

# The Reformation in Oxford : A Tentative Study

BY JOHN REYNOLDS

"THE Reformation in Oxford," declared the late Rev. J. M. Thompson, for many years Fellow of Magdalen College, "ended almost as soon as it began."<sup>1</sup> It is true that Thompson contrived to include the Reformation at Oxford in a couple of pages of a chapter dealing with the Counter-Reformation ; and that he was not thinking of John Wyclif, Master of Balliol in the fourteenth century, or of the Lollards, as William Taylor and Peter Payne, successive Principals of St. Edmund Hall, any more than of the Cambridge bishops whose martyrdom at Oxford readily comes to mind in this connection. But even so it may be thought that this is an overstatement.

Thompson pertinently points out that the Renaissance arrived in Oxford before the end of the fifteenth century. Grocyn of New College was teaching Greek, and Colet (who can no longer be regarded as a Magdalen man<sup>a</sup>) was planning his lectures on St. Paul. In 1510 Colet founded St. Paul's, the first humanist school in England, and in 1515 the first humanist college at Oxford, Corpus, was founded by Fox of Magdalen. The present Regius Professor of Modern History insists that it was the Reformers who were the heirs of these men.<sup>4</sup> In 1525 Wolsey, who had been bursar of Magdalen, established Cardinal College, afterwards Christ Church.

Not until that year, Thompson asserts, did the Reformation reach Oxford, and then by infiltration from Cambridge. But this can only be regarded as a lecturer's lapse which, although his preface tells us that the proofs had been read by the present head of a well-known college, remained uncorrected. Such a teacher cannot have been unaware of the influence of William Tyndale in Oxford more than ten years earlier. It is possible that he regarded Tyndale's connection with Oxford as too doubtful ; but Sir Charles Mallet, the last volume of whose history of the university appeared two years before Thompson's revised edition of 1930, alludes unhesitatingly to it.<sup>4</sup> Tyndale was almost certainly a resident member of Magdalen Hall from 1510 to 1515, when he proceeded M.A. and migrated to Cambridge, where he spent a number of years. Such doubt as there is lies in the circumstance that as an undergraduate he used the *alias* Huchyns, as was, in fact, commonly done by his family since, it was said, they had wished to obscure their indenture on removal to Gloucestershire from the North during the Wars of the Roses. Hertford men will know that Magdalen Hall was the name of their college before 1874 ; but they may not remember that the Hall was transferred to its present site earlier in the nineteenth century from buildings adjoining Magdalen College, which it had occupied since the Middle Ages. It is less surprising, therefore, to hear that Tyndale "read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college, some parcel of divinity ; instructing them in the

knowledge and truth of the Scriptures".<sup>6</sup> So Foxe the martyrologist, himself a Fellow of Magdalen twenty-five years later. (The accuracy of his *Book of Martyrs* has been largely vindicated in recent years by the Rev. Dr. J. F. Mozley.<sup>6</sup>) Bishop Loane, in an account of Tyndale in his *Masters of the English Reformation*, has identified Magdalen Hall with Magdalen College.<sup>7</sup>

We do not hear of any firm link between this earlier manifestation of the Reformation and those events of ten and more years later which Thompson speaks of as the first evidence of Reformed belief in Oxford. Among the leaders of the latter period, however, was Thomas Garret, a graduate of 1518—not, apparently, as Mallet<sup>8</sup> and Denholm-Young<sup>9</sup> say, from Magdalen, but from Corpus<sup>10</sup>—who had become a London clergyman. He returned to Oxford to sell copies of Tyndale's New Testament, as well as Latin treatises by German Reformers. It seems moderately clear, nevertheless, that a strong contributory influence was that of some dons imported from Cambridge by Wolsey to adorn, as he thought, his new foundation of Cardinal College. Thompson comments that this need not be taken as a reflection on the movement. Nor need it be taken as a reflection on Oxford that Thomas Cranmer, when invited, preferred to remain in Cambridge. The leadership in fact fell to John Clarke, "a man with the stuff of a martyr in him", as Mallet says<sup>11</sup>—who engaged in expounding St. Paul's epistles. Undergraduates and others—their names are given by Strype<sup>12</sup>—were meeting for discussion. Among them was John Frith, a graduate of King's College, Cambridge, and an acquaintance of Tyndale, whom he assisted in translating the New Testament. Contemporary writers, it is said, all agree "as to his extraordinary abilities, his great learning, his unaffected piety, and his simple life".<sup>13</sup> He became a martyr in 1533.

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"The strategic importance of the Universities," says Canon Smyth in *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI*, at the outset of a chapter on 'Oxford and Peter Martyr', "was perceived clearly enough both by the advocates and by the opponents of the Reformation. The Universities were the principal theological seminaries of the day. . . . The Catholics could count on Oxford with much more confidence than on the sister university, where their position was already very largely undermined. Oxford was violently hostile to the Reformation."<sup>14</sup>

In 1527 Archbishop Warham, Chancellor of the university, a mild man of conservative temperament (who, however, had been a pupil of Grocyn) wrote to Wolsey to complain that at Oxford—and doubtless, by implication, at Wolsey's new foundation—"no small number of young and incircumspect fools"<sup>15</sup> were tainted with Reformation principles. In the following year Wolsey struck. Garret was to be arrested. Anthony Delaber<sup>16</sup> of St. Alban Hall (Merton men will perhaps know that this society was united with theirs as late as 1882) helped to smuggle him into Dorset. Garret, however, rashly returned to Oxford, where he was seized by the Vice-Chancellor, who shut him in his cellar at Lincoln College. During "Evensong" (presumably vespers), Garret escaped and made his way to Delaber's room, where he

borrowed a coat and departed again for the West Country. Delaber carried the news to Cardinal College, where he saw Vice-Chancellor Cottisford, "pale as ashes",<sup>17</sup> come and draw the Dean out of church. The authorities consulted an astrologer, who said that Garret had gone south-east; but shortly afterwards he was arrested near Bristol. Delaber was also arrested and put in the stocks. Six members of Cardinal College, headed by John Clarke, were imprisoned and excommunicated, the organist being excused on the ground that "he was but a Musitian".<sup>18</sup> Most of the offenders recanted. They were obliged to march round from St. Mary's to St. Frideswide's carrying faggots, and flinging heretical books on to a bonfire at Carfax as they passed. Clarke and two friends died, possibly of sweating sickness, more probably from hard treatment. One of the other men was Robert Farrar, chaplain subsequently to Cranmer, and afterwards Bishop of St. David's, a martyr in 1555. Garret, who also became one of Cranmer's chaplains, was burnt at Smithfield in 1540. John London, Warden of New College, notorious as a commissioner for dissolving the monasteries, though he helped to put down the troubles at Cardinal College, "had his better moments, and in dealing with 'towardly young men' accused of heresy at Oxford, he had sometimes shown a kindlier strain."<sup>19</sup> So Mallet; but another authority has it that "he was active in persecuting the Lutherans at Oxford from about 1528 onwards".<sup>20</sup> At least three were members of his own college, and one of them, Quinby, he imprisoned in the bell tower, where his victim died from cold and lack of food.

In general, it seems fair to say that the history books know little of protestantism in Oxford during the next decade or so. But this is to overlook the growth in the university of a small party favourable to the Reformation, which included a number of well-known names, and in particular that of John Jewel. Jewel himself was originally a Merton man, when he matriculated in 1535;<sup>21</sup> and his tutor, John Parkhurst, from whom he learned to favour protestant opinions, had been a Fellow of Merton since 1529. Parkhurst was a man of remarkable learning, who on the accession of Elizabeth was made Bishop of Norwich.<sup>22</sup> In the same year, John Man, became a Fellow of New College. He was a proctor in 1540, and shortly afterwards expelled from his fellowship for heresy. Nevertheless he became Principal of White Hall in 1547. From 1562 to 1569, he was Warden of Merton.<sup>23</sup> Alexander Nowell, author of the greater part of the catechism, graduated from Brasenose College in 1526, and became a Fellow. He also became Headmaster of Westminster, and it is not clear how much he resided in Oxford.<sup>24</sup> Somewhat junior to him at Brasenose was John Foxe the martyrologist, a left-wing Reformer who was elected a Fellow of Magdalen in 1538.<sup>25</sup> Once again we encounter Reformation influence at Magdalen, and this may have been continuous from Tyndale's time. It seems possible that the John Traves or Travers, a senior man in the North known to John Bradford the martyr, is to be identified with the John Travers who was secular chaplain at Magdalen during the 1520's.<sup>26</sup> Be that as it may, in the year following Foxe's election, John Harley became a Fellow there, and, in 1542, Master of Magdalen College School.<sup>27</sup> In 1541, Thomas Bickley, afterwards Warden of Merton, was elected

a Fellow of Magdalen,<sup>30</sup> and in 1546 Thomas Bentham, another Elizabethan bishop of early vintage.<sup>31</sup> In the same year Laurence Humphrey, a left-wing Reformer who became Regius Professor of Divinity in 1560 and President of Magdalen in 1561, was elected a demy.<sup>32</sup> The accomplished Richard Bertie, who subsequently married a leading Protestant lady, the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk, was admitted a scholar of Corpus in 1533/4, and is said to have become a Fellow there.<sup>33</sup> Jewel, certainly, became a Fellow of Corpus in 1542, where, in 1550, while he was Public Orator, William Cole, afterwards President of the College, was also Fellow.<sup>34</sup> Finally Richard Cox, who was originally a member of King's College, Cambridge, I mention almost last, lest Cambridge influence should be overestimated, as in the case of the evangelical movement later on; but he had been a Junior Canon of Christ Church during the troubles of the 1520's, and one of those influenced by Garret. Partly to eliminate his own influence at Oxford, he had been encouraged to become Headmaster of Eton. But in 1543/4 he was appointed, through Cranmer's influence, Dean of Osney, and in 1546, first Dean of Christ Church; and from 1547 he was Chancellor of the university.<sup>35</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, to find Christopher Goodman, a graduate of Brasenose, becoming in that year a Senior Student of Christ Church. He served as proctor in 1549, and may have been Lady Margaret Professor in 1548. A friend of Parkhurst, he became Archdeacon of Richmond under Elizabeth, only to be deprived in 1571 for nonconformity.<sup>36</sup> His enthusiasm, says Mallet, "caused him to compare Queen Mary with the Queen of Hell".<sup>37</sup> In 1552, Richard Barnes was elected a Fellow of Brasenose by authority of the King's council, and took a bachelor's degree in the following year. It is doubtful whether he exerted much influence in Oxford, but he was made Bishop of Carlisle in 1570, and Bishop of Durham in 1577.<sup>38</sup>

On the accession of Edward VI the advanced reforming party at Magdalen broke loose. Startling outrages took place in the college chapel. "Violent young Reformers," according to Mallet, "broke into the choir with hatchets and chopped the service-books to pieces."<sup>39</sup> An officiating clergyman was dragged from the east end. Stained glass windows were condemned and removed. Objects of superstition were also banished from Christ Church and elsewhere. At Magdalen, pictures and images were destroyed and there was "much obscure commotion".<sup>40</sup> Bickley and Bentham, afterwards bishops, were among the junior fellows involved. They and seven others were ejected by Mary's commissioners.

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It can now be seen more clearly that Oxford was far from destitute of Protestant opinion during the years which led up to the climax of the reign of Edward VI, to whom John Harley was made a chaplain, and by whom he was nominated Bishop of Hereford at the age of thirty-three. Cox, by the way, had been Edward's tutor. It remains to introduce Pietro Martyri Vermigli, commonly called Peter Martyr, an Italian appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in 1548 and a Canon of Christ Church in 1550.<sup>41</sup> It seems remarkable now that during these critical

years, the main burden of teaching the truths which Protestants held dear should have fallen at Oxford to so unlikely a man, yet one whose training and experience, as Cranmer doubtless saw, fitted him exceptionally well to deal with the advocates of the old religion.

An Augustinian, Martyr had been Abbot of Spoleto as far back as 1531, and Prior of San Frediano in Lucca by 1541. He was a man of solid learning and, as Mallet says, a fighter.<sup>40</sup> His father is said to have been a follower of Savonarola—who, however, for many years had a very wide following—for Martyr was born in Florence: not, I understand, in 1500, as is usually stated, but a little earlier—and Peter was called after St. Peter Martyr, a Dominican who died in 1252 and is often represented in continental churches with a hatchet in his head. As early as c. 1527-29 in Naples, Martyr came across works by Bucer and Zwingli. While at Lucca—still a completely walled town, now best known as the birthplace of Puccini—he had to escape before a charge of heresy. He decided to leave the country, and spent some years in Switzerland. In 1547 Cranmer invited him to England. Already a D.D. of Padua, Vermigli was incorporated at Oxford—where in Lent of this year John Harley of Magdalen preached, at St. Peter's-in-the-East, a bold sermon against the Pope—and was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity. Peter Martyr soon set to work, lecturing on the Corinthian epistles, denouncing the ways of Pharisees and Papists, condemning fasting in Lent, and passing on to the Eucharist. Bartholomew Green, who graduated in 1547, was converted to Protestantism by Martyr's lectures. He became a friend of Christopher Goodman, and was martyred in 1556.<sup>41</sup>

"Before long," Mallet says, "the University was aflame."<sup>42</sup> A public disputation was proposed, and there was "great hurrying and noise about the University."<sup>43</sup> When held, the debate, though it lasted four days, was indecisive. Cox presided, but refused to declare that either side had triumphed. This, in view of his own strong predilection for Martyr's standpoint, seems possibly generous. But in 1550, John Stumphius, a Swiss undergraduate, wrote to Bullinger: "The Oxford men, who have been hitherto accustomed to do so, are still pertinaciously sticking in the mud of popery; and Master Cox, in his opposition to them, seems to be rather too fond of the Fabian tactics".<sup>44</sup> Stumphius, however, was impatient that "such rotten members of antichrist may be altogether cut off, and driven away from the university. . . ."<sup>45</sup> But, as Smyth rather sweepingly says, "the University was Catholic almost to a man: the few 'gospellers' . . . had been hunted out by the authorities: the whole of Peter Martyr's work was an almost single-handed struggle against overwhelming odds".<sup>46</sup> This is certainly putting the position rather strongly. Cox, Jewel, and others were at hand.

It is not in any case true that Martyr fought his critics altogether single-handed. His faithful wife, an ex-nun from Germany, shared his unpopularity. This was real enough. Strype speaks of "how insufferably he was affronted, undermined, belied by the popish party in Oxon: who, one would think, might have better entreated a man of quality by birth. . . ."<sup>47</sup> Apparently on the strength of the latter remark, Smyth asserts that Martyr "came of an ancient family".<sup>48</sup>

There is some doubt, I understand, as to this. Clearly, however, Martyr was a man of parts and polish. Mrs Martyr was more homespun. Her principal recreation was "cutting plumstones into curious faces".<sup>49</sup> In 1550/51 her husband was installed in the first canonry at Christ Church; by now he was almost, if not quite, a Zwinglian, and did not wear a surplice when officiating in the cathedral.

Mrs. Martyr and Mrs. Cox were, as Wood says, "the first women, as 'twas observ'd, that resided in any coll. or hall in Oxon".<sup>50</sup> Finding that his windows on to St. Aldate's were too frequently broken by those who disapproved of this, Martyr moved into the Priory House, in the cloister, now the residence of the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. Nor does Mrs. Martyr's importance end here. Early in 1553 both Vermigli and his wife were prostrated by fever. The Oxford winter must have been extremely trying after central Italy, and there were not the enormous stoves in England customary in Germany. Poor Catherine died. Mrs. Martyr was buried near St. Frideswide's shrine in the cathedral. Two years later, after Martyr had left Oxford, Queen Mary's commissioners ordered disinterment and the new Dean is said to have re-buried the remains under a dunghill in his garden. When Elizabeth came to the throne four years later, Mrs. Martyr's body was once more dug up, to restore it to the cathedral. It happened that about the same time a bundle of old bones was discovered, believed to be those of St. Frideswide, the patron saint of Oxford. As Thompson says, "the opportunity for combining economy with edification was too great to be missed".<sup>51</sup> The remains were accordingly mingled, and interred together. Superintended by James Calfhill, shortly afterwards Lady Margaret Professor, that gentleman, who had been a supporter of Martyr until the events of Mary's reign made such views too inconvenient, preached a sermon at the reburial ending with the words, "*hic requiescit religio cum superstitione*". Thompson says he went so far as to publish a poem about it, of which two lines run in English:

"Papists and Protestants should now in peace abide,  
As here religion true and false lie side by side."<sup>52</sup>

Calfhill left his readers to infer which was which.

Martyr had had some share in the preparation of the 1552 Prayer Book. On the accession of Mary he was imprisoned and then allowed to leave the country. He never returned to England, though invited back to Oxford under Elizabeth, but frequently corresponded with his English friends until his death in 1562. There is a prospect of a first-rate account of Martyr being published within the next few years, which will doubtless throw much light on our subject.

Before we consider the course of events in Mary's reign, we must notice that during that of Edward, a number of Swiss Protestants came to read for degrees at Oxford. John Stumphius of Christ Church, already mentioned, was one; but the most remarkable—and acute—was John ab Ulmis, who arrived in 1548, and lived for a time on his wits. In all about twelve came. Their presence in Oxford, as Smyth says, "was not unimportant. They bore an unflinching testimony to Zwinglianism in the heart of a Catholic University. . . ."<sup>53</sup> Smyth also asserts that ab Ulmis became a Fellow of St. John's in 1552;<sup>54</sup> but

even an importunate Switzer could hardly have achieved as much, since the college was not founded till five years later, when ab Ulmis had returned home.

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Having devoted proportionately more time to the less familiar aspects of the progress of the Reformation in Oxford, we come now to what is better known and sadder. Peter Martyr was followed into exile by other Oxford men. Jewel stayed as long as he could and at one stage recanted. Eventually he fled abroad. Queen Mary's commissioners compelled Reformers to conform or leave the university. When Thomas Harding of New College swung round, Lady Jane Grey wrote to him in grief that "so lively a member of Christ should have become 'the deformed imp of the devil'".<sup>64</sup> While their elders were ejected, the younger sort, says Wood, were discommoded or whipped.<sup>65</sup> At Corpus one scholar was beaten so successfully (one lash for every verse against the mass) that he became a Fellow of All Souls.

It seems, however, that more conspicuous victims than these were required, though in regard to those sent, other motives doubtless prevailed as well. Accordingly, in March 1554, the three "sons of perdition and iniquity", as one writer called them,<sup>67</sup> Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were brought to Oxford for disputation. A debate was held in the Divinity School. All three were condemned and kept for eighteen months in prison, Cranmer at any rate, for some of that time, in Bocardo, a gaol adjoining the old north gate, by St. Michael's church. Bocardo existed in part till the nineteenth century. The door and key of the Reformers' prison, however, had already been removed and was for many years to be seen in St. Mary Magdalen church. It has lately been moved to St. Michael's, where it is concealed from public view in the vestry at the base of the tower.

Cranmer's trial opened at St. Mary's in September 1555, the papal supremacy having in the meanwhile been formally restored; but the Archbishop refused to recognize the authority of the court, which was presided over by the Bishop of London, Dr. Brooks, a former Master of Balliol. His case was postponed. A few weeks later, Bishop Ridley, like Cranmer a man of great learning, and the infirm Latimer, who had been Bishop of Worcester, were brought to trial and condemned. On October 16th they were led to a stake "in the Towne Ditche, over against Balliol College".<sup>68</sup> Cranmer was praying and watching from Bocardo. Some uncertainty attaches to the exact site of the martyrdoms, but probably it was the spot marked by a cross of stones in the middle of Broad Street, where in 1875 excavation chanced to reveal the charred base of a stake and quantities of ashes. A portion of the stake may be seen in the Medieval Room at the Ashmolean Museum. This was the occasion of Latimer's firm and famous advice: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Mallet comments: "Latimer's immortal words of comfort to his colleague closed a scene which must have lingered for a lifetime in the memory of those who stood beside his grave".<sup>69</sup>

Cranmer was allowed to live for five months longer. In November he

was formally deprived of his archbishopric, and in the following February the Bishops of London and Ely sat in the cathedral and performed a ceremonial degradation. Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, of whom Cranmer had been an early patron, was moved to tears. Spanish friars were sent to reason with the former archbishop, and, as is well known, Cranmer signed a series of recantations, not, however, wholly as the result of the friars' arguments. In any case, they did not save him. On March 21st he was to die. The fate which he had long escaped in Henry's reign, while being responsible for similar executions both of recalcitrant Papists and of advanced Protestants, had come to him at last in unequivocal circumstances. It was a wild, stormy morning and the sermon which Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, should have preached by the stake was transferred to St. Mary's, where Cranmer was made to stand on a low platform erected opposite the pulpit. The base of the pillar opposite the pulpit still bears the marks of this erection, which have been preserved in the recent restoration.

After the sermon, Cranmer was expected to read a final recantation, but, to the amazement and horror of those present, he repudiated his former recantations and declared his faith in the truths he had hitherto held. Amid a near tumult, Cranmer set out for the place of execution in Broad Street, so fast that few could keep up with him. He was fastened to the stake with an iron band which used to be thought to be the one preserved in the Medieval Room of the Ashmolean, along with the wood from the stake, but this is now said to be doubtful. Putting into the fire first the hand with which he had signed his recantations, he cried aloud: "This hand hath offended". Very soon afterwards, praying to Jesus to receive his spirit, he was dead.

As Mallet says: ". . . the spectacle of the frail spirit conquering its weakness, and stung to rare courage at the near approach of death, touched, as a by-stander, a Catholic, admitted, the common humanity of mankind".<sup>60</sup> Professor Trevor-Roper also has a compliment for Cranmer's manner of dying.<sup>61</sup> According to Mallet, the bill for Cranmer's burning—6s. for wood faggots, 3s. 4d. for furze faggots—still exists.<sup>62</sup> Certainly the Martyrs' Memorial, erected in 1841 at the height of the Tractarian controversy, during the first alarm caused by the apparent reintroduction of beliefs which had brought about the deaths of the three martyrs, stands as a witness to their sacrifice.

Julius Palmer, a Fellow of Magdalen, who, though a pupil of John Harley, had been a zealous Romanist, was so moved by the martyrs' deaths that he reviewed his position, and became a Calvinist. Resigning his fellowship, he sought to withdraw quietly to Reading as Master of the grammar school there. But he had become suspect, was seized, and burnt at Newbury.<sup>63</sup> In his turn, as Mallet says, ". . . his untimely fate moved the compassion of a far wider circle than his Oxford friends".<sup>64</sup>

While Mary's visitors were busy destroying Protestant literature and burning English Bibles in the market place at Oxford, the Protestant remnant met for worship in an underground cellar belonging to Garbrand Herks,<sup>65</sup> a Dutch religious refugee who kept a bookshop in the city. The cellar, divided into two by a wooden partition, according to Mallet, still remains. Herks was a friend of Jewel, and his son John,



at this time a scholar at Winchester, was presently made a Prebendary of Salisbury by his patron the Bishop.

With Mary's death in 1558, Protestantism came into its own, though not without vicissitudes. The Marian exiles returned, and among them Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian Library, and thus the second founder of the university library. Still a youth, he had sat under Calvin and others, and remained a staunch adherent of Reformed doctrine. Jewel, on his return, became Bishop of Salisbury, Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, Cox, Bishop of Ely, Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, Foxe, Prebendary of Salisbury.

Elizabeth sent visitors to Oxford, Jewel among them, and the latter wrote to Peter Martyr in 1559: "Two famous virtues, namely ignorance and obstinancy, have wonderfully increased at Oxford since you left it: religion, and all hope of good learning and talent is altogether abandoned".<sup>66</sup> In these last words he refers to the undoubted decline of the university as a place of learning. Two months later, Jewel wrote to Bullinger: "Our universities are so depressed and ruined, that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us; and even they are so dejected and broken in spirit that they can do nothing. That despicable friar Soto and another Spanish monk . . . have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr had so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness. You would scarcely believe that so much devastation could have been effected in so short a time".<sup>67</sup>

The visitors hastened to install Protestant heads of houses: notably, during these few years, John Man and then Bickley, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, at Merton; Laurence Humphrey, already Regius Professor of Divinity at Magdalen; Thomas Sampson at Christ Church; William Coles at Corpus. Humphrey and Sampson were both left-wing puritans, and Sampson had to be deprived in 1565 for non-conformity. It is not, however, our aim now to follow the course of the establishment of Protestantism in Oxford under the Elizabethan settlement. We have traced its growth in the university from 1510 to 1560, fifty years of chequered history; but years in which the seeds of English Protestantism were purposefully and effectively sown, not least at Oxford.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on Foreign History 1494-1789* (edn. of 1937), p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* by A. B. Emden, vol. i (1957), pp. 462-63.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Essays* by H. Tevor-Roper (1957), p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> *A History of the University of Oxford* by C. E. Mallett, vol. i (1924), p. 441 and n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. J. Pratt, vol. v (edn. of 1877), Book VIII, p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> *John Foxe* by J. F. Mozley (1940).

- <sup>7</sup> *Masters of the English Reformation* by M. L. Loane (1954), p. 48.
- <sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 441.
- <sup>9</sup> *Victoria County History of Oxford*, ed. H. E. Salter and M. D. Lobel, vol. iii (1954)—art. on Magdalen Coll. by N. Denholm-Young, p. 196.
- <sup>10</sup> *Alumni Oxonienses*, compiled J. Foster, pt. i, vol. ii (1891), p. 550.
- <sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 441.
- <sup>12</sup> *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* by J. Strype, vol. i (edn. of 1848), p. 4.
- <sup>13</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xx (1899), art. by A. C. Bickley.
- <sup>14</sup> *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* by C. H. E. Smyth (1926), p. 108.
- <sup>15</sup> Quoted Mallet, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
- <sup>16</sup> This name is not recorded in *Alumni Oxonienses*, as cited.
- <sup>17</sup> Mallet, *op. cit.*, p. 442.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.
- <sup>20</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxiv (1893), art. by W. Hunt.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xxix (1892), art. by Bishop Mandell Creighton.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xliii (1895), art. by Sir Sidney Lee.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvi (1893), art. by T. Cooper.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xli (1895), art. by W. Hunt.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xx (1889), art. by Sir Sidney Lee.
- <sup>26</sup> *The Writings of John Bradford*, ed. A. Townsend (Parker Soc. edn.), (1853), p. 1, n. 3; *Alumni Oxonienses*, as cited, pt. i, vol. iv (1892), p. 1503.
- <sup>27</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxiv (1890), art. by G. Goodwin.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. v (1886), art. by Dean Stephens.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv (1885), art. by Dr. A. B. Grosart.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xxviii (1891), art. by T. Cooper.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv (1885), art. by T. Cooper.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xi (1887), art. by Canon E. Venables.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xii (1887), art. by Canon R. W. Dixon. After his fall, Wolsey's foundation of Cardinal College was suppressed by Henry VIII, who re-founded it as Christ Church, also transferring the cathedral from the dissolved Osney Abbey to St. Frideswide's.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xxii (1890), art. by Miss E. T. Bradley.
- <sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 95.
- <sup>36</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. iii (1885), art. by Dr. A. B. Grosart.
- <sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 90.
- <sup>38</sup> *Victoria County History*, as cited, p. 196.
- <sup>39</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. LVII (1899), art. by A. Gordon.
- <sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 91.
- <sup>41</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxiii (1890), art. by Miss E. T. Bradley.
- <sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*, *ibid.*
- <sup>43</sup> Quoted *ibid.*, p. 92.
- <sup>44</sup> *Original letters relative to the English Reformation*, ed. H. Robinson (Parker Society edn.), pt. ii (1847), pp. 467-68.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 465.
- <sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 109.
- <sup>47</sup> *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer* by J. Strype (edn. of 1854), vol. iii, pp. 54-55.
- <sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 112.
- <sup>49</sup> *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* by J. Strype (edn. of 1821), vol. i, p. 200.
- <sup>50</sup> *Athenæ Oxonienses* by A. Wood, ed. P. Bliss, vol. i (1813), p. 327.
- <sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 80.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 138.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.
- <sup>55</sup> Mallet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 96.
- <sup>56</sup> *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* by A. Wood, translated by J. Gutch, vol. ii (1796), p. 121.
- <sup>57</sup> Mallet, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 96.
- <sup>58</sup> Quoted *ibid.*, p. 98, and cp. n. 2.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 85.<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 1.<sup>63</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xliii (1895), art. by Professor A. F. Pollard.<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 100.<sup>65</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xx (1889) (under Garbrand), art. by Sir Sidney Lee.<sup>66</sup> *The Zürich Letters*, translated and ed. by H. Robinson (Parker Soc. edn.) (1842), p. 11.<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

## The Parson as Preacher

BY FRANK COLQUHOUN

IT should be made clear at the beginning of this article that I am using the word "parson" in its original and true sense as denoting the man to whom is committed the cure of souls in a parish and who is therefore called to fulfil a pastoral ministry. Next, I wish to assert quite boldly that whatever else he is, the pastor is certainly intended to be a preacher—at least according to the Anglican pattern of ministry. The Ordinal makes that abundantly clear. What is more, the circumstances of our modern life have not in any sense diminished the importance of the preaching office or rendered it superfluous. Nor should we allow the modern stress on liturgy—which seems to be all the rage at the moment—to divert us from the ministry of the Word. To assert that worship is more important than preaching is to create a false antithesis between the two. Again, to argue that the Christian's business in going to church is to give glory to God, not to listen to a man voicing his opinions, is completely to misunderstand the true nature of preaching.

For what is preaching? It has been described as "a manifestation of the Incarnate Word, from the written Word, by the spoken word". Whether or not such a definition is adequate, it does at least serve to focus attention on two facts of fundamental importance: first, that the preacher's supreme (and, in one sense, only) subject is Jesus Christ Himself, the Word made flesh and made sin for our salvation; and second, that the preacher's authoritative textbook is the Word of God written, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. In other words, he not only preaches Christ; he preaches the Christ of revelation. Martin Luther, in quoting the words of the Psalmist, "In the volume of the book it is written of me," inquired, "What book, and what person?" His answer was: "There is only one book—the Bible. There is only one person—Christ". For the preacher that answer is of profound significance.