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### *A history and source book on training for the ministry in the Church of England 1511 - 1717*

Frederick Bussby

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A  
HISTORY AND SOURCE BOOK  
on  
TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY  
in the  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
1511 - 1717

by

Frederick Bussby

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A thesis submitted for the degree of M.Litt. in the  
University of Durham, 1952.

PREFACE

## PREFACE

The present study grew out of the practical experience of the writer. He was early asked to become Vice-Principal of a Theological College, and as he looks back on the appointment he can only consider that his qualifications were two convenient degrees in biblical and related studies, and that he was unmarried. His enthusiasm for his studies, and the labour involved in the preparation of lectures, concealed for some time his inadequacy for the work. In due course it became clear that the attempt to prepare men for Holy Orders demanded much more than a knowledge of certain subjects and the ability to push candidates (the term is scarcely too strong) through their examinations. The inadequacy revealed within the Theological College was underlined by lengthy experience amongst service men, particularly overseas. Here the inadequacy was revealed not only in the teacher or the guide, but also in the arrangements for the ordinand himself. Apart from good will, little practical help for Anglicans overseas seemed available. To the writer this seemed an unwise state of affairs after many hundreds of years of church history, even though it was a state of affairs commended by many. There are those who say that the training of men for the ministry is purely a personal matter and that occasionally the good trainer of ordination candidates appears, apparently quite fortuitously. The late B.K. Cunningham has frequently been instanced as the

ideal trainer of ordinands. The present Archbishop of York, Dr Garbett, has expressed distaste for any attempt to guide ordination candidates in the early stages of their preparation; the late Dr. Hedlam remained resolutely opposed to Theological Colleges all his life.

This inertia or hostility towards Theological training is probably peculiar to the Church of England. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants believe firmly in a specific training for the ministry, and the time has certainly come in the Church of England when the subject demands the fullest consideration. With the steady decline in the numbers of the ministry over the last half century it could scarcely be affirmed that a policy of *laissez faire* is obviously successful. On the other hand the present policy of training and preparation may well be imperfect. There is therefore room for an historical study of the thought and advice of the Church of England on this subject. So far as is known the matter has never yet been fully considered in this way. Several reports on the training of the ministry that have been issued in the 20th century contain an occasional reference to Cranmer, Burnet, or Wilson, but no sustained historical study has yet been offered.

The following chapters are limited geographically to the two provinces of Canterbury and York, and in point of time to the period between the Reformation and the suppression of

Convocation in 1717. It is hoped that this may be the first part of a full and detailed consideration of the subject down to the present day.

All evidence and quotations have been given in full or in extensive summary because they are generally difficult of access for the ordinary reader, and one main aim of the study is to present a fairly comprehensive source book on the subject.

It has not been easy to decide on the arrangement of material. It was felt necessary to avoid approaching the subject with any kind of pre-conception. It would have been unwise to force the material into the mould of one's own ideas; at the same time chronological exposition of material would have been wearying. It is believed that the present arrangements covers all the available information on the subject. It may seem to some that the first chapter is overloaded with legislative details. Yet a glance at the Index ( s.v. Ordination) to the Statutes in Force published in two large volumes by the Stationery Office in 1950 will shew that even in the 20th century the regulations that are binding on admission to the ministry, are predominantly Elizabethan. The proportion of space given to this chapter corresponds to the influence that this period has played.

One result of the intellectual unrest of the 16th

## PREFACE

century was the realisation that simply to confer Orders upon a man was not to equip him for the ministry of the church. We therefore see in the Elizabethan church and in the first part of the 17th century the steadily rising intellectual standards of the clergy and the remarkable success of the church, greater for example than it is at present, in providing a graduate ministry. It is only later that other emphases began to emerge; the ability to preach, an aptitude for the pastoral work of the ministry, and above all the need for a true vocation. At the end of our period all these requirements were realised and the three-fold emphases on the knowledge, prudence and holiness of the minister correspond very closely to what C.A.C.T.M. requires to-day.

I have tried to acknowledge faithfully all help received in the place where such help has been used. If there are any omissions, I offer my sincere regrets.

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I

CHURCH AND STATE : 1611 - 1603

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1511 - 1603

## The pre-Reformation Church

The pre-Reformation Church in England devoted remarkably little attention to the training of men for their ministry. Rashdall has shown that, prior to the Reformation, the universities never functioned as societies whose task it was to fit men for Holy Orders. Rather, they were societies of men already in Holy Orders, who were able to follow their studies because they were financed by benefices which they rarely occupied<sup>(1)</sup>. It is not very wide of the truth to say that the universities were a consequence, rather than a precursor, of ordination.

The canons of the Church likewise concentrated their attention on the ordained and not on the ordinand. The exceptions to this generalisation are few. The Council of Hertford in 873 implied episcopal care in the bestowal of orders, when it insisted on the need for a priest to shew his letters of orders to the bishop of the diocese before celebrating mass<sup>(2)</sup>. In 747, at Cloveshoo, it was decided that "bishops ordain no monk, or clerk, to the degree of priest till they first make open enquiry into his former life, and into his present probity of manners, and knowledge of the faith. For how can he preach a sound faith, or give a knowledge of the word, or discreetly enjoin penance to others, who has not earnestly bent his mind to those studies; that he may be able, according to the apostle, to 'exhort with sound doctrine'<sup>(3)</sup>

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1511 - 1603

By the middle of the ninth century, one of the questions asked in the procedure of visitation, was concerning the punctual observance of Ember Days. Enquiries were also made about the antecedents of the clergy, and the way in which they reached Holy Orders. The next traceable legislation does not occur until the thirteenth century. The sixth of the Legatine Constitutions of Otto (1237) declares : "The sacred order therefore is conferred upon worthy men, and in a worthy manner, because other sacraments are conferred by him that is ordained. Therefore since it is very perilous to ordain idiots, illegitimates, irregulars, illiterates, foreigners, and any that want a true and certain title; therefore we enact that a diligent enquiry be made by the bishop before ordination concerning these particulars. And last after such as have deserved it and are set aside upon examination, should clamorously creep in among them that are approved, let the number and names of the approved be written down, and let such as are written down be afterwards, at the beginning of the ordination, called over by reading the list with a careful distinction. And let the list itself be preserved in the bishop's house or the cathedral church<sup>(4)</sup>.

The reason for an embargo upon certain sections of the community, was influenced, in the opinion of Stubbs, by the pressure of the landowners who, by the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), were able to impose restrictions upon the

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1511 - 1603

liberty of rustics so that they could not take Holy Orders. The landowners were afraid of the loss of the services of the villeins<sup>(5)</sup>.

## MORE

To Sir Thomas More, the meagre directions just listed were quite sufficient to control the flow of men into the priesthood. They need, he said, only to be as well kept as they be well made. If only better laymen and fewer were ordained, the priesthood would be quite adequate<sup>(6)</sup>.

## COLET

A more radical opinion was expressed by Colet in his sermon before convocation in 1511: "Let these laws be rehearsed that do warn you fathers, that ye put not over soon your hands on every man, or admit unto Holy Orders. For there is the well of evils, that the broad gate of Holy Orders opened, every man that offereth himself is allwhere admitted without pulling back. Thereof springeth and cometh out the people that are in the Church both of unlearned and evil priests. It is not enough for a priest, after my judgement, to construe a collect, to put forth a question, or to answer a sophism; but more a good, a pure, and a holy life, approved manners, metely language of scripture, some knowledge of the sacraments; chiefly and above all things, the fear of God and love of the heavenly life"<sup>(7)</sup>.

## WOLSEY

Of quite a different character was Wolsey. Among the several offices which he held in 1519 was the bishopric of Tournai. In that capacity he received from Clichtovaux<sup>\*</sup> the dedication of a book, entitled: *De vita et moribus sacerdotum opusculum : singularem eorum dignitatem ostendens et quibus ornati esse debeant virtutibus explanans*. The very same year he received authority from the Pope to visit all the clergy of England. This coincidence of interest and opportunity gave him occasion to castigate the clergy both for their manners and for their ignorance. He second, says Burnet with some acidity, "to have designed the reformation of the inferior clergy by all the means he could think of, except of giving them a good example". (8)

## STARKLY

Moderate reform was voiced by Thomas Starkey. Born about 1499, he became chaplain to Henry VIII. and accompanied Pole in Italy. Two of his works are relevant in the present enquiry : *Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*(9), and, *England in the Reign of Henry VIII*(10). Both works appeared about 1535 or 1536. In the former Pole, in desiring the reform of the clergy, says : "Priests are too many, and yet good clerks too few...we must have ordinance made that such only may be admitted to preach, whose life and doctrine is many ways proved to be perfect and good. For nowadays the preachers sklander the

\* *sv. Index*

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1511 - 1603

Word of God rather than teach it by their contrary life".

Lupset asks how such preachers should be made. Pole replies:

"Man alone cannot indeed bring this thing to pass, but man may make ordinance that such only as God hath made meet to preach His doctrine should have authority to exercise the same. This man may do; and not only this, but ord<sup>an</sup> mean how man shall be brought up in convenient mean meet for the same, as in common studies and universities, and admit none to that office but such as are proved both in living and doctrine ".

In the second of Lupset's works, England in the Reign of Henry VIII, pole returns to the same theme : "They (ordinands) are not brought up in virtue and learning, as they should be, nor well approved therein before they be admitted to such high dignity. It is not convenient men without learning to occupy the place of them which should preach the word of God, and teach the people the laws of religion, of the which commonly they are most ignorant themselves; for commonly you shall find that they can do nothing but patter up their mattins and mass, mumbling up a certain number of words, nothing understood"<sup>(1)</sup>

## ERASMUS

In the Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset, Pole is made to refer to the recently published work, Ecclesiastes, issued by Erasmus in 1535. I would, says Pole, that we might follow his studies<sup>(2)</sup> Ecclesiastes, sive de Ratione Concionandi, had engaged Erasmus' attention for

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twelve years. When completed it was a small folio volume of 450 pages. Though printed in Basle, Erasmus belonged to England as much as he belonged to Europe so that his guidance for the would-be preacher, especially with its insistence on the vernacular, is particularly relevant. In training, he says, "the first requisite is to associate with people whose speech is pure and polished. The second is to listen to preachers of refinement. The third is to study the books of those who have attained to eloquence in the vulgar tongue...People who know Italian, Spanish and French well declare that in these languages, though debased derivatives, there is a charm which Latin never attains. The same is affirmed about English, though it is of mixed origin...So the preacher to be need not fear to spend some portion of his time on books of this kind. The learned will think Latin and Greek more agreeable, but the true Christian will find no tongue barbarous by which he can win his neighbour for Christ" (13)

## THE CONDITION OF THE CLERGY AT THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION

## a. The Diocese of London

In the important diocese of London, Grindal observes in a letter to Hubert dated May 23rd. 1559 : " We are labouring under a great dearth of godly ministers" (14) On July 14th. of the

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same year he amplifies his complaint : "As we labour under the greatest want of good ministers we are obliged to employ our young men who might be qualified for this office ( i.e. of amanuensis to Grindal himself ) in the ministry of the Churches". A letter of Edmund Gibson, written while he was chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1696, to Samuel Pepys corroborates the impression suggested by Grindal. Writes Gibson : "The other day I met with a catalogue of the clergy in the archdeaconry of Middlesex taken in 1563, with an account of each man's learning and abilities; in short observing the strangeness of the characters, I ran over the whole, and, as I went along, branched them under different heads, whereby their several abilities in learning are there expressed. It is a fancy I know you will be pleased with, and therefore I make bold to give you this short view of the learning of those times.

Docti Latine et Græce	3
Docti	12
Mediocriter Docti	2
Latine Docti	9
Latine mediocriter intell.	31
Latine per unicunque aliquid, pauca verba etc. intellex;	42
Latine non Docti	13
Indocti	4
Total	126

## CHURCH AND STATE 1511 - 1603

Gibson continues : "If the London clergy were thus ignorant, what must we imagine the country divines were ?" (6) Available statistics speedily reveal that the condition of the clergy was considerably worse.

## b. The Diocese of Gloucester

Hooper's enquiries into the condition of his own clergy in the diocese of Gloucester in the year 1551, disclose lamentable conditions. To each of his 311 clergy he poses these nine questions :

1. How many commandments are there ?
2. Where are they to be found ?
3. Repeat them.
4. What are the articles of the Christian faith ?
5. Repeat them.
6. Prove them from scripture.
7. Repeat the Lord's Prayer.
8. How do you know it is the Lord's ?
9. Where is it to be found ?

Only fifty clergy were able to answer all these questions, nineteen mediocriter. Ten did not know the Lord's Prayer, and eight were unable to answer a single question (6)

## c. The Diocese of Lincoln

In 1561-2 only 15 out of 129 clergy in the archdeaconry of Leicester ever preached (67)

## d. The Diocese of Exeter

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1511 - 1603

In 1561, Bishop Alley of Exeter reported to the Archbishop that in Devon, only 24 of the clergy ever preached and that 223 did not preach. In Cornwall less than six of the clergy were known to preach<sup>(18)</sup>.

## The Province of Canterbury : Conclusion

It is no wonder therefore, if the above illustrations are in any way typical, that Parker's impression of the province was a gloomy one. Writing to Grindal in 1560 he says: "Whereas occasioned by the great want of ministers, we and you both, for tolerable supply thereof, have hitherto admitted into the ministry sundry artificers and others not traded and brought up in learning and, as it happened in a multitude, some that were of base occupations, with the result that they are very offensive to the people"<sup>(19)</sup>. His chaplain, Bacon, who presumably was equally well aware of the general situation throughout the Church, expressed himself more vigorously as follows (1564): "Unsett men labour daily to run headlong into the ministry pretending a very hot zeal, but altogether without necessary knowledge, bearing a face of doing good to the congregation of God, when indeed the greatest part of them seek nothing but riches, dignities, promotions, idleness, quietnesses, dominion, rule, honour, welfare ~~etc.~~... They presume to teach before they have learned. They take upon them to rule when they themselves ought most chiefly to be ruled. They leap into the

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1511 - 1603

pulpits without all shams, when they understand not what pulpit matters mean. They make such expositions upon the word of Holy Scripture, as might aptly serve for the declarations of Ovid's Metamorphoses". He then lists the 'base occupations' clamouring to enter the ministry : " The smith giveth over his hammer and stith: the tailor his shears and metewand : the shoemaker his nalle and thread : the carpenter his belt and chip-axe : the painter his pencil and colours: the weaver his shuttle and looms : the husbandman his plough and harrows : the fletcher his bows and bolts : the mason his trowel and mortar : the serving man his sword and buckler : the warrior his harness and target : the officer his office : the artificer his art and science : and so forth of like estates and degrees. Multitudes give over their occupations, and seek how, either by friendship or by favour, either by service or by gifts and rewards, they may creep into the ministry as thieves, not entering in by the door but climbing in some other way, unto the great dishonour, ignominy and slander of the ministry"(20)

We may fairly suspect Bacon of exaggeration for the sake of effect. He cannot resist an alliteration or a *apornomasia*. These candidates for the ministry he says are "beatly belly gods and lazy lubbers"(21). Even his prayers indulge these devices. These men he continues are "imposters rather than pastors, ministers more truly than ministers, golders rather than elders, dissipators rather than dispensers,

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reformers, rather than informers ".

It was therefore no easy problem that awaited the solution of the reformers. The clergy generally were dumb trumpeters, unable to preach and in many instances unacquainted with the bare essentials of the Christian faith.

## EXPEDIENTS FOR REFORM c. SUBDEACONS

Any attempt by those animated with the spirit of reform must clearly try to improve the situation immediately, if possible, but, more important, to set on foot long term reforms. The immediate reforms aimed at providing a modestly equipped ministry pending the more prolonged training of a more highly educated ministry. In 1557, Convocation considered the possibility of using subdeacons :-

## DE QUALITATE ORDINANDORUM

Exacte itaque curent episcopi, ut neminem de  
castro ad subdiaconatus ordinem promoveant,  
nisi eum qui adeo sit exercitatus in evangeliis,  
et epistolis sacris saltem in missali contentis,  
ut eorundem sensum grammaticalem examinatori  
prompte et expedite reddere valeat<sup>(2)</sup>

Convocation was here going against the Ordinal of 1552 which confined itself to the orders of Bishop, Priest and Deacon. And although the order was not maintained in

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1511 - 1603

the Prayer Book when restored in 1559, the occasional existence of the subdeacon is known. How effective the recommendation was may be gathered from the fact that in York in 1557 a certain John Tyrell came from the Bishop of Chester with Letters Dimissory to the Archbishop of York "to be made subdeacon". He was, we are told, "a very honest young man, and had his grammar perfectly but he hath ben this six yeres last past from the scoole, but he hath promised us that he wil ply his lernyng very diligently from henceforth". There was clearly something unusual about the candidate and we gather his standard was not such as would ordinarily be required<sup>(23)</sup> The name subdeacon survived in Hereford where the Statutes of 1583 speak of four subdeacons. In 1637 the statutes add that these subdeacons may be laymen<sup>(24)</sup>

## EXPEDIENTS FOR REFORM : b. READERS.

An expedient that met with slightly more success was Parker's proposal to have Readers. At first he ordained the Readers ( 1559 ) : ordines celebrati per reverendum in Christo patrem ( et ) dominum Rolandum permissione divina Bangor~~ens~~ensem in ecclesia parochiali beate Marie de Archibus Londinii, ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis jurisdictionis immediate vigore et auctoritate litterarum commissionarium reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini Matthei permissione divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi

## CHURCH AND STATE 1511 - 1603

tocius Anglie Primatis et Metropolitanani die dominica viz.  
VIII die mensis Januarii anno domini 1559.

## LECTORES

Thomas Dawes Wintoniensis diocesis

Johannes Moyer Wintoniensis diocesis

Willelmus Pette Londoniensis diocesis

Robertus Rogerson Wintoniensis diocesis

Willelmus Lakers Eliensis diocesis (25).

The practice of ordination was very short lived and shortly afterwards we find that readers were appointed and their duties set forth in the Interpretations of the Bishops 1560-1.

1. I shall not preach nor interpret, but only read that which is appointed by public authority.
2. I shall read the service appointed plainly, distinctly and audibly, that all the people may hear and understand.
3. I shall not minister the sacraments, nor other rites of the Church, but bury the dead and purify women after their childbirth.
4. I shall keep the register book according to the Injunctions.
5. I shall use sobriety in apparel, and specially in the Church at common prayer.
6. I shall move men to quiet and concord, and not give them

## CHURCH AND STATE 1511 - 1605

cause of offence

7. I shall bring in to mine Ordinary a testimony of my behaviour from the honest of the parish where I dwell, within one half year next following.
8. I shall give place upon convenient warning, so thought by the Ordinary, if any learned minister shall be placed there at the suit of the patron of the parish.
9. I shall claim no more of the fruits sequestered of such cure where I shall serve, but as it shall be thought meet to the wisdom of the ordinary.
10. I shall daily at the least read one chapter of the Old Testament and another of the New, with good advisement to the increase of my knowledge.
11. I shall not appoint in my room by reason of mine absence or sickness any other man, but shall leave it to the suit of the parish to the Ordinary for assigning some other able man.
12. I shall not read but in poorer parishes destitute of incumbents except in time of sickness, or for other good considerations to be allowed by the ordinary(26)

The limitations on the Readers were numerous and they could scarcely be considered as more than a makeshift. A further limitation was placed upon them in 1561 by the bishops: "That readers be once a year by every ordinarie reviewed, and there

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abilities and manners examined, and by discretion of the ordinary to remain in their office, or to be removed, and their wages to be ordered; and the absence of mechanical ~~sciences~~ sciences to be also enjoyed by the discretion of the said ordinaries as well to ministers, as to readers<sup>(27)</sup>

The Crown also expressed interest in Readers just as it did in the ministry. The Queen's Injunctions for 1559 reveal her concern. Readers are to be prohibited from serving in any cure where there is an incumbent<sup>(28)</sup>. Nor, when they are in office, may Readers transfer from one ~~ex~~ cure or diocese to another without letters testimonial from the bishop.

Strype sums up the provisions by saying that the Readers "were ordained to supply the necessity of the Church at this juncture"<sup>(29)</sup> They were to serve in small parishes where there was no minister and were to remain there only until an incumbent could be found. They served the Church in decreasing numbers<sup>(30)</sup> partly because they were not held in high regard, and partly because the number of ordained clergy gradually increased.

## THE CHURCH AND REFORM

## The Ordinal

In considering the steps taken to raise the standard of men entering the ministry, we shall consider first the action of the Church through her bishops and convocations.

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Then, we shall turn to the legislation of the State. This procedure is followed for the sake of clarity in the presentation of the relevant legislation though in fact the actions of Church and State in the period now being considered frequently interacted upon one another in the closest possible manner. To-day most people would affirm that the internal affairs of the ministry of the Church are solely the concern of the authorities of the Church. To the Elizabethan such an idea was incomprehensible. All Englishmen were members of the Church of England : ~~all members of the Church of England were Englishmen.~~ It was impossible in practice to disentangle the affairs of Church and State. This interweaving of the authority of Church and State is visible in the Ordinal. The three orders of Bishop, Priest and Deacon go back to the days of the apostles. But the ministry owes its allegiance no longer to the Pope but to the Crown which took over so many of the prerogatives of the Papacy. In the Ordinal of 1550 we find a clear renunciation by the prospective deacon of the authority of the Papacy : "I from henceforth shall utterly <sup>e</sup> nounce, refuse, relinquish and forsake the Bishop of Rome, and his authority, power, and jurisdiction. And I shall never consent nor agree, that the Bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or Power within this Realm, or any other the King's dominions, but shall resist the same at all times. to the

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uttermost of my power. And I from henceforth will accept, repute, and take the king's Majesty, to be the only Supreme head in earth, of the Church of England : And to my cunning wit, and uttermost of my power without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, I will observe, keep, maintain and defend, the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made, and to be made within this realm in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome and his authority, and all other Acts and Statutes, made or to be made, in confirmation and corroboration of the king's power, of the Supreme Head in earth, of the Church of England : and this I will do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, or degree or condition they be, and in no wise do nor attempt, nor to my power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or appertely, to the let, hindrance, damage or derogation thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. And in case any oath be made, or hath been made by me, to any person or persons, in maintenance, defence or favour of the Bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction or power, I repute the same as vain and annihilate : so help me God, All Saints and the holy Evangelists. This oath remained in the new Ordinal of 1552 with the final words altered to : " So help me God, through Jesus Christ " (2) Emphasis was laid upon the call of the candidate and upon his belief in the holy scriptures. The earliest age at which he could be admitted to

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the diaconate was 21: to the priesthood, 24. The deacon received a New Testament. The priest received, in 1539, a Bible and chalice: in 1562, the Bible only. This implied emphasis on the Word of God is new and is not to be found in the Salisbury Use. In fine, the Ordinal shows the continuity of the ministry and its functions. There is still the ministry of forgiveness and the administration of the sacraments, but the teaching <sup>and</sup> preaching <sup>from</sup> of the Bible marks a new departure.

## Ridley

This new emphasis on preaching is at once visible when we turn to the Injunctions of the bishops. Ridley in his Injunctions to the diocese of London in 1550, wrote that "no one was to minister the sacraments, or in open audience of the congregation to expound the Holy scriptures, or to preach, before they be first lawfully called and authorized in that behalf" (33).

## Hooper

Hooper expressed himself with similar emphasis in his Articles for the diocese of Worcester and for the diocese of Gloucester: "It is not lawful for any manner of person to take upon him to preach the word of God, or to minister His sacraments openly unless the same be lawfully called or sent; and those do we think only lawfully called and sent, which are called and sent of God, whose calling and sending ought to be known either by manifest signs and tokens of heaven, or else by such men unto whom appertaineth (by office) to appoint and send forth

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ministers into the Lord's vineyard and church"<sup>(4)</sup> The same insistence on a lawful call and upon due learning is found in his Interrogations published in the following year. He asks : " Whether any man in the ministry of the Church, not being appointed thereunto upon knowledge of such as first should examine their faith and conversation...whether any of them ( <sup>men</sup> be ) qualified and learned to preach and declare unto your parishioners God's word, according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions<sup>(5)</sup>

## Pole

As plans for reform were not limited to one ecclesiastical outlook, neither were measures for reform. Views attributed to Pole have already been given in the writings of Thomas Starkey<sup>(6)</sup> Now that he had power and authority to put his views into effect, we find him taking his opportunity. In 1555 we have, *Constitutiones Legationis Reginaldi Poli : Item placuit, ut ordinarii, quibus dictum est, Nemini cito manum imposueris, ipsimet examinatori ordinandorum cum omni cura et sollicitudine intendant, nec ad alios rejiciant; si vero propter multitudinem ordinandorum aliorum auxilio indigeant, tum eorum opera utantur, quorum probitatem et diligentiam perspectam habeant; nec tamen archidiaconi aliive, ad quos huiusmodi munus spectat, excusantur, quominus et ipsi episcopo assistere debeant.*

In examinatione ordinandorum, imprimis fides catholica, tum aetas, mores, vita, eruditio, et affectus spectentur,

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an sint de legitimo matrimonio nati, an in aliquis sit defectus, quo ab ordinibus de jure repellantur, atque inter caetera ad<sup>t</sup>veratur, ne fictis aut amentitis titulis promoveantur.

Et ut haec recte fiant, ordinandi ad sacros ordines mensibus aliquot ante tempus ordinationis episcopo voluntatem suam significabunt, ut de illorum statu commode cognoscere possit; deinde feria quinta praecedente diem ordinationis eidem episcopo se praesentabunt, et omnium praedictorum fiat diligens et plena examinatio; afferant autem omnes de his quae superius dicta sunt, certa et fide digna testimonia non modo suorum parochorum, sed etiam praceptorum, aliorumve proborum hominum, qui eos bene noverint.

Item placuit, ut nemo ad sacros ordines admittatur, nisi paulo ante confessus fuerit idoneo sacerdoti, qui eius vitae conditionem sedulo scrutatus intelligat, an forte aliqua irregularitate aut aliquo alio impedimento teneatur, ut expediat eum ~~ex~~ ordinibus vel omnino, vel quoad huiusmodi impedimentum tollatur, abstinere. In minoribus etiam ordinibus ea cura et examinatio~~x~~ adhibeatur, quae cuique ordini suscipiendo necessaria videbitur<sup>(37)</sup>.

In the following year, in his Articles for the diocese of Canterbury, he insisted that letters of orders be shown before admission to a benefice. The clergy, he went on, must be ' personas idoneas ad conciones faciendas, et confessiones audiendas'<sup>(38)</sup> It will be noted that Pole too

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saw the need for a preaching ministry. On February 10th. 1556 he read to the Synod of the bishops and clergy of both provinces, assembled since November in the previous year his legatine decrees. These he later revised and amplified before sending them to Rome where they were published in 1562 under the title, *Reformatio Angliae* (3) It is in this final version that he lays further stress on the selection of candidates for the priesthood. Colleges, he went on, must be founded, from which, as from a seed-bed ("seminarium") future priests can be selected by the bishop (4) We shall meet further labours of Pole when we come to a consideration ~~of the Universities and~~ of the idea of the seminary.

Thus however imaginative Starkey's work may have been when he introduced Pole into his dialogues, it becomes impossible to doubt that Pole was genuinely concerned about the selection and adequate training of the clergy. And his invention of the word seminary in this sense of a college to train men for holy orders has proved one of the ~~creative~~ formative ideas of the Christian Church (4).

## Convocation 1557

No doubt taking its tone from the Archbishop, Convocation turned its attention to the ministry. Its provisions for the subdiaconate have already been given (4) Turning to the necessary qualifications of the priesthood it expressed itself as follows : statuimus quoque et ordinamus quod nullus clericus secularis de caetero

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admittatur ad sacros ordines, nisi habuerit testimoniales curati, et oeconomorum vel parochias in qua natus beneficiatus, vel per triennium proximo praecedens commoratus fuerit, sub sigillo archiac. illius loci, vel eius officialis ubi archidiaconus jurisdictionem habuerit; alioquin sub sigillo commissarii in parochia praedict. jurisdictionem habentis; seu in aliqua universitate studens fuerit, sub sigillo commissarii universitatis Oxon. vel vicecancellarii Cantabrig. cum testimonio superioris loci sui; quae literae ipsius ordinandi vitam, genus, patriam, bonam famam, et conversationem, tam circa fidem catholicam, quae circa alia contineant"(43).

Parker.

The accession of Elizabeth with its different ecclesiastical orientation, meant inevitable problems concerning the priesthood. In his Interrogatories of July 1560, Archbishop Parker enquired whether or no those ordained in King Edward's reign were content with such ordination in the time of the late Queen or whether they were re-ordained(44) This question was in due time put by all the bishops to the clergy of their dioceses. In the diocese of Norwich, for example, it appears in the Interrogatories for the year 1561(45) Then new rules were drawn up governing ordination and set out at length in the Interpretations of the Bishops 1560-1:

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23. Item, that ministers being not learned in the Latin tongue, if they be well exercised in the scriptures and be well testified of for their lives and conversation, and of their wives, to be tolerated in the office of deacons. And after a good time of experience, to admit them to the order of priesthood. And of such as be skilled in the Latin tongue, to have good examination of their competent knowledge in the principal articles of the faith, and of some competent matter to comfort the sick and weak in conscience.
24. Item, against the day of ordering appointed to give open ~~recognitions~~ recognitions to all men to except against such whom they know to be not worthy either for life or conversation. And there to give notice that none shall sue for orders, but within their own diocese, where they were born, or had their long time of dwelling, and that by the testimony of their Ordinaries, except of such as be degraded in the universities.
25. Item, that canonical impediments be still observed to repel them which sue to be ordered, except they have dispensation agreeable to the same (46)

Paragraph 25. reads slightly differently in MS. CVI. of the Corpus Christi MSS at Cambridge where the Interpretations are to be found in another copy. The change reads :

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'most of the canonical impediments be still observed' (47).

As a post-script to his Injunctions to Readers, Parker added this injunction for deacons : " I shall not openlie inturmeddle with any artificers' occupations, as covetously to seke a gen thereby, having in ecclesiastical lyving the summe of 20 nobles or above by yere" (48).

In 1564 he issued Advertisements for the better conduct of public prayer. One referred to the requirements of those allowed to preach. This permission probably went more often to those who had been ordained some time, rather than to those just ordained. In view however of the high place now being given by ~~some of the bishops~~ to preaching by some of the bishops at any rate, the terms of the permission are given at length as they imply certain qualifications. in the ministry: " all they, which shall be admitted to preach, shall be diligently examined for their conformity in unity of doctrine, established by public authority: and admonished to use sobriety and discretion in teaching the people, namely in matters of controversy; and to consider the gravity of their office, and to foresee with diligence the matters, which they will speak, to utter them to the edification of the audience.

Item, that they set out in their preaching the reverent estimation of the holy sacraments of baptism, and the Lord's Supper, exciting the people to the often and devout receiving of the holy communion of the body and blood of Christ

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form as is already prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and as it is further declared in an homily concerning the virtue and efficacy of the said sacraments.

Item, that they move the people to all obedience as well in observation of the orders appointed in the book of common service, as in the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, as also of all other civil duties due for subjects to do.

Item, that all licences for preaching granted out by the archbishop and bishops within the province of Canterbury, bearing the date before the first of March, H.D.LXIV. be void and of none effect; and nevertheless all such, as shall be thought meet for the office, to be admitted again without difficulty or charge, paying no more but four pence for the writing, parchment and wax.

Item, if any preacher or parson, vicar or curate so licensed, shall fortune to preach any matter tending to dissension, or to the derogation of the religion and doctrine received, that the hearers denounce the same to the ordinary or to the next bishop of the same place; but no man openly to contrary or to impugn the same speech so disorderly uttered, whereby may grow offence and disquiet of the people; but shall be convinced and reprovved by the ordinary after such agreeable order, as shall be seen to him according to the gravity of the offence. And that it shall be presented within one month after the words spoken.

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Item, that they use not to exact or receive unreasonable rewards or stipends of the poor pastors coming to their cures to preach, whereby they might be noted as followers of filthy lucre, rather than use the office of preaching of charity, and good zeal to the salvation of mens' souls.

Item, if the parson be able, he shall preach in his own person every three months, or else shall preach by another, so that his absence be approved by the ordinary of the diocese in respect of sickness, service, or study at the universities. Nevertheless yet for want of able preachers and parsons to tolerate them without penalty, so that they preach in their own persons, or by a learned substitute, once in every three months of the year(49).

A further article issued the same years adds :-

Item, that no parson or curate, not admitted by the bishop of the diocese to preach, do expound in his own cure, or elsewhere, any scripture or matter of doctrine, or by way of exhortation, but only study to read gravely and apply, without any glossing of the same, or any additions, the homilies already set out, or other such necessary doctrine as is or shall be prescribed for the quiet instruction and edification of the people(50).

Even these lengthy directions did not exhaust Parker's guidance on the subject for we find him issuing the following Advertisements in 1566 :-

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22. First, against the day of giving orders appointed, the bishop shall give open monitions to all men to except against such as they know not to be worthy, either for life or conversation, and there to give notice that none shall sue for orders but within their own diocese where they were born, or had their long time of dwelling, except such as shall be of degree in the universities.
23. Item, that young priests or ministers, made or to be made, be so instructed that they be able to make apt answers concerning the form of catechism prescribed.
224. Item, that no curate or minister be permitted to serve without examination and admission of the ordinary or his deputy in writing, having respect to the greatness of the cure and the nestness of the party; and that the said ministers, if they remove from one diocese to another, be by no means admitted to serve without testimony of the diocesan from whence they come, in writing, of their honesty and ability (5).

Convocation 1571.

If the Archbishop was active, so was convocation. In 1571 it recommended :

"Episcopus nemini posthac manum imponet, nisi instituto in bonis literis, vel in academia vel in inferiori aliqua

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schola; aut qui satis commode intelligat latinam linguam, et probe versatus sit in sacris literis: nec nisi attigerit aetatem illam legitimam, quae statutis et legibus est constituta; nec nisi cuius vita et innocentia gravium et piorum hominum et episcopo notorum fuerit testimonio commendata(52)

The pre-Reformation embargoes upon certain categories of candidates were still to be enforced. Men were not to be admitted into Holy Orders: "si in agricultura, vel in vili aliquo sedentario artificio fuerit: nec nisi qui titulum (quod appellant) aliquum habeant, ut sit una vita tutatur, si Dei permisso, vel in caecitatem, vel in gravem corporis infirmitatem, vel in morbum diuturnum inciadat: nec nisi qui intra ipsius diocesis sacro ministerio functus sit: nec unquam nisi ubi sacra aliquod ministerium in eadem diocesi vacare contigerit. Neminem autem peregrinum, et ignotum vel ad sacerdotium proxentus, vel ad ecclesiasticum ministerium recipiet, nisi ab illo episcopo e cuius diocesi discessit, literas commendatitias, quas appellant dimissorias, secum afferat(53)

<sup>1/2</sup>  
Letters dimissory.

The phrase, Letters dimissory, did not become current in English till about 1585, though there are many references to it in Latin in Parker's Register from 1560 onwards. An example may serve to illustrate the form taken by these

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letters:

Matthaeus etc. dilecto nobis in Christo Thome Foster  
diacono oriundo in parochia de Branebroke nostre Cantuar-  
iensis diocesis, salutem gratiam et benedictionem.

Ut a quocunque episcopo catholico officii sui  
executionem obtinente ad sacrum presbiteratus ordinem  
licite valeas promoveri ( dummodo statu moribus et  
literatura reportus fueris idoneus aliisque canonicum  
in ea parte tibi nonobstat impedimentum ) tam Episcopo  
huiusmodi ordinem conferendi quam tibi recipiendi plenam et  
liberam tenere presentium concedimus facultatem. In cuius rei  
testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus apponi facimus.

Datum in manerio nostro de Lambeth secundo die mensis  
Junii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo, et  
nostre consecrationis anno primo (54).

## Convocation 1575

Parker died in 1575 and convocation, which met before  
the election of the new primate, again devoted itself, this  
time at considerable length, to the question of the  
requirements of all candidates for Holy Orders:

First, that none shall be made deacon or minister  
hereafter, but only such as shall first bring to the bishop of  
that diocese from men known to the same bishop to be of  
sound religion, a testimonial both of his honest life,  
and of his professing the doctrine expressed in the Articles  
of Religion which concern the confession of the true Christian

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faith, and the doctrines of the sacraments " comprised in the book imprinted, entituled, "Articles wherupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops, etc. anno M.D.LXII. put forth by the queen's authority" and which also shall then be able to answer and render to the same bishop an account of his faith in Latin, agreeable and consonant to the said articles. And that every such deacon shall be of the age of twenty three years, and shall continue in that office the space of a whole year at least, before he be admitted to the order of priesthood, and every such minister shall be of the full age of twenty four years. And that neither of those orders shall be given but only upon a Sunday or holy day, and in face of the church, and in such manner and form, and with all such other circumstances as are appointed by the book entituled "The form and manner of making and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons".

II. Item, that no bishop shall give either of the said orders to any that be not of his own diocese ( other than graduates resident in either of the universities ) unless they be dimitted under the hand and seal of that bishop, of whose diocese they are, and not upon letters dimissory of any chancellor, or other officer to any bishop.

III. Item, that unlearned ministers heretofore made by any bishops shall not hereafter be admitted to any cure

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or spiritual function according to the Queen's Majesty's injunction in that behalf; for which purpose the bishop shall cause straight and diligent examination to be us'd in the admission of all curates to the charge of any cure.

IV. Item, that diligent inquisition be made in every diocese for all such as have forg'd and counterfeit letters of orders, that they may be deposed by the commissioners ecclesiastical.

V. Item, that the bishops by their letters do certify one to another the names of such counterfeit ministers, to the end that they be not suffered to serve in any other diocese.

VI. Item, that from henceforth none shall be admitted to any orders ecclesiastical, unless he do presently shew to the bishop a true presentation of himself to a benefice then void within the diocese or jurisdiction of the said bishop; or unless he likewise shew to the said bishop a true certificate, where presently he may be placed to serve some cure within the same diocese or jurisdiction; or unless he be placed in some cathedral church or collegiate church or college; unless the bishop shall forthwith place him in some vacant benefice or cure; or unless he be known to have sufficient patrimony or livelihood of his own.

VII. Item, that none shall be admitted to any dignity or benefice with cure of souls, unless he be qualified

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according to the tenor of the first article; and if any such dignity or benefice be of the yearly value of thirty pounds or above in the queen's books, unless he be a doctor in some faculty, or a bachelor of divinity at the least, or a preacher lawfully allowed by some bishop within this realm, or by one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, and shall give open trial of his preaching before the bishop or ordinary or some other learned men appointed by him, before his admission to such dignity or benefice; and nevertheless where the stipends or living be very small, there to choose and admit of the best that can be found in such case of necessity.

VIII. Item, that all licenses for preaching granted by any archbishops or bishops within the province of Canterbury bearing date before 8th of February, M.D.LXXV. be void and of none effect. And nevertheless all such as shall be thought meet for that office, to be admitted again without difficulty or charge, paying nothing for the same<sup>(55)</sup>.

The reason for this last article, was the desire, according to Neal, to eliminate all Nonconformists. By disqualifying the whole body of clergy, the bishops could exercise severity when renewing licenses and so exclude any whom they thought unsuitable. Had the bishops, continues Neal, been uniformly severe, the Church would have been destitute of all preaching, the conforming clergy being so ignorant and illiterate<sup>(56)</sup>.

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## Grindal

While Grindal was archbishop ( 1576-1583) he scarcely devoted himself to the subject. This may have been due to the fact that in view of his lenient attitude towards 'propheying' he spent the greater part of his time while archbishop of Canterbury under severe restraint. He became so ineffective that he finally decided to resign but death intervened before he could give effect to his decision.

## Convocation 1580

The only ecclesiastical legislation therefore that we find during this period is promulgated by Convocation in 1580 : No bishop shall henceforth make any ministers but such as be of full age twenty four years, and a graduate of the university, or at the least able in the Latin tongue to yield an account of his faith, according to the Articles of Religion, agreed upon in the Convocation(57).

## Puritan influence

Emboldened doubtless by the known sympathy of Grindal and by prominent lay sympathy, the Puritan clergy, including Knewstibbs and Cartwright, later prominent participants in the Hampton Court Conference, summoned a meeting of like minded clergy in London. On the subject of the ministry they circulated the following conclusions : Let no man, though he be an university man ( and here their opposition to Convocation is clear ) offer himself to the ministry: nor

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let any man take upon himself an uncertain and vague ministry, though it be offered unto him<sup>(68)</sup> Not only did the Puritans set little store by University training; they implied here a criticism of the cathedral clergy whom they regarded as unnecessary. Their recommendations continued as follows : But such as are called by some church, let them impart to the classis or conference, of which they are members, or to some great church-assemblies; and if the called be approved, let them be commended by letters to the bishop, that they may be ordained ministers by him.

Those ceremonies in the Book of Common Prayer, which being taken from Popery are in controversy, ought to be omitted, if it may be done without danger of being put from the ministry; but if there be imminent danger of being deprived, then let the matter be communicated to the classis in which the church is, to be determined by them.

If subscription to the Articles and Book of Common Prayer shall again be urged, it is thought that the book of articles may be subscribed, according to the stat. 13 Eliz. that is, 'to such only as contain the sum of the Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments'. But neither the Common Prayer Book nor the rest of the Articles may be allowed ; no, though a man should be ~~deprived~~ deprived of his ministry for refusing it<sup>(69)</sup>.

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A further recommendation made to the classes was as follows : "They are to deal earnestly with patrons, to present fit men whensoever any church falls void in their classis"<sup>(59)</sup>

## Whitgift

Immediately on promotion to Canterbury Whitgift shewed his antipathy towards the Puritans. He applied different standards to candidates for Holy Orders and was bent on applying them rigorously. In his letter to the Bishop of London in 1583 he immediately shewed his concern. What ministers, he asks, have been made in the province of Canterbury since 1571 and are they qualified according to the statutes. In the following year he issued detailed articles designed to strengthen the discipline of the Church. Their importance is increased because it is upon them that some of the relevant canons of 1603 are based. Whitgift's Articles read as follows :-

VII. That from henceforth none be admitted to any orders ecclesiastical, unless he do then presently shew to the bishop a true presentation of himself to a benefice then void within the diocese or jurisdiction of the said bishop, or unless he shew unto the same bishop a true certificate, where presently he may be placed to serve some cure within the same diocese, or jurisdiction, or unless

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he be placed in some cathedral or collegiate church, or college in Cambridge or Oxford, or unless the said bishop shall then forthwith place him in some vacant benefice or cure.

VIII. And that no bishop henceforth do admit any into orders, but such as shall be of his own diocese, unless he be of one of the universities, or bring his letters dimissories from the bishop of the diocese, and he be of age full twenty four years, and a graduate of the university, or at the least able in the Latin tongue to yield an account of his faith, according to the ~~Articles~~ Articles of Religion agreed upon in Convocation, and that in such sort, as that he can note the sentences of scripture, whereupon the truth of the said articles is grounded, and bring a sufficient testimonial with him of his honest life and conversation, either under the seal of some college in the universities, where he hath remained, or from some justice of the peace with other honest men of the parish, where he hath made his abode for three years before; and that the bishop, which shall admit any into orders, being not in this manner qualified, be by the archbishop with the assistance of some one other

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one other bishop, suspended from admitting any into orders for the space of two years<sup>(60)</sup>

Whitgift's stringency was exercised in, practice when occasion demanded. During the vacancy in the See of Chichester in 1585, he himself visited the diocese and required details of those 'not ordered according to the laws of this realm'<sup>(61)</sup> Whitgift here refers to those, and there were some, who were admitted into the Anglican ministry without receiving episcopal ordination, provided they assented to the Thirty Nine Articles. Grindal had permitted such irregularities and, a little later, Bacon was prepared to advocate them in the interest of ecclesiastical comprehensiveness. These exceptions were not made impossible until after the Restoration.

Whitgift visited the diocese of Lincoln in the following year. He had heard, he tells the bishop, that 'unmeet persons' were being admitted into the ministry. He therefore entreats the bishop 'to certify me of all those that you have admitted into any degree of the ministry, since the last convocation, together with their degrees and qualities' He also warns the bishop about counterfeit ministers whom he knows to be abroad<sup>(62)</sup>.

This personal zeal of the Archbishop was visible also in Convocation which published appropriate Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical in 1585, repeating them in 1597. They run as follows:

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Primo cautum est, ne quis posthac ad sacros ordines suscipiatur, qui non eodem quoque praesentationem sui ipsius ad beneficium aliquod intra diocesim sive jurisdictionem eiusdem episcopi a quo sacros ordines petit, tunc vacans exhibuerit...

Deinde, ne quis episcopus posthac aliquem in sacros ordines cooptet, qui, non ex sua ipsius dioecesi fuerit, nisi vel ex altera nostrarum academiarum prodierit; vel nisi literas ( ut loquuntur) dimissorias ab episcopo, cuius dioecesanus existit, attulerit, et vicesimum quartum aetatis suae annum jam compleverit, ac etiam in altera dictarum academiarum gradum aliquem scholasticum susceperit; vel saltem, nisi rationem fidei suae juxta articulos illos religionis in synodo episcoporum et cleri approbatos Latino sermone reddere possit, adeo ut sacrarum literarum testimonia, quibus eorundem articulorum veritas innititur, recitare etiam valeat; ac ulterius, de vita sua laudabili et morum integritate literas testimoniales sub sigillo vel alicuius coëlegii Cantabrigiensis aut Oxoniensis, ubi antea moram fecerit, vel alicuius justitiarii ad pacem dom. reginae conservandam assignati, una cum subscriptione et testimonio aliorum proborum et fide dignorum hominum eiusdem parochiae, ubi per tres annos ante proxime elapsos commemoratus est, exhibeat.

Quodsi vero aliquis episcopus aliquem ad sacros ordines admiserit, qui praedictis qualitatibus non sit praeditus, is per episcopum assidente sibi hac in parte uno alio episcopo

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ab ordinatione ministrorum et diaconorum per integrum  
 beinnum suspendatur, ac eam praterea poenam incurrat, quae  
 de jure in eiusmosi episcopos, qui ad ordines ecclesiasticos  
 sine titulo aliquem promovebunt, statuitur<sup>(23)</sup>

Convocation was clearly no more than the Latin echo  
 of its President.

## The Convocation of York

For the first and only recorded time, it is during  
 Whitgift's archepiscopate that we find the Convocation of  
 York turning to this subject. As the orders were issued  
 in 1589 we may suspect that Sandys ( who died in 1588 )  
 was the cause. We ~~have~~<sup>shall</sup> seen his interest in the subject  
 both ~~when he was~~ at Worcester and ~~later when he was~~ at  
 London. We shall see too that he was the primary mover in  
 the projected seminary at Ripon. Nor is the conjecture baseless  
 as the Orders were issued originally over his name though  
 not published until after his death. They read:-

Orders to be observed of every bishop in his  
 diocese within the province of York

1. Impramis, that no bishop shall make any ministers,  
 but first shall give public notice thereof, and shall ask  
 none but such as be of his own diocese or of ye Universities,  
 and that they bring with them good testimony of their conver-  
 sation and former life, and shall be thoroughly examined by  
 ye bishop himself and other of ye learned clergy, whether

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they have been students of divinity and are able in ye Latin tongue to show forth the scriptures, whereupon ye articles of religion agreed upon in synod are grounded. And that this action of admitting any into ye ministry be done in public place, according to ye order of ye book of making of ministers in yt behalf provided and established. And that none be admitted into ye ministry but such as do know where presently to be placed. Ye bishop yt will not danger his soul must be careful herein : "Ne cito cui manus imponas" saith Paul for ye making of unworthy ministers hath turned to ye great slander of this church of England...

V. Item, it is carefully to be considered yt none be admitted into the ministry, ether allowed preacher in any diocese, except he or they first subscribe to ye articles of religion established and allowed of.

Two years later the Northern Convocation tried to encourage post-ordination study. The occasion of the consecration of Matthew Hutton as bishop of Durham in 1589 provided the pretext for the Orders published on August 1. 1591: " That the ministers in every diocese be exercised with the study and practice of the scriptures continually in such sort as hath been accustomed in every several diocese, and that they render an account of their studies and labours to their Ordinary so often as they shall be required, till further order be taken in his Grace's metropolitcal visitation. (64)

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This long series of articles and canons, of advertisements and interrogatories and constitutions, so largely repetitive, bears witness at any rate to the legislative interest of the Church during Elizabeth's reign in particular, in the subject of her ordinands. No better summary and climax to them is possible than that provided by the Church ~~in~~ in the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of 1603, published in the following year. The relevant canons are canons XXXI - XXXVI (65) and are here given in full because of nineteenth century modifications in some of them, and of twentieth century modifications intended for all of them.

**Canon XXXI.** The solemn times appointed to the making  
of ministers.

This canon has no precedent in ecclesiastical legislation.

Forasmuch as the ancient fathers of the church, led by example of the apostles, appointed prayers and fasts to be used at the solemn ordering of ministers, and to that purpose allotted certain times, in which only sacred orders might be given or conferred; we, following their holy and religious example, do constitute and decree, that no deacon or minister be made and ordained, but only upon the Sundays immediately following the Jejunia quattuor temporum, commonly called 'Ember Weeks', appointed in ancient time for prayer and fasting ( purposely for this cause at their first institution ) and so continued at this day in the Church of England; and that this be done in the cathedral or parish church

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where the bishop resideth, and in the time of divine service, in the presence not only of the archdeacon, but of the dean and two prebendaries at the least, or ( if they shall happen by any lawful cause to be let or hindered ) in the presence of four other grave persons, being masters of arts at the least, and allowed for public preachers.

The next canon is likewise without formal precedent.

Canon XXXII. None to be made deacon and minister

both in one day.

The office of deacon being a step or degree to the ministry, according to the judgment of the ancient fathers, and the practice of the primitive church; we do ordain and appoint, that hereafter no bishop shall make any person, of what qualities or gifts soever, a deacon and a minister both together upon one day; but that the order in that behalf prescribed in the book of making and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons, be strictly observed. Not that always every deacon should be kept from the ministry for a whole year, when the bishop shall find good cause to the contrary; but that there being now four times appointed in every year for the ordination of deacons and ministers, there may ever be some time of trial of their behaviour in the office of deacon, before they be admitted to the order of priesthood.

Canon XXXIII summarises articles and canons already published in 1575, 1583, 1585 and 1597.

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Canon XXXIII. The titles of such as are to be made ministers.

It hath been long since provided by many decrees of the ancient fathers, that none should be admitted either deacon or priest, who had not first some certain place where he might use his function. According to which examples we do ordain, that henceforth no person shall be admitted into sacred orders, except he shall at the time exhibit to the bishop, of whom he desireth imposition of hands, a presentation of himself to some ecclesiastical preferment then void in that diocese; or shall bring to the said bishop a true and undoubted certificate, that either he is provided of some church within the said diocese, where he may attend the cure of souls, or of some minister's place vacant, either in the cathedral church of that diocese, or in some other collegiate church therein also situate, where he might execute his ministry; or that he is a fellow, or in right as a fellow, or to be a conduct or chaplain in some college in Cambridge or Oxford; or except he be a master of arts of five years' standing, that liveth of his own charge in either of the universities; or except by the bishop himself, that doth ordain him minister, he be shortly after to be admitted either to some benefice or curateship then void. And if any bishop shall admit any person into the ministry, that hath none of these titles as is aforesaid, then he shall keep and maintain him with all things necessary, till he do prefer him to some ecclesiastical ~~preference~~ living. And if the said bishop shall refuse to do so, he shall be suspended by the

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archbishop, being assisted with another bishop, from the giving of orders by the space of a year.

Canon XXXIV, like its immediate predecessor, is a summary of previous legislation, the earliest being the Provinciale of William Lyndwood ( lib.1.tit.5.6.9.) and the remainder excerpts from the plethora of Elizabethan legislation.

Canon XXXIV. The quality of such as are to be made  
 ministers.

No bishop shall henceforth admit any person into sacred orders, which is not of his own diocese, except he be either of one of the universities of this realm, or except he shall bring letters dimissory ( so termed ) from the bishop of whose diocese he is; and desiring to be a deacon, is three and twenty years old; and to be a priest, four and twenty years complete, and hath taken degree of school in either of the said universities; or at the least, except he be able to yield an account of his faith in Latin, according to the articles of religion approved in the synod of bishops and clergy of this realm, one thousand five hundred sixty and two, and to confirm the same by sufficient testimonies out of the holy scriptures; and except moreover he shall exhibit letters testimonial of his good life and conversation, under the seal of some college in Cambridge or Oxford, where before he remained, or of three or four grave ministers, together with the subscription and testimony of other credible persons, who have known his life

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and behaviour by the space of three years next before.

Besides the influence of previous ecclesiastical legislation, Usher claims that the tolerant principles of Bacon in his Considerations touching the pacification of the Church have left their mark upon this canon.

Canon XXXV. The examination of such as are to be  
made ministers.

The bishop, before he admit any person into holy orders, shall diligently examine him in the presence of those ministers that shall assist him at the imposition of hands: and if the said bishop have any lawful impediment, he shall cause the said ministers carefully to examine every such person so to be ordered. Provided, that they who shall assist the bishop in examining and laying on of hands, shall be of his cathedral church, if the may conveniently be had, or other sufficient preachers of the same diocese, to the number of three at the least: and if any bishop or suffragan shall admit any to sacred orders who is not so qualified or examined, as before we have ordained, the archbishop of this province having notice thereof, and being assisted therein by one bishop, shall suspend the said bishop or suffragan so offending, from making either deacons or priests for the space of two years.

The last of the relevant canons soon became the most contentious. Bancroft had to insist on its observance before the year 1604 had run its course. The objections came from the

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Puritans. It was this canon which was heavily criticised by the Parliament of 1640. The universities likewise objected to it on the grounds that it limited the liberty of the subject. It ought not, they claimed, ' to be imposed upon any students or graduates whatsoever.' In 1865 it was amended.

Canon XXXVI. Subscription required of such as are to be  
made ministers.

No person shall hereafter be received into the ministry, nor either by institution or collation admitted to any ecclesiastical living, nor suffered to preach, to catechise, or to be a lecturer or reader of divinity in either university, or in any cathedral or collegiate church, city, or market town, parish church, chapel, or in any other place within this realm, except he be licensed either by the archbishop, or by the bishop of the diocese, where he is to be placed, under their hands and seals, or by one of the two universities under their seal likewise; and except he shall first subscribe to these three articles following, in such manner and sort as we have here appointed.

1. That the King's Majesty under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, super-

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~~honorific~~

iority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within his majesty's said realms, dominions and countries.

11. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used; and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

III. That he alloweth the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty and two; and that he acknowledgeth all and every the articles therein contained, being in number nine and thirty, besides the ratification, to be agreable to the word of God.

To these three articles whosoever will subscribe, he shall, for the avoiding of all ambiguities, subscribe in this order and form of words, setting down both his Christian and surname, viz., " I N.N. do willingly and ex animo subscribe to these three articles above mentioned and to all things that are contained in them ". And if any bishop shall ordain, admit or license any, as is aforesaid except he first have subscribed in manner and form as here we have appointed, he shall be suspended from giving of

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orders and licenses to preach, for the space of twelve months. But if either of the universities shall offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law, and his majesty's censure.

The modern belief that the internal affairs of the Christian ministry are solely the concern of the Church authorities is a view quite incomprehensible to either churchmen or statesmen in the sixteenth century. Church and State were inseparably related. The repudiation of papal authority meant that the Crown took over many of the powers formerly wielded by the Papacy. Then the thought of the time gradually worked towards a philosophy of Church and State which saw them ideally as the same society, differently regarded. Every man belonged to the church of the land of his birth and that church was subject to the crown. Whitgift states this unequivocally : " If it had pleased her majesty, with the wisdom of the realm, to have used no bishops at all, we could not have complained justly of any defect in our church. Or if it had liked them to have limited the authority of bishops to shorter terms, they might not have said they had any wrong. But sith it hath pleased her majesty to use the ministry of bishops, and to assign them this authority, it must be to me, that am a subject, as God's ordinance. And therefore to be obeyed according to St. Paul his rule." 66.

Henry VIII.

Henry was not slow to avail himself of the powers wrested from the papacy. To the holder of the short-lived

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see of Westminster (1547-1550), he issued instructions that he was not to "give orders to any person or persons not learned in Holy Scripture, neither deny them that be learned in the same, and of honest conversation in living."<sup>(67)</sup> Then to encourage the training of ordinands he directed that "every parson, vicar, clerk or beneficed man having yearly to dispend £100 in benefices or other promotions of the Church shall give £3. 6. 8. in exhibition to the scholars in any of the Universities <sup>(68)</sup>

## Edward VI.

In issuing his Royal Commission to Cranmer in 1547, Edward enjoins the Archbishop: "ut interim tuum officium juxta evangelii normam pie et sancte exercere studeas, et ne quem ullo tempore unquam ad sacros ordines promoveas, vel ad curam animarum gerendam quovis modo admittas, nisi eos duntaxat quos et tenti et tam venerabilis officii functionem, vitae et morum integritas, certissimis testimoniis approbata, literarum scientia et aliae qualitates requisitae ad hoc habiles et idoneae clare et luculenter ostenderit et declaraverint: nam ut maxime compertum cognitumque habemus, morum omnium et maxime christianae religionis corrutelem a malis pastoribus in populum emanasse, sic et veram Christi religionem, vitaeque et morum emendationem a bonis pastoribus iterum delectis et assumptis in integrum restitutum iri haud dubie speramus." <sup>(69)</sup>

In the same year he issued injunctions to be particularly delivered to the bishops. The bishops are to do their utmost to see the king's injunctions observed: "they should not give orders to any person, but such as were learned in holy Scripture; neither should deny them to such as were learned in the same, being of honest conversation or living." And when the homilies are mentioned we note that they are 'king's highness's homilies' (70).

### Mary.

When Mary came to the throne she issued her articles, not to Cranmer, but to Bonner, bishop of London to correct 'divers notable crimes, excesses and faults' during the reign of her 'most dearest brother kind Edward VI (whose soul God pardon)'. In the sphere of ordination she did not deny the validity of the Edwardine ordinations but regarded them as deficient. The bishops <sup>was</sup> were to 'supply that thing which wanted in them before<sup>z</sup>; and then according to his <sup>their</sup> discretion admit them to minister' (71).

That the state should legislate but little in this matter during Mary's reign is due to the fact that she handed back to the Papacy its ancient powers..

### Elizabeth.

But with the coming of Elizabeth the general trend of the submission of the Church to the State became clear.

In 1559 she proclaimed: "Her highness doth charge and command all manner of her subjects, as well as those called to the ministry in the Church". There was to be no superior authority apart from the Crown. "Persons taking orders... shall make, take and receive the oath of supremacy: I, A.B. do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm and of all other Her Highness's dominions and countries as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, and that no foreign prince person, prelate, state or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers superiorities and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities granted or belonging to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and lawful successors, or untied or annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God and by the contents of this book, (72).

Refusal to take the oath was to invalidate any ecclesiastical office or promotion.

With no Pope to acknowledge, and while the see of

Canterbury was still vacant after the death of Pole, the Queen, with the advice of her Council issued extensive Injunctions in 1559 covering the whole life of the Church. The conduct of both clergy and laity was considered. Explicit instructions for all services, including the administration of the Holy Communion were regarded as falling within the orbit of the State's concern. Concerning the admission of ministers, the Injunctions, proceeded: "Against the day of ordering appointed, to give open recognitions to all men, to except against such whom they know to be not worthy, either for life or conversation. And there to give notice, that none shall sue for orders but within their own diocese, where they were born, or had there long time of dwelling; and that by the testimony of their ordinaries; except of such as be degreed in the universities."

"Item, That canonical impediments be still observed to respect them which sue to be ordered, except they have decency agreeable to the same."

Ministers are expected to be learned in the Latin tongue but if not they are to be "well exercised in the scripture and well testified for their lives and conversations, and of their wives to be tolerated in the office of deacons". Admission to the priesthood is only to be allowed after "a good time of experience...(clergy are to have) competent knowledge in the principal articles of the faith, and of some competent matter to comfort the sick and weak in conscience."

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In 1571 the Queen again asserted the authority of the Crown after the Pope had excommunicated the Queen and absolved her subjects, if they desired it, from loyalty to the Crown. Certain disorders, she affirmed, needed to be reformed among ministers of the Church:-

3. ... no person shall hereafter be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he then be of the age of three and twenty years at the least, and a deacon ~~and~~
4. And none shall be made minister or admitted to preach or minister the sacraments, being under the age of four and twenty years, nor unless he first bring to the bishop of that diocese, from men known to the bishop to be of sound religion, a testimonial both of his honest life, and of his professing the doctrine expressed in the said Articles: nor unless he be able to answer and render to the ordinary an account of his faith in Latin, according to the said Articles or have special gift and ability to be a preacher: nor shall he be admitted to the order of deacon or ministry, unless he shall first subscribe to the said Articles<sup>(73)</sup>.

This emphasis on preaching shews the Puritan influence which was arising in the State and which sought to make itself felt in the Church.

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In 1576, the Queen's Council shewed interest in the observance of Ember Days and commanded that they be better kept henceforth. The reason for their command was no lofty concern with the increase of the ministry, but with the increase of the consumption of fish which was ordered for these days (74)

A loftier motive is discernible in the orders of 1580 which were designed to ensure an 'increase ~~in~~ of learning in the inferior ministers and for more diligent preaching and catechising, Every unlicensed minister to provide himself with a Bible and Bullinger's Decades; and every licensed preacher to preach yearly in propria persona, at least twelve sermons! This Puritan influence, favoured considerably by the State, is even more visible in the legislation of 1584. Sir Walter Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel College Cambridge, and others whose Puritanical sympathies were well known, presented a humble petition for ' the consideration of the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal of the higher house...

3. That none hereafter be admitted to the ministry but such as shall be sufficiently ~~in~~ furnished with gifts to perform so high and earnest a charge, and that none be superficially allowed as persons qualified according to the statute of the thirteenth of her Majesty's reign before recited, but with

deliberate examination of their knowledge and exercise in the holy scriptures answerable to the true meaning of that statute.

4. Further, that for so much as it is prescribed in the form of ord<sup>e</sup>ring ministers that the bishops with the priests present shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth orders, without mention of any certain number of priests that shall be present, it is suggested that the bishop should invite the assistance of six other ministers of good report, learned and continually resident upon their benefices with cure.

Candidates must have a benefice or fellowship before ordination or ' some place certain where such minister be entertained a preacher'. Suitable notice must be given in the place to which the ordinand is going after ordination so that any objections may be raised before the actual ordination. The oath required by statute shall continue to be demanded<sup>(75)</sup>.

Besides the Puritan party in Parliament there seems, according to Cardwell, to have been another group, not quite so Puritan, which wished to press its views upon the bishops on this same subject. Their views were made known at exactly the same time as those of Sir Walter Mildmay and his friends. Their proposals were presented in a series of articles.

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The relevant articles are as follows :-

The third article.

That the bishop shall not proceed to the admission of any to be minister of the word and sacraments, before due certificate made in authentic form, and public p̄ace, by him to be assigned, that the process of notice and intimation was executed in form aforesaid; nor before the expiration of the said twenty six days, nor without calling for and hearing of such, as upon return of the said process, shall and will object, as aforesaid.

~~The fourth article~~

The fifth article

That none be made minister, but upon some Sunday publicly in the cathedral church of the diocese, where the minister is admitted.

The sixth article

That the bishop make no minister but such as be of his own diocese, and have there continued by the space of one whole year; except such only as come from the universities, and bring testimonials of their meetness under the university seal.

The seventh and eighth articles likewise stress the importance of the testimonials (76).

In the case of these articles the replies of the bishops are also extant. The bishops are not at all convinced that

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the parishioners as a whole are the best people to say what is appropriate for an ordinand. Moreover circumstances might easily arise where the parishioners are so indifferent that no minister would ever be sent them if the bishops awaited the request of the parishioners. The bishops <sup>had</sup> obviously ~~have~~ had difficulties with the patrons of livings who were only too ready to supply testimonials which were valueless and to prosecute the bishops if they failed to proceed to ordination because, in their view, the candidate was unsuitable (??)

The lay influence, generally puritanical, was therefore not <sup>a</sup> always as disinterested nor as high minded as it claimed to be. But this was not the only pressure to which the bishops were subjected. They had also to be alert to the plans and pressure of the Roman Church which was constantly striving to infiltrate a steady and increasing supply of seminary priests. In opposition to this danger Church and State were united. For the subject of the Roman priesthood and its preparation was by no means a purely ecclesiastical affair. The training of the Roman Clergy had become a factor in international affairs. Philip of Spain, though at war with England, was quite ready to finance <sup>l</sup> Englishmen through Spanish seminaries (??). Such priests were to be a kind of fifth column to subdue England to the <sup>B</sup> Papacy and to Spain. Nevertheless the action of Elizabeth was tempered with real patience and moderation. When Douai was founded in 1568 she countered with reviving the

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hope of students ' at the universities by granting honorary salaries so that they could furnish themselves for Holy Orders. This positive legislation ( 1568 ) was not enough. The Pope excommunicated the Queen and some of her subjects were prepared to go to what could only be regarded as criminal lengths. Punitive measures therefore had to be taken. For a time seminarists took advantage of a well established custom of studying at a foreign university. But now such study was <sup>no longer</sup> the disinterested pursuit of learning but active treachery. Legislation was enacted in 1571 " against fugitives over the sea " (7) It was repeated in 1580 (8) Students must return to this country within four months. In 1584 similar legislation was again passed and students were allowed this time six months in which to return. If they failed this time they were definitely to be regarded as traitors (8).

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If it be asked what the result of all this ponderous and repetitive legislation may be, the answer is that it was remarkably successful in raising the intellectual standards of the clergy. For the end of Elizabeth's reign came before some of the more vital questions about the ordinand were even raised. If the pre-Reformation Church seem<sup>e</sup>d indifferent to any preparation for Holy Orders, the Elizabethan Church seem<sup>e</sup>d only concern<sup>e</sup>d with its intellectual preparation. There was also a more seemly observance of the rules governing ordination. Then, as the reign proceeded, we saw an increasing stress upon preaching. This came from the Puritanical side of the Church and neither represented the majority view nor the view of the Queen herself. It was only later that questions of vocation came seriously to be asked. Neither Cranmer nor Whitgift refer to the subject of vocation, nor do they deal with the specific calling of the Christian minister. Another deficiency of the Elizabethan Church is that the suitability of a candidate ( what Bishop Bull later called his ' prudence' ) was never properly considered. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind these limitations, the spate of legisla<sup>e</sup>tion was not without important results. These may be gleaned from available statistics from widely separated dioceses.

The diocese of Exeter

In his reply to the Interrogatories of Archbishop Parker(1560)

Bishop Alley was able to shew that the diocese was in ' fair and regular working order'. Of the 288 clergy in the county of Devon, 24 were preachers. In Cornwall there were less than six preachers and the conduct of ordinations was irregular, sometimes being conducted in private houses.

When Whitgift became Archbishop his vigorous hand was soon felt. The number of preachers in Cornwall now rose to 29. Puritan comment, in Rowse's opinion, was often ill tempered and unfair, even to clergymen so well beloved as Carew. In fact, affirms Rowse, great progress had been made in Church affairs. The Puritan challenge was held and for a time defeated. By the end of the reign several generations had been brought up in the formularies of the Church and the rhythms of the Prayer Book had entered into the subconscious life of the people. In other words, the people had benefited by an adequate ministry<sup>(22)</sup>

#### The diocese of Worcester

AN early reformer of the ministry was Bishop Sandys of Worcester whom we shall meet again both in London and York. Among his early orders at Worcester ( 1559 - 1570 ) was one that no one was to be admitted into ' the ministry who hath not good testimony of his conversation; who is not learned ( note the intellectual emphasis ), fit to teach the people; and who hath not presently some appointed place, cure, and living to serve. And that he do not admit the same without

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~~without~~ the consent of six learned ministers; who shall all lay their hands upon his head at his admission<sup>(63)</sup>

## The diocese of London

When translated to London, Sandys maintained this interest. Preaching before the Queen he said : " Christ therefore requireth careful choice of ministers in his church: his desire is to have them faithful and wise. Paul would place none but such as were well testified to be blameless in life, and apt to teach with wholesome doctrine. The admitters of ministers are too lavish in our days; they have little regard or care whom they take. St Paul's lesson, 'Lay not hands on any man rashly', is forgotten". He puts the blame for this partly on the shoulders of patrons. " It goeth full hardly with the Church of God when Balaam is the bishop, Judas the patron, and Magus the minister. This merchandise will make the house of God a den of thieves"<sup>(64)</sup>~~the same~~

## The diocese of Ely

In his Injunctions to the clergy of the diocese, Bishop Cox in 1571 asks 'whether there be any persons that intrude themselves and presume to exercise any kind of ministry in the Church of God, without the laying on of hands, and ordinary authority'<sup>(65)</sup> To strengthen his supervision of ordinands he appointed Bancroft to be his chaplain with this special duty<sup>(66)</sup> With the university of Cambridge within the diocese, Bancroft's task would not be light. In accordance with

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his high standards we learn that at his last ordination in October 1580, Cox rejected eight out of the twenty three candidates who offered themselves for Holy Orders<sup>(87)</sup>.

## The diocese of York

Dr. Purvis has recently made available much information from ~~about~~ the diocese of York about this period in his Tudor Parish Documents. Ever since the year 1344 it had been the custom of the diocese to require letters testimonial : ad examinandos clericos nostre diocesis in instantibus ordinibus proxime celebrandis necnon admittendos clericos quos post diligentem examinacionem habiles et ydoneos scientia moribus et etate ac titulos sufficientes habentes reperieritis<sup>(88)</sup> A typical testimonial, dated 1556 and referring to William Bache runs as follows : "He hath ever been of good and honest conversation and born in lawful matrimony, alway applying learning and virtue, no hawker nor hunter nor commonly frequenting any common ale h<sup>o</sup>use, nor using evil and suspected places and company, nor no common carder nor dicer nor busy player at any other unlawful and p<sup>r</sup>hibited games, no brawler chider nor fighter, never contentious nor busy in erroneous questions and opinions, but ever of his nature, gentle, courteous and benign in all his words works and deeds against all men"<sup>(89)</sup> Grindal, we find, was ready to refuse ordination 'propter doctrinae insufficientiam'. Grindal likewise encouraged the clergy after ordination to meet for 'propheesyings'. Sandys likewise encouraged this practice which continued until 1595.

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A valuable glimpse of the state of the clergy in 1575 is afforded by the Returns of the Examination of Clergy by the Archbishops' chaplains. The results are not lifelessly tabulated. There is a brief report against the name of each clergyman. Altogether rather more than a hundred reports are given and from them we can gather a fair impression of the clergy as a whole.

The resulting impression is of a body of men neither eminent nor wicked. Often we read that the parish priest was pious, honestus, zelosus. Particularly interesting are the comments on the young clergy, i.e. those ordained during the reign of Elizabeth and representing the new order. Joh. Rydsdale, curatus ibidem per 4 annos, zelosus, rationem fidei ~~habet~~ tenet conciones habet plures quod...Thursc. registri ordinem observavit et similiter docet catechismum<sup>(p)</sup> Of a young man admitted to the diaconate in 1575 the report runs : Latinum intelligit, versatus aliquantulum sacris, catechismum docet diligenter, registrum habet<sup>(p)</sup> A third, and he must be our last example, juvenis pius et sacrarum litterarum studiosus, ac prorsus in omni officio diligens. He is also well known to the Bishop's chaplains : notus et ipse secularibus reverendissimis<sup>(p)</sup> The impression is given of a faithful body of men, not highly gifted ( only four are given as graduates ) with an occasional priest who failed in his duty and an occasional parish which failed to give the reasonable help to its incumbent that might have been expected. Sermons are still few and only five licenses were given on an

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average for every year of the Queen's reign. It is not surprising therefore that sermons are few and far between in the average parish and that in a poor parish which could not afford the fee, a sermon was not heard for as many as twenty years. However we do see an improvement in the number of parishes which had sermons. In 1575, 142 parishes had no sermon; in 1586, 39; in 1590, 28 and in 1594, 12.

Purvis' own conclusion after studying his records over the years beginning 1567 is that when the Visitation Books begin we enter upon a stormy period when there are grave irregularities of every kind. But when we come to 1590 and 1595, when the series ends, the only remaining problem was the problem of recusancy with here and there a neglectful rectorial farmer ( frequently a layman ). Otherwise, there are only petty offences to record.

The diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

As in York, so in Coventry and Lichfield, available figures shew that there was a steady improvement in the standards of the clergy. Here the evidence is of a more academic nature. Overton, shortly after succeeding to the see in 1579, issued the following directions : For, that to help the lamentable inconveniences growing to the Church of God by the insufficient ministry... a diligent care and foresight is to be used that only sufficient men be admitted to the function hereafter. Therefore the said Reverend Father would have all and

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1511 - 1603

every within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield which intend for themselves or their friends to solicit for orders of the ministry to take knowledge hereby that they and every of them must attend for public examination and trial the first day of every quarter of the year only in the Consistory of Lichfield where the said Reverend Father or his chancellor with the Archdeacons and other assistants and forenamed preachers to be called, making due proof by public examination of all circumstances required by law immediately setting down their judgments accordingly; and if he or they upon such trial shall be found worthy, then by the said Reverend Father to receive orders, if the said Reverend Father shall think it so meet and convenient; otherwise either to be clean rejected, or referred over to their further sufficiency: and no private orders otherwise to be used, looked for or performed within this diocese of Coventry and Lichfield".

Enquiry shews that Bishop Overton's Register is now missing so that the immediate results of his action cannot be ascertained. This is doubly unfortunate as Burley is very critical of the bishop, observing that in one day \* he made seventy ministers for money; some tailors, some shoemakers, and others c rafs~~s~~men" of whom he declared that the greatest part ~~were~~ not worthy to keep horses. From another source however we can compare the academic statistics of the diocese for the years 1590 and 1602, both years being within the episcopate of Overton. The figures are as follows :-

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1511 - 1603

D.D.	Other higher de- grees	B.D.	M.A.	B.A.	Poorly lear- ned.	Preachers	Non prea- chers.
6	7	10	40	21	501	51	544

For the year 1602 the figures read :-

4	1	2	65	38	323	82	351
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These figures shew that there is a considerable decline in the total number of clergy but a substantial raising of the general standard of those remaining. Overton's policy was not altogether the failure that Burley implied (6)

## The diocese of Lincoln

The Episcopal records of Lincoln convey a similar impression, a gradual decrease in the number of clergy, but a real improvement in the average standard. Figures are available for almost the same years as in the case of the Lichfield diocese. We find 1299 clergy in the year 1585 : 1184 in the year 1603.

~~Annals of the diocese of Lincoln~~

During the same years the number of graduates among the clergy rose from 409 to 646. The Registers enable us to see this improvement taking place year by year. In the 1570s <sup>d</sup>grauates are few; 12, 12, 20, 12, 2, 10. In the 1580s the number of graduates starts at 19 and continues steadily at 33, 33, or 34 in every year. In the earlier years we can see the Bishop's care over a non graduate : "He (Thomas Morley) is ordered upon necessitie although in the holy scriptures unacquainted and therefore his letters staid for one whole yere, so then within the yere he shall give himself to study of scriptures and repair unto

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my L. or his successor to declare and shew how he hath profited by study". Another note on a certain Thomas Walkington tells how his ordination is deferred until he has Bullinger's *Decades and the Bible* (97) This is a result of the legislation of 1550 (via sup. p. 56)

If the dioceses of York, Lichfield and Lincoln are in any way representative of the Church as a whole, then there is an undoubted improved<sup>ment</sup> in the academic standard of the clergy during the reign of Elizabeth. Within the two provinces of Canterbury and York, 3806 clergy out of 9142 possessed degrees in the year 1603. (98) When we look back over the previous fifty years, we realise that this was no small achievement in the face of contemporary difficulties. The spate of legislation did result in action. Already the clergy were on their way to ~~becoming anathema to the state~~ securing that stupor mundi which they first wrung from their contemporaries at the Synod of Dort in 1618. The mere possibility of the tribute is by no means the least of the achievements of the Elizabethan Church.

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## II

CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

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## The Millenary Petition

The combination of secular and ecclesiastical legislation which did so much to raise and define the required standards of ordination candidates during the reign of Elizabeth, was immediately questioned on the accession of James I. The puritans seized immediately the opportunity to present with renewed vigour their own point of view. They therefore collected the signatures of several hundreds of the clergy and appended them to a document called, with convenient exaggeration, the Millenary Petition. They submitted four main gravamina concerning

- a. the services of the Church
- b. the ministry
- c. finance ~~maintainment~~
- d. discipline.

Under the second heading they pressed "That none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently and especially upon the Lord's day; ~~and~~ that such as be already entered and cannot preach may either be removed, and some charitable sourse taken with them for their relief, or else be forced, according to the value of their livings, to maintain preachers; that non-residency be not permitted; that King Edward's statute for the lawfulness of minister's ~~smarrriages~~ marriages be revived; that ministers be not urged to subscribe, but according to the law, to the Articles of Religion, and the

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King's supremacy only! (1)

The puritan plea for 'able and sufficient men' is not easily defined. The required ability and sufficiency could scarcely have been academic. For of the 281 petitioners whose names survive, only 105 had graduated. This percentage is certainly no better than that of the clergy whom they criticised. And before long ( *vid inf. p. 167* ) the percentage of graduate clergy was to reach new heights. It is clear that the required ability and sufficiency referred to, <sup>was</sup> the maintenance of a particular point of view.

The Hampton Court Conference, 1604.

The nature of this point of view was revealed at the Hampton Court Conference. The new King was anxious to be fair ~~and~~ and summoned a conference of Anglicans and Puritans. The discussions ranged over an extensive field. The question of planting learned ministers, as it was phrased, in every parish was raised by the puritan Dr. Reynolds. Fuller reports the proceedings as follows:-

His Majesty : I have consulted with my bishops about it, whom I have found willing and ready herein. But as subita evacuatio is periculosa, so subita mutatio. It cannot presently be performed, the Universities not affording them. And yet they afford more learned men than the realm doth maintenance; which must first be provided. In the meantime, ignorant ministers, if young are to be removed, if

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there be no hope of amendment; if old, their death must be expected, because Jerusalem cannot be built up in a day.

Bishop of Winchester: Lay patrons much cause the insufficiency  
(Thomas Bilson)  
of the clergy, presenting mean clerks to their cures; ( the law admitting of such sufficiency) and, if the bishop refuseth them, presenting a quare impedit is sent out against him.

Bishop of London : Because this, I see, is a time of  
(Richard Bancroft)  
moving petitions ( this he spake kneeling), may I humbly present two or three to your majesty ?  
First. That there may be amongst us a praying ministry, it being now come to pass, that men think it is the only duty of ministers to spend their time in the pulpit. I confess, in a church newly to be planted, preaching is most necessary; not so in one long established, that prayer should be neglected.

His majesty : I like your notion exceeding well, and dislike the hypocrisy of our time, who place all their religion in the ear, (whilst prayer, so requisite and acceptable, if duly performed) is accounted and used as the least part of religion.

The Bishop of London : My second <sup>o</sup>ntion is that, until learned men may be planted in every congregation, godly homilies may be read therein.

His majesty : I approve your motion, especially where the

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

Living is not sufficient for the maintenance of a learned preacher. Also, where there be multitudes of sermons, there I would have homilies read divers times. (Here the King asked the assent of the plaintiff, and they confessed it.) A preaching ministry is best; but, where it may not be had, godly prayers and exhortations do much good.

Lord Chancellor  
(Egerton, Lord Ellesmere)

Livings rather want learned men than learned men livings; many in the universities pining for want of places. I wish, therefore, some may have single coats (one living) before others have doublets (pluralities). And this method I have observed in bestowing the King's benefices.

Bishop of London

I commend your honourable care that way; but a doublet is necessary in cold weather.

Lord Chancellor

I dislike not the libery of your Church, in granting to one man two benefices, but speak out of mine own purpose and practice, grounded on the afore-said reason.

Bishop of London

My last motion is, that pulpits may not be made pasquils, wherein every discontented fellow may traduce his superiors.

His Majesty

I accept what you offer; for the pulpit is no place of personal reproof. Let them complain to me,

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

if injured...

Dr. Reynolds I come now to subscription, as a great impeachment to a learned ministry and therefore entreat it may not be exacted as heretofore; for which many good men are kept out, though otherwise willing to subscribe to the statutes of the realm, Articles of Religion, and the King's supremacy. The reason of their backwardness to subscribe, is, because the Common Prayer enjoineth the Apocrypha books to be read in the Church, although some chapters therein contain manifest errors repugnant to scripture. For instance: Ecclesiasticus xlvi.10 Elias in person is said to come before Christ, contrary to what is in the New Testament of Elias in resemblance, that is John the Baptist, Matt.xi.14; Luke i.17.

Bishop of London Most of the objections against those books are the old cavils of the Jews, renewed by St Jerome, who first called them Apocrypha; which opinion, upon Rufinus' challenge, he after a sort disclaimed.

Bishop of Winchester Indeed, St Jerome saith, Canonici sunt ad informandos mores, non ad confirmandam fidem.

His Majesty To take an even order betwixt both: I would not have all canonical books read in Church: nor any chapter out of the Apocrypha, wherein any error is contained. Wherefore let Dr. Reynolds note those chapters in the Apocrypha-

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

books wherein those offences are, and bring them to the Archbishop of Canterbury against Wednesday next. And, now, Doctor, proceed.

Dr. Reynolds     The next scruple against subscription is, ~~hahha~~ because it is twice set down in the Common Prayer Book, 'Jesus said to his disciples', when by the text in the original, it is plain that he spake to the pharisees.

His Majesty     Let the words 'disciples' be omitted, and the words ' Jesus said', be printed in a different letter. (2)

A puritan version of the conference, written by Patrick Galloway to the presbytery of Edinburgh is more concise and adds nothing to the above. On the contrary there is no account of the financial provisions of the clergy and only a short reference to the problem of subscription when he mentions the three articles of the 36th canon(3)

After further objections by the puritans to such things as the use of the cross in baptism, the wearing of the surplice, and the use of the words 'With my body I thee worship', Dr. Reynolds pressed, following Calvin's example, for a meeting of the clergy every three weeks 'to have prophesyings'. These post-ordination exercises had been favoured or allowed by Grindal but rigorously opposed by Whitgift. The King, after bitter experience in Scotland, was equally opposed to them. They served

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

only too often as occasions not only for criticising the bishops, but also as opportunities ( in Scotland, so James had found) for criticising the Crown.

The results of the conference were slight. The King met the objections of Reynolds over the Prayer Book but he summed up his opinion by saying that "no well grounded matter appeared to us or to our said ~~Cham~~ Council why the state of the Church here by law established should in any material point be altered". Everything was being done "for the furtherance of religion and establishment of a ministry fit for the same"<sup>(4)</sup>

~~Archbishop Bancroft~~

~~Towards the end of 1604 Bancroft was made Archbishop of Canterbury and issued directions in which he emphasised very particularly that no one was to execute any ecclesiastical function without first subscribing to canons xxxvi and xxxvii. About 1500 clergy refused to subscribe.~~

~~Parliament and Puritans~~

~~But if the bishops and the crown drew together, the inferior clergy and the House of Commons had more in common. Puritan influence in Parliament was strong in Elizabethan times. It was still clearly visible. In 1610 the commons insisted that the consciences of the puritan clergy be more respected:~~

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

Shortly after the conclusion of the Hampton Court Conference the Commons approved Articles concerning the provision of a learned ministry but met with little support in the Upper House. The Commons later prepared a Bill with the same purpose but it fell through in the House of Lords. The Articles agreed upon by the Commons for submission to the Lords were : That from henceforth none shall be admitted to be ministers of the Word and Sacrament(s) than such as are, at the time of their admittance, Bachelors of Art or of an higher Degree in Schools, having testimony from the University or College, whereof he was, of his ability to preach and of his good life; or else such as are approved and allowed to be sufficient to preach and instruct the people, and to be of good life, by some testimonial of six preachers of the county where the party dwelleth.

5. Also it is humbly desired that the Lords would confer with us touching a petition to be preferred to the King's Majesty that by his gracious favour such order be taken that no minister be forced to subscribe <sup>t</sup>otherwise than to the Articles concerning only the doctrine of Faith and Sacraments whereunto by the said Statute made in the 13th year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth they are appointed to subscribe<sup>(s)</sup>

For the time being the Commons was defeated and the Bishops and the King triumphed. In his Proclamation the King saw no need for major reforms. Those who refused to accept the status quo had until 'November now next ensuing'

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

to bethink themselves of their behaviour. Magistrates, gentlemen and others of understanding <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ warned not to countenance such clergy.

## Proceedings against the Puritans

On December 10th 1604 the Crown, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~Archbishop~~ instructed the Archbishop to proceed against 'the nonconformitans of the clergy' (6) On December 22nd. the Archbishop issued his directions. Henceforth no one was to exercise any ecclesiastical function unless he subscribed to canons xxxvi and xxxvii just published (7) About 1500 clergy refused to subscribe. (8) The successful and vigorous action of Whitgift against the Puritans was thus renewed by Bancroft and for the time being, it too was successful.

Shortly after 1604 we find further reflections and resolutions of Bancroft "About the admitting of ministers". The Church, he writes, is grieved with many wandering and insufficient ministers, therefore it is requisite that more care be had of the canon in that behalf. 2. It is thought meet that according to the Canon, the names and qualities of all ministers ordained or instituted be every year duly transmitted to the Archbishop, and therewithal a note of their subscriptions to the Articles under the Bishop's hand. 3. Item, that the book of ordination of ministers be duly observed and namely in the presenting and examining of the parties to be ordained, by the Archdeacons or their deputies, which is omitted in many places, and may breed some inconvenience to the parties ordained." (Usher: The Reconstruction of the English Church. Vol. 2. p. 327)

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1610- 1660

## Petition concerning Religion 1610 (9)

The triumphant combination of the bishops and the Crown did not remain unchallenged. The Commons was still restless. Not only was it opposed to the rigorous treatment of the Puritans, but it felt that too much clemency was shewn to the seminarists. "I am loath" ~~he~~ <sup>the King</sup> said on a later occasion " to hang a priest only for religion sake and saying mass". It was only those priests who refused the oath of allegiance whom he wished left to the rigours of the law. This tolerance which the commons wanted for the Puritans they did not want for the papists and in 1604, 1606 and 1610(p), acts were passed concerning Jesuits and seminary priests and for the punishment of recusants. Any person, it was enacted in 1604, who sent a child to a seminary overseas was to be fined £100 and the person so going was to be deprived of all his property and belongings. At the same time all those at present in seminaries overseas must return within twelve months otherwise they too ~~he~~ shall forfeit all their property. Those who return within that period and become members of the Church of England shall suffer no penalty. Two years later Parliament demanded an oath which no seminary priest could possibly have taken affirming the Pope's complete absence of authority over the King, his realm and all other His Majesty's dominions and countries. Moreover the ministrations of such priests were declared invalid. The natural sympathy of the Commons for the Puritan clergy was thus increased by their antipathy towards the seminary priests. In 1610 therefore they declared :

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

Whereas also divers painful and learned pastors that have long travailed in the work of the ministry with good fruit and blessing of their labours, who were ever ready to perform the legal subscription appointed by the Statute of the 13th of Elizabeth which only concerneth the confession of the true Christian faith and doctrine of the Sacraments:

Yet for not conforming in points of ceremonial, and refusing the subscription directed by the late canons, have been removed from their ecclesiastical livings being their freehold, and debarred from all means of maintenance, to the great grief of sundry your majesty's well-affected subjects :

Seeing that the whole people that ~~are~~ want instruction are by this means punished, and through ignorance lie open to the seducements of Popish and ill affected persons:

We therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty would be graciously pleased that such deprived and silenced ministers may by licence or permission of the Reverend Fathers in their several dioceses instruct and preach unto their people in such parishes and places where they may be employed:

So as they apply themselves in their ministry to wholesome doctrine and exhortation and live quietly and peaceably in their callings, and shall not by writing or preaching impugn things established by public authority.

## CHURCH AND STATE 1603 - 1660

## Directions to Preachers 1622 (1)

The Parliamentary sympathy given to the Puritans did not cease in 1610. The plea for tolerance was for Puritans only. Once secured power was to be exercised in a far more despotic way than James ever intended to wield it. James returned to the subject of the ministry again in 1622 when it was represented to him that it was high time to apply some cure to the pulpits. Preachers were meddling with state matters and, in Fuller's words, by an improper transposition the people's duty was preached to the King at court; the King's to the people in the country. The King therefore issued the following directions to the Archbishop :-

"Most reverend father in God, right trusty and entirely beloved counsellor, we greet you well. Forasmuch as the abuses and extravagancies of preachers in the pulpit have been in all times repressed in this realm, by some act of Council or State, with the advice and resolution of grave and learned prelates; insomuch, that the very licensing of preachers had beginning by an order of Star Chamber, the eighth day of July, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Henry VIII our noble predecessor; and whereas at this present divers young students, by reading of late writers, and ungrounded divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unsound, seditious and dangerous doctrines, to the scandal of the Church and disquiet of the State and present Government: we, upon humble representations unto us of these inconveniences by yourself and sundry other grave and

## CHURCH AND STATE 1603 - 1660

and reverend prelates of this church, as also of our princely care and zeal for the extirpation of schism and dissension growing from these seeds, and for the settling of a religious and peaceable government both in church and commonwealth; do, by these our special letters, straightly charge and command you to use all possible care and diligence, that these limitations and cautions herewith sent unto you concerning preachers be duly and strictly from henceforth put into practice and observed by the several bishops within your jurisdiction. And to this end our pleasure is, that you send them forthwith copies of these Directions to be by them speedily sent and communicated unto every parson, vicar, curate, lecturer, and minister, in every cathedral or parish-church within their several dioceses, and that you earnestly require them to employ their utmost endeavours in the performance of this so important a business; letting them know that we have a special eye unto their proceedings, and expect a strict account thereof, both of you and every one of them: and these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the fourth of August, in the twentieth year of our reign.

1. That no preacher under the degree and calling of a bishop, or dean of a cathedral or collegiate church, ( and they upon the King's days and set festivals) do take occasion

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 -1660

( by the expounding of any text of Scripture whatsoever) to fall into any set discourse or commonplace, otherwise than by the opening the coherence and division of the text, which shall not be comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or natural inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion, set forth 1562, or in some of the Homilies set forth by Authority of the Church of England, not only for the help of the non-preaching, but withal for a pattern and boundary ( as it were) for the preaching ministers. And for their further instructions for the performance hereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two books of Homilies.

2. That no parson, vicar, curate or lecturer, shall preach any sermons or collation hereafter upon Sundays and holidays in the afternoon, in any cathedral or parish-church throughout the kingdom, but upon some part of the catechism, or sme text taken out of the Creed, Ten Kommandments, or the Lord's Prayer, (funeral sermons only excepted), and that those preachers be most encouraged and approved of who spend the afternoon's exercise in the examination of children in their catechism, which is the most ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the church of England.

3. That no preacher of what title soever under the degree of a bishop or dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

or irresistibility or God's grace, but leave those themes rather to be handled by the learned men, and that moderately and modestly by way of use and application rather than by way of positive doctrines, being fitter for the schools than for simple auditories.

4. That no preacher, of what title or denomination soever, from henceforth shall presume, in any auditory within this kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of positive doctrine, in any lecture or sermon, the power, prerogative, and jurisdiction, authority, or duty, of sovereign princes, or otherwise meddle with matters of state and the differences between princes and the people, than as they are instructed and preceded in the Homilies of Obedience, and the rest of the Homilies, and Articles of Religion, set forth, as before is mentioned, by public authority; but rather confine themselves wholly to those two heads, 'Of faith and good life', which are all the subjects of the ancient sermons and homilies.

5. That no preacher, of what title or denomination soever, shall presume causelessly, or without invitation from the text, to fall into bitter invectives and undecent railing speeches against the persons of either papists or puritans; but modestly and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto by the text of Scripture, free both the doctrine and the discipline of the Church of England from the aspersions of either adversaries, especially where the auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other infection.

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

6. Lastly. That the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom ( whom His Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remissness ) be more wary and choice in their licensing of preachers, and revoke <sup>all</sup> ~~any~~ grants made to any chancellor, official or commissary, to pass licenses in this kind; and that all the lecture~~ss~~s throughout the kingdom of England ( a new body severed from the ancient clergy, as being neither parsons, vicars nor curates ) be licensed henceforth in the Court of Faculties, but only from a recommendation of the party from the bishop of the diocese under his hand and seal, with a fiat from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, a confirmation under the great seal of England; and that such as do transgress any ~~the~~ one of these directions, be suspended by the bishop of the diocese, or, in default, by the archbishop of the province, ab officio et beneficio~~a~~, for a year and a day, until His ~~Ma~~ Majesty, by the advice of the next Convocation, shall prescribe some further punishment.

The Directions were not well received in all quarters. Piety and godliness, it was stoutly maintained, flourished most where preaching most abounded. On the other hand, there were ~~th~~ose who affirmed that such preachers ( like the Friars of earlier days ) diverted the affections of the people from their parish priest, and handled themes beyond their own competence and the understanding of their congregations. In actual fact the Directions were pressed with unequal rigour. Some preachers were obliged to conform literally;

others were allowed considerable latitude.

### Charles I and Laud

The Royal interest in the Church and her Ministry certainly did not flag on the accession of Charles I. And when Laud was promoted to Canterbury in 1633, these congenial spirits turned themselves resolutely to matters of Church reform. Laud immediately shewed that he meant the canons of 1603 to be observed. In this he was helped by the King who took a very personal interest in Church Affairs. Soon after Laud came to Canterbury, the King wrote to him<sup>(2)</sup>: We find that many not qualified do by favour or other means procure themselves to be ordained! Henceforth, says the King, no man shall be ordained without a title. When ordination takes place without such a provision, the bishop shall maintain such a cleric at his own expense. Then every year the Archbishop submitted a report to the King on the state of the Church and the King's notes may still be seen in the margin of such reports. Thus in his report for 1639, Laud reports that while Bancroft, bishop of Oxford, is most careful in accepting candidates for Holy Orders, some twenty or thirty of his rejected candidates have betaken themselves to ~~to~~<sup>to</sup> other bishops who have ordained them without any letters dimissory or any of the canonical qualifications. In the Margin, Charles commands the institution of an enquiry into this irregularity.

## CHURCH AND STATE I603 - I660

The Scottish Prayer Book of I637 gave Laud a chance to summarise his views on the ministry and these views were ratified and approved by the King. They appeared in I636 as follows: Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical gathered and put in form, for the government of the Church of Scotland<sup>(3)</sup>

It is ordained that no person hereafter shall be admitted to that holy function, who hath not been bred in some university or college, and hath taken some degree there; and who shall verify the same by the subscriptions and seals of the university or college where he received the degrees of learning.

2. Neither shall he be admitted to trial, unless he bring a certificate, either from the college where he was bred, or (if he have discontinued there) from the presbyters or ministers of that part of the country where he hath for the most part resided since his leaving of the university, that he hath been exercised in some honest calling or study, and that he is a man blameless in his life and conversation, which certificate shall be given under the hands and oaths of two or three presbyters at least.

3. No person shall be hereafter received into holy orders without due examination of his literature, by the archbishop or bishop of the diocese, or by their chaplains appointed to that work, who shall examine every several party as they find cause.

4. The age and prudence of him that is to be received

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must likewise be considered, as, that he be at least five and twenty years complete who is ordained presbyter, and when he is ordained deacon, one and twenty years complete at least and be of a modest and settled carriage; so that his lightness ~~and~~ or indiscreet simplicity bring not his calling or gifts into contempt.

5. No bishop shall hereafter admit any person into Holy Orders who is not of his own diocese, except he bring letters dimissory from the bishop of the diocese where he lived, and a certificate of his honest conversation.

6. Nor shall any man be admitted into Holy Orders, unless he have a particular place and charge where he may use and exerce(sic) his function. And if any archbishop or bishop do otherwise he shall keep and maintain the person so admitted in all things necessary, till he be provided to some ecclesiastical living. And if he offend in this a second time he shall be suspended from his office.

7. That the greater reverence may be carried to that holy calling, all ordinations shall be made by imposition of hands and with solemn prayers, openly in the Church, after the morning service ended, and before the communion, in the form and very words prescribed in the book or ordination, and in the presence of two or three presbyters of the diocese, who shall lay hands on together with the archbishop or bishop.

8. All ordinations shall be made at four times in the year;

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to wit, the first weeks of March, June, September and December.

9. Every ecclesiastical person at his admission shall take the oath of supremacy, according to the form prescribed in parliament.

10. No person shall hereafter be received into Holy Orders suffered to preach, catechize, read divinity, minister the sacraments, or execute any other ecclesiastical function, unless he first subscribe to be obedient to the canons of the Church. And if any bishop shall ordain, admit, or license, any person otherwise, he shall be suspended from giving orders and licenses to preach for twelve months. And if any presbyter or deacon, after he hath subscribed to live obedient and conform, shall revolt, he shall be suspended; and in case he do not repent, conform, and submit himself, within the space of three months, he shall be deposed from the ministry.

These canons and constitutions<sup>k</sup> ecclesiastical represent what Charles and Laud would dearly have loved to exist. But even at the time of their promulgation there was an air of unreality. And very soon growing hostility towards them ~~both~~<sup>both</sup> destroyed their legislation and their persons.

The etc oath

The particular legislation which precipitated the climax leading to the death of Laud and later to that of Charles was the occasion of the etc oath. Parliament was dissolved in 1640 but Convocation continued to sit not so much at the request of Laud as at the instance of the

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

crown which was in desperate need of money and could not afford to lose the subsidies to be voted by the clergy. The King was informed by Lord Keeper Finch that there was precedent for a Convocation to be in session after the dissolution of Parliament. Thus Laud cannot be blamed entirely for any illegality arising from the canons of 1640 or from the oath which it was proposed should be demanded from all who intended taking Holy Orders as well as doctors, lawyers and teachers. The oath read as follows:-

"I, A.B., do swear that I approve the doctrine and discipline or government established in the Church of England as containing things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any popish doctrine contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans archdeacons etc., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of Rome. All all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Christians. So help me God in Jesu Christ (S)

Immediately hostility was shewn to the oath. Convocation

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had no power, it was affirmed, to impose oaths upon laymen, and certainly not without parliamentary consent. Then men fastened upon the harmless etc. Intended clearly as a convenient way of summarising the various offices held in the Church of England below the dignity of archdeacon, it became the object of universal detestation and contempt. It was the gateway to unimaginable terrors and the opposition to the oath became so violent ( Baxter was among those opposed to it ) <sup>(16)</sup> that within a very few months it was dropped.

The oath succeeded in rallying all the opponents both of Laud and Charles and as they both passed from unpopularity to death, any idea of ecclesiastical reform became more and more unreal, save to the opponents of the Church who wished to reform it by destruction. Civil War offers no environment for reform and it was not long before it was not only impossible to prepare for Holy Orders, but it became dangerous even to hold them. Deacon and priest were followed by presbyters and preachers. Occasionally however a devoted churchman sought and received Holy Orders, perhaps in Paris or perhaps secretly in England. After the Restoration, Skinner, bishop of Oxford, wrote to Sheldon that he had ordained between four and five thousand priests during the Commonwealth. In every instance he <sup>demande</sup> subscription to the Articles and the oath of allegiance. <sup>(17)</sup> <sup>Virtually</sup> ~~England~~ however the Church ceased to exist

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in 1642 when the Lords and the Commons declared their intention to reform the government and liturgy of the Church. Shortly afterwards the Civil War broke out. Churchmen gathered round Charles : Puritans round the Parliamentary forces. The final defeat of Charles was the temporal defeat of the Church as an organised society in England and the subject of our study became non-existent.

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660

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CHURCH AND STATE : 1660 - 1717

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1660 - 1717

Turning points in history are few. But in the history of the Church of England, the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 was undoubtedly one of the few. The bitter hostility of a large part of the nation and then the suppression of the Church as an organised and visible society within the life of England, had meant that for the best part of twenty years no ordered life was easily possible. Inevitably therefore vast problems confronted the Church on her restoration to influence and authority, not least in her ministry. There were huge material problems; many a devastated church or cathedral, the natural reaction of the Restoration itself, and then the outside problems of plague and fire and war. In such a situation it would be surprising if the ministry of the Church were not faced with considerable problems. On many sides it was felt and realised that the well being of Church and State were intertwined. It had now been proved that no bishop meant no King.

In his declaration to all his loving subjects concerning ecclesiastical affairs shortly after his accession, Charles II opened his statement with these words : "How much the peace of the state is concerned in the peace of the Church, and how difficult a thing it is to preserve order and government in civil, whilst there is no order or government in ecclesiastical affairs, is evident to the world." (1) It was therefore the policy of the new state to ensure a harmonious relation between Church and State. It is clear that at first a real effort

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to shew friendship to the presbyterian point of view. The Declaration of 1660 says : No bishop shall ordain or exercise any part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the Church, without the advice and assistance of the presbyters. Appointments to deaneries and canonries shall be such that the bishop may have the help and advice of learned and pious presbyters to help in duties of ordination. Moreover out of regard for tender consciences men may receive ordination without the oath of canonical obedience, provided the oaths of allegiance and supremacy are taken<sup>(2)</sup>.

Directions for Preachers. 1662

But before the year was completed, the King affirmed that unwelcome as it was to restrain the liberty of conscience of any of his subjects, the bold abuses and extravagancies of young divines and the busy diligence of some unquiet and factious spirits compelled him <sup>(1662)</sup> to issue directions for preachers:

1. That no preachers in their sermons presume to meddle with matters of state, to medel new governments, or take upon them to declare, limit, or bound out the power and authority of sovereign princes, or to state and determine the differences between princes and the people; but that upon all good occasions faithfully instruct the people in their bounded duty of subjection and obedience to their governors, superior and subordinate of all sorts, and to the established laws according to the word of God, and the doctrine of the church of England, as it is contained in the homilies of obedience, and the articles of religion set forth by public authority.

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2. That they be admonished not to spend their time and study in the search of abstruse and speculative notions, especially in and about the deep points of election and reprobation, together with the incomprehensible manner of the concurrence of God's free grace, and man's free will, and such other controversies as depend thereupon; but howsoever, that they presume not positively and doctrinally to determine anything concerning the same.

3. That they forbear in their sermons ordinarily and causelessly to enter upon the handling of any other controversies of less moment and difficulty; but whensoever they are occasioned by invitation from the text they preach upon, or that in regard of the auditory they preach unto, it may seem requisite or expedient so to do, that in such cases they do it with all modesty, gravity and candour, asserting the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England from the cavils and objections of such as are adversaries to either, without bitterness, railing, jeering, or other <sup>un-</sup>necessary or unseemly provocation.

4. That for the more edifying of the people in faith and godliness ( the aforesaid abuses laid aside ) all ministers and preachers in their several respective cures shall not only diligently apply themselves to catechise the younger sort, according as in the Book of Common Prayer is appointed; but also shall in their ordinary sermons insist chiefly upon catechetical doctrines ( wherein are contained

all the necessary and undoubted verities of Christian religion, declaring withal unto their congregations, what influences such doctrines ought to have in their lives and conversations, and stirring them up effectually, as well by their examples as their doctrines, to the practice of such religious and moral duties, as are the proper results of the said doctrines, as self-denial, contempt of the world, humility, patience, meekness, temperance, justice, mercy, obedience, and the like; and to a detestation and shunning of sin, especially such sins as are so rife among us, and common to the age we live in; such are those usually stiled seven deadly ones; in short, all kind of debauchery, sensuality, rebellion, profaneness, atheism, and the like. And because these licentious times have sorrhupted religion even in the very roots and foundations, that where there is an afternoon's exercise, it be specially spent either in explaining some part of the Church Catechism, or in preaching upon some text of scripture, as will properly and naturally lead to the handling of something contained in it, or may conduce to the exposition of the liturgy and prayers of the Church, ( as occasionz shall be offered) the only cause they grew into contempt amongst the people being this, that they were not understood. That also the minister, as often as conveniently he can, read the prayers himself; and when he cannot do so. he procure or provide some fit person in Holy Orders, who may do it with that gravity, distinctness, devotion, and reverence, as becomes so holy an action: and whensoever by reason of his infirmity, or the concurrence of other offices,

the time may seem too short, or he unable to perform the office of both prayers and sermon at length, he rather shorten his discourse or sermon, than omit anything of the prayers, lest he incur the penalty of the act for uniformity requiring them to be read as the book directs.

5. And further our will and pleasure is, that all ministers within their several cures, be enjoined publicly to read over unto the people such canons, as are or shall be in force, at least once, and the thirty-nine articles twice every year, to the end they may the better understand and be more thoroughly acquainted with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and not so easily drawn away from it as formerly they have been.

6. Since preaching was not anciently the work of every priest, but was restrained to the choicest persons for gravity, prudence, and learning; the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom are to take great care whom they license to preach, and that all grants and licenses of this kind heretofore made by any chancellor, official, commissary, or other secular person ( who are presumed not to be so competent judges in matters of this nature) be accounted void and null, unless the same shall likewise be allowed by the archbishop or the bishop of the diocese; and that all licenses of preachers hereafter to be made or granted by any archbishop or bishop, shall be only during pleasure, otherwise to be void to all intents and purposes, as if the same had never been made or granted.

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7. Lastly, That for the better observing of the Lord's day, too much neglected of late, they shall, as by often and serious admonitions, and sharp reproofs, endeavour to draw off people from such idle, debauched, and profane courses, as dishonour God, bring a scandal on religion, and contempt on the laws and authority ecclesiastical and civil; so shall ~~it~~ they very earnestly persuade them to frequent divine service on the Lord's Day, and other festivals appointed by the Church to be kept solemn; and in case any person shall resort unto any tavern alehouse, or use any unlawful sports and exercises on such days, the minister shall exhort those, which are in authority in their several parishes and congregations, carefully to look after all such offenders in any kind whatsoever, together with all those that abet, receive, or entertain them, that they may be proceeded against according to the laws and quality of their offences, that all such disorders may for the time to come be prevented.

Given at our Court at Whitehall October the 14th., in the 14th year of our reign, MDCLXII. (3).

Ichabod

The factious spirits who gave rise to the directions for preachers were troubling the anonymous writer, generally thought to be Ken, <sup>of</sup> Ichabod (4) The work was published in 1663 and complains of 1342 'factious' ministers and of 1500 debauched men who had been ordained (5) May be the young Ken, entering at this time upon his first living, was over critical.

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Nevertheless irregularities did undoubtedly exist. Thomas Comber, for example, later to be Dean of York was ordained in this same year at the age of nineteen; Sharp, later to be archbishop of York was ordained in 1667 at the age of twenty two.

## Archbishop Sheldon

More official evidence of clerical irregularities is forthcoming from the Archbishop's letter of 1665 to the bishop of London. 'Factious' non-conformist ministers are plaguing him and divers unworthy persons 'have crept into the ministry'. He therefore <sup>issued</sup> orders and instructions with a view to remedying the trouble .

## Concerning ordinations

That all and every the said bishops within their several dioceses and jurisdictions be very careful what persons they receive into the ministry; and that none be admitted into Holy Orders, unless he bring with him letters dimissory, according to the 34th canon; and that no bishop, being not within his own proper diocese, do at any tme hereafter confer orders upon any person without license first from us obtained; and that in all things the canons concerning ordination be duly and punctually observed; and that once every year, videlicet within thirty days after the feast of the annunciation of our blessed lady St Mary the Virgin, every bishop do certify unto us the names, degrees, titles, and orders of every person by him ordained, within the year before, ending at Christmas then last past. (6)

Bishop Wren of Ely ( <sup>38</sup> 16~~60~~ - 1667)

The Archbishop's instructions were duly received and followed by Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely. Shortly before he died in 1667, he issued directions and orders relating to 'Title, qualifications of such persons as are to be ordained in his diocese'. The directions are to be found among the Gibson Papers in the Library at Lambeth Palace. They read as follows :-

1. Gradu aliquo insignitum se esse probaverit in altera Academiarum huius Regni.
2. Certificatorium Fide dignum et se utiquam reprobandum aetatis suae exhibuerit viz. quod viginti quatuor annos complevit si in Presbyterum et viginti tres si in Diacōnum.
3. Testimonium exhibuerit de vitae suae integritate (praesertim p̄ triennium jam ultimo elapsum) idque per subscriptionem trium vel quatuor e graviorib' presbyteris huius Dioces. Domino Episcopo notis, aliorumque fide dignorum vel sub communi sigillo alicuius collegii.
4. Titulum competentem attulerit iuxta canonem Tricesimum tertium ecclesia Anglicanae.
5. Fidei suae Rationem reddere Latine poterit secundum articulos ecclesiae Anglicanae quibus eum subscribere oportet antequam admittatur.

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6. In habitu clericali advenerit, togamque habuerit et super Pelliceum quibus indutus ad sacros ordines admittatur.
7. Si ex aliqua alia Diocesi accesserit, Litteras Dimissorias sub sigillo Diocesani sui exhibuerit una cum litteris testimonialibus.
8. Quod si nullum alium Titulum prae se tulerit praeterquam suberviendi alicui Curae in hac Elen. Diocesi viderit ut ille sub quo Curati Officium praestiturus sit scripto suo poscat ut in Sacros Ordines admittatur pariterque exprimat, quo stipendario eum sit excepturus

These directions, issued in April of 1667, warned candidates to be prepared to undergo an examination between the hours of 9 and 11 on May 31st and June 1st. following. This must have been the last ordination taken by the bishop, who had now reached an advanced age and who had suffered prolonged imprisonment from 1642 to 1660(?)

The bishop seems to have been the first to introduce the more personal directions when communicating with candidates. The sixth of his orders, given above, instructs the candidates to come with their clerical dress ( cassock, gown and square cap ? ) and a surplice(?) For the first time we have instructions that breathe a personal concern for candidates.

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## Archbishop Sancroft

For the remainder of Charles' reign, no secular interest seems to have been taken in the ministry of the Church. The conflict with non-conformity and the final acceptance of the principle of toleration, even in a limited form, destroyed that identity of Church and State which was axiomatic to an earlier generation. And Convocation, which ~~might~~ might have been presumed to have been concerned with the matter, was uninterested, at any rate during the time of Charles II. The only guidance we have which is in any way authoritative came from the Archbishop. Immediately on becoming Archbishop of Canterbury he insisted on greater strictness in the giving of Holy Orders.

Directions from the Archbishop of Canterbury to his Suffragans, concerning Testimonials to be granted unto Candidates for Holy Orders, dated from Lambeth House, August 23d, 1678.

Salutem in Christo

My Lord,

Whereas the easy and promiscuous granting of letters testimonial, (which is in itself a sacred things, and in the first intention of great and very weighty importance,) is by the lapse of time and the corruption which by insensible degrees is crept into the best institutions, come to be, both in the Universities and elsewhere abroad in the dioceses, a matter of mere formality, and a piece of common civility, scarce denied to any that asked it, and many times upon the credit of the first

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subscriber, attested by the rest who have otherwise no knowledge of the person so adorned: or else, where more conscience is made of bearing false witness, even for a neighbour, is done so perfunctorily, and in so low and dilute terms, as ought to signify nothing at all to the great end for which 'tis designed to serve; and yet is sometimes with a like easiness and remissness, received and proceeded upon; whereby great mischiefs in the church and scandals daily ensue, persons altogether undeserving, or at least not duly qualified, being too often, upon the credit of such papers, admitted into holy orders, and in consequence thereupon, thrusting themselves into employments of high trust and dignity and advantage in the church, and by their numerous intrusions preventing and excluding others of greater modesty and merit: concerning all which your lordship cannot but remember how many and how great complaints we met with, both from our brethren the bishops, and others, during the late sessions of parliament, and what expedients for remedy thereof were then under debate and consideration among us. Now, as the result of those counsels, and for the effectual redressing of those inconveniences and preventing the like for the future, ( though it would be abundantly sufficient to call all persons concerned on both sides, to the serious perusal of, and exact compliance with, those excellent constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, made in the year 1603, which have most wisely and fully provided to obviate all these evils,) yet because

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in the modern practice they seem not to be duly attended to, it is thought fit and necessary again to limit and regulate the grant, the matters, and the form of testimonials as followeth: videlicet -

That no letters testimonial be granted only upon the credit of others, or out of a judgement of charity, which believes all things and hopes all things, but from immediate and personal knowledge, and that vowed and expressed in the letters themselves.

That ( as to the form of these letters ) every such testimonial have the date both as to the time and place, expressly mentioned in the body of it, before it be subscribed by any, and pass also ( as the canon requires ) under hand and seal; those namely from the Universities, under the common seal of their respective colleges, attested by the subscription of the master, head or principal person there; and those from other places, under the hands and seals of three priests, at the least, of known integrity, gravity and prudence, who are of the voisinage where the person testified of resides, or have otherwise known his life and behaviour by the space of three years next before the date of the said letters.

And as to the matter of them, that they particularly express the present condition of the person in whose behalf the testimony is given; his standing and degree in the University;

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his place of present abode and course of life; his end and design for which he would make use of the said testimonial; whether for obtaining the order of deacon or priest, or the employment of a parson, vicar, curate, or schoolmaster; and that the subscribers know him to be worthy, and in regard of learning, prudence and holy life, duly qualified for the same respectively: and if he desires holy orders, his age too, if the subscribers know it, or else that they admonish him to bring it, otherwise credibly and sufficiently attested. Lastly, if such testimonial be made use of in another diocese than that where it is given, that it be by no means received without the letters dimissory of the bishop or other ordinary of the place, attesting in writing the ability, honesty and good conversation of the person commended, in the place from whence he came.

My Lord, this is ( I think ) the sum of what was discoursed and resolved between us when we were last together. I therefore desire you, with all convenient speed, to cause copies thereof to be transcribed and transmitted to the several bishops of this province and vice-chancellors of the universities respectively, and to be by them communicated ( as soon as may well be ) to as many as are herein concerned, that they may not be disappointed by coming furnished with such testimonials only as will not, nor ought, to be received to such great purposes, for which they are so often made use of. Commending your Lordship and your great affairs to the blessing of God Almighty,

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I remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's assured loving Brother,

W. Cant. (9)

The Directions of the Archbishop did not entirely deal with the problem. For whatever might have been the state of the law men had <sup>been</sup> admitted into benefices without episcopal ordination. Indeed it was only early in the reign of Charles II that this process had been made <sup>legally</sup> impossible. But irregularities did not vanish completely and Sancroft returned to the subject of the better regulation of ordinations in 1685.

"It is agreed by and between the archbishop and bishops of the province of Canterbury, and they do hereby mutually and solemnly promise for themselves respectively to one another as followeth :

1. That they will henceforth ordain no man deacon except he be 23 years old, unless he have a faculty; which the archbishop declares he will not grant, but upon very urgent occasion; nor priest unless he be full and complete 24 years old, as it is indispensably required in the preface to the book of ordination; nor unless the canonical age be either by an extract out of the register book of the parish, where the person to be ordained was born, under the hands of the minister and church-wardens there; or if no register be kept or found there, by some other means sufficiently attested.

III. That they will ordain no ~~man~~ deacon or priest, who ~~is not~~

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hath not taken some degree of school in one of the universities of this realm, unless the archbishop in some extraordinary case, and upon the express desire and request of the bishop ordaining, shall think fit to dispense with this particular, the person, so to be dispensed with, being in all things else qualified, as the said 34th canon requires.

IV. That they will ordain none but such, as either have lived within their respective dioceses for the three years last past, and are upon their own personal knowledge, or by the testimony of three of the neighbouring ministers, whom they think fit to rely upon, found to be worthy of what they pretend to, or else do exhibit sufficient and authentic testimony thereof from the bishop or bishops, within whose jurisdiction they have resided for the last three years, or from some college in one of the universities, in which they are, or lately have been gremials; to the end, that there may be ( by one or more of these methods ) sufficient <sup>moral</sup> assurance to the bishop, by competent witnesses, of the good life and conversation of the persons to be ordained, for full three years last past, as the said canon requires. ~~..... the archbishop doth declare, that he will not give any man.~~

V. That they will admit none to Holy Orders but such as are presented to some ecclesiastical preferment then void in that diocese, or have some other title specified and allowed in the 33d canon; among which a curacy under a parson or vicar, during his pleasure, is not to be accounted

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to be one, unless that parson or vicar doth under his hand and seal, and before witnesses oblige himself to the bishop both to accept that person, "bona fide" ( when he shall be ordained and licensed by the bishop) to serve under him, and assist him, and also to allow him such salary, as the bishop shall approve of, so long as he shall continue doing his duty there; and lastly, not to put him out of that employment, but for reasons to be allowed by the bishop.

VI. That they will or ordain no man, who hath a title allowed by the canon, if the benefice, to which that title relates, lie within another diocese, except he exhibit letters dimissory from the bishop, in whose diocese his title and employment is.

VII. That they will ordain no man but upon the Lord's days immediately following the "jejunia quatuor temporum" except he have a faculty to be ordained "extra tempora"; and such a faculty, the archbishop declares, he will not grant, but upon very urgent occasion, as ( for instance) if one, who is not in full orders, be presented to some benefice; for of it since the late act of uniformity he is not capable, till he be ordained priest.

VIII. That they will ordain no man ( of what qualities or gifts soever) both deacon and priest in one day, nor any man priest, until he shall have continued in the office of a deacon the space of a whole year, and behaved himself faithfully and diligently in the same. And if upon urgent occasion, it

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shall for reasonable causes seem good unto the bishop to shorten that time, yet even in that case, there being four times of ordination in the year, he shall give the deacon's order in the end of one Ember week; and ( if the case may bear that delay) the priest's order not till the next ensuing; or in the utmost necessity, not till the Sunday, or holy-day next following; and that not too without a faculty. But in the same day none shall be made both deacon and priest, that some decent shadow at least, or footstep of so ancient and laudable a practice may be however retained and observed among us.

IX. That they will ordain none, but such as shall, a full month before the day of ordination, bring or send to the bishop notice in writing of their desire to enter into Holy Orders, together with such certificate of their age, and such testimonials of their behaviour and conversation, as are above required; to the end, that the bishop may ( if he think fit) make further inquiry into all particulars, and also give open monitions to all men to except against such, as they may perhaps know not to be worthy, as it is expressly required by that excellent canon MDLXIV and may be performed, as otherwise, so generally by affixing a schedule of the names of the candidates upon the doors of the cathedral, for as long time before, as they are given in: not any, but such as shall also repair personally to the bishop in the beginning of the Ember week, or on Thursday in that week, at the latest; to the end, that there may be time for the strict and careful examination of every

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person, so to be ordained, both by the archdeacon, and by the bishop himself, and such other as shall assist him at the imposition of hands, or he shall think fit to emply herein; and that they may also be present in the cathedral, and observe the solemn fast, and join in the solemn prayers, which are at that time to be put up to God in their behalf.

X. Lastly, That some time in the week, after every ordination, whether "intra", or "extra" tempora", the bishop ordaining shall send a certificate under his hand and seal, attested by the archdeacon, and such other clergymen, as assisted at the ordination, containing the names and surnames of all the persons then ordained, the place of their birth, their ages, the college where they were educated, with the degree they have taken in the university, the title upon which they are ordained, and upon whose letters dimissory, if they came out of another diocese; to which shall be subjoined a particular account of all such as then offered themselves to ordination, and were refused, as also the reasons for which the bishop refused them. All which the archbishop doth undertake and promise to cause to be entered into a lieger book for that purpose, to the end that it may be, as it were "ecclesiae matricula" for this province.

W.Cant.

W. Asaph.

William Norwich.

Fran. Ely.

Tho. Bath et Wells. (o)

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Bishop Ken

Amongst the signatories of the Archbishop's Directions was the newly consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Ken. His interest in ordinands goes back to the earliest days of his ministry. He sketched the requirements of the ordinand in these terms : "Promptness of wit, quickness of conceit, fastness of memory, clearness of understanding, soundness of judgment, and readiness of speech; that they may in time by art, industry, experience, and observation, become skilful linguists, subtle disputants, copious orators, exact critics, comprehensive historians, profound divines, and powerful preachers; that throughout the three kingdoms I may have those that settle the people rightly, instruct the ignorant clearly, satisfy the doubtful fully, meet with the seducers skilfully, and promote piety and peace successfully. As the times now are, wherein learning aboundeth unto wantonness and wherein the world is full of questions, controversies, novelties, and niceties in religion and wherein most of our gentry and people are ( by the advantage of long peace, and the customs of modern education, together with a multitude of English books) able to look through the ignorance of a clergyman, and censure it, if he be tripping in any point of history, cosmography, moral or natural philosophy, divinity or the arts; yea, and to chastise his very method and phrase, if he speak loosely or impertinently, or but improperly: I, as these times are, must not admit any clergyman without a competency of learning; as who may endeavour by their prayers, ~~care~~ <sup>care</sup> and industry to improve the learning they have. so as they

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may be able upon good occasion to impart a spiritual gift to the people of God, whereby they may be established, and to speak with such understanding, sufficiency and pertinency, in some good measure of proportion to the quickness and ripeness of these present times, shewing in their doctrine, uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech which cannot be condemned; that they which are of the contrary party may be ashamed, having no evil to say of them"(4).

On the Chapter at Wells were two clergy who shewed especial interest in ordination candidates. They were Ralph Bathurst, Dean of Wells and Richard Busby, who besides being Head Master of Westminster, was also Treasurer of the Cathedral. We shall meet <sup>Busby</sup> ~~them~~ again when we consider the Universities.

Bishop Cartwright of Chester ( 1686-1689 )

Quite a different type of Bishop was Cartwright. He was opposed by Sancroft and owed his ~~appointment~~ appointment to James. Indeed he was so devoted to him that when the King fled to France, Cartwright followed him. Yet in the short diary which has come down to us, written during his tenure of the see of Chester, we can see that he discharged his duties faithfully when dealing with candidates for the ministry. His Diary covers the year 1686-1687. The Ember Seasons are faithfully observed, the standard of candidates is high ( nearly all the ordinands are graduates),

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and the canonical requirements were duly demanded(12)

## William and Mary

The accession of William and Mary meant that a number of bishops, including Archbishop Sancroft, were unable to recognise the new King and Queen because of their oath of allegiance to James II who, after a short reign and because of his Roman<sup>a</sup> sympathies, was obliged to flee the country. The Archbishop and the other Nonjuring bishops, including Ken, were deprived of their sees. ~~and~~ During the vacancy at Lambeth, the King addressed the Bishop of London on the requirements as to the ordination of ministers : " More especially as to the ordination of ministers, we require you to use all possible care and strictness in examining and inquiring into the lives and learning of such persons, as desire to be ~~admit~~ admitted into Holy Orders; and herein constantly to observe the canons relating thereunto, the neglect whereof we shall strictly inquire into, and take care that it be punished according to law." (13)

In 1694 the King issued further injunctions to the bishops on the same subject, Tenison now being Archbishop.

" 1. That the 24th and 35th canons concerning ordinations be strictly observed.

11. That every person, to be admitted to holy orders, do signify his name and the place of his abode to the bishop fourteen days before he is ordained, to the end that inquiry may be made into his life and conversation. And that he appear

at the furthest on Thursday in Ember Week, that so such, who upon examination shall be found fit, may have time to prepare themselves by fasting and prayer, before the day of ordination.

III. That every bishop shall be well satisfied, that all persons that are to be ordained, have a real title with a sufficient maintenance, according to the 33rd. canon, in which matter we require the bishops to use an especial care.

IV. That a certificate of the age of the person to be ordained, be brought, if it can be, out of the parish register, or at least a certificate very well attested.

V. That the part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> canon, which relates to the giving of certificates concerning the lives and manners of those, who are to be ordained, be strictly looked to. And that the bishops lay it on the consciences of the clergy, that they sign no certificates, unless, upon their own knowledge, they judge the persons to be duly qualified.

VI. That every bishop shall transmit, between Michaelmas and Christmas, to the archbishop of the province a list of all such persons, as have been ordained by him during that year, according to the constitution in the year MDLXXXIV in order to be put in a public register, which shall be prepared by you for that use (14)

~~MIIX~~

Archbishop Tenison (1695-1715)

These royal directions were really the work of Tenison himself and foreshadow points made in his letter to the

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bishops of the province, written in the following year.

The letter covers a number of matters, the eleventh of which relates to ordination candidates : " I beseech you to think of, and to use all proper methods for the time to come, for the preventing of such from being admitted into Holy Orders, who are not likely to pursue the sacred ends of them. Some such methods I here lay before you, desiring you to take them into your consideration.

1. Particular attention is to be paid to schoolmasters that so in the education of youth, especially such as are designed for Holy Orders, there may not be an ill foundation laid.

2ndly, That you ordain no man deacon or priest, who hath not taken some degree of school in one of the universities of this realm, unless in some extraordinary case.

3rdly, That you accept of no letters testimonial brought by persons to be ordained, unless there be a clause inserted in them by the testifiers to this effect : that they believe them to be qualified for that order, into which they desire to be admitted.

4thly, That as soon as any apply to you for Holy Orders, you give timely notice of this at the place where the person resides, or lately resided, that so the exceptions against him ( if any such there be) may come timely to your knowledge.

5thly, That when any person comes to you to be ordained, you lay it upon your conscience to observe such fasting

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as is prescribed upon Ember days, and to give himself in most serious manner to meditation and prayer.

After some competent time after every ordination, whether intra or extra tempora, at least between Michaelmas or Christmas, I desire you to send a return under your hand, attested by the archdeacon, and such other clergymen as assisted at the ordination, containing the names and surnames of all persons then ordained, the place of their birth, their age, and college where they were educated, with the degree they have taken in the university, ~~nam~~ the title upon which they were ordained, and upon whose letters dimissory, if they came out of another diocese; and to subjoin a particular account of all such as then offered themselves to ordination, and were refused; as also of the reasons for which they were refused. All which I undertake and promise to cause to be entered into a ledger book for that purpose. By this means counterfeit orders may be detected; men who come up for preferment may be the better understood and distinguished; and such who have had the misfortune either to lose their orders, or to want them here, upon any emergent occasion, may be in some measure helped.

Then, in a final paragraph, Tenison openly avows his erastian convictions, and bids the bishops to comply with his majesty's demands upon this matter in the Injunctions of the previous year<sup>(1)</sup>

But Tenison was interested in ordinands not only in an administrative sense, but also in a more personal way.



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## 5. Tempus Septiman. Cinerum

Feb. 18. May 19.

Sep. 22. Dec. 14.

Nullus uno et eodem die Diaconus et Presciter fit, sine Dispensatione.

6. Per Episcopū assistentē ( in Eccl. Cath. vel Paroc.) ubi commoratur Decanus, Archidiac. et 2 Prebend. aut 4 alii ministeri idonei, Magistri Artiū, et Comcionatores.

7. Ex eodem Diocesi, nisi sit Academicus aut Literas Dimissorias attulerit.

8. Subscriptio 39 Artic. lubens et ex animo.

And finally it is stated that none can be admitted to Holy Orders unless they have been examined and approved by the chaplain of the Archbishop<sup>(6)</sup>

The <sup>origin of the</sup> office of an examining chaplain is obscure. But the occasional references at this period suggest the possibility of the inception of such an office by Tenison himself. The note just given from the Tenison Manuscripts has this first reference to possibly such a person. Corroboration for the conjecture comes from the contemporary evidence afforded by Burnet and Kidder. Burnet declared that he never turned over the examining of candidates to a chaplain but performed the task himself. Likewise Kidder. He too was not content to take the assessment of a chaplain but took the trouble personally to examine his candidates.

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Canon Carpenter, in his recently published biography of Tenson, preserves some extracts from papers set to candidates for orders. In view of the rarity of such papers at so early a date, they are ~~here~~ transcribed here :

Unde originem duxit Oratio dominica ?

Qua lingua vel scripta vel dictata fuit oratio dominica ?

Repetas istius modi orationem latine.

Repetas istius modi orationem grace.

Quo sensu dicitur deus Pater Noster ?

Quare...affirmatur Patrem nostrum esse in Caelis ?

Suntne alii, praeter hunc Deum, Invocandi ?

Quo sensu intelligenda est : Sanctification nominis dei ?

Quid est voluntas dei ?

Quid est peccatum contra conscientiam ?

Peccatum ( writes the candidate ) contra conscientiam est cum persuasi sumus illud peccatum esse et contra Dei mandata libenter committimus.

Et quid est Peccatum quod non est contra conscientiam ?

The reply is : Peccatum quod non est contra conscientiam cuius malitiae non sumus conscius vel de cuius natura animus noster statem haeret in ambiguo.

An Peccata inter se differunt quoad iniquitatem cum peccatum nihil sit aliud quam legis transgressio ?

The candidate writes : Affirmo Peccata inter se ~~non~~ differere ( sic ) quoad iniquitatem.

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- I. Peccata infirmitatis..differunt a peccatis  
    commissis contra notitiam.
2. Peccata habitulaa differunt a peccatis  
    subitariis et commissis violenta tentatione(7)

This personal interest did not often go to the lengths of personally ordaining candidates for his own diocese. Carpenter has listed the ordinations of the Archbishop between the years 1695 and 1715, altogether, 43 in number, and only on five occasions did the Archbishop himself confer orders. The numbers of those ordained are strikingly small. On no occasion were more than two ordained(18)

The oath which he imposed upon candidates at their ordination ran as follows : I.....do declare that I will conforme to the liturgie of the Church of England as it is now by law established. He tolerated no slackness about the exaction of the oath.

## Convocation

Convocation had of late met only infrequently, and then only in controversial mood. In 1702 the Lower House approached the bishops : "That notwithstanding the exemplary care of many bishops in the admission of persons into Holy Orders ( for which we have great reason to bless God and to be thankful to their lordships,) yet to our grief, in some dioceses the conditions in that regard prescribed by the 33rd, 34th and 35th canons have not been observed. On the

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contrary, the little caution used by some in granting, and by others in allowing of letters testimonial; the not insisting on true, certain and sufficient titles; the want of a strict and diligent examination of such as offer themselves to be ordained; and an unnecessary ordination of persons, without either university degrees or education, continues to be just matter of complaint.

And it were further to be wished, that the ordinations of ministers might always be entered in the public registers of their respective dioceses, in so particular and authentic a manner, as to afford sufficient evidence for the detecting such persons as forge letters of orders, and to provide against the inconveniences which may arise to the clergy upon any loss of their letters of orders<sup>(49)</sup>

The only other refernce to the subject in Convocation comes towards the very end of Tenison's life when George I in his letter to the Convocation about their business in 1715 ordered " The better settling the qualifications, titles, and testimonials of persons, who, offer themselves for Holy Orders" <sup>20</sup>.

Shortly afterwards in 1717 Convocation was suppressed and remained so until the middle of the next century. It became henceforth impossible for the mind of the clergy to be clarified on the matter and each bishop behaved as he thought fit. The Lower House had already noted the typically eighteenth century failure of the bishops personally and adequately to super-

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wise the giving of Holy Orders. The "exemplary care" of the exceptions to this generalisation we must now consider.

Bishop Burnet ( 1689 - 1715 )

Burnet along with Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man are probably the two best known figures at this period for their interest in Ordination Candidates. When we come to consider the work of the Universities we shall see that Burnet's interest in ordinands was clearly visible when he was Professor of Divinity at Glasgow. Then shortly after his elevation to the See of Salisbury he was commanded by the Queen to write a book on the subject of the Pastoral Care, part of which is devoted to the qualifications needed in ordinands. At the same time, as Bishop of Salisbury he started what was virtually a diocesan seminary for candidates for the Ministry. He was clearly very interested in this aspect of the church's work, and in his autobiography he has left us an account of his attitude towards it. He writes:

"I looked on ordinations as the most important part of a bishop's care, and that on which the law had laid no restraints, for it was absolutely in the bishop's power to ordain or not, as he judged a person qualified for it, and so I resolved to take that matter to heart. I never turned over the examining of those who came to me for Orders to a chaplain or an archdeacon, I examined them very carefully myself. I began always to examine them concerning the proof of the Christian religion and the nature of the Gospel Covenant in Christ; if they understood not these

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aright, I dismissed them, but upon a competent understanding of these, I went through the other parts of divinity, and soon saw into the measure of their knowledge.... When I was satisfied that they had a competent measure of knowledge, I directed the rest of my discourse to their consciences, and went through all the parts of the Pastoral Care to give them good directions and to awaken in them a right sense of things. I pressed them to employ their time in prayer, fasting, and meditation, and in reading carefully the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. I spoke copiously to them every day for four days together upon these subjects, sometimes to them altogether and sometimes singly. I referred the examining them in Greek and Latin to the Archdeacon, and brought them to a public examination in the Chapter House before the dean and prebendaries.... I must confess the ordination weeks were much dreaded by me and were the most afflicting parts of the whole year and of the whole episcopal duty." (2)

Archbishop Sharp ( 1691 - 1714 )

, Mr Tindal Hart in his recently published Biography "The Life & Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York" has brought to light fresh material revealing the Archbishop's thoroughness in his dealings with Ordination Candidates. He was by no means uncritical in his reception of them, as the following letter about a candidate recommended to him reveals:

"Sir. It grieves me to tell you that I am forced to send back your son again without Orders... I had such an account of

him that till these objections <sup>be</sup> ~~were~~ cleared I cannot possibly, with a good conscience, admit him into Holy Orders... I should think it much more advisable to put him upon some other calling than that of a clergyman... I am engaged in no private interest, nor have any ends to serve but those of God and the Church in this affair. (22)

The Archbishop held ordinations regularly and insisted that candidates grasped the essential doctrines of the Church of England and especially those which differentiated her from the Church of Rome and other communions. But if he could be severe he could also be generous, and candidates who were unable to study for financial reasons were entertained in his own family until they were ready to take Holy Orders. He was scrupulous in ordaining candidates from other dioceses and always demanded Letters Dimissory. In brief, Sharp was exemplary so far as all available records give, in his conduct of all matters relating to admission to Holy Orders .

Sharp's son, in his biography of his father, gives a detailed account of his father's practice at the Ember seasons. He used, he writes, to hold ordinations at the regular seasons when in his diocese. It was a business of the greatest weight and consequence to him and he prepared himself conscientiously for his duty. He would retire privately to his chapel and beg God's blessing and "implore the guidance of His Spirit in that work". He measured candidates for Orders

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more by their modesty and good sense. In their testimonials he preferred their virtue to their learning. Nevertheless he demanded a right notion of the main doctrines of religion and insisted that a candidate should understand thoroughly the terms of the new covenant, both on God's part and on man's. He must also know the reasons for the main differences between the Church of England and the Church of Rome and the other communions separating from her.

Before the actual ordination he gave a charge to candidates and ~~instructed~~ emphasised the gravity of their calling "to be made stewards of the mysteries of Christ, the ministers of reconciliation between God and man." He urged them to devote themselves to the study of Holy Scripture, to reside upon their cure, and to live in a manner that befitted their office. (23)

## Bishop Kidder ( 1691 to 1703 )

When Richard Kidder was made Bishop of Bath & Wells we know that he went to a See where there was considerable concern over candidates for the ministry. In his diary he gives us a full account of his own procedure over ordinations, and as it is written in 1702 towards the end of his life we can be sure that it represents his mature practice. He writes:-

"When the time draws near I enquire who they are who have

given in their names fourteen days before. In Ember Week I appoint them a time and place where they are to be examined. I have never failed to examine them myself. I never trust it to my chaplain alone, though I have constantly made use of him also. I send to the Canons of the Church to assist me at the Examination. I lay before them all the young men's pretences viz: their titles, their Testimonials, the certificates of their age. I ask them questions before the Canons and put them upon examining them likewise, especially where they do not seem to give a good account of themselves. I never used the poorest man with contempt or hardship. I ask fair and easy questions; and use them always as becomes me. Indeed when I meet with one who gives me picquant and wise answers I sometimes try them with harder questions, but never conclude them by their answers to such questions, or put them by for not answering them. In a word I do nothing without the consent and approbation of the Canons, and they constantly set their hands to the written account which I send to the Archbishop of whom I allowed and ordain, and whom I refuse for insufficiency or want of Title, etc.

And taking this course I cannot but be able to give a good account of myself as to this matter. It hath been my custom when I give any of them a collect or article to turn into Latin to cause them to set their names at the bottom: And some of those papers are by me. I have formerly ( but seldom ) sent out a Si quis to the place of his abode who desires orders, that they of that place may have notice of such his desire and appear, and if they know any notable

crime and impediment to apply to the Bishop in the mean time.

I know it is said I ordain non Conformists. And in truth I am not ashamed of anything I have done of this kind. I have accounted for Mr Malhare and see no cause why he should be called a non Conformist, who conformed as a layman before he was ordained many years: And as such an one had a license from the present Bishop of Exeter. But what other have I ordained? I answer that being now in the twelfth year of my Consecration and having looked over my subscription book I find but three, They were all duly examined, gave a good account of themselves, subscribed the Articles and exactly did all which the Law required, and the Dean and Chapter assisted at their ordination, and were well satisfied in them. Their names were Gardiner, Sully and Gatchell. The last of them were ordained deacons only, and the last of them a very valuable man; I should be glad that many such might come into the Church. I am sure that they were all such as I could not fairly refuse. "(24)

William Wake, Bishop of Lincoln (1705 - 1716,) Archbishop of Canterbury (1716-1737.)

Our last illustration of "exemplary care" comes from Wake, successively Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of Canterbury. His conscientiousness about conferring Holy Orders may be seen in a letter he wrote to Sir Thomas Alston, brother of a candidate whom he had been obliged to reject. He wrote: "After having made a short experiment of him in the Greek Testament, I proceeded to examine him in English, and only in the Articles of the Apostles' Creed in order

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as they lie there. I asked no questions out of the way, but only the plain sense and meaning of each article, without entering into any further particulars concerning them. Some few proofs of Scripture I put him upon when the passages were notorious to anybody who knew anything at all of the subject, but not otherwise. I am sorry to say that upon the whole he appeared to all of us by no means qualified for Holy Orders. My archdeacon professed that he could not present him according to the solemn form our Church requires; nor indeed could I think myself at liberty to ordain him if he would! (23)

But this personal care did not imply ordination within the diocese. Of the forty ordinations undertaken by Wake as Bishop of Lincoln, twenty two took place in London; sixteen at the episcopal residence of Buckden; and only two in Lincoln Cathedral (24)

When raised to Canterbury, Wake immediately summoned his suffragans, then in London for parliament, to consider best how they might employ their authority. His letter to the bishops ( June 5th. 1716 ) urges :-

1. That you require of every person, who desires to be admitted into Holy Orders, that he signify to you his name and place of abode, and transmit to you his testimonial, and a certificate of his age duly attested, with the title, upon which he is to be ordained, at least twenty days before the time of ordination; and that he appear on Wednesday or at farthest on Thursday in Ember-Week, in order to his examination.

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11. That if you shall reject any person, who applies for Holy Orders, upon the account of immorality proved against him, you signify the name of the person so rejected, with the reason of your rejecting him, to me within one month; that so I may acquaint the rest of my suffragans with the case of such rejected person before the next ordination.

111. That you admit not any person to Holy Orders, who having resided any considerable time out of the university, does not send to you, with his testimonial, a certificate signed by the minister, and other credible inhabitants of the parish where he so resided, expressing that notice was given in the church in time of divine service on some Sunday, at least a month before the day of ordination, of his intention to offer himself to be ordained at such a time; to the end that any person, who knows any impediment, or notable crime, for the which he ought not to be ordained, may have the opportunity to make his objections against him.

IV. That you admit no letters testimonial on any occasion whatsoever, unless it be therein expressed, for what particular end and design such letters are granted; nor unless it be declared by those who shall sign them, that they have personally known the life and behaviour of the person for the time by them certified; and do believe in their conscience, that he is qualified for that order, office, or employment, to which he desires to be admitted.

V. That in all testimonials sent from any college or hall in

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either of the universities, you expect, that they be signed as well as sealed; and that among the persons signing, the governor of such college or hall, or in his absence, the next person under such governor, with the dean, or reader of divinity, and the tutor of the person to whom the testimonial is granted (such tutor being in the college, and such person being under the degree of master of arts ) do subscribe their names.

VI. That you admit not any person to Holy Orders upon letters dimissory, unless they are granted by the bishop himself, or guardian of the spiritualities, sede vacante; nor unless it be expressed in such letters, that he who grants them has fully satisfied himself of the title, and conversation of the person, to whom the letter is granted.

After several other directions on different matters the Archbishop directs that the contents of his letter should be made known to the clergy of each diocese (27)

Wake was also concerned with the state of affairs at the Universities. Soon after coming to Lambeth he wrote to Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford asking, somewhat anxiously, for better instruction in sacred learning. Surely, he wrote, " you may bring tutors to read some system or body of divinity to their pupils, and engage them to make them at least master of the Greek of the New Testament, which I am sorry to tell you so few who come to us for Holy Orders, or even for faculties, are". Every tutor, he maintained, " should exact of his pupils the constant reading of the Greek Testament, so as at

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least to make them well acquainted with the text and language of it. This would be a good beginning, and I believe, lay the foundation of much good to our Church. For indeed you cannot believe how great the defects of our clergy in all respects are, especially when they first apply to us for Holy Orders! (25)

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I V

THE UNIVERSITIES

To the churchmen of our period, the universities could only mean the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. And so far as the clergy were concerned it is from these two universities that they received their education. The exceptions were few. There were of course clergy who were ordained without any university training. But it was only towards the end of our period that a trickle of ordinands began to appear from the universities of Scotland and Ireland. Our attention therefore will ~~simply~~ be given <sup>almost entirely</sup> to Oxford and Cambridge.

The universities throughout our period, with the exception of the period of the Protectorate, were the preserve of the Church of England. The officers of the universities were all in Anglican orders : the students were all professing members of the Church of England. All members of the universities accepted the Thirty Nine Articles, and Nowell's Book of the Catechism was prescribed reading from 1579, at Oxford.<sup>(1)</sup> But despite the totally Anglican nature of the two societies remarkably little was done officially to ensure the religious education of young students. There were sermons to be heard ~~attended~~ and disputations on theological issues to be attended, but little seems formally to have been done for the regular <sup>religious</sup> instruction of ~~the~~ undergraduates, even if they intended to take Holy Orders. Corpus, which was <sup>f</sup>ounded early in the sixteenth century at Oxford, made no provision in its statutes for the religious education of its young students<sup>(2)</sup> And when in 1692 Dr. Busby, headmaster of Westminster and Canon

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of Wells, offered to endow lectureships to provide religious instruction for undergraduates, he was told that the provisions of the University of Oxford would not allow such a lectureship<sup>(3)</sup> Prideaux, speaking of his own undergraduate days which shortly preceded Busby's offer, confirms the religious ignorance of his contemporaries and adds that men were so lazy that each university ~~university~~ ought to have a new college called Drone Hall. So impressed was he by his experiences and his knowledge, that among his published works ( published in 1748 ) he left a scheme for the reformation of the universities. Archbishop Wake likewise realised the insufficiency of the Universities and wrote to the Master of University College Oxford in 1716 pleading for some reform in the matter<sup>(5)</sup> Thus throughout our period the universities did not regard themselves as in any sense seminaries for the education of prospective clergy.

## University studies.

Nevertheless ordinands did go the universities and receive a training which prepared them for the ministry. They were constantly exhorted by numerous regulations to graduate before offering themselves for Holy Orders. From time to time we catch glimpses of the studies they pursued. For the period 1573 to 1580 we have the Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey. "You cannot, he writes, step into a scholar's study but (ten to one) you shall litely find open either Bodin De Republica\* or Le Roye's (ob.1577)

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Exposition upon Aristotle's Politics or some other French or Italian Political discourse, e.g. Macchiavelli". Harvey refers also to Socrates, Pal<sup>a</sup>to, Demosthenes, Cicero, Homer and Aristophanes<sup>(6)</sup> So much for Oxford at this time. But at Emmanuel College Cambridge, founded in 1584 especially for candidates for Holy Orders, we have the following account of William Bedell, one of the first students of the College : "A great student he was, and a great proficient, as in all kind of learning, so especially in Divinity. He did not only taste the Liberal Arts, or give them a short visit by the way, but thoroughly studied them. His knowledge in the Latin and Greek was elegant and fluent, whether we respect his tongue or pen; in both which he was very much a Ciceronian. As for Poetry ( wherein he greatly delighted) he was an imitator of Horace, rather than Ovid; more sharp and solid than smooth. The Greek Fathers and Historians he read in Greek; going to the fountain head and not beholden to translations. He obtained also no mean skill in the Syriack, Arabic and Hebrew tongues; tho' in them ( as also in the Chaldee tongue ) he bettered himself much after in his travells." We gather too that he was exceedingly skilful in scholastical and positive divinity >

~~An excellent picture of the life of a seriously minded undergraduate early in the seventeenth century is afforded us in the diary of Symonds D'Ewes. Though he never took Orders his beloved tutor, Jeffray, exhorted him to do so. And in~~

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Another ordinand, who later went over to the Church of Rome, was Charles Yelverton ( Caius 1590 - 1597 ). On giving a detailed account of his student days before entering a seminary, he says " Sometimes I applied myself to the Humanities, sometimes to philosophy. I was at one time eager to learn Greek, at another Hebrew." Another convert to Roman Catholicism at the same period says " I spent my first three years on Rhetoric, Logic, and Physic; the rest of the time was devoted to Jurisprudence and Humanity" 9

Divinity therefore was not a pre-ordination study. Harrison in his account of the Universities ( 1577 and 1587 ) explicitly relates that it was only after graduation and after ordination that Divinity was undertaken. Nevertheless the preparatory studies were set in a framework of life which was religious. Paul Hentzner describes the Oxford which he visited in 1598 in these terms : "The students lead a life almost monastic". Prayer and study, he says, are given their appointed times and at meals the Bible is read from a desk in the middle of the Hall and each student has to take his turn in reading it. He gives us a glimpse of the students walking in the college gardens after dinner in 'habit..almost the same as that of the Jesuits' (11)

For the early years of the following century we have a detailed account of a student's life in the diary of Symonds D'Ewes. Though he himself never took orders, it was suggested by Jeffray his tutor that he should. And in

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any case, the diary shews what opportunities were open to a seriously minded student who might go forward for ordination between the years 1618 and 1620 at St John's College in particular and at Cambridge in general.

There clearly existed a very real friendship between D'Ewes and his tutor, a valuable ingredient for a sound education. His tutor persuaded him to keep commonplace books, one of which was exclusively kept for divinity. He had long theological discussions with his tutor and was guided by him in the ordering of his life. He kept the sabbath strictly (more so than James I suggested in his Book of Sports which had recently appeared); he prepared himself conscientiously to receive the sacrament; and undertook the visiting of the sick and regular giving of alms. Here was an ideal background for the ordinand. He was healthily human too in that he was fond of games and we read of his playing tennis, bowls, shovel board and cards. We see him attending the lectures and of George Herbert, Professor Davenant. His reading was extensive and he refers to "the great University subjects of study.. Logic, Ethics and Physics". Amongst divines he quotes Keckermann\*, Molinaeus\*, Piccolominaeus\* and Golius, Polanus\*, Ramus\* and Magirus. Classical studies seem to have had a secondary place and were relegated to the evenings. He refers especially to Virgil's Eclogues which he read with the Master of Emmanuel. He seems only to have been able to read Latin authors, ( Suetonius Macrobius\* and Gellius are mentioned)

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and to have had very little knowledge of Greek. He attended the disputations in the schools and in due course went through them himself. There were also commonplaces in his own college to attend and he gave a declamation in chapel. For his leisure time he gave himself to poetry ( Spenser and Cowley were favourites ) and he had an affection for old chroniclers like Philip de Comines. He also gives a reference to some ephemeral literature which he read : Tobacco battered, and the pipes shattered, about their ears that idolize so barbarous a weed, or at least-wise over-love so loathesome a vanity, by a volley of holy shot from Mount Melicon<sup>2</sup>.

The pattern of university education was still clearly scholastic but the new learning and new ideas were beginning to make their influence felt. Another undergraduate who has left us an account of his student days is John Wallis, ordained in 1640. After learning Latin Greek Hebrew and logic at Felstead he went up to Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1632, was made <sup>scholar</sup> in the following year and took his B.A. in 1637. At the University he went " from logic to ethics, phy<sup>s</sup>ic<sup>s</sup> and metaphysic<sup>s</sup>, consulting the Schoolmen on such points, according to the methods of philosophy then in fashion at that university. And I took into it the speculative part of physick and anatomy as parts of natural philosophy. And as Dr. Glisson (then public professor in physick in that University ) hath since told me, I was the first of his sons who, in a public disputation, maintained the circulation of the blood, which was then a new doctrine, though I had no

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design of practising physick. And I had then imbibed the principles of what they now call the New Philosophy. For I made no scruple of diverting from the common road of studies then in fashion to any part of useful learning... On the same account, I diverted also to astronomy and geography as parts of natural philosophy, and to other parts of mathematics: and though at that time they were scarce looked upon as academical studies then in fashion... I was early instructed in the principles of religion and catechetical divinity and the frequent reading of the scripture and other good books, and diligent attendance upon sermons. And whatever other studies I followed I was careful not to neglect this. And became timely acquainted with systematick and polemick theology, and had the repute of a good proficient therein.

## The College Testimonial

When the undergraduate had completed his studies he had to bring to his bishop, if he offered himself for Holy Orders, a testimonial from his college. One given by the Master of Christ's on August 2nd. 1604 to a certain George Ward, illustrates the style of such testimonials. It is preserved in the papers of the Public Record Office and runs as follows:-

Cum antiquus sit et laudatus nostra Academiae mos, ut qui ad bonarum artium linguarumque scientiam, pietatis cultum, morumque probitatem adiunxerunt publico eruditionis suae et virtutis testimonio ( si quando pous fuerit) honestarentur: Nos Edmundus Barwell sacrosanctae Theologiae Doctor, Magister sive Custos Collegii Christi, caeterique eiusdem Collegii socii Georgium

Wardum in artibus Bacchalaureū, n̄rique Collegii alumnum, utrius-  
 que nomine commendatum vobis esse volumus. Neque vero anteacti  
 solum temporis testimoniū ei libentissime perhibemus ( eum  
 scilicet per quinquennium diligentem apud nos, et fructuosam  
 bonis literis operam ~~habuisse et in rebus divinis religionem~~ nauasse,  
 et in rebus divinis religionem, et in humanis permodestum fuisse.  
 Verumetiam in magnam spem venimus, studia eius, et conatus ad  
 dei gloriam, et Reipub~~li~~ emolumentum caesura : Quam igitur de eo  
 et opinionem prateriti temporis, et de futuro spem apud nos  
 concepimus, eandem cum apud omnes hisce literis libere et ex  
 animo proftiemur, tum singulorum noībus subscriptis, et  
 Collegii sigillo apposito confirmamus. Dat. Cantabrig: e Coll  
~~Ammanūm~~  
 Chri Anno Dni 1604. August: Secundo.

Edmundus Barwell.

The master's signature is followed by eleven other signatures,  
 presumably those of the fellows of the college. (14)

~~Edmundus Barwell~~

The College Tutor

The evidence of Bedell, D'Ewes and Wallis is sufficient to  
 shew that whatever may have been the official point of view of  
 the university with regard to ordinands, a student could  
 receive an intellectual training most appropriate for his  
 future work. A revolution had been effected. Instead of being  
 societies training clerks in Holy Orders, financed by their benefices  
 the universities had become societies training young men,  
 in the time of James I at any rate, predominantly for Holy Orders.

Important as it is to see if we can the studies of the undergraduates, it is equally important to grasp the nature of the college tutors who must have done much in their personal contacts to influence the men with whom they came in touch. We have seen how much D'Ewes was influenced by his tutor. One college tutor, Thomas Crosfield, a<sup>d</sup> don of the Queen's College, Oxford, has left us his diary. It give a pleasing picture of University life in the first part of the seventeenth century. Particularly helpful for our present purpose is some doggerel verse which depicts ~~thun~~ a day in the life of a don, June 21st. 1628<sup>(15)</sup>

I 'th' morning pray'd & heard a Latin sermon  
wch was cpmpos'd & preach'd by Mr. Forman (16)

His~~s~~ text was this : unto thyselfe attend  
& to thy doctrine, constant care still bend.

At Colies<sup>(7)</sup> then ye Frenchman I enquir'd  
To get some debts me payd as I desir'd

But <sup>found</sup> him not: soe home I did betake  
mys~~el~~fe, with purpose pleasure to forsake.

And to my pupills read Enunciations  
Modificate, & went to disputations.

These done, we din'd, & after did resort  
To bowle i'th garden & to have some sport.

Then after this we heard ye disputations  
About the Vulgar<sup>(18)</sup> & Englksh translations  
wch done, I straight went to the lecture  
where the sist of Daniel as I conjecture

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he did expound, & many notes did showe  
 wch partly I did not & partly I did knowe.  
 The next succeeding houre I undertooke  
 to write some certain notes out of a booke  
 Of honour, wch in Marti~~n~~'s history (19)  
 Of twentie kings I chanced to see  
 at th' end, & you may there them read  
 collected briefly our of maister Speed (20)  
 Besides, a new Surveyor~~y~~ I did see  
 composed by Aaaron Rathbone, wch may bee  
 A booke much Usefull for a gentleman  
 But as for others few or will or can  
 delight therein, because they have small land  
 for to survey; but only live by hand,  
 or by their witts: & such we schollers bee  
 that have noe lands; and there's the misery;  
 And yet we doe content ousselves with lesse  
 here in this life, expecting happieness  
 and future joyes: But I return againe  
 and to my day worke will confine my braine  
 All this perfo~~m~~red as before I said:  
 There other bookes by chance before me laid  
 And two of them I took into my hand  
 The first was Withers poeme, wch our land  
 Wth many passages of iniury and right (21)  
 The other was a book of two late speaches

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In Parliament, for to preserve ye breaches  
 'twixt King & subjects : & t'unite ye hearts  
 of all in one, that none may feel ye smarts (23)  
 And judgments of ye Lord, who hath long spar'd  
 Our Kingdom, & we are not yet prepar'd  
 to meet him with repentance for our sin  
 before ye sword upon us he doe bring.

My whole Ephemeris I may not nowe  
 stand to relate, or everything thus showe  
 at large : and therefore I will take my rest  
 praying my soule may be preserved by Christ. finis.

The tymes doe passe & run full swift away,  
 and few observe their actions every day,  
 Lord me direct yt I may nothing doe,  
 but what is pleasing in thy sight; and soe  
 behave myselfe in life both towards thee  
 and toe my neighbour, that felicity  
 at length I may obtaine with those  
 who did their confidence in thee repose.

But soule declare what this day thou hast done,  
 what in the morning thou hast first begun.

There are soe many things we undertake  
 that 'tis noe wonder if they often make  
 Us soe forgetfull, that we cannot tell  
 What we have done or said sacrce halfe soe well  
 As we are bound to doe. But briefly thus

In generall, thou hast bene studious.  
 When prayers and ye lectures both were done  
 Thou wast ful mindfull to thy books to come.  
 The Catalogue of Mart books thou didst read:  
 to other books thou ~~street~~ also thy thread.  
 The old religion and the Norman kings  
 the 7 old champions wth other things (24)  
 The Dutchmen also did by chance dispute  
 After that ye hadst given them due salute.  
 But furst old Wilcox<sup>(15)</sup> did receive some songs.  
 And thou didst patience buy, to learn some wrongs  
 Well to endure, & live contentendly  
 in health, and wealth, and peace, and misery.  
 And to conclude, at night to carave a place  
 by a kinde freind I thus instructed was.  
 Demand of him who can such gifts bestow  
 wisely and well although we have but fewe.  
 Memorandum I payd webb 20s for bookes in part

Item to Wilcox 16s in part for virginals.  
 The Universities after 1660

Before the Civil War there was created at the Universities  
 an almost idyllic existence and it is from this period that the  
 portrait of the ideal clergyman of the Church of England comes.  
 George Herbert was lecturing during the student days of Symonds  
 D'Ewes before exercising his short but perfect ministry at  
 Bemerton. After the Civil Wars this atmosphere seems never to

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~~never to~~ have been recaptured. To many of the more serious minded, the universities were too frivolous. There were those who sent their sons to the Dissenting Academies : others sent their sons to the universities abroad. The universities, even in Cromwell's time, shewed themselves hostile to the very idea of the creation of a University at Durham and went to trouble and expense to prevent the idea materialising? They shewed the same hostility to the modest venture of Burnet at Salisbury when he took a few ordinands under his care. Within five years they created sufficient opposition to cause the bishop to abandon his project. In 1661 the Regius Professors of Divinity Greek and Hebrew, had their statutory obligation at Cambridge of four lectures a week in term time reduced to two lectures a week. Students who wanted help towards preparation for Orders began to look outside the universities. Either they secured the help of clergy, such as Strype or their thoughts were turned to the Academies (where Butler and Secker received so much of their training) or to the idea of a seminary put forward under various guises by ~~Cronville~~ of Durham, Robert Nelson, Bishop Burnet or Bishop Wilson.

There was therefore truth in Prideaux's gibe about Drone Hall. University courses were reduced from twelve terms to ten terms in 1681 and the undergraduates were, once again to quote Prideaux, 'often admitted to be teachers of the Church when they were fitted only to be catechumens'. The examination they received at the end of their course is described by Abraham de la Prynne in these terms ( 1694):

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We sat for three days in the colledge( i.e. St John's College, Cambridge) and were examined by two fellows thereof in <sup>h</sup>retorik, logicks, ethicks, physics and astronomy; then we were sent to the public schools there to be examined again three more days by any one that would" (S)

Early in the following century Bentley claimed that about the year 1708 Trinity College Cambridge led the way in a revival of studies. The case of Ambrose Bonwicke might be a proof of that assertion. On the whole however conditions were still lethargic. When Uffenbach visited Cambridge he considered the state of many of the colleges in 1710 as quite deplorable. Trinity he admired : St John's Library he found better kept than most in England. The library of Trinity Hall he found 'very mean'. The books at Emmanuel were 'in entire confusion'. The manuscripts at Peterhouse were 'buried in dust'. The general atmosphere therefore was not such as to give keenness to students. ~~and~~ But, as always, there were <sup>x</sup>ceptions. ~~Well known is the case of~~ Ambrose Bonwicke who intended to offer himself for Holy Orders ~~but who~~ died before he was able to do so. He went up to St John's Cambridge from Merchant Taylors in 1709. He studied mainly the classics but ( as might be expected from Merchant Taylors ) he also read Hebrew and he gives the names of the contemporary authors and those of the previous century <sup>ies</sup> whom he read : Ascham, Clar<sup>e</sup>ndon, Whiston, Sanderson, Ray, Thomas a Kempis, Beveridge, Kettlewell\*, Brome, \*

\* s.v. Index

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Ken, Nelson ( ~~whose~~ whose Festivals and Fasts he 'had a great value for'). Each year we read how he kept Lent strictly and in 1712, with the help of Nelson's writings, he began daily self-examination. A little later, because of his hopes to be ordained, he read Chrysostom, De Sacerdotio. But this rigorous life of study and discipline proved too much for him and he died in 1714 before he could be ordained.<sup>30</sup>

Another way in which undergraduates could receive more direct help towards fitting them for Holy Orders was to seek help outside the University. Strype added to his monumental labours the supervision of an ordinand, William Reneu ( ordained in 1711) while at School and University from 1696 to 1711.<sup>31</sup> Then for the first time, men began to offer written guidance to ordinands. John Lightfoot (1602 - 1675 ) the eminent Biblical scholar wrote some guidance for his sons who both took Holy Orders. Although primarily written for his sons, Strype believed that he had a wider audience in mind and so first published the work in 1700. As might be expected the Biblical scholar wanted all ordinands to be 'good textuists'.<sup>32</sup> First, he says, the ordinand, must be master of the languages of the Bible, but "upon occasion, flourished with Chaldee, Arabic, Syrian, Latin &c.". The ordinand, he continues, should lay the books and chapters of the Bible in their true order. Then, for their guidance he adds much useful information as to the order of the Jewish months, the names of the Jewish Festivals,

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and the ritual of the Jewish harvest. He shews the student how the contemporary history of Judah and Israel can be written in ~~numerous~~ parallel columns. When he comes to the Apocrypha he considers that it is not written by the 'finger of God' but is 'the work of some Jews'. He also recommends a study of the Talmud. He then offers a running commentary on the Old Testament beginning with Genesis, inserting Ruth (rather uneasily) in Judges; Canticles in I Kings X.2: ~~and~~ Ecclesiastes in I Kings XI. 4I; and Jonah in 2 Kings XIII. To the Psalms and the Prophets he only devotes two pages.

He recommends ~~as~~ similar historical approach to the New Testament but 'in reading the New Testament, never take your eye off the Old; for the New is but again that in plainer phrase'. This thesis is elaborated in the section, Evangelium Mosaico-Prpheticum in which he shews that Christ's two natures are shewn in the Garden of Eden and that all the main events of the life of Christ are foreshadowed in the Old Testament, whether it be the visit of the Magi, or the flight into Egypt, or the visit to the Temple. These illustrations he gives 'raptim' but adds: 'a deliberate ~~said~~ eye, with ~~zeisure~~ might bring all the New Testament or most, both for the words and ~~sense~~, from the Old : and this I ever held the surest way to expound both. He concludes by offering a harmony of the four Gospels in forty four sections<sup>33</sup>

Another who gave written help of this sort to the ordinand was Waterland. While a Fellow of Magdalene College Cambridge

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he wrote for the benefit of his private pupils Advice to a Young Student ( 1706 ) which he published just before he died in 1740<sup>34</sup>

The advice p<sup>r</sup>esumes that the candidate follows a religious and sober life and that he applied himself diligently to public and private prayer. He must read the Bible regularly and acquaint himself with the standard works of devotion. He particularly commends Nelson's recently published Festivals and Fasts. He also enjoins seemly behaviour within the University. The intellectual equipment of the candidate is three fold : philosophy, classics and divinity. On Sundays sermons should be read. Then a detailed timetable of the studies throughout the four years is offered. Philosophy begins with arithmetic and concludes with metaphysics, optics and astronomy. The classics are in both Greek and Latin beginning with Terence and Xenophon in the first year and ending with Livy and Thucydides in the fourth. The author<sup>s</sup> commended to the student for supplementing his knowledge of divinity gained through sermons, are Pearson and Grotius<sup>35</sup>

A similar work was produced the following year (1707) by Robert Green at Queen's College Cambridge called *Ἐγκύκλιος Παιδεία*. The manuscript, known to Wordsworth, is no longer available and we only have Wordsworth's summary of it. Green, like Waterland, offers a course of study covering four years which will fit the student for Holy

## Orders.

First Year. Every Sunday and holiday.

The scriptures, heresies and schisms,  
and blasphemous tenets of ancient and  
modern times.

Second Year. Every Sunday and Holiday

St John and the Acts and the explanation of  
the several doctrines of our religion. Ussher,  
Hammond and Beveridge are recommended.

Third Year. Epistles and Revelations ( sic )

Church History.

Fourth Year. Rest of the New Testament. Church History.

Conclude the night lecture with an office out of  
Dr Hicke's Reformed Devotions, and the prayer for Christ's  
Holy Catholic Church. Instead of the lessons in Dr Hicke, let  
each one in his turn read a lesson out of the Greek Testament.  
This reference to Hicke suggests that Reneu had sympathies  
with the Nonjurors.

## The study of Rhetoric

During our period we can see the rise and fall of  
a subject very relevant to the training of a candidate  
for Holy Orders. In 1528 Wolsey had commended the study  
of Rhetoric for his school at Ipswich. The idea gained ground  
both in schools and universities. It became a part of a gent-

leman's education to learn to speak in public. And to facilitate the task various systems of shorthand or brachygraphy were invented.<sup>36</sup> The nearest place where many students at school and university could gain some knowledge was in Church. But it was soon realised that preaching is not the same as rhetoric and many books became available to the preacher. These are well covered in the studies of Charles Smyth, *The Art of Preaching*; and W.F. Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson*. But all the books there recommended are for the ordained. There is however one book which seems to have escaped their notice and which is exactly to our purpose. There are only two known copies of it in England, one in the British Museum and one in the Bodleian. It is this latter copy which has been used. The book, originally written in French by Pierre Gerard, was translated into English and published in 1598 by N.B. described in a written note in the Bodleian copy as Nicholas Becket. According to Venn, Becket matriculated at Corpus Christi College Cambridge in 1577 and held a living in Devon at the time of writing.<sup>37</sup> This corresponds to the dedication of the work which is to his 'loving brethren the pastors and ministers of Devon and Cornwall'. Its English title is "A Preparation to the most holie ministerie: wherein is set downe the true means to be well prepared to the same, by an exact description, and consideration of the necessities, excellence, difficultie, and great profit thereof; with

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the marvellous effects of the same: Also, a lively exhortation to all youth to give themselves to the studie thereof: and a confutation of the objections which may be brought in any sort to touch the same. 38

The work itself is divided into two parts. It begins by lamenting the conditions of the day and the existence of "Russians, whoremongers, bawds and a number other of the same stampe". It goes on to affirm that this deplorable state of affairs can only be remedied by more preaching. Those who offer themselves for the ministry must have two outstanding characteristics : an irreprehensible life and a measurable knowledge of Holy Scripture. The ministry, he points out, is not a dignity but a burdensome charge. In Holy Scriptures there are twenty two titles given to God's ministers and these he lists, dwelling on the significance of each. The minister must be the husband of one wife, watchful, sober, honest, modest, gently, meek, not given to ambition, anger or envy.

In the second part of the work he passes from the ministry in general to preaching in particular. It is, he claims, the most potent instrument for the convincing of the enemies of the word of God. A pre-requisite of all preaching ~~and in the same~~ is knowledge and aptitude to teach : "he that is ignorant ought not to be admitted" and he quoted Quintilian in support. "Unlearned men speak more high than those that have knowledge and wisdom, and they which know nothing make themselves ignorant of no kind of learning". His first academic require-

ments are Hebrew, Greek and Latin, all necessary for the adequate interpretation of Holy Scripture. But wealth of learning is not to be exhibited, and the preacher must aim at simplicity. He then suggests six points for the would-be preacher: -

1. Consider and meditate on the text it is proposed to expound.
2. Draw out the opening of the sermon from the matter of ~~the~~ the text itself.
3. Divide the sermon into various parts; two, three or four according to the matter to be handled.
4. Expound in order every doctrine that is to be found in the text which the Preacher ought to enrich with divers amplifications, neither too long nor too short, but as profitably and as fitly as he can with similitudes.
5. The Preacher should use examples, sometimes more and sometimes lesse.
6. The conclusion should be ' a short abridgment and summarie of that which he hath handled.'

Gerard elaborates each point in turn, devoting most attention to his fourth point. A too succinct elaboration of a point fails to edify. It is essential to grasp the appropriate length to which any matter should be developed. As an illustration of his principles he gives two sample sermons based on St. James III.1 and I Corinthians XI. 23 - 25.

Turning to the actual delivery of the sermon he

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maintains that its general tone should be one of persuasion. A help to this is a good voice. It helps people to hear; it gives them pleasure; it convinces them. But while it is right to be persuasive in speaking of the promises of God, a harsh voice must be used when referring to his judgements. Care must also be exercised in the use of gestures.

As to the age when a man ought to enter the ministry, he refuses to commit himself. A man's suitability depends not upon his multitude of years but upon him the graces which God has given him.

The minister must expect hostility. The scriptures list eleven forms in which this is manifest : mockery, hatred, insult, false accusation, betrayal, ambush, slander, imprisonment, condemnation as evil doers, violence & reviling. But the ministry offers consolations. Through preaching God's wrath is appeased, sickness is healed, the wicked slain, the enemy overthrown, and even the elements are controlled.

Finally there is a last exhortation to young men to bend their studies to the Holy Scriptures as a preparation for 'this holy vocation'.

It will be noted that Gerard's emphasis, and that of Becket we may presume, is almost entirely on a preaching ministry. There is no reference to the administration of the sacraments and the only reference to a pastoral ministry is an injunction that reproof must be administered with courtesy and great discretion.

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During the Civil War Wilkins wrote his famous Ecclesiastes, <sup>27</sup> a Discourse concerning the gift of preaching as it falls under the rules of Art. One aspect of this work, omitted both by Mitchell and Smyth, is its reference to students and its purpose during dark days to encourage the supply of clergy. In his preface he writes that he composed the work for his own use "owing to the intermission of University studies and breeding, occasioned by these unhappy wars". There is room he maintains "for such a book to facilitate the calling and to encourage the supply of clergy". He also wrote the book in English so that it could reach the widest possible audience.

The work gives a most comprehensive bibliography for the student. He needs concordances such as the recently published concordance of Buxtorf and commends the works of such famous Biblical scholars as Hugo Broughton and Grotius. Patristic commentaries are especially commended for each of the books of the Bible. Of English divines he commends Cartwright, Perkins and Davenant. When he comes to Practical Divinity he recommends Andrewes, Hall, Perkins, Sanderson, Gataker, Taylor and Ussher. His comprehensive outlook is shewn by his recommendation of Maimonides on the one hand and Roman Catholic authorities on the other. Cartwright on the Catechism he suggests and among books of commonplaces he commends those of Calvin, Keckermann\* and Musculus\*. Amongst casuists the only Englishman he recommends is Perkins. Similar bibliographies are given for the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Command-

\* s.v. Index

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ments. In each list we may note the occurrence of Perkins.

In this way did Wilkins strive to make some contribution to the maintenance of the supply of men for the ministry during the days of the suppression of the Church.

But after the Restoration we can find no hint that the student should especially value skill in pulpit oratory. Prideaux indeed included in his recommendations on university training one that rhetoric should be abolished. The money spent on such instruction could be turned to far better purposes he felt after his own experience of the University ( he took his M.A. at Oxford in 1675 ). In this age of great preachers such as Barrow, South and Tillotson, students were recommended not so much to study the forms of rhetoric, as in an earlier generation, as to read the actual sermons. Such, for example, was the advice of ~~both~~ Burnet and Wilson ~~as mentioned~~ Waterland ~~and~~.

The social background of ordinands. ~~at the Universities~~

When Henry VIII decided that the clergy at the Universities must return to their benefices, a new problem arose. How were students to be financed? Clearly it was possible for the sons of the wealthy to be educated at the universities. This indeed is the burden of Latimer's lament: 'great men's sons (are) in colleges, and their fathers look not to have them preachers' 40. But if the ordinand had not the family resources to pay for his education he must depend either on wealthy ~~members of the~~ relatives.

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or friends of the family. Hooker was helped in this way : so was Joseph Hall at Emmanuel College Cambridge, c.1590. <sup>41</sup> Sometimes the poor student was obliged to come down from the University. Ralph Josselin who went up to Jesus College Cambridge was forced 'to come from Cambridge many times for want of meanes'. <sup>42</sup> At last however he did secure admission to the diaconate in 1639. Even Symonds D'Ewes was obliged to pass by the tempting volumes of Keckermann in the book shops because his father was not too enthusiastic about University education.

Another way in which a student could secure a university education was to win a bursary or an exhibition. It is interesting to note that the first time these terms is used is in the sixteenth century : exhibition  $\text{£}1,525$ ; scholarship, 1535; bursar ( i.e. student holding a bursary), 1567; and sizarship, 1588. <sup>43</sup> With these awards many an ordinand of poor circumstances was able to receive a University education. Then colleges were able to help students. Starkey suggested in 1535 that the revenues of the monasteries then being dissolved be turned to their original purpose, the adequate training of the clergy. The suggestion was heeded for a time. At Canterbury part of the revenues was set aside to support twenty students in divinity at the Universities, ten at Oxford and ten at Cambridge. <sup>44</sup> Each student was to receive  $\text{£}6$  per annum ( Cranmer reckoned a student needed  $\text{£}5$  ) for his first four years and  $\text{£}8$  per annum

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for the three last years. The scholarships were to be forfeited in the event of laziness or intellectual inability. At Winchester<sup>45</sup> and Worcester<sup>46</sup> similar projects were launched, provision being made in each instance for twelve students. Another way of providing support for students was the levy of 3 1/3% on all benefices of £100 or more. This levy was proposed by Henry VIII and the proposal was renewed by Elizabeth. In each instance the suggestion came to nothing, while the provisions made ~~from~~ by the Cathedrals lapsed after five years in 1545. As though realising the inadequate provision for ordinands, and possibly stung into action by the activity of the seminarists, Elizabeth founded bursaries at the Universities to raise the hopes of students in divinity ( 1568).

In the first part of Elizabeth's reign ~~therefore~~ ordinands were mainly poor men. These efforts at provision hint at their poverty. Moreover an <sup>4</sup>analysis of the professions and occupations of ordinands is preserved for us in the records of the Lincoln Diocese at the end of the century. The occupations are listed as follows :-

apprentice, attorney,  
 bestiarius,  
 clerk, parish clerk, poor clerk, clothier,  
 day labourer, draper,  
 gentleman, glover,  
 husbandman,  
 lawyer, linen draper, literate,

mercier, merchant, monk,

ostler,

seneschal, serving man, shoemaker, singing man, soldier,

surgeon,

tailor, tallow chandler,

webster, woolwinder,

yeoman.

The most frequent types of ordinands are serving men ( 22 examples); parish clerks, 8; gentlemen 7; husbandmen and monks 5 each (4)

~~From~~

But as the Elizabethan settlement won its way the social standard of the clergy gradually rose. Mathew has collected details of the background of the clergy in the time of Charles I. In the main, says Mathew, the yeoman and the lower burgess grouping had coloured the large mass of the clergy. But continues Mathew, "This, of course, cannot be said without qualification. Under Charles I the episcopate contained the occasional cadet of a good house" He instances Richard Senhouse bishop of Carlisle in 1624; James Montagu bishop of Winchester who died in 1618. This tendency was emphasised a great deal during the Restoration when Herbert Croft, Henry Ferne and George Morley were raised to the episcopal bench. In the Caroline period the sons of the clergy were beginning to appear and to take a prominent part in the life of the Church. Such were Henry King, bishop of Chichester in 1642; and his predecessor Richard Montague son of the Vicar of Dorney in Buckinghamshire. A notable

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example of one who worked his way into and up the hierarchy of the Church was William Laud. The Abbots, Juxons and Cosins came from a wealthy burgess circle. There seems to have been some connection between the clergy and such groups as the Merchant Taylors and the Skinners Company. The father of Nicholas Ferrar was a city merchant of good reputation.

At the end of our period the status of the clergy was still on the upgrade and therefore, says Trevelyan, equivocal and a subject of dispute. A writer in 1700 considers the clergy may be called gentlemen by profession but they are inferior to gentleman by birth. Their background was predominantly that of the parsonage or the farmhouse. When they came to serve in the houses of the <sup>nobility</sup> ~~gentry~~ they were dismissed before the dessert and not allowed to touch the jelly. Swift says of them : "If he ( the clergyman ) be the son of a farmer it is very sufficient, and his sister may very decently be chamber-maid to the squire's wife....His daughters shall go to service or be sent apprentice to the sempstress in the next town, and his sons are put to honest trades".

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A graduate clergy ?

In view of the continued refusal of the universities to become theological seminaries, it must be asked what success they had in educating men for the ministry. Occasional glimpses into the statistics of ordinations at different times during our period shew that after the beginning of the seventeenth century and for the remainder of the period, the majority of ordinands received a university education. Indeed the percentage of graduate clergy was undoubtedly higher at the beginning of the eighteenth century than it is in the middle of the twentieth.

After the reforms of Henry VIII and the troubled times of Edward VI and Mary, the number of graduates fell heavily. At Cambridge only 28 graduated B.A. in 1558; 114, in 1570; and 277 in 1583.<sup>51</sup> The percentage of ordinands is unknown. In the Lincoln Diocese however we can see a steadily increasing number of graduate clergy. In 1585 409 out of 1285 clergy had taken degrees : in 1603, 646 out of 1184 had graduated.<sup>52</sup> In the Lichfield Diocese between the years 1590 and 1602 we can detect a similar improvement from 84 to 110. In the Norwich diocese, of which statistics are most frequently available, three quarters of the clergy ordained between 1603 and 1608 had degrees : 12, B.D.; 84, M.A.; 19, B.A.; and 7, higher degrees. Of the remaining quarter, the majority had spent some time at the University.<sup>53</sup> During the reign of James I, Venn ~~mentions that~~ says : The Universities were

more largely employed in training the clergy, and the results are very remarkable. It may seem almost incredible, and yet it really appears to be the fact, that the annual numbers of the ordained clergy during this period who had graduated at Cambridge were very little below<sup>w</sup> what they are at the present day i.e. 1900. ( We might add they are considerably above the combined output of Oxford and Cambridge in 1950 ). Consider the following facts. About three out of four of our ( i.e. Caius College ) graduates then took Holy Orders. Our College was not a specially theological one; in fact it was decidedly less so than some others. As, therefore, the average number of graduates turned out between the years 1617 and 1637, was 266, we shall not be far wrong in supposing that Cambridge then supplied about 207 graduate clergy annually." 54

After the Restoration there was the same insistence on graduation before ordination and the glimpses afforded of ordinations shew that the percentage of those who had been to the University was high. Of the 409 clergy ordained in the Norwich diocese between 1663 and 1672, 394 had taken a degree. (63). ~~And in the University~~ At Chester, Cartwright's Diary for 1686/7 shews that of the 36 men admitted into Holy Orders in the Advent and Michaelmas ordinations of 1686 and 1687, 26 had taken degrees ( one at the University of Edinburgh ) and of the remainder four had spent some time at the universities. At the very end of the period the diocese of Norwich again provides figures which shew that between the years 1708 and 1728, 693 out of 780 ordinands had taken a degree. 6.

There is only one possible conclusion, unless the statistics are completely unrepresentative. The Church was beyond all expectation successful in producing a graduate clergy.

~~The Universities outside England.~~

Bishop Burnet belongs so completely to the English scene that whilst it is not relevant to consider in detail how far the universities of Scotland and Ireland influenced the clergy of the Church of England, a reference must be made to the University of Glasgow where Burnet was for a time Professor of Divinity before becoming Bishop of Salisbury. There is no doubt that this experience of Burnet gave him rather less awe for the two English universities and prompted him to his educational venture at Salisbury when he tried to equip his ordinands as fully as possible.

The Scottish system of Education during the seventeenth century remained more or less the same whether Presbyterian or Episcopal. <sup>A seventeenth century account quoted by</sup> Professor Henderson <sup>reads</sup> "No man was ever admitted to the ministry till he had first passed his course at some University and commenc'd Master of Arts: and generally none are admitted to tryal for being probationers till, after that commencement, they have been four or five years students in Divinity. The method of tryal is commonly this. The candidate gets first a text prescrib'd him, on which he makes a homily before some Presbytery; then he has an exegesis in Latin or some common head ( ordinarily some Popish controversie ) and sustains disputes upon it; and after this he is tryed as to his

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skill in the languages and chronology; he is likewise obliged to answer ( *ex tempore* ) any questions in Divinity that shall be proposed to him by any member of the Presbytery. This is called the Questionary tryal : then he has that which we call the exercise and the addition, that is ( as it is in most Presbyteries ) one day he must analyse and comment upon a text for half an hour or so to show his skill in textual critical and casuistic theology, and another day for another half hour he discourses again by drawing practical inferences etc., to show his abilities that way too; and then lastly he must make a popular sermon. ¶ 57.

This was the system that trained Burnet at Aberdeen and which obtained in Glasgow when he took up his post as Professor in 1669. Following the great Forbes, he regarded the main duty of his office as forming 'just and true notions in the students of Divinity'. To achieve these ends, he drew up the following curriculum for his students:-

Monday He made each of the students, in his turn, explain a head of divinity in Latin, and propound such theses from it as he was to defend against the rest of the scholars; and this exercise concluded with our author's decision of the point in a Latin oration.

Tuesday He gave them a prelection in the same language wherein he purposed, in the course of eight years, to have gone through a complete system of divinity.

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- Wednesday He read them a lecture, for above an hour, by way of a critical commentary on St Matthew's Gospel, which he finished before he quitted the chair.
- Thursday The exercise was alter~~nate~~: one Thursday he expounded a Hebrew Psalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgar and the English version; and the next Thursday he explained some portion of the ritual ~~manu~~<sup>t</sup> and the constitutions of the primitive church, making the apostolical ~~canons~~ his text, and reducing every article of practice under the head of one or other of those canons.
- Friday He made each of his scholars, in course, preach a short sermon upon some texts he assigned; and when it was ended, he observed upon anything that was defective or amiss, showing how the text ought to have been opened and applied. ~~This was his labour in the mornings, in the evenings, and in the afternoon, in the evening.~~

This was the labour of the mornings.

In the evenings, after prayer, he every day read them some parcel of scripture, on which he made a short discourse, and when that was over, he examined into the progress of their several studies, encouraging them to propose their difficulties to him upon the subjects they were then reading. This he performed during the whole time the schools were open, thereby answering

the duty of a professor, with the assiduity of a schoolmaster; and in order to acquit himself with credit, he was obliged to study hard from ten to four in the morning; the rest of the day being of necessity allotted either to the use of his pupils, or to hearing the complaint of the clergy, who finding he had an interest with the men in power, were not sparing in their applications to him.<sup>57</sup>

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## THE SEMINARY

## THE SEMINARY

The word seminary, meaning a college for the fitting of men for the priesthood, was first used by Cardinal Pole in 1556(1). But the idea had preceded the word. In 1525 Zwingli opened his 'Prophecy' and had taken with him Myconius\* to lecture on the Greek New Testament, and Leo Jud to comment in German on portions of the Latin Version of the Septuagint. The emphasis of the 'Prophecy' was upon a know<sup>w</sup>ledge of the Holy Scriptures in the original languages(2). Luther looked upon his High Schools as 'nurturing grounds for bishops and pastors... to stand in the van against heretics, and if need be, against the whole world'(3). Calvin had also aimed at a more qualified ministry. When in exile, at ~~Strasbourg~~, he had fallen under the influence of Johann Sturm\* of Strassburg. On his return to Geneva he recast the whole educational system, the upper reaches of which were to lead on to the ministry. This higher department was known as 'schola publica'. Besides the Rector, there were professors of Hebrew, Greek, arts and theology. Students subscribed, on entrance, to all the subtleties of Greek theology and to the specific Calvinist theology. The school was formally inaugurated on 5th. June 1559. The first Rector was Beza. Stiff examinations were imposed and candidates for the ministry had to shew marked preaching ability. Calvin als<sup>s</sup>o instituted post-ordination training when he introduced the weekly classis, later so marked a feature of the puritans(4).

\* s.v. Index

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

## The Roman Seminary

In 1553, Ignatius created at Rome the Collegium Germanicum for German ecclesiastical students<sup>(5)</sup> For years later Pole ordered a seminary to be attached to every English Cathedral for the education in grammar and ecclesiastical learning of a certain number of boys destined for Holy Orders<sup>(6)</sup> This legislation came to nothing but in 1563 the provision of diocesan seminaries became obligatory throughout the whole of the Roman Church<sup>(7)</sup> Session xxiii of the Council of Trent devoted itself to this subject and expressed itself as follows : "the holy synod ordains that all cathedral, metrop<sup>o</sup>litan, and other churches greater than these shall be bound, each according to its means...to educate religiously... a certain number of youths of their city and diocese, or if that number cannot be met with there, of that province, in a college, to be chosen by the bishop for this purpose, near the said churches or in some other convenient place. Into this college shall be received such as are at least twelve years old, born in lawful wedlock and who know how to read competently, and whose character and inclination afford a hope that they will always serve in the ecclesiastical ministry. And it wishes that the children of the poor<sup>x</sup> be principally selected, though it does not, however, exclude those of the more wealthy provided they be maintained at their own expense, and manifest a desire of serving God and the Church.

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The Bishop having divided these youths unto as many classes as he shall think fit, according to their number, age and progress in ecclesiastical discipline, shall, when it seems to him expedient, assign some of them to the ministry of the churches, and others he shall keep in the college to be instructed; and shall supply the place of those who have been withdrawn by others, that so this college may be a perpetual seminary of ministers of God.

And that the youths may be the more advantageously trained in the aforesaid ecclesiastical discipline, they shall always at once wear the tonsure and the clerical dress; they shall learn grammar, singing, ecclesiastical computation and other liberal arts; they shall be instructed in the sacred scripture; ecclesiastical works; the holiness of the saints; the manner of administering the sacraments, especially those things that shall seem adapted to enable them to hear confessions; and the forms of the rites and ceremonies.

The Bishop shall take care that they be present every day at the sacrifice of the mass, and that they confess their sins at least once a month; and they receive the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the judgment of their confessor shall direct, and on festivals serve in the cathedral and other churches of the place.

All which and other things advantageous and needful for this object, all bishops shall ordain, with the advice of two of the senior and discreet canons chosen by himself, as the Holy Spirit shall suggest; and shall make it their care by frequent

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visitation, that the same be always observed. The froward and incorrigible, and the disseminator of evil morals, they shall <sup>h</sup>all puish sharply, even by expulsion if necessary; and removing all hindrances, they shall carefully foster whatsoever appears to tend to preserve and advance so pious and holy an institution".

The remainder of the session deals fully with the methods to be employed to raise the necessary funds to found these projected seminaries<sup>(8)</sup> How successful the project was may be gathered from the fact that the first seminary, at Eichstadt,\* was founded in the following year; and that by 1626, thirty six seminaries had been established in Europe<sup>(9)</sup> Those particularly associated with England were Douai, Rome, Valladolid and Seville. By 1583 we learn from Cardinal Allen that there were about 350 seminarists at these four centres, sufficient to prove a real threat to the Church in England, particularly in view of the great determination and ability of the students and of their readiness to face a life which might quite easily lead them to Tyburn. Students entered the seminaries between the ages of fourteen and twenty five and took the following oath on admission : ' I swear by Almighty God that I am ready and shall always be ready to receive Holy Orders, in His own good time, and I shall return to England for the salvation of souls, whenever it shall seem good to the superior of this college to order me to do so' <sup>(10)</sup>

Not only were the Churches on the Continent deeply concerned

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for the education of their ministers or priests, but also there was a general education<sup>-al</sup> ferment in England which sought to provide specialised training. The earliest scheme was that proposed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and is known as Queen Elizabeth's Academy<sup>(1)</sup> Owing to the defects of schools and universities it was felt that a special place was needed to train those who would in due course be responsible for the government of their country. Mulcaster (c.1580) likewise voiced the need for a specialised training for teachers as well as for divines, lawyers and physicians : " He that will not allow of this careful provision for such a seminary of masters, is most unworthy either to have a good master himself, or hereafter to have a good one for his. Why should not teachers be well provided for, to continue their whole life in the school, as Divines, Lawyers, Physicians do in their several professions "<sup>(2)</sup>

Cranmer's suggestion.

In such an atmosphere of new thought and activity in the field of education, the Church of England could scarcely be unaffected. Indeed Cranmer was by no<sup>means</sup> the last to put forward new ideas. He suggested that "in every cathedral there should be provision made for readers of divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of students to be exercised in the daily worship of God and trained up in

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study and devotion, whom the bishop might transplant out of this nursery into all parts of his diocese"<sup>(13)</sup>. The suggestion was made in 1540 but led to no practical results unless it be that for a few years at least the revenues of some of the dissolved monasteries were used to keep a number of students at the universities who looked forward to ordination( vid. sup. p.135)

### Ripon College

hospitals of

At the Dissolution, the <sup>hospitals of</sup> St John the Baptist and St Mary Magdalen, Ripon ~~and~~ were handed over to the Archbishop of York ( 1544-1545) and later, with the revenues of the Church of St Wilfred Ripon, seized by the Crown and added to the possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster.

In due course, under the direction of Archbishop Sandys, a project was put forward to establish out of these confiscated revenues a college for the education of young persons ~~admn~~ intended for the ministry. The earliest ( and apparently still unrecorded mention of the scheme) is in a manuscript in the Public Record Office, dated 1590. At this stage the scheme envisages only preachers and ministers "joyntly and severally doing their uttermost for the full work of the Ministry". But as this is the beginning of a more ambitious scheme it is thought well to give it in full<sup>(15)</sup>

THE CAUSES OF THE PETITION ON THE BEHALF OF THE CHURCH AND  
TOWNE OF RIPPON IN YORKSHIRE \*

The Towne is very great & populous having in it & the hamlets appertayning her<sup>e</sup>unto about Ten Thousand people many of them dispersed one from th(e) other in 37 our Townships all of them notwithstanding pertayning to one parish Church distant 6,7,8,miles of(f) from a great number of the Inhabitatnts.

The people in a manner are all ignorant in religion having now this 30 yeres bene untaught & without sufficient minister or preacher for their instruc<sup>o</sup>n for want of fitt and due maintenaunce required in this behalf.

The Inhabitatnts for the most part are so poore & as yet so untoward that they neither can or will yeild any yerely sufficient<sup>ly</sup> stipend to that purpose. As to there tithes sometyme appointed to that end, by the late su<sup>p</sup>pression of the Church they have been wholly seized unto the use of the Crowne & the yearly allowance lefte and given from the prince being so little and so betw<sup>o</sup>ed hitherto as none but 5 or 6 unworthie stipendary Curates have lyved therupon.

Many waies have bene taken for the redresse & reforma<sup>o</sup>n therof & especially of late by the Erle of Huntingdon<sup>(4)</sup> the Archbishop of York<sup>(7)</sup> & Sir Francis Walsingham lately deceased<sup>(15)</sup> & by there good means some reasonable provision is made & order taken forthwith to be established That certin learned & sufficient men should there p<sup>r</sup>(esen)tly be placed & mayntayned in the Colledge of Rippon & in Colledge lyke man<sup>n</sup>er to lyve & kepe together viz. 2 preachers as so<sup>(o)</sup>ne as may be and one

\* facsimile of originae MS. p. 271.

p(rese)ntly Two ministers & 2 other lerned assistants to the preachers & minissters joyntly & severally doing their uttermost for the full work of the ministry in that great charge.

Besides the general duties belonging to all in and of the Ministry The preacher Ministers & Assistants before mentioned for the redeeming of so great tyme lost and by many & continuall means the more speedily to bring this people to the knowledge of religion shall bynde themm selves to these specialties following. First there shallbe in the Church of Rippon every daie in the yere a publique exercise in divinitie in this sort. Every one of the 5 Colleazgues shall once in a weeke in their severall courses handle and intreat of some, pporcon of the scripture in manner of a divinitie lecture for half an houres space & ymmediatly after morning praiser beginning & contynuing on with the bodie of the scriptures. The preachers course being last of the 5 on the Saterday making as it were a rehersall sermon of the 4 lectures foregoing on Monday Tuesdaie Wednesdaie & Frydaie. On Thursdaie being Market daie there shalbe a full sermon made at the metkng of the Towne and Country by the preacher of the Towne or by some other godly and lerned preachers adioyning in their severall turnes. The Sabaoth dubble exercise in divinitie the forenone a sermon, the afternone publique catechizing in special wise to be performéd of the preacher as his chief and most proper worke.

And whereas ther are hereabouts lerned gent. and others not wholly perswaded of the truth of religion now professè as well to satisfie there doubtfull mynds as for the contynuall

exercise of schollerlike knowledge of the students in the Colledg there shalbe kept once every week upon Thursdaie the Market day betwixt one & three in thafternoone in the Colledg Hall a publique disputation in divinitie in Latin about the controversies in religion by the Colleagues and students of the house in there severall courses. All the questions disputed on being first allowed and afterward the disputacon moderated by the preacher taking this course. That the questions disputed of may one weeke before the disputation be publiquely fasted to the Colledg gates & doores of the Church that the disputers & hearers both at home and abroad may be the better preparaed to deale therer & judge thereof.

The former exerises respecting chiefly the benefit of the borough Towne of Rippon & the Townships nye adioyning which may conveneintly come unto the parish church. For the other hamletts farr off from the church it is appointed that 3 or 4 chappels shall be chosen out wherunto the hamlets bordering therupon shall proportionably be distributed for their religious assemblies on the Sabaiith daies. And 2 of the Colleagues shalbe sent every Sabaoth day to the Chappels aforesaid for the instruction of the people in the principles f religion and other poijs of christian doctrine as occasion shall require.

Before that these & other godly purposes by the means of the preachers & ministers aforesaid can be fully accomplished of necessitie the leases of the demesnes of certen hospitals of Rippon appointed tothe uses aforesaid. And wherupon a great part of there mayntenance standeth are first to be valewed. The Colledg wherin

they are ioyntly to lyve together must necessarily be repaired andd on th(e) one syde enlarged. And yf it may be some reasonable library of books would be provided for their and their successors most necessary and perpetuall use for the speedy effecting of this good & religious worke. And for thobteyning of means to supplie the wants aforesaid this present suite hath bene entred into In moving the godly and wealthie gent. & Citizens in & about the City of London and other where for there generalland favourable x contribution thereunto.

The chief patrones & maynteiners of Rippon colledg by annual pensions for ever	The <del>Queens</del> Majesty - 80 li The Archb. of Yorke - 35 li The Erle of Huntingdon - more or lesse as neade shall requyre in the ende.
--	--

Hereou deducted yerely stipend to the	Chief precher 2 ministers 2 assistants	50 li 40 mks apiece 20 mks apiece	and there dies free.
---	--	---	-------------------------------

There is moreover required to the uses last abovementioned about the sum of £400 whereof is allready given & graunted to be given by

Sir Francis Walsingham	£100
Sir John Harn late Lord Maior of London by him and by his procurement	£100

Mr Nowell <sup>(19)</sup> Dean of Paules	£13
Dr Day <sup>(20)</sup> Dean of Windsor	£10
Mr Wifield of Yorkshire gent.	£20
Mr Thomas Crompton <sup>(21)</sup>	£10. <del>10</del>

Such was the first embryonic scheme for a College at Ripon. The word student is only mentioned in it once and the emphasis, rather like Mathew Sutcliffe's projected college at Chelsea early in the following century, is on the provision of doughty champions able to defend the faith and to controvert all opponents.

The scheme however did not long remain in this unformed state. For we find in the library at Ripon a manuscript from 1596 setting out a much more ambitious scheme. Its verbal similarity in parts with the preceding manuscript proves its kinship with it. But the support for the scheme is wider and a number of schol<sup>l</sup>ers is contemplated. The range of subjects passes far beyond the giving of sermons and disputations. For the first time we have an insistence upon the obligation of alms.

This enlargement of the scheme and its continued proposal is probably due to Hutton, now Archbishop of York. ~~in succession to the energetic Snyde.~~

The Ripon MS. is now given in full.

## THE SEMINARY

The Ecclesiastical Colledge of Rippon (22).

"The proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Colledge of Rippon in the countie of Yorke, lately founded and erected by the authoritie and bountie of the Queene, approved and furthered by the Lord Archbishop of Canterburie,<sup>23</sup> the late Archbishops of Yorke, Henry Earle of Huntingdon, and Sir Francis Walsingham lately deceased : and now presently augmented by Mathew Lord Archbishop of Yorke,<sup>24</sup> Gilbert Earle of Shrewsbury,<sup>25</sup> George Earle of Cumberland, and sundry other personages of honor and great place, Anno Dom. 1596 in the yeere of hir Maiesties raigne 38.

The towne of Rippon, wherein the Colledge is erected is very great and populous, having in it and the hamlets appertaining thereunto certaine thousands of people, many of them dispersed the one from the other in thirty out-townships and hamlets. All of them notwithstanding appertaining<sup>a</sup> unto one parish Church, distant 6,7,8 miles off from a great number of inhabitants. The people in a manner all, are of meane knowledge in religion, having now these fiftie yeeres been untaught, and without sufficient minister or preacher for their instruction for want of fit and due maintenance required in this behalfe.

The inhabitants for the most part are of so small wealth, and as yet so affected, that they neither can nor will yeeld any yeerely sufficient stipend to that purpose. As for their tithes

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sometime appointed to that end, by the suppression of the Church, they have been long since wholly seized unto the use of the crowne. And the yeerly allowance left and given from the Prince, being so little, and so bestowed hitherto, as none but five or sixe unwoorthy stipendarie Curates have lived thereupon.

Many ~~w~~raes have been taken for redresse and reformation thereof, and especially of late by the honorable personages above mentioned, and some other of great calling. And by their jointe help~~m~~ and meanes, good provision is made, and order taken and already established, that certaine learned and sufficient men should there presently be placed and maintained in the Colledge of Rippon, and in Colledge-like manner to live and keepe together, viz: six learned divines and preachers of the word jointly and severally doing their uttermost for the ful worke of the ministerie in that great charge.

Besides the generall duties belonging to all in and of the ministerie, the divines and preachers before mentioned, for redeeming of so great time lost, and by many and continuall means the more speedily to bring this people to the knowledge of religion, shall binde themselves to these specialties following. First there shall be in the Churchh of Rippon every day ~~in~~ the yeere a publike exercise of divinity in this sort. Every one of the Divines shall once in a weeke in their severall courses handle and intréate of some p~~er~~tion of the

## THE SEMINARY

Scriptures in maner of a divinitie lecture for halfe an howers space, and immediately after morning praier, beginning and continuing on with the body of the Scriptures. On Thursday being market day, there shall be a full sermon made at the ~~hagnuming~~ meeting of the towne and countrie by one of the preachers of the colledge, or by some other godly and learned preachers nigh neighbours to Rippon, in their severall turns. The religious exercise of the Sabath. The forenoon a Sermon, the afternoone publike catechising is in speciall wise to be performed by the chiefe preacher, as his proper and principall worke.

And whereas there are divers thereabouts learned gentlemen and others, not wholly perswaded of the truth of religion now professed, as well to satisfie their doubtfull mindes, as for the contiual exercise and increase of schollerlike knowledge of the students. There shall be kept once every week upon Thursday the market day, betwixt one and three in the afternoone in the Colledge great chamber a publike disputation of divinitie in Latine about the cogtroversies in religion, by the collegues and students of the house in their severall courses. All the questions disputed on being first allowed, and afterward the disputation moderated by the chiefe preacher, taking order that the questions disputed of may one weeke before the disputation, be publikely fastened to the Colledge gate and doores of the Church, to the end the disputers and hearers both at home and abroad may

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

be the better prepared to deale therein and judge thereof.

The former exercises respecting chiefly the benefit of the borrough towne and townships nie adjoining, which may conveniently come to the parish Church; for the other hamlets far off from the Church, it is appointed that three or fower chapels shall be chosen out, whereunto the hamlets bordering thereupon shall be proportionably distributed for their religious assemblies on the Sabath daies, and some of the collegues shall repair every Sabath day to the chappels aforesaid, for the instruction of the people in the principles of religion and other points of Christian doctrine, as needs shall require.

The Worke is come to that perfection already, that with the helpe of the summe of 400 or 500 pound, it would be wholly and presently finished and the Colledge be actually endowed with better than 400 pound a yeere by perpetuall annuities. And upon the obtaining of 500 pound more, and employing it in such sort as is already particularly set downe and agreed on: the pensions and yeerely revenues of the said colledge would be presently doubled, by which revenues and other present possibilities, besides the good uses above specified, there shall be performed these specialities following.

There shall be yeerely maintenance and stipend for ever for nine publike lectures, and professions very necessarie and profitable, and for the professors of the same, as afterwarde

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

is specified. The Readers of which professions, beside other their learned exercises, shall be alwaies in a readines to be as it were a contraseminarie by their joint labours, soundly and speedily both by writing and preaching, to answer and confute the dangerous treatises of the Seminaries of Rome and Rhemes, and such like writers of Paris, Louen\*, Ingolstade\* or elsewhere. There shall be stipends for sixe readers of the volgar toongs of greatest use in Christendom. There shall be yerely stipend for one Doctor of Law, and one Doctor of Physicke to be resident in the colledge, for the benefit and comfort of them, and the whole countrie thereabouts. There shall be yeerely maintenance for two assistants in the ministerie, to read praiers publicly every other weeke, and if it may be such as are skilfull in musicke, for instruction therein and comfort thereby of those that are of the colledge. There shall be 26 Schollers attendants on the collegues: proceeding in the course of their studies and exercises publike and private, having their diet free by eversion from the fellowes table. There shall be seven Schollers alwaies kept and maintained at one of the universities one every yeere chosen out of Rippon Grammar Schoole, and freely kept at the Universitie for seven yeeres, untill that by learning and degree they shall be fit for some good place in the Church or Commonwealth. Lastly, there shall be provision for the continuall and weekly reliefe of the poore, in and about the franchise

\* *sv. Index*

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

and liberties of Rippon and otherwhere, for the number of One Hundred and Fifty persons, viz.: 50 poore yoong orphans, 50 aged and weake persons, 50 other old or yoong, as present needs shall most require: in such sort as afterward followeth in the particulars concerning this and other points before mentioned.

The Chiefe Patrones of Rippon Colledge by annuall pensions for ever:

The Queenes Majestie out of the Duchie of Lancaster	100 P.
The Archbishop of Yorke by pension and graunt out of dignities Ecclesiasticall	120 P.
Gilbert Earle of Shrewsbury. <sup>25</sup>	
George Earle of Cumberland. <sup>26</sup>	
Henry Earle of Huntingdon. <sup>16</sup>	

The present course for Rippon proceedings according to the nomination of the collegues exhibited and accepted in the court of the Duchie the 9 of November, 1595. Now in many points much bettered Septemb. Octob. 1596.

Nine senior Divines Associates perpetuall and professors as followith. Their stipends.

	Marks.	
	Present.	To come.
Professor and Reader of the Hebrue and of sundry other the Orientall toongs	80	100

## THE SEMINARY

Marks.  
Present. To come.

Reader and Interpreter of the text and body of the Canonickall Scriptures	80	100
Reader of the chiefe com <sup>n</sup> places in divinitie	80	100
Three Readers and Professors of the controversies in divinitie and Moderators of the divinitie disputation by weekley or monethly courses. Each of them	80	100
Reader of the Mathematicks, Arithmeticke, Geometrie, Astronomie	80	100

All these to reade publikely in Latine. The Readers  
of the controversies weekly thrice. The other Readers twice.  
And to bring their lectures ready written, presently to be  
published if it shall be thought best.

Catechist and Examiner in religion, exercis- ing in the afternoone about praier time on the Sabath daies	80	100
Rehearsers of the ordinary common places handled by fower of the collegues the weeke foregoing: upon Saturday: weekly	80	100
Sixe junior Divines fellowes of the Colledge	40	50
Their office and exercise is set downe both before and afterward	30	40
Sixe Associates Professors of the vulgar tongs, 1 of Italian, 1 of French,		

## THE SEMINARY

Marks.  
Present. To come.

1 of Spanish, 1 of Dutch and Flem.

1 of Polish, 1 of Hungar. Ech. 30 40

All of them to reade daily in the mornings,  
and to examine and confer with their auditors  
in the afternoones.

Two Doctors Associats, 1 of the Law,  
1 of Physic (besides the benefit of the  
country. Ech.) 20 30

Two Assistants in the ministerie, and  
teachers of Musicke, jointly teaching  
to sing and play on sundry instruments.

Each of them 20 30

The Chiefe and Ancient of the Colledge 100 200

The common diet of them all free. The  
yeerly allowance thereto, beside  
provision of Corne, Beeffe, and Mutton  
yeerely 150 200

## Summa:

Ready and sufficient meanes for the yeerely maintenance  
of the aforesaid charges of stipend and diet. First, by  
revenues of the Masterships of 4 Hospitals, 2 of R, 1 of W,  
1 of N. By 3 Prebends, 1 of Y, 1 of S, 1 of M.G. By 2  
Archdeaconries, 1 of C, 1 of L. By 2 Donatives of G. and C.

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

By 2 Impropri and Unions of B. and L. By 2 F of S and K.  
 By Pensions and Por. of T. in R. in S. in U.S. By Mil. of  
 BB and R.<sup>(31)</sup> Their particular names and values not safe yet  
 to be published.

The order for continuing the learned and religious  
 exercises, and other publike duties to be performed by the  
 societie of the Colledge of Rippon aforesaid.

For Sabath daies sermons in Rippon Minster.

The 9 senior Divines in their severall turnes once every  
 quarter of the yeere, to preach one sermon. Three of the  
 junior Divines by course to do the like. The Chiefe of the  
 house to preach twice in a quarter.

For the Divinitie disputation.

The 9 Divines aforesaid once a quarter to answer in  
 the Divinitie disputation. The 6 junior Divines and 3 of the  
 Linguists in their turnes or some of them to oppose in the  
 said disputation once every quarter. A moneth quarterly for  
 a vocation heerein and for the publike lectures.

For the daily Divinitie lecture or common place.

Three of the 6 junior Divines and one of the senior  
 Divines to keepe a lecture or common place in 4 daies of the  
 weeke continually.

T H E S E M I N A R Y

For Sabath exercises in Rippon chappels.

The 6 junior Divines and the 2 Assistants once a fortnight: 4 of them every weeke in their turnes, to repaire thither on the Sabath daies for the instruction of the countrie people thereabouts.

For visitation of the sicke.

In the borrough towne of Rippon the Catechist and the Reherser by weekely or monethly course interchangeably to visite the sicke, weake, and distressed therein. The junior Divines and Assistants in their turnes in the country townes to do the like.

The collegues actually enjoying either of the aforesaid stipends: to contribute to publike charitable uses as followeth, viz:

The Chiefe of the house contributing	6 pence	daily.
The 8 senior Divines, each of them	5 pence	"
The 6 junior Divines Three Each Sen.	3 pence	"
Three Each Jun.	2 pence	"
The 6 Readers of the languages Each	2 pence	"
The 2 Doctors of Law and Physic Each	3 pence	"
The 2 Assistants of the College Each	1 p.ob.	"
The 26 Schollers attendants Each	ob.	"
The com <sup>m</sup> allowance out of the col.stock 40 pence daily.		

## THE SEMINARY

Heerto added yeerly out of the Hospital of R. and W.  
27 pounds.

The Colledge yeerely receipts will be presently answerable to the yeerely charges of stipends and diet thereof: upon obtaining and due employing of the summs of money before mentioned, as is to be seene in the particulars of the Colledge yeerly revenues. By the which and the yeerely contribution before expressed there shall be maintained and releevd for ever yeerely. First Seventie learned students, viz: 25 chiefe Collegues, 26 Schollers attendants, 7 Schollers at the Universitie, 7 punies at Ripp. Grammar schoole. 1 Register of the Coll. writing faire Roman and Secretarie hands, for copying out the Professors works, readie to be published. 1 skilful Chirurgion, 2 Clarke attendants on Rippon Church, 1 Teacher of the orphans to reade and write, &c. Besides these 150 poore Christian people viz: 50 poore young orphans and destitute children, borne in marriage, each receiving weekly 6 pence. 50 poore, aged, weake and diseased persons: Halfe of them such as be sore hurt and maimed in the wars, or by other pitifull mishap. Each of them weekly 12 pence. 50 other old or young in like distressed state to have weekly from 6 to 12 pence a peece as their age, weakness and wants shall require."

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

On the back of the broadsheet are the names of benefactors and contributors to the scheme. The names attracting the most attention are those of Hooker and Nowell. We can guess that the reason for the inclusion of Hooker's name is that he was tutor to one of Sandys' sons. Nowell's Catechism was demanded of all students at Oxford and was possibly intended as a requirement for the students at Ripon. There is no allusion in his biography to any concern for the venture at Ripon.

Lord Burleigh<sup>(27)</sup>, Lord Huntingdon<sup>(16)</sup> and Lord Sheffield supported the scheme but, says an unknown hand, "they never obtained anything but fair unperformed promises from Queen Elizabeth".

Possibly owing to the death of the Queen, it was determined to make another attempt to found the college. There is a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge (O.3.2.) dated 1604 which clearly refers to the same project but this time it is given in a fuller and more ample form. The list of those interested is vastly increased and the names of former interested persons, Hooker and Nowell, disappear. By kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, the contents of the manuscript are here given in full.<sup>(28)</sup>

T H E S E M I N A R Y

AN ECCLESIASTICALL SEMINARIE AND COLLEGE GENERAL  
 OF LEARNING AND RELIGION, PLANTED AND ESTABLISHED AT RIPON,  
 A VERY GREAT AND POPULOUS TOWN AND PARISH IN YORKSHIRE, BY  
 THE AUTHORITY AND BOUNTY OF THE QUEEN'S MAJESTIE. AND  
 ANNEXED TO THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH and minster of Ripon, in  
 many points restored to the ancient use and dignitie thereof.  
 Proceeded in by advise and approbation of the Lords Arch-  
 bishops of Canterbury and York. Of the Lord Keeper of the  
 great Seal. Of the Lord High Treasurer. Of the Lord President  
 of the North<sup>29</sup> Of the Lord Chief Justice, of Baron Seville and  
 Judge Yelverton<sup>(30)</sup> Commissioners in this behalf. And much  
 furthered by them, and other Honourable and Worshipfull, whose  
 names are specified afterward.

ANNO JACOBI REGIS ANGLIAE &c SECUNDO

Ao Dni. 1604.

(The manuscript is then divided into four columns)

THE NUMBER OF COLLEAGUES. THEIR PROFESSIONS:

& YEARLY STIPENDS PRESENT. TO COME.

THEIR PUBLIQUE AND PERPETUAL EXERCISES IN LEARNING AND RELIGION.

First about 30 colleagues perpetual Readers  
 of Divinitie, of the Tongues & of Arts. viz.

## THE SEMINARY

Marks.

The chiefe of the Colledge: Moderator of Divinitie		
Acts.	80	160
5 Chiefe colleagues and of ye Readers and Professors	40	80
following Professors of Divinity each of them		
3 of them Readers and Interpreters of the sacred Text		
2 of them Readers of Divinite Controversies.		
6 Divines: Assistants to the said Professors of		
Divinitie, Each	25	50
2 of them Readers of the Principles & chief		
common-places in Divinitie		
2 of them Rehearsers of weekly Divinitie Lectures		
in English		
1 of them Reader of Hebrew, Sirian, or Chaldean &		
Arabique		
1 of them Reader of the Greek Tongue.		
2 Junior Divines, Assistants to ye Readers of Hebrue		
and Greek, Ech.	20	40
1 Doctor, Professo <sup>r</sup> , and Reader of Law.	20	40
1 Doctor, Professor and Reader of Physick	20	40
2 Readers of Logique, 1 Logique Genesis, 1 Log.		
Analysis, Ech.	15	30
2 Readers of Rhetorique, 1 Rhet. Gensis, 1 Rhet,		
Analysis, Ech.	15	30
2 Readers of Physiques: 1 Phys. Genesis; 1 Phys.		
Analysis, Ech.	15	30

## THE SEMINARY

	Markes
1 Reader of the Metaphysiques. 1 Reader of Histories ech.	15 30
1 Reader of Ethiques & Politiques: 1 R. of Geography &c. Ech.	15 30
1 Reader of Arithme <sup>r</sup> sique: 1 Reader of Geometry Elements, Ech.	15 30
1 Reader of Algebra: 1 Reader of Geometry Solids, Ech.	15 30
1 Reader of Astronomy Principles: 1 R. of Planets of Spherical Motions, Ech.	15 30
1 R. of plainest Planetarie Motions: 1 R. of harder Motions, Ech.	15 30
1 R. of Grammar, & his Usher in Latin, Greak, Hebrue, Sirian and Arab.	30 60
6 Readers of the vulgar Tongues: they and their 6 attendants being naturally skilful in the Tongues which they professe	
1 of them Reader of Duch & Flemish	
1 Reader of Frensh	
1 of them Reader of Polonish	
1 Reader of Italian	
1 of them Reader of Hungarish	
1 Reader of Spanish	Ech. 10 20

The 6 Linguists or in default of them, ye Jun.Fellows  
to read 6 Lect. in ye Arts. To have each 10 Marks

## THE SEMINARY

Markes

yearly, beside their usual Stipend.

SIXTIE JUNIOR FELLOWS: ASSISTANTS &  
SUCCESSORS TO THE SENIORS.

30 of them Students in Divinity: wholly attending thereupon. Ech.	5	10
10 of them Students in the Arts: wholly attending thereupon. Ech.	5	10
8 of them Students in the Tongues: wholly attending thereupon. Ech.	5	10
6 of them Students in the Laws: wholly attending thereupon. Ech.	5	10
6 of them Students in Physick: wholly attending thereupon. Ech.	5	10
8 Clarks Choral teaching to sing and play on sundry Instruments. Ech.	5	10
8 Choristers: they and ye Clarks to say and sing Service twice daily. Ech.	2	4

## MOREOVER

120 Probationers having their Learning, Lodging and Diet free. 60 of them chiefly busied in ye Studies of Divinitie: therein to be directed by the 40

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

Superior Divines. All ye said Divines to joyn their studies & labours in Defence of Religion: in writing, disputing, preaching & private conference, as need requires.

Besides them

120 Scollers Attendants, having their dyet from ye Fellows Table.  
60 Grammar Schollers, subattendants on the Probationers, having their dyet, by Reversion of ye Probationers.

All the aforesaid Students, besides their yearly Stipenda to have their common diet free: ye charge & manner whereof, set down elsewhere.

## L A S T L Y

Always to be yearly chosen and preferred in ye Colledge, besides 30 Collegues perpetual: 100 Fellows, Probationers & Schollers, viz.

30 Subattendants chosen yeerly : to continue their places 2 yeers.

30 Schollers attendants chosen yeerly: to continue their places 4 yeers.

30 Probationers chosen yeerly : to continue their places 4 yeers.

10 Junior Fellows chosen yeerly : to continue their places 6 yeers.

The Schollers attendants after 4 yeers, to be always chosen Probationers for other 4 yeers.

T H E S E M I N A R Y

And they and the pensioners of the like standing with them, to be eligible for Fellowships, only the Year next before or after they proceed Masters of Art.

Untill the number of ye Collegiates be full by yeerly election: the surplusage of the Colledge yeerly rents to go to the building or enlarging of the house, viz.

( THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS )

A Chappel 30 yards long 10 yards broad. The Hall right over against it of like length and breadth. Over them 2 libraries. Under them ye Kitchen & other places of service. Between them ye Masters Lodgings. On each side of them a several court enclosed with 3 equal sides. In each side 3 chambers of 3 hights and 1 half light for Galleries. Each chamber 8 yards long, 6 y. broad.

(second column)

I N T H E M O R N I N G D A Y L Y

Between

First Publique Prayer for half an hour, & Lecture of chief commonplaces in Divinity : another half hour in Latine.

5 & 6

Genesis Lecture of Logique. Analysis Lecture of Logique. The Lecture of Hebrue, Sirian & Arabique: with Lecture of Histories, and Lecture of Law or Phyick.

6 & 7

Genesis Lecture of Rhetorique. Genesis Lecture of Physiques, Lecture of Algebra: with Lecture of

## THE SEMINARY

Between

Ethiques and Politiques. The Lecture of ye Sacred Text.	7	&	8
The Lecture of Arithmetique. Lecture of Geometry Elements. Lecture of Geometry Solids: with Lect. of Astronomy Principles. Lect: of Spherical Motions, of Geography and Chronography, of Polish.	8	&	9
Publique Prayer for halfe an hour: with Divinity Lecture in English for ye other half hour in Ripon Minster.	9	&	10
The Lecture of Rhetorique Analysis. Lecture of Physique Analysis. Lecture of Metaphysiques with Lect: of first Planetary (sic) motions. Lect: of second Planetary Motions. Lect: of Greek. Lect: of Hung <sup>gariſh</sup> ariſh.	10	&	11
The Lecture of Optiques & the Lecture Divinite Controversies.	11	&	12

## IN THE EVENING DAYLY

The Lecture of the Dutch, or of the Flemish Tongue	1	&	2
The Lecture of the French Tongue	2	&	3
The Lecture of the Italian Tongue	3	&	4
The Lecture of the Spanish Tongue	4	&	5

## THE SEMINARY

Between

DISPUTATION OR DECLAMATION, as followeth, viz. 5 &amp; 6

Monday	The Logique Disputation		
On Tuesday	Disputation in Natural Philosophy		
On Wednesday	Disputation in Law or Physick		
On Thursday	Disputation in Divinity		
On Friday	An Oration in Latine		
On Saturday	An Oration in Greek		

Lastly Publique Prayer in Latine for half  
an hour after six of the clock 6 & 7

## SABATH EXERCISES . BOTH MORNING AND EVENING

Publique Prayer in Hebrue	5	&	6
Publique Prayer in Greek	6	&	7
Publique Prayer in Latin	7	&	8

In these 3 Tongues usual Prayers, & Hymnes  
to be used by course & sundry Chapters read in  
sundry Tongues successively: One out of ye Old  
Testament, and one out of the New.

Publique repetition made by the Rehearser  
of the Divinitie Lectures in English, read in ye week  
last past saving one Divine Service publicly  
celebrated in English in Ripon Minster. 8 & 9

A Publique Sermon in English to be made

## THE SEMINARY

Between

by the chief of the house every first Sunday of the month in Ripon Church

9 &amp; 10

The other Sabath Sermons there to be made by inter-changeable course of the Senior and Junior Divines: the Juniors preaching once and the Seniors twice in the Year. The Junior Divines in the country Chappels to do the like upon the Sabbaths: 4 of them weekly. All of them in 7 weeks.

10 &amp; 11

Repetition of the Sacred Text Lectures

1 &amp; 2

Repetition of the Lectures of Divinitie

Controversies

2 &amp; 3

Repetition of the Lectures in the

Principles of Divinitie

3 &amp; 4

The summ of the said Lectures read the week past, to be collected in writing; and upon the Professors persuing publicquely read in Latin by one of the Probationers in their turns.

Lastly publique Prayers in English

4 &amp; 5

The reading of publique Prayers on the Sabbath days, with other sacred duties: and the Administration of the Sacraments, celebrated once in a Month: to be performed by the Senior Divines, by weekly or monthly course.

The Junior Divines to read prayers in the Colledge on ye working days by weekly turns. All ye Divines to be

T H E S E M I N A R Y

present at the Hebrue Prayers. All ye Graduates and Probationers: at Greek Prayers. All ye Students jointlye at Latin & English Prayers.

THE COLLEDGE STUDENTS TO BE AUDITORS OF THE  
FORMER LECTURES AS FOLLOWS: Viz.

In ye first year. Of Logique Genesis. Of Ethiques & Politiques. Of Arithmetique. Of Greek. Of Dutch or Flemish.

In ye 2 year. Of Logique Analysis. Of Rhetorique Genesis. Of Geometry Elements. Of Greek. Of French.

In ye 3 year. Of Rhetorique Analysis. Of Physick Genesis. Of Geometry Solids. Of Hebrue, Sirian, Arabique. Of Italian.

In ye 4 year. Of Physique Anal. Of Algebra. Of Optiques. Of Astron. Principles. Of Hebrue, Sirian, Arabique. Of Spanish.

In ye 5 year. Of Spherical Motions. Of Law & Physick. Of the sacred text. Of Divin. Controversies. Of Metaphysicks.

The learners of Musique to be voluntary, or at their tutors direction.

The Students aforesaid, after 8 years of their study in the Colledge: to take degree in one of ye Universities: upon due performing such exercises & Acts as in ye said Universities are usual for Graduates of ye same continuance.

## THE SEMINARY

(third column)

ORDER FOR DUE PERFORMANCE OF LECTURES  
DISPUTATIONS, DECLAMATIONS, EXAMINATION,  
AND OTHER EXERCISES :

The Divinity Lecture in English kept dayly by all ye  
Fellows Divines: On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday. Thursday.  
Friday and Saturday. Weekly.

For Thursday Lecture: a full Sermon made at meeting  
of Town and Country. 5 of the Divines to exercise herein  
weekly. All of them once in 8 weeks.

The 4 chiefe Professors of Divinitie, to read one week  
in 3. Dayly.

The 6 Assistants Divines, one week in 9. to do the like:  
3 of them to read the Divinitie Controversies. Other three to  
read the Sacred Text.

The Professors of Law and Physick to read every other  
day, thrice weekly.

The Hebrue Reader to read weekly 4 Lect: in Hebrue.  
1 in Sirian. 1 Arbq.

All Readers in ye vulgar Tongues, of Greek & of Arts:  
to read dayly.

The Assistants to ye Hebrue & Greek Readers: to read  
1 week in three.

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

The Professors of Divinity, Law & Physick, and ye Readers of ye Arts, to bring their Lectures, or the substance and order thereof, ready written: upon approbation to be published as occasion serveth .

The Readers of ye chiefe commonplaces in Divinity, 1 of them to read dayly, by yearly course the vacant Reader for his year to catechise in Ripon Minster, or ye Sabbath afternoon.

The Readers of Divinity Controversies & the Sacred Text sometime by yearly course to change their kinds of Lectures, that they may be exercised in both kinds.

## DISPUTATIONS &amp;c.

In the Divinity disputations, all the Divines by course to answer once, and oppose twice in the year. 2 Opponents & 1 Answerer therein.

The Disputation of Law or Physick kept weekly or by inter-changeable course. The Professors thereof to moderate the Disputation. The proper Students thereof to answer and oppose therein by course, about 6 times yearly.

The Disputers in Logique to be of the Second and Third years standing.

The Disputers in Natural Philosophy to be of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth years standing. One answering, and two opposing therein by course.

The disputation in Logique & Natural Philosophy: to be

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moderated by the several Readers thereof, by Weekly or Monthly turns.

The Declaimers in Latine and Greek, to be of the third fourth, fifth, and sixth years standing: and four of them by Weekly course to exercise therein, two in each tongue.

The Readers of Rhetorique, to hear and censure the Latine Declamations.

The Readers of Greek, to hear and censure the Declamation in Greek.

Examinations of the Lectures read the weeke past, of Law & Physick, of the Tongues, & of ye Arts: to be taken by the several Readers thereof, upon Saturday in the afternoon, from 1 to 5 of the clock. 7 several kind of Lectures being examined every hour.

The foresaid Lectures, Disputations, Declamations & Examinations, to be continued only 9 or 10 weeks in a quarter of a year. The English exercises with prayers in ye learned Tongues, to be always continued.

The Teachers of Grammar of the Colledge to have under their charge 150 schollers: 60 of them elected, 90 other next eligible into the colledge. in 5 years to be made fit auditors of the College Lectures.

In the first year, the Grammar Schollers to be taught & exercised in Latine only.

In the second year to be taught, 4 days Latin, 2 days Greek weekly.

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

The 3.4.5.year 2 days Lat: 2 days Greek, 1 day Hebrue,  
1 day Sirian and Arabi

At 9 of the clock at night, all ye students of the  
Colledge to withdraw themselves, & upon half an hour employed  
in private prayer, & upon due examination of the day spent:  
immendiately to go to rest.

All ye Fellows Probationers and Schollers of ye Colledge,  
to be personally resident in the house, and to live and keep to-  
gether in common diet: and not ~~man~~ to be married, but to live  
a single life during their Societie: according to the statutes  
& customs of ye Colleges in the Universities.

The Visitors of ye Colledge, to be appointed by her  
Majestie: to se( sic) these orders, exercises,& other proceedings  
of the Colledge duly performed : & to have authority upon weighty  
cause, to alter them from time to time.

(column four)

## THEIR YEARLY PENSIONS RENTS AND REVENUES

## WITH SUNDRY USES THEREOF (3.)

Duchy Pension 80. Du(chy) Augment.30. Rip: Hosp: rents  
30.R. Augmen.14. Chief F.Pension 14 Under F.Pension 9  
Fab.R.Augment. 10. R(oyal) Patent Office 6 Mort: and D.R.& C 20  
Mag pē(nson?): unit 8..Archb. of Y. pen.5. Ri: Chief 10.  
One of Rip. Mi: 33.Se: W, St. D,F: 33 Gra(mmar)Sch(ool) 2 P 33

## THE SEMINARY

M & Y of R 40 Gent. cōtri of R. 66 Sa: pla: in L.36. A Pr(ebend) of Y(ork) 50 A Pr(ebend) of So(uthwell)<sup>3r</sup> 50 Ar(ch)D(eacon) of Y(ork) D, 50 Ar(ch)D(eacon) of Ri(pon) 50 A pl. in S.Ka 50. Moi of CR 150. W.Hosp. Sto. 150. of LR: 60. ~~RENTS~~ Re(nts) in F(ee) F(arm) 130 50 in F(ee) S(imple).

Upon redeeming or expiring of ye leases of Ripon Hospit. Lands and other such lands as shall be given to the College use the demesns thereof nigh unto Ripon, not to be passed any more by Lease, bgt reserved for Paſture of Reeves and Muttons, & for sowing corn thereupon for ye common diet of ye Colège.

These grounds being thoroughly stocked, will sufficiently maintain ye yearly diet of the whole college. And the Princpal stock for Corn & Cattle may ve continued and always renewed (viz) by Hides, Skin, Wool, Tallow, and Suet : Sold to buy young cattle one under another.

THE COMMON DIET ALLOWANCE TO BE AS FOLLOWETH

For the Senior Fellows 5 messes of meat dayly provided, 6 to a messe.

To dinner ye twelfth part of a quarter of Beef, and a joint of Mutton each messe.

To Supper a joint of Mutton, and another <sup>dish</sup> ~~one~~, of Vid value each messe.

The like allowance for the private det of the chief of the House.

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For the Junior Fellows 10 mess of meat daily provided, 5 to a messe.

To Dinner the sixteenth part of a quarter of beef, each mess.

To Supper, a joynt of mutton to a mess.

The like allowance for the diet of the 6 Clarkes Choral.

For the Probationers, 15 mess of meat dayly provided, 3 to a mess.

To Dinner, the sixteenth part of a quarter of Beef, each messe.

To Supper a joynt of mutton to each messe.

The like allowance for diet of 4 mess of Almes-folk, 12 of them to a mess.

Fish diet allowance weekly : on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, and on other fasting and fish days as follows.

For ye Senior Fellows diet, 12d a mess daily. For ye Juniors 8d a mess. For ye Probationers, Clarkes Choral and Almsfold 6d daily.

Corn for bread and drink suffieient for them all, by ratable proportion : to about half a quarter of wheat, and one quarter of mault daily.

The charges of the Diet provision yearely : riseth by these helps ensuing :

By Colledge stock out of F. Fr. of Se: F. out of vacations, half absences. M.

## T H E S E M I N A R Y

By Junior Fellows F. Fr.

By pension yearly of admission of pensioners.

By pension of the schollers attendants, each 4 marks yearly for a time.

By the surplusage, and remainder of the College yearly contribution to ye poor.

Besides ye first fruits of ye whole society appointed already to go to ye College publik benefit.

THE COLLEAGUES ACTUALLY ENJOYING THEIR STIPENDS &  
DIET TO CONTRIBUTE DAILY, TO CHARITABLE USES AS

FOLLOWS:

The Chief of the College 7d.

The 4 Prebendaries divines. Each 5d.

The 6 divines Assistants .Each 3d.

2 Doctors of Law and Physick. Each 4d.

The Readers of the Arts. Each 2d.

The Readers of ye vulgar tongues E(ach) d(ay) ob(olus)

The 60 junior fellows each 1d.

The Clarks Choral 1d.

The 120 Probationers E(ach) d(ay) ob(olus)

The 180 Attendants & Subattendants ech. g.

The Gentlemen Pensioners e(ach) d(ay) ob(olus)

The Ordinary Pensioners 1d.

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By ye means above mentioned, there shall be reliev'd  
and maintained yearly between 300 and 400 students aforesaid:  
& other poor Christian people. Viz.

100 Orphans and poor children, born in Marriage,  
allowed each dayly, ob.

50 Elder, poor men or women, chiefly virgins or  
widows. Each dayly 1d.

50 of like age, Sex and State: very weak and sickly,  
each dayly 2d.

Lastly, fifty other very greatly distressed: many  
of them as before hurt by mischance, or maim'd  
in ye wars: to have instead of money their House,  
room, fire and diet free.

THE FOUNDERS AND CHIEF PATRONS OF THE FOREMENTIONED  
COLLEGE OF RIPON IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

Anne Queen of England & of Scotland &c.

The Lords Archbishops of York.

The Lords Presidents of York.

Elizabeth Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury<sup>(25)</sup>

THE NAMES OF BENEFACTORS AND CONTRIBUTORS TO AND  
FOR THE BETTER MAINTENANCE AND PROCEEDING OF YE

SAID SOCIETY

LORDS OF HIGH PLACE AND HONOR



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LEARNED GENTLEMEN PROFESSORS OF DIVINITY, OF LAW, OF  
PHYSICK, SCHOOLMASTERS &c.

The Church of Windsore 39

And College of Eaton. 39.

## MERCHANTS AND WEALTHY OCCUPIERS

Mr Alderman Massam and of ye goods of Mr Cooper  
late of London.

Alderman Ofley of London.

Alderman Ratcliffe of London.

Alderman Craven of London (40)

Mr Tho: Lawson of London.

## The Response of Queen Anne

The scheme was apparently sent to the Queen and not to James I for Fuller preserves her gracious and generous, as well as encouraging response. She replied : Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. to all, whom these presents shall come, greeting:- Whereas there hath been lately exhibited and recommended unto us a frame and platform of a College general, to be planted and established at Ripon in the county of York, for the manifold benefit of both the borders of England and Scotland: upon the due pursuing of the plot aforesaid, hereunto annexed, and upon signification given of the good liking and approbation of the chief points contained therein, by sundry, grave, ~~noble~~ learned and religious parties, and some other of honourable place and estate; we have thought good, for the ample and

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~~affirmation~~

and perpetual advancement of learning and religion, in both the borders of our aforesaid realms, to condescend to yield our favour and best furtherance thereto : and for the better <sup>un</sup> encouraging of other honourable and worthy personages to join with us in yielding their bounty and benevolence therunto, we have and do signify and assure, and by the word of a sacred princess and queen, do expressly promise to procure, with all convenient speed, to and for the yearly better maintenance of the said college, all and every of the requests specified and craved to that end, in a small schedule hereunto annexed. In confirmation whereof, we have signed these presents by our hand and name above mentioned, and have caused our privy signet to be set unto the same. Dated at our Honour at Greenwich, July 4th, anno Domini, 1604, and of our reign &c." (41)

Despite this favourable reply there was no action taken resulting in the founding of the College. Objections were raised to the granting of certain lands and privileges to the Church of Ripon( August 27th. 1604. S.P. 14 / 9a) <sup>(42)</sup> and the objections clearly prevailed for a modest deanery was established with with a chapter of seven prebendaries worth only, according to Collier, two hundred and forty seven pounds per annum<sup>43</sup>.

## BURNET

The rejection of the Ripon project, for whatever reason, did not prove disastrous and may even have been justified by the success which the universities were shortly to achieve

in producing ordinands. Bancroft saw that the problem had now become not one of raising candidates but of maintaining those who were ordained.

But with the Restoration the situation at the universities became less satisfactory and with the example of the Dissenting Academies in front of them, seriously minded men, both clergy and laity, began to raise again the possibility of the seminary. The first to do so was Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, 1689 to 1715. Brought up in Scotland he was not awed by the two English Universities and his own thoroughness while Professor of Divinity in Glasgow prompted him to provide something more for his ordinands than the courses provided at Oxford or Cambridge. To his mind "the greatest prejudice the Church was under was from the ill-education of the clergy". He continues : " In the Universities they for most part lost the learning they brought with them from schools, and learned so very little in them that commonly they came from them less knowing than when they went to them, especially the servitors; who if they had not a very good capacity, and were very well disposed of themselves, were generally neglected by their tutors. They likewise learned the airs of vanity and insolence at the Universities; so that I resolved to have a nursery, at Salisbury, of students in Divinity." These were to be trained to "hard study and in a course of as much devotion as they could be brought to" that so " I might have a sufficient number of persons ready

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to be put in such cures as fell to my disposing".

" I allowed them £30 apiece, and during my stay at Salisbury I ordered them to come to me once a day and then I answered such difficulties as occurred to them in their studies, and entertained them with some discourses, either on the speculative or practical part of divinity, or some branch of the Pastoral Care. This lasted an hour, and thus I hoped to have formed some to have served to good purpose in the Church. Some of these have answered my expectation to the full, and continue still labouring in the Gospel."

On the whole the experiment was not a success for the students " were not all equally well chosen. This was considered as a present settlement that drew a better one after it, so I was prevailed on by importunity to receive some who did not answer expectation"...Those at Oxford looked on this as a public affront to them and to their way of education; so that they railed at me, not only in secret , but in their Acts, unmercifully for it". In fact, says Burnet, the scheme "raised such hatred against me...and answered my expectation so little, that after I had kept it up five years at the rate of £300 a year I saw it was expedient to let it fall" (H.S)

## WILSON

Like Burnet, Thomas Wilson had been educated in a university outside England. He entered Trinity College Dublin in 1681 and later took his title at Winwick in Lancashire.

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Whilst there he came to the notice of the Derby family and through their influence became Bishop of Sodor and Man in 1698. Like Burnet he was immediately impressed with the need for a nursery in which to train his ordinands. These men became members of his own household. We learn that at Whitsuntide 1699 "candidates for the holy ministry" were already living with him and sharing with him in taking the (which carried Bishop Barrow's (1663-1671) interest in the ministry a stage further was) daily services. This domestic seminary, continued through his long life and was carried on by his successor. Pococke, the orientalist, has left an impression of his visit to the bishop in 1750 : " The young men who are educated at the academy at Castleton for the ministry, are frequently taken into the bishop's house to be under his eye, and study divinity for two or three years before they go into Orders, and the example, conversation and instructions of such a prelate must be of great advantage to them".<sup>47</sup> When Hildesley succeeded Wilson in 1755, he continued with the Academy.

Wilson himself formulate<sup>d</sup> his convictions about the training in his Academy in an essay : In<sup>^</sup>structions for an Academic Youth ( 1727 )<sup>48</sup>. Although it was written after our period it clearly belongs to it as Wilson's formulative work and ideas had taken shape by 1715<sup>7</sup>. The Instructions run as follows :→

"Forasmuch as you purpose to dedicate your life and labours to the more immediate service of God, it is fit you should have an eye to that in all your other studies: and it

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is for this reason I put these short directions into your hands.

And in the first place lay this down for a certain truth, that without God's especial blessing your best purposes, and all your endeavours, will come to ~~nothing~~. We have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing, will be found true by everybody who will be making experiments how far their own natural parts will carry them without the aid of God's good Spirit.

The Divine grace is necessary for every man, but much more for one who hopes to be ~~in~~<sup>t</sup>strumental in saving others as well as himself. Let me therefore advise and conjure you, as you hope for success in your studies, to beg of God a blessing upon yourself and labours, every day of your life.

And because there never was, nor ever can be, a good divine without a good acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures; be persuaded to lay yourself under an obligation of reading every day ~~at least~~ one chapter at least in the New Testament, with such of the Old as the New refers to.

If you are Master of the small folio Bible, printed within these few years at Dublin, (which if well closen, and well bound, will last your whole life,) you have in the margin Dr Scattergood's <sup>49</sup> and the late Bishop of Worcester's <sup>50</sup> refernces; which if you carefully consult and compare, you will come to a competent understanding of the Scriptures, and gain such a knowledge as will stick by you, because gained by

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your own industry, and God's blessing upon your ~~pains~~.

At the end of that Bible, you will find a chronological table of the Bishop of Worcester's, which you should read over, at spare times, so often, till you are master of it; by which you will have a distinct knowledge of all that passed in the ~~xx~~ world from the creation till the close of the New Testament, and the order of the several great events in point of time; which will be of greater use to you than at present you can imagine.

There are two things which I do most earnestly recommend to you, as you hope to benefit yourself, or others, by reading the Holy Scriptures. The first, that you always implore the assistance of that Spirit by which they were written, for the true understanding of them; and the second, that you apply every scripture as spoken to yourself. For instance, say to yourself, - This is the very word of God; - this is His command to me; it is what He requires of me; - this, by the grace of God, I will observe. Do I live one who believes this truth :? Do I act according to this rule ? &c.

Give me credit: - By this plain and easy method, of considering every truth as concerning yourself, your graces will increase with your knowledge: you will become every day more humble, more devout, more patient, &c: you will avoid the vices and the ~~snares~~ there set down, and dread the consequences of falling into them. In one word, you will come to such a knowledge of divine truths, as that you know your own duty perfectly, and in God's good time be able to teach others.

*wherein is set downe the true  
meanes, A to B.*

**PREPARATI-**  
**ON TO THE MOST HO-**  
**lie Ministerie:**

Wherein is set downe the true meanes to be well prepared to the same, by an exact description, and consideration, of the necessitie, excellencie, difficultie, and great profit therof; with the maruellous effects of the same:

*Also a lively exhortation to all youth, to give themselves to the studie therof: and a confutation of the obiections which may be brought in any sort to touch the same:*

Verie profitable and necessarie in these our times, aswell for those that addict themselves to the Ministry, as for all other for whose instruction it was ordained.

Diuided into two Bookes.

Written in French by *Peter Gerard*, and translated into English by *N. B. [Nicholas Becker]*

*Esay 52. Rom. 10. Nahum. 1.*

Howe bewitull are the seete of them which bring glad tydings of peace, and bringeth glad tydings of good things, and preach saluation.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster row, at the signe of the Talbot. 1593.

*1. C. 146.*

from  
The Bodleian Library  
Oxford

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And indeed this is the very way prescribed by our Lord Himself for arriving at divine knowledge : *Ἐάν τις θέλῃ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιῆναι* : If any man will do ( that is wills, desires to do ) the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God ( *St. John vii. 17.* )

Some books of piety and devotion you cannot be without. I consider your circumstances; and for the present, I recommend three only of the first kind; namely, The Whole Duty of Man, (51) which I take for granted you have already; - Mr Law of Christian Perfection, one of the best books that has appeared in this age; (52) - and a little book entitled The Life of God in the Soul of Man. (53)

But then I would have you read these so often, and with care, till your heart be possessed with that Spirit by which they were composed. For be assured of it, that two or three books read with care, and often, well understood and thoroughly digested, will improve you more than two or three hundred read carelessly, and only to gratify your curiosity.

For your private prayers, the Enchiridion Precum, which I have always recommended to scholars that are able and willing to make use of them, will answer all the ends of devotion, being written in a fine Latin style, and full of quotations out of Holy Scripture; and will at once improve your learning and devotion.

The Greek Testament should be read daily; a chapter every afternoon. This is necessary both to preserve and increase your

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knowledge in that language in which that book was originally written; and will give you a better understanding in that part of Scripture.

There is another exercise which I would put you upon; and to recommend it more effectually, and that it may not be too rashly censured, I do tell you, it is the advice of one of the greatest men of this age to youths in the University, especially to such as are designed for the ministry; and this is, to read and abridge, at their spare hours, every week, some of the best practical sermons they can meet with, in order to give them an early taste of divinity; to form their style; improve their knowledge in such studies as are to be the business of their life; furnish them with proper expressions<sup>1</sup> and above all, to fill their minds with saving truths.

The abridgement may be very short, and y<sup>t</sup> contain abundance of matter; such as, the ~~handling~~ manner of handling the subject; the way of reasoning; the most convincing arguments; the most moving exhortations, &c.

And this will be so far from ~~making~~ making you lazy, that it will engage you to take pains, and to endeavour to collect, and suit all that you meet with to the necessities of the place and the people to whom you shall be sent. For assure yourself, there are very few discourses that are nicely proper for any other place and circumstances than those for which they were composed.

By thus reading and abridging two sermons every week, ( which

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may be done at evenings before you go to bed, and you will not sleep the worse,) you will, in a few years, have such a fund of sound divinity, so fixed in your heart and memory, as that you will be able to speak and write upon any necessary subject; and in some good measure answer the character of the householder mentioned by our Saviour, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.

And if you always set about this exercise with a short ejaculation ( which I cannot too often inculcate ) that God would enlighten your mind with saving truth, you will draw down God's blessing upon your labours, and you will be sure to fix upon such things as are instructive, rather than curious.

The sermons I would recommend to you are such as you may borrow, ( especially if you use books with care,) for I consider the length of your purse. Such are, Archbishop Sharp's,<sup>54</sup> Bishop Bull's,<sup>55</sup> Mr Blair's<sup>56</sup> sermons on our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, several of Bishop Hopkins's,<sup>57</sup> or any other practical & sermons you can meet with: - I say practical; for if you will take my advice, you should not read any one book of controversy until you shall be in full orders, except such only as are necessary to explain the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. If you know the truth, you will easily see what is contrary to it, according to the old rule, Regula est regula recti et obliqui.

Keep close to your studies; and believe it for a certain truth, that an habit of trifling, not resisted, will insen-

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sibly grow upon you; it will be as hard to be conquered, as any other vice whatever.

I doubt not but you will be strictly careful of your life and manners, what company you keep, &c.; that you may give no offence, and that such as must hereafter sign your testimonials may do it with pleasure, and with a good conscience.

I have only this further to advise you at present, - That you be very careful not to concern yourself in the unhappy misunderstandings which are now the curse of this once quiet nation; otherwise you create yourself enemies; you will possess your mind, perhaps, with unjust prejudices; you will divert your thoughts from things of much greater concern to you; and, which is well to be considered, you will insensibly run into a crime, which for its commonness is scarce thought any, - 'of speaking evil of the Government, whether in Church or State; which are both the ordinances of God, and not to be reviled, but at the peril of our souls.

May God direct and bless you, your intentions, your studies, and your affections, that you may be esteemed both for your piety and for your endowments !

THOMAS SODOR AND MAN.

## WILSON'S PROPSAL TO S.P.G.

Wilson's energy was not wholly absorbed by his diocesan duties and his academic youths. He had time to propose to S.P.G. a scheme for a missionary college in the Isle of Man which should train men for the mission field.

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This is the first time in the history of the Church of England that such an idea had arisen though it was not until the nineteenth century that it was put into practice within the two provinces of Canterbury and York. It is of interest to note that the Church now regards separate missionary colleges as unwise. Ordinands, for whatever part of the Church's work they are destined, should, so it is now believed, be trained in the same universities and theological colleges.

On May 12th 1707, Wilson proposed the following memorial to the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel, then not long in existence.

The Bishop of Man's Proposal for Propagating  
the Gospel &c. (54)

The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts having met with difficulties in procuring proper persons to undertake that good work, the Bishop of Man desires that it may be considered of, whether the Isle of Man would not be the properest place wherein to educate, and out of which to make the choice of, the persons for that mission.

The advantages the place seems to offer above others are these:

1. The young people of the island are under a pretty strict discipline. They are not acquainted with many of the vices of other nations, so that it is probable that a person who has lived soberly till he comes to an age which may qualify him for the mission would

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continue  
~~continues~~ to be an honour to his profession to his lives  
 and. end

2. The inhabitants in general are brought up frugally, and the preferments for scholars at home are so small, that the provision of clergy in America would be sufficient to excite their industry, and to satisfy their utmost ambition.
3. The natives of the island being all well acquainted with the seas, such as should be sent would make no difficulty of undertaking such a voyage.
4. They would be educated under the eye of the Bishop, who could not but know their true character, and a way might be proposed that the Society may never be ~~kimposed~~ imposed on by partial testimonials.
5. There is already an Academical School, founded by the late Bishop Barrow, and a Master with a competent salary, obliged to teach youths Logic, Moral Philosophy and Ecclesiastical History. These are education for the service of the Church of Man.

Now if it should be thought convenient that four more be added to these for the service of the Church in America, and some allowance be made to the Academic Master, and to the scholars for their present subsistence, care might be taken to make choice, out of all the schools in the island, of such as would in all likelihood be most serviceable to the Church, and who would be bred in a constant expectation of being sent

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abroad, and in such studies as might best qualify them for the mission.

It is supposed that £50 per annum would be sufficient to encourage the Academic Master to teach, and four persons to prosecute their studies, viz. £10 a year to each, at least until a trial were made whether this method would be of real service to the design of the Society.

Security might be taken from the friends of the four persons to return what money they should have received, if any of them should refuse to go upon the mission when directed by the Society.

THO. SODOR AND MAN.

The reception of the proposal and the long drawn out deliberations can be traced in the minutes of the Society. (17)  
 On May 30th the proposal was first considered and "it was agreed that the consideration thereof, by reason of its being a matter of great importance, be adjourned till the winter, when some of the Lords the Bishops be present". The eighteenth century bishops had completed their winter in London and were now dispersed to their sees for the summer. When they had returned for the next winter and they considered the proposal at the meeting on November 21st., they again postponed a consideration of the subject because this time the Archbishop (Tenison) was unable to be present.

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Meanwhile another scheme arose which put Wilson's scheme very much at a disadvantage. General Codrington died in 1710 and in his will left a considerable bequest for a college " where a convenient number of Professors and Scholars (could be) maintained, ( and who should ) be obliged to study and practise Physik, Chirurgery as well as Divinity". Exact details were to be left to the Society. The Society felt that this foundation could serve "as a seminary of Missionaries to be dispersed through the plantations". This formidable rival to Wilson's scheme led to its eclipse. On March 22nd. 1711 the Society felt that the two schemes could not be prosecuted together and that the General's bequest was the more suitable for their purpose. Nothing remained therefore but to thank the Bishop " for the service he proposes to do this Society by educating young persons". During the slow consideration of the scheme the Bishop had tried to add extra inducements and in his letter of February 10th 1710 he appealed once again to the financial savings he could achieve for the Society by securing missionaries for £40 per annum as against the present £50 that they were obliged to pay. On Feb. 5th. of the following year he wrote to tell them of three promising youths. But it was all of no avail. The Bishop's scheme was not acceptable.

## COLLEGE IN VIRGINIA

Another reason why there was caution in considering

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Wilson's project was the existence of a possible scheme for a College in Virginia which is mentioned in the "Account of the Society for the Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts" published in 1706. This had apparently been mooted in the time of King William and was of great interest to Queen Anne.

## A COLLEGE IN WALES

At the same time a scheme was being furthered by Mr Mr A D Tenison for a college in the diocese of St David's ( do we see the influence of Bishop Bull here, Bishop of St David's 1705 - 1710 ). Wales, said, the proposer, had already caused the foundation of the Academic School in the Isles of Man for Bishop Barrow had gone from St Asaph to Man. Moreover Wales, being much larger, offered much more ~~simple~~ choice of prospective missionaries than the Isle of Man.. This scheme too, put forward in 1708, distracted attention from Wilson's proposal even though it failed to secure acceptance for itself.

The Bishop's <sup>o</sup>proposal therefore failed as a result of the contemporary and <sup>e</sup>competitive schemes. Tenison and his advisers favoured the Codrington scheme and Tenison shewed his belief in it by leaving part of his library to the projected college which had many misadventures before finally the first theological students took up residence in 1829, under J.H.Pinder who later became first principal of Wells ~~theological~~ College.

## THE SEMINARY

## ROBERT NELSON

Despite these failures by Burnet, and Wilson, Robert Nelson remained convinced in principle of the need for a theological seminary. He was associated both with S.P.C.K. and with S.P.G. in their early days and used his great wealth to forward schemes of benevolence and piety. He was also a devout nonjuring churchman. In 1703 he wrote his Festivals and Fasts<sup>(60)</sup> to which we shall have occasion to refer later when we consider vocation and turn our attention to the observance of the Ember seasons.

In 1713 he wrote a biography of his friend Bishop Bull<sup>(61)</sup> who had lately died in 1710. At an early stage of the Life<sup>(62)</sup> he indulges in this aside: "There ought to be some foundations entirely set apart for the forming of such as are candidates for Holy Orders; where they might be fully instructed in all that knowledge which that Holy Institution requires, and in all those duties which are peculiarly incumbent upon a Parochial Priest.

Where lectures might be<sup>daily</sup> read, which in a certain course of time should include a perfect scheme of divinity; where all peculiar cases of conscience might be clearly stated, and such general rules laid down, as might be able to assist them in giving satisfaction to all those that repair to them for advice in difficult matters.

Where they might receive proper notions of all those spiritual rights which are appropriated to the priesthood.

## THE SEMINARY

Where they might be taught to perform all the public Offices of Religion with a becoming gravity and devotion, and with all that advantage of elocution which is aptest to secure attention, and beget devout affections in the congregation.

Where they might particularly be directed, how to receive clinical confessions, how to make their applications to persons in time of sickness, and have such a method formed to guide their addresses of that nature, that they might never be at a loss when they are called upon to assist sick and dying persons.

Where they might be instructed in the art of preaching, whereby I mean not only the best method in composing their sermons, but all those decent gestures and graceful déportment, the influence whereof all hearers can easier feel than express.

And where they might have such judicious rules given them for prosecuting their Theological Studies as would be of great use to them in their future conduct. (62)

How enthusiastically Nelson wished to commend his ideas to his own generation may be gathered from his last work published just before his death in 1715. In his Address to Persons of Quality <sup>(61)</sup> he commends to his readers many ~~four~~ forms of charity and almsgiving. He draws attention particularly to the benefit to be derived from the setting up of seminaries in every diocese under the immediate direction of the Bishop. And, anticipating Westcott, he says that this seminary training should follow a man's university training "in one or other of our universities" so that ~~th~~ he may not only "be instructed in the art of preaching but in all other parts of (his) duty".

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.....at Ripon

In Ecclesiasticall Seminarie and College general of Learning & Religion, planted and established in the City of London, in many points altered to the Ancient use and Romanic theorie. Proceeded in by advice and approbation of the Right Honorable Barons Savile and Judge Yelverton: Commissioners in that behalf

The number of Collegues. Their professions. & yearly stipends present. To come. Their Publique and

The number of Collegues. Their professions. & yearly stipends present.	To come.	Their Publique and
First about 30 Collegues perpetual: Readers of Divinitie, of the Tongues & of Arts. Viz.	Marked	For the Morning
The chief of the College: Moderator of Divinitie Acts	80	160
5 Chief Collegues and of 4 Readers and Professors following Professors of Divinitie each of them	40	80
3 of them Readers and Interpreters of the sacred Text.		First Publique Prayer for half an hour, & Lect. of Genesis Lecture of Leviticus, Hebrews Lecture of Psalms with Lecture of Histories, and Lecture of Laws Genesis Lecture of Rhetorique, Genesis Lecture with Lecture of Emiques and Politiques. The
2 of them Readers of Divinitie Controversies.		The Lecture of Arithmetique. Lecture of
6 Divines: Assistants to the said Professors of Divinitie, Each	25	50
2 of them Readers of the Principles & chief common places in Divinitie		with Lect. of Astronomy Principles. Lect. of
2 of them Readers of weekly Divinitie Lectures in English		Publique prayer for halfe an hour: with
1 of them Reader of Hebrew, Syriac or Chaldean & Arabique		The Lecture of Rhetorique Analysis. Lecture
1 of them Reader of the Greek Tongue.		with Lect. of first Particulars, Mollons. Lect.
2 Junior Divines Assistants w <sup>ch</sup> Readers of Hebrew & Greek, &	20	40
1 Doctor, Professor & Reader of the Law.	20	40
1 Doctor, Professor & Reader of Physicke	20	40
2 Readers of Logique, & Logique Genesis, & Log. Analysis, Ech	15	30
2 Readers of Arithmetique & Arith. Genesis, & Arith. Analysis, Ech	15	30
2 Readers of Physiques: & Phys. Genesis; & Phys. Analysis, Ech	15	30
1 Reader of the Metaphysiques, & Reader of Histories, Ech	15	30
1 Reader of Ethiques & Politiques, & R. of Geography etc. &	15	30
1 Reader of Arithmetique: & Reader of Geometry Elements Ech	15	30
1 Reader of Algebra: & Reader of Geometry Solids, Ech	15	30
1 Reader of Astronomie Principles: & R. of Spherical motions, &	15	30
1 R. of planist. tenetorie Motions: & R. of Planets & other Motions, &	15	30
1 Reader of Optique: & Reader & Teacher of Musick, Ech.	15	30
1 R. of Grammar: & R. of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac & Arab.	30	60
6 Readers of the Languages: & Reader of the Tongues		Lastly Publique Prayer in Latine
1 Reader of the French Tongue		Sabbath Exercises, twice Morning and
1 Reader of the Italian Tongue	10	20
1 Reader of the Spanish Tongue		Dispute Divines in Hebrew.

In the Evening

The Lecture of the Dutch, or of the Flemish  
The Lecture of the French Tongue.  
The Lecture of the Italian Tongue.  
The Lecture of the Spanish Tongue.

Disputation or Declamation, as follows

Publique Prayer in Latine

Sabbath Exercises, twice Morning and

Dispute Divines in Hebrew.

VI  
V O C A T I O N

## V O C A T I O N

## The Reformers

While the Reformers were aware of the belief that all men have their vocation, any special vocation to the ministry is ~~never~~ <sup>rarely</sup> mentioned in early writings.

(1527)

In his Doctrinal Treatises, Tyndale could write : " Let every man therefore wait upon the office wherein Christ hath put him"<sup>(1)</sup>. He could then instance many callings from carpenters to Kings, from bakers to brewers. But he never made any specific mention of the Christian ministry. In his Epistle to Cranmer in 1550 , Hutchinson's only concern was to ensure that as St Paul spoke of vocation in the singular, no man should follow more than one calling.<sup>(2)</sup> Hooper ~~never expressed himself beyond the~~ <sup>believed</sup>

~~assum~~ that "unto every man is appointed his vocation", ~~though~~ <sup>and that there was a special</sup> ~~he never thought of specifying the~~ <sup>to</sup> vocation of the ministry.<sup>(3)</sup> <sup>vid sup p.194.</sup>

~~Latimer, of all the Reformers, comes nearest to a consideration~~

~~of the vocation to the ministry.~~ Preaching on St Andrew's

day, 1552, <sup>Latimer</sup> ~~he~~ clearly has the ministry in mind when he warns patrons, in their appointments to livings, not to follow 'friendship or other affection'. Men are called, he warns his congregation, by God : "God seeth us, and can fetch us if it please him, that we should be officers or be curates". He then goes on to consider a case where a man is called from one vocation to another and to point out that such a special calling cannot be disregarded<sup>(4)</sup>

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Becon ( 1512-1567)

Becon, whose works give so vivid and possibly exaggerated a description of the ministry ( vid sup.p. /o. ) also deals in his Catechism with the idea of the vocation to the ministry. The Catechism is written in the form of a dialogue between Father and Son.

Father : How many ways may ministers be called in to the ministry?

Son : Two. One is when they be called immediately of God, as the prophets and apostles were, which were raised up of God to prophesy and to teach without any vocation or calling of man. And this kind of vocation God used customably outwardly to approve and confirm with wonderful testimonies and signs, as we may more see in Moses Elias etc. But this calling is now ceased.

The other is when the ministers be called mediately as they say, and in order of men, that is to say of the magistrate and of the people. They that are thus called unto the ministry may right well persuade themselves that they are called of God, and that their calling is lawful, and that their living in that vocation pleases God, and their service is acceptable unto God.

Father : May not a man offer himself to the Church, and desire to be admitted unto the ministry ?

Son : Yes, verily, so that it rise not of ambition and of the desire of ease and wordly lucre : again, so that he

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submit himself to the judgment of the congregation, either to be admitted or to be refused...Whosoever perceiveth himself to be apt and meet to rule in the congregation, both in life and doctrine, and feeleth in himself to be moved thereunto by the instinct of the Holy Ghost, and hath in himself also an ardent zeal and fervent desire to help and profit the Church of Christ, and to advance God's true religion; the same may with a good conscience desire the ministry.(5)

Rogers : Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles. 1585.(6)

Rogers' work on the Thirty Nine Articles, says Fuller, 7. created great surprise. Churchmen looked to their bishops and to properly constituted authority for guidance and advice. Here was an ordinary clergyman daring to speak in the name of the Church. The assumption was the more clear because the theme of his writing was the exposition of the authoritative articles of the Church, then so recently drawn up. In his treatment of Article xxiii he dwells at some length on the lawful calling of the minister and puts his views in six propositions.

1. None publicly may preach but such as are thereunto called.
2. They must not be silent who by office are bound to preach every Sunday at least once.

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3. The sacraments may not be administered in the congregation but by a lawful minister.
4. There is a lawful ministry in the Church.
5. They are lawful ministers which be ordained by men lawfully appointed for the calling and sending forth of ministers.
6. Before ministers are to be ordained, they are to be chosen and called.

A further hint is given by Rogers of his conception of vocation when he describes those to be ordained as "men of special gifts, apt to teach, able to exhort, wise to divide the word of God aright, bold to reprove, willing to take pains, watchful to oversee, patient to suffer, and constant to endure all manner of afflictions.

These early expressions of view on the nature of vocation deserve comment. With his emphasis on the magistrate and the people, Becon is deviating from the traditional form of ordination. Indeed he expressly objects to ~~the~~ ordinations "in the presence of one or two priests with the assistance of the bishop's scribe or secretary". Rogers represents a less violent change from tradition and as his work is dedicated to Whitgift, we may suspect that his view is akin to that of the Archbishop. He is trying to avoid the excesses of the Brownists and the Anabaptists on the one hand, and the Roman Catholics on the other. He wished to see

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neither extreme; a ministry that must always be preaching or a ministry that never preaches.

William Perkins : A Treatise of the Vocations or Callings of men. 1602<sup>(8)</sup>

The thought thus far given to the subject of the vocation to the ministry is not profound. But in the works of Perkins we come to a much more satisfying treatment of the subject. The reputation of Perkins stood high at Cambridge. To Simon D'Ewes<sup>(9)</sup> he was 'the archdivine' of his times. His writings and his lectures were largely read and attended and his books were translated into Latin, French, Hungarian and Flemish.

Two of his main works deal with the subject of vocation. The first written in 1602 was "A Treatise of the Vocations or Callings of men with the sorts and kinds of them and the right use thereof". The second, taken from lecture notes, was published in 1609 and entitled : " Of the Calling of the Ministerie, two treatises describing the duties and dignities of that calling. Delivered publikely in the University of Cambridge, by M. Perkins. Taken then from his mouth, and now diligently perused and published, by a preacher of the word". In his first work he offers a definition of vocation. It is, he says, " a certain kind of life, ordained and imposed on man by God for the common good... the state and condition of a minister is, to leade his life in

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preaching the Gospel the word of God, and that is his calling! This vocation or calling can be sub-divided into two parts; a general vocation common to all men as Christians, members of His Church and children of God, and a personal vocation to some specific occupation in life e.g. as a magistrate, physician or schoolmaster. Perkins deals with instance where a conflict of callings might occur but lays it down for a principle that a man may not say his duty as a doctor, for example, make demands which are inconsistent with his general vocation as a Christian.

In deciding how to choose a calling, Perkins regards it as a duty of parents to note the affections and gifts of their children and to direct their children to those activities where they may best be employed. If gifts serve, he says, to young students in the universities they should prefer the highest calling of which they are capable, and the office of a prophet is above all others.

Perkins points out that this vocation must not only come from God but must be regularised by men. None had a higher calling than our Saviour, but even He did not preach until baptised by John : "men are to be set apart to their particular callings by the appointment of men". No man may undertake two callings. Finally Perkins offers much advice to those who have entered into their calling, they need repentance, sanctification, faith, love, constancy.

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And finally we note a very human and understanding touch. The minister needs rest and recreation for the recovery of his health and the better fulfilment of his duties.

Of the calling of the ministerie. (10)

This second work, taken down from lectures given to students in Cambridge, is addressed directly to ordinands. He says : "Every one, who either is, or intends to be a minister, must have that tongue of the learned, whereof is spoken in Essay 50.4. ..This necessitates three requirements: 1. humane learning, 2. divine knowledge, and 3. inward teaching by God's Spirit". Let them labour, he says, for sanctity and holiness of life and while still students consecrate their studies to the 'most excellent vocation' of the ministry, which is the wonder of the holy angels themselves.

In the second part of this work he points out the dangers of university life to the ordinand. It ministers to our self conceit and creates the dangerous illusion that learning degrees and age are sufficient qualifications for the ministry. The ordinand must be humbled and cast down in the sight of his high calling.

Perkins thus takes us from the disappointingly meagre considerations of the Reformers to the fuller consideration of the seventeenth century theologians.

Lancelot Andrewes ( 1555 - 1626 )

Foremost among seventeenth century divines is Lancelot Andrewes. He exercised immense influence on succeeding generations of ordinands by his Catechistical lectures. These were taken down by his hearers in Cambridge and were not printed until a considerable period after his death. They take the form of a detailed exposition of the Ten Commandments. In the consideration of the fifth commandment there is a section dealing with the relation between teacher and hearer. The qualifications and duties of the teacher are threefold : -

- a. to set forth the truth
- b. to be careful of his doings
- c. to protect his scholars.

In turn there are three answering characteristics of the hearer or the scholar. Perhaps Andrewes is recalling his own relationship to Mulcaster ( vid sup. p. 180.) who had been his teacher at Merchant Taylors. The three characteristics of the student, and there is no doubt that to Andrewes the majority of students were to take Holy Orders, are:-

- a. 1, to be *φιλοκουος* 'studious of hearing' that the word may come in aurem, 'into the ear', and so ad cor, 'into the heart;'
2. to be *επιτηδεος* 'ready to ask questions' Exod. xiii.14, Deut. vi.20, " when thy son asketh thee in time to come," -

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John xvi. 17, " then said some of His disciples among themselves, what is this that he saith unto us ?"

Matt. xiii. 10, " the disciples came and said unto Him, Why speakest Thou unto them in parables ?"

- b. The scholar's duty answerable is, Lam. iii.27, to 'bear the yoke in his youth;' and to be at direction, and to be humble minded.
- c. The hearer's duty answerable is, to bring every one his offering; Numb. vi. 14,15, the Nazirite ;
1. Sam.i.21, Elkanah
1. Sam. ix.7., Saul to Samuel;
- Luke v. 29., Levi to Christ;
- Matt. v. 24, "then come and offer thy gift"
- Also to minister unto them,
- as Samuel did to Eli, 1. Sam. ii.11;
- and Elisha to Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 21, and 2 Kings iii.11;
- and John's disciples, Matt. xi.2;
- and Christ's, Matt.xxvi.17.

And lastly, there must be resultans officium, a duty reciprocal towards their teacher;' as our Saviour charged His disciples with His mother, John xix.27; and after His death, His disciples buried Him. (11)

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It is much to be regretted that in his more mature writings, Andrewes did not turn his thoughts to the subject of vocation. Even his Preces Privatae contain no Embertide prayers like those of Cosin, Patrick or Hickes.

~~From his many years, from 1600 to 1682 inclusive~~

Andrewes was the favourite preacher of James I at the great festivals of the Church's year. He seems always to have preached at Christmas, Easter and Whit Sunday. Fifteen of his sermons which have come down to us<sup>are</sup> Sermons of the sending of the Holy Ghost. In two of them he makes mention of the words, Receive ye the Holy Ghost, spoken to the candidate for the priesthood. And although his consideration of these words throws light on his ideas of the priesthood, they offer no guidance on any preparatory period, save in most general terms. " I shall not need tell you, he says the Spirit comes not upon us now at our conception in the womb, to anoint us there.... This way come we to our anointing now, by books; this book chiefly, ( i.e. the Bible ), but in a good part also, by the books of the ancient Fathers and lights of the Church, in whom the scent of this ointment was fresh, and the temper true; on whose writings it lieth thick, and we thence strike it off, and gather it safely". He clearly criticises those who take upon them to preach without the grace of Orders. The minister is not sent out to do his work without ' anointing'. And lastly, the minister duly called is submissive. The dove hovered above Christ : so in Christ's ministers, ' somewhat of the dove there must be.. meekness, humblesness of mind'.(12)

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Preaching in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1621 while still a Prebendary of Southwell, Robert Sanderson took as his text 1. Corinthians 7, 24. "Brethren, let every man wherein he is called therein abide with God". The sermon devotes itself to the subject of the Christian vocation in every-day life, but takes the opportunity of dwelling on the particular calling of the Christian Ministry. (13)

## VOCATION IS UNIVERSAL.

"We have," he says, "all of us to enquire what calling is most fit for us, wherein our enquiry must rest especially upon three things - our inclination, our gifts, and our education: concerning which, let this be our first rule: Where these three concur upon one and the same Calling, our consciences may rest assured that that Calling is fit for us; and we ought, so far as it lieth in our power, to resolve to follow that. This Rule, if well observed, is of singular use for the settling of their consciences, who are scrupulous and doubtful concerning their inward Calling to any office or employment.

## THE INWARD CALLING

Divines teach it commonly, and that truly, that every man should have an inward Calling from God for his particular course of life; and this in the Calling of the Ministry is by so much more requisite than in most other Callings, by how much

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the business of it is more weighty than theirs, as of things more immediately belonging unto God. Whence it is, that in our Church none are admitted into Holy Orders, until they have personally and expressly made profession before the Bishop, that they find themselves 'inwardly called and moved thereunto'. But because, what that inward Calling is, and how it should be discerned, is a thing not so distinctly declared and understood, generally, as it should be, it often falleth out, that men are distressed in conscience with doubts and scruples in this case, whilst they desire to be assured of their inward Calling, and know not how. We are to know, therefore, that to this inward Calling there is not of necessity required any inward, secret, sensible testimony of God's blessed, sanctifying Spirit to a man's soul, (for then an unsanctified man could not be rightly called,) neither yet any strong working of the Spirit of illumination, (for then a mere heathen man could not be rightly called) both which consequents are false. If it shall please God to afford any of us any further gracious assurance than these can give us, by some extraordinary work of His Spirit within us, we are to embrace it with joy and thankfulness, as a special favour; but we are not to suspend our resolutions for the choice of a course, in expectation of that extraordinary assurance; since we may receive comfortable satisfaction to our souls without it, by these ordinary means now mentioned.

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ITS RATIFICATION BY INCLINATION, GIFTS, ABILITIES, AND  
EDUCATION

For who need be scrupulous where all these concur? Thy Parents have from thy childhood destinated thee to some special course, admit the Ministry, and been at the care and charge to breed thee up in learning, to make thee in some measure fit for it: when thou art grown to some maturity of years and discretion, thou findest in thyself a kind of desire to be doing something that way in thy private study by way of trial; and withal some measure of knowledge, discretion, and utterance, though perhaps not in such an eminent degree as thou couldst wish, yet in such a competency, as thou mayest reasonably persuade thyself thou mightest thereby be able, with His Blessing, to do some good to God's people, and not be altogether unprofitable in the Ministry. In this so happy concurrence of Propension, Abilities and Education, make no further inquiry, doubt not of thine inward Calling, tender thyself to those that have the power of admission for thy outward Calling; which once obtained, thou art certainly in thine own proper course. Up and be doing, for the Lord hath called thee, and, no doubt, the Lord will be with thee....

## EDUCATION.

First, have an eye to thy Education; and if it be possible to bring the rest that way, do so rather than forsake it. For besides that it would be some grief to thy parents,

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to whom thou shouldest be a comfort, to have cast away so much charge as they have been at for thy education; and some dishonour to them withal whom thou art bound by the law of God and Nature to honour, to have their judgments so much slighted, and their choice so little regarded by their child: the very consideration of so much precious time as hath been spent in fitting thee to that course, which would be almost all lost upon thy change, should prevail with thee to try all possible means, rather than forgo it. It were a thing indeed much to be wished, that parents, and friends and guardians would, out of the observation of their natural propensions and inclinations, and of their particular abilities and defects, frame them from the beginning to such courses, as wherein they were likeliest to go on with cheerfulness and profit. This indeed were to be wished; but this is not always done. If it have not been so done to thee, the fault is theirs that should have done it, and not thine; and thou are not able now to remedy that which is past and gone. But as for thee, and for the future, if thy parents have not done their part, yet do not thou forget thy duty; if they have done one fault, in making a bad choice, do not thou add another, in making a worse change: disparage not their judgments by misliking, neither gainsay their wills by forsaking their choice, upon every small incongruity with thine own judgment or will. If thine inclination draw thee another way, labour throughly to subdue thy nature therein: suspect thine own corruption: think this backwardness proceedeth not from true judgment in thee, but issueth rather from the root of some carnal

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affection: consider thy years are green, affections strong, judgment unsettled: hope that this backwardness will grow off, as years and stayedness grow on: pray and endeavour that thou mayest daily more and more wain thy affections from thine own bent, and take liking to that course whereunto thou hast been so long in framing. Thus possibly thou mayest in time make that cheerful and delightful unto thee, which now is grievous and irksome. And as for thy insufficiency, if that dishearten thee, which is indeed a main rub, do thus. Impute thy former non-proficiency to thine own sloth and negligence: think, if after so long time spent in this course, thou hast attained to no greater perfection in it, how long it would be ere thou shouldest come to a tolerable mediocrity in another: resolve not to lose all that precious time forepast by beginning the world anew, but rather save as much of it as is redeemable, by adding to thy diligence: suspect that it cometh from thy pride, that thou canst not content thyself with a Calling wherein thou mayest not be excellent; and imagine that God, of purpose to humble thee, might divert thy education to another, for which thou art less apt: observe what strange things past belief, and such as have seemed insuperable, have been conquered and subdued by the obstinacy and improbity of unwearied labour, and of assiduity: doubt not, but by God's blessing upon thy faithful industry, to attain in time, if not to such perfection as thou desirest, and

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mightest perhaps have attained in some other course if thou hadst been bred up to it, yet to such a competent sufficiency, as may render thy endeavors acceptable to God, comfortable to thyself, and serviceable to community. If by these and the like considerations, and the use of other good means, thou canst bring thy affections to some indifferent liking of, and thy abilities to some indifferent mediocrity for, that course which Education hath opened unto thee, thou hast no more to do: there's thy course, that's thy Calling, that's the work whereunto God hath appointed thee.

## GIFTS AND ABILITIES .

Now it is meet, in the choice of our Callings, we should follow the surer guide, and therefore rather be led by our Gifts than by our Inclinations. The other reason is, because our Inclinations cannot so well produce Abilities, as these can draw on them. We say indeed, there is nothing hard to a willing mind: and, in some sense, it is true. Not as if a willing mind could make us do more than we are able: a man can do no more than he can do, be he never so willing: but because a willing mind will make us exserere vires, stir up ourselves to do as much as we are able, which we use not to do in those things we go unwillingly about. Willingness then may quicken the strength we have; but it doth not put any new strength into us. But Abilities can produce Inclinations de novo, and make them where they find them not. As we see every other natural thing is

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inclined to the exercise of those natural faculties that are in it, so certainly would every man have strongest inclination to those things whereto he hath strongest Abilities, if wicked and untoward affections did not often corrupt our Inclinations, and hinder them from moving their own proper and natural way. It is best then, to begin the choice of our Callings from our Abilities, which will fetch on Inclinations; and not from our Inclinations, which, without Abilities, will not serve the turn.

Concerning which Gifts or Abilities, what they are, and how to make true judgment of them, and how to frame the choice of our Callings from them, to speak punctually and fully would require a large discourse. I can but touch at some few points therein, such as are of daily use, and proceed.

First, by Gifts and Abilities we are to understand not only those of the mind, judgment, wit, invention, memory, fancy, eloquence, &c. and those of the body, health, strength, beauty, activity, &c. but also those which are without, birth, wealth, honour, authority, reputation, kindred, alliance, &c. generally any thing that may be of use or advantage unto us for any employment.

Secondly, as our Abilities on the one side, so, on the other side, all our wants and defects, which might disable us more or less for any employment, are to be duly weighed and considered of, and the one laid against the other, that we may know how to make, as near as we can, a just estimate

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of our strength and sufficiency.

Thirdly, it is the safer way to undervalue than to over-  
prise ourselves, lest ignorantly confident, we affect a Calling  
above our strength, which were to fly with waxen wings, and to  
owe the world a laughter. Be we sure of this: if God have  
not gifted us for it, He hath not called us to it.

Fourthly, in the judging of our Abilities, we should  
have a regard to the outward circumstances of times and places,  
and the rest. Those Gifts which would have made a sufficient  
Priest in the beginning of the Reformation, in that dearth of  
learning and penury of the Gospel, now the times are full of  
knowledge and learning would be all little enough for a Parish  
Clerk.

Fifthly, something would be yielded to the judgments of  
other men concerning our Abilities. It is either secret pride,  
or base faintness of heart, or dull sloth, or some other thing  
and not true modesty in us, if, being excellently gifted for  
some weighty employment in every other man's judgment we yet  
withdraw ourselves from it with pretensions of insufficiency.

Sixthly, and lastly, let us resolve on that course,  
caeteris paribus, not only for which we are competently fit,  
but for which we are absolutely fittest. A good actor, it may  
be, could very sufficiently act any part in the play, repres-  
ent the majesty of a King, or the humour of a swaggerer, or  
the pranks of a bedlam, or any thing; but yet if he be notably  
excellent at some part rather than another, he would not

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willingly be put from that, to act another. Ergo histrio hoc videbit in scena, quod non videbit (vir) sapiens in vita? Shame we to let these men be wiser in their generations than we in our's. And thus much for abilities.

## INCLINATION.

There is yet a doubt remaineth concerning a man's Inclination. In case we have examined our Gifts, and find them in good measure of competency for such or such a course, and yet remain still averse from it, and cannot by any possible means work over our affections to any tolerable liking of it, in such a case, what is to be done, or how shall we judge what Calling is fittest for us to take? whether that whereto our Abilities lead us, or that whereto our Inclinations draw us? As I conceive it, in such a case we are to hold this order. First, if our Inclinations cannot be won over to that course for which our Abilities lie fittest, we are to take a surview of our Abilities, to see if they be competently fit for that whereto our Inclination swayeth us, and if upon due impartial examination we find they are, we may then follow the sway of our Inclination. The reason this. A man's Inclination cannot be forced. If it can be fairly won over, well and good; but violence it cannot endure at any hand. And therefore, if we cannot make it yield to us in reason, there is no remedy, we must in wisdom yield to it, provided ever it be honest; or else all is lost. Whatever our

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sufficiencies<sup>be</sup> things will not fadge that are undertaken without an heart: there is no good to be done against the hair.

But then, secondly, if upon search we find ourselves altogether insufficient and unfit for that Calling whereunto our inclination is strongly and violently carried, we are to oppose that Inclination with a greater violence, and to set upon some other Calling, for which we are in some mediocrity gifted, speedily and resolvedly and leave the success to Almighty God. The reason this. It being certain that God never calleth any man but to that, for which He hath in some competent measure enabled him, we are to hold that for a pernicious and unnatural inclination at the least, if not rather for a wicked and diabolical suggestion, which so stiffly exciteth us to a function whereto we may be assured God never called us.

But yet, thirdly, (and I would commend it unto you as a principal good rule, and the fairest outlet of all other from amid these difficulties) we should do well to deal with these mutinous and distracting thoughts within us, as wise Statists do when they have to deal with men divided in opinions and factions and ends. How is that? They use to bethink themselves of a middle course, to reduce all the several opinions to a kind of temper, so as not side be satisfied fully in the proposals they have tendered, and yet every side in part: as we commonly hold those to be the

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justest arbitrators, and to make the best and the fairest end of differences between the parties for whom they arbitrate, that, by pleasing neither, please both. So here, if our Education, Abilities, and Inclinations look several ways, and the Inclination be peremptory and stiff, and will not condescend to either of the other two, it will be a point of good wisdom in us, if we can bethink ourselves of some such meet temper as may in part give satisfaction to our Inclinations, and yet not leave our Gifts and Educations wholly unsatisfied. And that is easily done by proposing the full latitude of our Educations and Abilities, as the utmost bounds of our choice, and then leaving it to our Inclinations to determine our particular choice within those bounds. For no man's Education or Gifts run so mathematically and by the line to that point whereto they direct him, but that there is a kind of latitude in them; and that for the most part, by reason of the great variety and affinity of offices and employments, very large and spacious. One instance shall serve both to exemplify and illustrate this Rule. A man designed by his parents to the Ministry, and for that end brought up in the University, studieth there philosophy, and history, and the arts, and the tongues, and furnisheth himself with general knowledge which may enable him, as for the work of the Ministry, so for the exercise of any other profession that hath to do with Learning: so as not only the Calling of the Ministry, but that of the Lawyer too, and of

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the Physician, and of the Tutor, and Schoolmaster, and sundry other besides these, do come within the latitude of his education and abilities. Certainly, if his mind would stand thereunto, no course would be so proper for such a man as that which he was intended for, of the Ministry. But he proveth obstinately averse from it, and cannot be drawn by any persuasion of friends or reason to embrace it. It is not meet to force his Inclination quite against the bent of it; and yet it is pity his Abilities and Education should be cast away. This middle course therefore is to be held: even to leave it free for him to make his choice of Law, or Physic, or Teaching, or any other profession that belongeth to a Scholar, and cometh within his latitude, which of them soever he shall find himself to have the strongest inclination or propension unto. And the like course we are to hold in other cases of like nature; by which means our Inclinations, which cannot be driven to the centre, may yet be drawn within the circumference of our Educations and Abilities.

He that observeth these Rules I have hitherto delivered, with due respect to his Education, Abilities, and Inclination, and dealeth therein faithfully and unpartially and in the fear of God, may rest secure in his conscience of his inward Calling.

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## PEARSON

If it be true that Pearson was the 'best systematic theologian among Englishmen in the xviiith century' we are justified in looking to him for guidance on the subject of vocation. In his minor theological works we find him defending the theory of orders in the Church of England and, going back still further to the vocation to Holy Orders, he says : *Necesse est ut duplex sit vocatio, a Deo interno movente, ab homine extrinsecus conferenti.* These conditions are fulfilled in the Prayer Book. The candidate is asked if he believe he is inwardly called and he replies, I trust so. The call of God is thus recognised. Secondly, orders are conferred by the bishop in the case of admission to the diaconate, and by the bishop with assisting presbyters in the case of ordination to the priesthood. For the validity of the ordination by the bishop the bishop must

- a. be 'capax ordinationis'
- b. have 'potestas conferendi ordines'.
- c. It is essential 'modus ordinationis legitimus' i.e it must be given by the laying on of hands. (4)

In this brief manner Pearson gives the very essentials of vocation, its inner call from God and its outward authorisation by duly constituted ~~parsonism~~ authority. While ~~bishop of Chester his theory was challenged by those who~~

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~~Were not canonically ordained.~~ 'A person of quality' wrote to <sup>Pearson</sup> ~~his bishop~~ in 1668 complaining of the irregular ordination of his next Vicar and asked for guidance. <sup>Pearson</sup> ~~The bishop~~ is quite clear that 'promiscuous ordinations are destructive to the honour and safety of the Church of England' and such irregularities ~~were~~ not to be allowed. Apparently there were still those who, as during the Commonwealth, received their commission for the ministry <sup>in</sup> ~~from~~ 'classical or congregational ways'. The abuse of such methods was instanced by a dispute that arose in Henley in Arden in 1650 when a number of artisans claimed to be public preachers. Even ~~then~~ those who dissented from Episcopacy had to see the Pulpit guarded ~~or the Schools guarded~~. The danger can be gauged from a piece of doggerel from those days:-

Who is sufficient for the Ministry ?

Cried once the Gentiles Doctor. That am I

Thinks every tradesman in these dregs of time.

Even How the cobbler dares the pulpit climb.

Belike he thinks the difference is but small,  
Between the sword o'th' Spirit and the Awle.

*(Viciae Litterarum. London 1655. p.68 by Thomas Hall)*

An Anglican theory of vocation is thus clearly defined

in its conviction that the outward authority for ordination comes not from the <sup>congregation</sup> ~~papa~~, but from the Bishop and the presbyters.

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## BURNET : PASTORAL CARE

During the winter of 1691, the Queen had been studying some of the works of Burnet, recently created Bishop of Salisbury. She was so impressed by them that she joined with the Archbishop, Tillotson, and urged him to undertake a manual on the Pastoral Care. The Bishop accepted the suggestion promptly and by April in the following year the work was complete. On seeing the manuscript, the Archbishop wrote : "The work is perfect in its kind..It will, I hope, do much good at present, and more when you and I are dead and gone!" The work was dedicated to the Queen, licensed on May 5th. 1692, and appeared shortly afterwards.

The work consists of ten chapters dealing with the life and work of the clergy. In the seventh chapter he devotes himself to the 'Due preparation of such as may or ought to be put in Orders'. We quote extensively from that chapter<sup>(5)</sup>

## Preliminary considerations

I will therefore here lay down the model upon which a clerk is to be formed, and will begin with such things as ought to be previous and preparatory to be his being initiated into orders... First of all then, he that intends to dedicate himself to the Church ought to enter upon a greater decency of behaviour. He ought, above all things, to possess himself with a high sense of the Christian Religion. Nothing is so odious as a man that disagrees with his character; a soldier that is a coward, a courtier that is

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brutal, an ambassador that is abject, are not such unseemly things, as a bad and vicious, a drunken and dissolute clergyman ... There is nothing that can settle the quiet of an ill priest's mind and life, but a stupid formality, and a callus that he contracts by his insensible way of handling divine matters...no man can have a heavier share in the miseries of another state, than profane and wicked clerks. On all these things he ought to employ his thoughts frequently, who intends to dedicate himself to God.

He ought more particularly to examine himself, whether he has that soft and gentle, that meek and humble, and that charitable and compassionate temper, which his Gospel does so much press upon all Christians...They are the true ground of that Christian wisdom and discretion, and of that grave and calm deportment, by which the clergy ought to carry on and maintain their authority...A clergyman must be prepared to bear injuries, to endure much unjust censure and calumny, to see himself often neglected, and other preferred to him, in the esteem of the people...But a man that intends to prepare himself right for the ministry of the Church, must indeed, above all things, endeavour to break himself, to the love of the world... He must learn to be content with plain and simple diet.

In the first beginnings of Christianity, no man could reasonably think of taking Orders, unless he had in him the spirit of martyrdom...Therefore no man can, with a good con-

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science begin upon a worldly account, and resolve to dedicate himself to the Church merely out of carnal regards such as an advowson etc...yet...it cannot be denied to be a perfecter state, if a man should offer himself to the Church, having whereon to support himself, without any assistance or reward out of its patrimony; and to be nearer to St Paul's practice, whose hands ministered to his necessities, and who reckoned, that in this he had whereof to glory, that he was not burdensome to the churches: yet it is, without doubt, lawful for a man to design, that he may subsist in and out of the service of the Church: but then these designs must be limited to a subsistence, to such a moderate proportion as may maintain one in that state of life; and must not be let fly by a restless ambition, and an insatiable covetousness, as a ravenous bird of prey does all game. There must not be perpetual enquiry into the value of benefices, and a constant importuning of such as give them...

## Intellectual preparation

These are the preparation of mind, with which a clerk is to be formed and seasoned...he must read the scriptures much...(and) Tully's Offices<sup>(6)</sup>...but chiefly his Consolation<sup>(7)</sup> ... (and) the satirical poets, Horace<sup>13</sup>, Juvenal<sup>14</sup> and Persius' second satire<sup>15</sup> may well pass for one of the best lectures in divinity.<sup>20</sup> Hierocles<sup>21</sup> upon Pythagoras' verses, Plutarch's Lives.<sup>22</sup> Epictetus<sup>24</sup> and Marcus Aurelius<sup>25</sup>. But when I speak of

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reading these books, I do not mean only to run through them, as one does through a book of history, or of notions; they must be read and weighed with great care...And as for Christian books...I shall only recommend the Whole Duty of Man,<sup>26</sup> Dr. Sherlock of Death and Judgment<sup>27</sup> and Dr. Scott's books<sup>28</sup>...(and) Thomas a Kempis of the Imitation of Christ<sup>29</sup>

Burnet explains that he is not aiming at the complete divine but only at the lowest achievement indispensably necessary for the would-be priest. "He must understand the New Testament well...(he must) understand the Greek so well as to be able to find out the meaning of every period in it, at least of the words and phrases of it; any book of annotations or paraphrase upon it is a great help to a beginner, Grotius,<sup>(30)</sup> Hammond<sup>(31)</sup> and Lightfoot<sup>(32)</sup> are best..(also) Bishop Pearson on the Creed<sup>(33)</sup> is a book of great learning and profound exactness . Dr. Barrow has opened it with more simplicity; and Dr. Towerson more practically.<sup>34</sup>

A system of divinity must be read with exactness: they are almost all alike. When I was young Wendelin<sup>35</sup> and Maresius<sup>36</sup> were the two shortest and fullest. Here is a vast error in the first forming of our clergy, that a contempt has been cast on that sort of books...I would advise him that studies divinity to read two larger bodies, writ by some eminent men of both sides: and because the ablest are commonly the best, Turretin<sup>37</sup> for the whole Calvinist hypothesis, and Limborch<sup>38</sup> for the

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Arminian, will make a man fully the master of all notions of both sides. Or if one would see how far middle ways be taken, the Theses of Saumur,<sup>40</sup> or Le Blanc's Theses<sup>41</sup> will complete him in that...(Then) by reason of the pest of atheism, that spreads so much among us, the foundation of religion must be well laid: Bishop Wilkin's book of Natural Religion<sup>41</sup> will lead one in the first steps through the principles that he has laid together in a plain and natural method. Grotius'<sup>30</sup> book Of the Truth of the Christian Religion...ought to be read... also Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae<sup>42</sup>

## Practical preparation.

There remains only how to direct a student how to form right notions of practical matters...Dr. Hammond's Practical Catechism<sup>43</sup> is a book of great use...To form one to understand the right method of preaching, the extent of, it, and the proper ~~rather~~ ways of application, Bishop Sanderson,<sup>44</sup> Mr. Faringdon,<sup>45</sup> and Dr. Barrow<sup>46</sup> are the best and fullest models ...And if one from the time that he resolves to direct his studies towards the Church, he would every Lord's Day read two sermons of any good preacher...in two or three years time.. (he would have) a large view of the different ways of preaching.

Burnet omits the whole of Church History and of the Fathers and of other desirable studies because of the modest aim he sets himself. In conclusion he refers to the lengthy studies required by the law and by medicine and goes on: "If

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then so long a course of study, and so much exactness and readiness in it, is necessary to these professions...shall the noblest and most important of all others, that which comes from heaven, and leads thither again; shall that which God has honoured so, and to which laws and governments have added such privileges and encouragements, that is employed in the sublimest exercises, which require a proportioned worth in those who handle them to maintain their value and dignity in the esteem of the world; shall all this, I say, be esteemed so low a thing in our eyes, that a much less degree of time and study is necessary to arrive at it, than at the most sordid of trades whatsoever? Men of tolerable capacity, he affirms, need one year for these studies before deacon's orders and a further year between them and priest's orders...In the first year the New Testament, Grotius<sup>(30)</sup> and Wilkins<sup>(41)</sup> should be read: the rest in the second year.

And in a final word he commends to the clergyman to be the importance of <sup>the</sup> devotional reading...<sup>of the Bible</sup> "getting a great deal of it always by heart is the best part of a clergyman's study...it must be reckoned as that, without which all other things amount to nothing".

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WILSON : SACRA PRIVATA

In his devotions Wilson kept constantly before him the responsibility of conferring Holy Orders. He was clearly most sensitive to the attitude of the candidates themselves. Like Comber he realised " All Christians being concerned in this affair, all ought to fast and pray, in order to have faithful pastors". As bishop he was acting for the whole Church "all persons being concerned in the choice of pastors, every body ought to pray for good pastors".

Every Friday Wilson returned ~~to~~ his thoughts and prayers to his candidates : "Men should consider upon what principles and motives they enter into Holy Orders, and to what uses they design to employ their revenues" He was acutely conscious of the dangers of ignorance in candidates. It could be, he writes, worse than vice itself, being the occasion of superstition, disorders, and infinite evil consequences, teaching error for truth, and truth for error. But if the motives which determine a candidate to offer himself for Holy Orders are to the glory of God and the good of souls, then God will enable him to bear and to overcome all difficulties.

At the end of his devotions on Ordination, Wilson kept a list of all those whom he ordained. Between 1698 and 1717 he ordained only eleven men. None of them are mentioned as having graduated. Indeed he only mentions two men as having graduated in the whole list of his candidates from 1698 to 1751. ~~We must presume that they were all educated at his own seminary~~

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## A CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION FOR CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS

We have already seen how Wilson encouraged his candidates to study and how he drew their attention to what they ought to read. In his Catechetical Instruction he is more concerned with the 'end and design' of the Christian ministry. Its fundamental qualification is a 'regular' call and ordination. This call is both ~~the~~ outward and inward. The outward call is in accordance with the laws of the Church ~~in~~ which the minister is going to serve. The inward call " depends upon the motives and purposes which lead them to und~~er~~take the ministry; which the learned Mr. Calvin sets down in these words:- Arcana vocation~~is~~ est cordis nostri testimonium, quod neque ambitione, neque avaritia, neque ulla alia cupiditate, sed sincero Dei timore, et aedificandae Ecclesiae studio, oblatum munus recipiamus. - Instit. lib.iv.cap.3.". The remainder of the Instruction is devoted to urging the candidate to preach repentance as his primary task because of man's original sin. ~~Non enim homo~~ Man is unable by himself to do this and needs the means of grace which are chiefly, prayer, the Holy Scriptures and the sacraments.

## BULL : A COMPANION FOR CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS

Our ~~last~~ <sup>next</sup> authority is G<sup>o</sup>erge Bull, bishop of St David's from 1705 to 1710. His essay is so comprehensive that it ~~forms a fitting conclusion to this section on vocation.~~ *deserves to be given almost in full.*

~~BULL'S COMPANION.~~

It was in 1705 that Bull published his ~~in 1705 Bishop Bull of St. David's published~~ "A Companion for the Candidates for Holy Orders". In it he lists three main requisites for the ordinand: knowledge, prudence and exemplary holiness. The wording is suspicious in that it repeats exactly the three requisites suggested by Nelson in his "A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England" published in 1703. Nelson, who was to be Bull's biographer, was a long standing friend of the bishop and it is impossible to determine who first originated the three points. However as they are given briefly by Nelson <sup>47</sup> and fully by Bull, we reprint an extensive summary of Bull's exposition.

**KNOWLEDGE.** Introduction.

"Then the first requisite to the office of a teacher is a very large knowledge. The very name of his office implies this; he is a teacher; and he that is such must be as the apostle requires, apt or fit to teach. And this he cannot be unless he be well learned and instructed himself, and furnished with a plentiful measure of divine knowledge. God himself by the prophet Malachi, <sup>48</sup> requires, that the priest's lips should keep or preserve knowledge. Methinks the expression is more emphatical than is ordinarily conceived. It seems to imply that the priest should be a kind of repository or treasury of knowledge, richly furnished with knowledge himself, and able also abundantly to furnish and

~~B U I L D U P C O M P A N I E S .~~

supply the wants of those that at any time shall have recourse to him for instruction. And therefore it presently follows: 'and they' ( that is the people ) shall seek the law at his mouth'. Yea, the words import that the priest should be a treasury of knowledge not to be exhausted.

He must have knowledge not only to spend, but to keep; not like those that live from hand to mouth, or whose stock of knowledge is quickly spent in a few sermons, but he must have something still reserved and laid up in store. Methinks our Saviour doth excellently expound this text, though it be by a parable, 'Every scribe that is instructed in the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old' (49) The scribe among the Jews is the same as the teacher or expounder of the law. And it is the usual custom of our Saviour, as Grotius observes, 'by names in use among the Jews to express such offices as were to be in the Christian church'. The scribe then is the same as the teacher afterwards in the church of Christ. This scribe is said by our Saviour to be instructed unto or for the kingdom of heaven, i.e. well prepared, provided, furnished for the preaching of the gospel. And, to show that he is so, he is compared to the householder, who for the maintaining of his family, and the entertainment of his guests all the year long, is supposed to have a repository for provisions (called here his treasure) and there

~~BULL'S COMPANION~~

to have laid in provisions both new and old, i.e. a great store of abundance, provisions of all sorts and kinds. As the spouse in the Canticles tells her beloved, 'at our gates are all manner of fruits, both new and old, which I have laid up for thee' (5<sup>o</sup>) This kind of hospitality (however by the iniquity of an ungrateful and sacrilegious age he may be disabled from exercising the other) is the indispensable duty of the pastor or teacher. He must keep a table well furnished with these heavenly provisions for all comers.

The knowledge of a teacher, we shall easily grant, extends itself into a very large compass, if we consider what that science is that he is to teach; theology, 'the art of arts, and the science of sciences' as Nazianzen speaks, the queen and mistress of all other disciplines, to which they do all but 'ancillare; perform the office of handmaids, and yet in so doing they are of use and service to her.

And upon that account, the divine, if he will be complete, must have compassed, in the modern and more noble significance of the word, i.e. the whole circle of arts and sciences. And he that hath so done let him pass for a perfect divine, he only is adequate to so ample a title. But, God be thanked, this is only the heroic perfection, not the necessary qualification of a teacher. A man may very well content himself to sit in a much lower form, and yet sit safely; he may move in a far

~~BULL'S COMPANION.~~

inferior orb, and yet give much light, and communicate a benign and useful influence to the church of God. Let us view therefore the necessary parts of theology itself, wherein the teacher cannot be ignorant or uninstructed, but to the very great detriment of his disciples, and his own greater shame and hazard. How ample a field have we still before us ! here is theology positive, polemical, moral, casuistical, and all most necessary for the teacher.

Positive divinity.

As for positive divinity, or the knowledge of those necessary speculative truths that are revealed in scripture, a man can no more be a divine, that is unacquainted with this, than he can be a grammarian, that understands not the very first elements of grammar. And yet of so abstruse, so sublime a nature are even these truths, that for a man rightly to apprehend them, and clearly to explain them, especially to the capacity of his duller hearers, is no very easy matter.

Polemical or controversial divinity.

Polemical or controversial divinity is *theologia armata*, or that part of divinity which instructs and furnisheth a man with necessary weapons to defend the truth against its enemies. Now the good shepherd's office is not only to feed his sheep, but to secure them from the wolves, or else his care in feeding them

~~S U B L I M E C O M P L I C A T I O N .~~

serves only to make them fatter and richer prey. And therefore St. Paul requires, that the teacher should be able, both by sound doctrine to exhort his hearers, as also to convince or refute gainsayers or opposers. ( *Hæc non sunt τὸς τοῦ λόγου* (as Grotius well glosseth on the text,) every man cannot do this, and yet every teacher must. The times wherein we live do much heighten the necessity of this study; for we may enforce this duty on all teachers, by the same melancholy argument that St. Paul doth in the formentioned text. The teacher, saith he, must be able to convince gainsayers; why so? He gives the reason, There are many unruly and vain teachers and deceivers etc. whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, yea and pervert whole parishes. Not that we have any hopes in this age to stop the mouths of our opposers, so as to make them cease speaking: (for bawl they will to eternity, they are, as the apostle somewhere speaks, 'unreasonable men', that understand not, admit not of any topics, no argumentation, though never so convincing, will make them give back;) but so at least, as that they shall be able to speak little to the purpose, so as to satisfy sober, humber, docible persons, who have not passionately espoused an error, or, to speak in the apostle's phrase, that are not given up to strong delusions, to believe lies, that they may be damned. In a word, our fate in these days is much like that of the rebuilders of Jerusalem

~~S U L L Y ' S C O N F E S S I O N~~

after the captivity, that were necessitated every one with one of his hands to work in the building, with the other to hold a weapon.<sup>51</sup> With one hand we must build up our people in the doctrine of piety, with the other we must resist heretical opposers, who otherwise will demolish as fast as we build.

And to quicken us to this part of our study, methinks no consideration can be more forcible than this; to observe where ministers are defective therein, with what triumph and ostentation deceivers carry souls captive, to the disgrace not only of the persons, but also of the function of the teachers, year and of truth itself, which is wounded thus through their sides, and bleeds through their weakness and folly.

But let us leave this thorny field of controversial, and step a little into the other more fruitful, of moral or practical divinity.

Moral or practical divinity

Of this one speaks most truly : "The knowledge of controversies is made necessary by heretics, the study of piety by God himself". Theology is doubtless a practical science, nothing in it but what aims at this end. And therefore he that neglects this practical ~~work~~ part of it understands not the very design of his own profession. Without this a man deserves no more to be accounted a divine than he a physician that understands little or nothing of therapeutics. It is true

~~B U I L D I N G C O M P A N I O N~~

all casuistical divinity be practical, yet all practical divinity is not casuistical; for the design of casuistical divinity is to resolve only the dubious and difficult cases that refer to practice. How difficult this study is, every man that is not a stranger therein will readily acknowledge. And the necessity thereof is evident; for what more necessary for a teacher, than to be able to resolve his people what their duty is in difficult cases? Teachers, no doubt, are purposely placed by God in these cross-ways, as mercurial statues, not dead, but living, directing the perplexed traveller towards the heavenly Jerusalem, and saying, ( as it is in the prophet ) This is the way, walk therein. And the Lord by the prophet Malachi tells us, that the priest should be such a one as that the people may seek the law at his mouth; the law, i.e. the sense of the law, or what that duty is, which the law obligeth them to in doubtful cases. A very oracle to be consulted by them on all occasions. It is true, the greatest oracle may sometimes be silenced by a greater difficulty; but an oracle altogether dumb is a very lamentable contradiction.

**PRUDENCE**

A very great prudence also is required in the teacher, or else his knowledge will be useless and unserviceable. Wisdom is the soul that animates and enlivens knowledge, without which a large knowledge is but like a huge carcass, a lifeless unactive thing. And if any man thinks that science and prudence are things

~~BULLIS COMPANION~~

inseparable, sad experience refutes him. Every learned man is not a wise man; and there are some who have read very many books, but very few men; who have dwelt so much in their studies that they understand little abroad in the world, no not in their own little world, I mean their charges and parishes. There are some that have a large measure of the spirit of knowledge, but want the spirit of government, which yet is most necessary for him who is to be a guide of souls. Every teacher is concerned to be wise, both for himself, and those committed to his charge. For himself, to take heed of men, that he be neither betrayed by false brethren, nor become a prey to the malice of professed enemies; to decline both the envy and contempt of his neighbours; to keep himself within the bounds of his calling; to mind his own business &c. To this kind of wisdom belongs the advice of our Saviour, when sending forth his apostles, as innocent lambs amongst the wolves of that age, he cautions them to be wise as serpents, and innocent as doves, i. e. to use all honest and sinless arts to secure themselves. But this is not the prudence which I principally intend; for if a minister be defective in this, he is no man's foe but his own; he hurts only himself, and that but in temporal concerns.

I add therefore, that he is to be wise for those committed to his charge, lest by any indiscretion of his he obstructs that which ought to be his great design and business, the

~~D U L L I E C O N T R A D I C T I O N~~

there are some (otherwise not unlearned men) that despise this part of theology, as a vulgar, trivial, easy, obvious thing. But sure they very much disparage their own judgment, who let the world understand that they are of this mind; for the event commonly shews how much they are mistaken. For bring these doctors out of their academic cells, set them to preach in a country congregation, and they soon become the objects of laughter, or rather of pity to the wiser; to observe how they greedily snatch at every occasion of engaging in a controversy, and that perhaps such a one as was never heard of by their hearers, but a controversy they had read in some of their books, though long ago dead and buried; thus manfully encountering ghosts and shadows; now learnedly they will discuss the barren subtleties of Aquinas or Scotus, which the poor souls do no more understand, than if they had read them a lecture out of Cornelius Agrippa's occult philosophy; now, when they come to practicals, they are velut in alium mundum translati, as if they were entered into a new unknown world; so frigid, barren, and lifeless are their discourses of those subjects. And may the same shame, or a serious repentance, attend all the contemners of this useful theology.

**Casuistical divinity**

Lastly, there is casuistical divinity, which I distinguish from moral or practical, as a more noble species thereof, and which therefore deserves a distinct consideration. For though all

~~P U B L I C O R I A T I O N~~

eternal salvation of their souls. And here how many things are there, which a teacher is concerned to understand. He must be wise so to frame his discourses, especially in public, that he speak nothing that may either offend the weak, or give advantage to the malicious that his sermons may not only be good in themselves, but adapted and fitted to the necessity of ~~his~~ hearers; that he make choice of the most suitable and powerful arguments to enforce on them those Christian duties, whereto he exhorts them. He must be wise in the government of his carriage and actions, distinguishing especially between lawfulness and expediency, and shunning not only that which is directly sinful, but whatsoever is scandalous and offensive. He must be wise in his common converse with his people, that he be neither of too easy, or too morose and difficult an access; but especially he is to be careful of this in his freer conversation; that he indulge not himself any liberty more than ordinary, among those who will make an ill use of that wherein there was no ill intended. He is to be wise in the choice of his friends, not to inscribe any man into that catalogue, that may reflect any disparagement on his person or function; for qui non contemnitur a se, contemnitur a socio. He must be wise, especially in the government of his own family: for as the apostle excellently reasons, if a man know not ~~th~~ how to rule his own house, how shall he take

~~B U I L D I N G C O N F I D E N C E~~

care of the church of God? He must be wise to inquire into the state of his flock, and to discern their particular tempers and constitutions; and even to search into their hearts and secret inclinations. He must be wise to administer private counsels and reproofs, duly observing the circumstances of time, place, of person, of disposition, for, as the wisest of men tells us, a word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver. These and many other things the teacher is deeply concerned to be well versed in and what a task is this!

If it be objected, "That prudence is a thing without our power, an arbitrary gift of God, which he bestows on whom he pleaseth, as he doth beauty or wealth, or a good natural wit, and therefore cannot reasonably be imposed on a man as his duty." I answer, if this prudence were wholly out of our election, yet this certainly was left to our free choice, whether we would undertake that office where so great prudence is requisite. We have obliged ourselves to it, by engaging in that function, that cannot be discharged without it. But indeed this excellent gift of God is in a great degree put within our power, in conjunction with the divine assistance. We may and must endeavour for it, diligently study it, carefully observe things and persons, faithfully record experiments, consult wiser friends. But above all things we must take St. James's advice. If any man want wisdom, let

~~THE TEACHER'S COMPANION~~

him ask of God, who giveth liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him. Especially, if he desire it constantly, earnestly, and above all things in the world, if with Solomon he despise greatness and wealth, and all other secular advantages; and, before them all, desire this one thing of God, that he would give him wisdom and knowledge to go in and out before the people committed to his charge and guidance.

## HOLINESS

I come now to the last, though not the least, of those requisites that are necessary to the office of a teacher, viz. an exemplary holiness. For of this I may say, as the apostle doth, speaking of the three theological graces, and now abideth faith, hope and charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity. So here there remaineth knowledge, prudence, holiness, and these necessary requisites to make up a complete teacher; but the greatest of these is holiness. And what he farther says of the same grace of charity, in the beginning of the same chapter, may with a little change be applied also to our present purpose. If a man had  $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\upsilon\ \gamma\upsilon\omega\sigma\iota\upsilon$  all sorts of knowledge, so as to be able to understand all mysteries, if he were prudent beyond the prodigious measure of Solomon's wisdom; if those endowments were bestowed in him with an eloquence more than human, so that he were able to discourse like an angel; yet without this holiness he were nothing, or at best but as the

~~BE LIEVING CONFERENCE~~

sounding brass or tinkling cymbal. The priest that is not clothed with righteousness, though otherwise richly adorned with all the ornaments of human and divine literature, and those gilded over with the rays of a seraphic prudence and sagacity, is yet but a naked, beggarly, despicable creature, of no authority, no interest, no use or service in the church of God. The unholy teacher, let him preach never so well, discourseth to little purpose; there will be no life in his doctrine, because his life is so destitute of the spirit of holiness, he will sooner damn his own soul, than save any man's else. His discourses though armed with the most powerful oratory, will serve to move no other affection in his hearers than that of indignation against his hypocrisy and impudence to hear him excellently declaim against a vice of which himself is notoriously guilty, and they will say

*Loricædem rectus derideat, Athippem albus*

In a word, as a wise man well observes, 'Every notorious vice is infinitely against the spirit of government and depresses a man to an evenness with common persons'

*Facinus quos inquinat aequat,*

And when a man's authority is thus lost, he becomes a thing wholly useless in the church of God. Useless, did I say? it were well if that were all; he is the most pernicious creature that moves on God's earth; he serves to the worst purposes, to make men atheists, infidels or heretics. Learned and

~~SUBJECTS COMMUNICATION~~

knowing men, of ill lives, have been always the greatest stumbling block in the church of God; and their fall is not single but attended with the ruin of many others; who imitating the barbarous civility of those nations that use to solemnise funerals of their great men, by sacrificing a great part of their families, when the teachers damn themselves and are ready to die and perish with them for company. And the fallacy that ruins them is this; because some wise men live wickedly, they presently conclude that wickedness is the greatest wisdom; as if it were impossible for the will to choose contrary to the dictates of the understanding, or for a man that knows his duty not to do it. We of this age have special reason to take special notice of this. For as Cicero, inquiring into the causes of those bold and unheard-of attempts, that Catiline and his confederates made upon the commonwealth of Rome, presently gives this account: nos ( dico aperte ) nos consulis desumus; so when we are astonished at the prodigious blasphemies, heresies and schisms of our time, and wonder at the cause of them, we may quickly resolve ourselves after the same manner, nos ( dico aperte ) nos pastores desumus. For certainly all the arguments that heretics and sectaries have made use of, to seduce our people from obedience unto the most excellent doctrine, liturgy and discipline of our church, would have been accounted ridiculous sophisms, and no way served their wicked purpose, if they had not been furnished with a more powerful topic and exemplo, from the vicious lives of some clergymen.

~~P U L L I S C O M P A R T I C I O N~~

and as to this :

*Fuisset haec opprobria nobis*

*Et dici potuisset, ut non potuisset refelli*

I might here be very large in representing the necessity of holiness in a minister; but I shall only observe that the wicked teacher sins with the highest aggravation of his guilt, and the least hope of his repentance, he is the greatest and most desperate sinner.

The greatest sinner, for either he is a person of more than ordinary knowledge, or if he is not; if not, he sinned greatly in undertaking that office, to which so great a knowledge is requisite; if he be, his knowledge doubtless increaseth his guilt. For he that knows his master's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Besides, he must needs sin with a very strange assurance, by living in that wickedness which he daily reproves and preaches against, and so becoming *ἰδοκατακριτος* a condemned man, from his own mouth.

But that which I chiefly urge is this; the wicked teacher is of all men living, in the most hopeless and desperate condition. It is usually observed of seamen, that dwell in the great deep, that if they are not very pious, for the most part they are desperately wicked, because they daily behold the wonders of the Lord, and besides live in a continual and a very near danger, bordering upon the very confines of death and being *quattuor aut septem digitis a morte remoti*

~~HU L L ' S C O M P L I A T I O N~~

but a few fingers' breadth divided from their fluid graves. And if these considerations do not persuade them to fear the Lord exceedingly, as it is said of the mariners in Jonah 1.16., it argues that they are exceedingly hardened. The observation is truer of the minister, if he be not a good man, he must needs be extremely bad; for he daily converseth in the great deep of the holy scriptures, and there sees and reads such things, that if they do not effectually persuade him to piety, it is certain he is a man of obdurate heart.

What remedy is likely to work this man's cure and repentance? Will the dreadful menaces and threats of God's word affright him? No; these are daily thundered out of his own mouth, and yet to him they are bruta fulmina. Will the gracious promises of God allure him? No, he daily charms his hearers with these, but remains himself as the deaf and dumb. Will those excellent books of learned and pious men that he reads in his study, work any good on him? No, he daily reads them, and his daily practice is contrary to his daily prayers. Will a medicine compounded of the flesh and blood of the son of God (I mean the holy eucharist) do the miserable man any good? No, he hath frequently received these dear pledges of his Saviour's love, and yet is still as bad as ever, and so hath trodden under foot the blood of the everlasting covenant, wherewith he should have been sanctified. The Lord look upon this man, for there is no hope of him, without a miracle of divine mercy. Nay, indeed, all these excellent means

~~SUBJECT MATTER~~

by being made familiar to him, have lost their efficacy upon him. Our Saviour, methinks, doth excellently represent the hopeless condition of a vicious minister, by a parable, when speaking to the apostles, (considered, I suppose, as ministers of the Word) he set his task, Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewithal shall it be salted? It is therefore good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men. <sup>52</sup> Salt, if it be good, is of excellent use to season many things, but if it become itself unsavoury, it is not only the most useless thing, good for nothing, but to be cast out so. but irrevocably lost; there is nothing will fetch putrid salt again, for if salt hath lost his savour wherewithal shall it be salted? Thus no savor is holiness in a minister, both for himself and others.

## V O C A T I O N

## Ember Seasons

Although the Reformers shewed great anxiety to improve the intellectual standard of the clergy, they seemed indifferent, if not actually hostile, to customs that might well have been considered helpful in impressing upon clergy and laity alike, the high significance of ordination. In his Expositions of 1532 Tyndale refers to the observance of the ember seasons or the 'four holy Fridays' as 'open idolatry'.<sup>53</sup> Indeed it was not until 1576 that the Government ordered the better observance of Ember Days in order to increase the sale of fish ( vid sup.p. 56 ). Grindal then commended the observance of the days to his suffragans,<sup>54</sup> but nothing was done until the canons were formulated<sup>and when</sup> in 1603 ~~when~~ Canon xxxi was devoted to 'The solemn times appointed to the making of ministers' ( vid sup. p.42.) Even as late as 1610 Hutchinson in his controversy with Bellarmine refers in no very high terms to the observance of the Ember Seasons. Because they were not of dominical institution, they were of little significance.<sup>55</sup>

Ember seasons therefore smacked to many of popery. Even as late as 1628~~9~~ this suspicion remained and the House of Commons in its resolutions on Religion was not at all happy about Cosin's Prayer for Embertide issued in his Horary in 1627.<sup>56</sup> As it is the first such formal

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formal prayer in the English  
~~PRAYER IN THE~~ English language, it is here given in full.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who hast  
 purchased to thyself an universal Church by  
 the precious blood of thy dear Son; Mercifully  
 look upon the same, and at this time so guide  
 and govern the minds of thy servants the Bishops  
 and Pastors of thy flock, that they may lay hands  
 suddenly upon no man, but faithfully and wisely  
 make choice of fit persons to serve in the sacred  
 ministry of thy Church. And to those which shall  
 be ordained to any holy function, give thy grace  
 and heavenly benediction; that both by their  
 life and doctrine they may set forth thy glory,  
 and set forward the salvation of all men; ~~through~~  
 Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In 1637 the Prayer Book of the Church of Scotland  
 appeared and at the end of the Litany ~~appeared~~ <sup>was</sup> an  
 Embertide prayer, possibly the work of Laud himself.

Almighty God, the giver of all good gifts, who  
 of thy divine providence hast appointed divers orders  
 in Thy Church; Give Thy Grace we humbly beseech Thee,  
 to all those who are ~~called~~ <sup>called</sup> to any office and admin-  
 istration of the same; and so replenish them with  
 the truth of thy doctrine, and endue them with

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innocency of life, that they may faithfully serve before Thee, to the glory of thy great name and the benefit of thy Holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

At the Restoration these two embertide prayers were added to the Book of Common Prayer in England. For the first time too we have clear evidence of the observance of the Ember seasons. Beveridge, ~~who became bishop of Lincoln in 1661,~~ preached often at ordinations and says : "there are four set days in every year, all Sundays, appointed for it (i.e. ordination); and in the respective weeks immediately foregoing, called Ember Weeks, three days are set apart to be spent in fasting and prayer to God that he would so guide and govern the minds of his servants, that they may lay hands suddenly on no man".<sup>57</sup> He draws attention to the requirements of canons 33 and 36 and concludes his sermon with an exposition of the ordinal. Another sermon is called ' The Preparatory Duties for Holy Orders'.<sup>58</sup> After expounding his text, Acts.13.3., he comes to the subject of vocation : "whence we may observe, how necessary it is that they who are admitted into the sacred ministry of the gospel be externally as well as internally called, and publicly ordained to it by the Church". Emphasising the need of the outward call he says :<sup>59</sup> " The Holy Ghost could...

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if he pleased, have come upon them without the imposition of hands, or the ministry of any men...none certainly could ever pretend to any inward call to the ministry more than Paul and Barnabas might; and yet it seems that would not serve their turn but they must be outwardly called and ordained by the Church too, before they presume to meddle with any holy function. Then he turns to direct advice to those about to be ordained, urging upon them the necessity of prayer and fasting. He concludes, as before, with an exposition of the ordinal.

In 1651, Isaac Walton published the life of Sir Henry Wotton; in 1665, the life of Richard Hooker; in 1670, the life of George Herbert. In each these short biographies he refers to the observance of Ember Days. It is just possible that Walton reads back into his subjects the practices and ideals of his own day. Hooker, he tells us, when Vicar of Bishopsbourne ( 1595-1600 ) in Kent " never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week, to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy: but especially the last, saying often, That the life of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that the most Godless men, ( though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts ) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives: and to what he persuaded others

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he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week, take from the Parish-Clerk the key of the Church door; into which place he retired every day and locked himself up for many hours..(60)

Sir Henry Wotton, Walton tells us, likewise observed the Ember-weeks. Wotton took deacon's orders in 1627 while Provost of Eton. While he held that post "he kept all the Ember-weeks".61.

Like Hooker, George Herbert when Vicar of Bemerton (1630-1833) commended

the Ember-weeks to his congregation for their

observance

GUNNING:

Writing of Wotton's observance of the Ember-weeks, Walton hints at his knowledge of 'primitive Christians' and of his rivalling them in holiness and piety. This recognition of antiquity is visible also in Peter Gunning (1614-1684), bishop of Ely. What was originally a sermon preached before Charles II on 'The Paschal or Lent Fast Apostolical and Perpetual' was eventually augmented into a considerable volume 'wherein the judgment of Antiquity is laid down'. He includes a consideration of the fasts before ordination. We have, he says, the example of Christ himself spending the night in prayer before calling His disciples. Paul and Barnabas used fastings as well as prayers before ordaining elders in every church. In Leo the Great he adduces evidence for the observance of the four Ember seasons : jejunium vernum in Quadragesima, aestivum in Pentecoste, autumnale in mense

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septimo, hyemale autem in hoc, qui est decimus. Gunning adds that the fasts in Leo's time were originally on the fourth and sixth days of the week only but that he extended them unto the evening ( ~~Amo in the sixth day~~ ) ~~nam in anno in die~~ ~~in die in anno in die~~ so that since his time the Ember days have been Wednesday, Friday and Saturday at each of the four seasons. He sums up his observations " The four Ember weeks of fasting are called Jejunia quatuor temporum, quae Imbrem vocant; jejunium primi mensis, jejunium Pentecostes, jejunium septimi mensis. 23.

The fragment of Cartwright's diary ( 1686-7 ) telling of his episcopate at Chester shews that he conducted his ordinations regularly at the Ember seasons.<sup>64</sup> The fuller diary of Kidder, while Bishop of Bath and Wells ( 1691-1703 ) shews that he too took pains over the ordinations at the Ember Seasons<sup>65</sup>

This practice of the right use of the Ember Seasons seems to have increased towards the end of the seventeenth century. Books of devotion bear witness to the resolution rightly to observe them. "As all mens' souls", wrote Comber,<sup>66</sup> " are concerned in the ordaining a fit clergy, all may join in fasting and prayer for a blessing upon it". Patrick in his Devotions first published in 1672 ( which ran through five editions in nine years ) has this prayer for Ember weeks: 67

O God, the Father of lights, from whom cometh down

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every good and perfect gift; I am sensible of thy great grace in ordaining a succession of men to bless in thy name, and to instruct us in our duty. I am sensible of what moment it is that they should be wise and good themselves, who are to teach wisdom, and recommend goodness and virtue to thy people. And therefore I most humbly beseech thee, to inspire the bishops and pastors of thy flock with the spirit of wisdom and discerning to make choice of such only to be stewards of the heavenly mysteries, as trust they are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, to take upon them the office of serving in the sacred ministry of the Church.

And inspire likewise all those who shall be admitted to that service, with a great zeal for thy glory, and for the honour of our Saviour, and for the salvation of his people. Replenish them so abundantly with the knowledge of thy will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that they may be apt to teach, skilfully divide the word of truth, rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments, catechise and instruct the ignorant, exhort and convince gain-sayers, satisfy those that are in doubt, confirm those that are well resolved, comfort those that mourn, absolve the penitent, and convey blessings to all those who are committed to their charge.

And hear, I beseech thee, the prayers of thy whole Church, which are now devoutly offered to thee. And stir

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up all the faithful to send up ardent supplications; that those whom our spiritual fathers now separate to any holy office, being the children of fastings and prayers, may be the more laborious and successful in the work of our Lord, and prove eminent instruments of enlarging his kingdom here on earth, and thereby of bringing many souls to his kingdom in heaven. For which I most humbly beseech Thee to fit and prepare us all by the ministry of thy faithful servants everywhere, for the sake of our great high priest, Jesus Christ. To whom ~~Mc~~. Amen.

The Nonjurors were particularly concerned about candidates for the ministry. We have already seen the concern of men like ~~Bedwell~~ and Nelson. This concern shews itself also in their prayers. Robert Nelson ( 1703) in his Festivals and Fasts has prayers for each Ember season, and also an explanation of the word Ember. <sup>65</sup> " Some think that they ( i.e. Ember seasons ) are so called from a German word that imports abstinence; others that they are derived from Ember; which signifies ashes, and therefore are styled Ember Days, because it was customary among the ancients to accompany their fastings with such humiliations, as were expressed by sprinkling ashes upon the heads, or sitting in them; and when they broke their fast upon such days, to eat only cakes baked upon embers, which was therefore called Ember bread. But Dr. Mareschal's conjecture in his Observations

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upon the Saxon gospels, seems to hit upon the true etymology, which he derives from the Saxon word importing a circuit or course; so that these f<sup>s</sup>ats not being occasional, but returning every year in certain courses, may properly be said to be Ember Days because F<sup>s</sup>ats in Course".

When he comes to the ~~Ember~~ Seasons and the prayers appropriate for them he includes the following two prayers that have special reference to the ordinand :

Almighty God, Giver of all good things, who of thy great goodness dost vouchsafe at this time to call several of thy servants to the office of deacons in thy Church; make them, I beseech Thee, O Lord, to be modest, humble and constant in their ministrations, to have a ready will to observe all spiritual discipline; that they, having always the testimony of a good conscience, and continuing ever stable and strong in thy Son ~~Jesus~~ Christ, may so well behave themselves in this inferior office, that they may be found worthy to be called into the higher Minist<sup>ries</sup> of Thy Church, through the same Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honour, world without end. Amen. 69

Another prayer for those to be admitted to the diaconate runs as follows :-

Almighty God, who hast constituted several degrees of ministers in Thy Church, and didst inspire Thy holy Apostles

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to choose into the order of deacons the first martyr St Stephen, with others full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom; mercifully behold thy servants at this time to be called to the life office and administration. Replenish them so with the truth of Thy doctrine, and adorn them with innocency of life that both by word and good example, they may faithfully serve Thee in this office, to the glory of Thy name and the edification of Thy Church, through the merits of Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost now and for ever. Amen. 70.

Another example of the piety of the the Nonjurors is to be seen in Hicke's Devotions ( I quote from the third edition, 1706.) This book is frankly based on a book of Roman piety , reformed by a person of quality and published by George Hicke. Under Ember-Days we have the following antiphon: 71.

The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore ~~tham~~ the Lord of the Harvest, that He should send forth labourers into His harvest.

V. How shall we hear without a preacher ?

R. And how shall they preach unless they be sent ?

Let us Pray.

O God, by whose providence Thy Church from ancient times

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has set apart four solemn seasons of conferring Holy Orders upon chosen persons, to supply the faithful with a succession of priests and deacons, and enjoy'd us all with extraordinary devotions, to implore Thy special assistance to ~~a~~ work, which so much concerns us all ; Hear we most humbly beseech Thee, Thy servants, who by the mortification of our bodies, desire to increase the fervour of our prayers. O give the bishops of our and all other Churches the grace of discerning spirits, that may ordain only such, as are indeed f~~e~~t for their sacred functions; and grant us the grace of reverence, and due subjection to those so ordained, as truly sent by Thee for our edification, through our Lord Jesus Christ Thy only Son, who, with Thee, and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever One God, world without end.

Amen.

## V O C A T I O N

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- Latimer. ~~ms. sermons~~. Parker Society 1844 - 1845
- Nelson R. A Companion for the Festival and Fasts of the Church of England. London. 1841.
- Patrick S. The Devout Christian. 5th Edition. London. 1681.
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Sources  
(cont.)

Rogers T. Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles. 1585.  
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Sanderson R. Works. 6 Volumes. Oxford. 1854.  
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Society. 1848.

Tyndale W. Exposition and Notes on sundry portions  
of the holy scriptures. 1552. Parker Society. 1849

Wilson T. Works. 7 Volumes. Oxford. 1863.

## Book dealing with the period.

Fuller T. Church History. 3 Volumes. London. 1837.

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## NOTES

1. Rashdall H. Medieval Universities. 3 Vols. Revised by Powicke and Emden. Clarendon Press. 1936. Reginald Pole at the age of 18 was presented to the collegiate church of Wimborne Minster and had conferred upon him two prebends of Salisbury Cathedral. He then went to Padua to prosecute his studies. See Schenk W. Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England. p.7.
2. Johnson J. English Canons Pts.I.& II. Oxford.1850.  
Vol ~~Pt.~~I.p.88.
3. ibid. p.240.
4. ibid. Vol.II.p.147.ff.
5. Stubbs. Select Charters. Ed.8.1895.Pt.IV. p.137.
6. Quoted in Tanner J.R. Tudor Constitutional Documents, 1495-1603. p.74.f.
7. Lupton J.H. Life of Dean Colet. p.300. Seebohm F. The Oxford Reformers ( Everyman ) p.148.f. Colet's advice to young theological students was : "Keep to the Bible and to the Apsotles' Creed; and let divines, if they wdll, dispute about the rest". Seebohm op. cit. p.67.
8. Burnet G. The History of the Reformation. Vol. 2. p.15.
9. Starkey T. A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset. Edited by K.M. Burton. London 1948. p.187.
10. Quoted in Tanner J.R. Tudor Constitutional Documents. p.82.f.
11. Quoted in Tanner op. cit. p.83.
12. Starkey T. A Dialogue. p.187.
- ~~XX~~
13. Allen P.S. Erasmus. Oxford 1934. p.54, p.79,p.132.
14. Zurich Letters. Parker Society. Vol.2.p.19.
15. Diary and Correspondence of Pepys. 4 Vols. London. 1867. Vol.4.p.263.
16. Lindsay T.M. History of the Reformation. Vol.2.p.353.f.
17. Rowse A.L. The England of Elizabeth, p. 422.
18. Rowse A.L. Tudor Cornwall. p.324.
19. Zurich Letters.
20. Becon T. Early Works. p.5.

21. *ibid.* p.5
22. Cardwell E. *Synodalia* Vol.2.p.462.
23. Purvis J.S. *Tudor Parish Documents*.p.98
24. Hermitage Day E. *The Subdiaconate*.p.28.
25. *Registrum Matthei Parker* Vol.1.p.339.
26. Cardwell E. *Documentary Annals*. Vol.1.p.268. Frere, *Visitation Articles*, Vol.3.p.67, says that Cardwell's version dates from a period after April 19th.1562.
27. Cardwell E. *Documentary Annals*. Vol.1.p.264.
28. *ibid.* p.205.
29. Quoted by Cardwell E. *Documentary Annals*. Vol 1.p.268.
30. The Lincoln Episcopal Registers shew a decline in the number of Readers from 38 in 1585 to 12 in 1614. ~~See~~(p.447)
31. *Liturgies of Edward VI*. p.168.f.
32. *ibid.* p.338.f.
33. Frere. *Visitation Articles*. Vol.2.p.245. Cardwell E. *Documentary Annals*. Vol.1.p.81.
34. Frere. *Visitation Articles*. Vol.2.p.271.
35. *ibid.* p.307.
36. *vid. sup.* p.5.
37. Cardwell E. *Documentary Annals*. Vol.1.p.143.f.
38. Frere. *Visitation Articles*. Vol.3.p.386.
39. Schenk W. *Reginald Pole*. p.156.n.4.
40. *ibid.* p.144.
41. *Catholic Encyclopaedia* s.v. *Seminary*.
42. *Vid. sup.* p.12.
43. Cardwell E. *Synodalia* Vol.2.p.462.
44. Frere *Visitation Articles* Vol.3.p.88.
45. Frere *ibid.* p.102.

46. Frere Visitation Articles. Vol.3.p.62.
47. ibid. p.71.
48. ibid. p.68.
49. Cardwell E. Documentary Annals. Vol.1.p.289. Frere. Visitation Articles Vol.1.p.287.
50. Cardwell E. op.cit. p.291.
51. Frere Visitation Articles Vol.3.p.177.
52. Cardwell E. Synodalia Vol.1.p.113.
53. ibid. p.114.
54. Registrum Matthei Parker. Vol.1.p.346. For further examples see Index s.v. Letters Dimissory.
55. Cardwell E. Synodalia Vol.1.pp.132.ff.
56. Neal. History of the Puritans Vol.1.p.225.
57. Cardwell E. Synodalia Vol.2.p.547.
58. Neal. History of the Puritans. Vol.1.p.226.f.
- ~~59. Quoted by Sykes in The Church of England and Non-Episcopal Churches. p.5.~~
59. Neal. ibid. p.227
60. Cardwell E. Documentary Annals. Vol.1.p.414.f.
61. ibid. Vol.2.p.8.
62. ibid. p.9.
63. Cardwell E. Synodalia Vol.1.pp.139.ff.
64. Records of Northern Convocation. Surtees Society. 1907. pp.353.ff.
65. Cardwell E. Synodalia. Vol.1.pp.264.ff. The Latin version of the Canons is given on pp.182.ff.
66. Quoted by Sykes in The Church of England and Non-Episcopal Churches. p.5.
67. Frere. Visitation Articles. Vol.2.p.131.

68. Gee and Hardy. Documents. p.274. This direction was issued first in 1536, repeated by Edward VI. (See Cardwell Documentary Annals. Vol.1.p.12 ) in 1547, and by Elizabeth in 1559. ( ~~Cardwell~~ Gee and Hardy. op.cit. p.424. The direction was never implemented. See Rowse A.L. The England of Elizabeth. p.
69. Cardwell E. Documentary Annals. Vol.1.p.3.
70. ibid. p.23.f.
71. ibid. p.114.
72. Gee and Hardy. Documents p.449.f.
73. ibid. p.479.f.
74. Cardwell Documentary Annals. Vol.1.p.370.f. Commenting on this ordinance, Strype observes ( ap. Remains of Edmund Grindal Parker Society Cambridge.1843. p.336.) "the thing being so advantageous for the breeding of seafaring men, so necessary in these times of danger". Thus, even in Strype's day the reason for the commendation of the custom was still utilitarian. See also Writton Legg, English Church Life. p.213. n. 1.
75. Prothero G.W. Statutes and Constitutional Documents.1558-1625. p.215.f.
76. Cardwell E. Documentary Annals. Vol.1.pp.417.ff.
77. ibid. p.419.
78. Meyer. England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth. p.118.
79. ibid. p.96.
80. State Papers ( P.R.O.) 12. Vol.CXLVI. 137.
81. Prothero. Statutes. p.85.
82. Rowse A.L. Tudor Cornwall. pp.323.ff.
83. Sandys E. Sermons. p. ~~1120~~.434.
84. ibid. p.120.
85. Frere Visitation Articles Vol.3.p.302.
86. Usher. The Reconstruction of the English Church. Vol.1.p 30.

87. White F.O. Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops. p.86.
88. Purvis J.S. Tudor Constitutional Documents. p.96
89. ibid. p.97.
90. ibid. p. 109.
91. ibid. p.114.
92. ibid. p.116.
93. ~~Usher. The Reconstruction of the English Church.~~  
Kennedy. Elizabethan Episcopal Administration. Vol.3. pp.161. ff.
94. The Diocesan Registry was visited in August 1950  
but the required volume was missing from the Diocesan  
Records.
95. White F.O. The Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops. p.276.
96. Usher. The Reconstruction of the English Church.
97. Lincoln Episcopal Records, published in 1912.
98. Harleian MS. 280.f.157. quoted by Usher in The Reconstruction  
of the English Church. Vol.1.p.287.

## CHURCH AND STATE : 1603 - 1660. NOTES I - 17

1. Collier. Ecclesiastical History Vol.7.pp.267.ff.
2. Fuller. Church History Vol.3.pp.172.ff. Barlow's account of the Conference may be found in Cardwell. A History of
3. Conferences. pp.167.ff.
3. Cardwell.op.cit.p.212.f.
4. Proclamation enjoining Conformity 1604. Quoted by Tanner Constitutional Documents of James I. p. 71.
5. Tanner.op.cit p.69.f.
6. ibid. p.73.
7. ibid. p.75.
8. This is Neal's estimate ( History of the Puritans Vol.1.p.418.) The estimate is based on statistics from twenty four counties. Tanner ( op.cit. p.51.) gives the number as 300, but gives no supporting evidence. The number of parishes was between 8000 and 9000 (Usher. Reconstruction
9. Tanner.op.cit. p.77. Vol.2.p384.)
- 10.Tanner.op.cit. pp. 83.ff.
- 11.Fuller.Church History. Vol.3.pp.317.ff.
- 12.Hook. Lives of the Archbishops Vol.XI.p.234.
- 13.Laud's Works. Vol.5.Pt.2.p.307.
- 14.Trevor-Roper. Archbishop Laud. pp.391.ff.
15. Gee and Hardy. Documents p.536. Neal. History of the Puritans Vol.1.p.630.
- 16 ~~via inf.~~
- 17.Walker Revised. p.12. The number seems incredibly large. Ought the figures to read 'between 4 and 500' ?
- 16 ~~Bingham~~ Bingham. Works. Vol. IX. p.216 (Works, 9 Volumes London 1839)

1. Cardewell Documentary Annals. Vol.2.p.234.
2. ibid. p.243.
3. ibid. pp.255.ff.
4. Plumptre. Thomas Ken. Vol.1.p.56.f.
5. Ken's Prose Works. p.23. & p.18.
6. Cardwell. op.cit. p.271.f.
7. Lambeth Palace. Gibbon Papers 939.120.
8. Wickham Legg. English Church Life from 1660 - 1833. p.378. f.
9. D'Oyly. Life of William Sancroft. Vol.1.pp.182.ff.
10. Cardwell. op.cit.p.303.ff.
11. Ken's Prose Works. p.21.
12. Diary of Thomas Cartwright. Camden Society.
13. Cardwell op.cit. p.327.
14. ibid. p.330.f.
15. ibid. p.336.f.
16. Lambeth Palace MSS. 933.19.
17. Carpenter Thomas Tenison. p.147.f.
18. ibid. p.135.
19. Cardwell Synodalia Vol.2.p.810.f.
20. ibid.p.818.
21. Quoted by Sykes in Church and State in England in the XVIIIth century. p.106.
22. Hart. The Life and Times of John Sharp Archbishop of York. p.165.
23. Sharp W. Life of Archbishop John Sharp. Vol 1.pp.145.ff.
24. The Life of Richard Kidder, D.D. Bishop of Bath and Wells, written by himself. Edited by Amy Edith Robinson. ( Excerpts from the diary may be found in Cassan, Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells pp.102.ff. and in Sykes. Church and State p.107.)

25. Sykes. Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century  
p.107.
26. *ibid.* p.97.
27. Cardwell. Documentary Annals. Vol.2. pp.368. ff.
28. Sykes. *op.cit.* p.108.

1. Churton Life of Alexander Nowell p.190.
- 2.2. Fowler J.T. History of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. p.
3. D.N.B. Vol.111.p.483a.
4. Picaeus H. Letters.
5. Sykes Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century. p.108.
6. Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey 1573- 1580. p.xiii and p.79.
7. A True Relation of the Life and Death of the Right Reverend Father in God William Bedell. p.3.f.
8. Venn, Caius College. p.95.
9. ibid.
10. Harrison. Elizabethan England pp.248.ff.
11. Dover Wilson. Life in Shakespeare's England.p.93.
12. College Life in the time of James the First.Sir Symonds D'Ewes.
13. Adamson. A Short History of Educationpp.184.ff.  
Overbury ( 1614-16) and Earle ( 1628) give accounts of
14. other types of undergraduates ( Dover Wilson op.cit. pp. 93.ff.
14. State Papers (Domestic) Jas. 1.S.P.14.Vol.9A. No.73.I Edmund Barwell matriculated as a sizar of Christ's College and took his B.A. in 1567/8. He was elected Master of Christ's in 1581. His administration of the college was at first very negligent and was the subject of an official enquiry. A reform was attempted in 1590 but the results are not too certain. Barwell died in 1609. In view of the above facts the value of the testimonial is suspicious. ( see Cooper. Athenae Cantabrigienses Vol.2. p.522.f. )
15. The Diary of Thomas Crosfield pp.23.ff. The notes on the poem are taken from the edition of the diary by F.S.Boas.
16. Fellow of University College, Oxford.
17. An oxford tradesman.
18. i.e. the Vulgate.
19. William Martyn. The historie and lives of twentie kings of England. 1615. Republished 1628.

20. John Speed, The History of Great Britain, 1611. Republished in 1623 and 1627.
21. The Surveyor in Four Books. 1616.
22. Britain's Remembrancer, 1628. Contains an account of the plague of 1625 and a prophecy of judgments to come.
23. A reference to the King's speech in Parliament, June 7th. 1628. ( For details of the occasion which led to the King's reply see Gardiner, Constitutional Documents pp.66.ff.)
24. The Famous History of the Seven Champions of Christendom. Richard Johnson, 1596.
25. An Oxford bookseller and dealer in musical instruments.
26. Whiting. Studies in English Puritanism.
27. Whiting. The University of Durham p.27.f.
28. Winstanley. Unreformed Cambridge. p.102.
29. Diary of Abraham de la Prynne. p.32.
30. Meyer. Cambridge under Queen Anne.
31. Wordsworth. Scholae Academicae p.289.f.
32. Works of Lightfoot. Vol.1. p.146.
33. ibid. Vol.2. pp.3.ff.
34. Wordsworth. op.cit. p.330.
35. Waterland. Works. Vol.6. pp.299.ff.
- 35a. The Librarian could not trace the MS in 1951.
36. e.g. Bales, The Art of Brachygraphie, 1590; Brinsley J., Ludus Literarius, 1612; Everardt, Epitome of Stenography, 1658.
37. Venn. Alumni Cantabrigienses. Pt.1. Vol.1. p.121.
38. Written in French by P.Gerard, translated by N.B., London 1598. *See illustration p.225.*
39. Ecclesiastes or a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching. London 1646.
40. Latimer Correspondence. Vol.1. p.179. cf. Harrison, Elizabethan England; "Now they (the poor) have the least benefit of the Universities". Venn ( Caius College, p.34)

40. cont. "Before the days of Henry VIII the sons of the country gentry, of the tradesmen and the yeomen...are scarcely to be found in our college. In the days of Elizabeth they begin to appear in ever increasing numbers". The evidence here does not seem to agree.
41. See also D.N.B. 1.1220 for the similar case of Isaac Barrow.
42. The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616 - 1683. Camden Society. p.3.f.
43. Oxford English Dictionary svv.
44. Burnet. History of the Reformation Vol.2.p 718.  
Full details are given in the Records,pp.cclxxxv.ff.
45. Winchester Cathedral Documents 1541 - 1547. p.163.
46. Rowse.The England of Elizabeth.p.491.
47. The clergy enumerated in Aubrey's Lives substantiate partially the Lincoln Records; Seth Ward was the son of an attorney; Barrow the son of an apprentice; Abbot the son of a clothmaker; Corbet the son of a gardener; Cartwright and Scory <sup>the</sup> sons of <sup>high</sup> gentlemen; and Cooper the son of a tailor. See Lincoln Episcopal Registers.p.558 for the ~~show~~ <sup>list of names</sup> occupations.
48. Rowse The England of Elizabeth. p.407: "What we can perhaps conclude is that there was less variety in the Elizabethan Episcopate: none of the nobility or the greater gentry, fewer from the humblest origins: the middle ranks of society were running it."
49. Mathew, Social Structure in Caroline England pp.57.ff. See also Mathew's The Age of Charles I. p.110.
50. The mixed nature of the clergy is instanced just after the close of our period in the diocese of Norwich. Of twenty nine clergy ordained in 1739, three were sons of gentlemen, three sons of esquires, the others: sons of an alehouse keeper, a stonemason, a tax collector or a mariner or similar occupation.

## THE UNIVERSITIES : NOTES 51 - 58

51. Usher R.G. The Reconstruction of the English Church.  
Vol.1.p.25. Venn J.A. ( Caius College,p.23  
resords that in 1544, only 18 had graduated B.A.)
52. Lincoln Episcopal Registers. pp.454.ff.
53. Usher op.cit. Vol.2.p.264.
54. Venn J.A. Caius College. p.94.f.
55. Carter E.H. The Norwich Subscription Books. p.46.
56. ibbd. p.47.
57. Henderson G.D. Religious Life in XVII Century Scotland  
p.
58. Burnet G. History of His Own Time. Introduction.p.iv.f.  
An account of Edinburgh University during the student days of  
Archbishop Leighton may be seen in Butler D, The Life  
of Robert Leighton, London,1903. pp.63.ff. Leighton's  
own principalship from 1653-1663 ( note the mingling of  
Presbyterian and Episcopal systems)is described in ch.IX.  
of the same volume.

1. Catholic Encyclopaedia s.v. Seminary.
2. Jackson S.M. Zwingli. p. 293.f.
3. Laurie S.S. Comenius.p. 8.
4. Mackinnon J. Calvin and the Reformation. pp. 172.ff.
- 5 Catholic Encyclopaedia s.v. Seminary.
6. Adamson J.W. A Short History of Education. p.139.
7. ibid. p.140.
8. Waterworth J. The Decrees of the Council of Trent.
9. Laurie S.S. Comenius. p.9.
10. Black J.B. The Reign of Elizabeth. p.139.f.
11. Adamson J.W. A Short History of Education. p.173.f.
12. Quick R.H. Essays on Educational Reformers. p. 101.
13. Burnet G. The History of the Reformation. Vol.1.p.219.f.
14. Fowler J.T. Memorials of Ripon.
15. Public Record Office. 1590.  
I am indebted to Mrs Joan Row for her help in the transcription  
X of the manuscript.
16. i.e. Henry Hastings, Third Earl of Huntingdon, 1535-1595.  
He was a convinced Puritan and on his death there was  
a simple panegyric, The Crie of the Poor, composed in his  
memory. It contains these relevant lines :  
  
He built no palace, nor purchased no town,  
But gave it to scholars to get him renown.  
  
Neale J.E. The Elizabethan House of Commons. p.39.
17. i.e. Archbishop Edwyn Sandys, archbishop from 1577 to 1588.
18. Sir Francis W<sup>a</sup>lsingham died in 1580. He had shown his interest  
in theological studies by founding Theological lectureship  
at Oxford. ~~Walsingham~~ He was also Chancellor of the  
Duchy of Lancaster ( which had benefitted from the  
lands at Ripon) from 1587 to 1590. See Cooper, Athenae  
Cantabrig. Vol.II. pp.86.ff.
19. Alexander Nowell ( 1507 ? - 1602) came of a Lancashire  
family and retained his interest in the north

- 19(cont.) by two preaching tours in 1570 and 1580 and by his benefactions to Middleton School. He was a likely benefactor of a north country creation. ( See. R.Churton, Life of Alexander Nowell. Oxford, 1809.)
20. Dr. William Day, 1529 - 1596. Day was educated at Eton and Kings. His interest in the Ripon project may have been aroused for two reasons: he was prebendary of Ampleforth in the Church of York, 1559. In 1587 he became Chancellor of St Paul's Cathedral and would thus be associated with Nowell. Enquiries both at St George's Windsor and at Eton have shewn that in neither place is there any information about any connection with Ripon College. See. Cooper Athenae Cantabrig. Vol.II. p.219.f.
21. Thomas Crompton matriculated at St Alban Hall, Oxford in 1577. A possible reason for his interest is the fact that he was Chancellor of the Diocese of London. See Foster J. Alumni Oxon. Vol.1.1500-1714.
22. MS. in the library of the Dean and Chapter, Ripon which was consulted by their kind permission.
23. i.e. Whitgift.
24. i.e. Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York 1595-1606.
25. Gilbert seventh Earl of Shrewsbury 1553-1616.. His father, who died in 1590, had been Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire
26. George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, 1558-1605. He was "thirteenth of his blood that was lord of the honour of Skipton in Craven". He was buried in Skipton parish church. It was doubtless this territorial connection which associated him with the Ripon College. Clifford was educated at Trinity College Cambridge and was a pupil of Dr. Whittaker, the historian of Craven. ( Cooper ; Athenae Cantabrig. Vol II. pp.413.ff.
27. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, 1520-1598. He was a brilliant student at St John's Cambridge and enjoyed numerous academic distinctions. He was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, 1559 and Chancellor of ~~Trinity~~ Trinity College, Dublin in 1593. In 1592 he wrote at least two works against the dangers of seminary priests. This combination of academic interest and ability with his known anti-Roman sentiments would make him a probable supporter of such a scheme especially as there were <sup>see Cecil, Union</sup> still many Roman Catholics in Yorkshire. ( See D.N.B., <sup>and</sup> Cooper, Athenae Cantabrig. Vol.II.pp.249.ff.)
28. MS. O.3.2. Trinity College, Cambridge.

29. Archbishop Hutton of York was Lord President of the North.
30. Sir Christopher Yelverton (1535 ? - 1612) was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1597, Queen's Serjeant in 1598 and became a Justice of the Queen's Bench in 1602. (D.N.B. s.v.)
31. The section dealing with the revenues of the College is not quite clear. The Public Record Office have kindly supplied such interpretations as are suggested but regrets it cannot go further without much fuller knowledge of the revenues of the original hospitals etc. The only variation I have offered is on page 213 l.2. where I have read So for Sa and suggested So(uthwell) for Sa(lisbury).
32. Charles Neville, sixth Earl of Westmoreland died in 1601. In view of his uncertainty in religion ( he tried to release Mary Queen of Scots but he kept clear of the Northern Rebellion), the quare, takes on significance. D.N.B. Neale. Elizabeth House of Commons. p.19
33. Sir Thomas Hinneage succeeded Sir Francis Walsingham as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He died in 1595. Cooper Athenae Cantabrig. 2. 192. ff.
34. Sir Wolstan Dixy (1525 - 1594). Lord Mayor of London in 1585, benefactor of Emmanuel College Cambridge. It is his benefaction which gives the name to the professorship in ecclesiastical history in Cambridge. He was a likely benefactor of such a scheme as this. D.N.B. s.v.
35. Ralfe Rokesby or Rookesby was a Yorkshireman who matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford in 1593. He became a barrister at law at Lincoln's Inn in 1605. (Foster. Alumni Oxon. Vol.3. 1500-1714.)
36. Peter Osborne was a friend of the leading Reformers and an executor of Archbishop Parker. (Cooper. Athenae Cantabrig. 1.125.)
37. ~~See note 21. p.317  
Thomas Crompton matriculated at St Alban's Hall in 1577. Became a Judge in the High Court of the Admiralty and Chancellor in the Diocese of London. Foster. Alumni Oxon. 1500 - 1714. Vol.1.~~
38. Peter Manhood is probably the same person as Sir Peter Manwood. His father had been a friend of Archbishop Parker. He himself was an antiquary of

distinction and became sheriff of Kent in 1602. D.N.B.s.v., Rowse R.L.  
The England of Elizabeth p.495.f.

39. ~~Enquiries have been made both at St George's Windsor and at Eton about this connection with the College at Ripon. Although a search of the records was made in both places, nothing could be found~~  
~~William~~
40. ~~William Craven (1548 - 1618) was born at Burnsall near Skipton in Yorkshire. He made his way to London at the age of thirteen or fourteen and finally became Lord Mayor. In 1602 he founded the Grammar School at Burnsall (the school may still be seen). He was a prominent member of the Guild of Merchant Taylors, and a benefactor of Churches and educational foundations. His son gave his name to the Craven scholarships still offered at Oxford and Cambridge. D.N.B. s.v. Craven, William.~~
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Sec n. 20. p.317.
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41. Fuller. Church History 3. 204.
42. Public Record Office. State Papers 14 / 9 a.
43. Collier. Ecclesiastical History 7. 310.
44. see p.167.f.
45. Clarke and Foxcroft. A Life of Bishop Burnet p.292.f.
46. Bishop Wilson's Works. Vol.1. ( Life by John Keble ) p.123.
47. Pococke R. Travels. Camden Society. Vol.1.p.2.
48. Bishop Wilson's Works. Vol.7. pp.177.
49. Dr. Anthoy Scattergood (1611 - 1687). Like Wilson he had served in the parish of Winwick, Lancashire. He was well known for his biblical criticism and added many references to a folio bible published at Cambridge in 1678. D.N.B. s.v.
50. ~~i.e. Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester 1689 - 1699. Stillingfleet was admired for a vast erudition. Wilson probably refers to his Origines Sacrae in which he asserted the divine authority of the Scriptures. D.N.B. Dictionary of English Church History.~~
50. i.e. William Lloyd, bishop of Worcester 1699 - 1717. The references were added to an edition of the Bible published in 1701.

51. The Whole Duty of Man appeared anonymously in 1658 but is now generally thought to have been written by Richard Allestree ( 1619 - 1681.) See. Oxford History of English Literature. English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century. D.Bush. p.488. The Whole Duty of Man has been frequently reprinted. The present writer remembers the late Dr. Henson commend it to his hearers and suggest that a twentieth century equivalent was required. The book contains seventeen chapters, one to be read every Sunday, ~~and every day~~ The writer instructed his readers to read it through three times every year. The book soon took its place after the Bible and Prayer Book as the most important book a churchman could have. (Overton Life in the English Church 1660-1714 pp261.ff.)
- 52 William Law, 1686-1761. He remained a Non-juror all his life. Best known for his work, A Serious Call, he became tutor to the father of the historian Gibbon in 1727.
53. The Life of God in the Soul of Man first appeared anonymously in 1677. It was prefaced by Burnet and only published at his insistence. The author was professor Henry Scougal, son of bishop Scougal of Aberdeen. The work appealed very much to Burnet and also to Alexander Knox, friend of Bishop Jebb. see D.N.B. s.v. Scougal, Henry; Clarke and Foxcroft, A Life of Bishop Burnet pp.148.ff; Overton J.H. Life in the English Church 1660-1714 pp.280.ff.
- 54 Archbishop Sharp, Archbishop of York 1691-1714. see Index. Hart, Sharp(s latest biographer, comments as follows on ~~KK~~ his sermons : "John Sharp's own sermons supply convincing evidence not only of his infinite capacity for taking pains, but of the power of his casuistical reasoning. On the other hand it must be freely admitted that none could be termed either great oratory or first-class literature". p.67. For further details of his sermons see pp.69.ff.
55. George Bull (1634-1710), bishop of St David's 1705-1710. ~~see~~ pp. 273. ff. for his Companion for the Candidates for Holy Orders. Bull's sermons were only published after his death, by his son Robert. They are only twenty in number but are concerned with ' curious and interesting subjects in an interesting manner' ( Overton J.H. D.N.B. s.v. Bull(G.) His most popular sermon was his visitation sermon : 'Concerning the Difficulty and Danger of the Priestly Office'. X
- 56 James Blair ( 1656-1743). Blair went to Virginia in 1685 ~~and~~ at the suggestion of Dr. Compton bishop of London. He returned to England in 1692 to commend the need for a college in Virginia ( see p.233.f.) owing 'to the low

- 56(cont.) state of both learning and religion in Virginia'.  
The opening of the college was constantly postponed and Blair did not become President until 1729. His only work was 'Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount, contained in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, explained, and the practice of it recommended in divers Sermons and Discourses". 4 Volumes 1722. (D.N.B.)
57. Ezekiel Hopkins (1634-1690), bishop of Derry, 1681-1690. His sermons were published by Josiah Pratt in 1809. (D.N.B.)
58. Wilson's Works. Vol.1.p.248.f.
59. The information on pp.232-234 I owe to the courtesy of S.P.G. who kindly allowed me to inspect the minutes of the Society ( largely unpublished).
60. A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England with collects and prayers for each solemnity. First printed in 1703. Dr Johnson ( 1776) said of it : "The excellent Mr Nelson's Festivals and Fasts, which has, I understand, the greatest sale of any book ever printed, except the Bible, is a most valuable help to devotion". Boswell's Life of Johnson. 2 Vols. in 1. India Paper. Oxford 1946. Vol.1.p.667.
61. Nelson R. Life of Bishop Bull. London 1713.
62. *ibid.* p.19.
63. Nelson R. An Address to Persons of Quality. London, 1715.
64. ~~*ibid.*~~ p.

## VOCATION. NOTES 1 - 20

1. Tyndale Doctrinal Treatises p. 102.
2. Huxthinchinson Epistle to Crammer p. 6.
3. Hooper J *Early writings*. p. 236.
4. Latimer ~~Works~~ Vol. <sup>Remains</sup> p. 23, p. 29, and p. 37.
5. Becon Works Vol. 3 pp. 608 ff.
6. Rogers Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles p. 239 f
7. Fuller Church History Vol. 3. p. 71.
8. Perkins A Treatise of the ~~Waiting~~ or Callings of men. Works Vol. 1 pp. 72 ff.
9. D'Ewes College Life in the time of James the First. p. 53
10. Perkins Of the Calling of the Ministerie. Works. Vol. 3 pp. 431 ff.
11. Andrewes A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine. pp. 190. ff.
12. Andrewes Sermons Vol. 3. pp. 293.
13. Sanderson Works. Vol. 3. pp. 91. ff.
14. Pearson Minor Works Vol. 1 p. 291  
*the 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. p. 231.*
15. Burnet Pastoral Care c. 7. *"I am accustomed always to advise ordination candidates to read Burnet's book." H. H. Stenson, 1723*
16. ~~VVVV~~ i. e. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 B.C. - 43 B.C.). He wrote his Offices ( De Officiis ) in 44 A.D. The work is in three books and is an exposition of ethics.
17. Cicero's own De Consolatione has been lost. Baiter and Kayser in their complete edition of Cicero's works give a fragment of it. (Vol XI. pp. 71-75.)
18. ~~XXXXX~~ Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65 B.C. - 8. B.C.). A well known Roman Poet. His Satires comprise two books and contain homilies on conduct, literature, gastronomy, and legacy hunting.
19. Decimus Iunius Juvenalis, greatest of Roman satiric poets. He left sixteen satires containing bitter polemics against contemporary evils. He lived about 50 A.D. to 127 A.D.
20. Per<sup>s</sup>ius Flaccus ( A.D. 34 - 62 ) wrote six satires. The second satire attacks the popular conception of prayer, and makes fun of those who ask heaven for external goods rather than virtue.

## VOCATION NOTES 21 - 32

21. Hierocles was a stoic philosopher who lived early in the second century A.D.
22. Pythagoras lived in the sixth century B.C. and was one of the earliest Greek philosophers.
23. Plutarch ( c. A.D. 46 - c.120 ) . His Lives were biographies of soldiers and statesmen written mainly in pairs, first a Greek and then a Roman and finally a comparison. One purpose of the Lives was to shew a moral example.
24. Epictetus ( c.55 A.D. to c.135 A.D.). A stoic philosopher. Lightfoot ( Colossians and Philemon p.13.) called him 'the loftiest of heathen moralists'. Hierapolis, the birthplace of Epictetus, was in the Roman province of Asia and was near Laodicea, Philadelphia, Sardis, Antioch in Pisidia and other places connected with St Paul and mentioned in the Apocalypse. Did Epictetus know anything of the early Christians ?
25. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus ( A.D. 121 - 180 ). He was Emperor of Rome from 161 until his death. He wrote his Meditations while on campaign. They are coloured by high stoic principles.
26. See n.51. p.320.
27. Dr. William Sherlock ( 1641 ? - 1707 ) a nonjuror. His 'A Practical Discourse concerning Death ' was published in 1689. In 1691 he became Dean of St Paul's. Excerpts from his works are accessible in More and Cross, Anglicanism.
28. John Scott ( 1639 - 1695) Refused the bishopric of Chester because of his nonjuring sympathies. He was 'one of the best devotional writers of the day '( Overton. The Nonjurors p.28.)
29. Thomas a Kempis ( 1379 -1471). Born at Kampen in Holland. The earliest complete MS of the Imitatio is dated 1444.
- XXI.
30. Hugo Grotius the celebrated Dutch jurist was born at Delph in Holland in 1583. The Annotations to which Burnet refers are his Annotations on the Old Testament, published in 1644; and his Annotations on the New Testament published between 1641 - 1646.
31. Henry Hammond<sup>a</sup>(1605 - 1660) Canon of Christ Church Oxford and chaplain to Charles I. Hammond was the father of English biblical criticism and in 1653 produced his Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament, described by Hutton as an 'achievement'. See Cambridge History of English Literature Vol.VII. p.147.
32. John Lightfoot(1602- 1675).Lightfoot was a biblical scholar of massive erudition. He was a remarkable rabbinic scholar and his New Testament works are all set in a Jewish background. A good example is his

Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae which are virtually

commentaries on the Gospels in the light of their semitic background. The works of Lightfoot had great vogue on the Continent as well as in England.

33. John Pearson (1613-1686). See pp.263f. While Preacher at St Clement's Eastcheap (1650-1659) he delivered a series of lectures which became his famous Exposition of the Creed. Foster Watson, writing on the scholars and scholarship of the period 1600 - 1660 considers Pearson's work as a masterpiece of the period ( Cambridge History of English Literature Vol.VII.p.323.)
34. Isaac Barrow (1630-1677). Master of Trinity College Cambridge and founder of its great library. He wrote his Brief Exposition of the Creed in 1669, as required by the College statutes. In the same year he resigned his post as Lucasian professor of Mathematics in favour of Isaac Newton. A brief excerpt from the work is in More and Cross, Anglicanism. pp.274.f.
35. Gabriel Towerson (1635 ? - 1697) Towerson wrote: ~~the~~ Explication of the Apostle's (sic) Creed. London 1678. He also wrote "A Brief Account of some Expressions in the
36. Creed of Saint Athanasius. Oxford 1663.
36. Perhaps Johann Cochläus (1479-1552) born at Wenzelstein, German humanist and controversialist who developed a bitter hatred of Lutheranism.
37. Giulio Maresio a moderate Catholic Reformer martyred in 1567. ( Cambridge Modern History Vol.2.p.397.)
38. Benedict Turretin (1588-1631) a Swiss Protestant theologian born at Zurich. Wrote Defense de la Fidelite des traductions de la Bible faites a Geneve. He also wrote Histoire de la reforme de Geneve and composed many sermons. ( Larousse )
39. Philip van Limborch (1613-1712) lived and died at Amsterdam. An Arminian pastor, his main works were : Institutiones theologiae christianae (1686); De veritate religionis christianae (1687); and Historia inquisitionis (1692).
40. Saumur became a centre of French Protestantism in 1562. In the seventeenth century there was a seminary there frequented ( after the Restoration) by numerous Englishmen. The Professors of Saumur were noted for their liberal views and it was against these that the Helvetic Consensus Formula was promulgated in 1675. See Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol.1.p.815b and Vol.3.p.864.b.
41. John Wilkins, bishop of Chester and foundation member of the Royal Society. He wrote upon the principles and

and duties of natural religion, but only twelve chapters of the book on the subject were completed by himself; the rest being prepared from the bishop's manuscript by his friend, Tillotson. (Stoughton History of Religion in England Vol. 4. p. 319) Further details of Wilkins may be found on pp. 161, 162.

42. ~~NE~~ Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699). Became bishop of Worcester in 1689. He published his *Origines Sacrae* in 1662.
43. Hammond's Practical Catechism was published in 1644. vid. sup. n. 31. p. 323 Twelve editions of the Practical Catechism were called for by 1683. An excerpt from it (on the subject of Christmas) may be read in More and Cross, Anglicanism pp 375. ff.
44. Robert Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln. (1587-1663). See pp. 251 - 262. for an excerpt from one of his sermons. A complete edition of his works was published by Jacobson at Oxford in 1854; and his life may be read in Walton's Lives. Excerpts from his ~~sermons~~ may be read in More and Cross, Anglicanism, nos. 98 and 308.
45. Anthony Farrindon (1598-1658). In 1647 he became minister of St Mary Magdalene ~~London~~, Milk Street, London. His Church numbered Sanderson and Hammond among its congregation and was known as the Scholars' Church. His reputation rests upon his 131 published sermons. (D.N.B.)
46. see note 34. p. 24 Barrow achieved fame posthumously as a preacher. It was said of ~~ohis~~ his sermons: 'Every sermon is like the demonstration of a theorem' (D.N.B.) Another characteristic of his sermons was their great length. An incomplete sermon once took three and a half hours to deliver.
47. Nelson's summary of the three points reads as follows:  
 Q. What qualifications are required in a priest or minister of the Gospel, to enable him to discharge his duty?  
 A. A thorough knowledge of the whole will of God, since it is the priest's ~~lips must~~ <sup>it is</sup> preserve knowledge; and except they have it themselves, how can they communicate it to others? Faithfulness in the instruction of those that are committed to their care, that they may deliver nothing for the will of God, but what is contained within the bounds of their commission, and that they may conceal nothing that is necessary for the people to believe and practise; and this though it contradicts the prejudices of some, and the corrupt and worldly maxims of others. For by this particular application to the consciences of men, according to their wants and necessities, it will be plain they consult not so much what will please them, as what will do them good. Great prudence in all their conduct

which though it will not permit them to neglect any part of their duty, yet it implies the performing of it in such a manner as may render instructions and persuasions most effectual, by taking the most convenient seasons, and teaching things of present use, and by avoiding all unnecessary provocations. A faithful servant doth what he is commanded, and a wise servant doth it in the most effectual manner. But, above all, exemplary holiness, which is necessary not only for his own salvation, but to make all his endeavours for the salvation of others effectual. Nelson. Festivals and Fasts. p.393.f. ( Ember Days in Lent )

48. Malachi 2.7.

49. St. Matthew 13.52.

50. Cant. 7.13.

51. Nehemiah 4.17.

52. St. Matthew 5.13.

53. Tyndale Expositions p.98

~~54.~~ Grindal. Remains. p.406.

55. Hutchinson. Disputations. p.501.

56. Gardiner S.R. Constitutional Documents pp.80.ff.

57. Beveridge. Sermons Vol.1.p.55

58. *ibid.* p.187.

59. *ibid.* p.191.

60. Walton. Lives p.218.f.

61. *ibid.* p.138.f.

62. *ibid.* p.301.

63. Gunning. The Paschal or Lent Fast. pp.188.ff. 196., 305.

64. Cartwright T. Diary pp.18.ff. p.33.f. pp.80.ff.

65. Life of Richard Kidder. p.64., p.75., p.91., p.129.

66. Comber T. Short Discourse upon, the Whole Common Prayer.  
2nd. Edn. 1688.

67. Patrick's Devotions. p.552.

68. Nelson R. Festivals and Fasts. p.388.f.

## VOCATION : NOTES 69 - 71

69. Nelson R. Festivals and Fasts p. 398.

70. *ibid.* p.432.

71. Hickee Devotions. p.584.f.

~~72.~~

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| Piccolomini is the name of a family distinguished in Italian History from the 13th century. The reference here is possibly to the one who became Pope Pius II (1405-1464). He was a considerable writer. See Encyclopaedia Britannica s.v. Piccolomini and Pius II. |   |
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| Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623) was born in Venice. In 1619 his chief literary  |   |

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work, The History of the Council of Trent, was published in London. (Encyclopædia Britannica s.v. Sarpi, Paolo.)

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Celebrated French Humanist who startled the world on the occasion of taking his degree by taking as his thesis " Everything that Aristotle taught is false". The Logic of Ramus enjoyed fame for a time. (Encyclopaedia Britannica s.v. Ramus, and Mitchell W.F. English Pulpit Oratory s.v. Ramus.)

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Cum antiquus sit et laudatus nostra Academia mos, ut qui ad bonarum artium, linguarumque scientiam pietatis cultum, morumque probitatem adiunxerunt, publico eruditionis suae et virtutis testimonio (si quando opus fuerit) honestarentur: Nos Edmundus Barwell sacrosancta Theologiae Doctor, Magister suae Custos Collegij Christi, caeterisque ejusdem Collegij Socij Georgium Wardum in artibus Baccalaurum, et Collegij alumnum, utriusque nomine commendatum oibus esse volumus. Neque vero antea acti solum temporis testimonium ei libentissime perhibemus (eum scilicet per quinquennium diligentem apud nos, et fructuosam bonis literis operam navasse, et in rebus divinis religiosum, et in humanis permodestum fuisse) verum etiam in magnam spem venimus, studia ejus, et conatus ad dei gloriam, et Reipub: emolumentum cessura: Quam igitur de eo et opinionem praeteriti temporis, et de futuro spem apud nos concepimus, eandem cum apud omnes hisce literis libere et ex animis profiteamur, eum singulorum nominibus subscriptis, et Collegij sigillo apposito confirmamus. Dat Cantabrig: e Coll Christi Anno Dni 1604. August: secundo.



Edmundus Barwell

Willelmus Bambridge  
Oliverus Greenough

Nath: Warde

Et eo: Bambridge

Wm Power

Paulus Bayn  
Daniel Rogers

Johannes Jackson

Jacob Harrison  
Guil: Lomberton  
Crisliel Addison