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"A bitter enemy to the papists": The Life and Works of  
Bishop George Carleton (1559-1628)

by

William J. Rednour

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1999

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Abstract

"A bitter enemy to the papists": The Life and Works of  
Bishop George Carleton (1559-1628).

by

William J. Rednour

Adviser: Professor Stuart Prall

Bishop George Carleton's (1559-1628) life and works represent a wide range of interests from Latin poetry, to issues of predestinarian thought, to religious biography. Taken as whole he shows an antagonism to challenges to the status quo of received religious and political authority of Jacobean England. Following Carleton's life from his early days at Merton College, Oxford to his last days as Bishop of Chichester a number of elements useful to understanding the Jacobean period emerges. These elements include the shared intellectual background of the Oxford educated, this is related to the increased number of students within the university system and this in turn points to the high level of education achieved by Jacobean bishops which is connected to aspects of the clerical patronage system. The bishop also shows that throughout the period papists and hatred of Catholics influenced Jacobean England's sense of nationhood.

The Jacobean perception of, and reaction to, Catholicism has often been overlooked in the search for precursors to the armed conflict of the 1640s. The most notable precursors have been the Puritans, and more recently, Anti-Calvinists. Carleton's life confirms the former since he saw Puritans as doctrinally sound but lacking in their acceptance of ecclesiastical discipline. In terms of the latter, he defended the Calvinist sense of doctrinal predestination as head of the English delegation to the Dutch Synod of Dort (1618-1619) and at home in his rebuttal of Richard Montagu's controversial work. The bishop also saw in aspects of astrology a possible threat to his predestinarian beliefs. Neglected for the most part after the seventeenth century, a re-examination of Carleton's life and work will restore some luster to his tarnished reputation.

## Preface

Scholars in the twentieth century have portrayed Bishop George Carleton (1559–1628) in various guises, ranging from a moderate to severe Calvinist. Though D. C. Allen rightly called him "one of the best-known ecclesiastics of the day", today the one-time Bishop of Chichester has largely been relegated to being a tertiary figure in English history.<sup>1</sup> In the manner of a supporting character, Carleton has been used to support various contentions about Jacobean England. David Willson believed Bishop Carleton, like Archbishop Abbot, represented an anti-Arminian Calvinist church party that stood for orthodoxy in the Church of England.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Conrad Russell noted that Carleton, the leader of the English delegation to the Dutch Synod of Dort (1618–1619), supported Archbishop Abbot's anti-Arminian position.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>D. C. Allen, The Star-Crossed Renaissance (New York, 1941), p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>David Willson, King James VI and I (London: Jonathan Cope, 1956), p. 199.

<sup>3</sup>Conrad Russell, Parliaments and English Politics 1621–1629 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 164.

A slightly different view from Irvonwy Morgan pictured Bishop Carleton as someone favoring Puritans against Arminians.<sup>4</sup> J. T. Cliffe agreed with this viewpoint painting Carleton as a Calvinist minded bishop who either sympathized with Puritans or, at least, was unwilling to antagonize them.<sup>5</sup> William Lamont had the same view and cited the bishop as an unbending Calvinist in doctrine who favored the apostolic nature of the bishops, yet Arthur Kautz and Peter Lake have called him a moderate Calvinist.<sup>6</sup> Keith Thomas noted that Carleton wrote as a Calvinist bishop who saw the providential hand of God in the world.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, Nicholas Tyacke described Bishop Carleton as a Calvinist theologian based on his opposition to Dutch Arminianism.<sup>8</sup> Kenneth Fincham also saw Carleton as an anti-

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<sup>4</sup>Irvonwy Morgan, Prince Charles's Puritan Chaplin (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1957), p. 158.

<sup>5</sup>J. T. Cliffe, The Puritan Gentry (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 146-147.

<sup>6</sup>William Lamont, Godly Rule. Politics and Religion 1603-1660 (New York: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 64, 52; Arthur Kautz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," in Early Stuart Studies. Essays in Honor of David Harris Willson, ed., Howard S. Reinmoth Jr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970), p. 177; Peter Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635," Past and Present 114 (February, 1987), p. 54.

<sup>7</sup>Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 107.

<sup>8</sup>Nicholas Tyacke, Anti-Calvinist. The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 73.

Arminian bishop.<sup>9</sup> Another view came from Dewey Wallace, who cited Bishop Carleton as a Calvinist episcopalian.<sup>10</sup> Debora Shuger viewed the bishop's theology as High Church Calvinism, as did Charles and Katherine George though the latter termed the Bishop of Chichester a High Anglican.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the most perceptive voice has been that of Alan Smith, who called Bishop Carleton a Calvinist, but believed that a stress needed to be placed on the wide spectrum of opinions held by the Jacobean clergy.<sup>12</sup> Where does Carleton fit into the Calvinist spectrum? How can the Bishop of Chichester be representative of various, and often contrasting, political and doctrinal positions?

To find the answers, this study will examine Carleton's life and his works. In the light of historiography that has emphasized an Anti-Calvinist party, the bishop's position within the mainstream allows us to better understand the

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<sup>9</sup>Kenneth Fincham, Prelate as Pastor. The Episcopate of James I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 196.

<sup>10</sup>Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., Puritans and Predestination. Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525-1695 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. 102.

<sup>11</sup>Debora K. Shuger, Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance. Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 165; Charles and Katherine George, The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation 1570-1640 (Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 391.

<sup>12</sup>Alan G. R. Smith, ed., "Introduction," to The Reign of James VI and I (New York: St. Martins Press, 1973), p. 12.

doctrine and policies such a dissenting faction opposed. We will see that Bishop Carleton was indeed an English Calvinist and a supporter of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer and episcopacy within the Church of England. In defense of the Church of England the bishop opposed not only the nascent anti-Calvinists but, more pointedly papists. Anthony á Wood correctly summed up Carleton's life and times with the sobriquet "a bitter enemy to the papists."<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, Bishop Carleton showed an immediate concern of church and state over not only papists but the entire spectrum of English Catholics from those actively supporting the Jesuits within England to passive recusants.<sup>14</sup> The

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<sup>13</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses an Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford (London, 1619), cols. 877-878.

<sup>14</sup>See Christopher Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-century England (Oxford, 1971); R. Clifton, "Fear of Popery," in The Origins of the English Civil War ed., Conrad Russell (London, 1973); John Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (London, 1975); K. R. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford, 1979); Peter Lake, "The significance of the Elizabethan identification of the Pope as Antichrist," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 31 (1980); J. C. H. Aveling, The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic recusants in England from Reformation to emancipation (London, 1983); Caroline Hibbard, Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1983); Patrick McGrath, "Elizabethan Catholicism: a reconsideration," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 35 (1984); Peter Lake, "Anti-popery: the structure of a prejudice," in Conflict in Early Stuart England eds., Richard Cust and Anne Hughes (London, 1989); A. Milton, Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Church in English Protestant Thought, 1600-

nuances and number of specific terms used by Jacobean to designate Catholic activity within England highlights the wide spectrum of anxiety over an old enemy. The Bishop of Chichester's later works indicate that he perceived only slight doctrinal differences between Catholicism and the English interpretation of Arminianism which existed in the early 1620s. To him, Arminianism only revised Pelagianism. Bishop Carleton associated with the Roman Catholic Church's views of the efficacy of good works and free will in obtaining salvation with similar Pelagian views. The equivalence of this Pelagian reading of Arminianism with Catholicism points to undercurrents of religious and political conflicts within the church and state.

The problem arising from the perceptions of Catholics as actively hostile is in addition to rise of an Anti-Calvinist party within England. Indeed, during the Jacobean era Catholics were the perceived enemy of true religion and the nation. Papists, Jesuits, recusants, seminary priests and crypto-Catholics were the terms applied to the various forms of Catholic factions within England. Defining this "other" calls for further research. Even Carleton was confused at one point. He wrote to his cousin, Dudley, wanting "to know whether a Jesuit must needs be a priest."<sup>15</sup>

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1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>15</sup>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611, #116, p. 104. [Hereafter cited as CSPD.]

Fear and hatred of Catholics within and without England was generated by events such as the Uprising of the Northern Earls (1569), the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth I (1570), the Spanish Armada (1588), the Gunpowder Plot (1605) and the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). So the domestic and foreign conflicts between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church affected the religious and political culture within which Carleton lived. In reaction to these looming threats Carleton became fierce in his stance against Rome, the pope and English Catholics. Defending church and state, the Bishop of Chichester endorsed a conformist position that sought religious and political stability. He faced the arduous task of supporting the authority of bishops as well as the authority of the king.

The political and doctrinal issues of Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England were intimately interwoven. Religious doctrine was employed to justify political action or theory. At the same time political acts were portrayed in Biblical terms, or as re-enactments of religious concepts found in sacred Scripture. The interplay of these two modes of thought, a secularization of Scripture and a scriptural reading of political, as well as everyday life, has been neglected by recent research into the theology of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.<sup>16</sup> Most research has been

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<sup>16</sup>The recent exception being Christopher Hill, The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution (New

concerned with doctrinal issues of predestinarian thought and how these were translated into political activity in the 1620s and 1630s by the Arminians.<sup>17</sup> Bishop Carleton dealt with the English Arminian doctrine of predestination which he saw as a via media between Dutch Arminianism and Roman Catholicism. The bishop also addressed another strain of predestinarian thought when he attacked astrology. Opposition to any heterodox views of predestination form a distinct aspect of his life.

Carleton's life began in the north of England, an area where overt Catholic elements struggled against an emerging Protestantism. As a teenager, he began his education at Oxford during Elizabeth I's reign and he eventually earned a Doctor of Divinity degree in 1613 when James I was on the throne. Carleton's early years and his life as a scholar at Oxford University through the reign of Elizabeth will be

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York: Penguin Books, 1993).

<sup>17</sup>See Peter White, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered" Past and Present 101 (1983), pp. 34-54; Jonathan Atkins, "Calvinist Bishops, Church Unity, and the Rise of Arminianism" Albion 18 (1986), pp. 411-428; Peter Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635" Past and Present 114 (1987), pp. 32-76; Peter Lake, "Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson" Journal of British Studies 27 (1988), pp. 81-116; Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship" Past and Present 124 (1989), pp. 36-68; Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists; Tyacke, "The Ambiguities of Early-Modern English Protestantism" The Historical Journal 34 (1991), pp. 743-754; G. W. Bernard, "The Church of England c.1542-c.1642" History 75 (1990), pp. 183-206; Peter White Predestination, Polemic and Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

addressed in the first chapter. The academic degrees he received present us with a model of the scope of learning which he and his contemporaries attained. The required course of study Carleton followed for his baccalaureate and his master's was the same for everyone who pursued these degrees. This points to a shared frame of intellectual reference. As such, the texts he read and the requirements placed upon him show what the growing number of newly educated clergy and gentlemen were expected to have learned at Oxford. So, Carleton represents a case study of the growing number of highly educated clergy whom Mark Curtis and Lawrence Stone have studied.<sup>18</sup> In the pursuit of higher theological degrees Carleton again highlights the academic skills and knowledge of the episcopacy that the Jacobean Bishop's Bench evinced. His time at Oxford was also affected by the actions of foreign and domestic Catholics and the various responses enacted by the Church of England and the monarchy.

While he pursued his academic career Carleton also followed a clerical career, entering the Church of England first as a prebend in 1585, and ultimately achieving appointment as Bishop of Llandaff in 1617. The second

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<sup>18</sup>Mark Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959); Lawrence Stone, "Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1910," in The University in Society, vol. 1, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974).

chapter will look at the methods he used to attain clerical preferment. The crucial means, during this period (1605-1617), was Carleton's writing on the issues of the day, at first dealing with tithes and then the issue of authority. Following the Gunpowder Plot, he was one of the authors who wrote during the pamphlet war generated by the controversy over the Oath of Allegiance. He emerged as a defender of the power of the king and bishops and an enemy of the papists. The question of authority developed into another focal point for Carleton during his life, whether political, clerical, or scriptural. His writing shows the fine line that the clerical authors needed to walk as the clergy sought to support the sovereign power of the king as well as the divine power of the bishops. Carleton also highlights the difficulty of defending the position and power of bishops while denying the power of the pope. His texts on the concepts of the use of authority won him notoriety and soon an appointment as a royal chaplain. This earned him a position in King James I's royal court.

The Royal Court exposed Carleton to the politics of predestination made evident in the Vorstius Affair. This debate, over who would succeed Jacob Arminius at the University of Leyden, involved Carleton's cousin, Dudley Carleton, who was at the time, the English ambassador to the Dutch States. The episode shows the concern King James I had over the interpretation of the doctrine of

predestination and the political repercussions of heterodoxal doctrine. Arminianism, as professed by the Dutch in the 1610s, had much in common with the Roman Catholic doctrine regarding predestination and free will, in that the individual had some input into predestined salvation, or damnation. Yet, at this point in time, Carleton wrote little in regard to predestination though he seems to have been an active speaker on the topic in court. These discussions brought him to the further attention of King James I. His skill at rhetoric, along with the backing of Prince Charles, allowed the king to elevate Carleton to the Bishopric at Llandaff in Wales. Before going westward to Wales, the king chose the newly created Bishop of Llandaff to serve as an English delegate to the United Provinces Synod of Dort in 1618-1619 where the Dutch Arminian position on predestination was discussed and condemned.

Bishop Carleton believed in the Church of England's doctrinal stance in regard to predestination which was promulgated in the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-Nine Articles. Indeed, the Seventeenth Article directly addressed the issue of predestination, providence and humanity's free will in explicit terms.<sup>19</sup> The doctrine stated that God had chosen a group of people, the elect, who

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<sup>19</sup>See Appendix I.

would be saved. Christ had died for the elect and the Holy Spirit made that death effective by bringing the elect to faith and repentance so that they willingly obeyed the gospel. Since this was all accomplished by the will of God, human will was incapable of changing this divine plan. This doctrine of predestination was affirmed at the Synod of Dort, and the third chapter will examine Bishop Carleton's role within the delegation and the part they played at that Synod. The Synod of Dort clearly shows the position the Church of England took in regard to predestination, church government and the struggle to maintain both in the face of other reformed churches. Although the Synod of Dort was more a political event than a religious conflict for the Dutch, there would be ripple effects from the Synod's conclusions in English doctrine and politics towards the end of Carleton's life.

Throughout Carleton's life an anti-Catholic sentiment that permeated England is the subject of Chapter four. In this light Carleton used history as a propaganda tool in his campaign against Roman Catholics. In 1624 when Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, George Villiers, returned from Spain, Bishop Carleton produced a work that warned the Prince of the entrapment of Catholicism. This was a timely work since the return of Charles and Buckingham signaled an end to the proposed "Spanish Match." This "match" had been a diplomatic arrangement between England

and Spain that had sought the marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta, Maria. England was joyously relieved when their Prince returned and the bishop's work went through three editions in two years. The proposed marriage negotiations with the Spanish may have added to the animosity of the English towards Catholics. So, too, did the return of Marco Antonio de Dominis to Italy. The one-time lapsed Catholic who had been given preferment in the Church of England recanted and once again sided with Rome. Another continental entanglement was the Protestant defeats of the Thirty Years War which involved the daughter of King James I, Elizabeth. The war influenced the perception of "papists" for Bishop Carleton and England.

The rising sense of a papist threat is clear in the works and actions of Carleton as bishop, during his time in Chichester. In addition to the political questions raised by the recognition of English Catholics, Carleton was concerned with Jesuits, papists and the military power of Spain. He brought these concerns to the House of Lords when he attended Parliament as one of the bishops. The concern with recusants and papists as a perceived enemy and threat to England appears to have been rampant. Carleton's concerns allow us to examine one bishop's response to this problem.

While the papists were believed to be a domestic and foreign threat, Bishop Carleton also saw within England

another danger to religion and authority. The ongoing belief in astrology brought into question predestination from a different doctrinal and intellectual perspective. Thus chapter five will examine Carleton's philosophical and doctrinal attack on astrology. The combination of astrological and religious thought with Roman Catholicism may seem incongruous at first, but there was an intimate connection between these concepts. The astrologer was seen as infringing upon ideas of free will and God's will. Once astrologers began to inquire into God's will they discussed religious issues that were not to be questioned. So, the controversy was more than philosophical with writers for and against astrology using religious or doctrinal tenets for their arguments. In addition these authors employed empirical rationalizations that had been produced by classical, medieval and Renaissance scholars such as Cicero, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Marsilio Ficino, and Pico della Mirandola. Astrologers suggested that, with foreknowledge, a person might affect the outcome of events within his own life and this echoed the Roman Catholic concept of good works that could be done to influence God's will. Bishop Carleton's attack upon astrology fell on deaf ears. Yet the same arguments he used against astrology would now come into play as Bishop Carleton sought to counter another attack on his views of predestination.

In chapter six we will examine Bishop Carleton's defense of his previously expressed doctrinal views on predestination and church government. He did this by responding to a work written by Richard Montagu in which the opinions expressed by the English delegation at the Synod of Dort, regarding predestination and episcopacy, were challenged. The Montagu controversy went beyond clerics arguing fine points of doctrine and reached Parliament where political consequences followed, until the issue was finally addressed by King James I and then his son, King Charles I. One aspect of this dispute, often overlooked, is the perception of a pro-papist sentiment seen within Arminian doctrine. This perception was based on the ritualistic trappings of church ceremonies, in particular the celebration of mass. Though doctrinally correct and in accordance with the Church of England the programs Bishop Laud was prominent in promoting changes that seemed to echo Roman Catholic ceremonies. Though there was no real change towards a more papal doctrine, the outer appearance confused contemporaries and seemed to presage a return to Rome.

Before concluding, chapter seven will look at the significance of the works of Bishop George Carleton. Various facets of Carleton's life including education, tithes, clerical patronage, and episcopacy can be used as individual case studies to amplify aspects of late Elizabethan and Jacobean England. However, we will see that

the most significant contributions he made pertain to anti-papal concerns and particularly his views on predestinarian thought. Doctrinally, the bishop remained a Calvinist. He defended this position at the Synod of Dort and also against Montagu. Not only did the bishop address the doctrinal issues but he confronted the philosophical, logical and moral aspects of astrology. In the area of astrology, if no other, Bishop Carleton deserves more recognition.

In the last years of his life, Bishop Carleton retreated from predestinarian debates. His last written work was a biography of Bishop Bernard Gilpin. Known as the Apostle of the North, Gilpin stood as hero and model of a true English cleric for Carleton, as one who had overcome Marian Catholicism. Aspiring to match Gilpin's model the Bishop of Chichester remained a mainstream Church of England Calvinist. Defending religious and political authority, Bishop Carleton struggled for stability in a changing world. Though the world seemed to be constantly changing, one constant the bishop held onto was his enmity of Papal Rome and her agents within England.

Bishop Carleton's death, in 1628, spared him the sight of the Church of England succumbing to divisive religious practices. Thus the legacy of Carleton's works in the period of the English Civil War, and after, will be examined. By the start of the eighteenth century the fame that Carleton had achieved in his lifetime had vanished.

Since then, Bishop Carleton has been relegated to a minor role. Yet when placed within the context of his times Bishop Carleton, while a fierce opponent to a potential enemy in the papist, emerges as an eclectic author, whose perspective on predestinarian thought, both astrological and doctrinal, deserves more note.

NOTE: Spelling has been modernized in all instances except for titles. All dates are in the New Style, with the year beginning on January 1. Unless otherwise noted, Latin translations are my own.

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## Chapter One

### The Education of a Cleric: 1559-1614

When George Carleton entered Oxford he was part of a social movement that perceived university education as a means to social advancement. One avenue of social advancement, open to all who qualified, was the clergy. Tracing Carleton's experiences through his time at Oxford illustrates the type of education offered for those not only aspiring to the clergy, but to those in search of Bachelor of Arts degree. The reading list of books students had to be familiar with, the participation in disputations and other requirements were common to all the undergraduates students. These shared experiences can be seen as establishing a framework upon which doctrinal and political issues were debated, not only in university disputations but on the national level. Having shared the same educational regime, authors and their readers would be familiar with the involved sources and many of the basic issues and arguments. The same holds true for those pursuing advanced degrees. Thus, Carleton's pursuit of four degrees at Oxford presents us with an opportunity to view the educational program an undergraduate who aspired to be a clergyman.

Carleton was born in 1559 at the start of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. As the son of a minor gentry family,

Carleton's prospects for social advancement were limited. He is emblematic of the growing number of gentry who saw that social advancement might be possible through the attainment of an education. His father, Guy Carleton, was the keeper of a castle in the northern borderland of England.<sup>1</sup> Guy himself was the second son of Thomas of Carleton Hall, located in Northumberland.<sup>2</sup> This northern branch of the Carleton family may have been part of the rising gentry class that some English historians have noted. Or, Carleton's family may be a further sign of the continuity and conservation that has been postulated.<sup>3</sup> In either case, living in the north Carleton's early years

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Worthies of England, ed. John Freeman (London: George Allen and Unwin LTD., 1911), p. 304.

<sup>2</sup>Anthony á Wood, Alumni Oxonienses the Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714 vol. 1, (Oxford, 1891), p. 238.

<sup>3</sup>As G. R. Elton, Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 164-69 has pointed out "... the history of England from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-seventeenth had been seen [by 'Whiggish' historians prior to the 1970s] in terms of a number of 'rises' - the rise of new monarchy, the rise of Protestantism, the rise of the gentry, the rise of puritanism, and the rise of parliament, movements culminating in the cataclysm of civil war. But revisionist historians have questioned the power of such modernizing forces, and suggested that the 'rises' may not have risen very far; conservatism and continuity may be much more in evidence than radicalism and revolution." See also Conrad Russell, Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) cited by Christopher Haigh, ed. The English Reformation Revised (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 4.

witnessed times of turmoil that began with the accession of Queen Elizabeth I.

The most notable event of his early life was the Rising of the Northern Earls. Indeed, Carleton commented that "when we were children a rebellion was raised in the North by the Earles of Northumberland and Cumberland."<sup>4</sup> In part this rebellion was a response to efforts to bring royal control to the North. Royal policy encountered resistance in 1569 with a conspiracy to marry Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Duke of Norfolk. As a result of this plot on 14 November the Earls entered the Palatinate of Durham and restored Catholic worship in the cathedral. The restoration was possible since a fervent strain of Roman Catholicism had persisted through the years of Henrician and Edwardian reforms.<sup>5</sup> Carleton aptly linked the 1569 uprising to the issue of religion, but he also saw the connection of Roman Catholicism with civil unrest. As a result of this instability in his early life doctrine and discipline became central to Carleton's life.

Another influence during the first years of Carleton's life was Queen Elizabeth I's attempted resolution of religious issues through what has come to be known as the

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<sup>4</sup>George Carleton, The Life of Bernard Gilpin (London, 1629), p. 29.

<sup>5</sup>Ken Powell and Chris Cook, English Historical Facts 1485-1603 (Totowa, NJ: Rouman and Littleford, 1977), p. 162.

Elizabethan Settlement. While the Queen's religious program may not have expressed a popular acceptance of English Protestantism, the Settlement did achieve a "convenient" compromise that allowed for some internal stability.<sup>6</sup> Yet the finality of the English Reformation was not inevitable during the early years of Carleton's life. Christopher Haigh noted that the early Reformation was "ineffective" particularly in the North where the Reformation only slowly took hold as a result of Elizabeth's redistribution of political power.<sup>7</sup> Thus the compromise was not merely religious but also political.<sup>8</sup> The intimate relationship of religion and politics continued to be played in the queen's careful enforcement of royal policy on religious matters.

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<sup>6</sup>Christopher Haigh, "Introduction," in The English Reformation Revised, p. 10 notes that "the English Reformation was accepted not because it was popular but because in some respects it was convenient."

<sup>7</sup>Haigh, "Introduction," p. 27; Haigh also notes, p. 16 that "by 1559 it was clear that a Protestant Reformation was happening. When the Catholic bishops were then asked to accept a total Reformation, they voted against the enacting bills in parliament and refused to obey the statutes which were passed. But, even then, it was far from certain that the political see-saw had come to rest and that the Reformation was irreversible."

<sup>8</sup>Haigh, "Introduction," p. 7 believes "... the settlement of 1559 survived not because it endorsed the aspirations of the Protestants, but because the queen moderated its terms and restrained its enforcement; it succeeded not because it was popular but because Elizabeth made it less unpopular. So only the balance of politics in 1559 made the Elizabethan Settlement a largely Protestant one, and only the balance of advantage afterwards made the decisions of 1559 a lasting 'settlement'."

This affected Carleton as the Northern Earls' interests were crippled following their failed Revolt. As a result the Bishop of Durham became the major conduit for patronage and the center for those with political aspirations. The reversion away from Catholicism to the Church of England in Durham brought authority into the hands of supporters of the Reformation.<sup>9</sup> After the suppression of the mainly Catholic Northern Earls could the Queen impose more stringent religious discipline through a redistribution of political power. In part she accomplished this through the use of local Justices of the Peace. There were roughly 431 J.P.s who sided with the Queen with 264 indifferent and only 157 as hostile.<sup>10</sup> The numbers tend to indicate a delicate majority in favor of state policy. Carleton, then, spent his early years in an often unstable environment, as policy and pulpit sought to bring the northern counties into the mainstream of Elizabeth's realm.

Even so the north appears to have remained on the fringe of political and religious orthodoxy in those early years. The appointments of Edmund Grindal as Archbishop of York and Henry Hastings as president of the Council of the

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<sup>9</sup>Christopher Haigh, "Recent Historiography of the English Reformation," in The English Reformation Revised, rpt. (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 27.

<sup>10</sup>D. M. Palliser, "Popular Reactions to the Reformation," in English Reformation Revised, ed. Christopher Haigh (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 102.

North were further moves to bring the north into a closer union with the remainder of the realm. That the north lagged behind the rest of the realm may be seen in Matthew Hutton's letter of 13 November 1568 to Cecil regarding the need in the north for a good archbishop. Hutton noted that since the north was ignorant they needed a teacher, someone like Edmund Grindal who was "a virtuous and godly man." Grindal was also seen as "a strict and courageous man in God's cause ... and yet a sober and discreet man."<sup>11</sup> The Protestant north called for direction and those who professed the true religion in order to combat the tide of papal doctrine.

The selection of Grindal and Hastings allowed these two men to begin an "effective protestantization of the region" in the north.<sup>12</sup> This campaign began during Carleton's early life when the success of the English Reformation was still in doubt. The necessity of their actions points out that the English Reformation did not create "a united Protestant England but a deeply divided England."<sup>13</sup> The reasons for this division may stem from the stress English

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<sup>11</sup>Patrick Collinson, Archbishop Grindal (University of California Press, 1979), p. 188; See also Public Record Office, State Papers 12/48/41/ [hereafter cited as PRO, SP].

<sup>12</sup>Collinson, Archbishop Grindal, p. 189; See also Christopher Haigh, "Conclusion," in English Reformation Revised, (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 215.

<sup>13</sup>Collinson, Archbishop Grindal, p. 189; See also Haigh, "Conclusion," p. 215.

Protestantism placed upon Bible-reading and an insistence upon justification by faith and predestination that limited the religion's popular appeal.

Christopher Hill has adroitly shown the influence of the Bible on various aspects of English life during Carleton's lifetime.<sup>14</sup> With the emphasis on Bible-reading, Scripture became the focal point for Carleton but so too did the doctrine of predestination spelled out in the Seventeenth Article of religion. Carleton's perspective on his beliefs was expressed explicitly in his printed works. Yet there were dangers involved in stressing Bible-reading. Access to Scripture without the intervention of the clergy could lead to dissenting views of Biblical interpretation. One such view, in Carleton's opinion, was Richard Montagu's. During Carleton's life dissent came from within the clergy and not from the congregation at large which occurred during the 1650s after his death.<sup>15</sup> The issue of Scriptural interpretation presupposed a literate congregation able to approach the Bible.<sup>16</sup> Thus education was a necessity, though, as we will see, only at higher levels of academia

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<sup>14</sup>Christopher Hill, The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution (New York: Penguin Books, 1993).

<sup>15</sup>Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas in the English Revolution (London, 1972).

<sup>16</sup>David Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

was study of the Bible permissible. So, intellectual capacity was needed to defend the Church of England's doctrine.

This cadre of educated men were often required to clarify and support the doctrinal points of justification and predestination. These two points would need to be defended not only from any alternative Protestant view, even Lutheran, but also from a revived Post-Tridentine Roman Catholic Church. Even after the universities started to graduate ministers able enough to undertake the task of defending the Church of England there remained "great difficulties."<sup>17</sup> As Haigh has aptly noted, Protestantism under Elizabeth did not grow fast nor was the endeavor an easy one.<sup>18</sup>

Growing up amid religious uncertainty, Carleton's early life echoed this sentiment. Norham, where he lived was not far from Durham. At Durham, as we have seen, Protestantism had been re-established with the failure of the Northern Earls. The Church of England's power rested in Durham's cathedral chapter. Through the cathedral chapter, Carleton came to the attention of Bernard Gilpin, "The Apostle of the North".

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<sup>17</sup>See Patrick Collinson in The Reign of Elizabeth I, ed. Christopher Haigh (Basinstoke, 1984), pp. 176-194.

<sup>18</sup>Haigh, "Introduction," p. 6.

In Durham, during Elizabeth's reign, Gilpin's influence showed "the enormous influence of dedicated clergy in changing the local religious climate."<sup>19</sup> Gilpin has been portrayed as one of the fervent university graduates who were theological elitists mainly concerned with converting the educated. This bishop apparently fit this model as he appears to have been "unmoved when he offended the plebeians by his opinions commenting that he 'never desired the love of the vulgar'."<sup>20</sup> However, in his biography of Gilpin, Carleton contrasted this image with vignettes of Gilpin assisting the poor. One story showed Gilpin as generous. He gave a farmer a horse which "the Apostle" had been riding when the farmer's horse died in the field.<sup>21</sup> Gilpin's educational patronage of the "plebeian" Carleton also seems to belie his antipathy to the vulgar, or at least the plebeian.

As a plebeian, Carleton represents a case study for the education of late Elizabethan and early Stuart gentlemen and clergy, as well as the "rising gentry." As we examine the processes and curricula we begin to see how the university educated English had a shared intellectual foundation. The

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<sup>19</sup>Palliser, "Popular Reactions to the Reformation," p. 105. Gilpin was compared to Hugh Latimer.

<sup>20</sup>Palliser, "Popular Reactions to the Reformation," p. 111.

<sup>21</sup>Carleton, The Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 20.

common frame of reference may account for the more pedantic arguments amongst English polemicists since they all drew on the same sources.

As a second son, Carleton had little wealth and needed financial assistance to attain an education. His support may have come from Gilpin's patronage. Gilpin was probably made aware of Carleton through a possible relative, Anthony Carleton, who was noted in Gilpin's biography as living with the bishop.<sup>22</sup>

Carleton's formal education began at Haughton, where he entered one of the local grammar schools Gilpin had established. From this local school Carleton was directed south to Oxford University. As a new student at Oxford, he was obliged to take up residence at a College or Hall and on the day of admission Carleton's name was entered in the Buttery-book by the House Head.<sup>23</sup> At the age of seventeen he entered St. Edmunds Hall on 20 December 1577.<sup>24</sup> Gilpin's affiliation with Queen's College may be why Carleton entered this particular Hall. In the same year Oxford suffered an

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<sup>22</sup>Carleton, The Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 16.

<sup>23</sup>The Buttery-book was an ordinary book of student charges for bread, butter, beer, etc.

<sup>24</sup>According to Anthony á Wood, Alumni Oxonienses, p. 238 this was done at the "beginning of the year 1576 [George] being then 17 years of age."

outbreak of the "sweating sickness" malaria, and typhus.<sup>25</sup>

St. Edmund's Hall had, in 1557, had come under the jurisdiction of Queen's College's. Under the aegis of Queen's College the members of St. Edmund's rededicated the Hall to academics. Earlier in the century there had been a lack of serious learning. This reaffirmation of academics coincided with the time that Carleton was housed at St. Edmund's.<sup>26</sup>

As part of Oxford, St. Edmund's was under the jurisdiction of the Chancellor, who at the time of Carleton's matriculation, was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester who in 1564 had replaced Sir John Mason. However, Carleton probably never had any personal contact with Leicester since the daily administration fell upon the Vice-Chancellor.

The Vice-Chancellor met with the incoming students, usually on the second Sunday after a new student's arrival. Before this meeting Carleton had to request formal admission

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<sup>25</sup>James McConica, "Collegiate Society," in The History of the University of Oxford, vol. 3, The Collegiate University ed., James McConica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 648 noted that "Oxford was not a healthy place, and contagion was endemic. There were regular visitations of bubonic plague as well as other epidemic and endemic diseases such as influenza."

<sup>26</sup>Anthony a Wood, The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford, ed., John Gutch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1786), p. 662.

via the university bedels.<sup>27</sup> He reported to the bedel his age, the quality, or social condition, of his father and Carleton's county of birth. After this information had been noted he was allowed to be brought before the Vice-Chancellor. Following procedure Carleton was presented (by the Head or a deputy of St. Edmund's Hall) to the Vice-Chancellor and given a certificate of admission.<sup>28</sup> Once Carleton was entered into the Buttery-Book there was no change in status without express permission since social status was directly connected to the student's financial obligations.

There were distinct social categories for the students including peers, baronets, knights, esquires or armigers, and plain gentry, with only one occupational title, that being the clergy. Beyond this social boundary everyone else who enrolled was indiscriminately labeled "plebeian". This covered "basically 90% of the population" from all the remaining levels of society including wealthy merchants and prosperous yeomen.<sup>29</sup> The record shows that Carleton matriculated as a plebeian.

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<sup>27</sup>The bedels were paid official of the university.

<sup>28</sup>Andrew Clark, ed., Register of the University of Oxford, vol. II, pt. II, (Oxford Historical Society, 1887), pp. 4-6.

<sup>29</sup>Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1910," in The University in Society, vol. 1, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 13f.

His matriculation represents part of an influx of students into the university system during the Elizabethan period. This is clear for in the three year period that followed his entrance (1577-79) plebeians made up 55% of the total matriculation at Oxford.<sup>30</sup> Many of these students may be seen as upwardly socially mobile, as was Carleton.

One means of advancing his own social status was through preferment and advancement within the clergy. Here again Carleton, as a plebeian, constitutes part of the inundation of sixteenth-century Oxford students seeking a career in the church who "were mostly students from humble social backgrounds."<sup>31</sup> Oxford was the choice of this rising number of students since the coursework offered by the university provided the necessary training in logic and philosophy, and the textual knowledge of Greek and Latin that was required for further study in theology.<sup>32</sup> As has been noted, the English university system, like other educational institutions, "provided the training that society wanted and demanded from them."<sup>33</sup> The demand during

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<sup>30</sup>Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1910," table 2, p. 93.

<sup>31</sup>Stone, "Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580-1910," p. 13f.

<sup>32</sup>J. M. Fletcher, "Faculty of Arts," in James McConica ed., History of Oxford, vol. 3, p. 181.

<sup>33</sup>Mark Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959), p. 280.

Carleton's early adulthood was for religious training. This concern is indicated by the number of incoming students who sought placement within the clergy. Evidence for this is found in the years 1581 to 1585 when more than 11 percent of students who had earned a B. A. continued on to pursue a degree in the faculty of theology.<sup>34</sup> Carleton was one of the students who followed this pattern, beginning with his Bachelor of Arts degree.

The pursuit of his first degree began after Carleton settled in at St. Edmund's. Once established in the Hall he was either assigned, or chose, a tutor who was responsible for both his intellectual advancement and moral conduct. One of the early instructors who assisted Carleton in learning Greek was John Chamber, a Merton Fellow.<sup>35</sup> This initial connection with Merton and Chamber would make a lasting impression on Carleton. Indeed more than forty

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<sup>34</sup>Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1910," table 4, p. 95. In the years from 1591 to 1595 the percentage dropped slightly to 10.8. See table 3, p. 94 for overall increase in last quarter of the sixteenth century of degrees granted:

B.A.	101 (1571-79)	112 (1580-89)
M.A.	70 (1580-89)	83 (1600-09)
B.D.	16 (1600-09)	22 (1610-19)
D.D.	10 (1610-19)	

<sup>35</sup>John Fletcher, Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1567-1603 Oxford Historical Society, n. s., vol. XXIV (Oxford, MCMLLVI [1976]), p. 79. In 1576: "Chamber praelector Graecae lectionis. Eadem die electus est magister Ioannes Chamber Graecae lectionis praelector consensu custodis et octo seniorum. [That same day [16 January] Master John Chamber was elected Greek Lecturer by consensus of the society and the eight seniors.]

years after, in 1624, Carleton would publish a treatise with an Greek title in defence of Chamber's earlier attack on astrology. In the meantime Merton would offer Carleton financial support to complete his advanced degrees.

However, first Carleton had to acquire his B. A. which also required support. Financial backing came through privilege and patronage so that Carleton's time at Oxford university mirrored contemporary society, giving the young man a pragmatic education beyond the academic. Those students who were patronized, consisted of sons of the socially insignificant and moderately poor, who were maintained and promoted, in part at least, by the college or by wealthy patrons.<sup>36</sup> Gilpin's patronage may further point to Carleton's family being a minor one. We can infer from the records that Carleton received some financial aid since he was not reliant on the college to pay for his studies. Many other students received financial support from the college or worked as servitors at menial jobs, though Carleton was not listed among them.<sup>37</sup> In order to support the growing number of students who were the sons of the poor several hundred new scholarships were established between

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<sup>36</sup>Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1910," p. 72.

<sup>37</sup>Stone, "Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580-1910," p. 9.

1569-1640. None of the records indicate whether or not Carleton was the recipient of any scholarship.

Though Carleton did have some financial support his lack of social status can be inferred from his living accommodations at St. Edmund's Hall. The Hall he entered was for the most part cheaper than any of the colleges. Yet, as enrollment continued to grow even these modest spaces were at a premium. Carleton enrolled in Oxford at a time when increased enrollment of freshman tripled causing a "serious crisis of accommodation" since the extant buildings at Oxford were unprepared for such numbers and students "squeezed three or four to a room."<sup>38</sup>

Under these circumstances Carleton spent the first few years of his life at St. Edmund's Hall. The Halls of Oxford have been described as "essentially resident student hostels."<sup>39</sup> At best the hall acted as a tutorial lodging house licensed, or at least ultimately regulated, by the university.<sup>40</sup> While the Halls were under the umbrella jurisdiction of the university individual members of each

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<sup>38</sup>Stone, "Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580-1910," p. 17.

<sup>39</sup>G. E. Aylmer, "The Economics and Finances of the Colleges and University" in History of Oxford, ed., James McConica vol. 3, p. 522.

<sup>40</sup>Aylmer, "The Economics and Finances of the Colleges and University," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford vol. 3, p. 522.

Hall were also obligated to follow their own Hall's statutes.

One of St. Edmund's statutes differed from other Halls, while Carleton was resident, in regard to the Principal. Other halls had their principals selected by the Chancellor after 1570, but at St. Edmund's the principal was nominated by members of the Hall and the Provost of Oxford. Carleton's first principal was Henry Robinson who had succeeded Philip Johnson on the latter's death, 9 May 1576. Robinson probably "enjoyed some court or parliamentary connection."<sup>41</sup> As Carleton neared the completion of his B. A., Thomas Bowsfield became principal on 22 July 1581.<sup>42</sup> Like other Principals, Bowsfield was associated, via statute, with a parish church. St. Edmund's parochial link was through Magdalen Hall to the Church of St. Peter.<sup>43</sup> The parochial connection was affiliated with the moral conduct of the students which needed to be testified to prior to the awarding of a degree. For advanced degrees the churches were used to fulfill academic requirements of lecturing.

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<sup>41</sup>Aylmer, "Economics and Finances of the Colleges and University," in James McConica, ed. History of Oxford vol. 3, p. 542.

<sup>42</sup>Anthony á Wood, The History and Antiquities of the Colleges ... of Oxford, p. 664. Bowsfield was described as "Sometime B.A. of Pembroke Hall" later "Master of said faculty in this university" in 1577.

<sup>43</sup>Anthony á Wood, The History and Antiquities of the Colleges ... of Oxford, p. 653.

Other statutes had a more direct impact on Carleton. When he arrived in 1576 a Parliamentary Statute had been passed mandating that all graduands subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles before a university official.<sup>44</sup> In part this statute answered the papal ex-communication of Queen Elizabeth I. The subsequent foreign policy fall-out forced students to acknowledge the sovereignty of the queen and the exclusion of papal authority within England. Though Carleton had barely begun his academic life he was affected by the ripples of anti-Catholic sentiment.<sup>45</sup> Ultimately when Carleton reached the final stages of his B. A., he willingly took the oath asserting his belief in the Thirty-Nine Articles. This belief became the cornerstone of his life, and Carleton often used the Articles to argue and defend points of doctrinal controversy.

In that same year there were also attempts by Oxford to regulate scholars and masters who did not regularly attend or give lectures. As part of the university statutes all

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<sup>44</sup>Strickland Gibson, Statvta Antiqua Vniversitatis Oxoniensis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), p. 409 noted that "after 1576 students were required to make a formal subscription to the thirty-nine articles in the presence of the proctors."

<sup>45</sup>For example, in the same year that he entered St. Edmund's one list of known or admitted Catholics in England and Wales totaled 1368 with 37 being priests. Public Record Office, State Papers [hereafter cited as PRO, SP] 119/20 30 December 1577, cited in George K. Hyland, A Century of Persecution under Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns from Contemporary Records (London: Kegan Paul, 1920), p. 150.

Lecturers had to read daily except when officially excused by the university, although they were given a free day on Thursday if there had been no feast day during that particular week. Even though fines had been imposed in 1567 the statutes seem to indicate that over the century students and masters were reluctant to finish their statutory obligations.<sup>46</sup> The quality of education was at stake over this particular point.

Though these were internal issues pertaining to Oxford, students were not exempt from larger national issues. So, by 1580 all graduands were also required to take the Oath of Supremacy. The following year, 1581, all persons resident at Oxford were to take an Oath of Subscription. This 1581 Matriculation statute sought to root out those still loyal to the Roman Catholic Pope and Post-Tridentine dogma by forcing all students who were sixteen years of age upon their time of entry to Oxford to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Indeed, in 1589 two Fellows of Christ Church were jailed for sedition.<sup>47</sup>

This new test of subscription to the Articles, sponsored during the Chancellorship of Leicester, converted Oxford into "an exclusively Church of England institution,

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<sup>46</sup>Fletcher, "The Faculty of Arts," in James McConica ed., History of Oxford, vol. 3, pp. 181-185. See also Gibson, Statvta Antiqva, pp. 369, 372-3, 398.

<sup>47</sup>Gibson, Statvta Antiqva, pp. 421-423.

and the future battle-ground of Anglican controversy."<sup>48</sup> As a student Carleton was obliged to follow all these various statutes to achieve his different academic degrees. Anti-papist sentiment then began to affect aspects of Carleton's academic life.

Carleton lived an academic life he within the university yet he was not totally isolated from the more controversial issues of the time. One point of controversy that reached even Oxford was the disputation of Peter Baro, noted as a "learned and worthy Divine", who had lectured at Cambridge for several years, to general approval. Oxford records show that on 11 July 1576: "at length the Calvinistical Party disgusting [sic] certain matters (which they looked upon as heterodox) vented by [Baro] in his readings and prints ..." contested with Chaderton. Chaderton objected to Baro's interpretation of the Book of Jonah. Baro was accused of teaching "the Popish Doctrine of the cooperation of faith and works to justification." Baro was further noted to have held a belief that the Church of England and Popish doctrines could be reconciled and that "the Heathen" papists could be saved. These beliefs were unacceptable to the orthodox at Cambridge, as well as Oxford, and implicitly controverted the Thirty-Nine

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<sup>48</sup>George Brodrick, Memorials of Merton (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1885), p. 66.

Articles.<sup>49</sup> The debates over faith and justification would continue well into the next century with various authors, including, as we shall see, George Carleton.

In order to fully participate in the later polemic, Carleton had to establish his scholarly credentials. This began early in Carleton's academic career in which distinguished himself. Prior to his enrollment and the awarding of his B. A. in 1579 no one from St. Edmund's had been awarded a degree in recent years.<sup>50</sup> While this may have been a result of the previous lack of learning which the members of the Hall struggled to overcome, Carleton did achieve this success. To acquire his B. A. during his three years of study Carleton followed the 1549 statutes.

The statutes called for Carleton to be resident for sixteen terms (or four years), attend specified lectures and perform prescribed academic exercises. Overall his course of study included two terms of Grammar using Lincare's Rudiments with readings from Virgil, Horace, Cicero's Epistles; four terms of Rhetoric based in Aristotle's Rhetoric or Cicero's Praeceptiones; five terms of Dialectics employing Aristotle's Dialectics or Porphyry's

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<sup>49</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford ... 1550 ... 1690. To which are added the Fasti (London, 1691), cols. 740-741.

<sup>50</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, cols. 740-745.

Institutiones.<sup>51</sup> These works had been approved by the newer 1564-65 statutes for a B. A. which also listed Boethius or Gemma Frisius for Arithmetic and Boethius in Music.<sup>52</sup> So Carleton and every other beginning student pursuing their first degree were required to have studied the traditional liberal arts.

For two years, Carleton, like all other students, was also required to attend ordinary lectures and disputations after which he became a sophist. Following the first year, while studying logic, Carleton attended exercises of third or fourth year students on a Monday, Wednesday or Friday schedule from 1 to 3 P.M. This stage of academic development centered on oral presentations known as disputations.

Disputations began with Carleton publicly proposing one question in math, one in dialectic, and one in philosophy. Now a sophist, Carleton's disputation was overseen by a moderator who was either the public lecturer of philosophy or dialectic. In practice the disputation was done in a medieval manner with an opponens [opponent] who proposed the subject of debate and who was answered by a respondens [respondent]. Fourteen to fifteen days prior notice of the disputation questions were given by affixing a statement of them to the door of St. Mary's.

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<sup>51</sup>The Nova statuta [new statutes] of 1564/5 in Gibson, Statvta Antiqva, pp. 389-390.

<sup>52</sup>Gibson, Statvta Antiqva, p. xcii.

After a year of watching, Carleton was to be active by disputing twice pro forma, once as an opponent and once as a respondent in which position he defended three logic and grammar questions previously posted. Following this the regent master who acted as moderator gave Carleton a book of Aristotle's logic, a plain hood and created him sophista generale [general sophist].<sup>53</sup> As a general sophist he continued to attend disputations until the end of his undergraduate courses during which time Carleton was to dispute once each term. These disputations started every 1 October on every Thursday, Friday and Saturday from 1 to 3 in the afternoon. The books and authors to be used were specified by the university. These sources included the Bible, Pandects, Codex, English ecclesiastical law, Aristotle's Problemata, Moralia, Politics, De animalibus, Elenchi, Topica, Analytica, Pliny, Plato, Hippocrates, Galen, Pomponius Mela, Strabo, Ptolemy, Cicero, Quintilian, Hermogenes, Homer, Isocrates, and Demosthenes.<sup>54</sup>

While the works are heavily classical the inclusion of English church law is noteworthy. After four terms of logic and before petitioning for a degree Carleton also had to respond twice at the Lenten disputation of determining

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<sup>53</sup>Clark, Register of Oxford, pt. I, p. 22.

<sup>54</sup>Gibson, Statvta Antiqua, p. xcii.

bachelors which led to his advancement to a quaestionist.<sup>55</sup> Prior to determination Carleton underwent daily logical disputations on the first Wednesday of Lent and ending on Friday "before the cessatio magistrum [inactive teacher]" from after dinner to about 7 P.M. Yet there was one more requirement before receiving a B. A. Carleton had to perform at a final exercise.

The final exercises were proclaimed and posted, and they began with the tolling of a church bell. The exercises gave an arena for intelligent debate and sometimes drew unruly elements that the university needed to control.<sup>56</sup> This happened since students from the audience who had been formally declared were sometimes allowed to participate as arguentes [arguers]. In charge of the affair there was usually a replicator who summed up the debate and gave praise or blame to the participants. Replicators were of proven academic ability. The formal opponent was generally a senior scholar, often the teacher himself.

In his years of residency while participating in disputations, Carleton, like all the students, was to have heard all the old logic books at least twice and Boethius (with the exception of the fourth book of Topica, and Elenchi) and Aristotle's Posteriora Analytica at least once.

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<sup>55</sup>Clark, Register of Oxford, pt. I, p. 24.

<sup>56</sup>Fletcher, "Faculty of Arts," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, p. 168f.

As Carleton advanced he was required to have heard Priscian's De constructionibus twice and Donatus' Barbarismus once for grammar. In science Carleton had to have knowledge of Aristotle's Physica, De anima, De generatione et corruptione animalium, although in this field certain substitutes were allowed. At the end of this period of study and disputation Carleton made a circuit of the school and had four masters question and determine the quality of his knowledge and morals.

Once admitted to the Bachelor of Arts Carleton was required to host a party. The masters could not accept anything in the way of gifts or monies from the student and were watched and paid by the university.<sup>57</sup> In order to insure no corruption took place bedels attended inceptions, feasts of inceptors, funerals and other ceremonies, and gave notice of disputations and citations. The bedels were also not allowed to receive gifts from inceptors nor to carry away food and wine at inceptions. They were elected by congregation in the same manner as the Chancellor, who with the proctors acted as scrutator. Every year, directly after Michaelmas, the bedels had to resign office, though they were eligible for re-election. In total there were six

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<sup>57</sup>Gibson, Statvta Antiqua, pp. lxxxviii-xci.

bedels, with an esquire and a yeoman bedel for each of the faculties of Theology, Law and Arts.<sup>58</sup>

Once all of these requirements were fulfilled the Chancellor granted a license for Carleton to lecture on any of the books in the Faculty of Arts. Wood noted that Carleton completed his studies and achieved his Bachelor of Arts having "completed by Determination, his disputes being then noted to exceed any of his Fellows that did their exercises in the same Lent."<sup>59</sup> The records show that on 12 February 1579 Carleton, along with Thomas Hariot, received his initial degree. In the same year Robert Abbot (brother of the future Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot), John Philipps, John Sackvile, Edwyn Sandys, William Tooker, Roger Hacket, Edward Philipps, Henry Perry, John King, Isaac Cole, Lawrence Hyde, Thomas Savile (brother of Henry Savile, future Warden of Merton) also received their Bachelor of Arts.<sup>60</sup>

Through his intellectual endeavors, and probably through the aegis of John Chamber, in 1580 Carleton was elected a Probationer Fellow of Merton College where he spent almost five years before he proceeded to his Master of Arts degree. Carleton was admitted to Merton during

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<sup>58</sup>Gibson, Statvta Antiqua, p. lxxvii.

<sup>59</sup>Anthony á Wood, History of Oxford, col. 441.

<sup>60</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, col. 745.

"Doctris Bickley custodis 15<sup>us</sup>" in the 25th year of Elizabeth I's reign.<sup>61</sup> As warden of Merton from 1569 to 1585 Thomas Bickley had been chosen by the Fellows and confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He left Merton when appointed as Bishop of Chichester where he served from 1585 to 1596. There appears to have been an intimate connection between Merton and the diocese of Chichester that would eventually include Carleton. Bickley's replacement was Henry Savile who was knighted, though he did refuse clerical advancement under King James I.<sup>62</sup> Merton shows us evidence of advancing the careers of men aspiring to clerical positions.

This assistance in advancement was possible since Merton College had undergone a "subtle change" during Elizabeth I's reign. From the fourteenth century Merton contained a number of undergraduates through the benefaction of John de Wylliot. By Elizabeth I's reign students "were allocated to MAs as servants." The undergraduate students had catechist for religious instruction and were taught the fundamentals of the arts curriculum. All of these activities were aimed at maintaining a high level of academic achievement. By the sixteenth century Merton had

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<sup>61</sup>Fletcher, Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1567-1603, p. 156. Bickley, in the following year his appointment, received his D.D. in 1570.

<sup>62</sup>Anthony á Wood, The History and Antiquities of the Colleges ... of Oxford, pp. 10-11; also Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, vol. 1, col. 716 and vol. 1, col. 465.

gone beyond the confines of late medieval science, freeing itself from ecclesiastical authority, and had openly embraced the study of non-christian literature, to become a more truly national educational center. Merton was no longer merely a seminary of the clergy, whether regular or secular, though the school continued to produce active clerical scholars and administrators. Indeed, Merton now became a training school for the professional classes, as well as for the governing classes and statesman of the realm.<sup>63</sup> This can be clearly seen from a list of Merton Fellows during Carleton's time. In 1583 the names of Fellows included Thomas Bodley, Henry Savile, Thomas Tatame, William White, Henry Jervis, John Norris, Thomas Pett, Walter Hurleston, John Clavering, Gaspar Colemer, Thomas Mastir, Richard Fissher, Christopher Helme, George Carleton, Robert Brisenden, Thomas Savile, Antonius Anthony, William Edmunds, John Litton and Thomas Pye.<sup>64</sup> A glance at the

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<sup>63</sup>Brodrick, Memorials of Merton, pp. 65-66.

<sup>64</sup>Fletcher, Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1567-1603, p. 160. This was shortly before the 1 August elections which is the next entry in the register. Nomina socirum. Collegae istius domus in hoc tempore sumus [The names of the college. Those colleagues in the house at this time are]: 1. Thomas Bodleygh - 2. Henricus Savile - 3. Thomas Tatame - 4. Guilielmus White - 5. Henricus Iervis // In theologica bacchalarueus [For Bachelor of Divinity] - 6. Iohannes Norris // [For Master of Arts] In artibus magistri 7. Thomas Pett - 8. Gualfridus Hurleston - 9. Ihoannes [sic] Clavering - 10. Iasparus Colemer - 11. Thomas Mastir - 12. Richardus Fissher. Christopherus Helme, Georgius Carleton, Robartus Brisenden, Thomas Savile, Antonius Anthony, Guilelmus Edmunds, [MS as #13-118 written above the bachelor

Dictionary of National Biography shows that this group of men went on to highly successful after their time at Merton.

Carleton was an active member of Merton with his election to the office of Bursar and Lecturer.<sup>65</sup> This activity brought him into contact with the other Merton Fellows. While the Merton Fellows were a "conservative element at Oxford" they may have been "easily influenced by political pressure" exercised over the College by the university's administration.<sup>66</sup>

Wood commented that Carleton "was esteemed a good Orator and Poet," and that he knew the Church Fathers and Medieval philosophy so well that he "wanted nothing that might make him a compleat Theologian."<sup>67</sup> This judgment may be a reflection that at Oxford the Reformation had not resulted in any radical revolution in education. As we have seen, traditional readings in the Liberal Arts were required for the Bachelors. The scholastic tradition was mainly Aristotle and many of the medieval authors, which can be seen from the texts students had to study as well as from

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fellows] In artibus bacchalaurei [For Bachelor of Arts].

<sup>65</sup>The office of Bursar paid 20 shillings per year, while the position of Lecturer paid 1 pound 6 shillings per year. Fletcher, Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1567-1603, pp. 228-229 lists the amounts for all the offices.

<sup>66</sup>Fletcher, "Faculty of Arts," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, pp. 164-165.

<sup>67</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, col. 441.

the library holdings. The library texts and those that were recommended in Elizabethan Oxford were of older authorities. For example, in logic the work of Porphyry, a basic text of the medieval schools, was preserved as were the writings of Aristotle. Only in the field of grammar and rhetoric had new, humanistic, texts replaced older works.<sup>68</sup>

Calling Carleton a "compleat Theologian" shows the late sixteenth century's preoccupation with theology. This was particularly true in England where Catholic opponents of the English church were often joined by critics from other European protestant churches. Scholars on all sides presented their arguments on a basis of Scripture and rational thought together with general knowledge.<sup>69</sup> Many of these scholars went beyond a B. A. and so too did Carleton who began to study for his M. A. as a Merton Fellow.

For an M. A. Carleton was expected to study for another three years, bringing the total to seven years for the mastership.<sup>70</sup> Under the new statutes of 1564-65, for a Master's degree Carleton had to oppose and respond, at least once to the masters at the 10 A.M. disputation, to deliver

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<sup>68</sup>Fletcher, "Faculty of Arts," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, p. 174.

<sup>69</sup>Fletcher, "Faculty of Arts," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, p. 181.

<sup>70</sup>Fletcher, "The Faculty of Arts," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, p. 184; also Gibson, Statvta Antiqua, pp. 362, 420.

cursory lectures, study metaphysics, geometry and astronomy for at least two terms, natural philosophy, moral philosophy for at least three terms. The reading list for this course of study included: Geometry - Euclid or Vitello's Perspective; in Astronomy - Orontus' De sphaera or Sacro Bosco's Theoria planetarum or the Almagest; in Natural Philosophy - Aristotle's De physica, De caelo et mundo; De meteoribus; De parvis naturalibus; De anima; in Moral Philosophy - Aristotle's Ethics; Politics or Plato's Republic; in Metaphysics - Aristotle's Metaphysics.<sup>71</sup> Again we can see the heavy stress on classical readings required for the degree.

The course of study was intense but Elizabethan students could apply for a reduction of regency duty, which was often granted in the second year through a general dispensation. For instance, in May 1586 the regents were dispensed from ordinary lecturing provided they publicly or

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<sup>71</sup>Gibson, Statvta Antiqva, p. xcvi, p. 378. The Nova statuta of 1564 for an M.A. in Arts reads: "Vetera statuta, quae ab artium magistris obseruari solebant, obseruabant, neque anno excesserint. Quod vero attinet ad tria philosophorum seneca, in illis explicando ordinem illum quem statuta vetera praescribunt retineri volumus." [The old statutes, that are to be observed by Masters of Arts which they were accustomed to, that they observed, and not to exceed a year. Because in truth they pertain to three ancient philosophers, in those regular explications those books held back which the old statutes prescribed .]

privately gave instruction to undergraduates.<sup>72</sup> While Carleton was still a student, the university began to drop the regency requirement of an M. A., instead students were to attend lectures for the first two years after receiving their degree. However, Merton College, "which provided a regular supply of candidates for the M. A. degree," expected some formal lectures to be given by the school's graduates.<sup>73</sup>

As a candidate for an M. A. Carleton had to make the circuit of the university again and ask masters to attend his exercises, known as vesperies, on the Saturday evening before the final ceremony. After this was accomplished Carleton was further licensed and created master. On 15 June 1585, the Chancellor handed to him the insignia consisting of a book, hood and cap, and admitted him to teach in the name of the Trinity. The Chancellor then kissed Carleton's left cheek. By this time Sir Thomas Bromley acted as deputy for the absent Chancellor Dudley. Then in 1588 Sir Christopher Hatton replaced Dudley, who had fallen out of court favor. Hatton retained this post until

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<sup>72</sup>McConica, "Rise of the Undergraduate College," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, p. 62. For Carleton's dispensations granted 19 June 1585 and 6 July 1587 see Fletcher, Register Merton 1567-1603, pp. 178, 227.

<sup>73</sup>Fletcher, "Faculty of Arts," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, pp. 185-187; Clark, Registrum Merton 1567-1603, passim.

1591 when Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst became Chancellor.

Carleton could now give ordinary lectures, but for fifteen days he had to walk the streets in a round cap, not a plaited cap as a mark of academic status. Carleton was also to give presents to regents, those who were masters of less than two years, and give a feast.<sup>74</sup>

With the celebrations over Carleton had more work to do. As attacks on the doctrine of predestination, such as Baro's, began in late 1580s university the more conservative Protestants became polemical.<sup>75</sup> The ability to engage in polemics was achieved through university schooling. Through his studies Carleton became friends with Henry Airey and John Prideaux. Airey and Prideaux have been seen as moderates who could command the recognition and respect of the opponents of Puritanism and retain the esteem and loyalty of all but the most extreme members of their own party.<sup>76</sup>

There has been a traditional stress on the Puritans during this period, but we should keep in mind the fear of papists, particularly during the 1580s, was in the forefront

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<sup>74</sup>Charles W. Boase, ed., Register of the University of Oxford, vol. I, (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1885), pp. viii, ix.

<sup>75</sup>See H. C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1958).

<sup>76</sup>Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge, p. 208.

of national opinion. Drake, Howard and Frobisher had defeated the armed forces of Catholicism in the guise of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and now with his Master's degree in hand Carleton sought his next degree so that he could aid in the spiritual defense of England.

For Carleton the next stage was the Bachelor of Theology which admitted him to read the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Once admitted as a Bachelor of Divinity, Carleton was required to give a Latin sermon (cancio ad clerum) within the university within a year of admission.<sup>77</sup> Aside from having to have an M. A. in hand there were further requirements for Carleton to obtain the degree of Bachelor of Theology. In all Carleton, like all other candidates, had to spend an additional seven full years of study. This began with Carleton spending four years in the study of theology (including hearing the Bible for three years), to oppose (not before the fifth year of his course), and to respond (not before his seventh year) at disputations. An examination of the academic disputation questions submitted by students during the years Carleton was at Oxford shows that there were two main threads. One was the question of predestination and the other focused on errors of the Roman Catholic Church. As Clark wrote, the latter exhibited an "intense hatred and suspicion of Romanism which

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<sup>77</sup>Clark, Register of Oxford, vol. II, pt. I, p. 136.

characterised the age."<sup>78</sup> There was also one set of questions that dealt directly with astrology.<sup>79</sup>

In the same manner as other students, Carleton was required to attend theological and Hebrew lectures for five years, during which he had to dispute twice with a B. D. and

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<sup>78</sup>For theological disputation questions see Clark, Register of University of Oxford vol. II, pt. I, p. 194. From the list of questions, pp. 194-212 is an example of an anti-papal sentiment disputed in 1597 by the future Archbishop George Abbot: "1. 'Ad ecclesiam aedificandam Petro non erat praerogativa major quam reliquis Apostolis.' [How the church established by Peter was not given prerogative over those of the other Apostles.]  
2. 'Petrus neque vivus neque moriens extraordinarium aliquid sedi Romanae commendavit.' [How Peter entrusted something extraordinary to neither the living nor the dead see of Rome.]  
3. 'Generalis autoritas quam pontifices usurpant, ex principum indulgentia et Romani Episcopi ambitiosa astutia crevit, non ex Apostolica traditione.' [How the popes usurped general authority not from the Apostolic tradition, but from the principle of indulgences and how the Bishop of Rome cleverly increased his ambitions.]  
In 1597 we can see an interest in the doctrine of predestination comes from the Archbishop's brother, Robert, who would work with Bishop Carleton at Chichester: "1. 'Aeterna Dei praedestinatione alii ad vitam alii ad mortem ordinantur.' [That the eternal predestination of God's will ordains some to life and some to death.]  
2. 'Electorum salus certissima est.' [That the salvation of the elect is the most certain.]  
3. 'Electi non possunt in hac vita implere legem Dei.' [That the elect are unable in this life to fall from God's law.]

<sup>79</sup>Clark, Register of University of Oxford vol. II, pt. I, p. 199 shows that Francis Godwyn disputed on the following: "1. 'Astrologiae iudiciariae usus non prohibetur in sacris literis.' [The use of judicial astrology was not prohibited by sacred scripture.]  
2. 'Non licet consulere mortuos.' [It is not permitted to ask about death.]  
3. 'Non licet divinare per sortes.' [It is not permitted to prophesy through the casting of lots.]

after three years to respond twice and to preach in Latin and in English at the University church.<sup>80</sup>

The disputation questions discussed for inception to a Bachelor of Theology dealt with various topics. Many dealt with specific points of the Thirty-Nine Articles, while others exhibit an intense hatred and suspicion of papists, and particularly, the Pope. The desire of the era to discuss issues of free will and predestination can also be seen in these questions.<sup>81</sup>

Carleton fulfilled the necessary requirements and received his degree in theology. To finance his continuing academic career, Carleton obtained a prebendary at Mayfield in 1589.<sup>82</sup> This office was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chichester, the former Warden of Merton. On 4 May 1594, Carleton applied for his Bachelors of Divinity and on 16 May he was incepted.<sup>83</sup>

With the academic prerequisites and financial support Carleton launched upon his final degree. By 1595 Carleton had begun to study for his doctorate. At the same time Merton began to waste the vigor it had recovered in "barren

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<sup>80</sup>Gibson, Statvta Antiqva, p. cx, note 2.

<sup>81</sup>Clark, Register of Oxford, vol. II, pt. I, p. 194.

<sup>82</sup>The prebendary was a cathedral benefice normally consisting of the revenue from one manor of the cathedral estates.

<sup>83</sup>Clark, Register of Oxford, vol. II, pt. III, p. 88.

controversies." These disputes centered on the "Calvinistic or Puritan school," defended by Lawrence Humphrey and John Prideaux, each a Regius Professor of Divinity, and "the Arminian or Ritualistic school, headed by the celebrated William Laud."<sup>84</sup> The sense of ritual can be connected to Catholic ceremonies which Laud appeared to promote in the 1630s. The combination of political theory with doctrine was not new, nor was Laud's affirmation of both the Divine Right of kings and the Divine Right of bishops. Laud's rendering "rapidly gained ground at Oxford, as well as at Court, under the patronage of Prince Charles and Buckingham."<sup>85</sup> Yet, as we will see, this approach to divine right was not new and was not an innovation of Laud's

Carleton's pursuit of the Doctor of Divinity degree required him to once again follow specific academic requirements that needed to be fulfilled. As he began his studies, the controversy over the Lambeth Articles erupted. Though not directly involved, Oxford was aware of the doctrinal issues at stake. The fine points of the Lambeth Articles do point out the need for a highly educated clergy.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>Brodrick, Memorials of Merton, p. 69.

<sup>85</sup>Brodrick, Memorials of Merton, p. 69.

<sup>86</sup>See Appendix II.

In pursuit of this education Carleton followed the Oxford statutes. The first prerequisite, stated within those statutes, was that a student seeking a doctorate had to hold a B. D. for four years. During these years, which had to be spent in residence, attending and delivering lectures, Carleton had to give six extended lectures on any part of Scripture. Or he could give three brief lectures on the Epistles to the Galatians, I or II Timothy, Titus, I or II Peter. We need to remember that study of Scripture was limited to the advanced students. Free and open access to the Bible was not part of the undergraduate curriculum.

Before lecturing Carleton's gave fourteen days prior notice by publicly posting the place and time of his lectures.<sup>87</sup> Carleton was obligated to oppose and respond in all the theological schools of Oxford, to preach publicly, and also to lecture on some book of the Bible. Carleton was also required to preach a public sermon at St. Mary's.<sup>88</sup> When Carleton was presented for deposition of the doctorate he was required to have at least one person testify to Carleton's qualifications de scientio [concerning knowledge], another on his de credulitate [concerning belief].<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Clark, Register of Oxford, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 139-143.

<sup>88</sup>Gibson, Statvta Antiqva, p. cx.

<sup>89</sup>Gibson, Statvta Antiqva, p. cx.

In order to successfully earn his degrees Carleton would have spent time using the libraries at Oxford. As Ker has shown in cataloging the early Oxford Library, Carleton would have had access to all the major works required for the completion of his degrees. The library also contained most of the important texts published during this time. The material available in the Merton Library was also impressive. Part of the library had been given as gifts. For instance in 1586 there was a donation of 357 titles.<sup>90</sup> Merton had some fame in the field of astronomy so the donation of the manuscript Liber astronomicus manuscriptus is not surprising.<sup>91</sup>

For the most part, Merton tended to specialize in late medieval and sixteenth-century theology. The library held a number of editions from the 1530s and 1540s printed in Paris and Cologne. To balance this trend toward medievalism the library also had a row of scientific books from the early sixteenth century.<sup>92</sup> Indeed the library contained so many

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<sup>90</sup>N. R. Ker, "The Provision of Books" in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, p. 471. The books had a total value of £19 19s 3d in the inventory of Thomas Tatam, Fellow of Merton College, who had also "a certay[n] company of English bookes' valued at 15s and 'books for Master Rape iiis'."

<sup>91</sup>Ker, "The Provision of Books," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, n. 6, p. 454. Ker noted that this text is now missing unless the reference is to Bodleian MS Digby 107, (1583).

<sup>92</sup>Ker, "The Provision of Books," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, p. 450.

volumes that there was a serious lack of shelf space. The traditional way of having books rest on sloping lectern desks was changed at Merton in 1580 by putting the books on horizontal shelves.<sup>93</sup>

In the years when Carleton was pursuing his higher degrees beginning in 1589 Merton College made large purchases of books from the continent, including Italy and the Frankfurt fair. Oxford dealt mainly with the local booksellers, Richard Garbrand, Joseph Barnes, and Christopher Cavey.<sup>94</sup> In 1585 the establishment of the Oxford press added to the library's holdings. We know that Carleton used the library for at one point he was fined for an overdue book.<sup>95</sup>

Carleton also had access to the other holdings at Oxford. In 1601 when the university library was re-established by Sir Thomas Bodley, Carleton was still pursuing his doctorate. John Chamberlain noted that this new library contained "three or fowre [sic] thousand"

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<sup>93</sup>Ker, "The Provision of Books," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, p. 441.

<sup>94</sup>Ker, "The Provision of Books," in James McConica ed. History of Oxford, vol. 3, pp. 442-443.

<sup>95</sup>Fletcher, Register Merton 1567-1603, p. 185.  
 "Carleton eadem tempore [13 January 1586] eorundem consenu desumpsi Caelii Rodigini Lectiones Antiquas. Quem librum reduxit Carlton [sic] anno 1589 Mai 9<sup>o</sup>." [At that time, 13 January, 1586 Carleton one of the custodians took out Caelii Rodigini Lectiones Antiquas. Carleton returned the book 9 May 1589.]

volumes.<sup>96</sup> The library continued to grow, with books left by John English in 1613 including Augustine, Gregory Nazianzus, Justin Martyr, Aquinas, Scotus, John Peckham, Peter Lombard, Beza, Daneau, de Mornay, Calvin, and modernists such as Luis Bishop of Granada, John Osorius, Erasmus, Melanchthon, Lancelot Andrewes, John Jewell, John Hall, William Barlow, and William Perkins.<sup>97</sup>

Though Oxford was an intellectual center, Carleton would not have been unaware of developments and controversies outside. The controversies often allowed for a skilled writer to promote not only the stated cause, but also the author's own career. Carleton then was a careerist but his career was colored by his antagonism toward papists. All the education he acquired at Oxford gave him the skills and ability to combat what he believed was a serious problem for true religion within England. Oxford allowed Carleton to develop into a "bitter enemy of the papists."

The thrust behind Carleton's drive for academic achievement was to advance his social status. The Carletons remained a gentry family in Cumberland but as a second son, Carleton would have had no upward social mobility. By

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<sup>96</sup>The Letters of John Chamberlain, Norman Egbert McClure ed., (American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia, 1939), vol. 1, p. 126.

<sup>97</sup>W. C. Costin, The History of St. John's College 1598-1860 Oxford Historical Society, n. s., vol. xii. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 28.

entering the university and then the clergy, he opened new career pathways for himself. To begin his clerical career, Carleton, started to accrue clerical titles. These offices also gave Carleton some financial support to purse his advanced degrees, as we have seen. Carleton was not one of Mark Curtis's "alienated intellectuals", but one of the majority against whom these disaffected men struggled.<sup>98</sup> The advanced degrees which Carleton achieved confirms Curtis's noting the increase of highly educated clergy emerging at the end of the Elizabethan era.

In order for Carleton to fully succeed beyond the realm of academia he needed to find a patron who would champion his career. As we will see Carleton's early writings indicate his search for such a person. In the meantime Carleton followed a single road to success, by obtaining advanced academic degrees at the same time that he sought advanced preferment in the Church of England. By 1 December 1613, when he received his D. D., he had already been active in the world beyond Oxford.

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<sup>98</sup>Mark Curtis, "Alienated Intellectuals of the Stuart Era" Past and Present 23 (1962), pp. 25-43.

## Chapter Two

### The Means to Preferment: 1585-1617

From the entry level position of prebend to the higher rank of bishop, George Carleton negotiated the process of attaining patronage. The patronage system was a complex web of personal relationships. Patronage was necessary for preferment and advancement in the Church of England since the number of openings was limited. There were only forty bishoprics in Jacobean England and competition for these positions necessitated high levels of patronage. One route to attaining the notice, and thus sponsorship, of those with influence within the patronage system was through publication. To this end Carleton wrote works that included Latin poetry, a defense of traditional church tithes and a definition of what he perceived as the true church. Carleton's experiences illustrates the intricacy of the clerical patronage system that existed under King James I.

Carleton's connection with Oxford led not only to the attainment of academic achievements and the acquisition of knowledge but directed him toward the first stages of gaining preferment in the Church of England. This first took place when Carleton entered into holy orders and received his first benefice, a prebendary at Mayfield, Sussex in 1585. Nominally the prebend acted as a minor official but was not necessarily a resident officer. The

office amounted to an internship where the skills and character of the prebend were displayed.

Carleton points to the typical route a budding cleric would follow as he progressed through the church hierarchy. The backing of a patron also shows how important the personal networking system was. In Carleton's case, the major landholder in Sussex was the Neville family who had the power to nominate candidates for vacant clerical positions. The nominees were assented to by the bishop. Mayfield, in the county of Sussex was under the clerical administration of the Bishop of Chichester who at the time of Carleton's appointment was Thomas Bickley. Bishop Bickley was the former Warden of Merton under whom Carleton had been accepted as a probationary Fellow.

This connection may also account for Carleton's next appointment, which occurred during the episcopacy of Bickley, when in 1589 Carleton was appointed vicar of Mayfield, an office that he retained until 1605.<sup>1</sup> In 1609 he obtained a parsonage at Nuffield. He appeared to be excited about the appointment since he traveled there "in great haste as if he rode post for a bishoprick."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In the Church of England the vicar was a parish priest whose tithes were appropriated. The vicar usually received one-third of the tithe for his living. According to William Camden, Camden's Britannia Abridg'd (London, 1701), p. 241 this was the second most profitable vicarage paying 17 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pence.

<sup>2</sup>CSPD, 1609, #120, p. 552.

The vicarage forced Carleton to give up his Merton Fellowship as is evident from the list of fellows in 1590 where Carleton's name is missing, for the first time since his probationary period.<sup>3</sup> Carleton's vicarage meant the surrender of his Fellowship, yet he continued to pursue his degree, as we have seen, as a Doctor of Divinity. Like many advanced students, he pursued two ends at the same time, that of an advanced degree in theology and clerical preferment.

In an age of patronage one road to advancement particularly important for a scholar was publication of well received works.<sup>4</sup> The initial work that Carleton produced was a "Carmen Panegyricum" [Song of Praise] to Queen Elizabeth I on her second trip to Oxford 25 September 1592.<sup>5</sup> There she was present at a "disputation provided for the

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<sup>3</sup>John Fletcher, Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis 1567-1603 Oxford Historical Society, New Series, vol. XXIV, (Oxford, MCMLCCVI) 264 gives the last citation of George's name heading into the annual August election of officers for Merton: "resignatio clavium. Unam clavem harum 16 que fuit magistri Carleton custos retinuit." [I resign the key. The guardian took possession of one key for room 16 that was Master Carleton's.]

<sup>4</sup>For the patronage system see Linda Levy Peck, Northampton, Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982).

<sup>5</sup>J. W. Binns "Introduction," to The Latin Poetry of English Poets (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p. ix, notes that during "the seventeenth century more than in any other that English poets famous both in their own day and in our won could still turn as a matter of course to the composition of Latin verses of substantial quality and considerable bulk."

amusement" of the queen. The public discussion was on the question "an dissensiones civium sint utiles Reipublicae" [whether differences in opinion of citizens are useful to the Republic] in which all the Merton Fellows took an active part.<sup>6</sup> Carleton was not officially one of the Fellows at the time; yet the poem indicates that he was present at Oxford during the time of her visit.

While at Oxford Carleton was "esteemed a good Orator and Poet."<sup>7</sup> His skill in writing verse allowed him to be one of the Latin poets who penned opening verses for William Camden's Britannia.<sup>8</sup> As J. W. Binns has noted this type of prefatory verse was "a characteristic and specific literary phenomenon of humanism."<sup>9</sup>

The antiquarian Camden apparently used Carleton's knowledge of the area around Norham, where Carleton was born, for his book. A friendship developed that lasted

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<sup>6</sup>George Brodrick, Memorials of Merton College (Oxford Historical Society, 1885), p. 63.

<sup>7</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford ... 1550 ... 1690. To which are added the Fasti (London, 1691), col. 441.

<sup>8</sup>The edition consulted was William Camden, Britannia, sive, florentissimorum regnorum (London, 1594). Following "Mr. Camden's Preface" on the recto page in the upper right-hand corner is Carleton's Latin poem.

<sup>9</sup>J. W. Binns, Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The latin Writings of the Age. ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Documents, no. 24. (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), p. 165.

beyond Carleton's days at Oxford, as a later edition of Camden's work noted Carleton for his "excellent Proficiency in Divinity (whereof he is Professor) and other polite Learning, I love, and am lov'd by him: and I were unworthy of that love, if I should not acknowledge [his friendship]." <sup>10</sup>

By the time Camden's work was printed, Carleton had already seen his poetry in print. In 1587 Oxford, to commemorate the death of Sir Philip Sydney, published Exegviae Illvstrissimi Eqvitis, D. Philippi Sidnaei, which included a poem by Carleton. <sup>11</sup> Carleton also contributed to, Bodleiomnema, another university book of verse dedicated to the memory of Sydney. <sup>12</sup> Sydney's death at Zuphen, in Holland, made him an icon for the English Protestants. Killed fighting the Catholic forces of Spain in the defense of the religious and political liberties of the Dutch, Sydney embodied the English opposition to papal power.

The poems on Sydney and the Queen composed about a third of the body of Carleton's first book, printed in Latin

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<sup>10</sup>William Camden, Camden's Britannia, Newly Translated with Large Additions and Improvements Publish'd by Edmund Gibson (London, 1695), col. 863.

<sup>11</sup>This was an eclectic collection that contains poems written not only in Latin, but Greek and Hebrew. For Carleton's poem "Silva" see Exegviae Illvstrissimi Eqvitis, D. Philippi Sidnaei (Oxford, 1587), sig. K3r-L3r.

<sup>12</sup>See Bodleiomnema Oxoniae, Excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, (Published by Oxford University: Merton College, 1613).

as Heroici Characteres ad Illvstrissimvm Egvitem, Henricum Nevillum. Carleton's book was published at the new Oxford press, showing the connection between academic scholars, printers and booksellers.<sup>13</sup> The title indicates that the work was dedicated to Sir Henry Neville. At that time Carleton's relative, Dudley Carleton, was employed as secretary to Neville.<sup>14</sup> Henry's brother, Thomas, had received his B. A. from Oxford in the same year as Carleton, and like Carleton, Thomas had been a Merton Fellow. In addition, Henry was the chief landowner in Sussex county where Carleton's first two clerical positions were situated. The declaration can be seen as Carleton's acknowledgment of Neville's patronage.

As a Latin poet, Carleton won some fame in academic circles. While poetry might curry favor and painted possible future patrons in a most positive light, verse was hardly the genre of writing that would allow Carleton to rise within the Church of England. As prebend and vicar,

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<sup>13</sup>Facloer Madan, Oxford Books. A Bibliography of Printed Works relating to the University and City of Oxford or printed or published there. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1895) vol. 1 The Early Oxford Press, 1468-1640, p. 55.

<sup>14</sup>"Sir Dudley Carleton .... a younger son in a good gentleman's family and bred in Christ Church in the university of Oxford, where he was a student of the foundation .... He went from thence early into France, and was soon after secretary to Sir Henry Neville, the ambassador there." Edward [Hyde] Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England New Edition ([London]: Bulkeley Bandinel, 1826), vol. 1, p. 114.

Carleton was on the bottom rungs of the ecclesiastical ladder. Turning from writing verse, Carleton's first prose work was on the legitimacy of tithes.

On 5 December 1605, the Stationers Office records show that Mr. Clement entered A book concerninge tithes. The work passed through the hands of Doctor William Cowell and the Wardens, who acted as censors.<sup>15</sup> Cowell also scripted an opening "Letter to the Reader" which was printed with Carleton's text. This relationship between author and censors indicate the intricate levels of publication.<sup>16</sup> This work was composed after obtaining Carleton earned his B. D. while he was working towards his doctorate.

Carleton dedicated the book to the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft (1604 - 1610) who had replaced Whitgift. One reason why tithes became a real-life issue at this time is suggested by Kauntz's opinion that James I's ignorance of the Church resulted in the king's instruction

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<sup>15</sup>Edward Arber, ed., Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D. (Privately Printed, London, 1877; rpt., Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967), vol. III, p. 306.

<sup>16</sup>Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship" Past and Present 124 (August 1989), pp. 36-68 is a good start for the issue of censorship in the Jacobean era.

to Cambridge and Oxford that they "set an example by restoring the impropriate tithes to the Church."<sup>17</sup>

Printed in 1606, a year after being approved by the Stationer's Office, Carleton's work appeared with the title Tithes ... by divine right. Tithes were an important economic aspect of the church. In addition tithes could also be used to argue for episcopacy. A number of authors wrote about this issue, including William Tooker and John Selden.

Though the main thrust of the text was the obligatory nature of tithes, the treatise rings of anti-papalism. Carleton's work can be seen as participation in the war of words between Papal Rome and England which had begun with the Gunpowder Plot and the resulting Oath of Allegiance. In essence, Carleton saw the popes, and monks to a lesser degree, as the corrupters of divinely appointed actions and he portrayed them as evil-doers who were contravening the express word of God.

The title page stated that the work was written to oppose atheists and "dissembling hypocrites" so that they do "not rob" or "defraud" the church. In the sense of writing

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<sup>17</sup>PRO, SP 14/2/37-39 cited in Arthur P. Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," in Early Stuart Studies. Essays in Honor of David Harris Willson ed., Howard S. Reinmuth, Jr. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970), p. 155. Though "the following day Archbishop Whitgift wrote an impassioned projection of the disastrous results of such an action." The act of impropriation privatized church revenues.

against non-believers this image agrees with Michael Hunter's analysis of the atheism at the time. Hunter noted that in the seventeenth century the English often used the term atheist to mean more than one concept or practice. There were attempts to distinguish those atheists who were "fully persuaded that there is no god" from others who were deemed hypocrites, temporizers, Epicures "or simply profane" people.<sup>18</sup> This last category, of the profane, was the one Carleton addressed. However, the work can also be seen as an answer to the continental Catholic author Abulensis and Cardinal Bellarmine's De clericis.

In the dedication, Bancroft was noted as a member of "his Majesties Most Honorable Privy Council." Carleton worried that his argument would be censured, despite the fact that Carleton had "for a long time" thought about the topic. Now with Bancroft as Archbishop of Canterbury, and through the insistence of others, Carleton felt compelled to write so that he might "offer this as a pledge of my duty."<sup>19</sup> Bancroft was noted for his "wisdom and courage, [and] for the advancement of the Churches oppressed

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<sup>18</sup>Michael Hunter, "The Problem of 'Atheism' in Early Modern England," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th ser. 35 (1985), pp. 135-157.

<sup>19</sup>George Carleton, Tithes Examined and proved to bee due to Clergie by a diuine right (London, 1606) "Dedication," sig. A.iii.

estate."<sup>20</sup> Carleton went on to say that he hoped "the malice of injurious customs and prescriptions against the Church may be abated: that the use of impropriating may now at least be stayed from proceeding to any further grievance of the Church."<sup>21</sup> Carleton's view seems to affirm Kauntz' view of the king's short sightedness.

Carleton's own dedication was followed by Cowell's letter, where the reading audience was described as "men of place in the commonwealth, endued with knowledge to support the truth."<sup>22</sup> There followed ten Biblical citations and allusions the most telling of which was Psalm 50 "that tithes are the Lords portion, holy to himself, that this portion he hath given to his ministers that serve at the Altar."<sup>23</sup> The recourse to Scripture as authority was a typical approach, particularly when the issue was church government.

Carleton opened the main text by writing that tithes were either "not due by Gods law", or "due to the Ministers of the Church, by the express word of God."<sup>24</sup> The style of writing, defining the terms of the argument, was to follow

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<sup>20</sup>Carleton, Tithes, "Dedication," n. p.

<sup>21</sup>Carleton, Tithes, "Dedication," n. p.

<sup>22</sup>Carleton, Tithes, "Dedication," n. p.

<sup>23</sup>Carleton, Tithes, "To the Reader," n. p.

<sup>24</sup>Carleton, Tithes, sig. B.r-2v.

Carleton throughout his career as an author. Here Carleton broke with the more traditional forms of published arguments where the debate was stated, dissected and commented upon in a line by line exposition.

The first issue Carleton attacked by citing Scripture was Bellarmine's "questionable errors".<sup>25</sup> The giving of alms, Carleton argued, might be of the "law of nature." But according to Carleton tithes were established by more than natural law. For Carleton the act of giving tithes was even more than an act of charity. With this in mind he stated that when an individual failed to give tithes this could be seen as a breach of charity. Yet according to St. Paul the act of not giving was seen as an injustice.<sup>26</sup> By justice Carleton went on to note that "it is evident that the Minister hath a part and right in their goods whom he teaches: now to take this is not to take alms but to take his own."<sup>27</sup> Here, Carleton argued that the tithe was a cleric's wage "to maintain ministers is a service of God, but all parts of the service of God are delivered in the word, therefore this competency must either be shewed out of Gods word, or taken for mans ordinance, and not Gods."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 2v. He cited 1 Cor.: 18.

<sup>26</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 2r.

<sup>27</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 2r.

<sup>28</sup>Carleton, Tithes, pp. 4v-4r.

This argues against Christopher Hill who thought that Carleton's concept of "competent maintenance" was a counter-attack on the Puritan aversion to the episcopal office.<sup>29</sup> Part of Puritan dissatisfaction with bishops, and clergy in general, has been traced to the christian humanism of Erasmus. This point of view believed that working in a secular career was no less holy than a clerical calling.<sup>30</sup>

Carleton said scripture does not speak of "competency" as enough to survive "but an honorable maintenance, and sometimes double honors" though he gave no chapter and verse to support this idea.<sup>31</sup> The need for a wage was evident to Carleton. He wondered how a cleric could function in that role if he had to farm or perform other labors. The work of a cleric was studying Scripture, and enlightening the congregation.

Carleton noted that God did allow civil ordinance "that do not immediately touch worship of God" but these were not to be confused with spiritual rules. In civil cases the general was from God and the particular was from man. This was not the case for divine law where such things were of human invention and had no place. To infer this would make

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<sup>29</sup>Christopher Hill, Economic Problems of the Church from Whitgift to the Long Parliament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 173.

<sup>30</sup>Margo Todd, Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 123.

<sup>31</sup>Carleton, Tithes, pp. 4v-4r.

the maintenance of Ministers a civil affair "which opinion I suppose no man of knowledge and learning will defend."<sup>32</sup> Here was the fine line of separation of civil and clerical authority. The king was still nominally the Supreme Governor of the Church yet he was not accorded the civil power of regulating tithes.

Carleton had a sense of history and divided the past into four periods, before Mosaic Law, under Mosaic Law, under Christ and under the Apostles. This chronological division, a continuing theme in all of Carleton's later works, was a reassertion of St. Jerome's historiography.<sup>33</sup> At one point in defining these periods, there was a curious citation of Latin scripture that may indicate that not all the clergy were reading vernacular Bibles despite the rise in production. In pre-Mosaic time the giving of alms was argued as law and not ritual since scripture did not show this as "a Levitical ceremony", where the Levites were the priests of Israel.<sup>34</sup> He was careful to distinguish the rituals, which were associated with papal practices, and the work done by priests as distinct from their function as ministers of the Bible.

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<sup>32</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 4r.

<sup>33</sup>Nicholas Campion, The Great Year. Astrology, Millenarianism and History in the Western Tradition (Arkana, 1994), p. 326 noted that this concept of the "Four Empires" was central to Christian historiography.

<sup>34</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 7v.

Carleton also brought into question Greek translations used to deny tithes. He showed knowledge of Greek, Syriac and Latin by looking at the term "spoils" and how the word was used in the past, at one point citing Jerome's Latin Vulgate.<sup>35</sup> This humanist approach to placing words within an historical and cultural setting has been noted by Paul Christianson who deemed Carleton an outstanding scholar.<sup>36</sup>

Since tithes were God's by definition, Carleton wondered how they could be given.<sup>37</sup> Could God be given that which he already possessed, Carleton asked. He answered that since all of nature was God's then this act was merely God taking back his own, this was "a perpetual truth" according to scripture.<sup>38</sup> Since tithes are God's, "in paying tithes man gives nothing of his own to God, but only renders to God that which always was his right."<sup>39</sup> This was the crux of Carleton's entire work that he continued to expound in the remaining chapters.

One theme that constantly appeared in Carleton's work was the correct approach to reading Scripture. In this

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<sup>35</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 8v.

<sup>36</sup>Paul Christianson, Discourse on History, Law and Government in the Public Career of John Selden, 1610-1635 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

<sup>37</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 9r.

<sup>38</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 12v.

<sup>39</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 13v.

work, Carleton expounded: "I remember well that sentence and rule of Hillary, that he who reads scriptures as he ought, must not bring a sense to the words, but set [sic] the sense from the words, and not compel the Scripture to speak as he in prejudice conceives."<sup>40</sup> The concept of accepting received wisdom, of agreeing with tradition and the authority of the Established Church's interpretation was a constant theme in Carleton's works. Carleton may have been reflecting a growing anxiety over challenges to the status quo, particularly from more radical Puritans. Margo Todd has noted that Protestant doctrine could lead to individuals taking an activist role in society that might be disruptive to traditional authority.<sup>41</sup>

Carleton sought to maintain social stability against any disruptive force. There may have been many challenges to stability.<sup>42</sup> Yet as he struggled to defend authority, Carleton not always by using traditional devices. In his defence of traditional tithes Carleton shows the influence the "new learning" that he was exposed to at Oxford.

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<sup>40</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 14v.

<sup>41</sup>Todd, Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order, p. 17.

<sup>42</sup>Steven Collins, From Divine Cosmos to Sovereign State (New York: Oxford Press, 1989) has posited a shift from traditional authority and the effect on society as part of a cultural shift away from a divinely appointed universe to a mechanically ordered one.

Making a moral value judgment, Carleton wrote that those who did not pay tithes were evil.<sup>43</sup> Those who sought to spread a doctrine of non-payment were also evil as the title page indicates. The excuse that tithes were a ceremony was argued away since giving tithes failed to fit into Carleton's definition of a ceremony. Religious ceremony was often equated with the papacy and these were more than frowned upon by the Reformed Church.<sup>44</sup> As Christopher Hill noted, protestantism saw a reduction of the status of the priest. The priest was no longer an indispensable mediator, nor was he needed to superintend the eucharistic miracle since inner grace and repentance led to salvation. Sermons were more valued than ceremonies. With this shift "payment of tithes became a statutory duty because it had lost its moral compulsion."<sup>45</sup>

Though not directly stated, Carleton believed that a justification for tithes could be inferred from Scripture and the Apostolic era by citing 1 Cor. 9:13 "Do you not know that they who minister about the holy things, eat of the things of the temple, and they who wait at the altar, are partakers of the altar?" He concluded "the Lord ordained

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<sup>43</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 14v.

<sup>44</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 19v.

<sup>45</sup>Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, p. 119.

that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel."<sup>46</sup> The clergy's function in society was to deliver God's word to the people. So Carleton argued a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, for if the clergy were to work at other trades or crafts, when could they find the time to study, read and preach the Gospel. He determined that "therefore the ordinary and perpetual ordinance of the Lord for the ministers maintenance, can be nothing else but tithes, and that the reasons used by the Apostle doe in truth confirm tithes, albeit they name not tithes, it is the judgement of divers fathers" whom Carleton then mustered.<sup>47</sup> Augustine, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Dionysus, Jerome and Eusebius as well as Gratian, Marsilius of Padua and the Councils of Toledo, Chalcedon, and the Lateran Council as well as Erasmus were used by Carleton. Carleton began to show his fervently anti-papal position when he drew the distinction between monks and clerics:

for Bishoprick lands were given presently upon the planting of Churches.... but in Abbey lands the case was nothing like, for this endowment of Abbeys with lands was of late, in the time of superstition, brought in use, not upon the calling and planting, but upon the corrupting of Churches.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 23r.

<sup>47</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 24v.

<sup>48</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 26v.

During Carleton's lifetime the term superstition was continually linked to Roman Catholic religious practices, ritual and doctrine.

Since the still fairly new monarch was a Scotsman, Carleton was politic in not naming a Scottish minister with whom he disagreed.<sup>49</sup> However, he did ridicule those who "speak of a sufficient maintenance without tithes, [which] is but a conceit in the brains of some men, which never was brought into action [and] never will be."<sup>50</sup>

Carleton forcefully wrote "that the first precept of tithes is taken to be part of the moral law, and ought to be in no less force among Christians then among Jews" since the early Church Fathers believed that Christians were as bound by the law as were the Jews.<sup>51</sup> The old law was overturned by the pope who "being grown to such an incorrigle [sic] pride and liberty, that he would do all things after his own pleasure ... began by his all-oppressing power to change this ordinance of tithes" with exemptions and impropriations and transference of tithes to private individuals outside the church.<sup>52</sup> Thus the pope "laid waste the Churches every where. And in this sort they stood until the time of

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<sup>49</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 26r.

<sup>50</sup>Carleton, Tithes. p. 23r [recte 27r].

<sup>51</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 32v.

<sup>52</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 34v.

reformation began ... after which time the opinion that tithes were ceremonials was first devised."<sup>53</sup> The belief that the medieval papacy had ruined religion was a theme that suffused Carleton's work.

To defend the place of the bishop Carleton wrote that, according to usage of the Church Fathers, the word Levites was always used in the gospels to mean "a preaching minister." So that this classical authority "signified that tithes were due to the laboring ministers." Beyond the ministers were the bishops whose maintenance was otherwise provided for, though at "the beginning Bishops had the distributing of such things among the ministers."<sup>54</sup> The things in question here were tithes. Throughout his lifetime Carleton would be a fierce defender of episcopacy, and as such would win acclaim at the Synod of Dort.

In arguing against Bellarmine Carleton said the Cardinal admitted that "all papists, hold that the precept of tithes is divine and of the law of nature in some sort, and therefore the Church hath right to claim tithes."<sup>55</sup> However while Bellarmine stated that the church can demand the tithe Carleton said this can only be if this was the

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<sup>53</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 35v.

<sup>54</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 36r.

<sup>55</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 39v.

express word of God and not a ceremonial or judicial action.<sup>56</sup> Again we see the stress placed on the distinction between Scripture and human invention. The latter was seen as sprouting up in the Middle Ages at the papacy's prompting to support otherwise untenable assertions to power. Carleton's anti-papal stance was well received and a second edition of this work was printed the following year.

Though Carleton had come of age under Elizabeth I's rule he realized that the stage for clerical advancement had changed with the accession of a new monarch. Where Elizabeth often kept sees vacant and diverted monies from the diocese into the royal treasury, James I filled all forty available bishoprics.

The entire bishop's bench was composed of twenty-one sees in Canterbury and four in York. With the deaths of Archbishops Whitgift and Hutton and the demise of ten other of Elizabeth's bishops "the episcopal bench quite soon lost its Elizabethan character and became Jacobean in outlook."<sup>57</sup> Carleton hoped for advancement within this frequently changing structure. He was aware that in the early years of James's reign, the king was not the only avenue to clerical preferment.

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<sup>56</sup>Carleton, Tithes, p. 39v.

<sup>57</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 153.

One of those avenues had been Secretary Salisbury, who until his death in 1610 had influenced ecclesiastical appointments. Another avenue of advancement came through involvement in the Royal Court. Through the Jacobean court prelates found preferment and James was constantly active in theological affairs. The king's interest in theology was amply displayed, before he ruled for a year, at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604.<sup>58</sup> Since he presided over the Conference, James has often been maligned, by historians, for his lack of knowledge concerning the Lambeth Articles of 1585. This controversy over the fine points of predestination had never been bruited about in the general public. Indeed, the Queen had sought to stifle the controversy without public debate.

The more practical controversies over discipline and form exposed by the Conference ran counter to James' desire for "one doctrine and one discipline, one Religion in substance, and in ceremony."<sup>59</sup> This unity included a new translation of the Bible, to supplant the Genevan editions

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<sup>58</sup>The main account for the Conference is William Barlow's The Summe and Svbstance (London, 1604); Roland Usher, The Reconstruction of the English Church, vol. 1, 318, n. 1, notes other sources for various aspects of the assembly.; Mark Curtis, "The Hampton Court Conference and its Aftermath," History (1960), p. 1, sees Barlow's account "a skillful piece of party propoganda" whose value lay in providing an argument for compliance with Bancroft's own scheme of ecclesiastical reform."

<sup>59</sup>Barlow, The Summe and Svbstance, p. 42.

and the retention of the clerical hierarchy in the famous phrase "No Bishop, No King."<sup>60</sup> The king found episcopacy "to be the only Church government compatible with monarchy."<sup>61</sup> James found a number of supporters for this position within the Church, including Carleton.

While James sought to dissipate the conflict between the different streams within the Church of England he inadvertently brought to the fore "reasonable fears of his subjects" in his Peace Treaty with Spain and the proposed marriage of his son to the Spanish Infanta, Maria.<sup>62</sup> These actions awoke the "cruel intolerance" of the English.<sup>63</sup> Carleton's treatise sheds some light on this for, while the external question was the payment of tithes, an underlying issue concerned itself with the role of the papacy in English affairs.

This issue came to the fore after the theological conference which followed the Gunpowder Plot. The Plot had aroused James's "stubborn pride" and resulted in the subsequent Oath of Allegiance that prompted a continental

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<sup>60</sup>Barlow, The Summe and Svbstance, p. 83.

<sup>61</sup>F. C. Montague, Accession of James I to the Restoration 1603-1660, vol. 7 The Political History of England (New York: Longmans, 1907), p. 5.

<sup>62</sup>Montague, Accession of James I to the Restoration 1603-1660, p. 106.

<sup>63</sup>Montague, Accession of James I to the Restoration 1603-1660, p. 106.

Catholic response.<sup>64</sup> This in turn led the king to write in defense of his actions.<sup>65</sup> In addition, James sought advice from the clergy including Lancelot Andrewes, William Barlow, the visiting Isaac Casaubon as well as the renegade catholic ex-Bishop of Spalato, Marco Antonio de Dominis.

While James I's "love of theological controversy was perfectly sincere" he took more assistance "than was compatible with normal standards of authorship, and published several pieces under his name which he had not written."<sup>66</sup> His account of how he came to write these "are utterly untrustworthy."<sup>67</sup> Whoever was the final author the result was that the king was credited with writing Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus. [Three knots, three wedges] Or An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance printed in 1607. Cardinal Bellarmine answered the work with Responsio ad Librum Inscriptum Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus [A Response to the book titled Three knots, three wedges] beginning a continental debate. The question of the Oath generated a

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<sup>64</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 159.

<sup>65</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 159.

<sup>66</sup>G. P. V. Akrigg, Jacobean Pageant or the Court of King James I (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), p. 12.

<sup>67</sup>D. Harris Willson, "James I's Literary Assistants," Huntington Library Quarterly 8 (1949), p. 57. Willson sees "the great mass of [James'] writing had an ulterior motive: to defend himself by defending the cause of monarchy and to promote his other material interests, or else to prove to a doubting world the great, the lofty, indeed the celestial attributes of the British Solomon."

polemic between the Church of England and Rome and involved many churchmen on both sides of the issue. Positions were taken by Conrad Graser, William Tooker, and William Barlow, who responded for King James, against those who replied on Bellarmine's behalf, including Martin Becanus, Suarez and Parsons.<sup>68</sup> The work that has been most noted for defending the English position has been Lancelot Andrewes's Tortura Torti, a copy of which Carleton sent to his cousin, Dudley.<sup>69</sup>

Andrewes's Tortura Torti specified that the monarch's primacy did not give power to establish new articles of religion nor could he perform any sacred and sacerdotal functions. However the king did have the right to handle matters of external policy including the ability to pass laws in regard to blasphemy, fasting, or feast days. Andrewes allowed that the king could do whatever the Emperors Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, and Charlemagne had done before him regarding religion. The royal authority could address crimes of pseudo-prophecy, idolatry, blasphemy, or the spoilation of sacred things. The king

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<sup>68</sup>Conrad Graser, Plage Regia; William Barlow, Answer to a Catholicke Englishman; William Tooker, Duellum cum sive singulare certamen M[artin] B[ecanus]; Martin Becanus, Refutatio torturae torti and Examen plagae regim; Francisco Suarez, Defensio fides catholicae; Robert Parsons, A discussion of the Answer to Mr. William Barlow. Others on the Roman Catholic side were Jakob Gretser, Leonardus Lessius, Gaspar Scioppus, and Andreas Eudaemon-Joannes.

<sup>69</sup>CSPD, 1611, #36, p. 77.

could summon assemblies to lead people back to the worship of God, to deal with dedicating, rebuilding, or purifying churches. Finally the monarch could suppress futile and useless disputations which lead to schism.<sup>70</sup>

Carleton addressed these issues entering the European stage in the year following the publication of Andrewes' work. Written in Latin, Carleton's the Consensus Ecclesiae Catholicae contra Tridentinos was a work that argued against Bellarmine. The work was dedicated to the Merton Fellows and argued that the Roman Church was a recent invention of the Council of Trent which had been in session from 1541-1576. Carleton argued that at the Council the Pope asserted that an individual pope was superior to any council. He also argued against the use of 'traditions' which the Roman pope used to justify his power.

By writing in Latin, Carleton addressed a wider and more continental and intellectual audience. Binns has noted that Latin works by their nature evinced an author of some education who wrote for a similar audience. Writers, like Carleton, had a "desire for an international audience and international recognition."<sup>71</sup> Part of the patronage system

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<sup>70</sup>Lancelot Andrewes, Works, vol. VII, Tortura Torti, pp. 466-469 in Maurice F. Reidy, Bishop Lancelot Andrewes Jacobean Court Preacher (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1965), pp. 209-210.

<sup>71</sup>Binns, "Introduction," to The Latin Poetry of English Poets, p. viii.

was garnering acclaim and notoriety through publication. The Consensus would later be translated into English and printed under the title Directions to know the true Church. In between Carleton wrote another piece that was pointedly anti-papal. The Stationers Office shows that John Overall, the Dean of St. Paul's and Master Warden Waterson acted as the censors and allowed Carleton's work to be printed.<sup>72</sup>

Once more the title-page indicated this was another anti-papal treatise. The full title of his Ivrisdiction Regall, episcopall, papall, wherein is declared howe the Pope hath intruded vpon the Jurisdiction of temporall Princes, and of the Church, the intrusion is discovered, and the peculiar and distincte Jurisdiction to eache properly belonginge recouered, clearly stated Carleton's point of view. There was no designation of Carleton's academic achievement on the title page unlike his previous work of 1606. While this may indicate that his credentials were known to the reading audience, perhaps Carleton was aiming at more general readership.

Carleton's main argument dealt with the issue of "co-active" power in terms of church and state. Carleton believed that "co-active" meant a sharing of power with neither the church nor state trespassing into the domain of

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<sup>72</sup>Arber, ed., A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D., vol. III, p. 427 noted that John Norton and John Bill entered this work on "24th Januarij" 1609.

the other. In 1605 Thomas Bell, in Motives Concerning Romish Faith, had used the word "co-active" to indicate that Rome did not have jurisdiction over the king. The term does not seem to have entered popular use but the term is appropriate to the issues at hand.

The anti-papal nature of Carleton's text was explicit. He wrote that Rome had "brought all authority Ecclesiastical and Civil into great confusion; by usurping the right both of the Church and of States."<sup>73</sup> Carleton was not stating anything radical with this but he reaffirmed the arguments of the Henrician Reformation. He then cited Augustinus Triumphus of Ancona's Liber de potestate Ecclesiasticum, stating that "all power of the empire and kingdom is subdelegated in respect to the power of the popes."<sup>74</sup> This was "now resolutely and stiffly maintained by the Jesuits."<sup>75</sup> Here Carleton linked the Jesuits to the papal cause. The Jesuits had been active in England and the legacy of men like Campion still lingered in the memory of the English. Carleton argued against the Jesuits' position and stated: "concerning the Kings right, we hold that in

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<sup>73</sup>George Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall, Episcopall, Papall (London, 1610), p. 1.

<sup>74</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 2. He cited Book 1. Act. I: "omnis potestas imperatorum & regnum est subdelegata a respectus potestatis Papae [all the power of the empire and the king is relegated in respect to the pope's power]."

<sup>75</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 2.

eternal coercive jurisdiction [author's stress] the King hath supreme authority in all causes and over all persons Ecclesiastical as well as Civil."<sup>76</sup> To defend this position he used classical and medieval sources, much in the way that Richard Hooker assembled his proofs.<sup>77</sup>

Carleton walked the fine line between the king as supreme governor of the Church of England and the divine nature of the clergy. He clearly stated that bishops were "the undoubted successors of the Apostles."<sup>78</sup> However, he proceeded "cautelously [sic] to distinguish" between Apostolic times and the present. During that time things had been added to the bishops "government by godly Princes." In the preservation of faith bishops were "the great watchmen" authorized by God. If rulers stood against the bishops, then the bishops "have warrant not to obey" their rulers.<sup>79</sup> William Lamont has called this a "forthright" opinion.<sup>80</sup>

Carleton mustered historical evidence to show that the ancient clergy had governed their church without the

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<sup>76</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 4.

<sup>77</sup>Peter White, Predestination, Polemic and Policy (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 125f.

<sup>78</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 43.

<sup>79</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 44.

<sup>80</sup>William Lamont, "The Rise and fall of Bishop Bilson," Journal of British Studies 3 (1965), p. 26.

interference of rulers in matters of faith.<sup>81</sup> In a letter to his cousin, Dudley, Carleton's desire for historical knowledge of episcopacy was clear. While Carleton decried the current state of Greek culture, but he begged for "catalogues of the succession of the ancient oriental bishops."<sup>82</sup> This information would help him to further repudiate the Roman papacy. This refutation was necessary since all episcopal jurisdiction had been corrupted by the pope who had "intruded like a Foxe" into these institutions.<sup>83</sup>

Carleton had denied the ministers the civil authority over tithes but he here granted the king that same civil authority. He noted that in a king's dominion the monarch had sovereign power and no foreign power may be above the king. The Reformation Parliament had passed statutes to this effect in the sixteenth century. No doubt this legitimization of power was something which would have been readily accepted by James I.

Carleton went on to make a clear distinction between the Bishop of Rome as a bishop and the assumed power of the Bishop of Rome as pope. He wrote: "the authority of the Church hath been in like sort usurped by the Pope, by

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<sup>81</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, pp. 45-46.

<sup>82</sup>CSPD, 1611, #36, p. 77.

<sup>83</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 46.

drawing to himself a supposed title of the head of the universal church." The pope had done this "by devising a strange authority" and "by claiming a new and strange privilege of his not erring judgement."<sup>84</sup> This doctrine stemmed from tradition of the church and Scripture which the Pope has used first by putting the church above scripture and then the pope above the church.<sup>85</sup> Almost a hundred years before this, Luther had attacked these claims of papal power in his Letter to the German Nobility. For Carleton the pope as "head of the church" went against all scripture. In fact Carleton argued the pope's position as the ministerial head had been designed by medieval theologians. By this route the pope "supplants the one true head of the church, Christ Jesus."<sup>86</sup>

Carleton used the term ministerial to denote that the power claimed by the pope was in the administration of the church. This was not a spiritual power but a legislative power that had been invented by papal partisans to generate further authority for the pope. While the pope's authority was derived from humanity, the king as Supreme Governor was "appointed by God to be a Father and preserver of religion,

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<sup>84</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 4.

<sup>85</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 4.

<sup>86</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, pp. 5-6.

a keeper of Ecclesiastical discipline...."<sup>87</sup> Where papists saw an universal church Carleton saw "a particular Church, yielding the king to be governor next and immediately under God of his own dominions, and consequently of persons and causes within his own dominions."<sup>88</sup> Since the king in England was second only to God this was seen as a justification for authority on earth. This raised the question of where the power of the clergy to censure an immoral, sinful or tyrannical ruler lay, since the monarch had the authority to rule over the church. Carleton found an answer to this in the creation of the Hebrew priest in Scripture. Moses and Aaron shared their authority over the Hebrews and so the clergy and king would share power, each acting as a watchdog on the other. The brothers acted as a civil and divine balance of power. He noted that the "proper, distinct, auncient rights" of church and state belonged to the "true, ancient, unchanged" Church.<sup>89</sup>

Carleton's work with an intense anti-papal perspective, found a niche in the polemic over the Oath of Allegiance. He concluded his text with a final attack on Cardinal Bellarmine. Carleton called the Cardinal one of the "flatterers" whose views had been condemned by the learned.

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<sup>87</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 6.

<sup>88</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 6.

<sup>89</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 302.

What Bellarmine and his supporters professed was "a new and strange doctrine" which was maintained by a perversion and distortion of Scripture.<sup>90</sup> The entire affair in conjunction with the Gunpowder Plot served to generate a revival of overt anti-papal sentiment.

Despite the anti-papal groundswell arising from the Gunpowder Plot, James desired peace with England's longstanding enemy Spain, even though Spain was the mainstay of Catholic power in Europe. With a peace treaty in hand James sought a possible marriage between his eldest son, Henry, and the Spanish Infanta. The proposed marriage became known as the Spanish Match. There was strong sentiment against an alliance with the Spanish. Even Prince Henry's death did not end this proposed alliance. Instead of Henry, Charles was now to be the Infanta's husband.

In Fuller's account of the time of the Spanish Match Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador met with Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford. Vere was reported to have said to the Spaniard that there were only two memorable dates in his life: "I was Born in Eighty Eight, and Christened in the Fifth of November."<sup>91</sup> The significance of these dates would have resounded in the minds of the English.

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<sup>90</sup>Carleton, Ivrisdiction Regall ... Papall, p. 302.

<sup>91</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Church History of England (Oxford, 1845), bk. 10, sec. IV, p. 101, par. 24.

For all of Carleton's work he still languished in clerical obscurity. Then the year following the publication of the Consensus the Vorstius Affair began when King James wrote to Secretary Ralph Winwood regarding Vorstius's heresy.<sup>92</sup> Vorstius had been chosen to teach at the University of Leyden in the place of Jacobus Arminius. The problem with Vorstius was that he went against the doctrinal grain by inquiring into the purity of Christ by giving him a material body, limiting Christ's universal presence. By doing this Vorstius shook Christ's "immutability, as if his will were subject to change, darkening his Omniscience, as uncertain in future Contingents." To question God's unchangeable will in terms of salvation was to call into question the doctrine of predestination. For this belief Fuller felt that Vorstius should have been flung into hell.<sup>93</sup>

In response to Vorstius's books, James called Vorstius the "Anti-St. John". The king instructed Winwood to tell

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<sup>92</sup>Fuller wrote, Church History of England bk. 10, sec. IV, p. 60, par. 1. that: "this Vorstius had both written and received severall Letters from certain samosetenian Hereticks in Poland, or thereabouts; and it happened that he had handled Pitch so long, that at last is stuck to his Fingers, and became infected therewith. Hereupon, he set forth two Books, the one entitled, Tractatus Theologicus De Deo, dedicated the Land-Grave of Hessen; the other, Exegesis Apologetica, printed in this year [1611], and dedicated to the States; both of them farced with many dangerous Positions concerning the Deity."

<sup>93</sup>Fuller, Church History of England bk. 10, sec. IV, p. 60, par. 1.

the Dutch States of James's displeasure and that such doctrine as Vorstius held was not to be tolerated. This approach apparently astonished the Dutch who replied that if Vorstius was found guilty of heresy he would be displaced from his seat as professor of divinity at Leyden. Fuller gave a list of the Dutch reasons for not heeding James's advice.<sup>94</sup> Angered by this reply, in a public display James had Vorstius's book burnt in London and the universities. The king also addressed the Dutch:

If peradventure this wretched Vorstius should deny or equivocate upon those blasphemous points of heresy and atheism which already he hath broached, that perhaps may move you to spare his person, and not cause him to be burned (which never any heretic better deserved, and wherein we will leave him to your own Christian wisdom). But to suffer him, upon any defence or abnegation which he shall offer to make, still to continue and to teach amongst you, is a thing so abominable, as we assure ourselves it will not once enter into any of your thoughts.<sup>95</sup>

If this is not resolved, James added, as defender of the faith he would "not only separate himself from such false churches," but to exhort all other reformed churches to join him in extinguishing this heresy.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>Fuller, Church History of England bk. 10, sec. IV, p. 61, pars. 3-4.

<sup>95</sup>Lucy Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First 2nd ed (London, 1822), vol. I, pp. 382-383.

<sup>96</sup>Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, vol. I, pp. 382-383.

King James, as usual, sought help from scholars on this issue. One was the tutor to Prince Henry, Adam Newton, who translated into Latin the king's discourse against Vorstius. For his efforts he was repaid "somewhat irregularly for a layman, with the deanery of Durham", though afterwards he did receive a baronetcy.<sup>97</sup> The affair continued to boil as the letters of the Dutch Ambassador, Dudley Carleton, indicate.

Dudley Carleton was the last English ambassador to have a seat in the Dutch Council of State, a position which Elizabeth had gained as part "payment" for English assistance in the Dutch struggle with the Spanish Habsburgs. When Dudley Carleton arrived at the Hague he was immediately involved in the violent debate "raging with great violence in Holland, between the Arminians and the Contra-remonstrants or Calvinists." Dudley Carleton aptly saw that "religion was made the pretence" for the political machinations of Prince Maurice and pensionary Oldenbarnevelt. According to the Ambassador these contests for power were the real sources of the Dutch problems.<sup>98</sup>

The link of violence with the Arminian contentions and the notion that religion was a pretext for political

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<sup>97</sup>Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, vol. I, p. 340.

<sup>98</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, knt. during his Embassy in Holland, (London, 1757). Series of letters from January 1615 to December 1620.

maneuvering would be maintained in England. The connection of the ambassador with Vorstius may account for Carleton's apparent involvement.

King James I's instructions to Dudley Carleton noted that:

In Holland there lately have been violent and sharp contestations amongst the towns in cause of religion, which we fear are rather for the time allayed than quenched and extinguished. If therefore they shall be unhappily revived during your time, you shall not forget, that you are the minister of that master, whom God hath made the sole protector of his religion; and therefore, besides your assistance, which we would we have you give to the true professors of the gospel in your discourse and conferences, you may let fall, how hateful the maintenance of these erroneous opinions is to the majesty of God, how displeasing unto us their dearest friends, and how disgraceful to the honor and government of that state.<sup>99</sup>

At this point King James was clearly not an adherent of Arminianism, though his beliefs later in life have been brought into question. As the "sole protector" of true religion, James strove to maintain peace and stability though the religious factions brought political turmoil and questioned the authority of the state. In Holland James was concerned about an ally. The King countenanced neither political dissension nor challenge to his authority. Carleton's view of "co-active" power would have agreed with the king's position. We know that Carleton was at court during this time. In a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton dated 23 December 1613 John Chamberlain wrote:

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<sup>99</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 6.

your cousin Carleton the preacher was with the King Sunday and had many good and gracious words for a new work of his, but because (meeting him yesterday) he told me he had written to you himself, I shall not need to say more, but that if he will now (recenti merito [rightly review]) light upon any thing that were to be given he might easily obtain it.<sup>100</sup>

Carleton was at court seeking preferment in the Church.

What Carleton obtained in 1615 was an appointment as chaplain to James's only remaining son, Charles. This was done through the influence of James Fullerton. Carleton may have been chosen to off-set the Catholic affinity of other members of the prince's household.<sup>101</sup> He thought that Prince Charles should be praised for "his accomplishments, his skill in riding, running at the ring, etc." He felt that at his age Charles had "more understanding" than the late Prince Henry. The younger prince was "in his behavior sober, grave, swete [sic], ... without any evil inclinations; and willing to take advice."<sup>102</sup>

Once named royal chaplain Carleton married his first wife Anne, the daughter of Sir Henry Killigrew. Killigrew had been the English Ambassador to Scotland where in June 1594 James IV was impressed by his education.<sup>103</sup> Anne was

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<sup>100</sup>The Letters of John Chamberlain, Norman Egbert McClure ed., (American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia, 1939), vol. 1, p. 494. Letter dated 23 December 1613.

<sup>101</sup>Pauline Gregg, King Charles I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 43.

<sup>102</sup>CSPD, 1615, #27, p. 273.

<sup>103</sup>Akrigg, Jacobean Pageant, p. 8.

also the widow of Henry Neville of Billingbere in the Berkshires. Neville had been Carleton's one time patron to whom he had dedicated his first published work. This marriage must have occurred after 1615 since that is the date given for Henry Neville's death.<sup>104</sup>

Carleton and Anne had a son, Henry, who served in the Parliamentary army against Charles I.<sup>105</sup> His stepdaughter, Anne, married Thomas Vicars.<sup>106</sup> Carleton remarried on his wife death, though the evidence is unclear as to whom and when.

In any event, the office of chaplain allowed Carleton the financial ability to marry and support a wife and family. David Willson believed that James I used his power of patronage to reward those who gave him assistance, which Carleton had provided in 1611.<sup>107</sup> Two years later, in 1613 Carleton had earned his Doctorate of Divinity degree.

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<sup>104</sup>For a possible connection of George Carleton to Henry Neville see Lord Clarendon History of the Rebellion, vol. 1, p. 115.

<sup>105</sup>Anthony a Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, vol. 2, col. 425.

<sup>106</sup>Anne was the only unmarried daughter from his wife's first marriage, see Dictionary of National Biography q. v. Neville, Henry. Thomas Vicars married George Carleton's stepdaughter, see Kenneth Fincham, Prelate as Pastor. The Episcopate of James I, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 196, citing J. H. Coper, "The Vicars and Parish of Cuckfield in the Seventeenth Century" Sussex Archaeological Collections 45 (1902), pp. 12-30.

<sup>107</sup>Willson, "James I and His Literary Assistants," p. 49.

Carleton's anti-papal sentiment was evident at this time. A letter from 1613 which he wrote to Padre Paolo in Venice noted that God was "glorified by his delivering the English church from tyranny" which was the Roman papacy.<sup>108</sup>

On his elevation as chaplain he produced an English translation of his Latin Consensus. The Stationers Office shows, that on 14 October 1615, Master Sanford acting as censor entered "a booke called Directions to knowe the true Church by George Carleton, Doctor in Divinity."<sup>109</sup> The English text of the earlier Latin work found a new audience and reaffirmed the distinctiveness of the Church of England.

At court, as a royal chaplain, Carleton was at the center of the patronage system. Dudley Carleton was cheerful over his cousin's appointment since Carleton had "two such pillars as the King, and Archb[ishop] of Canterbury to support him."<sup>110</sup> Through this system Carleton could find easier ways to obtain his final goal, which he shared with other ambitious clerics, a place in the episcopacy.

Part of the bishop's office entailed the administration of the diocese. As episcopal government, bishoprics were sought and obtained at court like any other preferment.

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<sup>108</sup>CSPD, 1613, #52, p. 216.

<sup>109</sup>Arber, Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, vol., III, p. 574.

<sup>110</sup>CSPD, 1614, #9, p. 231.

Kenneth Fincham noted that Carleton had no experience in government which may have delayed his appointment as a bishop.<sup>111</sup> We will see that this may not be the case when we look at the administration of Carleton's diocese.

As royal chaplain Carleton remained in the eye of the king, the royal family, the Court, and the Council. With all these avenues to advancement a prelate still had to wait for the right time to press for preferment. We should keep in mind Kauntz's statement that there was no certainty a royal chaplain would be elevated.<sup>112</sup>

Carleton had to wait for preferment since all the candidates were playing a numbers game. While the king filled all the vacancies there were only forty bishops created under James, with only ten or eleven over the age of fifty-five.<sup>113</sup> There was no rhyme or reason to this as Abbot lived to be seventy-nine while Bishop Gales Thompson elevated to his see on 9 June 1611, died a week later. Of these forty sees thirty-nine were created through death, with Bishop John Thornborough translated from the Church of Ireland. He was one of six Elizabethan bishops to be translated. Thus every opening in the episcopacy was a cherished prize and time worked against most candidates.

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<sup>111</sup>Fincham, Prelate as Pastor, p. 36.

<sup>112</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 166.

<sup>113</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 156.

Carleton continued the pursuit of his education during this period as a means of obtaining further preferment. Competition was fierce and the Jacobean bishops were highly educated. A cursory look at the list of bishops, including those holdovers from Elizabeth I's era, shows a list of degrees that includes a large number of M. A., B. D., D. D. degrees. Bishop Richard Neile had the four degrees from Cambridge University, yet he reportedly said he never mastered Latin.<sup>114</sup> Neile's comment was either in jest or for some other purpose since there was no way he could advance through the university system without knowledge of Latin. Carleton showed through his poetry and scholarly works that he had a facile command of Latin and also Greek.

In the academic scheme of the bishops, Carleton aptly fit in with the late Elizabethan and early Stuart "Who's Who of Lady Margaret and regius professors of divinity, chancellors and vice-chancellors, masters and fellows of Cambridge and Oxford."<sup>115</sup> Yet, as we have seen, Carleton would have to wait four years after receiving his D. D. for advancement to a bishopric.

The works that Carleton published did not follow the prescribed pattern of clerical advancement. Curtis wrote that "during the first two decades of the seventeenth

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<sup>114</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 156.

<sup>115</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 156.

century, the men who attacked rigid predestinarian views steadily gained influence and position within the universities." Curtis noted that a number of prelates including Andrewes, Harsnett and Overall, achieved positions beyond the university.<sup>116</sup> However, instead of writing about predestination, Carleton was fervently anti-papal and pro-episcopacy.

While Carleton did not reject Calvinism his early works did not focus on the issue of predestination. Perhaps the perceived debate by historians over this theological doctrine has been overblown in the years prior to the Synod of Dort. For, as Kauntz stated, "it was not in the textbook qualifications of the episcopal bench, but in the flaccid government and court that the danger lay."<sup>117</sup>

Before Carleton could gain any ground, according to Kauntz, a young George Villiers "jumped into the area of making bishops" in 1616. Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, was James's new favorite and as such he became a focal point of patronage which he retained until his death. Though Villiers had jettisoned the help of Archbishop Abbot he could know little of the Church's problem and his "jump" became an embarrassed retreat. This embarrassment involved Carleton.

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<sup>116</sup>Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge, p. 223.

<sup>117</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 178f.

As chaplain to Prince Charles the Prince assisted Carleton in making a strong suit for the vacant bishopric of Carlisle. Together they appeared to be successful. Rumor reached Chamberlain, who wrote to Dudley Carleton that his "cousen Dr Carleton is to succeed" at Carlisle.<sup>118</sup> Before he could be appointed King James "was so importuned by others that now it is gone away."<sup>119</sup> Chamberlain related that he had heard "... one Snowden, an obscure fellow, is come in at the window and shut him out."<sup>120</sup> Carleton was left empty-handed and "ashamed to tell the manner in which bishoprics are got."<sup>121</sup>

The familial connections between Snowden and Villiers typify the favorite's jockeying for position. The failure of Villiers was seen by Chamberlain on 4 January 1617 when a prebend, Beaumont, a relative of Buckingham, was not

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<sup>118</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 15. Letter dated 6 July 1616.

<sup>119</sup>PRO, SP 14/88/140 quoted in Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 173. "Dr Bayly had better luck, who being both opposed and articted against by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, yet hath carried the bishopric of Bangor and both by the same means of them that be now on favor; as likewise Sir Robert Naunton (who besides his mastership of requests and waiting in ordinary) hath gotten the Surveyorship of the Court of Wards from Sir Sidney Montague, who had the grant and handgiven earnest. But Sir Robert is of kindred to the new favorite, and so inward with his mother that he is termed her chancellor."

<sup>120</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 29. Letter dated 26 October 1616; CSP, Domestic, 1616, #136, p. 399.

<sup>121</sup>CSPD, 1616, #136, p. 399f.

advanced to the bishopric of Worcester since the elevation of Snowden and Bayly was "so generally distasted."<sup>122</sup> Carleton was forced to wait "although he had followed the usual rituals for an aspiring prelate, elevation eluded him."<sup>123</sup> He did not have to wait long.

During this time Carleton wrote that "the manner of carrying bishoprics is now come to such a pass that I am much ashamed to write."<sup>124</sup> In November 1616 Charles was named the Prince of Wales. One of the dioceses within Wales was that of Llandaff. This additional leverage may account for Charles pressing for Carleton's preferment to this see. According to Fincham, by 1617 the Prince had secured the bishopric of Llandaff for his chaplain.<sup>125</sup> However, another factor needs to be taken into account. On 22 October 1617 Carleton wrote Dudley Carleton that "he had completed a treatise against Arminius, and had found the elusive key."<sup>126</sup> Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton that Carleton was going to send Dudley a letter that would explain

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<sup>122</sup>PRO, SP 14/90/8 quoted in Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 173.

<sup>123</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 160.

<sup>124</sup>Wilson, King James VI and I, p. 212 where this is quoted but no citation given. Harris stated that "it must be admitted, [George] was a disappointed candidate." Since there is no date indicated as to when this statement may have written the point is moot.

<sup>125</sup>Fincham, Prelate as Pastor, p. 30.

<sup>126</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 160.

Carleton's anti-Arminius writing.<sup>127</sup> Less than a month later he was nominated Bishop of Llandaff, although he was not consecrated until July 1618.

Carleton's appointment to the Bishopric of Llandaff was hardly a serious reward. One contemporary noted that Llandaff was "scarcely worth one hundred fifty and five pounds .... Certes it is a poor bishopric, ... the daff is here, but the land is gone."<sup>128</sup> Yet this was the opening Carleton needed, so that he could be advanced again.

As we have seen James was deeply interested in the Dutch Arminian controversy. One image of the monarch shows him discussing the matter with his clergy at dinner where he sat for long periods of time and had a divine reading to him all the time, and four bishops standing near about him, of which the Bishop of Llandaff was one, with whom the King spoke oft", comparing Arminianism with Pelagians.<sup>129</sup>

With his elevation to Bishop of Llandaff Carleton had succeeded where many others failed. There were no

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<sup>127</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 118. Letter dated 29 November 1617. This work on Arminius does not seem to be extant.

<sup>128</sup>William Harrison, The Description of England ed., Georges Edelen (Washington, D. C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1994), p. 258. Harrison has no idea what daff means, but in note 35 Edelen explains that the term refers to a simpleton or coward. Harrison's reference may have been to Anthony Kitchin who held the see 1545-1566 and plundered the monies or his successor, the impoverished Hugh Jones (1567-1574).

<sup>129</sup>Willson, King James IV and I, p. 399.

deprivations of bishoprics under James and openings only occurred upon death, so that among those in the Jacobean age seeking preferment "the preoccupation with death seemed to be greater than among the most devout and otherworldly puritans."<sup>130</sup> The period of 1616 to 1621 were years of opportunity, as five and four episcopal deaths occurred while none died in 1612.<sup>131</sup> In that period Carleton was consecrated. Kauntz wrote that in general the Jacobean bishops were of sufficient maturity, education, teaching experience, scholarship. They also had interests and abilities which the king thought important for a bishop. Unlike Fincham, Kauntz noted that the ability of a cleric to fulfil the office of bishop was a question that no one could answer beforehand.<sup>132</sup>

During James I's reign the method of clerical advancement did not follow any rationally ordered plan. After 1610 with the deaths of Archbishop Bancroft and Secretary Salisbury, who had handled most of the clerical appointments, the question fell into royal disinterest and the old bureaucracy faltered. Though James was the Supreme Governor of the Church, with the authority of appointment he had relied on trusted advisors. Without Bancroft or

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<sup>130</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 155.

<sup>131</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 155.

<sup>132</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 167.

Salisbury, James appeared "indifferent to proved procedures" in choosing bishops. The courtiers knew of and thus exploited the king's weakness of listening to the last person to speak to the monarch.<sup>133</sup> The patronage system ran on knowing which avenue to pursue at the right time.

Carleton had bided his time and succeeded in advancing his career during a period of fervent theological debates. Part of that climate included a renewed Tridentine Roman Catholic Church which had refined the position of Rome and the papacy vis-a-vis church and state through the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine. Carleton had used his opposition to papists to produce texts that gained him notoriety and advancement. Other aspects were the Remonstrants in Holland and independent movements in the English universities.<sup>134</sup>

King James was involved at various levels with these issues. Sometimes he personally addressed the question and at other times tasks were assigned by the king to the prelates. Those who assisted the king were often rewarded. Kauntz may be correct when he wrote "blessed were the controversialists who gained the King's approval, for bishoprics came their way."<sup>135</sup> Carleton was one such recipient. His continued support and service to James as a

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<sup>133</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," pp. 167-168.

<sup>134</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 156.

<sup>135</sup>Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 163.

delegate to the Synod of Dort would further advance  
Carleton's career.

## Chapter Three

### The Synod of Dort: 1617-1619

The Synod of Dort was conducted by the Dutch to resolve a domestic problem. The problem the Dutch faced was an apparent religious heresy centered on the doctrine of predestination that had taken on political overtones. The Synod, while an internal affair, was not limited to Dutch clergy. Invitations were sent out to virtually all the Reformed Churches in Europe, and many did attend, including the English. The issues of predestination discussed at Dort would have consequences for the Church of England in the last years of Bishop Carleton's life. In the meantime, the bishop garnered fame by heading the English delegation. During the proceedings Carleton represented the Church of England's Calvinist point of view on predestination which coincided with the majority view of the Dutch delegates. However, Bishop Carleton was in the minority on the issue of church discipline and especially the role of the episcopacy. His defense of bishops gained Carleton notoriety and on his return to England he was translated from Llandaff to a more prestigious see at Chichester. Participation at the Synod of Dort gave the newly created bishop another lever to use in negotiating the patronage system.

Carleton had scaled the patronage ladder of clerical advancement to finally attain the bishopric of Llandaff. At the same time the Dutch were mired in a religious and political controversy. The Dutch dispute revolved around specific theological definitions of predestination. This debate had occurred earlier in England under the guise of the Lambeth Articles, which were ultimately rejected by the Church of England.<sup>1</sup>

At the core of these debates was the distinction between supralapsarian and infralapsarian perspectives of predestination. According to the supralapsarians humanity had been predestined to either election leading to salvation or reprobation leading to damnation prior to the creation of the world. The supralapsarian view was accepted as orthodox based on the Seventeenth Article. The other view perceived that predestination occurred after humanity's creation as a result of the choice of Adam and Eve. These fine points of predestination were being discussed among English theologians such as William Perkins at Cambridge who had written a tract attacking the precepts of the foremost proponent of heterodoxy, Jacobus Arminius.

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<sup>1</sup>For the question of the English debate see Elizabeth Gilliam, Elizabeth and W. J. Tighe, "To 'Run with the time': Archbishop Whitgift, the Lambeth Articles, and the Politics of Theological Ambiguity in Late Elizabethan England" Sixteenth Century Journal 23 (1992), pp. 325-340.

Arminius's beliefs were based on a distinction between an a priori and universal divine will to save. Thus Arminius argued against a single and eternal will of God. The English, in general, were opposed to the idea of God's mutable will. According to Arminius there were four decrees of God's will. The first act of divine will was embodied in Christ who was appointed the savior of humanity in general. The second was Christ's intention to save all who repented and believed. The third decree established the means to salvation. The final decree was grounded in divine foreknowledge of belief and perseverance. The major point of controversy was Arminius's contention that the individual had power to choose salvation rather than having the entire matter resting exclusively in God's will.<sup>2</sup>

These concepts were taken up by other Dutch theologians such as Vorstius, whom we have seen, and Simon Episcopius. The followers of Arminius fostered the growth of controversy in the Low Countries during the early seventeenth century. The sides became antagonistic when, spurred by Episcopius, the followers of Arminius produced a Remonstrance in 1610. The disciples of Arminius's doctrine thus became known as the Remonstrants. In opposition, the Contra-Remonstrants quickly rallied and the Low Countries were polarized.

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<sup>2</sup>See Carl Bangs, Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation (Nashville, 1971).

The King of England was alarmed by the developments in the Low Countries. The Remonstrance was soon followed by the Vorstius Affair, as ripples of the growing debates began to appear in England.<sup>3</sup> In these matters James encountered not only doctrinal issues, but the resultant political conclusions, of Arminianism. A letter from Carleton shows that the Arminian controversy was a new lever to pursue the attainment of clerical preference. He wrote to Dudley Carleton, sending his cousin a written refutation of Arminius. This was to be shown only to the learned who agreed with Arminius for even "though they be adversaries in this particular, yet would I learn whatsoever I could understand from them."<sup>4</sup>

There is still debate as to what James's religious beliefs were in the 1610s. One historian's view is that prior to the Synod of Dort there was still no hard evidence

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<sup>3</sup>The chair of theology in the University of Leyden had become vacant with the death of Jacobus Arminius and the faculty sought to appoint a new chair. Rumors named that Vorstius, a follower of Arminius, to the position. James wrote to the University imploring them not to employ man of such controversial character. For the King's position James I Declaration concerning ... Vorstius (London, 1612). For a modern interpretation see Frederick Shriver, "Orthodoxy and Diplomacy: James I and the Vorstius Affair," English Historical Review LXXXV (1970), pp. 449-474.

<sup>4</sup>Quoted in John Platt, "Eirenical Anglicans at the Synod of Dort," Studies in Church History Subsidia 2 (1979), p. 234.

"that the king was attached to Calvinist doctrine."<sup>5</sup>  
 Another point of view reminds us that the king had been raised as a Calvinist, which may have produced in James "a genuine horror of the Arminian theory in the subject of grace and election."<sup>6</sup> In either case, James failed in his intention to prevent the spread, and continuance, of Arminianism. However, by 1618 the king had another opportunity to become involved in Dutch religious matters. His inability to influence the Dutch in the Vorstius Affair may be why "James was swept away by a furious and vindictive hatred of Dutch Arminians."<sup>7</sup>

In any event, King James was deeply interested in the Dutch Arminian controversy, discussing the theological issues with the court clergy. As chaplain to the Prince, and then bishop, Carleton was one of those with whom the king spoke. We have seen that by one account James often spoke with Carleton as they compared Arminianism with Pelagianism.<sup>8</sup> Each of these two forms of predestinarian

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<sup>5</sup>Peter White, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," Past and Present 101 (November 1983), p. 41.

<sup>6</sup>Lucy Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, 1822), vol. 2, p. 123.

<sup>7</sup>D. Harris Willson, King James IV and I (London: Jonathan Cope, 1956), p. 399.

<sup>8</sup>Willson, King James IV and I, p. 399. The King "was very pleasant at dinner and sat long, a divine reading to him all the time, and four bishops standing near about him, of which the Bishop of Llandaff was one, with whom the King

thought dealt with the importance and influence of free will on salvation.<sup>9</sup> Pelagianism denied the doctrine of original sin and maintained that free will was effective in attaining salvation. We can see that as early as 1618 Arminianism was being associated with Pelagianism.

Whatever King James's religious ideals, his conception of Arminius's teachings inclined him to believe that the Dutch theologian opposed the social and political status quo, particularly the rights of the sovereign ruler. This had been an issue on which Carleton had written in support of James. The king's concern with the political nature of the religious debate was clear in his on going correspondence with Dudley Carleton, the Ambassador to the Dutch, and Carleton's cousin.<sup>10</sup>

The ambassador advised the king that in Holland, many of the Dutch saw Arminius's teaching as overly papist and that they feared a return of the papacy on the heels of Imperial Spain's re-imposition of power. This was

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spoke oft."

<sup>9</sup>The Pelagians belief that humanity's free will had an effect on salvation had been discredited by St Augustine. During the early years of the Reformation the idea of Semi-Pelagianism was developed in which there was some recourse to free will that was still dependent on God. See Jaroslav Pelikan, The Emergence of Catholic Tradition (100-600) (Chicago University Press, 1971), pp. 314-329.

<sup>10</sup>CSPD, 1617, #135, p. 489. Late in 1617, Carleton wrote to Dudley that he was to begin a refutation of Arminius.

particularly pressing since in 1609 the twelve year truce between the Dutch and Spain had come to a conclusion. This anti-Spanish sentiment caused the Dutch to brand Arminius and his followers as heretics. Part of that heresy may be seen in Carleton's request to know if the story that Arminius, while writing his book, had his "right hand rotted, and so died" was really true.<sup>11</sup>

Opposed to Spain was the Prince of Orange who had aligned himself with the more strident Calvinists. His political rival was Oldenbarnevelt, who, along with his supporters, followed Arminius. The king viewed this minority opposition as anti-monarchical. James may have been so adamant in his views of the Dutch Arminians because he saw that the Church's organization espoused by Arminians had already been established in England by many of the Church of England's most able clerics with whom the king had already formed a close alliance. In effect the Arminians supported an episcopal form of church government.

Opposed to this was the system of the Gomarists, whose cause James had professed but which agreed in discipline with the scheme of the Scotch presbyterians and English Puritans. While Carleton had argued for the sovereign power of the king he had also walked the fine line of defending the place and power of England's bishops which James

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<sup>11</sup>CSPD, 1617, #135, p. 489.

avored. Apparently the king had championed the wrong cause in terms of church government.

One account has the king suddenly recognizing "that the parity of ministers in the church, which in his own kingdoms he had constantly affirmed to be essentially incompatible with monarchical principles, must be equally irreconcilable with the authority which his ally Prince Maurice was endeavoring to assume in Holland."<sup>12</sup> Caught in a dilemma, James quickly sent the Dutch Prince a note of caution against bestowing all of his confidence exclusively on the Contra-Remonstrants. However, the politics of the Dutch situation did not allow the Prince to follow this advice.

In the years prior to the Synod of Dort the Dutch had bickered and plotted against the Arminians. There had been an increase in this activity in the months preceding the synod. Dudley Carleton kept the king advised of the deteriorating situation. As the Dutch readied to summon the synod Dudley informed the king of his communications with Oldenbarnevelt in which he advised the Dutchman of James's detestation of religious schism and the king's reaffirmation of the need for a Dutch national synod. Only in a synod Dudley Carleton wrote:

could the authority of the magistrate be preserved, without which a synod would not be lawfully called; and

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<sup>12</sup>Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, vol. 2, pp. 123-124.

in the execution of what should be resolved in synod, their authority would be again employed; without which the resolutions of synods could have no force. I said farther, how his majesty in his letter did particularly recommend unto them the use of their authority in protecting the true reformed religion.<sup>13</sup>

This line of thinking followed the king's ideal of his position in regard to the Church of England. In Dudley's Carleton's view, Oldenbarnevelt's heated reply and denial of the efficacy of a synod seemed uncharacteristic of the man and he pointed out to the Ambassador that private interests were driving the Dutchman's decisions.<sup>14</sup>

By the fall of 1617 the situation was so tense that Dudley Carleton was sending coded messages in regard to a meeting of the heads of the Remonstrants.<sup>15</sup> The necessity of this action was clear as the ambassador noted the increasingly overt political nature of the religious schism and the international politics that emerged at this time.<sup>16</sup> With all of these political manoeuverings James's Secretary of State Lake wrote to warn Dudley Carleton that he looked

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<sup>13</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, knt. during his Embassy in Holland, (London, 1757), p. 138f. 23 June 1617, Carleton to Winwood via Herman the post.

<sup>14</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, pp. 138-139.

<sup>15</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 143. 22 June 1617 Carleton to Winwood via Dieston, pp. 152-153; 31 July 1617 Carleton to Winwood by messenger of Sir Edward Vere's under cover of Mr John More; the letter 1 September 1617, Carleton to Winwood, also contains a coded message, p. 173.

<sup>16</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, pp. 194-197. 30 October 1617, Carleton to Winwood via Johnson.

"for no good fruit" from the synod since many would not attend and others "will be bound against their own interpretation of their liberty in matters of religion."<sup>17</sup> Even in England the outcome of the synod appeared to be a foregone conclusion.

As Secretary Lake wrote to Dudley Carleton, a letter was posted to England with a copy of "a libellous pamphlet" in regard to the king, known by the English translation of The Balance. There followed a series of letters between England and the Low Countries about this text.<sup>18</sup> The States General became involved since the reputation of the King of England was implicated. The work had interpreted the king's position on English Puritans and Papists in terms of the Dutch debates, and according to Dudley Carleton was a misapplication of James's words. Lake informed the Ambassador that James was convinced Hugo Grotius was the author of The balance, and that Grotius had written to the Bishop of Spalato and had specifically mentioned Dudley.<sup>19</sup> Curiously there does not appear to have been a textual response from England at this time.

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<sup>17</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 205. 22 November 1617, Secretary Lake to Carleton from Whitehall.

<sup>18</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 206. The series is about one month long, 22 November - 23 December 1617. Carleton to Secretary Lake via Herman the post, Letters, p. 207-209, pp. 215-211, pp. 221-223.

<sup>19</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, pp. 228-229. 1 January 1618, Secretary Lake to Carleton received the 20th.

Despite the assumed libel King James was still intent on directing the Dutch. So, on 20 January 1618 a proposition was delivered to the States General in which the king's position relative to the Church of England was spelt out. When there was a question of doctrine the king referred the issue "to the doctors." James portrayed himself in such cases as a "membrum, non caput ecclesia [a member, not head of the church]" but "de rebus, que exterioris politiae sunt, [in those concerning things which are beyond the polity]." This fits into Carleton's scheme of co-active power with a balance between church and state.

However, the king noted when "the devil raises futiles & inutiles quaestiones [futile and useless questions]" which were usually the start of religious schisms, then the king's royal authority came into play. Yet the king still sought "the advice of learned and wise men." When enemies of true religion advanced within the nation, the devil entered and seized a great part of the state. The English "through divine providence are free" of these troubles. To resolve the problems of the Low Countries, the king thought the best recourse would be to convene a synod. The type of synod should be in proportion to the type of problem:

classical, when it only begins to spring up;  
 provincial, when it makes a greater progress; and  
 national, when it has passed from province to province,  
 and infected the whole body of the state.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, pp. 234-235.

For this last reason James had urged the Dutch to hold a national synod. James never felt that such problems existed within England, even with dissenting religious views clamoring for attention.

As the chief magistrate Maurice listened to the representations of the Contra-Remonstrant divines, whom he favored, on the expediency of calling a synod where the "erroneous doctrine" of Arminius could finally be condemned. The religious disputes allowed Prince Maurice to gain an advantage over his political antagonist Oldenbarnevelt. When at last the Dutch finally agreed to hold a synod, invitations were sent to all the Reformed Churches in Western Europe.

Prince Maurice "paid his friend the king of Great Britain the welcome compliment of requesting that he would delegate to this assembly some able divines who should represent the churches of England and Scotland;" ... he also invited the Germans, Swiss and French Reformed Churches.<sup>21</sup> There was still wrangling as to where the synod should be held but by the fall of 1618 the meeting was set for Dort.

As the summer drew to an end the Remonstrants were already being treated as the accused and condemned by the Synod of Dort. As John Hales, chaplain to Dudley Carleton,

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<sup>21</sup>Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First vol. 2, pp. 122-123.

noted the Remonstrants were also called the citati, meaning those summoned as to a civil court hearing.<sup>22</sup> When the official synod held the first session the proceedings had become a mere formality with the Remonstrants branded as religious and political subversives.

Aware of the situation King James wanted to maintain the peace and agreed with the Prince of Orange in the suppression of the Remonstrants "which he conceived to be so dangerous to the common Peace." To this end James agreed to send a delegation of "his Divines to the Synod of Dort, as were most like to be sufficiently active in their condemnation."<sup>23</sup> There is a proprietary sense here since the king believed that the clergy belonged to him as part of the royal heritage.

Since King James was conscious of the circumstances and of problems that might arise from sending a delegation to the Synod of Dort, the selection of the delegates must have been a matter of considerable delicacy for the king. The issue of sovereignty was still fresh in his mind when he selected the divines to attend the Synod of Dort. The delegation was composed of Carleton, now Bishop of Llandaff,

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<sup>22</sup>John Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, in the Works of John Hales (Glasgow, 1765; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1971), vol. 3, p. 47.

<sup>23</sup>Peter Heylyn, Aerivs Redivivus: Or The History of the Presbyterians ... from the Year 1536 to the year 1647 (Oxford, 1670), p. 403. Heylyn had received a Doctor of Divinity and had been a chaplain to both Charles I and II.

Joseph Hall, John Davenant and Samuel Ward. all Doctors of Divinity. Carleton was the head of the delegation, possibly because of his relationship to Dudley Carleton as well as his own skill as an orator. As the Bishop of Llandaff Carleton was also the highest ranking cleric, and one who held political views which coincided with James's. The others were also highly qualified with Hall being the Dean of Worcester, Davenant, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Ward, Master of Sidney-College in Cambridge and Arch-Deacon of Taunton.

The entire delegation was to support the Prince of Nassau and his more "Calvinistic" followers. The four clerics were chosen "on the principle of a balance, and with the purpose of promoting mutual conciliation."<sup>24</sup> Tyacke wrote that Archbishop Abbot selected the delegation, and was uncertain about James's role.<sup>25</sup> Peter White obviously differed since he has noted that the delegation was a "marked contrast to Archbishop Abbot." According to White the delegates were not interested in politics but theology.<sup>26</sup> This might be true but as Tyacke has pointed

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<sup>24</sup>Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, vol. 2, pp. 123-124.

<sup>25</sup>Nicholas Tyacke, Anti-Calvinist. The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 92-93.

<sup>26</sup>White, Predestination, Polemic and Policy, p. 180.

out their "comparative moderation" does not deny their Calvinism.<sup>27</sup>

These men were chosen to represent the king and defend the Church of England but each had his own special quality.<sup>28</sup> Thomas Fuller wrote that the delegates had "their respective eminences: In Carletono praelucebat episcopalis gravitas [In Carleton shone forth episcopal dignity]; in Davenantio subactum iudicium [in Davenant the discipline of law]; in Wardo multa lectio [in Ward much learning]; in Hallo expedita concionatio [in Hall an unshackled orator]."<sup>29</sup> Fuller also commented that Hall had "published a piece recommending a middle course in the disputed points" and seeking a Protestant unity against Rome. Hall also showed here some animosity to papists in his pro-Protestant aspiration. The English delegation hoped that a union of the Reformed Churches would overthrow "the Romish Antichrist."<sup>30</sup> There was a problem with doctrine evident in Davenant who was "an advocate of the Arminian

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<sup>27</sup>Nicholas Tyacke, "Anglican Attitudes: Some recent writings on English Religious history, from the Reformation to the Civil War," Journal of British Studies 35 (1996), p. 153.

<sup>28</sup>White, Predestination, Polemic and Policy, p. 180.

<sup>29</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Worthies of England ed., John Freeman (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1911), p. 304.

<sup>30</sup>A catalogue of the depvties of the high and mightie states general of the vnited prouinces (London, 1618), sig. A3v.

doctrine of free grace." The issue of free grace approached Catholic doctrine. However, Ward was "celebrated for his interesting style of preaching" that affected those who heard him speak.<sup>31</sup> The four delegates had different skills.

The delegates assembled at New-Market late 1618, to meet with the king. James had written instructions for his representatives. Since the delegation was going to a non-English speaking nation, the king wanted the clerics to practice their oral Latin. The more they used the language when there was no pressing need, the abler they would respond when called upon in the heat of debates. However, before they spoke publicly as representatives of England, the delegates were to discuss the issues and present a united front. If any of the issues brought up something the delegates had not thought of before they were to consult each other. In presenting their unified position they were to conform to Scripture and the doctrine of the Church of England.

King James was aware of the subtleties of predestinarian doctrine. He wanted the delegation to tell the Dutch that their ministers should not preach on these points to the general populace who would have a difficult time understanding the theological and syllogistic nuances.

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<sup>31</sup>Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, vol. 2, p. 125.

The delegation was also to tell the Dutch not to use "innovation in Doctrine." They should instead, teach the same doctrine their own churches had professed for the last twenty or thirty years past. The Dutch should maintain their own doctrine as well as "the public Confessions of the neighbor-reformed Churches." The English delegation was to be proxy for James's foreign policy. As White noted they were "learned theologians, fair-minded men" with no "covert sympathy" towards the Remonstrants.<sup>32</sup>

King James sought peace and stability and told the delegation that if one side or the other became too heated then the English should offer a moderate position. As representatives of the king, the delegation had to maintain the honor of England. They should consult the king's Ambassador and keep him informed of the proceedings. Dudley Carleton was familiar with the "questions, and differences" between the parties involved. When anything unforeseen happened, then the delegation was to act with moderation and discretion.

King James believed that they could act in such a manner since they were men of "quality, and gravity."<sup>33</sup> The

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<sup>32</sup>White, Predestination, Polemic and Policy, p. 179f.

<sup>33</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year MDCXLVIII. (London, 1655), bk. x, p. 77. He noted that he saw these instructions in Davenant's autograph. According to Lucy Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, vol. 2, p. 126: "The spirit of the instructions which these divines

delegates would do their best to follow the guidelines set out for them. Before leaving for Dort Fuller wrote that Davenant and Ward met with the king on 8 October for two hours, without the remainder of the delegation.<sup>34</sup>

Aside from the formal instructions, Fuller related that the delegates were to write to the king each week on a rotating schedule based on their seniority. Yet "for a month, or more, the King received from them no particulars of their proceedings," due to the weather in the English Channel. Then four weekly dispatches "came all together to His Majesties hands."<sup>35</sup> So even though James wanted to be informed as the synod proceeded, he was often left in the dark.

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bore from the king is singularly contrasted with that of his former proceeding against Vorstius. It was required that they should come to a previous agreement among themselves respecting all points to be debated at the synod. Their counsel to these churches was to be, - that their ministers refrain from teaching in their pulpits 'those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides:' - that they use no innovation in doctrine: - that they conform themselves to the public confessions of the neighbor reformed churches. It was to be the endeavour of the divines, that certain positions be moderately laid down, which might tend to the mitigation of heat on both sides."

<sup>34</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. IV, pp. 77-80, pars. 63-71.

<sup>35</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. IV, pp. 77-80, pars. 63-71.

The delegates seemed to be in no great hurry to leave for Dort. Chamberlain wrote on 14 October 1618 that the delegates:

have no great encouragement to make haste considering the poor allowance allotted them, but belike it is presumed they shall want nothing there, but be defrayed to the uttermost, which will be a little enough to make them savers by the bargain.<sup>36</sup>

King James seems to have been extravagant on advice and instructions but not on financial support.

Perhaps that is why even with all their instructions the English delegates were late on their way to the coast. The delegation "casually missed that Man of War, which the States had sent to conduct them over." Apparently they did not arrive too late since "they saw him [the Man of War] in Sea at some distance." However, the delegates had to hire a small vessel and safely made the crossing to land 20 October at Middleburgh.<sup>37</sup> A week later the delegation arrived at the Hague, "where they kissed the hand of His Excellency Grave Maurice." Carleton, as bishop, made a short speech in the Prince's presence, and "they were all courteously entertained."<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 169. Letter dated 14 October 1618.

<sup>37</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. IV, 77-80, pars. 63-71. He quotes from Acta Synodi Nationalis (Dort, 1620), p. 64.

<sup>38</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. IV, 77-80, pars. 63-71. He quotes from Acta Synodi, p. 64.

The delegation was invited to attend a session of the States General where at the time the Prince of Orange and Count William were both present. Though a supporter of the Remonstrants was in charge of the States General, the ambassador introduced his cousin, "my lord bishop" and the rest of the English delegation to the Prince of Orange.

Dudley Carleton's account noted how well the English delegates "acquitted themselves by a speech delivered by the bishop of Llandaff in the assembly of the states general, which was at that time very great."<sup>39</sup> In his speech Carleton alluded to King James as a peacemaker who sent the English delegation "with this especial charge, that as much as in us lyes, we procure your prosperity, and your Churches Peace."<sup>40</sup> Carleton noted the problems of the Dutch and derided those who "raise dissensions in the Church."<sup>41</sup>

The responsibility of keeping the church at peace and secure rested in the civil magistrates. Bishop Carleton noted that "if the Church-affairs be ill managed, all sorts of men, the people, the Priest, yea you your selves shall be accountable unto Christ for it."<sup>42</sup> The cure for the ills of

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<sup>39</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, pp. 307-308. 29 October 1618, Carleton to Secretary Naunton.

<sup>40</sup>George Carleton, An Oration made at the Hage (London, 1619), p. 2.

<sup>41</sup>Carleton, An Oration made at the Hage, p. 4.

<sup>42</sup>Carleton, An Oration made at the Hage, p. 4.

the Dutch Church was within the power of the civil government. Carleton wrote that "the true Physicke must bee administered by the hand of your authority."<sup>43</sup> This followed the doctrine of the Church of England with monarch as the Supreme Governor. The entire Oration Carleton presented was printed in England the following year.<sup>44</sup> While still among the States General Dudley Carleton delivered the king's position concerning the English delegates, the synod, and the matters of state.

Dudley Carleton wanted to remind the States General that the English delegation was in the service of James I. As such the delegation had royal instructions and authority. The Ambassador presented the delegation to the lord of Mathenesse, "a passionate Arminian," who was president of the States General that day. This Dutchman had already opposed James's wishes in the Vorstius Affair. The lord of Mathenesse, in his position as the curatorship of the university of Leyden sided with Vander-Myle as the patron and protector of Vorstius. Dudley Carleton believed that

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<sup>43</sup>Carleton, An Oration made at the Hage, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup>Edward Arber, ed., A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D. vol. 3 (Privately Printed, London, 1877; reprint, Gloucscester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967), p. 638 On 7 January 1618 "Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master Doctor Featley and master Gilmyne An oracion made by the reuerende Father in God George [Carleton] Bishop of Landaffe [sic] one of the Commissioners sent by his majesties to the synode of Dort .. vjd." Featley would be an ally of George's in the Montagu controversy.

even though the sitting president made a polite showing "yet the coldness of his answers shewed his disaffection" to the English point of view. The president went so far as to break custom and asked for in writing what Dudley Carleton and Carleton had said before the synod.

The king's choice of delegates appeared to be successful with the civil government. At home, Lancelot Andrewes asked Chamberlain to have Dudley Carleton send the Bishop of Winchester any information about the synod since he was not in contact with the English clerics.<sup>45</sup>

Following their performance at the Hague the English delegation left for Dort, where on 3 November the synod began.<sup>46</sup> At the start of the synod all the delegates took an oath. They promised before God, who could read their hearts and minds, that all these actions of the synod which had been appointed to examine, judge, and render a decision on the issues would be in accordance with God's word. They would not follow "any Human Writing, but only of God's Word," which was the "certain, and undoubted Rule of Faith." The synod's members would seek nothing for themselves but God's glory, peace within the Church, and "especially the preservation of the purity of the Doctrine therein." They

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<sup>45</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2. p. 165. Letter dated 24 October 1618.

<sup>46</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, pp. 307-308. 29 October 1618, Carleton to Secretary Naunton.

prayed that Christ would aid them to this purpose and that he would always lend his spirit to the proceedings.<sup>47</sup>

Once at Dort, Fuller noted that the four delegates were given a stipend by the States General of "ten pounds sterling a day, Threescore and ten pounds by the week." This was much more money than the other foreign delegations received though Fuller thought the allowance "politically proportioned." Since they were Englishmen representing "the Greatness of His Majesty" the delegation, with royal instructions and having sworn under oath not to seek glory for themselves freely spent the stipend. Their largesse furthered the reputation of the king. They became known for their fine table at which "any fashionable Foreigner [sic] was courteously and plentifully entertained."<sup>48</sup>

From the eyewitness account of John Hales we have a fairly clear view of the proceeding of the synod.<sup>49</sup> Though Hales was thought to have gone with Carleton and the delegation as part of the deputation to the synod, he did not arrive until after the English delegation at Dort on 23 November 1618. Hales noted that "immediately upon my

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<sup>47</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. IV, 77-80, pars. 63-71. He quotes from Acta Synodi, p. 64.

<sup>48</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. IV, pp. 77-80, pars. 63-71.

<sup>49</sup>George Brodrick, Memorials of Merton, pp. 277-278. Hales had attended Oxford and was granted a dispensation from theological disputation in 1618. For his services at Dort, Hales was apparently paid an additional sum.

arrival I went to my Lord Bishop."<sup>50</sup> Since Carleton was the sole English bishop at Dort we can safely assume that he was the person Hales first contacted. This again gives an indication that Carleton was the head of the delegation. For only after he had spoken with Carleton and "had done my message unto him" did Hales then go to see Mr. Bogeramnus who was on friendly terms with Dudley Carleton.<sup>51</sup> The chaplain concluded with the note that "whatsoever hath passed in the synod formerly, your Lordship shall understand by a packet" from Bishop Carleton.<sup>52</sup> Hales was going to summarize the proceedings he had missed.

Dudley Carleton used Hales as a source of information to keep the English court apprised of the situation. The Ambassador wrote, along with other matters, that "the national synod at Dort having made their entrance with decent formes, resolved of a citation of the remonstrant; before they would examine the five points."<sup>53</sup> These five points began with the total corruption of humanity due to the Fall of Adam and Eve which placed humanity in bondage

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<sup>50</sup>Brodrick, Memorials of Merton, p. 81. For his arrival see, John Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, in the Works of John Hales (Glasgow, 1765; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1971), vol. 3, sig. A2r. Throughout his letters Hales mentions people by their title and rarely by surname.

<sup>51</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, sig. A2r.

<sup>52</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 314. 14 November 1618, Carleton to Secretary Naunton.

and resulted in the loss of free will and choice in matters of salvation. The next was the unconditional decree by God of election. The decree was not based on any foreknowledge of an individual's response to grace or obedience. Faith and repentance as human reactions were useless.

In fact God gave faith and repentance to those he had selected, and so the result of election and reprobation were God's choices. An individual's election did not rest on any human virtue or action that may have been foreseen by God. The next point focused on the limitation of Christ's act of redemption to those elected to salvation. Christ's death was only for those predestined to election. Fourth was the irresistibility of God's grace which could not be turned aside and which never failed to result in salvation. Finally all who were elected and given faith by God were persevered in God's saving grace. No one who had been predestined to election could fall from God's grace. These were the points "which are chiefly controverted" by the delegates, though there seems to have been little open debate on these points. The synod also sent out letters to all "the temporal lords," and some other moderates in regard to the ecclesiastical matters. They were to appear before the synod within fourteen days of their receiving the letters. In the meanwhile the synod was to hold the assembly together, by discussing the "gravamina of the church."

One issue was that of the new translation of the Bible into Dutch. Here the synod wanted to follow the "example of the English" though they warned that the Dutch language was "full of imperfections."<sup>54</sup> Since the synod had made an honorable mention of the King James Bible the English showed the synod how the Church of England had designed and worked on the English version of the Bible which had been authorized by King James. The distribution of the work, and what rules were to be set for the translators were all explained.<sup>55</sup> The delegation was able to do this as Ward had served as one of the twelve man board that had acted as final revisers of the Bible.<sup>56</sup>

In England the constant flow of correspondence made the Church and state aware of the actions of the synod. The English recalled the struggle of the Protestant Dutch with Catholic Spain. When Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton that a fast had been held for the success of the synod, "and the prosperity of the reformed churches," he showed a concern beyond the borders of England. Paradoxically, the

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<sup>54</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 314. 14 November 1618, Carleton to Secretary Naunton.

<sup>55</sup>A. W. Pollard, Record of the English Bible 1525-1611. The Documents relating to the translation and publication of the Bible, 1512-1611 (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 338. "Report on the making of the version of 1611 presented to the Synod of Dort." Session septima. XX Novembris, die Martis ante meridiem. [Session seven 20 November, 10 Monday morning.]

<sup>56</sup>Pollard, Records of the English Bible, p. 56.

ex-Catholic, Bishop of Spalato gave a "good sermon" at the service.<sup>57</sup> Carleton had spoken to Antonio de Dominis at Nuffield and he thought the Italian "well learned, but not thoroughly acquainted with the points of religion."<sup>58</sup>

Hales duly kept Dudley informed of the workings in which Carleton participated. In the morning session of 26 November 1618 translators, editors and revisors of the Bible were chosen by the synod to produce a Dutch edition, three for the Old Testament, and three for the New Testament with Apocrypha plus a revisor from each province. The choices were done by lot with names picked at random.

The English delegates had spoken about the committees that had produced the English translation authorized by the king which spurred on the Dutch equivalent.<sup>59</sup> Anthony á Wood noted that Carleton worked on the Dutch Annotations. This was the Dutch translation of the Bible, which the Synod of Dort ordered. The work was not completed and published until 1637, and there is only a passing reference to Bishop Carleton as member of the English delegation to the synod.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 183. Letter dated 14 November 1618.

<sup>58</sup>CSPD, 1617, #19, p. 466.

<sup>59</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 5-7.

<sup>60</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses an Exact History of All the writers and bishops who have had their education in the university of Oxford (London, 1691), col. 442.

This Dutch translation of the Bible was, however, then translated into English in 1657.

Asked for assistance in planning their own translation of the Bible the English theologians were unwilling to give a quick answer to such an important point before they had time to consider the issue. Here they followed the instructions given them by James.

The same day the synod dealt with the issue of Bible translations, Hales reported that an old friend of Dudley's had arrived at Dort. The man called himself a doctor of physic and dined with Carleton after Hales told Bishop Carleton the man's identity. However, Hales did not explicitly identify this person.<sup>61</sup> There are two possibilities about this meeting, one is that the man was a personal friend of the Carleton family, or that he was acting as a go-between for Carleton and Dudley. Since the Ambassador had sent coded messages about the political nature of the synod and Hales stated that the man "passes under" the guise of a medical doctor, the individual may have been one of the ambassador's agents.

On Tuesday 27 November the morning session dealt with clerical defects regarding sermons and catechizing. Reforms were deemed necessary since there was clerical neglect, plurality of office, and increased leisure activities of the

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<sup>61</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 15.

laity on Sunday afternoons instead of religious instructions.

One point raised in the synod was that all "deputies of other nations should be requested to make overture of their customs in this behalf."<sup>62</sup> At the afternoon session the foreign delegates spoke:

where first my Lord Bishop shewed that with us in England, the magistrate imposed a pecuniary mulct upon such as did absent themselves from divine duties; which pecuniary mulct generally prevailed more with our people, than any pious admonitions could.<sup>63</sup>

The precedent of procedure had been established and any time afterward when the foreign delegations were asked to speak the English were always accorded the first position.

The following day, at the Wednesday session, catechizing of children was raised in three parts: domestic, scholastic and ecclesiastical with different forms for different ages of the catechumen. This dealt with the how or manner of catechizing and not the doctrine.<sup>64</sup> As Hales rightly pointed out these were the preliminaries while the synod awaited the Remonstrants. So, to fill the time, the synod asked for various delegates to present sermons which were to be given "to entertain the synod till the Arminians made their appearance." Hales in a letter dated 29 November

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<sup>62</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 7-9.

<sup>63</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 16-18. Letter of 18 November 1618.

noted that there were questions about the Latin sermons.

Again accorded first right the synod asked the English but:

my Lord Bishop refused it because of sudden warning (though Worcester said yes) ... certain of the exteri [foreigners] came to the Bishop, and shewed him how dangerous this might be. For it was as they thought a very hard matter so to walk, as not to touch upon some points that are in controversy, which could not be without the offence of one party. My Lord Bishop, and the other two, for this reasons thought the motion very inconvenient,

though Hall would not listen and apparently neither did the other foreign delegates.<sup>65</sup>

Hales stated that "Mr Dean of Worcester made in the synod-house a polite and pathological Latin sermon, the portion of scripture he chose for his theme was the 17th [sic] verse of the vi. of Ecclesiastius."<sup>66</sup> Hall's sermon berated the "divines for presuming too far in prying into the judgments of God, and so came to reprove the curious disputes which our age hath made concerning predestination; that this dispute for its endlessness was like the mathematical line" that can always be divided into half. Hall recommended that the synod look to Romans 9 and then he went on to other subjects.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 22.

<sup>66</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 20. Letter of Thursday, 19 November 1618.

<sup>67</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 21.

The English divines were not isolated in Dort as Dudley Carleton sent the delegates news of England.<sup>68</sup> They were also not confined to attending synodical meetings. Hales wrote that 30 November in the:

afternoon the Duchess of Tremouille came to town. The English went to entertain her, where my Lord Bishop made a speech unto her in Latin, which by her chaplain was interpreted, who likewise at her name returned answer. But of the particulars of this entertainment, I suppose my Lord Bishop in his letters relates more fully to your Honor than I can, for I was not there.<sup>69</sup>

King James's instructions to the delegation to use Latin for everyday conversation helped the delegation overcome the language barrier.

Chamberlain kept Andrewes abreast of news of the synod. On 28 November 1618 he gave the Bishop of Winchester "the printed paper of the synod which he was glad to see." Andrewes believed that he "could make shift with the Dutch, and that it was the first general synod that ever was held with one bishop."<sup>70</sup> In England, Andrewes might have been concerned with lack of episcopal government in the other Reformed Churches represented at the synod.

The synod was slow in many proceedings and again on 1 December 1618 the issue of baptizing of the children of ethnic parents was raised. The English delegation was the

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<sup>68</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 23.

<sup>69</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 27.

<sup>70</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 187. Letter dated 28 November 1618.

first to respond, though in writing. Following the Church of England doctrine they wrote that infants "if they were justly taken, as if they were given, or bought, or the like, (for it might not be lawful fraudulently or violently to take them from their parents) ought to be baptized." They found this policy in Scripture, noting that Abraham had circumcised all of those in his household, "even those whom he had bought with his money," and not related ethnically to the Hebrews. However the English noted that if these were "adulti, they might not be baptized till they made profession of the Christian faith." The delegates from Bremen agreed while the Swiss and South-Hollanders opposed, believing that ethnic parents were not covered by the covenant of which baptism was the sign.<sup>71</sup>

There was much activity going on outside of the synod and on 2 December 1618 the president of the synod met with Carleton. Bishop Carleton met him "under benedicite." They discussed the Remonstrants whom the president believed "would become suitors to the secular deputies." There was a sense that the Remonstrants would try to take their case beyond the aegis of the religious synod. Carleton was told that the Remonstrants "would use the English as mediators" to present their case. Then the Remonstrants would call into question the right of the presidentship, since the

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<sup>71</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 30.

office had been designated by the Dutch "without any respect had unto the foreigners." The legal nuances with which the Remonstrants were playing indicated that they knew that their doctrine would not have a fair hearing.

In any case, Carleton heard all this and his reply eased the president's worries. The Bishop of Llandaff told the Dutchman that since the English were members of the synod "they would not do anything clancularly [sic] without the consent and privity of the whole company." In regard to the second issue, Carleton said that, since the English had already acknowledged the presidency, they would continue to support the office. The president should feel secure in his position.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, the president need not have feared the English delegates championing the rights of the Remonstrants, since to have done so would have broken their instructions from the king. What is striking about this meeting is that the Remonstrants might have perceived the English as a group that would defend their rights.

The meeting may also have been on Carleton's mind when he attended the Tuesday, 4 December 1618 session. The synod was still debating baptism and preaching. The last point of debate dealt with the question of whether or not the synod's power to bind covered all the provinces or could the synod merely advise the provinces of the synod's determinations.

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<sup>72</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 31-32.

The synod turned to the Bishop of Llandaff and asked what he thought of the issue. Carleton answered with the skill of a logician. He noted that the synod had to "distinguish betwixt things necessary, and not necessary." Anything decreed "absolutely necessary should be absolutely decreed: other things should be left arbitrary." There seems to be an echo of the adiaphora debates in this determination. When the Dutch heard Carleton they agreed with his findings "by the major part of voices, and was synodically concluded."<sup>73</sup> Carleton's distinction between the necessary and arbitrary also related to his position against papists.

As the synod continued to wait for the arrival of the Remonstrants, the President suggested the members might consider the questions already in print. Since "every man was suffered to print what he listed...." there was a call for time to think before committing their opinion to print. The English delegation thought that the synod should call upon the States General to deal with these issues since they went beyond the scope of the synod. Before anything was printed the English thought censors were needed to approve any such books that might go to press. Other items were added by other delegates, such as a set number of printers; oaths to be taken; no heretical books were to be produced, especially David Georgius and Socinus; no libels; no

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<sup>73</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 39.

obscenity; no anonymous works; good proofreaders hired.<sup>74</sup>

The English were concerned with the production and control of the books, aware of the late libellous tract against the king and also of the impact of heterodoxical texts.<sup>75</sup>

Carleton's advice was passed by the synod. Dudley Carleton wrote to England that in the synod "a placard is published by the state general against printing books, libels, and pamphlets, sine privilegio."<sup>76</sup>

The influence of the English was again apparent on Wednesday 5 December when the admittance of a Gronuigen delegate "was transacted in Dutch, yet the consent of the English was asked." Hales was somewhat amused at this request since there was no way the English could know what had passed in the discussion until they were translated into Latin.<sup>77</sup>

When the Remonstrants finally arrived, Hales noted that they were seated at a previously unused table in the middle of the hall. Simon Episcopus spoke for them and, though they were late in arriving the synod granted a recess for

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<sup>74</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 49. Letter of Wednesday, 5 December 1618.

<sup>75</sup>For censorship see Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship," Past and Present 124 (August 1989), pp. 36-68.

<sup>76</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 330. 31 December 1618, Carleton to Secretary Naunton.

<sup>77</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 42.

the Remonstrants to be prepared. Polyander was cited by the Remonstrants who noted that they had not been informed of any conference, but that they were to be judged for their opinions, as the letters citing them to attend attest.

The Remonstrants opinions on predestination were rooted in the supralapsarian perspective. The implication drawn from their supralapsarian views, which the Remonstrants had been professing, allowed for faith and obedience in matters of salvation. They further believed that Christ's death gained redemption for all who believed. This universal redemption was contrary to the belief that Christ died only for the elect. Further, the Remonstrants professed that in order to believe individuals, through the power of God, had the use of free will to understand and perform what was truly good according to God's word. What followed was the ability of the individual to resist the gifts of God. The Remonstrants felt that more inquiry of Scripture was necessary before they would declare whether or not one of the elect could fall from grace. The Remonstrant's beliefs contradicted the doctrine espoused by the synod at the start of their proceedings. Perhaps the prejudgment of the Remonstrants for these views allowed the president to grant them their recess.

During the recess, Carleton had another visitor on 6 December. His cousin, Dudley came to Dort and "my Lord Bishop was desirous M. Carleton should stay this day, to see

the coming of the remonstrants. I would have him stay tomorrow likewise, that he might have seen the manner of proceeding with them, but he would not."<sup>78</sup> Though the Ambassador did not stay the bishop would have informed him of the way the synod was proceeding.

Hales reported that the English and other foreign delegates on 7 December 1618 took a two part oath first sworn by the synod's president: "ego promitto coram Deo, (thus and thus) ita propitius mihi sit servatur Christus. [I openly promise in this way that for me gracious Christ might be served]." These words were followed by the delegates: "Likewise I openly promise to serve God and the holy."<sup>79</sup> The synod appears to have been preparing for the final act.

After a few days the Remonstrants re-appeared before the synod on 10 December and presented a "supplication lately exhibited by the remonstrant unto the exteri" which was not read publicly. A copy of the Remonstrants supplication was sent along to Dudley as part of the ongoing correspondence between the cousins.<sup>80</sup> Fuller added that on the same day, Walter Balcanqual arrived at the synod. He produced his royal Credential Letters from King James which

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<sup>78</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 49. Again Hales is not clear as to who this person may be.

<sup>79</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 75-76. "Idem promitto coram Deo et sancto servature."

<sup>80</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 50.

were read publicly at the synod. The President of the Synod welcomed him with a Oration, and Balcanqual replied with his own speech and he was added to the English delegation.<sup>81</sup> Balcanqual who had been called "no friend of his national church ... doubtless of the episcopalian party" was from Scotland.<sup>82</sup> This distinction in the kingdoms has not been addressed by recent historians who see James's kingdoms as a single unit.<sup>83</sup>

The Dutch made this distinction for a few days later Hales wrote that after the admission of the Scottish deputy, Balcanqual, was led to his seat, "which is a little seat made under the English seats, where he sits alone." When he had addressed the synod, he took his oaths and noted the link of the "Scotch nation" with Dutch. He "demerulistis ecclesiam Scoticanam [obliged the Scottish Church]" to the interest of peace and the unity of all the Reformed Churches.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. IV, pp. 77-80, pars. 63-71. Balcanqual was as slightly less qualified than the other delegate holding only a "Bachelour of Divinity, and [being] Fellow of Pembroke-Hall."

<sup>82</sup>Aikins, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, vol. 2, p. 125.

<sup>83</sup>See Conrad Russell, Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); Maurice Lee Jr., Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I and His Three Kingdoms (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

<sup>84</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 82-83. Letter of 20 December 1618.

From Hales's letter of 17 December Carleton was also busy behind the scene. Bishop Carleton was somewhat displeased by Mr. Aymes, who acted as a go between for Dudley Carleton at the Hague and the English at Dort. Aymes had given Carleton a book by Grevinchovius. In the preface of the book there were citations from a book by Aymes, containing "certain words very reproachful unto Bishops."<sup>85</sup> Carleton had defended his episcopal office and would do so again shortly at the synod.

When the Remonstrants finally appeared at the synod, Hales wrote that they were required to state positively their position. In prior meetings they had spoken in the negative as to what they opposed and what they disagreed with and not what they professed. The Remonstrants wanted more time to prepare. Corvinus spoke out on the term used by the president to describe the Remonstrant. As Hales noted Corvinus complained that what he had already done was because he allowed himself to be used by others. Though Hales was unsure about this he had "heard Scultetus tell my Lord Bishop" the same story.<sup>86</sup>

Finally after Christmas the president of the synod told the Remonstrant on 28 December that they were required to

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<sup>85</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 81. Letter dated 17 December 1618.

<sup>86</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 78-81. Letter of 17 December 1618.

give their reasons of faith which they had espoused for years. Their time was up and they had to give an answer to the synod. Though the Remonstrants saw the "synod as an adversary, they had been already taught sufficiently by the foreign divines that the synod could not be counted pars adversa [part of the opposition]." The Remonstrants replied that they needed a copy of the reasons given by the foreign divines on these points so that they could consider them, but the synod denied them this request.<sup>87</sup>

During the month of December there had been the makings of a pan-Protestant front. The behind the scenes project was Moulin's proposal. Hales described this as "a general confession, and a peaceable treaty for union with the Lutheran churches." Though Hales saw no problem with the first "there being no point of faith in which they differ" he worried "concerning church government" since he cannot see all churches being governed alike. Regarding the Lutherans, he was unsure, thinking that Moulin sought at best a mutual toleration though even this seemed impossible to Hales who believed that the Lutherans "would rather agree with the church of Rome than with the Calvinist."<sup>88</sup>

In December Dudley wrote to England about this project, based on what Carleton had told him. Dudley wrote that:

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<sup>87</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 102.

<sup>88</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 109-111.

I do not find mons. du Moulin's projects so well tasted by our divines; as by some other strangers, who have had them in consultation: but since his majesty doth not dislike to have trial made of them, it shall be performed with that caution, as your honor doth recommend.<sup>89</sup>

King James was interested in Moulin's plan since the role he would play fit into James's view of himself as a peacemaker.<sup>90</sup>

The next month Hales spoke to the president of the synod about the project and "his answer to me was this, that he communicated the thing with some of the discreeter [sic] of the synod, and that he required my Lord Bishop and Scultetus to conceive of a form of public confession."<sup>91</sup> Nothing ever came of this innovative proposal.

On 3 January 1619 the synod required the Remonstrants to stay in Dort, to appear when called, and to "answer plainly and directly." These requirements were "read in Dutch, and afterwards, for the information of the foreigners, it was put into Latin."<sup>92</sup> Two days later the Remonstrants were dismissed from the synod. The synod's president told the Remonstrants that the foreign delegates

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<sup>89</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 330. 31 December 1618, Carleton to Secretary Naunton.

<sup>90</sup>Platt, "Eirencial Anglicans," p. 221.

<sup>91</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 136 January 1619.

<sup>92</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 113.

"all with one consent think you indignis esse quibus cum diutius res agatur."<sup>93</sup>

Hall had taken ill during the winter months and by December Dudley Carleton wrote to England that he was housing the Dean of Worcester "who continues very weak; but is much comforted with his majesty's gracious care of him, and leave for his return...."<sup>94</sup> Finally on 7 January 1619 Thomas Goad arrived to take Hall's place. Letters written by Hall were read to the synod and Goad was assigned his place.<sup>95</sup> Fuller wrote that Goad was a Doctor of Divinity and chaplain to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. As such the new delegate's "inclination to the doctrine of Calvin may probably be inferred." There was also a sense of Goad being "an overbearing disputant."<sup>96</sup> Goad's connection to Abbot saw the synod's president entertain him with a solemn speech. The president highly commended King James's care for not recalling one delegate until he had replaced him with another. Goad answered "with a pithy Oration," and promised "the utmost of his assistance to the general good."

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<sup>93</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 122-124. Letter of 5 January 1619.

<sup>94</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 330. 31 December 1618, Carleton to Secretary Naunton.

<sup>95</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 127-128.

<sup>96</sup>Aikins, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, vol. 2, p. 125.

Fuller believed that Goad lived up to his promise since at later sessions Goad gave "ample testimony of his general learning and solid judgment in Divinity." The only problem was Goad's late appointment as a delegate.<sup>97</sup>

On Wednesday, 9 January, though the synod did not meet during the day, that night the English delegation went "in private to the praeses" for a consultation about the manner of proceeding. Hales was not privy to this meeting but he believed that what was arrived at was "not altogether so well approved" by the entire delegation.<sup>98</sup> The letter indicated that there was some dissatisfaction among the delegates as to how the synod was proceeding.

The next day Thursday, 10 January, a commission met in private to consider a series of questions. This was whether the president's theses "perfectly contain the opinion of the remonstrant." The issue of whether or not election to salvation was singular or was manifold was discussed. Next on the agenda was whether or not election was from faith and obedience since "the remonstrant teaches, that God foresaw only who would believe, and so ordained and elected only to glory: the contra-remonstrant teaches that God ordained who should believe, and so predestinated and elected both to grace and glory." Finally the committee discussed "the

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<sup>97</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. IV, pp. 77-80, pars. 63-71.

<sup>98</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 117.

means how true believers become sure of their salvation." The synod was asked to write their comments on these articles. The English, along with delegates from the southern provinces of Holland, and Festus Hommius wrote on these issues with "every man according to his discretion" preparing a text that they then "submitted to the judgment of the synod," having them read in public. Hales forwarded a copy of the English statement to Dudley Carleton.<sup>99</sup>

On 11 January the synod asked all the foreign divines to devise a means to answer the Remonstrant. There was a need to deny the "late exceptions" of the Remonstrants, and to provide those reasons in writing by the next session. The synod thought to try to make them relent somewhat in their opposition.<sup>100</sup>

Carleton wrote to his cousin as to how the delegation should proceed on this point. Carleton felt that the English can "first draw a confession" out of the Church of England's doctrine, which had been part of the king's instructions. This would then be presented to the Palatines, and the remaining Protestants. The Bishop of Llandaff was aware of the outbreak of hostilities between Catholic and Protestant forces and that the king's daughter and son-in-law were intimately involved. In this light the

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<sup>99</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 117-118.

<sup>100</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 108.

other Protestant delegates, Carleton stated, could "add what they think fit." The resulting proceedings could then be sent to King James.<sup>101</sup> Since the issue dealt with doctrine, Carleton was concerned with how far to proceed without authorization. He worried that "some few things may be added to the English confession" by other Reformed Churches. Carleton was against "taking any thing out of the English confession," but he would not agree to anything until he communicated with the king "that it may not be a rub" to the Church of England.<sup>102</sup>

The point of contention that bothered Carleton was the phrase descendit ad inferos [he descended into hell]. The Church of England had a different interpretation of this phrase than the other Reformed Churches. Bishop Carleton followed Calvin's interpretation which portrayed Christ taking on the full weight of humanity's pain and loss.<sup>103</sup>

Fretting over this difficulty he wrote that "if we lay down the bare words, "descendit ad inferos"; and the Palatines shall add the words of their confession, for expounding those words; this question, I say, would be

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<sup>101</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 333. 15 January 1619, Dr George Carleton to Dudley, from Dort.

<sup>102</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 333. 15 January 1619, Dr George Carleton to Dudley, from Dort.

<sup>103</sup>For a view of how this phrase changed see Dewey D. Wallace Jr, Puritans and Predestination (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), pp. 33, 48, 73, 126.

known, whether his majesty and the church of England will suffer their exposition to pass." Changing the interpretation of the words would run counter to the English doctrine laid out in the Thirty-Nine Articles.

Bishop Carleton realized that in regard to "other things there will be no great difficulty," but since he was involved in these issues he felt that he needed to be prepared for what might arise. No matter what, Carleton was resolved to first frame the English doctrine and the others could give their consent or make additions. In framing out this doctrine Carleton wanted to be able to supply the basic articles of faith, in case there was some defect found in them, from the Scottish confession and John Jewel's Apology. Carleton recognized that Jewel's Apology had not been established as an accepted authority on faith. However, Carleton believed that "considering the time of publishing ... the same hand wrote both" the Apology and the Thirty-Nine Articles.<sup>104</sup>

The combination of English and Scottish doctrine as the basis for the Church of England's faith is a curious point that demands further inquiry. At the synod, though, Carleton was talking about altering a portion of the Church of England's Thirty-Nine Articles without recourse to a

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<sup>104</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 333. 15 January 1619, Dr George Carleton to Dudley, from Dort.

convocation of the clergy, instead relying on the authority of the king. Carleton continued to express his concerns:

these things being known before-hand might set the work in some forwardness. And now by thinking of these things more difficulties do arise, which are to be answered before we can proceed. In doctrinal matters, there will be no great difficulty. But in the articles of faith and religion, which contain the confession of the English church; there are two things, which must be considered in this business: the first, of Homilies to be read in the church; the other is de episcoporum & ministrorum conderatione [consideration of bishops and ministers]. The question is, what should be done with this; seeing the consecration of bishops is a thing, which other churches use not: and the Homilies are only in English, and may not bind a consent of other churches, who know not what is contained in them.<sup>105</sup>

This was a vast difference between the Church of England and the other Reformed Churches. The Bishop of Chichester would have to find a way to defend episcopacy before the synod.

Bishop Carleton was able to write that "the synod matters proceed now in good fashion; and, we hope, will do better and better. They are desirous to have many sessions, though little be done in a session" though much was going on behind the scenes at informal meetings. This was apparent when Bishop Carleton noted that he undertook "a kind of episcopal authority" when he convened a meeting of the heads of all the foreign delegations. At this meeting he proposed to the various delegates the necessity of a mutual agreement among themselves.

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<sup>105</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 333. 15 January 1619, Dr George Carleton to Dudley, from Dort.

The bishop feared that a scandal might arise, if any of the foreign delegates should have a falling out with one another. Carleton showed them a tentative proposal which they were asked to consent to so that the work could be prepared for the synod. The delegates saw the sense of this and "with many thanks for devising a way to draw them together," all but one agreed. The dissenting vote came from the delegation headed by Martin of Bremen, for whose "sake and satisfaction the meeting was partly intended." The Bishop of Llandaff hoped that they could "quiet him in the end," and the English applied themselves through dinner. Martin of Bremen "shall neither want kindness to draw him, nor reasons to satisfy him. Our intention is to forward the synod, which we think was more procured here in two or three hours, than is done in many sessions" believed Carleton.<sup>106</sup>

Hales noted on 16 January that not all the foreign delegates were pleased with how the Remonstrants were dismissed from the synod. Indeed "[t]he foreigners had spoken very favorably on the remonstrant behalf" but the provincial delegates "established a rigid sentence against the foreigners liking." So that the foreign delegates views were solely interpreted by the provincials.<sup>107</sup> Now Hales

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<sup>106</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 333. 15 January 1619, Dr George Carleton to Dudley, from Dort.

<sup>107</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 125.

was worried about how the synod would proceed in dealings with Remonstrants:

I perceive there is some variance about their form of preceding: Mr Praeses is desirous that the course he hath thought of may take place; the English and others that some more ready and compendious way may be taken.

Hales was unsure of the outcome.<sup>108</sup>

On 18 January, at the Friday evening session, Gomarus gave an answer to some parts of scripture which the Remonstrants used to defend their doctrine. On the night before, Dr. Sibrandus Lubbertus had also expounded on these passages.<sup>109</sup> Both men performed in the manner of "divinity lectures." Hales noted that Gomarus agreed with Theodore Beza and William Perkins. Gomarus spoke for more than an hour and half, pressing for a supralapsarian view. Part of his argument rested on a selective reading of the Latin version of the Seventeenth Article. He appropriated only the words quosdam ex humano genere, leaving out the phrase that follows, in exitio et maledicto. Gomarus was followed by the Bishop of Llandaff and Dr. Goad, with the latter reading the entire Seventeenth Article to the Synod. The Bishop also "delivered himself concerning the meaning of the

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<sup>108</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 118f. Letter of 16 January 1619.

<sup>109</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 133. These places were John 3:36, Ephesians 1:4 and Hebrews 11:6.

same places of scripture" on which the Article was based. After Bishop Carleton the other foreign delegates spoke.<sup>110</sup>

A week later, on 25 January, Hales wrote that Martin of Brene "is somewhat favorable to some tenets of the remonstrant, concerning reprobation, the latitude of Christ's merit, the salvation of infants, and so to bring him to some conformity." There had been further private meetings among the foreign delegates at Bishop Carleton's lodgings. There, though Martin of Bremen would not change his mind, "he promised moderation and temper...."<sup>111</sup>

Carleton went out of his way to win over Martin. Hales noted that on 29 January the Bishop of Llandaff had taken "some pains" with Martin, "to bring him from his opinions of universal grace." By chance Hales had seen a letter the bishop had written to Martin, in which the bishop expounded on the passages Gomarus and Lubbertus had spoken. The main passage on which Martin rested his belief received Bishop Carleton's exegesis.<sup>112</sup>

The concern over the publication of a book arose again during the synod. Dudley Carleton noted that "some discontented Scotchman" had written a book "against the bishops in that kingdom." The ambassador forwarded a copy

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<sup>110</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 133.

<sup>111</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 139.

<sup>112</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, pp. 145-146. The passage was John 3.

which he had received from Carleton who had in turn received the book from "Debetius, one of the provincials at the synod; he saying, that it was sent to him in a packet with some others from England; and that he thought it his duty to bring it to the bishop."<sup>113</sup> The transportation of a banned book from one country to another was clearly evident in this episode. So too was the animosity to the episcopacy in Scotland which would have dire consequences for England in the decades after Carleton's death.

On 31 January the synod addressed the issue of the resistibility of God's grace, the fourth article. Carleton was amazed that after all the delaying the synod now appeared to be racing through the proceedings. He felt that this haste was improper since opinions on the first article had yet to be rendered.<sup>114</sup>

The proceedings continued apace and on 4 February the synod discussed the writing of books about the synod. One proposed book was on the findings of the synod regarding articles of faith. However, the framing of these articles began before the synod had reached any formal and public conclusions and there was debate against producing such a text. As Hales noted that for "the scriptum didacticum the English were altogether against it." So too were others

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<sup>113</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 335. Letter dated 27 January 1619, Carleton to Naunton.

<sup>114</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 147.

including Vosbergius. The English reason for their opposition was obvious as the synod had yet to set forth the doctrine of any articles. To publish anything would be incongruous.<sup>115</sup> Though the English were against such a work the synod went ahead with Wallaeus, Udemannus, and Triglandius assigned "to write a discourse to that purpose." However, the work was to be inspected and supervised by "my Lord Bishop, Scultetus, Brittingerus, and Deodatus."<sup>116</sup>

Hales began to grow more and more cynical of the synod, writing "[o]ur synod goes on like a watch, the main wheels upon which the whole business turns are least in sight; for all things of moment are acted in private sessions; what is done in public is only for shew and entertainment."<sup>117</sup> These behind the scene machinations were necessary. For instance, by February 1619 Ward had begun to think like Martin of Bremen on the issue of universal grace. To reconcile these two so that there would be no "public inconvenience," there had recently been many private meetings in the bishop's lodgings. At one meeting aimed at reconciliation there "were drawn certain theses in very

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<sup>115</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 149 Letter dated 4 February 1619.

<sup>116</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 149. Letter dated 7 February 1619. Other English delegates were to participate in producing the three other texts resolved upon at this session.

<sup>117</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 148. Letter dated 7 February 1619.

suspense and wary terms." Hales had no idea what these contained since he did not have a chance to read the articles.<sup>118</sup>

The concerns of Martin of Bremen indicate that Heylyn misread the records. Heylyn incorrectly related that "the British Divines, together with one of those that came from Breme, maintained an Universality of Redemption of Mankind by the death of Christ." He was correct, however, when he noted that this doctrine would be adhered to by the rest of the synod.<sup>119</sup> Only one of the delegation apparently held this position, and the Bishop of Llandaff was definitely set against such doctrine.

Carleton wrote days later that one side was "so snappish" that the delegates seemed to look out for occasions in other men's speeches, so that they could "vent their bitter humors." Carleton felt this served a positive purpose since such actions cleared the air. He was glad that the matters seemed to be mild and did not generate greater problems. He was also keeping track of Moulin's project. Bishop Carleton wrote that the synod's president was now of the mind that the work should be drawn from one common confession for all the delegates. The president thought that this could be done easily. The English were

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<sup>118</sup>Hales, Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 152. Letter dated 7 February 1619.

<sup>119</sup>Heylyn, Aerivs Redivivus, pp. 403-404.

supposed to be drawn in to giving consent to the Belgic confession, while the Belgic church was to agree to the English confession. Once there was agreement between these two the other princes could also come to such a mutual consent, "so that none may depart from the received doctrines without the consent of the rest."<sup>120</sup>

As the synod wound down the Belgian Confession was presented to the synod, containing matter both of doctrine, and discipline. A public consent was required and was given by Bishop Carleton as representative for the whole synod in matters of doctrine. However, on the issue of discipline, he was unable to give full acceptance since the clergy of the Church of England might suffer and so he entered a protest. The Reformed Churches did not agree with the episcopal form of church government. Carleton defended the office of the bishop with a brief speech on matters of discipline. He stated that there had never been any "parity of Ministers" within the Church, not "even in the time of Christ himself", indeed the twelve Apostles were superior to the other disciples. Nor was there parity in the time of the Apostles, or in the following ages. The Bishop of Llandaff argued that not all the ministers of Christ were equal. Even though the seventy Disciples were equally Ministers of Christ with the Apostles, "yet it follows not

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<sup>120</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 340. Letter dated 16 February 1619, Bishop of Llandaff to Carleton.

thence, they were equal with the Apostles." He noted that although "all men altogether are equally men, yet thence it cannot be inferred, that one man ought not to be subject to another." The bishop used this logical argument in his speech but he tried not to offend the other Reformed Churches. He sought only to defend his own Church of England and his own office.<sup>121</sup>

Dudley Carleton informed the king about the synod's work in the framing of their articles. The Ambassador noted that in doing so the English delegates "did well acquit themselves." The delegates had worked to change the synod's intention of having the findings of the synod "dictated by the ecclesiastical president." Instead the synod was now to have the articles "first digested by certain select persons, and examined in the several colleges." This method was in agreement with the wishes of the States General. The outcome of the synod was of "the chiefest importance" to Maurice and he acknowledged the assistance, and counsel, of "those employed by his majesty."<sup>122</sup> The articles were still being formulated as winter drew to an end.

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<sup>121</sup> Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. v, pp. 81-84, pars. 1-4.

<sup>122</sup> Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 351. Letter dated 19 March 1619, Carleton to Naunton.

By early spring 1619 Dudley Carleton wrote that the articles "touching the five points in controversy were published yesterday in the forenoon in the great church; where the synod was held, by reason of the great concourse of people." People "of all sexes and all qualities" came out to read the results. The masses of people caused some confusion in the town. Despite this confusion the synod's conclusions were "subscribed universally by all." The States General also approved the synod's findings. The catechism and the agreed upon confession were allowed. The Remonstrants were condemned and found incapable of performing any ministerial functions in churches or schools. They were not to be admitted into any church or school while they continued in their profession of heterodoxy. The Remonstrants were granted some moderation. For the space of one year they were either find new employment or recant. The doctrine of the Arminians in general was declared Pelagianism. This conflation had occurred in England and again showed a tentative connection of Arminian and Catholic doctrine.<sup>123</sup> The perception of this relationship seems to be particular to the English.

The synod had come to an end, Fuller noted, on the 29 April. By that time, Bishop Carleton's Oration had been printed and Dudley Carleton supplied Chamberlain with a

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<sup>123</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 361. Letter dated 27 April 1619, Carleton to Naunton.

copy. He in turn loaned the text to the Archbishop of Spalato and then to Lancelot Andrewes.<sup>124</sup>

With the formal synod over, the States General expressed their gratitude to the English delegates. On their departure, the delegates received two hundred pounds to pay for their return journey. Each was given a golden medallion with an engraving of the sitting of the synod. The delegation, after months of being "fastened to their chairs and desks," believed that since their work was over, they could have some time to relax.

The delegates went on a tour of the most eminent Dutch cities. Everywhere the English were "bountiful received," except at Leyden, though Fuller noted that those who were the most learned showed the "least civility." We must recall that Leyden housed the university where Arminius and Vorstius had held teaching positions. When the English arrived at Leyden the professors of Humanity at the university were Remonstrants, who "were disaffected to the decisions of this Synod." The ambassador gave the States General public thanks in the name of King James, for the respect given to the English delegation. The Ambassador said that the delegation "had been entertained at Amsterdam, welcomed at the Hague, cheerfully received at Rotterdam, kindly embraced at Utreich, &c. and that they had been to

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<sup>124</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, pp. 226, 230. Letters dated 10 April and 17 April 1619.

Leyden."<sup>125</sup> Since Vorstius was still teaching in Leyden the cold reception the delegation seemed to receive at the city is hardly surprising.

In May Dudley Carleton wrote directly to James and the English delegates. The Ambassador noted that the synod and Prince Maurice had given their leave for the delegation to return to England. The Dutch had been fully satisfied with "these reverend persons, and their great obligation for the favor." The synod openly acknowledged their thanks. Dudley Carleton believed that the resolution of the synod had given "a new soul and life to this state." The Dutch professed to owe the king a great thanks. Through the help of the English the Dutch had been able to quell a "revolution in this state." The Dutch had for a period of time been "overswayed by disaffected persons, both in church and commonwealth," which the synod had rooted out.<sup>126</sup>

While the delegation had traveled the conclusions of the synod were printed in a folio work entitled, Acta Synodi Nationalis. The final resolutions were a belief in unconditional predestination, limited atonement, total depravity of humanity, the irresistibility of God's grace

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<sup>125</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. v, pp. 81-84, pars. 1-4. Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 160 stated that "Carleton and Davenant acquitted themselves ably at the Synod" but he missed all honors that the Dutch George for his part in the assembly.

<sup>126</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 366. Letter dated 8 May 1619, Carleton to the king from the Hague.

and the final perseverance of the elect. A copy was presented to King James by Festus Hommius, who had acted as one the scribes of the synod. At the same time the Arminians at Antwerp printed a volume of their actions at Dort, even though the publication of the book had been forbidden in many provinces.<sup>127</sup> The printed findings of the synod preceded the delegation's return to England. Years after, in 1624, Bishop Carleton urged Archbishop Abbot to adopt the printed findings of Dort. Carleton felt that this could be done through convocation, however these canons were never accepted by the Church of England.<sup>128</sup>

Fuller wrote that with "testimonial Letters, over they came into England, and first presented themselves to King James." Though James was still in mourning for Queen Anne, he was able to jest, calling the delegates "my good Mourners, alluding to their black habit." He spoke to them and after courteously entertaining them, the king favorably dismissed them.<sup>129</sup> Now back in England and at court again the king remarked to Carleton that "in truth those Remonstrant were Pelagians."<sup>130</sup> The delegates returned to

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<sup>127</sup>Dudley Carleton, Letters, p. 458. Letter dated 19 May 1620, Carleton to Naunton.

<sup>128</sup>PRO, SP 14/164, fo. 19v.

<sup>129</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. v, pp. 81-84, pars. 1-4.

<sup>130</sup>PRO, SP 14/100/80 quoted in Kauntz, "Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 161.

their former positions with little to show for their time spent away from England.

By 23 August 1619 Chamberlain had "a booke of the Synod" in his possession which indicated what Carleton and the other delegates had accomplished.<sup>131</sup> The Latin work was soon translated into English and the delegates' actions were evident to all. Even with a triumphal performance at Dort, Carleton's concern, on his return to England, remained focused on papists. This may not be surprising since the king was still involved with dealing with English Catholics. Though the Oath of Allegiance debate had faded, a few years later in 1616 James expressed his concern over the religious matter of recusancy.<sup>132</sup> Bishop Carleton had successfully championed English doctrine and church government in the Synod of Dort and now he turned to an older foe, the papists.

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<sup>131</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, 259. Letter dated 23 August 1619. This reference was to the Acta Synodi Nationalis.

<sup>132</sup>Political Works of James I ed., Charles H. McIlwain (New York, 1965), passim.

## Chapter Four

### Reaping the Rewards: 1619-1624

Bishop George Carleton's translation to Chichester brought him into contact with the administrative aspects of the episcopal office. Carleton's installation as bishop demonstrates the various levels of clerical administrative offices involved in translating a bishop. As bishop, Carleton also points out the role the higher clergy played in Parliament through their attendance in the House of Lords. During the 1620s, at home and in Parliament, Carleton participated in vocal expressions of anti-Spanish and anti-papal sentiment. However, both these sentiments had been muted during Carleton's time at the Synod of Dort.

For his participation at Dort Bishop Carleton earned high praise from the Dutch in the spring of 1619. The only lasting relic Carleton had was the golden medallion.<sup>1</sup> The medal may have been a standard for on 1 January 1620, Carleton's cousin, Dudley, noted that Lord Doncaster's chaplain, John Donne, was given "such a medal of the synod

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year MDCXLVIII, (London, 1655), bk. 10, sec. v, p. 81, pars. 1.

as was given to the bishop of Llandaff."<sup>2</sup> For all the notoriety gained at the synod, when the delegates appointed by King James I returned to England from Dort in the spring of 1619 there was no guarantee that the king would reward them for their services with advancement within the clergy.

The Bishop of Llandaff and the other delegates needed to be at court in order to be included within the patronage system. While they had been at Dort, the clerical patronage system had continued to function in their absence. One of John Chamberlain's letters noted that Bishop Carleton was the best possible candidate for the recently vacated see at Oxford.<sup>3</sup>

Not being at court to influence the decision making process probably counted against Bishop Carleton's being translated from Llandaff to Oxford. Their return merely served to further cloud the issue of preferment. Such was the case when Bishop John Overall of Norwich died. His death provoked a flurry of activity within the Church of England, as patronage wheels moved to fill the vacant see. The death of a high-ranking clergyman had ripple effects. We can see that Overall's death meant not only a single

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<sup>2</sup>Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters ed., Maurice Lee Jr. (New Brunswick, NJ; Rutgers University Press, 1972), p. 275.

<sup>3</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, Norman Egbert McClure ed., (American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia, 1939), vol. 2, p. 160. Letter dated 29 April 1618.

vacancy in the clerical hierarchy. The naming of a bishop to Norwich opened up other positions in the clerical hierarchy as various churchmen were shifted to new offices. So when King James translated Samuel Harsnett to Norwich, the see at Chichester became vacant. Now the question was who would fill Harsnett's position and names began to fly as once again the patronage system surged into high gear. Wood believed that since Bishop Carleton "behaved himself so admirable well, to the credit of our Nation," that he was a candidate for Chichester.<sup>4</sup>

John Chamberlain noted the various machinations of the system in his correspondence. In one letter Chamberlain wrote of his meeting with Bishop Carleton at Islington on the delegate's return to England. The two men spoke haltingly of the possibility of the bishop's advancement. The Bishop of Llandaff may not have felt that his advancement was secure though Chamberlain recounted that there was no question of the matter.<sup>5</sup> Yet when the Bishop of Llandaff spoke to Chamberlain he "wold not clearly confess how forward he was in his hopes."<sup>6</sup> Bishop Carleton

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<sup>4</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses an Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford. (London, 1691), col. 441.

<sup>5</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 241. Letter dated 31 May 1619.

<sup>6</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 241. Letter dated 31 May 1619.

had been in this position once before when he felt assured of gaining the see of Carlisle, only to lose out so he was hesitant about voicing his hopes.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps the bishop was right in not verbalizing his hopes for, though the position was available, Carleton did not obtain the see of Chichester on his immediate return to England. He was forced to be patient through the spring and summer as King James became seriously ill. Fearing the worst outcome of his illness, James gave his instructions to Prince Charles in which "he gave him charge of religion, and of respecting Bishops, as grave and wise men, and best companions for Princes."<sup>8</sup> From his first years as king of England, James had recognized the relationship of monarch and episcopacy and sought to affirm this in his son's mind. The often quoted adage "No bishop, No king" proclaimed by James at Hampton Court in 1604 seemed to equate the two offices. Yet however respectful of the bishops, James, as king, retained the title of Supreme Governor of the church and carefully weighed his clerical appointments. The king's deliberate consideration added to the often ponderous mechanism of the patronage system.

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<sup>7</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 15. Letter dated 6 July 1616.

<sup>8</sup>PRO, SP 14/108/22 quoted in Arthur P. Kauntz, "The Selection of Jacobean Bishops," in Early Stuart Studies. Essays in Honor of David Harris Willson ed., Howard S. Reinmuth, Jr. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970), p. 154.

Carleton would have remembered that in 1610, after Archbishop Bancroft had died, the king had spent months thinking before elevating George Abbot to the see of Canterbury. So aspiring Jacobean clergy learned the art of patience. Through the spring and summer Carleton waited. Finally James decided to reward Carleton by translating him to Chichester from Llandaff on 3 September 1619. Carleton was not alone in reaping the benefits of the king's bounty as Davenant's role at the synod was "undoubtedly viewed with favor by the king and may have earned him his appointment to the episcopal bench" which he held at Salisbury until 1621.<sup>9</sup> The king issued a congé d'élire that named Carleton to the diocese of Chichester as successor to Harsnett.<sup>10</sup> In his appointment Carleton followed a line of former Merton Fellows who had occupied the see of Chichester.<sup>11</sup> The most

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<sup>9</sup>Sara Jean Clausen, "Calvinism in the Anglican Hierarchy, 1603-1643: Four Episcopal Examples" (Ph. D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1989), p. 112.

<sup>10</sup>John Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857, (University of London, 1971), vol. 2; The Dean and Chapter of Chichester, Episcopal Election Papers; PRO, C66/2211. The congé d'élire (French: permission to elect) was the royal nomination, especially of a bishop. The 1534 Annates Statute (25 Henry VIII, c. 20) had vested the power of appointment in the crown. When a bishopric fell vacant, a congé d'élire was granted to the dean and chapter who were required to elect the person named by the crown in the accompanying 'letters missive'. This was reaffirmed by the 1559 Act of Supremacy.

<sup>11</sup>William Harrison, The Description of England (Washington D. C.: Folger Library, 1994), p. 45, wrote that: "I read not of anie one that hath been of more estimation than William Read, sometime fellow of Merteine college in

recent connection between Merton and Chichester had been the naming of Thomas Bickley, the Warden of Merton, as bishop in 1585 when Carleton was still a Merton Fellow. Dallaway described the bishops of Chichester, Andrewes and Harsnett, as following "sound doctrine, aided by eloquence, chiefly contributed to establish the reformed national church."<sup>12</sup> Former Bishop of Chichester Andrewes has often been noted as a supporter of English Arminianism and we have to wonder what Dallaway meant by sound doctrine. In Carleton's case, his entire career and his published works defended the doctrine of the Church of England. He won high praise for his oratorical skills and sought to firmly establish the church. The last act involved Carleton in a conflict with papists, Jesuits and recusants, or those within the Church whose doctrine seemed tainted with papal doctrine.

Carleton was not alone in this conflict. Though his actions indicate that he was a lifelong careerist he championed the mainstream position of the Church of England against the enemies he perceived. The mainstream needs to be fully understood in order to apprehend opposition to the status quo. The Church's position entailed a connection to the state and monarchy which Carleton also defended. The

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Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which I sometime did possess; ...."

<sup>12</sup>James Dallaway, A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex (London, 1819), vol. 3, p. cxiv.

animosity of the Church of England to papists often ran into the king's foreign policy and Carleton had to find a middle road.

Though King James, as Supreme Governor, had nominal power he recognized that he could not simply do as he pleased. However, at this time there was no real constraint on royal ecclesiastical power of appointments as is evidenced by the pro forma "election" of the new bishop by the Dean and Chapter of Chichester.<sup>13</sup> The diocesan records show that the election of Carleton as bishop began on 6 September 1619 when the royal cong  d' lire was read before the Cathedral Chapter. The time and date of 8 September, a Wednesday, between nine and eleven in the morning was fixed for the election. On that day, after Morning Prayer had been sung and the bell rung for Chapter as usual, specific canons appeared. The President of the Chapter produced a proxy for the residentaries.<sup>14</sup> Again the cong  d' lire was read and this time letters missive under the privy seal dated 4 September were read. The royal letter officially declared the See void due to the translation of Harsnett to Norwich. Humphrey Knapp, verger and mandatory, certified

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<sup>13</sup>Acts of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, 1547-1642, ed., W. D. Peckham (Sussex Record Society, 1959), pp. 223-224.

<sup>14</sup>The proxy of Dean William Thorne appointed Richard Buckenham, John Cradocke, and William Cox, who were residentaries of the diocese.

the citation of vacancy to the canons.<sup>15</sup> Those canons not appearing at the election were officially declared contumacious. A secretary and witnesses were appointed, and the Chapter's Quia propter was read and expounded. In the formal voting the Chapter unanimously elected Carleton, at that time still the Bishop of Llandaff, as their new bishop. The canons recessed for the publication of this result and the singing of the Te Deum. After this ritual there was a speech, and the canons named Richard Buckenham, John Cradocke, William Cox, the residentaries, Gilbert Dethicke, and Thomas Geeves, proctors of the Arches, and John Drake,

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<sup>15</sup>Acts of the Dean and Chapter of ... Chichester 1545-1642, pp. 223-224. The canons were: Thomas Muryall, M.A., Precentor [and Oving]; Laurence Alcock, M.A., Bargham; Richard Buckenam, D.D., Archdeacon of Lewes and [Bishops]hurst; Robert Ward, D.D., Bracklesham Ambrose Sacheverell, [LL.B.,] Bursal; Thomas Talcoat, M.A., Bury Roger Andrewes, D.D., Archdeacon of Chichester, Colworth, [and Chancellor]; Thomas Large, M.A., Eartham; Robert Moore, D.D., Exceite; John Nutt, M.A., Ferringe; Richard [Neale], Bishop of Durham, Firles; John Chauntrell, [B.A.,] Fittleworth; Theophilus Kent, M.A., Gates; Thomas Emerson, [M.A.,] Hampstead; William Mattocke, [M.A.,] Heathfield; William Shortred, M.A., Hova Ecclesia Robert Byrd, D.D., Ipthorne; Robert Nowell, [B.D.,] Treasurer and Marden; Robert Wheler, Middleton; James Hutchinson, B.D., Seaford John Cradocke, LL.D., Selsey; Richard Tayler, [M.A.,] Sidlesham William Cox, M.A., Somerley; Owen Stockton, M.A., Sutton; Samuel Hill, D.D., Throne; Edward Wickham, D.D., Waltham; Jerome Beale, B.D., Westwittering; William Hutchinson, M.A., Wisborough; Thomas Searle, M.A., Woodhorne; Gabriel Teyntor, [M.A.,] Wyndham.

as the chapter's proctors to announce the election, and then the Chapter was adjourned.<sup>16</sup>

A week later, 15 September James granted his royal assent to the new bishop.<sup>17</sup> The next formality was the acknowledgement of Archbishop Abbot's confirmation which was received on 20 September.<sup>18</sup> Following the formalities on 27 September Carleton was installed by his proctor Henry Barton. At this time, William Kingsley, as the Archdeacon of Canterbury, commissioned William Thorne, the Dean, Richard Buckenham, John Cradocke, or William Cox, the residentiaries, to act for him.<sup>19</sup> The last step occurred when Carleton received his temporalities on 23 October.<sup>20</sup> The entire process evinces a possible tension between king

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<sup>16</sup>Acts of the Dean and Chapter of ... Chichester 1545-1642, pp. 223-224. This is a reconstruction from common form, ZZ ff. 2 r and 4 v, the congé d'élire (engrossment, DRO Cap I/6/4, and Roy. Pat. 17 James I pt. 13 (C/66/2211) No. 6, Foedera xvii p. 178), the letters missive (engrossment, DRO Cap I/6/4), and the incomplete file of engrossments of citations, a few originally dated 3 September, and all 5 September, all corrected to 6 September, to appear on 8 September: some of these still bear on their backs the dabs of wax by which they were fixed in the stalls. The Dean's proxy (DRO Cap I/6/4) is dated 7 September: some details from the process of confirmation, 29 September, 1619 of the election in Reg. Abbott II, ff. 3035.

<sup>17</sup>Acts of the Dean and Chapter of ... Chichester 1545-1642, p. 223.

<sup>18</sup>Lambeth Register, Abbott, 1ff. pp. 30-35.

<sup>19</sup>Acts of the Dean and Chapter of ... Chichester 1545-1642, pp. 223-224.

<sup>20</sup>Acts of the Dean and Chapter of ... Chichester 1545-1642, p. 224; PRO, C66/2211.

and clergy with the rituals belying the statutory power of the king. Thus the interdependence of Church and state, proposed by the theory of "co-active" power in Carleton's works, did not exist under these circumstances.

Carleton had nominally been bishop of Llandaff for almost two years. Granted, he spent over six months in Holland, but he appears never to have made the journey to his See in Wales. As the new bishop of Chichester, however, Carleton made the shorter journey south from London. Situated on the coast of the county of Sussex, Chichester could claim a long ecclesiastical history. Like the rest of the clergy, Carleton readily accepted the parish structure, a legacy from the Roman Church. Having been prebend and vicar at Mayfield, Bishop Carleton had prior knowledge of some facets of the diocesan administration. As one historian has noted, the parish structure had become the focus of formal community gatherings. The unity of the parish and the resulting hierarchial order were symbolically reaffirmed through religious ritual, such as hearing mass or participating in a baptismal. Parishioners of various status occupied the same seats week after week with each member having their appointed place in the church's seating arrangement. The arrangement acted as a constant reminder of the parishioner's social differences. Throughout the

year members participated in the same rituals and responded to the same visible and verbal imagery.<sup>21</sup>

The Church of England had displaced most of the visible images, since these were deemed a papal corruption. Verbal imagery was found in Scripture and standardized Homilies on which the parish as a whole could draw. Though the parish has been seen as a reflection of society, when the problem of papists was addressed the reflection shattered. As a nation Parliament debated and enacted statutes against papists, particularly recusants. The implementation of those statutes fails to equal the passion seen in Parliament.<sup>22</sup> Carleton as bishop headed the diocesan machinery for enforcing the anti-papists policy.

Within the cathedral center at Chichester Carleton resided at Aldingbourne manor and Chichester Palace.<sup>23</sup> While resident, Carleton would have attended the burial of

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<sup>21</sup>David Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 14.

<sup>22</sup>Conrad Russell, Parliaments and English politics 1621-1629 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979). According to Camden, Britannia (London, 1701), p. 63 there were twenty. Harrison, Description of England, p. 45 wrote that Chichester had 551 parish churches and sixteen deaneries. However, Dallaway, History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, vol. 3, p. cxxvi. noted that the See was sub-divided into small holdings such as the five rural deaneries of Chichester, Boxgrove, Midhurst, Arundel, Storrington with a total number of 145 parishes.

<sup>23</sup>Kenneth Fincham, Prelate as Pastor. The Episcopate of James I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 310. See West Sussex Record Office, Ep.I/17/19-11; PRO, SP 14/109/60, 118/32, 164/11 DEL 4/10, fol. 49r.

John Cawley, who had been mayor of Chichester. Cawley was buried at Chichester in the chapel of St. Andrew on 3 May 1621, where a monument was set up for him. His son, William, became an alderman of the city and gave assistance to the poor and aged. He financed the construction of a new building for the needy with the foundation completed by 1626. This building was consecrated with great ceremony by Carleton, and dedicated to St. Bartholomew.<sup>24</sup> The rite shows that Carleton was active within his see. In addition, the ceremony illustrates the continuance of the cult of saints within the Reformed Church.

Carleton could work on a variety of tasks, including writing since he inherited a fully staffed and highly centralized organization. This centralization was yet another legacy of the medieval church. Even with the reforms of the sixteenth century clerical organization remained virtually intact, though in some cases the power of local ordinaries became somewhat indefinite. For example, during Carleton's episcopacy the office of Archdeacon was exercised largely through the collection of fees from subordinate offices. Another office was that of the rural dean, who was employed as a commissary for whom on occasion, in matters which concerned his deanery, other persons were

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<sup>24</sup>Dallaway, History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, vol. 1, p. 184 wrote that "soon after this period, he attached himself to the Puritans, and became the head of that powerful party in rage west of Sussex,...."

substituted. The ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop was exercised through the vicar-general who was a permanent delegate, and a standing appointment.<sup>25</sup> The complexity of the organization may have allowed for the persistence of recusancy as layers of bureaucracy, patronage and favoritism masked offenders.

All of the administration of the diocese and the large ecclesiastical apparatus was now under Carleton's direction. If we believe Fincham, Bishop Carleton may have had some initial difficulties to begin with since he supposedly lacked administrative experience. Yet that was hardly required since Carleton, as bishop, worked with the archdeacon and the entire Chapter of Chichester Cathedral and those administrative officers did not change radically even with the various changes of bishop under James. Indeed, the Dean of Chichester throughout Carleton's bishopric was William Thorne, who was in that position from 1601-1630. He was a Fellow of New College at Oxford, and according to Wood a noted Hebraic linguist whose knowledge of Oriental languages was unrivalled.<sup>26</sup> The Precentor, Thomas Muriat, was appointed in 1613 and served until 1629. The Chancellor was Roger Andrewes, brother of Bishop

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<sup>25</sup>A. Hamilton Thompson, English Clergy (Oxford, 1949), p. 78.

<sup>26</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, col. 464; Dallaway, History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex vol. 1, p. 104.

Lancelot Andrewes, who had been named in 1606 and who remained in that office until 1635.<sup>27</sup> Roger Andrewes was also named archdeacon of Chichester in 1607.<sup>28</sup> These three men outlived Bishop Carleton. Other officers whom he inherited were the treasurer, Robert Newell, the half-brother to Richard Neile, who was appointed in 1619.<sup>29</sup> The bishop would have known Neile from their time at court which may account for Newell's advancement.<sup>30</sup> The Archdeacon of Lewes, Richard Backenham, named in 1612, and one of the Chancellors, or Vicar-Generals, Clement Corbet, named in 1614, were also men whom Carleton inherited on his translation.<sup>31</sup> The familial connection of some of these officers again highlights the functioning of the clerical

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<sup>27</sup>Dallaway, History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, vol. 1, p. 107.

<sup>28</sup>Dallaway, History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, vol. 1, pp. 108-109.

<sup>29</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses ... to which are added the Fasti, col. 784.

<sup>30</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses ... Fasti, col. 783. See John Prynne, Canterburies Doom (London, 1646), p. 531. Wood describes Richard Neile: "Many good offices he had done to the Church and Church-men in his attendance at the Court, crossing the Scots in most of their suites for ecclesiastical preferments, which greedily and ambitiously they hunted after ... He died ... an affectionate Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his clergy, a bountiful Patron to his Chaplains, and a true friend to all who relied upon him." However Wood notes that Prynne's Canterburies Doom calls Neile "a Popish and Arminian Prelate ... a preferer of popish Arminian Clergy-men."

<sup>31</sup>Dallaway, History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, vol. 1, pp. 108-109.

patronage system. Rosemary O'Day noted the tension between secular and spiritual authorities over patronage.<sup>32</sup>

The academic credentials of these officers points to a highly intellectual cadre of working clergy.<sup>33</sup> Yet none of them were Bishop Carleton's own appointments. Local concerns could also result in going above Bishop Carleton. The Mayor and Jurats of Rye appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the matter of a lectureship.<sup>34</sup>

Bishop Carleton did have the potential power of patronage over 277 beneficed offices under his care.<sup>35</sup> The contemporary value of these offices may be inferred from

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<sup>32</sup>Rosemary O'Day, "The Law of Patronage in Early Modern England," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 26 (1976), p. 260.

<sup>33</sup>These highly educated officials substantiate Mark Curtis, "Alienated Intellectuals in Stuart England," Past and Present 23 (1962), pp. 25-43 argument for an outpouring of university trained clergy.

<sup>34</sup>Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Manuscripts of Rye and Hereford (London, 1892), 13th report, app., pt. iv, p. 162.

<sup>35</sup>Dallaway, History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, vol. 1, pp. cxvi-cxvii. The beneficed offices included:

Archdeaconry of Chichester						
Arundel	17	Vicarages	3	Donatives	7	Rectories
Boxgrave	19	"	3	Curacies	13	"
Midhurst	6	"	8	"	23	"
Chichester					10	"
Storrington	12	"	2	Chapels	18	"
Dallington	15	"			15	"
Hastings	5	"			8	"
Lewes	20	"	1	Curacy	37	"
Pevensey	24	"			19	"

Dallaway's work that included the worth of each based on the 1535 "Liber Regist."<sup>36</sup> The form of Carleton's power was severely limited and he would have been required to announce any vacant positions, though he nominally retained the right of refusal of any candidate. O'Day has noted that bishops often acted as arbiters of temporal rights and clerical claims to patronage rights.<sup>37</sup>

Another aspect of Carleton's new position was his seat on the diocesan court bench. Apparently Carleton sat on the bench with some regularity at the quarter session court.<sup>38</sup> Carleton would also have been involved with the other court under his jurisdiction, that of the consistory court. Here, Carleton's power, the officium domini [the bishop's office], was officially executed. By appointing a delegation, this court was identical with the court personally presided over by the diocesan, and the judgements rendered there could not be appealed to the bishop's court. Usually this role was fulfilled by the chancellor, or vicar-general. To some degree this office was the bishop's alter ego, which spoke

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<sup>36</sup>Dallaway, History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, vol. 1, pp. cxvii-cxxv.

<sup>37</sup>Rosemary O'Day, "The Law of Patronage in Early Modern England," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 26 (1976), p. 260.

<sup>38</sup>Fincham, Prelate as Pastor, p. 297. Only the years 1625-1628 are available for quarter session records, p. 97, see WSRO QR/W 14-24.; Paul A. Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships (Stanford: Stanford University, 1970), p. 98.

with Carleton's voice and delivered final decisions.<sup>39</sup> The jurisdictional function of local bishops, such as Carleton, shows the personal nature of early Stuart government.

Part of a bishop's jurisdictional management was the implementation of visitation rules. These visitation rules were specific guidelines for each parish to follow. While there are no extant visitation records for Carleton, he would have been concerned with the same issues as his contemporaries in regard to the ministry of the word of God.<sup>40</sup> This was done in two ways, through the Bible and preaching. At Chichester, Carleton may not have had one of the new authorized Bibles. As Pollard has noted, between 1612-1641, only thirteen bishops and archbishops made "inquires" asking for the newly authorized Bible and another twelve sought merely the "latest translation" or "largest volume." One of those requests came in 1638 from Bishop Duppa of Chichester.<sup>41</sup> This suggests that at least in Chichester the older Bishop's Bible was still being used and that the authorized version did not predominate until much later in the century.

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<sup>39</sup>Thompson, English Clergy, pp. 51-52.

<sup>40</sup>A comparison of the visitations rules for Bishops Bickley and Montagu show how local concerns had changed within a generation.

<sup>41</sup>A. W. Pollard, Records of the English Bible. The Documents relating to the translation and publication of the Bible, 1512-1611 (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 66.

The other aspect of the ministry of the word would have seen Bishop Carleton regulating the preaching in his diocese. In King James issued instructions to the clergy in August 1622. There was a prohibition of all "popular" preaching on "predestination, reprobation" and other aspects of God's grace. Only bishops, deans and those learned men in the universities were exempt.<sup>42</sup> Though Tyacke noted that these directions were probably inoperative, Bishop Carleton would have attempted to follow this directive on preaching.<sup>43</sup>

Preaching had become somewhat formalized by the time Carleton came to Chichester. There were standard sermons that could be found in the First and Second Books of Homilies. Both these texts show evidence of Tertullian's Libra contra coromandi morem, Origen's Contra Celsus, Athanasius's Contra Gentilii, Lactantius's Origin of Error, Cyrillus, Epiphanius, Jerome's Treatise against the Errors of John, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Augustine's City of God. There were a number of topics, such as the practice of idolatry and the use of images in churches found in The Second Book of Homilies. In this sermon, Carleton's university education would have seen him in agreement with

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<sup>42</sup>J. P. Kenyon, ed., The Stuart Constitution (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 145-146.

<sup>43</sup>Nicholas Tyacke, Anti-Calvinist. The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 103.

the idea that the difference between the early church fathers, martyrs and other holy men and the Church of England, was "that they looked when Christ should come" while the present day Church lived "in the time when he is come."<sup>44</sup>

Although note of the elect was made in the Sermon on Prayer, there was a further statement from John, Chapter 3, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath eternal life: But he that believeth not on the Son, shall never see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him."<sup>45</sup> This sense of double predestination had been termed severe Calvinism. In a Sermon concerning Prayer the question of praying for the dead was raised. The Homilies again presented double predestination as the answer and stated that "Scripture doeth acknowledge but two places after this life. The one proper to the elect and blessed of God; the other to the reprobate and damned souls,...." These places were not interchangeable since "the just, by reason of Gods judgement, which may not be revoked, can show no deed of mercy in helping them which after this life are cast into prison." This does away with Purgatory and the efficacy of

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<sup>44</sup>Certain Sermons or Homilies, eds., Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, FL: Scholars Facsimiles Reprints, 1968), p. 25.

<sup>45</sup>Sermons and Homilies, Second Book, p. 122.

prayer for the dead.<sup>46</sup> Particularly after returning from Dort, Carleton would have found pleasing the concept that:

the tree is known by the fruit [Luke 6]. Therefore lest us doe good works, and thereby declare our faith to bee the lively Christian faith. Let us by such virtues as ought to spring out of faith, show our election too bee sure and stable, as S. Peter teaches, Endeavor yourselves to make your calling & election certain by good works.<sup>47</sup>

In enforcing the use of the Homilies, Carleton followed mainstream practices and those visitation rules of his contemporaries. Many of the issues dealt with in the Homilies could be used to address larger issues.

The largest issue still filling the minds of most Englishmen was the problem of papists and continental Catholicism. Though a resident bishop, this issue kept Carleton active in national affairs, particularly those of religion and politics which were combined in recusancy and the perceived threat of papalism. This issue remained a constant throughout Carleton's life and the case of the Bishop of Spalato showed how invidious Catholicism was to the English. Marco Antonio Dominici had been ordained Bishop of Spalato in the Roman catholic church. Dissatisfied with his position, while Carleton still

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<sup>46</sup>Sermons and Homilies, Second Book, pp. 121-122.

<sup>47</sup>Sermons and Homilies, Second Book, p. 28. This was based on 2 Peter: 1.

attended James's court, he "defected" to England.<sup>48</sup> Arriving in December 1616 Dominis was given a place directly after Canterbury and York and was named Master of the Savoy and Dean of Windsor. In the intervening years Carleton had come to the attention of the Bishop of Spalato through Chamberlain, who had passed along a copy of Carleton's Oration to the Bishop of Spalato before giving the text to Bishop Andrewes. As time passed and Domnici advanced no further within the clergy he became "tiresome" and by 1621 his sermons stated that Rome was not heretical. Star Chamber sought to examine him and on 30 March 1622 he was given twenty days to leave England. He disavowed the Church of England and returned to Italy and the Inquisition bound him over in 1623.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year MDCXLVIII. (London, 1655), bk. 10, sec, VI, pp. 99-100, par. 18. During his time in England, according to Fuller "Spalato (I am confident I am not mistaken therein) was the first, who, professing himself a Protestant, used the word Purtaine, to signifie the defenders of matters doctrinal in the English Church. Formerly the word was only taken to denote such, as dissented from the Hierarchie in Discipline, and Church-Government, which now was extended to brand such as were Anti-Arminians in their judgments. As Spalato first abused the word in this sense: so we could wish he had carried it away with him in his return to Rome. Whereas now leaving the word behinde him in this extensive significacion thereof, it hath since by others been improved to asperse the most orthodox in doctrine and religious conversation."

<sup>49</sup>G. P. V. Akrigg, Jacobean Pageant or the Court of King James (Cambridge, MA, 1963), pp. 315-316.

The reconversion of Spalato was a propaganda victory for Rome. At the same time this episode reified the fear and anger of the English toward Catholics. Spalato's statements about the Roman Church were rightly seen as counter to the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-Nine Articles. These two items were the foundation of the Church of England's doctrine. The concern Carleton had for approving the resolutions of the Synod of Dort was connected to his fear of the consequences to the Church of England. During Carleton's lifetime the doctrine was interpreted but not fundamentally changed.

Though the resolutions passed by the Synod of Dort basically agreed with Church of England doctrine, they were never binding on the English Church. Yet the victory of Calvinistic doctrine in Holland and England's apparent agreement forced Anglo-Catholic clergy, who opposed predestination and who sympathized to some degree with other pro-Arminian views, to retreat from actively supporting English Catholics. When Carleton made his way to Chichester he found some murmuring in the parishes, but the king's policy had silenced all religious adversaries, even the papists.<sup>50</sup> The nation as a whole opposed papists, Jesuits and recusants.

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<sup>50</sup>D. Harris Willson, King James IV and I (London: Jonathan Cope, 1956), p. 400

A major proponent of this opposition was the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot.<sup>51</sup> Abbot's pro-Protestant position saw him favor the marriage of Elizabeth to Frederick of the Palatinate and thus intervention in the Thirty Years War, as well as being against the Spanish Match.<sup>52</sup> A friend of Carleton's, Daniel Featley, wrote that Abbot used his rhetorical skills to combat the papists. Some felt that Abbot was too fanatical in his papist opposition. He was said to have seen plots everywhere and when the Archbishop could not find a papist plot he argued that they were so clever as to have escaped capture. Eventually the pro-Catholic doctrine of English Arminianism spurred Abbot to include those adherents as opponents.<sup>53</sup> Though Abbot "was inclined to deal tenderly with the scruples of the puritans," he found himself "in angry debate" with the emerging leader of English Arminianism, and his eventual successor as Archbishop, William Laud.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Akrigg, Jacobean Pageant, p. 312. Appointed in 1610, Archbishop Abbot was not a fanatic in regard to episcopacy. He perceived bishops "as a set of superintendents from among the clergy."

<sup>52</sup>Akrigg, Jacobean Pageant, p. 312.

<sup>53</sup>Thomas Fuller, Abel Redivivus (London, 1651), pp. 557-558.

<sup>54</sup>F. C. Montague, Accession of James I to the Restoration 1603-1660, vol. 7 of The Political History of England (New York: Longmans, 1907), p. 42.

The issue of papalism also can be seen in Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy which noted that politicians "make religion mere policy, a cloak, a human invention; ... Captain Machiavel will have a prince by all means to counterfeit religion, to be superstitious in show at least,..."<sup>55</sup> The reference to Machiavelli and the sense of Italianate politics reverberates with papalism. The word superstitious was used to refer to Catholic doctrine. Burton continued to attack the papacy calling Rome the city "wherein Antichrist himself now sits and plays his prize." Burton differed from Carleton when he wrote that since the Apostle's time Antichrist has tried "to dementate men's minds, to seduce and captivate their souls" and that this was still occurring.<sup>56</sup> This contrasted with the standard view of the papacy that portrayed the rise of papalism and the emergence of the Anti-Christ as a medieval phenomenon. The concern of the clergy such as Burton, Abbot and Carleton with papal doctrine and the resulting political fallout appeared also in Parliament. On 4 November 1620, Chamberlain wrote that the king had summoned a parliament for the following 16 January in part to examine private

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<sup>55</sup>Robert Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, pt. 3, sec. 4, mem. 1, subs. 2 (Everyman Library, 1964), pp. 328-329. Note that the Latin translations are Burton's.

<sup>56</sup>Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, pt. 3, sec. 4, mem. 1, subs. 3, p. 364.

"monopolies and patents."<sup>57</sup> In the same letter he noted that Sir Edward Carvell of Norfolk was to be arrested as "a recusant upon suspicion or surmise" that he would hold monies he collected "among the papists for the Emperor."<sup>58</sup>

When Parliament met that January, as bishop, Carleton was accorded a seat in the House of Lords. He received his summons from the king and made the journey to London. London apparently looked upon this Parliament with expectancy. Carleton took part in the procession that wound through the city, dressed in red and ermine robes, designating his office and marched in order of seniority. On 3 February 1621, Chamberlain wrote that parliament had begun "with the greatest concourse and throng of people that hath been seen, so that there were some hurt done by the breaking of two scaffolds." James rode to the church and then was carried to the parliamentary house since he was ill. The king spoke for an hour. Sergeant Thomas Richardson was chosen speaker and gave an oration to the king at the upper house. Then on Wednesday convocation began at St. Pauls. Dr. John Bowles, Dean of Salisbury gave

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<sup>57</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, pp. 325-326. Letter dated 4 November 1620.

<sup>58</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, pp. 325-326. Letter dated 4 November 1620.

the sermon to an "assembly of bishops and prelates" with the elderly Archbishop of York Tobias Matthew in attendance.<sup>59</sup>

The role of the clergy was debated in the House of Lords and on 8 February 1621 there was a discussion of the privileges of the bishops. From a diarist's account the Bishop of Duresme, Dr. Neale, asked if "Bishops may put on our hats being no Peers." The diarist noted that the outcome was generally in favor and "explained that the Bishops may put on their hats although bishops be no peers of the realm, yet they be barons of Parliament, having baronies of land granted them when the King makes them bishops."<sup>60</sup> The issue was tabled and unresolved at the time, and within twenty years the point would be moot with the dissolution of the clergy by Parliament. When the clergy was re-instituted with the Restoration of King Charles II in 1660, the issue of clerical dress did not stir any controversies. The point might seem minor, but the issue of the personal appearance of the clergy was, among other issues, another attack on the legacy of the older rituals and trapping of the Roman Catholic church. This same debate had been broached by Thomas Cartwright and John Whitgift towards the end of Elizabeth I's reign when they

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<sup>59</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 339. Letter dated 3 February 1621.

<sup>60</sup>"The Hastings Journal of 1621" ed., Lady de Villiers in Camden Miscellany, vol. xx (London, 1953), pp. 9-10.

argued over vestments. The dress of the bishops served to separate them from not only their fellow clergy but from the community at large.

Privilege of clerical dress still remained a minor domestic issue before the Lords. A more pressing point that had been debated in the House of Commons was presented to the Lords. On 14 February, a message from Sir Edward Coke came from the Commons. The request was for a conference with the Lords to discuss a joint petition "to his Majesty about banishing the popish priests Jesuits and Papists ten miles from the city of London."<sup>61</sup> The issue continued to be debated throughout February. Coke amended the joint petition so that papists could go no further than five miles from their home, and that the arms and gunpowder be taken away "from every Recusant leaving them no more than shall be necessary for the guard of their houses".

The conference also sought to prohibit hearing Mass and that James "would cause the laws to be put in execution with all celerity against Jesuits and Popish Priests and that in the mean time his Majesty would be pleased to give command to have them kept straight." Finally there was a need to have judges enforce the laws and take away licenses from the

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<sup>61</sup>"The Hastings Journal of 1621," p. 13.

papists. Carleton and the Lords agreed to join in the petition.<sup>62</sup>

The debates in the House of Lords on 15 February show the Lord's concern. Lord Spencer stated that "I think it stands with policy that wee maintain our laws, for if wee dare not defend our Religion at home, howe shall they in other parts look for help from us."<sup>63</sup> Spencer may have been referring to the Palatine and other continental Protestants in open conflict with Catholic forces. Lord Say commented that English Catholics could not be good subjects, "for then if the pope command them they must rebel on paine of damnation. No protestant hear hold the like."<sup>64</sup> That same day Bishop Neale of Duresme, spoke up for Catholics. Those who took the Oath of Allegiance he stated "may not be kept so straight and close prisoners as those that refuse the oath." Neale requested that priests neither, Jesuit or "Jesuitical affected may be allowed better means in the prison", and that license to bear arms on their land be taken away. He concluded that "these priests that have taken the oath of Allegiance are so vilified by the rest"

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<sup>62</sup>"The Hastings Journal of 1621," p. 14.

<sup>63</sup>"Notes of the Debates in House of Lords officially taken by Robert Bowyer and Henry Elsing clerks of the parliaments A.D. 1621, 1625, 1628," ed., Frances H. Relf Royal Historical Society Publications Series 3, vol. 42 (London, 1929), p. 6.

<sup>64</sup>"Notes of the Debates in House of Lords ... 1621, 1625, 1628," p. 7.

that they can hardly find good food from Catholics who give such items to Jesuits.<sup>65</sup> The issue continued to raise voices, Speaker Serjeant Richardson stated that:

... the chiefest thing that we would be humble suitors to your Majesty is that your Majesty would be pleased that some sharper laws may be made against the papists, .... As all the Papists, so especially care would be had to the priests and Jesuits; the lay Papists I may compare to the sea, which through the billows there of be large and great, yet if the wind of Jesuits and Priests do not blow them up we might passe them in a calm.<sup>66</sup>

In the Commons John Pym stated similar fears.<sup>67</sup>

Word of what transpired reached beyond the confines of Parliament. On 10 February 1621 Chamberlain wrote that the legislature began "rightly with religion." Religion, however, also brought disagreement with debates over where the various ceremonies should occur and who should preach the sermons with Westminster, St. Margaret's, St. Paul's, Christ-Church and Temple debated.<sup>68</sup> Sermons often set the tone for parliamentary debates.

An interested observer, Prince Charles, sat in on the debates of the Thursday session of the Lords.<sup>69</sup> On 5 April

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<sup>65</sup>"The Hastings Journal of 1621," p. 19.

<sup>66</sup>"The Hastings Journal of 1621," p. 4.

<sup>67</sup>Derek Hirst, Authority and Conflict. England, 1603-1658 (Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 132.

<sup>68</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2. p. 341. Letter dated 10 February 1621.

<sup>69</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2. p. 343. Letter dated 10 February 1621.

1624, the House of Lords was in part generally dissatisfied with the proposed Spanish Match between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta, Maria. The English were still concerned with a threat from Spain, and the possibility of a marriage between Prince Charles and the daughter of King Philip III of Spain. The "Spanish Match", as the proposed marriage was called, was highly unpopular. For all of James's intellectual capacity he misjudged the sentiment of the public perception of Spain as the Roman Church's henchman and the chief enemy of England. For example, Thomas Fuller wrote that at the time Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, met with Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford. Vere was reported to have said to the Spaniard there were only two memorable dates in his life: "I was Born in Eighty Eight, and Christened in the Fifth of November."<sup>70</sup> Each of these dates was filled with political and religious overtones.

There was also a feeling of discontent over the continuing war in the Palatinate. Each of these issues dealt with perceived papal politics and one response was a petition read against recusants. The Archbishop of Canterbury felt "the motion of the Spirit of God put this into the mind of the Commons, and ... they concur with the wisdom of the State and Assembly now gathered; for if

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<sup>70</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. IV, p. 101, par. 24. These dates refer to the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.

Religion be neglected, no blessing to be expected."<sup>71</sup> Lord Say added "the petition hath one thing more. A day prefixed for the Jesuits to be banished by a day, or ells by the law they are to be hanged."<sup>72</sup> Charles requested that "all laws against priests, Jesuits and Popishe Recusants to be put into execution, .... [and to] Disarm Recusants legally convicted and vehemently suspected." The sitting president, Viscount Mandeville, replied that "many of the Recusants of quality have licenses" to bear arms. To which the Prince answered that "very few have licenses, and those but for a time."<sup>73</sup>

For all their fears, in the House of Lords concern over papalism remained with proposed bills and debates. For a bill to become a legal statute the bill had to be proposed and then passed through committee. The Lords required a proposed statute to be read on the floor three times. We find evidence of this procedure in action in the House of Lords on 30 April when "hodie 2da vice lecta est Billa [this second reading of this Bill] for the better repressing of

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<sup>71</sup>Royal Historical Society Publications New Series (24) "Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords officially taken by Henry Elsing, clerk of the Parliaments A.D. 1524 and 1626" ed., Samuel R. Gardiner (Camden Society, 1879; Reprinted by Johnson Reprint Corp.: New York, 1965), p. 53.

<sup>72</sup>"Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords ... 1524 and 1626," p. 55.

<sup>73</sup>"Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords ... 1524 and 1626," p. 56.

Popish Recusants." The Bishop of Bath and Wells thought that such a bill would be "a remedy to bring them to Church as well as to punish." The point was furthered by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield who saw a need for "a stricter course against the obstinate recusants which will refuse to hear admonition or instruction." The Bishop of Bangor added that this would act as "a remedy against the women recusants who return scoffs, and taunts when the Bishops offer to instruct them." The secular lords agreed with the bishops and Lord Saye recommended that committees consider these motions.<sup>74</sup> Yet for all their concern and debate over English Catholics, the king dismissed Parliament with little real legislation enacted.

Even with the Lords and parliament debating statutes to suppress English recusants, on 19 May Chamberlain wrote that the papists acted so impudently that they openly stated that John King, late Bishop of London, had died a Roman Catholic. The English Catholics claimed that King James, even before he had taken ill, had given charity to a number of priests who had been in prison and poverty. The papists were, in Chamberlain's view taking "their usual courses which they have learned of the father of lies."<sup>75</sup> For the English the

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<sup>74</sup>Notes of the House of Lords, officially taken by Henry Elsing, clerk of the Parliaments, A.D. 1621 ed., Samuel R. Gardiner (Camden Society, 1870), no. 103, p. 40.

<sup>75</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 376. Letter dated 19 May 1621.

"father of lies" now lived in Rome and was the embodiment of the Anti-Christ.

Bishop Carleton returned to Chichester at the close of Parliament. Later in the year the Church of England incurred a new public relations problem. At Sussex Carleton heard that Archbishop Abbot was involved in scandal over the accidental homicide of Lord Zouche's Keeper in Bramzil Park. Though a commission granted a pardon to the Archbishop some saw this dispensation as an irregularity. Abbot's position and name were besmirched. When James's new clerical appointments were to be installed they balked at having Abbot perform the rite. William Laud was one such appointee who did not want Abbot involved. This may have been a timely excuse to avoid having Abbot in attendance. In his diary:

I was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, Novemb[er]. 18, 1621 [at the same time Davenant, Williams and Cary were consecrated Bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln and Exeter], at Lincoln house Chapel, by the Reverend Fathers, the Lords Bishops of London [George Montaigne], Worcester [John Thornborough], Chichester [George Carleton], Ely [Nicholas Felton], Llandaff [Theophilus Field], Oxon. [John Howson]; the Archbishop being thought irregular, for casual homicide.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to Laud, two other bishops were consecrated that day, John Davenant of Salisbury and Valentine Cary of Exeter. At the ceremony John Donne preached the sermon.

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<sup>76</sup>The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D. D. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847-1860; reprint AMS, 1975), vol. 3, p. 137.

The day before, Carleton had been indisposed and missed the consecration of the Lord Keeper.<sup>77</sup> Though Bishop Carleton's doctrine and political position were similar to Abbot's and opposed to Laud's, yet he performed the ceremonies. As bishop, he also presided over some simpler rituals, such as the christening of a daughter of Dudley Carleton's nephew.<sup>78</sup>

The other scandal to rock England following the close of Parliament was the adventure of Buckingham and Prince Charles. The pair journeyed to Spain to visit the Spanish Infanta, the proposed future wife of the Prince. Their trek seriously upset not only the king but the English nation.<sup>79</sup> Clarendon noted that the proposed marriage would signal a full repeal of all anti-Catholic laws and toleration of Catholicism within England.<sup>80</sup> When the Prince and Villiers finally returned there was an outpouring of joy and celebration.

On 11 October 1622 Chamberlain wrote that the Prince had returned from Spain. He had never "heard of more

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<sup>77</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2. p. 407. Letter date 17 November 1621.

<sup>78</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2. p. 409. Letter date 24 November 1621.

<sup>79</sup>For reactions to this proposed union see S. R. Gardiner, Prince Charles and the Spanish marriage: 1617-1623 (London: Hurst and Blackott, 1869).

<sup>80</sup>Edward [Hyde] Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England New Edition ([London]: Bulkeley Bandinel, 1826), vol. 1, p. 27.

demonstrations of public joy" then were shown throughout the countryside "from the highest to the lowest." A festival atmosphere emerged with the "spreading of tables in the streets with all manner of provisions, setting out whole hoggesheads of wine and butts of sack." The people set a large number of bonfires along the road from the coast to London. They burnt so brightly that scorched burn marks were found two days later.<sup>81</sup> There was a solemn ceremony at St. Paul's with a new anthem, the 114th Psalm, sung. The Psalm dealt with Israel coming out of the bondage of Egypt. This clearly was a metaphor of the Prince's misadventure. James went as far as to grant an amnesty for prisoners.<sup>82</sup> Thomas Middleton's A Game At Chess ran for nine days, a rarity for the time. Middleton's play was a highly charged political and religious piece of theater. His use of the Black pieces to represent Spanish Rome and the White the court of King James clearly colored the two sides of the issues. The play was fiercely anti-papal and anti-Spanish. At one point Middleton's A Game at Chess stated an anti-confessional mood with Black Bishop and Pawns extolling the

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<sup>81</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, pp. 515-516. Letter dated 11 October 1622. See also Joseph Mead's letter of 11 October 1623 to Sir Martin Stuteville in Thomas Birch, Court and Times of James the First (London, 1849), vol. 2, p. 240. Mead noted that "our bells rang all day" that extra food was served at dinner and that there were "bonfires, guns fireworks, till past midnight, all the town about."

<sup>82</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, pp. 515-516. Letter dated 11 October 1622.

White Queen's Pawn to partake in auricular confession. The fear of this Catholic ritual was evident as the play noted that confession was of "special use / We make of all our practice in all kingdoms, / For by disclosing their most secret frailties" they can be used to further papal designs.

The one surprise appears to be Middleton's choice of Queen Anne as the White Queen and the Church of England since many believed her to be crypto-Catholic. The White King represented James and the secular power he held. In the game the king was the focal point of play with the objective to "capture" this piece, which possessed limited movement. All other pieces were to be sacrificed for the defence of the king. Middleton's association of James with the White King may imply a feeling that secular power was slightly more important than ecclesiastical. For all the complex symbolism, the play drew crowds that indicate a willingness to belittle Catholics. Carleton may not have seen the play but he had news of the long-running drama.

Though Middleton had separated secular and ecclesiastical power in 1623, King James issued "Directions to Preachers". These clearly showed that he felt he still held the reins on clerical actions. This affirmed his status as Supreme Governor who was concerned with the church. As bishop, Carleton was guided by these "Directions" and he would have implemented them within his diocese. The king wrote the "Directions" because "at this

present, divers young Students, by reading of late Writers, and ungrounded Divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unsound seditions, and dangerous Doctrines. to the scandal of the Church, and the disquiet of the State, and present Government." The king again seemed to miss the sentiment of the nation as the fifth direction sought to restrain railing against papists unless inferred from the Liturgy being read.<sup>83</sup>

Bishop Carleton returned to London for the Parliament of 1624 where plans for a Spanish war were debated. Protestant forces had not recovered from their losses on the continent. England was racked with war fever and anti-Spanish feelings. Russell believed that with no real war Carleton's only outlet "for his patriotic feelings" was to conduct a search of Cowdray Park, home of a recusant neighbor, for arms.<sup>84</sup> The king's concern for internal peace appeared on 3 January 1624 when Chamberlain wrote that "we talk of a proclamation shortly to come forth against priests and Jesuits. I pray God it be not too late, though better late then never, which makes the papists hang down their

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<sup>83</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 10, sec. VII. pp. 108-109, par. 4.

<sup>84</sup>Russell, Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629, p. 208.

heads, and look for no good for their turn by this parliament."<sup>85</sup>

On 10 April Chamberlain noted that Parliament proceeded slowly since there were "many rubs." The Commons, however, were "very careful for the security of religion, and to that purpose have drawn a petition." The Commons sent this petition up to the Lords, asking them to join with the Lower House. Hearing the petition read the "Prince gave great satisfaction," and assured the members that if a marriage treaty should be drawn he would enter such an agreement with caution. Charles told Parliament that there should be no added provisions in the treaty aside from those directed towards the princess and her servants.<sup>86</sup> This stance was happily heard by Parliament, though Charles's declaration would prove false. Then on 1 March from the Lords, Carleton wrote to Dudley concerning the Spanish. The bishop said that he "doubted but one of these must follow: that either we must be papists as they are: or they must be professors of the Gospel as we are: or else there will be wars in the end." Though none of these scenarios were played out, Carleton's strong belief echoed the sentiment of

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<sup>85</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2. p. 537. Letter dated 3 January 1624.

<sup>86</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2. p. 553. Letter dated 10 April 1624.

Parliament.<sup>87</sup> Though Carleton was attending Parliament, he was active in completing his latest book which served as an outlet for his anti-papal sentiment. In May Carleton submitted to the Stationery's Office through Daniel Featley and Master Cole, acting as censors, his A thankefull remembrance of GODs mercye. In a[n] historicall Collection of the great and mercifull deliuerances of the Church and state of England from the beginning of Queene Elizabeth.<sup>88</sup> This text was the most popular of the works that Carleton wrote, going through four printings. After the initial press run the book was reprinted in 1625, 1627 and there was a posthumous printing in 1630. The work focused on the providential hand of God in protecting and preserving England against her enemies. This can be seen from the title page where Psalm 3: 2 was quoted: "The works of the lord are great, and ought to be / sought of all them that love Him." Carleton had lived through the fear of the Armada in 1588 and the uproar of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 and believed that the English nation had been kept safe from the wiles and snares of the papist.

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<sup>87</sup>Russell, Parliaments and English Politics, p. 164.

<sup>88</sup>Edward Arber, ed., A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D. (Privately Printed, London, 1877; reprint, Glouscester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967), vol. IV, p. 116. This was under the auspice of Robert Milborne and Humfrey Robinson.

The text appears at first to be in the old style of a mirror for princes, in this case for Charles. However, the work was propaganda with historical events portrayed in a very biased light. Charles was to have been instructed by these history lessons not to trust Catholics, particularly Spanish Catholics. In the first edition, Carleton's "Epistle Dedicatoire" was written to Prince Charles.<sup>89</sup> This was changed for the next three editions, after the death of James and the accession of Charles to recognize the higher office. In Bishop Carleton's epistle he wrote that "the fear of God, and love of Subjects is able to make kings and Princes strong against all their enemies." So that even though God was on the side of the English, Charles needed to rule as a good Christian. Carleton signed his opening letter: "Your Highness ancient chaplin and most humble servant."<sup>90</sup>

Carleton began to use the textual apparatus of providing the reader with "The Summarie", a table of contents. He also added a conclusion that contained "divers Considerations proposed to them that stand not well affected to Religion."<sup>91</sup> The bishop was not addressing his disbelief but those who did not follow the doctrine of the Church of

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<sup>89</sup>George Carleton, A Thankfull Remembrance (London, 1624), sig. A3.

<sup>90</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, n. p.

<sup>91</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, sig. Bv2.

England. The defense of England and opposition to the forces of the papacy began with the reign of Elizabeth I. The Bishop of Chichester noted how the queen was able to arm and defend the country, thanks to God. Though the nation stood ready to fight the Spanish, God also played a role. As Thomas has pointed out the nation's fortune expressed God's will.<sup>92</sup> Thus the English should not forget God's "great works" but everyone, especially Princes, should recall that "their safety is not in worldly policy," but in God who "never forsakes them that trust in him."<sup>93</sup> Carleton went on to ridicule the plot of Arthur Poole and his family. The conspirators did not want to execute Elizabeth "who as they supposed should die within a year: for so some cozening Astrologians had told them."<sup>94</sup> Bishop Carleton, as we will see, distrusted astrologers.

The actions of the papacy were addressed. Carleton explained that Pius IV believed that excommunicating Elizabeth had been a good political maneuver. He stated that the pope's "authority is a thing consisting rather in the conceits of some men than in any truth and substance." The failure of the Queen's excommunication showed how ineffective the pope was and made him seem ridiculous to the

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<sup>92</sup>Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic rpt., (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 106.

<sup>93</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, p. 5.

<sup>94</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, p. 16.

eyes of the world.<sup>95</sup> The papacy's bull had "declared to all the world, that the Popes cure is a thing proceeding from private spleen and malice, and now nothing feared but contemned."<sup>96</sup> The ritualized act of excommunication held no true spiritual power but was merely a human invention based on humane emotion.

Throughout his life Carleton had equated the papists with "the enemy", and in the text he literally stated his perspective.<sup>97</sup> The papacy had plotted against the king using Watson and others to assassinate James. This plan was foiled, "and this we may observe that no treasons was ever attempted without a Romish Priest. The treasons attempted in England have the proper and peculiar mark, to have a Priest in the practice."<sup>98</sup> The fear Catholic subjects would act against the state at the behest of the papacy echoed throughout the text. This same sentiment had been expounded in the Parliament which Carleton had been attending.

At the end of his last chapter Bishop Carleton dealt with the outcome of the Gunpowder Plot. The English waited humbly for God to free their nation, though God's will was unknowable. They waited for his "unsearchable mercies" that

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<sup>95</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, pp. 11-12

<sup>96</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, p. 15.

<sup>97</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, p. 241.

<sup>98</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, p. 246.

would in time draw England "out of Babylon." True to the Church of England, God would freely give to the English the faith and ability to follow his divine calling. The Church of England "which himself hath planted" had been selected as the true church "in Great Britain." This divinely founded church would be able to withstand "all the furious rage and wicked practices of the Pope and his adherents."<sup>99</sup> The English had, in the bishop's view, already passed through a number of trials and tribulations inspired by papists.

The use of the term Great Britain was a curious choice, since the Church of England had not been fully established throughout Ireland, nor in Scotland. Bishop Carleton may have been speaking about the possession of the king as a civil ruler, but he was surely aware of the disparate churches under the monarch's domain. However, Carleton may have been alluding to what he perceived as a unified doctrine and that the only differences were in church discipline. The difference in doctrine occurred when Carleton looked at the papists. In the end Carleton noted that the papacy, the Jesuits, and the entire Roman Church were well known to all by "the Fruits of the Flesh." Papists lacked "the Fruits of the Spirit of God" which had been corrupted in the Middle Ages. This lack of true religion Carleton would "leave to the consciences" of his

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<sup>99</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, p. 288.

readers, but more importantly he left the question "to the great Judge that must judge them and us." Both papists and the English would be called to task after their death. The English believed they were "the true Church" which God loved and for whom they waited "for in Faith and Patience."<sup>100</sup> The English Church preserved the true religion and would triumph over the false doctrine of the papists.

The one-time chaplain to the new king Charles may have anticipated the depiction of the Spanish as the enemy. Within a year of publishing the Thankfull Remembrance, the Spanish Match was put aside. Bishop Carleton could not have known that a new marriage was arranged, between Charles and the sister of the French king, Henrietta Maria. Though England would not be united with Spain, there was still the issue of a Catholic monarch. On 14 May 1625 Chamberlain wrote that the marriage of Charles to Henrietta was not a good idea. He felt that England had "fallen out of the frying pan into the fire." A strong royal Catholic presence would now exist in England.<sup>101</sup> This would be a problem which the future King Charles and England would be forced to confront. For Carleton there would be another confrontation with an old enemy lurking within England. He now turned his attention to astrology.

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<sup>100</sup>Carleton, Thankfull Remembrance, p. 292.

<sup>101</sup>Letters of John Chamberlain, vol. 2, p. 617. Letter dated 14 May 1625.

## Chapter Five

### Logic, doctrine and astrology: 1624

Challenges to the stability of church and state came in many forms, one of which was astrology. Astrology, with a long and complex history, had re-emerged in the Renaissance as an influential method of attaining foreknowledge. Carleton's fierce attack on astrology indicates a perception that this method was a serious threat to society. The bishop did make a clear distinction between the subtle gradations of astrology, from the accepted natural astrology, of what can nowadays be termed meteorology, to the inadmissible elements of judicial astrology. Natural astrology dealt with natural cause and effect but judicial astrology focused on events in regard to specific individuals. Those who practiced natural astrology were permissible in society. However, judicial astrologers were seen as disputing God's will. Since the latter based the efficacy of their practice on individual interpretations of Scripture, Carleton perceived them as an element of the Radical Reformation. Thus judicial astrology was serious threat to the Church of England. In order to forestall that threat Bishop Carleton employed doctrine and logic to oppose astrology.

In his work, Astrologomania or The Madness of Astrologers, astrology was seen as a domestic enemy that the

bishop felt corrupted souls and lead them into perdition. Astrology was an age old threat to Christianity which the Roman Church has struggled with in the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> With roots in pre-Christian religion and classical philosophy, astrology reflected a storied heritage whose very age gave weight to its tenets. Those tenets were grounded in a particular perception of the relationship between humanity and the cosmos.

Surviving through the Middle Ages, astrology was reinvigorated during the Renaissance.<sup>2</sup> In England, the latter part of the sixteenth century witnessed a resurgence in curiosity about and belief in astrology. The appearance of comets and celestial conjunctions caused comment and speculation over the meaning and significance of these celestial events. In 1623, the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn prompted excitement and further discussions on astrological prognostications.

Concerns over astrology prompted Bishop Carleton to publish an attack on the subject. The need for a polemic

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<sup>1</sup>Valiere Flint, "The Transmission of Astrology in the Early Middle Ages," Viator 21 (1990), pp. 1-27.

<sup>2</sup>Eugenio Garin, Astrology in the Renaissance. The Zodiac of Life trans. C. Jackson and J. Allen (London, 1976); James S. Tester, A History of Western Astrology (Woodbridge, NJ, 1987); Bernard Capp, English Almanacs 1500-1800. Astrology and the Popular Press (Ithaca, 1979); Theodore O. Wedel, Medieval Attitudes Toward Astrology Particularly in England (New Haven, 1968); Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic rpt., (New York: Penguin Books, 1984).

indicates a perception that as astrology continued to flourish some perceived this as a real threat to society. One of the possible reasons for the continuance of astrology was the distinct separation, within the field of astrology itself, into natural and judicial astrology. Calvin had allowed for this distinction. Judicial astrology was concerned with answering specific questions regarding a person's life and actions. One of the most noted aspects of this branch was the casting of a natal chart that laid out the important events in one's life. Wayne Shumaker stated that clerical opposition to astrology can be "readily understandable" but he neglects to state that the clergy was not immune to the influence of astrology.<sup>3</sup> For instance, Robert Burton, a cleric whose position in regard to papists was similar to Carleton's, had his own natal chart drawn up.<sup>4</sup> The use of free will was also evident in astrology since there was the belief that the individual could overcome any tendency indicated in a horoscope by use of self-determination.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 54.

<sup>4</sup>For Burton's horoscope see J. B. Bamborough, "Robert Burton's Astrological Notebook," Review of English Studies n. s. 32 (1981), pp. 267-285.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 397.

Another aspect was the horary questions that sought to answer specific questions posed by individuals. These questions usually reflected rather mundane concerns such as finding lost or stolen goods, or deciding on the most auspicious day for embarking on a journey.<sup>6</sup> While judicial astrology dealt with specifics, natural astrology focused on the more general and easily defended aspects of celestial influences, including meteorology, navigation and tides. Natural astrology was accorded a higher status as a science than judicial astrology, which was often condemned by church and state. This condemnation was particularly true if astrologers raised questions regarding the condition of the ruler or sought to draw up a natal chart of Christ, a practice outlawed in most Christian states. Between these two was the medical astrology that dealt with both the general and specific. An individual would consult a physician who would ask the patient when the first symptoms appeared and then cast a chart to forecast the course of the disease. Times for medical procedures to be performed were then allocated to coincide with celestial influences. The

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<sup>6</sup>Simon Forman's diaries contain a large number of such questions voiced by a variety of clients from the nobility to lower class. See A. L. Rowse, Simon Forman the Astrologer: Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age (London, 1974).

Church of England licensed physicians who practiced astrology.<sup>7</sup>

So when Carleton "took up his cudgels" to rebut Heydon and denounce astrologers, he perceived a serious moral and religious problem for those enamored of astrology. Carleton sought:

to disclose those secrets, which Astrologer labor to hide, holding us with fair tales of natural influences. It grieves me, that any should be so bewitched, as once to open his mouth in defence of these works of darkness, in this great light of knowledge, and of the truth. If it were not against a cause that so much overthrows Godliness, I should never trouble him.<sup>8</sup>

Carleton drew upon his Oxford education in writing this tract which was published in 1624 as a direct response to Sir Christopher Heydon's Defense of Judicial Astrology. Heydon's work, printed in 1604, was a rebuttal of John Chamber's A Treatise against Iudicial Astrologie, printed in 1600.

The stance taken in Bishop Carleton's Madnesse of Astrologers was, according to Allen, the "last polemic

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<sup>7</sup>Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic p. 435, note 44 states that the Bishop of Durham licensed John Lambe, the Archdeacon of Buckingham approved Richard Napier, the Bishop of Lincoln certified the nephew of Napier, and the Bishop of London sanctioned Robert Le Neve, William Williams and Thomas Saffold.

<sup>8</sup>George Carleton, Madness of Astrologers (London, 1624), p. 81.

against astrology before the end of James I's reign."<sup>9</sup> During Elizabeth I's reign William Fulke, Henry Howard, the Earl of Northampton and William Perkins as well as Chamber wrote against astrology.<sup>10</sup> In the Jacobean years, John Melton's Astrologaster was published in 1620. Melton's work has been called more stylish than serious.<sup>11</sup> However, Hugh Dick noted that Melton's text was a synthesis of learned anti-astrological tracts and satirical attacks.<sup>12</sup>

The printed text of Madness of Astrologers began with Carleton's son-in-law, Thomas Vicars, defending the twenty year lapse between the writing and publishing in his "Epistle to the Reader." The question remains why Carleton did not use this work as a means of garnering patronage.

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<sup>9</sup>D. C. Allen, Star-Crossed Renaissance. The Quarrel about Astrology and Its Influence in England (New York, 1941), p. 139.

<sup>10</sup>William Fulke, Antiprognosticon that is to saye, an Invective agaynst the vayne and unprofitable predictions of the Astrologian trans., W. Painter (London, 1560); Henry Howard, A Defensative against the poyson of supposed prophecies (London, 1620); William Perkins, Foure Great Lyers, striving who shall win the Silver Whetstone (London, 1585). John Calvin's work attacking astrology had also been translated into English in 1563. For the influence of French astrologers on England see Jacques E. Halbronn, "The Revealing Process of Translation and Criticism in the History of Astrology," in Astrology, Science and Society. Historical Essays ed., Patrick Curry (Bury St Edmunds: Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 197-218.

<sup>11</sup>Allen, Star-Crossed Renaissance, p. 135.

<sup>12</sup>Hugh Dick, "Introduction" to John Melton, Astrologaster or the Figvre-Caster The Augustan Reprint Society, Special Publication Number 174x (University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), p. v.

King James I counted astrologers as friends of the devil and Bishop Carleton reaffirmed this in his text, going so far as to make reference to James's book, Daemonologie.<sup>13</sup> As D. C. Allen noted, from Vicars' Epistle "we learn that James I's known hostility to all forms of divination encouraged its printing."<sup>14</sup>

If Allen is correct, then why did Carleton wait twenty years to publish this work when earlier in his career royal patronage might have been a boon. By affirming the same opinions as the king, Bishop Carleton was on safe ground and yet he did not attempt to have this published or use the text as a method of gaining patronage. His other printed works succeeded in securing him a place in court and then advancement within the clerical hierarchy. While inferring the motives of an author is tricky, Carleton would have gained a greater edge in the patronage system by publishing his anti-astrology tract than his book of Latin poems.

Another question arises from the manuscript tradition. Even though Vicars stated that the work had been in manuscript for twenty years there are no extant copies and no allusions to any manuscript aside from Vicars, not even from the prolific Chamberlain who was a friend of the Carleton family.

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<sup>13</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 118.

<sup>14</sup>Allen, Star-Crossed Renaissance, p. 140.

Whether or not there was a manuscript copy there can be no mistake that Heydon's and Carleton's books were linked together. According to Lynn Thorndike, the British Library's copy of Heydon's book has been bound with Carleton's reply into a single volume. Again, Thorndike does not cite the location of any manuscript copy.<sup>15</sup>

The work, which initiated this astrological debate was Chamber's tract, A Treatise against Iudicial Astrologie printed in 1600. While Bishop Carleton's treatise attacked Heydon, he also defended the work of John Chamber, whom Carleton knew from their time as Merton Fellows at Oxford, in the 1580s. Allen noted that the English authors who debated astrology, were not as erudite as their continental counterparts. With one exception the English wrote in the vernacular of the everyday reader. He sees this as a clue to the intellectual nature of the English Renaissance and felt that in matters of science the English were not as thorough as those on the continent although they were ready to share what they knew with a wide English reading audience.<sup>16</sup>

In the intervening twenty years between the Chamber-Heydon polemic, astrology had not disappeared from England. Indeed Carleton's attack might be a signal that astrology

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<sup>15</sup>Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science vol. 3, p. 91. Heydon's work is BM 718. E. 14.

<sup>16</sup>Allen, Star-Crossed Renaissance, pp. 106, 143.

had grown in strength over that time.<sup>17</sup> Hilary Carey has suggested that during the sixteenth century astrology reached the masses and could be "studied by anyone with the few coins in their pockets needed to buy the latest almanacs."<sup>18</sup> While almanacs could not teach anyone the practice of astrology, their popularity points to widespread interest in the art.<sup>19</sup> Bernard Capp has examined almanacs for this period and shown a connection between popular culture and changes occurring in the scientific fields.<sup>20</sup>

Astrology had become entrenched at all levels of society, even at court. In one letter, Sir Henry Wotton, related the news of the Court and London as to how the decision on who would fill the vacancy of the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary. Wotton remarked that the royal court was

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<sup>17</sup>See William Elton, King Lear and the Gods (University of Kentucky Press, 1988), pp. 147-163 and passim; Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (New York: Penguin Books, 1973), chapters 10, 11, 12 and passim; Albumazar: A Comedy [1615], Thomas Tomkis, ed. Hugh G. Dick University of California Publications in English, Vol. XIII (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1944).

<sup>18</sup>Hilary M. Carey, Courting Disaster, Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages (New York: St Martins Press, 1992), p. 164.

<sup>19</sup>Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic rpt. (New York: Penguin, 1984), p. 342 noted that published works are not a good indication of interest in astrology. In note 8, p. 385 Thomas has suggested that William Camden had a favorable attitude toward astrology.

<sup>20</sup>Bernard Capp, English Almanacs 1500-1800. Astrology and the Popular Press (Ithaca, 1979). Capp also tended to focus on astrological predictions in political terms.

split into two camps. He was undecided and would "leave this to the judicial astrologers of the Court," as to who was the choice.<sup>21</sup>

Astrology then touched all segments of English society, including religion. However, Keith Thomas appears to be the only one to make any connection between astrology and religion. Thomas has noted that "Calvinism and astrology were enemies from the start" since they were rival systems which sought to explain how predestination related to life.<sup>22</sup> While this statement is true Jaroslav Pelikan came closer to the point. He noted that astrology gave Calvin a chance to "clarify the entire problem of fate, necessity, and predestination" through another means than religious doctrine.<sup>23</sup> The link between astrology, religion, free will and predestination all come together in Carleton's attack.

Bishop Carleton was chiefly concerned with authority and learning, which he conflated in the question of Biblical interpretations. Radical reformers had called for individual access to Scripture but the bishop feared that

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<sup>21</sup>The Life and Letter of Sir Henry Wotton, ed., Logan Pearsall Smith (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966), vol. 2, p. Letter to Sir Edmund Bacon dated 23 February 1613 O.S.

<sup>22</sup>Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 439.

<sup>23</sup>Jaroslav Pelikan, Reformation of Church Dogma (1300-1700) (Chicago, 1984), p. 228.

these interpretations could lead to antinomianism.<sup>24</sup> This entailed the tendency for individuals to believe that they were so possessed of grace that they were the Elect and so existing moral, and even civil, law did not pertain to them. This was a serious problem which the bishop would address.

Carleton's method of examining Heydon's work was, according to Allen, "quite different from that used by other controversialists." In style, Carleton's treatise was more of an essay "against astrology in general and only against Heydon as the immediate representative of that art."<sup>25</sup>

Yet Carleton did specifically target his opponent. The Bishop of Chichester launched a series of ad hominem attacks on Heydon. He asserted that Heydon now faced "a man of great learning" and that Heydon had not fulfilled his mission of convincing the learned of the validity of astrology.<sup>26</sup> Carleton's academic credentials would place him in the realm of the learned, and as Allen has noted, Carleton's education was evident throughout the text.<sup>27</sup> The

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<sup>24</sup>See George Williams, The Radical Reformation, 3rd rev. ed. (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Publishers, 1992).

<sup>25</sup>Allen, Star-Crossed Renaissance, p. 140.

<sup>26</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup>Allen, Star-Crossed Renaissance, p. 141 noted that "the Bishop, was, without question, a thorough student of analytics, and the merits of his essay rest not on his laminophobia but in his skilled mangling of Heydon's lapsus logicorum [lapses in logic]."

from continually attacking Heydon. The bishop noted that Heydon spoke "at random like a raving man" and not like a logical scholar.<sup>28</sup> Carleton admitted that Heydon had a vast wealth of knowledge but lamented that Heydon had wasted his knowledge on a subject such as astrology. The bishop wanted to rehabilitate Heydon.<sup>29</sup> This attitude was part of the conservative response to the Radical Reformation which placed a premium on knowledge being accessible to everyone.

The work of correcting Heydon's scholarship would not be easy for Bishop Carleton since Heydon apparently confused his sources. Further Heydon practiced either "grosse ignorance, or willful collusion," when he thought that Origen had given credit to the idea that Heaven was a book that could be read by certain initiates. The bishop believed that at best this idea came from a pseudo-Origen since "many such tricks are put upon Origen," by those who sought to deceive others. Such false works had been "thrust in amongst his works" which Origen himself had complained of during his own lifetime. Heydon should have been aware that Origen felt "his works were interpolated by chasteners."<sup>30</sup> The bishop retains this aura of superior scholarship throughout the entire text.

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<sup>28</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 29.

<sup>29</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 43.

<sup>30</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 93.

Bishop Carleton looked at Origen for the only two sure ways of knowing the future, "either from God, as the Prophets spoke, or from the Devil, as all other doe that seek the knowledge of particular Events."<sup>31</sup> Since Origen was one of the Church Fathers, he was not only an authoritative source but he also agreed with the other Church Fathers who reproved astrology.

These authors rejected astrological claims to predict the future. The Church Fathers asserted that prediction could not "be done without the Spirit of God."<sup>32</sup> Bishop Carleton used the same types of classical and medieval sources he had for previous works. He also relied heavily on dogma and believed that only through the Holy Spirit could the prophets attain divine foreknowledge. Any who attempted to make such predictions through the stars did not show proper respect for the prophets. The bishop asserted that "the Fathers say, the Stars have no other use or end but to give light, and by their motion to measure the times."<sup>33</sup>

The Bishop of Chichester in the end portrayed Heydon as a deceiver since he wrote a long book that had "not one

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<sup>31</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 92.

<sup>32</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 95.

<sup>33</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 95.

sound sentence."<sup>34</sup> Carleton was upset that Heydon did not follow the academic form of disputation by giving a definition first, which went against all tradition.<sup>35</sup> He was aware of new intellectual developments and, unlike Heydon, was not an admirer of Ramus.<sup>36</sup> The bishop also noted that Heydon did not seem to grasp Ramist logic.<sup>37</sup>

In the Madness of Astrologers Heydon became a case study for Bishop Carleton who, as he had done in previous polemical works, did not follow the scholastic method of addressing point by point the argument proposed by Heydon. Throughout the text Carleton showed signs of what Paul Kristeller noted as influence of humanists in the "style and pattern of philosophical literature."<sup>38</sup>

The Bishop of Chichester initially presented a twofold philosophical and theological argument revolving around the issue of the necessary influence of the stars. The extent

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<sup>34</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 111.

<sup>35</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 53.

<sup>36</sup>James McConica, "Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford," English Historical Review 94 (1979), p. 300 describes John Case's objections. Case did not want to see traditional syllogistic logic replaced by Ramus' system of classifications.

<sup>37</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 154. For Ramist thought see Walter J. Ong, Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue (Harvard University press, 1958).

<sup>38</sup>Paul O. Kristeller, "Humanism," in The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy, eds. Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 136.

and degree which celestial influences necessarily exerted on the individual was central to the astrological system. The question of necessity became the focus for all pro or anti-astrological works.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, this philosophical and logical issue of necessity was the key for all debates involving free will, foreknowledge or predestinarian thought.

The issues concerning predestinarian thought were similar for Carleton and yet his approach was different. He began by defining the issues. He wrote that the question was "whether the Stars be second causes of natural mutations (which I admit to part of the question, but not all.)"<sup>40</sup> The bishop granted the influence of the stars on natural bodies, so too had Calvin.<sup>41</sup> Bishop Carleton accepted that "the operations of the Sun and Moon are evident, that their Effects are natural, and therefore bound to natural necessary, no way subject to Contingence."<sup>42</sup> The obvious changing of the seasons, the affect of the sun on agriculture were permissible influences of the stars.

Carleton was even ready to admit the ability of the astrologer to foretell the motions of these bodies and the

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<sup>39</sup>Allen, Star-Crossed Renaissance, p. 140.

<sup>40</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup>John Calvin, An Admonicion against Astrology Iudiciall trans. G[odfred] G[ibly] (London, 1561).

<sup>42</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 48.

possible effect of these motions on the weather. However, he remained skeptical about the idea that the corruption of the air could be forecast with certainty. Carleton wrote that natural predictions were based on natural causes. Therefore any prediction of natural events based on the stars had "their natural causes" and these causes "belong to the Theory of Astronomy."<sup>43</sup> Bishop Carleton was arguing for limited scientific laws since natural processes could be understood. With knowledge of natural processes came the ability to predict the next natural occurrence. For instance, the movement of the stars and planets can certainly be "foretold, for as much as they depend upon natural principles."<sup>44</sup>

Thus the ability to foretell natural effects from natural causes was acceptable. The bishop would go so far as to grant that stars were signs of nature. However, these were only descriptive signs and prescription of future events. He noted that everyone agreed that the "signification is of things in the known Course of Nature, for times, years and seasons."<sup>45</sup>

Bishop Carleton believed astrologers confused the natural with the supernatural and therefore "their error is

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<sup>43</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 72.

<sup>44</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 72.

<sup>45</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 107.

in these things usually seen: such things are the predictions of rain, of fair weather, of wet times & dry." There was no argument over foretelling these natural phenomena since "these things depend upon the ordinary course of nature." These natural processes were "under the government of the superior bodies," the stars, the moon, and the sun. This control, however, did not mean the results were "so determinate, nor so inevitable, nor so evident to the Astrologer."<sup>46</sup>

The Bishop of Chichester noted that "the Dominion of the Heavens" was evident when one looked at all the plants that grew on the Earth. Bishop Carleton was in awe that the heavens could have such great power of control to make "all things spring and flourish" just by being in the correct celestial position. When humanity yielded to this celestial power that submission was to in actuality to nature, which was acceptable.

Bishop Carleton said that if astrologers wanted to claim more celestial power than nature allowed then they had to prove their case. He flatly denied that "the actions of men [are] ruled by this power." When astrologers professed that the "actions of Men, and particular Events to be under this power; you open your mouth against the Creator, and charge him with vanity." The astrologer's belief in this

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<sup>46</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, pp. 71-72.

was blasphemy.<sup>47</sup> This condemnation of astrologers had been a longstanding attitude of anti-astrological writers.<sup>48</sup>

Astrology also raised the question of epistemology. Carleton believed that the way "to bring any thing to the knowledge of a man" could be done in three ways, syllogistic logic, empirical demonstration or faith.<sup>49</sup> The acquisition of knowledge was the key for Bishop Carleton in his disagreement, not only with Heydon, but with all astrologers who professed to be able to predict specific events related to an individual's life. This type of foreknowledge, or astrological prediction, could not be validated by demonstration. Here the bishop stated that astrologers "do not challenge that" statement. While events predicted by natural astrology could be foreknown through past empirical observations, those predicted by judicial astrology could never be proven. The examples of the "influence which is apparent in the Moon and Sun" presented a specific and demonstrable effect on natural bodies.<sup>50</sup>

In his approach to knowledge Carleton wanted to place astrology within a specific educational field. The Bishop of Chichester sought to separate astrology from astronomy,

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<sup>47</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 102.

<sup>48</sup>See Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns, ch. 1.

<sup>49</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 10.

<sup>50</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 9.

placing each into its own field, one art and the other science. He saw that astrology "medleth [sic] not with motions," which was the science of Astronomy, but the art of astrology dealt with configurations.<sup>51</sup> Francis Bacon also wanted to place astrology on an empirical basis. Like Calvin and Bishop Carleton, Bacon allowed the natural aspects of astrology though he disavowed judicial astrology.<sup>52</sup> All these authors agreed that astrology had been studied and practiced without sound reasoning and depended more on intuition and art. Along with natural magic and alchemy, Bacon sought to reform these sciences which he felt were "noble." Astrology for Carleton would have been ignoble since he denied that astrology was either a mathematical science or natural philosophy. By placing astrology outside the traditional sphere of academics, Carleton's denial confirms the division of elite and popular cultures at this time.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 55.

<sup>52</sup>Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning in Works ed., James Spedding et al. (Boston: Taggard, 1863), vol. VI, p. 127. Bacon stated that "the sciences themselves which have had better intelligence and confederacy with the imagination of man than his reason, are three in number; Astrology, Natural Magic, and Alchemy; of which sciences nevertheless the ends or pretences are noble..."

<sup>53</sup>See James Jacob, "'By an Orphean Charm': Science and the Two Cultures in Seventeenth-Century England," in Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of H. G. Koenigsberger eds., Phyllis Mack and Margaret C. Jacob (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 233f.

The Bishop of Chichester raised the question of who used astrology. If Heydon was right and the wise and learned were not involved then only the uninformed, foolish and reprobate would resort to astrology.<sup>54</sup> The bishop noted that all the legitimate arts concerned all of humanity, elect and reprobate alike. The divine work of regeneration made no distinction, "no manner of alteration in the use of a lawful Art."<sup>55</sup> These lawful arts were based on natural knowledge, but when the art went beyond nature then the Devil entered the picture.<sup>56</sup>

Following this chain of logic Carleton felt that astrology was practiced by the reprobate and that astrology was beyond the true Church. So those who practiced astrology were subjects of the Devil and not part of the Church. Bishop Carleton wanted to "let them be shut out of the Church, and illude the Reprobate, for whose use they hold their Art by their own confession."<sup>57</sup> Those predestined to condemnation could easily be deluded by misleading information that resulted in false doctrine.

Carleton rebuked Heydon for saying that astrology was within the bounds of the natural sciences. In his critique

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<sup>54</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 44.

<sup>55</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 44.

<sup>56</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 44.

<sup>57</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 45.

Bishop Carleton observed that Heydon related astrology to mathematics and so convicted himself of logic chopping as a great gap existed between natural philosophy and mathematics. The Bishop of Chichester stated that astrology could not be mathematical since mathematics dealt with "things certaine and infallible" which astrology did not.<sup>58</sup> Though skepticism made inroads into Jacobean thought, only in matters of astrology did Bishop Carleton permit skepticism to play a role.<sup>59</sup> Skepticism had no place in discussions of salvation.

The Bishop of Chichester wanted to know how Heydon could claim that by having individuals not think of material things that they could come to knowledge of salvation. Bishop Carleton wondered if this was a mathematical construction. He felt that the "sequestration of our thoughts from Materials," was nothing divine nor "true Philosophy." Heydon never fully explained his position when he argued for mathematical abstractions. These abstractions considered only "magnitude and number, without matter." This line of thought was "impious Divinity" for Carleton since the "Mystery of Salvation" could not be arrived at by

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<sup>58</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 8.

<sup>59</sup>Richard Popkin, The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

such a manner of thinking.<sup>60</sup> He continued to state that astrology "proceeds not by demonstration from certaine and known Principles."<sup>61</sup> Obviously astrology did not fit Carleton's idea of science. He discounted the computational skills and knowledge needed by astrologers to plot the relative positions of the stars and planets. The one-time Merton Fellow also sought to disassociate the observational work done by astrologers from astronomy.

Bishop Carleton was not alone on this point. There was still a debate over the complex Ptolemaic system with the Tychonic and Copernican models. Stellar and planetary observations expanded and the advent of the telescope began to weaken astrology's cosmological position. In addition, the early sixteenth century saw challenges to the validity of Aristotelian physics which was a key element of astrology.<sup>62</sup>

One aspect of Jacobean cosmology was the system of equivalents or correspondence. This was the concept that body and soul are miniature replicas of the body and soul of the world. Between these two worlds, the great and the little, there were correspondences, sympathies and

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<sup>60</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 117.

<sup>61</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 9.

<sup>62</sup>There is a wealth of material on this subject. For a starting point see James R. Jacob, The Scientific Revolution (NJ: Humanities Press, 1998).

antipathies that anyone with knowledge and understanding could control. The system of correspondence has often referred to as a microcosm-macrocosm relationship.<sup>63</sup> These perceptions had filtered into England through the Paracelsian movement.<sup>64</sup> Bishop Carleton denied this system and Francis Bacon had also written that the system was "full of error and vanity."<sup>65</sup>

Bishop Carleton was clear when he discussed known and unknown causes, rightly stating that known causes could be demonstrated while occult or unknown causes could not be empirically proven. Yet when one seeks to apply empirical knowledge to Heydon's logic his own argument weakened. Here the bishop followed the medical theory of the influence of the humors on specific biological events.<sup>66</sup>

In general the Jacobean world-view that reality was teleological, order served reason, law was supreme, and the human will worked properly only when obeying the faculty of

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<sup>63</sup>For an introduction to this concept see E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York, 1943).

<sup>64</sup>H. R. Trevor-Roper, "The Paracelsian Movement," in Renaissance Essays (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 162-163, 178-180.

<sup>65</sup>Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning ed., James Spedding, vol. VI, (Boston, Taggard, 1863), p. 127.

<sup>66</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 25.

reason was being challenged.<sup>67</sup> The challenge to older authorities was a feature of Jacobean intellectual life. Aristotle's influence, though challenged, remained a foundation of university education as Carleton's own education has shown.

The Bishop of Chichester argued about the word astrology and here he showed a humanistic tendency to place the words of antiquity in their cultural and historic settings. Heydon was admonished for quoting Aristotle in saying that astrology was a median science between mathematics and natural science. Bishop Carleton continually sought to clearly separate astrology from astronomy and referred to classical writers. He noted that:

the truth is, this word Astrologie was otherwise used, and in another meaning amongst the Ancients, then now it is amongst us: and for this ambiguous use of this word, the Knight [Heydon] seeks in divers place, to deceive the unwary reader.<sup>68</sup>

The ancient authors "when they commend Astrologie, they mean Astronomy; and reprov'd Astrological Predictions, although they speak well of Astrologie."<sup>69</sup> Bishop Carleton noted that this was impossible as Aristotle never made this distinction. Instead, he pointed out that when Aristotle

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<sup>67</sup>James Daly, "Cosmic Harmony and Political Thinking in Early Stuart England," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 69 (1979), pp.22-23 discusses some of these changes.

<sup>68</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 62.

<sup>69</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 62.

spoke of astrology, he was thinking in terms of astronomy and not a prognosticating art. Aristotle was used to confute Neoplatonic aspects which Italian Renaissance astrologers, such as Ficino, had attached to astrology

Bishop Carleton proved that in the late Elizabethan use of the word, astrology was neither a part of natural science nor of mathematics. Outside of standard education, there was no "schooling" for astrology, merely evil intentions of the devil to mislead and corrupt souls. As Campion has pointed out by the Jacobean era judicial astrology relied on "no obvious rationale other than tradition and authority."<sup>70</sup> Recourse to tradition and authority were also associated with papal claims to power, with which Carleton was familiar.

The Bishop of Chichester indicted astrology on the charge of being a branch of demonic magic, noting that Cicero and Varro used the word superstitious to describe astrology.<sup>71</sup> Though Bishop Carleton used the argument of superior and inferior bodies he showed some skepticism on this issue and argued that if the influence was from a superior body to an inferior body that influence was reflective. The reflected influence was neither good or

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<sup>70</sup>Nicholas Campion, The Great Year. Astrology, Millenarianism and History in the Western Tradition (Arkana, 1994), p. 400.

<sup>71</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 65.

evil but came from the disposition of the inferior body.<sup>72</sup> The bishop agreed that natural astrology occurred in the sense that "the Stars be causes of some effects in these inferior Bodies" he was not totally certain of nature this relationship.<sup>73</sup>

Carleton returned to the point of the lack of power the stars had over humanity, noting that there was no debate over Christ taking "away the virtue of the Star." The debate was over whether or not humanity's "actions depend upon the natural virtue of the Stars." He then asked what was meant by the "natural virtue of the Stars."<sup>74</sup> In arguing that the Nile's flooding was a natural event he wrote that "whatsoever was the immediate cause of the rising thereof, did depend upon the superior bodies, if any thing depend upon them."<sup>75</sup> The last phrase indicates some doubt as to whether or not superior bodies had any real influence on sub-lunary bodies.

Bishop Carleton's doubt was also evident when he denied the practice of medical astrology: "it is true, that a Physician may judge of mans health or sickness, but not by

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<sup>72</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 87.

<sup>73</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 8.

<sup>74</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 110.

<sup>75</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 73.

Astrology, but by the disposition of his body."<sup>76</sup> Yet when Carleton apparently wrote this, around 1604, Simon Forman had been imprisoned a number of times by the Royal College of London Physicians for not having the requisite knowledge of astrology to be a practicing physician.<sup>77</sup> Carleton could accept humoral pathology but the apparent specificity of medical astrology was not. Since medical astrology employed horoscopes the bishop was adverse to admitting any legitimacy to this practice.

In terms of astrology having power of disposition, Carleton saw no cause and effect in judicial astrology and argued that sextile, triune and other configurations were not natural principles, nor were these arrangements a means of subordinating between a natural cause and effect.<sup>78</sup>

Bishop Carleton argued that astrological predictions, based on celestial configurations, could not be deduced through logic. Since the influence of the stars was natural and God was beyond nature, God's will could not be predicted by the stars but only by supernatural means.<sup>79</sup> He went on to state that "things which God doth by himself, cannot be

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<sup>76</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 74.

<sup>77</sup>For a somewhat sensational look at Forman's career see Rowse, Simon Forman the Astrologer, passim; Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 364 noted that for the years 1597-1601 Forman cast 1,000 horoscopes each year.

<sup>78</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 10.

<sup>79</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 70.

foreseen in the Stars, but such things proceed from supernatural causes: And things supernatural cannot be demonstrated by a natural agent."<sup>80</sup> Bishop Carleton wrote that predicting any event through supernatural agents could not be done by the stars, which were natural causes at best.

Fortune had no natural cause and individuals had no control over fortune. Yet astrology offered reasons for apparent arbitrary human behavior. Like religion, astrology argued against the idea that "misfortune was purely random."<sup>81</sup> The Bishop of Chichester felt that "to foretell these things as from natural causes, is vain to seek, and impossible to find."<sup>82</sup> He granted that there were practicing astrologers but argued that they did not perform their art through the use of philosophy or natural knowledge. The bishop wrote that Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistus, Apollonius Thyaneus, Porphyry, Seleucus and Ptolemy had practiced astrology but there was no way to prove that they "did perform these predictions by Philosophy, or natural knowledge."<sup>83</sup> The point of celestial cause and effect was raised again.

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<sup>80</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 71.

<sup>81</sup>Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 388.

<sup>82</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 71.

<sup>83</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 68.

Carleton noted that in nature there was cause and effect and allowed that those do occur in the stars but not that these were predictions. Carleton was pedantic and in a sense wrong. The foreknowledge of an event was not necessarily the prediction of that event which Valla had noted. Valla had stated that if foreknowledge determined the actual being of something foreknown then knowledge would determine the actual being of something known.<sup>84</sup> Did our foreknowledge that the sun would rise in the east cause the event?

Part of the conflict between Calvinism and judicial astrology was that this branch of astrology offered the individual a chance to effect the future by the application of free will to foreknowledge.<sup>85</sup> The Bishop of Chichester still wanted a miracle to be involved, not in the foretelling of an event, but in the disruption of the natural course of cause and effect. He was on safer ground when he argued against Heydon's sense of necessary and contingent effects in astrological predictions.<sup>86</sup> This was where Bishop Carleton exposed the most serious flaw in

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<sup>84</sup>Lorenzo Valla, "On Free Will," Renaissance Philosophy vol. 1, The Italian Philosophers (New York: Modern Library, 1967), pp. 40-65.

<sup>85</sup>Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 438 implies that astrology's use of free will may be why English Arminians showed sympathies towards astrology.

<sup>86</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 48.

Heydon's logic. Heydon argued that astrological predictions were necessary, but contingent. Carleton noted that necessary always carried the sense of dependence on a natural cause and effect, while contingency was by chance with no natural cause. The bishop noted that astrologers departed from nature and entered into sorcery. Carleton wrote that fortune could not be a natural cause otherwise the term would not be used, since fortune and chance were outside natural causes. This highlights the anxiety of the period where "fortune expressed the radical untrustworthiness of the future."<sup>87</sup> The best that could be done was to attribute fortune to God's providential will.<sup>88</sup> He exclaimed that to understand God's will was the province of theology and not astrology. The bishop could excuse anyone's ignorance of astrology but not of divinity, noting that "in regard of God's prescience there is nothing contingent."<sup>89</sup>

Bishop Carleton continued to attack Heydon's logic: "it seems you were never careful to understand what is absolute, and what upon supposition."<sup>90</sup> These logical flaws of

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<sup>87</sup>William Bouwsma, "Anxiety and the Formation of Early Modern Culture," in After the Reformation, Essays in honor of J. H. Hexter ed., Barbara C. Malament (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), p. 219.

<sup>88</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, pp. 27-28.

<sup>89</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, pp. 29, 115.

<sup>90</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 31.

Heydon were manifold.<sup>91</sup> Heydon had to choose either a necessary or contingent cause for astrological predictions and that in either case there were serious flaws in the argument. The bishop again looked at contingency which could not be used to make predictions since this would be "utterly vain, and superstitious."<sup>92</sup> He stated that astrologers argued that things have being and thus signification:

if then there be contingence in their being, it must needs bee in their signification. So, that it is impossible to find certaine signs or significations of things, which are themselves contingent. So it is in things that are merely free.<sup>93</sup>

Here the bishop showed a spiritual understanding and view of the world. He wrote that if Heydon's statement that the stars are necessary causes of natural events then:

this necessity must bee according to the ordinary Course of Nature, the bond whereof is not broken but by Miracle: then your Predictions cannot be hindered but by Miracle. But you see they are hindered ordinarily, and without Miracles; and it is a greater Miracle to see them fall out true, then to see them prove false.<sup>94</sup>

The bishop still believed the miraculous hand of God was at work in the universe. In this regard, he and others like him who attacked astrology were "non-scientific", in

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<sup>91</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 32.

<sup>92</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 75.

<sup>93</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 75.

<sup>94</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 33.

the modern sense.<sup>95</sup> These authors still used logic, and reason but only to justify Scripture and any type of knowledge that went against Scripture was forbidden. Carleton argued that even if God had revealed his Will and the future to some astrologers this was done by the spirit such as was given the prophets of old.<sup>96</sup>

The Bishop of Chichester spent a large portion of this work examining the relationship between astrology and magic. Astrologers were seen as dealing with the unnatural and thus an aspect of magic. Carleton wrote that Magic was the employment of spirits. He argued that even for Plato magic was not natural philosophy but the worship of gods and idols, since "Idolatry is a part of Magicke ... it appeareth, it is not natural, but Diabolical," a relationship that he had indicated repeatedly in his treatise.<sup>97</sup> The bishop admitted that experts divided magic into natural and demonic magic, though he doubted the division was sound.

Bishop Carleton used Scripture and logic to show that any successful prediction must have been obtained by satanic

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<sup>95</sup>Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 426f; Shumaker, Occult Sciences in the Renaissance, p. 54.

<sup>96</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 35. Carlo Ginzburg, "High and Low: The Theme of Forbidden Knowledge in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Past and Present 73 (1975), p. 32 has commented on how knowing "the secrets of God like predestination" was forbidden.

<sup>97</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 78.

aid. To support this view, Carleton referred to the work of Ficino. In Ficino's Book Of Life the author noted that those least skilled in the practice of astrology were often the most fortunate in their prognostications. Ficino noted that astrological predictions were done through the inspiration of the spirit.<sup>98</sup> These types of astrological predictions were almost instinctual. The learned, who used logic and demonstration were too knowledgeable to be fooled.<sup>99</sup> Nor could the learned who relied on education, avail themselves of an art that depended on unconscious talent. This argues for the split of "high" and "low" cultures with the elite becoming more suspicious and hostile to popular culture.<sup>100</sup> Bishop Carleton frowns upon the masses who were obviously fooled by astrologers.

The Bishop of Chichester saw in Ficino's daemon a "confession" that a spirit gave Ficino his foreknowledge or particular events.<sup>101</sup> He noted that the stars were not causes, and that humanity had no natural means of obtaining foreknowledge. Since skill was not needed to be successful then the ability to correctly make predictions came from

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<sup>98</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 38.

<sup>99</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 40.

<sup>100</sup>Jacob, "'By an Orphean Charm'," p. 231.

<sup>101</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 41. Carleton does not mention that for the daemon was seen by Ficino as an intermediary agent between the spiritual and physical worlds.

another source, the devil. Carleton again complained about Heydon's use of sources and stated that he would reject Cicero but use Cardano and Jovius whose opinions matched Heydon's own.<sup>102</sup>

Bishop Carleton constructed a syllogistic logic chain to show that astrology was taught by the devil. He stated that the only way to know about astrological predictions of individual futures was to have faith "but not by that faith which God taught his Church: therefore by that faith which the Devil teaches."<sup>103</sup>

The cause and effect relationship was allowable under natural philosophy but Carleton would not go so far as to allow astrological predictions of "mens Fortunes."<sup>104</sup> Indeed knowledge of the future of specific events in an individual's life were not "natural Principles, but Sorcery."<sup>105</sup> Carleton believed that astrologer's "Principles have no Affinity with natural causes; but with those illusions which Satan invents to deceive and draw away simple and unstable Souls into an admiration of curious and impious slights and vanities."<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 39.

<sup>103</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 11.

<sup>104</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 9.

<sup>105</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 9.

<sup>106</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 10.

The search for knowledge should be limited to investigations into nature. But in their desire to learn, Bishop Carleton lamented that the search was coming at the expense of truth. In their quest for knowledge many were deceived and misled.

Since men sought knowledge beyond nature they were easily deceived. Part of that deception was the desire to know future events. Prediction of future vents without recourse to the study of natural cause and effect was deemed inappropriate. In examining judicial astrology, Carleton connected astrological predictions to augury. He noted that Henry Cornelius Agrippa also saw "such affinity."<sup>107</sup> Agrippa was a noted author on magic during the Renaissance whose works were in part based on those of Hermes Trismegistus.<sup>108</sup> Bishop Carleton noted that Agrippa was "a Cozener", who plainly dealt with "Magicke Philosophy."<sup>109</sup>

The study of magic, and this included astrology, was unacceptable since this corrupted the soul. The corruption was evident in the astrologers misunderstanding of the stars as signs. Carleton granted that stars could be signs but he

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<sup>107</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 18.

<sup>108</sup>Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance, passim points to the influence of Agrippa's works; Campion, The Great Year, p. 391 noted that Agrippa's text was the most influential magical text of the era. See also Frances Yates, The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1983).

<sup>109</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, pp. 78, 88.

specified that they did not "signifie such a particular Event."<sup>110</sup> The bishop went on to argue that ancient philosophers such as Cicero and Eudoxus rejected astrology as a cause of natural events. These authors noted that the cause of a natural event could not be argued from after the occurrence of the event.<sup>111</sup>

Since the events astrology predicted could not be derived from natural causes, the Bishop of Chichester painted Heydon as a believer in sorcery. Only those who practiced sorcery would countenance these supernatural matters while "they who are governed by the Spirit of God, and seek knowledge according to Godliness, may not bee confident upon the truth of Events."<sup>112</sup> The bishop clearly stated his case "that no Astrologer can make a Prediction of such particular Events, wherein himself gives instance, but by the familiarity of an unclean Spirit."<sup>113</sup> Though Heydon himself was not evil, others like him were being misled by the devil since God "suffers the Devil to deceive and illude Astrologers" by allowing some predictions to come true.<sup>114</sup> The Father of Lies was given the power to sometimes tell

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<sup>110</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, sig. D2r.

<sup>111</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 21.

<sup>112</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 21.

<sup>113</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 27.

<sup>114</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 21.

truths and half-truths in order to gain the confidence and belief of weak souls. Thus Carleton argued that any time an astrologer's prediction was correct the foreknowledge of that event came from the devil and not a true study of the natural effects of the stars.

The Bishop of Chichester closed his book with a quotation from King James I's Daemonology. King James had written a conventional protest against spurious intellectual curiosity. Astrologers were ill-informed and they climbed up "the slippery and uncertain scale of Curiosity." Bishop Carleton's remark agrees with Thomas, who has noted that the attitude of seventeenth-century astrologers was one of "overwhelming intellectual curiosity."<sup>115</sup> In their search for knowledge they were lured beyond the "lawful Arts or Sciences" into satisfying their restless minds through the "black and unlawful Science of Magicke."<sup>116</sup> Along with James I and others the link between black magic and astrology appeared in James Mason's The Anatomie of Sorcerie. Though Mason said little directly about astrology he included the practice among the "vain, frivolous and superstitious arts ... abominable unto the Lord."<sup>117</sup> Any quest for knowledge beyond the natural was an infringement

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<sup>115</sup>Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 387.

<sup>116</sup>Allen, Star-Crossed Renaissance, p. 142.

<sup>117</sup>James Mason, The Anatomie of Sorcerie (London, 1612), p. 85.

on God's will and none should seek to know more than was allowable by nature.

Bishop Carleton hoped "that a plain distinction may appear between good learning, and Astrological Sorceries."<sup>118</sup> The bishop used the works of the Early Church Fathers, Tertullian's Liber de habitus muliberi and Liber de idolatry, Clement of Alexandria's Ecolog, Origen's Homily to show that these ancient authors regarded astrology as a magical practice. He wrote that Lactantius felt "astrologia, auspicia, auguria et oracula esse Damonionrum inuentum" [astrology, auspice, augury and oracles are the creation of demons].<sup>119</sup>

Even Heydon's argument that Plato, in the Phadreus, attributing the origins of arithmetic and geometry to a demon called Theuth, was a deception according to Carleton. He argued that there was truth to the Greeks attributing the invention of arts and sciences to their gods. Yet Bishop Carleton noted the arts and sciences predated the Olympian gods and stated that the Greek gods had actually been people "which had lived here before."<sup>120</sup> He went on to say that the worship of these gods was idolatry, "and by exhibiting

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<sup>118</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 57.

<sup>119</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 57.

<sup>120</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 57.

divine worship to such, they [the Greeks] made them devils."<sup>121</sup> Following this line, Bishop Carleton argued that the Greeks attributed "the invention of good Arts to devils."<sup>122</sup> The bishop was appalled that the devil could be given credit for any good art.

He argued that the word devil for the Greeks was not the same for Christians.<sup>123</sup> Here the Bishop of Chichester again displayed humanistic philological methodology by analyzing the Greek word for demon.<sup>124</sup> Where the Greeks had taken the word demon as a "good part" the Christians did not.<sup>125</sup> Bishop Carleton noted that Heydon could not prove that the heathen Greeks had ascribed astrology to evil or unclean spirits. He then cited Origen on good learning who "doth distinguish Astrology from Philosophy."<sup>126</sup> While philosophy could be used to understand nature, and predict natural events, astrology would only lead to corruption.

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<sup>121</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 57.

<sup>122</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 57.

<sup>123</sup>See Margo Todd, Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987) for the issue of humanist philology.

<sup>124</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 58.

<sup>125</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 58.

<sup>126</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 58.

The Bishop of Chichester believed that the individual desire for knowledge of astrological predictions could drive them into evil practices:

it is not on the nature of the thing, but in the vehement desire of him that seeks to know things. This is plain witchcraft and Idolatry, in abusing men to place their highest desires, their faith, and affections upon these things.<sup>127</sup>

The desire to know was so strong that astrologers turned to the devil. Carleton wrote that the astrologer had an "excess of desire, placing his faith and affections upon those inventions of Satan, which we owe only to God, his holy Scripture & truth."<sup>128</sup> There was clearly a distinction between the godly and the ungodly drawn by Carleton. Instead of placing their faith in God, those individuals became victims of the devil. Unclean spirits, agents of the devil, sought to delude individuals through their desire and so:

to catch the soul of man in these snares; requiring a strong Credulity, and excessive desire of the Soul: and so drawing the service of the Soul to themselves, from God and from godliness. These be the traps and snares that unclean Spirits have spread for Astrologers.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 84. The amount of work on witchcraft is enormous. For the latest see Robin Briggs, Witches and Neighbours. The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft (London: Harper Collins, 1996).

<sup>128</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 86.

<sup>129</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 86.

These "traps and snares" were evident through history, which had shown that astrology was evil. Bishop Carleton noted that "we have the voice of Nature in the Consciences of the best affected natural men, thrusting aside these Predictions out of all bounds of natural philosophy, and good learning."<sup>130</sup> He felt that the Pre-Christian authors were the voice of nature. The bishop looked at Heydon's history of astrology which he saw as directly related to magic. For Bishop Carleton the practice began with Zoroaster "a man given to the familiarity of wicked spirits."<sup>131</sup> Zoroaster sought to learn what "particular action to come" to individuals by means of "wicked spirits" and magic.<sup>132</sup> Carleton countered Heydon's assertion that ancient kings had been the first to learn astrology. The Bishop of Chichester argued that as a Persian Zoroaster had influence on the Persian kings who were schooled in Zoroastrianism.

Again, Bishop Carleton turned to the philosophers and noted that Aristotle, Eudoxus, and Cicero rejected astrological predictions.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, such ancient authorities as Plato, Pythagoras, Empedocles and Democritus

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<sup>130</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 66.

<sup>131</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 59.

<sup>132</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 57.

<sup>133</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 57.

had traveled to "learn all Magicke, not only Astrology."<sup>134</sup> Defending Aristotle at the expense of Plato, was part of the conservative reaction to the Radical Reformation.

The bishop wrote that Heydon could "never find, that the Ancients referred it [astrology] to any other part of learning then to magick."<sup>135</sup> The Bishop of Chichester dealt Heydon's historical argument a serious blow by proving that among the Romans the astrologer had a reputation inferior to that of diviners who took auspices.<sup>136</sup> The bishop raised the question of sources and the reliability of ancient writers. He looked at Heydon's use of evidence and asked, "to what, are testimonies brought to prove a thing granted?"<sup>137</sup> Carleton felt that Heydon selectively chose his sources and evidence. He stated that Heydon's argument was weakened by his failure to mention that astrology in the classical era was often linked directly to sorcery.<sup>138</sup>

Between the classical era and Carleton's own lifetime astrology had been studied by Islamic scholars. As a Christian, Bishop Carleton allowed for the practice of Islamic astrology he inferred that their learning was not on

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<sup>134</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 57.

<sup>135</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 60.

<sup>136</sup>Allen, Star Crossed Renaissance, p. 142.

<sup>137</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 62.

<sup>138</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 15.

the same level as that of classical writers. Their knowledge of astrology was called an "Arabic dunghill."<sup>139</sup> The bishop readily glossed over the advances made by Islamic astrologers.<sup>140</sup> He also noted that these were heathenish practices and so, Carleton felt not to be accepted by any Christians.

Christians faith was rooted in Holy Scripture. This was the most and significant source for the bishop. At one point, Bishop Carleton used the Bible to analyze Egyptian magic and astrology. He noted that Joseph's ability to interpret Pharaoh's dreams was done through God's revelation. God's divine revelation stood in opposition to Egyptian knowledge of astrology by which they predicted the flooding of the Nile River. Carleton further argued that the flooding was a natural event with a natural cause, that

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<sup>139</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 70.

<sup>140</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 70. Arabic astrologers beliefs and the transmittal of Arabic sciences brought back to Europe a revitalized and systemized astrology. There was a reaction in the late fifteenth century through Pico Disputationes adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem (Bologna, 1495) that became a manual for later attacks on astrology. Pico's work was rendered into Italian by Savonarola Tractato contra li Astrologi (Florence, 1495?). The theme was taken up by Thomas Erastus' translation of Pico into German (1557), Jacques Molland, Cartel aux Judiciaries et Celoteurs Astrologues (Lyon, 1585); a Spanish Jesuit, Bendecitus Pererius, Valentinus adversus Fallaces et Superstitusas Artes (Ingoldstadt, 1591) this last work had an English edition by Percy Enderbie, The Astrologer Anatomiz'd (London, 1661). Of a less theological theme was Sixtus ab Hemminga, De Incertitudine et vanitate Astrologica (Antwerp, 1583).

could be predicted by natural means. However, Pharaoh's dreams were not natural events, and so had no natural cause. Pharaoh's dreams could only be understood with the assistance of a power beyond nature.<sup>141</sup> Magicians and astrologers attempted to deal with events beyond nature whereas philosophers were firmly rooted in the natural world.

Bishop Carleton noted that "the Ancients do exactly distinguish Magicians [sic] from Philosophers" which could be found in Plato and Herodotus.<sup>142</sup> Magicians had also been known as priests in Persia and Egypt though, as Herodotus had shown, they were "Priests, not Philosophers."<sup>143</sup> Again, the bishop was making a distinction between the natural and supernatural. The supernatural could involve evil spirits. Carleton referred to Iamblicus who had noted "the Priests of Egypt and Magi of the Persians, were so linked to their familiar Devil, that thereby they had means to foretell and work certain great works, that is illusions. These things be of Magicke craft, but not Philosophy."<sup>144</sup> Diodorus Siculus had noted that the Chaldean astrologers were not similar to Greek Philosophers, who had studied

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<sup>141</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 73.

<sup>142</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 78.

<sup>143</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 79.

<sup>144</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 79.

natural knowledge. Instead the Chaldeans were like Egyptian priests, "foretelling particular events." This type of philosophy did not seek natural causes of events. Rather "by their manner of worshipping their Gods, that is Devils," Chaldean philosophers tried to gain "the knowledge of Predictions of particular Events." These philosophers sought to know that "which cannot be known in nature, but are known by the help of such Devils."<sup>145</sup> Unlike Heydon, the bishop did note in passing that Strabo called these men philosophers. This was qualified by another philological note on the Greek usage that the word could mean "Philosophers of that Country" so that he distinguished them from other philosophers.<sup>146</sup>

The Bishop of Chichester noted that in Agrippa's discourse on influences no philosophers were cited and even Plato was said to have learned of the world soul from Trismegistus.<sup>147</sup> Isaac Casaubon would soon disprove the notion that the works of Trismegistus were contemporary with those of Moses, but when Bishop Carleton wrote the notion of the antiquity of Trismegistus was still prevalent.<sup>148</sup> In

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<sup>145</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 80.

<sup>146</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 80.

<sup>147</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 82.

<sup>148</sup>Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 267 wrote that as early as 1614 Casaubon, in a polemic against Baronius, who was a Counter-Reformation historian, had shown that Hermes Trismegistus' claim to pre-Christian origins was

order to refute Agrippa's claim that there was some "hidden mysteries" that served as secret knowledge of influences, the bishop used the Mosaic books.<sup>149</sup>

Secret knowledge and particularly foreknowledge could have had political consequences. Bishop Carleton only briefly, and as means to a different end, touched on politics in nature. The bishop probably remembered that Robert Cecil had had an astrologer banished for predicting the death of Prince Henry. Another political aspect was the Gunpowder Plotters' use of horoscopes which fed into Carleton's antagonism toward the papists.<sup>150</sup>

Carleton noted that astrologers often foretold the death of princes or the triumph of armies but since astrologers had stated that the stars inclined the humors and the humors the body and then the body the mind he wondered how the astrologers could come to these types of conclusions.<sup>151</sup> This idea of the chain of influences from humors to mind and then to action was a key in the bishop's entire argument against astrological predictions. He refused to believe that such a chain of influence could foretell specific individual actions and events.

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false.

<sup>149</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 83.

<sup>150</sup>Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp. 408, 438.

<sup>151</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 12.

The Bishop of Chichester used the famous prognostication of Gaurico, about the death of Henry II of France as an example of why this concept could not be legitimate. The bishop lamented:

by what means the Astrologer could see the wound in the head: what humor did the Stars incline to this? Or, how was it possible by natural means, that in the Stars he should see the 41[st] year of Age?<sup>152</sup>

If only the humors were affected by the stars then how could a head wound, which had no direct relationship to the humors, be predicted. The specificity of these individual predictions was absurd to Carleton. In this area Bishop Carleton ran against popular, and even academic, belief in the application of astrological medicine.<sup>153</sup> All that Carleton would allow stemmed from his application of natural cause and effect. He did not specifically disagree with humoral pathology, nor astrological medicine, but he was offended by astrologers surety of their specific and individual predictions.

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<sup>152</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 14.

<sup>153</sup>Andrew Boorde, The Breviarie of Health (London, 1575); Sir Thomas Elyot, Castel of Helth (London, 1541) Carroll Camden, "Astrology in Shakespeare's Day," Isis 19 (1933), pp. 46-61; Allan Chapman, "Astrological Medicine," in Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century. ed., Charles Webster (Cambridge, 1979); Cumberland Clark, Shakespeare and Science (New York, 1970); H. G. Dick, "Students of Physic and Astrology" Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, I (1946), pp. 300-315; John Draper, The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters (New York, 1965); Irving Edgar, Shakespeare, Medicine and Psychiatry (New York, 1970).

What also offended Carleton was Heydon's continuous assertion that opponents of astrology were men who would not tax their brains to learn the art. Carleton rebutted this contention by providing a list of distinguished scholars, including James I, who mastered astrology in order to attack it. The bishop added, with the snobbery of the academician, that he knew a number of men who had been considered "blockish" in the universities who had gained a reputation as astrologers. Heydon had stated that the art of astrology was difficult and that those opposed to astrology did not grasp the subtly of the art. Carleton responded that the learned saw through the facade of astrology.<sup>154</sup>

In his continued look at knowledge, Carleton reasoned that the truth of astrological prediction could only be proved "by the light of Nature, or by the word of God."<sup>155</sup> The light of nature was revealed through logic and demonstration while God's word was found in faith. But those who follow nature "could never find out the Affection of the Stars to such events."<sup>156</sup> Carleton stated that "lawful learning and Knowledge excludes none, but works upon all sorts of men alike."<sup>157</sup> What he did not condone was the

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<sup>154</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, pp. 16-17.

<sup>155</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 18.

<sup>156</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 18.

<sup>157</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 46.

desire to learn more than nature would permit through observation, reason and logic.

The last method of acquiring knowledge, according to Bishop Carleton, was by faith and yet he stressed the inability to know God's will. He did admit that at times God had given foreknowledge to some, such as the prophets of the Old Testament. So, Carleton was able to grant that in the past God had spoken "his will by some means, neither the Devil, nor the Astrologer, is able to foretell it" and used the example of Job.<sup>158</sup>

The divine foreknowledge granted to the prophets of the Old testament had ended and Bishop Carleton asked "For who knows all secrets of God, but God? But we know, that if there bee any, no man is able to express it."<sup>159</sup> So that even should an individual gain divine revelation there would be no way to directly communicate that knowledge.

The importance of gaining knowledge through faith was connected with the doctrine of the Elect. This doctrine was so central to Carleton that even in this anti-astrological work, the Bishop of Chichester felt the need to raise the issue of the Elect. The need to do so may be found his desire to combat antinomianism. Antinomianism stated that if an individual was elected and predestined to salvation

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<sup>158</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 25.

<sup>159</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 81.

then no power in heaven or on earth could prevent that outcome. Hence, no matter what the individual's moral conduct might be, salvation was use since the were of the Elect. The wicked actions of such a person were not deemed sinful and there was no need for confession or repentance. This would obviate the need for an ordained clergy and clouded the issue of how were the Elect to be known. Carleton was certain that astrology was not a valid means to this end.

Carleton clearly stated his arguments against Heydon's heretical doctrine that Christ's blood had removed the influence of the stars from the regenerate. Bishop Carleton said this impiety could not be accepted since Christ's blood could not wash away something which never existed.<sup>160</sup> He maintained that the astrologers could not know who was regenerate or elect and if they did so they would supplant divines and clerics.<sup>161</sup> Carleton argued that this was absurd. He used Scriptural passages as examples, showing that God did not reveal his secret will "until it pleased him to reveal it."<sup>162</sup>

The bishop looked at how you could know if you were one of the Elect. Some astrologers professed to understand "the

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<sup>160</sup>Allen, Star Crossed Renaissance, p. 142.

<sup>161</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 25.

<sup>162</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 26.

Language that the Angels use" though Bishop Carleton admitted that "these be things which wee understand not." The power astrologers claimed went "further then wee poor souls can reach" in the natural world. Astrology could offer a complete explanation of humanity and nature "where there was no place for God", thus displacing the clergy.<sup>163</sup> The claims of astrologers, while false, were not as troublesome as "when they tell us, how by numbers wee may be sealed to salvation." This type of statement opened the astrologers to judgement by the Church. For should an astrologer say that he had foreknowledge from an angel to preach about salvation then "we are warned to his Anathema." The idea that an astrologer "may know our names registered in Heaven, and sealed to salvation by numbers," was blasphemous since no one could know God's will.<sup>164</sup>

To the bishop salvation was found in Christ. The Church of England did not teach that salvation could be known by studying "the Mystery of the Trinity." Rather church doctrine preached that salvation was in "the Mystery of Christ his Incarnation, and Passion." Through Christ humanity had gained redemption. Humanity found itself through Christ by faith. Faith and repentance, not the "contemplation of numbers," or the "abstraction of our

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<sup>163</sup>Jacob, "'By an Orphean Charm'," p. 233.

<sup>164</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 116.

thoughts from Materials" could lead one to know God. By humanity's knowledge of God we were converted. The act of conversion gained our registry in the ranks of those predestined to election.<sup>165</sup>

Through this registry to election good works were unnecessary. "Good works" as means to election was "false Divinity."<sup>166</sup> In this regard Heydon had taken a Pelagian position on free will which contradicted the Thirty-Nine Articles.<sup>167</sup> The Church of England doctrine stated that election "depends not upon any thing which we do."<sup>168</sup> So good works, a basic element of Roman Catholic doctrine was untenable to the English Church. Bishop Carleton defended that core doctrine. He believed that the elect were "registered or Predestinated not by faith, but unto faith; wee are sealed by faith after our effectual calling."<sup>169</sup>

The bishop then ventured into some questionable grounds of church doctrine. He defined the Church as containing everyone who had received "the Sacrament of Regeneration." The sacrament was granted to children who were "baptized in

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<sup>165</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 118.

<sup>166</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 118.

<sup>167</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 119.

<sup>168</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 118.

<sup>169</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 118. See Ephesians 1:13.

the Church," where they were "taken for Regenerate, albeit the effect thereof, is more or less apparent, or not apparent in process of time."<sup>170</sup> The act of baptism had been argued at Dort and earlier at the Hampton Court Conference and, since this was a sacrament found in Scripture, the interpretation was important. If every baptism resulted in regeneration, who were the Elect? If the signs of the Elect emerged over the course of time, then why was baptism performed? These were questions which the Anabaptists were also raising since they were certain of their salvation and needed no earthly intermediary.

Bishop Carleton went on with his definition of the church. He believed that Christ had dissolved the fear and specter of death. In doing so he freed "his Church" made up of "only true Believers," who were "members of his [Christ's] body." Still under the shadow of death lay everyone else "for none are freed," except those God had chosen.<sup>171</sup> Carleton felt that what Christ achieved was the end of superstition and since the word superstition was often connected with the papacy Carleton was suggesting that the pope had no real claim to power.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>170</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 45.

<sup>171</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 109.

<sup>172</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 111.

Since papal claims to power had been founded on a distinct reading of Scripture, Carleton was again on familiar ground. This misreading of Scripture was also something of which Heydon was found guilty. As bishop, Carleton accused Heydon of twisting the text and intent of crucial Scriptural passages particularly from Genesis, and Job so that the sources fit his personal perspective.<sup>173</sup> He also raised the issue of self-deception. Carleton noted that not only had Heydon deceived himself but that he sought to deceive others.<sup>174</sup> Part of that deception was the result of Heydon's imparting his own interpretation of Scripture. This raised the issue of who interpreted Scripture.

The Bishop of Chichester would not allow a layman, outside the church, to give his own reading of Biblical passages. Carleton wrote "you must not give interpretations of Scripture to the Church; but take them from the Church."<sup>175</sup> The layman was directed to accept what the church defined and interpreted. To do otherwise was to practice antinomianism in denying the moral law of Scripture.

Bishop Carleton was concerned over Heydon's rule which was "to compare all authorities that are brought against

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<sup>173</sup>Allen, Star Crossed Renaissance, p. 143.

<sup>174</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 49.

<sup>175</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 50.

him, with the definition of Astrologie by himself set down."<sup>176</sup> This was specifically true of Scripture where the bishop felt that the Bible might be bent to accept Heydon's definition. Heydon's "new" interpretation of Scripture was not sanctioned by the church.<sup>177</sup> For Heydon to presume his interpretation was true was his own "pride and presumption." That a layman could "see farther into a Text of Job, then all Divines can" was an absurdity to the bishop.<sup>178</sup> Heydon's point of view was dangerous to the stability of the social order since he called into question the validity of the clergy.

Bishop Carleton was not alone in his use of theological sources to attack astrology. Andrew Willet, a known Biblical commentator, in his Hexapla in Genesin collected Scriptural and Patristic sayings on the impiety of divination and called it the "vanity of judicial Astrologie."<sup>179</sup> The Bible was the final source of authority in Christian debates over astrology.

When the Bishop of Chichester looked at the misuse of Scripture he was amazed at the "boldness of many men" who in "these evil & licentious times" advanced the belief of

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<sup>176</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 52.

<sup>177</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 52.

<sup>178</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 102.

<sup>179</sup>Andrew Willet, Hexapla in Genesin (London, 1605), pp. 10-12.

"corrupt Causes." These men dared to misuse Scripture. They did so by "turning and forcing Gods truth sometimes, as it proceeded from the Devil, the first corrupter of truth."

The truth was a difficult matter. God's divine truth could not be discussed like ordinary "common Learning." Bishop Carleton had had to have more than seven years of study and two degrees before he could correctly approach and study Scripture. Yet astrologers, without the appropriate apparatus "smooth terms, and a trimmed speech, without a religious heart" would corrupt divine truth.<sup>180</sup> Part of the preparation came from listening to God's will. The bishop saw religion as metaphysical, since belief "depends upon the immediate will of God, and not upon the order of nature."<sup>181</sup>

Carleton believed that, since men could only know by nature, a miracle was beyond understanding. Miracles were produced "only by the Word, or immediate will of God." As such, miracles were without natural means, which caused humanity to wonder, since their "knowledge can reach no higher, then as it is asked by means."<sup>182</sup>

Instead of revelation God had now given faith which was an article of doctrine. In recent times there had been no revelations, instead "God hath given to the Children of the

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<sup>180</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 97.

<sup>181</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 97.

<sup>182</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 98.

Church, that precious gift of Faith." Through this divine gift the Church of England believed and knew "assuredly, that all things in the world are ruled by Gods Providence." With the world in God's hands the faithful were "taught to know, that the knowledge of things to come, not revealed to us." God had disclosed all that was necessary to the faithful for salvation. Whenever the need for additional knowledge arose the faithful "shall have it, but from God and his Prophets, not from Astrologers. Thus we rest in Gods Providence, and we exhort the Knight [Heydon] to rest there."<sup>183</sup> Astrologers then presumed to a divine role. The assumption of such a divine role was part of the Radical Reformation which drew upon the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. If astrologers could profess to have a direct link to God's knowledge what would stop other individuals from claiming the same power.

Bishop Carleton argued that Scripture was not needed to prove anything found in nature. The use of such a divine text discredited Scriptures since they were meant "for higher matters then nature can reach."<sup>184</sup> Carleton may also have been combatting the Paracelsians had already claimed a

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<sup>183</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 100.

<sup>184</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 106.

"Bible-based science and their own inspirations" in their investigations of nature.<sup>185</sup>

Carleton wanted to know what warrant Heydon had "to make the word of God serve your fancy."<sup>186</sup> Carleton looked at Heydon's use of Scripture and was shocked. In one particular passage Heydon changed the "sense and words" from one place to another. The layman "chopt & changed" words. The bishop looked at the place Heydon cited in the original, and in a variety of translations. These included a Hebrew Text, an old Latin translation, the Septuagint, commentaries by Tremelius, Leo, Iuda, and finally the English Bible. In all of these texts Carleton noted that "without exception" the passage read "they fought from heaven; even the Stars in the Courses fought against Sisera." All the translations and commentaries on this passage believed that hail, rain and sleet were the elements that the heavens fought. Carleton did grant that through natural astrology, meaning the motion of the stars, the heaven's were "observed to further rain and tempest." The bishop noted that when Scripture was faithfully translated and reference made to all ancient and modern commentaries, the truth of "how the

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<sup>185</sup>Jacob, The Scientific Revolution, p. 27.

<sup>186</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 106.

Heavens fought against Sisera" was shown. This battle was a natural occurrence and not a spiritual event.<sup>187</sup>

For misreading Scripture, Heydon was accused of dissent and heterodoxy. Bishop Carleton felt that the personal interpretation of Scripture resulted in Heydon's own personal divinity, which ran counter to the Church of England. As a Christian knight, Heydon should not be creating something new but should "take Divinity as the Church receives it."<sup>188</sup> Heydon's interpretation was based on orthodox protestant doctrine that allowed for individual access to Scripture. Christopher Hill has noted that this individual reading of Scripture was different from the initial intent of Luther and Calvin.<sup>189</sup>

Carleton took up the issue of Augustine and the Pelagians.<sup>190</sup> At the Synod of Dort Carleton had agreed that Arminianism was the equivalent of Pelagianism. The bishop would have known that in Book Five of The City of God, Augustine gave a solid denunciation of this heresy which was similar to astrology.<sup>191</sup> Carleton felt that theological

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<sup>187</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 105.

<sup>188</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 107.

<sup>189</sup>Christopher Hill, Liberty Against the Law (Penguin Books, 1997), p. 219.

<sup>190</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 111.

<sup>191</sup>Augustine, City of God trans. Henry Bettenson (New York: Penguin, 1984) book v, chapter 1, i. "When people hear the word 'destiny', the established usage of the

predestination was too complex an issue for people: "these waters be too deep for him to wade in. Briefly, know this much: That God doth work in many things against his revealed will." Here the example of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac was presented.<sup>192</sup> Carleton also followed the king's instructions on this matter. Yet, Bishop Carleton seemed to accord a modicum of choice to the individual: "For over a mans freedom, the positions of heaven have no power, and it is a most foolish thing, for a man to seek that without him,

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language inevitably leads them to understand by the word the influence of the position of the stars at the time of birth or conception. Some regard this influence as having no connection with the will of God, while others assert, that it is dependent upon it. Those who suppose that the stars decide, quite apart from the will of God, how we shall act, and what blessings we shall enjoy or what disasters we shall suffer, are to be refused any hearing whatsoever, not only from those who hold the true religion, but even from those who choose to be worshippers of gods of any sort, however false. For can this supposition mean anything but an end to all worship, and all prayer?" "As for those who make the position of the stars depend on the will of God .... if men act under pressure of such heavenly constraint, what room is left for the judgement of God, who is the Lord of stars and men? While if they say that the stars, having received power from God omnipotent, do not take those decisions at their own whim, but are merely fulfilling his commands when they impose those constraints, are we then to think of God himself in a way which seemed completely unworthy when we were thinking of the stars as deciding? But it may be said that the stars give notice of events and do not bring those events about, so that the position of the stars becomes a kind of statement, predicting, not producing, future happenings; and this has been an opinion held by men of respectable intelligence. Now this is not the way the astrologers normally talk, They would not say, for example, 'This position of Mares signifies murder'; they say 'it causes murder.'"

<sup>192</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 112.

whose cause is altogether within himself."<sup>193</sup> While individuals had no free will in the determination of their salvation they did have the ability to make choices during their lifetime.

The power of God was total and nothing was beyond God's will. Even when adultery was committed and illegitimate children born "against the revealed will of God" this did not mean that the result was beyond God's will or power. Anyone who claimed that God had "no will, nor power, nor part in generation, shall take away part of his power, and give it to some other thing, so make more Gods."<sup>194</sup> This was idolatry which the Homilies prescribed for clerical use spoke against. Such an aspersion bordered on blasphemy, which Heydon was accused of practicing. However, Bishop Carleton stated that Heydon's blasphemy was not religious but more personal. The bishop stated that Heydon had done nothing in his book but "blaspheme, when you speak evil of M. Chambers."<sup>195</sup> Chamber has asserted God's truth and when Heydon spoke against Chamber, simply for stating the truth then he blasphemed. Carleton may have also taken this as a personal affront to his one-time Greek tutor. Though Heydon had sinned, Carleton wanted him to repent and worked toward

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<sup>193</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 75.

<sup>194</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 112.

<sup>195</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 113.

revealing the truth. With this Heydon could "the sooner find the way to repentance."<sup>196</sup> In the hope of Heydon's redemption Carleton told his opponent to give up his heart to God, "and all this will be mended."<sup>197</sup>

Bishop Carleton's career had called upon him to defend the doctrine of the Church of England. His attack on astrology was not simply a refutation of philosophical concepts but a fierce defense of Carleton's theological beliefs. As Thomas has noted the "most sustained opposition" towards astrology came from "those anxious to purge the church of popish elements."<sup>198</sup> Carleton's work may also be part of what Trevor-Roper has noted a "general counter-attack" on Neoplatonic ideals.

Though Carleton forcefully and cogently argued against judicial astrology he was a voice crying in the wilderness. A year after publication on 14 May 1625 Chamberlain noted some of the epitaphs and funeral elegies written for King James's death. He thought that Sir Isaac Wake had written a short piece:

Q. Can a king die and we no Comet see?  
Tell me, Astrologers, how can this be?

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<sup>196</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 113.

<sup>197</sup>Carleton, Madness of Astrologers, p. 119.

<sup>198</sup>Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 435. Thomas is not equating astrology with Roman Catholic doctrine though each might be stained with the perception of superstition. There was further opposition to astrology as evidenced by the works of Francis Bacon.

A. Heaven's Beacons burn but to give Alarm  
 Unto a State of some ensuing harm.  
 The Angels carrying up our blessed King  
 Did still with Musique his sweet Requiem sing.  
 No Innovation being to be heard  
 Why should Heaven summon men unto their guard?  
 His Spirit was redoubled on his Son  
 And that was seen at his Assumption.<sup>199</sup>

Belief and recourse to astrology continued unabated and seems to have grown in the decades following Bishop Carleton's death, to reach a peak by mid-century.<sup>200</sup> The question of predestination and election, as well as church authority had been addressed and defended by the bishop. In less than a year he would again write on these same topics when he responded to the controversial works of Richard Montagu.

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<sup>199</sup>Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters ed., Maurice Lee Jr. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972), p. 618.

<sup>200</sup>See Patrick Curry, Prophecy and Power. Astrology in Early Modern England (Princeton, 1989).

## Chapter Six

### Anti-Arminianism: 1624-1626

A serious internal challenge to the Church of England erupted with the publication of the works of Richard Montagu in the early 1620s. In one book Montagu disputed the actions and doctrinal position of the English delegation to the Synod of Dort. There was an immediate response from those delegates in a short collaborative work that reaffirmed the righteousness of their performance. Bishop Carleton also published an individual work that questioned Montagu in much the same way that the bishop had questioned astrologers. Carleton again saw that individual interpretations of Scripture which produced alternate perceptions of predestinarian thought were a threat to stability. In arguing against Montagu's interpretation of predestination Bishop Carleton employed the same logical and doctrinal assertions. For the bishop, Montagu and astrologers were cut from the same cloth. While the issues of predestinarian thought might be similar, the Montagu controversy became entwined in overt political concerns.

Bishop Carleton faced the new challenge of Richard Montagu in 1624. Montagu's A New Gagq for an Old Goose was published in the same year Carleton wrote against astrologers. According to Thomas Fuller, Montagu's work, which he called a "confutation of the Gagger of Protestants"

was a satire "against the Papists."<sup>1</sup> However, the satire was lost on most readers who saw this work as pro-papist. The text did however begin a religious and political controversy that eventually reached the floor of Parliament where Montagu was charged with popery.<sup>2</sup> By April 1626 the House of Commons had begun proceedings regarding Montagu's case. A committee to whom his book had been referred presented their resolutions to Parliament three days later, on 29 April.<sup>3</sup> The debate focused on papal doctrine which differed from the Church of England's Thirty-Nine Articles, particularly the Seventeenth Article on predestination. Prior to publication, Montagu had been warned by Yates and Samuel Ward who had informed him of his "dangerous errors of Arminianism and Poperie, deserting our cause, instead of defending it."<sup>4</sup> The Church of England saw a similarity of doctrine between papists and Arminians. Championing papal doctrine riled the members of the English Church. Maurice Lee noted Archbishop Abbot and "the Calvinist establishment" responded angrily to the publication of A New Gagq.

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year MDCXLVIII (London, 1655) bk. 11, p. 119, par. 8.

<sup>2</sup>See Hillel Schwartz, "Arminianism and the English Parliament, 1624-1629," Journal of British Studies 112 (February 1973).

<sup>3</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, vol. XXV, April 29, #87, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 11, p. 119, par. 8.

Montagu's apparent desertion of English doctrine grew out of his accommodations with papal doctrine, and did not necessarily espouse Arminian doctrine.<sup>5</sup> Papal doctrine could be conflated with Dutch Arminianism in regard to predestination and free will. Both doctrines agreed that humanity, through moral action, was allotted some power to influence God's will. Papal, and to some extent Arminian, doctrine appeared to diminish the power of God's will by giving humanity the power to affect their own predestined salvation. This approach ran counter to the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England.

We have seen that throughout Carleton's lifetime the sense of danger ascribed to papists was believed to be real. Such notable events as the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot gave credence to this perception. Added to this internal fear were real continental concerns. For instance, by 1624 King James I's daughter, Elizabeth and her husband Frederick, were virtually exiled from Bohemia following the Catholic triumph at the Battle of White Mountain. At this time, Sir Dudley Carleton noted the contrasting fortunes of Elizabeth of Bohemia with those of the Queen of France.<sup>6</sup> These fears might be why on the issue of papists Parliament

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<sup>5</sup>Maurice Lee Jr., Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I and His Three Kingdoms (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), pp. 166-167.

<sup>6</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, vol. XIX, #32, 23 January 1626 O.S. p. 232.

and the king agreed. Fear also induced James to begin debates in Parliament in regard to entering into the Thirty Years War, in support of his daughter's interests. This ran counter to the king's usual foreign policy that worked towards peaceful and diplomatic resolutions with Catholic countries.

At home, the king worked with his clergy to drive out papists. Though seen as being prompted from Rome, the papists created a sense of fear which the English clergy, such as Carleton, internalized. Carleton was not obsessed with ridding England of papists but he eagerly followed ecclesiastical policy. This policy had been formed by James and Archbishop Abbot who had been in concordance about the issue of popery within England. This alliance was strained with the king's proposed Spanish Match. The distancing of Abbot and James may account for a clerical power vacuum in the last years of James's reign. James's desire for a possible alliance with Catholic Spain may also account for the fertile ground in which Arminianism grew. Since papal and Arminian doctrine tended to agree on the point of predestination, belief in Arminianism would have permitted James to remain nominally Protestant while apparently tending towards a more Roman Catholic doctrine. Yet suspicion of papist remained alive and in England the perceived threat of Jesuits still clouded the political and religious climate.

In this atmosphere we should not be surprised to find Montagu being charged with popery. As the debates wound through Parliament and the public consciousness, not everyone stood against Montagu. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, signed by Bishops Buckeridge, Howson and Laud, Montagu's book was discussed in regard to points of religious doctrine. Apparently these bishops did not view Montagu's work as popery. Buckeridge saw Presbyterians and Papists as rebels to lawful sovereignty, and did not associate Montagu with the latter. Buckeridge went so far as to state that Montagu's work was not contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England. Further, the bishop denied that the Roman Catholic Council of Trent had erred in dealing with any fundamental articles of faith. As William Laud's tutor there was little doubt that Buckeridge's views permanently effected Laud's attitude.<sup>7</sup> Part of that attitude was expressed in the bishops's fifth point. The bishops wrote that there had been some opinions contrary to the resolutions arrived at the synod, thus arguing for dissenting views on predestination. The letter also argued

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<sup>7</sup>W. C. Costin, The History of St. John's College 1598-1860 Oxford Historical Society, new series, vol. xii. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 26-27. Buckeridge had in 1606, along with Lancelot Andrewes, William Barlow, and John King preached at Hampton Court in an attempt to convince the leading Presbyterians as to the merits of episcopacy and the royal supremacy.

that the resolutions at Dort were not binding on the Church of England since:

this was a Synod of that nation, and can be of no authority in any other national Church till it be received there by public authority; and our hope is that the Church of England will be well advised, ... before she admit a foreign Synod especially of such a Church as condemns her discipline and manner of government, ...<sup>8</sup>

These bishops were adverse to the more presbyterial mode of church government which the Dutch endorsed. However, these bishops failed to mention Bishop Carleton's defense of episcopacy at the synod. By using the phrase "public authority" the bishops's letter raised the issue once again of who was the final arbiter on religion in England, clergy, king, parliament, or convocation.

These bishops seemed to agree with a number of Puritans who thought that the Church was "thoroughly corrupt" though they did not go along with the concept that the episcopal form of church government was "contrary to the Word of God."<sup>9</sup> Opposition to the Puritan's view of corruption there gave rise to a party which had been variously termed

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<sup>8</sup>Letter VI: To the Duke of Buckingham [Cabala, pp. 1100, 111 from MSS. Harl. no. 7000, fol. 90.]. Signed by "J. Raffens, [Buckeridge]; Jo. Oxon [Howson]; and Guil. Meneven [Laud]." The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D. D. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847-1860 rpt.: AMS, 1975), vol. 6 pp. 244-246.

<sup>9</sup>F. C. Montague, Accession of James I to the Restoration 1603-1660, vol. 7 The Political History of England (New York: Longmans, 1907), p. 127.

Arminian or Anglo-Catholic.<sup>10</sup> With the Montagu case in the air those in opposition wanted to stop a proposed Puritan Conference, and they wrote to Buckingham for help.

Buckingham told John Preston that the bishops over-ruled him, and the Conference was held as planned. One historian had noted that the bishops who had "favored the Puritan side" included John Morton of Coventry, Archbishop Abbot, and Carleton.<sup>11</sup>

Yet we have seen that Carleton saw no doctrinal differences between the Church of England and the Puritans. His only distinction was that of church discipline so there is no way that Carleton was in any sense of the word a Puritan.<sup>12</sup> The opposition bishops seem to have feared the possibility that the resolutions arrived at in Dort would be

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<sup>10</sup>Montague, Accession of James I to the Restoration 1603-1660, p. 127.

<sup>11</sup>Irvonwy Morgan, Prince Charles's Puritan Chaplain (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1957), p. 158.

<sup>12</sup>Notwithstanding Conrad Russell's intricate definition which he incorrectly applied to George. Russell Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 164 wrote, if "a belief that the world was divided into the forces of light and darkness, be accounted puritanism, if it be 'puritan' to believe, as Bishop Carleton" did that Spain and England could not peaceably co-exist, "then the Parliament of 1624 contained more puritans on the bench of bishops than anywhere else in either House. If the word 'puritan' is defined to mean those who took their Protestantism seriously then the bench of bishops is the most logical place to find 'puritans'."

established in England.<sup>13</sup> Since these so-called Anglo-Catholic clergy within the Church of England opposed Calvinistic terms of predestination their opposition is understandable. Yet publicly they could not object to what had been formulated, though privately minds were changed as was the case of Samuel Ward and John Hales, as well as John Hall, who returned from the Synod of Dort with an increased sympathy for Arminian doctrine. So the number of oppositionists among the upper-clergy increased.<sup>14</sup>

The bishops's letter also called into question the unity of the clergy, though Willson has pointed out that the clergy were far from united.<sup>15</sup> This clerical disunity may have begun in the universities. One historian had noted that in the early seventeenth century Merton wasted time and energy "in barren controversies" with Lawrence Humphrey and John Prideaux, both Regius Professors of Divinity, representing the "Calvinistic or Puritan school" arguing against "the Arminian or Ritualistic school, headed by the celebrated William Laud."<sup>16</sup> As an example, in 1625 Dr. John Prideaux acted as the determiner of a theological

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<sup>13</sup>Morgan, Prince Charles's Puritan Chaplain, p. 158.

<sup>14</sup>David H. Willson, King James IV and I (London: Jonathan Cope, 1956), p. 400.

<sup>15</sup>Willson, King James IV and I, p. 199.

<sup>16</sup>George Brodrick, Memorials of Merton, p. 69. Again note the curious conflation of the terms Puritan and Calvinist.

disputation between John Davenport and an Arminian of Lincoln College, Mr. Palmer. Palmer used premises from one of Montagu's works which were discounted by Prideaux who warned students to be cautious when dealing with such works.<sup>17</sup> Referring to this event, on 23 May 1625 Thomas Turner wrote to Laud at St. David's about the disputation. The question of whether the regenerated could finally fall from grace was what prompted Prideaux to act.<sup>18</sup>

As a former Merton Fellow, Carleton was probably aware of the school's affairs. In addition Carleton's participation in Laud's elevation to bishop indicates he had some interaction with his fellow bishops. There was also Laud's disputed election for Buckeridge's vacant academic office. Laud was elected, by a vote of 13-12 over John Rawlinson, who was then principal of St. Edmund Hall. This connected the incident to Carleton who probably heard the news of his one-time residency. Costin noted that the religious animosity between the Calvinists and Arminians marred the election with a "disgraceful outburst when the votes had been placed according to custom in the chalice on the altar."<sup>19</sup> The election was so charged that an "appeal to the king in person" was lodged and on the feast of the

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<sup>17</sup>Mark Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959), p. 225.

<sup>18</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, 23 May 1626, p. 338.

<sup>19</sup>Costin, History of St. John's, p. 27.

Decollation of St. John Baptist, James listened to the case for three hours before deciding for Laud.<sup>20</sup>

In defending a more severe reading of the Seventeenth Article, Prideaux stood against the nascent power of Laud. How different Laud's beliefs were from the Church of England, specifically the Thirty-Nine Articles, needs to be readdressed. Particularly in regard to what has been called reactionary doctrines, half-political, half-theological, that affirmed at once the Divine Right of kings and the Divine Right of bishops. This approach "rapidly gained ground at Oxford, as well as at Court, under the patronage of Prince Charles and Buckingham."<sup>21</sup> Yet that same political concept of shared authority, which Bishop Carleton had labelled co-active, had been presented to and accepted by King James. The "co-active" power of civil and clerical authority was not a new development during Laud's life but had preceded him.

While James's reign saw English Arminians face "strenuous opposition from their Calvinist and Puritan opponents" at Oxford, so too did the papists.<sup>22</sup> So Carleton's concern over papists in Sussex was part of the

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<sup>20</sup>Costin, History of St. John's, pp. 27, 30.

<sup>21</sup>Brodrick, Memorials of Merton, p. 69.

<sup>22</sup>Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge, p. 225.

general anxiety felt throughout the country in the 1620s.<sup>23</sup> Only a few months had passed since Prince Charles and Buckingham had returned from Catholic Spain to the rousing cheers of the English. For instance, from Northumberland, Lord Henry Clifford noted in a message to Secretary Conway that "the papists are so powerful ... that his Majesty cannot find one man in ten to do him service." The papists formed a "faction among the gentlemen," and was so large that unless the king encouraged those "firm in religion" the king's servants would suffer. Wiener has noted that, while there may have been no truth to these perceptions, the climate of the era seems to argue that perceptions overrode reality. As Peter Lake has noted there was the belief in a "popish plot to overthrow English religion and law."<sup>24</sup>

Fear of papists was rampant. On 8 December 1625, Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, wrote to the king that around August a man named Hugh Owen Gwenwynog had returned for a short period "very gallant and full of gold." At his appearance the papists had "flocked to him. and since then several of them have sold all they had and gone after

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<sup>23</sup>Carol Z. Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism" 51 Past and Present (1971), pp. 27-62.

<sup>24</sup>Peter Lake, "Anti-popery: the structure of a prejudice," in Conflict in Early Stuart England eds. Richard Cust and Anne Hughes (London, 1989), p. 198.

him."<sup>25</sup> That same day Carleton wrote to the Council regarding the policy of disarming suspected recusants. Bishop Carleton had fulfilled their order that "he should wait upon Viscount Montagu and receive his arms," since the Viscount had been deemed a recusant and a threat by the Council.<sup>26</sup> A few weeks later Bishop Davenant of Salisbury also informed the Council that he had received the arms belonging to the Earl of Castlehaven, "who sent direction to his brother Sir Ferninando Audeley to deliver them up."<sup>27</sup>

As Parliament debated war with Catholic Spain, the Council acted to disarm as many internal threats as possible. In December, Bishop Neile of Durham told the Council of the results of a search for arms amongst the recusants in his diocese. Uncovering such a large amount he offered "to provide an armory for such in the Castle of Durham."<sup>28</sup> A few days later Bishop Dove of Peterborough wrote to the Council that he had applied to Lord Vaux for his arms. Lord Vaux had answered that he had no arms since "his progenitors left him none; neither did he ever buy any. He led them through all the rooms of his house, and they

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<sup>25</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, from Bangor, 8 December. p. 172.

<sup>26</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, from Chichester, George Carleton Bishop of Chichester to the Council. p. 173.

<sup>27</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #19, 20 December. p. 182.

<sup>28</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #28, 21 December. p. 183.

found none."<sup>29</sup> Not only were armed recusants seen as a threat but priests as well.

On 19 January 1626 Chamberlain wrote that daily proclamations were issued, "one strict enough against papists and recusants" if this proclamation was truly enforced. He did not believe that proclamations would be enough and that the people looked forward to the Parliament summoned for February. Even Parliament would have a hard time effecting anti-papal policy since the world was "so far out of tune every way."<sup>30</sup> On 23 January 1626 Sir Dudley Carleton wrote to Balcanqual, and included in his letter were two pieces presented by an assembly of the French Church on political and theological subjects. Dudley summarized the French findings when he told Balcanqual that "If all Churches in Christendom had maintained the liberty of that of France, very few had been reformed; and if all which were reformed had followed the example of England, few or none had remained popish."<sup>31</sup>

On 10 February Secretary Conway wrote to Walter Balcanqual with information that there was a place within the Savoy where mass was "usually said, with much resort of

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<sup>29</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #63, 27 December. p. 188.

<sup>30</sup>Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters ed., Maurice Lee Jr. (New Brunswick, NJ; Rutgers University Press, 1972), p. 628.

<sup>31</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #32. p. 232.

people." Balcanqual, who had attended the Synod of Dort as the Scottish delegate, was to apprehend the priest and "to seize upon the popish books and massing stuff."<sup>32</sup> Later that year Bishop Neile wrote to the Council "concerning popish books seized at Newcastle." Along with Sir William Bellasys, High Sheriff of Durham, they had "made search for the parties, and took examinations. Bishop Carleton reported that Sir Robert Hodgson and the other suspected papists could not be found. Anthony Vandenshaudt was believed to have "a guilty knowledge of the whole circumstances" and was being sought.<sup>33</sup> Papists and the Roman Catholic religion remained of importance when Charles agreed to marry Princess Henrietta, sister of the king of France and a practicing Catholic. In February a letter from King Charles I was sent to all Archbishops and Bishops, the Ecclesiastical Commission, and all Judges. The letter permitted "the Queen's servants born in France, with their wives and children, to exercise their religion in such places as were appointed for that purpose."<sup>34</sup> The establishment of a Roman Catholic presence in the court could not be overlooked. The one saving grace was that the

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<sup>32</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #67, 10 February. Secretary Conway to Dr. Walter Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester and Master of the Savoy. p. 252.

<sup>33</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #36, 20 June. Bishop Neile, of Durham to the Council. p. 358.

<sup>34</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #93, February. p. 265.

French Church, though Catholic, also had problems with the papacy.

This anti-papal sentiment must be why Montagu responded so swiftly to the charges of popery with his Appello Caesarem.<sup>35</sup> Maurice Lee has noted the Appello Caesarem was "an adroit appeal to James as supreme arbiter" which the king liked for political reasons. All this involvement of the monarchy in religious matter Kauntz believes "tended to make the state clerical."<sup>36</sup> James's religious policy had been clear at the Synod of Dort, where he firmly supported the orthodox Calvinists and Prince Maurice against the Arminians and Oldenbarnevelt. James's regard for "his principal spokesman" there, Bishop Carleton, has been seen as more indicative of the king's views than his refusal to suppress Montagu. As one historian noted, this shows James did not lapse into a pro-Arminian stance in the last months of his life.<sup>37</sup> In part these reasons were linked to James's Spanish policy since Montagu's work "ceased to equate Catholics with followers of Antichrist."<sup>38</sup> As the title

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<sup>35</sup>See Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship," Past and Present 124 (August 1989).

<sup>36</sup>Kauntz, "Selection of Jacobean Bishops," p. 162.

<sup>37</sup>Lee, Great Britain's Solomon, p. 167. However, Lee is wrong in one small point, that being George's "reward" was the translation to a better see than the one held at Llandaff.

<sup>38</sup>Lee, Great Britain's Solomon, p. 167.

alludes, the work was "finished, and partly printed in the reign of James, to whom the Author intended the dedication."<sup>39</sup> The work aimed to appeal to King James I, but when the king died in March 1625, Montagu shifted his dedication to the new king, Charles.

Montagu wrote "Lord Emperor defend me with thy Sword, and I will defend thee with my Pen."<sup>40</sup> Richard Montagu does not call on the king in the guise of Supreme Governor to settle the doctrinal debate. Fuller accounted that Charles accepted this charge since "the King himself was pleased to interpose" on Montagu's behalf. Charles informed Parliament that discussion of the Montagu matter without including the king "did not please Him." The king also felt that his chaplain, such as Montagu, "might have as much protection as the Servant of an ordinary Burges." For all Charles' words Montagu was still held to bond of two thousand pounds and summoned to appear before Parliament.<sup>41</sup> This confrontation with Parliament may be an indication of Charles' future

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<sup>39</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year MDCXLVIII (London, 1655) bk. 11, p. 119, par. 8. Susan Doran and Christopher Durston, Princes, Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England 1529-1689 (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 7, incorrectly note that Montagu had Prince Charles in mind when he wrote the Appello.

<sup>40</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 11, p. 119, par. 8. "Domine Imperator defende me gladio, & ego te defendam clamo."

<sup>41</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 11, p. 120, par. 10.

problems with Parliament over the legal disposition of his servants.

There is also an echo of the Synod of Dort sounding in this affair. Montagu had created an uproar and Charles had to answer the petitions presented to him by both Houses of Parliament concerning matters of religion.<sup>42</sup> Charles did not rush into a reply and a month later he delivered his response to Parliament through the Lord Keeper.<sup>43</sup> On 8 July 1625, the king's reply stated that Montagu's "former books should be referred to the Convocation; and hereafter books in that argument should be perused before they went to press."<sup>44</sup> However, Charles as Supreme Governor of the Church did not summon convocation. The book which began all this was A New Gag For An Old Goose, which Bishop Laud had handwritten some passages to pass along to the House of Commons.<sup>45</sup>

Montagu's Appello Caesarem was "his own vindication" and was licensed by Francis White, Dean of Carlisle.<sup>46</sup> When

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<sup>42</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #28, 8[?] July. p. 57. The answers given on this occasion differ from those ultimately entered on the Journal of the House of Lord, vol. iii., p. 479, and printed in Rushworth, I, p. 298.

<sup>43</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #25, 8 August. vol. V, p. 81.

<sup>44</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #19, 8 July. vol. IV, p. 55.

<sup>45</sup>CSPD, 1625-1626, #20, 8[?] July. vol. IV, p. 55.

<sup>46</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 11, p. 120, par. 10.

Montagu's case came before the House of Commons they "fell very heavy on [him] for many bitter passages in his Book."<sup>47</sup> Fuller was correct when he noted that no one who had stood by Montagu "engaged in print in his behalf." The lack of publication to defend Montagu may rest on Fuller's assumption that his supporters thought the author capable of defending himself. One avenue of defense was the York House Conference, to which Bishop Carleton was not invited, where Montagu's work was debated. There was also the possibility that anyone who had stood for Montagu now recognized that the book had "grown so generally offensive." that to defend such a text would be folly. The king also had come to the conclusion that the nation perceived the book with "great distaste" and he "resolved to leave Mr. Mountague to stand or fall, according to the justice of his cause."<sup>48</sup> Richard Montagu would be only the first of several clerics whom Charles would champion and then desert.

While no one wrote, or published, in defense of Montagu, Fuller noted that by 29 April 1626 there appeared a number of books against Montagu, written by men of different abilities and professions. One of these books was a Joynt Attestation written by the members of the English delegation

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<sup>47</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 11, p. 119, par. 8.

<sup>48</sup>Fuller, Church-History of Britain, bk. 11, p. 121, par. 15.

that had attended the Synod of Dort. This short work sought to defend their actions at the synod. Carleton went a step further in actively defending his actions when he wrote An Answer to the Author of the Appeal. As an heir to the Reformed tradition stemming from early Elizabethan days, Carleton regarded heterodox doctrine with the greatest apprehension. In his desire to have religious unity, the bishop felt Montagu was roiling the waters over doctrine that had been established by the Church of England. The fact that the issue raised by Montagu had already been adroitly argued and won by Augustine in the fifth century added to Carleton's displeasure. His rebuttal of Montagu was one of many replies written by other clerics and parliamentarians including Daniel Featley, Anthony Wotton, Walter Balcanqual and John Yates.

In this response to Montagu we find that Carleton used the same stylistic and methodological approach to Montagu as he had in attacking Christopher Heydon's work. Carleton was going to explain the truth of the doctrinal issue in his answer to the Appello Caesarem. To arrive at the truth, Carleton began by defining the terms of the argument. Just as he used King James as a source against Heydon so too did Bishop Carleton look to the king against Montagu. Where James's intellectual work had bolstered Carleton's philosophical attacks in his assault on Montagu, the king was seen as the Supreme Governor.

As with Heydon, Carleton launched ad hominem attacks on Montagu. He slighted Montagu's intelligence with a sarcastic thrust. Montagu was "an excellent Scholler," who had learned his lessons "so perfectly without instructors."<sup>49</sup> The bishop noted that Montagu knew only as much as others in regard to the mystery of predestination. In noting the anxiety this concept could generate, William Bouwsma stated that the laity who "despaired over the mysteries of predestination" were told "to leave such matters to theologians."<sup>50</sup> Yet, Montagu, armed with such limited knowledge, professed to act as a teacher of this deep mystery.<sup>51</sup> The mystery contained in the Seventeenth Article held the doctrinal truth. Montagu appeared to have found a mistake in doctrine he did not state what the truth was.<sup>52</sup> Finally, Carleton equated Montagu with the Pelagians and the bishop noted that both had given up "understanding, Reason, Divinity, and Philosophy, and speak Non-sense."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>George Carleton, An Answer to the Author of the Appeal (London, 1626), p. 13.

<sup>50</sup>Bouwsma, "Anxiety and the Formation of Early Modern Culture," p. 220.

<sup>51</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 16.

<sup>52</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 16.

<sup>53</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 34.

In explicating the foundations of their doctrine they must have "forsaken reason and understanding."<sup>54</sup>

The Bishop of Chichester believed that a lack of real understanding and reason allowed Montagu to be seduced and misled by Pelagianism. Due to this misunderstanding Carleton noted that Montagu had troubled the Church of England on two counts. Montagu's first cause of disruption smacked of Pelagianism as he professed a respective concept of predestination. The second cause pertained to the issue of whether or not one of the elect can fall from grace totally and finally.<sup>55</sup> The fall of the elect was a hotly debated topic and one which Richard Burton addressed in his Anatomy of Melancholy, as the concept tended to provoke religious melancholy. Burton questioned how a merciful God could condemn someone "to eternal unspeakable punishment, for one small temporary fault." This way of thinking lead to melancholy. To forestall this perspective the Church of England taught the doctrine of predestination, election, and reprobation. These three derived "from faith foreseen," which allowed for "the perseverance of the saints" through which "we must be certain of our salvation." This was contrary to the Arminian's, sense of "works foreseen" and the papists who believed in the omission of actions. The

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<sup>54</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 35.

<sup>55</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 1.

Church of England professed that though one of the elect may fall this was not a total fall "which our Arminians will not admit." The issue here rested on divine predestination. Since Arminian belief allowed for human intervention in matters of salvation, one of the elect could lead a sinful life and thereby be accounted one of the fallen, or reprobate. In addition, the Arminians would not allow the belief that "God calls all ... but only the elect apprehended ...."<sup>56</sup>

These doctrinal matters had been accepted by the Reformed Churches at the Synod of Dort. The English delegation had correctly agreed to these resolutions and also the condemnation of respective predestination. Respective predestination had become conditional with the Dutch Arminians, who had used the term at the Synod of Dort. However, this concept of predestination was suspect as the two terms were not mutually compatible. Respective predestination included all possible consequences deriving from the choices made by an individual. The expansion of the term, to be so inclusive, weakens the sense of godly order, and to some degree divine purpose. As an omniscient being, God must be able to contain and maintain an infinite set of possibilities so that God foreknows all possible

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<sup>56</sup>Robert Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, pt. 3, sec. 4, mem. 3, subs. 6. (Everyman Library, 1964), pp. 423-424. Burton would continue but a 1633 declaration forbids such discussion.

outcomes. This could make predestination so complex as to be inapplicable to humanity. Indeed, predestination was seen as such a complex concept that Carleton readily echoed the late King James when he wrote that "in the matter of Predestination I have been fearful to meddle; it is one of the greatest and deepest of Gods Mysteries."<sup>57</sup> Though the issue was complex, Carleton called upon his experience in dealing with these issues from his time at Dort. Through that experience Carleton felt that God's mercy had been granted to him to understand the profound complexities. Carleton believed that "love of the truth hath in other things enabled me to defend the Truth, and helped me to know the Truth" which would be revealed to him again through God.<sup>58</sup>

With God on his side, Carleton began to argue from a position of authority and tradition which had been vested in the bishops.<sup>59</sup> To establish this episcopal authority Carleton gave credit for the Reformation in England to the bishops from King Edward VI's and Queen Elizabeth I's reigns.<sup>60</sup> Recent historiography does not agree with Carleton's view of the English Reformation. The Bishop of

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<sup>57</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 4.

<sup>59</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 7.

<sup>60</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 4.

Chichester implied that there were stages of the reformation. When he wrote of "the first reformation" he argued for the newer views of a dynamic and evolving English Reformation.<sup>61</sup> To Carleton, Thomas Cramner, Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer were seen as the formulators of church discipline, though, not surprisingly, of doctrine. The issue of discipline was the line that separated Puritans from the mainstream clergy. The bishop stressed that there was no difference regarding doctrine between Puritans and the mainstream, and noted that "there was no Puritan Doctrine known."<sup>62</sup> Carleton was amazed at the usage of the term "Puritan doctrine" as used by Montagu, since he never heard of such a doctrine before and he defined Puritans as factious on point of discipline and not doctrine.<sup>63</sup> Carleton may have been ingenious here in claiming that there was truly one doctrine for all of England, including Scotland and Ireland. The bishop had allowed for different church disciplines but did not see different doctrines.<sup>64</sup> The problems with predestinarian doctrine, Carleton wrote, began at Cambridge with Baro, Barret and the Lambeth

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<sup>61</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 5.

<sup>62</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 5.

<sup>63</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 78.

<sup>64</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 78.

Articles.<sup>65</sup> The bishop linked Montagu with Barret, Baro and Thomson who had stirred up this controversy over the same issues of predestination. The Lambeth Articles had never been fully accepted by the Church of England, much as the resolutions of the Synod of Dort had not been accepted. He warned that "the ignorance of Gods word, and truth therein contained, is able not only to breed danger, but to cause destructions of Churches and states."<sup>66</sup> The Synod of Dort had been summoned to prevent these occurrences in Holland. Montagu had been so confused over this that he had conflated Calvinism with a brand of Puritanism that would have labelled Whitgift and Hutton both as Puritans.<sup>67</sup>

There was only one, true, doctrine in the Church of England found in the Thirty-Nine Articles. Within these, Carleton correctly saw the Seventeenth Article as supralapsarianism. The supralapsarian position stated that prior to the creation of the world and humanity, God had predestined those to election. This was opposed to the infralapsarian belief that only after the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, and the Fall of humanity with the stain of

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<sup>65</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 6.

<sup>66</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 109.

<sup>67</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 7.

sin, did God predestine souls.<sup>68</sup> Carleton noted that God had predestined not the "innocent" but the sinful out of God's own will. Bishop Carleton thought that the totally innocent had no need to be saved. Yet, since humanity was sinful by their very nature only the angels could be totally innocent. However, even though humanity was sinful by nature, humanity was also capable of repenting.<sup>69</sup>

Though all of humanity were sinners, Carleton believed that God freely chose some despite humanity's sin. The implication here was for double predestination since only some were to be saved while the remainder were to be condemned. For the bishop, the reprobate were not under an absolute decree since for him absolute meant only God's will and yet for reprobation sin was also counted. In this regard the elect and reprobate dealt with sin.<sup>70</sup>

Carleton felt that since all were sinners, all deserved damnation. Only through Christ were the elect found and

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<sup>68</sup>Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, pt. 3, sec. 4, mem. 3, subs. 6, pp. 423-424. Burton followed the Seventeenth Article when he wrote "God's absolute decree ante mundum creatum (as many of our Church hold), was from the beginning, before the foundation of the world was laid, or homo conditus [man was fashioned]. Burton also noted the infralapsarian position stemming "from Adam's fall, as others will homo lapsus objectum est reprobationis [man through sin is an object of reprobation]. Note that the Latin translations are Burton's.

<sup>69</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, Chapter Three.

<sup>70</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 24.

these represented the will of God.<sup>71</sup> Carleton would rather have not argued these points but was forced to since Montagu's text troubled the Church.<sup>72</sup> Carleton saw an order and direction to predestination which was followed by vocation, justification and finally glorification. Only the predestined were called and justified and only a few were chosen as all were sinners and deserving to be numbered among the reprobate. Carleton's sense of the "justice" of the reprobate as condemned was based on the idea that all humanity was sinful. Since all of humanity sinned only through God's will could humanity come to see why some were elect while most were reprobate.<sup>73</sup> All of Carleton's argument was a defense, and exegesis, of the Seventeenth Article.

The Seventeenth Article was the cornerstone of Carleton's belief and understanding of the doctrine of predestination. As a believer in the supralapsarian perspective, Carleton labeled Montagu a Pelagian, not an Arminian. All of Montagu's doctrine was associated with Pelagianism.<sup>74</sup> Montagu's position led Carleton to be

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<sup>71</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 25.

<sup>72</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 25.

<sup>73</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 12.

<sup>74</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 13.

concerned with the corruption of the soul of his opponent.<sup>75</sup> The concern for Montagu's condemnation stemmed from the heresy of Pelagianism "for which Pelagius was condemned."<sup>76</sup> Carleton gave his opinion of Montagu as "a young Scholler" influenced by Arminian doctrine which did not see all the consequences of their views which if followed meant that predestination must be lost.<sup>77</sup> Carleton, as in his work against Heydon, noted the use of sources and what should be used and what should be excluded so that the argument of the author stood on firm or shaky ground.<sup>78</sup> Carleton called Montagu a liar for using Deodate as a source since the citation had been declared false by scholars, and anyone who "durst deal so with Deodate, must needs loose credit in other things."<sup>79</sup> Carleton felt that if Montagu was wrong on this point his other sources might be questionable.

The Church of England recognized the validity of the early Church synods in which Pelagianism was accorded a heretical status. So, Montagu's heresy then was not a new doctrine but the resurrection of an ancient belief. The Pelagian doctrine recognized God's will was active, but they

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<sup>75</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 29.

<sup>76</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 28.

<sup>77</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 80.

<sup>78</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 89.

<sup>79</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 114.

went awry when they stated that God also took into account "merits foreseen" of humanity. So God's purpose was respective to that which God had foreseen in humanity's actions. Carleton noted Scotus' argument for the respective sense of God's will as related to nature and nothing more than nature.<sup>80</sup> Bishop Carleton noted that Pelagius believed that "somewhat in Nature" caused God to confer grace upon humanity. This aspect of "nature" coincided with the bishop's belief that humanity was sinful and in need of grace. Montagu appeared to change the Pelagian doctrine and stated that God did not give grace for something natural "but in respect of grace". The Bishop of Chichester had defined faith, obedience and repentance as graces, so that for grace to draw grace was logically impossible.<sup>81</sup> All of this offended Carleton's logic since grace could not be the cause and effect of grace, so that some other element must be in place as the cause in order for grace to be the effect.<sup>82</sup> The bishop noted that the reformed churches followed Augustine on predestination. Carleton even admitted that the Roman Catholic Church was in agreement with the teachings of Augustine.<sup>83</sup> Augustine's works had

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<sup>80</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 33.

<sup>81</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 30f.

<sup>82</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 33.

<sup>83</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 14.

attacked and condemned Pelagius and he emerged triumphant in this controversy. The bishop stated that he agreed with Augustine who had argued that if God's will was totally independent and in respect to nothing but itself, then God's will was absolute. The acceptance of Augustine by the Church of England as an authority allowed the bishop to side with the Church Father in regard to predestination.

Carleton knew that the Reformation bishops, who were active at the start of Elizabeth I's reign, "did so much honor to Augustine, that in the collecting of the Articles and Homilies, and other things in that reformation, they had an especial respect unto Augustine's doctrine."<sup>84</sup> Carleton devoted an entire chapter to rehearsing Augustine's doctrine in relation to the Church of England.<sup>85</sup> One reason he virtually copied Augustine's text was that the reader would be acquainted with Augustine's argument. More importantly, Bishop Carleton wanted to inform the audience that Montagu's reasons contained "no new Puritan doctrine," as he had termed his position. Montagu's book was filled with an old doctrine which Carleton felt his opponent did not really understand. Thus Carleton wanted to teach Montagu that Augustine's doctrine and the Seventeenth Article were "not the private fancy of some particular men, but the public

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<sup>84</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 49.

<sup>85</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, Chapter Seven.

doctrine of the Church."<sup>86</sup> The Church's doctrine rested on God's absolute will. Carleton had stated this position when he argued against Pelagius. Now in attacking Montagu, Carleton restated his argument against astrology regarding the absolute, irresistible, determined, fatal and necessary sense of predestination, which rested on God's will.<sup>87</sup> God's will was necessary since God's will was the cause of all things. Montagu could not substitute anything above God's will. So, Carleton argued that his opponent must accept this idea, again undermining Montagu's entire chain of logic.<sup>88</sup> God's will had to be necessary since to profess that the will of God was a form of contingency was blasphemy. Again this use of logic echoed Carleton's argument with Heydon. Through God's will humanity received its calling by his grace.<sup>89</sup>

The first grace was faith through God's calling. God's will was so overriding that humanity could not resist the will of God to receive the grace of faith. Augustine

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<sup>86</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 56.

<sup>87</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 15.

<sup>88</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 16.

<sup>89</sup>Richard Hooker, Works of Richard Hooker (Washington, D.C.: Folger Library) vol. iv, p. 153 noted two types of grace. Outward which operated through the visible church and inward which worked through the invisible. He felt that the Jews had been offered outward grace but since they had rejected this gift, the grace was offered to gentiles.

believed that nothing in humanity's nature can resist God.<sup>90</sup> Carleton saw that this whole argument spoke against God's will. For humanity to believe that God's will could be resisted was ludicrous. Anyone who had "such a desperate conceit" should not be allowed to profess the Gospel in our Church.<sup>91</sup> Bishop Carleton was amazed to think anyone could say God's will was not determined. This notion of God's will was a given to Carleton.<sup>92</sup> The only real question for Carleton was what determined God's will or man's will. The bishop wrote that if Montagu granted humanity the power of free will, "then he cometh home to the Pelagians." However, should Montagu confess that salvation rested on the "determinating power" of God's will, then why did he object to the concept of God's decree as determined?<sup>93</sup>

God's will was evident in a series of stages that began with the calling, salvation and glorification.<sup>94</sup> Salvation and glorification were the rewards of works which were seen as faith, obedience and repentance.<sup>95</sup> These stages had been presented by Montagu who had offered a

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<sup>90</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 19.

<sup>91</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 20.

<sup>92</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 19.

<sup>93</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 21.

<sup>94</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 26.

<sup>95</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 27.

negative statement about St. Peter. The Apostle "was not called without respect and consideration" wrote Montagu. Carleton used logical syllogisms to turn Montagu's negative statement about St. Peter into a positive statement so that St. Peter "was called in consideration and respect."<sup>96</sup>

The question of authority and who set church policy was raised by Montagu. Montagu was accused of being "a private man without authority," much in the way that Heydon had been taken to task. As such, Montagu had no right or power "to impose Doctrine to our Church, to change those that are received, and in place thereof to revive the Pelagian errors." Not only was Montagu in heresy, but he refused to listen to those in authority. Thus he sought to "scorn men that have been revered for their Learning, and will be revered in the ages following; such as Arch-bishop Whitgift, Arch-bishop Hutton, Doctor Rainolds, Doctor Whittakers..."<sup>97</sup> The bishop showed evident admiration for these men who composed a cross-section of clerics disagreeing on discipline but united in doctrine. Carleton was offended that Montagu, as a priest, accused "his superiors" of being Puritans. Carleton's opponent used this view since they would "yield not to his foolish and

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<sup>96</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 27.

<sup>97</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 29.

erroneous Doctrines."<sup>98</sup> Not only did Carleton's advanced degrees portray him as learned, his position as bishop also made him Montagu's superior at the time he wrote. On a personal basis, Carleton was affronted at the slights Montagu cast on the English delegates at Dort.<sup>99</sup> Carleton called the Arminians, who were "themselves in the depths of Pelagius", the "cozening companions" of Montagu both of whom desired a respective decree of predestination, so that not God's will "and eternal purpose, but mans free will" decided who was to be saved and who was to be damned.<sup>100</sup> This had been argued and condemned by the Synod of Dort.

Both the Arminians and Pelagians were caught in using the logical terms of precedent and subsequent.<sup>101</sup> Bishop Carleton repeated this argument when he stated that "for a subsequent grace to be in any manner of cause to draw a precedent, this was impossible."<sup>102</sup> Again Carleton noted that God's calling was in accordance with God's divine purpose, but the purpose could not be said to be according

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<sup>98</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 29.

<sup>99</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 29.

<sup>100</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 30.

<sup>101</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 34; For the academic uses of logic see James McConica, "Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford" English Historical Review 94 (1979), pp. 291-317.

<sup>102</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 36.

to God's calling.<sup>103</sup> The bishop believed this was true and had used the same approach in regard to Heydon's astrological proofs. God's calling was the root cause from which all else stemmed.<sup>104</sup> While the older heresies, such as the respective consideration of God's will, were similar they were still logically absurd to the bishop.<sup>105</sup> To this end Carleton noted that the doctrine could be called "the Arminian absurdity. For besides Arminians, no man writes thus."<sup>106</sup> How closely Montagu followed this specific Arminian doctrine is important. From Carleton's point of view, Montagu was more Pelagian than Arminian. Bishop Carleton was annoyed by a new reading of Scripture. The bishop wrote that Montagu "ought to have interpreted the words of the Scripture, and not to make words of his own and interpret them."<sup>107</sup> Carleton agreed with Burton that the people were concerned that:

they will admit .. no interpretations of Scriptures, no comments of Fathers, no councils, but such as their own fantastical spirits dictate, or recte ratio [right reason], as Socinians; by which spirit misled, many times they broach as prodigious paradoxes as papists themselves. A company of giddy heads will take upon

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<sup>103</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 37.

<sup>104</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 38.

<sup>105</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 37.

<sup>106</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 38.

<sup>107</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 71.

them to define how many shall be saved and who damned in a parish, where they shall sit in heaven....<sup>108</sup>

This was the same concern that Carleton had in regard to astrological justifications.

The divine order of graces rested on predestination, first was the calling, then faith and justification followed by obedience. This whole chain was based on there being nothing in humanity's nature to warrant God's grace. Humanity's nature was tied to the flesh which was the cause of humanity's sinful behavior. As sinners there was nothing humanity could do to influence God's will. The only thing that God respected in humanity was the calling God had given "that can be nothing but nature and free will."<sup>109</sup> However, Carleton believed that human nature and free will could not generate any grace since body and spirit were separated. So Carleton had a clear distinction of "two principles" of nature and grace where grace and subsequent "good motions" were derived from the spirit while the "highest principle of nature and natural motions is the Flesh."<sup>110</sup> So that no grace of the spirit could arise from the flesh and yet nature and free will is of the flesh. For example, he argued that, though humans may love, they do so because God

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<sup>108</sup>Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy pt. 3, sec. 4, mem. 1, subs. 4, p. 370.

<sup>109</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 35.

<sup>110</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 36.

had instilled that love in them since God is the cause of love.<sup>111</sup>

Carleton sought for a clarification of grace, just as he wanted Heydon to clearly define astrological terms. He wrote that Scripture, and "those Writers that ground themselves upon the Scriptures, there is observed a double acceptation and use of this word grace."<sup>112</sup> So for Carleton the definition of grace came from a number of sources. Even though grace came directly from God, grace still flowed in a variety of ways. The first was from God's "eternal purpose." The eternal purpose generated the grace of predestination. From predestination came "the grace of justification according to his calling." This grace was "primary, constant and unchangeable: This is a free gift proceeding from the purpose of God, and is wrought in us by Gods calling."<sup>113</sup> So that from God's eternal purpose came predestination which was the first grace granted by God. Carleton hinted that the unchangeable and constant grace meant that none of those called could fall from God's grace. There was a second means to grace that came to humanity through the preaching of the Gospel. So through the divine word of God different types of grace came in different

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<sup>111</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 36f.

<sup>112</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal. p. 40.

<sup>113</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal. p. 41.

measures, which had been noted in the Parable of the Sower.<sup>114</sup> Carleton wrote his own exegesis on this parable. By preaching God's word "diverse graces are given." Now the act of preaching had been given, "freely to some Nations," which was an act of God's grace in itself. However that grace could be lost which was clear from history. Many nations had had the gift and they had lost that grace, Rome being the object lesson. Carleton was worried that the Reformed Churches which still had this gift had to "make much of it, while they have it: For who knoweth how soon it may be taken away? And this is one way to loose it, to suffer the Doctrine of our Church to be corrupted."<sup>115</sup> Carleton's defense against Montagu was for the Church of England which still retained the grace of preaching. Corruption could lead to a loss of grace but there was also the problem of those who were called and fell away from God's grace. Here Carleton gave a weak argument for the falling away from grace in his exegesis of the Parable. He did not show how those predestined could not fall, unless he hoped to infer that "good" ground of the parable stood for them. Carleton noted that the Church of England denied that the elect could fall utterly from grace, yet the Arminians who believed in respective predestination affirmed this

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<sup>114</sup>Carleton, Answer to ... the Appeal, p. 41. This is in Matthew 15.

<sup>115</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 42.

belief. Bishop Carleton stated that "none but Pelagians and Arminians" believed in the elect falling irretrievably from God's grace. Both held that individuals could often be predestined to election, and yet in the end be utterly lost. This heterodoxy was a laborious effort to prove and, in place of grace, they substituted free will.<sup>116</sup> For all his opposition, Carleton did not show how those predestined could not fall.

He relied on the doctrine of perseverance which was necessary since God's purpose was that some be predestined and without God's gift of grace this could not happen.<sup>117</sup> Carleton noted a distinction of earth-bound grace and heavenly grace based on Scripture. St. Paul had distinguished graces for life on earth and those for the life to come. While charity, as an aspect of grace, could never fail, Carleton admitted that St. Paul believed that some graces do fail, though these graces would not be any use in the afterlife. Carleton continued to argue that, since charity never failed, grace did not fail and so perseverance of true believers was a fact.<sup>118</sup>

Carleton used Scripture and the Church Fathers since he had a real disdain for the medieval Schoolmen. The bishop

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<sup>116</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 43.

<sup>117</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 44.

<sup>118</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 48.

skipped over their works, believing "it is a hard thing for them to speak of grace who have it not." Medieval discussions of grace were done in terms of human nature. These writers had "neither the wit nor learning, but many of them wanted grace to speak of grace, as the Jesuits for the most part doe this day."<sup>119</sup> There should be no surprise in Bishop Carleton's equating Medieval writers with the Jesuits. The Medieval authors were seen as accomplices to the corruption of true religion and justifying the false claims of papal power and authority. So too did the contemporary Jesuits defend the pope and papal doctrine.

Carleton did not attempt to write the history of the issue of grace in the Reformation, since that would be too long a work, and useless since Montagu and others of his mind scorned those works. Carleton was baffled as to why Calvin's "name and doctrines are made odious" as there was no constructive alternative given to replace Calvin.<sup>120</sup> Carleton admitted that Calvin made errors, but stated too that the Church Fathers also had places in their complete works that were in internal conflict or in error and if the Church of England could accommodate these then why not Calvin.<sup>121</sup> These accommodations argue for the Church of

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<sup>119</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 61.

<sup>120</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 61.

<sup>121</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 61f.

England as English Calvinism and not simply Calvinism. One of the accommodations reached by the English church was found in the Seventeenth Article. Here Bishop Carleton found two of Montagu's errors in regard to respective decrees which the Seventeenth Article denied and in the denial of perseverance.<sup>122</sup> The scholar in Carleton wrangled over the usage of the term decree and referred to the Greek.<sup>123</sup> The clarity of words was necessary to this debate, though Montagu did not go back to the available original sources as did Carleton.

God's grace and calling also prompted the glorification of the elect. Carleton raised the issue, though only in passing, of where did glory lie, in man or God? The bishop believed that humans could not "glory in our perfection, which are none." The false glory of the Pelagians and Arminians stemmed from "the power of their wills." Those within the Church of England "glory in God," even though human nature contained "many and manifold imperfections and infirmities." Yet God's grace could deliver the elect "to an happy end," which was God's work and "which no power in the world can defeat."<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 62.

<sup>123</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 15.

<sup>124</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 64.

Montagu had entered upon the road to defeat since he denied God's power, which then led him into his error. Carleton believed that Montagu had no Scriptural basis for this denial.<sup>125</sup> The denial of God's power was the denial of true knowledge.<sup>126</sup>

Carleton believed that the Arminians gave more power to the minister than to the gospel, which was a gross mistake, even though he had noted that grace could derive from preaching. Carleton wrote that this heterodoxy acknowledged that preaching the Gospel had no divine power, but simply the power of the minister who preached. Placing the power in the human agent and not the divine word of God led to corruption. Only God's power can bring faith and thus into grace which is God's power and not humanity's by either free will or moral persuasion.<sup>127</sup> Bishop Carleton noted that preachers had no power to "give faith and repentance, to infuse grace but only uses moral persuasions to the people." There was a need for preachers to work in conjunction with "the spirit of God", so that preachers and clergy are aptly called "helpers with God in that great work" of preaching.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 65.

<sup>126</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 68.

<sup>127</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 67.

<sup>128</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 66.

The Bishop of Chichester presented a metaphor for the fallen. He imagined someone standing at the top of the stairs. This person could fall or slip down a step or two, and "still not fall to the bottom." The bishop allowed for a sense of danger. The danger would be heightened if humanity tried to stand with "our own power and strength." This was the position of the Pelagians and Arminians that, unaided by Gods's will and grace we might "fall away altogether." But for the regenerate, "there is power and weaknesses: the power is Gods, the weaknesses is his own." Should one fall this was through a human weakness. Bishop Carleton wrote that the power of God could "so order that weakness and those falls, that he will have his great power manifested in this great weakness."<sup>129</sup> This was shown in the two cases of Peter and Judas. Peter fell into sin but rose again by repentance because he did not lose his faith, which drew him into repentance of his sins. Judas on the other hand never had true faith and thus when he fell, he was unable to rise again.<sup>130</sup> Carleton felt that Montagu was dealing with his own interpretations since "from these words he concludes, against all Logicke, that a man so falling into sin falls away."<sup>131</sup> Bishop Carleton did agree that sin

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<sup>129</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, pp. 76-77.

<sup>130</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 77.

<sup>131</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 88.

did not mean a failure of faith and felt this was not popery as long as "any papist speak or write this truth consonant to the Scripture, I take not that for Popery."<sup>132</sup>

Yet popery, Pelagianism and Arminianism threatened "the great mysteries of our salvation." As Hillel Schwartz noted, popery and Arminianism were "deemed a hersy" that endangered the welfare of the state.<sup>133</sup> Carleton saw these as poisons which endangered true religion. Bishop Carleton worried that the time he lived in might see the first stages of the destruction of the "Communio sanctorum [communion of saints]," from which "may creep in Apostasia sanctorum [apostasy of the saints]."<sup>134</sup>

In the face of changing conditions, Carleton noted how the individual could persevere. The elect had a "true faith," and believed that their sins were forgiven by God, and that they were the children of God. These people walked "in love and obedience, without which his faith is vain." For those chosen few would "receive in the end everlasting life" in God.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 71.

<sup>133</sup>Hillel Schwartz, "Arminianism and the English Parliament, 1624-1629." Journal of British Studies 112 (1973), p. 43.

<sup>134</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 82.

<sup>135</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 91.

True faith did not begin with baptism as Montagu posited. This, despite Carleton's position at the Synod of Dort where he suggested that this was the first sign of regeneration. Now, the Bishop of Chichester argued that baptism was not an act of faith but of charity. Carleton noted Montagu had written that children who were baptized entered a state of salvation yet the bishop asked if this was "an Article of faith or ex judicio charitatis."<sup>136</sup> Since Montagu rejected the idea of baptism as charity, the bishop argued that it must then be an Article of faith, and yet Carleton noted that this was not contained in any Scripture and only from Scripture did humanity find that which was necessary for salvation.<sup>137</sup> Augustine had written that the baptized were regenerated and justified, but only until they proved by actions otherwise.<sup>138</sup> Bishop Carleton noted the beliefs of the Church of England in regard to baptism: "our Church requires: that baptism is not simply necessary, so as without it damnation must follow of necessity; and that children baptized are delivered from original sin."<sup>139</sup> Carleton continued that, though baptized people could "fall into a sinful and wicked life", once they

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<sup>136</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 97f.

<sup>137</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 98.

<sup>138</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 98.

<sup>139</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 104.

underwent the ritual, they could loose the "privilege of their baptism, and the good that they might have had by it, so long as they remain" sinful and wicked.<sup>140</sup> The Hampton Court Conference had addressed the issue of baptism and Bishop Overall's distinction of falling and falling totally.<sup>141</sup>

All of the issues presented by Montagu had already been decided in the past. According to Carleton, the Church Fathers had argued these same points and all Montagu was doing was "to rake up the Pelagian dunghills for old objections, that are already answered long ago by the ancient Fathers."<sup>142</sup> For all their beliefs. Carleton noted that the Arminians had been driven out of their own country, which the former delegate to the Synod of Dort had witnessed.<sup>143</sup>

Bishop Carleton felt that the Dutch had acted correctly in condemning the Arminians at Dort. He had pride in the Church of England as "the best Reformed Church." Though the best of the Reformed Churches, the English church should not "stand so by our selves, as to reject and disdain the consent of other Churches, though they doe not agree with us

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<sup>140</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 104.

<sup>141</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 105.

<sup>142</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 106.

<sup>143</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 107.

in the discipline."<sup>144</sup> Here he defended his actions at Dort. One aspect of his work at Dort had been the defense of episcopacy. In his attack on Montagu, Bishop Carleton noted that at Dort he spoke of a lack of bishops as a problem for the Dutch since their absence led to a power vacuum and an inability to silence heresy.<sup>145</sup> Indeed, the Bishop of Chichester noted that the Dutch delegates at Dort wished that their country had bishops so that religious controversies could be contained.<sup>146</sup>

The response of Bishop Carleton did not go unnoticed. In a letter to John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, Richard Montagu planned to go ahead with an answer to Carleton's work. Montagu was also upset that the censors had allowed the publication and felt that Milburne "should be half-hanged." While others had also attacked Montagu his letter implied that Bishop Carleton's was the one with which he must contend.<sup>147</sup> Tyacke has called Carleton's reply the "most authoritative" of all.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 110.

<sup>145</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 112.

<sup>146</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 112.

<sup>147</sup>Though the letter is undated, July 1626 has been ascribed as the probable date. The Correspondence of John Cosin Publications of the Surtee Society vol. 52 (London, 1869), p. 100.

<sup>148</sup>Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, p. 155.

Bishop Carleton was prophetic when he ended his attack by stating that Montagu must "set up another School of Divinity. For by that knowledge of Divinity, which is received amongst us, and hitherto preserved, these things cannot stand."<sup>149</sup> We need to "stress that there was a wide spectrum of opinion among the Arminians, just as there was among their Puritan opponents."<sup>150</sup> While the Arminian debate was often bitter and was important, not until the debates on Arminianism reached into the parishes during the 1630s were clearer lines drawn. In the years before 1626, first and foremost the dispute remained within the court and clergy. On the bench of bishops, Abbot had to be suspended from his archiepiscopal functions, in part because of his opposition to the new doctrine. He was supported, with equal force, by such bishops as Carleton and Coke, who was the brother of the Secretary of State. Not until 1626 did the sense that "hatred of Arminianism was incompatible with preferment to high ecclesiastical office" come to be recognized.<sup>151</sup> Bishop Carleton did not live long enough to see the "polarization [and] difficulty of preserving theological moderation" within the Church which proved to be

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<sup>149</sup>Carleton, An Answer ... the Appeal, p. 118.

<sup>150</sup>Alan G. R. Smith, "Introduction," The reign of James VI and I. Smith, ed., (New York: St. Martins Press, 1973), p. xx.

<sup>151</sup>Conrad Russell, Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 30.

too divisive.<sup>152</sup> Soon after Carleton's death the growth of an English strand of Arminianism flourished to such an extent that historians have been debating the extent of religious divisiveness as a key factor engendering the English Civil War.

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<sup>152</sup>Sara Jean Clausen, "Calvinism in the Anglican Hierarchy, 1603-1643: Four Episcopal Examples" (Ph. D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1989), p. 107.

## Chapter Seven

### The Significance of Bishop Carleton

The preceding chapters have shown the life and works of Bishop George Carleton. Taken as a whole his life can be used as a case study for the advancement of the late-sixteenth-century gentry through clerical preferment. His career in the Church of England allows us to see the personal aspects of the clerical patronage system. He can also be seen as a model of the gentry's use of the university system to enhance its social position. The books he was required to read and the oratorical skills of disputation he needed to develop were also demanded of other university students. The shared educational experience points to a mutual intellectual framework within the upper echelon of society. Lawrence Stone and Mark Curtis have presented the framework and statistical evidence of the changes and usages of the university system, indicating a rising number of college educated clergy.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Carleton shows us the process in action.

Part of the process the university served was to nurture personal relationships among students, teachers and

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<sup>1</sup>Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1910," in The University in Society, vol. 1 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974); Mark Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959).

administrators. The men Bishop Carleton met and studied along side with at Oxford, such as the Abbots, Saviles, and Nevilles, would provide access to higher and more powerful levels of society.<sup>2</sup> These connections went beyond church and state as his friendship with the antiquarian William Camden shows. As we have seen, Carleton was able to use his connections to obtain his first clerical offices, as well as future positions within the Church of England. Here, the patronage system which Linda Levy Peck and Rosemary O'Day have shown is again brought into focus.<sup>3</sup>

Bishop Carleton's printed works show the literary aspects of Jacobean patronage. Beginning with Latin poetry in praise of such figures as Queen Elizabeth I and Sir Philip Sydney, Carleton followed other writers in attempting to attach their skills to people of prestige and power.<sup>4</sup> In his prose works dealing with matters of church

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<sup>2</sup>Even a cursory glance at the Dictionary of National Biography for the men Carleton attended Oxford with shows an astonishing number of highly successful writers, clerics and government officials.

<sup>3</sup>Linda Levy Peck, Northampton, Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982); Peck, Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England (London, 1990); Rosemary O'Day, "The Law of Patronage in Early Modern England." Journal of Ecclesiastical History 26 (1976).

<sup>4</sup>See J. W. Binns, Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Documents, no. 24 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990).

and state, Carleton dedicated books to Archbishop Abbot and Prince Charles. One such matter was church tithes, for which Paul Christianson has recently called him an outstanding scholar.<sup>5</sup> The scope and content of his scholarship shows two trends that exist in virtually all of Carleton's books. The first is the application of a humanist approach to writing and argumentation. Charles Schmitt has shown the legacy of medieval educational in the university during Carleton's lifetime.<sup>6</sup> Yet Carleton's work shows the tendency to go beyond the rigid formulas of scholasticism. He shows more evidence of an Erasmian influence, which James McConica has noted existed at this time.<sup>7</sup> The desire to go back not only to the sources, but to place the specific words of the argument into an historical context is evident in Carleton's books. As we have clearly seen, the other trend in Carleton's works is his approach to English Catholics and popery. Throughout his published works he attacked what he perceived as an enemy to church and state. Again, Carleton was not alone in

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<sup>5</sup>Paul Christianson, Discourse on History, Law and Government in the Public Career of John Selden, 1610-1635 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

<sup>6</sup>Charles Schmitt, John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England (Kingston, 1983).

<sup>7</sup>James McConica, English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI (Oxford, 1965).

his views on English Catholics and popery.<sup>8</sup> Bishop Carleton seems to echo the sentiments of Archbishop Abbot, though the aspect of anti-popery has been played down in most recent debates.

Most recent historical debates, situated during Bishop Carleton's adult lifetime, have revolved around a search for factors pertaining to the cause, or causes, of the mid-century armed conflict between the monarchy and Parliament. Initially those debates focused on constitutional, or political, issues in their approach.<sup>9</sup> Over the last twenty years, revisionists have altered our views on this by highlighting other areas of disagreement between the two

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<sup>8</sup>See Christopher Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-century England (Oxford, 1971); R. Clifton, "Fear of Popery," in The Origins of the English Civil War ed. Conrad Russell (London, 1973); John Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (London, 1975); K. R. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford, 1979); Peter Lake, "The significance of the Elizabethan identification of the Pope as Antichrist," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 31 (1980); J. C. H. Aveling, The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation (London, 1983); Caroline Hibbard, Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1983); Patrick McGrath, "Elizabethan Catholicism: a reconsideration," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 35 (1984); Peter Lake, "Anti-popery: the structure of a prejudice," in Conflict in Early Stuart England eds. Richard Cust and Anne Hughes (London, 1989); A. Milton, Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Church in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>9</sup>For a start see Glenn Burgess, Glenn Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); and G. R. Elton, Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government; papers and reviews, 1946-1972 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

sides, particularly the issue of dissension within the Church of England. Bishop Carleton's life points out that religion and politics were inseparable issues dealing with the concept of authority. In the political area he defended the monarchy's claim to power. Yet his method of expounding royal authority rested on the concept of "co-active" power that joined church and state, religion and politics, into a balanced whole. This desire for a balance of secular and ecclesiastical authority illuminates an evident moderate position. The quest for moderation has also been downplayed in recent debates that seek to explain the outbreak of hostilities.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps Carleton's aim at a viable reconciliation between church and state authority has caused him to be neglected by most historians.<sup>11</sup> Carleton was a magisterial Protestant who opposed the Radical Reformation in England. For instance, in the Anabaptists he saw a group that opposed any church-state link. The link between church and state was vital to Bishop Carleton.

The decades following Bishop Carleton's death show that his moderate position was untenable. The failure of this ideal brought the monarchy and Parliament into conflict.

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<sup>10</sup>Ian Green, "Career Prospects and Clerical Conformity in Early Stuart Church, Past and Present 90 (1980), p. 114f.

<sup>11</sup>For a recent view on moderation see Dan Steere, "For the Peace of Both, For the Humour of Neither": Bishop Joseph Hall Defends the Via Media in an Age of Extremes, 1601-1656," Sixteenth Century Journal XXVII (1996): pp. 749-765.

The latest search for the causes of these hostilities now seem to revolve around the condition of religion within the Church of England during the early Stuart era. Defining the nature of the Church of England from the Henrician Reformation to Carleton's death has been problematical. Indeed, the extent of the success and spread of the Reformation in England has undergone revision in recent years. A. G. Dickens' view of a formidable and ineradicable Protestant England by 1553 has been called into question by Christopher Haigh.<sup>12</sup> The latter's view of a later developing Protestantization is justified by Bishop Carleton's references to "Reformation bishops" who were Elizabethan. Carleton viewed the process of the Reformation in stages which agree with the revisionists.

Revisionists have also addressed the extent of how Calvinist the Church of England was during Bishop Carleton's lifetime.<sup>13</sup> Carleton's adherence to the Seventeenth Article

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<sup>12</sup>For the debates on revision of the English Reformation see Diarmaid MacCulloch, "The Myth of the English Reformation" Journal of British Studies 30 (1991), pp. 1-19 and Christopher Haigh, ed. The English Reformation (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

<sup>13</sup>See Peter White, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered" Past and Present, 101 (1983), pp. 34-54; Jonathan Atkins, "Calvinist Bishops, Church Unity, and the Rise of Arminianism" Albion, 18 (1986), pp. 411-428; Peter Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635" Past and Present, 114 (1987), pp. 32-76; Peter Lake, "Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson" Journal of British Studies, 27 (1988), pp. 81-116; Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship" Past and Present, 124 (1989), pp. 36-68; Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists;

of religion, which deals with predestination, seems to place him in Nicholas Tyacke's camp of Calvinists. Through his works on predestinarian thought we have seen that Carleton was adamant in his views on predestination. His participation as head of the English delegation to the Synod of Dort and his fierce attacks on Richard Montagu's aspersions of his opinions given there, show him to be a "severe" Calvinist. However, as we have seen, that was not the be all and end all of Bishop Carleton's religious outlook. His animosity to Catholics, which accorded with Archbishop Abbot, allowed him to make accommodations with Puritans.<sup>14</sup> He believed that the Puritans differed only in matters of church discipline and not doctrine. Here, Carleton agrees with Peter Lake's definition of "credal" predestinarians.<sup>15</sup>

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Tyacke, "The Ambiguities of Early-Modern English Protestantism" The Historical Journal, 34 (1991), pp. 743-754; G. W. Bernard, "The Church of England c.1542-c.1642" History, 75 (1990), pp. 183-206; Peter White Predestination, Polemic and Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>14</sup>For Abbot's position see Susan Holland, "Archbishop Abbot and the Problem of 'Puritanism'" Historical Journal 37 (1994), pp. 23-43; Kenneth Fincham, "Prelacy and Politics: Archbishop Abbot's Defence of Protestant Orthodoxy" Historical Research 61 (1988), pp. 36-64; P. A. Welsby, A. George Abbot. The Unwanted Archbishop 1562-1633 (London: S. P. C. K., 1962).

<sup>15</sup>Peter Lake, Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker (Boston: Unwin, 1988).

Predestination is the chief reason why Bishop Carleton deserves more merit than he has received. The Montagu affair has accorded Carleton some passing notoriety. Yet he was not the only delegate from the Synod of Dort to respond to Montagu. Nor was he the only cleric or defender of doctrine to oppose Montagu. Indeed, as Peter White and Tyacke have aptly shown, Montagu's work created an outpouring of words decrying his views on religious doctrine. While Bishop Carleton was an intimate participant in this controversy, he also played a role in another predestinarian debate.

Others had written on the issues of tithes, royal and ecclesiastical authority, the doctrine of predestination and even anti-Catholic propaganda which Carleton had addressed. What sets him apart is his attack on astrology. This was the most singular work of Bishop Carleton's career. At first the confluence of religion and astrology may appear odd. A closer examination shows that both dealt with the same issues of free will, moral determinism, and God's will as seen through divine predestination. The historical research on predestinarian Calvinism is extensive for this time period.<sup>16</sup> In astrology, the Jacobean era has been, in

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<sup>16</sup>For doctrine see Dewey D. Wallace Jr, Puritans and Predestination. Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525-1695 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

general, skimmed over. Keith Thomas has also examined astrology but his wide-ranging work tends to treat the entire Tudor-Stuart period as an undifferentiated whole.<sup>17</sup> Bernard Capp's work on almanacs deals with this period and has shown a link between scientific change and relation to popular and elite cultures.<sup>18</sup> Almanacs themselves, while inclusive of astrological theory, do not they express astrological theory. The philosophical, logical, and doctrinal issues that astrology provoked are also not addressed in almanacs. Aside from Capp and Thomas, the current historical focus has been on medieval England, the Civil War era England or the decline of astrology among the learned in the later seventeenth century.<sup>19</sup> The bulk of the work for the Jacobean era has been done by literary

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<sup>17</sup>Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (New York: Penguin Books, 1973).

<sup>18</sup>Bernard Capp, English Almanacs 1500-1800. Astrology and the Popular Press (Ithaca, 1979). There is also a focus on the political use of astrological predictions.

<sup>19</sup>Hilary M. Carey, Courting Disaster, Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages (New York: St Martins Press, 1992); Patrick Curry, Prophecy and Power. Astrology in Early Modern England (Princeton, 1989); Richard Lemay, "The True Place of Astrology in Medieval Science and Philosophy: Towards a Definition," in Astrology, Science and Society. Historical Essays ed., Patrick Curry (Bury St Edmunds: Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 57-74; Theodore O. Wedel, Medieval Attitudes Toward Astrology Particularly in England (New Haven, 1968);.

scholars.<sup>20</sup> They have addressed the influence and symbolism of astrology on drama and poetry. For the most part this has been done with regard to William Shakespeare.<sup>21</sup> Only D. C. Allen has come close to examining astrology through a philosophical and logical analysis. For the most part, however, he is concerned with the transmission of pro and con astrological work from the European continent into England.<sup>22</sup> There has been no concerted effort to connect astrology and theology, which Bishop Carleton's work clearly illustrates.

A response to an earlier pro and con debate between John Chamber and Christopher Heydon, Bishop Carleton's work

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<sup>20</sup>William Elton, King Lear and the Gods (University of Kentucky Press, 1988); Aubrey Kail, The Medical Mind of Shakespeare (New York, 1986); J. C. Eade, The Forgotten Sky (New York, 1984); Irving Edgar, Shakespeare, Medicine and Psychiatry (New York, 1970); Cumberland Clark, Shakespeare and Science (New York, 1970); A. J. Meadow, The High Firmament. A Survey of Astronomy in English Literature (Leicester, 1969); Johnstone Parr, Tamburlaine's Malady, and Other Essays on Astrology in Elizabethan Drama (Westport, 1953); Hardin Craig, The Enchanted Glass. The Elizabethan Mind in Literature (New York, 1952); Albumazar: A Comedy [1615], Thomas Tomkis, ed. Hugh G. Dick University of California Publications in English, Vol. XIII (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1944); Hugh DeLacy, "Astrology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser" Journal of English and German Philology 33 (1934), pp. 520-543; Carroll Camden, "Astrology in Shakespeare's Day" Isis 19 (1933), pp. 46-61.

<sup>21</sup>See A. L. Rowse, Simon Forman the Astrologer: Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age (London, 1974).

<sup>22</sup>D. C. Allen, Star-Crossed Renaissance. The Quarrel about Astrology and Its Influence in England (New York, 1941).

on astrology allows us to look at key historical issues of the period. The bishop's disdain for not just the practitioners but adherents of astrology affirms the split in "high" and "low" cultures in Jacobean England.<sup>23</sup>

Carleton frowned upon the foolish and ignorant who willingly followed the astrologer's creed. As bishop, he also had concern for these people's spiritual well being. The extent to which the interest and belief in astrology existed at this time brings into question part of Tyacke's thesis. Tyacke has stated that the Church of England was dominated by predestinarian Calvinists, with the rise of doctrinal English Arminians as a response to this element. For Tyacke, predestinarian thought therefore was limited to the church. Yet anyone who followed astrological precepts participated in predestinarian thought. Whether one asked about the most auspicious time to begin a journey, when to let blood, or the condition of ships at sea, there was an element of foreknowledge of events. With almanacs available for a shilling, and the skills of an astrologer readily accessible, predestinarian thought was not confined to theologians. As Jacob noted, astrology allowed ordinary

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<sup>23</sup>See James Jacob, "'By an Orphean Charm'; Science and the Two Cultures in Seventeenth-century England" in Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of H. G. Koenigsberger eds., Phyllis Mack and Margaret C. Jacob (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 231-249.

individuals "direct access to the supernatural" without recourse to the clergy.<sup>24</sup>

Predestinarian thought was more rife in Jacobean England than historians have so far noted. The continued and rampant belief in an alternate mode of predestinarian thought was why Bishop Carleton entered, however late, the Chamber-Heydon debate. His work addressed a number of aspects of predestinarian thought. The use of Scriptural authority and who had the final word on interpretation of the sacred word was part of the debate. The weight of classical and medieval scholars was evaluated. How terms were defined and placed in their historical and cultural context played a role in the argument. The appropriateness of trying to understand God's will and secret purpose was addressed. The ability of humanity to understand the mystery of predestination remained a major focus. All these issues were also brought to bear on Bishop Carleton's response to Montagu's works. The same issues bridged doctrinal and astrological arenas. Carleton's works then, looked at Montagu's religious doctrine and Heydon's astrological creed through the same historical, philological, logical and moral lenses. Bishop Carleton responded to both forms of predestinarian thought with the same methodology and for this reason, if no other, he

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<sup>24</sup>Jacob, "'By an Orphean Charm'," p. 233.

deserves to be recognized as an important writer of his generation. His contemporaries acknowledged his contributions, but after the Montagu controversy the bishop retired from a more active life.

## Chapter Eight

### Bishop Carleton's Legacy

The desire to maintain stability within church and state were hallmarks of Bishop Carleton's life. Whether he was defending the tradition of tithes, cautioning against the consequences of individual interpretations of Scripture, or writing against the perceived threat of papalism, Carleton was active in his drive to insure that society was not disrupted.

His quest for stability may account for Carleton's writing a religious biography, the Vita Bernardi Gilpini. A Latin biography of his early mentor, Bernard Gilpin, this was the last work that Bishop Carleton wrote before his death. J. W. Binns has noted that there were only about twenty Latin biographies written in England during the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> These were encomia and usually sprinkled with personal memories. The Vita Bernardi Gilpini fits into this model but also points towards issues in the bishop's present-day life. With Puritans still clamoring for changes in the manner of church government and the encroachment of Arminians in the realm of doctrine, the bishop returned to his Protestant roots.

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<sup>1</sup>J. W. Binns, Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age. ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Documents, no. 24. (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), p. 176.

Carleton's use of Latin was another return to his earlier career, and may also be a sign that he wished to inform the European continental readers of Gilpin's virtues. "The Apostle of the North", Gilpin signified an ideal of the Church of England cleric for Bishop Carleton. In the face of public dissent over doctrine, with the Church coming ever closer to fracturing, we should not be surprised to see Carleton look back to an earlier hero. The biography portrayed Gilpin as a hero who had triumphed over Marian Catholics, and championed true religion. Such a man would be a beacon to the worried cleric and to others. The work was quickly translated into English by William Freake and underwent five editions.

Bishop Carleton spent his last few years in Chichester, working on Gilpin's biography, and did not answer the summons to the Parliament of 1628. He remained bishop of Chichester until his death 12 May 1628. He lay in state for fifteen days before being buried in the choir, near the altar of the cathedral on 27 May 1628.<sup>2</sup> When he noted Carleton's death Fuller cited Camden and called the bishop "wise and valiant, in those dangerous and war-like days."<sup>3</sup> The reference was to the animosity against papists and the

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<sup>2</sup> Lambeth Register, Abbott, II f. 301v; Chichester Parish Records 44/2/I f. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Fuller, The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year MDCXLVIII. (London, 1655) bk. 11, p. 131, par. 67.

ongoing Thirty Years War. On 5 July 1628 Bishop Carleton was succeeded at Chichester by Richard Montagu as soon as the Parliament was over. John Pym and John Eliot decried the move to the Commons. Eliot stated that he would "reverence the order," but not honor the man.<sup>4</sup> Trevor-Roper has called this an "insult" to Bishop Carleton's memory.<sup>5</sup> As we can see, the installation of Carleton's former Arminian opponent, who appeared to have promoted heterodoxy in the form of Pelagianism and popery, was the first step in the diminution of Bishop Carleton's status.

Though Bishop Carleton had died his works continued to be published. The first posthumous work was a translation into English of Bernard Gilpin's biography which has remained the standard source for Gilpin's life. This work went through three more editions in the next seven years. Two more editions of the bishop's stridently anti-papal Thankfull Remembrance appeared before the outbreak of the English Civil War. The start of hostilities saw the publication of B[isho]p Carletons Testimonie. This short work merely restated the bishop's defense of episcopal government that he had given at the Synod of Dort.

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<sup>4</sup>Commons Debates for 1629, eds., W. Notestein and F. H. Relf (Minneapolis, 1921), quoted in Nicholas Tyacke, "Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution," in Conrad Russell, ed., The Origins of the English Civil War (London, 1973).

<sup>5</sup> H. R. Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud, 1573-1645, 2nd ed., (London: Macmillan, 1962), p. 91.

During the Civil War, Bishop Carleton's son, Henry, fought on the Parliamentary side. The younger Carleton, who lived in Furle, Sussex and served as an MP to the 1640 Parliaments (Short and Long) and from which he was commissioned a captain and "shew'd himself an Enemy to the Bishops."<sup>6</sup> Henry led a troop into Chichester and seized the cathedral. There may be some connection between this action and the disappearance of cathedral records from Chichester. For the years before and after Carleton's episcopacy we have extant records, but that portion relating to Bishop Carleton's time at Chichester is missing.

In 1651, at the height of interest in astrology, Carleton's Madnesse of Astrologers was reprinted. In 1678, when a collateral relative, Guy Carleton, was named as Bishop of Chichester he was not the same "scholar or liberal benefactor as his predecessor."<sup>7</sup> Carleton's notoriety as a scholar at this time may account for the new edition of the Joynt Attestation, that was printed in 1706. The eighteenth century also saw the publication of Bernard Gilpin's biography once more. Bishop Carleton's work on Gilpin was included in a compilation of Ecclesiastical Biographies,

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<sup>6</sup>Anthony á Wood, Athenae Oxonienses an Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford (London, 1691), col. 442.

<sup>7</sup>Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 3, q.v. Carleton, Guy.

though Carleton's own life was missing from that collection. Bishop Carleton had been included in Anthony á Wood's massive works, as well as Thomas Fuller's Worthies of England, both originally printed prior to the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> So by the end of the eighteenth century Carleton's own fame and achievements had sunk beyond the historical landscape. Poet, orator, delegate, and author the one-time Bishop of Chichester had become another footnote in history.

Perhaps Carleton had been too politically moderate in defending the monarchy. His balanced approach of co-active power has often been overlooked. Yet, others who had ably assisted King James in defending his political position were not so readily forgotten. Perhaps Carleton's opposition to the rising tide of English Arminianism relegated him to the shadows. Yet others who had actively opposed this doctrine remained well known. Perhaps Carleton's fierce antagonism towards the papists was too intense. Others also attacked the Catholic elements within England without being cast aside. In these three fields he did not break any new ground or profess an extremist position. Standing for the

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<sup>8</sup>Anthony á Wood, Alumni Oxoniensis the Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714 vol. 1 early series Kraus Reprints (Nendeln: Liechtenstein, 1968), p. 238; Thomas Fuller, The Worthies of England (London: Unwin, 1952), p. 221.

moderate Jacobean, Bishop Carleton was of little use to historians who sought causes of conflict.

This study began with a review of the variety of ways in which historians have used Carleton's works and actions. While the debate over what constitutes orthodoxy with the Jacobean church continues, Carleton illustrates what can be termed a moderate position. In doctrinal terms, the Bishop of Chichester did believe in double and irrevocable predestination, which defines him, as Anthony á Wood stated, as a severe Calvinist. This refutes Arthur Kauntz and Peter Lake's designation of Bishop Carleton as a moderate Calvinist. The bishop was moderate in his dealings with the Puritans. While he may not have overtly favored Puritanism, the bishop saw no real doctrinal conflict with the Puritans. However, Bishop Carleton did have serious opposition to the Church of Rome, Pelagianism and Arminianism and any other doctrine that mitigated the absolute will of God, including astrology. To call Bishop Carleton an Anglican is anachronistic, and the term High Church Calvinism needs a more specific definition. William Lamont, Alan Smith and Dewey Wallace came closest to describing Carleton when they noted that he followed Calvinistic theology while preserving the episcopal office.

Bishop Carleton believed and followed the Thirty-Nine Articles that defined the Church of England, yet aspects of the Articles were ambiguous enough to accommodate a wide

spectrum of doctrinal positions that cannot be ignored. The Jacobean church was not a unified whole, and despite all of Carleton's and other works there was a spectrum of doctrinal positions. In examining this "dis-unity" the Church of England's views on predestination have appeared in recent English historiography.

The anxiety created over the issue of predestination led contemporaries to re-examine the wording of the Seventeenth Article. In striving to lessen the harsh decree of predestination the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw the growth of dissenting factions within the Church of England, one of which was known as the Arminians or Anti-Calvinists.

By stressing predestination as a major aspect of the Church of England in the early seventeenth-century, English Arminians have come to be seen as a minority group contending with and against a Calvinistic church.<sup>9</sup> Bishop Carleton confirms Nicholas Tyacke's portrayal of the English church as one dominated by clergy who held Calvinistic views of predestination which has not been successfully challenged.<sup>10</sup> Aside from G. W. Bernard who argued that

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<sup>9</sup>Nicholas Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 245 states the English Arminians represent "a coherent body of anti-Calvinist religious thought."

<sup>10</sup>Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, p. 1, defines this Calvinistic doctrine as "a belief in divine predestination, both double and absolute, whereby man's destiny, either

Tyacke downplayed "anti-predestinarian views in the 1590s to make it easier for him to claim that 'Arminianism' was a novel movement in the 1620s," there has been little done to displace the division set-up by Tyacke. Peter White's work sets out to undermine Tyacke's thesis but falls short.

Carleton's life allows us to re-enter the argument from another angle. Tyacke's simplistic dichotomy, which he posited within the church, is acceptable. However, we need to see that some members of the Church of England also believed that papists and other Catholic elements, within and without of England, were perceived as a much of serious and imminent threat as that of the dissenting voices from within the church. What seems to have been overlooked is Tyacke's view that English Arminians challenged a world view of good versus evil that would only end with the overthrow of the Antichrist.<sup>11</sup> Bishop Carleton's illustrates this point, though we must remember, as much as he attacked the papists, he defended the doctrine of predestination and the divine office of the episcopacy.

The combination of these two aspects seems to call for a new designation for Bishop Carleton, and possibly for the entire Jacobean church. To clarify the bishop's life and

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election to Heaven or reprobation to Hell, is not conditioned by faith but depends instead on the will of God."

<sup>11</sup>Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, p. 247.

work he should be seen as an English Calvinist. The term allows us to admit followers of Calvin's doctrine of double predestination, as well as the belief in the divine office of the bishops. His actions at the Synod of Dort, where he combined these two elements is another indication of this hybrid term. While the Bishop of Chichester fits this model, further research will reveal if this term is valid or not.

A distinctive aspect of Bishop Carleton's work is his attack on astrology. The views he presented also allow us to re-examine another facet of Tyacke's thesis. He contended that predestination was the milieu of theologians. Astrology however was a vibrant and accessible means of dealing with predestinarian thought. The church was not the only venue for discussing free will, moral determinism, or God's secret will. In reaffirming the classical and Italian Renaissance arguments against astrology Bishop Carleton sought to maintain the mystery of God's secret will. His work did place these arguments with Jacobean England and for the most part has been neglected.

In the end, Bishop Carleton most aptly fits into Willson's designation of a Jacobean churchman who "stood for implacable hostility to Rome, for a Puritan code of morals, for orthodoxy in the Church of England, and for unity with the Protestant Churches on the Continent." Willson noted that this party was represented by Archbishop Abbot, his

brother Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, and by George Carleton, among others.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, if the bishop had one claim to fame his opposition to the papists gained him prominence among his contemporaries. As Carol Wiener noted, the Jacobean era saw anti-Catholicism develop into "a part of national ideology."<sup>13</sup> The driving force behind Bishop Carleton was the perception that Catholics, within and without England, threatened the true religion and the state. This perception existed throughout Carleton's lifetime and any examination of the intellectual climate of the era must deal with this sentiment.

Even after the bishop's death, the anonymous author's "To the Reader" in B[ishop] Carletons Testimonie stated that Carleton was:

all his life at flat defiance with Rome; and had he been called to the fiery trial, doubtless he would have followed Cramner, Ridely, Latimer, Hopper, those famous Protestant Bishops even to the stake, and sealed that doctrine with his blood, which his tongue and pen published to the world.<sup>14</sup>

The fame of his opposition to the papists and other forms of Catholic activity within England allowed Anthony á Wood to describe Bishop Carleton as "a bitter enemy to the

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<sup>12</sup>David H. Willson, King James VI and I (London: Jonathan Cope, 1956), p. 199.

<sup>13</sup>Carol Z. Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," Past and Present 51 (1971), p. 27.

<sup>14</sup>Bp Carletons Testimonie, (London, 1642), A2r.

papists."<sup>15</sup> Bishop Carleton's life and works represent antagonism towards any doctrine which challenged his perception of predestination, as well as fear of papists and a hatred of Catholics which colored Jacobean England.

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<sup>15</sup>Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, col. 877.

## APPENDIX I

## Seventeenth Article of Religion

This article is important in understanding the Church of England, and thus Bishop George Carleton's, position in regard to predestination. The Seventeenth Article stated that:

Predestination of Life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honor. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they through Grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation. Furthermore, we must receive God's promise in such wise, as they are generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture: and, in our doings, that the Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

In the Latin this Article is written in the subjunctive passive tense. The grammatically preference implies that

all the actions were done to the subject, a grammatical posture in accord with the doctrinal sense of the Article.

## Appendix II

## The Lambeth Articles

Though never officially approved by the Church of England the Lambeth Articles served as an on going point of contention in regard to the interpretation of predestination. They are listed here to show the complexity of the issues at stake. John Strype, Life of Whitgift (London, 1882), vol. 2, p. 280 contains the Latin text of the articles. The English translations are from "Articuli Lanethani": Cura et impensis F. G. Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolae apud Trinobantes Ministri (London, 1651) quoted in H. C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 365-366:

I. Deus ab aeterno praedestinavit quosdam ad vitam, quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.

[God from eternity has predestined some men to life, and reprobated some to death.]

II. Causa movens aut efficiens praedestinationis ad vitam non est praevisio fidei, aut perserverantiae, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius, rei, quae insit in personis praedestinitis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

[The efficient cause of predestination is not the foreseeing of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything innate in the person of the predestined, but only the absolute and simple will of God.]

III. Praedestinatorum praefinitus et certus numerus est, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

[There is a determined and certain number of predestined, which cannot be increased or diminished.]

IV. Qui non sunt predestinati ad salutem necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

[Those not predestined to salvation are inevitably condemned on account of their sins.]

V. Vera, viva, et justificans fides, et Spiritus Dei sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter aut totaliter.

[A true, lively and justifying faith, and the sanctifying spirit of God, is not lost, nor does it pass away either totally or finally in those who have been partakers of it.]

VI. Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante praeditus, certus est plerophoria fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

[The truly faithful man - that is, one endowed with justifying faith - is sure by certainty of faith.]

VII. Gratis salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si voluerint.

[Grace sufficient to salvation is not granted, not made common, not ceded to all men, by which they might be saved, if they wish.]

VIII. Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre, ut veniant ad Filium.

[No one can come to Christ unless it be granted to him, and unless the father draws him: and all men are not drawn by the father to come to the son.]

IX. Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate unius cujusque hominis servari.

[It is not in the will or power of each and every man to be saved.]

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Heroici Characteres ad Illvstrissimvm Henricum Nevillum Eqvitem. Oxford, 1603.

Tithes Examined and proued to bee due to the Clergie by a diuine right. Where by the contentious and prophane Atheists, as also the dissembling Hypocrites of this age, may learne to honour the Ministers and not to defrande them, and to Rob the Church. London, 1606.

Tithes Examined and proued to bee due to the Clergie by a diuine right. Where by the contentious and prophane Atheists, as also the dissembling Hypocrites of this age, may learne to honour the Ministers and not to defrande them, and to Rob the Church. 2nd ed. London, 1611.

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Consensus Ecclesiae Catholicae contra Tridentinos, demonstrans vnam ac perpetuam doctriam e Sacris Scripturis excerptam ... in grauissimis fidei controuersiis, quae sunt de Scripturis ... Ecclesia, Fide iustificante, Gratia. London, 1613.

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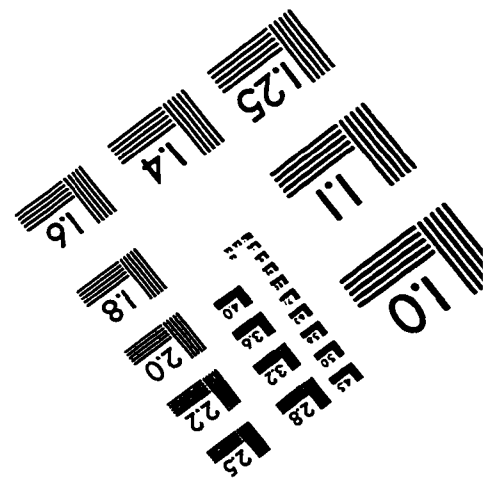
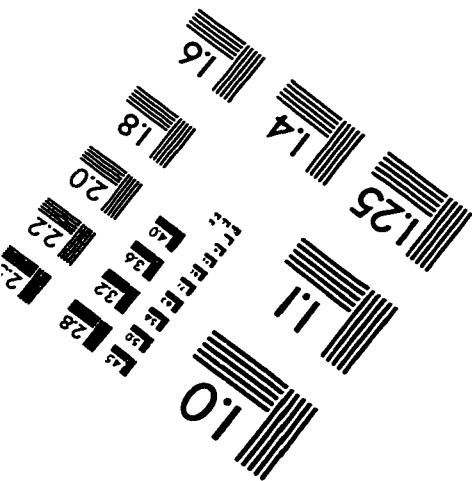
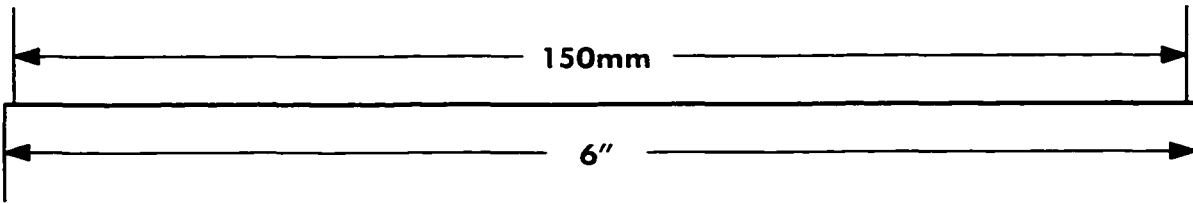
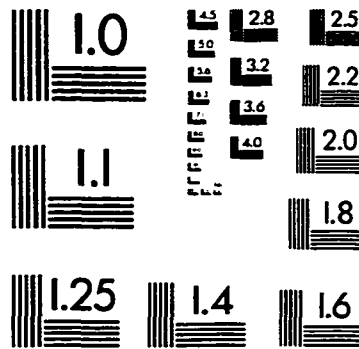
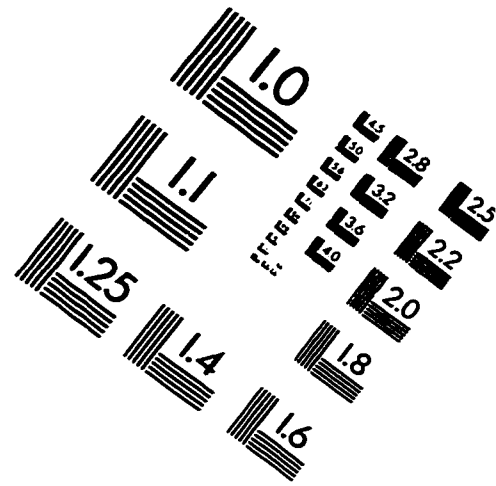
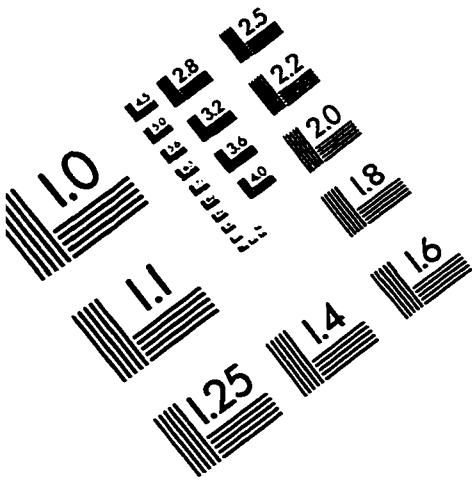
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