

Chapter 1

THOMAS CRANMER

1489-1556

Father of the Prayer Book



Thomas Cranmer

IT IS SHORTLY before noon, Saturday, March 21, 1556. A chill rain is falling in Oxford, where a standing-room-only crowd fills St. Mary's Church. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury until his imprisonment three years ago, stands in the pulpit, clad in a bare and ragged gown, his face stained with tears. He asks for the prayers of the congregation. He urges them to set their minds on God and the world to come, to obey their queen, and to love one another. He bids the rich be generous to the poor. But when he begins to speak in a more theological vein, he cannot complete his address, so great is the uproar. He is pulled down from the pulpit and led outside to the stake which has been erected for him. He briefly kneels to pray, then pulls off his shirt, and prepares to die. He is tied to the stake with an iron chain. When the wood is kindled and the flames begin to leap up around him, he stretches out his right hand into the fire, crying, "This hand hath offended!" Nor does he withdraw his hand from the flame until first it, and then the archbishop himself, are consumed.

How did it come to this? For the answer, we must go back nearly thirty years. Thomas Cranmer never wanted to be archbishop of Canterbury. By 1529, he had been content for twenty-six years as a student and then as a don at Cambridge University, also undertaking occasional diplomatic assignments for King Henry VIII. The king was seeking the annulment of his twenty-year marriage to Catherine of Aragon in 1529. Cranmer was known to favor the king's position, and Henry often relied on Cranmer to write up his side of the case. Three years later, archbishop of Canterbury William Warham died, and since the archbishop of Canterbury would be a key player in the quest for an annulment, Henry named Thomas Cranmer his new archbishop.

Cranmer proved splendidly suited to Henry's purposes. Not only did he grant the annulment and then solemnize Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn, but he was unwaveringly loyal to his king, in all things, at all times. This was more than personal devotion, though that was part of it. It also arose from a theological conviction difficult for most modern people to grasp: Cranmer believed the king was the rightful head not only of the state, but of the church. Influenced by the new Protestant idea that Christian truth is contained only in the Bible, Cranmer found no reference to a pope in the Bible and little reference to bishops, but he noted that kingship was held in high regard. He made little distinction between the Church of England and the English nation, and believed the king was God's appointed servant to manage both on God's behalf. As a result, Cranmer al-

ways deferred to Henry, sometimes expressing his own views, but willingly setting them aside when Henry decreed otherwise.

Religious controversy was in the air. The question at issue was, in modern parlance, "How does one get right with God?" Everyone agreed that sinful human beings had cut themselves off from God and that a sacrifice was necessary to satisfy divine justice — but how was this sacrifice effected? There were gradations of opinion, but two broad camps: The Roman Catholic position was built on scholastic theology, medieval piety, and the authority of the church, embodied primarily in the pope. Catholics believed in "transubstantiation," that in the mass the priest brought about a transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, which was then offered to God, reenacting in a small way the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross and thereby setting sinners right with God. The Protestant position was based on the authority of the Bible, interpreted not by bishops and popes, but by ordinary Christians reading it for themselves. Protestants found in their Bibles the idea that sinners are set right with God by the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross, once and for all, appropriated to believers through faith, understood as a living trust in Christ and his promises. This belief is called "justification by faith." Protestants were also coming to regard the hearts and souls of believers — not the consecrated bread and wine — as the place where Christ was experienced.

As a young man, Cranmer had been a conservative catholic, but he had begun to move towards a more Protestant view as early as 1525. He seems to have shifted his theological ground more than once during his lifetime, perhaps from loyalty to the crown, perhaps because until his dying day, he never stopped trying to sort things out in his own mind. But there can be no doubt that as archbishop, Cranmer was a Protestant on most of the questions at issue. He moved the Church of England in that direction — modestly, within the conservatively catholic bounds set by Henry until the latter's death in 1547, then more extensively under Henry's Protestant son and successor, Edward VI. Cranmer resisted, however, the more radical reforms advocated in Geneva. He had no desire to create a new church. Cranmer embraced Protestant positions because he felt they represented a return to scripture and the practice of the early church.

His chief concern was how to design corporate worship to encourage a lively faith. It was to this question that he devoted his greatest energies and

here that he made his most significant contribution. Cranmer was extraordinarily gifted as a liturgical theorist and writer of prayers. His prose has never lacked for enthusiastic, even fawning, admirers. It is routinely described as exalted, golden, classic. But Cranmer did not set out to gain for himself a literary reputation. His goal was to design a program of worship to glorify God and edify the believer. Working with the assistance of other scholars, he took old liturgical forms, sifted and selected from among them, condensed and reconfigured them, and occasionally added something new. The result was the first Book of Common Prayer, published in 1549. A second, revised edition was published in 1552. Cranmer set out to achieve several things:

First, Cranmer wanted to give the people a liturgy in their own tongue rather than in Latin, which failed to reach "the hearts, spirit, and mind" of the people. The Bible had already been translated into English under Henry, and an English litany, composed by Cranmer and virtually the same one found in modern Anglican prayer books, had been authorized in 1544. But Cranmer now sought to provide the Church of England with English language forms for all its services of worship.

Second, he emphasized edification through good preaching and systematic Bible reading. A Book of Homilies was issued to the clergy, containing sermons of sound doctrine authorized to be preached in parish churches. Cranmer wrote several of these homilies. But more important, the new Prayer Book was designed to exercise the people in the whole Bible. Anyone reading the Bible faithfully according to the Prayer Book lectionary would complete the New Testament three times in the course of a year and most of the Old Testament once.

Third, Cranmer simplified worship. Medieval worship could require a breviary, missal, manual, pontifical, processional, consuetudinary, ordinal, and Bible. Each of these books contained services of worship, parts of services, or rules for conducting worship. In the Preface to the 1549 Prayer Book, Cranmer remarked that "many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out." The new book simplified and combined all these books (except the Bible) into a single volume.

Fourth, the new Prayer Book was to be a means of heightening the involvement of the laity. No longer were they to be mere spectators to semi-secret, mysterious rites performed by a priest at a distant altar in a strange language. The two daily services of Morning and Evening Prayer (con-

densed from the eight daily services of the Benedictine monasteries) were easy for a lay person to follow, and parish clergy were instructed to read these two services every day in the church and to ring a bell inviting the laity to join them.

Fifth, Cranmer sought a common liturgy throughout England. He hoped the great diversity of liturgical forms which had sprung up during the Middle Ages might be overcome so that a worshiper traveling throughout the realm would feel at home in whatever church he chanced to enter.

Sixth, Cranmer wanted to correct certain theological distortions he felt had crept into the Latin mass. No longer was the Lord's Supper to be seen as a ritual reenactment of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The communion prayer in the new book explicitly stated that Christ's death was a "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world" — repetitively drumming home that no further sacrifice was either necessary or possible. Worshipers did make an offering, but of themselves, "our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee." It was a sacrifice "of praise and thanksgiving," not of transubstantiated bread and wine.

The Prayer Book received mixed reviews. But acceptance was growing and there was reason for encouragement — so long as Edward lived. When the young king died in 1553, however, the throne went to his half-sister Mary — a militant papal loyalist. Within weeks, she had Cranmer arrested and imprisoned. Given Cranmer's understanding of royal supremacy, this must have been nearly unbearable for him. Torn between two deeply held beliefs, he wavered. Where was the truth? What did God expect of him? Which was the way to eternal life and which to eternal damnation? Repeatedly humiliated and vilified, Cranmer signed several recantations of everything he had worked to achieve, each more personally degrading than the one before. One last recantation was demanded of him, from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, on that cold March day in 1556. Cranmer read from the prepared text for several minutes, but then departed from it, recanting his recantations and reasserting his adherence to the Protestant cause. The hand which he held into the fire, the hand that had offended, was the one with which he had signed his several recantations while imprisoned. The sight of their archbishop burning at the stake, holding his hand into the flame, was a horror seared into the memory of English Christians that day — and the collapse of support for the Roman Church in England is usually said to have begun on March 21, 1556.

Prayer for the king

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite: have mercy upon the whole congregation, and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant Edward the sixth, our king and governor, that he (knowing whose minister he is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory: and that we his subjects (duly considering whose authority he hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance: Through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee, and the Holy Ghost, liveth, and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

from the communion service,
1549 and 1552 Prayer Books

Duty of a Christian

Question: What is thy duty towards God? *Answer:* My duty towards God is, to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength. To worship him. To call upon him. To honor his holy name and his word, and to serve him truly all the days of my life.

Question: What is thy duty towards thy neighbor? *Answer:* My duty towards my neighbor is, to love him as myself. And to do to all men as I would they should do unto me. To love, honor and succor my father and mother. To honor and obey the king and his ministers. To submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters. To order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters. To hurt nobody by word nor deed. To be true and just in all my dealing. To bear no malice nor hatred in my heart. To keep my hands from picking and stealing, and my tongue from evil speaking, lying and slandering. To keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity. Not to covet nor desire other men's goods. But learn and labor truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me.

from the catechism printed in the
1549 and 1552 Prayer Books

Collect for Advent I

Almighty God, give us grace, that we may cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armor of light, now in the time of this mortal life, in which thy son Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility; that in the last day when he shall come again in his glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead, we may rise to the life immortal; through him who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever. Amen.

This collect is one of several original compositions of Cranmer which continue to appear in modern Anglican prayer books.

The eucharist

And all doctrine concerning [the eucharist] . . . which is not grounded upon God's word, is of no necessity, neither ought the people's heads to be busied, or their consciences troubled with the same. So that things spoken and done by Christ, and written by the holy Evangelists and St. Paul, ought to suffice the faith of Christian people, as touching the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and holy communion or sacrament of his body and blood.

Defence of the True Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament (1550)

The body and blood of Christ

This spiritual meat of Christ's body and blood, is not received in the mouth, and digested in the stomach (as corporal meats and drinks commonly be), but it is received with a pure heart and a sincere faith. And the true eating and drinking of the said body and blood of Christ, is with a constant and a lively faith to believe, that Christ gave his body and shed his blood upon the cross for us, and that he doth so join and incorporate himself to us, that he is our head, and we his members, and flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, having him dwelling in us, and we in him.

Defence

Sacrifice of the mass

The offering of the priest in the mass . . . cannot merit and deserve, neither to himself, nor to them for whom he singeth or sayeth, the remission of their sins. . . . For if only the death of Christ be the oblation, sacrifice, and price, wherefore our sins are pardoned, then the act or ministration of the priest cannot have the same office.

Defence

The intent of sacraments

Our Savior Christ hath not only set forth these things most plainly in his holy word, that we may hear them with our ears, but he has also ordained one visible sacrament of spiritual regeneration in water, and another visible sacrament of spiritual nourishment in bread and wine, to the intent that, as much as is possible for man, we may see Christ with our eyes, smell him at our nose, taste him with our mouths, grope him with our hands, and perceive him with all our senses. For as the word of God preached putteth Christ into our ears, so likewise these elements of water, bread, and wine, joined to God's word, do after a sacramental manner put Christ into our eyes, mouths, hands, and all our senses.

Answer to Stephen Gardiner (1551)

Last words

And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing con-

Father of the Prayer Book

trary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

Cranmer's words before going to the stake,
as reported by John Foxe (1556)

FOR REFLECTION AND DISCUSSION

Where did ultimate authority lie for Cranmer? Compare Cranmer's view of authority to your own.

In a sentence, how do you "get right with God"? Avoid using common religious phrases in your answer.

Why are sacraments important? What do they do?

On the basis of Cranmer's liturgical goals, how would you evaluate the liturgy of today's church?

For what did Cranmer die? Would you die for it?

Chapter 2

JOHN JEWEL

1522-1571

First Anglican Apologist



R

DISPUTES AMONG Christians, even today, are usually about what to do or what to believe. When the Reformation rocked the Western church in the sixteenth century, a host of such questions were at issue. What to do: Should priests be permitted to marry? In what language should worship be conducted? Should lay people be allowed to read the Bible? And what to believe: How is God's forgiveness attained? What happens to the bread and wine on the altar? What is the church? But another issue, then as now, usually underlies disputes about practice and belief. It is the question of authority: How does one know what to do and believe? Where is the truth found? Who decides?

Feelings about what to do and believe are often so hotly argued that the deeper question of authority is not openly addressed. In the sixteenth century, however, it was on the table and often became *the* subject of debate. All parties accepted the authority of the Bible — but what did the Bible mean, and who was to say what it meant? Two main camps emerged: The Roman Catholics held to the medieval belief that the church, through its ordained leadership and especially through the pope, determined what the Bible meant and therefore what was to be done and believed. Anything else, they thought, would result in chaos. Protestants, on the other hand, held a range of views (the fear of chaos was not unfounded), but most Protestants believed that individual Christians or Christian communities, by reading the Bible under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, could know what the Bible meant and thereby determine what they should do and believe.

When John Jewel was ordained (probably in 1551), it was this fluid, confusing theological scene that greeted him. He studied under the great continental reformer Peter Martyr, professor of divinity at Oxford, and received his theological degree from Oxford in 1552. The next decade would see two ecclesiastical revolutions in England, as the country was swept into the arms of Rome by Queen Mary, beginning in 1553, then out again following Mary's death and the accession of Elizabeth in 1558. During Mary's short and violent reign, Protestants either converted to Rome, laid low, fled the country, or were burned at the stake. In 1554, Jewel attended the trial of Protestant bishops Thomas Cranmer and Nicholas Ridley, acting as notary for them. Shortly thereafter, he did something he regretted the rest of his life. Whether out of duty to his new queen, to save his skin, or "for the sake of quietness" (as one biographer speculates), Jewel signed a series of articles agreeing to the main body of Roman Catholic teaching, an act for which he later publicly repented, but which theological opponents would

use against him. Despite this action, however, Jewel still felt unsafe with Mary on the throne and fled to the continent in 1555, resuming his studies there under Peter Martyr, who had left earlier.

To understand the controversies of sixteenth and early seventeenth century Europe, one must first understand that partisans on all sides perceived truth as absolute, uniformity as essential, religious systems as complete and unnegotiable, and compromise as a mark of weakness or infidelity. When Mary died in 1558, Jewel and his Protestant friends (who had obviously forgiven him for signing his name to the wrong paper in 1554) returned to England to resume the reformation begun under Edward VI. The Council of Trent, an effort by the Roman Catholic Church to reassert papal authority and traditional teachings, had been meeting sporadically since 1545 and was still going strong, attacking the Church of England and its newly revived Protestant ways as innovation and heresy.

On November 26, 1559, at Paul's Cross, an outdoor gathering place next to London's St. Paul's Cathedral, John Jewel counterattacked in a wily sermon known as his "Challenge Sermon." In it he detailed over two dozen "abuses" of the Roman church. Most of these related to the mass (that priests celebrated the mass in private, that only the bread was distributed to lay communicants, that the consecrated bread was elevated and worshiped in an idolatrous fashion, et al.), but Jewel also challenged the claim by the pope to be head of the universal church, the prohibition of Bible reading by lay people, and the conduct of worship in an unknown tongue. Jewel carefully chose only practices and teachings which he knew could not be supported by citations from the Bible, the general councils, or the writings of theologians from the first six centuries of the Christian era — and then challenged his opponents to justify their practices from precisely these sources. In so doing, Jewel turned the debate upside-down, putting the Roman Catholics on the defensive — it was they, he said, who were guilty of innovation and heresy. If one of his opponents could produce even a single passage from those ancient sources in support of his views, Jewel said, he would "yield and subscribe to him, and he should depart with the victory."

Jewel's sermon, preached a second and third time within a year, produced a stir, but a more thorough and systematic defense of the position of the Church of England was needed. William Cecil, chief advisor to the new queen, asked Jewel, who had been consecrated bishop of Salisbury in January, 1560, to prepare such a defense. He then produced the work for which he is chiefly remembered, *An Apology of the Church of England*, written in

1561 and published a year later — in Latin, since it was primarily addressed to Roman Catholic theologians who conducted their business in that tongue. The word apology is used not in its modern sense, meaning an expression of regret, but in its older sense, meaning a defense of something that has been questioned. Two English translations appeared within three years, and the *Apology* was a sensation. Jewel proved himself a learned, clever, incisive, and outspoken apologist, the brightest light of the first generation of Elizabethan church leaders. The *Apology* is a short, crisp, lively work, but its appearance sparked a series of long, tedious rebuttals and rebuttals to rebuttals, some of them answering an opponent's most recent publication paragraph by paragraph. It became known as "the Great Controversy." The primary disputants were Jewel and one Thomas Harding, representing a group of Roman Catholic exiles living in Belgium.

Jewel's *Apology* is the first substantive statement of the beliefs and practices of the Church of England. It builds on themes first articulated in the Challenge Sermon. Pope Pius IV had condemned many faithful English Christians without grounds, Jewel began, and since he granted them no audience, it was necessary to plead their case in writing. Jewel said the validity of practices in the Church of England could be demonstrated from the Bible and the writings of the early church fathers, who had based their writings on the Bible. Those who cannot justify their views from scripture prefer their "cold inventions" to the truth, which they have defaced and corrupted, Jewel said.

Jewel then outlined the Christian faith as practiced in the Church of England, basing his discussion on the historic creeds and then addressing the three-fold ordained ministry. According to scripture and ancient witness, he said, no bishop is superior to any other, nor is any "worldly creature" to set himself up as head of the whole church, as the bishop of Rome had presumed to do, surrounded by his "parasites [who] flatteringly sing in his ears." Jewel then defended the Church of England's position on the marriage of priests, eucharistic doctrine and practices, and liturgical customs.

If new and divisive ideas were introduced into the church, Jewel said, it was done in Rome, not in England. The English had, in fact, *restored* ancient practice. If the English were schismatics for having left Rome, what, he asked, were the Romans for having left the ancient church? Jewel concluded the *Apology* by defending, again on the basis of ancient practice, the right of the church in England to reform itself by means of a regional synod, convened by the secular authority.

The question of authority lay at the heart of the Challenge Sermon, the *Apology*, and the controversy they sparked. Jewel agreed with other Protestants in affirming that scripture was the ultimate authority for church doctrine and practice and that neither the pope nor any other bishop was entitled to decide what the scripture meant. But Jewel differed from some of his Protestant colleagues in that he did not believe the meaning of scripture was always clear. That is where his appeal to the councils and fathers of the early church came in. When the meaning of scripture is uncertain, look back to those who lived nearest to the time of Christ, Jewel advised, and ask what sense they made of scripture. The test of any teaching or practice in the church, he said, is not whether the medieval church had accepted it — that church had, in fact, introduced “sundry horrible enormities” — but whether it can be supported by appeal to the Bible and the earliest Christian understanding of the Bible.

Later Anglican apologists all built — and still build — on the foundation laid by John Jewel. Cranmer and others before him had appealed to scripture and the writings of the early church and relied upon reason and sound learning, but it was Jewel who first articulated these principles and made them the norm for the Church of England. Richard Hooker, the great thinker who, a generation later, would write what became the classic Anglican theological text, studied under Jewel. So influential did the *Apology* become that archbishop of Canterbury Richard Bancroft provided in 1610 that a copy be placed in all English churches. As late as the twentieth century, copies of the *Apology* could still be found in some English parishes and cathedrals, chained to the lectern.

IN HIS OWN WORDS

Judge for yourselves

Now, good people, judge ye in your conscience indifferently us both, which of us bringeth you the better and sounder arguments. We bring you nothing but God's holy word, which is a sure rock to build upon, and will never flee or shrink. And therefore are we able truly to say with St. Paul, “We have delivered unto you the same things that we have received of the Lord.”

“Challenge Sermon” (1559)

Empty claims

[Some people] stand this day against so many old fathers, so many doctors, so many examples of the primitive church, so manifest and so plain words of the holy scriptures; and yet have they herein not one father, not one doctor, not one allowed example of the primitive church, to make for them. . . . Of all the words of the holy scriptures, of all the examples of the primitive church, of all the old fathers, of all the ancient doctors, in these causes they have not one.

“Challenge Sermon”

Appeal for unity

O that our adversaries, and all they that stand in defense of the mass this day, would content themselves to be judged by this rule! O that, in all the controversies that lie between us and them, they would remit the judgment unto God’s word! So should we soon agree and join together: so should we deliver nothing unto the people but what we have received at God’s hand.

“Challenge Sermon”

“A wilderness of superstition”

We found everywhere the people sufficiently well disposed towards religion, and even in those quarters where we expected most difficulty. It is however hardly credible what a harvest, or rather what a wilderness of superstition, had sprung up in the darkness of the Marian times. We found in all places votive relics of saints, nails with which the infatuated people dreamed that Christ had been pierced, and I know not what small fragments of the sacred cross.

from a letter to Peter Martyr, after his first visitation of the Diocese of Salisbury (1560)

Homeless truth

It hath been an old complaint, even from the first time of the patriarchs and prophets, and confirmed by the writings and testimonies of every age, that the truth wandereth here and there as a stranger in the world, and doth readily find enemies and slanderers amongst those that know her not. . . . Wherefore we ought to bear it more quietly, which have taken upon us to profess the gospel of Christ, if we for the same cause be handled after the same sort; and if we, as our forefathers were long ago, be likewise at this day tormented and baited with railings, with spiteful dealings and with lies; and that for no desert of our own, but only because we teach and acknowledge the truth.

An Apology of the Church of England (1562)

Eucharist

In the Lord's Supper there is truly given unto the believing the body and blood of the Lord, the flesh of the Son of God, which quickeneth our souls, the meat that cometh from above, the food of immortality, grace, truth, and life; and the Supper to be the communion of the body and blood of Christ, by the partaking whereof we be revived, we be strengthened, and be fed unto immortality, and whereby we are joined, united, and incorporate unto Christ, that we may abide in him, and he in us.

Apology

Eucharistic presence

For, although we do not touch the body of Christ with teeth and mouth, yet we hold him fast, and eat him by faith, by understanding, and by the spirit.

Apology

Whose teaching is new?

There can nothing be more spitefully spoken against the religion of God than to accuse it of novelty, as a new comen up matter. For as there can be no change in God himself, no more ought there to be in his religion. . . . no man can now think our doctrine to be new, unless the same think either the prophets' faith, or the gospel, or else Christ himself be new. And as for their religion, if it be of so long continuance as they would have men ween it is, why do they not prove it so by the examples of the primitive church, and by the fathers and councils of old times? Why lieth so ancient a cause thus long in the dust destitute of an advocate? Fire and sword they have had always ready at hand; but as for the old councils and the fathers, all mum, not a word.

Apology

A valid departure

It is true we have departed from them [Roman Catholics], and for so doing we both give thanks to Almighty God, and greatly rejoice on our own behalf. But yet for all this, from the primitive church, from the apostles, and from Christ, we have not departed. . . . Let them compare our churches and theirs together, and they shall see that themselves have most shamefully gone from the apostles, and we most justly have gone from them.

Apology

Peter and the Pope

Tell us, hath the Pope alone succeeded Peter? And wherein, I pray you? In what religion? In what office? In what piece of his life hath he succeeded him? What one thing (tell me) had Peter ever like unto the Pope, or the Pope like unto Peter? Except peradventure they will say thus; that Peter, when he was at Rome, never taught the gospel, never fed the flock, took away the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, hid the treasures of his Lord, sat him down only in his castle in St. John Lateran, and pointed out with his finger all the places of purgatory and kinds of punishments, committing

some poor souls to be tormented, and other some again suddenly releasing thence at his own pleasure, taking money for so doing; or that he gave order to say private masses in every corner; or that he mumbled up the holy service with a low voice, and in an unknown language; or that he hanged up the sacrament in every temple and on every altar, and carried the same about before him whithersoever he went, upon an ambling jennet, with lights and bells; or that he consecrated with his holy breath oil, wax, wool, bells, chalices, churches, and altars; or that he sold jubilees, graces, liberties, advowsons, preventions, first-fruits, palls, the wearing of palls, bulls, indulgences, and pardons; or that he called himself by the name of the head of the church, the highest bishop, bishop of bishops, alone most holy. . . . These things, no doubt, did Peter at Rome in times past, and left them in charge to his successors, as you would say, from hand to hand; for these things be nowadays done at Rome by the popes, and be so done, as though nothing else ought to be done.

Apology

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have departed from him to whom we were not bound.

Apology

FOR REFLECTION AND DISCUSSION

Is truth absolute?

Do you agree that "as there can be no change in God himself, no more ought there to be in his religion"?

How is the question of authority an issue in today's ecclesiastical disputes?

When the meaning of scripture is unclear or disputed, how should its meaning be determined?

Under what circumstances, if any, may the church depart from the words of scripture?

GLORIOUS COMPANIONS

Five Centuries of Anglican Spirituality

RICHARD H. SCHMIDT

NASHOTAH HOUSE LIBRARY
2777 MISSION RD.
NASHOTAH, WI 53058-9793

WILLIAM B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING COMPANY
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN / CAMBRIDGE, U.K.

© 2002 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
All rights reserved

Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
255 Jefferson Ave. S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49503 /
P.O. Box 163, Cambridge CB3 9PU U.K.

Printed in the United States of America

06 05 04 03 02 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

ISBN 0-8028-3920-7

www.eerdmans.com

Contents

<i>Introduction</i>	viii
1. THOMAS CRANMER (1489-1556) <i>Father of the Prayer Book</i>	1
2. JOHN JEWEL (1522-1571) <i>First Anglican Apologist</i>	12
3. RICHARD HOOKER (1554-1600) <i>Definitive Anglican</i>	21
4. LANCELOT ANDREWES (1555-1626) <i>Private Devotions</i>	34
5. JOHN DONNE (1573-1631) <i>He Dueled with Death</i>	47
6. GEORGE HERBERT (1593-1633) <i>Poet Parson</i>	58
7. JEREMY TAYLOR (1613-1667) <i>Loyalist</i>	71

Contents

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 8. THOMAS TRAHERNE (1637-1674) | 83 |
| <i>Champion of Felicity</i> | |
| 9. WILLIAM LAW (1686-1761) | 94 |
| <i>Commando in the Chapel of Ease</i> | |
| 10. JOSEPH BUTLER (1692-1752) | 105 |
| <i>The Thinking Man's Bishop</i> | |
| 11. JOHN WESLEY (1703-1791) | 116 |
| <i>Outside Agitator</i> | |
| 12. CHARLES WESLEY (1707-1788) | 127 |
| <i>Skylark</i> | |
| 13. SAMUEL JOHNSON (1709-1784) | 141 |
| <i>Spiritual Gladiator</i> | |
| 14. HANNAH MORE (1745-1833) | 152 |
| <i>More than Lady Bountiful</i> | |
| 15. CHARLES SIMEON (1759-1836) | 163 |
| <i>Pulpit Revolutionary</i> | |
| 16. JOHN KEBLE (1792-1866) | 174 |
| <i>Herald of Revival</i> | |
| 17. FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE (1805-1872) | 185 |
| <i>Citizen of the Kingdom</i> | |
| 18. WILLIAM PORCHER DUBOSE (1836-1918) | 196 |
| <i>Rebel with a Cause</i> | |
| 19. CHARLES GORE (1853-1932) | 208 |
| <i>Liberal or Conservative?</i> | |

Contents

20. VIDA DUTTON SCUDDER (1861-1954)	220
<i>She Dreamt of a New World</i>	
21. ROLAND ALLEN (1868-1947)	231
<i>Missionary to the Missionaries</i>	
22. EVELYN UNDERHILL (1875-1941)	242
<i>Guide in the Life of Prayer</i>	
23. WILLIAM TEMPLE (1881-1944)	253
<i>Philosopher Prelate</i>	
24. DOROTHY L. SAYERS (1893-1957)	266
<i>Whimsical Apologist</i>	
25. C. S. LEWIS (1898-1963)	276
<i>Mere Christian</i>	
26. VERNA J. DOZIER (B. 1917)	287
<i>Re-envisioning the Laity</i>	
27. MADELEINE L'ENGLE (B. 1918)	298
<i>Teller of Tales</i>	
28. FESTO KIVENGERE (1921?-1988)	310
<i>World Evangelist</i>	
29. DESMOND TUTU (B. 1931)	321
<i>Prophet of Forgiveness</i>	
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	332
<i>Index</i>	334