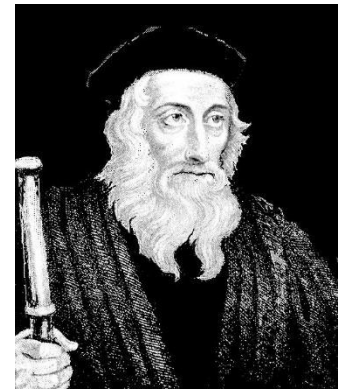


The Reformation In England

The Reformation in England is considered to be in the “2nd Wave” of reform in Western Europe. But in reality, the Reformation embers had been burning in England since the days of the Investiture Controversy between Pope Gregory and King Henry IV of German (1077) - who was also the Holy Roman Emperor. A similar controversy was active in England.

Concordat of London (1107). Problematically, the pope needed support of the English King Henry I against the German Henry and thus downplayed the English practice of investiture. Eventually, this was settled in the Concordat of London. The Concordat suggested a compromise that was taken up in the Concordat of Worms (with German Henry). In England, as in Germany, a distinction was being made in the king's chancery between the secular and ecclesiastical powers of the prelates (Bishops, Abbots, etc.). Employing the distinction, Henry I gave up his right to invest his bishops and abbots and reserved the custom of requiring them to come and do homage directly from his hand for the “temporalities” (the landed properties tied to the episcopate). This required the bishop to swear homage and feudal vassalage in a ceremony like any secular vassal.

John Wycliffe (1320-1384) is most noted for his early translation of the Latin Vulgate scripture into English: the “Wycliffe Bible” which, although unauthorized, proved quite popular among literate people. It was the first wave in which individuals had access to Scripture in their native English language. That the church disapproved of his efforts only added to his unhappiness with the church. He had been denied the Chair of one of the Oxford colleges. The university had promised that the next Don would be a lay person, but the chair was given to a religious cleric.



The milieu of church-state relationships had always been in the background of English-Vatican relationships. The touch points were always land ownership, revenues, exclusion from state taxes, and despite the Concordat of London, the question of first loyalty of priests, bishops, and abbots.

In 1372 Wycliffe was part of a commission which the English government sent to Bruges to discuss with the representatives of Pope Gregory XI, and, if possible settle, a number of points in dispute between the king and the pope. The conference came to no satisfactory conclusion, but it appears to mark the beginning of the alliance between Wycliffe and the anti-clerical party headed by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the king's son.

It is at this point that Wycliff begins to produce tracts, documents, and dissertations on a variety of topics:

- questioning the temporal rule of the clergy and clearly writing that in temporal things the king is above the pope.
- the collection of *annates*
- the use of indulgences as a form of simony.

And that was just his first tract. His later writings were centered around two broad topical areas: (1) the relationship between King and Church, and (2) his assertion of theological errors by the Catholic Church.

In the King-Church debate, Wycliff was clearly a “king’s man” believing that the King should have final say in matters of ecclesiastical governance, have ownership of all Church property, appointment of church assignments, and even to include the final voice on the validity of an excommunication of an English citizen. In the theological tracts, Wycliff’s positions supported a belief in “double” predestination, wrote against the Real Presence in the Eucharist, largely dismissed many other sacraments, promoted the idea of

the priesthood of all people, and held that an immoral life of a priest invalidate any sacrament he performed.

While this touches on Wycliff's positions, it is clear that he is well ahead of Martin Luther and John Calvin in reforming ideas. The embers of the Reformation had been burning well before the ideas of the Reformers reached the English coast.

A Political Reformation

By 1520, Martin Luther's new ideas were known and debated in England, but Protestants were a religious minority and heretics under the law. The English Reformation began as more of a political affair than a theological dispute. In 1527, Henry VIII requested an annulment of his marriage, but Pope Clement VII refused. In response, the Reformation Parliament (1529–1536) passed laws abolishing papal authority in England and declared Henry to be head of the Church of England. Final authority in doctrinal disputes now rested with the monarch. Though a religious traditionalist himself, Henry relied on Protestants to support and implement his religious agenda.

To understand the Reformation in England - in all its phases - it is important to keep in mind:

- Like Germany and the rest of Western Europe, the rise of humanism was replacing the traditional scholastic lenses of philosophy, theology, and science.
- In 1555 the German Peace of Augsburg provided that each prince establish the religion in his territory. Unlike Germany, England enjoyed a united monarchy and central national government. In this milieu, the 1107 Concordat of London had long established the unspoken tradition that the faith of the King was the faith of the nation.. And this “tradition” will whipsaw England through many phases of reform and counter reform.
- Where the mountains “shielded” Germany from Imperial and Roman entanglements, the English Channel provided a similar shield. Were it not for English hereditary claim on French soil (however much disputed), the shield would have been nigh impenetrable. It is these claims that often entangled England in Europe's shifting alliances and betrayals.
- The good news is that England had a king. The bad news is that England had a king. Royal endeavors and intrigue, especially in claims of land and succession would much later be a major contributor to the Reformation in England.

King and Throne

It is to this last point that some background would be helpful. For a 150 year period before Martin Luther nailed his theses to the Wittenberg Chapel door, England suffered from a series of armed conflicts that took human life among peasants and nobility alike, as well as deeply impacted the financial stability of the nobles and the kings, leaving them ever in search of new streams of revenue.

The **Hundred Years' War** (1337–1453) was a series of armed conflicts between the kingdoms of England and France during the Late Middle Ages. It originated from disputed claims to the French throne between the English House of Plantagenet and the French House of Valois. The war grew into a broader power struggle involving fractions from across Western Europe, fuelled by emerging nationalism on both sides. Five generations of kings from the two rival dynasties fought for the throne of France. Stronger national identities took root in both countries, which became more centralized and gradually rose as global powers.

While the war is interesting and complex, the Battle of Castillon (when Bordeaux, the last English foothold in France, was conquered) is considered the last battle of the Hundred Years' War, England and France remained formally at war for another 20 years, but the English were in no position to carry on the war as they faced unrest at home as the English monarchy's prestige was weakened by emergent socio-economic troubles. Following defeat in the Hundred Years' War, English landowners complained

vociferously about the financial losses resulting from the loss of their continental holdings; this is often considered a major cause of the Wars of the Roses that started in 1455.

The Wars of the Roses (1455-1487). Also known as the English Civil War, was a series of civil wars fought over control of the English throne in the mid-to-late fifteenth century over a period of 32 years. These wars were fought between supporters of two rival branches of the royal House of Plantagenet: Lancaster and York. The name "Wars of the Roses" refers to the heraldic badges associated with the two rival branches of the royal House of Plantagenet fighting for control of the English throne; the c.

The ebb and flow of the Wars is the stuff of historians to be sure. The coming and going and returning of kings, claimants, and sons legitimate and not, is far too complex to follow. For our concerns, here is the end result: the wars extinguished the male lines of the two branches, leading to the Tudor family inheriting the Lancastrian claim to the throne. Following the war, the Houses of Lancaster and York were united, creating a new royal dynasty and thereby resolving their rival claims. The heraldic badge of the House of Tudor combines the White Rose of York and the Red Rose of Lancaster.

Henry of the House of Tudor is considered to have won the throne by right of conquest. Henry was crowned as Henry VII of England on 30 October 1485 in Westminster Abbey. As per his pledge, Henry married Elizabeth of York and Elizabeth gave birth to their first child just 8 months later, Prince Arthur. The couple's marriage appears to have been a happy one; Henry in particular was noted for being uncharacteristically faithful for a king of the time. Henry and Elizabeth's marriage united the rival Lancastrian and Yorkist claims since their children would inherit the claims of both dynasties; however, paranoia persisted that anyone with blood ties to the Plantagenets were secretly coveting the throne,

Although there would be no more serious military threat to Henry's rule or the Tudor claim to the throne that threatened a repeat of the Wars of the Roses, individuals claiming descent from the Plantagenets continued to present challenges to the Tudor dynasty leading to rebellions and intrigue. As late as 1600, before the death of Elizabeth I, there were twelve competitors for succession, which included seven Plantagenet descendants. The Tudor dynasty's tenuous claim to the throne and the potentially stronger claims of Plantagenet inheritors was a significant factor in driving Henry VIII's considerable anxiety over the need to produce a male heir. Henry was well aware of the potential instability that could follow a succession crisis, and wished to avoid a repeat of the Wars of the Roses.

Henry VIII, King of England and Defender of the Faith

Henry Tudor was the third child and second son of King Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. Of the young Henry's siblings, only three – his brother Arthur, Prince of Wales, and sisters Margaret and Mary – survived infancy. Even as a small child Henry was assigned various titles and honors, including: Duke of York, Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Earl Marshal of England, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Knight of the Bath, Warden of the Scottish Marches and appointed to the Order of the Garter. The reason for giving such appointments to a small child was to enable his father to retain personal control of lucrative positions and not share them with established families. This gives you a sense of the complexity of royal life and the attending finances.

An arranged marriage. King Henry VII has a driving need to cement the relationships between England and Spain. As such the two royal houses arranged the 1501 marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales to Catherine of Aragon, youngest child of King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile. Arthur was 14; Catherine was 16. Arthur died the next year. Nonetheless, the two royal houses wished to seal the marital alliance and so Henry, Duke of York, was offered as a new husband to the widowed Catherine. While the two royal families were keen on the idea, there was a problem.

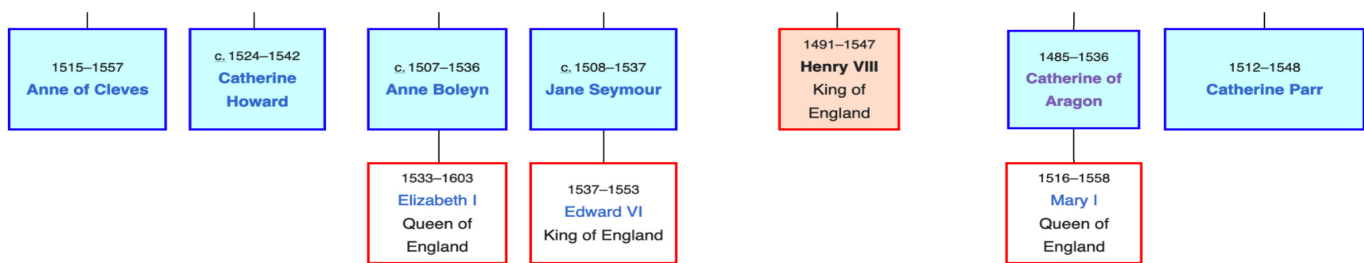
Two problems actually. When Henry came of age (14) he publicly repudiated the idea. But also there was the canonical matter of Catherine marrying the brother of her deceased husband, Arthur. As Catherine and her chaperone claimed, the marriage had never been consummated, the marriage should have been

annulled or a dispensation from marital canon law could have been sought. However, King Henry VII and the Spanish ambassador set out instead to obtain a dispensation for "affinity", which took account of the possibility of consummation. This latter course of action then established the first marriage as valid.

King Henry VIII of England

Henry VII died on 21 April 1509, and the 17-year-old Henry succeeded him as king. Soon after his father's burial on 10 May, Henry suddenly declared that he would indeed marry Catherine, leaving unresolved several issues concerning the papal dispensation.

With the importance of having a son to succeed him, Henry and Catherine were not fortunate in children. Between 1510 and 1516, five children were conceived. Three were stillborn, a son died at 7 weeks, and only a daughter Mary survived. Catherine was unable to produce a male heir, raising the specter of conflict like the Wars of the Roses. Without reviewing all of Henry VIII's marriage and children, this simple graphic provides information that will be a contributing factor to ongoing reformations in England.



King Henry VIII - Defender of the Faith

By all accounts, Henry was an observant Roman Catholic. Yet it was said of him that he possessed a “powerful but unoriginal mind,” and was easily influenced by his advisors from whom he was never apart, by night or day. He was thus susceptible to whoever had his ear. One influential advisor was the Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey. As long as Wolsey had his ear, Henry's Roman Catholicism was secure. Wolsey also received support from Bishop of Rochester John Fisher. Fisher helped Henry defend the Catholic Church in the production of *The Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, for which he was awarded the title "Defender of the Faith" (*Fidei Defensor*) by Pope Leo X.

However, many of Henry's young contemporaries were enamored with humanistic education and were members of royal houses that sought to diminish the power and financial strength of the Catholic Church in England. Many of them were influenced by Lutheran ideas, among whom was the attractive, charismatic Anne Boleyn. In addition, Wolsey's enemies at court also included those who had been influenced by Lutheran ideas.

The Anne Boleyn Affair

Boleyn was an educated, worldly woman. Educated in the Netherlands and France she was well informed on the teachings of Martin Luther, and by all measures, was a supporter. While there is far more to her story, when she was pursued by Henry VIII, she refused to be his concubine as she saw the result of such an affair as her older sister Mary had fallen under Henry's attention. And this is when Henry began to seek ways in which he could wed Boleyn. A brief outline of what followed:

- Lord Chancellor, **Cardinal Thomas Wolsey** was unable to obtain an annulment from the Vatican. He was charged with *praemunire* in October 1529. Briefly reconciled with Henry (and officially pardoned) in the first half of 1530, he was charged once more in November 1530, this time for treason, but died while awaiting trial. *Praemunire* was a 14th century law which made an assertion of papal decisions against the interest of the king a crime.

- **Sir Thomas More** took on the role of Lord Chancellor and chief minister. He was also a devout Catholic and opponent of the annulment. He resigned in May 1532 and was eventually executed. He was replaced by **Thomas Cromwell**.
- When Archbishop of Canterbury William Warham died, Anne's influence and the need to find a trustworthy supporter of the annulment had **Thomas Cranmer** appointed to the vacant position. This was approved by the Pope, unaware of the king's plans for the Church in England. (*note: see this action within the timeline of the "Reformation Parliament" below*)
- The newly appointed Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer declared Henry and Catherine's marriage null and void in May 1533; five days later, he declared Henry and Anne's marriage valid (they had been secretly married in November 1532 and publicly married in January 1533).
- Pope Clement VII excommunicated Henry and Cranmer soon thereafter.
- Anne gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth in September 1533. Elizabeth would become queen in 1558 and would be the last of the Tudor monarchs.

As a result of Bolyne's marriage and subsequent excommunications, the first break between the Church of England and the Catholic Church took place, and led to the king taking control of the Church in England.

There are various opinions as to the depth of Anne's commitment to the Reformation. Some hold the opinion that papal power stood in the way of her personal ambitions and hence she had much to do with Henry's defiance of Rome. There is anecdotal evidence that Anne brought to Henry's attention a heretical pamphlet, Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man* and another one by Simon Fish, *A Supplication for the Beggars*, which cried out to monarchs to rein in the evil excesses of the Catholic Church. All this was while she refused to be mistress to the King. It is clear that she actively protected scholars working on English translations of the scriptures. Once she became queen she appointed Protestant reformer Matthew Parker as her personal chaplain. During the reign of her daughter as Queen, Bolyne was formally given the title "Hero of the Reformation."

The story of Boleyn and all the subsequent wives of Henry VIII are interesting and complex, but at this point the dye has been cast.

Catholic King Henry's Actions against the Clergy (1529)

The King summoned Parliament to deal with the annulment of his marriage to Catherine (still 4 years in the future) and other grievances against the church. The Catholic Church was a powerful institution in England with a number of privileges. The King could not tax or sue clergy in civil courts. The church could also grant fugitives sanctuary, and many areas of the law—such as family law—were controlled by the church. For centuries, kings had attempted to reduce the church's power, and the English Reformation was a continuation of this power struggle.

Parliament in the years 1529-1536 was known as "the Reformation Parliament." Their efforts established the legal basis for the English Reformation, passing major pieces of legislation leading to the Break with Rome and increasing the authority of the Church of England. Under the direction of King Henry VIII of England, the Reformation Parliament was the first in English history to deal with major religious legislation, much of it orchestrated by, among others, the Boleyn family and Thomas Cromwell. This legislation transferred many aspects of English life away from the control of the Catholic church to control under The Crown. This action both set a precedent for future monarchs to utilize Parliamentary statutes affecting the Church of England; strengthened the role of the English Parliament; and provided a significant transference of wealth from the Catholic church to the English crown.

A summary of some of their major actions - many of which were intended to pressure Rome to grant an annulment of Henry's marriage to Catherine.

- 1529 - clergy legal privilege removed - prevented the clergy from being subject to separate canonical courts. Instead, any charges were now to be adjudicated in the same way as everybody else in England was and not be looked upon favorably by the courts.
- 1530 - All Catholic clergy were accused, wholesale, of praemunire based on the principle of papal authority over English law. The treasonous charges were dropped once the individual priest acknowledged Henry as head of the Church of England.
 - Henry wanted the clergy of Canterbury province to pay £100,000 for their pardon; this was a sum equal to the Crown's annual income.
 - This was part of the larger plan to “bully” the clergy as a prelude to the Act of Supremacy (1534)
- 1532 - the practice of Annates was changed so that only 5% of the normal remittance was given to Rome
- 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals - this act removed the Pope from any jurisdiction over the English crown, affairs, or lands; the English monarch was now the ultimate authority.
- 1534 Act Concerning Peter's Pence and Dispensations: payment of Peter's Pence (a tax collected annually from householders) to the See of Rome was abolished. The Act also eradicated pluralism in the clergy (the right to hold more than one parish) and forbade English clergy from attending religious assemblies abroad.
- 1534 The First Succession Act (see section below)
- 1534 Treasons Act 1534 - any challenge to the Act of Supremacy (questioning the monarch's authority) or the Act of Succession (questioning the line of succession) would be considered treason and punishable by death.
- 1536 Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries Act - this act decreed that smaller monasteries with a yearly income of less than £200 throughout England would be closed. This was a way to avoid conflict with the large monasteries with noble friends, but dispossess the small monasteries of land and assets. By starting with the smaller monasteries first, he could avoid the accusation of displacing monks and nuns who could find a home elsewhere in larger, richer monasteries. It would also avoid angering influential patrons and supporters at Court, who largely supported those monasteries. Additionally, dissolution would also provide a means to win loyalty by enriching landowners by bestowing them these smaller monastic lands. Abbots agreed, in the hopes that the larger monasteries would be spared.

The Acts of Succession (March 1534)

The Act made Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII by Anne Boleyn, who had been born on 7 September 1533, the heir presumptive to the Crown by declaring Mary, daughter of Henry VIII by Catherine of Aragon, illegitimate. The Act also required all subjects, if commanded, to swear an oath to recognize this Act as well as the king's supremacy. Under the Treasons Act 1534 anyone who refused to take the oath was subject to a charge of treason. The Act was later altered by the Second Succession Act, which made Elizabeth illegitimate, and the Third Succession Act, which returned both Mary and Elizabeth to the line of succession.

First Act of Supremacy (November 1534) granted King Henry VIII (and subsequent monarchs) “royal supremacy” in church matters, essentially declaring Henry the supreme head of the Church of England. Royal supremacy is specifically used to describe the legal sovereignty of the civil laws over the laws of the Church in England.

The wording of the act made clear that Parliament was not granting the king the title (thereby suggesting that they had the right to withdraw it later); rather, it was acknowledging an established fact. In the Act of Supremacy, Henry abandoned Rome completely, thereby asserting independence of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* from the Vatican. The 1534 Act marks the beginning of the English Reformation.

[*Note:* The First Act of Supremacy was repealed in 1554 during the reign of his staunchly Roman Catholic daughter, Queen Mary I. Upon Mary's death in November 1558, her Protestant half-sister Elizabeth I succeeded to the throne. The first Elizabethan Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy 1558, which declared Elizabeth the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, instituted an Oath of Supremacy, requiring anyone taking public or church clergymen to swear allegiance to the monarch as head of the Church and state. Anyone refusing to take the oath could be charged with treason. The use of the term Supreme Governor as opposed to Supreme Head pacified some Catholics and those Protestants concerned about a female leader of the Church of England.]

Religious Reform

The break with Rome gave Henry VIII power to administer the English Church, tax it, appoint its officials, and control its laws. It also gave him control over the church's doctrine and ritual. While Henry remained a traditional Catholic, his most important supporters in breaking with Rome were the Protestants. Yet, not all of his supporters were Protestants. Some were traditionalists, such as Stephen Gardiner, opposed to the new theology but felt papal supremacy was not essential to the Church of England's identity. The King relied on Protestants, such as Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer, to carry out his religious programme and embraced the language of the continental Reformation, while maintaining a middle way between religious extremes. What followed was a period of doctrinal confusion as both conservatives and reformers attempted to shape the church's future direction.

At this stage, Anne Bolyne is still queen and influential in episcopal appointments. She arranges for Gardiner to be sent on a diplomatic mission that lasts three years. In the meantime, working with Cranmer, seven Protestants are appointed to significant dioceses and archdioceses.

In 1536, the first Church of England Convocation adopted a doctrinal statement for the Church of England, the Ten Articles. This was followed by the Bishops' Book in 1537. These established a semi-Lutheran doctrine for the church. Justification by faith, qualified by an emphasis on good works following justification, was a core teaching. The traditional seven sacraments were reduced to three only—baptism, Eucharist and penance. Catholic teaching on praying to saints, purgatory and the use of images in worship was undermined.

In August 1536, the same month the Ten Articles were published, Cromwell issued a set of Royal Injunctions to the clergy. Minor feast days were changed into normal work days, including those celebrating a church's patron saint and most feasts during harvest time (July through September). The rationale was partly economic as too many holidays led to a loss of productivity and were the occasion of vice. Clergy were to discourage pilgrimages and instruct the people to give to the poor rather than make offerings to images. The clergy were also ordered to place Bibles in both English and Latin in every church for the people to read.

Reformation Problems and the Six Articles

So far in this text, a general term has been used: Protestants. But in fact Cromwell was beset by a great deal of dissension among newly appointed clergy and bishops. All of the major threads of European reform theology were entering England: Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anabaptists. Meanwhile, Henry continued to practice a very traditional Catholicism. Despite Cranmer's attempt to hide the dissension from the King, Henry was aware and instructed Parliament to find a path to uniformity.

Leading traditionalist bishops saw a path forward that involved communion with Greek Orthodox / Catholic Church as a way to remain Catholic and avoid the machinations of Rome. Reformed bishops opposed such a union because the Greek theology was still essentially Catholic. A committee from the House of Lords was convened to examine six controversial doctrinal questions that became the basis of the Six Articles (enacted in law 1539):

- The Real Presence of Christ
- Eucharist for the laity under both kinds,
- Vows of chastity needed to be observed as part of divine law,
- Clerical celibacy should be compulsory,
- Legitimacy of private masses are legitimate by divine law,
- If auricular confession was necessary as part of divine law

The questions were resolved in a traditional Catholic understanding, save that confession was judged as good and expedient but not mandated. The Six Articles were enacted in 1539 with harsh penalties in place. For example, denial of the Real Presence was punishable by execution without chance of recanting.

A Peek into the Future

In 1543, the “King’s Book” replaced the “Ten Articles” as the foundation of the Church of England. Significantly, the doctrine of justification by faith was totally rejected. Cranmer tried to save the doctrine by arguing that while true faith was accompanied by good works (in other words, faith was not alone) it was only faith that justified. However, Henry would not be persuaded, and the text was amended to read that faith justified “neither only nor alone”. It also stated that each person had free will to be “a worker ... in the attaining of his own justification”. The King's Book also endorsed traditional views of the mass, transubstantiation, confession, and Church ceremonies. The traditional seven sacraments were all included without any distinction in importance made between them. It was taught that the second commandment did not forbid images but only “godly honour” being given to them. Looking at images of Christ and the saints “provoked, kindled and stirred to yield thanks to Our Lord”.

Henry VIII was succeeded by his son, Edward VI, in 1547. During Edward's reign, the Church of England adopted a stronger Protestant identity as seen in the “Forty-Two Articles.” This represented the height of official church reformation prior to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. It staked out a position among Protestant movements of the day, opposing Anabaptist claims and disagreeing with Zwinglian positions without taking an explicitly Calvinist or Lutheran approach.

Edward died in 1553. With the coronation of Mary I and the reunion of the Church of England with the Catholic Church, the articles were never enforced. However, after Mary's death, they became the basis of the Thirty-nine Articles, approved by Elizabeth I. At this point the break with Rome was final.

The Elizabethan Religious Settlement - *the dust almost settles*

The Elizabethan Religious Settlement is the name given to the religious and political arrangements made for England during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603). Implemented between 1559 and 1563, the settlement is considered the end of the English Reformation, permanently shaping the theology and liturgy of the Church of England and laying the foundations of Anglicanism's unique identity.

When Elizabeth inherited the throne, England was bitterly divided between Catholics and Protestants as a result of various religious changes initiated by Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I. Henry VIII had broken from the Catholic Church and the authority of the Pope, becoming the supreme head of the Church of England. During Edward's reign, the Church of England adopted a Reformed theology and liturgy. In Mary's reign, these religious policies were reversed, England was reunited with the Catholic Church and Protestantism was suppressed.

The Elizabethan Settlement was an attempt to end this religious turmoil. The Act of Supremacy of 1558 re-established the Church of England's independence from Rome, and Parliament conferred on Elizabeth the title of Supreme Governor of the Church of England. The Act of Uniformity of 1559 re-introduced the Book of Common Prayer from Edward's reign, which contained the liturgical services of the church. Some modifications were made to appeal to Catholics and Lutherans, including giving individuals greater

latitude concerning belief in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and permission to use traditional priestly vestments. In 1571, the Thirty-Nine Articles were adopted as a confessional statement for the church, and a Book of Homilies was issued outlining the church's reformed theology in greater detail.

The Settlement was described as having Catholic structure and Protestant theology

The Settlement failed to end religious disputes. While most people conformed, a minority of recusants remained loyal Catholics. Within the Church of England, a Calvinist consensus developed among leading churchmen. Calvinists were divided between conformists and Puritans, who wanted to abolish what they considered papist abuses and replace episcopacy with a presbyterian church government. After Elizabeth's death, the Puritans were challenged by a high church, Arminian party that gained power during the reign of Charles I. The English Civil War and overthrow of the monarchy allowed the Puritans to pursue their reform agenda and the dismantling of the Elizabethan Settlement for a period. After the Restoration in 1660, the Settlement was restored, and the Puritans were forced out of the Church of England. Anglicans started to define their Church as a *via media* or middle way between the religious extremes of Catholicism and Protestantism; Arminianism and Calvinism; and high church and low church.

