waltham Forest, in a lecture, on the 33d of March last, by Aminadab Blower, a devout bellows mender of Pimlico; showing the causes, in general and particular, wherefore they do, might, would, should, or ought, except against and quite refuse the Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer:

My dear beloved and zealous brethren and sisters here assembled in this holy congregation, I am to unfold, unravel, untwist, untie, unloose, and undo, to your uncapable understandings, some small reasons, the matter, the causes, the motives, the grounds, the principles, the maxims, the whys and the wherefores, wherefore and why, we reject, omit, abandon, contemn, despise, and are and ought to be withstanders and opposers of the service book, called by the hard name of Liturgy, or Common Prayer, which hath continued in the Church of England eighty-four years.

I have exactly examined and collected some notes and observations out of the learned Hebrew translated volumes of Rabbi Ananias, Rabbi Ahitophel, Rabbi Iscariot, Rabbi Simon Magus, Rabbi Demas, and Rabbi Alexander the coppersmith, and all nor any of their writings doth in any place so much as mention that book, or any such kind of service, to be used at all by them. I have farther taken pains in looking over some Chaldean, Persian, Egyptian, Arabian, and Arminian authors, of which I understood not one word; I also (with the like diligence and understanding) have viewed the Turkish Alchoran, and there I found not a syllable concerning either Liturgy, Common Prayer, or divine service. As for Greek authors, I must confess I understand them not, or negatively, for which reason I leave them as impertinent; and, touching

the Latin writers, they are partial in this case, the tongue being Romanian and the idiom Babylonish, which seems to me an intricate confusion.

95 I, having carefully viewed the tomes and tenets of religion and books of all manner of hieroglyphics, writings, scrolls, tallies, scores, and characters, and finding nothing for the maintaining of that book or Liturgy, I looked into the ecclesiastical history written by one Eusebius, and another fellow they call Socrates, wherein I found many arguments and incitements to move men to such doctrine as is comprised and compiled in the Liturgy. After that I searched into the acts and monuments of this kingdom, written by old Fox, and there I
100 found that the composers of it were bishops and doctors, and great learned schoolmen of unfeigned integrity, of impregnable constancy, who, with invincible faith, suffered most glorious martyrdom by the papal tyranny, for the writing and maintaining that book, with the true Protestant religion contained in it.

105 Brethren, I must confess that I was somewhat puzzled in my mind at these things, and I could not be satisfied till I had consulted with some of our devout brothers. Our brother How, the cobbler, was the first I broke my mind to, and we advised to call or summon a synod to be held in my Lord Brook's stable, the Reverend Spencer, the stable groom, being the metropolitan there. At our meeting there was Greene the felt maker, Barebones the leather seller, Squire the tailor, with Hoare a weaver, and Davison a bone-lace maker of Messenden, and Paul Hickerson
110 of Wickham, tailor, with some four or five baker's dozens of weavers, millers, tinkers, botchers, broom men, porters, of all trades, many of them bringing notes with them fitting for our purpose [...]

Source: J.H. Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History* 2 vols. (Boston: Ginn, 1906), 2:227-228, 230-233. <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/puritans.html>

The Millenary Petition, 1603

Most gracious and dread sovereign, Seeing it has pleased the Divine majesty, to the great comfort of all good Christians, to advance your highness, according to your just title, to the peaceable government of this Church and Commonwealth of England, we, the ministers of the gospel in this land, neither as factious men affecting a popular parity in the Church, nor as schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the State ecclesiastical, but as the faithful servants of Christ and loyal subjects to your majesty, desiring and longing for the redress of divers abuses of the Church, could do no less in our obedience to God, service to your majesty, love to His Church, than acquaint your princely majesty with our particular griefs; for as your princely pen writeth, ‘the king, as a good physician, must first know what peccant humours his patient naturally is most subject unto, before he can begin his cure;’ and although divers of us that sue for reformation have formerly, in respect of the times, subscribed to the book—some upon protestation, some upon exposition given them, some with condition rather than the Church should have been deprived of their labour and ministry—yet now we, to the number of more than a thousand of your majesty’s subjects and ministers, all groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies, do with one joint consent humble ourselves at your majesty’s feet, to be eased and relieved in this behalf. Our humble suit, then, unto your majesty is that these offences following, some may be removed, some amended, some qualified:

(1) In the Church service: that the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, confirmation, as superfluous, may be taken away; baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained; the cap and surplice not urged; that examination may go before the communion; that it be ministered with a sermon; that divers terms of priests, and absolution, and some other used, with the ring in marriage, and other such like in the book, may be corrected; the longsomeness of service abridged, Church songs and music moderated to better edification; that the Lord’s Day be not profaned; the rest upon holy days not so strictly urged; that there may be a uniformity of doctrine prescribed; no popish opinion to be any more taught or defended; no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus; that the canonical Scriptures only be read in the Church.

(2) Concerning Church ministers: that none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently and especially upon the Lord’s day; that such as be already entered and cannot preach, may either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for their relief, or else be forced, according to the value of their livings, to maintain preachers; that non-residency be not permitted; that King Edward’s statute for the lawfulness of ministers’ marriages be revived; that ministers be not urged to subscribe, but according to the law, to the Articles of Religion, and the king’s supremacy only.

(3) For Church livings and maintenance: that bishops leave their commendams, some holding parsonages, some prebends, some vicarages, with their bishoprics; that double-beneficed men be not suffered to hold some two, some three benefices with cure, and some two, three, or four dignities besides; that impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges be demised only to the preachers incumbents, for the old rent; that the impropriations of laymen’s fees be charged, with a sixth or seventh part of their worth, to the maintenance of the preaching minister.

(4) For Church discipline: that the discipline and excommunication may be administered according to Christ’s own institution, or, at the least, that enormities may be redressed, as namely, that excommunication come not forth under the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, &c.; that men be not excommunicated for trifles and twelve-penny matters; [...] that

45 the longsomeness of suits in ecclesiastical courts (which hang sometimes two, three, four, five, six, or seven years) may be restrained; that the oath *Ex Officio*, whereby men are forced to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used; that licences for marriages without banns asked, be more cautiously granted:

50 These, with such other abuses yet remaining and practised in the Church of England, we are able to show not to be agreeable to the Scriptures, if it shall please your highness further to hear us, or more at large by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved; and yet we doubt not but that, without any further process, your majesty (of whose Christian judgment we have received so good a taste already) is able of yourself to judge of the equity of this cause. God, we trust, has appointed your highness our physician to heal these
55 diseases [...] Thus your majesty shall do that which [...] [shall be] profitable to His Church, which shall be thereby increased, comfortable to your ministers, which shall be no more suspended, silenced, disgraced, imprisoned for men's traditions, and prejudicial to none but to those that seek their own quiet, credit and profit in the world.

60 Thus, with all dutiful submission, referring ourselves to your majesty's pleasure for your gracious answer, as God shall direct you, we most humbly recommend your highness to the Divine majesty, whom we beseech, for Christ His sake, to dispose your royal heart to do herein what shall be to His glory, the good of His Church, and your endless comfort.

Your majesty's most humble subjects, the ministers of the Gospel that desire not a disorderly innovation, but a due and godly reformation.

Source: H. Gee and William John Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, New York: Macmillan, 1896, 508-11.

James I, speech in Parliament, 1605

On the nature of Parliament

As to the nature of this high court of Parliament, It is nothing else but the King's great Council, which the King does assemble either upon occasion of interpreting, or abrogating old laws, or making of new, according as ill manners shall deserve, or for the public punishment of notorious evildoers, or the praise and reward of the virtuous and well deservers ...

5 As for the thing itself, it is composed of a head and a body: the head is the King, the body are the members of the Parliament. This body again is subdivided into two parts; the Upper and Lower House: the Upper compounded partly of nobility, temporal men, who are heritable Councillors to the high court of Parliament by the honour of their creation and lands: and partly of bishops, spiritual men, who are likewise by the virtue of their place and dignity Councillors
10 ... of this court. The other House is composed of knights for the shire; and gentry, and burgesses for the towns. But because the number would be infinite for all the gentlemen and burgesses to be present at every Parliament, Therefore a certain number is selected and chosen out of that great body, serving only for that Parliament, where their persons are the representation of that body.

James I on monarchy, 1610

This speech was made by James I before Parliament at Whitehall, 21 March, 1610.

The state of Monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods. There be three principal similarities that illustrate the state of Monarchy: one taken out of the word of God and the two other out of the grounds of policy and philosophy. In the Scriptures
5 kings are called gods, and so their power after a certain relation compared to the Divine power. Kings are also compared to the fathers of families, for a king is truly *parens patriae*, the politic father of his people. And lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man.

10 Kings are justly called gods for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of Divine power upon earth; for if you will consider the attributes to God you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure; to give life or send death; to judge all, and to be judged nor accomptable to none; to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure; and to God are both soul and body due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subject; they have power of raising and
15 casting down; of life and death; judges over all their subjects and in all causes, and yet accomptable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things, and make of their subjects like men at the chess, a pawn to take a bishop or a knight, and to cry up or down any of their subjects as they do their money. And to the King is due both the affection of the soul and the service of the body of his subjects. [...]

20 But now in these our times we are to distinguish between the state of kings in their first original and between the state of settled kings and monarchs that do at this time govern in civil kingdoms; for even as God, during the time of the Old Testament, spake by oracles and wrought by miracles, yet how soon it pleased him to settle a Church which was bought and redeemed by the blood of his only Son Christ, then was there a cessation of both; he ever after governing his
25 people and Church within the limits of his revealed will. So in the first original of kings, whereof

some had their beginning by conquest and some by election of the people, their wills at that time served for law; yet how soon kingdoms began to be settled in civility and policy, then did kings set down their minds by laws, which are properly made by the King only, but at the rogation of the people, the King's grant being obtained thereunto. And so the King became to be *lex loquens* after a sort, binding himself by a double oath to the observation of the fundamental laws of his kingdom: tacitly, as by being a King, and so bound to protect as well the people as the laws of his kingdom, and expressly, by his oath at his coronation; so as every just king in a settled kingdom is bound to observe that paction made to his people by his laws in framing his government agreeable thereunto, according to that paction which God made with Noah after the Deluge, 'Hereafter seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease so long as the earth remains.' And therefore a king governing in a settled kingdom leaves to be a king and degenerates into a tyrant as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his laws. In which case the King's conscience may speak unto him as the poor widow said to Philip of Macedon: 'Either govern according to your law, *aut ne Rex sis*. And though no Christian man ought to allow any rebellion of people against their Prince, yet doth God never leave kings unpunished when they transgress these limits, for in that same Psalm where God saith to kings, *Vos Dei estis*, he immediately thereafter concludes, 'But ye shall die like men.' The higher we are placed, the greater shall our fall be. *Ut casus sic dolor*: the taller the trees be, the more in danger of the wind; and the tempest bears sorest upon the highest mountains. Therefore all kings that are not tyrants or perjured will be glad to bound themselves within the limits of their laws, and they that persuade them the contrary are vipers and pests, both against them and the commonwealth. For it is a great difference between a king's government in a settled State and what kings in their original power might do *in individuo vago*. As for my part, I thank God I have ever given good proof that I never had intention to the contrary; and I am sure to go to my grave with that reputation and comfort, that never king was in all his time more careful to have his laws duly observed, and himself to govern thereafter, than I.

I conclude then this point touching the power of kings with this axiom of Divinity, That as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, but *quid vult Deus*, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discuss, for to dispute *a posse ad esse* is both against Logic and Divinity, so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power; but just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content that my power be disputed upon, but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws.

Source: James I, *Works* (1616), 528–31.

The Petition of Right, 1628

The Petition exhibited to his Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, concerning divers Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, with the King's Majesty's royal answer thereunto in full Parliament.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

5 Humbly show unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembles, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward I, commonly called *Stratutum de Tallagio non Concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of parliament holden
10 in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, nor by such like charge; by which statutes before mentioned, and other the good
15 laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent, in parliament.

Yet nevertheless of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several
20 counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your Majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound and make appearance and give utterance before your Privy Council and in other places, and others of them
25 have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace and others, by command or direction from your Majesty, or your Privy Council, against the laws and free custom of the realm.

30 And whereas also by the statute called 'The Great Charter of the Liberties of England,' [ie. *Magna Carta Libertatum*, 1215] it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

35 And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it was declared and enacted by authority of parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited nor put to death without being brought to answer by due process of law.

40 Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before your justices by your Majesty's writs of habeas corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that

45 they were detained by your Majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your Privy Council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law. [...]

50 They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained [...]

Source: <http://www.constitution.org/eng/petright.htm>.

The Nineteen Propositions, 1642

Sent by the two Houses of Parliament to the King at York. June 1642.

Your Majesty's most humble and faithful subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, having nothing in their thoughts and desires more precious and of higher esteem (next to the honour and immediate service of God) than the just and faithful performance of their duty to your Majesty and this kingdom: and being very sensible of the great distractions and distempers, and of the imminent dangers and calamities which those distractions and distempers are like to bring upon your Majesty and your subjects; all which have proceeded from the subtle insinuations, mischievous practices and evil counsels of men disaffected to God's true religion, your Majesty's honour and safety, and the public peace and prosperity of your people, after a serious observation of the causes of those mischiefs, do in all humility and sincerity present to your Majesty their most dutiful petition and advice, that out of your princely wisdom for the establishing your own honour and safety, and gracious tenderness of the welfare and security of your subjects and dominions, you will be pleased to grant and accept these their humble desires and propositions, as the most necessary effectual means, through God's blessing, of removing those jealousies and differences which have unhappily fallen betwixt you and your people, and procuring both your Majesty and them a constant course of honour, peace, and happiness.

The Nineteen Propositions

1. That the Lords and others of your Majesty's Privy Council, and such great officers and Ministers of State, either at home or beyond the seas, may be put from your Privy Council, and from those offices and employments, excepting such as shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament; and that the persons put into the places and employments of those that are removed may be approved of by both Houses of Parliament; and that the Privy Councillors shall take an oath for the due execution of their places, in such form as shall be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

2. That the great affairs of the kingdom may not be concluded or transacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unsworn councillors, but that such matters as concern the public, and are proper for the High Court of Parliament, which is your Majesty's great and supreme council, may be debated, resolved and transacted only in Parliament, and not elsewhere: and such as shall presume to do anything to the contrary shall be reserved to the censure and judgment of Parliament: and such other matters of state as are proper for your Majesty's Privy Council shall be debated and concluded by such of the nobility and others as shall from time to time be chosen for that place, by approbation of both Houses of Parliament: and that no public act concerning the affairs of the kingdom, which are proper for your Privy Council, may be esteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the royal authority, unless it be done by the advice and consent of the major part of your Council, attested under their hands: and that your Council may be limited to a certain number, not exceeding five and twenty, nor under fifteen: and if any councillor's place happen to be void in the interval of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the assent of the major part of the Council, which choice shall be confirmed at the next sitting of Parliament, or else to be void.

3. That the Lord High Steward of England, Lord High Constable, Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl Marshall, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chief Governor of Ireland, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards, Secretaries of State, two Chief Justices and Chief Baron, may always be chosen with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, by assent

of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before expressed in the choice of councillors.

50 4. That he, or they unto whom the government and education of the King's children shall be committed, shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, by the assent of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before expressed in the choice of councillors; and that all such servants as are now about them, against whom both Houses shall have any just exceptions, shall be removed.

55 5. That no marriage shall be concluded or treated for any of the King's children, with any foreign prince, or other person whatsoever, abroad or at home, without the consent of Parliament, under the penalty of a premunire, upon such as shall conclude or treat of any marriage as aforesaid; and that the said penalty shall not be pardoned or dispensed with but by the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

60 6. That the laws in force against Jesuits, priests, and Popish recusants, be strictly put in execution, without any toleration or dispensation to the contrary; and that some more effectual course may be enacted, by authority of Parliament, to disable them from making any disturbance in the State, or eluding the law by trusts or otherwise.

65 7. That the votes of Popish lords in the House of Peers may be taken away, so long as they continue Papists: and that your Majesty will consent to such a Bill as shall be drawn for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant religion.

70 8. That your Majesty will be pleased to consent that such a reformation be made of the Church government and liturgy, as both Houses of Parliament shall advise; wherein they intend to have consultations with divines, as is expressed in their declaration to that purpose; and that your Majesty will contribute your best assistance to them, for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for preaching ministers throughout the kingdom; and that your Majesty will be pleased to give your consent to laws for the taking away of innovations and superstition, and of pluralities, and against scandalous ministers.

75 9. That your Majesty will be pleased to rest satisfied with that course that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering of the militia, until the same shall be further settled by a Bill; and that your Majesty will recall your Declarations and Proclamations against the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

10. That such members of either House of Parliament as have, during the present Parliament, been put out of any place and office, may either be restored to that place and office, or otherwise have satisfaction for the same, upon the petition of that House whereof he or they are members.

80 11. That all Privy Councillors and Judges may take an oath, the form whereof to be agreed on and settled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Eight and of certain statutes made by the Parliament, which shall be mentioned by both Houses of Parliament: and that an enquiry of all the breaches and violations of those laws may be given in charge by the Justices of the King's Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Assize in their circuits, and 85 Justices of the Peace at the sessions, to be presented and punished according to law.

12. That all the Judges, and all the officers placed by approbation of both Houses of Parliament, may hold their places *quam diu bene se gesserint* [during good behaviour].

90 13. That the justice of Parliament may pass upon all delinquents, whether they be within the kingdom or fled out of it; and that all persons cited by either House of Parliament may appear and abide the censure of Parliament.

14. That the general pardon offered by your Majesty may be granted, with such exceptions as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.

95 15. That the forts and castles of this kingdom may be put under the command and custody of such persons as your Majesty shall appoint, with the approbation of your Parliament: and in the intervals of Parliament, with approbation of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before expressed in the choice of councillors.

16. That the extraordinary guards and military forces now attending your Majesty, may be removed and discharged; and that for the future you will raise no such guards or extraordinary forces, but according to the law, in case of actual rebellion or invasion.

100 17. That your Majesty will be pleased to enter into a more strict alliance with the States of the United Provinces, and other neighbouring princes and states of the Protestant religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof, against all designs and attempts of the Pope and his adherents to subvert and suppress it; whereby your Majesty will obtain a great access of strength and reputation, and your subjects be much encouraged and enabled, in a Parliamentary way, for
105 your aid and assistance, in restoring your royal sister and her princely issue to those dignities and dominions which belong unto them, and relieving the other Protestant princes who have suffered in the same cause.

110 18. That your Majesty will be pleased, by Act of Parliament, to clear the Lord Kimbolton and the five members of the House of Commons, in such manner that future Parliaments may be secured from the consequence of that evil precedent.

19. That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to pass a Bill for restraining peers made hereafter, from sitting or voting in Parliament, unless they be admitted thereunto with the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

115 And these our humble desires being granted by your Majesty, we shall forthwith apply ourselves to regulate your present revenue in such sort as may be for your best advantage; and likewise to settle such an ordinary and constant increase of it, as shall be sufficient to support your royal dignity in honour and plenty, beyond the proportion of any former grants of the subjects of this kingdom to your Majesty's royal predecessors. We shall likewise put the town of Hull into such hands as your Majesty shall appoint, with the consent and approbation of
120 Parliament, and deliver up a just account of all the magazine, and cheerfully employ the uttermost of our power and endeavours in the real expression and performance of our most dutiful and loyal affections, to the preserving and maintaining the royal honour, greatness and safety of your Majesty and your posterity.

Source: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Nineteen_Propositions.

His Majesty's Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of Both Houses of Parliament, June 18, 1642

In this kingdom the laws are jointly made by a King, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the People, all having free votes and particular priviledges. The Government according to these laws is trusted to the King, power of treaties of war and peace, of making Peers, of choosing Officers and Councillors for State, Judges for Law, Commanders
5 for forts and castles, giving commissions for raising men to make war abroad, or to prevent or provide against invasions or insurrections at home, benefit of confiscations, power of pardoning, and some more of the like kind are placed in the King. And this kind of regulated Monarchy having this power to preserve that authority, without which it would be disabled to preserve the laws in their force, and the subjects in their liberties and proprieties, is intended to
10 draw to him such a respect and relation from the great ones, as may hinder the ills of division and faction, and such a fear and reverence from the people, as may hinder tumults, violence, and licenciousness.

Again, that the Prince may not make use of this high and perpetual power to the hurt of those for whose good he has it, and make use of the name of public necessity for the gain of his
15 private favourites and followers, to the detriment of his People, the House of Commons (an excellent Conserver of Liberty, but never intended for any share in Government, or the choosing of them that should govern) is solely entrusted with the first Propositions concerning the levies of money (which is the sinews as well of peace, as war) and the impeaching of those, who for their own ends, though countenanced by any surreptitiously gotten command of the King, have
20 violated that Law, which he is bound (when he knows it) to protect, and to the protection of which they were bound to advise him, at least not to serve him in the contrary. And the Lords being trusted with a judicatory power, are an excellent Screen and Bank between the Prince and People, to assist each against any incroachments of the other, and by just judgements to preserve that law, which ought to be the rule of every one of the three. For the better enabling them in
25 this, beyond the examples of any of our ancestors, We were willingly contented to oblige Ourself, both to call a Parliament every three years, and not to dissolve it in fifty days, and for the present exigent, the better to raise money, and avoid the pressure (no less grievous to Us than them) [...].

Since therefore the Power legally placed in both Houses is more than sufficient to prevent and
30 restrain the power of tyranny, and without the power which is now asked from Us, we shall not be able to discharge that trust which is the end of Monarchy, since this would be a total subversion of the fundamental laws, and that excellent Constitution of this Kingdom, which has made this Nation so many years both famous and happy to a great degree of envy; since to the power of punishing (which is already in your hands according to Law) if the power of preferring
35 be added, We shall have nothing left for Us, but to look on; since the incroaching of one of these estates upon the power of the other, is unhappy in the effects both to them and all the rest; since this power of at most a joint Government in Us with Our Councillors (or rather Our Guardians) will return Us to the worst kind of Minority, and make Us despicable both at home and abroad, and beget eternal factions and dissentions (as destructive to public happiness as war) both in
40 the chosen, and the Houses that choose them, and the people who choose the Choosers; since so new a power will undoubtedly intoxicate persons who were not born to it, & beget not only divisions among them as equals, but in them contempt of Us as become an equall to them, and insolence and injustice towards Our people, as now so much their inferiors, which will be the

45 more grievous unto them, as suffering from those who were so lately of a nearer degree to themselves, and being to have redress only from those that placed them, and fearing they may be inclined to preserve what they have made, both out of kindness and policy; since all great changes are extremely inconvenient, and almost infallibly beget yet greater changes, which beget yet greater inconveniencies.

50 For all these reasons to all these demands Our Answer is, *Nolumus Leges Angliae mutari* [we do not wish the laws of England to be changed]. But this We promise, that We will be as careful of preserving the laws in what is supposed to concern wholly Our Subjects, as in what most concerns Ourselves.

Anti-Catholic / anti-royalist propaganda during the civil wars, 1643



A woodcut in a broadside of 1643, which depicts the Royalist cause as absolute and as popish (no title)

A Solemn League and Covenant, 1643

Taken by the House of Commons, September 25, 1643.

A solemn league and covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.

We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the Gospel, and commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed religion; having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the Church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies: we have (now at last) after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations and sufferings, for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

I. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship and catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, prelacy (that is, Church government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and His name one in the three kingdoms.

III. We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish His Majesty's just power and greatness.

IV. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to the league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted to us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments: we shall each one of us, according to our places and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

VI. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the King; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and His Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof: we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of Him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire and endeavour, for ourselves and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away His wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that Great Day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed: most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by His Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be a deliverance and safety to His people, and encouragement to the Christian Churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of Anti-christian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

Source: <http://www.constitution.org/eng/conpur058.htm>

John Milton, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 1649

If men within themselves would be govern'd by reason, and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyrannie, of Custom from without, and blind affections within, they would discern better, what it is to favour and uphold the Tyrant of a Nation. But being slaves within doors, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public State conformably govern'd
5 to the inward vicious rule, by which they govern themselves. For indeed none can love freedom heartily, but good men; the rest love not freedom, but licence; which never hath more scope or more indulgence then under Tyrants. [...]

No man who knows ought, can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were borne free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were by privilege above all the creatures,
10 born to command and not to obey: and that they liv'd so. Till from the root of *Adam's* transgression, falling among themselves to doe wrong and violence, and foreseeing that such courses must needs tend to the destruction of them all, they agreed by common league to bind each other from mutual injury, and jointly to defend themselves against any that gave disturbance or opposition to such agreement. Hence came Cities, Townes and Common-
15 wealths. And because no faith in all was found sufficiently binding, they saw it needful to ordain some authority, that might restrain by force and punishment what was violated against peace and common right. This authority and power of self-defence and preservation being originally and naturally in every one of them, and unitedly in them all, for ease, for order, and least each man should be his own partial Judge, they communicated and derived either to one, whom for
20 the eminence of his wisdom and integrity they chose above the rest, or to more then one whom they thought of equal deserving: the first was call'd a King; the other Magistrates. Not to be their Lords and Masters (though afterward those names in some places were given voluntarily to such as had been Authors of inestimable good to the people) but, to be their Deputies and Commissioners, to execute, by virtue of their entrusted power, that justice which else every
25 man by the bond of nature and of Covenant must have executed for himself, and for one another. And to him that shall consider well why among free Persons, one man by civil right should bear authority and jurisdiction over another, no other end or reason can be imaginable. These for a while govern'd well, and with much equity decided all things at their own arbitrement: till the temptation of such a power left absolute in their hands, perverted them at length to injustice and
30 partiality. Then did they who now by trial had found the danger and inconveniences of committing arbitrary power to any, invent Laws either framed, or consented to by all, that should confine and limit the authority of whom they chose to govern them: that so man, of whose failing they had proof, might no more rule over them, but law and reason abstracted as much as might be from personal errors and frailties. While as the Magistrate was set above the
35 people, so the Law was set above the Magistrate. When this would not serve, but that the Law was either not executed, or misapply'd, they were constrain'd from that time, the only remedy left them, to put conditions and take Oaths from all Kings and Magistrates at their first installment to doe impartial justice by Law: who upon those termes and no other, received Allegiance from the people, that is to say, bond or Covenant to obey them in execution of those
40 Lawes which they the people had themselves made, or assented to. And this oftentimes with express warning, that if the King or Magistrate proved unfaithful to his trust, the people would be disengaged. They added also Counselors and Parliaments, nor to be only at his beck, but with him or without him, at set times, or at all times, when any danger threatened to have care of the public safety. [...]

45 Secondly, that to say, as is usual, the King hath as good right to his Crown and dignity, as any man to his inheritance, is to make the Subject no better then the Kings slave, his chattel, or his

possession that may be bought and sold. And doubtless if hereditary title were sufficiently inquired, the best foundation of it would be found either but in courtesy or convenience. But suppose it to be of right hereditary, what can be more just and legal, if a subject for certain crimes be to forfeit by Law from himself, and posterity, all his inheritance to the King, then that a King for crimes proportional, should forfeit all his title and inheritance to the people: unless the people must be thought created all for him, he not for them, and they all in one body inferior to him single, which were a kind of treason against the dignity of mankind to affirm.

Thirdly it follows, that to say Kings are accountable to none but God, is the overturning of all Law and government. For if they may refuse to give account, then all covenants made with them at Coronation; all Oaths are in vaine, and mere mockeries, all Lawes which they swear to keep, made to no purpose; for if the King fear not God, as how many of them doe not? we hold then our lives and estates, by the tenure of his mere grace and mercy, as from a God, not a mortal Magistrate, a position that none but Court Parasites or men besotted would maintain. [...]

It follows lastly, that since the King or Magistrate holds his authority of the people, both originally and naturally for their good in the first place, and not his own, then may the people as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either choose him or reject him, retain him or depose him though no Tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of free born Men, to be govern'd as seems to them best. This, though it cannot but stand with plain reason, shall be made good also by Scripture. *Deut. 17.14. When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt say I will set a King over me, like as all the Nations about me.* These words confirme us that the right of choosing, yea of changing their own Government is by the grant of God himself in the People. [...]

Source: www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/tenure/ (1650 ed.).



The Explanation of the EMBLEME .

Ponderibus genus omne mali, probrisq; gravatus,
Vixq; forenda ferens, Palma ut Depressa, resurgo.

Ac, velut undarum Fluctus Ventiq; furorcm
Trati Populi Rupes immota repollo .
Clarior è tenebris, caelestis stella, corusco.
Victor et aeternum-felsici hanc triumpho .

Auro Fidgentem rutilo gemmisq; micantem,
At curis Gravidam spernendo calco Coronam.

Spinolam, at ferri facilem, quo Spes mea, Christi
Auxilio, Nobis non est tractare molestum .

Aeternam, fixis fidei, sempiternq; beatam
In Caelos oculis Specto, Nobisq; paratam .

Quod Vanum est, sperno; quod Christi Gratia pnbet
Amplcti studium est: Virtutis Gloria merces .

Τὸ Χρῖ ἰδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, δὲ τὸ Κράτωρα .

G. D.

Though clogg'd with weights of miseries
Palm-like Depress'd, I higher rise .

And as th' unmoved Rock out-braves
The boistrous Windes and raging waves :
So triumph I. And shine more bright
In sad Affliction's Darksome night .

That Splendid, but yet toilsom Crown
Regardlessly I trample down .

With joie I take this Crown of thorn ,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born .

That heav'nlic Crown, already mine ,
I View with eies of Faith divine .

I slight vain things; and do embrace
Glorie, the just reward of Grace .

Oliver Cromwell, The Four Fundamentals, 1654

Speech delivered to Parliament on September 12, 1654.

5 It is true, there are some things in the Establishment that are fundamental, and there are some things which are not so, but are circumstantial. Of such, no question but I shall easily agree to vary or leave out, according as I shall be convinced by reason. But some things are fundamentals; about which I shall deal plainly with you: they may not be parted with, but will, I trust, be delivered over to posterity, as being the fruits of our blood and travail. The Government by a Single Person and a Parliament is a fundamental. It is the *esse*, it is constitutive. And as for the person, though I may seem to plead for myself, yet I do not. No, nor can any reasonable man say it. But if the things throughout this speech be true, I plead for this nation, and for all honest men therein who have borne their testimony as aforesaid, and not for myself. And if things should do otherwise than well which I would not fear, and the common enemy and discontented persons take advantage of these distractions, the issue will be put up before God: let Him own it, or let Him disown it, as He please.

15 In every government there must be somewhat fundamental, somewhat like a *Magna Carta*, that should be standing and be unalterable. [...] That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual is a fundamental. Of what assurance is a Law to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in one or the same Legislature to unlay it again? Is such a Law as this like to be lasting? It will be like a rope of sand; it will give no security; for the same men may unbuild what they have built.

20 Again is not liberty of conscience in religion a fundamental? So long as there is liberty of conscience for the Supreme Magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church-government he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give it, the like liberty, to others? Liberty of conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to give it; having himself liberty to settle what he likes for the public. Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our contests. Every sect saith: 'Oh, give me liberty!' But give him it, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? Truly that's a thing ought to be very reciprocal! The magistrate hath his supremacy, and he may settle Religion, that is, church-government, according to his conscience. And as for the People I may say it to you, I can say it: All the money of this nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have here been engaged in, if they had not had hopes of liberty of conscience better than they had from Episcopacy, or than would have been afforded them from a Scottish Presbytery, or an English either, if it had made such steps, or been as sharp and rigid, as it threatened when it was first set up! This, say, is a fundamental. It ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come. And if there be an absoluteness in the imposer, we shall have our people driven into wildernesses, as they were, when those poor and afflicted people, that forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, for the enjoyment of their liberty, were necessitated to go into a waste howling wilderness in New England; where they have, for liberty's sake, stript themselves of all their comfort and the full enjoyment they had, embracing rather loss of friends and want than be so ensnared and in bondage.

40 Another fundamental which I had forgotten is the Militia. That is judged a fundamental if anything be so. That it should be well and equally placed is very necessary. For, put the absolute power of the Militia into the hands of one person without a check, what doth it serve? On the other hand I pray you, what check is there upon your perpetual Parliaments, if the government be wholly stript of this of the Militia? This as we now have it is equally placed, and men's desires were to have it so; namely, in one person, and in the Parliament along with him while the Parliament sits. What signifies a provision against perpetuating of Parliaments, if this power

of the Militia be solely in them? Whether without a check, the Parliament have it not in their power to alter the frame of government altogether to Aristocracy, to Democracy, to Anarchy, to anything, if this of the Militia be fully in them. Yea, into all confusion; and that without remedy! And if this one thing be placed in one party, that one, be it Parliament, be it Supreme
50 Governor, they or he hath power to make what they please of all the rest. Therefore if you would have a balance at all; and if you agree that some fundamentals must stand, which may be worthy to be delivered over to posterity, truly I think it is not unreasonably urged that this power of the Militia should be disposed as it is laid down in the Act of Government: and that it should be so
55 equally placed that no one person neither in Parliament nor out of Parliament should have the power of ordering it. The Council are the Trustees of the Commonwealth, in all intervals of Parliaments; who have as absolute a negative upon the Supreme Officer in the said intervals, as the Parliament hath whilst it is sitting. It the power of the Militia cannot be made use of; not a man can be raised, nor a penny charged upon the people; nothing can be done, without consent of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, without consent of the Council it is not to be
60 exercised. Give me leave to say, that there is very little power, none but what is coordinate, placed in the Supreme Officer; and yet enough in him that hath the Chief Government in that particular. He is bound in strictness by the Parliament, and out of Parliament by the Council, that do as absolutely bind him as the Parliament, when the Parliament is sitting. [...]

Source: *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. 2, ed. by S.C. Lomas, London, 1904.

The Declaration of Breda, April 4, 1660

Charles R.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up. all we can say will be to no purpose; however, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that He will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration of King, Peers and people to their just, ancient and fundamental rights, we do, by these presents, declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament, those only to be excepted. Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us or our royal father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamage of them, either in their lives, liberties or estates or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining that henceforth all notes of discord, separation and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the re-settlement of our just rights and theirs in a free Parliament, by which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised.

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other (which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood), we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

And because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales and purchases, shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned. And we do further declare, that we will be ready to

consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction
of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk;
45 and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now
enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at our Court at Breda, this 4/14 day of April,
1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

Source: Old Parliamentary History, xxii. 238.

Royal Declaration of Indulgence, 1672

Charles Rex.

Our care and endeavours for the preservation of the rights and interests of the church, have been sufficiently manifested to the world, by the whole course of our government since our happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of coercion that we have used for reducing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return; but it being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all these forcible courses, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognised to be so, by several statutes and acts of Parliament; and therefore we do now accordingly issue this our declaration, as well for the quieting of our good subjects in these points, as for inviting strangers in this conjecture to come and live under us; and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings, from whence we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many good and happy advantages to our government; as also for preventing for the future the danger that might otherwise arise from private meetings and seditious conventicles.

And in the first place, we declare our express resolution, meaning and intention to be, that the Church of England be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline and government, as now it stands established by law; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the basis, rule, and standard of the general and public worship of God, and that the orthodox conformable clergy do receive and enjoy the revenues belonging thereunto, and that no person, though of a different opinion and persuasion, shall be exempt from paying his tithes or dues whatsoever. And further we declare, that no person shall be capable of holding any benefice, living, or ecclesiastical dignity or preferment of any kind, in this our kingdom of England, who is not exactly conformable.

We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of nonconformists or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended; and all judges, judges of assize and gaol delivery, sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs and other officers whatsoever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereunto; and that there may be no pretence for any of our subjects to continue their illegal meetings and conventicles, we do declare, that we shall from time to time allow a sufficient number of places as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, to meet and assemble in order to their public worship and devotion, which places shall be open and free to all persons. [...] And lest any should apprehend that this restriction should make our said allowance and approbation difficult to be obtained, we do further declare, that this our indulgence as to the allowance of the public places of worship, and approbation of the preachers, shall extend to all sorts of nonconformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman Catholic religion, to whom we shall in no wise allow public places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only. [...]

Given at our court at Whitehall this 15th day of March, in the four and twentieth year of our reign.

A Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, 1680



The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, etc., 1680. Engraved broadside.

An engraved broadside on the Popish Plot showing a Whig mock procession held in London on 17 November 1680 during the height of the Exclusion Crisis. An Exclusion Bill was introduced in the House of Commons with the aim of excluding James, Duke of York, the brother and heir presumptive of Charles II of England from the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland because he was Roman Catholic. The Tories opposed exclusion while the "Country Party", who were soon to be named the Whigs, supported it. Every November, on the anniversary of Elizabeth I's accession, the Whigs organised huge processions in London in which the Pope was burnt in effigy. The three bottom sections of the engraving show effigies of the Pope, cardinals, Jesuits, priests and nuns being carried in a mock procession. The top section shows the effigies being thrown on to a large bonfire outside Temple Bar while a crowd observes the proceedings.

Declaration of Indulgence, April 4, 1687

This Declaration by James II takes up the 1671 declaration of the same name by Charles II, only James provides full protection for Catholics and suspends the application of the Test Acts.

His Majesty's gracious declaration to all his loving subjects for liberty of conscience.

James R.

It having pleased Almighty God not only to bring us to the imperial crown of these kingdoms through the greatest difficulties, but to preserve us by a more than ordinary providence upon the throne of our royal ancestors, there is nothing now that we so earnestly desire as to establish our government on such a foundation as may make our subjects happy, and unite them to us by
5 inclination as well as duty; which we think can be done by no means so effectually as by granting to them the free exercise of their religion for the time to come, and add that to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which has never been in any case invaded by us since our coming to the crown; which being the two things men value most, shall ever be preserved in these kingdoms, during our reign over them, as the truest methods of their peace and our glory.

10 We cannot but heartily wish, as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholic Church. Yet we humbly thank Almighty God, it is and has of long time been our constant sense and opinion (which upon divers occasions we have declared) that conscience ought not to be constrained nor people forced in matters of mere religion; it has ever been directly contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of government,
15 which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers, and finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed. And in this we are the more confirmed by the reflections we have made upon the conduct of the four last reigns. For after all the frequent and pressing endeavours that were used in each of them to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, it is visible the success has not answered the design, and that
20 the difficulty is invincible.

We therefore, out of our princely care and affection unto all our loving subjects that they may live at ease and quiet, and for the increase of trade and encouragement of strangers, have thought fit by virtue of our royal prerogative to issue forth this our declaration of indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of our two Houses of Parliament when we shall think it convenient
25 for them to meet. [...]

We do likewise declare, that it is our royal will and pleasure, that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to church, or not receiving the Sacrament, or for any other nonconformity to the religion established, or for or
30 by reason of the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended; and the further execution of the said penal laws and every of them is hereby suspended.

And to the end that by the liberty hereby granted, the peace and security of our government in the practice thereof may not be endangered, we have thought fit, and do hereby straightly charge and command all our loving subjects, that as we do freely give them leave to meet and serve
35 God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses or in places purposely hired or built for that use, so that they take especial care, that nothing be preached or taught amongst them which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of our people from us or our government; and that their meetings and assemblies be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all persons freely admitted to them; and that they do signify and make known to some one or more of the next justices of the peace what place or places they set apart for those uses. [...]

40 And forasmuch as we are desirous to have the benefit of the service of all our loving subjects,
which by the law of nature is inseparably annexed to, and inherent in, our royal person, and that
none of our subjects may for the future be under any discouragement or disability (who are
otherwise well inclined and fit to serve us) by reason of some oaths or tests, that have been
usually administered on such occasions, we do hereby further declare, that it is our royal will
45 and pleasure, that the oaths commonly called, The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and
also the several tests and declarations mentioned in the Acts of Parliament made in the 25th and
30th years of the reign of our late royal brother King Charles the Second, shall not at any time
hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed by any person or persons whatsoever,
who is or shall be employed in any office or place of trust either civil or military, under us or
50 under our government. And we do further declare it to be our pleasure and intention from time
to time hereafter, to grant our royal dispensations under our great seal to all our loving subjects
so to be employed, who shall not take the said oaths, or subscribe or declare the said tests or
declarations in the abovementioned Acts and every of them. [...]

Given at our court at Whitehall, the fourth day of April, 1687, in the third year of our reign.

Source: *English Historical Documents, 1660-1714*, Andrew Browning ed., Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1953, 399–400.

The Invitation to William, June 30, 1688

We have great satisfaction to find by 35 [Russell], and since by Monsieur Zuylestein that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us such assistances as they have related to us. We have great reason to believe we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy
5 before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance. But although these be our wishes, yet we will by no means put your Highness into any expectations which may misguide your own councils in this matter; so that the best advice we can give is to inform your Highness truly both of the state of things here at this time and of the difficulties which appear to us.

As to the first, the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the
10 government in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded), and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom who are desirous of a change, and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising as would secure them from being
15 destroyed before they could get to be in a posture able to defend themselves. It is no less certain that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak to many of them beforehand; and there is no doubt but that some of the most considerable of them would venture themselves with your Highness at your first landing, whose interests would be able to draw great numbers to them whenever they could protect them and
20 the raising and drawing men together. And if such a strength could be landed as were able to defend itself and them till they could be got together into some order, we make no question but that strength would quickly be increased to a number double to the army here, although their army should all remain firm to them; whereas we do upon very good grounds believe that their army then would be very much divided among themselves, many of the officers being so
25 discontented that they continue in their service only for a subsistence (besides that some of their minds are known already), and very many of the common soldiers do daily shew such an aversion to the popish religion that there is the greatest probability imaginable of great numbers of deserters which would come from them should there be such an occasion [...]

Besides all this, we do much doubt whether this present state of things will not yet be much
30 changed to the worse before another year, by a great alteration which will probably be made both in the officers and soldiers of the army, and by such other changes as are not only to be expected from a packed Parliament, but what the meeting of any Parliament (in our present circumstances) may produce against those who will be looked upon as principal obstructers of their proceedings there, it being taken for granted that if things cannot then be carried to their
35 wishes in a parliamentary way other measures will be put in execution by more violent means [...]

These considerations make us of opinion that this is a season in which we may more probably contribute to our own safeties than hereafter (although we must own to your Highness there are some judgments differing from ours in this particular), insomuch that if the circumstances stand
40 so with your Highness that you believe you can get here time enough, in a condition to give assistances this year sufficient for a relief under these circumstances which have been now represented, we who subscribe this will not fail to attend your Highness upon your landing and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in as much readiness as such an action is capable of, where there is so much danger in communicating an affair of such a nature till it be
45 near the time of its being made public. But, as we have already told your Highness, we must

also lay our difficulties before your Highness, which are chiefly, that we know not what alarm your preparations for this expedition may give, or what notice it will be necessary for you to give the States beforehand, by either of which means their intelligence or suspicions here may be such as may cause us to be secured before your landing. And we must presume to inform
50 your Highness that your compliment upon the birth of the child (which not one in a thousand here believes to be the queen's) hath done you some injury, the false imposing of that upon the princess and the nation being not only an infinite exasperation of people's minds here, but being certainly one of the chief causes upon which the declaration of your entering the kingdom in a hostile manner must be founded on your part. although many other reasons are to be given on
55 ours.

If upon a due consideration of all these circumstances your Highness shall think fit to adventure upon the attempt, or at least to make such preparations for it as are necessary (which we wish you may), there must be no more time lost in letting us know your resolution concerning it, and in what time we may depend that all the preparations will be ready, as also whether your
60 Highness does believe the preparations can be so managed as not to give them warning here, both to make them increase their force and to secure those they shall suspect would join with you. We need not say anything about ammunition, artillery, mortar pieces, spare arms, &c. because if you think fit to put anything in execution you will provide enough of these kinds. and will take care to bring some good engineers with you; and we have desired Mr. H[erbert]
65 to consult you about all such matters, to whom we have communicated our thoughts in many particulars too tedious to have been written, and about which no certain resolutions can be taken till we have heard again from your Highness.

Prince William of Orange's Declaration of Reasons, September 30, 1688

The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, etc., of the reasons inducing him to appear in arms in the Kingdom of England, and for preserving the Protestant religion, and for restoring the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

5 It is both certain and evident to all men, that the public peace and happiness of any state or kingdom cannot be preserved, where the Laws, Liberties, and Customs, established by the lawful authority in it, are openly transgressed and annulled; more especially where the alteration of Religion is endeavoured, and that a religion, which is contrary to law, is endeavoured to be introduced; upon which those who are most immediately concerned in it are indispensably bound to endeavour to preserve and maintain the established Laws, Liberties and Customs, and, above all, the Religion and Worship of God, that is established among them; and to take such an effectual care, that the inhabitants of the said state or kingdom may neither be deprived of their Religion, nor of their Civil Rights: which is so much the more necessary, because the
10 greatness and security both of kings, royal families, and of all such as are in authority, as well as the happiness of their subjects and people, depend in a most especial manner upon the exact observation and maintenance of these their Laws, Liberties and Customs. Upon these Grounds it is that we cannot any longer forbear to declare that, to our great regret, we see that those Counsellors, who have now the chief credit with the King have overturned the religion, laws,
15 and liberties of those realms and subjected them in all things relating to their consciences, liberties and properties to arbitrary government [...].

Those evil counsellors for the advancing and colouring this with some plausible pretexts did invent and set on foot the King's dispensing power, by virtue of which they pretend that, according to the law, he can suspend and dispense with the execution of the laws that have been
20 enacted by the authority of the king and parliament for the security and happiness of the subject and so have rendered those laws of no effect [...].

Those evil counsellors, in order to the giving some credit to this strange and execrable maxim, have so conducted the matter, that they have obtained a sentence from the judges declaring that this dispensing power is a right belonging to the Crown; as if it were in the power of the twelve
25 judges to offer up the laws, rights and liberties of the whole nation to the King, to be disposed of by him arbitrarily and at his pleasure [...].

But, to crown all, there are great and violent presumptions inducing us to believe that those evil counsellors, in order to the carrying on of their evil designs, and to the gaining to themselves the more time for effecting of them, for the encouraging of their complices, and for the discouraging of all good subjects, have published that the Queen hath brought forth a son; though there hath appeared both during the Queen's pretended bigness, and in the manner in which the birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion that not only we ourselves, but all the good subjects of those kingdoms, do vehemently suspect that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born by the Queen [...].

35 And since our dearest and most entirely beloved Consort the Princess, and likewise ourselves, have so great an interest in this matter, and such a right, as all the world knows, to the succession to the Crown [...] and since the English nation has ever testified a most particular affection and esteem both to our dearest Consort the Princess and to ourselves, we cannot excuse ourselves from espousing their interests in a matter of such high consequences; and from contributing all that lies in us for the maintaining both of the Protestant religion and of the laws and liberties of
40 those kingdoms; and for the securing to them the continual enjoyments of all their just rights:

to the doing of which we are most earnestly solicited by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal and by many gentlemen and other subjects of all ranks.

45 Therefore it is that we have thought fit to go over to England and to carry with us a force sufficient, by the blessing of God, to defend us from the violence of those evil counsellors; and we, being desirous that our intention in this may be rightly understood, have, for this end, prepared this declaration, in which we have hitherto given a true account of the reasons inducing us to it; so we now think fit to declare that this our expedition is intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful parliament assembled as soon as possible [...].

50 We do, in the last place, invite and require all persons whatsoever, all the peers of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, all lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and all gentlemen, citizens, and other commons of all ranks, to come and assist us, in order to the executing of this our design, against all such as shall endeavour to oppose us, that so we may prevent all those miseries which most needs follow upon the nation's being kept under arbitrary government and
55 slavery, and that all violences and disorders, which may have overturned the whole Constitution of the English government, may be fully redressed in a free and legal parliament [...].

Source: <http://www.jacobite.ca/documents/16881010.htm>.

James's Proclamation, November 6, 1688

By The King. A Declaration. James R.

As We cannot consider this Invasion of Our Kingdoms by the Prince of Orange, without Horror, for so unchristian and Unnatural an Undertaking, in a Person so nearly Related to Us; so it is a Matter of the greatest Trouble and Concern to Us, to reflect upon the many Mischiefs and Calamities which an Army of Foreigners and Rebels must unavoidably bring upon Our People.

5 It is but too evident, by a late Declaration Published by him, That notwithstanding the many specious and plausible Pretences it carries, his Designs in the bottom do tend to nothing less than an Absolute Usurping of Our Crown and Royal Authority, as may fully appear by his assuming to himself in the said Declaration the Regal Stile, requiring the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all other Persons of all Degrees, to obey and assist him in the
10 Execution of his Designs; a Prerogative inseparable from the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And for a more undeniable Proof of his immoderate Ambition, and which nothing can satisfie but the immediate Possession of the Crown it self, he calls in question the Legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, Our Son, and Heir apparent, though by the Providence of God, there were present at his Birth so many Witnesses of Unquestionable Credit, as if it seemed to have been
15 the particular Care of Heaven, on purpose to disappoint so wicked and unparallell'd an Attempt.

And in Order to the effecting of his Ambitious Designs, he seems desirous in the Close of his Declaration to submit all to the Determination of a Free Parliament, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with Our People; though nothing is more Evident, than that a Parliament cannot be free, so long as there is an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of Our Kingdoms; so that in truth he
20 himself is the sole Obstrucater of such a Free Parliament: We being fully resolved, as We have already Declared, so soon as by the Blessing of God, Our Kingdoms shall be delivered from this Invasion, to call a Parliament, which can no longer be liable to the least Objection of not being freely chosen, since We have actually restored all the Burroughs and Corporations of this Our Kingdom to their Ancient Rights and Privileges, in which We shall be ready not only to
25 Receive and redress all the Just Complaints and Grievances of Our Good Subjects, but also to repeat and Confirm the Assurances We have already given to them, in Our several Declarations of Our Resolution, by God's Blessing, to maintain them in their Religion, their Liberties and Properties, and all other their Just Rights and Privileges whatsoever. [...] we can no ways doubt, but that all Our Faithful and Loving Subjects will readily and heartily concur and joyn with Us
30 in the Entire Suppression and Repelling of those Our Enemies, and Rebellious Subjects [...]

Given at our Court at Whitehall [November 6], 1688. In the Fourth Year of our Reign.

The Bill of Rights, December 16, 1689

An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown.

5 Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon the thirteenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-eight [old style date] present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and

Mary, prince and princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing made by the said Lords and Commons in the words following, *viz.*:

10 Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom;

By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws and the execution of laws without consent of Parliament; By committing and prosecuting divers worthy
15 prelates for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power;

By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the great seal for erecting a court called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes;

By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament;

20 By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law;

By causing several good subjects being Protestants to be disarmed at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law;

By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament;

25 By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses;

And whereas of late years partial corrupt and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason which were not freeholders;

30 And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects;

And excessive fines have been imposed;

And illegal and cruel punishments inflicted;

And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures before any conviction or
35 judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied;

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm;

And whereas the said late King James the Second having abdicated the government and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty
40 God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet
45 and sit at Westminster upon the two and twentieth day of January in this year one thousand six hundred eighty and eight [old style date], in order to such an establishment as that their religion,

laws and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted, upon which letters elections having been accordingly made;

50 And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties declare:

55 That the pretended power of suspending the laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal;

That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal;

That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious;

60 That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal;

That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal;

65 That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law;

That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions and as allowed by law;

That election of members of Parliament ought to be free;

70 That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament;

That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted;

That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders;

75 That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void;

And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

80 And they do claim, demand and insist upon all and singular the premises as their undoubted rights and liberties, and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; to which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the prince of Orange as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

85 Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their

rights which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster do resolve that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be and be declared king and queen of England, France and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them, the said prince and princess, during their lives and the life of the survivor to them, and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said prince of Orange in the names of the said prince and princess during their joint lives, and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity of the same kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess, and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body, and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do pray the said prince and princess to accept the same accordingly. [...]

Source: http://www.constitution.org/eng/eng_bor.htm.

Exemple d'examen dérogatoire / deuxième session

EXAMEN DE CIVILISATION BRITANNIQUE L2 S3

Code: 4V3ACIVP / 4V3ACIVD / 4V3HCIVP / 4V3HCIVD

Session de juin 2021

Durée: 2 heures. Aucun document autorisé.

Write a commentary in English on the following text.

- 1. To fully understand the text and its aim, you need to know what the "Book of Martyrs" was and who John Foxe was.*
- 2. Try to show in your commentary why John Rogers is here presented as a "martyr": how exactly is he presented and how are his prosecutors presented?*
- 3. Do not forget the specificity of the context: the execution of John Rogers took place during Queen Mary I's reign, in 1555.*

From John Foxe's Book of Martyrs, 1563, chapter XVI¹

John Rogers was educated at Cambridge, and was afterward many years chaplain to the merchant adventurers at Antwerp in Brabant. Here he met with the celebrated martyr William Tyndale, and Miles Coverdale, both voluntary exiles from their country for their aversion to popish superstition and idolatry. They were the instruments of his conversion; and he united with them in that translation of the Bible into English, entitled "The Translation of Thomas Matthew." From the Scriptures he knew that unlawful vows may be lawfully broken; hence he married, and removed to Wittenberg in Saxony, for the improvement of learning; and he there learned the Dutch language, and received the charge of a congregation, which he faithfully executed for many years. On King Edward's accession, he left Saxony to promote the work of reformation in England; and, after some time, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the dean and chapter appointed him reader of the divinity lesson there. Here he continued until Queen Mary's succession to the throne, when the Gospel and true religion were banished, and the Antichrist of Rome, with his superstition and idolatry, introduced.

The circumstance of Mr. Rogers having preached at Paul's cross, after Queen Mary arrived at the Tower, has been already stated. He confirmed in his sermon the true doctrine taught in King Edward's time, and exhorted the people to beware of the pestilence of popery, idolatry, and superstition. For this he was called to account, but so ably defended himself that, for that time, he was dismissed. The proclamation of the queen, however, to prohibit true preaching, gave his enemies a new handle against him. Hence he was again summoned before the council, and commanded to keep his house. He did so, though he might have escaped; and though he perceived the state of the true religion to be desperate. [...]

¹ John Rogers (1500--1555) was a religious reformer and the first Protestant martyr of Queen Mary I's reign.

After long imprisonment in his own house, the restless Bonner, bishop of London, caused him to be committed to Newgate, there to be lodged among thieves and murderers.

After Mr. Rogers had been long and straitly imprisoned, and lodged in Newgate among thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably entreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly condemned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, the fourth day of February, in the year of our Lord 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was suddenly warned by the keeper of Newgate's wife, to prepare himself for the fire; who, being then sound asleep, could scarce be awaked. [...]

When the time came that he should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, Mr. Woodroffe, one of the sheriffs, first came to Mr. Rogers, and asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and the evil opinion of the Sacrament of the altar. Mr. Rogers answered, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." Then Mr. Woodroffe said, "Thou art an heretic." "That shall be known," quoth Mr. Rogers, "at the Day of Judgment." "Well," said Mr. Woodroffe, "I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," said Mr. Rogers; and so was brought the same day, the fourth of February, by the sheriffs, towards Smithfield, saying the Psalm Miserere by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy; with great praises and thanks to God for the same. And there in the presence of Mr. Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a great number of people, he was burnt to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted; but he utterly refused it.