

The Theology of the Church of England: The Origins of Anglican Orthodoxy

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*Church historians and theologians debate the nature and boundaries of the theology of the Church of England. This contested theological identity leads some scholars to merge the liturgical, ecclesiological, and doctrinal distinctions between the reformed *Ecclesia Anglicana* and other Reformation churches. This article surveys the development of the theology of the Church of England from the reigns of Henry VIII to Charles II, arguing that members constructed a liturgical, ecclesial, and doctrinal consensus that constitutes Anglican Orthodoxy. This broadly Augustinian identity draws from the Evangelical and Reformed reformations while maintaining its own distinctive dogmatic boundaries.*

Keywords: Anglican Orthodoxy, Evangelical Catholicism, Church of England, avant-garde conformity, Laudianism, Lancelot Andrewes, Thomas Jackson, Herbert Thorndike

Introduction

This article describes the theology of the Church of England as it developed from the period of the Henrician Reformation to its maturation in the reign of King Charles II. The *Ecclesia Anglicana* descends from the Catholic Christian faith and order brought to Britain in the first centuries after the birth of Christ, a tradition expanded and drawn into the Roman sphere of influence with the mission of Augustine of Canterbury in the sixth century, reformed in the sixteenth in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, consolidated in the Elizabethan settlement after the return to Roman jurisdiction under Mary I, and reconstructed after the tumult of the interregnum in the form of Anglican

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Orthodoxy.² The separation of the English Church from the Roman Catholic Church occurred as English monarchs responded to a series of personal and political pressures, as well as theological movements reshaping churches and social life on the continent. In its earliest stages, the English Reformation under King Henry VIII centered on changes to the doctrine of the church and attempted to forge a national catholic church with a relationship to the Church of Rome and Papacy analogous to that of the Greek Orthodox.³ Archbishop Thomas Cranmer advanced revisions to the doctrines of the sacraments and salvation during the short reign of King Edward VI, first influenced by Evangelical (German) theology, and later by Reformed (Swiss) thought, resulting in two editions of *The Book of Common Prayer* that mark a decisive shift to Augustinian theology in the Church of England.⁴ After Queen Mary's attempted restoration of Roman Catholicism in England, Queen Elizabeth took the throne. The Church of England under Queen Elizabeth evolved as she negotiated the tensions between her own Evangelical Catholic liturgical and doctrinal commitments and the ascendant popularity of Reformed thought among English theologians. By the time of the re-establishment of the Church of England at the end of the seventeenth century, members accepted the development of liturgical and ecclesial standards, the three-fold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, and the worship of *The Book of Common Prayer* (1662), that made the Anglican tradition distinct from the Evangelical and Reformed confessional churches that had developed elsewhere. The catholicity of influences contributing to the Anglican formularies, *The Book of Common Prayer*, the Ordinal, the *Articles of Religion*, and the 1604 Canons were comprehensive enough to allow for a range of

² See *Studies in Modern British Religious History*, ed. Kenneth Fincham, et al., vol. 2, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560–1660*, ed. Peter Lake and Michael C. Questier (Boydell & Brewer, 2000) for an introduction to the early stages of the construction of the boundaries of Orthodoxy in the Church of England.

³ See Aidan Nichols, *The Panther and the Hind: A Theological History of Anglicanism* (T&T Clark, 1993), 23, where Nichols observes that “there is evidence that Henry VIII was influenced by the refusal of the Greek church to accept the ecumenical council of Florence, ratified though it was by the Roman pontiff.”

⁴ In discussing the theology of the English Reformation, I prefer the term *evangelical* to *Lutheran* and *Reformed* to *Calvinist* because the capaciousness of these former terms more accurately represents the framework of their proponents and also underscores the fact that Evangelicals, such as Philip Melancthon, and Reformed theologians, such as Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli, held greater sway over English reform than their more famous counterparts. See John Schofield, *Philip Melancthon and the English Reformation* (Routledge, 2006) and *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*, ed. Robert Bast, vol 115, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, ed. Frank A. James (Brill, 2004).

theological opinions within a commitment to the creeds and commandments of Christian orthodoxy, as well as a capacious Patristic framework for doing theology. This comprehensiveness allowed for the development of two theological traditions in the Church of England, Episcopalian and Reformation Anglicans.⁵ The theology of the Anglican Orthodox exists in these two traditions: one that emphasizes the influences of the Patristic and other episcopal churches, and the other emphasizing the influence of reformation churches and their reception of the Fathers.

Cranmer and the Early English Reformation

The first major theological change under Archbishop Cranmer, a change from which later reforms and revisions to the doctrine of the Church of England followed, was both political and ecclesiological. King Henry VIII saw reforms occurring in Germany that gave power to princes and other political leaders to take a leading role in religious decision-making. These Evangelical reforms appealed to Henry for theological and practical reasons, and he looked to Christian leaders such as the Emperor Constantine for inspiration as he envisioned the role that the reformation could play in England.⁶ Rejecting papal supremacy and Roman jurisdiction in England, Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, which concentrated the powers previously consolidated in Cardinal Wolsey under the English monarch and it also severed the Church of England from the jurisdiction of the Roman See. The doctrinal changes that followed represented Henry's attempt to aim at a national catholicism that navigates between the return to the sources of Christian humanism on one side and his desire for alliances with Evangelicals on the continent on the other. As supreme head of the Church of England, Henry sought to bring greater doctrinal uniformity to the national catholic church, and this manifested in a series of doctrinal statements, two sets of religious articles promulgated with the expectation that clergymen conform to their teaching—these are the Ten Articles of Religion, which show significant evangelical influence, and the Six Articles, which represent Henry's continued allegiance to certain norms of medieval Western Catholicism. Henry also circulated two books of Christian instruction intended to educate the clergy and make them

⁵ Episcopalian and Reformation Anglicans, where they conform to the theological framework of the *Book of Common Prayer*, cohere in upholding a broadly Augustinian Anglican Orthodox tradition.

⁶ See Matthew McNicoll, "Henry VIII: Conciliarist?," *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 5, no. 2 (2018): 109–49.

fit to regularly preach, first, the *Bishops' Book*, in large part penned by Cranmer and showing his Evangelical theological sympathies, and the *King's Book*, which represented the king's desire to restore medieval Catholic beliefs and practices that he feared might be swept away as the rising tide of the reformation rushed across England.⁷ Between 1536 and 1538, Henry published the Ten Articles and *The Institution of a Christian Man (The Bishops' Book)*. The new articles of religion and doctrinal instructions defended the doctrine of the real presence and baptismal regeneration while also allowing for a qualified translation of the Evangelical doctrine of justification to take root in the Church of England. *The Six Articles* and *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man (The King's Book)* marked Henry's reaction to the spread of Evangelical reforms to the culture of the Church of England. The doctrine and discipline of these latter documents defend the doctrine of transubstantiation, priestly celibacy, auricular confession, and private masses. Shortly after the release of *The King's Book*, Henry declared the Sarum rite, arguably the most influential English use of the Western rite, as the official liturgy of the Church of England. Henry's theological reforms, taken as a whole, amount to an affirmation of national catholicism and humanistic skepticism about certain aspects of early modern Western Catholicism, for instance, aspects relating to the cult of the saints and religious life. These opinions appear to have been formed on the basis of a selective reading of Erasmus and the Fathers, and this humanism and nationalism allowed Henry to rationalize the dissolution of the monasteries and confiscation of their property. Moreover, his attempt to steer a course between Christian humanism informed by medieval and Patristic Western Catholicism and the Evangelicalism of Cranmer anticipates future tensions in the Church of England.⁸

The Edwardine Reformation and Reformed Influence in England

King Edward VI ascended to the throne at the age of nine in 1547, and his reign marked a shift in the religious reforms of the Church of England. In the six years of Edward's reign, Archbishop Cranmer maintained significant theological influence, first reforming liturgy and doctrine through translation

⁷ See Charles Lloyd, ed., *Formularies of Faith Put Forth by Authority during the reign of Henry VIII: Viz. Articles about Religion, 1536. The Institution of a Christian Man, 1537. A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man, 1543* (Oxford: University Press, 1856).

⁸ Nichols, *Panther and Hind*, 10–13.

of the mass into English with additions, such as the comfortable words, that emphasize that salvation comes by grace through faith (Eph 2:8–9). Cranmer's first *Book of Common Prayer*, released in 1549, maintained continuity by translating much of the Sarum rite into English.⁹ But it also advanced the agenda of Evangelical and Reformed theologians by integrating the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith, and the need for faith to receive the full benefits of the grace of the sacraments, into the new liturgy. In 1550, Cranmer released a new ordinal that returned to Scripture and Patristic sources to uphold the three-fold order of bishops, priests, and deacons. Moreover, it emphasizes the exegetic and homiletic responsibilities of bishops and priests.¹⁰ In the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, Cranmer adopts Augustinian realist language that aligns with the doctrine of sacramental union and avoids the language of transubstantiation. This realist theology contrasts with the nominalism of the *Forty-Two Articles of Religion* that appeared at the end of Edward's reign.¹¹ Because of resistance from some Evangelicals, as well as national Catholics of the Henrician mold, Edward did not promulgate these articles until 1553, and Queen Mary soon rescinded them. The later Archbishop Matthew Parker and Queen Elizabeth revised the *Forty-Two Articles* to form the *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*. The revised articles retrieve a realist Eucharistic theology and reflect changed historical circumstances. These articles would prove to have a lasting impact as a quasi-doctrinal standard in the Church of England.¹²

The Edwardine Reformation appears as a high-water mark of Continental Reformation influence in the Church of England, informing the convictions of both monarch and clergymen. Many Anglican divines in this era adopted the organizing dogmatic convictions of the Lutheran and Calvinist reformers,

⁹ See Katherine Anne Krick-Pridgeon, "'Nothing for the godly to fear': Use of Sarum Influence on the 1549 Book of Common Prayer" (Doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2018), <https://etheses.dur.ac.uk/12868/>.

¹⁰ See the Church of England's defense of Anglican orders and the Edwardine ordinal in *Saepius Officio* (London, 1897), <https://anglicanhistory.org/orders/saepius.pdf>, and Alexander Forbes's *Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles* (J. Parker, 1867), 705–706, where he explains that the Church of England's reforms to the ordinal find primitive precedent in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the Tenth council of Carthage, and early Greek Orthodox ordination rites.

¹¹ Brian Douglas, *A Companion to Anglican Eucharistic Theology, Volume 1: The Reformation to the 19th Century* (Brill, 2011), 238–39.

¹² See Oliver O'Donovan, *On the Thirty-Nine Articles: A Conversation with Tudor Christianity* (Hymns Ancient and Modern Ltd, 2011) for a recent and representative reformed Anglican interpretation of the Articles, and for a more episcopal interpretation, see Edward John A. Bicknell, *Theological Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* (Wipf and Stock, 2008).

without a sufficient consensus forming for either of these systems to determine the shape of the Church of England's liturgy and doctrinal standards as a whole. For Evangelicals, for instance, justification by faith alone stands at the center of Lutheran dogma. Ecclesiology, sacramental theology, and moral theology develop on the basis of this principle. Henry and Elizabeth opposed Luther's severing of faith and good works, and they preferred the theology of Philip Melanchthon to that of his mentor, believing that Melanchthon maintained the continuous relationship between true faith and its manifestation in the fruit of loving action.¹³ In Calvin's thought, the doctrines of election and predestination hold a comparable place to that of *Sola Fide* for Evangelicals, especially his conviction that God predestines the elect to salvation through his irresistible grace imparted to the elect and the wretched to damnation without secondary cause. Although many Edwardine divines privately accepted this Calvinist soteriology, it never entered into Anglican doctrinal standards, sacramental theology, and trinitarian theology in a systematic manner. Thus, Article XVII on predestination interprets the Scripture on election and predestination as referring to God's choice to save the elect to everlasting beatitude. It does not speak to the question of predestination and election to perdition. The English Reformation maintained a patristic comprehensiveness, deferring to Western fathers such as Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Anselm, a comprehensiveness precluded by the confessional systems of Lutheranism and Calvinism.¹⁴

In the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*, Cranmer adopts more reformed language, emphasizing the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the ways in which faithful communicants feed on Christ in their hearts by faith. This Eucharistic rite, while patient of a realist interpretation, demonstrates Cranmer, and the Church of England more generally, moving away from Patristic sacramental theology and closer to Swiss sources.¹⁵ Despite this direction of travel among Cranmer and other English reformers,

¹³ See John Schofield, *Philip Melanchthon and the English Reformation* (Routledge, 2006), 61–66 for the Henrician Evangelical turn on account of Melanchthon's modification of Luther's position on good works and the bondage of the will and "Melanchthon and the English Deborah" for an account of Elizabeth's desire for an Evangelical settlement along the lines of the Augsburg Confession.

¹⁴ See Wayne John Hankey, "Magis ... Pro Nostra Sententia: John Wyclif, His Mediaeval Predecessors and Reformed Successors, and a Pseudo-Augustinian Eucharistic Decretal," *Augustiniana* 45, no. 3/4 (1995): 213–45.

¹⁵ For an explanation of how Cranmer and others defended a theology of instantiation, despite the apparent nominalism of the 1552 black rubric, see Douglas, *Anglican Eucharistic Theology*, 72.

the Church of England retained enough conservative influence to ensure that the forms and practices necessary to permit metaphysical realism in ecclesiology and sacramental theology in her liturgy until the end of the reign of King Edward.¹⁶

Elizabethan Evangelical Catholicism and Puritan Unrest

After the shift to Roman Catholic ecclesiology and theology during the reign of Queen Mary, the reign of Queen Elizabeth marked a moderate return to the reforming agendas of her late brother and father. Elizabeth formed her theological convictions under the influence of the national catholic faith and practice of the Henrician church and the Evangelical humanist assumptions instilled in her education.¹⁷ Despite the latter influences, Elizabeth remained open to entering into communion with the See of Rome until 1571, and she held this desire for international catholic Christian cooperation despite advancing evangelical and reformed pressures among her own bishops and clergymen reacting to the persecution of Protestants under Mary.¹⁸ Her desire for moderate reform appears in her selection of Matthew Parker as archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁹ Parker, although influenced by Evangelical and Reformed theology, sought to demonstrate the continuity of the Church of England with the pre-Reformation church, as it existed prior to late Medieval Roman corruptions, particularly in its Eucharistic theology, which he compares to that of Ælfric of Eynsham, and in its three-fold order of bishops, priests, and deacons, which existed in England prior to the mission of Augustine of Canterbury and union with the Roman See.²⁰ Elizabeth opposed Puritanism on liturgical, sacramental, and political grounds.²¹ John Knox famously wrote in opposition to the rule of queens, and Elizabeth appears to

¹⁶ See Darwell Stone, *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist: Vol 2* (Longmans, Green, 1909), 138–43.

¹⁷ See Schofield, *Melanchthon and Reformation*, 159–160, for an account of Elizabeth's study of Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* under the tutelage of Edmund Allen.

¹⁸ See Nichols, *Panther and Hind*, 17.

¹⁹ Chadwick, *Reformation*, 132–34.

²⁰ See Matthew Parker, *A Testimonie of Antiquitie, Shewing the Auncient Fayth in the Church of England Touching the Sacrament of the Body and Bloude of the Lord Here Publikely Preached, and also Receaved in the Saxons Tyme, about 600 Yeares Agoe* (London, 1736) https://www.google.com/books/edition/A_Testimonie_of_Antiquitie_shewing_the_a/aMXpXmdHDNwC?hl=en&gbpv=0, for an example of Parker's zeal to demonstrate the continuity of the early medieval church in England and the established Church of England.

²¹ Nichols, *Panther and Hind*, 17.

have seen his work and that of other radical Presbyterians as schismatic in their ecclesiology and subversive in their political theory. Overall, Elizabeth's conservative modifications to the Articles of Religion and Book of Common Prayer drafted during the reign of Edward suggest that she held Evangelical Catholic doctrinal convictions, as well as the desire to placate her more strongly Lutheran and Calvinist allies in the Church of England and abroad.²² After Pius VI excommunicated Elizabeth in 1571, she gave up on hopes for inter-communion with Roman Catholics, and she sought to forge a lasting religious settlement in England. Both Elizabeth and Mary opposed their father's consolidation of ecclesiastical authority in the monarch and maintained that the determination of the truth of doctrine belonged to the Church, for Mary, the Roman magisterium, and for Elizabeth, the Biblical and Patristic teaching of Catholic Orthodoxy as received in the Church of England, as governed by the godly magistrate.

Moreover, Elizabeth played an integral role in the Church of England's reception of Christian doctrine. It was under her reign, and with her influence, that the Forty-Two Articles took lasting form as Thirty-Nine. These Anglican Articles of Religion respond to the doctrinal controversies of the sixteenth century by turning, first and foremost, to Scripture, and they interpret Scripture in light of the teaching of Patristic, Evangelical, and Reformed sources.²³ Elizabeth, following Henry, justified her role in the revision of these articles on the basis of tradition, namely the historical role of Christian emperors in calling councils and defending Christian orthodoxy within their realm. The language of the *Thirty-Nine Articles* derives from ecumenical dialogue with German Evangelicals and the comparable Confession of Württemberg. After the persecution of Evangelical and Reformed Christians during the reign of Mary, many Anglicans fled to the continent, and the most influential party of Marian exiles to return when Elizabeth came to power were the advanced Protestants taking inspiration from Reformed theology in Zurich and Geneva. Thus, the *Thirty-Nine Articles* apply both Reformed and Evangelical language and categories without adopting their confessional

²² Chadwick, *Reformation*, 132.

²³ For an account of the Patristic and Medieval theology undergirding the Articles, see Forbes's *Explanation*. For a comparable account of their Evangelical sources, see Richard Laurence, *An Attempt to Illustrate Those Articles of the Church of England, which the Calvinists Improperly Consider as Calvinistic: In Eight Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford in the Year MDCCCIV at the Lecture Founded by John Bampton* (Oxford, 1838), <https://books.google.st/books?id=wpoPAAAAIAAJ>. And finally, Gerald Bray provides a characteristically Reformed interpretation of the Articles and their sources in *The Faith We Confess: An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles* (Latimer Trust, 2009).

systems. Elizabeth sought to maintain continuity with Henrician national catholicism and the formularies developed in the Edwardian Reformation without alienating either the Lutherans or Reformed in the Church of England.²⁴ In the national church, clergymen were required to subscribe to the *Articles* as true and agreeable to the Scriptures, and at other times, Oxford and Cambridge required laymen to subscribe in order to attain membership as students or tutors. The *Articles of Religion* never took on the same ecclesial authority as the *Westminster Confession of Faith* in the Reformed tradition or *The Book of Concord* among Evangelicals. The *Articles* do not offer a comprehensive system or replace the doctrine of the creeds or ecumenical councils. Instead, they present some timeless truths of Christianity and respond to soteriological, ecclesial, and sacramental controversies confronting reformers of the English Church at the time of the Reformation. Ordinands or clergymen who dissent from the *Articles* may no longer serve in the Church of England because their teaching may spread error, cause schism, or foster sedition.

The *Thirty-Nine Articles* and *Book of Common Prayer* adopted by the Church of England during the reign of Elizabeth respond to the Reformers' rejection of Roman Catholic ecclesiology, soteriology, and sacramental theology by formulating doctrinal positions of their own, originating in Scripture, Patristic precedent, and careful consideration of Protestant dissent from late medieval Western dogmatic theology. The Anglican theological method appears, for instance, in the Church of England teaching that Scripture contains all things necessary for salvation (Art VI) and the Church has the authority to determine rights and ceremonies and settle controversies on the basis of, and in conformity with, Scripture (Art XX).²⁵ The *Articles* demonstrate a comparable method in articulating the doctrine of justification, insisting that justification comes by faith alone (Art XI) and faith necessarily manifests in the fruits of good works (Art XII).²⁶ This desire to hold the truths revealed in Scripture, and recovered by the Reformers, without losing other truths revealed in Scripture and maintained in the great tradition appears in the *Articles* on free-will and predestination. The preventing grace of Christ is necessary to set free the fallen will of persons outside the Church (Art X), and God predestines and elects Christians to life (Art XVII). But Article XVII

²⁴ Bicknell, *Introduction to the Articles*, 14–17.

²⁵ For a clarification of the relationship between the authority of Scripture and authority of the Church in the *Articles*, see Forbes, *Explanation*, 91–99 and 278–83.

²⁶ Bicknell, *Introduction to the Articles*, 199–206.

refrains from taking up Calvin's speculative theology of predestination to reprobation, irrefusable saving grace, and the impossibility of the regenerate apostatizing before death.²⁷ The sacramental theology of the *Articles and Book of Common Prayer* demonstrate a comparable willingness to hold on to true doctrines exaggerated in parts of the late medieval Western Church while recovering truths obscured behind these over-growths. Take, for instance, the relationship between the reality of sacramental grace given by God and the Church in baptism and communion and the need for Christians to remain open to these channels of grace. In worthy recipients, the sacraments have a wholesome effect and are "sure witnesses and effectual signs of Grace," and through the grace of the sacraments, God quickens, strengthens, and confirms faith in the baptized and communicants (Art XXV). The Articles warn, in the words of Paul, that the grace of sacraments can be refused through unworthy reception, as when Paul cautions that unworthy communicants eat and drink judgement and damnation on themselves (Art XXV).

The Sacramental Rites in *The Book of Common Prayer* demonstrate the same scriptural and theological both/and method, including truths present in the great tradition and truths obscured in the late medieval West and reaffirmed in the reformation, as in Elizabethan revision to the administration of Holy Communion. This revision harmonizes the 1549 and 1552 emphasis on the real presence of Christ and the need for faithful reception, as in the words of the distribution of the consecrated elements in both kinds, first the bread, "The bodie of our lord Jesu Christ which was geven for thee, preserve thy body and soule into everlastinge life, and take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ died for thee, and feede on him in thine heart by faith with thankesgevyng," and the wine, saying, "The bloude of our lorde Jesu Christ^o which was shedd for thee, preserve thy body and soule into everlasting life. And drinke this in remembraunce that Christes bloude was shedde for thee, and be thankful."²⁸ The words of administration combine the 1549 language of sacramental presence in the elements at consecration with the 1552 language of sacramental presence in the communicant through faithful reception. And when the priest speaks to the godmothers and godfathers in the baptismal service, he describes the prayers of the godparents that Christ promises to answer through the sacrament: "Jesus christ, would vouchesaufe to receive

²⁷ See Donald W. Sinnema, "Calvin and the Canons of Dordt (1619)," *Church History and Religious Culture* 91, no. 1–2 (2011): 87–103, <https://doi.org/10.1163/187124111X557782> for an explanation of how Calvin's theology informs the later Canons of Dort relating to soteriology.

²⁸ Brian Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 137.

them, to lay his handes upon them, to blesse them, to release them of their sinnes, to geve them the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting lyfe[.]”²⁹ The Prayer Book rite of baptism affirms the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The priest also instructs the godparents to promise on behalf of the child that they will respond in faith to the grace of the sacrament and “forsake the divel and al his woorkes, and constantly beleve Gods holy word, and obediently kepe his commaundements.”³⁰ The Elizabethan reformation occurs amidst the rising tide of Reformed theology in England, and nevertheless, Elizabeth’s Evangelical Catholicism, harmonizing the reforms of Henry and Edward, holds together the Henrician emphasis on the real givenness of God’s grace in the sacraments, and the Reformed emphasis on the need for faithful participation to rightly receive the grace of God. This theological position, maintaining both the real givenness of ecclesial and sacramental order, and the need to participate in this order by grace through faith, situates the Church of England in an unstable position. It is too hierarchical and traditional to please the advanced Reformed party, and it is at odds with late medieval distinctives of the Roman Catholic Church.

Early in Elizabeth’s reign, Reformed convictions among repatriated Marian exiles, the gentry, and much of the House of Commons meant that conformity in the restored *Ecclesia Anglicana* allowed many clergymen to maintain advanced Reformed convictions, so long as they appeared to adhere to standards of the Prayer Book and Articles. Elizabeth herself preferred customs of the national catholic Henrician church in discipline, such as celibate clergy. She also maintained traditional vestments, incense, bowing, crossing, and Western iconography, such as the crucifix, in her private chapel.³¹ This ritual and custom, combined with her Evangelical Catholic theological convictions, made for tenuous partnerships with Reformed bishops and theologians. This theological tension in the Elizabethan settlement appears in Elizabeth’s relationship with Archbishop John Whitgift. Whitgift, a reformed conformist, disciplined Puritans who sought to overturn the Elizabethan settlement by abolishing the episcopal rule and the acts of conformity. As master of Trinity College, Cambridge, he stripped Thomas Cartwright, the Puritan opponent of the Elizabethan religious settlement, of his fellowship. As archbishop,

²⁹ Cummings, *Common Prayer Texts*, 143.

³⁰ Cummings, *Common Prayer Texts*, 144.

³¹ See Roger Bowers. “The Chapel Royal, the First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth’s Settlement of Religion, 1559,” *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 2 (2000): 317–44, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X99001107>.

moreover, he intervened, along with the assistance of his successor, Richard Bancroft, in the controversy between the Puritan, Walter Travers, and the Reformed Catholic, Richard Hooker. Whitgift proscribed Travers from preaching and gave Hooker the rectory of Boscombe in Wiltshire to finish writing the seminal Anglican dogmatics of the epoch, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.³² Elizabeth supported Whitgift in enforcing her acts of uniformity and disciplining dissenters and non-conforming Puritans. But when Whitgift supported William Whitaker's revision to the *Articles of Religion*, adding the Lambeth Articles that affirmed Calvin's soteriological system grounded on double predestination and its associated doctrinal commitments, Elizabeth refused the changes.³³ Conformists in the early years of Elizabeth's reign defended the theology of the Prayer Book and Articles in reaction to the Marian imposition of Roman Catholicism, and in response to Roman Catholic claims of heresy and schism in the Church of England. John Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England* is a representative early conformist work.³⁴ In the *Apology*, Jewel argues that the Church of England is continuous with the Church established by Christ, extended by the Apostles, and overseen by the Catholic fathers. Jewel argues from a reformed conformist soteriological point-of-view, and in doing so, refrains from speaking to the question of double predestination. In contrast, his sacramental theology is more Reformed than conformist—he denies the participation of the consecrated elements in Christ and affirms the participation of the faithful communicant. The prominent place given to Jewel's *Apology* in the Elizabethan Church demonstrates the tension between the sacramental realism of the queen and formularies, and the nominalism vis-à-vis consecrated elements popular among reformed conformists aligned with late Edwardine theological norms.³⁵ In contrast, avant-garde conformists, theologians such as Richard Hooker and Lancelot Andrewes, developed a theology more distinctively

³² For a thorough account of the tensions between reformed conformists such as Whitgift, Presbyterians such as Cartwright, and the developing school of avant-garde conformity pioneered by Richard Hooker, see Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?: Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (Routledge, 2020).

³³ In 1593, Elizabeth translated the verses of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and appears to have shared his interpretation of the compatibility of freedom and providence. See Malcolm B. Yarnell III, "The Theology of Elizabeth I: Politique or Believer?" *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 62, no. 1 (2019), <https://equipthecalled.com/swjt-journal-article/the-theology-of-elizabeth-i-politique-or-believer/>.

³⁴ See John Jewel, *An Apology of the Church of England*, ed. J. E. Booty (Folger Shakespeare Library, 1963).

³⁵ Douglas, *Anglican Eucharistic Theology*, 121–22.

Anglican, synthesizing the emphasis of the formularies, the Queen's Evangelical Catholicism, and an Augustinian soteriology and sacramental theology that avoids the idiosyncrasies of the Calvinist system.³⁶

The Puritans, advanced Calvinists, some of whom carried Calvin's convictions beyond the accidental Presbyterianism of their master, opposed marks of continuity between the Church of England before and after the Reformation, particularly its commitment to episcopacy and the historic three-fold order of clergy, its liturgical inheritance from the medieval Western rite, and its acts of supremacy and uniformity. Many Calvinist internationalists longed for Reformed union and soteriological and sacramental parity between reformed churches in Scotland, England, and on the continent. The Puritans, moreover, sought to advance reformation in the Church of England by applying the regulative principle to its worship, and removing what they perceived to be traditions of men that accreted over the centuries and obscured the truth of the gospel and election.³⁷

Richard Hooker came of age during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the patronage of Bishop John Jewel allowed him to study theology at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Jewel and the first generation to defend the Church of England as constituted in the Elizabethan settlement were formed in the intellectual ferment of the Henrician and Edwardine Reformations and forged strong ties with continental reformers in the fires of the Marian counterreformation. Hooker, formed in the Elizabethan *Ecclesia Anglicana*, constructs a Reformed Catholic theology as a faithful member of the Church of England opposed to the Puritans threatening the doctrinal consensus represented in the Prayer Book and formularies. Hooker first entered the public eye in 1581, when he gave a sermon at St Paul's Cross that dissented from Calvinist soteriology, specifically as regards the Puritan's theory of predestination. Despite criticism of Hooker by advanced Calvinists, Elizabeth appointed him master of The Temple in London. In this role, he offended the leading Puritan theologian Walter Travers, a preacher at the Temple, when he argued that Roman Catholics could be saved. The conflict sparked the definitive statement of Puritan theological principles in Travers's *A Clear and*

³⁶ For an account of Hooker and Andrewes's avant-garde conformity, particularly their sacramentalism, ceremonialism, and anti-puritanism, see Peter McCullough, "Avant-Garde Conformity' in the 1590s," in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity c. 1520–1662*, ed. Anthony Milton (Oxford University Press, 2017), 380–384, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199639731.003.0020>.

³⁷ See John Craig, "The Growth of English Puritanism," *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (2008): 34–47.

Full Exposition from the Word of God of Ecclesiastical Discipline, as well as the foundational dogmatic theology of the reformed Church of England, *Of The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.³⁸ In this systematic defense of the theology of the Church of England, Hooker turns to Thomistic philosophical sources, Patristic, especially Augustinian sources, and the Anglican formularies, contending that they represent a coherent theology, not a half-reform or incoherent compromise, to defend the established church.³⁹ In order to understand Hooker's theological method, and the influence that it held on later Anglican theologians, it is important to note that he sees Scripture as the primary source of doctrine, and shares Cranmer and Jewel's deference to the exegesis of the Catholic Fathers of the first centuries, but he does not think that the authority of the Church in the interpretation of Scripture ends with the fourth ecumenical council. Instead, he argues that Scripture should be interpreted in light of reason and in accordance with the great tradition of Christian exegesis, interpretative resources that exist across the centuries.⁴⁰ This is not to say that the teaching office of the Church in any see during one time or place is infallible. But the Church, as the Articles insist, holds the authority to adjudicate in theological disagreements and settle them on the basis of revealed truth. The Puritans argued that the Church cannot require Christians to worship according to liturgical standards absent in Scripture. Moreover, Scripture is perspicuous and self-interpreting, such that scholastic methods of interpretation depart from the simplicity of Christian truth. Hooker also diverged from Puritan theology regarding the doctrine of predestination, arguing that God elects based on his foreknowledge of which persons will respond to his preventing grace and accept his saving grace. He, furthermore, argues that Christ himself instituted the episcopal presbyteral order, and the Apostles instituted the order of deacons. Churches without bishops can still administer efficacious sacraments, but they do not minister according to the fullness of apostolic order. The final books published after Hooker's death defend the relationship of the Church of England to the state on conciliarist

³⁸ See Walter Travers, *A Full and Plaine declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline* (Freschauer, 1574) and Richard Hooker, *Hooker: Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, ed. A. S. McGrade (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

³⁹ For accounts of Hooker's Augustinian philosophical theology and soteriology, see Paul Anthony Dominiak, *Richard Hooker: The Architecture of Participation* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019) and W. J. Torrance Kirby, *Richard Hooker, Reformer and Platonist* (Routledge, 2016).

⁴⁰ See A. S. McGrade's "Classical, Patristic, and Medieval Sources" in *A Companion to Richard Hooker*, ed. Torrance Kirby (Brill, 2008), 51–87, <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004165342.i-670.17>, for a fuller discussion of these Patristic and medieval sources.

grounds, and they maintain the legitimacy of a national church to reform on Biblical and traditional grounds with conciliar participation from the whole of the Church, including clergymen, as in the decisions of bishops, and laymen, as in the decisions of the monarch and churchmen in parliament.⁴¹

Despite the widespread presence of Reformed Anglican conformists among Elizabeth's bishops, political and ecclesiastical insubordination on the part of Puritan non-conformists culminated in the queen taking decisive action to discipline Presbyterians at the end of her reign. In 1593, she permitted the hanging of the publisher of the Marprelate Tracts, a series of satirical papers mocking the queen and bishops in a manner that warranted their designation as seditious material. At the end of her reign, moreover, Elizabeth and Parliament passed a law banishing those who gathered for unauthorized worship services, a law that targeted non-conforming Puritans and Roman Catholics alike. Elizabeth closed her reign steering the Church of England in the theological direction defended by the new style of conformists such as Hooker and Andrewes. But many passengers and crewmen hoped to change course when a new magistrate took the throne.

Episcopalians and the Beauty of Holiness

King James I and VI oversaw the Church of England's adoption of a set of canons (1604), an authorized translation of the Bible, and the promotion of avant-garde conformists such as Lancelot Andrewes and John Overall, the former of whom inspired William Laud's later revival of episcopalianism, sacramentalism, and ceremonialism in the Church of England.⁴² James opposed the Presbyterianism of the Church of Scotland and rejected the ecclesiology and political theory of his Puritan tutors. He believed that God

⁴¹ Nichols provides a succinct and perceptive analysis of the role of scriptural and ecclesiastical authority in Hooker's vindication of the Church of England in *Panther and Hind*, 44–50, where he argues that “Hooker regards the episcopate and presbyterate as directly founded by Christ, with the diaconate being the creation of the apostolic church. Following Thomas he sees episcopate and presbyterate as in internal differentiation within a single ministerial order, thus going against the contrasting view of Robert Bellarmine that they are two distant orders, each an order in its own right—the approach increasingly favoured by High Church Anglicans in Elizabeth's later years.”

⁴² Accounts of Edwardine iconoclasm and Calvinism transforming parish life are well circulated, as in Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (Yale University Press, 2022), whereas the restoration of images, altars, and ceremonies receives less attention. For an important description of the spread of sacramentalism and ceremonialism, see Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c. 1700* (Oxford University Press, 2007), especially 74–122.

instituted monarchy to answer the political needs of humanity for fatherhood and episcopacy to answer their religious need, and both forms of patriarchy corresponded to the fatherhood of God.⁴³ James's high ecclesiology informed his support for episcopal governance of the Church of England, as in the 1604 canons.⁴⁴ James's expression of Reformed Catholicism differed from that of Hooker in certain regards—for instance, he held to Calvin's reprobationism, and this influenced his ecumenical policy, as when he sent Anglican representatives to the Synod of Dort.⁴⁵ And while Calvinist Anglican soteriology maintained its hegemony among clergymen during the reign of King James, and James himself professed Calvin's double decree, he considered this an issue of secondary importance and refused to ratify the Lambeth Articles or Canons of Dort. Furthermore, he opposed the discussion of the controversial issues coming out of Dort in England. By the end of his reign, James found allies in his ecclesiastical policy against popery and Presbyterianism among theologians in the tradition of Andrewes and Overall. Thus, he defended Richard Montague, who opposed the Calvinist doctrines of man and salvation and sought common ground with Roman Catholics, to the chagrin of Puritan Anglicans.⁴⁶

King Charles I maintained the theological doctrines of the Church of England and elevated William Laud to serve as the Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud, along with a number of like-minded Caroline bishops, adopted the theological posture of his avant-garde conformist predecessors in maintaining the divine origins of episcopacy, the real participation of sacramental signs in the things signified, and opposition to advanced Calvinism.⁴⁷ Episcopalians, moreover, tended to hold a high view of the authority of the Church and adopted a hermeneutic of continuity when interpreting English church

⁴³ Nichols, *Panther and Hind*, 55–56.

⁴⁴ The 1604 canons proscribed puritan dissent from the ecclesiastical and theological order of the Church of England. Thus they stood in the way of more advanced reform and ensured continued episcopalian polity. See Gerald Bray, "Canon Law and the Church of England," in Milton, *Oxford History of Anglicanism; Volume 1*, 180–83, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199639731.003.0009>.

⁴⁵ See Anthony Milton, ed., *The British Delegation and the Synod of Dort (1618–1619)* (Boydell Press, 2005).

⁴⁶ Lake provides a more detailed explanation as to why James elevated avant-garde conformists and even sided with them in the Montagu controversy, despite maintaining the Reformed theology of grace. See Peter Lake, "The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I." *Journal of British Studies* 24, no. 2 (1985): 169–207.

⁴⁷ For an anthology of writings from the period that provides a representative introduction to the style and substance of Caroline divinity, see Benjamin Guyer, *The Beauty of Holiness: the Caroline Divines and Their Writings* (Canterbury Press, 2012).

history. Laudians contended that continuity of bishops in Apostolic succession and worship in holy temples through the ministrations of priests making commemorative sacrifices at altars testified to the Catholicity of the Church of England. Since they saw continuity as a mark of Catholic participation in the Church instituted by Christ, they argued that the restoration of altars, images, ceremonies, and sacramental practices present in the Patristic and Medieval Church demonstrated the integrity of the Church of England with that of the undivided Church existing prior to the great schism of East and West.⁴⁸ The Eastern and Roman churches, therefore, share the three-fold order inherited from the Apostles with the Church of England. And Laud follows Hooker and others who argue that Roman Catholics can receive salvation, explaining that though the potential exists, the errors and defects of the Church of Rome are such that salvation is only possible for the ignorant and reformers in the Roman jurisdiction. James and Charles invested traditional rights and powers in the bishops that were withheld during the reign of Elizabeth, and they applied these powers to ensure greater uniformity and conformity to doctrinal and ceremonial standards.⁴⁹ Puritan opposition to the authority of the bishops, on one hand, and continued polemic from Roman Catholics against the ecclesiology of the Church of England on the other, led Anglican theologians to reflect on the nature of the Church and the legitimate authority of bishops and national churches to teach doctrine and discipline clergymen and laymen.⁵⁰

Robert Sanderson and Jeremy Taylor argued that local churches, general councils, and even the consensus of the Church in a given era, or as a whole, can err. Thus, they insisted on the local, general, and universal fallibility of the Church. In contrast, Laud and like-minded theologians argued for the infallibility of the Church in ecumenical council, the consensus of the Church Fathers, and the authority of the local church to settle disputes, if not infallibly, when interpreting Scripture and resolving controversies. Since local councils can and do err, this Laudian ecclesiology raised the question of how

⁴⁸ For a summary of the Laudian case for a continuous priesthood, sacrifice, and use of altars among worshipers of the true God from Adam to the present, see Peter Lake, *On Laudianism: Piety, Polemic and Politics During the Personal Rule of Charles I* (Cambridge University Press, 2023), 204–218.

⁴⁹ For an explanation of the crucial role of church tradition in the restoration of authority to Laudian bishops and priests over worship practices, see Lake, *Laudianism*, 156–70.

⁵⁰ At the outset of his reign, Charles asked Laud for a list of clergymen eligible for preferment, and Laud provided a list with names marked puritan or orthodox. The king then acted to suppress puritan influence in the church. See Chadwick, *Reformation*, 222.

the Church of England should relate to other parts of the Church, especially the Church Catholic. John Bramhall adopted a conciliarist ecclesiology that sees an essential Church present throughout history. This essential Church includes the symbolic Church of all those who confess faith in the symbol of the Creeds across time and space, and it also includes the believers in a given generation, which Bramhall describes as the Catholic Church. Finally, Bramhall holds out the possibility of the parts of the Catholic Church that have retained bishops sending their bishops to meet in a general council, which he refers to as the representative Church.⁵¹ This conciliarist episcopalian ecclesiology develops the high view of episcopacy found in Laud and maintains that Christ did not ordain the Bishop of Rome to uniquely keep the faith or teach truly about faith and morals.⁵² The Episcopalians, despite their differences, share the conviction that Christ has instituted one Apostolic Church, and they could claim continuity with that Church based on their Apostolic beliefs, the beliefs of the creeds and ecumenical councils, and their Apostolic order, evident in the oversight of bishops and right celebration of the two sacraments instituted by Christ, baptism and communion.

The episcopalian hermeneutic of continuity, at least in part, derives from the higher place given to tradition as an authority for avant-garde conformists such as Lancelot Andrewes.⁵³ The importance of this approach can be seen in Andrewes's defense of Anglican Eucharistic theology, wherein he argues that the Church of England, in both liturgical and doctrinal teaching, maintains that in the sacrament of communion, God transmutes the elements of bread and wine such that Christ's body and blood are sacramentally present and participate in his once and perfect sacrifice.⁵⁴ The spread of Reformed theology in the Church of England led to many parishes stripping their altars and installing tables. The Episcopalians, in contrast, inspired by this doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, restored altars and traditional ceremonial.⁵⁵ In the

⁵¹ For an explanation of the conciliarist tradition informing Bramhall's theology, see Joseph Canning, *Conciliarism, Humanism and Law: Justifications of Authority and Power, c. 1400–c. 1520* (Cambridge University Press, 2021). For an attempt to apply conciliarist principles to reform the Anglican communion, see Phil Ashby, *Anglican Conciliarism: The Church Meeting to Decide Together* (Anglican House, 2017).

⁵² Nichols provides a good summary of the respective ecclesiologies found among the Laudians in *Panther and Hind*, 62–64.

⁵³ Lake finds the theological origins of Laudianism in the liturgical and dogmatic theology of Lancelot Andrewes. See *Laudianism*, 48–117.

⁵⁴ Douglas, *Anglican Eucharistic Theology*, 136–42.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of Reformed English iconoclasm, see Fincham, *Altars Restored*, 9–34, and for a description of the Laudian restoration of altars, 305–341.

Elizabethan and Jacobean Church of England, Puritan conformists hoped to finish the English Reformation along Scottish or Genevan lines. James, in contrast, expressed his desire for the Church of England to communicate with all other Catholic Christians, including Roman Catholics.⁵⁶ When King Charles appointed Laud as archbishop and set out to establish episcopalian Orthodoxy in England and Scotland, insisting on the need for bishops, the English use of the Western rite in Holy Communion, and wrote a preface to the *Articles of Religion* that ruled out reading Calvinist soteriology into the Anglican formularies, the incompatibility of Puritan conformity and episcopalian conformity in the Church of England became apparent.⁵⁷ The episcopalian Anglican spirit was one of Catholicity and piety. The clergymen and theologians following Laud's leadership sought greater Eucharistic reverence and a renewed vision of churches and cathedrals as houses of prayer set apart to usher Christians into the presence of God and the beauty of holiness.

Among the Caroline divines, Anglican Orthodoxy took shape as a distinct theological tradition, conforming neither to Reformed orthodoxy, as exemplified in the Canons of Dort and later the Westminster Confession; nor to Evangelical orthodoxy, as articulated in the Book of Concord; nor to Roman Catholic dogma, as codified at the Council of Trent. Instead, Anglican theologians entered an epoch of concentration, in which theologians such as William Laud and John Bramhall wrote major works in defense of the theology of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* against the criticism of Puritans and Roman Catholics.⁵⁸ Their arguments derive from the conviction that Scripture contains all things necessary for salvation, the Church Fathers hold authority as interpreters of Scripture, and the Church of England reformed the continuous Church governed by bishops appointed by the apostles and her liturgy, ceremony, and sacramental theology. Bramhall, the latter theologian, also made important contributions to the philosophical theology of the Church of England, especially in his refutation of the mechanistic determinism

⁵⁶ See William Brown Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge University Press, 2000) for a description of James's attempts to bring peace among Christian nations and communion among separated jurisdictions.

⁵⁷ Bryan D. Spinks, "The Emergence of a Reformed Worship Tradition in Scotland," in *A Companion to the Reformation in Scotland, c.1525–1638*, ed. Ian Hazlett (Brill, 2021), 258–85.

⁵⁸ See, for example, William Laud, *Liturgy, Episcopacy and Church Ritual: Three Speeches* (J. H. Parker, 1840) and John Bramhall, *A Just Vindication of the Church of England from the Unjust Aspersion of Criminal Schisme* (London, 1654), in the digital collection Early English Books Online, University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, accessed October 12, 2024, <https://name.umdl.umich.edu/A29199.0001.001>.

of Thomas Hobbes.⁵⁹ Another episcopalian from the period who made philosophical and dogmatic contributions to the doctrine of God, theological anthropology, and metaphysics in the Anglican tradition is Thomas Jackson. The Oxford Platonist, who wrote a ten-volume commentary on the Apostles' Creed, demonstrated the philosophical and theological coherence of Catholic Christianity in the face of criticism from early modern rationalists and atheists.⁶⁰ Moreover, he vindicated the distinctives of Anglican Orthodoxy on the basis of Biblical and Patristic precedents and, in doing so, answered the critiques of Puritans and Roman Catholics.⁶¹ His influence on later Anglican theologians is widespread, for instance, informing the traditional theism of E. L. Mascall and the Christian Platonism of Robert Crouse. After the Civil War, John Pearson crafted another seminal commentary on the *Apostles' Creed*, which distinguished Anglican ecclesiology and soteriology from Calvinists and Roman Catholics. He set out a positive Anglican theology that served as a major dogmatics for ordinands in Oxford and Cambridge in the coming years.⁶² The Caroline divines' liturgical, sacramental, ceremonial, and soteriological reforms forge an Anglican Orthodoxy conforming to the formularies of the Church of England upheld on Biblical and Patristic grounds and distinguished from competing confessions. James, especially in the latter part of his reign, and Charles, throughout his reign, empowered bishops and theologians firmly committed to episcopalianism and sacramentalism. This Reformed Catholic consolidation of an Anglican identity distinct from the Reformed Orthodoxy of a developing international Calvinism frustrated Reformed Anglicans dominant in the lower ranks of the clergy. The increasing tension between Episcopalians and Puritans set the scene for the coming Civil War.

⁵⁹ See Thomas Hobbes and John Bramhall, *Hobbes and Bramhall on Liberty and Necessity*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge University Press, 1999), i–iv, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139164207>.

⁶⁰ For an abridgement of Jackson's dogmatics, see *Commentaries upon the Apostles' Creed* (Whittaker & Company, 1899). For the best explanation of Jackson's philosophical theology, see James Bryson, *The Christian Platonism of Thomas Jackson* (Peeters, 2016).

⁶¹ For the most comprehensive account of Jackson's contribution to the construction of Anglican Orthodoxy, see Mark Edward Vander Schaaf, *The Theology of Thomas Jackson (1579–1640): an Anglican Alternative to Roman Catholicism, Puritanism, and Calvinism* (University of Iowa, 1979).

⁶² See John Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). For an explanation of the central role of Pearson's exposition in the formation of ordinands into the nineteenth century, see Alexander Penrose Forbes, *A Short Explanation of the Nicene Creed: For the Use of Persons Beginning the Study of Theology* (Parker, 1866), where Forbes explains that Pearson's introduction to theology offers a necessary, but not sufficient, instruction for ordinands.

Episcopalians followed King James in arguing that monarchy and episcopacy stand or fall together. They supported King Charles I as he sought to expand and consolidate the Anglican Orthodoxy of the Book of Common Prayer through the leadership of Archbishop Laud. In 1642, the Parliament, along with a coalition largely composed of Calvinists and Congregationalists of various stripes, rebelled against the king and episcopalian settlement in the Church of England. After Parliament gained decisive victories over the king and his forces, they tried and executed the monarch and archbishop. In swift succession, the advanced Reformed leading the roundheads empowered their own theologians to develop new doctrinal and liturgical standards that conformed to those of the Church of Scotland and Calvin's *Institutes*. The Westminster Assembly constructed a new confession, and soon after, the Commonwealth abolished episcopacy and instituted a new Reformed liturgy, *The Directory of Public Worship*. Among the opponents of the king, some Reformed conformists remained ambivalent on the question of episcopacy and merely demanded a more thoroughly Calvinist soteriological and sacramental order. These more moderate Calvinists lost the struggle for power to their more advanced Calvinist confreres, and revolution begot revolution. Led by Oliver Cromwell, soon rule by congregations replaced rule by presbyters, and the Reformed settlement collapsed.⁶³ In the face of this aggressively Reformed and unstable religious tumult, episcopalian clergymen ejected from their living sought to uphold the old religion in various ways—some through preaching, others through celebrating clandestine services from the *Book of Common Prayer*, and still others observing fasts and illegal feasts, such as Christmas and Easter.⁶⁴ Despite Puritan persecution in the interregnum consigning Jeremy Taylor to imprisonment and John Cosin to exile in France, Royalist Episcopalians such as Peter Heylyn, Peter Gunning, and Henry Hammond continued to write in defense of Anglican Orthodoxy, awaiting the restoration of the monarchy and the Church of England.⁶⁵ The bloodshed of the Civil War, as well as the disorder of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, led the English to desire the restoration of monarchy, episcopacy, and the Church of England. After Charles II ascended to the throne, he oversaw the restoration of the three-fold order of bishops, priests, and deacons and the drafting of the 1662

⁶³ Chadwick, *Reformation*, 233–40.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of royalist resistance during the Interregnum, see Anthony Milton, *England's Second Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 283–86.

⁶⁵ See Fincham, *Altars Restored*, 289–91, and Milton, *Second Reformation*, 255–436.

Book of Common Prayer.⁶⁶ It is this re-establishment of the Church of England that forged Anglican Christianity as a distinct tradition, and it is this reconstruction of Anglican identity after the restoration that consolidated the first principles of Anglican Orthodoxy. The doctrinal and liturgical settlement of this national Evangelical Catholic church distinguished it from both the churches of the Reformed international and the Church of Rome. The doctrines of the church and salvation were finally settled—and the Church of England had committed to rule by bishops and predestination to life. The contested church teaching on baptismal regeneration and the real presence of Christ at consecration and in reception were clarified and upheld in gentle revisions to the Prayer Book.⁶⁷ The spirit of the re-founded Church of England appears in the theology of Herbert Thorndike, a Caroline divine who contributed to the revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* and exemplified the desire to go behind the controversies of the Reformation and recover theological truths present in the undivided Church of East and West in the first millennium. Thorndike concedes that Henry and Elizabeth imperfectly reformed the Church of England to align with the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church, and he argues that they should have done more to pursue reunion with the Eastern churches. Moreover, he insists that it is the Church as a whole that is infallible, not any one part of the Church Catholic. Nevertheless, leaders of the Church of England should define communion on the basis of the decisions of ecumenical councils and the Patristic church. Thorndike argues that the restored Church of England will lack the confidence to clearly delineate the boundaries of communion until it restores primitive canon law and Catholic discipline.⁶⁸ Thorndike's confidence in the Biblical and Patristic foundation of the re-founded Church of England, and his hopes for its role in the reunion of the broader Church Catholic represent newfound Episcopalian confidence in the future of Anglican Orthodoxy.

⁶⁶ For a perceptive account of the sacramental significance of episcopalian revisions of the Prayer Book at the Savoy Conference, see Bryan D. Spinks, "The Restoration Settlement of Worship in the Established Churches of England and Scotland," *Liturgy in the Age of Reason: Worship and Sacraments in England and Scotland 1662–c.1800* (Routledge, 2016), 7–30, and for a classic comparison of the sources and revisions of the Prayer Book, see Frank Edward Brightman, *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, with an Introduction and an Appendix* (Rivingtons, 1921).

⁶⁷ Chadwick, *Reformation*, 244–47.

⁶⁸ See Herbert Thorndike, *Of the Government of Churches* (London, 1841) and Nichols, *Panther and Hind*, 73–74.

Conclusion

The English Reformation was a more liturgically and ecclesiological conservative reformation than others, centered in Wittenberg, Zurich, and Geneva. Because the English Reformers took on many theological convictions of the continental reformation while maintaining the visible form of the Patristic and Medieval Church, a three-fold order of bishops, priests, and deacons, and because its liturgical forms in *The Book of Common Prayer* synthesized an English translation of the offices and communion services of the historic English use of the Western-rite with continental reforms, the Church of England entered the seventeenth century with a contested theological identity. This contested identity, while drawing on various humanist and reformation influences from the period, is best understood as a turn away from late Medieval Roman Catholicism to an Augustinian soteriological, sacramental, and political identity.⁶⁹

As the Church of England entered the eighteenth century, it took a shape that centered on its Anglican Orthodox doctrinal standards and Episcopalian and Reformation schools of theology. In ordination, priests vowed to conform to the liturgy of *The Book of Common Prayer* and the doctrine of the *Thirty-Nine Articles*. And they submitted to the bishops and canons. This meant teaching the truth contained in Scripture as interpreted by the Catholic Fathers, creeds, and councils. The Augustinian Anglican theological tradition had achieved a form that comprehended the sermons of Cranmer, Parker, and Andrews—their books of homilies given authoritative status in the period of the construction of Anglican Orthodoxy.⁷⁰ It is this theological consensus that would inform the doctrinal boundaries of the Anglican communion as it expanded and became the third-largest Christian communion in the world.

⁶⁹ See Robert D. Crouse, "The Book of Common Prayer in Historical and Theological Perspective," The Prayer Book Society of Canada, <https://prayerbook.ca/the-bcp-in-historical-and-theological-perspective/>, where he argues that "the fundamental liturgical document underlying the Prayer Book liturgy is the Sarum Missal, and the theological standpoint might be described as basically Augustinian," also W. J. T. Kirby, "From 'General Meditations' to 'Particular Decisions': The Augustinian Coherence of Richard Hooker's Political Theology," in *Law and Sovereignty in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Brepols, 2011), 41–63, W. J. T. Kirby, ed. *Richard Hooker and the English Reformation*, Studies in Early Modern Religious Tradition, Culture and Society, vol. 2 (Springer, 2013), and Yamamoto-John Wilson, "An Annotated Catalogue of Protestant Editions in English of Works by and Relating to Saint Augustine of Hippo, 1529–1700," *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 13, no. 1 (2011): 93–132.

⁷⁰ See Gerald Bray, *The Books of Homilies: A Critical Edition* (James Clark, 2016) and Lancelot Andrewes, *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. Peter McCullough (Oxford University Press, 2005).

