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The Reformed Treasures of the Parker Society

Andrew Cinnamond

History

The Parker Society, ‘For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church’, was formed in 1840 and disbanded in 1855 when its work was completed. Its name is taken from that of Matthew Parker, the first Elizabethan Archbishop of Canterbury, who was known as a great collector and preserver of books. The stimulus for the foundation of the society was provided by the nineteenth-Century Tractarians. Some members of this movement, e.g., R.H. Froude in his *Remains* of 1838-9, spoke most disparagingly of the English Reformation: ‘Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more’. Keble could add in 1838, ‘Anything which separates the present Church from the Reformers I should hail as a great good’. Protestants within the Church of England therefore felt the urgent need to make available in an attractive and accessible form the works of the leaders of the English Reformation. To many it seemed that the Protestant foundations of the English Church were being challenged like never before.

Thus the society represented a co-operation between traditional High Churchmen and evangelical churchmen, both of whom were committed to the Reformation teaching on justification by faith. Subscribers were also involved in the erection of the Martyrs’ Memorial in Oxford, although this was as much anti-Roman Catholic as anti-Tractarian.

The society had about seven thousand subscribers who paid one pound each year from 1841 to 1855; thus for fifteen pounds the subscribers received fifty-three volumes – the General Index and the Latin originals of the 1847 ‘Original Letters relative to the English Reformation’ being special subscriptions. Twenty-four editors were used and the task of arriving at the best text was far from easy. The choice of publications was controversial and some authors and works were unfortunate not to be included in PS volumes. While some of the volumes have been superseded by more recent critical editions, today this collection remains one of the most valuable sources for the study of the English Reformation.

Publications of the Parker Society

This article represents a reader's guide to the works of the Parker Society, taking the form of an annotated bibliography. Some volumes were published over several years, and I have noted their PS editors, year/s of publication and notes as to contents, comparative usefulness and availability of both published and online versions. Historical and biographical material has been added to give some context to the published works.

Those interested in studying the material contained in some of the PS volumes will glean essential background material from the excellent new (2004) version of the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (DNB). Many of the original works in the PS volumes can be found on the subscription websites 'Early English Books Online' (EEBO) and the 'Digital Library of Classic Protestant Texts' (DLCP). Google Books, Calvin College's 'Christian Classics Ethereal Library' (CCEL) at <http://www.ccel.org>, and 'Project Canterbury' at <http://www.anglicanhistory.org> also contain many of the works. Wipf and Stock Publishers keep many of the volumes in print, and the Johnson Reprint Co. reprinted many of the volumes in 1968.

It is hoped that this list may encourage a new generation of readers to make use of this enormous treasure house of (mostly) English Reformed literature that provided the theological basis for the Church of England. In terms of variety, these volumes cover a wide range- from comprehensive theological treatises and works of piety, to liturgies, examinations and correspondence, and should dispel any facile notion that the Church of England was ever intended as some *via media* between Rome and Geneva. If anything, the PS publications show a Reformed middle way between Geneva and Zurich, with the theology of the latter gaining pre-eminence. The Reformation debates of the sixteenth Century are still of crucial importance today and touch on the central aspects of Christian theology, and therefore their importance as reliable guides to revealed biblical truth remains undimmed. These works by martyrs, scholars, bishops, satirists, historians, educationalists and preachers, all provide eloquent testimony to the calibre of those men who spoke the truth in love. These reformers, despite many human frailties, lived for Christ and many of them also died for Christ.

For Further Reference

Peter Toon, “The Parker Society,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. 46 (September 1977), pp 323-332. (Much of the above history is taken from Toon’s article).

The following bibliography is arranged in two sections; the first alphabetically by author; the second section includes miscellaneous items such as liturgies and poetry.

1. Parker Society Volumes – Alphabetical by Author

John Bale, *Select Works*, (ed. Henry Christmas 1849)

Bishop of Ossory, converted prior, evangelical polemicist, satirist and historian. On his conversion in the mid 1530s Bale wrote allegorical morality plays which satirized papist beliefs, but he struggled with the lack of reform under Henry VIII, eventually forcing him into exile on the continent where he produced several Protestant martyrologies, which provide an important influence for Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* in 1563. Bale’s works generally denounce the papacy, the ritualism of the Roman liturgy, belief in transubstantiation and the mass, the veneration of saints, and the cult of the Virgin Mary. In their place Bale advocates Protestant practices designed to nurture individual faith: gospel preaching, lay education in the vernacular Bible, and a service of Holy Communion that commemorates Christ’s sacrifice rather than re-enacting it. Under Edward VI Bale was made bishop of the Irish diocese of Ossory in 1552, which was part of a greater plan to make the Irish people Protestant. Although the Irish bishops formally accepted the royal supremacy, they resisted changes in religion. Fleeing from local priests who he feared were plotting to murder him, Bale withdrew to Dublin in September 1553 and then set sail for the Netherlands. En route he was taken prisoner by a Flemish man-of-war, which was then forced into port at St Ives in Cornwall by bad weather. Arrested on suspicion of treason under the new Marian regime, he was released to continue his voyage, only to be arrested for a second time at Dover and held there for several weeks. Following his landing in the Netherlands, Bale made his way to Frankfurt, where in September 1554 he took part in the infamous ‘troubles’ eventually siding with Richard Cox and the BCP party against Knox’s more radical followers. Under Elizabeth Bale returned again to England and is appointed canon at Canterbury cathedral and his academic labours were well received.

This PS volume reprints Bale's influential *Image of both Churches* (1545), which provided the first complete commentary on the book of Revelation to be printed in English. This work views Christian history as a continuing apocalyptic struggle between the 'true' church, based on Jesus' teachings in the gospels, and the 'false' Church of Rome, whose leadership by the pope results from its subversion by Antichrist and the misinterpretation of scriptural texts. Also included are the martyrologies of Lord Cobham, William Thorpe and the important Anne Askewe. Bale's dramatic and bibliographical works have been published by Brewer, Gregg and others.

Thomas Becon, *Works*, 3 vols., (ed. John Ayre 1843-44)

Little known today, Becon's works were once widely read and appreciated. He wrote through the reign of four monarchs, was chaplain and friend to Archbishop Cranmer and Prebendary of Canterbury and, despite a rather half-hearted recantation under Henry, was noted as dangerously attracted to Protestant ideas, so much so that on Mary's accession, Becon was consigned to the Tower and deprived of his living for being married. On his release in 1554 he went into exile in Strasbourg to return under Elizabeth. Cranmer delegated the writing of several of the Homilies to others, and Becon contributed the 11th Homily 'Against Whoredom and Adultery' in the *First Book of Homilies* published in 1547. Much of Becon's literary output consists of devotional works, but also contains an important Catechism (1560) in dialogue form and works on practical theology ('The Principles of Christian Religion'), prayer ('The Pathway unto Prayer') and fasting ('A Fruitful Treatise of Fasting'). Throughout, Becon's works display a thorough-going Protestantism, but it should be noted that his earlier works are evidence that his Protestant views developed slowly and he published works, for example, on the proper preparation for Lent ('A Potation for lent'). Selections of Becon's works have been reprinted by, amongst others, the Religious Tract Society, SPCK and more recently by Kessinger Publishing. Several works are online at Project Canterbury.

John Bradford, *Writings*, 2 vols., (ed. Aubrey Townsend 1848-53)

Another much loved and learned Protestant martyred under 'Bloody Mary' in 1555. Bradford was friendly with many of the leading reformers, especially Bucer, who encouraged him in a zealous preaching ministry. A substantial correspondence is included in these 2-volume Writings and they have been highly valued since the time of the Reformation when Foxe brought them to

public attention. They exude biblical exhortation, evangelical conviction and a passionate commitment to the Gospel of Christ. Outstanding items include ‘Confutation of Four Romish Doctrines’, a classic Protestant polemic, which may have been written in partnership with Coverdale, against transubstantiation, praying for the dead, praying to saints and Christ’s repeated sacrifice. The ‘Hurt of Hearing Mass’ is more of the same. Bradford’s ‘Examinations and Prison-Conferences’ at the end of his earthly life are sober and challenging declarations of a man willing to die for his Lord and the principles of the Reformation. Bradford’s extensive meditations and prayers show a sensitive and gentle spirit and a deep desire to make God’s people a people of prayer. The Catholic authorities knew very well his standing and tried on numerous occasions to get him to recant his faith, but to no avail, and he went to the fires of Smithfield a convinced Protestant. Bradford’s works provide further evidence that the English Reformers were men of deep Protestant and biblical convictions, but also having a pastoral and devotional heart, which has enriched many generations of later believers. Banner of Truth and Wipf & Stock have reprinted the PS volumes.

Henry Bullinger, *Decades*, 4 vols., (ed. Thomas Harding 1849-52)

These fifty theological sermons divided into five decades, from one of the most respected and influential continental Reformers, are included in the works of the PS because of their peculiar influence on the English Reformation. After a prologue on the ancient Creeds, the first decade deals with the Word of God and faith; the second and third with ethics; the fourth with the doctrine of God; and the fifth with the doctrine of the Church. Marian exiles, such as Hooper, lodged with Bullinger’s family in Zurich for two years. Others, such as Horne, Sandys and Grindal kept up a voluminous correspondence with him, as Bullinger’s advice was widely sought and his concern for England was such that he wrote against the papal bull of 1570, which excommunicated Elizabeth. Others, such as Coverdale and Lever, translated and disseminated Bullinger’s works for a wider audience. The *Decades* were first published in full in English in 1577, although both Latin and German versions were also widely read. In 1586 Archbishop John Whitgift published instructions for those called to the ministry and without a university education to buy a Bible, a notebook and a copy of Bullinger’s *Decades*, thus insuring the Swiss Reformer’s works permeated through the Elizabethan Church of England. The aspiring minister and preacher was to read a sermon from Bullinger every week and note down what they

learned from it. An introduction to an English edition of the *Decades* suggested that Bullinger was most useful for education, as he was not as obscure as Calvin and not as scholastically subtle as Musculus. Bullinger provided easily digested and accessible Reformed theology for an eager English readership.

Lovers of Reformed and evangelical doctrine are indebted to Reformation Heritage Books in recently reprinting the PS edition of *The Decades* in two handsome double volumes, complete with an excellent biography of Bullinger and introduction by Joel Beeke and George Ella. For an online Table of Content of the *Decades*, see <<http://www.wscal.edu/clark/decades.php>>. EEBO has both Latin and English versions online.

James Calfhill, *Answer to Martiall's Treatise*, (ed. Richard Gibbings 1846)

Another more obscure English Reformer, who was Subdean at Christ Church, Oxford, as well as being made Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1564. He was also Archdeacon of Colchester and bishop-elect of Worcester. He died aged only forty before he could take up the bishopric. Calfhill was a leading member of the group of Oxford Reformers in Elizabeth's reign, including Thomas Sampson and Laurence Humphrey, and he was notable for his radical curtailment of ceremonies and vestments prescribed in the 1559 BCP. Calfhill did not hide his puritan views, and indeed preached bravely at Paul's Cross and even before the Queen. The work in this PS volume is a 1565 refutation of John Martiall of Louvain's treatise on the Cross, which he was bold enough to dedicate to Queen Elizabeth because she was known to have a cross in her private chapel, a thing which enraged many puritans of the day. Calfhill cogently argues that ceremonies without scriptural attestation must be abolished.

Thomas Cooper, *Against Private Mass*, (ed. William Goode 1850)

Cooper was the learned Bishop of Lincoln, then Winchester, and wrote this 1562 treatise against 'An Apology of Private Mass' by an anonymous Catholic writer, who attacked Jewel's writings. Cooper was no friend of the Elizabethan puritans and wrote in 1589 'An Admonition to the People of England' against those, including the libelous, and still anonymous, Martin Marprelate, who denounced the episcopacy and defamed the Church of England. The puritans saw Cooper as 'the profane TC' compared to their hero, the arch puritan Thomas Cartwright, who usually signed his works TC. Men like Bishop Cooper saw the puritans as composing as great a threat to the English Church

as the Papists and roundly attacked both in his works. Cooper did however support the prophesying exercises and was most keen to see Protestant education advancing in his charges. Under Mary he did not flee abroad like many others, but instead chose to practice medicine and bide his time. Cooper made an unfortunate choice of wife, who threw early drafts of his important ‘Thesaurus’ in the fire and had affairs with several men, which resulted in much heartache and scandal in Oxford. Cooper was commended for bearing patiently with his troubles, but was mercilessly attacked in the scurrilous Marprelate tracts.

Miles Coverdale, *Writings & Translations*, 2 vols., (ed. George Pearson 1844-46)

Perhaps best known as a Bible translator in partnership with Tyndale and others, Coverdale’s doctrinal treatises should not be overlooked, and these volumes give ample evidence of this Reformer’s breadth of thinking and sharp mind. Under Edward VI Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter, but deprived, like many others, under Mary and went into exile in various places, including Geneva. He also went into exile at other times under Henry VIII. This enabled Coverdale to establish a life-long network of Reformed friends and correspondents across Europe, and he often went to them for advice as to how to promote godly reforms in England. He was a popular preacher and was noted for his puritan tendencies, particularly his aversion to popish vestments. Notable treatises here cover the Lord’s Supper, Reformed church order in other countries, and ‘Fruitful Lessons upon the Passion, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending of the Holy Ghost’. Controversial works include a ‘Confutation of the Treatise of John Standish’, which defends the Protestant, biblical stance of Coverdale’s late friend Robert Barnes.

Thomas Cranmer, *Works*, 2 vols., (ed. John Edmund Cox 1844-46)

Hugely influential and complex Archbishop of Canterbury martyred under Mary on 21st March 1556. He was also the judicious compiler of the BCP and oversaw the production of the Homilies. The first PS volume mostly consists of Cranmer’s 1551 re-worked and extensive treatise on the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. As with most Reformation treatises, it is a controversial work written against Richard Smith and ‘a craftie and sophisticall cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner Doctor of Law, late Byshop of Winchester’. Other gems in these volumes include the Oxford Disputations taken from the 1583

ed. of Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments', 'A Confutation of Unwritten Verities', various correspondence, articles and injunctions. Always Erastian in his views, Cranmer constantly tried to moderate more extreme proto-puritans like Hooper into waiting for reformation authorized by the proper authorities. He was constantly in touch with continental Reformers and was instrumental in bringing men such as Peter Martyr and Bucer to England to further the Protestant cause. Regent College Publishing have reprinted the 2 vol. PS edition. Cranmer on the Lord's Supper has been reprinted several times.

William Fulke, *A Defence of Translations*, (ed. Charles Henry Hartshorne 1843)

William Fulke, *Stapleton's Fortress Overthrown etc.*, (ed. Richard Gibbings 1848)

Perhaps one of the most learned of the later English Reformers, Fulke used his formidable intellect to refute some of the most able and influential Catholic apologists. Fulke also produced scientific treatises on such things as meteors, and, in 1560, a radical attack on superstitious astrology. Fulke led the puritan faction at St. John's, Cambridge in disregarding the popish surplice and Sir William Cecil had to personally intervene to restore order. Although in the early 1570's a strong petitioner for the presbyterian platform of church government in the Church of England, he seemed to move away from this position and focus his considerable energy in the more generally acceptable direction of attacking papist ideas and defending the Protestant faith, very much in the mould of the earlier apologist John Jewel. Fulke published full rebuttals to 21 Catholic works by such notables as William Allen, Thomas Stapleton, Nicholas Sanders, and Robert Persons. He also held public disputations with recusants such as Edmund Campion, who was executed in 1581. In the late 1580's Fulke published a hugely erudite confutation of the 1582 Catholic Rheims New Testament. Fulke, together with many Protestant apologists of his day, saw the Reformation as the climactic struggle between the Christ of Protestantism and the Antichrist of the Papacy. The first PS volume is a large-scale confutation of a 1582 work by Gregory Martin, the major figure behind the Rheims translation of the Bible. It ably defends the Protestant translations of the Bible into English. The second PS volume contains three treatises against Stapleton, Martiall and Sanders, some of the most able of the English Catholic apologists.

Edmund Grindal, *Remains*, (ed. William Nicholson 1841)

Successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of York and Canterbury, Grindal's life perhaps epitomizes the perplexing position of a Reformed Protestant bishop under an unyielding and absolutist Tudor monarch. Towards the end of Henry VIII's reign Grindal had rejected the Mass, and after reading a book by Bullinger, moved towards the Swiss Reformed view of the sacrament. Grindal was friendly with Ridley and Bucer, who was influential in propagating Reformed ideas when in Edwardian Cambridge. As a Marian exile, Grindal went to Bucer's Strasbourg, and it later fell to him to try and reason with Knox during the Frankfurt 'troubles'. Grindal was at the centre of the formation of the Elizabethan Settlement and often put forward as spokesman for the firmly Protestant national Church. He was also given the massive task of seeking to rebuild St. Paul's Cathedral after a major fire in 1561 and helping London cope with plague a few years later. Grindal was in a difficult position as to his support of the London 'Stranger Churches'. They were granted much freedom in their running, but forward thinking puritans also looked to them to provide a model of best Reformed practice. In London Grindal was also faced with forceful puritan nonconformity over wearing vestments and many of the men he brought into London churches were deprived in 1566. In 1570 Grindal was made Archbishop of York and it was hoped that a year after the northern uprising the new prelate would help to make the area firmly Protestant. He dealt firmly with recusants and was successful in bringing more than forty dependable Protestant ministers into his diocese. In 1575 Grindal was translated to Canterbury and many considered him the right man to firmly deal with the recusant threat and reform ecclesiastical courts and promote discipline. Members of the Privy Council told the archbishop of the dangerous 'prophesyings' in the Midlands and Elizabeth lost no time in urging Grindal to stamp them out.

Grindal however took the bold step of insisting that the conferences of godly clergy were indeed useful, but should be better regulated and proceeded in a letter to tell the sovereign why she was in error. The brave Grindal was unsurprisingly sequestered and confined for his disobedience in not suppressing the exercises, thereby inciting Elizabeth's considerable wrath. The Church of England was bereft of normal metropolitan leadership for the full six years which elapsed between his suspension and his death in 1583. Grindal was later held up as a champion for the puritan and nonconformist cause, with

both the puritan biographer Daniel Neal and Richard Baxter praising him as the best Elizabethan bishop. Others saw him as weak in defending the English Church from her puritan ‘enemies’. The PS volume contains an illuminating collection of injunctions, occasional services for time of plague, letters, disputations and sermons, showing the strength of mind and flexibility of this often misunderstood and brave archbishop.

John Hooper, *Writings*, 2 vols., (eds. Samuel Carr & Charles Nevinson 1843-52)

The godly Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester martyred in Mary’s reign in 1555. A Cistercian monk, who converted to the Protestant faith through a reading of Bullinger and Zwingli, Hooper became a resolute, if not obstinate, defender of biblical truth. Throughout his life Hooper remained on friendly terms with the leading continental Reformers, especially Bullinger, and, through periods of enforced exile, he knew many of them personally. It is through conduits such as Hooper that distinctly Swiss Reformed ideas permeated English Protestants with puritan sympathies, and it is no surprise that Hooper supported the ‘Stranger Churches’ in England, which helped to provide local examples of godly Reformed doctrine and church polity. Ever in demand as a popular preacher, Hooper was also renowned for his disputative character, crossing swords with men such as Ridley and Cranmer over the vexed issue of vestments. Hooper is therefore often seen as the prototype of the English puritan. Even luminaries such as Bullinger ultimately considered the matter of secondary importance. The first PS volume, ‘Early Writings’, contains ‘A Declaration of Christ and his Office’, a sustained 1547 attack on Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester’s, popish views on the Lord’s Supper, a treatise on the Ten Commandments, sermons on Jonah and a funeral sermon on Rev 14:13. The second volume of ‘Later Writings’ contains biblical expositions, a treatise on the Incarnation against the perceived threat of Anabaptist ideas, ‘A Brief and clear Confession of the Christian Faith’ based on the Apostles’ Creed in a hundred articles, and the bishop’s Visitation Book of 1551-1552 showing how he was to bring reform to the diocese in his care. Hooper’s letters here printed, in conjunction with those in Zurich Letters (below) show the true character and pugnacity of the man.

Roger Hutchinson, *Works*, (ed. John Bruce 1842)

Little-known Reformer, who was Fellow of St. John’s, Cambridge and later of Eton College in 1550. The same year he was amongst the many learned

theologians who disputed with the tragic Joan of Kent, who was later burnt for her heretical Christological views. Hutchinson soon after published ‘The Image of God, or Layman’s Book’, which, although ostensibly defending the Protestant doctrine of God and the Trinity at an accessible, popular level, also tackled the heterodox theological views of Joan on the true nature of Christ. Hutchinson moved in distinctly evangelical circles, being intimate with Cranmer and Ridley and once, in an official capacity alongside Thomas Lever, engaged in a public disputation against the Mass. The PS volume also contains three sermons on the Lord’s Supper and ‘Two Sermons on Oppression, Affliction and Patience’ based on 1 Peter.

John Jewel, *Works*, 4 vols., (ed. John Ayre 1845-50)

Bishop of Salisbury and leading apologist for the Protestant Church of England against its Catholic opponents, especially Thomas Harding, Oxford Professor of Hebrew. Jewel had deprived Harding of his prebend at Salisbury Cathedral for recusancy. The extensive controversy between Jewel and Harding (1564-1570) touches on all the main points of Reformation controversy and Jewel’s ‘Reply’ (1565), covering 27 articles, represents a massive defence of biblical Protestantism, replete with references and quotations from the Early Church Fathers. Jewel’s officially-sanctioned and well-known ‘Apology for the Church of England’ (1562) and its subsequent, and very large, ‘Defence’ (1567) are classic expositions of the distinctly Protestant origins of the Reformed English Church. The constant Catholic charges of novelty and schism are soundly refuted. Highlights of Jewel’s other works include a commentary on 1 and 2 Thessalonians, interesting treatises on the sacraments and the Scriptures, and his ‘View of a Seditious Bull’ (1570), which was Pope Pius V’s clumsy excommunication of Elizabeth I, thus rendering every English Catholic doubly suspicious to a Protestant populace. Online resources include Morley’s 1888 ed. of the ‘Apology’ (and all of the first two volumes of the PS edition) at Project Canterbury.

Hugh Latimer, *Works*, 2 vols., (ed. George Elwes Corrie 1844-45)

This famous Reformer and champion of Protestantism in England was martyred under Mary in 1555 at the age of 70. He was one of the greatest preachers of the English Reformation and was made a royal chaplain to Henry VIII and later Bishop of Worcester. The 1554 ‘Disputation at Oxford’ and 1555 ‘Examination before the Commissioners’ in the Works serve as poignant

and illuminating precursors to Latimer's death, as are the extant letters written to his correspondents on many key themes of the Reformation. Latimer's Sermons were often reprinted and were greatly esteemed by those who loved the Word of God and were prepared to suffer for the Protestant and Evangelical faith. The Sermons are still in print by Focus Christian Ministries Trust, amongst others. Sermons (1906 New York ed.) at CCEL.

John Norden, *A Progress of Piety*, (1847)

A small devotional work from the 1590's written by a layman cartographer and surveyor. He wrote many such devotional works, which sold well and were dedicated to major figures of the Elizabethan establishment. Norden's devotional theology is full of Scriptural references and immensely practical help for the believer in overcoming 'anye inward or outward affliction'. Such popular collections of prayers show just how successful the English Reformation was in weaning the general populace from Catholic devotional works.

Alexander Nowell, *Catechism*, Latin with trans., (ed. George Elwes Corrie 1853)

Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, who once shared rooms at Brasenose College, Oxford with John Foxe and was also an energetic educationalist and religious controversialist, attacking Catholic apologists such as Thomas Dorman, one of Jewel's literary opponents, and the Jesuit, Edmund Campion. Nowell's exile in Frankfurt at the time of Mary led him to be involved in the so-called 'Troubles at Frankfurt' where the English Protestants clashed over the best form of godly worship. Some have seen this exilic controversy as a catalyst for some of the later conformist versus puritan tensions in the Elizabethan Church when many of the exiles took up prominent positions. Nowell was an influential and powerful figure within the Elizabethan Church of England, but perhaps his puritan leanings made the authorities uneasy in offering him a bishopric. Publicly condemning the crucifix Elizabeth kept in her private chapel in a Lenten sermon at court in 1564 probably didn't help his chances of preferment. Catechisms were a powerful tool in the Protestant arsenal and were widely employed across Europe to teach the basics of the Christian faith. Nowell's immensely popular Catechism was first written in Latin and published in 1570, though still with no official authorization, even though Archbishop Parker had approved it. An English version soon followed. Intermediate and shorter

versions of the Catechism were produced to enable a wider readership to make use of it and the Canons of 1571 and 1604 in effect made Nowell's Catechism the official teaching of the English Church and by 1638 the several versions of his catechism had appeared in sixty-one editions. The 'middle' catechism was the most popular, with forty editions. Nowell's enduring work was heavily influenced by Calvin's 1541 Catechism; yet another indicator of how Reformed ideas came to be so influential in the formation of the Church of England's official doctrine. This PS volume contains the longer Latin catechism and Norton's translation and is ample proof of the seriousness that the English Reformers took sound biblical doctrine.

Matthew Parker, *Correspondence*, (eds. John Bruce & Thomas Perowne 1853)
 This volume contains hundreds of letters both from and to Archbishop Matthew Parker and is an important resource in understanding the early history of the Elizabethan Church. Parker was deeply influenced by Bucer, who had been invited to Cambridge by Cranmer to carry on the Reformation in England. After a secluded, academic life under Mary, Parker reluctantly accepted the archbishopric of Canterbury from Elizabeth. It seems that he was perhaps more solidly Reformed in outlook than previous generations have given him credit for, but his firm Erastian principles and knowledge of Elizabeth's intransigent mind tempered his more radical Protestant ideals. The ferocity of the 1560's vestiarian controversy clearly wearied Parker, and the precise source of authority in the Church of England between the Protestant *sola scriptura* principle and the absolutism of a Tudor monarch proved to be enduring problem between the different factions in the church. Parker's enforced determination to root out vestiarian non-conformists made him a hated figure in many puritan circles and engendered many underground grumblings, which would erupt again in the next decade with the Admonition Controversy. Parker did, however, help to publish 'official' books outlining the doctrine of the English church including, Jewel's *Apology*, the *Second Book of Homilies*, Nowell's *Catechism* and he also personally helped the 1568 Bishops' Bible see the light of day, though it was never as popular as the Geneva Bible. Placed in a some what impossible position as Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker remains a complex character in the English Reformation and he would have been the first to admit that he would rather have remained a contented scholar in his library, rather than the harassed incumbent of Lambeth Palace.

John Philpot, *Examinations & Writings*, (ed. Robert Eden 1842)

Archdeacon of Winchester, acknowledged biblical linguist and martyred under Mary in 1555. He had traveled widely to study in unreformed Italy and this, coupled with the Protestantism he encountered in New College, Oxford, made him a resolutely converted Protestant. In Mary's reign he clashed with Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester and was deprived, and whilst in prison wrote pastoral letters to fellow Protestants and these were well received and printed by Foxe and Coverdale. Bishop Bonner examined Philpot thirteen times before he was executed in December 1555 at Smithfield. Philpot recorded his examinations and smuggled them out of prison and Foxe included them in his *Actes and Monuments*. The examinations and letters of Philpot deserve a greater audience than they enjoy at present and show a man convinced of his Protestant principles and willing to suffer for the pure Gospel of Christ.

James Pilkington, *Works*, (ed. James Scholefield 1842)

A Marian Exile and Bishop of Durham, who studied at various European centres before returning to England in 1559 to be Master of his old college, St. John's, Cambridge and regius professor. He was an acclaimed preacher, with perhaps his most notorious sermon coming after St. Paul's Cathedral was severely damaged after being struck by lightning in 1561. Pilkington assumed it was a direct manifestation of divine wrath and would be followed by worse plagues unless the populace turned towards God and reformed their lives. He angrily attacked a Catholic apologist who refuted his account of events. After being made bishop in 1561, Pilkington was successful in urging notable Protestants such as Thomas Lever and William Whittingham to join him in his northern diocese. Pilkington had much sympathy with those who found popish vestments offensive, but he was also wary of a new breed of puritan leader, who, as he saw it, would destroy the national church if they had their way. The *Works* include Pilkington's polemic after the burning of St. Paul's and expositions on Haggai and Nehemiah. Pilkington's *Exposition on Nehemiah* was left unfinished at his death and was published by his friend John Foxe in 1585 with a preface by him.

Nicholas Ridley, *Works*, (ed. Henry Christmas 1841)

Bishop of London and Marian martyr in 1555. Ridley gradually came to a Protestant understanding of the Lord's Supper asserting that Christ was present

in a spiritual manner in the sacrament, not in bodily form. Cranmer would later state that his protestant understanding of the Lord's Supper was due to the godly Ridley debating with him on the subject. Imprisoned under Mary, Ridley's works were smuggled out of prison and he also wrote an accessible treatise on the sacrament called a Brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper. On 16th October 1555 Latimer and Ridley were burned at the stake in Oxford and, in Foxe's later account, Ridley suffered terribly compared with Latimer, who was quickly smothered. This PS volume contains the Brief Declaration, treatises on image worship, accounts of his disputations and examinations, smaller works and letters. The volume is online at Project Canterbury and is reprinted by Wipf & Stock and Focus Christian Ministries Trust.

Thomas Rogers, *The Catholic Doctrine of the CoE.*, (ed. J.J.S. Perowne 1854)
Rogers became chaplain to Sir Christopher Hatton and Richard Bancroft and much of his literary output was in providing accessible translations of devotional works, which he ensured were purged of unhelpful and superstitious vestiges of popery. Rogers' association with many of his godly, Cambridge-trained, clerical colleagues appears to have been initially close, and he took part in the weekly combination lecture held on Mondays in Bury St Edmunds and presided over by John Knewstubb, the noted puritan. He was sympathetic with those who, in all good conscience, could not conform to Whitgift's subscription to the Book of Common Prayer. By 1607 Rogers had fallen out with the puritan ministers at the Bury exercise after he had attacked a work by Laurence Chaderton on Reformed polity in Christ's Church.

Some thought it presumptuous of a private minister to make himself the mouthpiece of the established Church by defending the 39 Articles; others of a puritan frame of mind, disliked the very idea of having to subscribe to them. This PS volume represents the most important of Rogers' works. It was first published as *The English Creed* in 1585 and was substantially revised in 1607 as *The Faith, Doctrine and Religion Professed and Protected in the Realm of England*. Rogers' work shows that from the outset the 39 Articles were viewed as clearly Reformed in tone.

Edwin Sandys, *Sermons etc.*, (ed. John Ayre 1841)

Controversial Archbishop of York. Under Mary he was sent to the Tower and spent time with the martyr John Bradford before influential friends procured

his release and he went into exile in Strasbourg. Sandys played his part in the ‘Troubles at Frankfurt’ between the English exiled Protestants, but seemed to spend most of his time in his studies, and, together with Jewel, followed Peter Martyr from Strasbourg to Zurich. Sandys disliked many features of the Elizabethan Settlement and complained that conformity to outward ceremonies and secondary issues was enforced by the state, but he also disliked the presbyterian system advocated by the more extreme puritans. He was known as a quarrelsome man of hot temper, having drawn his dagger in public on more than one occasion and this, combined with iconoclastic tendencies earlier in his career, made him an opponent of more conservatively-minded men. Sandys was a friendly patron to many puritans including George Withers and Thomas Sampson, and Edward Dering was given a prestigious divinity lectureship at St. Paul’s Cathedral. After the first salvo was fired in the 1570’s ‘Admonition Controversy’, Sandys’ attitude hardened considerably and he was forced to defend the bishops from popular libels and pamphlets occasioned by the recent unrest. In 1577 Sandys was confirmed as Archbishop of York and, despite several confrontations with more radical puritans, favoured the prophesyings, which would eventually bring down Grindal. In his northern diocese the new archbishop assiduously tackled stubborn recusants and brought Protestant reforms to every parish and minister he had influence over. Many considered Sandys’ zeal counter-productive and the number of recusants actually grew under his tenure. He was involved in many disagreeable disputes and wranglings, most notably with Dean Whittingham of Durham. The archbishop made no secret of using favours, leases and annuities to the advantage of friends and family and the accusations of nepotism and a grasping nature surely have some truth behind them. This PS volume shows the sermons of a man, who would perhaps have been safer staying in his study, rather than being elevated to some of the highest offices in the Church of England and being embroiled in so many controversies and disputes that tarnished the office of a Christian bishop.

William Tyndale, 3 vols., (ed. Henry Walter 1848-50)

There has been a resurgence of interest in this martyred reformer, with a society, a journal and conferences all focusing on his work in the context of the English Reformation. Tyndale’s lasting legacy is the fact that it is estimated that eighty-four per cent of the New Testament in the King James translation comes from Tyndale’s work and he had a great influence on the future direction of the

English language. The first volume contains doctrinal treatises and ‘introductions to different portions of the Holy Scriptures’. Tyndale did much to bring Reformation principles to the English people, and recent scholarship has shown that he much more than a mere translator of Luther. He was an original thinker and an early exponent of covenant theology. A ‘Pathway into the Holy Scripture’, ‘The Parable of the Wicked Mammon’ and ‘The Obedience of a Christian Man’ are all important treatises from the 1520’s, which readily reward careful reading. The second volume contains ‘Expositions and Notes on sundry portions of the Holy Scriptures together with the Practice of Prelates’. The expositions on the Sermon on the Mount and 1 John are especially rich. The 1530 polemical treatise against prelates, it should be noted, was originally intended against ‘popish prelates’, as later editions made clear. The third volume contains a treatise on the Lord’s Supper, examples of Tyndale’s translations, and the 1531 polemic, an ‘Answer to Sir Thomas More’s Dialogue’, where More lucidly refutes Protestant ideas. The three PS volumes are in print with Wipf and Stock and Tyndale’s translations of the Bible remain in print by the British Library/Yale, amongst others. The Religious Tract Society’s William Tyndale: Select Works have been reprinted by Focus Christian Ministries. The ‘Obedience of a Christian Man’ (1528) can be found in many reprints, including Penguin.

William Whitaker, *Disputation on Holy Scripture*, (ed. William Fitzgerald 1849)

Whitaker was one of the most erudite and able of the English Reformers and wrote many massive works defending the Protestant cause and attacking popish doctrine promulgated by the likes of Nicholas Sanders, Edmund Campion, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine and Thomas Stapleton. In 1580 Whitaker was appointed regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Whitaker was a staunch ‘Calvinist’ in terms of election and salvation and this put him at odds with the Cambridge Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Peter Baro, and occasioned a bitter feud that lasted more than a decade at the university. Whitaker self-consciously defended Calvinist orthodoxy versus the emergent anti-calvinist party at Cambridge in the 1590’s. In 1595 Whitaker was the main figure behind the Calvinist Lambeth Articles, which Elizabeth swiftly abrogated, but they were adopted in the Irish Church in 1613. Whitaker’s collected ‘Works’ were published posthumously in Geneva in 1610 thereby showing his international credibility and usefulness in the wider Reformed

community. Early in his career Whitaker had distinct puritan tendencies and encouraged Thomas Cartwright to refute the 1582 Rheims NT and its seditious annotations and glosses. In 1588 Whitaker published his *Disputation on Holy Scripture*, which remains a gem of Protestant polemical literature and constitutes a wonderful defence of the authority and sufficiency of Holy Scripture. The PS was wise in commissioning this important treatise to be translated into English for a wider readership. Both *Soli Deo Gloria* (now Reformation Heritage Books) and Wipf & Stock have happily kept this important volume in print.

John Whitgift, *Works*, 3 vols., (ed. John Ayre 1851-53)

Archbishop Canterbury from 1583 to 1604 and is perhaps best known for his role in the bitter ‘Admonition Controversy’ (1572-1577) between the presbyterian puritan party represented by Thomas Cartwright, and the defenders of the episcopal Church of England. An anonymous ‘Admonition to Parliament’ was published in 1572 and was an intemperate, but energetic, polemical pamphlet against the corruptions of the established English Church, with the bishops held largely responsible. Cartwright later defended the general content of the Admonition, if not its tone, and Whitgift defended the Church of England’s present structures and administration. The ensuing literary controversy was often an ill-tempered affair between two highly literate and educated Protestants, who both held to a biblical and Reformed theology. The future Archbishop of Canterbury, was perfectly at home quoting passages from Calvin’s *Institutes* and Beza’s treatises. Both men had already crossed swords whilst at Cambridge and Whitgift, once he was in authority in the university, had Cartwright deprived of his professorship. The three volumes of the PS consist mostly of Whitgift’s huge 1574 ‘Defence’, which contains most of the earlier writings in the Admonition Controversy and therefore also Cartwright’s previous contributions. Cartwright wrote further replies in 1575 and 1577, but Whitgift believed he had sufficiently answered his opponent’s objections and did not write further on the subject. The ‘Defence’ ranges through 23 Tracts, mostly focusing on the ‘externals’ of ecclesiastical government, such as civil versus ecclesiastical authority, vestments, subscribing to the BCP, non-biblical titles such as Metropolitan and Archdeacon, and whether or not the NT lays down a clear, once-for-all form of church government, or at the discretion of the national church. The at times wearisome controversy nevertheless provides vital background for an

understanding of the thoroughly Reformed nature of the competing parties in the Church of England in Elizabethan times and evidences the puritan theological platform which Richard Hooker later rails at in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* of the 1590s.

John Woolton, *The Christian Manual*, (ed. John Ayre? 1851)

This little book by the well-respected preacher and Bishop of Exeter was published in 1576 and shows ‘how needefull it is for the servants of God to manifest and declare to the world: their faith by their deedes, their words by their works, and their profession by their conversation’. The anonymous editor for the Parker Society (Toon suggests John Ayre) states that this work was published to show ‘the application of its [that is, Reformation] principles to the practical duties of individual and social life’. Woolton fled to the continent under Mary and met up with Alexander Nowell, whose family had previously helped the future bishop gain an Oxford education at Brasenose. As well as ‘The Christian Manual’ Woolton in the 1570’s produced many popular treatises on the conscience, the immortality of the soul and the Christian view of Man.

2. Parker Society Volumes – Miscellaneous

***Poetry, chiefly devotional during Elizabeth I*, 2 vols., (ed. Edward Farr 1845)**

Two nicely produced little volumes, which contain a wide-ranging, eclectic mix of poetry influenced in some part by the principles of the Reformation. Short biographical notices at the beginning are also helpful. Little gems include the influential metrical Psalms contributed by the puritan William Whittingham, and Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, which were a mainstay of Protestant worship for many years, being first printed together in the Book of Common Prayer of 1562. It is interesting to note the poetical talents of many committed Protestants, who saw no hindrance in producing godly verse for both public and personal edification.

Henry Bull, *Christian Prayers & Holy Meditations*, (1842)

The full title of this wonderful 1566 collection is ‘Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations, as well for Private as Public Exercise’. Early in the English Reformation it was realized that books for private prayer and manuals for devotion needed to be produced from a distinctly Protestant theological perspective. Some of these prayers are thought to be from such notable

Protestants as Thomas Lever and James Pilkington. Other material comes from earlier primers in the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and earlier Catholic prayers translated by John Bradford, and an Introduction heavily sourced from Melancthon. Henry Bull helped John Foxe compile materials for his martyrology and also published works of the Marian martyrs for the building up of the Protestant English public. Bull's collection of prayers and meditations were popular and kept in print until the 17th Century.

Zurich Letters 1558-1579, (ed. Hastings Robinson 1842)

Zurich Letters 1558-1602, 2nd Series, (ed. Hastings Robinson 1845)

Original Letters 1537-1558, (ed. Hastings Robinson 1847)

Essential reading for those who want to read the primary source material of the major figures of the English Reformation. The PS editors have done a commendable job in translating and indexing the originals from the Zurich archives and showing the continuity of thought between the Continental reformers and their English counterparts. Many of the English bishops were exiles in the Swiss states during Mary's bloody reign and their friendship with their Swiss hosts, evidenced by a substantial correspondence, brought much comfort and advice. The Reformed Protestantism of Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Gualter etc. would have leave a profound impression upon the Church of England. This correspondence refutes the conception of the English Reformation seen as an insular, exceptional event. Indeed, it was biblical, Reformed theology that provided the spiritual bonds between reformers, whether English or continental. The third volume covers the reigns of Henry, Mary and the young King Edward and the correspondence of such luminaries as Cranmer, Coverdale, Hooper etc. always repays careful reading. The letters of some of the future Elizabethan bishops, such as Cox, Horne and Pilkington illustrate the reforming tendencies of capable English Protestants, who reacted in markedly divergent ways to the practicalities of running a diocese faced with opposition from both recusants and puritans.

Liturgies: 1549 & 1552 during Edward VI, (ed. Joseph Ketley 1844)

Liturgies & Prayers during Elizabeth I, (ed. William Keatinge Clay 1847)

These volumes are of considerable interest to those who wish to chart the progress, or otherwise, of Protestant and Reformed ideas in the authorized English liturgy. (Although now the BCP is fondly cherished by many Evangelicals in the Established Church, it should be remembered that many of

the puritans considered the official Liturgy to be a diabolical intrusion that smacked of popish ceremonies, rather than the godly order of the best Reformed churches. The 1572 ‘Admonition to Parliament’ is particularly rude about the BCP, ‘in which a great number of things contrary to God’s word are contained’.) As well as the two Edwardian BCP’s, the first volume also contains the 1553 Primer authorized under Edward VI and intended as a book of private prayer ‘agreeable and according’ to the BCP, and the 1553 ‘A Short Catechism’ with Articles appended. The second PS volume contains ‘liturgies and occasional forms of prayer set forth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth’. The prayers for particular occasions include times of sickness, plague, Christian nations ‘that are now invaded by the Turk’, the 1569 uprising in the North, thanksgiving for the protection of the Queen, safety of the English army in France, success of the Navy etc. They are further demonstrations of the Church’s operation in all areas of national life and an encouragement to the people to pray for national and international divine intervention, as well as in personal situations. The earlier BCP editions have been reprinted several times.

Private Prayers during Elizabeth I, incl. 1544 Litany, (ed. William Keatinge Clay 1851)

This volume contains the 1559 Primer, the 1560 *Orarium* (Latin primer), the 1564 *Preces Privatae*, the 1578 Book of Christian Prayers, and an appendix with the 1544 Litany. A useful Preface gives a short introduction to the history of the Primer, but the lengthy Latin works may put some off. EEBO.

General Index to Parker Society, (ed. Henry Gough 1855)

A well compiled and useful Index, which enables fruitful searches of people, places and events throughout the complete works of the PS. The Index is preceded by the 13th and final 1855 report of the Council of the Parker Society, who now deemed their labours complete. There is also appended an ‘index of the principal biblical texts explained or illustrated’. It is interesting and instructive to see, for example, the 38 pages of the Index devoted to references in the PS volumes to St. Augustine, and on other such issues as diverse as astrology, the ecumenical councils and vestments.

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Further Reading:

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