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THE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL REASONS FOR THE CHANGES IN ANGLICAN VESTMENTS BETWEEN THE SEVENTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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By

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This study investigates the liturgical attire of the Church of England from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century, by studying the major Anglican vestments, observing modifications and omissions in the garments and their uses, and researching the reasons for any changes.

Using the various Anglican Prayer Books and the monarchial time periods as a guide, the progressive usages and styles of English liturgical attire are traced chronologically within the political, social and religious environments of each era. By examining extant originals in England, artistic representations, and ancient documentation, this thesis presents the religious symbolism, as well as the artistic and historical importance, of vestments within the Church of England from its foundation to the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout sixteenth-century Europe, one of the major concerns was the Protestant Reformation. It was no different in England where the Reformation arrived via the person of King Henry VIII and his consuming desire for a male heir. Although Henry VIII altered the power structure and land ownership of the Roman Catholic Church in England, he changed very little in the outward form or liturgy of his people's worship. The king authorized a convocation to convene for the purpose of standardizing the form of worship and prayer throughout his realm. This task was completed by Archbishop Cranmer during the Regency of Henry's son, Edward VI. The result was the issuance in 1549 of the first Book of Common Prayer, Administration of Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Churche of England, which established the form and fashion of worship to be followed in all Anglican churches. Although this book was directly based upon the Latin forms, it reflected such strong Protestant influences that it gave rise to a major controversy concerning vestments. This question became temporarily moot in 1553 when Edward VI died, and the devoutly Roman Catholic daughter of Henry and Catherine

ascended the throne. During her brief reign, one of Queen Mary's main goals was to restore England to Rome's religious jurisdiction. This resulted in an England weary and confused by the religious politics of its monarchs. The rule of each Tudor monarch had reflected his theology; Elizabeth I was no different. Perhaps because she had had to navigate so many religious cross-currents just to survive, or perhaps because she, like her father Henry, was particularly attuned to the mood of the people, any changes Elizabeth made came very gradually. Eventually, a broad, compromise Church of England was established with its Convocation producing in 1559 a more democratic revision of Edward VI's Book of Common Prayer. It included directives regarding ecclesiastical dress which revived the 1549 vestment controversy, renewing concern regarding vestment embellishment, which articles would be worn, when, and by whom.

During the seventeenth-century, there was a great deal of controversy and turmoil between the Anglicans, other Protestants, and Roman Catholics. Queen Elizabeth I's death in 1603 ushered in a new ruling family, the Stuarts, whose liturgical outlook was decidedly more Roman Catholic than the new, wealthy, strongly Protestant middle class, who sought increased constitutional liberties. In 1642, with the outbreak of civil war, the Protestants controlled

the government, banning both Roman Catholic and Anglican clergy as well as the Book of Common Prayer. Obviously, liturgical apparel was also in disfavor, remaining a subject of controversy even though the Church of England was restored simultaneously with the monarch in 1660.

During the eighteenth century, the prevailing tone in England was that of commercial, economic, and scientific advancement. Two movements, the Methodist and then later the Evangelical, brought new ideas to Anglicanism. Methodism aspired to bring religion more intensely to the individual, while the conversion of the heathen was a main concern of the Evangelicals. Although raising the social consciousness, neither movement contributed to communal worship in the established church; indeed, the service of Holy Communion became a rarity, and the decorative articles of liturgical vesture were seldom used.

Due to the social reforms of the nineteenth century, it became evident that the Church of England must reform from within before a secularly-oriented Parliament legislated drastic revisions. This was the purpose of the Oxford Movement, which reasserted the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, recalling the Church of England to its historical connection with the traditional church, an attitude which came to be reflected in liturgical dress. The revival movement, which also encouraged communal worship, and thus increased the wearing of vestments, had a

profound effect throughout the Anglican community. Although the Oxford Movement was partially a reaction against the materialism of the times, it was also well-suited to the Victorian period.

Statement of Problem

The purpose of this study is to investigate the religious and political reasons for the changes in Anglican vestments between the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century by studying the development of the major articles of Anglican liturgical attire, observing any modifications in these vestments, and exploring the reasons for any changes.

Methodology

Through persistent investigation, primary data was collected in London by locating, viewing, and examining actual Anglican ecclesiastical garments owned by the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Westminster Abbey Treasury and the Canterbury Cathedral Treasury. During this English trip of 1985, several interviews afforded unique insight into the subject. At Westminster Abbey, the Sub-Sacrist related pertinent information as to the particulars of Abbey regulations through the centuries and presented two copes from Charles II's coronation to be examined and photographed. The Abbey's St. Faith Seamstresses related how the materials were woven and constructed. They also

explained the problems in repairing them, especially those with gold or silver thread. At Oxford, the Rev. Charles Miller provided an enlightening tour and interview pertaining to the historical traditions of Oxford and the Oxford Movement, a nineteenth century theological revival, in particular, and was instrumental in obtaining access to Keble College's Macrina House Library and the Bodleian Library. Also at Oxford, the Rev. Michael Wright furnished further insights into the Oxford Movement and the following reinstatement of vestments. He also shared some of his photographs from the 1983 Exhibition of Vestments which he curated.

Secondary data was gathered through examining (1) theological literature pertaining to the history of the Church of England, (2) references concerning ecclesiastical dress, (3) publications about monumental brasses and (4) writings concerning the history of textiles and religious symbolism. Reproductions of works of art depicting Anglican worship were also studied.

Hampering this study was the eighteen-month closing of Bridwell Library for remodeling. This theological library at Southern Methodist University houses an excellent collection of Anglican documents. However, the two foremost American authorities on Anglican liturgics were interviewed by phone, in order to be sure no pertinent information was being overlooked. One of these professors,

Dr. Marion Hatchett, assisted in the procurement of three rare, antique volumes from the Seminary of the Southwest, Austin.

Review of Literature

Much has been written concerning religious art, architecture, and interior design. Yet, the field of ecclesiastical dress has been relatively neglected; only occasional textile and Medieval arts exhibitions have spotlighted some liturgical apparel. In recent years, the religious revival has increased interest in the changes in the Anglican church. Paralleling this has been an increased awareness of liturgical attire, not only by Anglicans but by art historians who must have knowledge of ecclesiastical dress depicted in art for purposes of understanding and dating that art. Although there are many references to vestments within theological literature, particularly within the Roman Catholic church, there is very little literature which focuses upon the changes and developments of the vestments themselves. Since the socio-political environment--both within and without the Anglican church from the seventeenth, through the nineteenth century--is reflected in the fashion of liturgical apparel, a study is needed to assist researchers and to raise the level of consciousness with respect to the preservation of this artistic medium.

One of the foremost and earliest sources for information pertaining to vestments was R.A.S. Macalister's book, Ecclesiastical Vestments: their Development and History, of 1896. In his book, Macalister attempted to show the true historical derivation of the vestments worn in the Eastern and Western Church and many of the reformed churches, and their common heritage. He wrote at a time of controversy concerning liturgical attire, a fact reflected in the book. Macalister's treatment of the historical development of many of the garments is sketchy in the light of more recent scholarship. For the past thirty-five years, Church Vestments: Their Origins and Development, by Herbert Norris, has been regarded as a principal resource for the development of vestments. Yet, Norris only documents the changes which occurred through the fifteenth century. Recently there have been two unique publications concerned with this subject. David Marshal-Martin's Ph.D. dissertation, Ecclesiastical Dress and Vestments of the Roman Catholic Church from the Eleventh Century to the Present: A Handbook of Patterns, Construction, and Vesting Procedures for use in the Theatre, of 1980, focused on providing drawn-to-scale patterns of Roman Catholic vestments and clerical attire. The historical and symbolic information included is somewhat sketchy. Janet Mayo's A History of Ecclesiastical Dress, 1984, is more descriptive, chronicling the development of clerical attire--Roman

Catholic, Anglican, Puritan--into the twentieth century. She is only marginally concerned with political or religious influences upon the use or development of the vestments, particularly during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

In 1983, a unique exhibition was mounted in Oxford, England, to commemorate the Oxford and resultant Tractarian Movements. This exhibition consisted entirely of nineteenth-century liturgical vestments and a few church ornaments. Although the catalogue accompanying the show gave explanations of the articles exhibited, it was limited to brief descriptions of the garments and embroideries, and was not widely distributed.

In 1975, the Art Institute of Chicago initiated what for America was a very unusual show: an exhibition composed entirely of various liturgical garments. The exhibition catalog, Raiment for the Lord's Service, contains 186 Roman Catholic and Anglican pieces from the eleventh century through the contemporary period. There has been no other major exhibition entirely devoted to ecclesiastical dress in this country. Even in the 1982 Vatican exhibition catalogue, Vatican Collections: the Papacy and its Art, there are illustrations only for two copes, one chasuble, a tunicle, a dalmatic, a stole, and a maniple. The Vatican exhibition at the New Orleans World's Fair also included vestments: two copes designed in this century--one in the

Medieval style, and one by Matisse. In recent years, the religious revival has increased interest in the historical development of the mainline Christian churches. Paralleling this has been an increased awareness of liturgical attire. Although there are many references to vestments within theological literature, particularly within the Roman Catholic church, there is very little literature which focuses upon the changes and developments of the vestments themselves.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND ITS ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS

In the sixteenth century religious and political events were particularly relevant to the development and establishment of the Church of England. The English Prayer Book is pertinent to this study because it not only established the form of the liturgy and worship but, through rubric-directives, it also decreed such aspects of worship as when to kneel and what ornaments and vestments were to be used within the worship service. This chapter discusses aspects of sixteenth-century England: (1) the historical development of the ecclesiastical vestments worn at the onset of this period (2) the formation of the Anglican Church (3) the establishment of the Church of England and its prayer book, and (4) the changes in vestments which occurred during the Tudor monarchies.

The Catholic Ecclesiastical Vestments

Prior to the first efforts to organize English worship and establish a set form to be universal throughout the realm, various forms of rites and ceremonial books existed throughout England. This was true throughout the Roman

Catholic Church, which was then the only universal and extant Christian institution. The early Christians had rapidly developed a ceremonial worship, partly due to the Jewish heritage of elaborate ceremonies. The Didiche, an early account of Christian ceremony, dating from approximately the first century A.D., records that the service of Holy Communion already existed in an established form. And the Hippolytean Canons, written about 250 A.D., are a rich record of ceremonial directives for early Christian worship.[1] Such directives grew up partly from custom and partly from local monastic and bishopric regulations. Points of ceremony were early causes for dispute, and eventually became codified in ordinals, such as the Ordo Romanus, or the Sarum Consuetudinary. These were compilations of provincial or diocesan practice.[2] The latter, the Sarum rite, was instrumental in the creation of the first English Prayer Book of 1549, from which the ceremonial point concerning ecclesiastical vestiture was drawn for Elizabeth's Prayer Book in 1559. A ceremonial point, around which much controversy would be waged intermittently for several centuries, was vestments.

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[1]Francis Proctor, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, rev. and rewritten by Howard Frere (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1955), 4.

[2]John Henry Blunt, The Annotated Book of Common Prayer (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1884), 2-3.

Deeply rooted in the utilitarian dress of early Christian daily life, vestments have a long and ancient heritage. Most western ecclesiastical dress can be traced back to the daily apparel worn by the Greeks and Romans. Evolving from these ancient garments over the centuries, the major ecclesiastical vestments worn in England prior to the Reformation, include: the amice, the alb, the cinture, the stole, the maniple, dalmatic and tunicle, the chasuble, and the cope. The Bishop's rochet and chimere, as well as the cassock, the surplice, the hood, the almuce, and the tippet either developed later, were hybrids, or were off-shoots from the main garment's development.

The amice traditionally is a square, fine linen scarf, usually white, which appeared in Rome about the 3rd century B.C. As shown in figure 1, it was worn about the neck, as a scarf. By the time of Christ, it had grown larger, and, though still worn about the neck, it was more like a shawl. It had two cords, one at each corner of one side which were crossed and tied in front to secure the amice, much as is done today. By 775 A.D., the amice, which had been adopted by the clergy as a vestment of ritual, was always white, although it began to be embellished with a panel of embroidery, called an apparel.[3]

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[3]Herbert Norris, Church Vestments: Their Origin and Development (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., INC., 1950), 855-86

The alb began as a piece of material worn wrapped around the body, much like a modern bath towel. Knee-length, it was fastened atop the shoulders, or at least one shoulder, as seen in figure 2, and girdled or belted for decency's sake. This developed into a closed cylinder with arm holes, usually made of white linen or wool. By the end of the first century A.D., women had also begun to wear the tunica alba, especially a longer version. By the second century, this longer tunca alba became a symbol of rank, since it inhibited labor. To celebrate a victory in 270 A.D., Emperor Aurelian, gave gifts of ankle-length tunica with long sleeves to all Rome's upper class citizens; thus these garments came to have sleeves.[4]

At the Council of Carthage, held about 400 A.D., every deacon was directed to wear an alb as he officiated, but only within the ceremony not for everyday.[5] This directive is probably the first rubric referring to vestments. Although in the eighth century, it had became very full-skirted, the alba returned to its original, first-century shape by the thirteenth century, and has remained basically so, to this day.

The cinture or girdle, was used by the ancient Greeks to belt the tunica alb; this use was continued throughout

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[4]Ibid., 15.

[5]Ibid., 16.

the Anglican Church to the modern day. The girdle has variously been a cord, a ribbon, or a leather strip; all, either plain or embellished.

The stole was also known as a sudarium or an orarium. In first century B.C. Greece, an article of cloth came into existence which was equivalent to the modern-day handkerchief, as it was used to wipe the face or nose and was of fine white linen. By the time of Imperial Rome, the stole--which had become elongated and was worn about the neck by all classes of Romans, even servants and slaves--was used to clean utensils and vessels. In the fourth century A.D., the orarium was a large linen napkin, up to eight feet long. It was carried folded and draped over the left shoulder, leaving the right hand free to work. By 327, it had become a narrow band and a liturgical vestment, worn by deacons due to its association with serving. It gradually ceased to be used to wipe the serving vessels, as a napkin took its place; however, it continued to be worn by the deacons draped over their left shoulders and loosely looped low, beneath their right arms. This manner of wearing the stole has been fixed since the seventh-century Council of Braga and is shown in figure 3.[6]

The stole is also worn by priests, but in a manner different from the deacon's, since the priest's stole

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[6]Ibid., 89.

apparently developed separately. It evolved either (1) from a piece or strip of cloth put around the neck to cover the bare area left exposed by the large openings in the tunic or paenula, or (2) from a strip of cloth worn by Romans to denote rank within their vocation. By the Council of Bracara of 572 A.D., it was prescribed that no priest should celebrate Mass without wearing a stole, and that it should be draped around the neck, falling forward over both shoulders, crossing upon the chest and being secured by the girdle at the waist-sides, then falling free to ankle-level.[7] In order to show their pectoral crosses, the bishops and archbishops did not have to cross the stole in front. By the eighth century, the stole was decorated with fringed ends, and embroidered symbols and notations decorated the end-area. One of the few extant examples is the seventh-century stole and maniple which belonged to St. Cuthbert at Durham Cathedral.

Since the ninth century, the stole has been said to symbolize the light yoke of Christ. In the tenth century, the stole ends became wider in order to accommodate elaborate embroidery, but this style became a matter of personal preference of the celebrant and donor. Otherwise the form of the stole has remained constant.

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[7]Percy Dearmer, The Parson's Handbook (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: n.p., 1902), 303.

The origin of the maniple is similar to that of the stole, beginning as a Greek, later a Roman, linen napkin, used at meals and carried on the left arm of a servant. The consul, or praetor used it to signal the beginning of the chariot races. From the earliest days of the Church it was used by the celebrant to wipe the communion vessels and hands at the Eucharist. Wearing the maniple was the prerogative of the deacons of Rome initially; they were ordered to wear it in 314 A.D. By the sixth century, it had definitely become a universal Church vestment. As seen in figure 4, the maniple began to be richly decorated during the ninth century and evolved into a long rectangular strip, three to four inches wide. The maniple is worn draped over the left wrist with the ends hanging free.[8]

The dalmatic and tunicle are worn by particular assistants in the Eucharistic service: the dalmatic is worn by the deacon, the tunicle by the sub-deacon. Its basic shape and development are shown in figure 5. Originally both were also part of the bishop's attire, slipped-on under his other vestments.[9] This third-century garment was basically an ungirdled tunic. It was, however, from its introduction, highly decorated; its entire surface often

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[8]Norris, 92-93.

[9]Dearmer, Parson's Handbook, 140.

covered with a diapering or perhaps dyed a rich color, with ornamental "clavi" or bands which extended from shoulder to hem and were placed, like cuffs, upon the sleeves. Usually of linen or wool, the dalmatic was essentially an outer garment, often worn over the tunic. By the fifth century, the dalmatic had become a customary liturgical vestment for deacons in Rome and is illustrated in the mid-sixth-century mosaics in the Basilica of St. Vitale, Ravenna. Both dalmatics and tunicles are generally notched or slit up the sides.[10] Originally, they did not necessarily match, although one was usually the same color as the chasuble; the dalmatic was always the more highly decorated of the two.

The chasuble evolved from the Greek and Roman paenula, so called from a Latin expression meaning to cover the entire person; its evolution is depicted in figures 6 and 7. A woolen outer garment worn for journeys and to protect one from rain or cold, the paenula was a large circle of cloth which had a hole in the center for the head and which hung down below the knees. Prevalent in the time of Christ and depicted in the catacombs, the paenula was worn during Christian worship in the second century, while also retaining its use as a cloak. In the fourth century, Bishop Sylvestor of Rome gave instructions to new bishops

[10]Janet Mayo, A History of Ecclesiastical Dress (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1984), 16.

that the paenula was to be worn both out-of-doors and when celebrating the Eucharist. During this period it was rarely decorated.[11]

The chasuble had two other predecessors: the casula and planeta. The casula was more closely fitted, being cut from only two-thirds of a semi-circle. The planeta was more voluminous, being formed from two-thirds of a full circle with a decorative band or orphrey hiding the seam. These garment names were used interchangeably, but casula, or <u>casubula</u> in Medieval Latin, was preferred by the ninth century. It was chesible in Middle English. This garment, which was made from good materials, such as linen, wool, and even silk for the higher clergy, was the sacerdotal vestment of celebrants.[12]

During the eleventh century, the chasuble became shorter and more pointed in front yet long and wide in the back, but by the twelfth century it had returned to the ancient conical paenula shape. With the advent of Opus Anglicanum, which is the elaborate and beautiful embroidery for which England became famous in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the chasuble could be stiff and cumbersome. Often the entire surface of the chasuble was embroidered, making it impossible for the celebrant to roll

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[11]Norris, 59.

[12]Ibid., 61-63.

the garment back over his arms in order to elevate the host during the Eucharist service. Therefore, a new style of chasuble developed in which the sides were cut away and the length shortened. The chasuble became two shield-shaped decorative panels, seamed together at the shoulders and tied at the sides. This style was often called the fiddleback, and existed from the thirteenth into the eighteenth century, and is seen occasionally even today.

Like the chasuble, the cope may have had several antecedents. The Greek lacerna was a semi-circular cloak introduced in Rome by the returning troops, in the first century B.C. This cape was usually red, could be made of various materials, and had rounded corners. Worn fastened at one shoulder or in front, it soon became a fashionable evening wrap for the upper class.[13] But a cheap cloak of the more common class, known as the byrrus, also may have evolved into the cope. Always hooded, by the fifth century the byrrus was a long, open-fronted cloak, often costly, worn by layman and clergy. Yet another garment which may have developed into the cope was a derivative of the paenula: an open-fronted, black, bell-shaped cloak with a hood. It was worn in the early Church by both laymen and clergy at choir services, and for warmth and protection from the rain. By the end of the eighth century, the

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[13]Norris, 157.

design of the cope had become as it is today, as shown in figure 8, and was regarded as a liturgical garment; by the eleventh century, the cope was worn universally throughout the Church.[14]

Although variously embellished over the centuries and often woven in one piece as a tapestry, the cope remained basically simple in England. Being essentially an outer garment, it came to be worn in processions. The cope was worn by the priest for the Great Litany, baptisms, marriages, the choral offices, processions, and all offices not directly connected with the celebration of the Mass.[15] On high feast or solemn days, copes were worn also by the assisting clergy and occasionally by the choir, for in 1540, Canterbury lists nearly one-hundred white copes, amongst others, in the inventory.[16] Copes are generally cut in a half-circle, with a wide orphrey, or decorative band, along the straight edge. They have retained the semblance of a hood which became a flat decorative shield-shape falling from the center of the orphrey, across the upper back as in figures 14 and 15.

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[14]Ibid., 158-59.

[15]Macalister, 256.

[16]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Hierurgia Anglicana, Part II, Rev. and Enlarged by Vernon Staley (London: The De La More Press, 1902), 160-66.

The cassock is a graceful gown-like garment which is comfortably close-fitting to the arms and upper body, then flares gently outward until it reaches the floor. Although cassocks are generally black, white is worn for special feasts, and red or purple cassocks are worn by bishops. The cassock is basic to choir dress, worn for Matins, Lauds and Evensong, as well as the celebration of the Eucharist.

The cassock developed from a second century B.C. tunic typical of Gaul. figure 8 illustrates how this close-fitting tunic was mid-thigh length, with close-fitting sleeves, and opened up the front with a slit in the back. The Roman military introduced it to the Roman populace in the third century A.D. who lengthened the skirt. Clerics were noted as wearing this garment in the fifth century; in eleventh-century Italy, it was black and known as "cassaca" or long coat.[17] Worn both on the streets and in church, then as now, it came to be fur-lined in the northern climates, and one could no longer fit an alb over the thick cassock. Gradually surplices were preferred to albs. The traditional English cassock is deeply doubled-breasted, buttoning at the shoulders only, with a wide waist sash of the same material to hold the cassock closed. Cassocks are worn by all levels of clerics as the foundational ecclesiastical garment over which all others are worn.

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[17]Norris, 165-66.

The surplice does not appear to have existed prior to the eleventh century, when it was developed to be worn over fur-lined cassocks, replacing the more narrow alb. As the superpelliceum, which means a garment worn over a fur coat, it is distinctly noted in the twelfth century as a liturgical garment for priests. By the fourteenth century, the surplice was universally worn as the official dress for the daily offices, and to perform all ministrations except the actual celebration at the altar.[18]

Figure 9 illustrates that, from the beginning, the surplice was an ample span of cloth, traditionally of fine linen, gathered into a band or narrow oval yoke, long, and with full sleeves. The sleeves came to be fuller, with the drape of the sleeve and its opening denoting the style of the modern surplice.

The rochet is another derivative of the tunic, although it apparently had no history beyond the ninth century. At that time there came to be an absolutely, plain-lined tunic, both with and without sleeves, possibly slit at the sides, which was worn by those assisting in the worship. In the tenth century, all English clerics were ordered to wear this garment as an over-slip for the alb. Previously long, it was shortened in the twelfth century to

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[18]Dearmer, Percy, The Arts of the Church; the Ornaments of the Ministers (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1908), 128.

just below the knees, and become known as roccus, meaning overcoat.[19] Although in the thirteenth century it was worn over the cassock as an alternative to the alb by all clerics and servers, it became the prerogative of bishops, canons, and cardinals by the time of the Reformation. The Anglican bishop's rochet, seen in figure 10, was worn under the chimere and developed very full sleeves of fine linen lawn, which are gathered into a wrist band.

The chimere began as a Spanish short sleeveless cloak of sheepskin known as a zamarra. By the twelfth century, it was worn by royalty, gentry, and bishops and was similar to a short cape. The chimere was cut in a semi-circle with the straight edge gathered into a loose neckband. Buttons or ties sometimes closed the front; there were two slit openings for the arms to come through. This was the Oxford doctor's Convocation gown, pictured in figure 11. Gradually, the slits for the arm come to be open down the whole length;[20] eventually, the chimere resembled a long, open fronted vest. The chimere, made of silk or satin, was often colored until the Reformation, when black became the only acceptable color. The back of the chimere became more narrow when the full sleeves of the rochet were transferred to it. This narrower style remained after loosing the

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[19]Norris, 172.

[20]Ibid., 177.

sleeves, and colors, red or purple, began to appear. The chimere is only worn by a bishop over the rochet; with an almuce or tippet, it has been acceptable dress for ordinary wear or choir dress since the Reformation.

The almuce dates from an eleventh-century, hooded cape or cloak. The hood was often fur or fur-lined and similar to a flat pocket in design. Figure 12 illustrates how this could be raised over the head and fastened under the chin for warmth and protection, or left to fall back, laying flat across the shoulders. By the fourteenth century, the almuce was generally a short cape made of fur with two long stole-like ends which had been added in the front, and were one piece with the cape. Considered a garment of dignity, it was worn by canons and bishops through the fifteenth century. The almuce the Elizabethans tried to re-establish had become little more than a long, wide fur stole, with little to even suggest a hood.[21] There were also efforts in the nineteenth century to revive the almuce, but neither campaign had great success.

The tippet is a long black scarf worn over the surplice, or chimere and rochet. Usually silk and occasionally fur-lined, the tippet has been closely associated with the academic hood. The tippet's antecedents are obscure but probably it derived from the

[21]Ibid., 173-74.

medieval hood: the extensions of the cape in front lengthening to become the tippet, while the headpiece in back became the hood of the academics. Figures 13 and 16 illustrate various stages of this development.[22] In England by the sixteenth century, the tippet and hood had replaced the almuce.

Until the eighth century, liturgical seasons were not associated with particular colors. In artistic depictions, vestments were assigned different colors usually only to differentiate one figure from another.[23] Although white garments were suggested by early Christian and Roman practice, and by St. Jerome in the fourth century,[24] it was not until under the twelfth century Pope Innocent III, that colors began to be symbolic and were assigned to certain liturgical seasons. This system centered around four main colors: white, red, green and black. The color of light and purity, white was designated for high feasts, such as Easter and Christmas; for virgins; and the consecration of bishops. Red, the color of blood and of fire, was associated not only with the Apostles, all martyrs and Pentecost, but also with sovereign power and intense love. Symbolic of rejuvenation, the triumph of life over death as

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[22]Dearmer, Arts of the Church, 140-42.

[23]Macalister, 225.

[24]Mayo, 15.

well as charity, green was to be worn on non-festival week days. The color associated with mourning and death, black was designated for Advent, Lent, days of affliction, and services for the departed.[25] Since yellow was associated with revealed truth, as well as with such vices as jealousy, and treason, it was often included and assigned to confessors. Other colors were considered to fall within the family of these main ones; for instance, blues, stood for the heavens, heavenly love, truth and the Virgin. Associated with the color black, were the violets and purples, symbolic of the union of love (red) and pain (black) in repentance. Browns belonged to the yellow group and symbolized humility and renunciation of the world.[26] Textiles woven with gold have been recorded since the fifth century when the Bishop of Jerusalem received a cope with threads of gold for baptism.[27] Although never officially a part of the color system, gold had always been symbolic of pure, omnipotent splendor and light, and thus was worn for special occasions.

This color system, and its symbolism, was basic to the Pre-Reformation universal Catholic Church. However, in England regional usages grew up around the Cathedral towns

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[25]Norris, 70.

[26]Macalister, 224.

[27]Mayo, 15.

of York, Wells, Salisbury, and London. For example, Sarum usage, which originated at Salisbury Cathedral, prescribed red for Advent, Epiphany, Lent and martyrs, while London preferred purple in Advent, Lent and for Rogation days.[28] Blue, regarded as a purple, seems to have been an English favorite for there are many blue vestments listed among the fifteenth and sixteenth century inventories, none of which exist. Due to the troubled times in England from Henry VIII through the religious wars, practically no vestments have survived. One of the few extant pieces is the magnificent blue cope from the reign of Henry VII, which is illustrated in the exhibition catalogue: Raiment for the Lord's Service, shown here in figure 14.[29] The heraldic pattern of meandering Tudor roses and portcullises with crowns is of Florentine cut and voided velvet with silver and gold-gilt weft and loops. The orphreys which were probably added later, are rather wide, and divided into ten sections, each depicting a saint. These are solid stitchery in gilt and silk embroidery upon linen. The hood, worked in the same manner, portrays the Annunciation. This cope was part of a complete set of matching vestments, including dalmatics, tunicles, chasubles and twenty-eight

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[28]Blunt, 77.

[29]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Hierurgia Anglicana, Part I, Rev. and Enlarged by Vernon Staley (London: The De La More Press, 1902), 140-47 ff.

other copes which were once at Westminster Abbey. Only eleven copes remained in 1608, two of which were taken abroad by Jesuits; the Puritans burnt the remainder in 1643.[30]

Another blue Florentine cut and voided velvet cope, is preserved at St. John's College, Oxford. From the mid-sixteenth century, it was preserved initially by family members.[31] The wide embroidered orphreys seen in figure 15 are divided into eight settings, each showing a saint, and on the hood is the Heavenly crowning of the Virgin. The pattern of the velvet is that of silver ogival garlands enclosing silver pomegranates against a deep blue ground. From the Quatrocentro till the mid-seventeenth century, the promegranate was a major motif for the damask and velvet industries.[32] Apparently descended from the Persians, in Christian symbolism the pomegranate usually represents the Church: its many seeds representing the people united in

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[30]Christa Mayer-Thurman, Rainment for the Lord's Service (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1975), 112-14.

[31]Michael Wright, rector St. Barnabas, Oxford, England, author and curator: Oxford Movement Vestment Exhibition. Interview by author, 30 May 1985, Oxford. Notes. St. Barnabas, Oxford.

[32]Agnes Geijer. A History of Textile Art (London: Pasold Research Fund in Association with Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), 149-50.

faith.[33] These two examples are representative of the remarkable artistry which is reported to have been so widely worn as vestments.

Formation of the Anglican Church

During the sixteenth century, the establishment of the Tudor rule brought England a strong central government and the formation of a state church, detached from Rome. Henry VIII (b. 1491, ruled 1509-1547) broke with papal authority and made the English sovereign the supreme head of an English church which he pointed firmly in the direction of moderate Protestant reform. To fill the royal coffers and to demonstrate his power over even ancient ecclesiastical entities, Henry VIII dissolved the large monastic houses, sold their lands, and altered the status of six abbey churches to that of cathedrals, to which he alone could appoint the bishop. This dissolution of the monastic houses met with some resistance; the former abbots were either convicted of treason or became the cathedral deans, while most of the monks were absorbed by the parochial and educative systems, or joined nuns in their exodus to the continent.[34] There was only a brief ripple of discontent among the laity. Nevertheless, because the Tudor king's

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[33] James Hall. Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 249.

[34] John R.H. Moorman, A History of the Church of England, 3rd ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1976), 163.

changes were foundational and administrative, the general populace experienced little change in religious doctrine or worship. Ecclesiastical dress remained unchanged.

Henry VIII's appointment of Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) in 1532 to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, which is England's highest ecclesiastical office, had a profound effect upon the development of an English reformed church. Because he claimed to have a solution to the king's marriage dilemma, Bishop Cranmer was chosen for this high position. It was this new archbishop's astute political and theological mind which soon helped Henry orchestrate his break with Rome. Thomas Cranmer was heavily influenced by the European Protestant reformers, many of whom had found a safe haven in England. Particularly inspired by the German reformers, personal documents seem to reveal that Cranmer intended to work toward liturgical reform from the onset, but Henry's steadfast orthodoxy forestalled such developments.[35]

During the minority of Edward VI (b.1537, ruled 1547-1553), it was Archbishop Cranmer's hand which guided the Council of Regency in religious matters. Because there was no uniformity or cohesiveness in the worship of the English church, the archbishop introduced, in 1549, the first English Prayer Book. Aided by a Convocation committee of

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[35]Ibid., 170.

bishops, Cranmer developed this first Anglican prayer book mostly from the new Spanish Breviary, the old Latin Service form and the ritual used at Salisbury Cathedral, known as the Sarum rite. Mandated by the Act of Uniformity I, 1549, as the only instrument by which to conduct worship, this English Prayer Book presented psalms, prayers, and the entire worship service in the vernacular. But only the most essential instructions were included in the rubrics, that which was not delineated was to follow the common practice of the time. The only instructions pertaining to vestments were:

> In the saying or singing of Matins and Evensong, Baptizing and Burying, the minister in parish churches and chapels shall use a surplice. And in all Cathedral churches and colleges, the archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries and fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, besides their surplices, such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees . . . . But in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no . . . . And whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the Holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a surplice or albe, pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain. Also the officiating priest at Holy Communion was instructed to wear . . . "a white albe plain with vestment or cope" and the assistant priest or deacons, . . . "albes with tunicles."[36]

Under Edward's Council of Regency, the outward reformation of the English Church began. All remaining remnants of the old order, such as chantries, were swept

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[36]The Ornaments Rubric of the 1549 Prayer Book quoted in R.A.S. Macalister, 195.

away. Iconoclasm was often encouraged, and churches were stripped of some of their greatest treasures. Ecclesiastical plate--including chalices, patens, and censors--and art objects, were auctioned. Moreover, because some bishops who were strongly influenced by the Protestant Reformation refused to wear full ecclesiastical dress, many vestments were sold.

In 1552 the II Act of Uniformity introduced an even more Protestant-oriented Prayer Book, containing a rubric which declared that it was illegal to wear eucharistic vestments. The following year the government began inventories of each parish; most of the remaining church plate, ornaments, and vestments were seized.[37] In Cranmer's fervor to see worship become more participatory through the use of the vernacular, as well as simpler and closer to the early Christian experience, he bypassed both the Protestant-oriented Parliament and Church convocation, and brought England into a drastically reformed religious experience set within a decidedly less elaborate environment.

Upon the death of Edward VI in 1553, the devout Catholic Queen Mary (b. 1516; ruled 1553-58) was determined to reverse the Protestant tendencies by restoring the old Latin Service Book and the English Church into communion

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[37]Moorman, 185-86.

with Rome as well as finally having Archbishop Cranmer and many other church reformers executed. Almost before the news to destroy the eucharistic vestments, ordered by the 1552 Prayer Book, could reach the out-lying parishes, Mary was able to revive their use. During her reign, great processions of richly vested churchmen accompanied the Holy Days celebrations; the restoration of church ornamentation began. But doctrinally, Mary came too late. Even though Henry VIII's acts had made the English sovereign not only the titular head of the church but also the arbiter of religious doctrine, Parliament and popular opinion had the effect of moderating the queen's most strident religious directives. Although many of those martyred under Mary's rule would have met similar ends had Edward survived[38], the brutality which resulted from Mary's policies in the name of the counter-reformation, combined with her unpopular and unsuccessful foreign policy, bred much dissatisfaction. Mary's death in 1558 came as a deliverance to the English people.

Establishment of the Church of England and its Prayer Book

The actual establishment of the Church of England occurred only through the actions of Queen Elizabeth I,

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[38]A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 261.

(b. 1533; ruled 1558-1603) and her Parliament. Although when she ascended the throne in 1558, it was decidedly her intention to reverse the ecclesiastical policies of her predecessor, it was inherent to her Tudor heritage that she proceed with caution. Radical religious changes were also waylaid due to foreign political consideration: Elizabeth did not wish to alienate the Spanish king Phillip II too rapidly by embracing Protestantism, nor did she wish to alienate the Genevan Marian exiles returning to England. Besides, in the past decade, her country had been subjected to two opposing religious extremes, and it was Elizabeth's intention to first establish herself as secure upon the throne, and a leader of a stable government, before restructuring the worship of that state.

By royal prerogative, Elizabeth commanded that communion of both elements, wafer and wine, be permitted. She also called together the Protestant divines, those skilled theologians whom she respected and who remained alive, to compile a prayer book based upon those developed during Edward's time. The queen's personal preference was mostly traditional and conservative, especially in outward appearances such as full ecclesiastical vestments.[39] But her aim to establish an English spirituality would strike a balance between the divergent views of the anti-papal

[39]Blunt, 23.

Catholics and the reform-minded Protestants, and reflect the majority's middle-ground desire for a church which was " . . . truly catholic in all essentials, and yet cleansed and reformed from the abuses which had gathered around it in the Middle Ages".[40] To that end, Elizabeth sent her first Parliament a bill to "restore the supremacy of the church of England to the crown of the realm"[41] by declaring the crown to be "supreme governor," instead of "supreme head".[42] Elizabeth apparently intended to proceed no further until she was able to deprive the Marian bishops and assess the reactions and mood of her people. However, the House of Commons was distinctly in the hands of Protestant leadership. Having little or no organized Catholic opposition, and not yet having a large contingency of exiles returning from Geneva to distract them, the Protestant Members of Parliament were able to coerce the uncommitted majority into voting for not only the Supremacy Bill but also for an Act of Uniformity which re-introduced what was practically the 1552 Prayer Book as the mode for worship. Severe penalties for disobedience were included.

There were some important alterations in the 1552 Prayer Book which were designed to meet the Queen's

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[40]Moorman, 200.

[41]Ibid., 200.

[42]Ibid., 200.

political needs and conservative tastes: (1) the 1552 Black Rubric against kneeling to receive communion, particularly offensive to the queen as well as others, was removed; (2) the litany was slightly altered; (3) through the insertion of an ornaments rubric, eucharistic vestments were restored; (4) and the words of administration of the Sacrament from the 1549 Prayer Book were added to those of the 1552 Book. This last alteration which gave such breadth to the liturgy that belief in transubstantiation could once again be avowed, created surprisingly little contention.[43]

Altering the 1552 Ornaments Rubric proved to be quite another matter, for it had forbidden all ecclesiastical vestments except the surplice and rochet. In accordance with the Queen's desires, the 1559 rubric instructed that "' . . . the minister at the time of Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.'"[44] Furthermore, within the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity and Supremacy, of 1559, there was a clause which provided for the retention of these ornaments, all of which together formed the Elizabethan settlement. This resolved the

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[43]Ibid., 214.

[44]Proctor, 101-02.

religion question and established a national church with the crown as governor and Parliament as co-designer of some of these powers.[45]

With said structure in place, Elizabeth was able to begin instituting an episcopacy, an administration of bishops, in line with this settlement and her general desires. She was particularly sensitive that there be little or no grounds for anyone to challenge the apostolic validity of her church. Since it had become obvious none of the Marian prelates would cooperate, Elizabeth selected as the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, who had been consecrated bishop prior to Mary's rule. Although she chose carefully, even to selecting bishops with more Protestant inclinations than her own, Elizabeth's actions of establishing an episcopacy were denounced by the extreme Protestant reforming party, particularly the Genevan exiles, who disliked not only her ceremonial regulations, but the entire church hierarchy.[46]

As Elizabeth's reign progressed, matters deteriorated, both with the Puritan Protestants and the Roman Catholics. With the latter the problem was due to overt foreign intervention which ceased with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. With the Puritans, mostly the Genevan

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[45]Ibid., 363.

[46]Ibid., 108-09.

exiles, the most blatant difficulty was the problem of vestments. From the very first, there was widespread variance and disobedience to the Ornaments Rubric, even among the bishops. It soon became obvious that they could insist upon only so much with any prospect of compliance. Due to Puritan agitation, the bishops decided that requiring even the surplice and hood to be worn in parish churches and copes in cathedrals would tax their power to its limits. They, therefore, wrote an interpretation as an adjunct to the 1559 Injunctions, specifying that these vestments were the minimum; others were not mandatory. This interpretation found a more authoritative expression in a 1566 Advertisement issued by Archbishop Parker and five other bishops, apparently under royal command, stating the surplice as the minimum level of required vestiture.[47]

That the surplice survived in the Anglican Church is testimony to the willingness of many to continue its usage, out of respect to the Church and the Crown, even as they taught against it. Therefore, efforts continued, as Puritans sought to abolish even the surplice, which they saw as a papist garment, and expanded the ornaments battle to other aspects of the Prayer Book ceremonies. In 1562, a determined Puritan effort was made in Convocation to outlaw the kneeling at Communion, the signing of the Cross at

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[47]Proctor and Frere, 365.

baptism, and the wearing of any sort of ecclesiastical garment. The attempt failed, but such efforts continued despite royal displeasure.

Even the required church services came to be circumvented: meetings were held in homes, with their own ministers, regulated generally by either a Knox or Calvin Book of Service, and with the group organized under a Calvinistic rule of discipline. Problems arose when these meetings came to displace Morning and Evening Prayers, and the groups began to examine and ordain their own ministers. For in this, the strength and authority of the established church began to be undermined.[48]

With this sort of flagrant disregard for even the required service, it perhaps should not seem remarkable that copes and surplices would come under attack, for they implied, even to the uninstructed eye, the continuity of the English Church with past Roman tradition, rather than alliance with any reformed community. Puritans sought to abolish all which could not be found or justified by the New Testament. Even Bishop Grindal, of London, who was later Archbishop of Canterbury, preached against the surplice and gave certain priests abroad dispensation not to wear it.[49] But he, like most of the bishops, made less

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[48]Moorman, 209-10.

[49]Mayo, 69.

fuss over the cope; perhaps because they felt comfortable in this garment to which they had been so long accustomed or perhaps because they considered it was not worth losing their authority over such a garment. Nevertheless, the cathedral vestries were once again being emptied of such raiment for cash, much the same as had occurred during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. In 1584, even the good stock of copes at Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, no longer existed; sold because of their value and due to lack of interest in their preservation.[50]

Changes in Vestments During the Tudor Period

In the examination of some of the inventory lists, ordered under Edward VI, many richly colored velvet, satin, silk and damask copes, often with entire vestment sets to match, are listed. Some were "powdered with the name Jesu";[51] numerous ones were brocaded or embroidered, some with crosses, others with a crucifix or a saint embroidered upon the cope hood as well as on the chasuble back or center front.[52] These elaborately decorated vestments were usually the first to be confiscated. Frequently the Kings'

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[50]Ibid., 70.

[51]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part II, 140.

[52]Ibid.

Commissioners left only one set of vestments to be used in the Eucharistic service.[53]

In order to confiscate the jewels which often embellished copes and chasubles, the garment was destroyed. Usually encased in a wet reed around which silver or gold-gilt silk thread was wound, the pearl or stone was then stitched into that shape and onto the garment. Because they were such an integral part of the fabric, these settings usually had to be melted in order to retrieve the stone.[54]

Under Edward VI, the Protestant Reformers from the Continent were mostly the intellectuals seeking refuge within England's universities and their initial influence had been upon men like Cranmer, Northumberland and other intellectuals. Although their doctrine was reflected in the composition of the Prayer Book, particularly that of 1552, and Edwardian policy and iconoclasm, it was not until after Queen Mary's reign ended that the full weight and breadth of their influence was seen. As Elizabeth I sought to establish a truly English Catholic, yet reformed, church, she also indicated this church was to include most,

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[53]Ibid., 146-48.

[54]Maureen Jupp, Chief Verger, Sub-Sacrist. Westminster Abbey, London. Interviews by author. 29 May and 7 June 1985. Notes. Westminster Abbey, London.

if not all, of the vestments previously worn.[55] Yet from the onset, changes are noted: the embroidered panels called apparels, disappear from the amice and the alb. Due to the church being so closely connected with the universities, what was acceptable attire for one became acceptable attire for the other, particularly when confronted with Puritan objections to ecclesiastical garments. Thus the hood, with or without the tippet, grew to become acceptable attire for graduate ministers to wear when conducting a worship service, although Queen Elizabeth regarded it as choir dress. Non-graduates could wear only the tippet.

Once the 1559 Prayer Book was established by the Act of Uniformity, it became obvious that the prescribed services would not be conducted universally in a like manner. The Continental Protestant Reformers' doctrines had influenced many bishops and priests so strongly that they would risk disobedience rather than comply with certain points of ceremony in the new Prayer Book. The Puritans found the marriage ring, the use of organs and musical instruments as well as every semblance of an outward action or sign to be obnoxious and erroneous. Their greatest dislike seemed to be the vestments, even the surplice, which is the garment regarded as the least sacerdotal of all liturgical attire. The surplice and cope

[55]Blunt, 65.

were directed by Archbishop Parker in the 1566 Advertisements, to be the minimal ecclesiastical attire. But the Puritan objections and riots made the injunction impossible to enforce. The cries of " . . . away with the ragged smock of the whore of Rome . . ."[56] created several riots against wearing even the surplice during the early years of Elizabeth's reign.

Thus was set a precedent which would remain until the mid-nineteenth century: priests preaching, consecrating and distributing Holy Communion without wearing the Eucharistic vestments of tradition and rubric. In 1570, Christ Church, Canterbury, sold most of its vestments, reserving only some of the copes, as did many other churches. By Canon law, in 1571, it became illegal to wear an almuce, and in 1596, St. Ewen's Bristol, sold its remaining chasubles; this account is the last mention of a chasuble in English Church records until the mid-nineteenth century.[57] Services were conducted in either surplice and tippet, and hood if a graduate, or a black preaching gown, with tippet and hood. The preaching gown was quite similar to the modern academic graduation gown. Another option which found favor among those of more Protestant leaning, was called the Geneva gown. It was also black but open up the front and had large sleeves,

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[56]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part II, 257.

[57]Ibid., 176.

similar to the modern doctoral gown. Either of these gowns was worn over the black cassock, and with a tippet. Late in the sixteenth century, Bishop Blomfield of London required the tippet to be worn with the black gown; the practice soon spread and the stole went the way of the chasuble.[58]

A bishop generally conducted services in black cassock, beneath white rochet and black chimere; his pastoral staff was seldom carried although it might appear upon his shield. It was the bishops and the academic leaders who were most likely to wear a cope, as they participated in festive state occasions or liturgical processions. Therefore, the cathedrals and collegiate churches were the major preservers of such copes as were allowed to remain.[59]

The sixteenth century had not been kind to liturgical artforms; the exquisite altar cloths and banners, the gilt and silver plate for the mass, as well as the elegantly fine vestments were sold or confiscated. In the Elizabethan era, vestments were also subjected to scorn, as well as disuse, as many ignored the written directives in the Prayer Book. Conforming in practice to the expressed

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[58]J.T. Micklewaite, Ornaments of the Rubric. 3 ed. Alcuin Club, Tract I (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901), 60-61.

[59]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part II, 161.

passions of the people, the newly-established Church of England discarded the chasuble and stole, and outlawed the almuce. By eliminating the chasuble, the Church also ceased to use the maniple, alb, tunicle or dalmatic. These garments were often created with great artistic skill and were excellent examples of textile and embroidery techniques. Many were designed as a set, to be given as a gift, and incorporated intricate familial iconography with Christian symbols. But as church interiors began to be plainer, fewer examples of such artistic skill and endeavor were to be found there.

CHAPTER III

THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND AND ITS EFFECT ON VESTMENTS

The question of religion was to penetrate the seventeenth century. In Europe, there were religious wars between Protestant and Catholic; in England the festering strife which erupted into combat was between Puritans and other Protestants. This chapter discusses James I and the 1604 Prayer Book, Charles I and the Question of Religion, followed by the triumph of Puritanism: The commonwealth Protectorate. Then, the Restoration of the Monarchy and the Church, the reign of James II and William and Mary, and the Non-jurors will be considered. Finally, the effects which these divergent events had upon liturgical attire will be examined.

James I and the 1604 Prayer Book

In 1603 Queen Elizabeth I died, leaving no heir. The privy council decided to offer the crown to the great-grandson of Henry's sister, Margaret, James VI of Scotland. Uniting the thrones of England and Scotland, he became James I of England (b.1566; ruled 1603-1625 d.). Despite his Scottish Protestant background, James had a natural inclination toward the Church of England. Immediately upon

his ascension, James I was greeted with the Millenary Petition by the Puritans, who sought to cleanse the Church of England more stringently from its Roman stain. This petition, supposedly signed by at least a thousand Puritan ministers, stated four areas of grievances: the Church service, its ministers, their livings and maintenance, and church discipline. They also urged several changes in the Prayer Book; among others they particularly sought to eliminate the sign of the cross in baptism, abolish the surplice and cope, place communion after the examination and always with a sermon, abolish the ring in marriage, and disallow the readings from the Apocrypha.[1] They also suggested they would like to discuss other practices which they found scripturally offensive. Contrary to the general preference of the scholars and clergy, James I acceded, calling the Hampton Court Conference in January, 1604.[2] The conference was composed of the king, the lords of his council, a few bishops and cathedral deans, and a representative number of the most learned Puritans. But the Hampton Court Conference included no discussion or debate of the issues between the factions. The king met

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[1]Francis Proctor, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, rev. and rewritten by Howard Frere (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1955), 136.

[2]Ibid., 137-38.

with the bishops first, clarifying certain aspects of baptism and confirmation. The following day, the Puritans presented their points: they sought purity of doctrine and the means to maintain it, a reformed church government, and the abolition of many irksome ceremonies prescribed in the Prayer Book including the Ornaments Rubric and the surplice. In each case, the king let his opinion and decision be known, preferring explanations to be added rather than changes made in the publication of the new Prayer Book of 1604. James did agree to the Puritan request for a new translation of the Bible, establishing a gifted committee which produced The Authorized Version of 1611, now known as the King James Version. This biblical translation was the only truly positive result from the Hampton Court Conference, for James I capitalized on what he saw as a common goal between king and the established Church, emphasizing Divine Right and alienating the reform-seeking Puritans. The king acquiesced to a few semantic alterations and to the addition of a final section of the Catechism in the 1604 Prayer Book, requested by the Puritans, but to little else.

The Puritans not only sought to abolish the Anglican vestments but also rejected the daily ecclesiastical attire ordered for all clergy in 1559 by Elizabeth I. This consisted of a squarish cap and a long clerical gown, known

variously as a canonical coat or a cassock.[3] Separate from Catholic vestments, these were intended to be an attire practically neutral in religious terms. Various forms of gowns were part of the everyday dress of professional men; even the Puritan clergy wore a black preaching gown with wide sleeves which opened down the front, called the Geneva gown. Nevertheless, they sought to abolish the cap and gown as well as the surplice and cope. Therefore, in 1603-1604, the 64th canon was issued declaring that for all those having an ecclesiastical living, the proper attire was a long-sleeved gown without cape but with standing collar adding a hood and tippet of appropriate material. The attire was to be suitably scholarly, but, unfortunately, it found no favor among the Puritans.[4]

Due to the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity enacted under Edward VI and Elizabeth I, the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church of England was inherently allied to the Crown. Although James had experienced how the Calvinism of the Scottish Kirk effectually curtailed royal authority, he was not particularly sympathetic toward the papal party; James suspected the loyalty of both. Still, the king intended tolerance toward the Catholics, even

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[3]R.A.S. Macalister, Ecclesiastical Vestments: their Development and History (London: Elliot Stock, 1896), 101.

[4]Janet Mayo, A History of Ecclesiastical Dress (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1984), 71-72.

hoping for eventual reconciliation. Moving toward this goal, James made peace with Spain in 1604 and began to allow Catholic worship. But when the Anglican attendance dropped drastically and distressed the Church clergy, James reversed himself; he re-instated the Elizabethan fines for non-attendance and expelled the Roman Catholic priests. Out of Catholic frustration and fanatical reaction, the Gunpowder Plot was instigated in 1605 to blow-up king and Parliament. The discovery of this plot not only shattered all hopes of reconciliation but resulted in even more stringent laws for Catholics, and reviving the popular Protestant fear and distrust of all which was Catholic, wanting nothing popish.[5]

After publishing the Prayer Book of 1604, James began the first ill-fated attempts to revise the prayer book for his native Scotland. Although in 1610 James restored a valid episcopate to Scotland, Knox's Book of Common Order was in use until 1617.[6] The Archbishop of Scotland compiled a Puritanized edition of the English Prayer Book in 1619, but it was never published. In 1620, Scotland adopted and published an Ordinal based upon the English Ordinal, which attempted to establish a form of ceremony

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[5]Proctor, and Frere, 147.

[6]W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, Liturgy and Worship (London: SPCK, 1954), 187.

similar to that of the Church of England, including wearing the cope.[7]

During the reign of James I, Parliament began to muster, affirm, and assert its power, especially in the areas of taxation, religion, and parliamentary privilege. The fundamental nature of English law also began to be the subject of scholarly scrutiny, leading to numerous knotty problems. Resulting from this were two concepts which came to have far-reaching significance for subsequent English government: first, that the king should obtain his information from Parliament and allow them to advise him; second, that which was accepted as common law was immutable by king or Parliament, especially when it was based upon Roman or Feudal law.[8]

In 1625, James I died. Ecclesiastically, he had expounded the same establishment, form, and attire as had been instituted by Elizabeth I; the laxity which had quietly crept in under Elizabeth, had continued also. Politically, his attempts to rule by Divine Right and the influence of his council had been constantly thwarted by a Parliament, which was growing increasingly more astute and more powerful as the merchant class grew in power. And it

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[7]Ibid., 188.

[8]Goldwin Smith, A History of England, 3rd edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), 292.

was this class which was becoming progressively more Puritan.

Charles I and the Question of Religion

Charles I (born:1600; ruled 1625-1649) was ill-suited and poorly prepared to rule England during this period. Frail from birth, and the second son, Charles had been prepared for a gentleman's life from the beginning. His path was abruptly changed when his older brother, Henry, died from typhoid at age eighteen. Charles, an aesthete and deeply religious, also believed in, and intended to practice, rule by Divine Right. He inherited a debt which had been growing since mid-Elizabethan times, and a populace whose opinion coalesced, often due to inflammatory pamphlets, into Parliamentary votes contrary to his royal authority. Adding to these problems, Charles' ministers were often stronger personalities or more politically wiley than he. Yet they lacked the wisdom to surmount the issues of the times. And undergirding all, was the problem of religion.

In 1625, Charles Stuart both ascended the English throne, and married the French Catholic Princess, Henrietta Maria of France. His first Parliament met late in that year, suspicious of the new queen, and desirous of stricter laws against Catholics. Although Charles needed funds immediately to pursue the war with Spain and to assist his

brother-in-law, the Protestant Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate, Parliament would vote only a meager sum until they had debated religious reform and Charles' foreign policies. However, Charles did not intend to be instructed in such matters, and so dissolved Parliament. The shortage of funds as well as the blunders and mismanagement of foreign policy strategem of the following year made it necessary for Charles to try again to get funds from Parliament. But before granting money and supplies, Parliament demanded that the grievances against Charles and his chief minister, Buckingham, be considered.[9] Again, Charles dissolved Parliament. Again, forced by debt, disastrous war, and general financial disorder to call another Parliament in 1628, Charles found himself immediately facing Parliament's major grievances in the Petition of Right. They particularly sought the cessation of arbitrary taxation and arbitrary imprisonment. Charles, with reluctance, agreed, and Parliament voted him funds. They then resumed their attack upon Buckingham, until a dispute occurred concerning whether Charles could receive revenue from the tonnage and poundage tax. When it seemed they would vote in the negative, and impeach Buckingham, Charles, once again, dissolved Parliament. Soon after, Buckingham died, resolving one Parliamentary grievance.

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[9]John R.H. Moorman A History of the Church in England, 3rd ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1976), 226-27.

But their concern about religion immediately came to the foreground, for Charles's a coronation was resplendent with all the pomp and ritual that Puritans found so alarming and papist; yet, Charles's Catholic wife called the service too Protestant and declined to participate in Communion.[10]

In 1628-29, the Protestants became alarmed at the preferences Charles seemed to be giving the anti-Calvinistic, and more ritualistic faction of the Anglican Church. In particular, they focused upon William Laud, Bishop of London, and the new Chancellor of Oxford. As Chancellor, he reformed the medieval scholastic system, organized and revised the confusion of statutes, enforced discipline, and persuaded King Charles I to become one of Oxford's greatest benefactors.[11] In 1633, Laud became the Archbishop of Canterbury and turned his ritualistic and reforming zeal toward bringing the church into the true 'via media.' Laud saw this not as a compromise between Rome and the Calvinists and Lutherans, but, as the heartfelt pursuit to secure the purity of primitive Christianity and the early Church.[12] Laudian theology deeply influenced the English Church. The writings, personal sanctity and the dedication of the lives of many

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[10]Bowle, 96.

[11]Ibid., 135-36.

[12]Moorman, 233-34.

Anglican theologians of this era gave quality, confidence, and an inner strength to the Church of England which enabled it to rise again after the Civil War.

These High Churchmen also supported the Ornaments Rubric as the proper expression of the beauty of holiness, despite the protesting of the Puritans and more Presbyterian Anglicans. Therefore, when Archbishop Laud sought to require the wearing of copes and the surplice, to require kneeling for Holy Communion, and, in general, to reinstate as much of the ritual and ceremony as was permitted in the Prayer Book, he found himself the subject of public derision. He also forbade cockfights being held in churches and demanded that bishops live within their sees.[13]

It was Archbishop Laud's intent to eliminate the slackness, disorder, and desecration which was rampant within the Church of England. In order to put an end to the table, which was used as the Eucharistic altar, from being used as a receptacle for coats, Laud specified that it be removed from the nave and placed in the chancel; a railing was to surround that area. This also had the effect of returning at least partial focus to the sacrament rather than to the sermon, as well as to the order of the

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[13]John Henry Blunt The Annotated Book of Common Prayer (New York: E.P. Hutton and Co., 1884), 67.

liturgy and the Prayer Book.[14] Laud hoped to preserve the unity of the Church through uniformity, more attentive bishops, and prelates who were more obedient to him and the Prayer Book.

After dissolving Parliament in 1629, Charles I attempted to rule by royal prerogative for the next eleven years. During this time, Lord Stafford was the king's chief minister in secular matters, while Laud had the full confidence of the king in all matters concerning religion or the church. One such matter was the continuation of efforts to bring the Scottish Prayer Book into greater conformity with that of England. In 1633, when Charles was crowned at Edinburgh, the English Prayer Book was used and ordered to be used in the Royal Chapel and University of St. Andrew. Blue and gold copes were worn at the Coronation, but the populace was most alarmed that surplices were worn beneath them.[15] Obviously, the Scots were reluctant to be brought into line with the English usage and ceremony. Therefore, Archbishop Laud, with several Bishops, was instructed to develop a compromise between the Presbyterian draft-book of 1619 and the 1604 Prayer Book of England. Essentially, however, the English

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[14]Moorman, 230-31.

[15]Proctor and Frere, 146.

Prayer Book was the model, although certain concessions were made to the Scottish Protestants.[16]

The Scottish Prayer Book received Royal warrant in October, 1636, and was put into force by Scottish Privy Council two months later. But its introduction was grossly mismanaged by the Scottish bishops, resulting in a covenant being drawn-up with almost all Scotland signing it. The Scots then raised an army and occupied the Royal Chapel at Edinburgh.[17] In April, 1640, Charles was forced to call a Parliament to deal with the Scottish rebellion. The traditional anti-Scot attitude of the English no longer prevailed, and Parliament preferred to discuss their grievances against Charles. But the king dissolved them after three weeks. No longer able to borrow from foreign sources, Charles nearly caused financial havoc when he seized the London goldsmiths' bullion. Meanwhile, his ill-equipped army was steadily pushed south by the Scots until he signed the Treaty of Ripon. This treaty required Charles to call Parliament to ratify the treaty. Thus, in November, 1640, Charles called what came to be known as the Long Parliament.[18]

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[16]Ibid., 148.

[17]Moorman, 228.

[18]Smith, 321.

Dealing with the old grievances in committee meetings, this Parliament as a whole, struck first at the king's chief advisors: Lord Stafford and Archbishop Laud. Stafford, whose bold, resourceful genius as Ireland's chief minister had restored the Irish economy, was accused of high treason, blamed for the king's military failures against Scotland, impeached, then legally murdered via a Bill of Attainder and the king's forced acquiescence in 1641.[19]

Archbishop Laud was next. His recent leadership of the Convocation, which had set forth the Canons of 1640, had added more fuel to the rampant panic and fear of anything slightly Catholic. The seventeen Canons of 1640 were designed to re-affirm the Elizabethan and Jacobean Prayer Books and the Canons of 1603, which provided for such externals as kneeling at communion and the wearing of stoles, chasubles, surplice and cope. The 1640 Canons also proclaimed that observing these rituals was not of foreign influence, but rather, that not to do so was by foreign incursion of true English worship.[20] This infuriated the Puritan faction as well as many moderate Anglicans.

These Canons, Laud's uncompromising zeal for ecclesiastical reform, and his participation in Charles's

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[19]Bowle, 184-86.

[20]Blunt, 66.

rule by royal prerogative combined to seal the Archbishop's fate. Imprisoned for three years while the country's mood worsened and Puritan strength grew, Archbishop William Laud was finally tried for treason in 1644. Despite contrived evidence, Laud was not found guilty, but, nevertheless, was executed by an ordinance of Parliament. This death was conveniently used to endorse the close religious and political ties Parliament had made with Scotland.[21]

When the Archbishop was beheaded in 1645, Charles I was in the field. Having failed in 1641, to impeach, and imprison his six chief Parliamentary enemies, Charles had exacerbated the situation and given Parliament the excuse to create its own armed guard. This was a direct challenge to the king's authority and a breach of English constitutional authority. The populace also had armed itself, and the Royal family fled Whitehall and London for Windsor. Charles gathered his army and took to the field. Until 1645 the king's forces were generally successful. The forces with Charles were supportive of the king, the episcopacy, and the Prayer Book, whereas the opposition consisted chiefly of Parliament and Puritans, both Presbyterian and Independent.[22]

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[21]Bowle, 265-66.

[22]Ibid., 215.

In 1643, the Westminster Assembly of Puritan leadership imposed the Solemn League and Covenant on every Englishman over 18 years of age, and declared they were pledged to eradicate all semblance of Anglican hierarchy, ceremony, and superstitions. Thus Anglicanism ceased to be practiced except furtively by a few priests-turned-tutor or chaplain. Approximately three thousand clerics, who denied the League and Covenant, lost their posts. They were imprisoned, exiled, or fled to country manors. This began another era of iconoclasm, which raged for seventeen years and wreaked havoc on churches and church property. As the Parliament troops fought through the countryside, each church and its ornaments were natural targets for destruction: stained glass windows were broken out; paintings, statuary and tombs mutilated; vestments heaped in great piles, cut-up and burned to recover the precious jewels, silver and gold.[23] Religious art and artifacts in England suffered irreparable damage during these years of Puritan dominance.

In 1644-45, the Parliament combined all its forces and created the New Model Army, adding paid mercenaries and men pressed into service by Parliamentary action. This army, was led by Lord Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, was paid

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[23]Maureen Jupp, Chief Verger, Sub-Sacrist. Westminster Abbey, London. Interviews by author. 29 May, 1985. Notes. Westminster Abbey, London.

regularly, and sharply disciplined. Its first battle was a victory over Charles and his Royalists near Oxford. The Model Army continued victorious over Charles' armies until, in 1645, Oxford fell and the war was over. Charles fled to the Scots and began the long negotiations with Parliament and Scotland, hoping to play off one rival against the other. This resulted in the Scottish army invading England, while Charles fled to the Isle of Wight.

There had been much dissension between the army and Parliament. Parliament, distrustful of the army had tried to disband it, but without backpay. Within the army, there was also dissension: between soldier and officer as well as between the several religious factions. But Cromwell was able to unite the army once again against the Scots and the king, who, at this time, had considerable support amongst Parliament. But this lasted only a few months. Cromwell hurriedly returned to London to stop Parliament's negotiations with Charles; the Cromwellian Independents desired an absolute Parliament no more than an absolute king. So in December, 1648, Cromwell barred the Presbyterian members from entering Parliament and created the Rump Parliament, comprised soley of members who followed the Independent religion and supported Cromwell's army.

In January, 1649, this Parliament created a court and tried King Charles I for high treason, although such

proceedings were totally without authority and illegal. The intent from the onset was execution. On January 30, 1649, the king was beheaded. His rule had been precarious and unpopular. The unsettled economy, the religious question, and Charles' personal rule aggravated one another to the point of explosion. The king, the Church, and, for a time even Parliament, were the casualties.

The Commonwealth Protectorate

The first threats to the new government came from Scotland and Ireland, who, almost immediately following Charles' death, declared for his son, Charles II. Cromwell first sailed to Ireland, killing thousands of Catholics and subduing them with a harsh settlement in which two-thirds of all Irish land was given over to Protestant control. Then, in 1650, Cromwell left for Scotland, where Charles II had just been crowned king at Scone. Here, at Dunbar, Cromwell and his army achieved a great victory over the Scot's which impressed all Europe. Young Charles fled, and Cromwell left his General Monk to govern Scotland for the next nine years.

War with the Dutch ensued over the Navigation Acts of 1657 which prohibited goods from being shipped into England aboard foreign ships. Although the Dutch war did much for the expansion and respectability of the English Navy, it was unpopular with the Army and merchants. The army

demanded that the Rump Parliament be dissolved and a free election be held. Fearing such an election would result in restoration of the Monarchy and the end of toleration for the Independents, the new Parliamentary members were selected from their own congregations. The resulting Parliament was so determined to reform all aspects of English life that even the moderates were alarmed.[24] In December 1653, Cromwell dissolved this Barebones Parliament.

To continue the government, in 1654, the officers of Cromwell's army drew up a written constitution called the Instrument of Government. This document established a Lord Protector, to be Oliver Cromwell, Council of State and an elected Parliament. A measure of religious tolerance was intended except toward Anglicans or Catholics. The Parliament resulting from this Instrument was reflective of an England still half Royalist and irreconcilably divided among the Puritans. Thus, Cromwell purged Parliament of all save the Independents and other conservative Puritans. Nevertheless, to keep the factions from creating anarchy, Cromwell dissolved Parliament and divided England into districts, each to be governed by a Major-General according to Cromwell's directives and moral bluelaws.

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[24]Smith, 345.

War on the high seas with Spain caused Cromwell to call another Parliament, which convened in the fall, 1656. After Cromwell eliminated all those who opposed the government, Parliament produced the Humble Petition and Advice Document. This petition was intended to make a constitution similar to the old one by establishing Cromwell as king and creating a second house in Parliament, in an effort to end military rule and establish a smooth transition at Cromwell's death. The Lord Protector refused the crown but accepted all other aspects of the petition.[25] Presbyterians and Republicans were included in the new Parliament. But they began to plot with the Royalists to oust Cromwell and he angrily dismissed them all. This was Cromwell's last attempt to govern in conjunction with a legislative body; he died in September, 1658. Although at times holding it together by the sword, Cromwell saved the Empire from disunion. The army he established and the English mastery of the seas during this era raised England's prestige abroad. But Cromwell, like the two Stuart kings before him, had found it impossible to resolve the religious question, or to combine personal rule with parliamentary government.

Throughout these turbulent times, Anglicanism had remained alive. The Prayer Book was outlawed, in 1644, as

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[25]Ibid., 347.

well as the Church of England. Church buildings were stripped of as much of the Anglican and popish trappings as could be removed. Vestments which were not hidden were generally burned in the streets. Attire was universally simple, somber, and the same for laity, leader, and clergy. Approximately sixty percent of the Church clergy had Calvinistic inclinations and conformed to the new regime. Although a small group remained uncompromising Laudians, and a middle group accepted the new ways, yet said Prayer Book services in private. Although in exile, or vehemently repressed, the Laudians and many of the middle group kept in touch and worked according to a plan. Their goal was three-fold: (1) to be sure that Charles II had strong Anglican influences around him; (2) that, in England, both clergy and laity would be prepared to do their part at the appropriate time; and (3) to be sure the true Anglican ministry was maintained, regardless of the length of the interregnum.[26] Since Anglicans were forbidden to preach, they maintained an influence by writing books and pamphlets. They also sought meager appointments as chaplains or tutors among the squires and nobles who would be influential during the Restoration. The Anglicans carefully prepared, watched, and waited as England

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[26]Moorman, 245-46.

discarded Presbyterian structure for non-structured religions; factions and factiousness grew.

Oliver Cromwell was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard. As Protector, he called a parliament, January, 1659. But bitter quarrels between the army and Parliament forced the dissolution of Parliament in April; the army fell into dispute among themselves, and England was threatened with social anarchy. Amidst this turmoil, the propertied classes finally set aside their disagreements and stood together against the army. The remaining members of the Rump Parliament reconvened at Westminster; Richard Cromwell retired to France. In February, 1660, General Monk, in command of Cromwell's occupation forces in Scotland, marched south and occupied London. Aligning himself with the landowners, Monk dissolved the Rump Parliament and arranged for election of a Convention Parliament. They decreed that by the ancient and fundamental laws of England, its government should, and would be, by kings, Lords, and Commons.[27] Parliament invited the king to return.

The Restoration of Monarchy and the Church

Before leaving Holland, Charles II issued the Declaration of Breda, pardoning all Englishmen except a few regicides and declaring his intention to allow religious

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[27]Smith, 349.

toleration as long as it did not disrupt the peace of the kingdom.[28] This declaration was in keeping with the character of Charles II: affable, witty and charming with a ready smile, behind which was a shrewd, calculating astuteness that he never lost, even amidst the debauchery of his Court.

In May, 1660, when Charles landed at Dover, the religious situation was exceedingly delicate. Some of the members of the Convention Parliament, which was predominately Presbyterian, had met with the king before he left Holland and requested that he refrain from using the 1604 Prayer Book of King James and from initially allowing surplices to be worn in his chapel as people were unaccustomed to their usage. But Charles II stalwartly defended both, declaring that while he might tolerate such omissions in public worship, he would not be so permissive in his private chapel. Thus, it was obvious that beneath the great acclamation for Charles upon his arrival, the religious dilemma persisted. The pre-eminent Presbyterian thinking, so powerful in the Convention Parliament, further envisioned being able to wield power in certain areas concerning the restoration of the Church of England. These ministers hoped to engineer a moderate form of the Episcopacy and to influence the writing of a new

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[28]Moorman, 248-49.

Book of Common Prayer. Nevertheless, Parliament, expressing the will of the people, seemed as anxious to reinstate the Church of England as they were the monarchy, albeit on their terms.[29]

Almost immediately, the Anglican bishops and priests turned out by the Puritans were reinstated. However, the problem of totally restoring the Church centered on the age-old impasse of pleasing several diverse opinions of what the Church should be. There were three major groups: the now leaderless Puritans, whose grand experiment had so recently proved a failure; the Presbyterians, who felt the power of once again controlling Parliament; and the Anglicans, so long suppressed but who now were zealous, well-prepared, and not particularly in a mood for compromise. The Presbyterians tried to convince the bishops that there was essentially no difference between the Anglicans and themselves, neither in the doctrinal truths of the reformed religion nor in the substantial parts of divine worship, but only in various concepts concerning the ancient form of Church government and some particulars concerning liturgical ceremony.[30] But then the Presbyterians proceeded to press for a new form of prayer book, which had ceremonies closer to those of the other

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[29]Ibid.

[30]Frere, 165.

reformed churches. The following were to be excluded: kneeling at Communion, signing the newly baptized with the sign of the cross, and wearing vestments, not even the simplest surplice. The nine surviving Anglican bishops replied that worshippers would be less likely to succumb to the common enemy, if all forms of worship more closely resembled that of the ancient Greek and Latin churches. Nonetheless, the bishops agreed to a joint conference to review the Prayer Book and its ceremonies and to discuss all points which the Presbyterian groups found objectionable. The results were to be submitted for authorization by the Anglican Church's governing synod, the Convocation, and by a more lawfully elected Parliament. Meanwhile, a Royal Declaration decreed the former Prayer Book to be in usage, although with wide tolerance, until a decision was reached. A sincere attempt was made to entice and coax Puritans and Presbyterians to conform to the Anglican church; only one cleric did.[31]

The king called the joint conference of Anglican bishops, Presbyterian and Puritan theologians to meet at London's Savoy Palace, April, 1661. He gave these erudite and devout leaders the charge to use the most ancient, and thus pure, liturgies for comparison and as the basis for any and all revisions. For the discussion, the

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[31]Ibid., 169.

Presbyterian-Puritan group was asked to submit in writing all points to which they objected. They complied, presenting not only a list of over one hundred objections, but also a completely rewritten Prayer Book which had been compiled with no attempt to comply with Charles' royal directive or to consider the Anglican churchmen's point of view. Although the bishops would not discuss the Presbyterian's Prayer Book, they indulged in careful consideration, answered each of the objections point by point, and agreed to a number of changes. Yet, the Anglican bishops became increasingly aware that even if they acceded to every purposed change, such a Prayer Book would still be deemed an intolerable burden to the Presbyterian group as long as it was designated and enforced as the only religious service book for England. The conference was limited to four months; its end found the various religious factions no closer to agreement than at the beginning. The Nonconforming Protestants had had their forum, and the Presbyterians had been allowed to demonstrate their intractable spirit. The major result of this conference was that the Presbyterians were allowed to deliver a minority report to all the Anglican clergy gathered in Convocation. This report listed eight irreconcilable liturgical practices which the nonconforming

Protestants held to be against scripture. This included the practice of wearing vestments, even the surplice.[32]

The Anglican clergy in Convocation selected a committee of brilliant theologians, led by Bishop Cosin of Durham, to accomplish the revision of the Prayer Book as promised by the king. For forty years, Bishop Cosin's focus of study had been liturgy, and he led the other learned clergy in their careful analysis.[33] Almost six-hundred changes were made to promote greater reverence in a divine worship more in harmony with the historic early Church. The language was made more cohesive, and more explicit rubrics were added. The Ornaments Rubric from the 1549 Prayer Book was retained with only verbal changes which did not alter its intent. The committee examined the ancient Edwardian Inventory lists of ministerial ornaments and found the standard vestments in usage at that time to be: cope, chasuble, dalmatic, alb, stole, maniple, amice, rochette and episcopal habit, surplices, tippet, and hood.[34] Since the 1662 Ornaments Rubric was no more explicit in naming these garments than were previous ones, and as the character and fashion of the time did not generally lend itself to such High Church practices, most priests

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[32]Ibid., 191-92.

[33]H.W. Carpenter The Church of England; an Historical Sketch (London: SPCK, 1902), 58.

[34]Blunt, 70-71.

celebrated Eucharist in nothing more elaborate than a surplice and tippet or stole. In collegiate churches, cathedrals, and royal chapels, there is evidence that more elaborate vestments were worn for high occasions. For example, King Charles II donated a set of exquisite copes to Westminster Abbey for his coronation; these are still occasionally used.[35]

The Puritans' and Presbyterians' objections had largely gone unnoticed in the revision of the Prayer Book. They had miscalculated their influence with the king, his court, and in the restoration of the Church of England; their last hope was the new officially elected Parliament. But the Laudians, who had had to flee to household posts among the squires and gentry fifteen years before, had produced Royalists schooled in William Laud. It was this Royalist group that dominated what came to be known as the Cavalier Parliament. This Parliament, most anxious to put the recently revised Prayer Book into place, accomplished this under the 1662 Act of Uniformity. Beginning with St. Bartholemew's Day, August 24, 1662, all clergy were required, under penalty of deprivation, to conduct all services solely from this Prayer Book.[36] All clergy who had not, by that date, received episcopal ordination were to be

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[35]Jupp, 29 May, 1985.

[36]Blunt, 67.

disallowed to practice their vocation. Thus England, at long last, had a Service Book initiated by the king and theologians, authorized by the re-instated church in Convocation, and established by Parliament. It is this 1662 Book of Common Prayer which the Church of England continues to use today.

The 1662 Prayer Book was generally well accepted, although there was some grumbling that the Act of Uniformity was too harsh. The king agreed, but Parliament would have it no other way. The new government could not afford to appear weak, nor could England appear divided. Church and state were to be united in action and goal. Therefore, Nonconformists were penalized further by a series of acts called the Clarendon Code, which prohibited them from holding civil administrative office, restricted the size of their gatherings and forbade nonconformist ministers from living near their former parish.[37]

These acts drew a clear line between those who accepted the discipline and teaching of the Church and those determined to keep their independence. The aristocracy and most of the poor were with the Church; dissent flourished mostly among the artisans and merchant class. It was along these lines that the first two political parties came into being in the latter part of

[37]Moorman, 252-53.

Charles II's reign. The Church party, which also included most of those involved in Government, became known as Tories; the dissenters, as Whigs.[38]

The Anglican Church, as it was re-established under Charles II, was staunchly Royalist and predominantly influenced by Laudian theology. However, there were within the Church various counterparts. These Christian thinkers relied on new standards of knowledge and thought which were based upon science and, especially, on reason. Several of these groups profoundly influenced Anglican thought throughout the next one hundred and fifty years.

The earliest of these movements began in the mid-seventeenth century in Cambridge. With roots deep in Puritanism, these men, known as Cambridge Platonists, sought to find harmony between philosophy and religion. They affirmed values, as opposed to the High Churchmen's emphasis upon facts. Nevertheless, since these Platonists believed that to apprehend Truth one's life must be holy, they were as well known for their prayerfulness and humility as for their scholarship and thought.[39]

The appeal of this rationale grew and attracted an increasing number of Anglicans as the century progressed. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, a second

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[38]Smith, 361.

[39]Moorman, 254-55.

generation of Platonists, called Latitudinarians, became quite influential; many Anglicans, both laity and clergy, embraced this intense belief in Reason. These were broadminded men, tired of religious controversy, and anxious for a quiet life in pursuit of goodness and righteousness. Although the Latitudinarians purported to follow the tenets of the preceding Cambridge Platonists, they lacked the scholarship, reverence and humility of the earlier movement.[40] Nevertheless, they set high moral standards, and promoted charity and toleration.

The re-established Church of England was generally put into the hands of parochial clergy who were conscientious but ill-trained, ill-educated, and ill-paid, housed in church buildings which were often sadly deteriorating, and peopled by many who had never known a formal worship service. Yet attendance was good. At first only Morning and/or Evening Prayer services were held, with twice-a-year Communion, but gradually Communion increased to quarterly, then in some areas, monthly. Preaching, which had been stressed under the Puritans, continued to be popular, although it was often of poor quality due to the clergy's lack of education.[41] Because there was now more emphasis upon preaching, and less upon the Eucharist, church design

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[40]Ibid., 255.

[41]Clarke, 191.

was altered to enhance hearing the sermons. This may be seen most vividly in the London churches which were either built or rebuilt after the great 1665 London fire. These aspects of the re-established Church--the Latitudinarians, the infrequency of Holy Communion as it became less of a focal point, as well as the over-all sad state of the majority of the clergy and buildings--combined to create an atmosphere in which vestments were not a priority.[42] They were simple, if at all. Most parish priests wore only cassock and surplice at the most, often only a cassock and an academic or preaching gown. But this was often the preferred attire, as it smacked less of popery. Yet, in the university churches and those close to court, beautiful vestments, especially copes and altarcloths, were being added to the Church treasuries.[43]

In 1673, a Test Act was passed requiring all who held military or civil office to receive Holy Communion according to the rites of the Anglican Church. Parliament directed this act not toward the Nonconformists as much as in reaction to the Roman Catholic influence within the court. Charles II's wife and his brother James, as well as many others in the royal court, were Roman Catholics, and the Romanist influence in government was growing. This was

[42]Jupp, 7 June, 1985.

[43]Ibid.

seen as a real danger. In this fear, Anglicans and Nonconformists were united and, together in Parliament, produced the Test Act. This legislation cost most highly placed Roman Catholics their positions, including the king's brother, James, heir to the throne and Lord High Admiral. The fear of popery was fanned into fanaticism in 1678 by the demented perjury of a Mr. Oates, who claimed to have evidence of a Jesuit plot to murder the king, seize the government, and establish the Roman Catholic Church. The hysteria which ensued was encouraged by the Whigs. Every Catholic was ordered to leave London; thousands were imprisoned, and many executed. Parliament passed a second Test Act, which remained in effect until 1829, further restricting Catholics and excluding them from both houses of Parliament.[44] After the Oates scandal, in February, 1685, James II succeeded to the throne when his brother, Charles II suddenly became ill and died.

Charles II had come to prefer Romanism, yet held power only at the pleasure of the Anglican Tories. His reign had successfully re-established the monarchy and had participated in the re-establishment of the Church of England. Charles II also was instrumental in assuring that the new Book of Common Prayer, published in 1662, was based solidly on ancient and Anglican precedent and tradition.

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[44]Smith, 362.

James II

Although the main enemies of the era were poverty and popery, James II (b.1633; ruled 1685-88; d.1701) made no secret of his Romanism. Although he disallowed the usual Anglican Holy Communion service as part of his coronation, there is evidence that he desired to foster an alliance between the Church of England and her Romanist fellow citizens. He hoped to thwart the Calvinistic influence of the nonconformists, which he saw as harmful, not only to the English Church but also to his rule. But fear of papacy remained too strong. When James began placing Roman Catholics into positions of influence and power, the uneasiness grew. In 1686, he attempted to establish a new ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, but the Archbishop of Canterbury pleaded poor health and refused to participate.[45] James next allowed new convents in London; the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans who came, won many converts, although some converted in the hope of political advancement. The people began to look forward to the rule of James' heir-apparent, his Anglican daughter, Mary, who had married the Protestant Prince William of Orange.

Despite his obvious Catholicism, James liked to appear as a champion of toleration. Thus, in 1687, he declared protection of the Church of England, but suspended the

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[45]Moorman, 261-62.

penal laws against all nonconformists and Roman Catholics. This Declaration of Indulgence was so contrary to the previous reign's legislation that the Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops petitioned the king to withdraw it; he refused, so they refused to read the Declaration.[46] Sent to the Tower, the were charged with libel and brought to trial. When the prelates were acquitted, the populace celebrated in the streets.

Their revelry was short-lived, however, as the Queen soon gave birth to a male heir. Malcontents, nonconformists, and some Anglicans feared another Catholic would follow James, rather than his Anglican daughter, Mary, and her Dutch Reformed husband, William. Therefore, discreet overtures were initiated in July, 1688. With these overtures, William began preparing to invade England, as the nation apprehensiously awaited the conclusion. William landed November 5, 1688; on December 18, James II fled England for France where he died in 1701.

Since James had not officially abdicated, the English throne was not legally as empty as it appeared. Official opinions were as varied as those in the street. Some were in favor of a regency being established; most wanted Mary as Queen, but were not sure that James could be deposed *in absentia*. Mary declared she would rule only with William

[46]Ibid., 262-63.

at her side, and he pressed for joint rule. Many Anglicans were loyal to James, since they believed that he ruled with Divine Right, by lineage, and because he had been crowned and anointed. This group, known as Non-Jurors, also found it difficult to accept William of Orange, a staunch Dutch Calvinist, as having a valid claim to the English throne.[47] Therefore, when Parliament declared the throne empty and offered it jointly to William and Mary, the Non-Jurors refused to take the Oath of Abjuration, in which allegiance to William and Mary was pledged and the Stuart line denounced.

Most of England's High Churchmen and most notable theologians were among the Non-Jurors; their numbers included the Archbishop, eight bishops, over four hundred clergy, and some very prominent laymen. When the clergy refused to take the Oath, they were deprived of their see or benefice by Parliamentary action. This exacerbated the situation, because normally Parliament had not extended its authority into religious matters. Functioning outside the official sanction of the Church of England the Non-Juring clergy effectually established a separate Anglican Church. This schism deprived the Church of England of the Laudian influence which was such a hallmark of the Restoration, including its high concept of the Church as a spiritual

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[47]Ibid., 264-65.

society, its deep piety, and its emphasis upon external forms of worship.

Cut-off from the Anglican mainstream, the Non-jurors were weakened by internal dissensions, especially over ceremonial matters; this included debates concerning whether vestments more elaborate than the surplice should be used. But, due to the Non-Jurors meager financial state, this was a moot point.[48] Despite its declining numbers, the Non-Juring church continued until mid-eighteenth century, when its Jacobite policies brought it into complete disfavor. Fortunately, for the Anglicans, not all High Churchmen had set their scruples regarding the Divine Right of Kings above their concern for a viable Church and state; many reluctantly acquiesced and took the Oath of Abjuration to William and Mary. Thus the Church of England retained some of its Laudian and Restoration character.

William and Mary

Realizing delay endangered national security, the members of Parliament quickly offered the throne jointly to William and Mary, provided they accepted specific conditions enumerated in a Bill of Rights, which established England as a constitutionally limited monarchy with legislative power vested in Parliament. This document

[48]Macalister, 258.

dictated that no Roman Catholic should ever succeed to the English throne. In February, 1689, William and Mary accepted.

It was William's desire to unite all factions of English society, principally because he needed their solid support in order to achieve his goal of curbing the rising power of France. As a Calvinist, William III hoped to unite England religiously, but with a more Protestant state church. Toward this end, he made two moves. First, with Whig and dissenter support, he mandated the Toleration Act of 1689, which allowed all Trinitarian Protestants the right to public worship.[49] Although they still were barred from holding civil service and military positions without attending Anglican communion, it was awkward to persecute officially a religious group of which the king was a member. Second, William had a bill drawn-up to accommodate Presbyterians within the Church of England and to revise and alter the Prayer Book. He sought such changes as revising the prayers for specific occasions, altering the title priest to minister, and eliminating the wearing of surplice or cope and the signing of the cross at Baptism.[50] But the powerful Church of England defeated the measure; it was resolved to be a Reformed Protestant Catholic Church,

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[49]Moorman, 266.

[50]Proctor and Frere, 672.

without further influence from Rome or the Continental Reformers. As such, William viewed it as an enigma, neither Catholic nor Protestant.

William III's main focus was foreign affairs. As Dutch stadholder, William had engaged in war against Louis XIV. England, at that time under James II, had been induced to remain neutral. But William convinced the English of the French threat: to the European balance of power, to the Protestant cause, and particularly to the English commercial, maritime, and colonial interests. Thus, England joined the League of Augsberg in 1689, to confront Louis XIV. But France's many military stalemates, and sad financial state, caused Louis to sue for peace in 1697. In 1701, because of the question of Spanish succession, an alliance against France and Spain was formed again by England, the Holy Roman Empire, and other European states. But before the fighting began, William died in 1702 and left the war to his successor, Queen Anne; Mary had died in 1694.

The seventeenth century answered many questions formulated but held in abeyance during the sixteenth century. The thrones of England and Scotland were now united; however, the century had not been one of peace and tranquility but of strife and the sword. Much of this had been due to religious questions. The Protestant-Catholic schism had ultimately resulted in the creation of a

military theocracy. The failure of this experiment established that England would neither become theocratic nor adopt the continental form of Protestantism. The Carolingian periods had seen the Church injected with a deep piety and spirituality. This had been rejected and then revived, and given new life by the Book of Common Prayer of modern usage.

The seventeenth century also crystallized governmental mindsets into two political parties, the Whigs and the Tories, partially delineated by religious viewpoints. Then, amidst James II's desertion of duty and privilege, England had legislatively side-stepped fanaticism and instituted a limited constitutional monarchy and Bill of Rights. Thus England's central focus through the majority of the seventeenth century was inward, with the basic institutions of Church and State becoming more securely defined and established. In addition, scientific enlightenment continued, gradually giving birth to industrialization.

Problems Concerning Vestments in the Seventeenth Century

The state of vestments in the seventeenth century could be described as going from poor to non-existent, then re-instatement and finally settling into a dignified annui.

Although both Carolingian eras saw periods of attempted revival, the Puritan attitudes triumphed.

As part of the results of the 1604 Hampton Court Conference, several canons were issued which pertained to vestments. Canon XXIV refers to the 1566 Advertisement, and requires that the cope be worn for Holy Communion in all cathedrals and collegiate churches; for all other ministrations, the surplice, and hood appropriate to the wearer's degree were to be worn.[51] Another ecclesiastical law, canon LXXIV prescribes ordinary dress for clerics: gowns with standing collars, sleeves, straight without tapering, or wide at the wrists. Figure 16 shows the brass of Edmund Geste, Bishop of Salisbury, in this attire. In one hand, he carries a short staff, although not the usual pastoral staff of a bishop, and in the other hand, the Gospel Book. He also wears a tippet, indicating that these garments were also being worn to conduct services.[52] Although few brasses exist from this era, some which were destroyed are known by written descriptions. There is an account of a 1614 brass showing a Master of Queen's College wearing a gown with false sleeves over his doublet, as well

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[51]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Hierurgia Anglicana, Part I, Rev. and Enlarged by Vernon Staley, (London: The De La More Press, 1902), 180.

[52]Ibid., 181.

as a tippet, and a skullcap.[53] Figure 17 is a print of an unknown bishop during the reign of James I. He wears a cassock, with a contemporary collar, and a rochet and chimere. The only decoration is seen at the cuff and yoke, which may have included pearls.[54] But the reproduction of a 1631 brass, shown, in figure 18, is an example of an English bishop vested in a cope over his rochet, wearing his mitre, and carrying his pastoral staff. After this date, there are no known depictions on brasses of bishops wearing cope and mitre. Nevertheless, accounts of services at Whitehall Chapel and various cathedrals continue to mention that the communion service was conducted by clergy in rich and, sometimes, ancient copes.[55] One such account of a 1633 communion service at Durham Cathedral describes the celebrant as wearing a new red velvet cope, with stars embroidered in silver, like one worn at St. Denis, France.[56] Although the design vocabulary for liturgical garments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries generally looses

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[53]Herbert Druitt, A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses, (London: Alexander Mooring, Ltd., 1906), 116.

[54]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Hierurgia Anglicana, Part III, Rev. and Enlarged by Vernon Staley (London: The De La More Press, 1904), 122.

[55]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part I, 183.

[56]Ibid., 191.

its religious symbolism in deference to Calvinism,[57] stars were often associated with Christ; stars led the Magi, and, in the last book of the New Testament, Christ is called the bright star of dawn. Most descriptive accounts do not give details, but simply stated that the copes were embroidered, or made of cloth of gold. This fabric was a heavy velvet, made from silk threads which had been wrapped with fine filament of either silver or gold in the spinning process; the cope in figure 14 was constructed of such a fabric.[58]

In 1633 when King Charles I journeyed to Scotland and was crowned at Edinborough, he insisted upon the coronation being according to full Anglican rites, including surplices and rich copes. Although many Scots displayed much affection toward Charles, street demonstrations against the surplices also occurred.[59]

The woodcut in figure 19 illustrates a vicar, vested in cassock and surplice, leading his congregation in the Great Litany. The simplicity of his attire is noteworthy, for the surplice has only a narrow band of lace at the hem whereas the Roman practice of the time was to have wide bands of lace on the sleeves as well as around the hem of

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[57]Christa Mayer-Thurman, Rainment for the Lord's Service: A Thousand Years of Western Vestments (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1975), 49.

[58]Jupp, 29 May, 1985.

[59]Bowle, 127-28.

such garments. Earlier English styles had also featured more lace, but as Puritan influence increased, this type of decoration decreased. All church ornamentation, especially vestments, were regarded as popish idolatry. In 1643, the Puritan point of view triumphed: "Ordered by the House that the Committee for pulling down and abolishing all monuments of superstition and idolatry, do take into their custody the copes in the Cathedrals of Westminster, Paul's and those at Lambeth; and give order that they be burnt, and converted to the relief of the poor in Ireland."[60] The defacing and despoiling of the Church of England by the Puritans and the Independents of the Protectorate was quite thorough. Depictions of saints and anyone in vestments--whether a brass plaque, statue, stained glass, painting, or embroidery--was destroyed. Many portrayals of Christ were also demolished. All accruetaments of Divine Ceremony were abolished. Silver was melted down to help fund the war; brasses were melted down to become part of the war machinery; jewels, often removed from vestments, were sold; Baptism fonts became soup pots, while organs provided wood for the Model Army's campfires.[61] Almost none of the

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[60]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part I, 197.

[61]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, <u>Hierurgia Anglicana</u>, Part II, Rev. and Enlarged by Vernon Staley (London: The De La More Press, 1903), 257-60.

ecclesiastical ornamentation of the Church of England survived.

The Restoration of the monarchy and the Church, also re-established the use of vestments, at least of the surplice or rochet and the cope. One of the coronation copes given to Westminster by King Charles II is pictured in figure 20. A border design of pomegranates and leaves decorates the front edges, replacing the orphrey, and encircles the cope's hem. As described earlier, stars were used to embellish the broad sweep of velvet, here scattered among single pomegranates. Although the iconographical meaning of such images was probably not a major consideration in the design at this time, such decorations were traditionally symbolic. The designs are three-dimensionally padded and worked in silver-covered silk thread. The vestries of churches were gradually replenished by gifts and donations, such as this, since much of the church funds were used in repair and major refurbishing. The 1662 Inventory of Canterbury lists no vestments whatsoever remaining.[62]

Church records give evidence of material being purchased for suplices, and several woodcuts exist, commemorating such Feast-day celebrations as the St. George Procession illustrated in figure 21, showing that copes

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[62]Mayo, 88.

were obviously in favor again. The details in the print also give proof that many copes were made of highly patterned materials, and many had orphreys. Nevertheless, most of the new vestments were much less ornate that those of the past, depending more upon the color and woven pattern for decorations.[63]

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[63]Druitt, 83.

CHAPTER IV

THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The eighteenth century was an era of incredible technical advances and agricultural innovations, which led to industrial expansion, land and social reforms, and the prosperity of the nineteenth century. The complacent worldliness which occurred in the eighteenth-century Church ignored the invigorating possibilities of the Wesleyan Methodists and the necessity for reform. The required foundational revitalization came in the nineteenth century. This chapter discusses the 1700s through the 1830s, the Oxford Movement, then the Ritualist restoration of Vestments.

The 1700s Through 1830s

With the death of William, Mary's sister, Anne became queen. A chronic invalid, Anne (b.1665; ruled: 1702-1714d.) was reserved to the point of being dull, but kind-hearted, decidedly English, and a devoutly High-Church Anglican. Cognizant of both her own and the throne's limitations, the new sovereign helped raise moral and Church standards. Anne sought to eliminate the complacency toward Church ceremony and dress. She required that the surplice be worn for all ministrations in her chapel, and

tried to enforce this practice throughout the realm. She was generally successful, especially in the cathedrals and the collegiate churches, although the black preaching gown continued to be worn beneath the surplice.[1] Previously seen mostly on high state occasions or high feast celebrations, copes also increased in being worn, for the consecration of Holy Communion as well as for processions and special occasions.[2] Queen Anne also restored an ancient tax to the Church to provide for the poor clergy. Committed to war with France by William, England was largely responsible for the defeat of Louis XIV. From this war, England emerged as the major sea power and was firmly directed toward becoming the world's greatest colonial power. It was to this end that much of England's energy was focused in the eighteenth century. After Queen Anne's death in 1714, all the remaining Stuart heirs were Roman Catholic, and Parliamentary action had ruled that only a Protestant could inherit England's crown. Thus, the throne was passed to a German Lutheran, the great-grandson of James I, George the Elector of Hanover. George I (b.1660; ruled: 1714-1727d.) had so little interest in England, he never learned the language. Essentially the same was true

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[1]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Hierurgia Anglicana, Part I, Rev. and Enlarged by Vernon Staley (London: The De La More Press, 1902), 201-02.

[2]Ibid., 202.

of his son, George II (b.1683; ruled: 1727-1760d.) and the actual power of governing passed into the hands of the cabinet, whose chief executive became known as Prime Minister.

Due to changes in the Constitution under William and Mary, the dominant political group in Parliament was also responsible for the selection of the Archbishop and the other prelates. Under William III's rule, these appointments had gone to Latitudinarians, whose philosophy more closely resembled that of his own. Queen Anne and her advisors had returned to High Churchmen. But at this time, the political reins were held by the Whigs, who were Low Churchmen and rationalists. Their philosophical beliefs correlated well with the Latitudinarians, who were now the majority. Also within the Church, two other beliefs were rampant: Deism, which was essentially pantheistic and unitarian, and Erastianism, which emphasized sincerity and negated the sacraments.[3] Both Erastianism and Deism could easily exist under the broad canopy of Latitudinarianism so favored by the Whigs. As the bishopric appointments became more and more political under the Whigs and Hanoverians, the Church of England basically came to be comprised of

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[3]John R.H. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, 3rd ed., (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1976), 276.

Latitudinarians and Evangelicals. High Churchmen had little status and even fewer prospects for achieving any.

Settling into dull respectability, the Church of England ceased to have vital contact with the daily life of the people. Churches were neglected, and the Eucharist was celebrated only three or four times a year.[4] Often degenerating to the reading of published sermons, preaching was transferred to Matins, which was against Anglican canon law. Thus the monastic service of Matins took precedence over the scripturally instituted Communion. Such lawlessness was echoed in disobedience to the wearing of vestments; for instance, in all cathedrals, copes were rubrically ordered to be worn by the gospeler and espistoler, with the chausuble if the gospeler be a priest. But this was patently ignored throughout the eighteenth century.[5]

Although the 1662 Prayer Book re-established the 1549 clerical vestments, local preference and practice was such that if the surplice was worn, it was worn only during the celebration of the Eucharist, then removed and a black academic or preaching gown put on for the sermon and the remainder of the service. The surplice over the cassock

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[4]Michael Wright, rector St. Barnabas, Oxford, England, author and curator: Oxford Movement Vestment Exhibition, Interview by author, 30 May 1985, Oxford. Notes. St. Barnabas, Oxford.

[5]Dearmer, Parson's Handbook, 3.

was considered High Church attire. The cope was worn in procession, and by others in the altar party for the public reading or scriptures.[6] As in Elizabethan days, Low Churchmen preferred to conduct services wearing the long, open-fronted academic gown or the similar preaching gown over their cassock. Such were the vestments of the age.

In the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries, the fashion of wearing wigs, which had been introduced into England by Charles I, became popular with the clergy. This custom decidedly effected their ecclesiastical attire. With a wig, even High Churchmen found it difficult to wear the simplest surplice, the opening of which was enlarged via a split partially down the front. Chasubles were out of the question, and so the long black academic or preaching gown became the standard for all ecclesiastics.[7] Most senior clergy had a special affinity to the full-bottomed wig; this prevented them from wearing even a cope, which stood up a bit at the nape of the neck. In many ways, this blatant disregard for canon and rubric was outwardly symptomatic of the inward spiritual lameness prevalent within the eighteenth-century Anglican Church.

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[6]R.A.S. Macalister, Ecclesiastical Vestments: their Development and History (London: Elliot Stock, 1896), 256.

[7]Wright, interview, May 1985.

It was in reaction to this lamentable state of affairs that John Wesley, who was an ordained Anglican priest, first established his devotional groups who agreed to visit the poor, and to keep the feasts, fasts, and weekly communions as instructed in the Prayer Book. Because of the regularity of their spiritual life, they were called Methodists.[8]

John Wesley's energies led him to preach throughout England; as he traveled, he organized what was indeed a substrata of the Church of England. Drawn from people whom the Church had neglected, the Methodists had no great love for the Prayer Book or Anglican traditions, yet the Wesleys kept within the Church. But, within four years of John Wesley's death in 1791, most Methodists had withdrawn from the Church of England, taking their revival in spirituality, enthusiasm, and knack for reaching the workers with them. All were serious losses for the Church of England.

Outside of London, most of England lived a rather slow, rural life. But experiments in growing methods gave rise to new farm machinery; crop rotation and animal breeding were introduced. Parliament decided the village common land was to be enclosed with fence and hedge, and deeded. Those who could not afford these improvements had

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[8]Moorman, 300.

to sell. Many did, moving to the cities, for the swift succession of inventions had led to factories, which created a high demand for labour; industrial cities grew rapidly, causing a shift in population. Industrial improvements meant expansion. The tensile strength in iron was improved; its markets expanded and foundries increased. With the development of the steam engine, coal became the chief source of power and in great demand. Therefore, Northwestern England, which was rich in iron and coal, experienced phenomenal growth.

Inventions within the weaving industry resulted in higher production in both the cotton and wool industries. To facilitate getting products to market, transportation was improved. Toll-road companies built and paved roads and a 3,000 mile network of canals existed by 1790.[9] These developments resulted in crowded factory-cities, slums, lack of sanitation, and cholera, as well as a new class of people, who had no knowledge of nature's ways, country life, or its traditions and customs. It was a world of fierce competition, contempt for the weak, and a challenging new set of social and political problems.

Neither the Church nor the government was prepared to deal with these problems. Prosperous, England was swiftly becoming the workshop and the financial center of the

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[9]Goldwin Smith, A History of England, 3rd edition. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), 501.

world. Her empire was expanding. All seemed well when George III (b.1738, ruled 1760-1820.) came to the throne. But his Hanoverian predecessors had allowed a Whig oligarchy, and real government had been conducted by cabinet ministers and the aristocratic Parliament. George III intended to be a patriot king, to extinguish the power of the ministers, to rule personally, and to be above partisan politics. However lofty his intentions, because of his obstinacy and lower capabilities, his ideals were not realized. Nor were his ministers generally competent to handle the task at hand. Colonial policies failed; England lost the American Colonies and, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, was struggling precariously to maintain war with France.[10]

While the Industrial Revolution gave men a new conception of power, the French Revolution showed them what could occur when power fell into the wrong hands. Initially, many Englishmen applauded the French middle class overturning the abuses of the privileged. But the ensuing anarchy and regicide appalled the English and appeared particularly threatening to the ruling aristocrats. The rapid industrialization had heightened and exacerbated the need for reform within the British government and Church. Vast inequities existed. But the

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[10]Ibid., 483.

French Revolution created a negative reaction among the English; fearful of where reform might end, they were disinclined to begin. And as the Church was believed to be a bastion against such evils as had occurred in the French Revolution, as well as the French Republic which followed, reforms were not likely to be initiated there. The real French danger was Napoleon, who menaced England and Europe for over twenty years, until England's victory at Waterloo in 1815. Despite her strained economy, England's industries had won the war for her. England emerged as the chief world power, totally unchallengeable on the seas and with a burgeoning empire.

The need to transform a war economy into a prosperous, peacetime one brought pressure on the government for reform. The religious societies ameliorated conditions somewhat by establishing hospitals, Sunday Schools, public schools, and foundling homes, but more was needed. Reform came gradually: by 1824 the income tax had been repealed, exports were in more steady demand, inflation curbed, crops improved, and the Combination Acts repealed, allowing workers freedom to form unions. The many Catholics who had fled the French Revolution helped soften public opinion, and in 1791 an act was passed allowing Romanists, whether refugee or Irish laborer, the right to worship, have schools, and enter the legal profession. In 1828, the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, allowing Non-

conformists full participation in the economy and society, without even occasional attendance of Anglican services being required.[11]

In 1820, George III died and left the throne to his son, George IV (b.1762; ruled 1820-1830.) Due to his father's insanity, George IV had functioned as Prince-Regent since 1812. Despite relieving the country from his father's dementia, his efforts to set aside his wife led to popular opinion turning against him, despite her own obvious mental ineptitude. As once again the moral standards at court declined, public confidence in the government deteriorated further. Agitation for political reform increased, although most new reformers prudently preferred peaceful means. This may have been due to the lessening of passions as general prosperity increased.

But there remained several unaddressed, explosive issues, such as Church reforms and the Irish-Catholic question. Although Irish-Catholics had partial suffrage, they could neither send one of their own to Parliament nor to the universities. When the Irish-Catholics ignored the law and elected members of Parliament to force the issue, the prime minister knew Parliament must enact reforms or there would be rebellion in Ireland. In the ensuing two-year struggle, the English political parties began to

[11]Moorman, 313-24.

coalesce more along Liberal versus Conservative lines, and the prime minister and his Tory party suffered greatly. However, in 1829 Parliament passed the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, allowing Catholics the right to sit and vote in Parliament as long as they swore an oath of allegiance to the King.[12] Although this indicated an important breach with the past, there was still a public outcry against papery to be heard in the streets. Nevertheless, the coronation of William IV was attended by a Roman Catholic bishop in full clerical dress while the Anglican bishops only wore rochets and copes.[13]

With the death of George IV in 1830, his brother, William IV (b.1765; ruled 1830-1837.) ascended the throne, requiring a new Parliament. The subsequent election campaign made it obvious that before further social or economic justice could be achieved, Parliamentary reform must occur. There had been no redistribution of seats since the seventeenth century; due to the population shift, some of England's largest industrial cities, such as Manchester and Leeds, were totally without representation. This blatant inequality resulted in more power for the landed gentry and less for the commercial and labor classes. This had to change.

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[12]Smith, 559.

[13]Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part I, 3rd ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1971), 24.

William IV's first Parliament brought fifty new liberal, reform-minded Members of Parliament into the House of Commons. Still more liberals were needed, in order to pass the Reform Bill. Another election was ordered, meanwhile, rioting broke out in the streets. Many Englishmen noted that had a majority of the Bishops voted for the reform bill in the House of Lords, it would have passed. Crowds began to menace the Bishops, whose public duties made them easy targets. The mitre, although seldom worn due to the popularity of the wig, nonetheless became the focus of vehement vilifications and a symbol for all social ill. Mitres were burned as well as effigies.[14] But in the next Parliament, the Reform Act of 1832, which was to equalize and expand the franchise, passed the Commons and, to avoid civil war or the creation of new peerages, enough Tories absented themselves for the bill also to pass the upper house. This Reform Act broke the stronghold of the aristocracy, giving political power to the industrial and commercial leadership, but not to the workers. Thus the propertied classes were now aligned against the worker.

Nevertheless, Parliament began to pass legislation to safeguard and improve the life of industrial laborers, particularly children. The state began to intervene in industry and in private enterprise to protect those who

[14]Ibid., 26-28.

could not protect themselves. To some, such governmental activities bore grave warnings, for the Irish-Catholics were agitating for home rule and against paying tithes to support the established Church of England which they never attended. And if Parliament interfered in private business, it was bound to sweep broadly through the Church of England. After all, many considered the Anglican Church to be the corrupt equivalent of a religious department of state.[15] In the increasingly anti-clerical atmosphere, the facts were often exaggerated. Clergy, especially bishops, did hold more than one position in order to achieve a higher standard of living, but their benefices were never as rich as reported. Likewise, if guilty of plurality, they were also guilty of absenteeism; some only leaving London for an annual visit to their post or see. Nepotism was also rife, but reports of family pets receiving a prebendary were exaggerated. That Church reform was overdue was widely accepted. The question was how, and by whom; from within, or from the largely non-Anglican, without.

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[15]Olive J. Brose, Church and Parliament; The Reshaping of the Church of England. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 14.

Eighteenth-Century Vestments

As the century progressed, and the Latitudinarians became the dominate voice within the Anglican Church, once again surplices were exchanged for the black preaching gown, or, more often, the black Masters' gown of the universities. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the gown also came to identify one's political allegiance Tories: those considered High Churchmen, wore the Masters' gown; the Low Churchmen, or Whigs, wore a pudding-sleeved gown. The latter had long full sleeves which buttoned above the elbow then hung to just below the wrist, in a doubled-over fashion.[16] Figure 22 illustrates a "High Church" service, for the minister wears a surplice and is distributing Communion, both of which signify High Churchmenship, for Holy Communion became a rare service under the Latitudinarians.

The major textile production centers in this era were in France; only gradually did the English weaving industry becoming adept at such patterns as might be used for vestments. Although no extant church records seen to record the purchase or gift of new copes, any which may have been made during the eighteenth century would have reflected the French Roccoco style. The textiles of this time were often stripes or lace patterns over woven with

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[16]Janet Mayo, A History of Ecclesiastical Dress (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1984), 85.

florals. Garlands and wreaths were also popular.[17] At Westminster, one of the few altar cloths from the eighteenth century is woven in an all over stylized design of florals interspersed with rounded fruitshapes. Iconographically, such patterns would suggest the fruit of good works, and that good works sprang from the root of virtue which was certainly a theme and hallmark of the Evangelical movement which began, and was so active, in eighteenth-century England.[18]

Most records indicate that the predominant determiner of clerical fashion was the wig. In 1759, the Bishop of Durham Cathedral, tired of his wig being knocked askew by the cope, threw off the cope and never wore one again. Other dignitaries soon followed and copes, once again became a rare sight, although they remained, perserved, within the churches' vestries.[19] Wigs also determined the first change in the surplice in centuries: it became slit down the front for a short distance, and buttoned, so that it would slip over the wearer's wig more easily. This

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[17]Agnes Geijer, A History of Textile Art (London: Pasold Research Fund in association with Sotheby Park Bernet, 1979), 159-60.

[18]Maureen Jupp, Chief Verger, Sub-Sacrist, Westminster Abbey, London, interview by author, 29 May 1985, London, Notes, Westminster Abbey.

[19]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part I, 202.

alteration continued into the nineteenth century, until the Oxford Movement.[20]

Most artistic depictions of Anglican clergy of the eighteenth century are portraits of bishops or are commentaries upon an event or social scene; most clergy could ill afford a portrait. Hogarth was one of the major artists who painted both. Figure 23 shows Hogarth's portrait of Archbishop Herring, who is portrayed not so much as a spiritual prince of the church, with cope, mitre and staff, but rather as a dignified, respectable, yet animated, personage. He wears the very full-sleeved rochet with falling-tabs collar, a black chimere and tippet, and wig. This dress was considered full liturgical attire; most clergy wore a short cassock-like garment beneath a contemporary coat or the contemporary dress of the secular world when not conducting services.[21]

The worldliness of the eighteenth-century Anglican Church could also be included as part of artistic commentary. Figure 24 presents the first scene in Hogarth's series: <u>A Harlots' Progress</u>. This scene from his moralistic commentary shows a young parson seeking higher office, with a letter to the Bishop of London. As he asks

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[20]Percy Dearmer, <u>The Arts of the Church: The Ornaments of the Ministers</u> (London: A.R. Mowbray and Co. Ltd., 1908), 143.

[21]Mayo, 84-85.

directions from two young ladies, he is completely oblivious to a prostitute madam appraising, and apparently ensnaring, a young innocent just off the stage from York.[22] Although the focus is on the moral danger to the young woman in the foreground, Hogarth also comments upon the self-serving interests prevalent among the Anglican clergy.

In the painting, The Christening, seen in figure 25, Hogarth further comments upon the worldliness of Anglican clergy. The vicar holds an infant in preparation to baptize, yet his attention is diverted as his eyes are cast in the direction of the bodice of the young lady beside him, a view he seems to be studying. Other vanities are also seen in the painting, for the Rite of Baptism is decidedly not the participants' main focus. In another of Hogarth's series, the Rake's Progress, Rakewell is shown marrying an old hunchback for her money. The recently redecorated church shows the superficiality of that action by cracks in the wall; the true lack of charity is exhibited by a cobweb covered poorbox and the parson is again portrayed as lascivious.[23]

Written accounts also describe the sad state of repair of the surplice, the preaching gown, and the academic hood worn by the parson. Battered pewter vessels, and ragged

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[22]David Bindman, Hogarth (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 55-56.

[23]Ibid., 68.

linen cloths were also prevalent in parish churches. The altar accessories and church furniture were described as inferior to what would be found in middle-class homes and often treated with less respect. Since Holy Communion normally occurred only three to four times a year, the altar table was often shoved in the corner and used for a storage shelf.[24] Such situations existed due to the overall laxity in the Church. Bishops usually preferred to remain in London, instead of fulfilling their responsibility to visit the parishes of their diocese. Several parishes might be the responsibility of one vicar, who customarily paid someone to read the Daily Offices and occasionally to read a sermon. Due to this situation, little notice was given to the condition of the church, or its vestments.

The Oxford Movement

The nineteenth century was a time when all established institutions were being challenged and, in some cases, swept away; the Church feared it would be next. Two legislative acts caused particular consternation: the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act, which decidedly declared it was no longer necessary to belong to the Anglican Church in order to be a good citizen, and the Reform Act of 1832,

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[24]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part I, xxiv.

which gave a substantial amount of political power to the largely non-Anglican commercial and industrial classes.

The Evangelicals and Latitudinarians had generally neglected the principles of the Church resulting in indifference and worldliness within, and blatant dissent outside the Church. The Dissenters included Non-Conformists such as Baptists, Independents, Presbyterians, also radical Whigs, and a growing new group who unhesitantly admitted to being Non-Christian.[25] In the wake of the Reform Act, these Dissenters created a great clamor for extensive and even destructive changes in the established Church; their determination surprised much of the Anglican leadership, who were asleep in their security. Since the late eighteenth century, the Church of England had heard, but not heeded, earnest voices from within calling for revival. For most serious minded Anglicans could open their Prayer Book and see, within the words, a church very different from what the Church of England appeared to be in the controversies of the times. They could hardly keep from seeing that the Anglican Church claimed origin from Christ's Apostles. Yet somewhere, somehow, that simplest, basic tenet of theology had been lost. It was to be recovered at Oxford.

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[25]Dean Church, The Oxford Movement: 1833-1845 (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1932), 10.

There was, at Oxford, a substantial group of liberal theologians, whose various philosophies were often radically innovative and yet were also a microcosm of the challenges facing the Church. But there was also a legacy of orthodoxy, inherent since Archbishop Laud's era. Amazingly, it was from this latter heritage that a vibrant, much-needed revival and theological renewal would come. The main concern of this movement was doctrinal.[26]

The Oxford Movement began July 14, 1833, with the sermon John Keble preached from the university pulpit in response to Parliament eliminating ten bishoprics from the Church of England in Ireland. It was not that the action was not necessary, but it was reprehensible that secular Parliament was interfering with Church property and composition without consultation. Keble's sermon, which was published under the title, National Apostasy, pointed out that Christian statesmen were allowing themselves to be led by public opinion into acts which were disloyal to the Church. He also introduced two lost tenets of the Church: that the Church is an instrument of the Divine will and drew its pastoral authority from Apostolic Succession.[27] This set in motion the investigation and exposition of the nature of the Church.

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[26]Ibid., XV.

[27]Moorman, 338.

The sermon sparked the forming of a group of like-minded theologians; some of whom were older students, some were publicists and authors, and several of whom were clerics. John Keble, whose sermon had been the catalyst, was a popular poet, author of The Christian Year, and Professor of Poetry at Oxford. Another scholar, Dr. Edward B. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, also joined the group. But initially, the principal guiding force was John Henry Newman, vicar at St. Mary's, Oxford. His insightful Sunday afternoon sermons had won a large following and would prove to be of inestimable value for the movement.[28]

This group of men sought to show that since the sixteenth century there had not only been a Protestant/Puritan school of thought but also a more Catholic school of thought present in the Anglican Church. They hoped to clarify the difference between Roman and Anglo-Catholicism.[29] Making use of the power of the press, they published a series of pamphlets, known as Tracts for the Times. These were written to rally and encourage all loyal Churchmen and to inculcate new life into the Anglican Church. Late in 1833, twenty tracts were published, touching on such long neglected subjects as Apostolic

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[28]Church, 25-89.

[29]E.C. Miller, Toward a Fuller Vision (Wilton: Morehouse Barlow Co., Inc., 1984), 73.

Succession, the responsibilities of the Divine Commission, the Catholic Church, and fasting.[30]

In 1834, thirty more tracts were cheaply published and distributed among the parochial clergy. Newman and Keble spearheaded the writing, but by 1836, Pusey was actively contributing. The tracts became scholarly treatises, with Newman's Sunday afternoon sermon, a commentary upon them.[31] Initially received with enthusiasm, by 1836 the tracts were no longer regarded as a novelty. The Tractarians, as they were derisively called, began to encounter strong opposition: the Evangelicals were incensed by their views on good works and focus on the sacraments; the worldly churchman were angered by Tractarian asceticism; even many High Anglicans were put-off by their strong words and audacity; and liberals were disgusted by their dogmatism. But they also drew many followers, for they touched the conscience, and opened new hopes and thoughts to many minds.[32]

The cause of one of the Church of England's political dilemmas was aided by the Tractarians emphasis upon the authority of Anglicanism through Apostolic Succession. It was a political necessity that the Church of England's

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[30]Church, 93.

[31]Ibid., 107.

[32]Ibid.

authority not rest upon the State but proceed from Divine authority. Therefore, even if the Anglican Church should be disendowed and disestablished, as many sought to do, it still had a claim upon the allegiance of Englishmen " . . . as such, being the authority and commissioned agent of Christ and his Apostles to the people . . ." of England.[33]

In logical procession from this line of thought, the Tractarians also expounded upon the Nicene Creed's statement of "one, holy catholic, and apostolic church," discerning a factual paradox about the nature of the church: that, by definition, it is one in the continuing life of the universal church, but also that Christendom is divided. Further, Tractarians perceived the Catholic Church as divided into Roman, Orthodox and Anglican, yet one in essential doctrine and Sacraments.[34]

In 1841, John Newman published Tract XC, in which he presented a new and more Catholic exegesis of the Thirty-Nine Articles. These articles, drawn-up under Elizabeth I as the platform of the Church of England, stated the Church's official attitude toward doctrine. The articles had always been regarded as a Protestant expression of truth, and every cleric and Oxford graduate had to assent

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[33]Owen Chadwick, ed., The Mind of the Oxford Movement (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), 13-14.

[34]Miller, 65.

to them.[35] To the Protestants, and many within the university, Newman had gone too far. The Bishop of Oxford prohibited the writing of any future tracts, although Tractarian writings continued to appear in periodicals.

Following Tract XC, opinions hardened against the Tractarians, and Newman became the focus for caustic criticism. Under such severe condemnation, Newman gradually began to retire from public life. He was also concerned that some of this followers were leaning toward becoming Roman Catholics, which he knew would be detrimental to their cause. The first secession to the Roman Church came in 1840.[36] But Newman himself was having misgivings about his beloved Church of England. Retiring to the country, Newman left the party's leadership to Dr. Pusey. In 1845, Newman seceded from the Church of England and the morale of the Tractarians sank, just as they began to be persecuted.

The Tractarians published several books on the "Real Presence" in the Eucharist in the 1850s, calling for more frequent Communion and a deeper reverence for the Sacrament. These opinions brought them further disfavor and persecution. Meanwhile the younger clergy in the

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[35]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part I, 177-78.

[36]Ibid., 90.

parishes began to translate such high sacramental language into the physical reality of external symbol and ritual.[37]

The Oxford Movement had begun within the University of Oxford, of chief interest to the scholarly theologian, seeking to teach those who taught. Their entreaty was to look beyond the Reformation to the first centuries of Christianity and to the Patristic Fathers, and to glean from them the fundamental truths of the Church. The movement's leaders had stressed the example of Christ, rather than His deeds; Christ was no longer an abstract doctrinal symbol, but a living Master, teacher, and Savior. Tractarians were not without their faults, eccentricities, or extremists. Yet they conferred upon the Church a great legacy of devout, hard-working clerics and scholars.[38] At its beginning, the movement was chiefly academic and intellectual, centered upon thought and doctrine. But as it spread from the university to the parishes, it was inevitable that the doctrines expoused by the Tractarians would begin to shape such things as the appearance of Churches and the worship within them.

The Ritualists and the Restoration of Vestments

The Oxford Movement revived and taught the doctrines of the Church as one Body of Christ and the Sacraments as

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[37] Ibid., 212.

[38] Church, 134-35.

the appointed means of grace. In this, the Tractarians had laid a solid foundation for the revival of the Anglican Church, more from within than from without. But tension ran high between Church and State throughout the latter two-thirds of the nineteenth century. The Anglican Church remained the established Church of England and, thereby, subject to Parliament. This body, peopled largely by members who favored Low Churchmanship and Protestantism, jealously claimed their rights toward regulating the Church. The revival which sprang from the Tractarian teachings was an anathema to them, for Low Churchmen and Protestants regarded it as too close to popery.

Nor did the Tractarians find any particular favor with Queen Victoria (b.1819; ruled: 1837-1901), who was sheltered until she became queen at age eighteen. Thereupon she was schooled in the ways of politics, government, history, religion, and living by Lord Melborne, a Low Churchman and her first Prime Minister. Throughout her life, Victoria preferred a short, simple religious service, bordering on Presbyterian, in her own private Chapel.[39] For her entire reign, the Catholic tone of the Anglican Church's revival was a constant annoyance to the Queen.

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[39]Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 158-59.

Initially a movement manifest in doctrine and holiness, the original Tractarians were conservative in all outward observances. They followed the practice observed by clergy for over a century: for communion, the surplice with academic hood; for preaching, the black academic gown. In his later years, only Dr. Pusey wore a simple chasuble at the East Grinstead Convent.[40] But their followers were to gradually teach reverence by eye as well as by word.

By the 1840s, the Church of England was vibrantly awake and full of activity. Many charitable works were being done and many divergent philosophies were being argued, such as Socialism, Liberalism and Ritualism. In 1840, two bishops ordered surplices to be worn by their clergy but one had to rescind his order when riots broke out.[41] Nevertheless, Ritualism, the increased use of ceremony and vestments, grew in popularity. The growth of ceremony and ritual can be attributed to four aspects of Victorian life: (1) the aesthetic sensibilities of the Victorian Age; (2) the widespread belief that color and ritual would appeal to the unchurched laborers; (3) the laity insisting upon it; and (4) the increased desire for proper obedience to the Book of Common Prayer.

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[40]Michael Wright, Oxford Movement, 1833-1983 Vestment Exhibition; Exhibition Catalogue. Oxford: University Press, 1983.

[41]Moorman, 351-52.

First, ritual and increased ornamentation in the church was a natural reflection of the tastes of the age. As homes became more elaborately furnished, there were yards of various patterned damasks covering windows, walls and furniture. On any and every flat surface, many little ornaments and treasures were displayed. And Victorians liked color. These tastes were translated to their churches in wall frescoes, mosaic floors and richly decorated hangings. It seemed natural that the dress of the ministers should follow suit. By the 1890s bishops had begun to wear purple cassocks and red chimeres.[42] The contentious use of vestments in a service added greatly to the color and interest of the ceremony.

In 1837 a number of Cambridge undergraduates formed a loose association to study church architecture. The central figure of this group was James Mason Neale, whose consuming interest in ecclesiastical architecture and decor was also a religious quest. He cared deeply for the symbolism and divine mystery in worship, and, therefore, became a follower of the Tractarians. But, few others of his coterie followed him in this belief.[43] The aim of the society was to research and disseminate information needed

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[42]Janet Mayo, A History of Ecclesiastical Dress (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1984).

[43]James F. White, The Cambridge Movement (Cambridge: Cambridge at the University Press, 1962), 35.

to guide the tastes of an age enthusiastic for the Gothic styles and for the building and restoration of churches. In 1839 the group officially organized into the Cambridge Camden Society, whose membership eventually included archbishops, bishops, members of Parliament, clergy, architects, and over seven hundred ordinary members.[44] Becoming a center for information, and through its periodical, The Ecclesiologist, begun in 1841, the society became an arbiter and guide for taste. Newman and Pusey had begun with God, seeking how his authority proceeded through man; Neale began with Man and asked how men might be led to worship God. Neale's interest in religious symbolism, particularly Medieval, seemed to correlate well with the Gothic revival of architecture which had begun in the mid-eighteenth century. Much of Victorian culture was nostalgic for the Medieval. The Pre-Raphaelite artists' popular appeal lay in that fact and encouraged the trend. Nevertheless, it was indeed appropriate that as the Ritualists sought to restore ornaments and vestments to the Church, they sought to study the Middle Ages and not contemporary Roman usage. Also, to look to the ecclesiastical decor of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries would comply with the rubric directive that ornaments of the ministers and churches should be the

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[44]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, 212-13.

same as used in the second year of Edward VI's reign, 1548-49. The challenge of locating this kind of data was formidable. Inventories from the fourteenth century were researched and used for reference in producing nineteenth-century vestments.[45] But the Ritualists developed a supportive relationship with the Cambridge group, which became the Ecclesiological Society in 1846, since architectural research done by the Society often included ecclesiastical appointments.[46] There were so few specimens that those seeking examples had to look to art, in particular monumental brasses, for their elucidation. Here, too, iconoclasm, neglect, and church reconstruction had resulted in many excellent brasses being defaced, sold, or simply having disappeared. Nevertheless, by having a few of the actual vestments, the fair number of brasses depicting ecclesiastical vesture could be more accurately deciphered and the vestments more precisely reproduced. This activity had the fortuitous result of a mid-nineteenth century revival of interest in brasses, which led to their more careful preservation.[47]

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[45]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part I, iii.

[46]White, 153-54.

[47]Herbert Druitt, <u>A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses</u> (London: Alexander Moring, Ltd., 1906), 73.

Locating extant examples of Medieval Church ornament, and particularly vestments, has remained a difficult quest. Almost none survived the various waves of iconoclasm; a dark blue and silver velvet cope and a complete matching set of white satin vestments with red velvet ophreys were at St. John's College in the nineteenth century, as they remain today. The cope, in figure 14, is cut in the traditional full half circle; the seams indicate the loom size popular in the sixteenth century. The rather small vestigial hood, preferred by the Medieval English, is richly embroidered with metallic thread and depicts the crowning of the Virgin. The wide orphrey bands down the front are similarly embroidered and depict eight saints of the church.

By 1843, the surplice was beginning to be more acceptable. At St. George's, Hanover Square, London they introduced a new ritual: the altar party proceeded down the nave, following a surpliced choir.[48] After being so generally neglected in the eighteenth century, the surplice was gradually re-instated in the mid-nineteenth. As many clergy continued to wear wigs, the surplice was still made with an open front. Although opposed and intensely unpopular in parishes where the black academic or the preaching gowns were preferred, the surplice could be worn

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[48]Mayo, 103.

by all clerical ranks except the bishop.[49] In the 1840s it began to be worn also by the laity of the choir.[50]

In the 1850s there was national prosperity and a lively spirit of zeal within the Anglican Church. The Church was particularly intent upon reaching the working class. The census of 1851 produced a fact most England found distressing: the majority of the workers were not only non-Anglican but professed no particular religion at all.[51] Therefore, the Church sought ways to appeal to the working man. A popular axiom, which many Anglicans thought held the key, stated that the poor and less-educated learned more by the eye than by the intellect. This belief became widespread and was a second reason for the growth of Ritualism. Particularly, the second generation Tractarians wanted to make worship in the smaller churches less sparse, to give tangible beauty to reverence and to deepen the sacramental sense of the people. Evening Communion services were initiated, which many High Churchmen disliked, yet this popular innovation remained.[52] In 1846 James Neale wrote a friend that if the use of copes could be increased, within a short time, chasubles could follow.

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[49]Dearmer, 130-31.

[50]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, 179.

[51]Ibid., 364.

[52]Ibid., 308.

In the 1850s chasubles were re-introduced in several of the more Catholic parishes, and James Neale was among the first to celebrate Communion in one.[53]

There were also churches known for their high ritual, such as St. Barnabas in Pimlico, a suburb of London, which did not use Eucharistic vestments until the 1870s. Nevertheless, the beauty of the ceremony filled the church with the poor at the early morning and weekday evening communion services. It was during these mid-century years that the first law suits began to bring the Ritualists before the courts. And one of the first, the Helston case, concerned vestments. As a new Vicar, Helston did not introduce anything new, but simply wore what he found already in the vestry: a surplice. Some parishioners, who had only recently learned such garments were favored by the new Ritualists, brought their vicar to trial before his bishop. The ruling was strictly obedient to the Prayer Book: it was the parish duty to provide the Eucharistic vestments, alb and cope; if they did, it was the minister's duty to use them.[54] Such court cases were frequently an oblique result of the 1843 Church Building Act which carved large parishes into smaller districts, and provided for a new church within each district. Often the new vicar was

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[53]Mayo, 105.

[54]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, 218-19.

from the city and brought with him some of the unfamiliar ceremonies. In such a setting, these were generally accepted by the newly formed congregation. But the established parishes in the area usually had their traditions and suspicions and did not want such popery; they would create a storm. In Exeter, where a new vicar conducted the worship in a surplice, as directed by his bishop, the congregation erupted into a riot and the vicar's safety had to be guaranteed by constables for weeks. Similar incidents were often reported during this time. But generally when the parish perceived the man to be honest, kind and diligent, even the highest Tractarian fared well. But the 1843 Church Building Act applied to the industrial and urban cities also. And it was especially in that setting that the axiom prove true; laborers did come in larger numbers to a worship service filled with movement, color, and incense--one in which all their senses could participate. Their loyalty was insured if they perceived the rector to be a devout example.[55]

In 1860 the English Church Union, which was formed for the purpose of promoting faith and the sacraments, was active in promoting the use of vestments as a complement of reverence toward the sacraments. The Union later opened the first negotiations to explore unity with Rome. During

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[55]Ibid., 180.

the 1860s more churches began to use the Eucharistic vestments: the alb, amice, chasuble, and stole.[56] Surplices were becoming commonplace, and there was enough demand for vestments and other clerical attire that three ecclesiastical outfitters mass-produced them. Several embroidery societies were organized which specialized in church needlework.[57] Such ornaments were almost always gifts from the laity. In 1867 a Tractarian bishop was given a pastoral staff, an historically meaningful symbol which the laity liked and began to give to bishops in increasing numbers.[58] It was in such simple ways as this that vestment usage became more elaborate. If the ritual or ornament was aesthetically pleasing, appropriate in the minds of the laity, and they liked it, that particular ceremony, ornament or function stayed. The Representation of the People Act of 1867 provided almost universal suffrage, and the parish seemed to flex their muscle also in regard to their worship services.[59] This was the third aspect of the Victorian Age which nurtured the expansion of Ritualism: the laity was becoming increasingly fond of

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[56]Macalister, 200.

[57]Mayo, 105.

[58]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, 315.

[59]Ibid., 321.

certain Catholic attributes of Anglicanism and requested their use.

Inherent in Anglicanism is the strong inclination to defer to rightful authority. It is basic to Christianity and to the episcopal form of church organization. This predisposition was the fourth and final impetus for the development and spread of Ritualism. The Tractarians' exposition endeavored to show how authority, proceeding from God, was vested in the Church and her ancient precepts. The Ritualists understood this and perceived that the authoritative directives which were pertinent to ceremony and ornamentation were to be found, for the most part, in the Prayer Book. There were certain prayers and rites within this book, however, for which fuller directives and descriptions were needed but not supplied. Therefore, the ancient Canon law and Salisbury Missal were studied for instruction in the true English manner of conducting the particular ministration.[60] They also examined paintings, drawings, and brasses, as well as the ancient missals, for correct depictions of early ornament and ceremonies of the Church. As previously stated, this procedure was also followed for vestments. For the Ritualists were firmly convinced that the Ornaments Rubric clearly permitted, if not dictated, the use of vestments.

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[60]John Henry Blunt, The Annotated Book of Common Prayer (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1884), 76.

The most rapid escalation of ceremonial forms occurred between 1857 and 1871. But the advance was not smooth. The Ritualists thought themselves to be adopting harmless devotional, non-doctrinal, customs which were warranted by the Prayer Book. But as the number of churches using these unfamiliar ceremonies and vestments increased, Low Churchmen perceived a pernicious invasion of Romanism and sought ways to halt the advance. The number of churches which owned complete sets of vestments doubled between 1869 and 1874.[61] Other ritualistic practices spread in a similar manner. Such advances could neither go unnoticed nor unchecked by the Low Churchmen, resulting in a political and legal debate which would ultimately outlast the century.

The vestment question was a particularly onerous problem, because each side appealed to the same source for justification: the Prayer Book. The crux of the problem lay in the interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric. The rubric instruction to wear such vestments as were worn during the second year of Edward VI's reign, was construed by many Low Churchmen to mean the year 1550. By that year such Continental Protestant influences were abroad in England that vestments were rapidly being discarded. Also, the Low Churchmen chose to overlook the fact that the

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[61]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, 318-19.

current Prayer Book explicitly referred one to the Ornaments Rubric of the 1549 Prayer Book, wherein a rather thorough list of vestments is given which includes the alb and chasuble.[62] Ironically, the black gown which the Low Church preferred for preaching, does not appear on the list. Others who held the Protestant view declared that the chasuble, and all which went with it, had been excluded by Bishop Parker's Advertisements in 1566.[63] In rebuttal, the Ritualists claimed that vestments greatly enhanced the worship service, that they were following correct rubrical order, and that Bishop Parker's directive in the Advertisement to wear surplice and cope did not preclude other articles; but only prescribed those as the minimal vesture acceptable.[64] The debate went back and forth, carried on in print, on the street, in the Queen's Chambers, and in the courts of law.

The Church Association was formed in 1865 for the sole purpose of legally prohibiting the elaboration of religious ceremony. At the very least, the members sought to test the question in the courts. For the next ten or twelve years, the Low Churchmen believed that bringing ritualistic

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[62]Blunt, 67-68.

[63]Mayo, 105.

[64]Francis Proctor, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, rev. and rewritten by Howard Frere (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1955), 365-66.

clergy into court was the most effective means of defining what was the law of the Church in these particulars.[65] However, the results were not satisfactory, for the rulings were not always consistent. If the defendant was found guilty, it was only on certain points. The Protestant laity was not satisfied; and the alleged culprits were not willing to accept the authority of the secular final appeals court in an ecclesiastical matter.

In the early years of the 1870s, two cases against the ritualistic St. Barnabas, Pimlico, were in the courts. The eventual decisions in those trials led the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to render a definitive judgement in regard to vestments. The committee defined "ornaments" as including all articles necessary to perform all ministrations prescribed or directly intimated by the Prayer Book. Bells, organs, and kneeling pads were a few such articles. The judges then settled the debate as to the date of the second year of Edward's VI's reign: it began January 28, 1548 and ended January 28, 1549. The court further noted that the ancient Tudor liturgy was the only legal liturgical form until June, 1549.[66] Technically, that broadened the rubric to include much which was Roman, including using some Latin. But at last, the ornaments

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[65]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, 319.

[66]Blunt, 67-68.

had been judicially interpreted by a court from which there was no appeal.

By this exposition, it became evident that the heart of the controversy lay in the comprehensiveness of the Prayer Book's rubric directives, and that they were broader than many Protestant minds wanted them to be. They permitted, if not ordered, vestments, as well as permitted the teaching of "Real Presence" in the sacrament, among other ideas and ceremonies often regarded as papist. The appeals to the courts had simply magnified the breadth of liberties allowed within the rubrics. Thus many began to agitate for Parliament to change the law and to rewrite the rubrics. But many moderates took offense at the thought of the State restricting liberties within the Church. Even the Evangelicals applauded the comprehensiveness of the Prayer Book and had no desire to narrow it, despite their vexation at the consequences. Meanwhile the Ritualists continued to be prosecuted for such ceremonial forms and manual acts as elevating the Host or setting candles upon the altar.[67]

Although Protestant-minded, Queen Victoria was devoted to the Church of England, and was not above using her influence in its behalf. In 1873 several thousand angry anti-ritualists presented the Archbishops of Canterbury and

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[67]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, 324.

York with petitions to suppress Ritualists and their ceremonies. The Archbishops agreed as did the Queen, who supported legislation to give the bishops more power to deal with the questions of ceremony and ritual.[68] The result was the Public Worship Regulations Act of 1874, which did little to define what was legal. But it did establish the proper procedure for prosecution, who could bring charges, and added a sentence of imprisonment upon conviction. Also the bishop was given the power to veto the initiation of the process. A great many did. Nevertheless, clergy were imprisoned.[69] These men came to be regarded as martyrs, and the growth of Ritualism continued unabated. There were public protests, bishop's decrees and pronouncements, services interrupted by Dissenters; all to no avail. It was 1904, after Queen Victoria's death in 1901, before the government tried again to deal officially with Ritualism. The Royal Commission on Ritual Matter was created to investigate the problem, and generate possible solutions. The eventual recommendation was for the Prayer Book to be revised.[70] The long process was to begin immediately, in order to hasten relief to

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[68]Ibid., 321.

[69]Ibid., 323-24.

[70]Moorman, 403.

national and parochial tension, and to establish the standards of worship with exactitude.

The re-introduction of vestments and the re-establishment of certain ceremonies and rituals was a natural evolution of the evangelical and Tractarian movements. The Victorian quest for reverence and the authority of truth, and its affinity for the Medieval, also provided an advantageous environment for the popularity of vestments and unfamiliar old ceremonies. In 1882, over 270 Churches in London used vestments. This fact is usually taken to mean the alb, amice, stole, and chasuble. By 1901, almost twenty-five percent of all Anglican churches in England owned and, to some degree, used vestments.[71] Great pains were taken in their production. Older Roman vestments from the continent were often reused: their orphreys were removed and sewn on new copes or chasubles.[72] The ancient embroidery was thus preserved and given new life, adding to the beauty and color.

The color, ceremonial activities, and increased congregational participation helped to evangelize the workers. By the turn of the century, many Non-conformists were becoming more liturgical: congregational prayers were developing a new following, and Methodists were becoming

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[71]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, 318.

[72]Jupp, 29 May, 1985.

more sacramental. Within the Anglican Church, tolerance toward the great diversity of worship services increased. Bishops might be irritated by the High Church parishes but yielded to the people's preferences.

Although harassment of Ritualists continued into the twentieth century, the attention of the church and the nation was drawn to other affairs. Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. There were Jubilee processions, in which one of the coronation copes of Charles II was worn. (figure 20) For an entire year England congratulated themselves and their Queen, for the Empire was prosperous and covered one-fourth of the earth's surface.

In 1800 the Church of England included members in England, Ireland, Scotland, and only a few people overseas. By 1900, the picture had dramatically changed. Wherever the Empire went, the Church had gone: immigrants, officials, tradesmen, and missionaries. In the Oxford Movement's revival, several monasteries had been established; many monks and nuns evangelized overseas and helped to create a more diverse Anglican Church. With the dawn of the twentieth century the Church focused less on internal matters such as vestments and rituals, and more upon world-wide evangelism.

The early nineteenth century saw virtually no change in the ecclesiastical attire within the Church of England.

The stole, dalmatic, tunicle and chasuble were obsolete, and the alb was almost never worn.[73] The usual attire for a priest, whether in the parish or university, continued to be a surplice with academic hood and tippet for the High Churchmen, or simply one of the black gowns, possibly with hood, for the Low Churchman.[74] Although copes were rarely used, in the accounts of the coronations of George IV (1821), William IV (1831), and Queen Victoria (1838), copes were noted as worn by several of the officiating bishops.[75] As previously discussed, all this changed drastically as the result of the followers of the Oxford Movement, giving practical, visual evidence to the Tractarians' teachings. With Holy Communion, or the Mass, being celebrated more frequently, beautiful chasubles, with accompanying stoles, began to be worn by some vicars. This had the effect of raising the standard overall, and the surplice began to be worn more. These innovations often caused great consternation: the Exeter riots in 1844 were renewed demonstrations against the humble surplice. Similar violence occurred in St. Columbo and Newton in 1845.[76]

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[73]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Hierurgia Anglicana, Part II, Rev. and Enlarged by Vernon Staley (London: The De La More Press, 1902), 214.

[74]Mayo, 88-89.

[75]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society.

[76]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part I, 220.

Bishops who required the use of surplices, or defended the use of more sacerdotal vestments, were often subjected to their homes or carriages being stoned, and other varieties of harassment.[77] Yet by 1850, the great St. Paul's, London, was considered a Ritualistic Cathedral.[78] In order to appropriately and properly illustrate the dramatic changes which the Ritualist Movement brought to the Church of England, individual examples will be presented and discussed.

Although the Ritualists drew their inspiration from the Oxford Movement, the Tractarians were content to minister in the usual attire of the 1820s and 1830s. An illustration of that is seen in figure 26; the black gown at the top is John Newman's black Master's gown which he wore over a black button-front cassock, with his academic hood down the back. It is possible to discern the way the academic gown barely drapes over the shoulders, and leaves most of the cassock exposed in front. In the lower section is shown John Keble's surplice, with his two hoods, which he wore to conduct services at St. Mary's, Oxford. An account from the 1840s intimates that the first attempt to construct a liturgical vestment used two academic hoods. Figure 27 is a replica of the first Eucharistic vestment

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[77]Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II, 356.

[78]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part II, 220.

which was made and worn, since the Reformation; it was supposedly worn at St. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford.[79] The red material in front follows the cut of the yoke of an academic gown, but has buttons and a tie. The red cloth forms a ruffle, where the full black sleeves are joined at the shoulders, then continues and widens into a flowing cloak in the back. The main body of the gown is black, with a deep black 'V' in the center back of the red cloak.

As historical research improved, due largely to such organizations as the Cambridge Camden Society, such anomalies were avoided, and truly remarkable ecclesiastical finery began to appear. Copes began to be worn on more occasions. As the demand grew, many old copes, and occasionally whole vestment sets, were brought forth, sometimes from family treasures.[80] A nineteenth century diary records an ancient Trinity cope being worn at St. Paul's; God was represented as an old man; the Son, as a young man; both were worked in rich embroidery.[81] As new copes were designed, they often were copies of what ancient ones were available, even within the Roman Catholic Church on the Continent. This was also true of the other

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[79]Michael Wright), <u>Oxford Movement: Vestment Exhibition</u> (Oxford: University Press, 1983), 10.

[80]Ibid., 5.

[81]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part I, 201.

vestments as they gradually came into use. This exposure to material decidedly decorated iconographically, coupled with the contemporary interest in the Medieval, revived the use of religious symbolism in England, and increased the richness of liturgical garments and ceremonies.

Many vestments were also constructed using salvageable parts of old ones. Such is the case of the cope from Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, figure 29. Various medallions, some new and some old, are set upon a white, heavy silk damask. The silk was patterned to copy the pomegranate-patterned cloth of gold velvets, as seen previously in figure 15. The pomegranate pattern is re-asserted in embroidered medallions on the orphrey and across the back. Pomegranates, which symbolize the unity of the Church, are a fitting complement to the teachings of the Oxford Movement, which believed that the English Church was a part of the Apostolic and universal church. The orphrey also contains medallions of the Tudor rose and two unidentified saints. The Tudor rose not only is heraldic, but was known to be symbolic of the Divine Love of God.[82] The cope's hood is solid stitchery, in the manner of the sixteenth century; the design of the Virgin and Child is embroidered directly onto the linen hood, which was then

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[82]Elizabeth Haig, <u>The Floral Symbolism of the Great Masters</u> (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Triibner & Co., Inc., 1913), 155.

lined. The medallions, on the other hand, were stitched separately, then attached to the completed cope.

The cope in figure 29 was designed by a vicar and stitched by the sisters of one of the communities established as an outgrowth of the Oxford Movement. It is also a white silk, pomegranate damask, but it was constructed more in the ancient manner: the fabric is the only design on the great sweep of the cope; the orphreys were embroidered with depictions of saints on linen then mounted as one piece onto the cope, over the top edge of the hood in the back. The hood was also stitched on linen, set with jewels, and lined as in the previous cope. This hood depicts the Lord in Glory, with angels on either side, and on the orphrey above.

The well-known, nineteenth-century architect G.F. Bodley designed the red silk cope in figure 30. It has golden crowns, Tudor roses set amidst a sunburst, and fleurs-de-lis scattered upon the silk damask. The crowns denoted the majesty of God; the fleurs-de-lis were regarded as a form of the lily and, therefore, symbolic of the Virgin Mary and purity. It was also a symbol of the Trinity.[83]

As the populace grew accustomed once again to rich copes, chasubles began to be introduced in the Eucharistic

[83]Ibid., 153-55.

worship services, so that even to the untrained eye, it was obvious that Holy Communion was something apart, and higher, than the other offices of the Church. Many thought that special, rich ornaments and garments used for the Communion service, gave visible proof that those who provided them held that service with a higher regard. Therefore, chasubles such as those seen in figure 31, were instituted in the more Ritualistic parishes. The left chasuble in the top picture dramatically illustrates the Tractarian emphasis upon the Sacraments, and not the sermon, as being the symbolic focus of the worship service. The chasuble next to it was designed by Ninian Comper, a renowned member of the Camden Society. On another pomegrate damask background, Comper placed a 'Y'-shaped orphrey filled with twining pomegranates beautifully embroidered in shaded silk directly onto chasuble, as many vestments of the tenth century were decorated.

In the lower picture of figure 31, a chasuble of silk woven in an hart/eagle pattern is on the left. This silk pattern is based upon scriptural references to the deer and the eagle. This orphrey is most intricately worked with florals, particularly the fleur-de-lis and the iris, which is often considered to be a prototype for the fleur-de-lis. The iris also has reference to the sorrows of the Virgin,

and her royalty.[84] In the center of the orphrey is a crucifix, a depiction abhorrent to the Puritans and still disliked by many nineteenth-century Low Churchmen. The medieval, cut-away style chasuble is shown in figure 32, from the back. This shield-shape provides the backdrop for a very gothic representation of several saints, with the Virgin in the center. Such references to the Virgin would not have been tolerated in previous years, but with the Tractarians and the Medievalists came renewed interest in the Holy Lady.[85]

Beside this chasuble in figure 32, is an exquisite dalmatic, part of an entire set of matching vestments designed by Ninian Comper, in 1890. Stitched directly upon the red silk damask are crowns and Passions flowers. The latter was discovered by the Jesuits in the New World who immediately gave every part of the blossom religious significance: the three-part pistol is symbolic of the Trinity; where the petals attach to the center resembles a crown of thorns; the flower is divided into twelve sets of petals, representing the Apostles.[86] The three large flowers are centered between two pillars of flat gold braid, and two large tassels hang from each shoulder. This

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[84]Haig, 78.

[85]Ecclesiological Late Cambridge Camden Society, Part III, 172-73.

[86]Haig, 66-67.

garment, as many others which remain from this time period, is preserved in a monastic community. These communities were often responsible for the construction and embroidery of the liturgical ornaments re-instated by the Ritualists in the last forty-five years of the nineteenth century.[87] These beautiful garments were also helpful in promoting the artistry of fine stitchery which was also a part of the Victorian Age. These vestments most certainly gave visible and tangible proof of the theological revival and reform which occurred as a result of the Oxford Movement. Liturgical attire, such as these illustrated, did indeed give prominence to the service of Holy Communion, and give tangible credence to the phrase: the beauty of Holiness.

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[87] Wright, 14.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The problem intrinsic to this study was to investigate the major liturgical attire. First, it was necessary to identify and define the articles to be included. Then the development of each ecclesiastical garment and the instructions for its use were studied, and the reasons for modifications in the garment or its usage were explored.

The body of this investigation shows a direct correlation between politics and religion in England. To an American mind, steeped in the separation of Church and State, the national factiousness, which a liturgical garment could create, was a revelation. This research has shown that, historically, the root cause for much social unrest in England has been religious issues. Moreover, the origin of this situation lay in England's inordinate fear of anything remotely Roman Catholic, which was reflected in ecclesiastical attire, as well as foreign policy, national attitude and worship services. More than once, the English distaste for popery found its focus in a liturgical garment, usually the surplice, although this was the minimum expression of a vestment. Until the nineteenth century the changes which occurred in ecclesiastical dress

took place, not so much in the design of their parts, but in whether or not vestments were worn at all. Therein is the reflection of popular and clerical opinion forming policy, rather than following the official mandate laid out in the Book of Common Prayer. This research also reveals the fact that in the compiling of four of the five Prayer Books which England has had, great pains were taken to include a rubric instructing vestments to be worn, especially for Holy Communion. Yet, each time, these directions were ignored, when possible, and fought-over, when not. And the resulting distemper was carried into the streets, the courts, and even into Parliament. Vestments are symbolic, not only within the worship service, but also of the condition of the Church and its relationship with the Nation and society. This apparently is particularly true in the case of an established or state church.

This investigation documents the particular problems within a society which has an established church. Ostensibly, an instrument of God, a state church is also an institution of Man and his government, an untenable position. Queen Elizabeth I did not do the Church of England, nor the English State, any favors by establishing a national church.

This study gave additional insight into the artistic and literary satire of the eighteenth-century clergy. The caricatures and satirical portrayals, by Hogarth for

example, may be seen with more understanding since this inquiry revealed the permissiveness and laxity within eighteenth-century Anglicanism.

This research brought forth several relevant areas in which further investigation is needed. One is for documentation of the whereabouts of existing vestments. Only by dogged persistence and much inquiry are any of these beautiful garments located, much less viewed. London's Victoria and Albert Museum, which has one of the most extensive collections of ecclesiastical garments in the world, does not even have good documentation of their own collection, nor do they have adequate storage or display facilities.

Researching this thesis revealed two glaring problems noted which perhaps this paper may help rectify: (1) the dearth of knowledge or understanding prevalent in the American Episcopal church as to what vestments are, their development, and their interplay in Anglican history; this ignorance is particularly reprehensible among the clergy, where it is rampant; and (2) vestments are often regarded as neither artform nor artifact, but merely as a remnant garment from the past. Therefore, their preservation is difficult to achieve. Being somewhat fragile, vestments are difficult to maintain in good condition; special temperature and humidity controls are required, as well as knowledgeable repairwork made from time to time. Since the

Chicago Exhibition, Raiment for the Lord's Service, vestments are more highly regarded as an artform, but their preservation is still in danger.

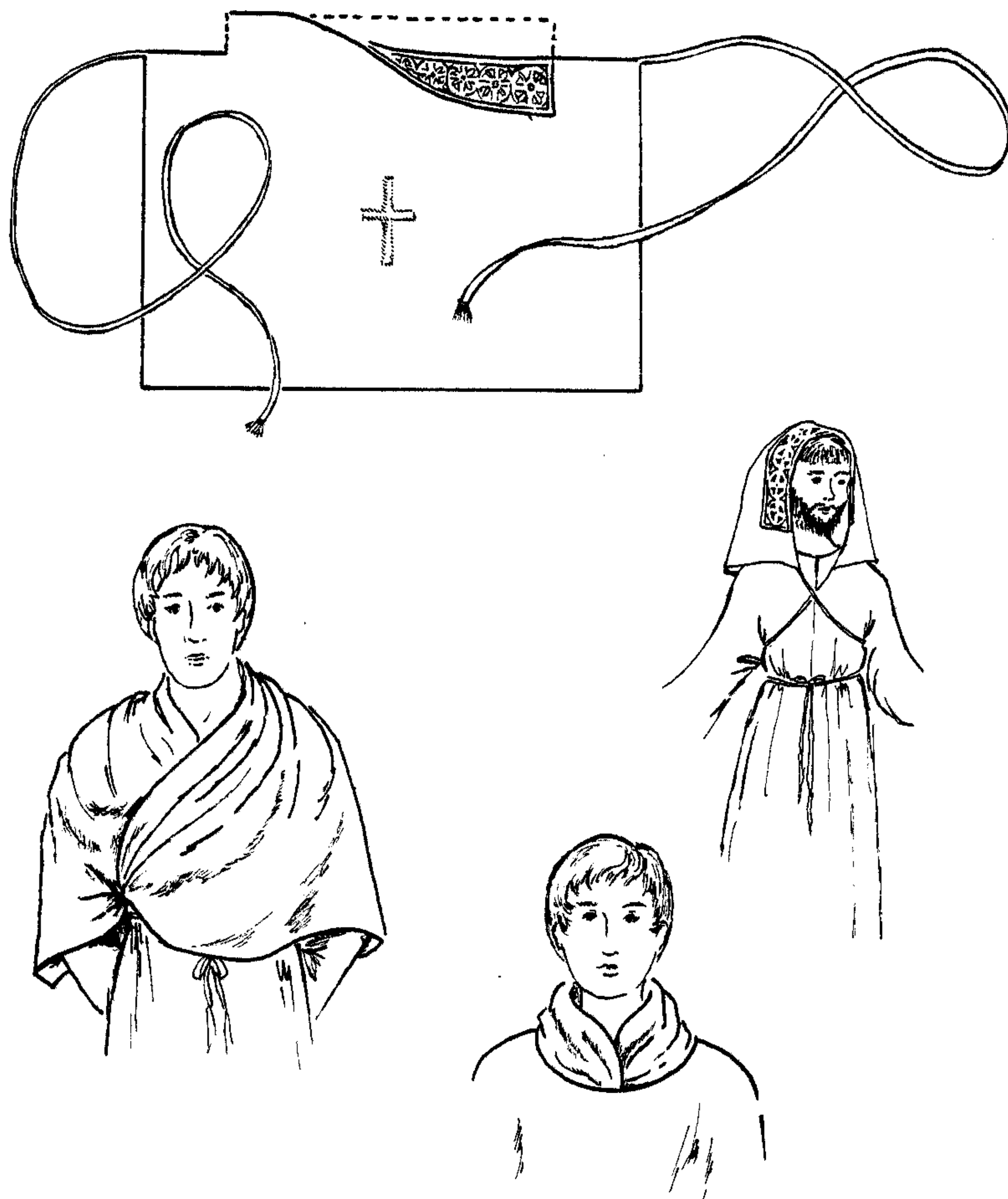


Figure 1. The Amice and its predecessors

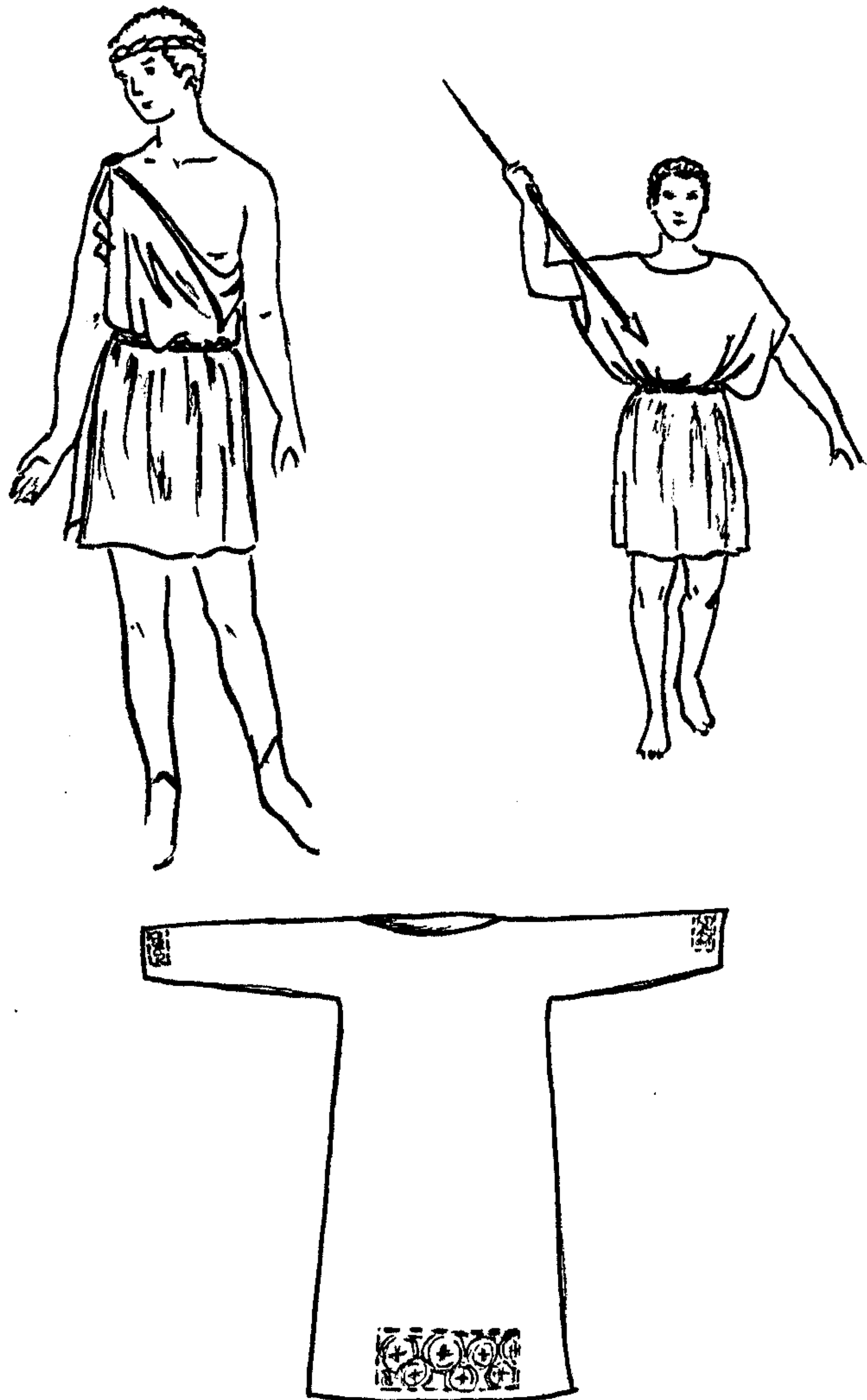


Figure 2. The Alb and its ancestors

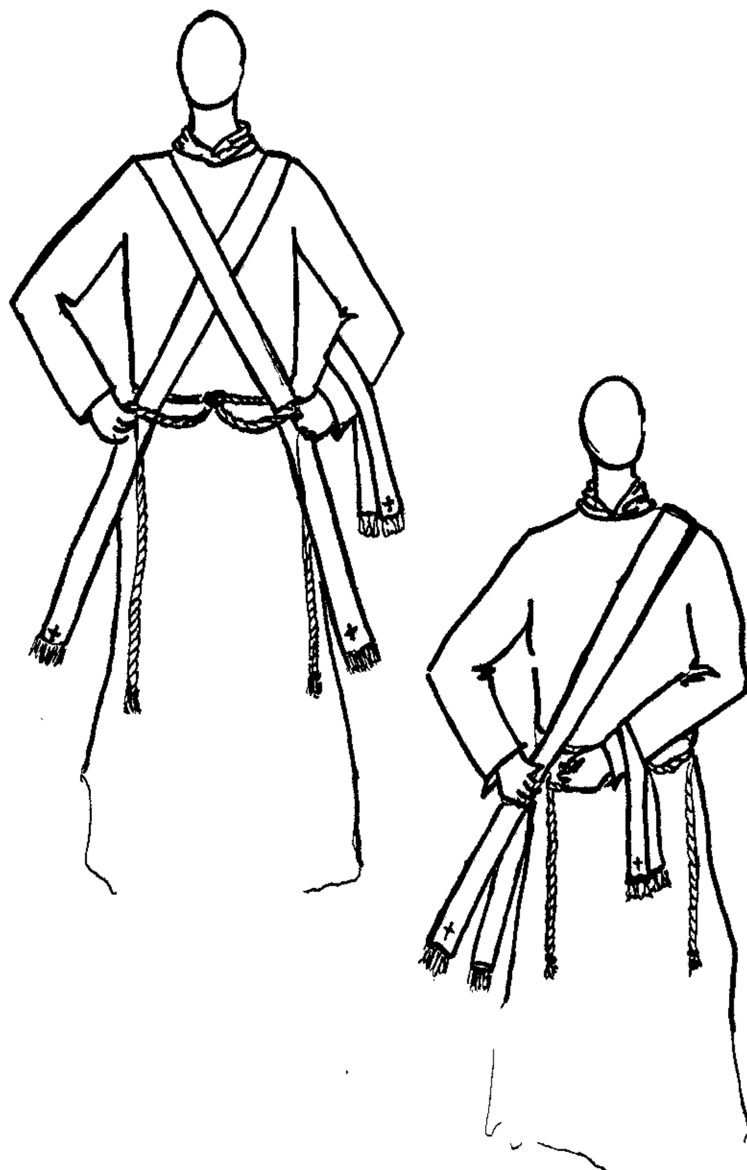


Figure 3. The Stole, as worn by a priest and a deacon

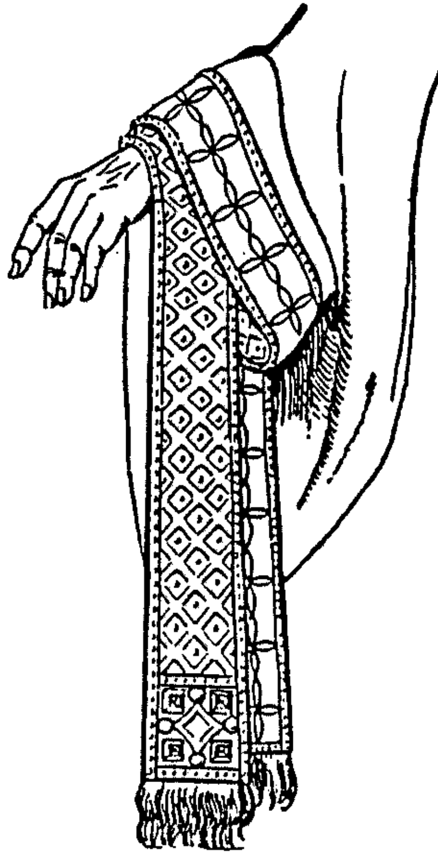


Figure 4. The Maniple

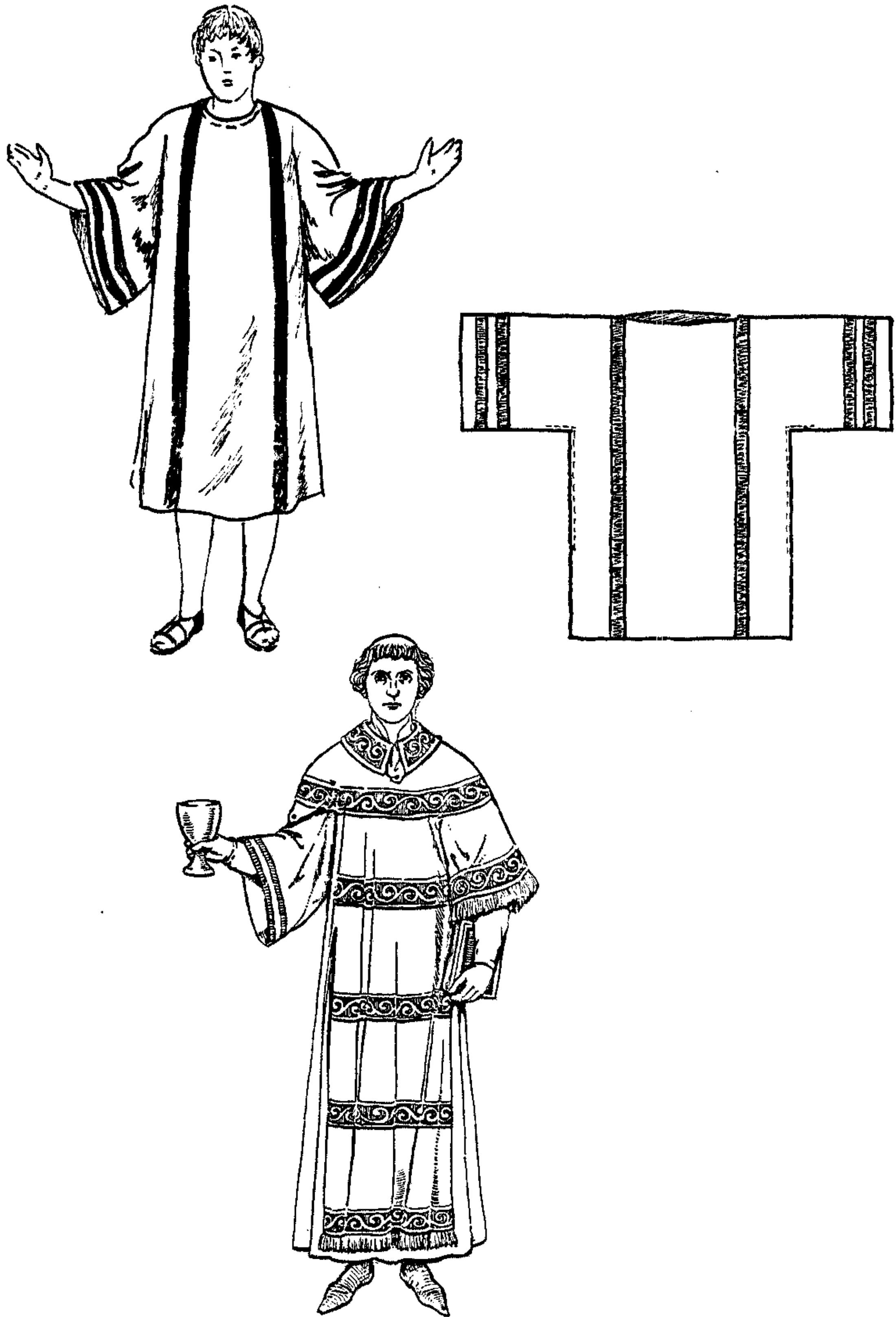


Figure 5. The Development of the Dalmatic

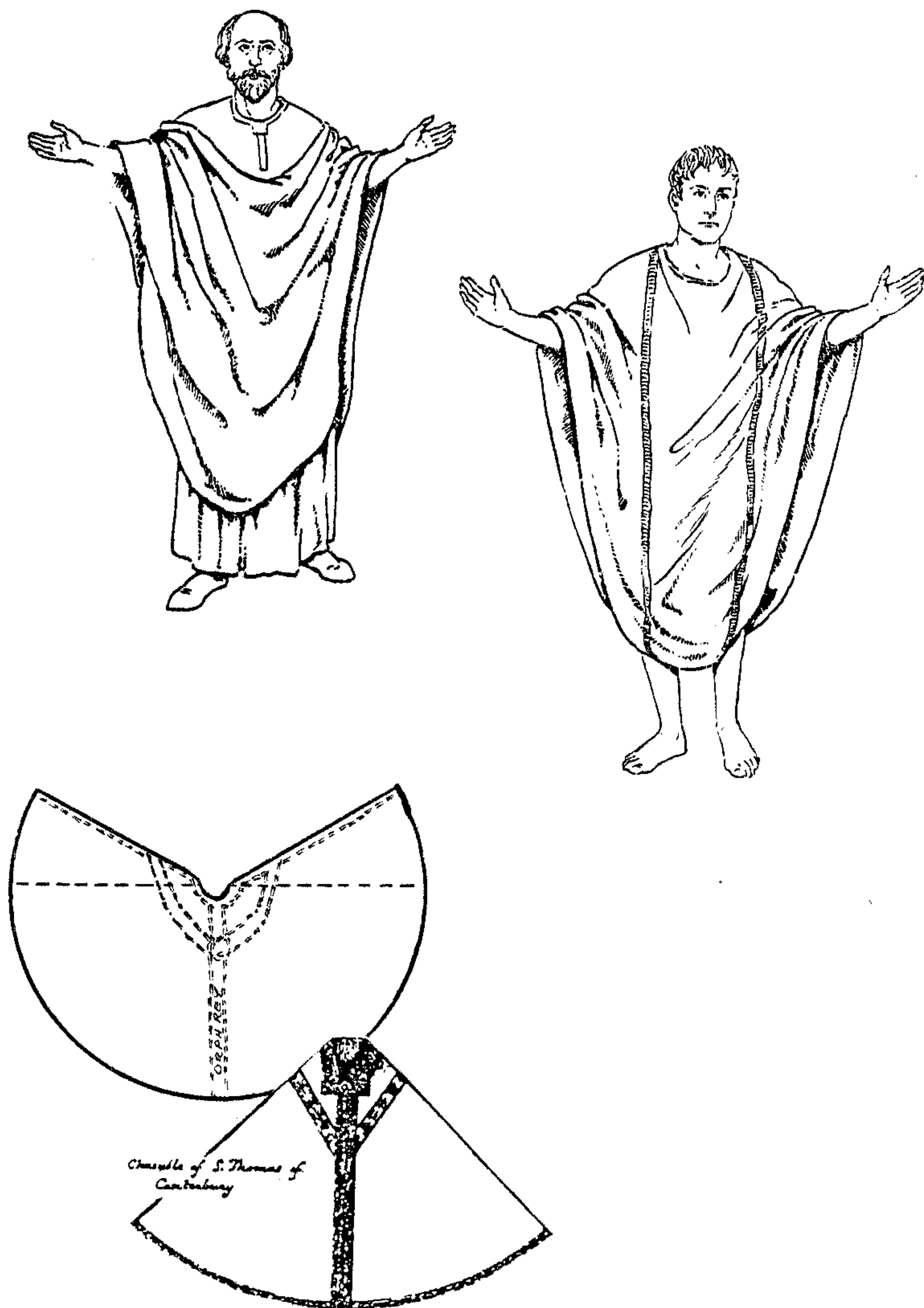


Figure 6. The Early Chasuble forms

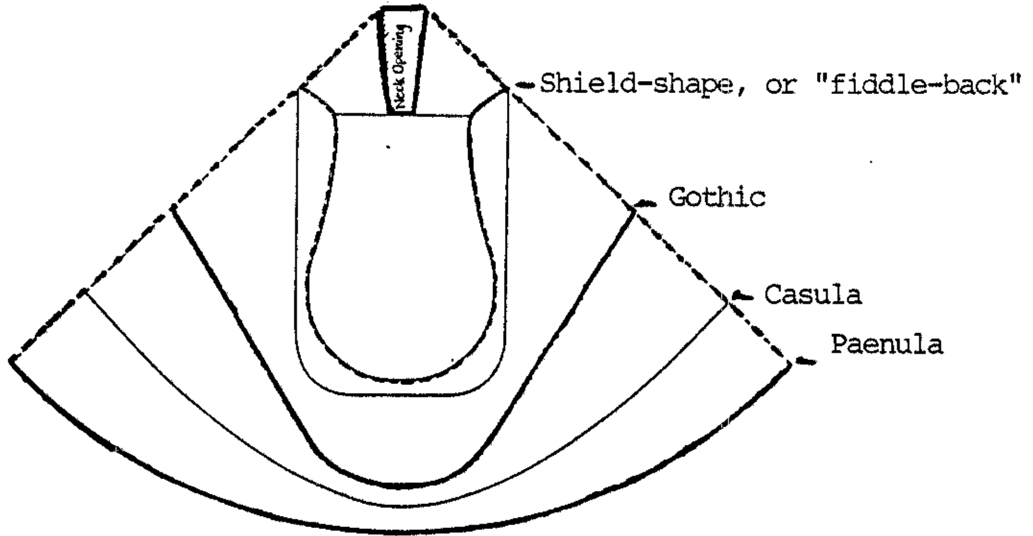


Figure 7. The historic shapes of the Chasuble and a priest vested in the Gothic-shape

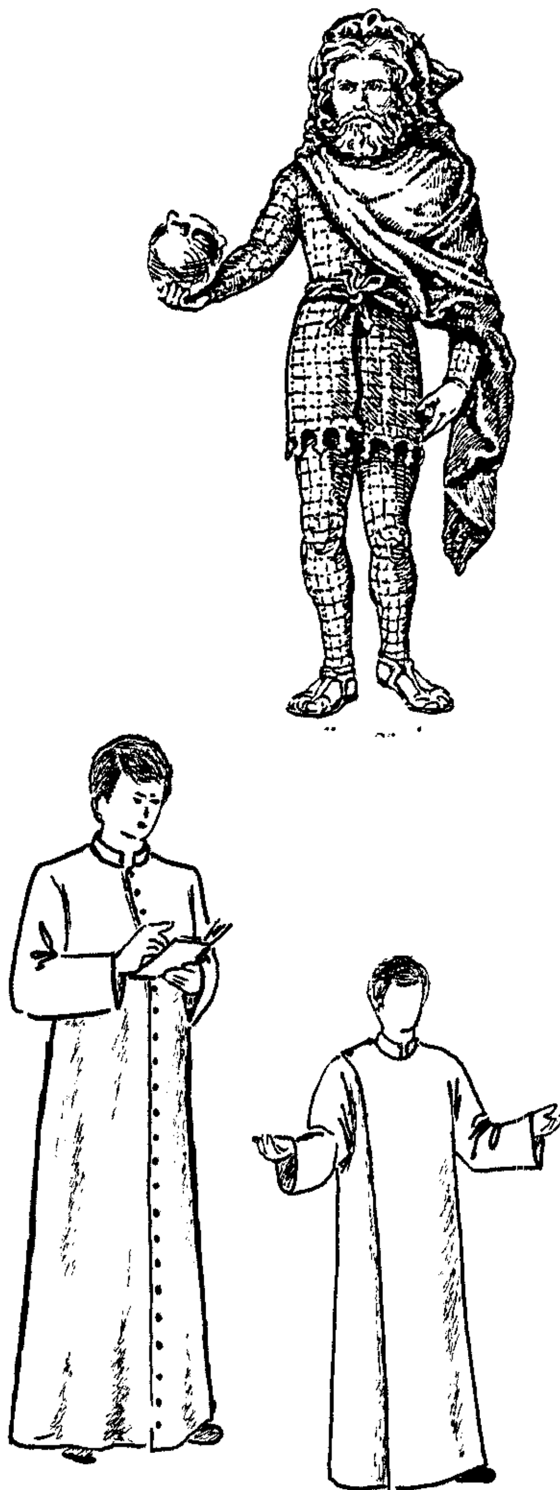


Figure 8. The Carracula and the Cassock

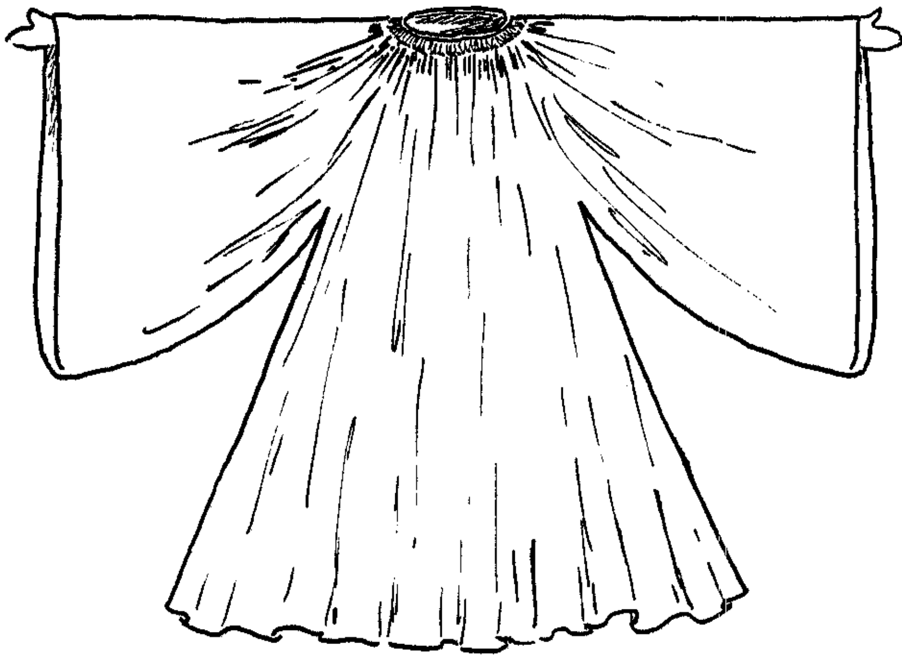


Figure 9. The Surplice

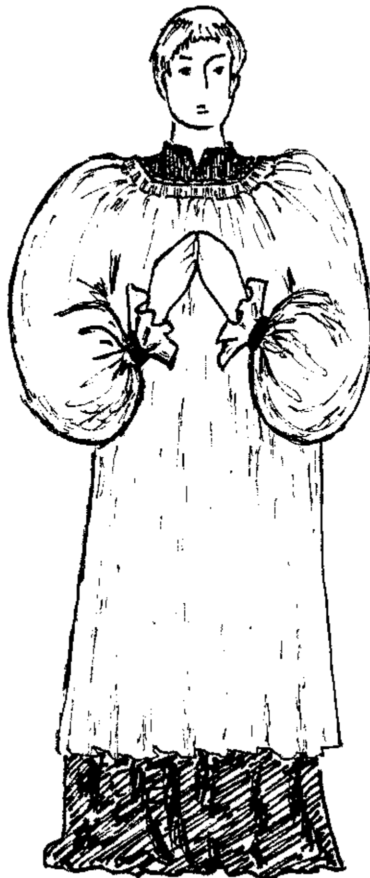


Figure 10. The Rochet

Figure 11. The Chimere

Figure 12. The Development of the Almuce

Figure 13. The Hood, taken from A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses, by Herbert Druitt. (London: Alexander Moring, Ltd., 1906).

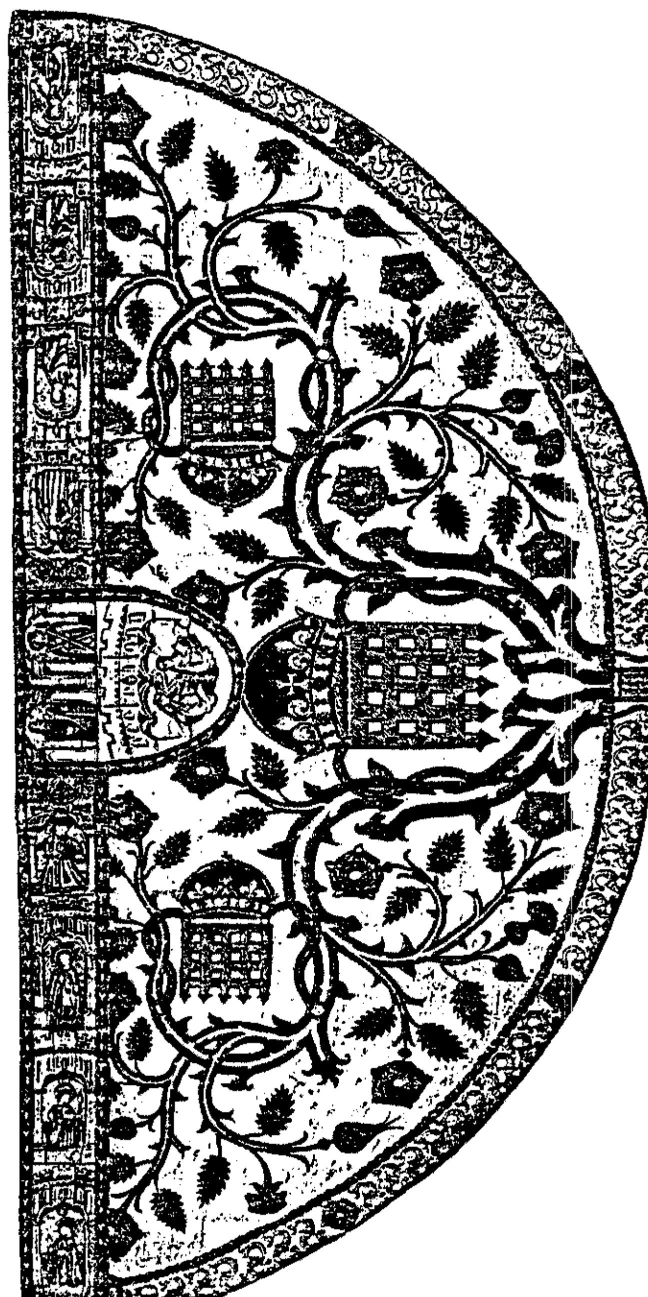


Figure 14. The Cope of Henry VII, as illustrated in Raiment for the Lord's Service, by Christa Mayer-Thurman. (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1975).

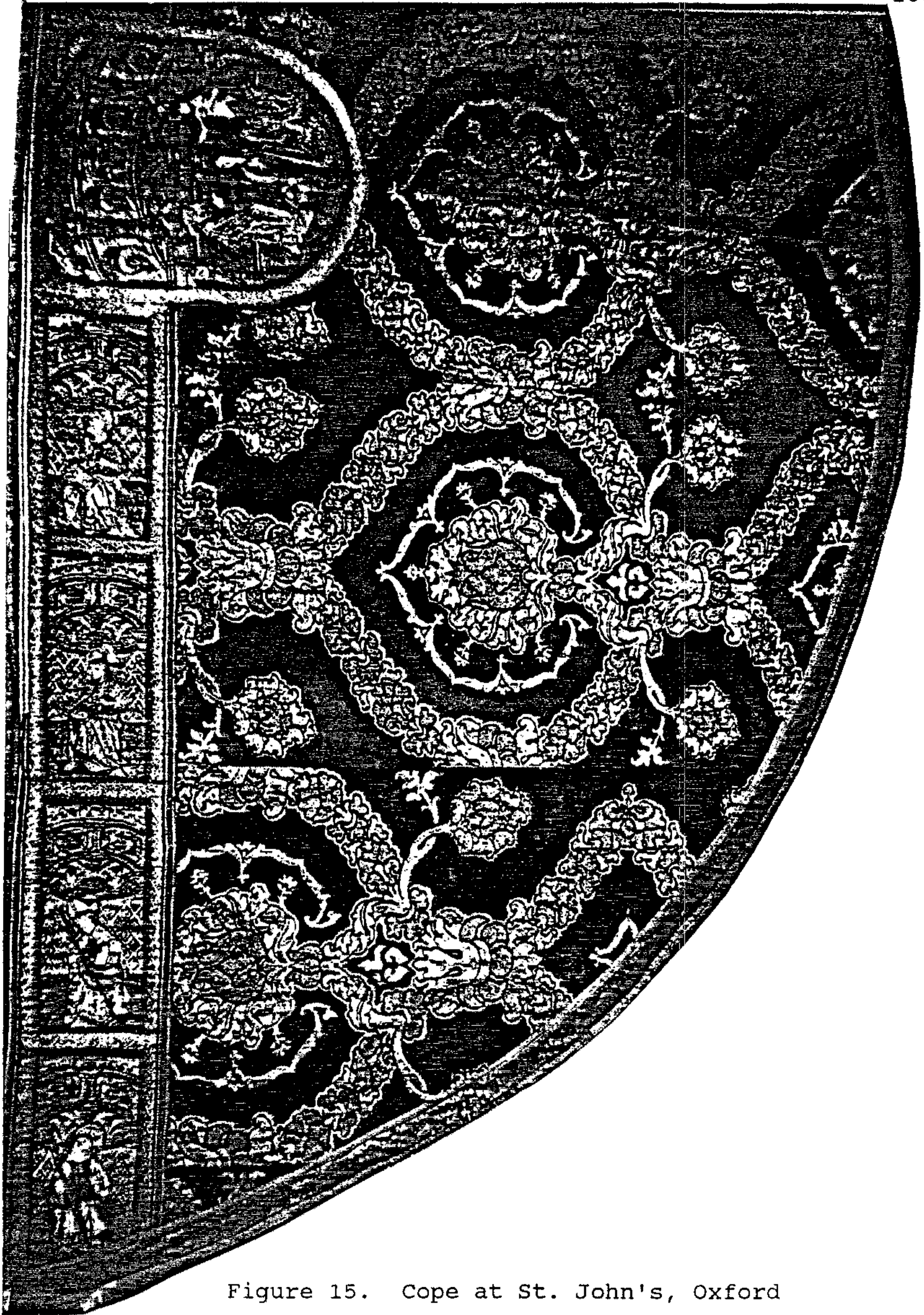


Figure 15. Cope at St. John's, Oxford

Figure 16. Brass of Edmund Geste, Bishop of Salisbury

Figure 17. Unknown bishop in Rochet and Chimere

Figure 18. Brass of Samuel Harsnett
Archbishop of Canterbury, 1631

Figure 19. Woodcut of the Great Litany

Figure 20. The Coronation Copes of Charles II
Westminster Abbey, London

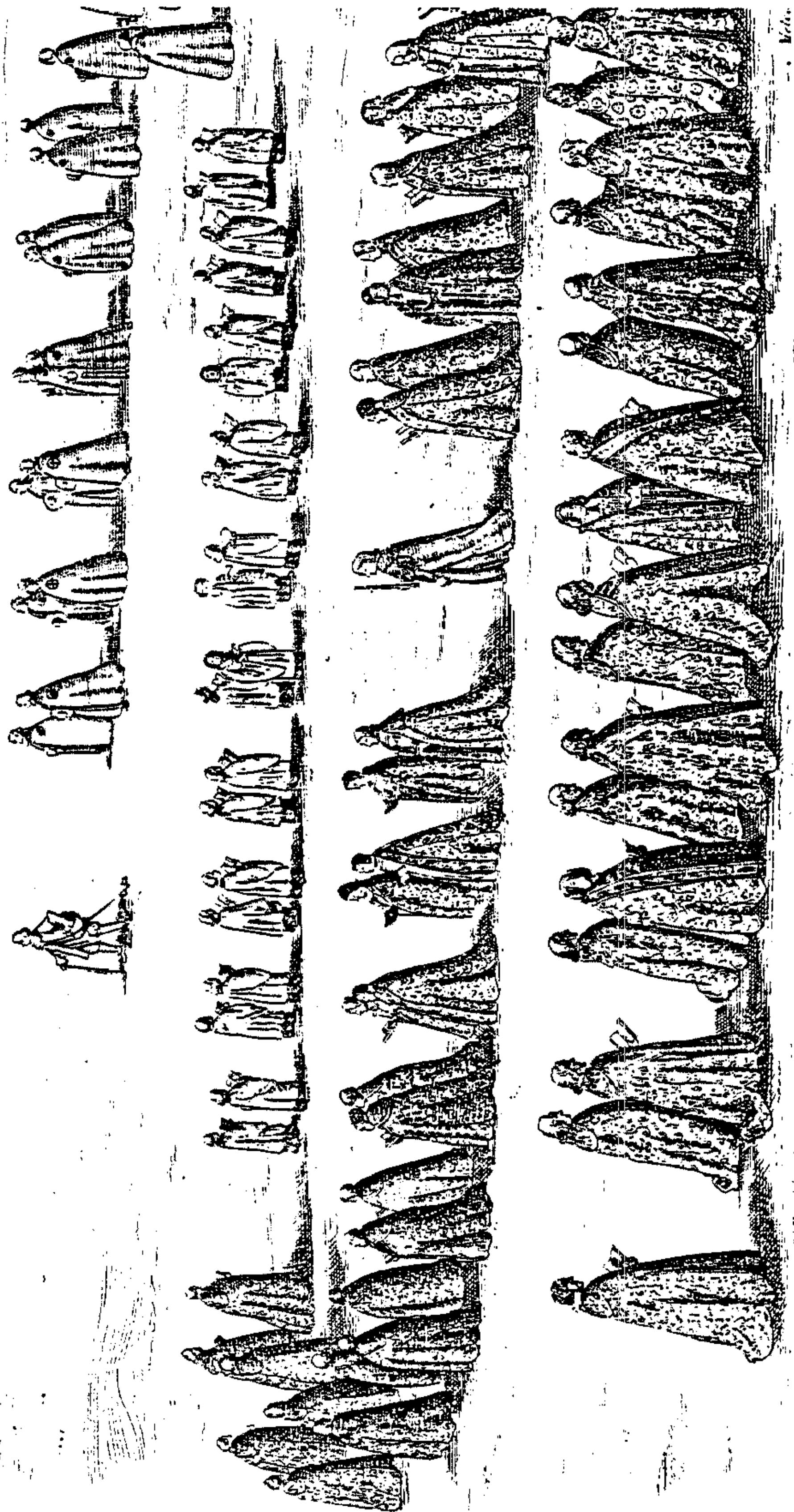


Figure 21. The St. George's Day Procession, during the reign of Charles II.

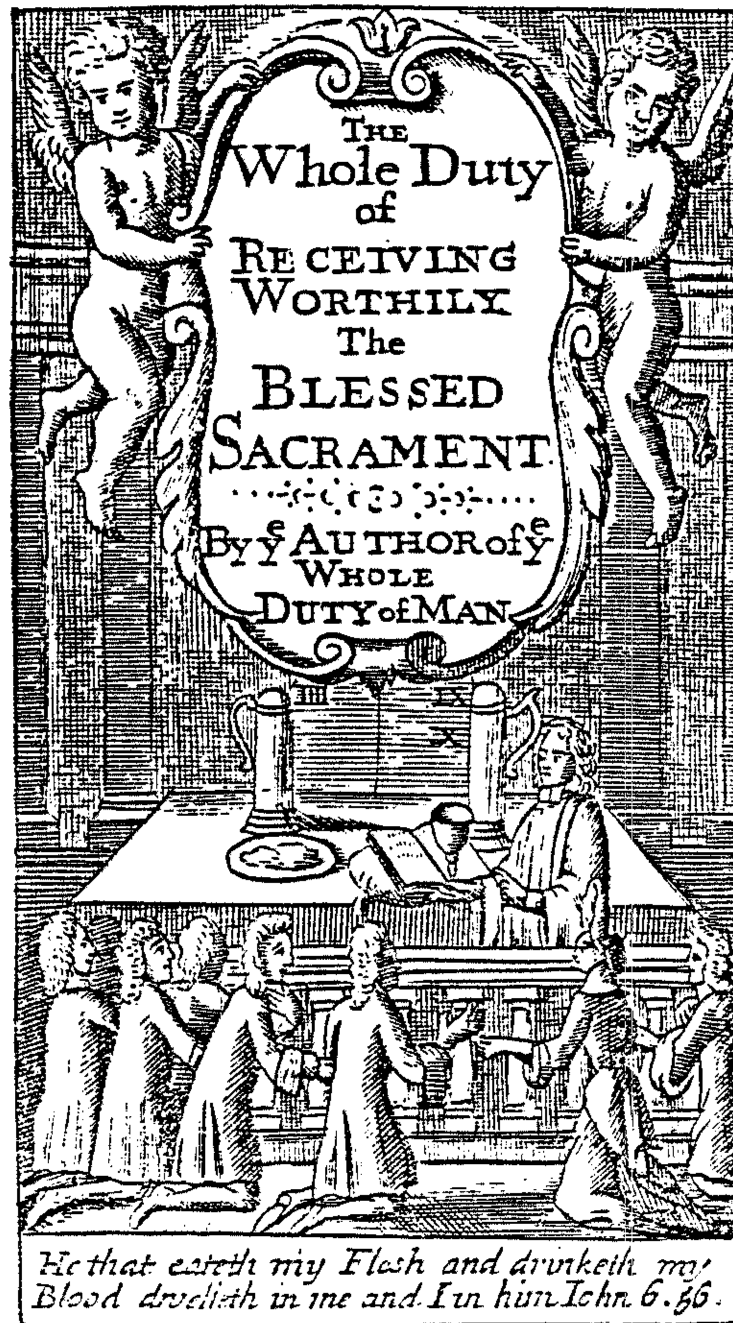


Figure 22. Woodcut of Eighteenth-Century Eucharist Service

95 *Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1744*

Figure 23. Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1744, by Hogarth . (Tate Gallery) Reproduced in Hogarth by David Bindman (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

42 *A Harlot's Progress*, I, engraving, 1731

Figure 24. A Harlot's Progress I, 1731 engraving by Hogarth.

The Christening, c. 1729

Figure 25. The Christening c.1729 by Hogarth (Private Collection)

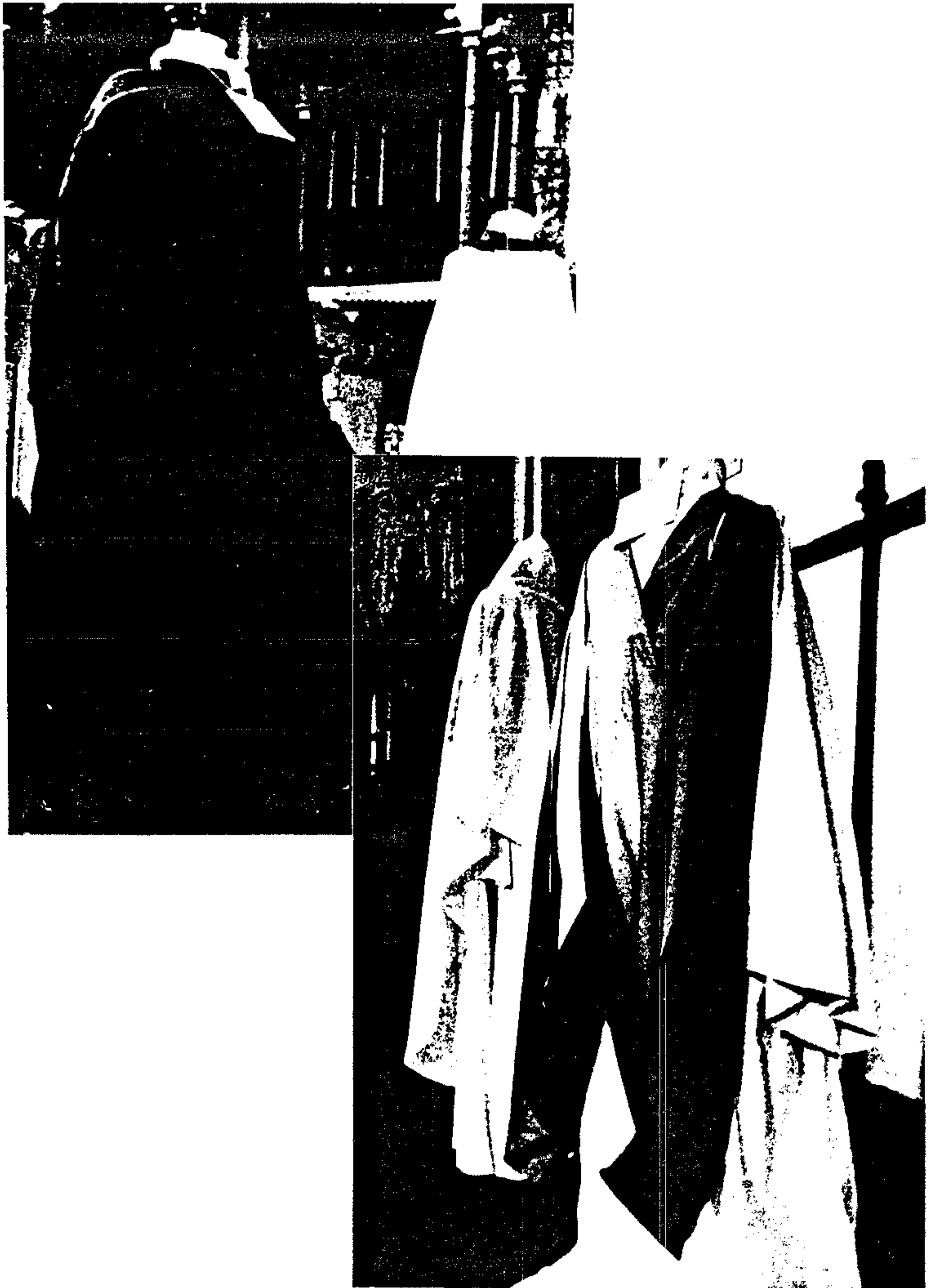


Figure 26. John Henry Newman's Master's Gown and John Keble's surplice and hoods. Photographs, courtesy Rev'd. Michael Wright.

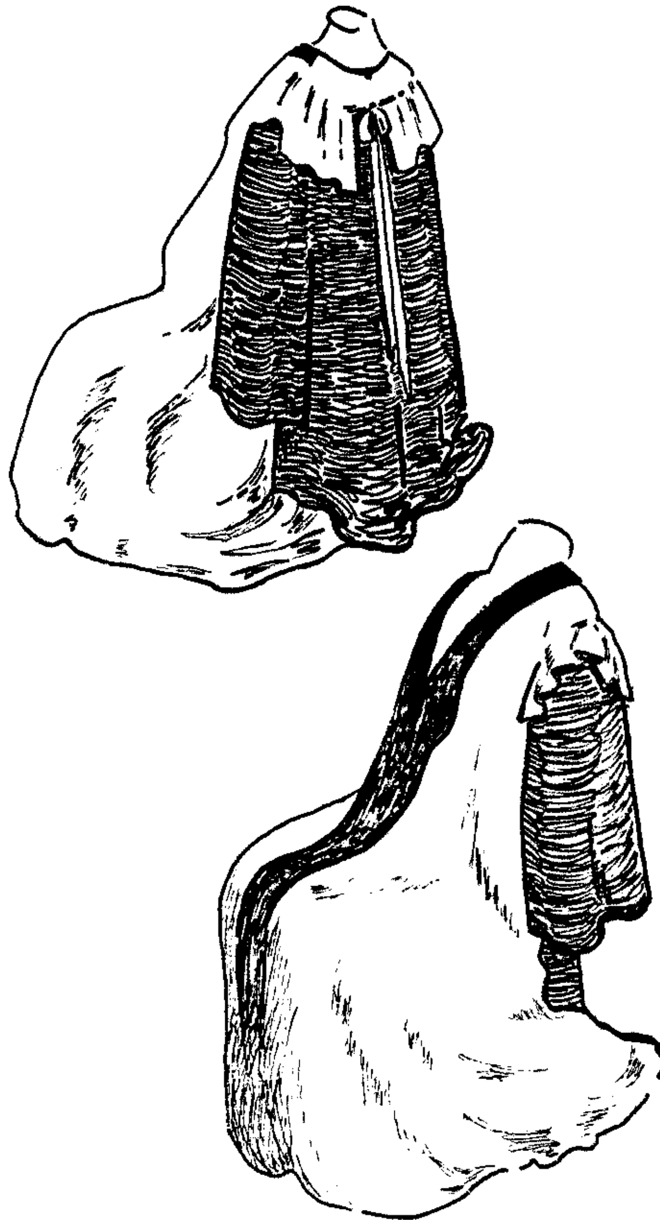
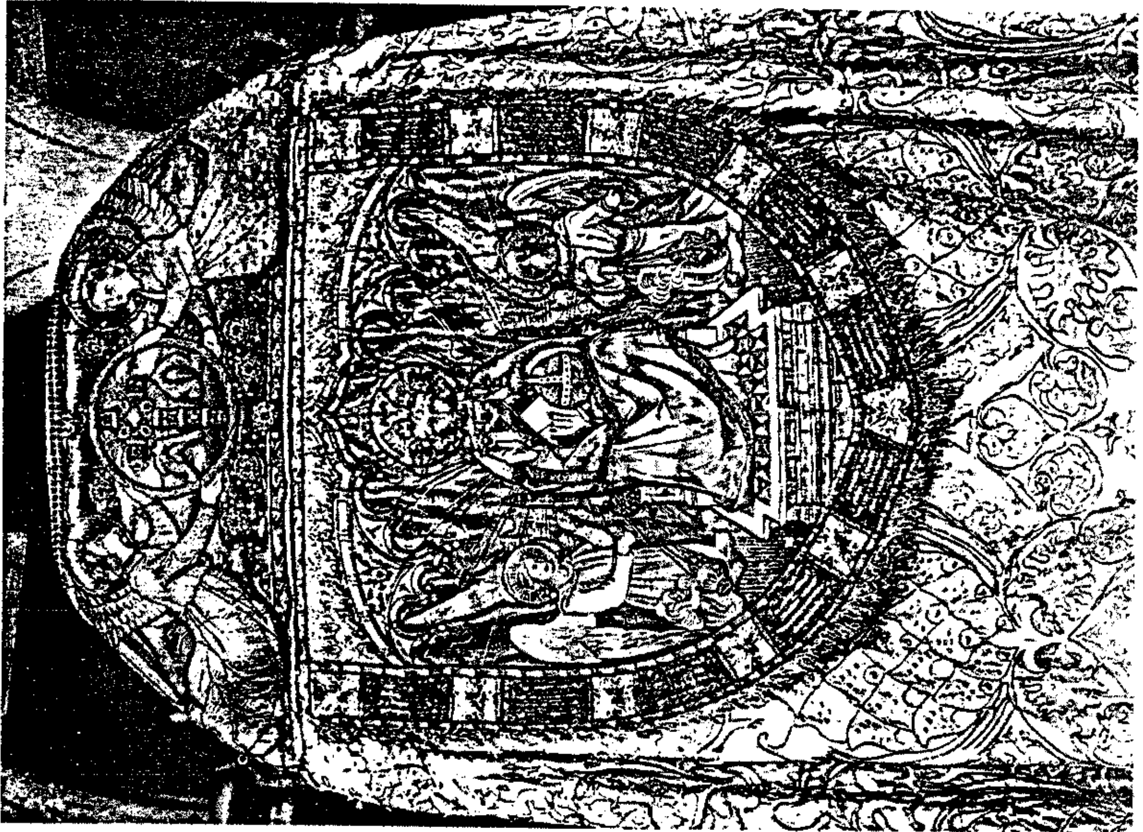


Figure 27. Replica of alleged first Eucharistic vestment since the Reformation. Drawn by author from photographs, courtesy Rev'd. Michael Wright.

Figure 28. Feast of the Assumption Cope, Our Lady of Walsingham, England. Photographs, courtesy Rev'd. Michael Wright.



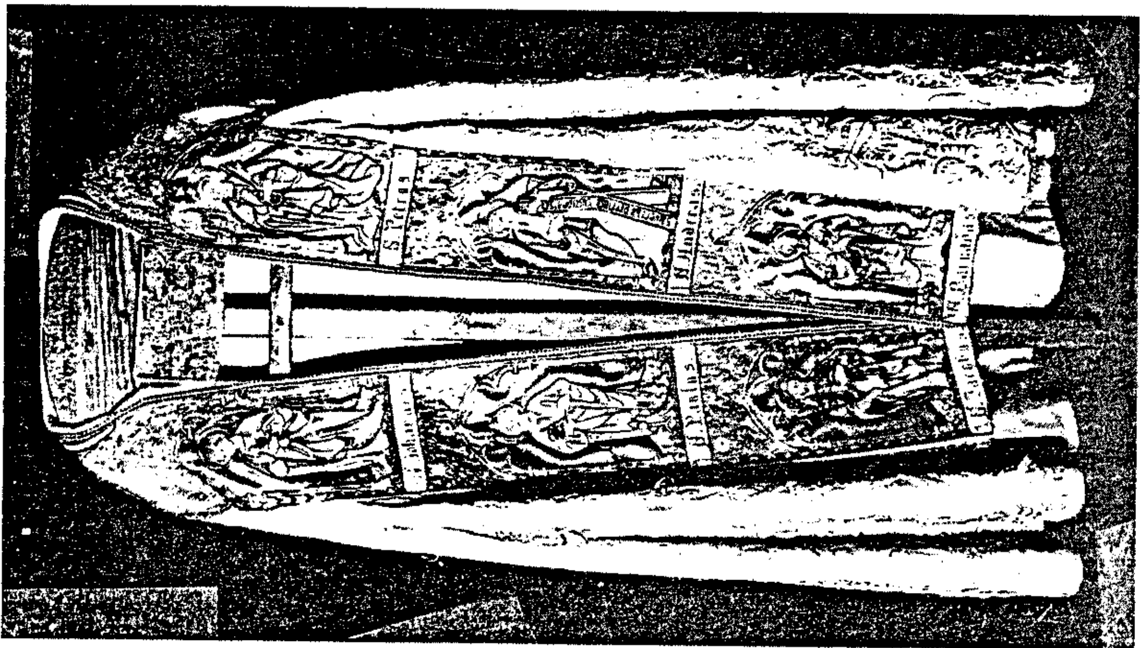


Figure 29. The Lord in Glory Cope, 1894
Photographs, courtesy Rev'd. Michael Wright.

Figure 30. Cope designed by G.F. Bodley, St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. Photograph, courtesy Rev'd. Michael Wright.

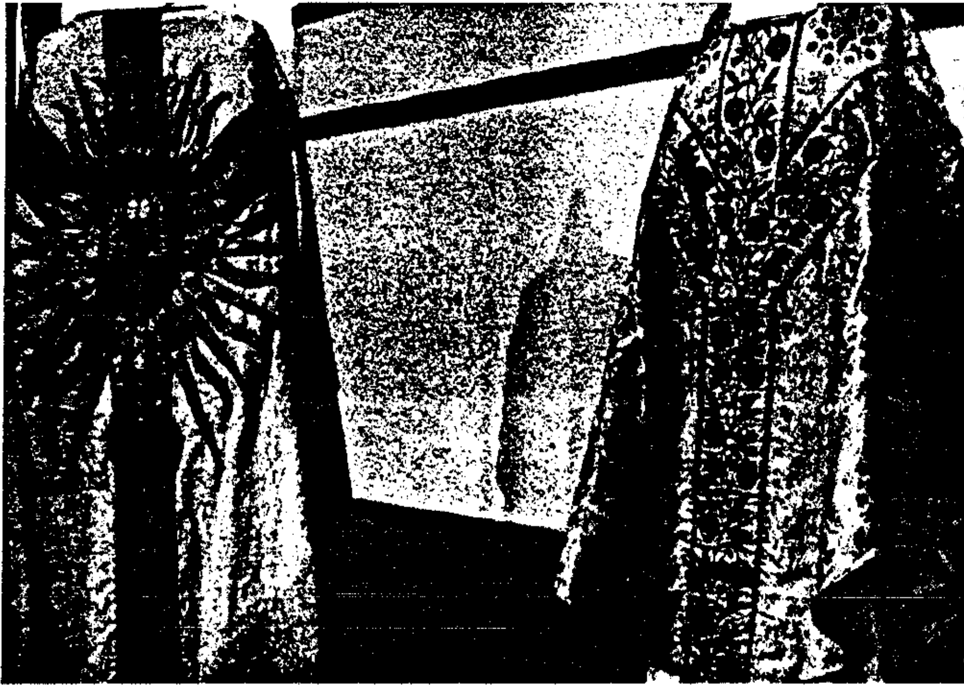


Figure 31. Chasuble grouping. Photographs, courtesy Rev'd. Michael Wright.

Figure 32. Shield-shaped Chasuble and Ninian Comper Dalmatic. Photographs, courtesy Rev'd. Michael Wright.

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