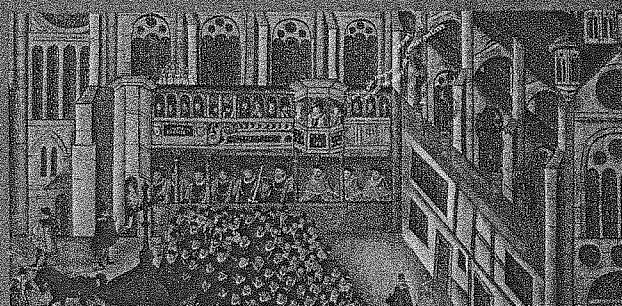


The Age of Reformation

The Tudor and Stewart Realms 1485–1603



and
SOCIETY
in
Britain

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The Age of Reformation

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her regime bare, and her quarrels with Pope Paul IV meant that replacing deceased bishops was slow and difficult. Of the twenty-six bishoprics in England and Wales, nine were vacant at the time of Mary's death: four candidates had been nominated by the queen, but not yet approved by the pope. Above all, Pole himself died of influenza on the very same day the queen did, 17 November. Against all expectation, the new queen Elizabeth had a chance to become mistress of her own house.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth inherited a kingdom reeling from lethal epidemics, still suffering from food shortages, with (as usual) a near-bankrupt government, and locked into a damaging war with France and Scotland. Her own accession gave the war an additional twist, because as soon as Mary was dead, the French claimed the English throne for themselves, in Mary Stewart's name. It was in this perilous context that the new queen had to confront the question of religion.

The path to the 'Settlement'

Elizabeth's own religion is an enigma, as indeed are her views on most other questions. Her political style was to be indirect, to delay (always delay), to feint and cloak her real opinions, to be as inconsistent and capricious as her contemporaries expected women to be, and to allow others to speak for her so that she could distance herself from what they said. Almost nothing of what she said or did can be taken at face value, in this or any other area. Still, the outlines are tolerably clear. She was, apparently, a conviction Protestant of sorts. Like her father, she was unswerving in asserting her own authority over the English Church, although she never wielded that authority with his recklessness. She had no patience with what she saw as superstition; she welcomed the translation of the Bible and of the liturgy into English; and (we can put it no more strongly than this) she seems to have accepted most of the central doctrines of Reformed Protestantism. She also shared the family taste for moderate amounts of good preaching. And yet, her Protestantism was of a curiously dated kind. She was not the last Henrician – such doctrinal idiosyncrasy was simply no longer possible – but she was, perhaps, the last of the old-fashioned evangelicals.

Henry VIII's Reformation had maintained most of the core doctrines of Catholicism, while making dramatic changes to the practices and institutions

of religion. Elizabeth's preferences were a mirror image of this. She was happy to adopt Reformed Protestant doctrines more or less wholesale, but she was much more reluctant to let go of traditional ceremonial and structures (she approved of crucifixes, for example). This seems to be a matter as much of taste as of theology. Her view of the clergy, for example, was highly traditional: she liked the old titles, some of the old vestments, and even balked at the idea that they might marry. It is a testament to Elizabeth's political skill, and to her luck, that by the time she had been queen for a year a religious settlement which bore strong resemblance to these preferences had been enacted into law.

From the first days of the reign, Elizabeth gathered a group of advisers around her who shared a distinctive religious flavour. These were cautious, patient, conviction Protestants – indeed, noticeably more forthright in their Protestantism than she was. Foremost among these was the man who would dominate the reign: William Cecil, later to become Lord Burghley, who had been a talented young administrator in Edward VI's reign and now became secretary to Elizabeth's Privy Council. Cecil and Elizabeth were a formidable political team. They frequently disagreed, but they also respected one another, and knew how to manage and use their disagreements effectively. But Cecil was only the leading figure of a close-knit group of friends and colleagues who now formed the heart of the new regime. The most notable of the others was Nicholas Bacon, who became Lord Chancellor. These men (all of them men) were Protestants, but most of them had, like Elizabeth herself, conformed outwardly to the Catholic restoration. If they had an intellectual home, it was not Geneva but Cambridge, where their friendships had been formed. They had been Edward VI's tutors and his advisers. Many of them had been close to Martin Bucer, the great conciliator of the German Reformation, who had spent the last eighteen months of his life in Cambridge; or to John Cheke, the scholar who had recanted under Mary and died soon thereafter. They were scholars and humanists – 'Athenians', they called themselves – but also nationalists. Cranmer's dream of uniting the Protestant world under an English banner appealed to them. They blended a blunt political pragmatism with some of the old Edwardian idealism about the reform of the commonwealth. Like the Marian regime, and unlike the Protestant exiles, they wished (in vain) to see politics as a matter for private and civilised discussion between learned men, not a public shouting-match conducted through the printing press. But like the Marian regime, this air of calm should not be taken to imply that their views were lukewarm or malleable.

The new regime's religious policy was dictated by this mix of daunting circumstance and subtly opinionated personnel. The burnings, of course, ceased. The queen made a few symbolic changes immediately, such as ending the use of candles in her private chapel. As was becoming habitual with new regimes, she revoked all preaching licences. She allowed a few departures from the Latin service, such as the use of the litany, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English. But she was much cagier about the future direction of policy than Mary had been in 1553. A series of position papers laying out possibilities were written over the winter of 1558-59 by several of the 'Athenians'. The overriding concern of these authors was how to enact a Reformation which would be tolerably Protestant but which would nevertheless maintain some kind of national unity. One of these manifestos compared filling the English with good religion to filling a bottle with water:

Glasses with small necks, if you pour into them any liquor suddenly or violently, will not be so filled, but refuse to receive that same that you would pour into them. Howbeit, if you instil water into them by a little and little, they are soon replenished.⁴

From its earliest days the regime was concerned both to enact a Protestant settlement, and to ensure that Protestant radicals did not run too far ahead. Cecil and his allies remembered how, in Edward's reign, Protestant agitators had forced the pace of change. This was not going to be allowed to happen again.

The new regime, and Elizabeth in particular, found the views and the style of some of the Protestant exiles distasteful and inexpedient. Their displeasure centred on John Knox and on Geneva. Knox and Goodman's tracts of 1558, which had urged rebellion against Mary Tudor (and especially Knox's, which had deplored all female monarchy), permanently tainted Geneva and anyone associated with it in Elizabeth's mind. In fact, virtually no-one shared Knox's views, and the other exiles hastened to distance themselves from him. One of them, John Aylmer, hurriedly wrote a rebuttal of Knox. Aylmer's book was a classic mixture of inclusive Protestantism and exaggerated nationalism, which moved on from denouncing Knox's sedition to urging the English to rally to their queen against all her foreign enemies. 'You have God, and all his army of angels on your side', he wrote to his fellow-countrymen (summarising this in a notorious marginal note - 'God is English'). But Aylmer's loyalism was tempered. He insisted that queens must be tempered by good counsel, and while he would defend Elizabeth from Knox's attacks, he would not say a word in Mary's posthumous defence.⁵ It was better than Knox's ravings,

but Elizabeth would still not be drawn into this kind of world-view. Aylmer's book received a cool welcome, and to begin with she kept even the more cautious exiles at arm's length.

The reason was clear enough. In the first few months of the reign, the regime's great religious project was to win as many of the existing clergy as possible over to a new settlement. This possibility was taken extremely seriously. After all, many of the Marian bishops had served under Henry VIII and had accepted his schism: Archbishop Heath of York, Bishop Tunstall of Durham, Bishop Bonner of London and others. To persuade them to follow their monarch once more should not have been too hard. This, it seems, was the main reason for Elizabeth's odd choice to be her archbishop of Canterbury. Matthew Parker was a Cambridge scholar of long standing, and a friend of the 'Athenians'. His Protestantism was both undoubted and understated. He had been a chaplain to Anne Boleyn (who, he recalled, had before her death asked him to care for the orphaned Elizabeth), and had preached at Martin Bucer's funeral. During Mary's reign, his 'exile' had been a house a few miles outside Cambridge which his friends in the university arranged for him. He was both reluctant and underqualified to be primate of all England. But in 1558–59, Elizabeth did not need a politician, an administrator, a theologian or a pastor at Canterbury as much as she needed a conciliator. Parker never concealed his distaste for Catholic doctrine, but his learned and generous career in Cambridge meant that he was probably better trusted by leading Catholics than any other prominent Protestant. If anyone could bring them round, he could.

Soon enough it became clear what the regime was trying to achieve: a package of religious legislation which would restore aspects of Edward VI's Reformation. Yet this aim was under pressure from both sides. Exiles were now returning, and speaking freely – some much too freely. And when religious legislation was first brought before Parliament in February 1559, the bishops in the House of Lords voted it down *en bloc*, preventing Elizabeth even from repealing the heresy laws. Thus bloodied, the regime adopted more patient tactics. A formal disputation was staged at Westminster at Easter between eight Catholics and eight Protestants: ostensibly this was an act of disinterested inquiry to assist Parliament in its decisions, but it was transparently rigged, with the order of proceedings favouring the Protestants, and the Catholics denied access to books or time to prepare answers. When the Catholic bishops walked out in disgust, the regime used this as an excuse to imprison them, thus keeping them out of the House of Lords.

Fresh legislation was introduced in April: a bill reinstating the royal headship of the Church, and another reinstating a variant of the 1552 Prayer Book. They contained some important novelties. The queen's title was altered from Supreme Head to Supreme Governor: a cosmetic change, but it soothed some worried consciences, Protestant as well as Catholic. More significantly, the Prayer Book had some of its spikier Edwardian edges smoothed off. The earlier, 1549 book had implied that Christ was physically present at communion, while the 1552 book had replaced the relevant phrase with an unambiguous statement of a spiritual presence. The new Elizabethan book, in a compromise which was theologically dubious and liturgically impractical, simply mashed the two statements together, requiring the priest to recite both formulae in full to every communicant. It was an unwieldy solution.

These minor changes may possibly have been intended to win over Catholic opinion, but they plainly did not do so, and it seems unlikely that the regime hoped they would. If they were aimed at a specific audience, it was more likely a foreign one: that elusive Protestant international. The Lutheran states of Germany – whose right to practise their religion had been granted by a defeated Emperor Charles V in 1555 – were watching English affairs closely. The duke of Saxony wrote to Elizabeth urging her to adopt something 'near' to a Lutheran confession of faith. She replied promising to do so, professing enthusiasm for alliance with the Lutheran princes.⁶ This was disingenuous. The proposed Prayer Book, like its Edwardian predecessors, was plainly a Reformed Protestant document, and indeed Lutheranism as such now scarcely existed in England. However, these changes – moving away from Henry VIII's kind of royal supremacy, and shoving a cumbersome ambiguity into the communion service – made it possible to hint to the Lutherans that the door was still open.

Neither this nor the regime's other manoeuvres made the parliamentary battle of April 1559 a straightforward one. The most nail-biting race was the vote in the Lords on the Act of Uniformity, authorising the Prayer Book. It passed by 21 votes to 18 – much too close for comfort, and a margin achieved only by the strong-arm tactics which kept several bishops away from the chamber. A second defeat would hardly have forced Elizabeth to return meekly to Rome, but it would have emboldened her opponents and left her policy in limbo. She might, in the end, have been compelled to offer full toleration to Catholicism: an outcome which nowadays might seem desirable but which, to any sixteenth-century observer, would have meant potentially catastrophic instability.

The steadfastness of the Catholic bishops took Elizabeth's regime by surprise, very much as the Protestant leaders' stubborn refusal to recant had surprised Mary. The days of compromise were over. Yet the regime did not give up hope. With the newly minted law now on its side, Elizabeth turned to her chosen conciliator, Matthew Parker, to win the dissenters over. He spent most of the rest of the year working on them, spending long hours in private debate with at least ten individuals. He had high hopes for the now-frail Bishop Tunstall of Durham, who had stayed away from Parliament, but it came to nothing. Tunstall died a Catholic in Parker's custody later that year, aged 84 (Parker, a gentleman and a scholar, paid for his funeral himself). The other Catholic bishops vanished into prison (some of them to remain there for decades) or into exile. One prominent Catholic did break: Richard Smyth, who had retracted his Catholicism once before, in 1547. But now, as before, Smyth fled abroad and renounced his recantation as quickly as he could. Only one of Mary's bishops conformed: Anthony Kitchen, who had been bishop of Llandaff since 1545. It is an interesting exception, for Kitchen was no mere timeserver. He had voted with the other bishops in the Lords; he refused to take the oath of supremacy until a specially worded variant was prepared for him; and he even refused to take part in Parker's consecration. Although his health was failing, he continued to administer his remote diocese according to his own lights, and with almost no resources, until his death in 1563 at the age of 86. There would not be another Catholic bishop in England or Wales for 300 years.

Parker's failure was disheartening, but probably inevitable. The world had changed, and conversions were no longer so easy. In particular, English Catholics had fallen for tactics like this before. Most of them had conformed to Henry VIII's schism because it appeared to change little. They had had leisure to learn from that mistake. If they acceded to a compromise, it would twist into full-blown Protestantism under their noses. Edward's reign had seen a ratchet of progressive change, with a further development every few months. By reinstating a version of Edward's Reformation, the new regime was implicitly signalling that the ratchet would resume. Catholics had no illusions about this. The exiles and other advanced Protestants certainly expected it. Most in the regime, including Cecil himself, expected it. The English would be filled with Protestantism, slowly but relentlessly. The new laws looked like a temporary compromise, the consequence of a particular political moment. No-one believed in 1559 that they were a permanent 'settlement' of religion. No-one, that is, apart from the queen.

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Implement

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For the most bizarre feature of Elizabeth's reign – and perhaps of the whole English Reformation – is that against all odds, the legislation of 1559 and the detailed royal injunctions which followed later the same year did form an enduring religious settlement. An adjusted version was soon in place in Elizabeth's other realm of Ireland (see Chapter 11). Some of the gaps were filled in later. A revised version of the Edwardian articles of religion was passed, and the Edwardian Homilies were revived and supplemented with a second volume. However, during the remainder of Elizabeth's forty-four year reign, the English Church's structures and practices saw no major changes. In the twenty-first century, the Church of England's practices are still recognisably derived from that febrile moment of failed compromise in 1559. Elizabeth restored the Edwardian Reformation, but she restored a still image of a moving process. Despite being placed under extraordinary pressure at times, she absolutely refused to accept any significant changes to that snapshot. This was partly because she felt change had gone quite far enough already, but more because the process of change itself alarmed her. She did not wish to see a relentless Reformation, with policy led by wild-eyed radicals who would take a mile if given an inch. Instead she had an unfinished Reformation, frozen in time.

Implementing the Reformation

Elizabeth had apparently hoped for an inclusive religious settlement, stretching from the more pragmatic Protestant exiles to genuine traditionalists. When this failed, the vacuum was filled by the exiles, who ended up securing some two-thirds of the newly vacant bishoprics. Those exiles who had stood up for the Prayer Book and for continuity – men like Richard Cox, now bishop of Ely – were naturally among them. So too, however, were less 'safe' figures such as John Jewel, the new bishop of Salisbury, who became one of the most eloquent defenders of the new settlement. And some bishoprics went to genuine zealots. Edmund Grindal became bishop of London, an appointment which would end in tears. Most radical of all was James Pilkington, who was sent to the remote and deeply conservative diocese of Durham to see what he could make of it. These appointments partly reflect the differences between Elizabeth and her counsellors, for Cecil and others were distinctly friendlier to the radicals; yet such appointments always had the queen's consent. They reflect the sheer talent of some of these men – the new Church needed men like Jewel, Grindal and Pilkington. However, they also reflect the limits of Elizabeth's

freedom. She could make the rules of her new Church, to some extent at least. But she could not determine its spirit.

This became clear in a series of skirmishes during the first year or two of the reign, as the outlines of the new settlement were filled in. Most significant, perhaps, was a fight which was over before it had begun, over clerical marriage. Elizabeth never disguised her distaste for clergy who married, but she could not prevent the practice. The best she could do was allow bishops to veto their clergy's choice of wives, and even this regulation was often ignored. The queen's views were simply overwhelmed by events. Most of her senior clergy were already married, including Matthew Parker. It was a *fait accompli*. Much the same can be said of another early struggle, not so close to the queen's heart but far more visible in parish churches. This was over metrical psalmody (see above, pp. 172–3). Psalms sung by whole congregations to lively ballad tunes had been a novelty in Edward's reign, and the Marian exiles had worked hard to produce a complete set of such psalms. They did not sit very well with the dignity of the Prayer Book service, and the Act of Uniformity made no provision for their use. Later in 1559, however, the royal injunctions permitted the use of a metrical psalm before or after the daily service, and this grudging loophole became the basis for a huge revival in psalm-singing. In 1560, Jewel described crowds of 6000 roaring out psalms in unison before sermons at Paul's Cross in London. Once again, the queen's own preferences could not entirely control what was happening on the ground.

Clerical marriage and the psalms were practical matters, but a more momentous battle was fought over a symbol: the crucifix in the queen's private chapel. For most Reformed Protestants, any reverence for a physical object – especially a statue or painting – was idolatry, a gross offence before God. To use a crucifix in church was to dishonour Christ and worship a piece of wood. Elizabeth did not agree. Her view was more like that of her last stepmother, Katherine Parr, an old-school evangelical who had described the crucifix as a 'spiritual book' on which Christians should meditate.⁷ Elizabeth's habit of placing a crucifix on the altar in her private chapel was politically explosive, and when she considered permitting her subjects to do the same in their parish churches, her bishops closed ranks. Even Parker, in his quiet way, made it clear that he could not serve in such a Church. The queen was forced to back down. She retained her own crucifix, but no-one else was allowed to do so. Even so, she only hung onto it by her fingertips. On at least four occasions, anonymous iconoclasts stole into the chapel and destroyed the offending object. The regime replaced it, but did not dare pursue the vandals. Gleeful Catholics mocked

the inconsistency, while Cecil continued to receive letters from worried Protestants reminding him that idolaters were threatened with 'great peril of God's wrath and displeasure'.⁸ Like much of the rest of the Elizabethan 'settlement', this was less a settlement than a ceasefire line.

However, these skirmishes can distract from the scale of Elizabeth's (and Cecil's) achievement. A Reformed church was established without the civil war which the regime evidently feared. Grudging consent was still consent. Two decisions can stand as symbols of this achievement. On the one hand, there was the decision to return to iconoclasm (her own crucifix apart). Quietly and without fuss, the Edwardian campaign of destruction was re-enacted. The parishes which had strained to restore the material apparatus of Catholic worship in Mary's reign now promptly demolished it again. The regime kept this process orderly and unobtrusive. In particular, it barred Protestant agitators from unilaterally attacking stone altars, which had forced the pace of change under Edward. Yet its commitment to iconoclasm was real, and by the mid-1560s the destruction was almost complete. There was very little resistance.

At the same time, however, the new Protestant Church accepted both the structures and the personnel of the old Church. There were obvious reasons for retaining the office of bishop: bishops were appointed by the queen, and were therefore a central instrument of state control of the Church. But while they were stripped of much of their wealth, and largely excluded from high politics, they remained *bishops*, mitred and rocheted lords of the realm, rather than Protestant superintendents. Their cathedrals, too, again escaped the cull, partly because Elizabeth liked old-fashioned church music. Canon law and the Church courts remained unchanged; an attempt to reintroduce Cranmer's failed canon-law reform in 1571 was blocked by the regime. Everyone understood that the 1559 settlement represented a sharp break with the past, but in legal and administrative terms, continuity with the past was maintained, and that continuity mattered. Parish clergy continued to be appointed by their traditional patrons, many of them now lay people, and their posts continued to be regarded as property, of which they could be deprived only by due process of law. As such, and as always, the parish clergy were the great drag-anchor on religious change in Tudor England, for as long as they were willing to conform outwardly to the religion of the moment they were allowed to remain in post. Only Mary had made any effort to break this pattern, when in 1554 she sacked clergy who had married (some 15% of the total). In Elizabethan England, clergy whose instinctive loyalties were plainly Catholic were allowed to remain in post across the country. Building a

Protestant ministry would be the work of generations, and the regime did not wish to hurry.

Francis Bacon famously and justly commented that Elizabeth did not wish to make windows into men's souls. Outward conformity in matters of order, rather than an inward unity of faith, was her goal. The Act of Uniformity required simply that clergy use the new Prayer Book service, and that the people attend it. Those who failed to turn up, and could not produce a 'lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent',⁹ were to be fined a shilling for each offence. That could soon add up, but it made dissent into a misdemeanour rather than a crime. It also gave the language a new word for those Catholics who absented themselves for reasons of conscience and were consequently fined: 'recusants'.

During the first decade of the reign, however, the regime's policy towards Catholics was even softer than this suggests: less a matter of not looking into souls than of 'don't ask, don't tell'. This was prudence rather than tolerance, for the regime was genuinely afraid of the Catholic rebellion which excessive zeal might provoke. The result was an unaccustomed period of relative religious peace. Only gradually did it become clear that this Reformation, unlike the three that had preceded it, was probably here to stay. Elizabeth had cautiously but successfully led her subjects into a new world. It remained to be seen what they would make of it.

Notes

- 1 Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations 1553–1587* (1969), p. 6.
- 2 Ronald Hutton, 'The local impact of the Tudor Reformations' in Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (1987), p. 129.
- 3 Eamon Duffy, 'Cardinal Pole preaching' in Eamon Duffy and David Loades (eds), *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (2006).
- 4 Louise Campbell, 'A diagnosis of religious moderation' in Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (2005), p. 40.
- 5 John Aylmer, *An harborowe for faithfull and trewe subiectes* (1559), sigs L4v, P2r, P4v.
- 6 National Archives, SP 70/4/283: I owe this reference to David Gehring.
- 7 Katherine Parr, *The lamentacion of a sinner* (1547), sig. D2v.
- 8 National Archives, SP 12/36 fo. 77r.
- 9 Gerald Bray (ed.), *Documents of the English Reformation* (1994), p. 332.

Puritans and conformists in England

During the reigns of Elizabeth I in England and James VI in Scotland, jealous eyes looked from each country at the other. James and his allies in Scotland envied the Elizabethan regime's control over the English Church. Likewise, a noisy minority of English clerics and lay people looked longingly at Scotland, where a purer and more complete Reformation had been enacted. Not all of these 'Puritans' were actual Presbyterians, wishing to abolish episcopacy. But there was much else for Puritans to admire in the Scots Church. The plain simplicity of Scottish worship contrasted starkly with the Book of Common Prayer's ceremonious complexity. The General Assembly's freedom, even though mitigated by royal oversight, was scarcely imaginable in England. Above all, perhaps, English Puritans envied the congregational discipline exercised by kirk sessions. For those who thought that such discipline was a distinguishing mark of a true Church, England's failure to embrace any such system was damning indeed.

However, Elizabethan Puritans could only envy the Scots. Their own government spent forty years repeatedly facing down their attempts at reform. Clergy were deprived; careers ended; even an archbishop of Canterbury was broken, as successive waves of Puritan agitation dashed themselves on the rock of Elizabeth's monumental stubbornness. The experience of zealous Protestants during her reign was an arc from hope, through frustration and anger, to resigned defeat. But this is not the whole story. If the pressure for further Reformation made no progress at national level, the parishes were another matter. While Puritanism did not transform England's public life in the way that it hoped, it had more impact on its wider culture than is often acknowledged – indeed, more than the Puritans themselves liked to admit.

The long struggle against the Settlement

As we have seen (see above, pp. 201–3), plenty of the English Church's senior clergy in the early 1560s had grave reservations about its structures and rituals. Their choice nevertheless to accept office in it can be viewed cynically: dignities and regular incomes have their appeal. But the choice also made strategic sense. Experience suggested that reformation was a process, and as long as it was moving in the right direction, most Protestants could accept some compromises. The new Church's core beliefs were unequivocally Reformed Protestant. The most authoritative Reformed theologians in Europe – notably Peter Martyr Vermigli, who had spent

much of Edward VI's reign in England – urged their English friends to conform.

This is an important point, because during the seventeenth century the English Church would mutate into something distinct from Reformed Protestantism, and assert an 'Anglican' identity for itself. These Anglicans then rewrote the history of the sixteenth century in their own image. The peculiarities of Elizabeth's Reformation made this rewriting possible, but we should not be deceived by it. To describe the sixteenth-century English Church as 'Anglican' is anachronistic. This was a Reformed Protestant Church. It had important idiosyncrasies, but every Reformed Protestant Church in Europe had some idiosyncrasies. Reformed Protestantism was not a franchise to be imported wholesale. There was wide agreement that while some religious questions were essential, others were 'matters indifferent' – *adiaphora*, in the Greek term popularised by the Lutheran Philip Melanchthon. On such matters, Christian practice could legitimately vary. The concept of *adiaphora* permitted considerable variation in the practice of religion. It also, in principle, allowed English Protestants who disliked aspects of Elizabeth's Reformation to conform without staining their consciences. In practice, however, the concept of *adiaphora* caused as many problems as it solved – for the questions of what was truly 'indifferent', and of who might regulate it, remained open.

If there was space for consciences to be flexible about details of religious practice, there was no such space on another issue. One of Henry VIII's many legacies was that English Protestantism retained an exceptionally high doctrine of obedience. And this was before 1558–59, when Protestants were providentially liberated from Catholic tyranny by the accession of Elizabeth, a queen who was clearly God's gift to her people. It was her subjects' duty to obey her, not to second-guess her. Moreover, maintaining the unity of the Reformed Church in England was also a matter of supreme importance. Given Protestantism's well-deserved reputation for being quarrelsome, this is worth stressing. Virtually every English Protestant wished to maintain a single, national Church, into which all English people would be born: not voluntary congregations, still less a plurality of churches. Puritans were not (with very few exceptions) separatists. Their loyalty to the established Church was put under immense pressure at times, and they certainly strained at the bounds of conformity. Yet they were also convinced that schism was a grave sin, and very few were willing to abandon visible unity until the Church itself broke down in the 1640s. For the time being, the English Church was an argumentative family, headed by an obstinate matriarch. Her spiritual children might fight bitterly with

one another and even grumble against her, but that did not mean they were ready to run away from home.

The first set-piece confrontation between Puritans and the regime unfolded in the reign's first meeting of the Convocation of Canterbury, in 1563 – almost the last occasion on which that ancient assembly seemed like a possible locus of power. The 1563 Convocation secured one undoubted triumph. Edward VI's Church had set out a formal definition of its doctrine in the Forty-Two Articles. Convocation now approved a lightly revised version of this text. A short group of articles denouncing Anabaptist radicals were dropped, for that threat no longer seemed pressing. Most of the other revisions were cosmetic, although the new text was slightly more flexible on the issue of predestination. The article on the Eucharist was revised much as the Prayer Book had been: a flat rejection of the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's presence was replaced by a somewhat more ambiguous text, although – at the last minute – the assembly agreed to omit that article altogether, as an unnecessary insult to potential Lutheran allies. So in the end Convocation adopted Thirty-Eight Articles. Eight years later, Parliament was to approve these, plus the omitted Eucharistic article, establishing the Thirty-Nine Articles in law.

The Articles were, and were seen to be, a statement of solid Reformed Protestantism, akin to the 'Confessions' adopted by the Reformed Churches of France, Scotland and the Netherlands in the 1560s and 1570s. Two differences between the Articles and those Confessions are worth noticing, however. First, the Articles did contain some wafer-thin cracks of theological ambiguity. This was not unusual in texts of this period. By the early 1580s, the Scots Confession, too, looked insufficiently precise, and in 1581 the so-called 'Negative Confession' was drafted – a text designed specifically to make it impossible for Catholics to affirm it. Yet Elizabeth did not permit any such clarifications and developments. The Thirty-Nine Articles' cracks remained, cracks into which later theologians could work their chisels. Second, these were Articles, not a Confession. They were imposed by authority, not a statement of a Church's or a people's faith. Paradoxically, this made them less powerful. Initially, clergy were not compelled to subscribe to them (as they had been to the Forty-Two Articles). In 1571, Parliament did require clergy ordained before 1558 to subscribe, which put Catholic bitter-enders under pressure, but this did nothing to ensure conformity among Protestants.

These were quibbles, however. The English Church's Reformed Protestant identity, already unmistakable from its liturgy and Homilies, was now formally proclaimed. Naturally enough, the 1563 Convocation also

set itself to reforming the popish elements surviving in that liturgy. A slate of six proposed reforms tackled several particular Reformed bugbears, including pipe organs, holy days, traditional vestments, signing with the cross in baptism and kneeling at the Eucharist. The battle in Convocation's lower house was hard fought, with the bishops – and behind them, the queen – twisting arms mercilessly to defeat the proposals. In the end, the lower house rejected them by fifty-nine votes to fifty-eight. If there was a moment when 'Puritans' as a distinctive group appeared within the English Church, this was it. They would become familiar with the taste of defeat.

Needless to say, the wafer-thin defeat in Convocation did not end Puritan disquiet. The first conflict to boil over was that over clerical dress. It may seem a strange subject to become excited about, and even to smack of clerical narcissism. No one argued that vestments were theologically significant. All sides in this quarrel agreed that they were *adiaphora*, things indifferent on which good Christians might legitimately disagree. But the queen insisted, as a matter of obedience, that her clergy wear a stripped-down version of traditional clerical vestments when preaching or presiding at divine service. The ornate sacramental vestments of the old Church were gone, but Elizabeth wished her clergy to retain a surplice (a plain white gown worn over the outer clothing) and a black cap. The royal injunctions of 1559 had indicated this, although with some ambiguity. That ambiguity led many of the more 'advanced' clergy to take a different path. They did not wish to conduct worship in ordinary civilian clothing – that would lack order and dignity – but in academic dress, including a degree hood where appropriate. They wished to be Protestant ministers distinguished by their learning, not Catholic priests endowed with sacramental power.

Puritan clerics found the vestments issue genuinely troubling. Those who had been in exile had seen the simple purity of Reformed worship in Zürich or Geneva. Now they were being asked to dress up in a pale imitation of popish frippery. To stand before their congregations actually wearing this get-up implicated them personally and directly. It was, they feared, a visible sign of continuity between the reformed and the unreformed Churches, and could thus lull the laity into underestimating the change. How could they denounce popery and call the nation to repentance when popery's rags still hung about them?

The reasons for Elizabeth's unbudgeable stand on the issue are less clear. At no stage did she or her supporters argue that traditional vestments had positive values beyond 'order and comeliness'. Yet this was not merely a matter of the queen's old-fashioned personal tastes. We may speculate that she and her ever-cautious regime hoped that the maintenance

of some visible continuity might ease the transition to the new religion. More importantly, however, it became a matter of obedience. The dispute was plainly a proxy for many other battles. If Elizabeth had yielded on vestments, a dozen other demands would have followed. Instead, she took a stand. When the nonconformists cited the concept of *adiaphora* and their own consciences, the regime asserted that, if the question was indifferent, the queen had the right to determine it authoritatively for all her subjects, whereupon they had an absolute duty to obey her.

Characteristically, however, the queen did not fight this battle herself. Rather, she left it to her hapless archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker. Parker himself had no difficulties with vestments, but this was not a fight he would have chosen to pick. Worse, while Elizabeth insisted that he enforce conformity, she refused publicly to involve herself. So Parker – who was not even a member of the queen’s Council – was forced to do so as if on his own (limited) authority. In 1565 he issued a set of so-called ‘Advertisements’ to the clergy, laying down precise rules on vestments; not royal injunctions, nor even episcopal injunctions (which could, at best, have applied only to the province of Canterbury), but orders whose legal status was at best unclear.

First in Parker’s sights were Thomas Sampson and Laurence Humphrey, heads of the Oxford colleges of Christ Church and Magdalen respectively. Sampson was a Puritan whose quarrelsome, hair-trigger conscience was exasperating even to his allies, and his loathing for traditional vestments had long been apparent. Parker negotiated with the two dons at gruelling length over the late winter and spring of 1565, finally detaining them at his palace at Lambeth. Sampson and Humphrey had powerful friends. The earl of Leicester, a consistent ally of the Puritans, backed them, and Bishop Grindal of London invited both men to preach at London’s prime pulpit, Paul’s Cross, at Easter 1565. Magdalen College’s statutes, moreover, made Humphrey almost impossible to displace. As so often, due process trumped politics. But Parker was able to muster a range of impressive authorities on his side. Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli had both accepted the Edwardian Church’s use of vestments. Even more tellingly, when Sampson and Humphrey appealed to Heinrich Bullinger, the chief pastor of Zürich, he not only came down on Parker’s side but also sent a copy of his reply to the archbishop. It was a significant victory, for Bullinger was probably the most eminent Reformed Protestant theologian then living. Bullinger knew Sampson, and disliked him: ‘The man is never satisfied; he always has some doubt or other to busy himself with.’⁹ Sampson, however, would not budge, and was ejected from Christ Church by royal

order: the first minister of the reformed Church of England to be deprived for nonconformity. A trickle of other deprivations of vestiarian nonconformists followed over the next few months. The first round had been won by the conformists, but at the cost of a good deal of bitterness.

Puritan hopes were raised again by the failed Northern Rebellion of 1569 and the queen's excommunication in 1570 (see above, pp. 247-8), which hardened the religious battle-lines. It was reasonable to hope that the regime would no longer be so respectful of Catholic sensibilities. In 1570 John Foxe produced a second, much expanded edition of his *Book of Martyrs*, amply supported from within the regime. Where the first edition had simply celebrated Elizabeth's accession, this one paid more attention to what was still undone. Earlier the same year, a young Cambridge theologian named Thomas Cartwright had laid out a manifesto for such reforms. He wanted to replace bishops with a network of elected synods, like the presbyteries that would later emerge in Scotland. Cartwright was driven from office (like his Scots counterpart Melville, he went to Geneva), but when Parliament met in 1571, Puritan hopes were high. The Parliament did indeed enact the Thirty-Nine Articles, but the queen was no more willing to accept radicalism from the Commons in 1571 than she had been from Convocation in 1563. Bills to revise the Prayer Book, and to reintroduce Cranmer's canon law reform, were killed in the Commons by the queen's order (and with much less difficulty than the Puritan articles had been defeated in Convocation). A second attempt to introduce such legislation in 1572 drew a direct rebuke from Elizabeth.

In disarray, Puritans responded in two different ways. Those closest to power bided their time, and resolved in future to persuade and petition their touchy queen rather than peremptorily to demand reform. Foremost among these was Grindal, who in 1570 was made archbishop of York. Less politic and less patient souls chose instead to let off some steam. In 1572 a polemical *Admonition to the Parliament* was printed, the work of two ministers named John Field and Thomas Wilcox. This bitter and immoderate text, which promptly landed its authors in prison, denounced the English Church as still mired in popery. Instead of a Church in which priests of little learning and less godliness parroted the words of the Prayer Book and Homilies, these Puritans wanted a Reformation fired by preaching and built on discipline. And the manner of their protest pushed their cause further from political respectability than ever.

Still the more moderate Puritans could hope. Archbishop Parker, in poor health and ever more withdrawn into his antiquarian studies, died in 1575: Grindal was appointed to succeed him. It looked like the Puritans'

moment of opportunity. Instead, it was a disaster. Grindal and other 'advanced' bishops had been attempting to press forward the reformist cause in their dioceses through events which were known as 'prophesyings'. That term suggests – and may have suggested to Elizabeth – something spontaneous and chaotic, but it was and is misleading. Grindal preferred to call them 'exercises'. The name came from the *Prophezei* of the Church in Zürich, on which they were closely modelled. They were, in effect, sober master-classes on Biblical exegesis. Clergy from a wide area would gather in a particular church, to hear a few of their number (pre-selected by the bishop) debate the interpretation of a chosen Biblical text. It was, as Grindal explained, simply a university theology class held in the shires, in order to train clergy to be more effective preachers. Lay people might attend to hear this display of learning, but they were forbidden to take part. The practice had spread rapidly across England during the 1570s. To Grindal (and, it seems, a majority of the other bishops), it was a harmless, cost-free and effective way of building up the Church.

Elizabeth disagreed. Like her father, she feared that public theological debate would inevitably degenerate into idleness, innovation, lay preaching, quarrels, sedition and rebellion. There had indeed been disturbances at some prophesyings, or occasions on which unauthorised ministers had taken part. When she eventually overrode Grindal and ordered the prophesyings suppressed, she denounced them as 'unlawful assemblies of a great number of our people out of their ordinary parishes' for hearing 'new devised opinions'. She even described them as 'invasions',¹⁰ for the fact that people were leaving their own parish churches to attend these events particularly alarmed conformists. Puritans' enthusiasm for sermons regularly led them to travel to hear preachers outside their own parishes. Conformists mocked this as 'sermon-gadding', and feared it as a sign of destabilising and divisive enthusiasm.

Like the vestiarian controversy a decade earlier, the prophesyings were symbolic of a wider cultural divide. This time, Grindal and his Puritan brethren were in no mood to compromise. Rather, they deliberately blew up the prophesyings issue into a full-scale crisis, and tried to use the dangerous international situation to their advantage. The prophesyings were presented as a means not only of building a godly Church but also of stamping out the twin perils of popery and sectarianism. This argument produced, in 1577, the first systematic attempt to count the Catholic recusants in England – a hasty exercise which resulted in only some 1500 of the usual suspects being named, but a harbinger of more systematic efforts to come. The 400-fold increase in recusancy fines in 1581 (see above, p. 248)

arose from the same mood. Mirroring this was a sudden assault on a tiny, enigmatic sect known as the Family of Love. The name suggests something profoundly sinister, but they were merely a reclusive group of mystics, originating from the Netherlands but with a presence in Cambridgeshire and some other parts of England. Their secretive practices did cause genuine alarm; and since they conformed outwardly to the established Church, the scale of the sect was unknowable and alarmist assessments of its size impossible to refute. But as recent research has demonstrated, the anti-Familist panic of 1577–81 was not a sober response to a real threat.¹¹ Rather, it was a replay of the anti-Anabaptist panic of Edward VI's reign (see above, pp. 163–4): conjuring up a largely imaginary sectarian threat in order to bolster the respectability of the Protestant establishment. This time at least, it did not work. Anti-Familist books and sermons were published and preached, some suspected Familists were arrested, and anti-Familist legislation was tabled. But the legislation died in Parliament, and political Puritanism did not see any tangible benefits from its scaremongering.

For despite all this sound and fury, the queen would not yield an inch on the Puritans' substantive demands. In 1577, Archbishop Grindal wrote her a careful but steely letter laying out his own position. With all possible care and humility, he flatly refused to obey Elizabeth's order to suppress the prophesyings. 'Bear with me, I beseech you, Madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly majesty, than to offend the heavenly majesty of God.' He asked her to leave religious matters to theologians, and not to 'pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily' on them, as if she were the pope.¹² It was, quite consciously, an act of political self-martyrdom. The result of this defiance was six years' virtual house imprisonment at Lambeth Palace. The queen wanted to deprive him of office, too, but Grindal's many friends at court (not least William Cecil) shielded him from the worst consequences of her wrath. During the febrile years of the Anjou match (see above, pp. 234–5), he remained both a prisoner and an archbishop. He was on occasion able to exercise some small influence, and by his simple survival in office he prevented the primacy of England from falling into other hands. But the moderate Puritans' hopes had been cruelly exposed.

The resurgence of conformity

For some time before Grindal finally died in 1583, it was plain who his successor would be. By the early 1580s Elizabeth's religious policy was in the hands of two trusted advisers, and – increasingly – a third, younger

man who was their protégé. The duo were the lawyer Sir Christopher Hatton, a confidant of the queen and rumoured to be a crypto-Catholic; and John Whitgift, a Cambridge cleric who had first come to prominence when he wrote a reply to the *Admonition to the Parliament*. Whitgift was made bishop of Worcester in 1577, and in 1583 he succeeded to Canterbury almost as of right. The third man was Hatton's chaplain Richard Bancroft, another Cambridge man, who had already acquired some experience as an episcopal enforcer. When Whitgift eventually died in 1604, it was Bancroft who succeeded him as archbishop. Hatton, Whitgift and Bancroft formed the core of a powerful conformist Protestant phalanx. Hatton's own religious loyalties may have been ambiguous, but Whitgift's were plain: he was an orthodox Reformed Protestant who saw the doctrine of predestination as non-negotiable. However, their doctrinal views mattered less than their (and Elizabeth's) agreement on the urgency of uniformity and good order.

These new conformists were not simply fighting a rearguard action, and their defence of the Elizabethan settlement was driven by more than simple fear of change. While Archbishop Parker had been a uniting figure who shared many aspirations with his Puritan brethren, Whitgift viewed diversity and debate as simple evils. He was as ready as his queen to see Puritanism as presumptuous and seditious, defying divinely ordained authority in the name of impertinent conscience. As such, he took the battle to the Puritan enemy.

Shortly after taking office, Whitgift ordered all clergy (private chaplains and civic preachers as well as parish clergy) to subscribe to articles affirming that the Prayer Book did not contradict the Bible. A substantial group – as many as 400 – refused. Whitgift promptly suspended them from office. The resulting outcry forced the novice archbishop to back down, only to adopt a more subtle method. A series of questions were put to non-compliant clerics, with the intent of separating out the more dangerous radicals. What made this controversial was that the court overseeing the process – the High Commission, created originally to root out Catholics – could compel clerics to answer the questions and so to incriminate themselves, via a device known as the *ex officio* oath. Refusal was an imprisonable offence. Warning shots had been fired at the Puritans before, but this was a full-scale assault.

Partly in response, a new set of informal Puritan networks started to appear: the bodies known as *classes* (singular *classis*), a name borrowed from an ancient Roman unit of administration. It was a pretentious name for informal gatherings of the godly, but that pretentiousness reflected

some Puritans' hopes that the *classes* would evolve into full-blown presbyteries. The recent development in Scotland, where the 'model' presbyteries established unilaterally in 1581 had begun to spread across the country, was an inspiring one. Fired by Whitgift's aggression, and coordinated through the *classes*, the Puritan movement readied itself for another parliamentary battle. Puritans were now actively trying to be elected to the House of Commons, and in 1584 and 1586 unprecedented numbers of them were.

Once there, however, what could they do? Petitions to the queen were ignored. Detailed bills proposing Presbyterian systems of Church government were introduced in the Commons in 1584 and 1587; on both occasions Hatton, acting as the queen's parliamentary manager, ensured that the bills were killed stone dead. A few outspoken MPs were given a taste of imprisonment, parliamentary privilege notwithstanding. Meanwhile, their tormentor Archbishop Whitgift was raised to the Privy Council in 1586 – the first Elizabethan bishop to be so promoted. The Presbyterian agitation succeeded only in provoking a newly forthright defence of episcopacy, led by Richard Bancroft. Instead of seeing bishops merely as an expedient means of governing the Church, Bancroft and others began to argue that the office of bishop was instituted by God's law (*de jure divino*). For those in power, trying to control unruly Puritanism, episcopacy seemed the only guarantor of the Church's unity. For those outside, it seemed simply that episcopacy corrupted, and that *de jure divino* episcopacy corrupted absolutely.

In 1588, Puritan frustration boiled over. Tired of banging their heads against the queen's stony immovability, a group of conspirators decided to play the game of popular politics and to attack the bishops from below. This group organised the clandestine writing, printing and distribution of a series of scabrous tracts under the pen-name Martin Mar-Prelate. The identity of the real author, or authors, has never been proved. The outspoken MP Job Throckmorton remains the likeliest candidate, although in truth 'Martin' was a collective rather than a single individual. The question matters because these tracts do not read like the work of a committee. The seven surviving tracts, printed between October 1588 and September 1589, attacked the bishops with vicious directness. They stand out even by the vitriolic standards of sixteenth-century print. 'Martin', the 'primate and metropolitan of all the Martins in England', mocked the bishops mercilessly for their lordliness, self-importance and perceived hypocrisy, explicitly intending to smash their moral authority so that presbyteries could fill the vacuum. So the bishops were mere popelings, and Whitgift the 'Pope of Lambeth'. Indeed, 'friars and monks were not so bad; they

lived in the dark, [but] you shut your eyes, lest you should see the light.'¹³ As the presses were spirited from one safe house to another before the fury of Whitgift's and Bancroft's searchers, 'Martin' taunted his pursuers. He also aimed some barbs at the Puritan establishment, whose quiet reasonableness had betrayed the cause. He rightly diagnosed that establishment's fury at his unruly intervention.

For the tracts of 'Martin' mark the point when political Puritanism was finally discredited. Bancroft now had all the excuses he needed to pursue Puritans as seditious, and in 1589–90 he proceeded to roll up their networks. Eventually, in 1593, one of the ringleaders of the Mar-Prelate conspiracy – a young polemicist named John Penry – was hanged for sedition. Two leaders of underground separatist congregations were executed in the same year, under legislation which had been aimed at Catholics. But the regime did not need to make many martyrs. The Martin Mar-Prelate episode was the first of a series of disreputable incidents which helped to take the fight out of mainstream Puritanism. In 1591, a deranged visionary named William Hacket was proclaimed as Messiah by two London Puritans, who for good measure also announced Elizabeth's deposition. He was promptly executed, but he had a long afterlife as a useful bogeyman for conformists to deploy against Puritans. Bancroft, in particular, found wild-eyed Puritan radicals invaluable in his ongoing attempts to discredit the movement. When he became bishop of London in 1597, his chaplain Samuel Harsnett (later archbishop of York) became his enforcer, and was instrumental in exposing a Nottinghamshire Puritan named John Darrell who had built up a thriving business as an exorcist. Darrell was, for Bancroft and his allies, the perfect Puritan: enthusiastic, theologically shaky, and (so Harsnett proved to his own satisfaction) a deliberate fraud. Exorcism was hardly a mainstream Puritan activity, and the episode probably says more about the place of magic in wider English society (see below, pp. 280–2) than it does about Puritanism. But it also helps to explain why it was the prelates who marred the Puritans, not the other way around.

Building Puritanism in the parishes

Puritanism's political ambitions were comprehensively defeated in the late 1580s and were to remain subdued for two generations. But in one sense, these national battles were a distraction. Freedom from traditional vestments, prophesyings, even presbyteries – these were, for most Puritans, means to an end. That end, the real Puritan ambition, was to establish a universal godly preaching ministry, proclaiming the true Word and imposing

true discipline on the people. The irony of Elizabethan Puritanism is that while it decisively lost its proxy and symbolic battles, it won some real victories in the quieter but more important battle for the soul of England.

The most unambiguous Puritan defeat was the failure to reform the English Church's polity in any way. English Puritans could only envy the independence from state control, and the pervasive system of discipline, which the Scots enjoyed and endured. Discipline in the English Church was left to the cumbersome and traditional Church courts, whose remit was strictly limited. And bishops remained mitred and rocheted lords of the realm, consecrated to their office and set above their brethren. Yet even here, continuity of form belied a change of substance. Elizabethan bishops were very different animals from their medieval or Henrician predecessors. The prince-bishops and politician-bishops who had attracted so much medieval anticlerical scorn were gone. There were no more Wolseys. Until Whitgift's appointment in 1586, Elizabeth did not even place bishops on her council. She appointed laymen as her Lord Chancellors, a break with ancient custom. She also followed her father's and brother's example by steadily plundering the lands of her bishops. That plunder was hardly driven by reforming ideals, but its effect was to change the nature of episcopacy. Almost all of the bishops lost their London houses, compelling the somewhat impoverished prelates to reside in their dioceses. By medieval standards this was something of a novelty, but most Elizabethan bishops did this willingly. They were, on the whole, conscientious Protestants who were serious about their responsibilities for building the Church in the parishes.

This, indeed, is the real English Reformation, beneath all the political sound and fury. The political changes were an essential prerequisite for change, but from a clergyman's point of view (if not from a politician's) they were merely that. For Protestant believers, Puritan and conformist alike, the ultimate aim of the Reformation was not removing the papacy, reforming the liturgy or refining the Church of England's official doctrines. All of these things were means to a greater end, that of bringing the pure Gospel to England's people, that souls might be saved and that God might be honoured. Ultimately, then, the battles of the English Reformation were won and lost not in set-piece political and theological confrontations, but parish by parish and soul by soul, in a myriad quiet battles and crises which are almost entirely hidden from us. What is clear is that, during Elizabeth's long reign, the steady, unspectacular spread of Protestant ministry and Protestant allegiance amounted to a gradual but decisive tectonic shift.

The great Puritan causes of the reign were all ultimately driven by their fear that the preaching of the Gospel was being stifled. Vestments compromised the new message; prophesyings trained preachers. Yet despite their repeated defeats, the work in the parishes crept forward. Obstructive and traditionalist clergy were slowly driven to the margins; some 300 were deprived of office during the 1560s. A newly educated generation of ministers began to fill their places. The Elizabethan bishops' systematic enforcement of long-established and long-flouted rules helped here: minimum ages for ordination, and the prohibition on holding several benefices simultaneously, began to mean something. A concerted push for better clerical education made itself felt too. The universities, the cradle of Protestantism, now became redoubts of Puritan theology – especially Cambridge, and especially the energetic new college there, Emmanuel College, founded in 1584 explicitly as a Puritan seminary. As committed Protestants were slowly pumped into the bloodstream of the English Church, the preaching ministry for which the Puritans had yearned began to become a reality – slowly, far more slowly than they wished, but relentlessly.

This was a project around which the entire Church could unite. Archbishop Whitgift would brook no challenges to the Church's discipline or authority, but he also took its ministry very seriously. He was particularly concerned by the surviving rump of clergy who were neither graduates nor preachers. He made serious attempts to train those non-graduate clergy who were already in post, promoting the use of the official Homilies and of catechisms. He ordered non-preaching clergy to acquire the Zürich reformer Heinrich Bullinger's daunting sermon cycle, the *Decades*, and to study one of its sermons each week. If Zürich-style prophesyings were being suppressed, Zürich's theology was being aggressively promoted. And even the suppression of the prophesyings was misleading. In their place sprung up 'combination lectures'. These were formal or informal arrangements for pulpit exchanges whereby parishes without a preaching minister had reasonably regular access to sermons, and whereby more sermon-heavy parishes could hear voices other than their own minister's. Although lacking the discursive (and divisive) potential of the prophesyings, combination lectures served many of the same purposes, and they were often organised by the *classes* which had emerged in the 1580s. We know of at least eighty-five such arrangements erected across England.¹⁴ In larger towns, the provision of preaching was better still. Town councils often took it on themselves to appoint a 'lecturer', or preacher, for the town, who was a civic employee rather than an ecclesiastical benefice-holder.

So when Puritans retreated from politics towards a more pastoral and parish-centred focus in the 1590s, it was not simply a bloodied withdrawal. It was a turn towards a battle which they had always held was more important, and which they were already winning. The great Puritan publishing success of the 1590s was William Perkins, one of the very few English writers of the century to be widely read outside his own country. For Perkins, the reformation of liturgy and practice took second place to the reformation of the individual conscience. His theological achievement was to apply the forbidding Calvinist doctrine of predestination to the individual believer's life. That doctrine can lead believers into either despair or conceit; Perkins successfully steered between those two rocks, affirming predestination in the strongest terms while also mapping out how Christians may live (and draw strength from) lives of the highest moral seriousness. His posthumous *Treatise of the Cases of Conscience* became a classic of Protestant devotion. And it had nothing to do with politics.

Others had been treading this path for decades. Richard Greenham was a Cambridge-educated minister who, in 1570, became parson of a small Cambridgeshire village called Dry Drayton. If Greenham was a Puritan at all, he was one of a different stripe, and in Dry Drayton he created a hugely influential model of what godly parish ministry might be. Greenham's principles were Puritan enough, on everything from vestments to predestination, but where men like Sampson sought conflict, Greenham tried to avoid it. His bishop, Richard Cox, had as a Marian exile been a rigorous defender of the Prayer Book (see above, pp. 191–2), but now faced with Greenham's conscientious refusal to wear the prescribed vestments, he turned a blind eye. He was not the only moderate bishop to recognise that he could not afford to lose a hardworking, able, non-confrontational and stoutly anti-Catholic pastor over a technicality. For Greenham's energies went not into political or theological controversy but into pastoral care, and a stream of students from nearby Cambridge came to spend a few weeks or months living with him, learning their trade from an acknowledged master and carefully writing down his pearls of wisdom.

The pattern of ministry which Greenham pioneered, and which spread out across the country with his disciples from the 1580s onwards, began but did not end with preaching. His sermons were not arid or academic affairs, for all his learning: he preached with such passion that his shirt was soaked with sweat, and communicated that passion to his hearers, once provoking a woman to interrupt him by wailing aloud for her damnable sins. Such animated, theatrical performances were again typical of Puritan preachers, who were skilled at their art and who knew that dry, under-

stated monotony gave no honour to God. Greenham's innovation, however, was systematically to bring his message to his people. He would walk out into the fields to talk with his neighbours as they were ploughing. He regularly visited every house in the parish in order to instruct the families (a manageable proposition in a parish of only thirty households). Such one-to-one instruction began with the use of question-and-answer catechisms, but moved on to intensely personal spiritual counselling. Helping believers to apply the doctrine of predestination to their lives, and dealing with the crises of conscience that resulted, was a dominant theme for Greenham, as later for Perkins. Yet his ministry was not solely concerned with matters of high theology. He apparently acted as a kind of informal, one-man kirk session, resolving disputes and quarrels amongst his flock (none of whom took one another to law during the whole course of his ministry in Dry Drayton). His recorded spiritual counsel was also practical and down-to-earth, believing (for example) that a sensible diet was more useful than heroic self-denial for keeping the temptation at bay.

What effect did such painstaking pastoring have? Greenham himself had no great opinion of his achievements at Dry Drayton, claiming that there was 'no good wrought by my ministry on any but one family'.¹⁵ Yet this was too modest. As well as keeping his parishioners out of court, he left one striking record of his work: the names of the babies he baptised. Early modern English people shared a very small pool of Christian names – in the late sixteenth century, more than half of all boys baptised were called William, Thomas or John, and more than half of all girls Elizabeth, Mary or Anne. This was partly because children were traditionally named after one of their godparents, a system which prevented innovation (and sometimes led to identically named siblings). But Puritans, who were uneasy both about godparents and about the use of non-Biblical saints' names, began to give their children new names. Some were Biblical names, in particular from the Old Testament. In Dry Drayton, Greenham baptised children named Daniel, Samuel, Nathaniel, Sarah, Rebecca, Joshua, Moses and Bathsheba – all names which would have sounded alien on English tongues, yet which he evidently persuaded some of his parishioners to adopt. Other Puritans favoured 'grace' names, which turned a baby's name into a one-word sermon: children were named Charity, Grace, Delivery, Tribulation, Ashes, even Preserved. The appearance of a scattering of such new names, solemnly recorded in baptismal registers across the country, is a sign of the insensible spread of Puritan influence.

However, Greenham's self-deprecating comment draws our attention to a point of wider importance. Puritans of the late sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries were consistently gloomy about their impact on the realm. The standards which they expected from their neighbours (and from themselves) were impossibly high. They regularly assumed that the mass of the people – at all levels of society – were slaves to sin, godless and ignorant; and many Puritan clergy readily told their congregations so. The doctrine of predestination, read through a theology which saw the Church as a covenanted people like ancient Israel, made it natural to assume that the English were divided into a godless majority and a small, godly ‘remnant’. God would preserve that remnant, but they had realistically to expect to see most of their neighbours damned.

This sense of an unequally divided nation is central to Puritanism. This was a subculture, with its own shared jargon, habits of mind and preoccupations. One historian calls it a ‘spiritual freemasonry’.¹⁶ Its self-conscious separateness is a fact of some importance, but it means that we should not take Puritans’ estimates of their numerical success or failure at face value. It is true that only a minority of English people were zealous, godly Puritans. However, the wider culture of Puritanism had a much greater impact than many Puritans were inclined to admit. The historian Alexandra Walsham has examined the pivotal Protestant doctrine of providence, which insists both that God is sovereign over all earthly affairs and (therefore) that God’s will and purposes can be deduced from worldly events. Walsham’s work has demonstrated that the providentialist worldview – so characteristic of Puritanism – was in fact pervasive in English thought by the end of Elizabeth’s reign, on the stage and in the gutter press as well as in the pulpit. Neither Puritans nor anti-Puritans liked to admit how mainstream Puritan thought had become, but this conspiracy of silence should not blind us to the fact that, as Walsham puts it, ‘zealous Protestantism could . . . be a popular religion’.¹⁷ Puritanism did not take over English culture wholesale, but it did crossbreed with that culture. The process produced some intriguing hybrids.

One notorious example of this crossbreeding is in the field of the supernatural. Medieval Christians, in England as elsewhere, had believed in the existence of witches: that is, of individuals who had access to supernatural powers which they could use to help or to harm their neighbours. Suspected witches were usually (not always) female, and usually (not always) marginal, peculiar or unsettling people. They were regarded with fear, enmity and a measure of respect by the population at large. They were very occasionally prosecuted in the Church courts, but neither Church nor state usually paid them much attention. With the Reformation, this changed. In 1542, Henry VIII made certain kinds of magical acts criminal offences for

the first time, although like most of his other penal legislation the Act was repealed in 1547. A new Witchcraft Act was introduced in 1563, following which England had its own nasty little witch-hunt. Our sources for this episode are very incomplete, since we have good records only for the south-east; but we know that there was a spate of witchcraft trials in Elizabethan Essex, in which over fifty suspects were hanged (and nearly five times as many tried). The proportions were the same, but the numbers much smaller, in other south-eastern counties. Prosecutions peaked in the 1580s and tailed off sharply in the new century. This pattern roughly parallels a wider surge in witch-hunting across much of Europe, although the English witch-hunt was relatively subdued: the numbers were small, due process of law was (more or less) followed, and there were no mass panics as occasionally took place in France, central Europe or Scotland. The episode is gruesomely fascinating and continues to be mysterious.

Most Puritans had a clear view of the matter. Magic or witchcraft of any kind was simply wrong: it was either popery or devil-worship. Nor would they accept the use of Christian rituals as counter-magic or as defences against witchcraft. But, with a little Biblical backing, they did approve of using the law against magicians of all kinds. The 1563 Act was strongly informed by Protestant loathing of magic, but for many Puritans it was not nearly aggressive enough. Others, however, became uncomfortable with the way the laws were being enforced. Reginald Scot, a Puritan magistrate from Kent, argued in a 1584 tract that witchcraft did not exist and that the panic was itself a popish superstition; however, he was an exceptional and isolated figure. More significant, perhaps, is the Essex minister George Gifford. Gifford's Puritan credentials were excellent (he was suspended for non-subscription by Archbishop Whitgift), but he was uneasy about witch-hunting. The Devil's real instruments, Gifford argued in a 1593 book, were not the desperate old women who were being hanged so regularly in his home county. Rather, they were the white witches and cunning-men who provided magical services to the paying public, for it was they who actually lured good Christians into trafficking with the Devil.

Yet while Puritans consistently argued that white magic and black magic, learned magic and ignorant magic, were all equally diabolical, the wider population heard the message selectively. Puritan strictures helped to legitimise the long-held antipathy towards witchcraft, and they provided a legal route by which 'witches' could be hunted. They did not succeed in turning the population against white magic, nor in discrediting learned magic. Indeed, for all their fulminations, many Protestants were themselves powerfully attracted by ideas which we would now call magical, but

which at the time seemed to be at the cutting edge of learning. We cannot simply blame Puritanism, or even Protestantism, for the English witch trials (across Europe, Catholics hunted witches just as enthusiastically as Protestants). We can, however, see this as an example of the acculturation of Puritanism, in which a wider society took the Puritan ideas which it liked and used them for its own ends, while ignoring those that were less congenial. Does this show the limits of Puritanism's achievements, or the extent of its success?

One last, unambiguous Puritan victory deserves to be noted. Throughout the 1540s and 1550s, the most commonly available English Bible was the 1539 'Great Bible' (so called because of its physical size). The translation was widely held to be unsatisfactory, but its replacement was contentious. During Mary's reign, the exiles in Geneva set about preparing a new English translation, which was eventually published in Geneva in 1560. This 'Geneva Bible' was not popular with the new regime. Quite apart from the association with Geneva (never a recommendation in Elizabeth's eyes), the text bristled with marginal notes and annotations which consistently gave an aggressively Protestant slant. No English publisher picked it up, and copies of the Great Bible continued to be produced in London. There was no second edition of the Geneva Bible even in Geneva until 1569. Meanwhile, the regime prepared its own revised version, the so-called 'Bishops' Bible', first published in 1568: this tidied up the Great Bible's translations but did not provide any provocative marginalia. Backed by Archbishop Parker, it rapidly established itself. The Geneva Bible appeared to have sunk like a stone. The reversal of these fortunes was the greatest legacy of Edmund Grindal's primacy. It seems that even before he was translated to Canterbury in 1575, he was promoting the Geneva Bible. The first edition printed in England appeared in 1576. There was another in each of the next two years, four editions in 1579, and twenty-one during the 1580s. It was the authorised Bishops' Bible that fell out of popular use. The Geneva text, its annotations so ready to guide ministers in their preaching and the pious laity in their reading, became the people's Bible. It appeared in every format, for the pocket or for the lectern: a symbol of Puritan ambitions, worming its way relentlessly into private homes and into the verbal landscape of England. It was Shakespeare's Bible, although whatever else Shakespeare was, he was no Puritan. Elizabeth's successor James I tried to fight back with a new, 'Authorised' version in 1611, but that took fifty years to win general acceptance. The Geneva Bible is a symbol of how by 1600 England was, despite itself, permeated by the culture of Puritanism.

Popular religion in Elizabethan England: a group portrait

The questions which we would most like to ask about Elizabethan religion have no answers, and indeed can scarcely be formulated. We have no opinion-poll data, despite some ingenious attempts to conjure it into existence from a range of sources. We might wish to know what the religion of the 'average' English person was, but no such person existed. Nor was a hierarchical age terribly interested in such crudely quantitative questions.

We can make a few sensible generalisations about the changes which those 'average' people saw in their parishes. In the place of Catholic priests, there slowly came to be Protestant ministers. Although in theory the spiritual equals of their flocks, these ministers were as formidably set apart by their learning as their Catholic predecessors had been by their sacramental power. They also took their office and their authority every bit as seriously as those predecessors. However, there were many fewer of them. The number of clergy in England fell by more than half between 1500 and 1600, despite the rising population. A Church of Word rather than sacrament, and one which had rejected the monastic life, had less need of numbers, nor – following the Henrician and Edwardian plunder – could it afford them. If there were fewer clergy in each parish, however, a new figure appeared who in some measure replaced them: the minister's wife, a wholly new creature in English society, and one who was expected actively to model godly family life for the parish. The church buildings themselves changed, too. They became much more like our modern image of a medieval church (see above, pp. 13–14): the walls whitewashed or reduced to bare stone, fixed seating becoming increasingly common, the chaotic kaleidoscope of saints, images and altars gone. Pipe organs, too, were sometimes removed or allowed to fall into disuse. Church buildings themselves commonly fell into some disrepair, caught between Puritan contempt for the material trappings of worship and Catholic sympathisers' reluctance to support the new religion. Church-building, a booming business in the fifteenth century, ceased almost entirely in the sixteenth and seventeenth.

Such generalities, however, miss the most striking feature of Elizabethan religion: its entirely unprecedented diversity. One historian has helpfully suggested that we think of that diversity as a group portrait.¹⁸ We can identify most of the subjects of that portrait; we can place them in relation to one another and make judgements about their character. What we cannot do is make more than a guess at their relative weights.

The outlying characters, standing self-consciously apart from the main group, are the easiest to identify. There is a small band of Catholic recusants. There are the sectarians, tiny groups such as the Family of Love. There is an equally tiny number of Protestant separatists: congregations of embittered Puritans, mostly in London or in the safety of English mercantile communities abroad, whose disillusion with the compromises of the established Church had provoked them into organising their own worshipping life. Such groups appeared as early as 1567, but they always remained marginal. The bishops fretted about 'Brownists' (named sweepingly for Robert Browne, a mercurial separatist of the 1580s), but the threat was more potential than real. For most Puritans, the aspiration to establish a universal godly Church, and the obligation not openly to defy the queen's proceedings, ensured that they would not venture into schism. Some found refuge in the Protestant Church of Ireland, which by the 1590s was both an established Church and a Puritan-friendly minority sect (see below, p. 16). Yet the great majority of English Puritans stood ostentatiously apart from the separatists and sectarians. They are by far the noisiest group on our canvas. They are balanced, however, by a mute group at the other side of the picture: for there, brushing shoulders with the recusants, are the 'church papists' (see above, p. 246), who shade insensibly into the rest of the group.

What of the rest: the silent centre of the Elizabethan Church? Conformity was what the queen demanded of these people, and conformity is what she received. With what mixture of enthusiasm, distaste or bewilderment that conformity was given, we cannot know. Yet a few things can usefully be discerned, or guessed, about these men and women.

First, as the reign wore on, popular Protestantism became increasingly real. The impact of Puritan preaching and pastoring was considerable – even if it did not produce doctrinaire Puritans. The bishops' efforts also had some real effect, not least in the education and vetting of clergy. So too did the regime's official instruments of reform, much as Puritans derided them. The official Homilies were a crude tool of reformation, but not a ridiculous one. Clergy not licensed to preach were supposed to read through the two volumes of the Homilies in a continuous cycle. As we might expect, many clergy and people found this tedious after the second or third iteration, but there were other resources available to fill the gap. Several other approved books were to be found in many parish churches. All parishes were supposed to own Erasmus' expansive *Paraphrase* of the New Testament (in an evangelically slanted English translation). Bishop Jewel's *Apology or Answer in Defence of the Church of England*, Foxe's

Book of Martyrs and – from the 1580s – Heinrich Bullinger's *Decades* were also widely available in churches or parsonages, to say nothing of the Geneva Bible, with its arsenal of marginal comment. Non-preaching clergy who grew weary of the Homilies frequently took to reading to their parishioners from these other texts.

Secondly, if positive Protestantism remains difficult to diagnose with certainty, the same is not true of anti-Catholicism. By the 1570s, this had spread from being a preachers' and politicians' preoccupation to being a widespread popular force. Forty years of anti-papal rhetoric, a xenophobic nationalism, and – after 1570 – genuine outrage against the queen's excommunication and what it meant: all these things helped to make hatred of papists and of popery seem the natural stance for any self-respecting Englishman. The approach of war in the 1580s only sharpened this. In retrospect, the regime's fears of a Catholic 'fifth column' in that war seem excessive. Recent research has shown how far local communities rallied to the cause during the Armada campaign, often putting themselves to considerable expense in defence of queen, Church and country against the Spanish.¹⁹ Importantly, this anti-Catholicism was typically directed at foreign Catholics rather than at local recusants. Respectable Catholic families who were known to be apolitical usually had little to fear from the zeal of their neighbours.

Thirdly, anti-Catholicism was matched by widespread anti-Puritanism. The extent of this is difficult to gauge, since (as with medieval anticlericalism) so much of the evidence is literary. Clearly, however, Puritans were immensely tempting butts for jokes. Sober, earnest, sometimes self-righteous, relentless in their pursuit of godly lives for themselves, noisy in their advocacy of such lives for others – it would have been remarkable if such people were not mocked. And the vision of comprehensive discipline, Scottish-style, which so appealed to Puritans, appalled their more easy-going neighbours in equal measure. Hypocrisy was the easiest and the commonest accusation. Shakespeare was not above the occasional satirical swipe at Puritans, but the sentiment can be found at every level of society. In the 1590s, an obscure Cheshire gentleman wrote an anti-Puritan diatribe which could stand for many. He reviled them as hypocrites, gluttons and troublemakers of the commonwealth, and as prigs devoid of any real charity. He wished all Puritans might be ducked in the river Mersey, 'to the end they may be replenished with more drops of mercy.' He mocked their style of preaching: 'it is not beating of the breast, flinging of the arms, swaggering in the pulpit, or turning up the white of the eye, but sound doctrine plainly pronounced that edifieth the people of God.' And as that last

sentiment suggests, this author was insistent that he was a good Protestant, and no papist – indeed, a ‘plain Protestant’ as against a ‘precise Puritan’. But he admitted, ‘I know few papists that are bad, and not one Puritan that is good.’²⁰ Of course, this is nonsense. We have ample evidence that there were Puritan clergy and laity of heroic virtues and immense pastoral sensitivity. But there was certainly hypocrisy too, and those who find excessive virtue discomfoting would naturally prefer to latch onto that. By the end of Elizabeth’s reign, this was a common stance: a religion defined by being balanced between two hatreds. Such a religion was, of course, quite capable of being shaped – even shaped decisively – by the influence of the extremes which it rejected.

Fourthly, some positive affection may have been amassing for the peculiar Elizabethan Church in general, and for the Book of Common Prayer in particular. The historian Judith Maltby, who has made this case most forcefully, argues that some of Elizabeth’s subjects should be described as Prayer Book Protestants (in contrast to the Puritans’ Bible-Protestantism). It is very plausible, although the evidence is indirect. We know that when the Elizabethan settlement was being dismantled during the early 1640s, the Prayer Book was defended with ardour by a surprisingly wide array of people. And we might expect that Cranmer’s sonorous prose, whose quality only improves with repetition and which has inspired passionate affection from more recent generations, would have won the heart of sixteenth-century England – unless the very durability of that affection is romanticising our view of the subject. At least, it is plain that the Prayer Book’s language was bred in the bone of English-speakers from Elizabeth’s reign onwards. Its literary fingerprints are everywhere.²¹ We can perhaps also connect this to another mood we have already observed, of the widespread respect and nostalgia for a Reformation along Henry VIII’s lines. Such people may have accepted their new identity as Protestants, but, as Puritan preachers worried, they paid much less attention to the rigours of Protestant theology than to older values of communal life and moral obligation. Loyalty to the new religious establishment may have reflected honest Prayer Book Protestantism as much as convenience or inertia. If our Cheshire gentleman did indeed have a religion, this, perhaps, was it.

Or perhaps he belonged to our fifth category: those with little or no religion. When a man from Essex told an ecclesiastical court in 1583 ‘that it made no matter whether he were a Jew or a Christian, seeing that he do well’, was he expressing a commonsense traditional morality, a contempt for all religion, or both?²² Those who voiced such opinions, along with the common blasphemers and scoffers from whom they are often indistinguish-

able (see above, p. 23), were liable to be accused of 'atheism', but there were no atheists in the modern sense in Elizabethan England: the intellectual building blocks of a coherent atheist worldview were simply not available. Elizabethan 'atheism', if we can speak of it, was functional rather than philosophical. An 'atheist' was one who lived as if there were no God, regardless of whatever beliefs he or she might formally profess. Hence the Catholic accusation that the Elizabethan regime was 'atheistic' (see above, p. 252). It was a slander, but this much was true. The religious turmoil of the age, and the queen's reluctance to demand more than conformity from her subjects, created an unprecedented space for withdrawal from religious engagement. Such withdrawal is, by nature, invisible and unquantifiable. A few public figures in Elizabethan England had reputations for atheism, giving their names a whiff of brimstone which helped to cement their fame: the conjurer and philosopher John Dee, or the playwright Christopher Marlowe. But more significant are the unknown masses of those who had learned scepticism rather than renewed belief from the Reformation controversies: who sat quietly in church, who on their deaths bequeathed their souls to God in the most cursory terms and who in their lives found that they needed to pay little heed to Him.

Lastly, there was another religious possibility, or set of possibilities, beginning to appear in the later sixteenth century: a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, but worth noticing because of its later importance. This was almost exclusively a clerical movement. It incubated at those traditional ecclesiastical institutions which had managed to survive the successive Tudor culls: the cathedrals, the college chapels of the two universities, and a scattering of idiosyncratic collegiate churches. In particular, it was connected to the strangest church in England, Westminster Abbey, which in Elizabeth's reign became what it has since remained – a cathedral with no bishop, a church with no parish, a free-floating liturgical entity answerable only to the crown. This clerical movement had two strands, theological and ceremonial. Theologically, these men moved on from favouring *de jure divino* episcopacy (see above, p. 274) to trying to reclaim some continuity between the pre- and post-Reformation Churches, and also to questioning the orthodox Calvinist doctrine of predestination. The ceremonial strand – which was the more important – emphasised dignified liturgical worship, traditional church music, and the sacraments, and sought to redress a perceived overemphasis on preaching.

Two names stand out among this group. Lancelot Andrewes was a preacher whose exceptional gifts were widely recognised, but who used the pulpit to advance some daringly novel (or daringly old-fashioned) views

about worship. His views chimed with some of the ageing queen's preferences, and she made him dean of Westminster in 1601. Under James I, he would become a bishop and, partly despite himself, the founding father of the Stuart ceremonial revival. The second figure was scarcely noticed at the time. When Richard Hooker died in 1600, he was an obscure theologian whose vast and unfinished treatise *On the Laws of the Ecclesiastical Polity* had been published without making any discernible impact. The book provided some theological underpinning for what Andrewes and others were doing, presenting the medieval Church and even the contemporary Catholic Church as entities of some spiritual worth, and emphasising the value of liturgy and the sacraments. Hooker was a prophet without honour in his own time, and for the historian of the Elizabethan Church, his importance is simply that he demonstrates the range of ideas which were both conceivable and publishable for an idiosyncratic cleric. Yet he would eclipse Andrewes in the end, and his huge book would become a foundation document for that strange religious phenomenon which emerged in the seventeenth century: Anglicanism.

Notes

- 1 Matthew 18: 15–17 (Geneva Bible).
- 2 *The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments* (1565), p. 19.
- 3 Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (2002), pp. 263–4.
- 4 *The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments* (1565), pp. 18–19.
- 5 James Cameron (ed.), *The First Book of Discipline* (1972), p. 173.
- 6 David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. 3 (1842), pp. 546, 551.
- 7 Robert Pitcairn (ed.), *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill* (1842), p. 370.
- 8 James Carmichael (?), *Newes from Scotland* (1592?), sig. B4r.
- 9 Hastings Robinson (ed.), *The Zurich Letters*, vol. II (1845), p. 152.
- 10 William Nicholson (ed.), *The Remains of Archbishop Grindal* (1843), p. 467.
- 11 Christopher Carter, 'The Family of Love and its enemies', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 37 (2006), pp. 651–72.
- 12 William Nicholson (ed.), *The Remains of Archbishop Grindal* (1843), pp. 387–9.

- 13 'Martin Mar-Prelate' [ps.], *Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges, for it is worthy worke: or an epitome of the fyrste booke* (1588), sig. A2r-v.
- 14 Patrick Collinson, *Godly People* (1983), appendix.
- 15 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 16 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England* (2001), p. 69.
- 17 Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999), p. 325.
- 18 Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (1998), p. 2.
- 19 Neil Younger, 'War and the Counties: the Elizabethan Lord Lieutenancy 1585-1603', University of Birmingham PhD thesis (2006), Chapter 2.
- 20 Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.399, ff. 18v-20r.
- 21 Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: the language of public devotion* (2001).
- 22 Christopher Haigh, *The Plain Man's Pathways to Heaven* (2007), p. 168.

