

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

[PayPal](#)

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

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

PART II.

PARPAGLIA remained in Flanders for four months on this special business, and the probability is that the secret proposals were communicated to the Queen by some messenger; for the means of communication were then abundant. There are good grounds for believing also that they were told by the Papal Legate in France, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to our ambassador, Sir N. Throgmorton. We should remember that Sheres in his letter from Venice had warned Cecil of Parpaglia's visit to France, *en route* to Brussels, and, from evidence which I shall presently produce, it is certain that either Parpaglia divulged the substance of his mission to the Cardinal, or that the latter was commissioned, after the failure of the former's embassy, and also after a similar failure of another envoy, Abbot Martinengo, in the following year, to renew the Papal offers through the English ambassador.

These offers, of course, were shrouded with all the secrecy of diplomatic communications, and there were besides strong political reasons in England for not making them public at the time. They were widely known, however, before the year 1573, as may be inferred from a pamphlet published in that year, written in answer to Sanders's "*De Visibili Ecclesiæ Monarchia*," by Dr. Bartholomew Clerke, afterwards Dean of the Arches.¹ What they were is thus described by Camden: "The report goeth that the Pope gave his faith that he would disannul the sentence against her mother's marriage as unjust, confirm the English Liturgy by his authority, and grant the use of the Sacrament to the English under both kinds, so as she would join herself to the Romish Church, and acknowledge the primacy of the Chair of Rome;

Dreaden, 1742. "*Vetus Testamentum abrogari debuisse, antiqua est Judæorum fides. . . . Præcipua pars cultus Levitici consistebat in Sacrificiis, hæc vero temporibus Messias abolenda fuerunt. . . . Cessantibus sacrificiis cessabant quoque sacerdotes.*"

Nevertheless, it was held that the Day of Atonement could never be abolished—"Dies expiationis nunquam cessat, quia is peccata, tum levia, tum gravia expiat."

The Old Covenant was expected to give way to a New Covenant—"Lege veteri abolita Messias Legem novam stabilivit." "Dicitur etiam Doctrina Nova." "Dicitur etiam Fædus novum" (pp. 619, 620).

And in this New Covenant the Messiah was to exercise the "munus sacerdotale" (pp. 298, 643, *sqq.*), and to be Himself the Sacrifice (pp. 645, 646).

¹ An extract from this pamphlet is given by Sir Roger Twysdeo, "*Historical Vindications*," p. 200; *vide* Strype's "*Parker*."

yea, and that certain thousand crowns were promised to those that should procure the same."¹ Now, within the last few years an important despatch has come to light, of which the chroniclers of the seventeenth century were ignorant, and supplies an incontrovertible basis for the statements of prominent men in England from the days of Dr. Clerke, in 1573, to Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester, in our own time. This document is to be found in the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, under the date June 21, 1571, and numbered 1813. It is a despatch from Walsingham, the English ambassador in France, to Lord Burleigh, at the time of the projected marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou. In it Walsingham gives an outline of a conversation between himself and the Queen-mother, Catharine de Medicis, in which he had endeavoured to remove existing scruples to the use of the English Liturgy by the Duke. The crucial passage is:

"I showed her that sudden change was not required (the same being referred to God, whose office it is to change hearts), but only the forbearing of his Mass, and to content himself with the form of our prayers, whereof I showed her I had delivered a copy unto Mons. de Foix, which form of prayers, madam, quoth I, the Pope, as I am informed, would have by councill confirmed as Catholic, so the Queen, my mistress, would have acknowledged the same as received from him."

In the margin on the left-hand side, opposite the last thirteen words, is the following note: "An offer made by ye C. of Loreyne as Sir N. Throgmorton shewed me."

The despatch itself is in the scrambling handwriting of one of Walsingham's secretaries; but the signature and marginal note are in Walsingham's characteristic handwriting. The Cardinal of Lorraine was, as I have already said, the Papal Legate in France, and consequently in communication with the Bishop of Viterbo, the Papal ambassador there. The probable visit also of Parpaglia to these Roman dignitaries to which I have referred, is something more than a coincidence in the face of this revelation. The date at which the offer was made is not mentioned. It may, or may not, have been made during a conversation "with a learned Papist of great reputation," referred to by Sir N. Throgmorton in his letter to Cecil, December 28, 1561, already quoted, in which the question of tolerating the English Liturgy was discussed. If this be so, it fits in well with Heylin's statement: "Before which time (May, 1560) the Queen had caused the English Liturgy to be translated into Latin. . . . All which, as she was thought to

¹ Camden's "Annals," p. 34; first published in Latin, 1625.

do, to satisfy and instruct all Foreign Princes in the form and fashion of our Devotions; so did she so far satisfy the Pope then being, that he showed himself willing to confirm it by his Papal power."¹

Whatever the speculation be as to the date of this communication, the fact remains, upon the authority of Walsingham, stated in an official document enrolled amongst the public records of the Government, that an offer in the Pope's name to confirm the English Prayer-Book was definitely made to Throgmorton, the English ambassador at the French Court, by the Papal Legate in France, the Cardinal of Lorraine.²

Confronted with this evidence, it is impossible for any reasonable person to relegate to the realms of fiction the common belief entertained by the contemporaries of Queen Elizabeth; the solemn assertion of Lord Coke at Norwich Assizes in 1606;³ the absolute statement of the devout Bishop Andrewes in his reply to Bellarmine in 1609;⁴ the testimony of Dr. Abbott, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, in his answer to the defence of Garnet in 1613; the record of the antiquary Camden, in 1625; the undoubted convictions of later divines and chroniclers—Bishop Bull,⁵ Archbishop Bramhall,⁶ Sir Roger Twysden,⁷ Sir Richard Baker,⁸ Fuller,⁹ Heylin,¹⁰ Burnet,¹¹ Dr. Hook¹²—that the Pope did make, through Parpaglia, the same offer as we now know he did through the Cardinal of Lorraine.

On the other side, all the evidence in support of a negative answer to the question raised in this paper is given by Canon Estcourt in his work on Anglican Ordinations.¹³ Evidence as such it is not, for it consists only of cross-examination of opposing witnesses, bare denials, and groundless suspicions. There is no reference to Walsingham's letter from France to Burleigh. Possibly Canon Estcourt may not have seen it, though it is evident he consulted the original documents of this period in the Record Office, and, in my opinion, he places himself under suspicion in asserting, without qualification or proof, the statement that the rumour of the offer was "invented and used by Cecil and Walsingham to persuade

¹ "Ecclesia Restaurata," London, 1670; "The History of Queen Elizabeth," p. 131.

² Cf. *Guardian* newspaper, May 31, 1893, p. 875.

³ "The Lord Coke's Charge," London, 1607.

⁴ Andrewes's "Tortura Torti," p. 165, edit. Anglo-Catholic Library.

⁵ Works, vol. ii., pp. 204-208. ⁶ Works, vol. ii., p. 85.

⁷ "Historical Vindications." ⁸ Baker's "Chronicles," edit. 1679, p. 343.

⁹ "Church History," vol. iv., pp. 308, 309.

¹⁰ "History of the Reform.," vol. ii., p. 333. ¹¹ Vol. ii., p. 834.

¹² "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. iv., p. 221.

¹³ "The Question of Anglican Ordinations Discussed," p. 354, pub. 1873.

and entrap the unwary and timorous Catholics."¹ Why were these two names alone coupled? Had he seen Walsingham's letter?

Hutton's "Anglican Ministry," published five years after the issue of the Calendar of State Papers containing Walsingham's correspondence, is equally silent about this important document. It is quite unnecessary to follow step by step the process of cross-examination adopted by Canon Estcourt. The weakness of his position is manifest in his opening sentences. He appears like a drowning man catching at straws. He opens with a comparison of the story of the Papal offer with that of the Nag's Head, and from an analogy, which he afterwards shows to be false, sends them both into the cloudland of fable. "If the Nag's Head story," he says, "was not heard of for upwards of forty years after the date of the alleged transaction, no more was that of the Pope's offer."² And yet a few pages further on he, in contradiction to Dr. Abbott's statement that no one on the Roman Catholic side had ventured, either privately or publicly, to mutter a word against the common assertion, cites as a witness Parsons the Jesuit, writing in the year 1580, and in so doing gives himself completely away. "Wherefore," says Parsons, "that which hath bene geven out (as is sayde by some great men), that the Pope, by his letters to her Majestie, did offer to confirme the service of England, uppon condition that the title of Supremacie might be restored him againe, is impossible to be soe: soe that, if anye such letters came to hir Majestie's handes, they must needes be fayned and false."³ Here, then, Canon Estcourt's opening statement, that the Papal offer was not heard of for upwards of forty years after the alleged transaction, is refuted by his own witness, Parsons, who also adds the important testimony that the fact now under discussion was authorized "by some great men" before the year 1580.

But Canon Estcourt shall decide the case against himself by his own rules of evidence. In the introductory chapter of his book he lays down certain principles which were to govern and determine his judgment in admitting or rejecting proofs of facts. Foremost amongst these is the following: "Documents enrolled amongst the public records of the kingdom, or issuing from any Government office, or from any Government official in his official capacity, may be received without question as evidence of the matters recorded, and also of other matters incidentally referred to therein, provided the authority under which the document is issued, either from

¹ "Anglican Ordinations," p. 365.

² *Ibid.*, p. 354.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

official station or otherwise, is entitled to credit upon the point referred to."¹ Walsingham's letter complies with this premise, and Canon Estcourt's case must end in a verdict against himself.

In illustration of the way in which Roman Catholic partisans seek to disparage the testimony of those who are opposed to them upon this point, Lord Coke's Charge at Norwich Assizes, August 4, 1606, is a good example. He is reported to have said "that Pius Quintus, whome those of their side do account to have been a good Pope (though by false persuasions too much misled) before the time of his excommunication against Queen Elizabeth denounced, sent his letter unto her Majesty, in which he did allow the Bible and book of Divine Service, as it is now used amongst us, to be authentic, and not repugnant to truth. But that therein was contained enough necessary to salvation (though there was not in it so much as might conveniently be), and that he would also allow it unto us without changing any part; so as her Majesty would acknowledge to receive it from him the Pope (and by his allowance), which her Majesty denying to do, she was then presently excommunicated. And this is the truth concerning Pope Pius Quintus, as I have faith to God and men, as I have oftentimes heard it avowed by the late Queen, her own words; and I have conferred with some Lordes that were of great reckoning in the state, who had seen and read the letter which the Pope sent to that effect, as have been by me specified. And this upon my credit, as I am an honest man, is most true."

The pamphlet containing this charge was printed by one Pricket without permission or knowledge of Coke. The latter, in the Address to the Reader prefixed to the seventh part of his Reports, protested against this publication, and said that "it was not only published without his knowledge, but (besides the omission of divers principal matters) that there was not even one short sentence expressed in that sort and sense as he delivered it." (*Libellum quandam, nescio an rudem et inconcinnum magis . . . quem sane contestor non solum me omnino insciente fuisse divulgatum, sed (omissis etiam ipsis potiisimis) ne unam quidem sententiolam eo sensu et significatione, prout dicta erat, fuisse enarratam.*) It would not be complimentary to Canon Estcourt to assume that he was ignorant of this protest, and yet, ignoring it, he says that Coke "has certainly shaken all credit out of his story, not only by his error in the name of the Pope, but also by asserting that the offer was made in a letter";² and he

¹ "Anglican Ordinations," p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 356.

straightway dismisses him from the witness-box as a questionable "honest man." And he does this, too, in defiance of his own rules of weighing evidence. "Evidence," he says, "is not to be rejected on account of mere verbal error or misnomer, where the identity of the person referred to is sufficiently made out, either from the context or from other sources."¹ *Quintus* for *Quartus*, and allusion to a letter in such an unauthorized pamphlet, afford no grounds, even according to his own showing, for discrediting such a witness. Chamberlain's copy of the Pope's brief must not be forgotten, and Coke may be right in speaking of some lords who had seen the letter.

Others, bolder, but less discreet than the Canon, assert that Coke repudiated the publication as a forgery. Coke did nothing of the kind. He admitted the Norwich Charge as a matter of fact. What he denounced was its unauthorized publication and unskilful composition, both as to substance and style. It would seem, from subsequent passages, that he alluded to the garbled character of his Charge on law questions, not on matters of fact, as related by him, for he adds that "Readers learned in the laws would find not only gross errors and absurdities on law, but palpable mistakings on the very words of art, and the whole context of that rude and ragged style wholly dissonant (the subject being legal) from a lawyer's dialect." The statement of fact, solemnly uttered, is not affected by the defective publication. So thought Sir Roger Twysden, who, though he was acquainted with the Preface to the Reports referred to, adduces *this very Charge* and *this very passage* of Coke in confirmation of the Pope's proposal.²

In conclusion, this question may be pertinently asked: How is it that no Roman Catholic contemporary with the asserted fact is to be found denying it? The matter was publicly known years before Parsons, in 1580, declared, without any authority except his own private opinion, that it was "impossible to be so," and suggested the alternative of a forgery. At the time of the occurrence he was only a boy of sixteen, living in an out-of-the-way village in Somersetshire. Thence he proceeded to Balliol College, Oxford, where, professing the reformed religion, he eventually became "chaplain-fellow" of his college. His life at Oxford, if we are to credit his contemporary collegians, Dr. G. Abbott, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Camden the antiquary, was not very respectable. The latter says: "He was a violent, fierce-natured man, and of a rough behaviour.

¹ "Anglican Ordinations," p. 9.

² "Historical Vindications," pp. 199-202.

He was expelled from college for his loose carriage with disgrace, and went over to the Papists." Roman Catholic writers may even be quoted in corroboration of Camden.¹ And this is the man whose mere *ipse dixit* is to be taken to overthrow the testimony of such dignitaries as Walsingham, Coke, Bishops Andrewes and Abbott, men of public notoriety, and in a position to know the truth! There were certainly men living when Parsons published his "Discours" at Douai who had been intimate with Parpaglia. Not one of these is forthcoming to deny the Papal offer. The Cardinal of Lorraine could have done so before his death in 1574; but a greater man than he survived till December 1, 1580, who was the ablest and most prominent man in the counsels of Pope Pius IV. This was Cardinal Morone. It is asserted in a letter of Sheres to Cecil from Venice, to which I have already referred, that Pope Pius IV. referred the question of Parpaglia's mission to a committee of five Cardinals, consisting of Tournon, Carpe, Morone, Trent, and St. Clement, and the embassy followed from their recommendation.²

Cardinal Tournon died in 1562. Excepting the date of the death of Morone in 1580, I have not been able to obtain that of the remainder. But the evidence of the renowned Morone would have been invaluable. Why was he silent, when "some great men," as Parsons wrote, had given out the Papal offer as a fact? Again, the well-known Jesuit Dr. Bellarmine, who certainly may be credited with a knowledge of many of the Vatican secrets of his day, allowed Bishop Andrewes, in 1609, to tell him in his reply, "Tortura Torti," that the offer of Pope Pius was an absolute fact, without a word of contradiction. Here was the opportunity of an eminent man of position to declare the story a fable, and he refused to avail himself of it.

In 1727 Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, and twenty French Bishops in Council assembled, censured the two works of the Abbé Courayer, writing in defence of the validity of English Orders; and they did this, not on the ground of the subject-matter of those books, but because of the author's statements as to doctrine, ritual, and Church authority. Now, Courayer had asserted the Papal offer to Queen Elizabeth as a fact beyond doubt, and based an argument upon it. In the extracts of the censure given in the Appendix to Estcourt's "Anglican Ordinations" no allusion whatever is made to Courayer's historical statement; but in

¹ *Vide* Soames's "Elizabethan Religion in England."

² Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, May 11, 1560, No. 74.

the "Pastoral Instruction" afterwards issued by Cardinal de Noailles there is a reference to it in the following terms :

"The author is not afraid to state, and, upon the testimony of Cambden and some other Protestants, without any authentic proof, does not hesitate to maintain, as a fact of which no one can scarcely doubt, that Pius IV. offered to Elizabeth to approve the Book of Common Prayers, and consequently the Liturgy and Ordinal attached to it, if she was willing to submit to the authority of the Roman See.

"That Protestant writers should hazard statements so injurious to the Roman See is not a matter of surprise ; but that a Catholic theologian should adopt them is a thing one cannot see without astonishment and offence" (*scandale*).¹

The Cardinal, it is to be observed, does not venture to deny the fact stated by Courayer, or even imitate Parsons in expressing an opinion of its impossibility. The position he takes up is one of surprise that a Catholic theologian should foul his own nest.

If Canon Estcourt can do no better than end his historical investigation and criticism on the subject-matter of this paper in such words as, "In the present case there still remains some mystery. Although it is clear that Parpaglia had no audience of the Queen and never set foot on English ground, and therefore could not have made any proposals, yet it is not proved for certain that the Queen received no intimation of what proposals he was instructed to make,"² surely there can be no hesitation on the part of any unprejudiced mind, after considering the probabilities of the case, reviewing the positive evidence in its favour, weighing the argument from the silence of partisans, to come to the conclusion that Pope Pius IV. did offer to confirm the Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth.

APPENDIX I.

INVITATION TO QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SEND TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Throgmorton to the Council.

"December 31, 1560 (833).—Understands that the Pope minds to send shortly an Abbot, who is brother to Count Martinengo, into England, by the advice of the Emperor and King of Spain, to persuade the Queen to accord and send to the Council ; and that the Emperor undertakes to persuade the Princes Protestant to send their legations to the said Council" (Calendar of State Papers, Foreign).

¹ Estcourt, "Anglican Ordinations," Appendix XXXI.—*Vide* Appendix IV.

² "Anglican Ordinations," p. 369.

Throgmorton to the Queen.

“July 13, 1561 (304).—Of late the Bishop of Viterbo, the Pope's ambassador in France, came very suddenly to Throgmorton's lodging, and said to him that his master had given him in charge to declare to him the cause why the Abbot of Martinengo was lately sent; because, he not being admitted, she might perchance be ignorant or misinformed thereof. His legation was only to intimate to her the publication of the Council at Trent, like as he had given notice to all Christian Princes; all of whom had accepted the said Council, and were pleased to send their clergy thither in September next. He said that the Emperor had desired to have the continuation of the former Council removed. . . . The Bishop said that he would ask the writer, by way of communication, and not by way of his instruction, what prejudice could grow more to the Queen than to the Princes of Almaine, by admitting the Nuncio to audience as they did?

‘Throgmorton answered that, however the Bishop's instructions bound him to tell him of this matter, his own were to have nothing to do with him, or with anything that came from his master.’

State Papers, etc., reign of Queen Elizabeth (left by Burgleigh, edited by Murdin).

In “*Memoria Mortuorum*,” at the end of vol. ii., under date July 14, 1561, is the following entry:

“Bishop of Viterbi, Nuncio of the Pope in France, laboureth with Sir Nich. Throgmorton to persuade the Queen Majesty to accept the Counsell of Trent.”

It is worthy of note that in this “*Memoria*” Burghley has omitted reference to Pargaglia's mission, in 1560, but he inserts Martinengo's in the following year.

APPENDIX II.

John Sheres to Cecil.

“May 11, 1560 (74).—His present letter will convey few advices of moment only, as in his previous ones, of certain consults concerning the reconciling of the Queen and England to the obedience of the Church of Rome. Sheres has seen divers letters from some English at Rome, and others at home, who will stick that way when they see that the time shall serve them, to the effect that the Pope is persuaded that England may yet be won to the obedience of that Church. And as the writer can gather, they have used for their instrument and truchement the Abbot of S. Salute, who was of the household of our late Cardinal Pole. On these persuasions and promises the Pope appointed Cardinals Tournon, Carpe, Morone, Trent, and St. Clement, who have concluded that they thought meet His Holiness should solicit in the matter and send the Abbot of S. Salute to England to travail with the Queen and her Council, but chiefly to confer with the favourers, for there depends the fetch, for the furtherance of the same according to his instructions. . . . He goes to France to consult with some there, then to Flanders” (*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*).

APPENDIX III.

On November 30, 1562, a debate arose in the Council of Trent on the relations of the Papacy to the Episcopate. One party, headed by Gerson and Henry of Ghent, and supported by the Spanish Bishops generally, asserted that jurisdiction was received in each case directly from God, and was only dependent upon the Pope for its lawful exercise. The

other party, composed of Italian prelates, regarded it as coming immediately from the Pope. An Irish Dominican, O'Hart, Bishop of Achonry, taking the Ultramontane side, spoke thus: "In England the King calls himself Head of the English Church, and creates Bishops, who are consecrated by three Bishops, and they say that they are true Bishops, as being from God. But we deny this, because they have not been acknowledged by the Roman Pontiff; and we say rightly, and by this one argument, and no other, we convict them; for they themselves show that they have been called, elected, and consecrated, sent." This and other arguments received the approbation of the Council. (Nam et in Anglia rex vocat se caput ecclesiæ Anglicæ, et creat episcopos, qui consecrantur a tribus episcopis, aiuntque se veros episcopos, qui sunt a Deo; nos vero id negamus, quia non sunt a Pontifice Romano adsciti; et recte dicimus, hæcque tantum ratione illos convincimus, non aliâ: nam et ipsi ostendunt se fuisse vocatos, electos, et consecratos, missos. Le Plat, "Monum. Conc. Trid." *Vide* pp. 576-579.) *Cf.* Bishop Forbes's "Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles," p. 718.

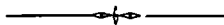
It should be noted that this Irish Bishop, though speaking four years after the accession of Elizabeth, refers to the King. As there had been no King in England for many years, the probability is that he alludes to the sovereign power; possibly, also, he might have an objection to recognise the position of Elizabeth by calling her *Regina*.

APPENDIX IV.

"L'Auteur n'en est point effrayé, et sur le témoignage de Cambden, et de quelques autres Protestans, sans aucune preuve authentique, il n'hésite pas de soutenir, comme un fait dont on ne peut presque pas douter, que Pie IV. offrit à Elizabeth d'approuver le Livre des Communes Prières, et par conséquent la Liturgie et l'Ordinal qui en sont des suites, si elle vouloit se remettre sous l'obéissance du Saint Siège.

"Que des écrivains Protestans hazardent des faits si injurieux au Saint Siège, il n'y a pas lieu d'en être surpris; mais qu'un Théologien Catholique les adopte, c'est ce qu'on n'a pû voir sans étonnement et sans scandale" (Estcourt's "Anglican Ordinations," Appendix XXXI.).

D. MORRIS.



ART. V.—NONCONFORMISTS AND EPISCOPACY.

AT the Lambeth Conference of 1897 the Bishops reaffirmed the resolutions of 1888 on the subject of Home Reunion, and they added:

"It may be well for us to state why we are unable to concede more.

"We believe that we have been Providentially entrusted with our part of the Catholic and Apostolic inheritance bequeathed by our Lord, and that not only for ourselves, but for the millions who speak our language in every land—possibly for humanity at large. Nearly a century ago the Anglican Church might have seemed to many almost entirely insulated, an institution, in Lord Macaulay's language, 'almost as purely local as the Court of Common Pleas.' Yet