THE BIRTH OF ANGLICANISM

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The paper surveys the English Reformation in the wider European context to demonstrate that the concept of 'Anglicanism' is hardly appropriate for the post-Reformation English Church in the sixteenth century: it was emphatically Protestant, linked to Reformed rather than Lutheran Protestantism. Henry VIII created a hybrid of a Church after breaking with Rome, but that was not unique in northern Europe. There were widespread attempts to find a 'middle way', the model being Cologne under Archbishop Hermann von Wied. Wied's efforts failed, but left admirers like Albert Hardenberg and Jan Laski, and their Reformations gradually moved towards those of central Europe—the first Reformed theologians. Edward VI's Reformation aligned itself with this new grouping, and produced prototypes of liturgy and theological formulary which endure to the present day—with the exception of a proposed reform of canon law, with its provisions for divorce. Elizabeth I's 1559 religious settlement fossilised Edward's Church from autumn 1552. It made no concessions to Catholics, despite later Anglo-Catholic myth-making: minor adjustments were probably aimed at Lutherans. There is nevertheless a 'Nicodemite' association among the leading figures who steered the Settlement through its opening years. Important and unlikely survivals were cathedrals, uniquely preserved in a Protestant context and a source of future ideological Catholic 'subversion'. Nevertheless the theological tone of the Elizabethan Church was a broadly-based Reformed Protestantism, aligned to Zürich rather than to Geneva. Early seventeenth-century Arminianism or Laudianism represented a new direction, and the Puritanism of New England may better represent the English Reformation than the 'Anglican' synthesis which came to fruition in the English Church after Charles II's restoration in 1660. In any case, Anglicanism continues to represent in uneasy but useful tension the two poles of theology contending for mastery in the century after Elizabeth I's coming to power.

Let me say straight away that I am apprehensive about the reception of this talk, because of the array of forensic talent present in this church. Quickly you will all realise that I need to be prosecuted under the Trades Descriptions Act, because this lecture is hardly at all about Anglicanism. Let me explain. Beginning with Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1533, England experienced one of the most pronounced and thoroughgoing Reformations in Europe, and within a century, England was a strongly Protestant country as a result. So I will be talking almost exclusively about

Protestantism, and that is not the same as Anglicanism—a word hardly used at all until the nineteenth century. So how do we get from England's Protestant Reformation to the Anglicanism of our title? The beginning of an answer is that the outcome of this Protestant revolution in English life was less tidy than in many other European countries. In the end England did produce a distinctive strand of western Christianity which has never been quite sure whether to label itself Catholic or Protestant, and which, when it is at its most sane, has decided that uncertainty is a virtue in the Christian life, not a vice. The name given to this mood is Anglicanism, but it is very doubtful whether one can find it at all in the English Reformation of the sixteenth century.

So what can we find instead? We will start in the palaces: the Reformations of Kings and Queens. First let us meet Henry VIII. Henry was a king fascinated by theology, because he was convinced that his crown brought him a unique relationship with God. God had put his family on the throne, even though (as Henry knew full well but would never admit) they had a remarkably weak claim by blood to be Kings of England. His father had won the Crown by God's favour in a battle at Bosworth in 1485. So it mattered what God thought of his actions, and all his life Henry was determined to get this right. His first instinct in the Reformation was that it was a blasphemy against God. He read Martin Luther and his reaction was wholly negative.

Luther and Henry never laid aside their mutual loathing through their remaining quarter-century of life. Yet Henry was still the first king in Europe fully to declare against Rome. Even Gustav Vasa of Sweden did not make such a clean break with the Holy See when he made his untidy alliance with the Reformation from the late 1520s. Now Henry must decide what this break had to do with the Reformations in progress in central Europe.

There is of course much that is puzzling about the decisions which Henry made, and one can easily catalogue the puzzles. Henry VIII made his Reformation a complicated matter. His Church has often been called 'Catholicism without the Pope'—recent scholars have seen it more as 'Lutheranism without justification by faith', for the King never accepted this central doctrine of the Reformation. Henry was both part of the old religious world and the new. He refounded several monasteries as secular cathedrals, some of which had not been cathedrals before, and this stock of cathedrals is the most lasting and significant legacy of the Henrician Reformation, as we will see. Throughout the King's reign, the Latin mass remained in all its splendour, and all his clergy had to remain celibate, as did the monks and nuns whose lives he had ruined. On the other hand Henry ceased to pay much attention to the doctrine of purgatory; he had destroyed all the monasteries, and he was positively proud of closing and destroying all England's shrines.

It is worth seeing this mixture in a wider context, in a way that classically

Anglican historians were never inclined to do. Several northern European monarchs were not necessarily enthused by Luther and Wittenberg and still made their own pick and mix Reformations, sometimes without breaking with Rome. I have already mentioned Gustav Vasa of Sweden, but an equally interesting case is Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, who had a Lutheran brother-in-law but also a Catholic father-in-law, the King of Poland. Joachim's uncle was Luther's enemy, the indulgence-peddling Cardinal Albrecht of Mainz, so it is perhaps not surprising that the Elector was not excessively reverent to the old Church hierarchy, and he took it upon himself to enact his own religious settlement for Brandenburg. He specifically declared the settlement to be temporary until there could be a general settlement throughout the Empire. He made no break with Rome, but he confiscated much of the Church's lands and dissolved monasteries, just as Henry VIII was doing at the same time in England, and with almost as much lack of concern to reinvest his winnings in good causes.

Equally interesting were the policies of Duke Wilhelm V of Jülich-Cleves, brother-in-law of Luther's protector the Elector of Saxony. In 1532-3 he enacted a Church Ordinance without consulting his clergy and yet equally without breaking with Rome. Duke Wilhelm was Anne of Cleves's brother, so the English political and religious leadership would be particularly aware of what was going on in Jülich-Cleves at the end of the 1530s, when for instance Henry VIII pushed a new doctrinal statement through Parliament, the Act of Six Articles of 1539.[1] A keynote of the Cleves changes was that preaching should be based on scripture and the early Fathers and be free of polemics. This was of course the constant cliché of the Henrician Reformation. Many will be familiar with its encapsulation in a great pictorial 1540 title-page of the *Great Bible*, showing Henry handing down his Bible to his grateful subjects, but historians have neglected an exactly contemporary artefact just down the road from the Temple Church which is a literal witness to the Anne of Cleves marriage, and also a fascinating witness to the official mood on the eve of that disastrous marital adventure: the ceiling of the chapel of St James's Palace, installed at the time of Anne of Cleves's arrival. What is noticeable about this emphatic statement of Henry's religious policy is that the only motif apart from royal emblems and the initials of Anne of Cleves is the repeated motto *Verbum Dei*—'the Word of God'. There is not a trace of any traditional Catholic symbolism.[2]

As always, King Henry VIII managed to confuse his subjects about his views on the Bible. In 1543 he forced an Act through Parliament which overlooked King Canute's lesson to his courtiers and tried to limit Bible-reading on the basis of social hierarchy. It is not always remembered that exactly at that time in Scotland, there was very similar legislation

[1] J Estes, 'Melanchthon's confrontation with the "Erasmian" *via media* in politics: the *De officio principum* of 1539', in J Loehr (ed), *Dona Melanchthoniana* (Stuttgart, 2001), 83–101, at 93–95. The Act of Six Articles 1539 was 31 Hen 8, c 14.
[2] T String, 'A neglected Henrician decorative ceiling', *Antiq Jnl* 76 (1996), 139–152, at 144–145.

in the Scottish Parliament which was not restrictive but permissive in its effect: an Act of 1543 for the first time allowed lieges, that is landowners, to possess the Bible. The Scots were thus newly allowed an access to the Bible approximately equivalent to its newly-restricted access in England: a symptom of a regime which for a moment had decided to undermine the old Church in Scotland and come closer to the religious settlement south of the border. What we are seeing in Brandenburg, Jülich-Cleves, England and the Scotland of 1543 is a whole series of attempts to find a 'middle way'—that phrase which meant so much to King Henry, let alone to others like Archbishop Cranmer who often radically disagreed with him as to precisely what it might mean.

Alongside Henry's Reformation was the Reformation intended by the group of evangelical politicians and senior clergy who had been rallied by Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer. They may have started as Lutherans, but their Lutheranism weakened through the 1540s, after a symbolic moment in 1540 when King Henry burned England's most prominent Lutheran spokesman, Robert Barnes—one of the very few major magisterial Reformers to be executed anywhere in the European Reformation, and executed by the Pope's chief enemy in Europe. The future of England's Protestantism lay not with Wittenberg but with something else. To find out what it was, we must meet some more European rulers trying to find a middle way.

One of the most important is Archbishop Hermann von Wied of Cologne. He tried to create an autonomous Protestant Church in the lower Rhineland, but he was evicted by Charles V in 1546. Von Wied has often been casually characterised in English-speaking historiography as a Lutheran in his later years, but he did not at all conform to Lutheran doctrinal tramlines, and he became an inspiration for theologians who equally kept outside the Lutheran fold. One of them was his fellow-Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. Above all, there is the story of a little imperial territory called East Friesland, an outlier of north-west Germany where the great north German plain meets the marshes and waterways which become the Netherlands. This tiny corner of Europe has a huge significance for the course of northern European Reformations in many ways, not least for the early Reformation in England. In 1540 its ruler Count Enno II died, leaving his widow Anna von Oldenburg with three young sons. Countess Anna was a resourceful and cultured woman. She assumed regency power on behalf of her children, brushing aside opposition, and she planned to build them a secure and well-governed inheritance in East Friesland which might form the basis of greater things for the dynasty. In politics she sought out alliances with rulers who like herself wanted to keep out of religious or diplomatic entanglements.

In her own domestic religious policy, Countess Anna likewise sought to avoid alignment with either Lutherans or Catholics, just like Henry VIII, and when she began her efforts in East Friesland, she chose as principal pastor in her little port-capital at Emden an exotic and cosmopolitan figure

from the Polish noble caste, Jan Laski (usually known in his international travels as Johannes à Lasco by non-Polish Latin-speakers trying to get their tongues around Polish pronunciation). Laski was a humanist scholar, friend and benefactor of Erasmus. When he broke with the old Church in the late 1530s, he remained an admirer of Archbishop von Wied of Cologne. Laski had views on the Eucharist diametrically opposed to Luther—the sort of views which Cranmer developed in England. The remarkable career of this cosmopolitan Pole is a symbol of how effortlessly the non-Lutheran Reformation crossed cultural and linguistic boundaries. It is arguable that by the end of his life in 1560, he had become more influential in the geographical spread of Reformed Protestantism than John Calvin. The two men were in any case never soul-mates.

But how might we label the theology which Laski represented? In the 1540s it is anachronistic to call this movement Reformed Protestantism, though that is what it became. What we are seeing in these beginnings is the conscious creation in a variety of different contexts and shapes of what might perhaps too topically be termed a 'third way', avoiding Wittenberg and Rome. In doing so, enthusiasts for a 'third way' were naturally drawn to various other great reforming centres, which in the 1540s meant Zürich, Basel and Strassburg. And it was this triangle which chiefly influenced what happened next in England, the decisive moment in shaping the actual structures of the English Reformation.

In 1547 Henry's Reformation was swept away when his little son Edward inherited the throne. Little legacy of Henry's first Reformation remains in the Church of England apart from three very considerable exceptions: the break with Rome, the royal supremacy and the cathedrals (a matter to which we will return). Edward was the figure-head for an evangelical-minded clique of politicians including the now veteran evangelical Archbishop Cranmer as a prominent member. It immediately began accelerating religious changes.

All this was against the background of the subtle shift in theological stance among the English evangelical leadership which we have begun exploring. To remind you: in general in Henry VIII's time they had been broadly Lutheran in sympathy, mostly for instance continuing to accept the real presence in the Eucharist (one has to point out that this made their relations with the King a good deal less dangerous than otherwise might have been the case). Around the time of the old King's death in 1547, Archbishop Cranmer became convinced that Luther was wrong in affirming eucharistic real presence. One might cynically call this a convenient moment to change his convictions, but we should never underestimate the psychological effect of suddenly being released from the hypnotic power of Henry's extraordinary personality.

The King's death came at a crucial moment in another way: a disaster for central European Protestants. In 1547 the Emperor Charles V defeated leading Protestant German princes in the Schmalkaldic Wars. England

was suddenly poised to act as a refuge for prominent European Protestants, but not Lutherans, who generally either accepted the compromise imposed by the Emperor or stayed and fought it from comparatively safe refuges like Magdeburg. Accordingly from late 1547 Cranmer welcomed to England many overseas reformers displaced by the Catholic victories. The refugees whom he found most congenial were now non-Lutherans. Two of them, Peter Martyr Vermigli and Martin Bucer, were given the leading professorial chairs in Oxford and Cambridge respectively. In their wake came hundreds of lesser refugees. In 1550 came a significant step: the official foundation of a London 'Stranger Church' intended to embrace all those various refugees. Its Superintendent was none other than Jan Laski, who had been forced out of East Friesland by the same political disaster. The English government was anxious to use his leadership skills to curb religious radicalism among the refugees, so they gave him a handsome salary and one of the largest churches in the city, Austin Friars. Laski administered his congregation to show how England might gain a pure Reformed Church (this was clearly the intention of several leading English politicians). So Edward's Reformation was marked both by its awareness of being part of international Protestantism, and by its now open move towards the Churches which were consciously not Lutheran—the Churches which would soon come to be called 'Reformed'. The English break with Lutheranism was now destined to be permanent.

The short reign of Edward VI created many of the institutions of the Church of England which survive to the present day. Cranmer transformed the liturgy by masterminding two successive versions of a Prayer Book in English, the first in 1549. He was generally cautious in orchestrating the pace of change, and his caution was justified when a major rebellion in western England in summer 1549 specifically targeted the religious revolution, specifically his first Prayer Book. Not just Catholics objected to the book: no-one liked it. It was too full of traditional survivals for Protestants, and it was probably only ever intended to be a stopgap until Cranmer thought it safe to produce something more radical. In dialogue with Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, he produced a second Prayer Book in 1552 far more radical than 1549; the theology of the Eucharist which its liturgy expressed was close to a major agreement on the Eucharist which Zürich had just agreed with John Calvin of Geneva, the *Consensus Tigurinus*. The creation of the *Consensus* was a crucial moment in the European Reformation, providing a rallying-point for non-Lutherans, and the English evangelical establishment was by now fully ready openly to reject consciously Lutheran stances in theology.

Cranmer also presided over the formulation of a statement of doctrine (the Forty-two Articles) and the drafting of a complete revision of canon law. This revision was a remarkable witness to Cranmer's vision of England as leader of Reformation throughout Europe: Peter Martyr and Laski were both active members of the working-party which drafted the law reform—even though Laski had often vocally disapproved of the slow pace at which England was implementing religious change. With this

combination of authors, it is not surprising that the draft scheme of canon law was vocally hostile to Lutheran belief on the Eucharist as well as to Roman Catholicism and to radical sectaries like Anabaptists.

The canon law reform is one of the great might-have-beens of English history. It was defeated in Parliament out of sheer spite, because the secular politicians in the regime had badly fallen out with leading Protestant clergy, who accused them of plundering the Church not for the sake of the Reformation but for themselves. So in spring 1553, the Duke of Northumberland blocked a procedural motion which would have extended the life of the law reform commission and allowed its work to be considered for Parliamentary enactment. As a result, the carefully-drafted scheme fell into oblivion—Elizabeth I never revived it when she restored Protestantism. In one of the great untidinesses of the Reformation, the Protestant Church courts of England went on using the Pope's canon law. There was an effort to tidy it up and remove its worst Popish features fifty years later, but the next great effort did not come until the time of Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher in the 1950s. And crucially, the lost legislation had provided for the introduction of procedures for divorce. Because those provisions fell, the Church of England was left as the only Protestant Church in Europe not to make any provision for divorce. It was the first respect in which the English Reformation diverged from the European-wide norm.

Let us lay aside the interval of Mary's reign, despite the major significance which historians now realise that it had for the Counter-Reformation throughout Europe. We only need to note that Mary made her own vital contribution to the Protestant Reformation by restoring the heresy laws, and burning Cranmer and his various colleagues. That bitter experience became a central part of English consciousness in succeeding Protestant centuries. It tied Protestant England into an active and deeply-felt anti-Catholicism. If anything was the glue which fixed the kingdom into a Reformed Protestant rather than a Lutheran mould, that was it.

Those centuries proved to be Protestant because Mary's greatest contribution to the English Reformation was to die after only five years. Yet never again did the kingdom of England play the captaining role which Cranmer had planned for it among the Reformed Churches, and that was thanks to the next Queen on the throne, Mary's younger half-sister Elizabeth. Indeed it is worth noting that the shape of the English Reformation was unique in Europe, because it owed so much to two women, Henry VIII's Queen Anne Boleyn and her daughter Queen Elizabeth. Mischievously, one might say it owed a good deal to Queen Mary too.

The young Queen Elizabeth was marked out in 1558 as a Protestant, not least because she was her mother's daughter. She faced a formidable array of Catholic power in Europe, and she must make careful choices about how to structure the religion of her traumatised and rudderless kingdoms

of England and Ireland. She did so in a Settlement steered through her Parliament in 1559, which has formed the basis of the Church of England (and therefore of worldwide Anglicanism) to the present day. It has been the subject of much argument, which is of course an argument about the nature of Anglicanism. In much traditional historical writing about English religion, the emphasis has been on the religious compromises which Elizabeth made in this 1559 religious settlement. It would be more sensible to note how little compromise she made in swiftly and decisively setting up an unmistakeably Protestant regime in Westminster.

The new Queen proved a past master at making soothing noises to ambassadors from dangerous Catholic foreign powers, but few people could be deceived about the nature of her programme. Elizabeth's religious Settlement made no significant concessions to Catholic opinion. There was no question of offering the Settlement for the inspection or approval of the overwhelmingly Catholic clerical assemblies, the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and its implementation in parliamentary legislation faced stiff opposition from the Catholic majority in the House of Lords. This meant a delay in implementing it until April 1559, when two Catholic bishops were arrested on trumped-up charges and the loss of their parliamentary votes resulted in a tiny majority for the government's Bills in the Lords. It could be said that the 1559 Settlement was based on ruthless politicking and a complete disregard for the opinions of the senior clergy who were then in post. Revolutions usually cut corners, and this was a revolution, however much it was finessed.

The shape of the resulting parliamentary Settlement was in fact a snapshot of King Edward VI's Church as it had been in doctrine and liturgy in autumn 1552. That meant the 1552 Prayer Book, not the 1549 Book. The 1559 legislation made a number of small modifications in the 1552 Book and associated liturgical provisions. Traditionally in Anglican history, these were called Catholic concessions. That is absurd. How would they mollify Catholic-minded clergy and laity, whom the Settlement simultaneously deprived of the Latin Mass, monasteries, chantries, shrines, guilds and a compulsorily celibate priesthood? The alterations were probably aimed at conciliating Lutheran Protestants either at home or abroad. Elizabeth had no way of knowing the theological temperature of her Protestant subjects in 1559, and the Lutheran princes of northern Europe were watching anxiously to see whether the new English regime would be as offensively Reformed as had been the government of Edward VI. It was worthwhile for Elizabeth's government to throw the Lutherans a few theological scraps.

Nevertheless, the new Church of England was different in tone and style from the Edwardian Church. Edward's regime had wanted to lead militant international Protestantism in a forward-moving revolution. Many Edwardian leaders had gone into exile under Mary to parts of Europe where they saw such militant change in action, and they expected to carry on the good work now that God had given them the chance to come home.

Elizabeth begged to differ. She took particular exception to returning exiles associated with Geneva: she excluded them from high office in the new church, because she was furious with the Scots Edwardian activist and Genevan enthusiast John Knox—he had written the famously-titled *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,* claiming that it was unnatural (monstrous) for a woman to rule. Knox had intended it against Elizabeth's predecessor Mary, then found that unfortunately the arguments applied to her as well.

Elizabeth's own brand of Protestantism was peculiarly conservative. And, in one respect, the new Queen gathered around her like-minded people as she planned the religious future. Neither she nor any of her leading advisors (including her new Archbishop, Matthew Parker) had gone abroad under Mary. They had conformed outwardly to the traditional Catholic Church: in other words, they were what John Calvin sneeringly called 'Nicodemites'—like the cowardly Nicodemus, who only came to Jesus Christ under cover of darkness. Elizabeth and her advisors knew the specialised heroism of making choices about concealing opinions and compromising in dangerous times, rather than the luxury of proclaiming their convictions in unsullied purity. No other Protestant Church in Europe had such a beginning. It meant that the Queen had a sympathy for traditionalist Catholics whose religious convictions she detested, but who kept similarly quiet in her own Church—towards the end of her reign, Sir Nicholas Bacon's lawyer and philosopher-son Francis said admiringly that she did not seek to make windows into men's souls.

Elizabeth was a subtle and reflective woman who had learnt about politics the hard way. She showed no enthusiasm for high-temperature religion, despite the private depth and quiet intensity of her own devotional life. Many of her Protestant subjects, including many of her bishops, found this extremely frustrating, particularly when it became clear in the 1560s that she would permit no change in the 1559 Settlement. There were idiosyncratic features of this Settlement which were randomly preserved in her fossilisation of the Edwardian Church. Notable were the traditionally-shaped threefold ministry of bishop, priest and deacon, together with the preservation of the devotional life and endowments of cathedrals.

The cathedrals were particularly important in this process: a survival from King Henry's Reformation which had no parallel anywhere else in Protestant Europe. Why they were not dissolved like the monasteries is not clear, but it has a lot to do with the personal preferences of the Queen. In any case, dissolved they were not, and that made the Church of England unique in the European Reformation. Otherwise than the cathedrals, this choral use of the Prayer Book was found only in Westminster Abbey and in Queen Elizabeth's Chapel Royal, plus its little brother at Ludlow, headquarters of the Council in the Marches of Wales. These great churches, with their choral foundations, pipe-organs and large staff of clergy, were an ideological subversion of the Church of England re-established in 1559: otherwise it was Reformed Protestant in sympathy. If it was Catholic, it

was Catholic in the same sense that John Calvin was Catholic, and up to the mid-seventeenth century it thought of itself as a part (although a slightly peculiar part) of the international Reformed Protestant family of churches, alongside the Netherlands, Geneva, the Rhineland, Scotland or Transylvania.

Back in the 1970s and 1980s historians spent a lot of time arguing about whether there was a 'Calvinist consensus' in the Elizabethan Church. That was a necessary debate which produced much fruitful thinking, but it was the wrong question to ask. Calvin had virtually no effect on the Church of Edward VI: in no sense had it been Calvinist. Cranmer, Laski, Bullinger, Bucer and Martyr were its great names. What about Elizabeth's Church of England? It was certainly a Reformed Protestant Church, and certainly also, Calvin emerged on the English scene as important. But we still have to remember that Calvin never became a Reformed Pope. The effect of his example and his writings was greatest in those Churches created during the popular upheavals of the 1560s—Scotland, France, the Netherlands—also in the attempted Reformations by monarchs in Germany's 'Second Reformation' later in the century and into the seventeenth century. Even in such settings, the other great Reformers were read and their thought was influential. Everywhere there was nuance and eclecticism: a spectrum. Just as in England, everywhere in Europe, Heinrich Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Jan Laski and also Luther's former colleague Philip Melanchthon had as much shaping effect as Calvin. What we have found in England is a Church on this European-wide spectrum of Reformed Protestantism, with a tendency to sympathise with Zürich rather than Geneva.

Then around 1600, some English theologians, such as the former Master of the Temple Church here, Richard Hooker, or his friend and admirer, Lancelot Andrewes, began questioning the whole theological package which I have described. They began feeling distressed by the idea of predestination; they began feeling that there must be more to the Eucharist than the carefully balanced formulations of the Reformed theologians in the *Consensus Tigurinus*. They began to look again at the idea of eucharistic presence. They began valuing bishops, and even valued cathedrals.

All these ideas came together in what one might call a second revolutionary theology, a theology that became increasingly important to one party within the Church of England: the theology of Arminianism, Laudianism, 'avant-garde conformism', call it what you will. In the early seventeenth century, that party, a sacramentalist, hierarchical party gradually gained power, thanks to its alliance with King Charles I. The party even included the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, William Laud and Richard Neile. The result was that many central theologians of the Reformed Protestant English tradition became increasingly unhappy and angry. And that motivated many who sympathised with them to flee across the Atlantic, to form a proper Church of England, a true Church of England in New England.

One might argue that the subsequent history of the Church of England is a deviation from this story—that the real story of the English Reformation was told in New England, and not in Lambeth Palace. The Church of England has never decisively settled this question. Within it remain two worlds: one, the sacramental world of theologians like Lancelot Andrewes, William Laud, the world that does value real presence, bishops, and beauty, and the other, the world of the Elizabethan Reformation, which rejects shrines and images, which rejects real presence, which values law and moral regulation based on both Old and New Testament precept. These two worlds fight within English tradition, and they have created that fascinating dialogue about the sacred which the world calls Anglicanism. Long may the fight continue.