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ART. IV.—POPE PIUS IV. AND THE ELIZABETHAN PRAYER-BOOK.

THE subject involved in this inquiry is not only interesting from a historical point of view, but it is also of importance in these days of renewed aggression on the part of the Italian Ecclesiastical Mission to this country. If it can be shown that an infallible Pope, so called, did offer to sanction the English Prayer-Book, then it follows that the validity of English Orders cannot consistently be disputed by Romish partisans, and that the mission of the Roman Church to these shores is schismatical, and, as such, a violation of Church order. These conclusions are apparent to all intelligent Romanists, and their aim, therefore, is to throw discredit upon the statement, and discard it as a fable.

In this paper I propose to cite in the briefest possible manner the evidence in favour of an affirmative answer to the question of the Pope's offer to confirm Elizabeth's Prayer-Book, and examine the rebutting testimony of the negative side. In fact, the process I have adopted is similar in principle to that of a court of law where evidence for and against is taken and sifted in order to determine the question of fact. In cases of this nature circumstantial evidence has great weight. Motives and probabilities command attention, and cumulative testimony is a convincing factor. The evidence of one person considered by itself may be of little value, but when others step into the witness-box and add link to link, a whole chain is made sufficiently strong upon which certainty may be safely placed. And so in the matter of historical investigations. Absolute proof is not always attainable, because the actual facts of the case may not have been committed to writing, or, if they have, they may have been destroyed by malice, or lost by accident; but there are other sources of testimony. Matters, circumstances, facts, corroborations may oftentimes be found which, though in themselves separately are not sufficient to carry conviction, yet together amount to proof positive, and especially so when a contrary explanation is weak.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the special question of our historical consideration, I must, in the first place, call attention to the circumstances and facts of the time which favour the opinion that the Pope's offer to confirm the English Prayer-Book was not then improbable.

I. The Papal power on the accession of Queen Elizabeth was shaken to its foundations, and apparently tottering to its fall.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* stcourt's "Questions of Anglican Ordinations," p. 9.

The blows that it had received on all sides, and its losses in the conflicts of the Reformation movement, are too well known to need repetition. Rome herself, as Ranke tells us, looked out upon a shattered ecclesiastical empire, and lamented the fact that of all nations once under her sway Spain and Italy were the only ones safe and sound in their allegiance.<sup>1</sup> To recover the lost ascendancy became the imperative policy of the Roman Curia. By hook or by crook the revolted nations were to be brought to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. This by all means was to be the paramount end of Vatican astuteness, and neither conciliation, nor blandishments, nor promises should be wanted for its achievement.

II. The condition of England on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and her policy of compromise and conciliation, are important considerations. She submitted to be crowned with all the ceremony of the Roman Pontifical, she retained the services of her sister's counsellors, she prided herself in the name of Catholic, and sent a special envoy to the Pope. For months the country was in union with the Papacy. The estrangement that followed the restoration of the Edwardian Service Book was thought at Rome to be only of a temporary character, which skilful diplomacy might remove. A Roman Catholic author writes: "A corporate return of the whole English nation to Catholic unity was in the year 1560 by no means an improbable event, and it is possible that the Pope, in his zeal for this most desirable consummation, may have contemplated the grant of certain privileges to a restored Catholic Church of England."<sup>2</sup> How anxious the Pope was to obtain the co-operation of Elizabeth in the revived assembly of the Council of Trent may be seen in the correspondence shown in Appendix I.

III. The use of an English Service Book did not at that time present an insurmountable difficulty to union with the Roman Church. The opinion was then general that every national Church had not only authority over its own discipline, but also to decree rites and ceremonies, and adopt uses suited to its taste and circumstances. Before the days of Queen Mary the Roman use had not been adopted in this country. Previously, as now, our people enjoyed their insular proclivities, and amongst these was the right of various and divers uses, as Salisbury, Hereford, Bangor, York, Lincoln. What Elizabeth did was to give the whole realm one use, and that in the vulgar tongue.<sup>3</sup> It should be remembered also that the dogmas

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, "Popes of Rome, vol. i., p. 390, note.

<sup>2</sup> Hutton's "Anglican Ministry," p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *vide* Preface, Book of Common Prayer.

decreed by the Council of Trent had not yet been formulated and fixed in the Creed of Pope Pius IV.; indeed, some of them, as those relating to the ordination of the priesthood, sacrament of marriage, indulgence, purgatory, worship of saints, the most important reforming arrangements, were not decided upon until the three last sessions of the Council, in the latter half of 1563.<sup>1</sup> The hostility to the English use which eventually arose in the ultramontane mind after the theology of the Council was fixed and raised as a standard of orthodoxy did not then commonly exist.

Moreover, a prudent and conciliatory spirit had removed from the adopted Edwardian Liturgy expressions that might give offence. The deprecation in the Litany from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities was expunged, and the rubric at the end of the Communion Office against the notion of our Lord's real and essential presence in the Holy Sacrament was omitted. The protestation at the end of the Communion Service disclaiming any intended adoration, by kneeling, "either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood," was also left out. Besides these omissions, there were sundry additions of a like tendency. In the delivery of the elements in the Holy Communion the two sentences respectively before *take* and *drink this* were added, and the "Ornaments of the Church and the ministers thereof," enjoined by the first book of King Edward, were restored. Furthermore, the Forty-two Articles of Religion, established under Edward VI., were not adopted when the Book of Common Prayer was restored in 1559. The question of the Articles was not definitely settled until 1563.

In all these important changes, by avoiding definitions and leaving free scope for speculative opinions, it was manifestly the design of the Queen and her advisers not only to appease the prejudices of Romanist theologians abroad, but also "to unite the nation in one faith."<sup>2</sup> How favourably the English use under Elizabeth was considered at this time by leading Romanists in France may be seen in the correspondence of our ambassadors recorded in the Calendar of State Papers, under date December 28, A.D. 1561. Throgmorton, the English ambassador at the French Court, writes to Cecil: "The abuses of the Roman Church and clergy so long inveterate are now so discovered and disliked that there is no remedy; there must be some reformation universally of that state and kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Ranke, "Popes of Rome," vol. i., p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Wheatley, "On the Common Prayer," p. 28.

The matter has come to that pass that the Cardinals and Bishops will now condescend to a reformation rather than hazard an entire destruction. It is the same with ecclesiastical princes as with secular potentates: every man stands upon his reputation, and desires to make his bargain as honourably and profitably as he can. As the formulary of the Church of England is better *allowed*<sup>1</sup> of the Papists, and less repugnant to them than that of Geneva, or any form used in Germany, he perceives that the English order will have more suffrages when the matter shall come in question than any other. Of late a learned Papist of great reputation in France told Throgmorton that he marvelled why the clergy of England did not fortify the ceremonies, rites, and observations retained in their Church with the authority of the ancient writers, and the examples of the old Churches, both amongst the Greeks and Latins. Since which time another man, singularly learned and a great favourer of the true religion, lately advised him to procure some of the clergy of England, substantially learned, and that had well travailed in antiquities and ancient Greek and Latin ecclesiastical writers, to set forth an Apology, to approve the ceremonies and usages retained in the Church of England, as he confessed they might do well enough; saying that the order in England (because they were not noted contemners of all antiquity and ceremonies) has more estimation amongst the adversaries than the novelties of Geneva. . . . Therefore it would be well if Cecil were to set some of the Bishops and learned men to work about this matter, and to put the same into Latin, like as is meet the whole ecclesiastical order should be, whereof there is already a part well done. A modest Apology will commend it greatly, and to avoid as much as may be to irritate any party. There is a good pattern already in the Preface of the Book of Service printed in Latin."<sup>2</sup>

There are good grounds for believing that the "learned Papist of great reputation" mentioned in this letter was no other than the powerful member of the House of Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was then the Papal Legate in France. I shall refer to another letter in support of this belief later on.

In corroboration of the statements of Throgmorton in the above letter, we have the demands of the Imperial delegates, as well as those of France, in the Council of Trent, which

<sup>1</sup> The word "allowed," from French *allower*, from Lat. *allaudare*, had then the meaning of "commended," "praised." Cf. Ps. xi. 6; Luke xi. 48 — "ye allow" (*συνευδοκείτε*). Vide Trench, "Select Glossary," p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1561, No. 751.

reassembled, after a long interval, January 18, 1562. The Imperialists demanded that the cup should be given to the laity in Holy Communion; the marriage of priests; the purgation of breviaries, legends, and postilles (*i.e.*, notes and explanations); more intelligible catechisms; and church psalmody in German. The Cardinal of Lorraine, at the head of the French prelates, supported on the whole the German proposals. They demanded the cup for the laity; the Sacraments to be administered in the mother-tongue; instruction and preaching at the Mass; and congregational singing of the Psalms in French.<sup>1</sup> The English Romanists also petitioned the Council for permission to use the Book of Common Prayer, thus showing that in their opinion the English Service Book only needed ecclesiastical authority to complete its usefulness for every religious purpose.<sup>2</sup>

Space forbids me to do more than hint at the Papal invitation to Elizabeth, several times renewed, to send delegates to the third assembly of the Council of Trent,<sup>3</sup> and also to the discussion held therein in reference to the validity and status of the English Episcopate.<sup>4</sup> All these incontrovertible facts of history show plainly that a *modus vivendi* existed at that period between England and Rome, provided the supremacy of the latter were acknowledged.

IV. One other consideration remains to be noticed. The character of Pope Pius IV. must be taken into account. He is described as a man of an easy-going nature, fond of life, worldly in tastes and manners, and resented the intrusion of anything that might disturb his peace. Conciliatory in disposition, he wished to be on good terms with everybody. With princes especially he courted favour, and "was convinced, and openly said so, that the power of the Pope could no longer be maintained without the authority of princes."<sup>5</sup> Some Italian writers say that he possessed "a mind more like that of a prince, who looks only to his own affairs, than of a Pontiff who has respect to the good and salvation of others."<sup>6</sup> In harmony with the latter description, Bishop Jewel mentions him as one who "purchased his place by the unjust practices of simony and bribery, and managed it with murder and cruelty."<sup>7</sup>

Such, then, are the facts and circumstances, related under these four heads, which antecedently would make the Papal offer to Queen Elizabeth most probable in the highest degree.

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, "Popes of Rome," vol. i., p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> Froude, *Longman's Magazine*, February, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Appendix I.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Appendix III.

<sup>5</sup> Ranke, "Popes of Rome," vol. i., pp. 236-240.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257, note.

<sup>7</sup> Fuller, "Church History," Book IX., p. 70, edit. 1655.

Pope Julius III. had condoned the spoliation of the monasteries as the price of England's submission, under Queen Mary, to his supremacy, in spite of his Bull *Rescissio Alienationum*, which declared the restoration of ecclesiastical property to be an indispensable duty, the postponement of which would be followed with everlasting damnation.<sup>1</sup> He also authorized Cardinal Pole to allow the clergy consecrated according to the Reformed Ordinal to hold their benefices without reordination, conditional upon their submission to the Papacy.<sup>2</sup>

With such precedents as these—so near, too, in point of time—Pius IV., with his aims, character, and needs, might well justify his advances to England, and promise the recognition of the English Prayer-Book, if by so doing he could accomplish the dearest wish of his heart—the re-establishment of the Papal supremacy. That he did so, the following evidence is most conclusive :

Early in the year 1560, Vincent Parpaglia, Abbot of St. Salute, who had held a position in the household of Cardinal Pole, was selected as envoy to Elizabeth. He bore a most flattering letter to the Queen from the Pontiff, who addressed her thus: "To our most dear daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, Queen of England. Dear daughter in Christ, greeting and Apostolic benediction." He had also secret instructions and proposals, which Camden thinks were not put in writing.<sup>3</sup> At the same time the Pope wrote to Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Emperor, younger brother of Charles V., and to Philip II. of Spain, entreating their good offices with Elizabeth to secure the success of the Abbot's mission. "If she consents thereto," he writes to the former, "he will grant her anything in his power which may tend to the security of her kingdom."<sup>4</sup>

Cecil was informed of this embassy by a secret agent of his at Venice, one John Sheres, who had managed to bribe the private secretary of the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, and in this way obtain copies of letters to the Bishop of Vercelli, the Nuncio there. Sheres, amongst other things, gives the

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, "Popes of Rome," p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Courayer, "Dissertation," etc., pp. 232-235, edit. Oxford, 1844.

<sup>3</sup> Camden's "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," pp. 33, 34, edit. 1635.

<sup>4</sup> Raynaldi, MS. Vatican 2896, quoted in Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1560 :

"May 5, 1560.—The Pope, anxious to reduce once more England to the union of the Catholic faith (of which he has some hope), has sent thither Parpaglia, Abbot of Saint Salute. . . . The Pope asks him to assist Parpaglia by writing and sending messages to the Queen, urging her to agree to the object of the mission. If she consents thereto, he will grant her anything in his power which may tend to the security of her kingdom."

suggestive information that "he [Parpaglia] goes to France to consult with some there, then to Flanders."<sup>1</sup> Sheres is corroborated in this by a despatch from Sir Thomas Parry, at Rome, to Cecil, under date June 6, 1560: "Her Majestie hath receaved lettres from Mr. Carne of the vi of May that ymportes that Abbate de Salute hath his dispathe. And comes by france into the low parts to the Regent, to pray her to send hither for a licence for him to com to do his message (S.P.O. Dom., 6 June, 1560). And ye have hard partly before this, Mr. Englefield hathe also wreten to my Lord Keeper of the Great Seal thereof" (Bacon).

This intimation of the visit to France is important in connection with the correspondence of our ambassadors from that Court, to which I shall presently refer.

Parpaglia arrived in Brussels about the middle of June, and waited there a considerable time for further instructions. He was refused admission into England, and there is no doubt whatever but that negotiations were carried on with the English Court by some channel or other. The latter fact is conclusive from the Abbot's letter to the Nuncio at Venice, which Sheres again managed to get a copy of, and which may be seen in the Calendar of State Papers, September 8, 1560. "Nevertheless," he writes, "this Queen says continually that she has a good opinion of the disposition of the present Pope, and would not refuse to listen willingly to what he might propose to her, hoping that he would not wish for anything but what was just, and for the good of herself and her kingdom."

From expressions in the Pope's letters, it cannot be denied that Parpaglia had definite proposals to make to the Queen. The closing sentence of the one entrusted to the Abbot demonstrates without the shadow of a doubt that conciliatory offers were in the charge of this envoy. It reads thus: "But concerning this matter, the same Vincentius shall deal with you more largely, and shall declare our fatherly affection toward you; and we entreat your Majesty to receive him graciously, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches as to ourselves." The question is, What were these proposals? Camden thinks they were not committed to writing; and, from the nature of the mission, one need not be surprised if such were really the case. But there is a fact mentioned in a letter dated December 3, 1560, from Chamberlain, the English ambassador in Spain, to Cecil, which makes it more than probable that they were

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<sup>1</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, May 11, 1560, No. 74. *Vide* Appendix II.



committed to writing. He writes: "The talk is as to the person whom the Queen will send to the General Council now assented unto by the Pope, the Emperor, and the French and Spanish Kings, to be kept at Trent, and that she, for the quietness of Christendom, will not refuse to understand and hear the matter in question debated. Sent the Queen long since a copy of the Pope's brief, which the Abbot of St. Salute should have brought her."<sup>1</sup> Here, it is to be observed, the ambassador speaks of the Pope's *brief*, which he knew very well was something more than an ordinary letter. It has not, however, been found amongst the State Papers. Strange to say, other letters from the English ambassador at Rome and his suite, which might throw light upon this transaction, are also missing. The letters are those of Sir Edward Carne to the Queen, and of Sir Francis Englefield to Bacon, to which reference is made in Sir Thomas Parry's despatch to Cecil. The compiler of the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1560-61, says in the preface that copies of certain letters, obtained by Sheres from the secretary of the Duke of Savoy's ambassador at Venice, relating to Parpaglia's mission, are missing from the collection. It is possible that all these documents may yet be found, though their disappearance from other records of the subject and period is mysterious.

D. MORRIS.

(*To be continued.*)



#### ART. V.—ST. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO.

Smith's and Wace's "Dictionary of Christian Biography," vol. i.; Ceillier's "Auteurs Sacrés"; Ueberweg's "History of Philosophy," vol. i.; Schaff's "History of the Church, Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity," vol. i.; Robertson's "History of the Christian Church," vol. ii.; "St. Augustine" (S.P.C.K.); "St. Augustine" (R.T.S.); Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Augustinus.

THE end of the fourth century A.D. saw the final dissolution of the vast Roman Empire which had been reunited under Theodosius the Great. The East and West were divided between his two sons, weak boys of eighteen and eleven. Arcadius reigned at Constantinople, guided successively by his favourites, Rufinus and Eutropius, and by his wife Eudoxia, the bitter enemy of St. John Chrysostom. Honorius watched from Milan the resistance of the great general Stilicho to the tide of barbarian invasion which was

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, December 3, 1560, No. 762.