History & Theology – Church History

Class 8: English Reformation & Puritanism (1520-1689)

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## **Main Point:**

* The English reformation began with the translation of the Bible into English. Such work would lead to the establishment of an English Church and continual reform according to a more biblical pattern.

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## **Class Goals:**

* Summarize the importance of William Tyndale for the work of Reform in England
* Explain the circumstances that led to the start of the Anglican Church
* Summarize the work of Thomas Cranmer
* Explain the significance of the 39 Articles and the Book of Common Prayer
* Describe the importance and influence of the Puritans on the church of England
* Distinguish between the positions of such men as Richard Sibbes, John Owen, and John Flavel

# Introduction

This class focuses on the English Reformation and the later development of a movement called Puritanism. That’s not to say the developments in the rest of Protestantism aren’t important to trace, but these are of primary importance as they help focus on the history of this church. So, we’re not following the heirs of Calvin, Zwingli, or Luther nor are we looking at John Knox and the Scottish Reformation. Though some of their ideas and influence will be clear to the discerning listener.

# Beginnings of English Reform

## An English Bible - William Tyndale (1494-1536)

### Pre-Tyndale Situation in England

A few weeks ago, we discussed John Wycliffe & Lollardy. They argued that the church of England should be distinct from the church in Rome. Wycliffe & the Lollards advocated for the everyday reading of scripture by the common man. These ideas would have their flowering in the years we’ll examine today.

In 1408, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, passed the *Constitutions of Oxford*, which forbade Bible translation.[[1]](#footnote-0) Though Wycliffe and others labored to translate the Latin Bible into English because of such views of Arundel and others in power, the English commoner lacked a vernacular Bible. Imagine never hearing Scripture in a language you could understand.[[2]](#footnote-1) In 1519, Seven Lollards burned for teaching their children the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Apostles Creed in English.[[3]](#footnote-2)

### Tyndale’s Life & Work

This was the situation in Englad upon the birth of William Tyndale in 1494 in Gloucestershire.[[4]](#footnote-3) From 1506 to 1516, Tyndale studied at Oxford.[[5]](#footnote-4) As a student, Tyndale would encounter the ideas of Wycliffe and the Lollards.[[6]](#footnote-5) During this time it’s told of Tyndale sparing with a learned man who said that the people are better without God’s law than without the pope’s law. Tyndale replied:

I defy the Pope and all his lawes. If God spare my life [for] many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough [to] know more of the Scripture, than thou doest.[[7]](#footnote-6)

Through his education and personal study, Tyndale became proficient in 8 languages.[[8]](#footnote-7) With the anti-Lollard disposition in England and amid threats of persecution, Tyndale fled to Germany to translate the New Testament in 1524. He would never return to England.[[9]](#footnote-8) By the Spring 1526 - Tyndale finished his English translation of the New Testament in Worms. Printed copies make their way to England by that fall.[[10]](#footnote-9)

Years later amid travel in Europe, in 1529, Tyndale was likely shipwrecked, losing books, writings, and his working translation of the Pentateuch.[[11]](#footnote-10) But Tyndale’s work persisted. In 1530, he completed his translation of the Pentateuch.[[12]](#footnote-11)

In 1535, Tyndale was captured by Henry Phillips, who deceived and betrayed Tyndale.[[13]](#footnote-12) These actions led to Tyndale’s imprisonment and Tyndale would spend the roughly sixteen months or five hundred days in a dark prison at Vilvorde Castle.[[14]](#footnote-13) Yet, his work continued. While in prison, Tyndale wrote a book entitled *Faith Alone Justified Before God* where he argued that this doctrine (Justification by Faith alone) is the key to understanding Scripture.[[15]](#footnote-14)

On October 6, 1536, at age 42, Tyndale was martyred. While dying, Tyndale prayed: “Lord, open the king of England’s eyes”.

Tyndale’s life is remarkable for many reasons. One of those is from his life and testimony is one example of how God makes use of a someone devoted to the work of the Lord by stewarding his gifts. We can see similarities in any number of callings (e.g., pastor, mother, husband).

We’re also reminded that just as there would be no English Reformation without the Tyndale Bible, so today there would be no Reformation today without the Scripture.

# Beginnings of an Anglican Church

### King Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547) - **“King’s Great Matter”[[16]](#footnote-15)**

Tyndale’s dying prayer was that the King of England’s eyes would be open to the Bible’s teaching. What was apparent in 16th century England was any work of reform must have the King’s approval. Otherwise, like the Lollards and Tyndale, persecution and martyrdom awaited those who worked to have the scriptures read and justification by faith alone preached. Such considerations bring us to consider the reign of Henry VIII.

In 1509, Henry ascends the throne and weds Catherine of Aragon. As we’ll soon see the marriages of the King would become no small controversy. In this, his first, marriage Henry needed a dispensation from Pope Julius to wed Catherine because Catherine had previously been married to Henry’s older brother Arthur (1503-1513).[[17]](#footnote-16) To best preserve the royal lineage in his family, Henry needed a son. Yet in 1516, a daughter, Mary was born; but no son. Through these and other circumstances, Henry began to believe his marriage was cursed based upon Leviticus 20:21, which reads “If a man takes his brother’s wife, it is impurity. He has uncovered his brother’s nakedness; they shall be childless.”[[18]](#footnote-17)

This understanding grows over several years and in 1527, Henry commissions Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530)[[19]](#footnote-18) to appeal to Pope Clement (1523-1534) for an annulment, Wolsey fails.[[20]](#footnote-19) After the failure of Wolsey, Henry’s still determined to end his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. In 1529, Reformation Parliament convenes, and Henry promotes Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540) to take care of his matter.[[21]](#footnote-20)

Before the matter is officially settled, in November 1532, Henry quietly marries Anne Boleyn.[[22]](#footnote-21) Then on May 23, 1533, King Henry’s marriage to Catherine of Aragon is annulled by Thomas Cranmer.[[23]](#footnote-22) So during the years of the “Reformation Parliament” (1532-34), Parliament pushes through legislation that erodes the papacy's power, ending in the Act of Supremacy which states,

“[the King is] The only Supreme Head on earth of the church of England...[including] full power and authority...to visit repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities.”[[24]](#footnote-23)

The church in England was now institutionally or organizationally separate from the Roman church, but it remained Roman Catholic in theology.

### Thomas Cranmer (1489-1555)

But one English reformer would work to bring the new Church of England’s doctrine in line with the Bible’s teaching. Thomas Cranmer was born in Aslockton, Nottinghamshire, England oc July 2, 1489.[[25]](#footnote-24) From 1503 to 1526, Cranmer studies and teaches at Cambridge University.[[26]](#footnote-25) Similar in some ways Tyndale at Oxford a before, at Cambridge, Cranmer would befriend several reform minded individuals and debate the ideas of the emerging protestant reformation.[[27]](#footnote-26)And as we observed, from 1529 to 1532 he was conscripted by the King to help with the “Great Matter” (i.e., procuring King Henry a divorce from Catherine of Aragon).

As part of his duty to the king, Cranmer travels outside of Europe to research the Biblical basis for King Henry getting an annulment from Catherine of Aragon. During his travels, Cranmer represented the English in Germany, and was quietly married to a woman named Margarete (~July 1532).[[28]](#footnote-27) Later he is recalled from this duty to be the newly appointed Archbishop of Canterbury (30 March 1533)[[29]](#footnote-28).

As the head of the church’s organization, on May 23, 1533, Cranmer annuls marriage of Catherine & Henry.[[30]](#footnote-29) Then, nearly three years later, on May 17, 1536 Cranmer annuls the marriage of Anne & Henry.[[31]](#footnote-30)

Among so much activity, it is unclear when Cranmer becomes convinced of justification by faith alone because he does not make his position known until the death of Henry in 1547. We certainly can tell that he supported the King’s supremacy of the church (not the popes), a vernacular Scripture and liturgy.[[32]](#footnote-31) But his work to move the churches of England toward orthodoxy would be more subtle in the early years of his bishopric.

### Book of Common Prayer

An early priority of Cranmer was publishing a Book of Common Prayer that would reform church practice and teaching. The first edition would be published in 1549. It moved the Anglican Church away from Catholic doctrines and liturgy toward a partly reformed church practice.[[33]](#footnote-32) Though these developments were scrutinized by many, the law of the land required the use of the Book of Common prayer for large parts of religious services.[[34]](#footnote-33) Some decried any change to the Rome’s liturgy while others advocated for further reform.

The effort of reform would continue slowly. In 1552, a second addition was published and it moved churches toward greater reform. Several terms were changed. What was once understood as the “altar” was changed to “the Lord’s table.”[[35]](#footnote-34) Altars were placed where a sacrifice occurred and such usage was commiserate with Rome’s practice of transubstantiation. For this and other reasons, substantive changes were made to the practice of communion. Again moving away from transubstantiation, the 1552 Book of Common Prayer read “feed on [Christ] in thy heart with faith by thanksgiving.”

In addition to these changes. A number of enduring religious phrases come from Cranmer’s prayer book. The opening of a wedding service, or “Matrimony”, in the 1549 prayer book reads,

“Deerely beloved frends, we are gathered together here in the syght of God, and in the face of his congregacion, to joyne together this man and this woman in holy matrimonie”[[36]](#footnote-35)

Also, CHBC’s Prayer of Confession at the Lord’s Supper comes from 1559 prayer book

“Almightie and most merciful father, we have erred and straied from thy waies, lyke lost shepe. We have folowed to much the devises and desires of our owne hartes. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things whiche we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us.”[[37]](#footnote-36)

With Cranmer’s Book of Common Prayer, the work of reforming English churches was well underway.

### 42 Articles (1553) then 39 Articles (1563)

As the Book of Common Prayer was aimed at church practice, the 42 (and later 39) articles worked to reformed the stated doctrine of the church. On June 19, 1553, King Edward promulgated the 42 Articles, which had been composed by Cranmer after much discussion and debate, in the Church of England.[[38]](#footnote-37) These articles were drawn up by Cranmer and evangelical allies.[[39]](#footnote-38) They were on their way to becoming the official doctrine of the Church of England, but on July 6, 1553 King Edward died.[[40]](#footnote-39) Upon Edward’s death, Mary came to the throne and worked to reunite Rome and the Church of England. She persecuted those working for reform earning the name “Bloody Mary” and the work of reform stalled. But her successor Queen Elizabeth I would reintroduce measures of reform.

In 1563, Elizabeth released the 39 Articles (a slight revision of the 42 Articles) which became official doctrine for the Anglican church.[[41]](#footnote-40) The content of these articles is thoroughly protestant and they remain the official belief of the Church of England.

On Justification the 39 Articles state,

“[Article 11.] We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.”[[42]](#footnote-41)

On the relation of Good Works to our justification it continues,

“[Article 12.] Albeit that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgement; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith; insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.”[[43]](#footnote-42)

In official matters, the Anglican church has a rich heritage of classic protestant and Reformed belief. However, many Anglican churches have drifted from such belief and though these matters have long been settled in its statements, many who count themselves as purveyors of the Anglican tradition and many who hold esteemed positions in the Church of England teach contrary to these matters. They’ve left their historical roots.

# Interlude: Tumultuous Reigns & Tenuous Reform

As we’ve begun to observe, the efforts to reform English churches would be shaped in large measure by the benevolence of the sovereign. If the King or Queen was favorable, protestant and reformed belief grew in churches. But if the King or Queen sought to reunite with Rome, reform minded Christians faced persecution and the work of reform would be countered. Below is an overview of the reigns of kings and queens in this period. What this sketch shows is that even though reform steadily moved forward in England, it often faced many hurdles and complications along the way. With so much institutional change in this period many of these reigns were marked by controversy and instability in both church and state.

Henry VIII (1509-1547)

* An Anglican Church

Edward VI (1547-1553)

* Book of Common Prayer – Reformed Catholic

Mary I (1553-1558)

* Bloody Mary
* Catholicism Reasserted

Elizabeth I (1558-1603)

* The Elizabethan Settlement
* Act of Uniformity 1559

James I (1603-1625)

* King James Bible

Charles I (1625-1649)

* Growing tension between Parliament and the Crown
* Westminster Assembly

The Interregnum or Commonwealth (Declared 1649)

Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector (1653-1658)

Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector (1658-1659)

Charles II (1660-1685)

* Act of Uniformity 1662

James II (1685-1688)

William III (1689-1702) and Mary II (1689-1694)

England under the reign of Elizabeth I is quite interesting and captures some of the complexities of the time. Though the Queen brought reform to the Church of England–a cause for celebration. In 1559, the queen issued an Act of Uniformity which aimed to standardize worship practices in English churches. The Act required conformity to the Book of Common Prayer. As we’ve seen the Book of Common Prayer was a broadly reformed document, but several still saw it containing vestiges of Popery and Roman superstition. A growing number of ministers argued that greater reform was needed to fully break with Rome’s practices. Bringing us the the Puritans.

# The Puritans: Always Reforming

Defining the Puritans is difficult. Most broadly, they can be seen as a group of individuals who sought greater reform within the Anglican Church following the Elizabethan Settlement. Throughout these years there were individuals and groups who worked for greater doctrinal and ecclesiastical reform in the Anglican establishment. Like many during this time, they received the name “Puritan” from those who opposed their efforts. So when reading the literature of this time, it’s common to see the moniker leveled at any who were perceived to go too far in purifying the church. In the decades after the establishment of the Church of England, several movements of further reform would commence.

## The Westminster Assembly (1643-1652)

One of the most significant movements reached its watershed in 1643 with the gathering of the Westminster Assembly. With tensions high between it and the crown, Parliament called for an assembly of theologians to help further reform the church. Theologians gathered from across England and Wales, but King Charles forbade anyone to attend.

The Assembly produced a confession of faith (the Westminster Confession), two catechisms (the Larger Catechism and Shorter Catechism), a handbook of worship (The Directory for the Public Worship of God), and its Form of Presbyterial Church Government. The Assembly was not theologically monolithic. “It included Presbyterians, Independents, moderate Episcopalians, and Erastians (those who believe ultimate ecclesiastical authority lay with the state).”[[44]](#footnote-43)

“The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man’s salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men. Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word; and that there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God, and the government of the church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed. (WCF 1.6)”

Many subsequent reform movements would draw on the work of this Assembly to confirm its teaching. The Savoy Declaration of 1660 was a congregationalist revision of the Westminster Confession. The London Baptist Confession of 1689 provided a Particular Baptist revision of Westminster and Savoy. Though known for their distinctions, it should be noted that these groups saw the significance of Westminster and stated their agreement with these deliberations.

### Major Doctrines Affirmed

Each of these confessions Each confession affirmed, Dortian (or “five point”) Calvinism, the regulative principle of worship, covenant theology (one overarching covenant of Grace – historical covenants are administrations of the larger covenant), and the Christian Sabbath (Sunday is the new covenant outworking of the old covenant Sabbath).

This brief sketch can help us understand what issues were being debated among Puritans in the 17th century. Many matters coalesced around the public worship and proper governance of God’s people. A major division that emerged from the 16th to 17th centuries was that of conformity to the Book of Common Prayer. As mentioned above, the 1559 Act of Uniformity worked to regulate worship according to the Book of Common Prayer. But until another Act of Uniformity (1662), many Puritans worked within the Anglican Church for reform. On St. On Bartholomew's day (August 24) 1662 a “Great Ejection” occurred as conformity to the Book of Common Prayer was forced by the state under Charles II. On this day referred to as “Black Bartholomew’s Day” thousands of ministers lost their pulpits and oversight of their congregations because they refused to conform the worship of their churches to the Book of Common Prayer.

Before discussing a few examples, I wonder what you think. What should shape our worship as the gathered church? What are the benefits and disadvantages of such a Book of Common Prayer? Where might it err?

## Three (Late) Puritans

Some of the different sensibilities of this time can be seen by surveying three later puritans whose works are of enduring value for us today.

### Richard Sibbes (1577-1635)

Rchard Sibbes was a conformist preacher, which means he led his congregation to conform its worship to the Book of Common Prayer. Sibbes was born in 1577 at Tostock, Suffolk. He was the son of a godly wheelwright who took an interest in books from an early age, and was admitted to St. John’s College, Cambridge at age 18. He became known as “the heavenly doctor” because of his godly preaching and manner of life. Because of his work and reputation, Charles I offered Sibbes charge of Holy Trinity, Cambridge in 1633. Though he conformed to the Book of Common Prayer, he worked for further reform in the Church of England in both matters of doctrine and practice.

Sibbes focused much of his work on cultivating robust preaching in the CHurch of England thinking that would lead to other reforms. Regarding such a work he said, “To preach is to woo. The main scope of all [preaching] is, to allure us to the entertainment of Chirst’s mild, safe, wise, victorious government.”[[45]](#footnote-44)

Speaking of the care ministers and churches must take in his book *The Bruised Reed*, Sibbes says, “We must neither bind where God looses, nor loose where God binds, neither open where God shuts, nor shout where God opens. The right use of the keys is always successful.”[[46]](#footnote-45)

In the same volume he commends bearing with those who are weak. He says,

“Nothing so little as grace at first, and nothing more glorious afterward. Things of greatest perfection are longest in coming to their growth. Man, the most perfect creature, comes to perfection by little and little; worthless things, as mushrooms and the like, like Jonah's gourd, soon spring up, and soon vanish. A new creature is the most excellent creature in all the world, therefore it grows up by degrees.”[[47]](#footnote-46)

Through such writing and from such a ministry we can gather that Sibbes cared deeply for the flock he was appointed to minister. Though he differed from other Puritans in his view on the Book of Common Prayer, his work was similar to theirs. He had no qualms about conforming to the prayer book while aiming to care for the sheep. Others would grow more conflicted over time.

### John Owen (1616-1683)

John Owen was born in Stadham, England in 1616 and entered Queen’s College, Oxford at age 12. Called the “prince of the English divines,” he quickly became a defender of reformed orthodoxy. His early writings critique Ariminians in the Church of England. He saw the Arminians of his day advocating for a sort of atheism. For Owen and others at this time it was inconceivable that someone would assert the freedom of man over the sovereignty of God. It should also be noted that during this time, after Westminster, to question the Westminster consensus came with political implications. As one historian says, “Arminianism was the religious style of tyranny, and Laudianism was the royalist party at prayer. And so the spiritual sword of church discipline ought to be unsheathed in the political struggle for English liberties.”[[48]](#footnote-47) Owen rose to prominence in the Interregnum. That time when England had no King or Queen and Oliver Cromwell led the nation as “Lord Protector.” Various reforms were enacted and battles fought. Owen served as chaplain in Cromwell’s army.

Early in his life we saw the sword of state aiding reform of the church. With Cromwell, he advocated for a form of presbyterian church government as opposed to the episcopalian government. When such work of reform failed, Owen became a nonconformist minister. Owen was a presbyterian that turned independent nonconformist. Later in his life he would even sympathize with congregationalists and aide Baptists such as John Bunyan.

His ardent defense of reformed orthodoxy continued later in life and at the same time his pastoral sensibilities grew. Though well trained and a brilliant theologian, often Owen wrote with such tenderness and affection for Christ. Nearing death Owen writes in a letter to a friend,

“I am going to him whom my soul hath loved, or rather hath love me with an everlasting love; which is the whole ground of all my consolation…I am leaving the ship of the church in a storm, but while the great Pilot is in it the loss of a poore under-rower will be inconsiderable. Live and pray and hope and waite patiently and doe not despair; the promise stands invincible that he will never leave thee nor forsake thee.”[[49]](#footnote-48)

Though Owen’s life was marked by many controversies and changes in the Church of England. He spoke of the same Christ as Sibbes. He first worked to reform the Church from within then became sympathetic with the nonconformist cause. He defended reformed doctrine in the face of many challenges.

### John Flavel (1627-1691)

John Flavel was born in 1628. Beginning his ministry much later than Sibbes and Owen, Flavel was ejected from his pulpit in 1662 for nonconformity, but met secretly with parishioners for worship. In 1672 Charles II issued the Declaration of Indulgence, giving Non-conformists freedom to worship. But was canceled the following year leading Flavel to teach secretly again. James II issued another indulgence in 1687 that enabled Flavel to preach publicly again.

Distinct from both Sibbes and Owen, Flavel was a nonconformist through and through. He never intended to conform to the Book of Common Prayer and because of such nonconformity his ministry was tumultuous from its beginning. He didn’t have the status of Owen or the reputation of Sibbes, but he persisted in his pastoral work. His work *The Mystery of Providence* drips with wisdom learned from a life of devoted service to the Lord while encountering persecution in the world. Here he says, “The Providence of God is like Hebrew words - it can be read only backwards.”[[50]](#footnote-49)

# Conclusion

The work of reform in England was long and tumultuous. It would ebb and flow for decades. Several would work to purify the church according to reformed belief. Though consciences were calibrated differently regarding the Book of Common Prayer, many Puritans saw the cause of greater reform as worthy of their life's work. God used many men and women differently, but a similar work of reform was accomplished as doctrine was clarified and churches purified according to the biblical pattern.

1. The text of the *Constitutions* includes the following: “We therefore decree and ordain, that no man, hereafter, by his own authority translate any text of Scripture into English or any other tongue... and that no man can read any such book...in part or in whole” (Cited in John Piper, *Filling Up the Afflictions of Christ* [Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2009], 44). See also Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers*, 25th anniversary, rev. ed (Nashville, Tenn: B & H Academic, 2013), 329. See also David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-0)
2. It is important to note that John Wycliffe and associates had translated the Scriptures into English. However, this translation came from Latin (and not Greek) and it was not widely available. Nonetheless, Wycliff attracted many followers called Lollards. See Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 100-101. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
3. John Piper, *Filling Up the Afflictions of Christ* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2009), 44. See also J. H. Merle d’Aubigné, *The Reformation in England*, 2 vols. (London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1962). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
4. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, 9. Cf. Carl R. Trueman, *Luther’s Legacy: Salvation and English Reformers, 1525-1556* (Oxford [England] : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1994), 9-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
5. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, 10. “In 1512 he proceeded a BA at Oxford, followed by MA in 1515.” [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
6. See Daniell, pp. 31 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
7. David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
8. Steven J. Lawson, The Daring Mission of William Tyndale (Sanford, FL: Reformation Trust Publishing, 2015), xx. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
9. David Teems, *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2012), 265. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
10. David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 134, 157. David Teems, *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2012), 265. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
11. David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 198-201. David Teems, *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2012), 266. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
12. David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 282. David Teems, *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2012), 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
13. David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 361-366. David Teems, *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2012), 266. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
14. David Teems, *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2012), 237. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
15. David Teems, *Tyndale: The Man Who Gave God an English Voice* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2012), 251. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
16. The wives of Henry VIII: Catherine of Aragon, mother of Mary, 1509-33; Anne Boleyn, mother of Elizabeth, 1533-6; Jane Seymour, mother of Edward VI, 1536-7; Anne of Cleves, Jan 1540 - June 1540; Catherine Howard, 1540-42; Catherine Parr, 1543 (outlived Henry) [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
17. Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, 2nd ed (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 301. Leviticus 18:6-18 prohibits marriage of close relations, hence the papal dispensation. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
18. Leviticus 20:21 - Leviticus 20:21 “If a man takes his brother's wife, it is impurity. He has uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.” (ESV) [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
19. Wolsey was the virtual head of the English Church in the first part of Henry’s reign. Was the Archbishop of York from 1514, but was the Pope’s special representative from 1518, giving him superiority over the Archbishop of Canterbury. See F. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. rev (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1772-1773. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
20. Difficult for the Pope to attain: 1) How can a pope overturn a previous decision of a pope? And 2) Clement was pretty much in house arrest by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who was nephew to Catherine. See Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, 302. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
21. Cromwell displayed protestant sympathies, even though largely a political figure. His key moves were suppressing the monasteries (1535-9) and placing key protestants in places of leadership. See Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation*, 1st ed., The Pelican History of the Church, v. 3 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 100-115. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
22. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* Rev. Ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 637-638. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
23. “Cranmer declared sentence against the marriage on 23 May, going through the motions of threatening Henry with excommunication if he did not comply. On 28 May, he formally pronounced the validity of Henry’s marriage to Anne” (Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017], 206).

    May 28, 1533 is sometimes given as the date. See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* Rev. Ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 94, 117n120. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
24. Gerald Lewis Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 114. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
25. Leslie Williams, *Emblem of Faith Untouched: A Short Life of Thomas Cranmer*, Library of Religious Biography (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
26. Williams, *Emblem of Faith Untouched*, 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
27. See discussion Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996, 24 and 68. Cranmer sat on the committee that condemned the early reformer John Frith to death. See Carl R. Trueman, *Luther’s Legacy: Salvation and English Reformers, 1525-1556* (Oxford [England] : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1994), 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
28. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* Rev. Ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 25, 71-72. Thomas Cranmer married his first wife, Joan, after Cranmer earned his MA in 1515. This cost him professionally. Sadly, Joan and the Cranmer’s first child both died during childbirth. Had Joan lived, Cranmer would not have been ordained and the course of the English Reformation would likely have been very different. See Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* Rev. Ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 25-26. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
29. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* Rev. Ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 88. As an aside, one of the results of Thomas Cranmer’s travels in Europe was the way the Cranmer became influenced by the Lutheran Reformation (see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* Rev. Ed. [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016], 173). [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
30. Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 206. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
31. Anne was tried on trumped up charges of incest with her brother, she was tried, and then executed on May 19. Robert Hutchinson, *Thomas Cromwell: The Rise and Fall of Henry VIII's Most Notorious Minister* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007), 88. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
32. For discussion of Cranmer’s Soteriological development see Null, Ashley. *Thomas Cranmer’s Doctrine of Repentance: Renewing the Power to Love*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, especially chapter 1. MacCulloch notes, “Thomas Cromwell kept [Cranmer's] exact views very carefully away from definition” (Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* Rev. Ed. [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016], 173). [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
33. “In practice, the *Book of Common Prayer* seemed to please almost no one. Many Elizabethans were still Catholic at heart, and conformed only reluctantly to a church now bereft of spiritual comfort and external signs. Puritans, on the other hand, mocked even the use of the surplice” (Alan Jacobs, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Biography*. Lives of Great Religious Books[Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013], 46). [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
34. This came about through the Act of Uniformity, passed in early 1549. See Alan Jacobs, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Biography*. Lives of Great Religious Books(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
35. *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* ed. Brian Cummings (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 697. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
36. *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* ed. Brian Cummings (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 64. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
37. *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* ed. Brian Cummings (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 103. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
38. David. A Lopez, “Forty-two Articles” in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Church History: The early, medieval, and Reformation eras* Vol. 1 ed. Robert Benedetto, James O. Duke (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 250. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
39. Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 353. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
40. Alan Jacobs, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Biography*. Lives of Great Religious Books(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
41. David. A Lopez, “Forty-two Articles” in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Church History: The early, medieval, and Reformation eras* Vol. 1 ed. Robert Benedetto, James O. Duke (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 250. An example of the type of revision inside of an article can be found in Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* Rev. Ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 34-35. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
42. Gerald Lewis Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 291. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
43. Gerald Lewis Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 291-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
44. Nicholas Needam, 2000 Years of Christ’s Power, v. 4, 247. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
45. Joel R.Beeke & Michael Reeves, *Following God Fully: An Introduction to the Puritans*, (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2022)*, 26*. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
46. Richard Sibbes, *The Bruised Reed,* (Carlisle: The Banner of Truth, 2021), 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
47. Sibbes, 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
48. Crawford Gribben, *John Owen and English Puritanism: Experiences of Defeat*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
49. Citation? [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
50. John Flavel, *The Mystery of Providence,* (Carlisle: Banner of Truth). [↑](#footnote-ref-49)