

THE ELIZABETHAN PROTESTANT PRESS: A STUDY OF THE
PRINTING AND PUBLISHING OF PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS LITERATURE
IN ENGLISH, EXCLUDING BIBLES AND LITURGIES,
1558-1603.

By .

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ABSTRACT

Uninterrupted for forty-five years, from 1558 to 1603, Protestants in England were able to use the printing press to disseminate Protestant ideology. It was a period long enough for Protestantism to root itself deeply in the life of the nation and to accumulate its own distinctive literature. English Protestantism, like an infant vulnerable to the whim of a parent under King Henry VIII, like a headstrong and erratic child in Edward's reign, and like a sulking, chastised youth in the Marian years, had come of age by the end of the Elizabethan period.

At the outset of Elizabeth's reign the most pressing religious need was a clear, well-reasoned defence of the Church of England. The publication of Bishop Jewel's Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae in 1562 was a response to that need and set the tone of literary polemics for the rest of the period. It was a time of muscle-flexing for the Elizabethan Church, and especially in the opening decades, a time when anti-Catholicism was particularly vehement. Consistently throughout the period, when Queen and country were threatened by Catholic intrigues and conspiracies, literature of exceptional virulence was published against Catholicism.

But just as the press became an effective tool for defenders and apologists of the Church of England, it soon was being used as an instrument to advance the cause of further reform by more radical Protestants. Puritans, Familists and Separatists resorted to the printing press to publicize their particular brand of Protestantism. Puritans, especially, used the press to put pressure on Parliament by arranging the publication of their demands to coincide with the calling of Parliament. Stinging attacks on the established church were met with stout resistance; authors, printers and booksellers often were imprisoned and the literature suppressed. The radicals then turned to secret presses, or to presses outside of England, and continued their onslaught against the "half" reformed Church of England. The bitterness and pugnacity once reserved for the popes of Rome now became, for the dissidents, appropriate sentiments to be levelled at English bishops.

Religious polemics, however, though most eye-catching and revealing from the historian's viewpoint because they reflect pressing issues and concerns, were only one aspect of Elizabethan literature. While the polemicists crossed swords, the great majority of authors

and translators busied themselves in producing works designed for general Protestant edification. These were the devotional, didactic and exegetical works that went into multiple editions and were in constant demand throughout the reign. Polemical and controversial writings were published from time to time, but works of edification issued from the press in a continuous stream throughout the reign. The constant repetition of Protestant doctrine and attitudes reinforced the Protestant policies consistently laid down by the government.

For moral and financial support in publishing their literature, Elizabethan Protestant authors relied heavily upon a relatively small group of persons. The great majority of dedications in Protestant literature were addressed to no more than a dozen or so patrons, and, except for a few, tended to sympathize with moderate Puritanism. Furthermore, the Elizabethan period was a watershed in the history of literary patronage and this was reflected in Protestant literature. Printers and publishers became more important to the author than the patron in getting his manuscript into print and furthering his literary pursuits. And it was a relatively small number of printers and publishers (no more than twenty-five) who bore the brunt of financing the lion's share of Protestant literature.

With such a powerful and relatively new medium as print to disseminate ideology, it is not surprising that strong censorship was exercised. From the Queen's Injunctions of 1566, when the Vestments controversy was at its height and offensive Puritan tracts were being published, control of the press tightened as Catholics and radical Protestants became more adept at clandestine printing and at smuggling their literature into the country. Officers of the government, the church and the Stationers' Company worked so effectively together in their "search and destroy" missions for printing presses used in illegal publishing ventures that, by the end of the period, almost all offensive religious literature had to be printed abroad.

The role of the printing press in Elizabethan England is comparable to that of television in the 20th century. As television revolutionizes the art of politics, from political party conventions to national elections, so the printing press affected politics and religion in the last half of the 16th century. The most effective way for Puritans, for example, to attack and embarrass the Establishment -- and for the Establishment to defend itself -- was to use the medium of print. So much more efficient than preaching -- with

much less risk of detection -- the press replaced the pulpit as the main instrument of religious education and of religious reform.

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PREFACE

Although the English book trade of the Sixteenth century has already received much attention from the standpoint of literary scholarship, yet much less attention has been given to the important part it played in nourishing and stabilizing Protestantism in England. That the printing press rendered invaluable service to the Protestant cause in its initial phase in Germany is clearly evident in the use made of it by Martin Luther. Within a few years of nailing his Ninety-five Theses to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Luther became the most widely read and most influential writer on religious subjects in Germany.¹ This would have been impossible without the aid of the printing press. As soon as Luther published a work in Wittenberg, which became the dominant printing center during the Reformation period, it was printed and reprinted in other places like Leipzig, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strassburg, and Basle, usually at two, three, or four printing presses in the city at once. The average number of editions of his popular works published up to 1520 was twelve, some having fewer but others as many as twenty-four. Of the thirty writings published by Luther between March, 1517, and the summer of 1520, about 370 editions had already been printed by the latter year.² These statistics adequately illustrate the complementary functions of these two great revolutionary developments, the printing press and Protestantism, in Germany; it will be one of the purposes of this study to show their interaction in the establishment of the Protestant faith in England.

Originally, the intended subject of this dissertation was the Elizabethan Puritan press. However, since most of the Puritan³ literature was published by printers who mainly printed Protestant material, it seemed more feasible to expand the study to include the entire Protestant press. Far from ruling out the Puritan press, this expansion enables one to place it in perspective with the Protestant printing effort throughout the Elizabethan period. Nevertheless, the original interest in the Puritans has remained and is evident by the attention and space given to the Puritan movement in the text.

¹Louise W. Holborn, "Printing and the Growth of a Protestant Movement in Germany From 1517 To 1524," Church History, Vol. 11 (1942), p. 129.

²Ibid.

³See p.55 for definition of Puritanism.

Realizing the difficulties inherent in such a broad subject, it seemed advisable to restrict the study to literature printed in English and to exclude Bibles and liturgies: the former, all the more so, because one of the purposes of this study is to show the vast amount of Protestant literature available to the reading public in English, and the latter, because much already has been written about the English Bible, and liturgies fall outside the chief interest of this dissertation, which is in that body of people responsible for the production and publication of Protestant ideology in the English language. It must be emphasized that this is not primarily a study of Elizabethan Protestant literature, but of the themes and aims of Protestant writers, of their patrons, and of the people who printed and distributed Protestant literature.

The main source of information used in this study has been a survey of almost all of the printed Elizabethan Protestant literature in the holdings of the British Museum Library, some seventeen hundred books and pamphlets.¹ Much attention has been paid to the prefatory material with which authors and printers introduce their works, since it is here that one can find their reasons for writing and publishing and references to inter-relationships between authors, publishers, printers and patrons. The literary quality of the works that were produced does not fall within the scope of this study. No attempt is therefore made to assess the aesthetic value of the literature. Of more importance to this study is the number and variety of books and pamphlets, and what types of literature proved to be the most popular.

The subject seems to fall naturally into three main parts. In Part One the use made of the printing press by Protestants is examined by noticing the main themes in Elizabethan Protestant literature and the circumstances giving rise to them. The intention in this section is not to give a detailed description of all the major Protestant works in the period, but merely to illustrate by select examples the spirit and motivation of the writers who provided the raw material for the Elizabethan Protestant press.

¹This includes multiple editions of any one work. The survey was not complete as some works were being repaired, in use to other readers, mislaid, etc.

In Part Two the relationships involved in the patronage and publication of the literature are observed. The various kinds of dedications are first of all examined. Next, and more important to the Protestant cause, an attempt is made to show the particular authors patronized by eminent public figures. It is well known that the Earl of Leicester was the object of many dedications by extreme Protestant writers.¹ But what is less well known, and what this section deals with, are those who patronized the bulk of the Protestant literature, or for that matter, the bulk of radical Protestant literature.

The next group of people involved in the publication of Protestant literature was the printers and publishers. Printing and publishing are discussed together as more often than not they were fulfilled by the same party.² Again, the emphasis is placed on the identification of printers and publishers who produced mainly Protestant literature, and of course those who specialized in Puritan propaganda. In this latter aspect of the Protestant press, it is necessary to point out the part played by printers outside of England -- both on the Continent and in Scotland.

Part Three includes a chapter on the subject of censorship and the conclusion. Control of the press is examined in the first part of the chapter from the standpoint of decrees and ordinances issued from the various bodies involved, e.g., The Privy Council and Stationer's Company. But enforcement of regulations in Elizabethan England was another story; and discussion of that aspect of censorship forms the last part of the chapter.

In addition to bringing together the loose ends of the study, the Conclusion deals with the reaction of the English reading public to Protestant literature. The literary tastes of the public are assessed by one of the few means available to the sixteenth century historian, the number of editions certain works went through.³ Finally an effort is made to gauge the impact of Protestant religious literature upon the English Reformation and society.

A word of explanation is needed about the use of statistics and quotations throughout the study. From Pollard and Redgrave's A Short-Title Catalogue of all books printed until 1640, I compiled

¹Cf. Eleanor Rosenberg, Leicester: Patron of Letters (New York, 1955), p. 73.

²See infra. p. 210

³The average number of copies in an edition seems to have been 1,000. Some exceptions to the rule, however, had 500 and 750. See infra.,

a short-title catalogue of religious works for the Elizabethan period. The information derived from the STC,¹ supplemented by my own research, about authors, translators, printers, booksellers, etc., I reduced to codes for computer processing. Figures, tables, and other compilations used in the text, except otherwise noted, are based on computer print-outs. Quotations from sixteenth century publications are in the original punctuation and spelling.² When quoting from titles in the text of the thesis, quotation marks are used without underlining (as would normally be done in referring to or identifying printed literature) because of wordiness of titles and in the interest of a more attractive finished typescript.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the many people who contributed in some way to the writing of this thesis. To Dr. Patrick Collinson, under whose supervision this study began, and to Dr. Nicholas Tyacke, under whose guidance and direction it was completed, I am particularly indebted. Special thanks are due Dr. Tyacke for the many hours he spent reading, discussing, and criticizing my thesis chapter by chapter. I am especially grateful to the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London and to St. Andrews' College,

¹ Since the completion of this thesis, the second volume (I to Z) of a revised edition of the STC has been published. The first volume (A to H) will not be published until 1980. However, what new material that falls within the Elizabethan period does not alter significantly the statistics compiled nor the conclusions reached in the thesis. A comparison between the old and new editions using the following authors shows little or no change in works attributed to them (what new information there is usually has to do with new issues and editions). A. I., S. I., T. Jackson, W. James, J. Jewel, F. Johnson, J. Keltridge, W. Kempe, W. Kethe, F. Kett, J. Kimedoncius, A. Kingsmill, T. Knell, J. Knewstubb, J. Knox, H. Latimer, H. Languet, R. Le Macon, T. Lever, T. Lodge, Luis de Granada, T. Lupset, T. Lupton, M. Luther, J. Marbecke, F. Marbury, P. van Marnix, M. Marprelate, A. Marten, A. Maunsell, R. Mavericke, J. Melville, J. Northbrooke, R. Openshaw, W. Perkins, T. Rogers, C. Shutte, W. Travers, J. Udall, P. Viret, J. Whitgift, T. Wilcox, A. Willet and U. Zwingli. Authors with the greatest number of additional editions and issues of their works in the revised S. T. C. were J. Jewel (5), T. Knell (3), Luis de Granada (6), T. Lupton (5), M. Luther (4), P. van Marnix (3), M. Marprelate (3), R. Openshaw (3), W. Perkins (24), J. Udall (3) and T. Wilcox (4). However, I examined many of these editions and issues not included in the old S. T. C. and have used them in compiling statistics and arriving at conclusions throughout the thesis. See A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books printed abroad 1475 - 1640 (2nd Ed., Revised and Enlarged Began by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson Completed by Katherine F. Pantzer - Vol. 2, I - Z. London, The Bibliographical Society, (1976).

² A few exceptions arise when quoting from secondary sources.

Saskatoon, for financial assistance in the form of scholarships. To my wife, Maida, I owe a special debt of gratitude not only for encouragement and support but for the many hours spent in typing this thesis. In a very real sense, this is "our" Ph.D. degree. Finally, my sincere appreciation is extended to the librarians and staffs of the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Guildhall, Stationers' Hall, the Lambeth Palace Library, Dr. Williams' Library, University College, and the University of London.

PART ONE

PROTESTANT IDEOLOGY IN PRINT

CHAPTER I: THE BOOK TRADE IN ENGLAND

1. The Growth of the Book trade from 1476 - 1558.

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in November 1558, the printing press had been in operation in England for over eighty years. It was in 1476 that the first printing press with movable types came to England, twenty-five years after the first books had been printed by this means on the continent. The press was set up in Westminster and the owner of it, of course, was William Caxton. Within four years others followed Caxton's example and presses were erected at Oxford in 1478, St. Alban's in 1479, and London in 1480.¹ But the market for printed matter proved to be exceedingly small, so that by the turn of the century there were only three master-printers in England, all of them in London, as printing had lapsed at Oxford and St. Alban's.²

The first thirty-five years of the sixteenth century, however, saw the industry expand once again to the provincial towns and increase its output of literature. By 1535 there were presses operating in York, Cambridge, Tavistock, and Abingdon;³ the extent of the increase in printed matter can be illustrated by examining the number of entries in the Short-title Catalogue of extant works printed in Britain for the period 1475-1534:

88 entries for the years 1475-84					
108	"	"	"	"	1485-94
246	"	"	"	"	1495-04
296	"	"	"	"	1505-14
432	"	"	"	"	1515-24
688	"	"	"	"	1525-34

Allowing for the fact that the older the book the less chance it is extant, these figures give a rough idea of the upward trend of the printing industry in these years.⁴

¹G. Duff, A Century Of The English Book Trade (1948), p. xi.

²C. Clair, A History Of Printing In Britain (1966), p. 1.

³Ibid., pp. 115-119.

⁴Calculations of the number of books here are derived from a rearrangement of A Short-Title Catalogue (edited by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave), in chronological sequence; a card index of which is in the North Library of the British Museum; See also O. M. Willard, "The Survival of English Books Printed Before 1640: A Theory and Some Illustrations," The Library, Ser. 4, Vol. 23, 1942-43, pp. 171-190.

The growing prosperity of the printing industry in England was further enhanced by an act which came into effect on Christmas Day, 1534, and which was devised to protect the native trade from foreign competition. This enactment put an end to all dealing in foreign bound books. It stipulated

that no persons resiant or inhabitant within this realm, after the said feast of Christmas next coming, shall buy to sell again any printed books, brought from any parts out of the king's obeysaunce, ready bound in boards, leather, or parchment upon pain to lose and forfeit for every book bound out of the said king's obeysaunce and brought into this realm and bought by any person or persons within the same to sell again, contrary to the act, 6s. 8d. 1

Furthermore, an added clause stated, from henceforth no foreigner could engage in the retail sale of "any manner of printed books brought from any of the parts beyond the sea."²

Freed from much foreign competition by this act of 1534, which passed fortuitously just when the King began quarrelling with the Pope, the printers seized the opportunity for developing their trade in religious and controversial literature. The output of books continued to rise. For the years 1535-44 we have recorded the titles of 620 books; in the next decade this jumped to 1061; and then levelled off again the following decade to just over 1000.

More significant for this study, because it illustrates the relationship between printing and Protestantism in England, is a comparison of the number of books printed in the initial years of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary when Reformation and reaction, respectively, were the order of the day: The STC records 483 entries for the years 1548-50 and only 323 for 1554-56. With the accession of Edward VI in 1547 and the beginning of Somerset's protectorate, the Protestant party came into power. Somerset immediately put a stop

¹Quoted in Duff, op. cit., pp. xxi-xxii.

²Ibid., p. xxii; It was under this statute that Edward Gylpyn, a London bookbinder, was brought before the Court of Exchequer on June 23, 1542, and accused of importing "ready bound" printed books. About twenty-five years later, before this same Court, Francis Sparye or Sparrye of the parish of St. Michael, Wood St., London, was accused by four London printers (John Cawood, Anthony Smith, Richard Jugge, and William Seres) of importing 178 leather bound printed books from Rouen with the intention of selling them. The four accusers claimed for themselves half of the value (6/8 for each vol.) which, according to the statute, should have been forfeited. H. J. Byrom, "Some Exchequer Cases Involving Members Of The Book Trade, 1534-1558," The Library, Ser. 4, Vol. 16, 1935-36, p. 408ff.

to all persecution of protestants, and England became for a few years "the Mecca of continental reformers" as religious refugees poured in from Europe.¹ The stationers rose to the occasion and a flood of Protestant literature came off the presses to satisfy the expanded market.

In 1535 there had been only about ten printers at work, but by 1550, at the height of Edward's reign, they had increased to approximately twenty, three of them having set up their presses outside of London during Edward's first years at Canterbury, Ipswich, and Worcester;² and more significantly, between 1541 and 1550 at least thirty-five printers hitherto unknown began to print. When it is remembered that the total number of printers who plyed their trade in England in the period 1475-1557 was probably no more than one hundred, this increase in printers is all the more remarkable.³

But when Mary came to the throne in 1553, the reverse of these events took place. By an act passed early in 1554, all foreign refugees who were not denizens were commanded to leave the realm. This act was specially directed against preachers, printers, booksellers and other artificers.⁴ This was followed by two acts in June 1555, against seditious and heretical books printed abroad or secretly printed in England, and the second against the writings of the reformers and the service books of Edward's reign. The latter proclaimed the following:

The King and Queen, our sovereign lord and lady ... minding to root out, and extinguish all false doctrine and heresies, straitly charge and command, that no person or persons ... from henceforth presume to bring or convey ... into this realm any books, writings, or works ... made or set forth by or in the name of Martin Luther ... Oecolampadius, Zwinglius, John Calvin, ... Bullinger, Bucer, Melancton ... Peter Martyr, Hughe Latimer, Robert Barnes ... John Bale ... Miles Coverdale, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer... 5

These enactments were detrimental to a considerable number of printers and booksellers whose business consisted mainly of religious

¹G.R. Elton, England under the Tudors (1963), p. 204.

²Clair, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117. See also F.G.M. Beck, "A New Ipswich Book of 1548," The Library, New Series, 10, 1909, 86-89.

³H. S. Bennett, English Books & Readers 1475-1557, pp. 29, 178, 193.

⁴Hughes and Larkin, Tudor Royal Proclamations, II. 32.

⁵Ibid., II. 58

literature and for the previous two decades most of that was Protestant.¹ Printers such as Richard Grafton, John Day, Edward Whitechurch, and William Copland, the men who had been most active in printing and circulating English Bibles and Protestant theological literature, found themselves having to choose between making a living and following their religious convictions. These men chose to go out of business, at least temporarily, and one, John Day, to engage in clandestine printing.² But for Roman Catholic printers, like Richard Tottell, the removal of Protestants from the booktrade opened wide the gates of opportunity. For Tottell it was a time of prosperity: on April 12, 1553, when he was only about twenty-three years old, he was granted the exclusive right to print for seven years all manner of law books, a lucrative patent that was to help pay for the two houses and three shops he purchased for £80 three years later, in 1556.³

Try as they might, the Marian ecclesiastical authorities were unable to silence the Protestant press in England. A more powerful remedy was called for. The answer was thought to be in the incorporation of the Stationers' Company on the 4th of May, 1557. The preamble of this Charter, which has been described by W. W. Greg as a "master-stroke" of Tudor politics,⁴ clearly states that, as far as the Queen was concerned, the Charter was granted "to provide a suitable remedy" for the daily publishing and printing of "certain seditious and heretical books rhymes and treatises ... by divers scandalous malicious schismatical and heretical persons"⁵ By placing the control of the booktrade in the hands of a single society in London, the Government rendered the task of surveillance of the nation's reading relatively easy.⁶ In effect, this meant that master-printers could now use their experience and knowledge to track down surreptitious presses; and since it was in protection of their

¹H. S. Bennett, English Books & Readers 1475-1557, pp. 26, 195.

²H. J. Byron, "Richard Tottel - His Life and Work," The Library, Ser. 4, Vol. 8, 1927-28, p. 203; see infra., pp. 200ff. for Day's activities in Mary's reign.

³Byron, op. cit., pp. 199, 203, 206. Other Roman Catholic printers at this time were John Wally, John Cawood, and John Wayland.

⁴W. W. Greg and E. Boswell (eds.), Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1576 to 1602 (1930), p. lx.

⁵Arber, Transcript, I. xxviii.

⁶Greg and Boswell, op. cit., p. lx. See also G. Pollard, "The Company of Stationers Before 1557," The Library, Ser. 4, Vol. 18, 1937-38, for the suggestion that the initiative for the Charter came from the Stationers and not the Government; also Arber, Transcript, I. xxvi

own economic interest to do so (there seems to have been a good market for illicit literature¹) they proved themselves to be most efficient. That this action was effective in curbing illegal trade in books was indicated by the fact that Queen Elizabeth confirmed the Charter on November 10, 1559.²

The most telling effect that the Charter had on the book trade as a whole was the restrictions it imposed on the practice of printing. Only a member of the Company or person with a licence under royal Letters Patent could now practice the art or mystery of printing. Since the only other outside bodies to receive the royal licence were the universities at Oxford and Cambridge, and by this time they had ceased printing and would not begin again until the 1580's, this had the effect of limiting printing to London and the suburbs. Furthermore, it had the effect of stabilizing the number of master printers. It has already been noticed that there were about twenty in 1550. Twenty-three years later, in 1583, there were only 23 master printers with a total number of 53 presses; by July 1586 this had increased to 25 master printers while the number of presses remained constant; and on May 9, 1615, the Court of the Company limited the number of master printers to approximately 20 and presses to 37.³

The Charter also conferred wide ranging powers upon the Master and Wardens of the Company. Not only were they empowered to "make search whenever it shall please them in any place, shop, house, chamber, or building of any printer, binder or bookseller whatever within our kingdom of England or the dominions of the same" for clandestine presses and illicit literature, but they could "imprison or commit to jail any such person so practising or exercising the foresaid art or mystery contrary to the foresaid form, or as is stated above, disturbing, refusing on hindering, there to remain without bail for the space of three months" In addition to confinement in prison there was a fine of £5 for each offence, which was divided equally between the Queen and the Company.⁴

¹ Infra., pp. 213-14.

² Arber, Transcript, I. xxxii. For an undated document, but which was probably written 1559, requesting the confirmation of the Stationers' Charter, see State Papers, Dom. Eliz., Vol. 15, No. 37; printed in ibid, I. 350.

³ Arber, Transcript, I. 248, V. lii; see also Greg and Boswell, op. cit., p. xxxix.

⁴ Arber, Transcript, p. xxxi

From Caxton's time to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign many changes had occurred in the book trade. Printing had dramatically expanded, if not created, the wholesale trade in books, and economic dominance had passed from the retailer to the wholesaler. Alien printers had played a considerable part in all of this, especially in the early years (for example, in 1500-1510 when all the master printers in England were aliens); but by 1559, although their number had increased, they were no longer the employers but the employed.¹ For many aliens and foreigners, (the latter refers to English workmen who were not free of the city), who were not acceptable to the Court of the Company or were unable to purchase their freedom, there was a kind of admission to membership as a "Brother" upon payment of any sum up to ten shillings. Although Brothers who were book-sellers or bookbinders were allowed to be independent masters and employ free journeymen or other Brothers, their apprentices had to be bound officially to freemen. Printers among them could only work for full members of the Company. When Richard Schilders was found operating his own press in 1578, the Court of Assistants ordered him to cease and assigned his work and him as a journeyman to Thomas Dawson.² These regulations were indicative of the change in status of aliens and foreigners in the English book-trade, brought about by anti-alien feelings that had been aroused by economic competition between native and foreigner since the early part of the sixteenth century.

The accession of Elizabeth was the signal for many aliens and exiles who had fled the country at the beginning of the previous reign to return. That a considerable number of these found employment in the book trade is indicated by the fact that more alien and foreign workmen were admitted to the Company as Brothers in 1561 than in any other year of the reign.³ Anti-alien sentiment came to the surface again in Elizabeth's reign and was to be a factor, though a minor one, in the quarrel that arose over patents in the late 1570's and early 1580's.

¹G. Pollard, "The Company of Stationers Before 1557," The Library, Ser. 4, Vol. 18, 1937-38, p. 35. See also his "The Early Constitution of the Stationers' Company," ibid., pp. 235-260.

²Greg and Howell, op. cit., p. 8; see also C. Blagden, The Stationers' Company A History, 1403-1959 (1960), pp. 27, 34-36.

³Ibid., Appendix I, p. 284.

2. The Elizabethan Protestant Press

The Elizabethan period was especially important for the publication of Protestant literature. For forty-five years, without interruption, English Protestantism was able to accumulate its own literature -- a literature which expressed among other things its distinctive, if somewhat varied, views on worship and Church government. Although it is impossible to reconstruct a completely accurate account of the output of printed literature during the Elizabethan period, yet there are some statistics available which may give a rough idea of the numbers and types of books and pamphlets that were in circulation.

W. W. Greg calculated that the original register of the Stationers' Company, in which copyrights were entered, contained 1,600 entries for the years 1557-1571 and 9,400 for 1576-1640, an annual average for the former period of 114 and 147 for the latter period.¹ But this figure does not give a completely accurate picture of the printed output for three reasons: (1) Printers who exercised patents over certain kinds of literature usually did not record the individual titles in the register.² (2) It cannot be proved that all works entered were actually put into print, although it seems likely that they were.³ (3) It is clear also that there were books printed that were neither covered by Letters Patent nor entered in the register.⁴ It is here, however, that Pollard and Redgrave's STC is of great help. Again, using Greg's figures, the STC records as extant some 520, or nearly one-third, of the 1,600 entered in the period 1557-1576 and 5,580, or 59.38% of the 9,400 entered in 1576-1640. Taking both periods together, the STC identifies as extant 55 1/2% of all entries.⁵ When it is considered that it also records many works that were not entered in the register, it seems reasonable to believe

¹W. W. Greg, "Entrance, License, and Publication," The Library, Ser. 4, Vol. 25, 1944-45, p. 1

²Arber, Transcript, III. 16-17.

³See G.B. Harrison, "Books and Readers, 1599-1603," The Library, Ser. 4, Vol. 14, 1933-34, pp. 2-3, for figures for books entered and not entered during this period (1599-1603): 458 entered and 201 not entered.

⁴L. Kirschbaum, "The Copyright of Elizabethan Plays," The Library, Ser. 5, Vol. 14, 1959, p. 235-236.

that the STC represents an adequate cross-section of Elizabethan printed literature.

For the period 1558-1603 the STC records a total number of extant works, including subsequent editions of any one work, of 7,953. Of this number, 2,863 or 37% were printed in English and fall within the category of Protestant religious literature. (This figure does not include liturgies or the 273 editions of the Bible, or portions of it, printed in the period). The full significance of this body of literature can only be grasped when it is translated into the total number of single copies it represents. The usual number of copies in an edition was between 1,000 and 1,250, although there were a few exceptions consisting of 500, 750, and 3,000.¹ The total number of copies of Elizabethan Protestant religious works, therefore, if the normal size of an edition is used, amounts to between not less than 2,863,000 and 3,578,750. If broken down into the last four decades of the reign, the following picture emerges:

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Editions</u>	<u>Min. Copies</u>	<u>Max. Copies</u>
1563-1572	403	403,000	503,750
1573-1582	740	740,000	925,000
1583-1592	794	794,000	992,500
1593-1603	835	835,000	1,043,750

These figures from the STC, it must be remembered, neither include approximately 44% of the copyright entries in the original Stationers' register, most of which probably were printed but are no longer extant, nor works in foreign languages, liturgies, Bibles or portions of Scripture.²

The bulk of this literature, written by over eight hundred authors, consisted of works of devotion; apologetical and polemical treatises; expositions on theology and practical christianity; and commentaries and sermons. It is not surprising that most of this was written by ministers and theologians (although at least twenty-three laymen contributed to it). As Radford Mavericke observed, in his Saint Peters Chaine(1596), he had never heard of "anie godly man" complaining that there were "too manye bookes tending to virtue, and godlines," and that his fellow-preachers ought to make use of the pen as well as the pulpit. He was convinced that writing for publication was, rather than a hindrance, "a furtheraunce unto

¹Greg and Boswell, op. cit., p. lvi.

²Supra, p. 18

preaching: for can any write without studying? and wil not that studying help them in preaching?"¹ Mavericke looked upon publication as an incentive for the preacher to further his education; there were others who thought much more of it than that.

John Foxe, for example, thought of printing as an instrument given by God for the advancement of Protestantism. He wrote the following in the preface of The Whole works of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doct. Barnes (1573):

As we have great cause to geeve thankes to the high providence of almighty God, for the excellent arte of Printing, most happely of late found out, and now commonly practised everywhere, to the singular benefite of Christes Church, wherby great increase of learnying and knowledge, with innumerable commoditites els have ensued, and especially to the fartheraunce of true Religion I suppose this science of Printing first to be set up and set of God to mans use, not so much for temporall commoditie to be taken, or mans glory to be sought thereby, but rather for the spirituall and inwarde supportation of soule-health, helpe of Religion, restoring of true doctrine, repayring of Christes Church, and repressing of currupt abuses, which had heretofore overdarckened the doctrine of fayth, to revive agayne the lost lyght of knowledge to these blynde tymes, by renuing of holsome and auncient writers: whose doinges and teachinges otherwise had lyen in oblivion, had not the benefite of Printing brought them agayne to light, or us rather to light by them. 2

For such books and the printers of them, Foxe went on to say, Protestants should praise God. It was to this task of furthering "true Religion" -- Protestantism -- that Elizabethan authors and publishers synchronized their talents. The result was a flood of literature thoroughly Protestant, at times virulently anti-Catholic and, on the whole, uniquely English.

¹Sigs. A3V-A4.

²Sig. A2.

CHAPTER II THE AFFIRMATION AND DEFENCE OF PROTESTANTISM

The settlement of religion in England was one of the most pressing problems that confronted Elizabeth when she ascended the throne. Already the nation had undergone conversion and reversion within a period of twenty years. The question now on the lips of her people was whether she would pursue religious policies similar to Edward's, her Protestant half-brother, or to Mary's, her Catholic half-sister. Catholics could only hope for the best, for there seemed little doubt that the broad lines of her future policies would be somewhat Protestant.¹ Protestant expectations were high: they looked upon Elizabeth as one sent from God for their deliverance. As one Protestant later reflected: King Henry VIII and King Edward VI were "the foundation of the Temple" but God sent Elizabeth to be "a wall and a hedge to his vineyard to keepe out the wilde boare: a goodly tree to give shade to the beasts of the field, and succour to the foules of the aire, a nurse to the people of God, to carry them in your bosome, as the nurse beareth the sucking child. The Lord Christ would once againe hang upon the breasts of a Virgin: God hath raised you up a Deborah to judge Israel, an Esther to deliver the Church...."² As it turned out, Elizabeth avoided the extremes of both Edward and Mary, and had established a unique form of Protestantism by the end of her reign.

In fact when James succeeded Elizabeth, one author, Miles Mosse, remarked that the Roman Catholics had shown "slender tokens of joy" at Elizabeth's accession but "lesser a great deale" at James'. The papists, he continued, never expected "that all the estates of the land should conjoine as one person" in acclaiming James their sovereign.³ Undoubtedly Mosse's great relief and pleasure at the proclaiming of a Protestant successor, and such a zealous one, to Elizabeth led him to exaggerate the degree of unity in England regarding the succession question. That the gist of his statement was accurate, however, is more than likely; England stood at the door of the seventeenth century thoroughly Protestant in religion and politics, with the majority of its population sympathetic to Protestantism, or

¹J. E. Neale, Queen Elizabeth (1937), pp. 61-62.

²Andrew Willet, Synopsis Papismi, That IS, A General Viewe of Papistry(1592), sig. A2.

³M. Mosse, Scotlands Welcome(1603), sig. F2v.

at least acquiescent.

The establishment of Protestantism in Elizabethan England had not been without its setbacks, problems and opponents. Friction within and attacks from without threatened the Church of England at various times throughout the reign, and were reflected in the literature of the period. In such conflicts the printing press became far more than just a weapon utilized by ecclesiastics and theologians in religious quarrels; it became the means of reaching and influencing large segments of the public and perhaps ultimately affecting the pattern of English society.

One noticeable trend in the literature of the period -- and one could argue in society at large -- was the increase in quantity and in virulence of anti-Catholic sentiment. As a recent article on Elizabethan anti-Catholicism stated: "During the reigns of Queen Elizabeth I and her successor, James I, hatred of Catholics, once the private obsession of religious extremists, developed into a part of the national ideology. It would be impossible to say exactly when this change took place, but certainly by the time the Queen died, no good Englishman could have defined his national identity without some mention of his distaste for Rome, and this remained the case for the greater part of the seventeenth century."¹ It is the contention of this chapter that the Elizabethan Protestant press played an important role in making anti-Catholicism "a part of the national ideology," but it did so only incidentally to its main purpose of affirming and defending Protestantism. In other words, the thesis stating that anti-Catholicism helped bind the nation together during a time of insecurity should be inverted: it was the menace posed by anti-Protestant, and therefore anti-English forces, which helped bring unity to the nation.² The most notable example of this that comes to mind, of course, was the Spanish Armada, which threatened both English Church and state. Surely it was the sense of self-preservation which united the English, at this time, and not "anti-Spanish" sentiment. Yet the latter position is a logical extension of the thesis that anti-Catholicism helped England to find a "national ideology."

¹Carol Z. Wiener, "The beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," Past and Present, No. 51, 1971, p. 27.

²See ibid., p. 28.

The Link with Continental Protestantism

In a world that had been dominated religiously, and often politically, for centuries by the Roman Catholic Church it was natural for the devotees and advocates of a new faith, in its initial stages, to be preoccupied with the affirmation and defence of it. It was also to be expected that great pressures would be brought to bear upon those who would dare to forsake the faith of their fathers. This conflict of religious interests had been going on in England for almost thirty years when Elizabeth became Queen. Although her accession had been the occasion of great rejoicing for Protestants, it was by no means the end of the conflict. In fact, it was the beginning of a struggle of forty-five years duration in which she would be looked upon as the Pope's chief antagonist.

Geographically, England was isolated from the main bodies of Protestants in Europe and vulnerable to the great Catholic powers of the day, Spain and France. Thus both politically and psychologically, communication between English and Continental Protestantism was to be of mutual importance in their survival. One reflection of this was the interest throughout the period in the fortunes of Protestants abroad in defending their faith.

Since the Protestants of France were the closest geographically to England, it was not unexpected that the English would maintain a keen interest in their affairs. Therefore, when Theodore Beze accompanied with eleven ministers and twenty deputies of the Reformed Church of France put their case, in 1561, before the King, the Queen mother, the King of Navarre, the Princes of Condé, and other members of the royal family, along with six Cardinals, thirty-six Archbishops, Bishops, and Doctors of the Sorbonne, accounts of the conference soon found their way into print in England.¹ Beze was reported to have said that after his first address to the dignitaries "nothings was spared to make our cause more odious."² He then put before the assembly once again the case for the reformed Churches of France:

¹ See An Oration made by Master Theodore de Beze, Minister of the word of God...in the presence of the King...Tuesday the .ix. day of September, 1561. in the Noonery of Poyssi. Truly gathered & set fort is such sorte as it was spoken by the said de Beze.... Printed by Richard Jugge, Queen's Printer, n.d. British Museum General Catalogue queries date as 1562.

² The Second Oration of Master Theodore de Beze...., n.d., sig. A2. Again queried in B.M. Gen. Cat. as 1562.

We are heare presented untoo you, for twoo principall endes and purposes: the one is to render a reason, both to God, to you and to the worlde, of one fayth. The other for to serve God, the kinge and you, by all meanes to us possible for to appease the troubles that are rayseed in the matter of religion. If you send us a waye, and not appointinge us with whome we may freendly conferre, ther shall be nothings done unto us but it wyll be published thorowe out all Christendome: and so it should not be a meane to quiet and apease the troubles: and those that woulde it so, knowe it well ynoughe. ¹

Later on an account was published of a similar conference held at Paris "betweene two Papist Doctours of Sorbone, and two godlie Ministers of the Church," in which Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the translator, remarked that the "expresse difference betweene the rude sophistrie of the Papistes, and milde simplicitie of the reformed side" could be observed. ²

As time passed and the Huguenot cause became more and more embroiled in the politics of France, pamphlet after pamphlet came off the English presses bringing news of developments there. Most of them recounted the experiences and exploits of Henry, King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé. ³ There were more than thirty of these, all of them dealing generally with the politico-religious friction in France and the majority particularly concerned with edicts, answers, declarations, orations, and with victories by King Henry. While there is no evidence that any of these was related to the machinations of Elizabeth and Cecil regarding the proposed marriage of the Queen and the duke of Alençon, they did paint a favourable picture of Protestantism in France. ⁴

Other works continued to bring the French Protestant cause before the English public. In 1579, John Day published An Apology or defence

¹ Ibid., Sig. A5.

² Actes of conference in Religion, Holden at Paris, betweene two Papist Doctours of Sorbone, and two godlie Ministers of the Church, 1571, sig. A3

³ See Instructions given by the Princes of Navarre, and the Princes of Conde, the Counte of Colligny ... and other Lords & Gentlemen of their counsell....(1570), A Letter written by the King of Navarr, to the three estates of Fraunce (1589), A Declaration and Protestation, published by the King of Navarre, the L. Prince of Conde. and the L. Duke of Montmorency, concerning the peace concluded....(1594).

⁴ See STC. Nos. 13105-13147; also C. Read, "William Cecil And Elizabethan Public Relations," op. cit., p. 35.

for the Christians of Fraunce which are of the Evangelical or reformed religion.... by Innocent Gentillet and translated by Sir Jerome Bowes. Another work bearing the deceptive title, A Catholicke Apologie Against the Libels De-clarations Made, Written, and published by those of the League, perturbors of the quiet Estate of the Realme of France....,¹ written by Edmond de L'Allouette, advanced the Protestant position of supporting the succession of Henry of Navarre even though the author claimed he had "bene a Catholick, and lived under the authoritie of the Apostolicke Romish Church" all his life.² When Henry finally became King and decided that Paris was "worth a mass", the edict which embodied his compromise was translated by Arthur Golding and published by Thomas Vautrollier. With mixed feelings English Protestants read the pamphlet and learned that their French brethren could now practise their faith freely with but one exception -- that they "forbeare the open excercyse thereof, and within two leagues about the same."³

In addition to France, other European nations received attention in English Protestant literature broadening still more the intellectual and geographic outlook of Protestants in England, making them acutely aware of a religious conflict that surmounted national barriers, and helping to stiffen their determination to affirm and defend the Protestant faith at home. Reports of the progress of the Protestant cause in the Netherlands focused attention on William, Prince of Orange, some of them, for example, giving accounts of his defence against the Duke of Alba,⁴ supporting him against the proclamation by the King of Spain,⁵ and, when an attempt was made to

¹Printed for Edward Aggas, n.d. B.M. Gen. Cat. queries date as 1590.

²Ibid., sig. A4v. See also Robert [Bellarmine], Saint. Cardinal, Archbishop of Capua, for Reply to the Principal Points of the Argument, which is falsely entitled Catholic, for the Succession of Henry of Navarre.... (n.d.), Reproduced in 1950. BM Pressmark 3902, i. 15.

³The Edict Or Proclamation Set Forthe By The Frenche Kinge upon the Pacifying of the troubles in Fraunce.... n.d. B.M. Pressmark C.33. a. 22.

⁴A Declaration and publication of the Prince of Orange, n.d. (1568?) STC. No. 25708.

⁵The Apologie Or Defence, Of The Most Noble Prince of William, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange....Against the Proclamation and Edict, published by the King of Spaine...., printed at Delft, 1581.

assassinate him, condemning the perpetrator of the dastardly deed.¹ When England became involved in the troubles in the Netherlands, interest in that part of Europe increased and the government felt compelled to justify its policies in A Declaration of The Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries.²

Literature bearing news of Protestant fortunes in other countries was less frequent, but enough to remind English Protestants of their foreign brethren. Pamphlets such as The troubles of Geneva.... and A Christian Confession of the late moste noble and mightie Prince, Friderich.... (1547) stirred memories of the countries in which the great reformers had initiated and advanced the Reformation. Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, preached a sermon at the funeral solemnity of the German Emperor Ferdinand, extolling his alleged Protestantism. Cecil thought it "so good and discreet a sermon" that it was published in English and Latin.³

Alongside this literature of national Protestantism there appeared now and again calls for international unity in the face of Roman Catholicism.⁴ A highpoint was reached in this movement for closer co-operation between Protestant churches in 1586 when there appeared a work of just more than 350 octavo sized leaves entitled, An Harmony Of The Confessions Of The Faith Of The Christian And Reformed Churches, which purelie professe the holy doctrine of the Gospell in all the chiefe Kingdomes, Nations, and Provinces of Europe⁵ This work, prepared by Theodore Beza and Jean F. Salvard, one of Beza's Geneva colleagues, displayed the similarity

¹ A True Discourse Of The Assault Committed Upon The Person of the most noble Prince, William Prince of Orange...., 1582.

² Printed by Christopher Barker, Queen's Printer, 1585.

³ W. Nicholson (ed.), The Remains of Edmund Grindal (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 1-31; see Cecil to Smith, Oct. 4, 1564, quoted in C. Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 327.

⁴ A pithie, and most earnest exhortation, concerning the estate of Christendome, together with the meanes to preserve and defend...., printed at Antwerpe, 1583. Also A Confession of Faith, made by common consent of divers reformed Churches beyond the Seas, 1571. (BM Pressmark 3505. bb. 5.).

⁵ Printed by Thomas Thomas, Cambridge, 1586. This work was suppressed by Archbishop Whitgift shortly after the press began to operate. See N. Tyacke, "Arminianism in England in Religion and Politics, 1604-1640" (Unpublished D. Phil thesis, Oxford, 1969), pp. 48-49. See also R.B. McKerrow, "The Supposed Calling-In Of Drayton's 'Harmony Of The Church', 1591," The Library, Third Series, 1, 1910, 348-350.

of fifteen Protestant confessions, and is, commented John T. McNeill, "a landmark in ecumenical history."¹ The preface concludes with a general call for unity in the defence of the Protestant faith:

Ye therefore most gracious Kings, Dukes, Earls,
Marquesses, most famous Barons, & noble Lords, ye
Cities, and Common welthes, ye most wise Pastours,
Doctours, and, to be short, all Christian people,
professing the trueth of the Gospell, be present in
soules and bodies, suffer not the poyson of discord
to spread any farther: but kill this hurtfull serpent,
and receive with a Christian minde as is meete, and
as is offered unto you this most sure token & earnest
of the everlasting friendships of the French and
Belgian Churches with you, offered to you in the face
of the whol world: that we beeing by a friendly league
coupled together in Christ, may vanquish all Anti-
christes, and may sing that hymne to the Lord our
God, Beholde how good and joyfull a thing it is,
brethren to dwell together in unitie.

But even as this call for international unity was circulating in print, national unity in English Protestantism was far from being realized.

Protestant-Catholic Literary Skirmishes

While books and pamphlets were coming off the presses relating accounts of Protestant-Catholic confrontations over political and religious issues on the continent, at home in England Protestants and Catholics had joined combat in literary apologetics. Controversies arose out of a sermon by John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, the Elizabethan religious settlement, the Oath of Supremacy, the question of Roman Catholic attendance at Protestant churches, and numerous doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants.

Right from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in fact on November 26, 1559, when Bishop Jewel preached his famous "Challenge" sermon at Paul's Cross, authors took up their pens to champion either the cause of Protestantism or Catholicism. After listing and attacking articles of the Roman Catholic faith, Jewel concluded his sermon with the challenge that

If any man alyve were hable to prove, any of these
articles by ani one clear, or playne clause, or sentence,
eyther of the scriptures: or of the olde doctours: or

¹ John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, (New York, 1967), p. 275.

of ani olde generall Counsell: or by any example of
the primitive church: I [promise I will] geve over
and subscribe vnto hym. 1

The sermon was repeated at Court on March 17, 1560, and the next day Doctor Henry Cole wrote a letter to Bishop Jewel accepting the challenge.

The controversy was on; but Cole's part in it was brief. His reply to Jewel's second letter on April 8, 1560, proved to be his last contribution. Towards the end of the year, the Challenge sermon and their correspondence reached the public in print.²

In 1562 Bishop Jewel intensified the controversy by publishing his Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, a work Robert Parsons claimed was written in response to Thomas Harding's An Answere to Maister Juelles Challenge which had been privately circulated for two or three years prior to its publication in 1564. It was translated into English in the same year under the direction of Archbishop Parker, and two years later another translation by Lady Ann Bacon came off the press. Jewels Apologia drew the following commendation from Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely: "It is marvelouse well Don to set uppe men abowte such matters. I am sure that neither, in kyng Henry nor kyng Edwardes tyme our late soveraynes was any suche ke[e]ne sworde Drawen to cut the adversaryes."³

Jewel and Harding were the chief figures in the contention, yet more and more people were to be drawn into its sphere as time went on. Before it began to die out, at least fourteen authors had attacked the Protestant position by either reiterating and lending support to arguments already advanced or by opening a new line of argument, while the parry and thrust of the Protestant cause was maintained by at least seven writers.⁴ An indication of the dimensions of the dispute is readily perceived in Doctor Southern's list

¹Quoted in A. C. Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582, (1950), p. 60.

²Ibid., pp. 61-62. For Jewel's sermon see The copie of a Sermon, 1560, and the correspondence, The true copies of the letters, 1560.

³Cox to Sir. W. Cecil, Jan. 19, 1562-1563, S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 21, Art. 18.

⁴See Southern., pp. 61-66 for a complete outline of this controversy and the many works it involved. Protestants later to become involved were Bishop Cooper, Alexander Nowell, William Fulke, J. Calphill, John Barthlet and Edward Dering.

of sixty-four contributions between 1559 and 1580. For the English reading public this constituted a considerable body of literature which clearly delineated the issues in dispute between Protestants and Catholics.

While the above controversy was going on, other writers were engaged in polemics over various issues in the Protestant-Catholic conflict. Walter Haddon took it upon himself to reply in 1563 to a letter written by Jeronymo de Fonseca (1506-80), Bishop of Silves, to Queen Elizabeth attacking the Elizabethan religious settlement and urging her to return to the Catholic Church. This began a controversy which lasted for thirty-five years.¹ Haddon's major contribution to it proved to be his last work; in fact John Foxe the Martyrologist had to complete it upon the former's death. When a translation of the original Latin edition was printed by John Day in 1581, it consisted of 528 quarto leaves. In concluding a dedication to Phillip, Earl of Arundell, in which anti-Catholic invective is liberally sprinkled, James Bell, the translator, remarks that "the Argumentes herein conteined, [are] armed at all pointes, agaynst all assaultes, and practizes of all the mase-moungers, meritemoungers, pardonmoungers, Confessionmoungers, and all other of the Popish rable whatsoever in the world."² The work itself discusses doctrines such as justification by faith, predestination, freewill and other controversial doctrines.³

Another controversy that began in the early part of the reign was that between John Feckenham, former Abbot of Westminster, and Bishop Robert Horne of Winchester. Feckenham had refused to take the Oath of the Queen's Supremacy and had been sent to the Tower. Later, in October 1563, he was released into the custody of Bishop Horne, at which time he submitted to the Bishop a treatise explaining his position regarding the Oath. The dispute came to the attention of the public in 1564 when an enlarged version of Feckenham's treatise was secretly spread abroad.⁴ In reply to this

¹ Ibid., p. 119

² Walter Haddon, Against Jerome Osorius Byshopp of Silvane in Portingall and against his slaunderous Invectives...., sig. 4.

³ See John Strype, Annals of the Reformation, (1824) Vol. I, pts. 1-2 and Vol. III, pt. 1 for a more complete account of this controversy.

⁴ Southern, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

there appeared in 1566 An Answere Made by Rob. Bishoppe of Wynchester.... in which he attacked Feckenham for "such scruples, and staies of conscience, touching the Oath of the Supremacy." This brought forth a "Counterblast" by Thomas Stapleton against Horne in 1567, which in turn evoked a reply from John Bridges, the final contribution in the controversy. Bridge's work came off the press in 1573 consisting of approximately 630 quarto leaves and was a double-barrelled attack on Stapleton's "Counterblast" and Nicolas Sanders' De Visibli Monarchia Ecclesiae. That he considered the issue in question to be much deeper than personal scruples, Bridges made clear in the title of his work: The Supremacie of Christian Princes, over all throughout their dominions, in all causes so well Ecclesiastical as temporall.... He points this out to the Queen in his dedication by remarking that "it is now a good while since ... that this Maister Stapletons Counterblast was blowne over the seas from Lovaine, against the Bishop of Winchester, or rather against the Quenes Majestie and hir Supremacie...."¹

In addition to the controversies concerning fundamental doctrinal issues raised by Jewel's sermon, the Elizabethan religious settlement, and the Oath of Supremacy, there was the question of Roman Catholic attendance at Protestant churches, an issue which touched the public much more directly than the others. This had been a tortuous question for many people in the early years of the reign and with the arrival of the Jesuits in England in 1580 the question was revived.² Although other Catholics had written regarding this before Robert Parsons, it was his A Brief Discours contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church (1580) that brought forth answers from John Field and Perceval Wiburn in 1581. Parsons had attacked Field as "a strange brain-sick fellow, whom Newgate possessed for a long time for his fantastical opinions" and argued that the Puritans were a greater danger to the peace and unity of England than the Catholics.³ Field replied with typical anti-Catholic vituperation and addressed his pamphlet to Parsons and "all the rest of that darke broode, and uncleane cage of papistes, who with their untimely bookes, seeke the discredite of the trueth, and the disquiet of this Church of

¹ Sig. 1.

² Southern, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

³ Quoted in Patrick Collinson, "John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism," Elizabethan Government and Society, (1961), p. 143.

England." In his dedication to the Earl of Leicester, he defended himself against Parson's charge that he, in a former dedication to Leicester,

insinuated the Papists to be enemies of God, and to her royal majestie. This he saith, I have done to excite youre honour to persecution. The truth is, I did it to youre honour, because, that as God hath set you in a cheefe place over his church, so you and all the rest of your calling, might watch against such enemies, and discharge that trust he hath committed unto you, both to stoppe from farther undermining the Church of God, which evermore they have hitherto endeavored: and also stande for the preservation of the Queene...upon whome howsoever now they flatter and faune for favour and commodity, they have bene, are, and shal be found her most dangerous enemies....¹

Wiburn's work A checke or reproofe of M. Howlets untimely screeching echoed the same theme while unfolding "the papists traiterous and treacherous doctrine and demeanour towards our Sovereigne and the State."²

Similar polemics continued throughout the period on various subjects which roused and provoked both Catholic and Protestant. There was the controversy concerning the "Scroll of Articles" that Cardinal Allen left with a gentleman to publish in 1565 when he fled the country, and subsequently embodied in works by Richard Bristow and an anonymous writer.³ William Fulke took the lead in parrying this Catholic thrust by replying in three works between 1577 and 1581.⁴ He was assisted by Oliver Carter and Robert Crowley when they also countered the works of Bristow and the anonymous writer in 1579 and 1588 respectively.⁵

¹ A Caveat for Parsons Howlet...., 1581, sig. A2.

² See also A briefe Confutation, of a Popish Discourse...by John Howlet...., 1581, by William Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in which he mentions, on sig. A1, that his pamphlet is just a make-shift reply as "the full and large aunswere ... is to be expected from a man of singular learning and diligence, as soone as it may bee done conveniently." This might be a reference to Wiburn as his work consisted of over 180 quarto leaves and, like Fulke's was printed by Thomas Dawson. Field's reply only had 60 octavo leaves, and was printed by Robert Waldegrave, while Fulke's ran to 60 quarto leaves.

³ Southern, op. cit., p. 144.

⁴ Two Treatises written against the Papistes...., 1577; A Retentive, To Stay Good Christians...., 1580; and A rejoinder to Bristows Replie in defence of Allens scroll of Articles and Booke of Purgatorie, 1581.

⁵ Oliver Carter, An Answere made by Oliver Carter, Bachelor of Divinitie, and Robert Crowley, A Deliberat answere made to a rash offer, which a popish Anti-christian Catholique, made to a learned protestant....

Then came a flurry of Protestant attacks against Edmund Campion's "Letter to the Lords of the Council" in the period of 1580-86. This Letter, commonly called Campion's "Challenge", was written shortly after he arrived in England in June 1580. It was a statement of his dedication to the Roman Catholic Church and an explanation of his presence in the country. He wrote it at the urging of a friend who thought it would be wise to have a prepared statement in the event of Campion's arrest to counter the false statements and rumours that would surely arise. But the friend to whom Campion entrusted the "Challenge", released it soon after he received it, and hence the battle began.

William Charke was the most active on the Protestant side with three works, or possibly four.¹ Meredith Hanmer came next with two and was followed by Robert Crowley, Henry Trippe, and an anonymous writer with one each.² Before it came to an end, at least twenty contributions had been made to the controversy.³

Going on at the same time was a contention involving the enigmatic figure of John Nichols who, after his return to Protestantism (he had renounced previously his Protestant faith in Rome), wrote three attacks upon his former faith and then retracted them at a later date.⁴ In his first work, in which he declares his recantation and desire to be reconciled to "the true Church of Christ in England," he describes himself as the Pope's scholar "for the space almost of two yeeres... in the English Seminarie or Colledge at Rome."⁵ There quickly followed The Oration and Sermon made at Rome ... By John Nichols....

¹ An answere to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroad...., 1580; A Replie to a Censure...., 1581; An Answere for the time...., 1583 (STC attributes this to Charke); and A Treatise Against The Defence Of The Censure, Given Upon The Books of W. Charke, and Meredith Hanmer...., 1586.

² Meredith Hanmer: The Great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite...., 1581; The Jesuites Banner, Displaying their original and successe: their vow and othe...., 1581. Robert Crowley: An Aunser to sixe Reasons...., 1581, to which Henry Trippe's A breefe Aunswer tosixe Reasons.... was appended. Anonymous: A true report of the Disputation or rather private Conference had in the Tower of London, with Ed. Champion Jesuite, January 1583.

³ Southern, op. cit., p. 151. For outline of Catholic and Protestant contributions and the reproduction of Campion's "Challenge", see pp. 151-156.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 160-164.

⁵ A declaration of the recantation of John Nichols...., 1581.

and John Niccols Pilgrimage, wherein is desplayed the lives of the proude Popes, ambitious Cardinales, Lecherrous Bishops, fat bellied Monkes, and hypocriticall Jesuites, both printed in 1581 respectively by John Charlewood and Thomas Dawson. In the same year Robert Parsons replied, charging Nichols with false reports and misrepresentation and annexing to his refutation "a late information from Rome touching the autentical copie of Nicols recantation."¹ This, of course, provoked a response from Protestants: in 1582 Thomas Lupton published his retort to Parsons refutation calling it a "pernitious booke... privily printed, covertly cast abroad, and secretelv solde,"² and in the following year Dudley Fenner's An Answere unto The Confutation of John Nicholas.... came off John Wolfe's press. William Allen, it seems, had the last word in the controversy when he reported in 1583 the "late apprehension and imprisonment" of Nichols and, once again, of his confession and recantation at Rouen.³

Protestants continued to engage in polemics with Catholic authors throughout the Elizabethan period. Five replies to Roman Catholic works were published in the 1580's by William Fulke,⁴ Thomas Sampson and William Whitaker.⁵ In an interesting work reflecting the division and heartache among families and friends caused by this religious conflict Robert Crowley, in 1586, answered a letter written by "Fryer John Frauncis of Nigeon in Fraunce" to his mother. Friar John Francis' mother had been Crowley's servant "in the time of her virginity," and who later asked Crowley's wife to be her son's God-mother, an honour she accepted and "undertook for him at the Fountaine of Regeneration: which mooued both her and mee," remarked

¹ Southern, op. cit., p. 163.

² The Christian against the Jesuite...., 1582.

³ Southern, op. cit., pp. 162, 164.

⁴ A Defense of the sincere and true Translations of the holie Scriptures into the English tong, against...impudent slaunders of Gregorie Martin...., 1583; A Confutation Of A Treatise Made...In Defense of the Unsurped power of Popish Priesthood to remit sinnes, of the necessity of shrift, and of the Popes Pardons, 1586; and The Text Of The New Testament of Jesus Christ, Translated...by the Papists...., 1589. See also Thomas Cartwright, The Answere To the Preface of the Rhemish Testament, 1602.

⁵ Thomas Sampson, A Brieffe collection of the Church, and of certayne Ceremonies thereof, gathered by Thomas Samson, 1581; William Whitaker, An Answer to a certeine booke...., 1585.

Crowley, "to have ... an especiall care for his good education." But when he was eighteen years old, the son left home, made his way to Rheims and took holy orders. His later was an explanation of his actions and a plea to his parents to relinquish their Protestant faith and return to the Catholic Church.¹

As the Roman Catholic campaign intensified in the years just prior to the Armada under the leadership of the Jesuits, and continued throughout the reign, other bitter anti-Catholic invectives appeared. An epigraph on the title page of one of these illustrates the fear of the Jesuit "invasion" and the dread of their "power" over the people which seemed to pervade Elizabethan government: "And out of the smoke of the pit there went out Locusts into the earth, and they had power given to them like unto scorpions."²

Against Catholic Institutions

Protestants polemics against specific Roman Catholic authors was only one aspect of the great volume of literature defending and affirming the Protestant position. Another aspect was the specific attacks on Catholic institutions, such as the Council of Trent, the orders of Jesuits and seminary Priests, and the Papacy.

In the three sessions of the Council of Trent, 1545-1563, the Catholic Church carefully defined its teaching. In a reaction to the challenge of the Reformation, the Catholic theologians brought into sharp focus what they thought to be orthodoxy and heresy. The Council, of course, evoked a hostile response from Protestants not only against it but also against the very concept of conciliarism. In 1562 Humphrey Toye printed a translation of a work by Joannes Fabricius, entitled An Oration of John Fabritius Montanus.... which stated that "Christian men cannot resort to the Council of Trent, without committing an haynous offence." The translator critized those "of our adversaries" who "do so much at thys daye crye out for generall Councels, for the establishment of religion, and geve so muche credyte and authoritie to them as to the most holy worde

¹ Fryer John Frauncis of Ni-geon in Fraunce, A replication to that lewde aunswere, 1586, sig. *2.

² M. Sutcliffe, A Challenge Concerning the Romish Church, 1600. See also T. Sparke, An Answer To Ma-ster John De Albines, Notable Discourse, 1591, E. Bulkley, An Apologie For Religion, 1602.

of God."¹ Other attacks followed and were written in a similar vein.²

The Council of Trent was of no immediate concern to English Protestants and thus not of great interest to them; but the presence of the Jesuits and seminary priests in England made literature about them that much more appealing. In the summer of 1580, two priests and a lay brother of the Society of Jesus landed in England to lend their weight to the mission initiated in 1574 by the seminary priests.³ This was the beginning of "The Jesuit Mission" to England. The fact that their arrival coincided with the Papal intervention in Ireland aroused alarm in the government, and in the Parliament of 1581 Sir Walter Mildmay pressed for stricter legislation against the Catholics. A joint conference between the Lords and Commons produced a severe bill which, among other heavy penalties, asked for the death penalty for the saying of mass. The Act which finally emerged, however, was much less stringent than parliament had intended.⁴

Support for the severe policies of Sir Walter Mildmay from a Protestant minister appeared in print in 1581 when John Keltridge published his Two Godlie And learned sermons appointed, and Preached, before the Jesuites, Seminaries, and other adversaries to the Gospell of Christ.... In the dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, Keltridge urged stronger and more severe penalties for Jesuits, seminaries and papists, supporting his argument with reference to the Old Testament in which certain offences were punished by death.

To English Protestants the Society of Jesus represented a well-organized body, devilish in origin, and which obeyed with military precision the commands of the Pope. Consequently, attacks on Jesuits and seminary priests kept on recurring throughout the reign. In 1585 Thomas Bilson's work against "the Popes censures and the Jesuits

¹ Sig. A3.

² See Anonymous, A godly and necessary admonition of ... the Council of Trent...., 1564, and M. Chemnitius, A discoverie of the Counsell of Trent...., 1582. Chemnitius (1522-86) was a German theologian who became a disciple of Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and for a few years librarian to Duke Albert of Prussia. He settled as pastor at Bruinswick in 1554 and later became superintendent of the churches of that diocese. W. L. R. Cates, A Dictionary of General Biography (1881), p. 234.

³ Patrick McGrath, Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I, (London, 1967), p. 162.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 174-5

sophismes" was printed, and subsequently reprinted in 1586 and 1595.¹
 The Catholic seminaries on the Continent for English Students, he
 stated, were organized

with purpose thither to draw the best wits out of
 England, as well from both Universities as from other
 Grammar Schooles, there to traine them to their fansies,
 and faction, and thence to direct them back into this
 Realme, for the reconciling of poore soules, as they
 say, to the Catholic Church: or in truer terms, for the
 perverting of simple and ignorant persons from the
 dutie which they owe to God and your Highnesse. 2

When the quarrel between Jesuits and the seminary priests came
 out into the open, it was at first gleefully observed by Protestants.
 Thomas Bell remarked to his dedicatee, the Bishop of Durham, with
 obvious satisfaction,

That excellent sentence worthie to be written in golden
 letters ... which the good Jew & man of God Zorobabel,
 pronounced confidently before the mightie king Darius;
 viz. Magna est veritas, et praevallet; is this day veri-
 fied (God be blessed for it,) even in the public writ-
 ings of the Jesuites, against the secular priests, their
 owne Popish brethren. And reciprocally of the secular
 priestes against the Jesuites, their religious fathers
 and holy fryers. The deepe and serious consideration
 wherof, hath possessed mine heart with such unspeakable
 solace, as I can not easily with penne and ynke expresse
 the same. 3

But Dudley Fenner saw nothing in the quarrel to gloat about. It was
 no less than a fiendish plot hatched by the Roman Catholic hier-
 archy: "the contention betwixt the Jesuit and Secular Priest,
 being of such nature, and in such degree as it pretended, is a
 colour and pretext onely: or in case it be unfeyned on thyr part,
 yet on the part of the Superiors and heads of theyr faction, it is
 interteyned out of a pollicy dangerous to her Majesty and the
 State."⁴

¹The True Difference Betweene Christian Subject-ion And Unchristian
 Rebellion...., 1585. See also STC Nos. 3071-73.

²Ibid., sig. *3v. See also A. Munday, The English Romaine Lyfe....,
 1590, for what is purported to be an expose of the behaviour of
 English students studying for the Roman Catholic priesthood on the
 Continent.

³The Anatomie of Popish Tyrannie: wherein is conteyned a plaine
 declaration and Christian censure, of all the principall parts, of
 the Libels, Letters, Edictes, Pamphlets, and Bookes, lately
 published by the Secular-priests and English hispanized Jesuites,
 with their Jesuited Arch-priest...., 1603, sig. *2. Author mentions
 that the work was ready for the press in October 1602. Sig. A3.

⁴An Antiquodlibet, Or An Advertisement To Beware Of Secular Priests
, 1602, sig. Alv. See also John Knox, An answer to a letter of

An issue which was of equal relevance to English Protestants as the Jesuit Mission, and just as emotive, was the powers and office of the Pope. This probably drew the most violent anti-Catholic and abusive language than any other subject. Again, as with the Jesuits, the Pope's authority and influence was grossly exaggerated. To many Protestants he was the incarnation of the devil -- the "Antichrist," a figure with super-human capacities for evil and an all-pervasive power which captivated and controlled all Roman Catholics. It was the pope, for example, who instigated the Northern Rebellion of 1569 and the Spanish Armada. For many English Protestants, there was no need to seek a further explanation.¹

Thomas Gressup, for example, a student at Oxford, translated a work written in Greek dealing with "the Popes usurped Primacy" and was encouraged to publish it by Thomas Becon, "his especiall good frend." In the dedication to Becon, Gressop displayed anti-Catholic sentiment that was most typical of his dedicatee. He hoped that through his translation "all englishe men, as I trust, shall perceave, that he, which fighteth on our syde agaynst the olde bawde of Babylon, and cacolike whoore of Rome, is moste mighty and stronge, yea that he is a lorde valiant in Battaile...."² In another work, printed in 1572, the Pope is described as the ultimate among monsters. After listing several monsters depicted in classical mythology, the author of these verses of invective concludes that "more monsterousnes" is comprised in the Pope than in all the others put together.³ There

a Jesuit named Tyrie...., R. Lekprevik, 1572, a pamphlet which he wrote seven years before but had not bothered to publish. It would have continued in dormancy, he remarked, "if that the Devil had not steirit up the Jesuites," sig. A2; Christianus Francke, A conference or dialogue discovering the sect of Jesuites, 1580; P. Boquinus, A Defence Of the Olde, and True profession of Christainitie, or fellowship of Jesus, 1581; Antoine Arnauld, The Arrainment Of The Whole Society of Jesuits In France, 1594.

¹ See infra., pp. 49-50 for discussion of Pope as Antichrist. See also Wiener, op. cit., pp. 31-32, for discussion of the papal Bull Regnans in Excelsis and the Northern Rebellion.

² A Brief Treatise, Conteynyng a playne and fruitfull declaration of the Pop-es usurped Primacye, 6 March, 1560, sig. A3v. Also an anonymous work, A Solemne Contestation of diverse Popes, for the advaunsing of theyr supremacie...., n.d. B.M. Gen. Cat. queries 1560.

³ Christopher Carlile, A Discourse, Wherein is plainly proved by the order of time and place, that Peter was never at Rome...., 1572, sig. A3. Two more editions were printed by Roger Ward in 1582 under the title, A Discourse of Peters Lyfe, Peregrination and death....

was also John Rainold's work in 1584 in which he discussed several Roman Catholic doctrines "by the way," but "chiefly and purposely the point of Church-government, opened in the branches of Christes supreme soveraintie, of Peters pretended, the Popes usurped, the Princes lawfull Supremacie."¹ In the following year a sermon came off John Windet's press that had been preached before the Queen, in which was discussed "the conclusion of a Dialogue betweene Christ and his Disciples: shewing breiefely that the authoritie which the Pope of Rome doth challenge to himselfe, is unlawfully usurped,"² And Francis Bunny stated in his A Survey Of The Popes Supremacie.... that "Poperie and treason" went together as twins for "they must grow together, and go together, foote by foote."³

This question became all the more poignant with the issuing of the papal bull of excommunication in February 1570, an action which resulted in a Protestant pamphlet campaign against the papacy. Shortly after John Felton had fixed a copy of the bull to the gate of the bishop of London's palace on May 15, 1570, Thomas Norton explained to the public in a pamphlet that he "thought it good" to let them know

that ye bull which is published in Print in Latine and Englishe, together with the forme of Asolution annexed unto it, is not the same Bull that was set up at the Byshops gate, as many suppose, but an other. For plaine explication of the truth, ye shall understand that there be two Bulles. 4

In this pamphlet Norton was differentiating between the bull Regnans in Excelsis and what he thought was another bull, but which in fact was merely an official declaration confirming the bishoply power already granted to Harding and Sanders.⁵

In June 1570 Norton published another tract entitled, A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Har-ding & other...., in which what is claimed to be the bull is printed in its entirety. Continuing his

¹ The Summe Of The Conference Betweene John Rainoldes And John Hart: Touching The Head And The Faith Of The Church...., 1584, B.M. Pressmark: 860. i. 16. Other editions in 1588 and 1598 by George Bishop.

² Anonymous, A Godlye Sermon: Preached before the Queens most excellent Majestie...., 1585.

³ A Survey Of The Popes Supremacie: Wherein is a triall of his title, and a prooffe of his practises...., 1595, sig. A4v.

⁴ An addition declaratorie to the Bulles, with a sear-ching of the Maze...., [1570], sig. A2.

⁵ See Southern, p. 137.

onslaught, Norton produced another attack on the Pope's bull in 1570 in which he relates "an olde tale" about a certain minister who had the responsibility of providing a "common" bull for the town. When the townspeople complained to him "of the insufficiencie of his bull, that he dyd not get calves so plentifully as in tyme past," the minister ordered that the bull "be tyded fast and hys Crowne to be shaven" and then released again. This would insure the "encrease of the townes hearde and the persons tithe." Norton went on to apply the analogy: the minister was the Pope, the town England, and the bull was the bull Regnans in Excelsis, and in dispatching this one the Pope had the help of

maister Doctor Harding, Sanders, and other, some there, some here, jolly cowkeepers and herdemen of Popish clergie, which sent and brought him over, and brake open for him the severall hedges and fenses of true religion, obedience, allegiance, fayth, and honestie, he hath begotten marveilous number of calves in fewe yeares, that is, since the year. 1567. he hath begotten multitudes of all the formes of calves hereafter mentioned, beside other in the wilde woodes not yet knowen.... 1

A more serious and scholarly treatment of the bull by Heinrich Bullinger appeared in 1572. He wrote at the "request or motion of certeine of our right reverend & godly Bishops," observed the translator, Arthur Golding.² Bishop Jewel also replied to the bull in a work entitled, A Viewe Of A Seditious Bul sent into Englande, from Pius Quintus Bishop of Rome, Anno. 1569...., and printed posthumously in 1582.

As part of the preparations for the Spanish Armada, Pope Sixtus V renewed the papal bull of excommunication. This resulted in even more Protestant vituperation against the papacy. One author fumed that

the Pope of Rome hath been the first author of this Lying, God-lesse, and blaspheming Bull: and moreover, as thereby hee is the Instigator of the Bloody enterprise. So likewise, by it may all men marke by what spirite of Satan, which from the bee-ginning is a Liar and a murtherer. Which I have been desirous to imparte unto you (wel-beloved Reader) to the ende that all men

¹ A disclosing of the great Bull, and certain calves that he hath gotten, and specially the Monster Bull that roared at my Lord Byshops gate, [1570], sig. A2-A2v.

² A Confutation Of the Popes Bull, 1572, sig. *3. See Bullinger to Grindal, Cox and Jewel, Feb., 1571, The Zurich Letters 1558-1602 (2nd Series), pp. 178-9, for Bullinger's answer to their request that he refute the bull against Elizabeth.

(pondering the same) might understande & perceive
in what pearill we altogether (as well Papists as
others) have been.... 1

Another author, advertized as a "recusant papist," stated that "the pope cannot depose her Majestie, or release her subjects of their alleagence unto her" and that "the Bull of Pius Quintus pronounced against her Majestie is of no force eyther in law or conscience."²

Against the Church of Rome

Possibly less interesting to the average reader than polemics aimed at individuals or institutions, a great volume of serious literature was written purposefully to indict the whole system of Roman Catholicism. Although the variety in the treatment of this subject is almost as great as the number of volumes, certain similarities of approach continually recur. One common theme was the recourse to history in order to discredit Roman Catholicism.

There appeared in 1566 a work by John Barthlet which purported to prove that the Roman Catholic Church was founded upon heresy by setting out "the first roote of Heretiques begon in the Church, since the time and passage of the Gospell, together with an example of the offspring of the same."³ Similar works were published by Thomas Becon, Lewis Evans, John Knewstub, Philip van Marnix, Francis Bunny and Thomas Bell.⁴

But the most popular of this type of literature came from the pen of Andrew Willet in the last decade of the reign. Entitled, Synopsis Papismi, That Is A General View of Papistry...., and consisting of 626 quarto pages, excluding prefatory and appended material, in its first edition in 1592, this work went through another edition in 1594, and its third edition in 1600 -- an edition which was re-issued in the same year. The text of the third edition had been enlarged to 1,114 folio sized pages and divided into "five Bookes or

¹ Anonymous, The Holy Bull And Crusade of Rome: First published by the holy father Gregory the xiii and afterwards renewed and ratified by Sixtus the fift...., 1588, sig. A4v.

² John Bishop, A Courteous Conference with the English Catholickes Romane...., 1598.

³ The Pedegrewe of Heretiques...., 1566.

⁴ T. Becon, The relikes of Rome...., 1563; L. Evans, The Castle of Christi-anity...., 1568; J. Knewstub, An Aunsweare...., 1579; P. van Marnix, The Beehive of the Romishe Churche...., 1579, 1580, 1598; F. Bunny, A Comparison...., 1595; T. Bell, The Survey of Popery...., 1596.

Centuries" of "Popish heresies and errors." Equally as popular was another work by Willet written as "a necessarie supplement or fit appertinance to the Authors former worke," and published in 1593 under the title, Tetrastylon Papisticum, That is, The Foure Principal Pillers of Papisterie. Another edition came off the press in 1596 and a further enlarged edition in 1599.¹

In apposition to the appeal to history in discrediting the Roman Catholic position, there was an appeal to history to substantiate Protestantism, while condemning Catholicism. One such work appeared in 1573 and was so well received that it went through at least six editions by 1600. In the dedication to the Bishop of Exeter, John Northbrooke counters the claim that Protestantism was a recent innovation and Catholicism the traditional Christian faith:

Whose mouthes to stop, and stay theyr crying out (if it may be) I have here gatheredtogether certaine places of holy Scriptures, Fathers, and Counsels, (as concerning the principall poynts of Religion) wherein the simple & ignorant, may plainly and clearly see, as it were in a Glasse, what side holdeth of Christ most trulie, who preacheth Christ most faithfully, whose Religion is best allowed by the Scriptures, confirmed by the Martyrs, maintained and taught in the Fathers, the Papists, or the Protestants: Wherin they shall easilie perceive and understand, that our Religion is the olde, true, and Catholique Religion. And that the Papists religion ... is but a newe upstart and devised religion.... 2

The same theme was carried in the translation of a work in French by Guiao, a Huguenot writer, entitled The Staiffe of Christian Faith, (1577), in which he exhorted his Protestant readers "to knowe the anti-quitie of our holy fayth, and of the true Church." He goes on to mention that his book was "gathered out of the workes of the auncient doctors of the church, and of the counselles," and therefore would be useful to fight against the Roman Catholic Church since it is "the same staffe with which they doe fight agaynst you."³

Other works handling the same subject by foreign authors were harnessed to the English Protestant cause: in 1581 Bertrand de Loque's A Treatise of the Church, conteining a true discourse, to knowe the

¹ See also Andrew Willet, A catholicon or remedie against the pseudo-catholike religion...., 1602.

² John Northbrooke, Spiritus Est Vicarius Christi in terra. The The poore mans Garden...., 1600, sig. *3. Other editions in 1573, 1575 (?), 3 eds, in 1582 (?). See also his Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in terra. A breefe and pithie summe of the christain faith, made in fourme of a confession, with a confutation of the papistes objections and argumentes in sundry pointes of religion, repugnant to the christian faith, 1571, 1582.

³ Sig. A4. Translated by John Brooke, "of Ashe next Sandwicke."

true Church by, and to discerne it from the Romish Church, and all
o-ther false assemblies, or counterfet congrega-tions was published,¹
 and in 1582 Robert Waldegrave, the Puritan printer, printed A
Discourse, Of the true and visible Markes of the Catholique Church
 by Theodore Beza.²

Instead of appealing to history to substantiate their arguments some authors resorted to a comparison of contemporary Protestantism and Catholicism, extolling the former's virtues while exploiting the latter's vices. Truth and Falshood: Or, A Comparison betweene the
Truth now taught in Eng-land, and the Doctrine of the Romish Church:
with a briefe con-futation of that Popish doctrine.... was the title of a work by Francis Bunney in 1595. In his A Reformed Catholike:
Or, A Declaration Shewing How Neere We May Come To The Present Church
of Rome in sundrie points of Religion: and wherein we must for ever
depart from them...., William Perkins endeavored to nip in the bud the growth of ecumenicity. To his dedicatee, Sir William Bowes,³ he remarks ominously,

Right Worshipfull, it is a notable pollicie of the devil, which he hath put into the heades of sundrie men in this age, to thinke that our religion and the religion of the present Church of Rome are all one for substance: and that they may be reunited as (in their opinion) they were before. Writings to this effect, are spread abroad in the French tongue, & respected of English Protestants more then it meete, or ought to be. For, let men in shew of moderation, pretend the peace and good estate of the Catholike Church as long as they will; This union of the two religions can never be made, more then the Union of light & darkness. 4

In one of the reasons Perkins gave for writing another work, A
Warning against The Idolatrie Of the last times...., this position is reiterated. His purpose was "to declare and convince the Church of Rome of manifest Idolatrie: and consequently to shew that they are deceived, who thinke, that Protestants and Papists differ not in the substance of religion, but in circumstances."⁵

¹ Another edition in 1582. Translated by "T.W." STC ascribes it to Thomas Wilcox.

² Translated by Thomas Wilcox.

³ This probably was the William Bowes who was at Cambridge in 1564-5. He was M.P. for Co. Westmorland in 1593, and in 1594 was on embassy in Scotland. He died at Walton, Derbs., Oct. 30, 1611. J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses (Cambridge, 1922), Part I, Vol. I, p. 191.

⁴ Printed by John Legate, Cambridge, 1598, sig. *2.

⁵ John Legate, 1601, sig. *3.

In comparing the validity of the two faiths, one work stated emphatically, "neither Pope, nor Councils, nor Fathers, nor Traditions, nor succession, nor consent, nor antiquities of Custome," ought to be the criterion, "but the only written worde of God." The idea was no novelty, and all Protestant authors assumed its validity. But to make it the subject of a treatise at this time served to bring the Protestant-Catholic quarrel back to one of its basic issues.¹

Against Catholic Doctrine and Practices

After experiencing such intense persecution in the previous reign, witnessing assassination attempts on their Queen, and hearing numerous rumours of imminent invasion by Spain, it is not surprising that rabid anti-Catholic sentiment -- perhaps born of fear more than anything else -- began to be expressed more frequently by authors of Elizabethan Protestant literature. Examples have been numerous in the polemical and apologetical works already discussed. There was, however, a segment of the Protestant literature which seems to have had a greater potential to incite this antipathy in English Protestants towards Catholics than any other kind. One aspect of this was the attack on specific doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church.

Of all the doctrines of the old faith, none came in for more abuse than the Mass. In the first decade of the reign works attacking the Mass by such well-known Protestant authors as John Bradford, Robert Crowley and John Foxe, were published. Bradford's The Hurte Of Hering Masse, written while he was in the Tower awaiting his execution in the reign of Mary, was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1560/61 and probably printed in 1561, and subsequently reprinted in 1580.² In 1569 a work by Robert Crowley appeared in answer to two sermons preached before Queen Mary in 1553 by Thomas Watson, in which he sought "to proove the reall presence of Christs body and bloud in the sacrament, and the Masse to be the sacrifice of the newe Testament."³ A sermon preached by John Foxe at Paul's

¹ The Trial of Trueth or A Treatise Wherein is declared who should be Judge betwene the Reformed Churches, and the Romish...., 1591, written by "a certaine Hungarian, a faviourer of the trueth," in Latin and translated by Richard Smith.

² See STC Nos. 3494-3495; also Edward Arber (Ed.), A Transcript Of The Registers Of The Company Of Stationers Of London, 1554-1640 A.D. (1875), Vol. I, p. 154.

³ A settling open of the sub-tyle Sophistrie of Thomas Watson, 1569.

Cross on the Friday before Easter was expanded to include an attack on the "dayly sacrifice of the Masse" and printed in 1570. It appears to have been well received by the public as it went through subsequent editions in 1570, 1575, 1577, and 1585.¹

Less well known authors also contributed to this literature on the Mass. In his A Shor-te Treatyse of the mysterie of the Euchariste, Lewis Evans stated that to believe in transubstantiation is "to forsake the scriptures, to leave the perfecte waye, to enter into such dangerous steappes, to deal so carnallie, to followe fooles, to beleve fryars, and to putte all affiance so fondlye in the Pope."² The work of a ninth century priest, Ratramnus, became of use to the Protestant cause. A Book of Ber-tram the Priest, con-cerning the body & blood of Christe...., written seven hundred years before, imprinted originally in 1549, was reviewed, corrected and again printed in 1582 in order to prove to the Papists that transubstantiation should not be "accounted a very old truth," for the author of the above treatise was not "some Sacramentarie heretike, (as they slaunderously cal the soundest Christians) but by one in name seeming to be on their side, and yet in deede & truth most flatly against them...."³

For propagation of this attitude towards the Mass among the lower

¹A Sermon of Christ crucified...., 1570, sig. A3v. See also An Apologie of private masse...., 1562, in which a Catholic work is answered, attributed to Bishop John Jewel in STC Nos. 14615-17.

²1569, sig. B8v.

³Translated by Sir H. Lynde, and corrected by T. W. Perhaps this was Thomas Wilcox as the dedication is signed "the Lordes unworthie servant," a form used by him in other works. More recent works in foreign languages were also used. Peter Allibond translated an anonymous work from French into English and published it "because at this time the Papists are very rife & ready, with their seducing Seminaries and Jeuites, to delude & deceyve the people with theyr Masses & tromperyes: and ... that so men may looke upon them as upon rockes, to avoyde them." A Confutation of ... Transubstantiation (1592), sig. *4. Phillipe de Mornay, the French nobleman and staunch Protestant, traced the history of the Mass and compared it with the accounts of the Sacrament in the primitive Church in his Fowre Bookes, Of The Institution, Use And Doctrine Of The Holy Sacrament Of The Eucharist In The Old Church. As Likewise, How, When, And by What Degrees the Mass is brought in, in place thereof, translated out of French into English by R. S. (entered in the Stationer's Register on October 17, 1598, and second edition printed in 1600. See STC No. 18142) See also a translation by J. Shute of Pierre Viret, Of the Lords supper and against ye masse....(1579).

echelons of Elizabethan society, there was nothing better, and cheaper, than the ballad. Printed on cheap paper in broadsheets, often vulgar, and usually crudely written, this type of literature reached the many who were not interested enough to read or were not capable of purchasing or reading pamphlets or books. A good example is A balade of a priest that loste his nose For sayinge of masse I suppose. The second and third verses read:

It is a gentleman, a priest he tolde me
To tell you his name I do not much passe
It is olde Sir John the vycar of Lee
Which rayles at gods boke & reeles at his masse
His cankarde mynde he cannot kepe close
Yet he served him shrewdly that cut of his nose.

His smeller is smitten cleane from his face
Yet was there but one as he did saye
Which caught him and pluckt of his nose in that place
A hie man, a lowe man, a foxe, or a graye
Tenne shillings he saith in his purse he did lose
I thinke he lied therof, but not of his nose.

The whole ballad pours scorn on the Mass and on the priest who celebrated it.¹

Another target that drew considerable fire from Protestants was the Catholic doctrine of hagiolatry. In 1561 a treatise by John Calvin appeared, the gist of which was that although there might be some virtue in honouring reliques of saints, yet the danger inherent in the practice was by far greater than any virtue in it.² In the following year a work by Jean Veron was published "against the Idolatrous invocation of the dead Saintes, and against the havynge or setting up of Images in the house of prayer, or in any other place where there is any paril of Idolatrye."³ The cynical remark made by G. B., Citizen of London⁴ -- "I believe there are as manye Saintes in Heaven made by the Popes, as there are blacke Swannes swimming in the Thames" -- reflected the tone of much of this literature throughout the period.⁵

¹ B.M. Gen. Cat. queries the date as 1560.

² A Ve-ry profitable trea-tise ... declarynge what great profit might come to al christen dome, yf there were a regester made of all Saintes bodies and other reliques...., 1561, translated by Steven Withers.

³ A stronge bat-tery against the Ido-latrous invocation of the dead Saintes...., 1562.

⁴ STC attributes this to Bernard Garter.

⁵ A Newybares Gifte, dedicated to the Popes Holinesse ... In recompence of divers singular and inestimable Reliques, of late sent ... into England...., 1579, sig. *4. See also The Alcaron Of The Bare-foote

Other doctrines singled out for particular attention were, among others, purgatory, celibacy, and the extent of authority invested in patristic writings and tradition to determine Church polity. The huntynge of purgatorye to death (1561) and A stronge Defence Of The maryage of priests¹ were written by Jean Veron; and the question of authority in the Church was discussed in works by Heinrich Bullinger and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.²

Specific anti-Protestant acts by Catholics either at home or abroad were also appropriate subjects for anti-Catholic propagandists. A briefe trea-tise concerning the bur-nyng of Bucer and Phagius, at Cambridge, in the tyme of Quene Mary.... relates the public burning of the exhumed bodies of Bucer and Phagius in February 1557 after a mock trial.³ In A Dialogue agaynst the Tyrannye of the papistes, the author condemns the persecution of Protestants by Catholics in the various European countries and warns all Protestants to beware of the "Romish foxe."⁴ The remarks of the translator of a work written to expose the activities of the Spanish Inquisition illustrates clearly the emotional potential this type of literature carried for Protestants:

There is no good nature (gentle Reader) that beholding on a stage an old Tragedie, wherein he represented the miseries of any one man, or the ruine and desolation of a whole countrey, will not accompany the outward motions of the players, with some inward affection, yea sometime with teares and vehement compassion.... Surely the dangerous practises and most horrible executions of the Spanishe Inquisition, declared in this booke, which now is brought with fire and sword into the low countries, the sodaine imprisonment of honest men without processe of lawe, the pitifull wandring in exile and povertie of personages sometime rich and welthy, the wives hanging on their husbands shoulders, and the pore banished infants on the mothers brests, the monstrous racking of men without order of law, the villanous

Friers: That is to say, An heape or number of the blasphemous and tryfling Doctrines of the wounded Idole S. Frances...., 1603, "first gathered and set forth in high Dutch by D. M. Luther," sig. A2v.

¹ B.M. Gen. Cat. queries date as 1560.

² Heinrich Bullinger, A most godly and learned Discourse of the woorthynesse, authoritie, and suf-ficiencie of the holy Scripture...., 1579; Thomas Cranmer, A Confutation of unwritten verities, both by the holve Scriptures and most auntient quothors...., 1582.

³ 1562. Translated by Arthur Goldyng.

⁴ 1562. Translated from Latin into English by E. C.

and shameles tormenting of naked women beyond all humanitie, their miserable death without pity or mercy, the most reprochefull triumphing of the popish Sinagoge over Christians ... and all this only to hoise up a pield polling priest above all power and authoritie that is on earth: these things ought surely much more to move us to compassion. 1

Events transpired, however, that were closer to home than the Spanish Inquisition. The death of Bishop Edmund Bonner in September 1569 was the occasion of the publication of scurrilous pamphlets against him in particular and Catholicism in general.² The Northern Re-bellion of 1569 stirred up that staunch anti-Catholic lawyer, Thomas Norton, to take up his pen and to indict English Catholics of a conspiracy to overthrow the Queen and Protestantism.³ The Spanish Armada aroused the same hostile feelings and the same accusations against the papists in 1588,⁴ and this was repeated in the last decade of the century when calls were being made for English solidarity in the face of Spanish belligerence.⁵

The charge of treason levelled at Roman Catholics was the subject of a great volume of literature throughout the period, mainly printed in pamphlet form. The most popular approach was the exposé

¹Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, A Discovery and playne Declaration of sundry subtill practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne...., 1568, 1569, sig. A2. Translated from Latin to English by V. Skinner. See also A Summe of the Guisian Ambassage to the Bishop of Rome...., 1579 (author and translator are anonymous). This pamphlet relates a conspiracy between the Pope and the Duke of Guise to restore France to the Roman Catholic faith, incarcerate the King and Queen, and to stamp out heresy.

²T. Knell, Jun., The Epitaph ... made upon the life & death of D. Boner 1569; Lemeke Avale, A Commemoration or Dirge of Bastarde Edmonde Boner...., 1569.

³Norton was called the "rack-master" for the use he made of the rack in getting confessions from recusants. See his To the Quenes Majesties poore deceived Subjectes of the Northe...., 1569 (3 editions); A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes, and specially the partenders of the late Rebellion...., 1570(?), 1575.

⁴See James Aske, Elizabetha Triumphans, 1588, William Averall, A mervailous combat of contrarieties...., 1588; Anthony Marten, An Exhortation, to stirre up the mindes of all her Majesties faithfull Subjects, to defend their Countrey, 1588; Oliver Pigge, Meditations Concerning praiers to Almighty God, for the saftie of England, 1589.

⁵John Norden, A Christian Familiar Comfort And Incouragement unto all English Subjects, not to dis-maie at the Spanish Threats...., 1596; Thomas Nun, A Comfort Against The Spaniard, 1596; Sir Francis Hastings, A Watchword To All religious, and true hear-ted English-men, 1598, and An Apologie Or Defence Of The Watch-word...., 1600.

of a popish plot, usually based on the confessions of the conspirators. Pamphlets came off the press declaring the "traiterous affection borne against her Majestie by Edmond Campion,"¹ reporting a conference held at Wisbiche Castle between William Fulke and the papists, "Doctor Watson, Fecknam, Young, Windam, Uxenbridge, M. Mettam, Wood, Bluit," on October 4, 1580,² exposing the "intended treason of Doctor Parry and his accomplices against the Queen,"³ condemning the "most haynous treasons of Ballard and Babington,"⁴ discovering "Doctor Allens seditious drifts,"⁵ and revealing the "unnaturall and traiterous conspiracie of Scottisch Papists....as it was confessed and subscribed" by George Ker and David Grahame.⁶

Some accounts were like news reports, explaining and describing trials and executions of Roman Catholics.⁷ Others were similar to government communiqués justifying action taken against Catholics and clarifying the official position. The Execution of Justice in England.... maintained that papists were not being punished for their religion but for treason, and A Declaration of the favourable dealing of her Majesties Commissioners appointed for Examinati-on of certaine Traiteurs.... denied accusations that excessive use of torture was being employed to get information.⁸ Then there was always the

¹ Anonymous, A particular declaration or testi-mony...., 1582; Alexander Nowell & Bishop William Day, A true report of the Disputation or rather private Confe-rence had in the Tower of London, with Ed. Campion Jesuite...., 1583.

² Anonymous, A True reporte of a Conferance had betwixt Doctour Fulke, and the Papists...., 1581.

³ Philip Stubbes, The Intended Trea-son, of Doctor Parrie: And his Complices...., 1584.

⁴ William Kempe, A dutiful invective against ... Ballard and Babington, 1586.

⁵ G. D., A Briefe Disco-verie...., 1588.

⁶ Anonymous, A Discovery of the unnaturall and traiterous conspiracie of Scottisch Papists, 1603.

⁷ Anonymous, A true report, of the Araignment and execution of the late Popishe T-aitour, Everard Haunce, 1581; Anthony Nunday, A breefe and true reporte, of the Execution of certaine Traytours at Tirborne, 1582.

⁸ Both printed in 1583 and attributed to William Cecil, Baron Burghley, by B. M. Gen. Cat. and STC. See also I. B., A Position Maintained by I. B. Before The Late Earle of Huntingdon: viz. Priests are executed not for Religion, but for treason, 1600 (a previous ed. printed sometimes after 1591, sig. A7.)

contribution of the published sermon. On September 25, 1586, Edward Hutchins preached a sermon "containing matter fit for the time" in which, as he concluded, he exclaimed, "Oh therefore that Papistes were cut off from the land: for they are the traiterous and tyrannous spirits of this our time, who have & stil do seek to disquiet you."¹

Another aspect of Elizabethan Protestant literature that might well have fostered anti-Catholic sentiment was the literature that expressed an apocalyptic view of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the purposes of this literature was to prove that the Catholic Church was the "whore of Babylon" and the Pope the "Antichrist" referred to in the Revelation of Saint John. One such work was John Bale's The Image of both Churches, previously printed in 1550 and several times before, a work described by one author as "perhaps the most important prophetic and polemic interpretation of scripture produced by the English Reformation."² The title of another work by Bale claimed that he "manifestlye shewed the beginning of Antichriste and increasing to his fulnesse, and also the wayning of his power againe, accordinge to the Prophecye of John in the Apocalips."³ The same claims were made in other works on the subject, such as those by Becon, Bishop George Downname and William Fulke. Fulke not only used the Scriptures in support of his argument that the Pope was Antichrist but quoted from the patristic writings too. That what he wrote reached many people is evident in that three editions were sold out between 1571 and 1574, and that another edition appeared in 1579.⁴

¹ A Sermon Preached In S. Peters Church at West-Chester, 1586, sig. B7v. See also J. Baxter, A toile For Two-Legged Foxes, 1600, Thomas Nelson, A short discourse of all the late pretended treasons against the Queenes Majestie, 1586 (In verse). For two ballads on the subject, see W. Kirkham, "Joyfull Newes for true Subjectes, to God and the Crowne: The Rebelles are cooled, their Bragges be put down," 1570; and Stephen Peele, "The Pope in his fury doth answer returne, To a letter ye which to Rome is late come," 1571.

² W. T. Davies, "A Bibliography of John Bale," Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings & Papers, Vol. 5, 1936-39, p. 214. B. M. Gen. Cat. queries this ed. as 1570.

³ The Pageant of Popes, 1574. Englished by John Studley.

⁴ William Fulke, A Sermon preached at Hamp-ton Court, 1571, 1572, 1574, 1579; Thomas Becon, The Actes of Christe and of Antichriste, 1577; Bishop George Downname, A Treatise Con-cerning Anti-Christ, 1603.

As well as applying Saint John's revelation of Antichrist to the Pope, this literature also prophesied the downfall of Rome by pointing to Scripture. In 1588 a work appeared based on "certaine olde prophecies above three hundred yeeres since" and entitled, A moste necessarie Tretise, declaring the beginning and ending of all Poperie, or the popish Kingdome¹ And in his book, The Ruine of Rome, Arthur Dent sought to prove "that the Popish Religion, together with all the power and authoritie of Rome, shall ebbe and decay still more and more throughout all the Churches of Europe, and come to an utter overthrow even in this life before the end of the world." He wrote the work "especially for the comfort of Protestants, and the daunting of Papists."²

Protestant Persuasion

Notwithstanding the rattle of swords by the polemicists and the bitter sentiment expressed by anti-Catholic propagandists, there were some works aimed specifically at proselytizing. Positive in tone, these writings clearly indicate that anti-Catholic invective was often aimed at Catholic institutions and Church hierarchy and not at individual Catholics. For this reason Thomas Lupton wrote A Persuasion from Papistrie, in which he attacked the "obstinate" papists having little hope of their conversion, but was optimistic regarding "all the Queenes Majesties subjectes, favoring the Pope or his religion ... especially such as would be counted friendes to Englande, that wish oure Princes prosperitie, the safegarde of the Nobilitie, the concorde of our Comunalty, and the continuance of this our happy state and tranquillitie." Commenting on the usefulness of the work in his dedication to the Queen, he remarked that "though it procure not the obstinate and determined Papistes, from being Englishe Enimies: yet it will enforce thousands (I hope) of the simple seduced sorte, to become Englishe friendes"³ Another work written to open the eyes of the Catholic was

¹Anonymous, B.M. Pressmark: C. 25. c. 16 (2). Previous ed. in 1548.

²Printed in 1603. See also Of two Woonderful Popish Monsters, to wyt, Of a Popish Asse which was found at Rome, and of a Moonkish Calfe, calved at Fri-berge in Misne. Which are the very foreshewings and tokens of Gods wrath, against blinde, obstinate, and monstrous Papistes. Witnessed, and declared, the one by Philip Melanchthon, the other by Martyn Lu-ther, translated by John Brooke, B. M. Pressmark: C. 122, bb. 16.

³Printed in 1581, sig. a2.

A Disswasive From Poperie ..., (1599) by Francis Dillingham, in which he gave twelve reasons why Roman Catholics ought to become Protestants.

When prominent Catholics were converted, their change of heart was acclaimed by Protestants and put to work in trying to attract others. Eight learned personages lately converted (in the Realme of France) from papistrie, to the Churches reformed was the title of a work printed in 1601, and reprinted in the same year with two additional "learned personages." The work contained the personal testimonies of the converts, which caused the translator to exclaim exultantly, "blessed by[be?] God, who hath sent light and salvation to them that sate in darknesse and in the shadowe of death. For ... these are now become faithfull and zealous Christians."¹ Other Protestant proselytes took up the pen against their former religion and appealed to their former co-religionists to follow their example. Thomas Bell, for example wrote

I have thought it worth the labour to set downe my chiefest motives, by which and through which next under God, I was perswaded to renounce the Romish faith and religion ... [and I] perswade my self constantly, that whatsoever papist in the whole world, shall with an indifferent judgement peruse the same having a resolved mind to embrace the truth when it appeareth: that selfe same papist will utterly renounce with me, the false, erroneous, & execrable doctrine of the church of Rome.²

Then there were the works of the former "Pope's Schollars," John Nichols, Anthony Munday and Lewis Evans, a few of which have already been noticed. The works of these men probably cut more ice with the average Catholic than those of ordinary Protestant authors.

But there was more than one way to reach Catholics: the theatre and the publication of plays offered another way to confront him with the Protestant gospel. In one play actors played the parts of Perverse Doctrine (an old papish Priest), Ignorance (another priest), Newcustom (a Minister), Light of the gospel (another minister), Hypocrisy, Cruelty, Avarice, Edification, Assurance, and God's felicity. Perverse Doctrine made the following remarks to Ignorance when they were discussing "these new fangled pratling elves" in one scene:

¹ Anonymous. Translated from French by W. B.

² Thomas Bels Motives, 1593, sig. *2.

As in London not longe since you wot well where,
 They ran to a Sermon, and wee chaunced to be there.
 Up start the preacher I thinke not past twenty
 yeeres olde.
 With a sounding voyce, and audacitie bolde,
 And beganne to revile at the holie sacremant, and
 transubstantiation.
 I never hearde one knave or other make such a
 declaration.

Enter Newcustom (who begins to decry the wickedness of the age).

Looke on the Primitive Church, and tell mee then,
 Whether they served God in this same wise,
 Or whether they followed any other guyse?
 For since Goddes feare decayed, and Hypocrisie
 crept in,
 In hope of some gaines, and lucre to win:
 Crueltie bare a stroke, who with fagot and fier,
 Brought all thinges to passe that hee did desier.
 Next Avarice spilt all, whiche lest it should be
 spide:
 Hypocrisie ensued the matter to hide.
 Then brought they in their monsters, their Masses,
 their Light,
 Their Torches at noone, to darken our sight.
 Their Popes, and their pardones, their Pur-atories
 for sowles,
 Their smoking of the Church, and slinging of cooles. 1

As expected, Hypocrisy, Cruelty, Avarice and Ignorance were enemies of Newcustom, while Light of the gospel, Edification, Assurance and God's felicity were his friends. The curtain falls when Perverse Doctrine has been converted to Protestantism.

In An excellent new Commedie, Intituled: The Conflict of Conscience the story is told of a Protestant, Philologus, who is examined before a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church and found guilty of Protestant heresy. He recants, however, and while his formal recantation is being drawn up, he is assigned to the keeping of Suggestion. During this time he is visited and counselled by Theologus, Eusebius, Gisbertis, and Paphinitius, who plead with him to reconsider his position. When they leave him, his conscience gives him no peace until he decides to die rather than sign his recantation. Just before the curtain falls Nuntius gives the following soliloquy:

O joyfull newes, which I report, and bring into
 your eares,
 Philogus, that would have hangde himselfe with
 coard,
 Is nowe converted unto God, with manie bitter
 teares,

¹Anonymous, A new Enterlude No lesse wittie: then pleasant, 1573, sigs. A3-A4v, Blv.

By godly councell he was woon, all prayse be to
 the Lorde,
 His errours all he did renounce, his blasphemies
 he abhorde:
 And being converted, left his lyfe, exhorting foe
 and friend,
 That do professe the fayth of Christ, to be con-
 stant to the ende,
 Full thyrtye weekes, in wofull wise, afflicted
 he had bene,
 All which long time, he tooke no foode, but forst
 against his will,
 Even with a spoone to poure some broath, his teeth
 betweene,
 And though they fought by force, this wise to feede
 him still,
 He always strove with all his might, the same on
 ground to spill,
 So that no sustenance he receiv'de, ne sleepe
 could he attayne,
 And nowe the Lord, in mercy great hath easde him
 of his payne. 1

Thus the playwright fulfilled a function similar to the preacher's:
 he helped to propagate Protestantism by reaching live audiences
 besides the reading public.

In conclusion, then, the bulk of Elizabethan Protestant
 literature discussed in this chapter had for its main purpose the
 defence and affirmation of Protestantism. Anti-Catholicism was a
 by-product, ancillary to that over-riding theme. Jewel's Apologia,
 for example, concentrates on proving that Protestantism in general,
 and Anglicanism in particular, are founded on the patristic and
 scriptural writings. His attacks on Roman Catholicism, as in much
 of this type of literature, are used as further evidence of the
 main thesis. Moreover, it is significant that Catholic-Protestant
 literary polemics usually were initiated by Catholics, with Jewel's
 "Challenge" sermon possibly the only exception.² Furthermore, most
 of the attacks on the Jesuits and seminary priests were published
 after these Catholic zealots began their mission in England.
 Similarly, the antipapal literature appeared for the most part
 after the issuance of the bulls by Pius V and Sixtus V. Therefore,
 most of this serious Protestant literature originated in the desire
 to affirm and defend the Protestant faith, and attempted to place
 it logically on a basis consistent with Scripture and the Church
 Fathers. To say that, however, is not to deny the strong anti-

¹Nathaniel Woods, 1581.

²See supra., pp. 27 - 34.

Catholic sentiment existing in Elizabethan England; it is to contend that this "pro-Protestant" literature gave body and force to anti-Catholic attitudes existing in England at least since the Henrician Reformation.

CHAPTER III PROTESTANT AGAINST PROTESTANT, 1558 - 1583

Although the propagation of Roman Catholic literature caused much concern and anxiety to the leaders of the Elizabethan Church, its impetus came from without the church and as such could be repulsed in an uncomplicated manner. In fact such Roman Catholic attacks often benefitted the established Church as they had the effect of consolidating diverse opinions within it. Much more insidious and difficult to handle were the Puritan onslaughts against the establishment.¹ Right from the Elizabethan settlement of religion to the end of the reign, the Queen and the authorities would clash again and again with zealous Protestants bent on obeying the voice of God which commanded them to reform the Church according to His Word. On such occasions the press became all the more important. As one Elizabethan author perceptively remarked, "The Church of God, so long as it remaineth on earth, [shall] stand in need of new Tractates, Comments, Sermons, and Catechismes, as new reasons, illustrations, and methodes are invented, as new doubts, controversies, errours or heresies do arise, as men do diversly bend themselves, to the studying and handling of particular heads of doctrine, and parts of the word of God."² For the Elizabethan Church there was no lack of "new doubts, controversies, errours or heresies."

Marian Exiles

Even before the Elizabethan religious settlement began to emerge, the more radical Protestants found themselves and their cause in

¹The working definition of Puritanism in this thesis is that body of opinion within the Anglican Church that called for reform of worship and/or government; or, to use a definition given in a tract at the end of the reign, a Puritan is one who has "scruple in the use of certaine ceremonies," "scruple in subscribing beyond the statute," who seeks "for reformation of some ceremonies and of some part of the Ecclesiasticall discipline." The author states that the term "Puritan" began to be used about the tenth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. See J. Nichols. The Pleas Of The Innocent (1602) sigs. C3v, B7. L. J. Trinterud has traced the usage of the term back to 1565 to Thomas Stapleton, the Louvain Catholic author, Elizabethan Puritanism (New York, 1971), p. 7.

²T. Jackson, David's Pastorall Poeme (1603), sig. *5v.

disfavour with the Queen. A few months prior to Elizabeth's accession Christopher Goodman's notorious pamphlet appeared, How Superior Powers Oght To Be Obeyed...¹ For someone as alert as Elizabeth, this work must have caused alarm and dismay as he argued that rebellion is sometimes justified, basing his argument on a text from the Acts of the Apostles, "Judge whether it be juste before God to obey you rather than God." Increasing still more the Queen's antipathy to the extremists, there also appeared in 1558 John Knox's The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, in which he stated that he was assured "that God hath revealed to some in this our age that it is more than a monster in nature that a woman should reign and bear empire above man."² The fact that it was directed at Queen Mary did not excuse Knox's audacity in the eyes of Elizabeth. Both works had been written while Mary Tudor was still Queen, and no doubt this explains the publication of such extreme politico-religious ideas at this time. If the authors had known that death would soon remove the offending Queen and that Elizabeth would succeed her, they probably would not have thought it necessary to formulate a case for rebellion and to trumpet against women rulers. As it happened, these pamphlets appeared in England at a most inopportune time as far as the more extreme Protestants were concerned, and possibly were a factor in the later frustration of their plans.

The leading English Protestants, of course, disavowed Knox and Goodman. Displeasure with these theories was expressed by both Continental and English reformers in their private correspondence and in a joint statement of faith presented by the returning exiles to the Queen.³ But the only repudiation of these pamphlets, it seems, to reach the public in print was John Aylmer's An Harborowe For

¹Printed by J. Crespin, Geneva, Jan. 1, 1558.

²Printed by J. Crespin, Geneva, 1558.

³A lengthy reply to Knox was written some thirteen years later by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, but apparently was not published. It is entitled "A dutifull defence of the lawfull Regiment of women" Lansdowne Ms. 813. fib. 10231. See also Knox to J. Foxe, May 18, 1568, Works of John Knox (ed. by D. Laing) (Edinburgh, 1856), V. 5-6; C. Goodman to P. Martyr, Aug. 20, 1558, Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, ed. H. Robinson (Cambridge, 1846-47). p. 768; R. W. Dixon, History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction (3rd. rev. ed. 6 vols. Oxford, 1895), V. 114-115.

Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes (1559), which was specifically aimed at Knox's First Blast;¹ and this work, it must be stated, was more a revision, a toning-down, rather than an outright condemnation of Knox's pamphlet. After listing its ideological content with the Anabaptists, freewillers, Adiaphorists,² etc., "these ugglie monsters and brodes of the devils brotherhood," Aylmer cushions the blow by adding that "although this error may appeare, not to touche so neare the soule and salvacion of man, as some of the fornamed do: yet considering that the quiet of common weales is the nurse of religion and bulwark of good and faithful men We cannot think it to be a trifle to disturbe the common ordres of pollicies" He added that his reason for writing was because no one else seemed willing and therefore, in case "our side" was indicted by the old proverb that "he that winketh at a matter, seemeth to think the same," he answered it "in the name of al, because I know the contrary opinion to be in fewe or none." Aylmer thought that Knox's intentions were admirable and if he had restricted his remarks to "that particular person," Queen Mary, "he could have said nothing too much, nor in such wise as could have offended any indifferent man."³

Although Aylmer's reply repudiated Knox's condemnation of women rulers in general, and Knox looked upon it as an attack upon his work, it is not illogical to think that it might have been an attempt to draw the reforming forces together.⁴ It did in fact express some opinions that were later taken up by the Puritans, e.g. the sharing of power between Parliament and sovereign, the assigning of a preacher to every parish and a superintendent to every city, the need for bishops to reduce their lordly and luxurious livings and to cultivate humility,⁵ and it was printed

¹The imprint carried the words "At Strasborowe the 26, of Aprill." However, the STC (no. 1005) attributes it to John Day of London, which seems plausible as Aylmer was in England in March, 1559. Aylmer later became Bishop of London. See DNB and supra., pp. 232-33.

²"A name given to Melancthon and party, on account of their maintaining that many customs and doctrines for and against which the stricter Lutherans contended were not worth contending about, being things that were in themselves indifferent (*ἀδιάφορα*)." J. H. Blunt, (ed), Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties, and Schools of Religious Thought, (1874), p. 6.

³Sigs. A3-A3v, B2.

⁴Knappen, op. cit., p. 173.

⁵Sigs. H3, O4, P3.

secretly and written anonymously, an indication that the author and printer were taking no chances regarding its orthodoxy. It is possible, however, that Aylmer simply wrote in order to disassociate the cause of the more "forward English reformers" from the political ideas of Knox.

Knox and Goodman paid for their rash penmanship: Knox was refused entry to the realm and Goodman was forced into hiding when he returned. Goodman later emerged from hiding and humbly renounced his writing in October, 1571, stating that he did not mean to affirm that "any person or persons of thier owne private embition, ought or might lawfullie have punished Queen Marie with deathe," or that the people "of their owne authority may lawfully punish thier magistrates transgressing the Lordes precepte." Explaining that it was the "extremitie of the time" and consideration of the "present grief" that moved him to write such things he wished now had not been written, he then promised "never to write, teache, nor preache anye suche offensive doctrine here after."¹

Knox, however, continued to exert his influence upon English Protestantism. In 1559 a copy of his "Epistle ... unto the inhabitants of Newcastele, & Barwicke" was being sold in England.² In the preface of this small pamphlet, written on January 12, 1559, he urged English Protestants immediately to

so purge and expel all dreges of papistrie,
supersition and Idolatrie, that thou (O England)
must judge and holde execrable and accursed,
what soever God hath not sanctified unto thee
by his worde, or by the action of our maister
Christe Jesus. The glisteringe beautie of vayne
ceremonies, the heaping of thinges pertheyning
nothinge to edification, by whomesoever they
were invented justified, or mainteyned, oght
at once to be removed and so trodden under the
obedience to Gods worde, that continually this
sentence of thy God be present in thy hart and
readie in they mouthe. Not that which appeareth
good in they eies shalt thou do to the Lorde thy
God, but what the Lord thy God hath commaunded
thee, that shalt thou do: adde nothing to it,
diminishe nothing from it. 3

This became the rallying cry of Puritans throughout the reign. But Knox became more extreme as he went on, voicing opinions that only the most radical of Puritans would subscribe to:

¹B.M. Add. MS. 29546, ff. 26-32.

²The Copie Of An Epistle Sent By John Knox, (Geneva, 1559)

³Ibid., sig. F4v.

Let not the King and his proceadings (what soever they be) not agreable to his worde be a snare to thy conscience. O cursed were the hartes that first devised that phrase in matters of religion, wherby the simple people were broght to one of these two inconveniences: to wit, that ether they dyd esteeme everie religion good and acceptable unto God, which the King and parlament dyd approve and commande, or els, that Gods religion honor and service was nothings els, but devises of men ... let this blasphemie be first of all others removed

He continued,

Let his holy and blessed ordinaunces ... be within theyr limittes and bondes so sure and established, that if prince, king, or Emperour would enterprice to change or disanul the same, that he be [a] reputed enemie to God, and therefore unworthie to reigne above his people, yea, that the same man or men, that go aboute to destroy Gods true religion once established, and to erect Idolatrie, which God detesteth, be adjudged to death according to Gods commaundement¹

Written in the first year of the reign, this work was a portent, in tone and content, of many more to come.

Robert Fills, another Marian exile, translated The Lawes and Statutes of Geneva and put it into print in this early part of the reign with the express purpose of faithfully communicating "to Englishmen ... that thereby they may beholde as in a glasse, a christian reformation, and employe them selves to the imitation as farre forthe as they see best for them, as shalbe most convenient."² He then went on to outline the functions of both ecclesiastical and civil government and to illustrate how their effective execution enables "God's religion" to be "most purelie maintained" in Geneva. But Fills' work was of no avail in bringing about a Geneva-type Reformation in England. Elizabeth not only ignored the Calvinist system of church organization by retaining episcopacy in the Anglican church, she virtually eliminated the Geneva exiles as a religious and political force in England. She never forgot the politico-religious extremism expressed in the works of John Knox and Christopher Goodman while they were under Calvin's influence in Geneva. But neither did the Marian exiles forget the Christian discipline and freedom of worship they enjoyed during their sojourn among the "best reformed churches" of Europe.

¹ Ibid.

² Translated from French into English by Robert Fills and printed April 16, 1562, sig. *3v.

A former exile, Laurence Humphrey, then President of Magdalen College, Oxford, continued the expression of dissatisfaction in a work which was translated from Latin and printed in 1563, entitled The Nobles or of Nobilitye. In his dedication to Queen Elizabeth he clearly stated that kings and princes ought to be "nursers" of religion. If "any dregges remayne" of popish errors and superstitions in the church, he informed the Queen, "anye limpinge or haltyng, eyther in order or maners," then surely the prince who overthrew Rome "wil with al helpe, care, counsell, speede, provyde for it, withstand it, and reforme it" He put it more pointedly as he continued:

Nor is your wysdome ignoraunt, what you do is Gods worke, not your owne, His ye house, yours the buyldyng. Wherein the feare of few nor murmuryng of many, ought withdrawe you from your forward foudacion Christe willeth, what your mightyest father Henrye began, youre godlyest brother furthered, that you even you should finishe and accomplyshe. 1

But the Marian exiles were by no means united in their scruples. Take, for example, the controversy over the use of the crucifix at the outset of the reign. On February 5, 1560, Archbishop Parker and Richard Cox argued for the retention of crucifixes in a disputation with Bishops Grindal and Jewel before a panel chosen by the Privy Council. The day before the disputation, Jewel remarked in a letter to Peter Martyr, "I smile however, when I think with what grave and solid reasons they will defend their little cross."² Cox, Grindal and Jewel were Marian exiles; the difference of opinion regarding the crucifix was a foretaste of much more serious dissension among them.

The Vestiarian Controversy

The first crisis of the reign that separated the Puritans from the Conservatives was the vestments controversy of 1563-67. This began when the Queen pressed the Bishops to enforce uniformity of clerical dress. To the Puritans the wearing of the traditional clerical garb smacked of popery and they remained obstinate in their opposition to it. When about one hundred and ten ministers appeared

¹Sig. A8.

²The Zurich Letters, p. 67. See also A Brieff Discours off the Troubles Begonne at Franckford (1574) for an account of dissension among the exiles even before their return to England.

before the ecclesiastical commissioners at Lambeth on March 26, 1566, thirty-seven refused to subscribe to Archbishop Parker's Advertisements, or regulations, and were suspended from their positions.¹

When the Archbishop's Advertisements were published on March 28, 1566, it signalled the beginning of a battle of pamphlets. The Vestiarian Controversy is well-known and does not need to be rehearsed here in any detail. It is important to note, however, two developments in the controversy that would remain as major influences on the religious policy and literature for the entire reign. These were the appeal by both Puritans and conservatives to the continental reformers and the refusal of the Queen to countenance any radical changes in the established Church.

The Church hierarchy were the first to publish pronouncements by the reformed theologians in support of their position in a reply to a pamphlet by Robert Crowley.² Entitled A briefe examination for the tyme, of a certaine declaration, lately put in print (1566), it quite possibly came from the pen of Archbishop Parker. The primary importance of this work, however, lay not in what the anonymous author wrote but in the five letters pertaining to this issue, written in Hooper's time, annexed to it.³ Bucer, for example, writing to

1

J. H. Primus, The Vestments Controversy (Kampen, 1960), pp. 87, 104.

2

A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparell (printed twice in 1566 and reprinted in 1578). Crowley was Rector of St. Peter le Poor, Vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and reader at St. Antholin's. His pamphlet probably was the "boke intituled the utter apperrell for mynesters," the printing of which cost Henry Denham a fine of ten shillings. See Edward Arber (ed.), A Transcript Of The Company Of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D., Vol. 1 (London, Privately Printed, 1875), p. 316. Hereafter cited Transcript.

3

These were Cranmer to Bucer on December 2, 1550; Bucer's answer on December 8; Hooper to Bucer (and Martyr on October 17, 1550; Martyr to Hooper on November 4, 1550; and Bucer to a Lasco on October 20 (?), 1550. See Primus, op. cit., pp. 120-12.

Cranmer on December 8, 1550, seemed to support the conformists in his position regarding the vestments. Those "Ministers of the Churches of England," according to Bucer, who "labour to delyver unto the people, with great fidelitie, the whole Gospell of Chryst, his whole doctrine and discipline, and labour to instyll it and beate it into theyr myndes may as I thynke, weare with Gods pleasure, those vestures whiche be at this day in use"¹ What the conformists failed to print, however, was Bucer's statement, in this same letter, that "the religion of Christ compels me to add, that -- since undoubtedly at this day these Vestments have given rise to superstition in some, and to pernicious contention in others -- it would be far better to abolish them...."² Bucer's position in the controversy was such that his writings could be used by both sides. This was demonstrated by the use the Puritans subsequently made of his writings to support their arguments.

Just as injurious to the Puritans as Bucer's letter, the pamphlet also carried Peter Martyr's reply to John Hooper's solicitations concerning the controversy: "the consideration of these matters do not so farre carry me, nor the reasons alleaged by you so perswade me, that I should affirme the use of such vestures to be pernicious, or of theyr owne nature contrary to Gods worde: For I do utterly thynke it to be a thyng indifferent."³ Like Bucer's, however, Martyr's position could be made to look ambiguous as he also stated his preference for the removal of the vestments but did not wish to make a disruptive issue of it within the Church.⁴

¹A briefe examination, sig. A2.

²Quoted in Primus, op. cit., p. 121.

³Ibid., sig. Blv.

⁴Primus, op. cit., pp. 55-59.

The Puritans were quick to point out the ambiguity in Bucer's and Martyr's writings in An answer For the Tyme, To The Ex-amination put in print, with out the authours name, pretending to mayntayne the apparrell prescribed against the declaration of the myni-sters of London, written and printed anonymously in 1566.¹ "It is an easie matter," complained the author, "for a Rhetorician or sophister having authoritie on his side to florrhish and flaunt, as though he had gotten the victorie, when in deed he darenot ons joine the battell." He continued,

wee desire the redar to waye this mans writings with the epistels of Bucer and Martir, annexid to the end. And to judge wether the same spirit be in them both. They bear with the things tollerable for a tyme, wishing the utter abolishing of them. This man defendeth them as good orders, profitable to edifie, and therefore mete to be reatayned still. They esteme the resisters as godlie bretherne, he condemneth them as scismatikes, bellie gods, decevers, flatterers, fooles, such as have bene unlernedlie brought up in prophan occupations 2

The appeal to the continental reformers was not new. Indeed the Protestant press kept the reading public up to date on the circumstances and fortunes of continental Protestantism, as noticed in the previous chapter, by issuing numbers of inexpensive news items.³ Figuring prominently in these events, of course, were such outstanding reformers as John Calvin and Theodore Beza.

But more important to both sides than the opinions of Bucer and Martyr, for they were deceased, was the judgement of Bullinger. As early as July 26, 1563, Thomas Sampson, dean of Christ Church, wrote to Bullinger lamenting the "unhappy state" of England and wishing he were back in his "little cottage at Zurich." Less than a month later, Humphrey requested Bullinger's opinion of "that round cap and popish

¹
B. M. Pressmark: 702. a. 37.

²
Sig. A3v.

³
See supra., pp. 23ff.

surplice, which are now enjoined us, not by the unlawful tyrranny of the pope, but by the just and legitimate authfrity of the Queen." He then put his finger on the nub of the whole controversy by asking "Can all these things be ... matters of indifference?"¹

In February 1566 Humphrey and Sampson pressed Bullinger to state his position and asked specifically for answers to nineteen questions.² Bullinger replied on May 1 and virtually endorsed the position of the Bishops. To him the question was "whether it be lawful for the ministers of the gospel to wear a round or square cap, and a white garment which they call a surplice, by the wearing of which the minister may be distinquised from the people? And, whether it be a duty rather to relinquish the ministry, or sacred office, than to wear vestments of this kind?" In brief, he answered the first part of the question in the affirmative and the second part in the negative, arguing that "churches redeemed by the blood of Christ ought on no account to be deserted for the sake of caps and gowns, which are to be regarded as mere matters of indifference, since they are enjoined to be used, not with a view to any religious observance, but merely as a matter of civil concern, for the maintenance of proper decency."³

To make sure the bishops did not receive a second hand version of his position, copies of Bullinger's May 1 letter were sent to Horn and Grindal. Realizing the propaganda value of such a letter, the bishops quickly put it into print without waiting to secure

¹ Sampson to Bullinger, July 26; Humphrey to Bullinger, Aug. 16, 1563. Zurich Letters, pp. 130, 134.

² Humphrey to Bullinger, Feb. 9; Sampson to Bullinger, Feb. 16, 1566. Ibid., pp. 151-155.

³ Bullinger to Humphrey and Sampson, May 1; Bullinger and Gualter to Grindal and Horn, Sept. 6, 1566. Ibid., pp. 345-358.

permission from the author -- an action which brought forth an angry reply from Bullinger accusing the Bishops of using his name in support of dubious restrictions imposed on "many pious and learned ministers." He was referring, of course, to the thirty-seven ministers suspended on March 26, 1566, for refusing to subscribe to Archbishop Parker's Advertisements or regulations. In their reply, Grindal and Horn accepted responsibility for publishing his letter but denied that many had been adversely affected by it. "We confess and lament that some of these have been dismissed from their office, although it is occasioned by their own fault But ... they are not many, but few in number; and though pious, yet certainly not very learned." According to Grindal and Horn, the publication of Bullinger's letter had only positive and good results -- the only thing they could say to extricate themselves from an embarrassing position.⁴

"Matters of indifference" or things essential to the faith: that was the central issue of the vestiarian controversy. Dislike for the cap and surplice, Bishops Grindal and Horn stated, they shared with their brother exiles Sampson and Humphrey; but to vacate their bishopricks and see them filled by papists over vestments would be irresponsible. "It was enjoined us (who had not then any authority either to make laws or repeal them)," wrote Horn, "either to wear the caps and surplices or to give place to others." Since opposition to this injunction proved futile, and after they consulted together, they decided to comply with it "lest our enemies should take possession of the places deserted by ourselves." But, added Horn, "we certainly

¹See Bullinger to Horn, Grindal and Parkhurst, May 3, 1566. Ibid., p. 356; Bullinger and Gualter to Grindal and Horn, Sept. 6, 1566, Ibid., 357; Grindal and Horn to Bullinger and Gualter, Feb. 6, 1567. Ibid., p. 175.

hope to repeal this clause of the act next session."¹

To those Marian exiles, however, who disliked the thought of wearing the cap and surplice but liked more the prospect of a bishoprick and optimistically talked of changing things later, the rock of offence was Queen Elizabeth. Five years after Bishop Horn thought the offending clause of the act would be repealed, he reported to Bullinger and explained their dilemma:

Our excellent queen, as you know, holds the helm, and directs it hitherto according to her pleasure. But we are awaiting the guidance of the divine Spirit, which is all we can do; and we all daily implore him with earnestness and importunity to turn at length our sails to another quarter. Meanwhile, however, we who stand in a more elevated situation do not act in compliance with the importunate clamours of the multitude for it would be very dangerous to drag her on, against her will, to a point she does not yet choose to come to, as if we were wresting the helm out of her hands. But we aim at this, that although 'badly habited,' we may yet be 'strong hearted' in doing the Lord's work; and we are not so much concerned about the fitness of our apparel, as about rightly dividing the bread of the Lord; nor, in fine, do we deem it of so much consequence if our own coat appears unbecoming, as it is to take care that the seamless coat of the Lord be not rent asunder. 2

Unfortunately for exiles like Horn, Elizabeth continued throughout the reign to hold the helm and to insist on a middle course for English religious policy. The other exiles, however, were more concerned with keeping the purity of the faith than with maintaining unity in a Church less than fully reformed. Others would join them in an active, but futile, crusade to change the Queen's mind.

The English appeal to the continent for an outside opinion to help settle their differences placed the continental reformers in an awkward position. Their letters reveal both a predisposition in favour of the Puritans and an unusual loyalty to the bishops who

¹Horn to Gualter, July 17, 1565. Bishop Jewel expressed a similar opinion regarding the cap and surplice: "I wish that all, even the slightest vestiges of popery might be removed from our churches, and above all from our minds." Jewel to Bullinger and Lavater, Feb. 8, 1566. Zurich Letters, pp. 141-143, 148-149.

²Horn to Bullinger, Aug. 8, 1571. Ibid.

were Marian exiles. Cynicism aside -- acknowledging the weakness of human nature -- it might have been too much to expect the reformers to bite the hands that fed them. The Bishops did not forget the hospitality they received in exile on the continent and were not negligent in sharing their good fortune with their former benefactors. For example, Bishop Cox sent Martyr twenty crowns "as a small testimony" of his gratitude after receiving from Martyr a copy of his book on Judges; and Bishop Jewel forwarded twenty crowns to Bullinger and Lavater presumably as generous remuneration for the former's book on Daniel and the latter's on Joshua. There were other advantages in being on the side of the Bishops: Bishop Parkhurst, for instance, informed Bullinger that he had directed "all the ministers of the word throughout Suffolk and Norfolk, to produce either in Latin or English your sermons on the Apocalypse."¹

In spite of all their propaganda and agitation, the Puritans suffered a setback in the vestments controversy and for the remainder of the 1560's little or nothing was published by them of a controversial nature. In 1569 or 1570, however, there appeared in print a sermon preached before the Queen by Edward Dering, which must have encouraged his fellow radicals. Boldly telling the Queen that she had not chosen God but that He had chosen her, Dering went on to rebuke her for neglecting to reform the Church:

If I would declare unto your Majestie al the great
 abuses that are in our Ministerie, I should leade
 you along in the spirite as God did the Prophet
 Ezechiel, and after many intollerable evils, yet
 I shal still say unto you, behold you shal see
 mo abominations then these. I would first leade you
 to your Benefices, and behold some are defiled with
 Impropriations, some with Sequestrations, some loden with
 Pensions, some robbed of their commodities: and yet ...
 behold more abominations then these. Looke after this upon

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Cox to Martyr, Aug. 5, 1562; Jewel to Bullinger and Lavater, Feb. 8, 1566; Parkhurst to Bullinger, Sept. 1, 1561; see also Pilkington to Gualter, July 20, 1573; Cox to Gualter, Feb. 4, June 12, 1573; Grindal to Gualter, July 31, 1573; Zurich Letters, pp. 112, 150, 99, 288, 284-6, 203-4.

your Patrons, and loe some are selling their Benefices, some farming them, some keepe them for their children, some geve them to Boies, some to serving men, a very few seeke after learned Pastors: and yet you shall see more abominations then these. Looke upon your Ministerie, and there are some of one occupation, some of another: some shake bucklers, some Ruffians, some Hawkers & Hunters, some Dicers and Carders, some blind guides and cannot see, some dum Dogs and wyl not barcke: and yet a thousande more iniquities have now covered the Priesthood. And yet you in the meane while that al these whoredomes are committed, you at whose handes God will require it, you sit still, and are careles, and let men do as they list. It toucheth not belike your common wealth, and therefore you are so wel contended to let all alone. 1

Elizabeth and the Elizabethans never forgot Dering's sermon, and, as its popularity suggests, a large number of people had no wish to forget it. At least eleven or twelve editions of the sermon reached the public by 1603.²

Although the established Church emerged from the vestments controversy unchanged in structure and worship, such expectations of unity it had entertained in the early years of the reign were shattered by the end of 1566. The number and vehemence of Puritan publications of that year clearly displayed the cleavage in the Church. Of the ten extant printed works of 1566 on the controversy, seven of them are Puritan. It is no wonder that the Star Chamber Decree of June 29, 1566, contained six ordinances "for reformation of divers disorders in printing and vttering of Bookes."³ But the damage was done and the seeds of disunity began to bear fruit. Shortly after the vestiarian controversy died down, Grindal reported

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A Sermon preached be-fore the Quenes Majestie...., 1570(?), sigs, E4-E4v.

2

For a summary of Dering's career and writings, see Patrick Collinson, A Mirror of Elizabethan Puritanism (Dr. Williams' Trust, 1964).

3

Ordinances decreed for reformation of divers disorders in printing and uttering of Bookes [1566] Broadside No. 57 in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Reprinted in Arber, Transcript, I.

to Bullinger, "some London citizens of the lowest order, together with four or five ministers, remarkable neither for their judgement nor learning, have openly separated from us; and sometimes in private houses, sometimes in the fields, and occasionally even in ships, they have held their meetings and administered the sacraments ordained ministers, elders and deacons after their own way, and have even excommunicated some who had seceded from their church"¹

The Admonition Controversy

The failure of the Puritans to secure reform in the matter of the vestments had the effect of forcing the contention between them and the hierarchy onto more important issues. The Prayer Book and episcopacy were now the targets of Puritan attacks, and the court of appeal was no longer convocation but the House of Commons.² In a letter to Rudolph Gualter, Bishop Pilkington reminded him of the Vestiarian controversy and then lamented that such troubles were increasing: "it has now so broken out afresh, nay more, that which heretofore lurked in dissimulation has now so openly discovered itself, that not only the habits, but our whole ecclesiastical polity, discipline, the revenues of the bishops, ceremonies or public forms of worship, liturgies, vocation of ministers, or the ministration of the sacraments -- all these things are now openly attacked from the

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Grindal to Bullinger, June 11, 1568. Zurich Letters, pp. 201-202.

2

See W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas, Puritan Manifestoes (London, 1954) p. xiv. For a detailed study of the whole controversy, see D. G. McGinn, The Admonition Controversy (New Brunswick, 1949).

press, and it is contended with the greatest bitterness, that they are not to be endured in the Church of Christ. The doctrine alone they leave untouched"¹ Pilkington was referring to the Admonition controversy of 1572.

When Parliament met in the spring of 1572 to decide the fate of Norfolk and his accomplices, the Puritans voiced their grievances with characteristic fervour. But once again, as in the vestments controversy, they were frustrated by the intervention of the Queen, who commanded the lower House to cease its discussion of religion.² Consequently, the Puritans again sought the advice of their brethren on the continent and resorted to the printing press just before Parliament ended on June 30, 1572.

A group of the Puritan leaders met privately in London and decided that a pamphlet addressed to the Parliament might not only reach the MPs but also be an appeal to the whole country.³ Consequently there appeared a pamphlet entitled An Admonition to the Parliament, written and printed anonymously (it was later discovered to have been written jointly by John Field and Thomas Wilcox, two London clergymen). Consisting of a preface, two treatises and an epilogue, the pamphlet totalled thirty octavo-sized leaves. It stated in strong and abusive language complaints and remedies that were typical of the more uncompromising Puritans. The virulent anti-episcopal attitude of the authors is immediately evident in the preface "to the godly Readers."

Two treatises yee have heere ensuing ... which yee must read without parcialitie or blinde affection For certaine men there are of great countenance, which wyll not lightly like of them, bicause they principally concerne their persons and unjuste dealings: whose credite is great, and whose friendes are manye, we meane the Lordly Lordes, Archbishops, Bishoppes, Suffraganes, Deanes, Doctors, Arch deacons, Chauncelors, and the rest of that proude generation, whose kingdome must downe, holde they never so hard: bicause their tyrannous Lordshippe can not stande ... wyth Christes kingdome.

¹Pilkington to Gualter, July 20, 1573. Zurich Letters, p. 287.

²J. E. Neale, Elizabeth I and her Parliaments (1969), Vol. I, p. 302.

³Richard Bancroft, A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline, (1593), pp. 54-55.

They are the cause of all backwardness, "breeche and dissention;" their authority if "forbidden by Christ" and their "childishe Articles" are against the manifest truthe of God."¹ The authors went on to put their case in a nutshell: "Either must we have right ministerie of God, & a right government of his church, according to the scriptures sette up (bothe which we lacke) or else there can be no right religion, nor yet for contempt therof can Gods plagues be from us any while differred."²

Remarking in the epilogue that some men might marvel they had annexed letters of Gualter and Beza to their Admonition without consent of the reformers "as the publishing in print would require," they justified their action by pointing to the precedent set by the bishops in the vestments controversy.

We have for our example the reverend Bishops, who to gette the better credite to theyr cause, have shewed us a president of imprinting some private letters, though we must needes say neyther in so good a cause, not with halfe so much equite. And what thanke they had for so doing, as well D. Bullingers letter written to a Noble man in thys realme is witnesse, as also this of Maister Gualters which followeth. That which they did, was in defence of corruptions, and no small discredite to the Authors, that which we do is in defence of the truth, and to Gods glory, and no doubte to a singular commendacion of the wryters. 3

In spite of strict censorship this work was widely read and subsequently appeared in two further editions. It succeeded in rallying the militants but also resulted in seeds of discord being sown in the Puritan ranks. From this point on, except for the brief period under Archbishop Grindal, the gap between moderate and extreme Puritans -- between those who wished reform at the hands of the bishops and those who urged it at the expense of their lordships -- became more and more evident.⁴

¹ John Field and Thomas Wilcox, An Admonition to the Parliament . . ., 1572, sig. Alv.

² Ibid., sig. A2.

³ Ibid., sig. Flv. Gualter later repudiated his letter and stated that he and Beza had been misled by two Puritans (George Withers and Perceval Wiburn) who had made a special trip to Geneva and Zurich at the height of the Vestarian controversy in 1566 to present the Puritan point of view. See Gualter to Cox, June 9, 1572. Zurich Letters, pp. 362-3. Also Cox to Gualter, Feb. 3, 1574, ibid., p. 297.

⁴ See Frere and Douglas, pp. 1-55, for the reproduction of the Admonition. For a discussion of various views of Episcopacy within the established Church, see Collinson, "Episcopacy and Reform in England in the Later Sixteenth Century," Studies in Church History

Once again both sides appealed to the continental reformers. On February 4, 1573, Bishop Cox wrote to Gaultier asking for his and Bullinger's opinions of certain articles printed by the Puritans. He listed them as follows:

- I. The names and functions of archbishops, bishops, and other officials, ought to be altogether abolished.
- II. The election of the ministers of the word and sacraments should be restored to the people, as not belonging to the episcopal office.
- III. No one ought to be confined to set forms of prayer.
- IV. No sacrament ought to be administered without being preceded by a sermon, preached, and not read.
- V. The father alone ought to answer for his child in baptism, without any other sponsors.
- VI. All the ministers of the church ought to be equal, not one superior to another.
- VII. They condemn the order of confirmation, in which the bishops lay their hands upon the children on their repeating the catechism, and pray the Lord that he may vouchsafe to increase them the knowledge of his word and godliness.
- VIII. They cannot endure the sermons which are preached at the burial of the dead.
- IX. They cannot endure the readings of the holy scriptures in the church.¹

In his reply to Cox, Gaultier came down squarely on the side of the bishops and provided them with propaganda for the press. Cox wrote back on February 3, 1574, expressing his gratitude and explaining that "there is no reason why you should be disturbed about the

(Leiden, 1966) III, 91-125.

¹Cox to Gaultier, Feb. 4, 1573. Zurich Letters, pp. 280-281. See also Bishop Sandys to Bullinger, Aug. 15, 1573, ibid., p. 296, for similar request.

publication of what has procured credit and reputation to yourself, inasmuch as it espouses the cause of truth, of which no one ought to be ashamed."

So successful was the Admonition and the attempts to suppress it so ineffective that the ecclesiastical authorities thought an official reply to it essential. Somewhat surprisingly, their champion emerged in the person of John Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. In the 1560's Whitgift had been a non-conformist. By the end of October 1572 Whitgift had completed his final draft of the official reply and in November An answer to a certain Libel intituled, An Admonition to the Parliament was published.¹ It earned him commendation from Bishop Cox who described him as "the most vehement enemy of the schismatics, and the chief instrument against them in our church"² By April of the following year, the Puritan spokesman, Thomas Cartwright, had published his Reply. The controversy was on -- and the final shot was not fired until 1577.³

¹ Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp. 123, 137; W. H. Frer, The English Church In The Reigns Of Elizabeth And James I (1904), p. 181. An earlier answer to the Admonition appeared in manuscript or print (but is now not known to be extant), and was reprinted in the Puritan rejoinder, Certaine Articles collected and taken ... by the Byshops out of a little Boke (1572). See supra.

² Cox to Gualter, Feb. 3, 1574. Zurich Letters, p. 294.

³ For a detailed study of the literature involved in this controversy, see D. J. McGinn, The Admonition Controversy (New Brunswick, 1949).

While Cartwright and Whitgift were locked in combat during these years, Puritan propagandists took the opportunity to keep the controversy raging on a less scholarly level. It was at this time, about 1573, that A Pleasant Dialogue, Betweene a Souldier of Barwicke, and an English Chaplaine was published, a Puritan effort which Knappen regarded as "the outstanding controversial work of the period."¹ Although it was written in 1566 as a contribution to the vestments controversy, the author suppressed it out of "charitie" while there was "hope of reformation." But now that "no hope remayneth, it is thought good that the follie of the persecutors bee made knowne unto all, that will see it, or read it."² Its adaptation to the current controversy was not difficult as indicated in the full title of the printed edition: "...Wherein are largely handled & laide open, such reasons as are brought in for maintenance of popishe Traditions in our English Church. Also is collected, as in a short table, 120 particular corruptions yet remaining in our saide Church, with sundrie other matters, necessarie to be knowen of all persons." The work was dedicated to Coverdale, Turner, Whittingham, Sampson, Humphrey, Lever, Crowley "and others that labour to roote out the weedes of Poperie." They were exhorted to stand firm "against the Romishe reliques and ragges of Anti-christ" and to "labour to race [sic] out all the dregges and remnauntes of transformed Poperie, that are crept into Englande, by the too much lenitie of them that wil be accounted the Lordes of the Cleargie." He continued in the same bitter vein: they were to remain

in the pure simplicitie of Christes worde and
Sacramentes, wherein our enemies and persecutours
are straungly bewitched. I wote not by what
diuelishe cuppe, that they do make such a diver-

¹
Knappen, op. cit., p. 200.

²
A. G., A Pleasant Dialogue (1581 ed.), sig. Blv. The preface is dated May 10, 1566, and a further note mentions that it was suppressed for seven years. See also Knappen, op. cit., p. 239.

satire betweixt Christs wordes and his Sacramentes,
that they can not thinke the worde of God to be
safely inough preached, & honourbly inough handled
without cappe, cope, or surplesse: but that the
Sacramentes, the Marrying, the Burying, the
Churching of women, and other church service, as
they call it, muste needes be declared with
Crossing, with Coping, with Surplessing, with
kneeling, with prety wafer kakes & other knackes
of Poperie. 1

On the whole, the work was a brilliant satire and "belongs with the works of Turner, Bale, and Martin Marprelate in the first rank of Puritan controversial productions."²

There were other Puritan attacks at this time. In 1574 another satire aimed at Archbishop Parker was spread abroad under the title The Life off the 70. Archbishop off Canterbury presentlye Settinge Englished Using Parker's own official biography, the author or

¹Ibid., sigs A2-A2v. Signed A.G., this work has all the hallmarks of Anthony Gilby to whom it has been traditionally ascribed. There seems to be a lack, however, of hard evidence to prove that Gilby was indeed the author. It appears that the only evidence put forward in ascribing it to him is the initials "A.G." at the end of a letter prefixed to A Pleasant Dialogue This letter has a history of its own, having been published in the anonymous and undated pamphlet 'To my lovyng - brethren that is troubled about the po-pishe apparrell Since it concerns the vestments controversy, it is reasonable to date it c. 1566. However, when this letter appeared in 1593 in A Parte of a register (p. 12), it was dated 1570. Unless external evidence is forthcoming to the contrary, it would seem that there is no more reason for ascribing A Pleasant Dialogue to Anthony Gilby, than there is for ascribing to him the other two Puritan works in which the epistle of "A.G." appears, even granting that "A.G." is Gilby. For a possible alternative see a translation by Arthur Golding of The Warfare of Christians (1576) which he dedicated to Sir William Drewrie in gratitude for his "friendly dealings, both before and since, I confesse your goodnesse to have bin such and so great towards me whyle I sojourned at Barwicke, in the time that you were Marshal there" (sig. A2). See also A Little Booke of John Calvines concernynge Offences, the preface of which is signed by Golding "At Barwicke the firste of October. Anno 1566." (Sig. *5v). In A Pleasant Dialogue there is a letter or dedication by the "Soldier of Barwick" to "his Capitayne Cornelius Theophilus" in he commends the captain's good Christian life. For Golding's Puritanism, see L. T. Golding, An Elizabethan Puritan (New York, 1937), pp. 65, 68. It is interesting to notice that this author ascribes The Testaments of the twelve Patriarches ... to Golding and not to Gilby, who has traditionally been accepted as the author. (p. 155).

²Knappen, op. cit., p. 200.

authors¹ wrote their attacks in the form of annotations. The puckerish wording of the full title displayed the attitude toward the Archbishop expressed in the pamphlet: The Life off the 70. Archbishop This number off seven yt is so compleat a number as it is great pitie ther shold be one more: but that as Augustine was the first/ so Mathew might be the last. In the same year, and on the same press at Heidelberg,² Walter Travers' A full and plaine de-claration of Ecclesiasticall Discipli-ne was printed. Originally issued in Latin, this translation is generally supposed to have been the work of Cartwright. It was a definitive handbook of presbyterian theory and soon became generally accepted as representing the extreme Puritan attitude on the topic.³ Then there was A Brieff discourse off the troubles begonne at Franckford, also printed at Heidelberg in 1574. In addition to being a well-documented account of the problems faced by the Marian exiles in their German and Swiss congregations, this work endeavored to construct an historical justification of the Puritan cause by relating the old controversies of the Marian exiles to the troubles confronting the Elizabethan Puritans at the time of publication.⁴

For all their agitation and publication throughout the Vestiarian and Admonition controversies, the Puritans had little to show for their efforts by 1574. Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, observed optimistically in the summer of 1573 that the trouble-makers were "young" men and implied that their support came mainly from the few "who are gaping for ecclesiastical property." He took further comfort in that "Humphrey and Sampson, and some others, who heretofore moved the question about ceremonies, are entirely opposed to this party."⁵ It was certainly true that the failure of

¹Written anonymously and printed overseas. Dr. Patrick Collinson suspected it was written by a group of young men at the Inns of Court. See Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (1967), p. 146. The satire possibly was prompted by the opinion of Archbishop Parker and other bishops that they might indeed be the last unless they got better support from the Court and Council.

²Ibid., p. 153.

³Ibid., p. 153.

⁴The authorship of this work has usually been ascribed to William Whittingham, dean of Durham. For a convincing argument suggesting another Marian exile, Thomas Wood, as author, see Patrick Collinson, "The Authorship of A Brieff Discours of the Troubles Begonne at Franckford," The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 188-208.

⁵Grindal to Bullinger, July 31, 1573. Zurich Letters, pp. 291-293.

these "presbyterian" Puritans to attract men like Humphrey and Sampson left them without that necessary element of respectability in order to be taken seriously. It was not surprising that Bishop Sandys could write the following year, "Our innovators, who have been stirring to strike out for us a new form of a church, are not doing us much harm; nor is this new fabric of theirs making such progress as they expected. Our nobility are at last sensible of the object to which this novel fabrication is tending."¹ Within the year, however, Protestants even more extreme in their religious and political views would use the press in an effort to advance their particular cause.

The Family of Love

It was in the early 1570's that Familist printed literature began circulating in English. The Family of Love was an offshoot of Anabaptism that came about 1555 to England, where it was to gain its greatest following.² Founded by Hendrik Niclaes,³ or Nicholas, in The Netherlands, this was a communitarian and pacifistic sect that held doctrinal beliefs which represented a transitional stage between evangelical Anabaptism and what was later called Quakerism.⁴ Members of the Family were drawn

¹Sandys to Gualter, Aug. 9, 1574. Ibid., pp. 312-313.

²Williams, op. cit., p. 789. Anabaptism originated in Switzerland. It had its beginnings in a disagreement between Zwingli and a number of his more radical followers concerning the validity of infant baptism. Zwingli's opponents disagreed with his belief that baptism in the New Testament served the same purpose as circumcision in the Old. Disillusioned with Zwingli's position in this regard and with other compromises in the Reformation, a number of radicals formed a splinter group. Looking upon themselves as if they were not Christians, they began all over again. They confessed their sins and participated in a new baptism--a baptism that was received at the hand of a layman. The birthday of Anabaptism was January 21, 1525. Ibid., pp. 119-120.

³Niclaes was born in 1502 at Munster of devout Catholic parents. When still a child he had a precocious interest in religious matters and before he was twenty began to experience visions which in later life led him to refer to himself as "a begodded man." He was twenty-seven when he was arrested on suspicion of holding Lutheran views. Although he had read much of Luther, he disagreed with him on several points, e.g. Luther's attack on the Roman Catholic priesthood; his teaching regarding the grounds of true righteousness and sanctification in Christ and his refusal to insist upon churches composed of sanctified believers. After his release, he and his family moved from Munster to Amsterdam, where he continued to prosper as a merchant. He had not been long there, however, when he was arrested again as a suspected Anabaptist. Later he was released and made his way to Emden where he composed most of his writings. The central theme of his works was the insistence on actual righteousness and physical or experiential holiness, as contrasted with the imputed righteousness of orthodox Protestantism. Ibid., pp. 478-480.

⁴Ibid., pp. 788-789.

from the ranks of Catholics, Protestants and possibly Anabaptists and were permitted to conform outwardly to their respective faiths. They did, nevertheless, hold their own private prayer meetings and had a hierarchical form of organization. Niclaes was the highest elder and under him a group of elders. After the elders came the Familist priesthood and the laity. Neither the elders nor priests of the Family of Love were allowed to hold personal property. They held the orthodox christian view of marriage, and discipline within the local 'families' of Love seems to have been nominally in the hands of the whole brotherhood. In practice, however, the elders and priests were expected to keep their conventicles "in Discipline and Peace."¹

The person chiefly responsible for the spread of Familism in England was Christopher Vitell, who was the chief translator of Niclaes' works from Dutch into English.² Although only a few of them can be definitely dated 1574 and 1575, there appears to be good grounds for ascribing the others, some fourteen pamphlets, to this period also.³ The translations were poor and sometimes incoherent as the following title readily illustrates: A Publishing of the Peace upon Earth/ and of the gracious Tyme and acceptable Yeare of the Order/ which is now in the last tyme; out of the Peace of Jesu Christ/ and out of his ho-lie Spirit of Love; published by HN, on the Earth (1574). The full-title included an exhortation to those men that made war or battled one with another and to those "all Wyse and Scripture learned which contende and dispute against each other" to be at peace, and warned them "of the great Woe and Miserie, which shall come upon them all/ if so be that they gave them not unto Peace."

Another work, "set fourth by Elidid, a fellow-elder with the Elder HN," instructed the members of the Family "how they shall traine & foster them up amonge each other, in the Woorde and Service of ye

¹ Ibid., pp. 480-482. See also Rufus M. Jones, Studies in Mystical Religion (1909), pp. 428-448, for a more detailed study of the Family of Love.

² Vittell's name does not appear on all of the translations, but he is identified in John Rogers' An Answere unto a wicked & infamous Libel made by Christopher Vitel (1579), sig. A2, as "one of the chiefest" of the sect and it is likely that he translated some, if not all, of the anonymous ones. He was from Delft, a joiner by trade, and appeared in Colchester as early as 1555 as a Familist missionary and elder. Williams, op. cit., p. 789. For other biographical information, see DNB

³ See B.M. Gen. Cat. and STC Nos. 185-18564, 10843. For printing of Familist literature, see infra, pp. 251-2.

Love ... and grow upp to Elders in the holy and godlie understandinge of the gracious Woordes." Elidad went on to urge them to "presfourth-after or accomplish the Begginning of the Christian life in the Service of Love ... and also with Speaking-woordes and Writtinges, serve yee daylie one another"¹ Other pamphlets, all written in a curious style and containing mystical allusions, carried statements of HN that were "written up out of the Woordes of his Mouth,"² his proverbs which he set forth "in the Dayes of his Olde-age,"³ and his epistles "which he hath set forth through the holy Spirit of Love and written and sent them most cheefly unto the Lovers of ye trueth and his Acquaintance."⁴

Like most sects, the Family of Love believed that they alone had the truth and were the children of God. Taking the words which Jesus spoke to his disciples, Niclaes applied them to his own followers:

I looked and beholde: To the children of the Kingdom; the Familie of Love of Jesu Christ, it is given to understande the Misterye of the heavenly Kingdom. But to those that are thear-without/ it is not geeven to understande the same. For that cause/ all spirituall understandings do chaunce unto them/by Similitudes, Figures, and Parables. Verily, the straunge People/together with all those that have their Forth-going without the Familie of Love are ignorant. And all the Enemyes to our godly Testimonies of the gracious Woord of the Lorde, and of our most holy Service of Love/ are Resisters of the Trueth of God. 5

Just as he had used the analogy of the disciples and the members of the Family, Niclaes carried it further and thought of himself, and was thought of by his followers, as a prophet from God. For the establishing of his promises and for the manifestation and performance of his will, stated the preface of another of his works, the "God of Heaven hath shewed this same his heavenlie Revelation and greate Prophetie ... unto HN, his elected Minister, and brought-fourth the same through Hym, To the end that the same heavenlie

¹ A good and fruitfull Exhortation unto the Familie of Love(1574?)sig.A6.

² Dicta HN. Documentall Sentences: eaven-as those-same were sppoken-fourth by HN(1574?)

³ Proberbia HN. The Proverbes of HN (1575?).

⁴ Epistolae HN. The Principall Epis-tles of HN(1575). See also Niclaes' Comoedia. A worke in ryme, con-tayning an enterlude of myndes(1574?); Epistola XI. HN. Correction and exhortation out of heartie love(1574); and The prophetie of the spirit of love(1574).

⁵ Terra Pacis. A true Testifi-cation of the spirituall Lande of Peace (1575), sig. *3.

Revelation of God should be witnessed or published through the same his elected Minister"¹ Among other heretical teachings, they were accused of teaching that man could determine his own salvation and could live without sin and attain perfection.² They were also accused of immorality by the ecclesiastical authorities, and one opponent wrote that their errors were "so foule and so filthy" that even the pen had "to stay and stop her nose."³ But those accusations are difficult to substantiate from their writings. On salvation, for example, there was little that was unorthodox: men needed to be "converted all from their Sinnes, expressinge vpright Frutes of Repentance and ... in the mercifull Loue of God and Christ, sanctified and saued."⁴ As is often the case when a group defies the mores of its society and is secretive, unfounded charges of sexual looseness and immorality were levelled against the Family. What evidence there was for such accusations probably was derived from the forced confessions from its members.⁵ The Familists, however, never really became a serious threat to the Establishment, but they did increase to such an extent in the east counties that the Privy Council pressed the Convocation of 1581 to take action against them, and a bill to punish Familist adherents was introduced in Parliament.⁶

Replies to the printed literature of the Family soon began to appear. Most were condemnatory and written in a bitter and vehement tone. When a friend of John Rogers, a staunch supporter of the established Church, embraced the Family of Love, Rogers wrote him a long letter exposing the heretical tenets of his newly found faith. Not content with just writing the letter, Rogers allowed himself to

¹ Revelatio Dei. The Revelation of God/And his great Propheatie.... (1575), sig. A2.

² John Knewstub, A Confutation, of mon-strous and horrible here-sies taught by HN (1579), sig. *4.

³ Ibid., sig. *4.

⁴ H. Niclas, Reuelatio Dei, sig. A2. Other works of Niclaes include the following: Evangelium regni. A joyfull message of the kingdom (1575); Introduction; an introduction to the understanding of the glasse of righteousness (1575?); and Exhortatio. I. The first Ex-hortation of HN to his Children (1575). See also Fidelitas. A Distinct De-claration (1574), B.M. Pressmark: 697. a. 26. (8).

⁵ For confession of three Familists and members of the Queen's guard, see B.M. Harley Ms. 537 fol. 110. and supra., p. 248; also Williams, op. cit., p. 481.

⁶ Neale, I. 410; see supra., p. 247, for the printing of Familist literature and its suppression.

be persuaded by his friends to publish it and in 1578 it appeared under the title of The Displaying of an horrible secte of grosse and wicked Heretiques¹ Prefixed to the text was an epistle to the reader by Stephen Bateman, Doctor of Divinity, and annexed to it were confessions of two members of the Family, examined on May 28, 1561. Bateman stated that the Familist sect had arisen from "the dounge of these filthie sectes" of antiquity, and that it behooves "all reverend Elders, Bishops, and Preachers, to seeke at the handes of our sovereigne, authoritie to redresse the same, or else will assuredly followe the like plague on us, as was at Munster in Germanie, by David George [David Joris?], John a Leede [John of Leiden?], Knippen Dolling, and others, the seede whereof is H.N. Henrie Nicholas, now of Colone."²

Within six months, the leading Familist in England, Christopher Vitell, had answered Rogers' attack on the Family, and Rogers rebutted with An Answere unto a wic-ked & infamous Libel made by Christopher Vitel, one of the chiefe English Elders of the preten-ded Family of Love (1579). Rogers felt he was justified in roundly condemning the sect because "although in other matters there be difference, & opinions: yet in mans election, salvation, redemption, and regeneration: being the pillers, and foundations of our fayth: whosoever erreth herein, cannot be saved." If this offends the Familists, he added, and they consider it a misinterpretation of HN's doctrine, then let "some of their illuminat Elders" set the record straight.³

Two more works attacking the Family appeared in print in 1579, one by William Wilkinson and the other by John Knewstubb, the leading Puritan minister in Suffolk.⁴ The latter argued that such heretics ought to be put to death and that those seduced by heretics should be first to cast the stones. His words illustrate the narrow and extreme aspect of his Puritanism:

To bewray the secretes of a deare friend, who is to a man as his owne soule, seemeth to flesh and blood an heynous matter: to deale so with a mans brother the sonne of his mother, or with his daughter the bowels of his owne bodie: the law of nature doeth crie out of it:

¹Sig. A2.

²Ibid., sig. A8v.

³An Answere unto a wic-ked & infamous Libel, sig. A7.

⁴Wilkinson, A Confutation of Certaine Articles, Delivered unto the Familie of Love (1579); Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 218.

and yet for the glorie of our God, we are not onely in such a case to reveale this against them, but our selves to be the chiefe doers in the death & execution of them we are not onely to lay aside naturall affection, but even to breake into our owne bowels, & to bathe our selves in our owne blood. 1

Knewstub revealed no compunction in attacking his fellow-critics of the Establishment, and in fact placed himself squarely on the side of the Church. "Against the force of an open enemy," he remarked to his dedicatee, the Earl of Warwick, "we have the strength of a double wall: the credite of a cause for Religion: & the concorde of our mindes. But these walles are wanting when the Church dealeth against enemyes gone out from her, which sometimes have been of her."² Consisting of some seventy-six quarto leaves, this work of Knewstub was the most comprehensive of the contemporary refutations of the Family of Love. When the authorities began to react and issued a proclamation against the disciples of Henry Niclaes in 1580, the Familists went underground in order to survive.³

Separatist Apologetics

It was just about this time, the early 1580's that the writings of the Separatists, Robert Browne and Robert Harrison, began to appear in England.⁴ One of the by-products of the vestments controversy of the 1560's was the emergence of Separatist groups. Acting on the principle that if it was right to break from the Roman Church because of its corruption, then it was also right and necessary to separate from the Church of England if it remained corrupt, these radicals set up their own churches and refused to be beaten into submission by the Elizabethan ecclesiastical authorities.⁵ Although

¹ Knewstub, A Confutation of mon-strous and horrible here-sies, taught by H.N. (1579), sig. *8.

² Ibid., sig. *2.

³ P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (eds.), Tudor Royal Proclamations (1969) II, 474. When James came to the throne the Family petitioned him for protection, describing themselves as "a people but few in number and yet most of us very poor." They survived in England until about the end of the seventeenth century. Williams, op. cit., p. 790.

⁴ Williams, op. cit., p. 790. See pp. 787-88 for similarities between Anabaptism and Brownism. For printing of Separatist literature, see infra., pp. 247ff. Separatists, as the term is used in this study, are distinguished from the Puritans in that they advocated withdrawal from and saw no redeeming features in the Church of England.

⁵ Richard Fitz, minister of the Separatist Church that had broken away from the Puritan Plumbers' Hall congregation, published a short statement of the order of his church and its Separatist covenant. Both were printed in black letter and each was printed on one side of a

Separatist declarations appeared in the early part of the reign printed on single leaves, it was not until the 1580's that Separatist pamphlets and books began to circulate in print.

As early as c. 1580 Robert Harrison wrote, but did not publish, "A Treatise Of The Church And The Kingdome Of Christ," one of the first Separatist manifestoes.¹ It is quite possible that if Harrison had immediately published his work, his name, and not Robert Browne's might have become attached to these early dissenters.² What is known of his writings and activities indicates that, had it not been for his untimely death in 1585, Harrison might have played a prominent part in the history of radical Protestantism in England.³ But in these early years of the 1580's the name most commonly associated with Separatism was Robert Browne.

Browne was born of a good family, distantly connected to Lord Burghley, and educated at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, from which he graduated B. A. in 1572. After leaving the university he taught school for some years and then made his way to Dry Drayton and there sat at the feet of the Puritan minister, Richard Greenham. It was here that he began to preach and first ran into trouble with the Bishop by refusing to accept a preaching license. 1580 found both Browne and Harrison in Norwich establishing a Separatist conventicle. Imprisonment in Norfolk, Bury, and London was followed by emigration to Middelburg in 1581. He was accompanied by the Norwich Separatist congregation. It was here, one year later, that he wrote and published his best known work, A Treatise of reformation without tarying for anie.⁴

single leaf. See. C. Burrage, The Early English Dissenters (Cambridge, 1912), II. 13-15. Cf. A. Peel, The First Congregational Churches (Cambridge, 1920) pp. 37-40, for a discussion of Fitz's "covenant".

¹Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson (ed.), The Writings Of Robert Harrison And Robert Browne (1953), pp. 1-3, 29-30. Apart from his graduating B.A., 1567, and M.A., 1572, from Corpus Christi, Cambridge, little is known about Harrison. There is evidence, however, that his time was almost entirely spent in Norfolk and Middelburg after he left Cambridge. See Harrison's A Little Treatise uppon the first Verse of the 122. Psalm (1583), sig. *3v, for reference to this work in which he remarks that the expense involved hindered publication of it.

²Peel and Carlson, p. 30.

³Ibid., p. 3.

⁴Ibid., pp. 6-7; see also A. Peel (ed.), The Brownists in Norwich and Norfolk about 1580 (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 1-6.

In addition to the usual Puritan complaints and demands, Browne stated in this treatise his conception of the Church and State.

We knowe that Moses might reforme, and the Judges and Kings which followed him, and so may our Magistrates: yea they may reforme the Church and commaunde things expedient for the same. Yet may they doo nothing concerning the Church, but onlie civilie, and as civile Magistrates, that is, they have not that authoritie over the Church, as to be Prophetes or Priestes, or spiritual Kings, as they are Magistrates over the same: but onelie to rule the common wealth in all outward Justice, to maintaine the right, welfare, and honor thereof, with outward power, bodily punishment, & civil forcing of men. And therefore also because the church is in a commonwealth, it is of their charge: that is concerning the outward provision & outward justice, they are to look to it, but to compell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical government by lawes & penalties belongeth not to them, as is proved before, neither yet to the Church. Let us not therfore tarie for the Magistrates: For if they be christians thei give leave & gladly suffer & submit them selves to the church government. 1

He went on to denounce the wickedness and pollutions of the Church of England and urged true Christians to withdraw from it.²

In the same year, 1582, another of his writings, A Treatise upon the 23 of Mattheue, came off the press in which he derided and attacked the current style of preaching in the Anglican Church. The preachers prided themselves on the use of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, the application of Logic, and the excellency of their rhetoric, when they ought to be preaching simply and plainly, but with authority, as did Jesus.³ In accordance with this criticism of current preaching, Browne's next work, A Book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, was in a special format designed for both average and advanced readers, or in his words, for the "weaker sort" and the "learned." He did this by arranging material on the left-hand page for those that "require plaines," and on the right-hand page for the readers who "seeke deepnes."⁴ The text itself was arranged

¹ Robert Browne, A Booke Which Sheweth The life and manners of all true Christians (1582), sigs. B3v-B4. This book consisted of three treatises published separately by Browne at Middelburg in 1582 and from one of which it took its title. The treatises were as follows: A Treatise of reformation without tarrying for anie; A Treatise upon the 23 of Mattheue; and A Book Which Sheweth The life and manners of all true Christians See Peel and Carlson, p. 150.

² Ibid., sig. Clv.

³ Ibid., sig. D3, D3v, E2v, F2v-F3.

⁴ Ibid., sigs. D1-D1v.

somewhat catechetically and covered many aspects of Christian doctrine and the Church.

Before leaving Middelburg in 1583 Browne, it would appear, wrote and published a further work. Just as internal bickering had rent the Marian exiles at Frankfort, so too did it disrupt the Separatist church at Middelburg. The parallel can be taken further as the troubles at Middelburg, like those of Frankfort, were also the occasion of a work of a historical nature.¹ A True and Short Declaration, Both of the Gathering and Joyning together of Certain Persons: and also of the Lamentable Breach and Division which fell amongst them (1583/4) told the story of the Separatist squabbles at Middelburg, beginning with the earlier history of the group in England. The autobiographical and historical information in this work make it the most interesting and most valuable of Browne's publications.²

One of the last of Browne's writings to circulate in England was An answere to Ma-ster Cartwright His Letter For Joyning with the English Churches, printed in 1583.³ Consisting of approximately fifty quarto leaves, this comparatively lengthy work had its origin in a controversy between Robert Harrison and Thomas Cartwright concerning the true Church of Christ. Somehow Cartwright's reply to a letter from Harrison fell into Browne's hands, and he decided to interject in print his own answer to Cartwright.⁴ His method was to take the principal points of Cartwright's reply and endeavor to refute them. For Browne the marks of a true church were "preaching the word, ministration of the sacraments, & reformation of life," and not, as Cartwright maintained, the presence of one or more true Christians.⁵ Furthermore, Browne did not agree that "where a preaching minister is, there is a Church" because there were preaching ministers in some papist assemblies and they certainly were not true churches.⁶ And then Browne reiterated the Puritan and Separatist

¹See supra., p. 76.

²The only known copy of this work is at Lambeth Palace Library. It is reproduced, however, in Peel and Carlson, op. cit., pp. 396-429.

³See ibid., pp. 509-515, for other works by Browne that might have been published after this.

⁴Browne, An answere to Ma-ster Cartwright (Middelburg, 1583), sig. A2.

⁵Peel and Carlson, op. cit., p. 11.

⁶Ibid., p. 12.

demand for a more rigid application of discipline to the lives of Church members, only he went a step further than the Puritans. Neither the preaching of the Word, stated Browne, nor the administration of the sacraments by worthy ministers can make a true Church, "except they have the power of Christ to separate the unworthye." For "without this power of binding, that is, of declaring mens wickednes, and forsaking their fellowshippe to leave them unto Satan being open and grievous offendours, there is no name, nor shewe of the church of Christ remaining."¹

The internal strife among the Separatists at Middelburg resulted in the departure of Browne for Scotland in 1583/4. Harrison then became leader of the congregation. In 1583 he contributed to the circulation of Separatist literature by publishing A Little Treatise uppon the firste Verse of the 122. Psalm, a work that was more an outline of the Separatist program than biblical exegesis. In the preface Harrison briefly refers to his imprisonment "with some others" and subsequent emigration to Middelburg, and acknowledges his debt to the brethren who were not able to join him in leaving England. He wished now to pay back part of his debt by helping "to increase their spirituall courage and comforte." He continued:

In which behalfe, when the expectation of me and divers others rested upon some, who in the ende did but slenderlie answere, and satisfie the same: Then I, which for my unworthines and poore gifts, hadde thought never to have set foorth any tninge publikely, yet was provoked to indeavour my selfe, in some parte, as farre as the Lorde should make me able, to satisfie that want, which I thought to be great I thought good to write some other little treatise, and I chose this 122. Psalme, thinking thereby to have occasion ministred to speak of divers of those pointces, which concerne the cause mentioned.²

Mixed with the exposition of his text in the treatise proper were attacks on the canon law, the "blind and dumb" clergy, the ordination of ministers, and the civil magistrates for not consummating the reformation begun by Henry VIII and Edward VI.³ The publication of this work, and those of Browne, brought down the wrath of the Queen upon the two Separatists. On June 30, 1583, the authorities proclaimed the writings of Harrison and Browne to be "seditious,

¹ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

² Harrison, A Little Treatise (Middelburg, 1583), sig. *3v.

³ Peel and Carlson, op. cit., pp. 17, 51, 67-68, 70, 118-125.

scismaticall, and erronious printed Bookes and libelles, tending to the depraving of the Ecclesiastical government established within this Realme," and warned that anyone who printed or wrote, sold or set forth, distributed or received them did so "at their uttermost perils."¹

Browne's quarrel with his Separatist brethren, the Proclamation of 1583 against their books, and Harrison's death in 1585 marked the end of this phase of Separatism. On October 7, 1585, Browne submitted to the terms of Archbishop Whitgift and made his peace with the Establishment.

Archbishop Grindal and the Puritans

From the standpoint of the publication of Puritan criticism of the Establishment, the late 1570's passed quietly. Perhaps the main reasons for this were the translation of Edmund Grindal from York to Canterbury early in 1576 and the drawing together of English Protestants in the face of the Counter-Reformation threat. To the Puritans, except for a small embittered minority, Grindal's elevation offered a ray of hope for the fulfillment of at least some of their demands for reform.² The moderate Puritans were not to be disappointed in him as he soon showed that his sympathies lay with the reform movement.³

Under Grindal the Puritans adopted a more positive approach in their literature of reform. Shortly after he became Archbishop of Canterbury, Grindal permitted the printing of the Geneva Bible, with its Calvinistic annotations -- a publication previously suppressed by Archbishop Parker.⁴ This was followed by the publication of an edition of the Geneva Bible in 1578 incorporating a moderate Puritan version of the Prayer Book, a combination which was frequently

¹For the Proclamation, see B.M. Pressmark G. 6463 (225). See also B.M. Add. MS. 29546, ff. 113-116v, for notes taken in what appears to be an official examination of Harrison's A Little Treatise uppon the first Verse And for printing, distribution, and suppression of Separatist literature, see supra., pp. 249-258.

²Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 159.

³Ibid., pp. 159-167. See also Knappen, op. cit., pp. 251-257.

⁴Parker had barely died when seven Privy Councillors approved a license for Christopher Barker, a protege of Sir Francis Walsingham, to print the Geneva Bible and New Testament. See A. W. Pollard, "Regulation of the Book Trade In the Sixteenth Century," The Library, Third Ser., 7, 1916, pp. 33-34.

reprinted. Of the Geneva version of the Bible, there were sixteen further reprints between 1578 and Whitgift's ascendancy in 1583.¹ There was little need to attack the Establishment during Grindal's incumbency; so once again Puritans turned their attention to venting their spleen against the Papists.²

The period of peace between the Puritans and the authorities, however, was shortlived. In June, 1577, Grindal was confined to his house and sequestered for six months because he refused to implement the Queen's order to suppress prophesyings (i.e., periodic gatherings of the clergy and laity for Bible discussions). Grindal's sequestration lasted longer than six months, and six years later, in 1583, he died in disfavour with the Queen and still out of office.

The suspension of Grindal was the signal for renewed Puritan activity and they returned to the attack on the established Church. The abusive and bitter Admonition to the Parliament was reprinted in 1578.³ John Field obtained, perhaps through his connections with the Scottish Presbyterians, Theodore Beza's letter to Lord Glamis of Scotland in which he denounced diocesan episcopacy and published it in 1580.⁴ Entitled The Judgement Of a Most Reverend And Learned Man From Beyond The Seas, Concerning A Threefold Order Of Bishops, this pamphlet stated that there were three kinds of bishops: of God, of man, and of the devil. It made the point clearly that the Anglican bishops did not belong in the first category. The bishop of man "is not the first in order amongst his fellow elders, but in degree above them beyng the onely man in his diocesse, is not ordeined by the word of God, but by custome amongst the fathers." The bishop of the devil, it went on, was merely the bishop of man in a state of corruption and degeneration.⁵

¹For a study of the production and distribution of the Genevan Bible, see C. Eason, The Genevan Bible (Dublin, 1937).

²See Chapter 2.

³Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 208.

⁴John Lyon, eighth Lord Glamis (d. 1598), became lord chancellor of Scotland on Oct. 12, 1573. In 1575 he corresponded with Beza when the question of episcopacy was occupying the attention of the lords of the congregation, and Beza wrote the treatise in answer to some of his queries. The original letter was in Latin and entitled, "De triplici Episcopatii."

⁵Sigs. A6, B1. See also Collinson, "John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism," p. 145. It was printed secretly by Waldegrave. See M. Marprelate (pseud.), Hay any worke (1589), sig. G2v.

In the same year, 1580, another work, ostensibly written to refute the supremacy of the Pope, stated that episcopacy was a remnant of Rome. Testifying to the potency of Puritan propaganda, the author explained to his dedicatee, Robert Dudley, that his work was set forth

for the utter rooting out of the usurped Romish Supremacie out of all the Church of Christe, chiefly out of this Church of England: and also for the declaring of the most true perfect equal authority, given by our Saviour Jesus Christ, to al his Apostles, his Bishops, and godly ministers of his word & sacraments Which thinges I my selfe have bene ignorant of, until it hath now within these three yeares pleased God to give me his grace to read his holy scriptures, and other good authours, and Doctours of his Church, to my great comfort and consolation. 1

Grindal died in July 1583, and on September 23rd John Whitgift succeeded him at Canterbury.

¹William Chauncie, The Rooting out of the Romishe Supremacie, sig. G2v. (1580), sig. A4.

CHAPTER IV PROTESTANT AGAINST PROTESTANT, 1583-1603

Archbishop Whitgift and Enforcement of Conformity

The dark forebodings envisaged by the Puritans at the elevation of Whitgift to the Church's highest office soon materialized. In his inaugural sermon at Paul's Cross on November 17, he made explicit his intention to bring the Puritans to heel. True to his word, the new Archbishop began with gusto his campaign against religious dissidents in England. In October 1583 he sought and obtained the Queen's approval for his policy of subscription to certain articles as the condition for exercising any ecclesiastical function.¹ Although this requirement had been employed before by Bishop Bullingham in the diocese of Lincoln in 1570, this was its first general application. One of the articles stated that the Prayer Book did not contain anything contrary to the word of God and contained a promise to use it and none other in ecclesiastical administrations. Very few regulations would have touched the Puritans in a more sensitive place, and their reaction was predictable. In all there were probably three or four hundred ministers who refused an immediate and unqualified subscription, to which may be added over three hundred Leicestershire ministers who made limited subscriptions. Leicestershire was a special case due

¹

Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp. 243-244.

to the great influence of the Hastings family.¹

It did not take long for the Puritans to respond to Whitgift's challenge. There appeared in 1583 or 1584 an anonymous work entitled An Abstract, Of Certain Acts of parliament ... Injunctions ... Canons ... for the peaceable government of the Church ... for the most part heretofore unknownen and unpractized, a work that had all the hallmarks of being compiled by a Puritan lawyer. Selecting and arranging the acts, injunctions and canons to support his argument, the author attacked as illegal the proceedings of the bishops and High Commissioners. In his epistle "To the Christian Reader," the author decried the "lamentable contention" in the Church about reformation of ecclesiastical discipline and popish ceremonies, "whereby the quiet & peaceable estate, both of the Church and common wealth, have been shrewdly troubled and brought in hazarde." He goes on to observe that if the law already "appoynted for the governaunce of the same Church" were "either better knowne unto the whole church, either better executed by those unto whome our gracious Soveraigne, hath committed their Execution, no dout, but very many & notable points of such controversies, as have beene a long time amongst us, would be easily & speedily by the same laws decyded."²

Within the year, Dr. Richard Cosin, dean of the Court of Arches, published a defence of Church policy entitled An Answer To the two first and principall Treatises of a certeine factious libell, put forth latelie' (1584). The 'factious libell', of course, referred to An Abstract Of Certain Acts of parliament Since this Puritan attack consisted of 270 quarto pages and had six divisions, each substantiating a Puritan complaint, it would have required a lengthy reply to refute all of it. Cosin chose to refute the first two "treatises", or chapters, which were entitled "A learned Ministerie commanded by the Lawe" and "Dispensations for many benefices unlawfull." The chapters he decided to omit treated the following subjects: "Excommunication, by one alone forbidden," "It is unlawfull for a Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical person by common right, to beare any civile office in the common weale." "Unlawfull to ordaine a Minister without a Title," and "Fees for letters of orders unlawfull."³ The Puritans were not slow in pointing out that crucial

¹ Ibid., pp. 253, 252.

² An Abstract sig. A3. STC queries date as 1583.

³ Ibid., sigs. Y3, Dd4, Ii2, Ll2.

questions had been ignored. Even this partial reply was not allowed to go unanswered. A young Cambridge theologian, Dudley Fenner, now joined battle with A counterpoyson, modestly written for the time, to make aunswere to the objections and repro-ches, where with the aunswerer to the Abstract, would disgrace the holy Discipline of Christ (1584?), and he followed this up with A Defence Of The Rea-sons of the Counter-poyson in 1586.

There were others ready and willing to defend the Establishment. "Of the great subscription urged from the Pastors and ministers of the worde and Sacraments in a great part of this land the last yeare," wrote Thomas Rogers, a chaplain to Sir Christopher Hatton and later Richard Bancroft, "yee can not lightlie be ignorant. The causes of the same being either secret, I cannot: or not convenient to be published, I may not set downe."¹ He went on to add that although some were of the opinion that subscription had been enforced to the detriment of the Church, there were others who "wiselie do suppose that it hath made not a little unto the glorie of God, and comfort of his servants, as whereby a ful and perfect trial of men is had, and divers of the godlie notablíe be delivered from the manifold slanders, and wiked surmises falslie raised of them through the secret, and subtil suggestions of Satan, and his members." A minister who refused to conform "maie vehemently be suspected to be a contemner of the sacred auctoritie of this noble realme, and of the doctrine of Christ; a dissenter not onlie from al the godlie in this land, and therefore not worthie to live among us: but also from the true Christians who both have lived heretofore, and remaine in anie reformed Church at this present time; and a favorer either of the Jewish, or Turkish, or Popish, or Anabaptistical, or some ungodlie, and cursed opinion, or other." After placing himself squarely on the side of the authorities, Rogers pleads with the Puritans, rather condescendingly, for unity in the face of the Roman Catholic threat:

howe ought we to love and make of one another, who are thus hated, and by revilings persecuted, and that for one and the same cause at this present. If that daie which theie so long-for should, as either that or some other affliction in this world for our unthankfulnesse, or a more intollerable at the general judgement, which is neere at hand, shal come, it wil not be to our griefe that we have beleevd, preached and professed the truth which the Church of England at this

¹T. Rogers, The Englishe Creede(1585), sig. *2v.

daie doth hold, but that we have not lived there-after, we shal repent; and publishing the Gospel of peace, have yet bine contentious, we shal repent, and being servants to one and the same Lord and master, have not onlie railed upon, but also beaten and pursued one another, we shal repent; and being watchmen, have not bine more vigilant and resident in our places, we shal repent; our negligence, our coldnesse, we shal repent; and if we have either kept-out of the Lord his vine-yard, such as both for abilitie could, and for their zeale would, either implant this Faith in the ignorant, or confirme it in the learned; or to the certaine destruction of themselves, and manie others depending upon them, either brought or kept in the idle, and idol shepherd, that shal we repent also, and that with teares. 1

Looking back on the year 1584, Rogers in a later pamphlet described it as "that fertile yeare of contentious wrightings."² His immediate purpose in writing was to confute an anonymous presbyterian sermon printed by Robert Waldegrave in 1584, the fruits of which he described as "strife, contention, depravation of our Church, defacing of her governors, slanders, errors, wresting, perverting, abusing unto schisme the holie word of God"³ Rogers described this as A Fruteful Sermon and identified its printer as Waldegrave. It is almost certain to have been A fruiful sermon upon the 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. and 8 verses of the 12 ch. of ... Romanes by Laurence Chaderton of Cambridge and printed by the Puritan printer in 1584 and 1586, and for him in 1589.⁴

As Rogers observed, the year 1584 was "fertile" in contentious writings, and most of these presented a presbyterian point of view.⁵ Two identified the cause of "the godly preachers and professors of the Gospell" with presbyterianism, and called for the Queen and Privy Council to "appoynt on both sides the best learned, most Godly & moderate men to debate all differences of waight betweene them and us."⁶

¹ Ibid., sigs. *3, *4-*4v.

² A Sermon upon the 6. 7. and 8. Verses of the 12. Chapter of ... the Romanes, 1590, sig. Blv.

³ Ibid., sig. B2.

⁴ See STC Nos. 4926-28; and Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 274. For another Puritan sermon with a similar title printed by Waldegrave in 1584, but not anonymously, see Thomas Gibson, M.A., A Fruit-ful sermon, prea-ched at Occham See infra., pp. 238-242. for Waldegrave's part in the printing of Puritan literature.

⁵ So long as those calling for a presbyterian form of church government remained in the Church of England, they are included in the definition of "Puritan" used in this study. See supra., p. 55.

⁶ A Dialogue, Concerning the strife of our Churches and A Briefe and plaine declaration, concerning the desires of all those faithfull Ministers, that have and do seeke for the Discipline and reformation

That the demands of the Puritans were not always ignored was shown when their request for a conference was granted and took place at Lambeth in December 1584. Once again as in the vestments controversy, Puritan objectives were frustrated and little or nothing was accomplished by the disputation.¹

"The doctrine & discipline of God, hath alwaies had equal resistance," complained the author of a Puritan pamphlet issued, probably not coincidentally, after the Lambeth conference, "neyther hath Sathan lesse laboured the humors of men, agaynst the one then against the other."² The "doctrine & discipline" referred to, of course, were nothing less than the Puritan programme of reform. The author continued:

In latter tymes whole states and governmentes have receyved it with one consent as divers of the States of Germany, and those that have refused it, loe their confusions! They must condemne woorthy Churches and whole countreys that have embraced it and found it the onely bond of peace, the bane of heresie, the punisher of sinne, & maintainer of righteousness. The harmony of so many famous Churches in so many partes of the world consenting in the chieftest points & substance, both ought to bring great authoritie to it, & also evident testimony of the authour thereof, who hath framed it with such wisdom, that it may serve all tymes, places and peoples, without any impeachments of civil states and governments, and without any danger to princes or their kingdoms.

He went on to claim that some of the great lights of the Reformation, in which he included Knox and Cartwright, had maintained this "discipline of God." And even "some woorthy fathers also that grewe up with the infancie of the Gospel with us, whereof some are dead, some yet alive: men of great gravitie, wisdom, learnyng: men (some of them I say) that to this day beare the markes of Christ in their bodies, do acknowledge and confesse her." He concluded by insinuating

of the Church of Englande, sig. A3. The latter was a pirated edition by John Field of William Fulke's Learned discourse of ecclesiastical government. Dr. Collinson suspects that the prefaces of both were the work of Field. See Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 274.

¹A Peel (Ed.), The Seconde Parte of a Register Being A Calendar of Manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams' Library. London (Cambridge, 1915, I. 275-283.

²Anonymous, The Unlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, sig. A2. B.M. Gen. Cat. queries date as 1584. Printed by Waldegrave. See Hay any worke (1589), Sig. G2v.

that some of the opposition would be standing with the Puritans on this issue "onely promotions have turned [them] from us."¹ Alongside the bold declaration of presbyterianism in the Admonition to the Parliament (1572), this pamphlet has the air of defeat. As in the vestiarian and Admonition controversies, so in Subscription the established Church stoutly resisted the movement for further reform.

From Subscription to Marprelate

After the Lambeth conference, the Puritans turned in their frustration once again to Parliament -- a strategem they would use frequently in this period between 1584 and 1603. In addition to literary attacks on the bishops, they concentrated on hammering out a 'Book of Discipline' or formal constitution, to which ministers could bind themselves by subscription, and on lobbying Parliament for the enactment of legislation to establish presbyterianism and to approve the Geneva liturgy.² In the House of Commons, for example, just before the Christmas recess of 1584, petitions were presented urging the Queen to complete the reformation of the Church. Taking advantage of such congenial atmosphere, Dr. Peter Turner submitted the Genevan Prayer Book to the House and urged the formal reading of a bill adopting it as a replacement for the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559. Furthermore, Turner's bill called for the establishment of a form of presbyterianism. This Puritan project, however, was foiled when Sir Christopher Hatton persuaded the Commons not to read the "bill and book" but to leave the complaints contained in the petitions for the Queen's consideration.³

All was not lost, however, when the Puritan programme for reform could not be read in Parliament, there was always the printing press. At times like this the press became invaluable as an instrument of Puritan propaganda. "Because our desire was, that this our complaint should be communicated to every one of the honorable parliament," explained a Puritan in 1585, "and finding no other waies to perfourme the same: we desired that it might be done by the way of

¹Ibid., sig. D2.

²See Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp. 291-329 for Puritan activity in these years.

³Neale, Elizabeth I And Her Parliaments, Vol. II. pp. 60-62.

printing"¹ After arguing the case for a learned ministry, the pamphlet concluded with the following appeal:

Most humbly therefore we pray, and beseeche our most gracious Soveraigne, and you the right honourable Counsellors and the Nobility of this Land, you reverend Fathers of the Cleargy, you woorthy Judges of the Lawe, and also you right Worshipfull Knightes and Burgesses of the Lower House, not to shrinck away and wash your handes of this worke, but to raise up yourselves, and as every one hath received from Jesus Christe greater wisdome, authority, and magnanimity then another, so to strive and contend one with another, to strengthen the army of Christ, and to place him in the royall seate of his kingdome. 2

As Sir John Neale has shown in his work on the Elizabethan Parliament, a considerable number of MP's did not "shrinck away" and wash their hands of the Puritan cause.³ But while they pursued reform of the church by using legal means in Parliament, some of their brethren turned in anger to more devious and clandestine methods.

In the next few years Puritan frustration manifested itself in the publication of books and pamphlets expressing intense hostility to the bishops and which culminated in the Martin Marprelate affair of 1588-89. Two developments in this period were directly connected with the scurrilous attacks on the bishops, printed secretly, and signed with the pseudonym, Martin Marprelate. One was the Bridges-Fenner-Travers controversy of 1587.

In 1587 John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, replied to two presbyterian pamphlets edited and published by John Field in 1580 and 1584.⁴ In addition to answering the two pamphlets, the author also wrote in reply to "the argumentes of Calvine, Beza, and Danaeus ... and in defence of her Majestie, and of all other Christian Princes supreme Government in Ecclesiasticall causes." Bridges also attacked "the Tetrarchie that our Brethren would erect in every particular congregation, of Doctors, Pastors, Governors and Deacons, with their severall and joynt authoritie in Elections Excommunications, Synodall Constitutions and other Ecclesiasticall matters."⁵ It was a direct

¹ Anonymous, A Lamentable Complaint Of The Commonalty, By Way Of Supplication To The High Court Of Parliament, For A Learned Ministry, sig. Alv.

² Ibid., F2v.

³ Neale, Vol. II, pp. 61 ff.

⁴ These were A briefe and plaine declaration (1584) and The Judgement of a most Reverend and Learned Man from beyond the Seas (1580).

⁵ John Bridges, A Defence of the Government Established (1587).

challenge to presbyterianism and the Puritan reaction was swift.

Within months Dudley Fenner published A Defence of the godlie Ministers, against the slaunders of D. Bridges (1587). In it he affirmed "the lawfull authoritie of her Majestie," defended the action of the ministers who refused to subscribe to Whitgift's articles, and endeavored to prove "sillogisticallie" the presbyterian form of church government. This was followed by a work from the pen of Walter Travers, author of the Puritan Book of Discipline, in which he condemned the remnants of Romish religion in the Church of England and defended presbyterianism.¹ And finally it was Bridge's book which Marprelate took delight in lampooning in his first tract: Oh read over D. John Bridges/ for it is a worthy worke

Another development that directly concerned the Marprelate venture was the use made of Robert Waldegrave (the printer of the first Marprelate tracts) by the extremist fringe of the Puritan movement, principally by John Penry and John Udall, immediately prior to Marprelate's scurrilous attacks. Udall was the preacher at Kingston, a brilliant controversialist, and reputed by James VI of Scotland, according to legend, to have been the greatest scholar in Europe.² From Waldegrave's press in April 1588 came Udall's The state of the Church of Eng-lande, laide open in a conference be-tweene Diotrefhes a Byshop, Tertulles a Papist, Demetrius an usurer, Pandocheus an Inne-keeper, and Paule a preacher of the worde of God. In the preface, the author exhorted the reader to

consider well of the speeches uttered by every partye, & compare them with the practize of the worlde, and then looke what it is, that so hardneth Pandocheus in Atheisme, Demetrius in usurye, & Tertullus in papistrie; and you shall (I doubt not) plainely perceive, that the cause of all ungodlines so to raigne in every place, and of the papists so to increase in strength and number, ariseth from our Byshops and their unlawfull government ... and you shall evidently perceive that the cause why the gospel being so long preached, & hath taken so little effect, ariseth from them only, for so much as they have weakened the knees of the true preachers, and every way crossed them in all good actions.³

When the bishops burned what copies they could locate of this dialogue, Udall penned another treatise in which he was much more abusive of

¹W. Travers, A Defence Of The Ecclesiasticall Discipline ... Against a Replie of Maister Bridges (1588).

²Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, pp. 148-149.

³Sigs. A2v-A3.

the authorities, stating that he was persuaded they were "in league with hell, and have made a covenant with death." He threw out a challenge to them: "Venture your byshopprickes upon a disputation, and wee will venture our lives, take the challenge if you dare: if the truth be on your side, you may hereby, be restored to your dignities, and be no more troubled by us: but if the trueth be against you, what shal it profit you to win the whole world, and afterward loose your own souls."¹

It was in this period also that John Penry, a young Oxford graduate, found himself in trouble with the authorities. The publication of a pamphlet by him in 1587 initiated this young man on a course that led to his involvement in the publication of the Marprelate libels.² Entitled A Treatise Containing The Aequity Of An Humble Supplication Which Is To Be Exhibited Unto Hir Gracious Majesty, and apparently written to draw attention to religious conditions in Wales, his native country, this was interpreted as an attack on episcopacy. Although Penry denied that this was the case, it did not satisfy the authorities or stop their harassment of him. Had no offence been taken at this work which Penry believed was harmless,³ his subsequent resort to clandestine writing and printing might not have been necessary. Nevertheless, five hundred copies of his work were seized and Penry was hauled before the High Commission -- an experience he bitterly recounted in a later work.⁴

For John Penry, Waldegrave printed An exhortation unto the governours, and people of hir Maiesties countrie of Wales, another eloquent appeal "to have the preaching of the Gospell planted" in

¹ A Demonstration Of the trueth of that Discipline, 1588, sigs. B1-B1v. Printed by Waldegrave; Greg and Boswell, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

² See Edward Arber, An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy. 1588-1590 (1880), p. 56.

³ The fact that Penry did not resort to a secret press but had it printed by Joseph Barnes at Oxford, is clear evidence that he was not being devious in claiming it was harmless. It also reveals that Barnes and the Oxford vice-chancellor (responsible for licensing it), Dr. Daniel Barnard, thought it sound enough to put in print. This is an important detail neglected by D. J. McGinn in his argument that Penry was purposefully but covertly attacking the English episcopate. Surely Penry was not so naive as to think he could in open print, get away with what John Field, Thomas Wilcox, Brown, Harrison and many others had suffered for? See D. J. McGinn, John Penry and the Marprelate Controversy (New Jersey, 1966), pp. 48-59.

⁴ Th'Appellation of John Penri (1589), sig. A3v.

his native country.¹ About four months later, in August, Penry's A defence of that which hath bin written in the questions of the ignorant ministerie came off the press, in which he replied to Dr. Robert Some's First Godly Treatise and propounded the presbyterian discipline.² The pamphlet appears to have been issued in an imperfect state, the reason for which might have been, suggests Pierce, "the arrival of a batch of Marprelate 'copy' that urgently required the printers services."³

Indeed, in mid-October, the first of Marprelate's brilliant satirical libels against the bishops did appear, Oh read over D. John Bridges/ for it is a worthy worke. To the delight of the radicals, the second (the Epitome) appeared before the end of November. These two pamphlets were a continuation of the Puritan response to Bridges' defence of the establishment initiated by Dudley Fenner and Walter Travers. Keeping just a step ahead of their pursuers, the Marprelate printers continued their caper for a whole year. Robert Waldegrave was the printer of the first four tracts, but decided he had had enough of surreptitious printing in March 1589 and bade farewell to his fellow-conspirators. John Hodgkins and his assistants replaced him and continued the good work until August 14. On that date, a short distance from Manchester, the Marprelate printers were caught red-handed by the authorities printing another tract, More Work For The Cooper.⁴

¹ This was printed before mid-April 1588 and subsequently went through two further editions. See D. J. McGinn, John Penry and the Marprelate Controversy (New Jersey, 1966), pp. 60, 213-17.

² Pierce, John Penry: His Life, Times, and Writings (1923), p. 200.

³ Ibid.

⁴ For a concise chronology and discussion of the Marprelate tracts see The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature (Cambridge, 1940), Vol. I, ed. by F. W. Bateson, pp. 688-694. See also Arber, An Introductory Sketch, pp. 98-00, and Pierce, An Historical Introduction, p. 190. For the secret printing of the Marprelate tracts see infra.

But the Marprelate tracts did not cease with Hodgkins' arrest. In September 1589 there appeared, to the consternation of the authorities, The Protestatyon Of Martin Marprelat. The full title included a brief paragraph: "Wherein not withstanding the sur-prizing of the printer, he maketh it known unto the world that he feareth neither proud priest, Antichristian pope, tiranous prellate, nor godlesse catercap: but defiethe all the race of them by these presents and offereth conditionally, as is farther expressed hearin by open disputation to appear in the defence of his caus against them and theirs." There were other writings spread abroad at this time attacking the bishops and similar to Martin's in style and content. Matthew Sutcliffe accused Job Throckmorton of writing two such pamphlets, one entitled Martins interim of a briefe Pistle to the cursed Prelates and clergy, and the other The crops and flowers of Bridges garden.¹ There is no hard evidence, however, to substantiate Sutcliffe's accusation that Throckmorton was the author.

The Aftermath of Marprelate

Although there is little doubt that Marprelate's diatribes were immediately condemned by moderate Puritans, it is significant that no Puritan took up the pen to refute them. They were clearly not in the same category as the Separatist and Familist writings which were quickly denounced in print by Puritans.² The first public condemnation of Martin Marprelate came from Bishop Thomas Cooper of Lincoln, one of the chief targets of the anonymous author's biting satire, early in 1589. Entitled An Admonition To The People of England Cooper's reply simply sought to refute the slanders and accusations

1

See ibid., p. 195, footnote 1. It would seem that copies of these works are no longer extant.

2

See supra, p. 80-86.

of the offensive tracts. Within a short time other attacks on Marprelate appeared, most of them striving, unsuccessfully, to imitate his style of bitter invective.¹ Three such attempts were written under the pseudonym of Pasquill and, according to the author, were well-received in all parts of the nation.² In his second publication, The return of the renowned Cavaliere Pasquill of England, from the other side the Seas (1589), Pasquill returned to England, met his friend Marphorius and asked him, "howe hath my Countercuffe beene intreated?" Marphorius replied, "It requireth a Summers day and a Winters night to tell you all. It was very welcome to the Court, thankfullie received in both Universities, the Cities of the Land doe give you good speeches, as for the Countrey, after the plainest manner, with hart and good will they are ready to greete you with a cake and a cup of Ale in every Parrish."³

Other anti-Marprelate tracts, written in the same vein and most of them published in 1589, have been attributed to Thomas Nashe or John Lyly: Pappe with an hatchet... Or a Countrie cuffe, that is a sound boxe of the eare, for the idiot Martin; Mar-Martine; An Almond for a Parrot; Martins Months mynde, That Is, A certaine report, and true description of the Death, and Funeralls, of olde Martin Marre-prelate; A Myrrer for Martinists (1590)⁴ and A Whip for an Ape: Or Martin displaied.⁵ With keen insight, and somewhat prophetically, the author of the last named remarked on the

¹For a chronology of the anti-Marprelate literature, see The Cambridge Bibliography Of English Literature, I. 690-694.

²These were A Countercuffe given to Martin Ju-nior: by the venturous, hardie, and renowned Pasquill (1589); The Returne of the renowned Cavaliere Pasquill (1589); and The First parte of Pasquills Apologie (1590).

³Sig. A2

⁴This was entered at Stationers' Hall on Dec. 22, 1589, with the following marginal note, "Nashe yt is saide [is the author?]" Arber, Transcript, II. 537.

⁵These have been attributed to Nash or Lyly in STC (Nos. 534, 17461, 17463-4, 19456-7), The Works of Thomas Nashe (1883) ed. by A. B. Grosart, and in The Works of John Lyly (1902) ed. by R. W. Bond. But see R. B. McKerrow (ed.), The Works of Thomas Nashe (Oxford, 1958), V. 52-55, 64, for the following statement regarding Nashe's part in anti-Marprelate propaganda: "I fear that the result of this investigation into Nashe's part in the Marprelate controversy has been merely negative. That he had some share is fairly certain, but beyond that I think we cannot go. So far as I can see there is not a single tract produced by the Anti-Martinist group of writers which may safely, or even probably, be attributed to Nashe."

potential danger to the state in Marprelate's ideology;

And thinke you not he will pull downe at length
 Aswell the top from the tower, as Cocke from steeple?
 And when his head hath gotten some more strength,
 To play with Prince as now he doth with people?
 Yes, he that now saith, Why should Bishops bee;
 Will next crie out, Why Kings: The saints are free. 1

As most moderate Puritans feared, Marprelate's rash pamphlet-eering brought general condemnation of the whole movement by the conformists. One author, for example, made the point that some Puritans and Puritan sympathizers foster the very evils against which they rail:

The greatest coursers, and professed hunters of dumbe dogs ... are the very foster fathers, that pester our Church with that Cattel I will take it upon the credit of my selfe, an upstantial yeoman, that most of these mute shepheardes are hatched up under the wind of those which beat most upon the remooving of dumbe dogs. I could give you some examples in Bedfordshire: a whole rablement at lease Where is the conscience of these criers out on blinde guides become? not resident at home nowe but abroad, busie in inveighing against Bishops for their tolerations graunted, to such as themselves have preferred, commended, presented. And by this Legerdemaine hath the Common-wealth been robd of Tailors, Shoemakers, and good Artificers, and the Church overcharged with bad Ministers ... (who) are so farre from the Romish Religion, as they cannot understand a word of the Latine toong How dare these fellows aspire to further authoritie in Minister-making, when they suffer their houses to be the Nourceries of such impotent and impudent encroachers upon Church-Officers. 2

Another author, Leonard Wright, endeavored to reason with Marprelate by using a soft approach: "I have thought good, not in awie of revenge, to requite you with evil for evil, as tant for tant, squib for squib, or scoffe for scoffe: but rather in friendly and charitable manner, gently to admonish and intreate you, to cease your grievous railing, disdainfull mocking, and bitter contention" The effects of Marprelate's writings, he went on, were only to make the Church a laughingstock to their enemies, an embarrassment to their friends, and to make their neighbouring countries to

¹ Sig. A3.

² Plaine Percevall The Peace-Maker of England. Sweetly Indeavoring With His blunt persuasions to botch up a Reconciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother (1590), sig. C4v. This has been ascribed to Richard Harvey. See The Cambridge Bibliography Of English Literature, I. 693-4, and STC No. 12914. For another anti-Marprelate work attributed to Harvey, see A Theologicall Discourse Of The Lamb Of God And His Enemies (1590). The dedication to the Earl of Essex is signed "R. H."

"wonder at our curiositie."¹ Then there was the anonymous writer, who, in his concern for the unity of the Church in England, castigated both Martinists and anti-Martinists. Clearly disapproving of the schisms developing within the Church, he wished that each Christian would

Beare Joyntly one anothers weakenesse so
That though we wither, yet the Church may grow.

About the Marprelate controversy, he had this to say:

Martins vaine prose, Marre-Martin doth mislike,
Reason (forsooth) for Martin seekes debate:
Marre-Martin will not so; yet doth his patience strike:
Last verse, first prose, conclude in one selfe hate:
Both maintaine strife, unfitting Englands State.
Martin, Marre-Martin, Barrow joynd with Browne
Shew zeale; yet strive to pull Religion downe. 2

One of the main themes of the Marprelate tracts was an attack upon episcopacy and advocacy of presbyterianism to replace it. Although this ground had been gone over thoroughly in the controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift, the Marprelate affair again brought it to the fore and a number of works purporting to prove the validity of episcopacy were published.³ In rising to the challenge of Cartwright, Whitgift had been the first to place the Anglican concept of church government on a firm theoretical basis. In stating that the distinction between bishops and other ministers was merely external and only to facilitate order and government in the Church and that the form of church government depicted in the Bible was not binding on all churches for all ages -- it was a "thing indifferent" -- Whitgift was elaborating on current ideas within the Elizabethan Church.⁴ After the publication of his replies to Cartwright, Whit-

¹L. Wright, A Friendly Admonition to Martine Marprelate, and his Mates (1590), sig. A2. Entered in Stationers' Hall on January 19, 1589/90, and authorized By Bishop of London. Arber, Transcript, II. 538.

²Marre Mar-Martin: or Marre-Martins medling, in a manner misliked (1589), sig. A1. For anti-Marprelate comments in printed sermons, see J. Prime, The Conco-lations of David, Breefly Applied To Queen Elizabeth: In a Sermon preached in Ox-ford the 17. of November ... 1588 (1588), sig. A2v; W. James, A Sermon Preached At Pauls Crosse The IX. of November, 1589 (1590), sigs. A3-4, Elv-2. The latter suggests that those who "with Martine seeke the overthrow of all" are really seeking after church spoils, and that ambition or avarice motivates Marprelate.

³For a discussion of these works on episcopacy and the views they advanced, see S.D.J.C. Thompson, "Anthony Marten And The Elizabethan Debate on Episcopacy," Essays In Modern English Church History, ed G.V. Bennett & J. D. Walsh (1966), pp. 44-75.

⁴Ibid., p. 51. See also McGinn, The Admonition Controversy, pp. 278-346.

gift's position was echoed by other writers on the subject.¹

On February 9, 1589, however, in the midst of the Marprelate controversy, Richard Bancroft preached a sermon at Paul's Cross which clearly showed a shift away from Whitgift's latitudinarian position to a more doctrinaire one.² The significance of his sermon was not in what he said -- for he repeated the case for episcopacy on the grounds of antiquity -- but in what he omitted. He chose not to repeat the oft-mentioned argument by previous Church of England apologists that church government was a "thing indifferent." Other apologists had used this argument to qualify their claim that episcopacy was an apostolic institution.³

Interestingly enough, however, some eight years before Bancroft's Paul's Cross sermon, Richard Langton (a London publisher) wrote what is possibly the earliest statement of the jure divino theory of episcopacy in English. Basing his argument on examples from nature, and on the authority of Scripture, the early Church fathers, Church tradition, and "the light of reason," he made the case for the preeminence of bishops. Writing such a defence of episcopacy as a preface might have been the only condition on which Langton could publish Bertrand de Loque's book. "I was loth gentle Reader," began Langton, "to publish this profitable and necessary treatise, because it being meant wel, may be taken ill, and being a rule and confirmation to forraine Churches reformed, may perhaps fall into hands of vndiscreete readers, and trouble the happy and quiet state of the Church of England."⁴ What Langton compressed into a brief preface others would later treat more elaborately.

Bancroft had been careful not to state that episcopacy was a divine institution or that it was the only form of church government allowable by Scripture. Other theologians followed, however, who did

¹ Cf. J. Bridges, A Defence of the Government established in the Church (1587), and T. Cooper, An Admonition To the People Of England (1589).

² R. Bancroft, A Sermon Preached At Pauls Crosse (1589). For an examination of this sermon in relation to the jure divino theory of episcopacy, see W. D. J. C. Thompson, "A Reconsideration of Richard Bancroft's Paul's Cross Sermon of 9 February 1588/9," J. E. H., Vol. XX, No. 2, Oct. 1969. pp. 253-266.

³ Ibid., p. 263.

⁴ B. de Loque, A Treatise of the Church.... (1581), sigs. *** 1-4.

not hesitate to make such claims. The first, it seems, to clearly embrace the jure divino theory of episcopacy in a printed work was the Dutch emigre, Hadrian Saravia, in his De Diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus.¹ Saravia traced episcopacy beyond the apostles and right back to Christ, specifically to Christ's choice of his twelve Apostles and seventy Disciples.² Within three years, similar ideas appeared in at least four other works: in 1590/91, Matthew Sutcliffe's A Treatise Of Ecclesiasticall Discipline(p. 43ff.); Anthony Marten's A Reconciliation Of Al the Pastors and Ministers Of The Church Of England [1590];³ in 1593 Richard Bancroft's A Survey Of The Pretended Holy Discipline(pp. 104-5); and, in the same year, Thomas Bilson's The Perpetual Governement Of Christes Church All of these works echoed Saravia and repeated his assertion that Christ had initiated episcopacy and that it had been perpetuated by the apostles. Evidently the idea that had gained credence in the early part of the reign that church government was a "thing indifferent" was giving way in the early 1590's to the narrower view that episcopacy was a divine institution. It must be noted, however, that even the most ardent exponents of the latter theory in Elizabeth's reign did not condemn all other forms of church government.⁴

Wrestling With Separatism

Just as the Church of England apologists in struggling with

¹Published in Latin in 1590, it was translated into English and published in 1591 under the title, D. Saravia 1. Of the degrees of the Ministers of the Gospell. 2. Of the honor which is due unto the Priestes and Prelates of the Church. 3. Of Sacrilege, and the punishment thereof.

²Thompson, "Anthony Marten," p. 57.

³The first part of this work advances Whitgift's latitudinarian position but the concluding pages repeat the arguments of Saravia, whose work had appeared just as Marten was concluding his. It was probably the only defence of Elizabethan episcopacy to be written by a layman. Marten was a minor official in the Royal Household, who had previously written religious pamphlets and had translated The Common Places of Peter Martyr. See Thompson, "Anthony Marten," pp. 45, 61, 71. Marten's work was entered at Stationers' Hall by John Windet on July 14, 1590, and was authorized by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Arber, Transcript, II. 554.

⁴Thompson, "Anthony Marten," p. 60.

Puritanism tended to revert increasingly to traditional pre-reformation arguments -- for example, the jure divino theory of episcopacy -- and measures of repression, so some Puritans in exasperation turned to Separatism. The Separatists had not been idle. While the authorities were hunting-down Marprelate in the late 1580's, a few radicals took up the torch laid down by Harrison and Browne. Separatist writings continued to circulate in manuscript form, and Separatists persistently refused to attend Anglican services and held their own instead. Before the end of 1587 a number of them had been apprehended including at least twenty-one zealots who were caught attending a private conventicle on October 8.¹ One such zealot was Henry Barrow, a gentleman of independent means who had been educated at Cambridge, had spent some time at Gray's Inn and was a relative by marriage of the Bacons.²

Although Barrow's writings had been circulating in manuscript form since 1587, his first publication came off the press in 1589 entitled A True Description Out Of The Worde Of God, of the visible Church.³ This pamphlet of fourquarto leaves, put through the press in three editions by 1604, contained a concise and eloquent statement of the Separatist conception of the Church.⁴ Beginning with the oneness of God, Barrow went on to define and describe the Church and its functions, to outline its hierarchical structure of Christ the Head, the pastor, the teacher, the elders, the deacons, the believers, and the members of the congregation, and to designate to each their particular responsibilities. In brief, this was a positive statement of Separatist faith, filled with reference to scripture, and void of polemics of any kind.

Barrow's most important work, however, was published in 1590 under the title of A Brief Discovrie Of The False Church. Consisting of 140 quarto leaves of close print, this was by no means a "brief" unveiling of the false church. Beginning with criticism of the basis of the Church of England -- it rested not on scripture but on Calvin --

¹Burrage, I. 121-123, 128-129.

²See DNB for further biographical information.

³For Barrow's early writings, see Leland H. Carlson (ed.), The Writings Of Henry Barrow 1587-1590 (1962), pp. 1-13, 49-207.

⁴The B.M. copy of this pamphlet is of the third edition (c. 1604) and not the first edition of 1589 as stated in STC No. 1526. For discussion of different editions, see Carlson, The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-1590, pp. 208-213.

Barrow went on to indict the Anglican ministry, the Book of Common Prayer, the sacraments of the Church of England, and its government and ordinances.¹ His clear style and severe criticism of the ecclesiastical authorities was illustrated in the preface "To the Reader":

the cheife governors of the church, and guides of the people, do not only denie Christ to reigne over them, or to yeild him anie fruite or tribute of his vineyard, but most bitterlie persecute all Christs servantes that are sent to them, to shew them, and call them back to the right way, rejecting Christs ordinances, as intollerable in this common welth. As for the seers, Prophets & watchmen, they do not only not blow the trumpet, not give warning, not discover the pit and snare, but cover them rather with flowres and greene hearbes.

He then took to task the Puritan ministers:

The best of them that pretend a kinde of reformation, seeke not to revive the true patterne, or to call men to the Testament of Christ, from whence they are so far departed In the meane while, deteining the people by their shifts and cavills under the yoke of antichrist, corrupting themselves, even in those things which they themselves see and acknowledg to be evill and unlawfull, for the reformation whereof, they are earnest suters unto the parliament. Thus seduce they and deceive the miserable people and themselves, leading them forward, and deteining them in the wrath of God.

"What heart," he went on to lament, "would not melt and breake to behold this estate, the breach wherof is like the sea, and in the best help that is administred at anie hand, but to cure it with untempered and unseasoned stuffe; the prophets seeking out vaine things, not discovering the iniquitie to turne away the captivitie, but have looked out burthens, and cawses of putting away and banishment. What teares? What sorrow can suffice to deplore and lament this estate? But alas, private sorrow will not helpe publique calamitie."²

In the face of the Separatist attack, Puritan and Anglican rose to the defence of the established Church, a development not inconsistent with the Puritan demand for reformation -- not abolition -- of the Church of England. Consequently, George Gifford, a Puritan minister and author, emerged as the chief spokesman for the established Church. In late 1587 or early 1588 two Separatist treatises were delivered to Gifford in Maldon, Essex, one by Barrow

¹See *ibid.*, pp. 27-38, for a brief summary of this work.

²Henry Barrow, *A Brief Discoverie*, sigs. A2-A2v.

entitled "A Breefe Sum of Our Profession," and the other by John Greenwood, a Cambridge man and former chaplain to Lord Rich, entitled "Reasons against Read Prayer." Gifford was asked to refute these articles in writing as they were troubling many people. Thus began the controversy between Gifford and the Separatists.¹

Gifford's reply to the two Separatist treatises reached the public in print in 1590, and was answered in the same year by Greenwood's An Aunswer To George Giffords Pretended Defence Of Read Prayers²

If Henry Barrow was the exponent of Separatist ideas and practices, John Greenwood was the defender of Separatists against the charge of Donatism and of the Separatist form of worship. Stating that the only effectual prayer is that which comes from "the heart and mouth of him that prayeth for himself, or is chosen the mouth of many, uttering to God his or ther mindes for their present wantes of occasions of thanckes giving, according to the will of God, as neede and occasion urgeth, and the spirit giveth utterance," Greenwood went on to condemn the Church of England practice of taking and reading prayers from books, especially "out of Anti-christs massebooke." He continued: "And seing this counterfeit shew of worship and pretended prayers was made common marchandize in every assemblie by this Antichristian priesthood, and that al men everywhere were compelled to bow downe hereunto, and to offer up such counterfeit sacrifices; I perceaved the first principle of Religion (which is to invoke the name of the true God, through the mediation of Christ in spirit and truth, with heart and voyce, for our present wantes according to the wil of God,) was never yet sincearly taught by these time-serving Priests."³

All of the published works of Barrow and Greenwood had been written while they were in prison, a period which lasted from the end of 1587 to the spring of 1593. Free and easy prison regulations allowed them considerable freedom to write and to receive visitors. Thus they had little difficulty in smuggling out their manuscripts for the press. In this way their own accounts of the conferences

¹Leland H. Carlson (ed.), The Writings of John Greenwood 1587-1590 (1962), p. 12.

²Gifford's work was A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England (1590)

³Sig. A2v. The B.M. copy of this work is dated 1590, but it really belongs to the 1603 edition that was probably edited by Francis Johnson. See sig. A6v. for initials "F. I. & I. S." and date "1603". For location of other editions, see Carlson, The Writings of John Greenwood 1587-1590, p. 31

held between them and certain ministers and scholars chosen by the Bishop of London were published.¹

The accounts of the prison conferences were written jointly by Barrow and Greenwood. The first of these appeared in 1590, probably about May, under the title A Collection Of Certaine Sclanderous Articles gyven out by the Bishops against such faith-full Christians as they now unjustly deteyne in their Prisons² The anonymous Separatist publisher of the pamphlet believed it was his duty to reveal "to the view of all men" the true reasons for the imprisonment of his brethren by the bishops.

The cawses of controversie thow maist herby perceave to be no light or small matters concerning things indifferent or some fewe trifling ceremonies, (as they have long labored to make the world beleewe, although even those least litle trifles being brought into & thrust by way of law upon the church having no warrant in the testament of Christ ought not to be suffred for the space of an howre) but most high & waightie are these matters, concerning the whole building of the church: which is affirmed to be altogether out of order from the verie foundation to the top, not according to the patterne of Christs testament either in the people, ministerie, ministration, worship, government, order, al things out of frame, such as can neither stand before the face of Christ, neither may anie of Gods children joine unto with promise of salvation. 3

At the conclusion of the work the reader was told to "expect theyr other conferences with all possible speed."

About two months later the promise was fulfilled with the publication of A Collection Of certain Letters and Conferences Lately Passed Betwixt Certaine Preachers & Two Prisoners In The Fleet. The pamphlet began with an attack on the Puritan ministers, accusing them of collaboration with the bishops in persecuting "Christs afflicted" and participating "in their innocent bloudshedding."⁴ He continued: "Considering the reformist Preachers are now become the BBs trustie actors in their most conning & cruell enterprises I thought it therefore my duetie (that the truth of these things might appeare to give thee to understand how they have behaved

¹Carlson, The Writings Of John Greenwood 1587-1590, pp. 103-104.

²See ibid., pp. 104-107, for a brief summary of this work.

³Sig. A2.

⁴Again the writer of the preface is anonymous, but could easily have been either of the two men chiefly responsible for the publication of this work and the above one, Robert Stokes or Arthur Billett. See Carlson, The Writings Of John Greenwood 1587-1590, pp. 104, 175-176.

themselves in this busines."¹ In addition to the accounts of three conferences held with Barrow and Greenwood on March 14, 20, 1589/90, and April 3, 1590, this pamphlet contains four letters from Barrow and Greenwood to Stephen Egerton, and three of his replies, written in the ensuing weeks after their conferences. Somewhat out of character with the rest of the tract, there was inserted a short treatise on "The True Church and the False Church," which defined the true Church and denounced the mixture of godly and ungodly members in the Church of England. It was aimed at provoking a reply from the Puritans as the following statement at the conclusion reveals: "These Arguments were more then a yeare & an halfe since delivered to Mr. Cartwright Mr. Travers Mr. Charke and Mr. Floyde which still remaine upon them unanswered."²

This phase of Separatist publications by Barrow and Greenwood only lasted for the duration of their imprisonment.³ The careers of the two Separatist leaders came to an end with their execution in April 1593, victims apparently of "a bit of political terrorism."⁴ On April 2, 1593, an anti-Brownist bill was given a first reading in the Commons, a bill which would have condemned the leading and obstinate Separatists as traitors. After the second reading on April 4th, it was clear that the bill would not be passed in its present form and that the Whitgift party, which had sponsored the bill, would likely be defeated. It was then that Barrow and Greenwood were condemned to death under an anti-Catholic Act of 1581 and taken out and hanged.⁵

¹ Sig. A2.

² Sig. K2. Although this short treatise had not been in print before, it apparently had been written and circulated in manuscript before November 1588. See Carlson, The Writings Of John Greenwood 1587-1590, p. 97.

³ Other editions of their works, however, appeared in print subsequent to their deaths. See Barrow, A Plaine Refutation Of M. Giffards Booke for a work that was printed in 1591, but the entire edition was confiscated by the authorities in Holland, where it was printed, except for two copies. Francis Johnson, however, published it in 1605 (Carlson, The Writings of John Greenwood 1587-1590, p. 31.) See also Greenwood, A breife refutation of Mr. G. Giffard (1605). Another work ascribed, erroneously it seems, to Henry Barrow, in STC (No. 1521) does not reveal his style, attitudes, or Separatism, and is rejected as one of Barrow's works by Carlson in his The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-1590, p. ix.

⁴ Knappen, op. cit., p. 311

⁵ Neale, Elizabeth I and her Parliaments 1584-1601, pp. 187-294.

Separatism, however, was not to be stamped out so easily. Before their deaths Barrow and Greenwood had witnessed the conversion to their cause of the radical and talented John Penry. Penry's case is illustrative of the transition from Puritanism to Separatism. In the midst of his dangerous involvement with the Marprelate affair, Penry found time to revise a part of the second edition of his Exhortation and to publish it in March as A Viewe of some part of such pub-like wants & disorders as are in the service of God, within her Maiesties countrie of Wales, a work which came to be known from its running title, "A supplication unto the High Court of Parliament," as the Supplication. "Behold, the mountayns of Wales, do now in the 31. yeare of the reign of Queen Elizabeth," he wrote at the beginning of an impassioned plea to the Reader, "call heaven and earth to witnes, that they are weary of their dumb ministers, nonresidents, Lord Bishops, &c. and that they desire to be watered by the dewe of Christs holy Gospell, and to be compassed about, with that beautifull wall of his holy government."¹ There was the pamphlet published in December and written in the form of a dialogue between a Puritan, a Papist, a Jack of both sides, and an Idoll minister.² And later on, possibly in the same month, there appeared the anonymous work, M. Some laid opin in his coulers: Wherein The Indiffe-rent reader may easily see, howe wret-chedly and loosely he hath handeled the cause against M. Penri. The following explanation was given for its publication:

Having this lying by me, without any purpose to publish it as yet, I was advertized of the taking away of M. Penries book by the Pursivant. Whereupon I resolved ... not to closet it up any longer, lest th'adversary shoulde too much triumph & insult. Even as it came unto my hands, so have I given it his pasport, without any addition or alteration of mine: onely the Title I confesse is mine owne, the rest is my Oxford friends, who if he be thought in his pleasant veine anye thing too snappish, the reader is to wey with what kind of adversary he deales: namely, with the snappishest gentleman, and most bitter mouthes, that ever put pen to paper. 3

In 1590 John Penry kept up his bitter and penetrating thrusts

¹ Supplication, sig. A3v

² A Dealogue. Wherin Is Plainly Laide Open, the tyrannicall dealing of L. Bishops against Gods Children, 1589. McGinn ascribes this work to Penry. See McGinn, John Penry, p. 166.

³ Sig. A2. Pierce attributes this to Job Throkmorton and dates it as December 1589, An Historical Introduction, p. 320; McGinn ascribes it to Penry. and gives the date as 1590, John Penry, 165. Most scholars do not accept the B.M. Gen. Cat. ascription to John Greenwood, the Separatist.

at the established Church. Th'Appellation Of John Penri, unto the Highe court of Parliament contained a plea that something be done to get the Archbishop and High Commission off his back. He was being persecuted, claimed Penry, because he could not "beholde with silence, the lamentable misery of soules, wherein my countrymen the inhabitants of Wales live at this present, both in respect of their great ignorance and the greivous deformity of gods sanctuary among them."¹ Another of his works, commonly known as Reformation No enemy, in still plainer language called for the abolition of episcopacy, although specifically disclaiming any intention of the use of force: "Unles we labour more strongly to have these Cananits rooted out we may write upon it, that they wilbe prickes in our eyes & thornes in our sides, & stil vexe us as they do at this day. Where I say that ... our hierarchy and contemptible Idoles [ought to be] rooted out of our Church, my meaning is not that any private strength should so much as lift up a hand, much lesse use any violence against these caterpillers"² Two other pamphlets came off the press in 1590, written and printed anonymously, which if not penned by Penry seem to have been closely associated with him. One was a reply to the famous sermon against the Puritans preached by Richard Bancroft on February 9, 1588/9,³ and the other was entitled An Humble Motion with Submission unto the ... Privie Counsell⁴ The latter was written to show the necessity of reforming "Ecclesiasticall discipline" for the good of England and the safety of the Queen, and to explaine "how easily there might be provision for a learned Ministry."⁵

¹ Sig. A2v. See McGinn, p. 150, for argument that date of publication was 1590 and not 1589, as printed on the original edition.

² John Penry, A Treatise Wherein Is Ma-nifestlie proved, That Reformation And Those that sincerely favor the same, are unjustly charged to be enemies (1590), sig. A5v - A6.

³ A Briefe Dis-covey Of The Untruthes And Sland-ers ... contained in a Sermon Pierce attributes the authorship to John Penry and the printing to Waldegrave. See John Penry, p. 264. For another reply by a Scottish presbyterian to this sermon, see John Davidson, D. Bancrofts Rashnes In Rayling Against The Church of Scotland (1590).

⁴ Perhaps this was one of the books "whiche camme out of Scotland" seized by the authorities and described as "An humble motion to the lords of her maiesties counsel" The authorities were able only to seize 29. Arber, Transcript, II. 38.

⁵ Pierce states that the same type (pica rom.) was used in Reformation No enemy; A Briefe Discovery Of The Untruthes And Sland-ers; and An Humble Motion With Submission, in his John Penry, pp. 264, 286, 488-89. This being so, the following information adds weight to the argument that Waldegrave was the printer of all three: in 1591

Eventually, Penry returned to London in the late summer of 1592, abandoned his Presbyterian-Puritan views and joined the Separatists.¹ Although Penry's separatism was most clearly enunciated in his Historie of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, which Pierce calls his "Separatist Manifesto" and which was written in 1592 but not printed until 1609, it could be detected in a published letter he wrote shortly before his death "to the Distressed Faithfull Congregation Of Christ In London."²

I testifie unto you for mine one [own] part as I shal answere before Jesus Christ & his elect Angles that I never saw anie truth more cleare & undoubted then this witnesse wherin wee stand, 1 against false offices. 2 the callings 3 the workes. 4 the maintenance left & retayned in this land by and from Poperie; 5 against the obedience wich spiritually eyther in soule or in body is yealded, & the comunion that is had with these inventions of darknes. 6 the mingling of all sorts in these assemblies. 7 the worship done but scant in one of the three partes of the commission given by our saviour Scant done I say ... by the best teachers of this land, And I thanke my God I am not only ready to be bound & banished but even to die in this cause by his strength 3

The letter was dated April 24, 1593, and concluded with greetings to Francis Johnson and mentioned Barrow and Greenwood, "whome I most hartly salute." Barrow and Greenwood had been executed less than a month before; just more than a month later, Penry followed them to the gallows.⁴

"The testimonie and sufferings of the prisoners whose examinations here ensue," read a tract published shortly after their deaths, "cannot easilie (gentle reader) be forgotten of any whose harte is touched with care of religion and zeale of the truth." The tract went on to crown the three Separatists with the halo of martyrdom, ensuring for them a special place in the history of non-conformity.⁵

there appeared The Sacrifice Of A Christian Soule (B.M. Pressmark: 3457, aaa.67.) bearing the date, place (Edinburgh) and Waldegrave's name in the colophon. A comparison of this work with An Humble Motion (B.M. Pressmark: 697.f.34.) reveals that the upper case "A" in both titles is defective at the apex and both contain the same factotem (i.e. an ornamental block in which ordinary letter is printed) on sig. A2.

¹ McGinn, John Penry, p. v ii.

² This is included in a tract of six quarto leaves, without title-page, and begins with "I John Penry Doo Heare ... Answere" It contains a statement of faith by Penry and two letters, one to the Church in London and the other to his wife.

³ Pp. 5, 7. B.M. Pressmark: C. 53. bb. 2. (1)

⁴ He was executed on May 29, 1593. Knappen, op. cit., p. 313.

⁵ The Examination of Henry Barrow, John Greenwood and John Penrie/

Like Samson of the Old Testament, the three Separatist martyrs accomplished more in their deaths than they did in their lives.

Confronted with Whitgift's determination to enforce conformity, many Puritans slipped into a state of acquiescence and remained in the Church. Others stayed, too, but as noticed above continued to be active supporters of Puritanism. The Separatist reaction, however, seems to have been one of retrenchment and stubborn resistance. The last decade saw a quantitative increase in their literature and more explicit and bolder statements of Separatism.

After the deaths of the three Separatist leaders in 1593, the mantle of leadership fell on a Cambridge man, Francis Johnson. Johnson had been expelled from his fellowship at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1589 and imprisoned for his Puritan views. After his release he became pastor of the Merchant Adventurers at Middelburg, succeeding Dudley Fenner. At this point he showed no signs of being a Separatist. In fact, on the contrary, when he discovered that a reply to Gifford by Barrow was being printed in Dortrecht, he assisted the authorities in seizing and destroying the work (A Plaine Refutation Of M. Giffards Booke.) He did, however, keep two copies for himself and a friend. Having read the copy he had saved and been convinced of its argument, he resigned his pastorate and returned to London. Shortly after his return he became pastor of the Separatist congregation that had been formally organized in September 1592. It was not long, however, until he too, with seventy of his brethren, were imprisoned.¹

While in prison Johnson was asked to refute a letter written by a minister, "Mr. A. H." (Arthur Hildersam), in which the author endeavored to rescue his correspondent, a "gentlewoman," from the error of Separatism. This was the occasion of another piece of Separatist propaganda written about 1595 and published under the title, A Treatise Of the Ministry of the Church of England. Wherein

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Carlson, The Writings Of John Greenwood 1587-1590, p. 31; Knappen, op. cit. p. 313.

is handled this question, Whether it be [better] to be separated from, or joyned unto [the Church of England] (1595), which included the letter from A. H. and Johnson's refutation.¹ In his reply, Johnson praised God "that this nation hath ... ben purged from many of the abominations and false doctrines of Babylon aforesaid" but denounced the retaining of "Prelacy and other Ministry, worship and government of the Church by Archbishops, lordbishops, Archdeacons, Commissaryes, Priests, Parsons, Deanes, Prebendaryes, Canons, etc." He then listed five reasons for rejecting the established Church. They deserve to be quoted at length for their clear presentation of the Separatist point of view:

First, if all the false ministry, worship, and tyranny of Antichrist were in all other places of the world abolished, yet so long as this Prelacy and other Clergy and worship aforesaid remayneth in this land, Antichrist that sonne of perdition were not utterly consumed

Secondly, the Churches of Antichrist cannot be compleet in all the Canonically functions, Prelacy, and Ministry of Antichrist, if they have not the functions, Prelacy, and Ministry of Archbishops, lordbishops, Archdeacons, Priests, and the rest now had and retayned in the Land. This is proved by the Popes Canons and Pontificall, and by theyr Church constitution.

Thirdly, the Churches of Christ may be compleet in the whole ministry, worship, and government appoynted by Christ to his Church, and yet be alway and altogether without the present ministry, worship, and government by Archbishops, Lordbishops, Archdeacons, Priests etc. now had and retayned in this Land. This is proved by the constitution of the Primitive Churches planted by the Apostles: Which (the Scripture sheweth) were compleet in the former, and yet never had nor knew these latter.

Fourthly, if that which is had in this Land were the true Ministry, worship, and government ordeyned by Christ in his Church, then ought all the Churches of Christ upon earth to use the same ... But even the Prelates themselves and theyr Proctors confessed it is and may be otherwise. Whitg. in the preface of his last book against T. C. Also the Answer to the Abstract: pag. 58.

Finally, if that which is had in this Land were the true Ministry, worship, and government appoynted by Christ to his Church, then might it be found in the word of God: But that can it not. If any be otherwise mynded, let them show the severall offices, entrance, administration, and maintenance of the Prelacy and other Ministry of these assemblyes out of the Scriptures and Testament of Christ. 2

¹B.M. Pressmark: 697, c. 29. (1). STC No. 13464 attributes it to Hildersam and dates it as 1595.

²Sig. *3v-*4.

The publisher of the pamphlet stated in the preface that he thought it "meet and needfull" for these letters to be printed "that the truth in this point may appeare." The bias expressed throughout the pamphlet, together with the fact that it was secretly printed, mark it further as a Separatist publication.

At least three other Separatist publications reached the English public before the end of the reign. In 1596 a work appeared carrying a Separatist statement of faith of forty-five articles and published, so the author claimed, to reveal "the rufull estate of our poore Countrymen" who are still "locked in Egypt/ that hous of servants," the Church of England with its "38 antichristian ecclesiastical offices."¹ In 1600 Francis Johnson published his answer to Henry Jacob's attack on Separatism, a polemic that was addressed to Johnson and delivered to him about four years before while he was a prisoner in the Clink.² Before he got down to the usual Separatist arguments, Johnson scorned Jacob's defence of the established Church. "I had thought in this case," he remarked, "I should never have seen any more absurd writing, then Mr. Giffards and Bredwels."³ But now to Mr. Jacob may they well give place, and if any can be found of all the Priests in England more sencelesse than these, let such for theyr worthines (as standerd bearers) be Prelates of theyr chiefest Seas." He went on to criticize other Anglican authors, such as Bridges, Bancroft, Bilson, Hooker, and Sutcliffe, and to defend the Separatist cause against the arguments of Jacob. Consisting of 116 quarto leaves of close print, this is one of the few lengthy Separatist treatises.⁴

Finally, there was the publication of an important Separatist writing in 1602. The occasion of its publication was as follows: in 1598 the English Separatists at Amsterdam dispatched a statement of their faith⁵ for the consideration and judgement of certain eminent

¹A True Confession of the Faith and Humble Acknowledgement of the Allegiance Which Wee Hir Majesties Subjects Falsely Called Brownists Doo Hould (Amsterdam? 1596), sig. A2. Ascribed to Henry Ainsworth in B. M. Gen. Cat. and in STC No. 237.

²Henry Jacob, A Defence Of The Churches And Ministry Of England (1599), sig. *2.

³This was Stephen Bredwell, author of an anti-Separatist work entitled The Rasing Of The Foundation of Brownism (1588).

⁴Francis Johnson, An Answer to Maister H. Jacob....(1600), sigs. a2, a2v. STC (No. 14658) queries Middelburg as place of publication.

⁵This was A True Confession of the Faith ... Which wee ... Falsely Called Brownists Doo Hould, published in 1596.

Protestants at the universities of Leyden in Holland, Saint Andrews in Scotland, Heidelberg, Geneva, "and the other like famous scholes of learning in the Low countreyes, Scotland, Germany, and France."¹ One of the Protestant leaders who replied to this was Francis Du Jon (Junius), a French Calvinist professor in the university of Leyden. Thus began a correspondence that lasted from January 1599 to July 1602. Somehow a certain "R.G." obtained Francis Du Jon's letters to the Separatists at Amsterdam, translated them from Latin and apparently published them. In the preface, "R.G." attacked the Separatists and accused them of seeking "from time to time so much the more earnestly (as the manner of such is) to shroude themselves under the shadowe of humane authoritie," in particular the authority of Francis Du Jon.² The Separatist response to this was to publish Certayne Letters ... two by ... Mr. Francis Junius ... The other, by the exiled English Church ... Together with the Confession of faith prefixed: where upon the said letters were first written.

Not only were Du Jon's letters reproduced in this work, but also the anti-Separatist preface by "R.G." This preface, however, was immediately followed by "The Answer to R.G. his Epistle prefixed before Mr. Junius letters." Explaining the reasons for this publication, the author stated,

Such as have separated themselves/from the corrupt service of God/used in the publick congregations and parishes of England/being persecuted with afflictions reproches and slanders/both at home and in the land wher now they live exiles: have ben constreyned to publish to the world/the confession of their Christian faith/and causes of their departure from the foresayd English synagogues/for clearing of the truth of God/and witnesses of the same/both which were much and many wayes calumniated. More especially they dedicated that litle book to al Christian universities neer about/to be discussed/approved or reproved by the godly learned in them. And sending one in particular/to the hands of M. Fr. Junius, a man of great learning and godlines/dwelling neer unto them/to be by him and the rest of his brethren of the universitie at Leyden judged of

He then denounced "R.G." for translating Du Jon's letters without including the Separatists' answers to him and their confession of faith.

¹Certayne Letters/trans-lated into English/being first written in Latine (Amsterdam? 1602), sigs. B3v. A4v.

²Ibid., sig. A2

This was followed by "The Preface to the Christian Reader" in which the usual Separatist arguments were given as reasons for their exile in Holland.¹ The remainder of the pamphlet consisted of the confession of faith, three letters from Du Jon dated January 9, 1599, March 10, 1599, and July 16, 1602, and four replies from the Amsterdam Separatists, who were represented by Francis Johnson, Daniel Studley, Stanshall Mercer, Henry Ainsworth, Georg Knireton, and Christopher Bowman.² Although Du Jon was courteous to the Separatists, they received little comfort or encouragement from him. In his first letter he made it clear to them that it was wrong for such strife to exist among brethren, i.e. between the Separatists and members of the Church of England, and even worse for it to be brought out into the open before those "who thirst after nothing so much as the blood of the church of God."³

Like the Puritans, the Separatists found little room to practice their radicalism or publish their literature in Elizabethan England, especially in the last decade of the reign when the ecclesiastical authorities were most efficient in maintaining the status quo. Less fortunate than the Puritans, who only had to resort to Continental printers infrequently throughout the reign for the publication of propaganda, the Separatists were able to get little or none of their literature printed in England.⁴ It seems likely that the expense of getting it printed on the Continent was one reason for this comparatively small number of Separatist publications.

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Ibid., sigs. A4v-B3v.

2

The Separatist letters were dated Feb. 19, 1599, Mar. 18, 1599, July 1, 1602, and July 21, 1602. The third letter had the additional names of Thomas Bishop and David Bresto.

3

Ibid., sigs. El-Elv.

4

See infra., pp. 247 ff.

The literary skirmishes with the Separatists were indicative of the task of the authorities shifting in the last decade from being mainly one of maintaining order within to one of coping with those who would worship outside the Church of England. As Puritanism lapsed Separatism gained in strength. On top of the crackdown by the authorities, the Puritan cause was weakened critically by the death of John Field -- a leader and propagandist of outstanding ability -- and by the passing of such staunch Puritan supporters (and ardent opponents of Whitgift) as the Earl of Leicester, Sir Walter Mildmay, the Earl of Warwick, and Sir Francis Walsingham. While some watched passively the eclipse of their hope for a purified Church and then settled down to a life of spiritual introspection, other Puritans turned to Separatism -- for example, to name the most prominent, John Penry and Francis Johnson.¹ Still others turned to more devious methods in maintaining their crusade for further reform.

The Puritan "Register"

A measure of Puritan ingenuity in these years was the compila-

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See supra., pp. 115, 122. Puritans had always been divided in their views of "abuses" in the Church -- whether they were indifferent or inherently evil. But it was not until after the Hampton Court conference of 1604 that the rift in the Puritan ranks became a "gaping gulf" under Archbishop Bancroft's crusade for uniformity with the moderates conforming and the radicals being deprived. It is thought that some ninety beneficed clergy refused to conform and were deprived. See Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp. 463-4.

tion of a "register" of Puritan propaganda. In it charges of an ineffective clergy, corruption within the established Church and policies of persecution of the "more forward" Protestants were made and seemingly substantiated by ecclesiastical surveys and personal testimonies. The project itself was not a new idea. In fact John Foxe used similar methods in gathering material for his Acts and Monuments.¹ Furthermore, as early as August 1565 a "Student in Divinitie" at Louvain, after accusing the English clergy of being stuck fast in the "clammye claye" of heresy, issued the following threat in prose strikingly similar to Marprelate:

I will [see] whether anye of yowe recanting from his cursed doctrine, will in tyme wyselie beware the everlasting shame, which otherwise yow must of necessitie sustayne, to your utter and most woorthye defacing forever. For, in case I perceave yow styll to stand in your waye: I shall be then forced ... to sett furthe your names, your habitacions, the faultes, and haynous crimes, wherewyth I wyll but all truelye accuse yowe, and also the tyme, the place, and the personnes ... which thing (I am sure) yowe wolde be right sorye to see in printe, and so published to your perpetuall deserved reproache. But there be of yowe peradventure, which do litle thinke, that I can be pryevie to anye pointe of your perverse lyfe and behaviour: or at the least does suppose yt impossible, that I should have the full understanding of all your unbrydeled bestlynes and follye so muche thereof I am pryevie unto, as (trust unto yt) ys hable to move and bring anye honest harted man, to abhorre and myslyke all your licentious, lewde, and overstretched learning. And yf you wyll knowe, howe I cam unto the knowlaige thereof; yt was by theym of your owne syde, of your owne sectes, counsaill, and profession, it was they which wroughte you this woe, utterered [sic] your outorage, declared your ungodlye tryckes and naughtynes. 2

Whether Evans had anything to do with the Puritans conducting surveys of the ministry later on can not be shown conclusively, but there are indications that he had connections with them. He was converted to Protestantism and became an anti-Catholic propagandist.³

¹William Punt to Foxe, April 20, [1571/72 (?)]. Harl Ms. 416. fols. 122-122v. Punt relates how he double-checked information gathered by him and Foxe -- information that apparently was being questioned after publication.

²Lewis Evans, A brieve Admonition unto the nowe made Ministers of England(1565), sig. A2v.

³It is interesting to speculate that if Evans was the "Brecknockshire Man" who became a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1566, graduated, M.A. in 1570, and resigned his fellowship in 1577 (A. Wood, Athenae Oxonienses 1691), p. 141; J. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, p. 471), and the internal evidence in his pamphlets seems to confirm this, then he would have been at Oxford at the same time as John Field. Field's patron was the Earl of Warwick, who it seems was also the patron of a

Annexed to one of his works, The Hatefull Hypocrisie (1570), was a treatise entitled "Four Paradoxes," in which it is stated that "a Bishop and Minister is all one," a theme taken up later on by the Puritans.¹ There is also evidence that Evans' anti-Catholic pamphlets circulated among the Puritans.²

Nevertheless, dark hints began to appear in Puritan literature of a register of clerical misdeeds. "I wold to God a true surveye were made," wrote the author of a Puritan tract in 1584, "that first . all those which have faithfully laboured, whom they terme Puritans, being set aside, they would take the view and number such as have great titles and roomes, and yet feed not any flockes of sheepe or lambes: and in the next place set those which apply all their great learning, to get livinge and dignities, not caring for soules: as namely to heape benefice upon benefice, to seeke to bee Archdeacons, Deanes, and byshops." In addition to these, they ought to number "those which goe under the names of Preachers, and doe either so seldome, so slenderly, and unskilfully teach, that their people are never the better. And in the last rancke place the unable men, with those of spotted life: I warrant yee the remnant wil ... need no Arithmetrician to take the account."³ Again, in The Unlawfull Practises Of Prelates (1584), the anonymous author concludes

Mr. Evans, if we are to believe Martin Marprelate. Marprelate claimed that the Earl "would have placed M. Evans" in the town of Warwick and therefore sent him with a letter to Whitgift: "O said his grace to M. Evans/ I knowe you to be worthy a better place then Warwicke is/ and I would very gladly gratifie my Lord/ but surely/ there is a Lord in heven whom I feare/ & therefore I cannot admit you without subscription." (An Epistle to the terrible Priestes, sig. E1), For a reference to a Mr. Evans who delivered a letter for the Earl to the town of Warwick in 1581, see The Book of John Fisher, Town Clerk and Deputy Recorder of Warwick. (1580-1588) (Warwick, n.d.), edited by Thomas Kemp, B.M. Pressmark: 10360. dd. 25.

¹See Athenae Oxonienses, p. 141, for reference to treatise entitled "Four Paradoxes."

²P. Collinson, "The Puritan Classical Movement in the Reign of Elizabeth I," (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis 1957), p. 182; see also Collinson, (Ed.), Letters of Thomas Wood, Puritan, 1566-77 (1960), p. 8. In a letter to William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, dated Feb. 15 1573/4, Wood mentions that an "Evans" had died in prison. However, even if this is Lewis Evans, which is uncertain, it is possible that Wood was passing on second-hand information as Evans complains that his enemies spread a rumour that he was dead in his The Hatefull Hypoxcrisie (1570), sig. A4.

³Anonymous, A Dialogue, Concerning the strife of our Church, sig. A4.

with the following:

And shall the trueth of discipline then ... be of no regard because of mens persons, because men are weake, because her enemies are great and many. It is, and even was, and we hope alwayes shall be ... so manifest a truth. And this suffiseth to discover the wicked practises, both of force and fraud, used against the defenders of the most holy discipline, till it please God, that the stories of these tymes be more at large published and set out to the whole world. 1

It would seem to be a safe assumption that "the stories of these tymes" to be "more at large published" was a reference to the Puritan register already being compiled.²

There is ample evidence to show that John Field played a key-part in the amassing and editing of the register, and that some of this material found its way into the first of Marprelate's libels, although Field was dead before it reached the public. One of the Marprelate conspirators, Henry Sharpe, claimed that the first pamphlet was compiled from some notes found in Field's study.³ Nevertheless, Marprelate certainly continued the practice of issuing this threat to publish documentation of clerical sinfulness: "I warrant you Martin will be found no lyar/he bringeth in nothing without testimonie. And therefore I have set downe the mens names and the places of their aboade"⁴ Again, "what a perilous fellow M. Marprelate is: he understands of all your knaverie/ and it may be he keepes a register of them: unlesse you amend/ they shal al come into the light one day."⁵ And later on he promised to use the following strategy in his war with the bishops:

First I will watch you at every halfe turne/ & whatsoever you do amisse/ I will presently publish it: you shall not call one honest man before you/ but I will get his examination ... & publish it/ Secondly/ al the books that I have in store already of your doings/ shal be published upon the breache of the former covenants or any of them I meane to make a survey into all the diocesse in this land/ that I may keepe a visitation among my cleargie men. 6

¹Sig. D3.

²For evidence that suggests the Puritans had begun to gather material for the register by this time, see Peel, *op. cit.*, I. 14.

³Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 94. See Patrick Collinson, "John Field," pp. 145-147; also Peel, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-18.

⁴The Epistle to the terrible Priestes, sig. B2.

⁵Ibid., sig. E4.

⁶Ibid., sigs. Flv-F2.

Besides these references, there is ample evidence that Martin clearly had access to and made use of the original register.¹

The Puritans threat, however, was only carried out in part. In addition to the material used by Marprelate, other parts of the register were published around 1590 in the form of two pamphlets. One, entitled The Reformation Of Religion By Josiah, exhorted the Queen to follow the example of this Old Testament king of Judah and make sweeping reforms in the religion of the nation.² Why this section of the original register was put into print at this time is difficult to answer; but that it put forth the Puritan position in no uncertain terms is evident by the following excerpt:

Let us all praye that the Lorde (who hath the hartes of Princes in his hande, to turne as the rivers of waters) would worke in our Magistrates, from the highest to the lowest, the affection of David, that they suffer not their eyes to sleepe, nor their eyeliddes to slumber, till by the blessing of God, they have brought England to bee (in farre more excellent maner then yet it is) an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob. That they suffer not the faithfull Ministers of Christe, which should feede his Church which hee hath purchased with his bloud, to bee unjustly slaundered, silenced, imprisoned, arraigned, utterly removed from their people and ministerie, as much as lyeth in those, who contrarie to th'expresse rule given us by Christ, by his Prophets and Apostles, exercise dominion over their fellowe Elders, and the heritage of God." 3

The other pamphlet was a defence of Separatism and a plea for justice for imprisoned Separatists. Far from being overly scrupulous about "little trifles", stated the author, the issues at hand were "most high & waightie", and concerned the entire Church of England -- "which is affirmed to be altogether out of order from the verie foundation to the top."⁴ That this Separatist manifesto should be

¹ See A. Peel (Ed.), The Seconde Parte of a Register Being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams's Library, London (Cambridge, 1915), Vol. I. p. 17.

² The statement on sig. A2v that England had enjoyed the gospel for thirty-two years places the date at 1590 at the earliest. It was entered to Thomas Man in the Stationers' Register on June 22, 1590, so it must have been licensed -- probably without the Puritan prefatory material. Arber, Transcript II, p. 551. In editing this original manuscript Peel merely mentions that this section, pp. 228-46 (pp. 490-502 in the manuscript volume), was printed separately with an additional preface. Peel, p. 304.

³ Sig. A3.

⁴ A Collection Of Certaine Sclaunderous Articles, sig. A2. See also Peel, I. 304. II. 263.

included in the Puritan register at this time displays the developing confluence of the extreme wing of Puritanism and Separatism.

Three years after the publication of the above pamphlets, in 1593, the first part of the Puritan "register" was printed. Entitled A parte of a register and printed at Middleburg by Richard Schilders, this work consisted of 640 quarto pages¹ and contained letters, articles, works, etc., written and compiled by Puritans in the period roughly between 1565 and 1590. Of some forty-one items, eleven had been printed previously and others circulated in manuscript form. Authors of works reprinted, for example, were Anthony Gilby, Dudley Fenner, and John Udall. In addition to the works of these men, there were several anonymous works which had previously circulated in print.² It is significant that the full title of this work indicates clearly its Puritan -- rather than Separatist -- bias: A parte of a register, contayninge sundrie memorable matters, written by divers godly and learned in our time, which stande for, and desire the reformation of our Church, in Discipline and Ceremonies, accordinge to the pure worde of God, and the Lawe of our Lande. In selecting material from the register to include in this first publication Separatist articles were omitted. Later on, however -- after Bancroft's exposure of Puritan clandestine activities, after the execution of Barrow, Greenwood and Penry, and during the tortuous trial of Cartwright et. al. -- the "Seconde parte" of the register was made ready for publication. For reasons unknown, it never reached the press during the Elizabethan period -- indeed not until 1915 -- but its contents clearly indicate that Whitgift's policy of suppression tended to force the most radical Puritans into the fold of Separatism.³ The "Seconde Parte of a Register" not only contained typical Puritan surveys of the ministry in which the clergy of eleven counties and the city and archdeaconry of London were listed and evaluated as to their fitness for their calling and capacity for preaching, but also articles and other material explicitly Separatist

¹There seems to have been two editions, one having 548 pp. and the other having an additional 92 pp. (this section has new pagination.). See B.M. Pressmarks: 109.a.5.; 858.c.1. (1); and 697.f.14, for copies of both.

²Cf. Peel, pp. 30-33.

³As Dr. Collinson has shown, however, Puritanism continued in spite of Whitgift's repressive measures, but went underground in the 1590's. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 443.

in character. That it was not published perhaps can be attributed simply to the speedy action of the authorities in tracking down, confiscating, and destroying the bulk of the copies of the first publication, A parte of a register¹

Defence of the Establishment

Since in England at this time the recognition of more than one Church was inconceivable, the reaction to Separatism proved predictable. The first published reply to the Separatists, it appears, came from the pen of Stephen Bredwell, "a student in Phisicke," entitled The Rasing of the Foundations of Brownisme, in 1588² "This schisme may worthily take the name of Browne," wrote Bredwell, for even Barrow and Greenwood, although they have criticized him for "his coldnesse and colourable dealing, and that worthily: yet they must ... acknowledge him the shop of their store, and the steele of their strength." Browne, Barrow and Greenwood might be at odds between themselves, but they are agreed in that "neither partie will joyne member-like with our Churches in the woorde and Sacraments," and they fully believe that "the Church of England to be no Church of God, but utterly to be avoyded in al things." Browne taught this, Bredwell pointed out, but did not practice it, hence the trouble between him and his followers.³ Bredwell then made much of the current dissension in the Separatist ranks, quoting at length from a letter by Robert Harrison to a friend in London. Harrison wrote,

In deede the Lorde hath made a breache amongst us, for our sinnes have made us unwoorthie to beare his great and woorthie cause. M.B. hath cast us off, and that with the open manifesting of so many and so notable treacheries, as I abhorre to tell, and if I should declare them, you could not beleeeve me Onely this I testifie unto you, I am well able to prove, that Caine dealt not so ill with his brother Abel, as he hath dealt with me Also I would admonish you to take heede howe you adventure your'selfe to be a meane, to spread abroad any of that parties bookes, except it were more tending to the glorie of God then it is. For in the first booke there is manifold heresie: and the other upon the 23. of Mattheue, is a patterne of all lewde frantike disorder, whoso have eyes to see it. And I do not doubt but that the Lord will yet drive him on to worse and worse, seeing he hath so notably fallen from him. Give not your selfe over to be abused: The Lorde

¹Peel, Vol. I. p. 12, 88-184.

²There might have been an earlier publication as John Legate entered at Stationers' Hall "A defence of the admonition to the followers of Browne/ with the doubtes and objections of a certaine Disciple of Roberte Brownes" on May 31, 1588 (Bredwell's preface is dated June 12th.), authorized by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Arber, Transcript, II. 491.

³Sig. A1

open your eyes, and give you grace to take profit by my writing, even as I do give it with a well meaning minde to doe you good. 1

According to Bredwell, Harrison was "bewitched by Browne, to his evident undoing, partly, by fleeing with him into the lowe Countreys, and partly, by stretching his purse so wide, to the printing of his booke."² The latter is probably referring to Brown's A Treatise of reformation without tarying for anie, published at Middelburg in 1582.

In 1590 another writer took up the cudgels against the Separatists. Richard Alison had been appointed in February, 1590, by Bishop Aylmer of London to confer with the followers of Henry Barrow in prison. In this way he obtained a manuscript copy of Barrow's A True Description . . . of the Visible Church . . . and proceeded to write a refutation of it. His work appeared as A Plaine Confutation of a Treatise of Brownisme . . . and also contained a refutation of the Separatist pamphlet entitled A Collection of Certain Letters and Conferences³ In dealing with the problem of the Separatists, Alison adopted an optimistic outlook. The Church of Christ, he suggested, "receiveth good even by dissention" because "a dissent in religion doth sometime profit, inasmuch as therby the faith of some is exercised, the inconstancie of others is made manifest, and the diligence of all those whom deep securitie hath not overwhelmed, is much quickened unto the serching of the truth."⁴ He then proceeded to state the Separatist arguments and to refute them point by point.

As noticed above, the chief spokesman in defence of the established Church was the prolific Puritan writer and minister George Gifford of Malden in Essex, who published three anti-Separatists works. Agreeing with Stephen Bredwell, Gifford believed that all the Separatist writers drew their inspiration from Robert Browne:

touching thier name, we terme them Brownists, as being the Disciples & Scholers of Browne. There be indeed new masters sprong up, which seeke to carrie awaye the name, and I have heard divers say, they go beyond Browne. But whosoever shall reade his books and peruse all their writings, shall well see

¹ Ibid., sigs. A2v-3.

² Ibid., sig. A3.

³ Alison's work was entered at Stationers' Hall by Thomas Scarlett on Sept. 4, 1590. Arber, Transcript, II. 561. See also Carlson, The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-1590, p. 67.

⁴ Alison, A Plaine Confutation . . . (1590), sig. A3.

that he deserveth to have the honour, if any be, and to be called the Captaine and maister of them all. They have all their funiture from him: they do but open his packe, and displaye his wares. They have not a sharpe arrowe, which is not drawne out of his quiver. 1

Gifford was aware of his affinity with the Separatists and gave the following explanation for writing against them: "touching the question betweene them and me, let the reader consider, it is not about the controversie in our Church, as whether there be imperfections, corruptions, and faults, in our worship, ministerie and church government, nor how many, great or small. But whether there be such heynous enormities, as destroy the verye life and being of a true Church, and make an utter divorce from Christ." He went on to illustrate his point by drawing this analogy: if soul and life have departed from a man, "he is no longer a man ... but the dead carcassee of a man. But now if he be sicke and diseased, so that all partes are feeble, or if he be deformed with sores and maimes, wanting hand, foote, eye, nose, or such like, yet is he still a man, so long as the soule and life remaine in him."² This is another reminder that staunch Puritans like Knewstub and Gifford, while being severely critical of the established Church, could look upon themselves as part of it and even stand up in its defence.

The Separatists were especially sensitive about being labelled "Donatists" by Gifford and wasted little time in replying to him.³ Gifford came back with A Plaine Declaration that our Brownists be full Dona-tists, published in the closing months of 1590.⁴ Apparently some of Gifford's Puritan friends had not been pleased with his attack on the Separatists and had "found fault as though I should stand to cleere & to justifie al things, not onlie in the Booke of Common praier, but also in the calling and ordination of our Ministers,

¹G. Gifford, A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England, whome we call Brownists(1590), sig. Al. This was probably the "Answere to the Brownistes" by Gifford entered by Toby Cooke on May 4, 1590. Arber, Transcript, II. 546.

²Gifford, A Short Treatise, sig. Alv.

³See supra., p. 117; see also Carlson, The Writings of John Greenwood 1587-1590.

⁴Published sometime between May 4, 1590, the date of entry of his first anti-Separatist publication, and March 24, 1591, the end of the legal year. The Printers used the legal year, and not the calendar year, in dating their publications.

and in our Church government, others affirme that I have diminished the faults which are esteemed to be in these, and made them lighter, at the least by not reproofing them." He reminded them, however, that he clearly stated that the question he was concerned with was whether the Church was "antichristian" and not a true Church. If Separatism is allowed "the Papists then may as well be excused, which condemn Master Luther and other as the fathers of heretiks, because swarmes of Anabaptists did followe immediatelie upon their preaching the Gospel."¹

Gifford's third volley against the Separatists appeared in 1591 in reply to a Separatist rejoinder which had been "intercepted" by the authorities in Holland.² In this effort Gifford strove to win the sympathy of this fellow-Puritans by stating that Separatist teaching not only condemned the Church of England but also the Protestant Churches in Europe. He wished the reader to know

that the foure accusations which they have brought agaynst the Church of England, to condemne her, are also (though with some differences) brought against all Churches in Europe, and that in expresse wordes in these their last bookes. For the prescript formes of prayers, which all the Reformed Churches doo use, they condemne as most horrible and accursed blasphemie. The people (they say) are prophane multitudes. They say, that in all Europe, & in all these knowen partes of the world there is no minister of Christ. The government by Eldershyps, they condemne as a most proude thing, as being without any warrant of Gods word. 3

It was his duty, Gifford believed, to expose such "seducers" as Barrow and Greenwood and "to disgrace them utterly, to the end that the simple may not be spoyled by them as a praie."⁴

Gifford was not the only Puritan to defend the established Church against the Separatists. There was Henry Jacob, an extremist "whose views were very close to separatism,"⁵ who carried on the controversy by writing his objections to Francis Johnson in the middle of the 1590's. Having voiced his disapproval to "certen of the Separation ... concerning their peremptory & utter separation from the Churches of England," Jacob was asked by them to put his arguments into writing and "they would either yeild unto his proofes, or

¹Sigs. *3, Alv.

²See infra., p. 114.

³Gifford, A short Reply un-to the last printed books of Henry Barrow and John Greenwood (1591), sigs. A2-A2v.

⁴Ibid., sig. A3

⁵Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 452.

procure an answer unto the same." Jacob complied with their request, and the Separatists sent his arguments to Francis Johnson, then prisoner in the Clink in Southwark, to have them examined. Johnson's refutation contained three "Exceptions" and nine "Reasons" for not accepting Jacob's arguments. There followed Jacob's defence of his original arguments, Johnson's reply and then a final contribution by Jacob. These writings were all published by "D. B." under the title of A Defence Of The Churches And Ministry of Englande in 1599.¹

Once again a Puritan defender of the Church of England had to answer the retort cast in his teeth by his opponents that he was defending a corrupt Church. To this charge came the reply that

concerning our corruptions: As we cannot justifie them to be no corruptions, (but must needs acknowledge, that there are many yet remaining in our land, which were left by that man of sinne & are as thornes unto our sides, which we hope God will in time abolish); So dare we not runne into your extremities, to condemne our Churches for such corruptions, but waight the appointed time of God for the redresse thereof.

But in the meantime, he added, "those most excellent truthes and doctrines of salvation, (for which God make us thankfull) are still reteyned and held, as soundly as by any Church upon the face of the earth"²

By the 1590's, however, Whitgift had gathered around him a small but able group of Conservatives who also readily and effectively defended Anglicanism. In 1590 Thomas Rogers attacked in print A Fruitful Sermon by Laurence Chaderton that had been published in 1584, and an anonymous writer took John Udall to task for what he had written in

¹Sigs. *2-3v.

²Ibid., sig. *3v.

A Demonstration Of Discipline¹ In 1592 Matthew Sutcliffe continued his campaign against the Puritans by replying to A Petition Directed to Her Most Excellent Majestie, published by the Puritans in 1590.² In his reply Sutcliffe declared that "these unwise consistorians declame against learning, and seeke no further divinitie then Calvins and Bezes and Junius his glosses and commentaries, and without ground of learning and artes, as it were with unwashen feete, enter into the Lordes sanctuarie."³ Other anti-Puritan literature came from Sutcliffe's pen in these closing years of the reign: in 1595 he published An Answere unto a Certaine Ca-lumnious letter published by M. Job Throckmorton and in 1596 The Examination Of M. Thomas Cart-wrights late apologie Of Throckmorton, he wrote that "his best facultie is in writing letters to Ladies, and such epistles as are set foorth in the name of Martin."⁴ To Sutcliffe's accusation that he was Martin, Throckmorton replied, "Seeing an oth (as th'Apostle saith) ought to bee th'ende of all strife, I will for my finall clearing heerein (whensoever it shall be thought so good by the State) willinglie take this oth, as I have heeretofore offered, to witte, That I am not Martin, I knowe not Martin, and concerning that

¹T. Rogers, A Sermon upon the 6. 7. and 8. Verses of the 12. Chapter of S. Pauls Epistle unto the Romanes (April 13, 1590); Anonymous, A Remonstrance or Plaine Detection Of Some Of The Faults And Hideous Sores ... in a Booke, Entituled A Demonstration (1590).

²M. Sutcliffe, An Answere To A Certaine Libel (1592).

³Ibid., sig. A2v.

⁴Sutcliffe, An Answere unto a Certaine ... letter, sig. B2.

I stande endighted of, I am as cleare as the childe unborne."¹

As for Cartwright, Sutcliffe stated flatly, "you were acquainted with Hackets and Copingers practises, and disliked not Martines courses."² To Cartwright these were "slaunderous accusations" and he replied in print two years later, denying any connection with such radicals as Hacket, Copinger, Arthington, and Marprelate.³

Sutcliffe's accusations might be dispensed with easily enough as supposition and prejudice; there were two authors however, even more determined to prove a relationship between Puritanism and sect-arianism and whose charges would not be brushed off so lightly. One was Dr. Richard Cosin, Dean of the Arches. In 1592 his Conspiracie, for Pretended Reformation: viz. Presbyteriall Discipline came off the press, the gist of which was that Puritanism provided a seedbed for such millenarian notions as were advanced by William Hacket, Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington.⁴ The other was Richard Bancroft, future Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1593 he put into print the fruits of his detective work -- a project "required" of him "by some persons of honor, who might dispose of him and his labours: to set downe by way of an histori-call narration, what hee had observed touching certaine positions holden, and some enterprises achieved or undertaken, for recommending, and bringing the Presbiteriall Discipline into this Island of Brit-taine, under the pretence of reformation." It was published under

¹ Job Throckmorton, The Defence of Job Throckmorton, against the slaunders of Maister Sut-cliffe (1594), sig. E2.

² Sutcliffe, The Examination Of M. Thomas Cartwrights, sig. A4v.

³ A brief Apologie of Thomas Cartwright, (1596) These three Protestant fanatics conspired to overthrow the existing Church government, bring to repentance and judgment the Queen and her counsellors, and deliver the extremist preachers who were then imprisoned, one of whom was Thomas Cartwright. Their conspiracy came to an end on July 16, 1591, when Hacket was proclaimed Messiah and the advent of his reign of judgment. They were arrested and Hacket was executed on July 28. Pearson, Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, p. 320.

⁴ Cosin was one of the most able defenders of the established Church. In 1591 he published An Apologie: Of, And For Sundrie proceedings by Jurisdicti-on Ecclesiasticall, of late times by some challenged, and also diversly by them impugned, in which he defended the ecclesiastical courts and the use of the ex officio oath. James Morice replied for the Puritans in A briefe treatise of Oathes exacted by Ordinaries and Ecclesiasticall Judges (c. 1592), an important work which stated the common-law case against the procedure of the ex officio oath; see also Dudley Fenner, Certain God-ly And Learned treatises (1592).

the title of Daungerous Positions And Proceedings, published and practised within this Iland of Brytaine, under pretence of Reformation, and for the Prebiteriall Discipline, and was a scathing indictment of Puritanism which was portrayed as being just as dangerous to the Church and State as Roman Catholicism.

The experience which wee have hereof at this day in the Church of England, is more then pregnant: partly through the develish and traiterous practises of the Seminary Priests and Jesuites and partly by reason of the lewd and obstinate course, held by our pretended refourmers, the consistorian Puritanes: both of them labouring with all their might, by rayling, libelling, and lying, to steale away the peoples harts from their governours, to bring them to a dislike of the present state of our Church, and to draw them into parts-taking: the one sort, for the embracing of such directions, as should come unto them from Rome: the other for the establishing of that counterfeit and false Hierarchie, which they would obtrude uppon us by the countenance and name of the Church at Geneva. ¹

Again the attempt was made to connect Puritanism in general and Cartwright in particular to the detested heresy of Anabaptism. Bancroft sought to do this by quoting from letters and private papers that had fallen into his hands. For example, he quoted a letter written by Copinger to a friend requesting him to convey his "great thanks to good Maister Cartwright, for satisfying mee in some questions."² After skillfully weaving together such bits and pieces of information, Bancroft concluded his case against the Puritans with the following words:

And thus you see how al these treasons, if they had happened, with what Consistorian zeale they might have been defended afterward by the Disciplinarian doctrine, which hath beene sent abroade into this Iland from Geneva: and meetely well practised already, in some partes thereof, by men of that stampe. Whereupon I do collect, (the premises considered) by Cartwrights & other the ministers intelligence, with Copingers desperate purposes, that they cared not what mischiefs had ensued, so they themselves might have been safe. For ... there is nothing more laboured for, amongst that sect, then to thrust their many thousandes, or some of them into some mutiny or bloody attempt. ³

On top of these revelations by Bancroft, the Puritan cause was threatened further by the publication of Richard Hooker's great work,

¹ Bancroft, Daungerous Positions (1593), sigs. A2, Blv. See also Bancroft's famous Paul's Cross sermon, supra., p. 104.

² Sig. X3v.

³ Ibid., sig. Aa3v.

Of The Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie, in 1593 and 1597.¹

Addressing the Puritans in the Preface, he remarked regarding his reason for writing his book that "though for no other cause, yet for this; that posteritie may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to passe away as in a dreame, there shall be for mens information extant this much concerning the present state of the church of God established amongst us, and their carefull endeavour which would have upheld the same."² The decisive factor that led Hooker to write in defence of the Church was the threat of Puritanism, though by this time Whitgift had driven it underground.³ He concludes the Preface, therefore, with an eloquent plea to Puritans to review their position and accept the truth:

The best and safest waie for you therefore my deere brethren is, to call your deedes past to a newe reckoning, to re-examine the cause yee have taken in hand, and to trie it even point, by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactnes yee can; to lay aside the gall of that bitternes wherein your mindes have hitherto overabounded, and with meekenes to search the truth. Thinke yee are men, deeme it not impossible for you to erre: sift unpartiallie your owne hearts, whether it be force of reason, or vehemencie of affection, which hath bread, and still doth feede these opinions in you. If truth doe anie where manifest it selfe, seeke not to smoothen it with glosing delusions, acknowledge the greatnes thereof, and thinke it your best victorie when the same doth prevaile over you. ⁴

The literary work of Richard Hooker was a perfect consummation of the anti-Puritan campaign waged by Whitgift and Bancroft. Hooker's cogent defence of Anglicanism surpassed any previous attempt, and seemed to go a long way in stopping the mouths of Puritans. His answer, for example, for both Protestants and Catholics who believed that the spiritual should overrule the civil authorities in the state was that "there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth, nor any man a member of the commonwealth, which is not also of the Church of England." Therefore, the Queen as head of the Commonwealth was also head of the Church which is coextensive with it.⁵ This is

¹For an account of the circumstances surrounding the publication of this work, see C. J. Sisson, The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker (Cambridge, 1940).

²Sig. A2.

³Sisson, op. cit., p. 2.

⁴Sig. D4v.

⁵R. Hooker, Of The Laws (1666), VIII. pp. 448-9.

typical of the politico-religious reasoning that Hooker displays throughout his work.

The only reply from the Puritans was A Christian Letter of Certain English Protestants, a feeble effort which had the air of defeat about it by its deficiency in germinative criticisms and originality, except that it made out Hooker to be an Arminian avant la lettre.¹ But even this effort did not go unanswered, for in 1603 there appeared A Just And Temperate Defence Of The Five Books Of Ecclesiastical Policie ... Against an uncharitable Letter of certain English Protestants by William Covell. Other than the publication of two sermons, preached on November 17, 1599 and 1602, in commemoration of the Queen's coronation, in which the practice of the Church of England of making this day an occasion for festivities was defended,² Hooker's brilliant work was the only other contribution by the champions of the Church in the closing years of the reign.

But, as Dr. Collinson points out, the lack of a scholarly reply from the Puritans did not indicate that they acknowledged defeat, for "not only was the puritan cause generally depressed at this time, but the public and the booksellers were less than enthusiastic about these well-worn controversies, and it was not yet generally recognized that Hooker's work was in a class of its own."³ However, one must point out that these considerations did not hinder the Puritans from publishing other works at this time and shortly after as the following discussion will show.

The Last Puritan Shots

Though Whitgift might have shattered the Puritan organization, there were enough individual Puritans with a bent for writing to keep the Puritan cause before the public right through to the end of the reign. The dream of a Presbyterian Church in England, for example, was not allowed to dissipate. The Recantation of Maister Patrik Admasone, Sometime Archbishop of Saint-Andrewes in Scotlande (Middelburg, 1598)⁴ was a piece of Presbyterian propaganda in which the

¹ See Pearson, Thomas Cartwright...., p. 372; also N.R.N. Tyacke, op. cit., p. 26.

² T. Holland,A Sermon Preached at Pauls in London.... (1599); J. Howson, A Sermon Preached at St. Maries In Oxford (1602).

³ Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 431.

⁴ Patrick Adamson (1537-1592) became Archbishop of St. Andrews in Oct. 1576 and was in continual conflict with the Scottish presbyterians.

former Archbishop craved God's pardon for his previous opposition to Presbyterianism in Scotland and confessed that it was the only true way. This recantation, wrote the printer in his epistle to the reader, should "worthelie terrifie the adversaries of all sortes, from further striving against the trueth of christian Discipline For this recanter was no meane adversary to true Discipline, or one of the common sorte, but a chiefe Ringleader ... so in will, diligence and all industrie negotiating against trew reformation, none either did or wes able to match him."¹

Three more notable Puritan works came off the press before the end of the period. One appeared in 1599 and was written "upon occasion of that godlie, wise, and peaceable motion, which was made in the last Parliament for convenient favour to be shewed to godlie & profitable Ministers, touching subscription and use of ceremonies."² This was probably a reference to the bill introduced by Henry Finch, the Member for Canterbury, to the House of Commons in the 1597-98 Parliament, a bill aimed at qualifying the Act of Uniformity and the Articles Act of 1571 in favour of Puritan ministers.³ The argument of the anonymous author is that any kind of subscription to Whitgift's articles harms the cause of reformation: "For, if an hundred godlie ministers were suspended for not subscribing to all the Archbishoppes Articles, I doubt not but that their silencing would preach reformation very effectuellie: Whereas your temporizing subscription doth hurt many wayes." One of the results of their subscription would be the encouragement of the Archbishop to continue his policy of enforcement. "If your own heart condemne you for subscribing against your conscience; ye would feare him that is greater than your hearte: remember from whence yee be fallen, repent,

In 1588 he was accused of irregularities in solemnizing a marriage and in August he was excommunicated by the presbytery at Edinburgh, an action that was confirmed by the General Assembly. Later, weakened by poverty and sickness, he appealed to his old enemy, Andrew Melville, who induced the presbytery at St. Andrews to remit the sentence of excommunication on the condition that Adamson should make a free confession of his errors. On April 8, 1590, he signed his Recantation. DNB.

¹Sig. A2v.

²Anonymous, A Triall of Subscrip-tion ... And, Reasons for lesse rigour against non-subscribers. (1599), sig. A2.

³D'Ewes, pp. 561, 565, 567; Strype, Whitgift, ii, 374-8.

and doe the first workes."¹

The other two works clearly show the Puritans on the defensive. Instead of vigorous criticism of the establishment, the theme is one of reconciliation, the tone one of the misunderstood, good-intentioned zealot. The contention within the Church of England -- greatly intensified by the charges of sectarianism against the Puritans by Cosin and Bancroft -- was really being caused by the Roman Catholics, claimed the authors, and all Protestants should unite in the face of the papist threat.

In the dedication of his Humble Motives For Association To Maintaine Religion Established (1601) to the episcopate in England, the anonymous author claimed the occasion of his writing was the attempt of the papists to pack "this Parliament" with burgesses, their recusancy, and "their publishing bookes (mo than a good many) pretending a controversy between secular priests and Jesuits, but intending to make way (at least) for a toleration of popery which they hoped (and so gave out throughout the realme) to obtaine by this Parliament."² After accusing the Catholics of trying to foster a civil war between English Protestants, he added, "Call to minde (right reverend) the course of times, & remember, that when the Earle of Leicester lived, it went for currant, that all Papists were Traitors in action, or affection. He was no sooner dead, but Sir Christopher Hatton ... bearing sway, Puritans were trounced, and traduced as troublers of the state."³ He went on to make the interesting point that Catholics associate "Calvinists with Puritans" and do not seem to realize that "this word Calvinists comprehendeth Protestants as well as Puritans, so that ... we are all puritans in hart."⁴ Then in concluding he referred to a passage in a pamphlet entitled "Newes from Spaine, and Holland," which rather prophetically stated that "the Puritan shall overcome the Protestant, than the contrary: For that the puritan buildeth directly upon the protestants first grounds in religion"⁵

Then came Josiah Nichols' The Plea Of The Innocent: Wherein

¹ A Triall Of Subscription, sigs. A5-A6v.

² Sig. C4. Attributed to William Bradshaw or Thomas Digges in B.M. Gen. Cat.

³ Ibid., Sig. D4.

⁴ Ibid., Sig. D2.

⁵ Ibid., Sig. F1.

is averred: That the Ministers & people falslie termed Puritanes,
are injur-riously slandered for enemies or troublers of the state....
 in 1602, within one year of the queen's death and with Puritan radicalism toned down for the benefit of James VI of Scotland.¹ Abolition of episcopacy and radical innovation of Church worship were not the demands voiced in this work: instead of the bishops, the old adversaries -- the Catholic and his Church -- were at the receiving end of Nichols' invective and vilification:

Now the papists beginne to comfort them selves, yea they challenge unto them the name of honest and true men and good subjectes: & by the reproach-full name of puritane, all godlie protestantes are most cunninglie depraved. To have ben called prescission, puritane, hotheaded, proude, contentious, scismatickes, and troublers of the Church, we have borne it pacientlie (God knowing our innocencie) and could yet beare it more; so as by our suffring of contempt, the Church of England, might receave honour, and Gods people rejoice under good guiding pastours. But when it is grown so far, that we are called and accounted worse then papistes, enemies to the state, worse then the seminarie priests, like Jesuites, subverters of the commonwealth & enemies to her Majesties most royal crown & dignitie ... so that we verely think that if such things goe forward, they will in a short time cause a most wofull overthrow of the whole state & of the Christian Church among us: we can not now forbear any longer, but that we must needes shew unto all the worlde our innocencie 2

The whole point of the tract was to put the Puritans in the best possible light. The ministers and people who have desired and sought "reformation of some things" in the Church "are warranted in their doings" by the Holy Scripture. Martin Marprelate, the Brownistes, and Hacket were "stirred up by Satan" to hinder the cause of reform. Those who seek reformation "rejoice to live under the common lawes and civill communitie of this Realm" and "agree in all substantiall pointes of our Church."³ And for proof that not all Puritans were as extreme as Marprelate, Browne and Hacket, implied Nichols, consider the "goodlie space of quietnes about the time that the reverend Father Maister Grindall was Archbishop of Canturburie. In which time in al the south partes of Englande, there was great concorde amonge the Ministers, and they joyned in great love and joy one with another in the Lords worke." If the papist threat were to

¹Cf. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 451.

²Sigs. B2-B2v.

³Ibid., sigs. A2-A2v.

be averted, it was necessary for such concord and sweet communion between godly ministers and bishops to be once again enjoyed. "It was a golden time, full of godly fruit, great honour to the Ghospell, great love and kinde fellowship among all the Ministers, preaching the faith, and the people united in the true feare of God, and cheereful reverence of her Maiestie."¹ The author realized that his work might be offensive to both prelate and Puritan, but hoped that they would accept his good will as he wrote it "in an especiall love toward both parties."²

The Elizabethan Puritan literature reflected the moods and attitudes of the movement as a whole. In the opening years of the reign it criticised the Elizabethan settlement for establishing a "halfly reformed" Church. Out of this arose the vestments controversy of 1565-1567 in which some malcontents cut their teeth while others had their appetites whetted. Disappointed by their defeat in the controversy but still undaunted the radicals turned their attention to getting rid of what they considered to be the root of the problem and the stumbling-block to all their plans -- the episcopal form of Church government. With this in mind they petitioned the government in 1572 and sparked off the Admonition controversy. Once again the established Church emerged unscathed.

Then came the "golden time" under Grindal, only to be followed by the contentious and, for the Puritans, disastrous "eighties," with the elevation of Whitgift and Bancroft, the death of John Field, the division in the movement caused by the Marprelate affair, and the deaths of such staunch Puritan supporters as the Earl of Leicester,

1.
Ibid., sig. Clv.

2
Ibid., sig. B4.

Sir Walter Mildmay, the Earl of Warwick, and Sir Francis Walsingham. The 1590's began strongly for the Puritans with John Penry's bitter and biting attacks on the bishops, and contributions by Morice, Fenner, Throckmorton and Cartwright. Soon these also were silenced. Apart from a lonely voice crying in the wilderness every now and again, the Puritan threat to the establishment diminished as the reign of Elizabeth waned.

Before John Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote Sir John Neale, the Puritans "were able to shake Crown, Church, Council, and Parliament."¹ Determined and tenacious, Whitgift brought new force and spirit to the anti-Puritan campaign. In the face of harsh criticism and contempt for his religious policy in Commons and Lords, he persevered and succeeded in maintaining religious unity in England. He imposed subscription upon the Puritans, suppressed prophesyings, put an end to Marprelate and decapitated the Separatist movement by disposing of Barrow, Greenwood and Penry.² There is little doubt that with regard to religious affairs the last decade of the reign belongs to Archbishop Whitgift.

One of the interesting points that emerges from an examination of the literature defending the established church against the Family of Love and Separatists is that both Puritans and conformists joined hands in exactly the same manner as they did against Roman Catholic assaults. Although criticized by some of their more radical brethren, these Puritan writers were merely expressing the current abhorrence shared by most Protestants of any teaching that smacked of Anabaptism

¹ Neale, Vol. II, pp. 23, 81.

² Ibid., p. 291.

or sectarianism. To most Puritans, judging by the opprobrious references to Anabaptists, Brownists, etc., in many of their writings, there was nothing inconsistent in being severely critical of the Church while condemning in the strongest terms those who withdrew from it.

In defending their Church against the onslaughts of Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, Familists, Separatists, and Puritans, the leaders of the Elizabethan Church had found the "mystery" of printing to be invaluable to them. Their opponents, on the other hand, while using the press, laboured under the disadvantage of having to print their material in secret or send it abroad and, consequently, were no match for the champions of the established Church. Polemics and apologetics, however, were only one aspect of the literary output of the Protestant press, albeit the most directly related to Elizabethan ecclesiastical and governmental policy; there was another, however, just as important which formed the bulk of Elizabethan Protestant literature. This was that corpus of publications written for the spiritual strengthening of individual Church members and for general edification of Protestants.

CHAPTER V . PROTESTANT EDIFICATION, 1558-1603

Though they comprised a small percentage of the output of religious literature, works of a polemical and controversial nature commanded the most attention in Elizabethan England. The bulk of Protestant religious literature had for its main aim the edification of English Protestants. Three broad categories of works can be ascertained: devotional, didactic, and works of social criticism and commentary.

Devotional Literature

Using a variety of methods -- including the familiar books of private prayers, primers, Scripture readings chronologically and topically arranged, biographies of historical figures and well-known reformers -- authors of devotional literature sought to instruct the reader in the practice of the Christian faith. But more often than any other form, the published sermon or lecture was the approach chosen in the treating of devotional topics. Employing a variety of themes, the number of sermons or lectures included in a publication by any one author ranged from a single sermon to as many as one hundred and ninety (Henry Bullinger on Isaiah).¹ Most printed sermons were one-time efforts. Using minimum (and obviously incomplete) figures, a rough estimate of authors and their published sermons may be obtained. There were at least sixty-five authors of one or two sermons, fifteen of three or four, and twelve of five or more.² Of the last group, the more popular English preachers were Henry Smith, Gervase Babington, John Carpenter, Francis Bradley, William Perkins, George Gifford, Edward Dering, Richard Greenham, and William Fulke.

The most prolific English preacher was Henry Smith lecturer at St. Clement Danes in London. The STC has 127 entries attributed to him. In a publication dedicated to the congregation of St. Clement Danes, Smith pointed out that the "sum" of all his sermons was personal Christian commitment: "If you have not given your hearts yet to

¹See Richard Hilles to Bullinger, Dec. 20, 1566, Zurich Letters, p. 172.

²Approximate figures based on what literature I have examined.

him which sent for them, now thinke that God hath sent for them againe; and heare me writing, whome yee cannot heare speaking: Take not custome for religion, shun occasion as well as sinne, seeke the vse of euerything, desire not to have your kingdome here."¹ This sentiment seems to have been the purpose of the Elizabethan published sermon. The exceptions, of course, were sermons occasionally printed for propaganda purposes, such as the homilies that illiterate or discontented ministers were obligated to read which often contained government policy or sermons preached on special occasions (anniversary of Queen's coronation, etc.) and those by Puritans attacking the doctrine and practice of the Church of England.² One must remember, however, that often sermons were not issued by the preacher, but by a listener who copied it down -- and probably with little regard for accuracy. These "noters of Sermons," wrote one author, "who at the first pretending pietie, are in processe, beguiled with hope of gaine and vainglorie. So that between the Printer and the noter, we have instead of sounde and profitable Treatises, diverse mangled and vnperfect pieces, euen according to the slow hand, slipperie memorie, and simple iudgement of him that tooke them."³

Puritan ministers were the most avid publishers of sermons and at least one, Laurence Chaderton, thought there was a danger of the press supplanting the pulpit as the main instrument for the instruction of the godly. He felt constrained to warn the reader that the printed sermon could never replace the spoken word: "Let know [sic] man thinke, that the reading of this can be half so effectuell and profitable to him as the hearyng was, or might be. For it wanteth

¹Smith, The Christians Sacrifice (1589), sig. As. In 1589 "Reasons objected and alleadged by the Bp. of London" were laid against Smith and he was removed from his position. It was stated that he had been "chosen by a popular election ... by the Minister and congregation without his Lordships licence" and that he had preached against the book of common prayer and had refused to subscribe to certain articles. B.M. Lansd. Ms. 61(27). fol. 76.

²A book of 12 homilies appeared in 1547 authorized by the Privy Council, and a second containing another 21 homilies was issued in 1571. These appeared in numerous editions throughout the Elizabethan period (see STC Nos. 13648-13655; 13663-13671; 13679-13680). For sermons preached on special occasions, see Archbishop Grindal's sermon on the death of the Emperor Ferdinand, supra., p. 26; and for Puritan sermons, see those of Deringe, Knox, supra., pp. 69, 70, and Chaderton, infra.

³W. Cupper, Certaine Sermons Con-cerning Gods Late visitation (1592), sig. A7.

the zeale of the speaker, the attention of the hearer, the promise of God to the ordinary preaching of his word, the mighty and inward working of his holy spirite, and many other things which the Lord worketh most mercifully by the preaching of his glorious Gospel, which are not [to be found in] reading the written Sermons of his ministers."¹

Care for the soul of the Elizabethan reader was expressed in other ways. He was urged to practice self-examination. In The True Tryall and Examination of a Mans owne selfe (1586) the reader is exhorted to look into his conscience and "beholde his spirituall deformitie by nature described: his actuall rebellion by disobedience, detected: his promise-breach at Baptisme, by ordinary transgression apparently proved: His lamentable estate through sinne, discovered: his wilfull obstina-cie by dayly disorder displayed." The translator of The Glasse Of vaine-glorie (1585), taken from the writings of Saint Augustine, stated that the purpose of his translation was that the reader might "knowe" himself.²

Other works were readily available to aid in self-examination. The Sinners Guyde (1598) or The Anathamie of Sinne (1603) not only showed how to detect sin but "how to derest and avoid it."³ A Monomachie of Mo-tives in the mind of man (1582), by Abraham Fleming, claimed to analyze human nature so clearly that "anie reasonable soule may soone see by what spirit he is lead." And whether one is saved or damned could be easily discerned by reading Arthur Dent's The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven (1601) -- or so the title-page claimed.

Exhortations to live the virtuous life were manifold. How Christians "oughte daily to leade their lyfe, and fruitfully to spend their time unto the glorye of God and the health of their owne soules" was the subject of Thomas Becon's The Governauce of Vertue (1566). The importance of repentance, confession, love, faith, fortitude and friendship in the christian's life were recurring themes in Elizabethan devotional literature.⁴ Christ's life is often invoked as

¹L. Chaderton, An Excellent and godly sermon (1578), sig. A3^v.

²Sig. A10v. This work was published at least four times between 1585 and 1600. See STC No. 929-931.

³Luis de Granada, The Sinners Guyde (1598), translated by Francis Meres; Anonymous, The Anothamie of Sinne (1603).

⁴See James Melville, A Spirituall Propine Of A Pastour to his People (1589); Henry Crosse, Vertues Common-wealth: Or The High-way To Honor (1603); Saint Augustine, An Introduction to the love of God

the great example. From the oft-printed The Imitation of Christ by medieval saint, Thomas à Kempis, to the poetry of the hack writer, Nicholas Breton, Christ is upheld as the ideal and inspiration of the Christian. In the preface of one edition of The Imitation of Christ, the reader is exhorted to consider Christ "whose footsteps if thou followe, thou canst never goe astraye, for he is the way, the truth, and the life. Learne here with Christ to contemne the world, learne hys modestie, his meekenesse and humilitie. In doctrine, learne his synceritie, simplicitie and veritie. Learne his love and uncomparable charitie. And to conclude, learne to beare thine owne Crosse after Christ manfullye."¹ Others dwelt upon the mystery of the Incarnation, the benefits of Christ's crucifixion, and the advantages of contemplating his "incomparable" life, while others concentrated on the Parousia. In the latter group were Shelton's Of the ende of this world, and second com-ming of Christ (1577) and Francis Kett's The Glorious and beautifull Garland of Mans Glorification, Containing ... The comming of Christ ... in the end of the world (1585). In one verse of his devotional work, A Divine Poeme (1601), Nicholas Breton scans and summarizes the life of Christ with a shallow sentimentalism typical of much Elizabethan devotional literature:

His life, the Lantherne of eternall light:
His death, the passage to eternall rest:
His grace, the marke of the most blessed sight:
His love, the life of the eternall blest.

His miracles, the witness of his power:
His Sacraments, remembrance of his love:
His resurrection, his triumphant houre:
And his Ascension, Angels joyes above. 2

Similar in scope to Breton's work, but much superior in quality was Robert Holland's The Holie Historie Of Our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christs natiuitie (1594). Written in verse, it relates

(1574); Sir Henry Balnaves, The Confession of Faith (1584); Bp. Gervase Babington, A briefe Conference betwixt mans Frailtie and Faith (1584); George Gifford, Foure Sermons upon the seven chiefe ver-tues or principall effectes of faith (1582) and A Treatise Of True Fortitude (1594); and Lambert Daneau, True and Christian Friendshippe (1586).

¹The Imitation or follo-wing of Christ (1568), trans. by Edward Hake, sig. A4. One of the most popular of Elizabethan books, The Imitation was published at least fourteen or fifteen times. See STC No. 23968 ff. First published in 1503, it appeared in at least 39 editions by 1592.

²Sig. C3.

the story of Christ, beginning with prophecies of his birth and ending with his ascension. Holland skillfully weaves together passages in the Gospels, Acts and Epistles which treat of Christ.

Christology did not figure prominently in Anglican theology in the Elizabethan period. It is dealt with mainly in the devotional books, and usually with little depth. The last Christological work of any significant depth was written in Edward's reign: John Hooper's Declaracion of Christe and His Offyce (Zurich, 1547). It is indicative of the general lack of Christological thought in Elizabethan religious literature that this work of Hooper was not reprinted while at least six others were.¹

But many were the directives against sin. Some works dealt with sin in general terms and usually advised the reader that they contained -- to use a typical title-page -- "sundrie, and very many most foule vices, and dangerous sinnes, of all sorts," which were "plainly laid open, and displaid in their kindes...." One pamphlet came replete with woodcut illustrations of such sins as covetousness, wrath, lechery, gluttony, sloth, and pride.² Not only were passages of Scripture such as the parable of the Prodigal Son employed in the crusade against sin, but also references to historical figures were made who met untimely ends due to their "prodigality". The hope was that "those which do reade and beholde them, and see the ende of suche wicked livinge, they may refraine from it."³

The remedies for sin were just as numerous. Using metaphors drawn from the military, Elizabethan authors exhorted their readers to take up the "Sacred Shield Of Al True Christian Souldiers" in the "Warfare ... against the Fleshe, the World, and the Deuill." The shield was the Word of God. "Gods children vse the hearing, reading, preaching and meditation of Gods woorde, not to feede, but to kill their carnall lustes," wrote Thomas Lever.⁴ The same message appeared under a variety of titles: from the anonymous pamphlets A beautifull

¹STC., Nos. 13742-13744, 13751-52, 13765. See also Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, p. 376; Dickens, The English Reformation, p. 321.

²S. Bateman, A Christall glasse of christian reformation....(1569).

³J. Carr, The Ruinous fal of Prodigalitie(1573), sig. Blv. See also A. Fletcher, Certaine Very Proper, And Most Profitable Similies (1595); S. Gardiner, Portraiture of the prodigal Sonne(1599).

⁴T. Lever, A Treatise of the right way from danger of Sinne(1571), sig. A3v.

Baybush to shrowd us from the sharpe showers of sinne (1589) and A Godly and holsom preseruatyue against disperacion at al times necesarye for the soule (n.d.) to Arthur Dent's Sermon of repen-taunce (1583).¹ And for the sinner grief-stricken and troubled in mind because of his sin, there were works readily available on casuistry and conscience.²

Because of the lack of adequate sanitary facilities and practices as well as the fact that medical practice was in a primitive state, widespread ill-health was inevitable during the Elizabethan period. Under the general subject of the Christian's attitude to suffering, sickness became a recurring theme. Generally Elizabethan authors of religious literature looked upon sickness and suffering as judgement from the hand of an angry God or as discipline that reflected the care of a loving heavenly Father. God's avenging angel and disciplining agent in all of this, of course, was Satan. God's judgement is seen in various natural disasters from an accident in a Paris Garden bear-pit to a fire at St. Paul's Cathedral caused by lightning to the onset of the plague.³ Personal calamities and tribulations were to be taken as from the hand of God and borne patiently. The Reverend William Chub exhorted his patron, Sir William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester, to take his "sicknes as the onelie token of Gods inestimable loue, who doth exercise his goodnes vpon his beloued by some sweet crosse, to keepe them in the limits of his knowledge, border of his feare, and castell of his safetie."⁴

Probably most influential in furthering this view of suffering were the writings of the great reformers. Calvin's sermons on the sickness of King Hezekiah in Isaiah 38 were published in 1560 by John Day, and Luther's treatise written upon the occasion of the illness

¹ See also J. Gibson, The Sacred Shield Of Al True Christian Souldiers (1599); Golding, The Warfare of Christians (1576); Anonymous, The Sicke-Mans Comfort, against ... Sinne (1590).

² A Hume, Ane Treatise Of Conscience (1594); W. Perkins, A Case Of Conscience (1592); R. Greenham, A Most Sweete And assured Comfort (1595) and Propositions Containing An-swers (1597); J. Jowesoun, A Short Exposition ... Containing A ... discourse of conscience (1600).

³ See J. Field, A godly exhortation, by occasion of the late iudgement of God, shewed at Paris-garden, the thirteenth day of Ianuarie (1581); J. Pilkington, The burnynge of Paules church in Lon-don in the yeare of oure Lord 1561 (1563?)

⁴ W. Chub A Fruitfull Ser-mon (1587), sig. A2v.

of Prince Frederick, Duke of Saxony, appeared in print in 1578.¹ Both reformers made the point of God's sovereignty. More important in understanding the Elizabethan religious scene, however, are the prefatory comments made by the Puritans responsible for their publication. To Anthony Munday, Calvin's sermon was "an exhortation to suffer persecution, that we may there-in follow Iesus Christ and his Gospel, taken out in this saying, in the 13. Chapter to the Hebrewes ver. 13. 'Let vs goe foorth to him without the gates, bearing his opprobrie'" William Gace, the translator of Luther's treatise, interpreted the reformer to mean that "through many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of God".² This was the theme picked up by the Elizabethan Puritans and often used to justify their intransigence in matters of religious policy, despite harsh words and treatment aimed at them. It is little wonder that John Foxe's Actes and Monumentes remained part of their staple literary diet throughout the period, and long after. What Calvin and Luther established in their minds as sound doctrine, Foxe produced in the form of flesh and blood examples and, one might add, English flesh and blood at that. Foxe's work was enthusiastically received more as a romance of English Christian heroes and less as an historical account of Christians being persecuted down through the ages. By the end of the seventeenth century, approximately ten thousand copies of "The Book of Martyrs" had appeared in English print -- a phenomenal figure for that time and for a book of that scope.³

Foxe's martyrology, of course, was not the introduction of anything new to English print. Under Henry VIII, reformers of the stamp of John Bale were publishing Wycliffite literature and were trying to establish an English religious pedigree consistent with their particular brand of Protestantism.⁴ In fact Queen Mary had barely died when a few publishers rushed to get martyrologies into print. Early in 1559, four years before Foxe's first edition in

¹ Calvin, Sermons of Iohn Cal-vin, Vpon The Songe that Ezechias made af-ter he had bene sicke(1560); also Calvin, Two godly and learned Sermons (1584); Luther, A Right Comfortable Trea-tise (1578).

² Calvin, Two godly and learned sermons(1584), sig. G7; Luther, A Right Com-fortable Trea-tise(1580), sig. A3.

³ W. Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs And The Elect Nation (London, 1963), p. 13.

⁴ Dickens, The English Reformation, p. 37.

English, Richard Adams and Owen Rogers were fined by the Stationer's Company for printing without licence "the Register of all them that were burned", a compendious register in metre of the Marian martyrs written by Thomas Brice.¹ In that same year The Copie Of An Epistle Sent by Iohn Knox ... Vnto the inha-bitants of Newcastle, & Barwike (1559) appeared in print and contained a list of some two hundred and sixty names of "those most faithful seruantes and deare children of God, which lately ... haue been most cruelly murthered by fyer & imprisonment for the testimonie of Christ Iesus." The publisher of the first English edition of Foxe's work in 1563, John Day, tried to whet public appetite by issuing in 1559 a small pamphlet describing Bishop Ridley's martyrdom in Mary's reign. Foxe explained in the preface that this "litell treatis" was just one "amongest manye other worthy & sundrie histories, and notable acts which we haue in hande, and entende ... shortly to set abrode"²

General histories of persecutions of Christians and testimonies and writings of individual martyrs continued to appear throughout the reign. Bullinger's The Tragedies of Tyrantes (1575) traced Christian persecution from 1572 right back to the birth of Christ, and Jean Crespin's The Estate of the Church (1602) went back to the times of the Apostles.³ In addition to the testimony and writings of Nicholas Ridley, there appeared accounts of the martyrdoms of John Bradford, Matthew Rogers, John Hooper, Archbishop Cranmer, Bucer, Phagius, Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, as well as other lesser lights of the English Reformation. "It doth vs good," wrote Miles Coverdale, a Marian exile and Edwardian bishop, "by such comfortable remembraunce, conceaued by their notable writings, to be conuersaunt with them, at the least in spirite." He went on to explaine, in Calvinistic terms, that in the writings and testimonies of the martyrs one "may plainlye behold and see ... his wonderful doinges mixt with mercy in and towardes hys chosen: vnto whom, as vnto them that loue him he causeth al things to worke for the best. So that with him, by the heauenly light of stedfast faith, they see lyfe euen in death; and him, euen in heauines & sorrow, they faile not of ioy & comfort; wyth hym euen in pouerty, affliction and trouble, they neither perish

¹Arber, Transcript, I. p. 101.

²N. Ridley, A Friendly Farewel (1599), sig. [1]

³See also Eusebius, The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories 91585), and An Abridgement Of The Booke Of Acts And Monumentes (1589).

nor are forsaken."¹

Characteristic of the secular literature of the time, utility was not forgotten by the authors of devotional literature in dealing with sickness and distress. Numerous treatises, for example, were written on the plague which periodically hit Elizabethan England after the first great visitation of 1563. While most considered sin the prime cause of the plague -- and repentance, of course, the immediate answer -- a few went deeper than that. John Stockwood translated and published Theodore de Beza's A shorte learned and pithie Treatise of the Plague (1580) in which the natural tendency to panic and to flee when confronted with the disease was discussed. Beza concluded that it was wrong to avoid the plague if it meant neglecting one's duty to his fellowman and to God, although one should take every precaution to protect himself. On the other hand, if one could withdraw himself without compromising his duty to God and man, he ought to do so.

Henry Holland's Spirituall Preseruatiues against the pestilence (1593), written after the epidemic of 1591-2, described the plague as a "mixt euill of knowne and secret causes." In the dedication to the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and aldermen of London, Holland both urged the usual spiritual reformation (e.g., "cast downe the deuillish theaters, the nurceries of whoredome and vncleannesse") and added a few practical considerations. The first was provision of more and better cemeteries "where the dead might better rest from the liuing, and the liuing better auoid the contagion of the dead." Another was the establishment of sanitariums for the victims of the plague in order that they "might have more freedome of aire and benefite of the place for diet, keeping, etc." and avoid being "pind vp in their owne houses in the citie, as birdes in their cages" Finally, Holland urged the city fathers to carefully select physicians to act as custodians of the sick and to pay them a salary generous

¹M. Coverdale, Certain most god-ly, fruitful, and comfortable letters(1564), sigs. A2, A3-A3v. See also Ridley, A Pituous Lamentation(1566) and Certayne godly, learned, and com-fortable conferences (1574); John Bradford, The Complaynt of Veritie(1559) and All the examinacions of the Constante Martir of God M. Iohn Bradforde (1561); M. Bucer, A brieftre treatise concerning the bur-nyng of Bucer and Phagius, at Cambrydge (1562); The Whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doct. Barnes(1573); and Gonsalvius Montanus (Reginaldus), A Discouery and playne Declaration of sundry subtyll practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne(1568).

enough to attract competent and good men. These men should be able to care for both body and soul," wrote Holland, "mercifull men, men fearing God, men of iudgement and knowledge, meet to minister helpes both corporall and spirituall to ease the greuances of Gods people"¹

Judging by the availability of devotional books dealing with illness and distress, there must have been a good market for that type of literature. Titles of books are numerous which declare them an effective remedy for all who are either "trou-bled in mynde or afflicted in bodie."² Thomas Becon's The Sycke Mans Salue (1561) and David Chytraeus' A Soueraigne Salue For A Sick Soule (1590) urged the sick to bear their infirmity with patience, and thereby learn the lessons God wished to teach them, while describing "the euils that come of impacience." The demand for such works was not because they dealt with the question of how to get well. That question was rarely asked, never mind answered. Conversely, the main thrust of most of these works was how to bear hardship well and, for a few, how to die with dignity. In an age when Death worked overtime, and with little restraint, the subject was openly discussed with no evidence of squeamishness. "I haue written that men might learn to die patiently, to leue the world willingly: and to go vnto Christ gladly," wrote William Hughe in The troubled mans medecine (1567). Hughe's short treatise was written for "his friend lying on his death bed." Another work instructed the dying how "vertuously to dispose their temporall goodes, and finally to prepare themselves gladly and godly to die." Especially relevant to the time was a sermon by William Hubbocke on the death of infants. The great consolation held out to the dying in all of this literature, of course, was -- to use another title -- "the felici-tie of the life to come." There were few who refused to believe or find comfort in such teaching. The prevalence of sickness and hardship with little physical hope of alleviation led to a readiness to accept and believe the teachings of the Church and helps to account for the popularity of

¹ H. Holland, Spirituall Preseruatiues (1593), sigs. A5v, A6v.

² A Kingsmill, A Most Excellent and comfortable Treatise (1585). See also J. Bernard, The tranquillitie of the minde (1570); R. Bruce, Sermons Preached ... Meet to comfort all sick as are troubled ather in bodie or minde (1591); Jean de L'Espine, A Very Excellent And Lear-ned Discourse, touching the Tranquillitie and Con-tentation of the minde (1592).

Elizabethan devotional literature.¹

Didactic Literature

Next in bulk to the devotional literature of the period came didactic publications² which can be divided broadly into topical and exegetical works. Once again the greater part of the literature was produced by a small group of authors. Within this group, continental reformers predominated. More numerous than any others were translations of the works of Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Luther, Philippe de Mornay, Jean Veron, and Pierre Viret, and in that order. The more prolific English authors of this type of literature were Hugh Broughton, Dudley Fenner, John Marbecke, Thomas Wilcox, John Woolton, and William Perkins. Less prolific authors, Niels Hemmingsen, Erasmus, Lambert Daneau, Andreas Gerardus (Hyperius), and Pierre Gerard nevertheless received special attention from the clergy with works on the practice of ministry. In a prefatory address to "his louing Brethren, the Pastors and Ministers of Deuon and Cornwall", the translator of Pierre Gerard's A Preparati-on To The Most Ho-lie Ministrie (1593), Nicholas Becket, urged them to read his translation. Although he realized they had in their studies "excellent workes of this argument" by "Hyperius, Erasmus, Hemmingius, Daneus, and our good countreyman Maister Perkins," yet he thought they would "finde here many things that are more sutable to vs countrey Diuines"³ However, the most popular foreign reformer was Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich. An English translation of his Decades appeared in 1577 and was enthusiastically received. In ten years three editions were published. The Decades consisted of five series, each containing ten sermons, and presented in simple terms Reformed theology and ethics. So acceptable was this work of Bullinger that

¹ See C. Gibbon, A Work worth the Reading (1591); W. Hubbocke, An Apologie Of Infants (1595); A. Hume, A Treatise Of The Felici-tie, of the life to come. (1594); C. Hueber, A riche Storehouse, or Treasurie, for the Sicke (1578); And Nicholas Nichols, A Spirituall Poseaye contayning godly and fruict-full consolations. (1573).

² Books and pamphlets of a polemical nature that fall into this category have been omitted since they have been discussed elsewhere in this study.

³ Sig. A3. See also N. Hemmingsen, The Prea-cher, or Methode of preachinge (1576); Andreas (Hyperius) Gerardus, The Practis of preaching, Otherwise Called The Pathway to the Pulpit (1577).

when Archbishop Whitgift wished to upgrade the preaching of Anglican clergy in 1587, he prescribed it for all ministers who were not masters of arts. Furthermore, they had to make notes on each of the sermons and present them for examination.¹

Study aids for the clergy, and for that matter anyone else interested in a serious pursuit of divinity, were readily available in bookshops. Common places of Christian Religion(1563) by Wolfgang Musculus or A Booke Of Notes and Common Places(1581) by John Marbecke, for example, provided what was basically a theological dictionary. There were also works of a similar nature, but wider in scope, such as John More's A Table From The Beginning of the world to this day(1593) which "declared in what yeere of the World every-thing was done, both in the Scriptures mentioned, and also in pro-phane matters." In addition to concordances and commentaries as resources for Bible study, there were histories and dictionaries of biblical and ecclesiastical character.² And by the end of the period (1595), Andrew Maunsell had made the useful contribution of publishing a compilation of books printed in English for the past hundred years. Books were listed alphabetically by surnames of authors and translators; anonymous literature by subject or by title and sometimes by both. The first part of Maunsell's catalogue concerned itself exclusively with theology; the second part with "the Sciences, Mathematicall, as Arith-metick, Geometrie, Astronomie, Astrologie, Musick, the Arte of warre, and Nauigation: And also, of Phisick and Surgerie." That most sixteenth century English printed literature was theological can be seen clearly in the first part of the catalogue which consisted of one hundred and twenty-three folio pages while the second part had twenty-seven. Maunsell rendered the clergy and all students of divinity an invaluable service. For the first time, they had a relatively comprehensive bibliography in front of them; a considerable boon to learning in an age when the science of advertising was in its infancy and communication generally in a primitive state. "My purpose is to shew," stated Maunsell

what we haue in Print, in our owne tongue, a thing not regarded but of a few: For some soare so hie that they

¹See H. Bullinger, Fiftie Godlie And Lear-ned Sermons(1577).

²See J. Marbecke, The lyues of holy Sainctes, Prophetes, Patriarches and others, con-tayned in holye Scripture(1574) and The Holie Historie of King Da-uid(1579); Stephen Bateman, The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes(1577). For concordances and commentaries, see infra.

looke not so low, as on their owne countrie writers, and some regard not old Bookes, but aske what newes? Or new writers? Whereas I do thinke that since the Apostles time, ther hath not been more excellent Martyrs & Confessors, -than those that haue written in the times of King Henrie the eight, King Edward, Queene Marie, and especially in the godly and peaceable gouernment of our blessed Queene Elizabeth, and those of our owne Countrimen: which worthy men as diuers of them are dead, so many of their excellent workes lie vn-knownen to most men. 1

For the serious students of theology a copy of Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion was indispensable. It was divided into four part§ each treating respectively Father, Son, Holy Spirit, and the Holy Catholic Church. Here was systematic theology laid out lucidly and coherently from the Protestant viewpoint. In the disorder that came in the wake of the Reformation, persons finding themselves set adrift from the Mother Church sought and found some semblance of stability in Calvin's Institutes. A heavy tome of five hundred and twenty-three folio pages,² Calvin's magnum opus became the most sought after work on Christian dogmatics published in the sixteenth century. At least seven editions came off the press between 1561 and 1599, and at least five abridgements of the Institutes, four by Edmond Bunny and one by John Piscator.³

The numerous editions and abridgements of the Institutes and Calvin's other works undoubtedly contributed to the increase and establishment of Calvinism in England. In the Elizabethan period alone, 22 books of his sermons were published, 12 commentaries on various books of the Bible, 17 editions of his Catechism, 60 editions of the Geneva Bible, and seven works on various topics, excluding the Institutues and abridgements. It is little wonder that Calvin surpassed Bullinger in popularity by the end of the period and that his Institutes superseded Bullinger's Decades as the accepted manual of the clergy and the textbook used by students of divinity in Oxford and Cambridge.⁴

Next to Calvin in the publication of systematic theology came

¹ Andrew Maunsell, The First Part Of the Catalogue of English printed Bookes(1595), sig. [iv].

² 1561 edition by R. Wolfe and Richard Harrison.

³ Complete translations were published in 1561, 1562, 1574, 1578 (also reissued in this year), 1582, 1587, 1599; abridgements by Bunny in 1580, 1585, 1586, 1587, and by Piscator in 1596.

⁴ See under Calvin in STC; J. T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, p. 312; C.D. Cremeans, The Reception of Calvinistic Thought in England, p. 82.

Theodore Beza. It was not unusual for Beza's works to be reprinted five or six times in the Elizabethan period.¹ While other foreign divines published one or two similar works on theology, none came close to Calvin and Beza. Of Luther's writings, for example, only a book of thirty-four sermons "collected out of his writings and preachings for ... necessary instruction and edification" falls into this category.² As for English authors, only Richard Hooker's Of The Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie, (1594-1597) approaches in profundity the works of the foreign theologians. But its impact on Elizabethan England was minimal since it appeared late in the period and only one edition was published. John Rogers, Thomas Wilcox, and Christopher Shutte published relatively slim and superficial treatments of theology or "principle points" of Christian religion, but only Rogers' work went into more than one edition.³

Condensing and reducing the Institutes to the essentials was an attempt, of course, to reach a wider audience and was part of the effort to place all knowledge within grasp of the public by compiling and publishing handbooks, tables and compendiums of facts.⁴ Bishop William Alley's The poore mans Librarie (1570) was a collection of articles on the Apostles, prophets, early Church fathers, Roman Emperors, etc., and seemed more like an encyclopaedia than, as he remarked in the preface, his "prelections and readings ... vttered of late by me in Paules Church in London."⁵ But it was well-received; within a year another edition came off the press. In A Briefe

¹ His A briefe and piththie[sic] summe of the christian faith ... was published in 1565(?), 1566(?), 1572, 1585, and 1589; A booke of Christian Questions and Answers in 1572, 1574, 1578, 1579, 1581, and 1586; and his Propositions And Principles of Diuinitie ... Wherein is contained a Methodicall summarie, or Epitome of the common places of Diuinitie in 1591 and 1595.

² M. Luther, Special And Cho-sen Sermons (1578); see also N. Hemming-sen, The Way of lyfe ... comprehending principal points of Christian Religion (1579); A. Polanus, The Substance Of Christian Religion (1597); P. Viret, The firste parte of the Christian Instruction (1565); P.M. Vermigli, The common places of Peter Martyr (1583).

³ J. Rogers, The Summe of Christianity (1560? and 1579); T. Wilcox, Summarie and short medi-tations (1580); C. Shutte, A compendious forme and summe of Christian doc-trine (1581). See also Robert Hill, Life euerlasting (1601) and S.I., Bromleion. A Discourse of the most substantial points of Diuinitie (1595) for compilations of various authors of theological works.

⁴ See L. B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture, p. 121.

⁵ Sig. A2

discourse of certaine points of the reli-gion, which is among the common sort of Christians, which may bee termed the Coun-trie Diuinitie (1582) George Gifford explained that his style of writing was "rude and country like ... after the manner of plough men and cartars." His concern, he went on to state, was about the majority of the people "who hauing Poperie taken from them" were not "taught throughly and sufficiently in the Gospel." They were like "naked men fitte and readie for any coate almost that may bee put vpon them."¹ Another author interested in reaching a wider audience than the clergy or theology students was Edmund Bunny. Bunny thought that catchisms, commonplaces of religion, and works on systematic theology such as Calvin's Institutes were not attractive to the "common multitude" or appropriate for "beginners", so he compiled and published The Whole Summe of Christian Religi-on (1576). The title advertised that it was "giuen forth by two seuerall Methodes or Formes: the one higher, for the better learned, the other applyed to the capacitie of the common multitude, and meete for all." Although he refers to his work as an original approach to the writing of theology, it differs little from other didactic literature. But it did make an eye-catching title!²

In addition to books dealing with the general topic of theology or Christian religion, scores were published on specific doctrines. The Sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper, came in for special attention. So too did the doctrine of predestination. Although the works of foreign divines also figured prominently in this aspect of didactic literature, in the case of predestination the most popular treatise was William Perkins' A Golden Chaine ... Containing The Order Of the Causes of Saluation and Damnation (1597). Between the first edition of 1591 and 1600, six editions were published. Another popular work by Perkins on predestination, three editions being issued, was A Treatise tending vnto a De-claration, whether a man be in the e-state of damnation, or in the estate of grace (1591).³ Perkins theological position, of course, was staunchly Calvinistic.

More than a few authors dealt with the doctrine of the Church. The most interesting one and most significant for the Elizabethan

¹Sig. [3].

²Sigs. *3, *4v.

³Published also in 1589 and 1595. See also Perkins, A treatise of Gods free grace and mans free will (1602) for another work on the same topic.

period (even though not printed until 1659) was the famous Treatise of Excommunication by the Swiss theologian, Thomas Erastus. In 1587 the Italian publisher, Giacompo Castelvetro of London, married the widow of Erastus and became the theologian's literary executor. Two years later John Wolfe printed for him the above treatise in Latin. Bearing the approval of Archbishop Whitgift, it must surely have been published with recognition of the value of the Erastian viewpoint for the Elizabethan Settlement. Originally written against a doctoral thesis by the Puritan George Wither at Heidelberg in 1568, Erastus' work merely argued that magistrates were responsible for discipline and exempt from excommunication. But Erastianism came to mean much more than that. It gradually became known as the doctrine of the supremacy of the prince or state in all ecclesiastical matters.¹

Before the end of the period, monologues had been published on all the major doctrines of the faith. There were books on the nature of God; on the nature of man: body, soul, life, death and immortality; on faith, fasting, swearing and the Sabbath;² on angels and demons; and on eschatology -- the uncovering of Anti-Christ, the Coming of Christ, the approach of Doom's Day and the end of the world. The latter actually seen and accurately foretold in Scripture! The English Hebraist, Hugh Broughton, was interested in eschatology, especially in Daniel's Seventy Weeks and other prophetic passages of Scripture. In A Conccent of Scripture (1590?) he examines the fulfillment of prophecy in the context of the Bible, and in Daniel His Chaldie Visions (1597) expounds prophecy in the Old Testament book of Daniel observing that Daniel accurately foretold the death of Jesus.³ Both works were published at least twice indicating some demand for that type of literature. Similar works by Broughton went into three and more editions.

The imminence of eternity helped to foster and strengthen the hope of immortality. The preachers hammered home the point that

¹Arber, Transcript, II. p. 524; Eleanor Rosenberg, "Giacopo Castelvetro: Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons," The Huntingdon Library Quarterly (Vol. VI, No. 2, Feb. 1943), p. 125; McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism, p. 354.

²See N. Bownd, The Doctrine Of the Sabbath (1595).

³See also Broughton, Textes of Scripture Chayning the holy Chronicle (1591; An Apologie In Briefe Assertions Defending That our Lord died in the time properly foretold to Daniel (1592); A Seder Olam, that is: Order of the worlde (1594); and Master Broughtons letters, especially his last pamphlet against the Archbishop of Canterbury about Sheol and Hades (1599).

the "sure and steadfast" hope was one born and nurtured in the reading and study of Scripture. And there poured forth from the presses all sorts of catechisms and manuals of instruction, many of them designed for the teaching of the family. "An Order of Houshold Instruction," ran the title of a publication by Josias Nichols in 1596, "by which euery master of a Fami-lie, may easily and in short space, make his whole houshold to vnderstand the princi-pall and chiefe points of Christian reli-gion: without the knowledge whereof, no man can be saued." In at least one instance such a manual for household instruction was designed to take the place of the resident chaplain who had been "restrained" by the bishop. Robert Openshaw, the author, remarks that in a certain "christian Gentlemans house" the whole household used to meet twice every Sabbath and once every weekday at the church, "but since the restraint of their Minister, they meete euerie morning in the weeke day in the parlour, where their maister kneeleth downe with them, and prayeth, vsing these prayers following." After prayers, the members of the household went about their daily affairs. An outline for daily religious activities for each household is suggested: grace should be said before and after meals by the master; during meal one of the servants should read a chapter from the Bible, praying before he begins reading; and after the meal "they come together into the Parlour or Hall, and there spende one houre in singing Psalmes, learning, and answering some fewe of these poyntes of Religion, and praying." Openshaw's work proved to be popular, going into seven editions between 1579 and 1586.¹

Catechisms were numerous throughout the period and most drew heavily upon Calvinistic theology. Once again a substantial number, almost half, were translations of foreign divines. Calvin's catechism was issued in at least twelve editions between 1563 and 1602 and was by far the most popular of translations. Next in number of editions came a hefty volume of lectures on the Heidelberg catechism by one of its authors, Zacharias Ursinus, the German reformer and Calvinist. Four or five other catechisms by foreigners appeared in one or two editions.²

¹R. Openshaw, Short questions and answeres(1580), sigs. A3, A4v, A5v, A6, A7.

²Calvin, STC, Nos. 4381-4388 (see also B.M. Gen. Cat. for editions not in STC); Ursinus, The Summe Of Christian Religion(1587), other editions followed in 1589, 1591, 1595, and 1601 (the Heidelberg catechism, translated by William Turner, appeared in 1572 and 1578,

Catechisms by English clergy and divines were also plentiful, but not so popular as some of the foreign translations and usually did not go beyond one or two editions. The most widely used was Alexander Nowell's. First written in Latin, Nowell's catechism appeared in print in English in 1570 translated by Thomas Norton. One reason for its popularity was the fact that it received official sanction for general use within the church about 1564 by the bishops "beinge assembled in convocation ... and by the whole cleargie of the lower convocation."¹ Including abridgements, Nowell's catechism was published in at least nine editions between 1570 and 1583.² Of the fourteen or fifteen other catechisms by native authors printed throughout the reign, the most popular were Robert Openshaw's (seven editions) and John Stockwood's (three editions). Rivalling those two in popularity was A Short Summe of the whole Ca-techisme (1581) by the Scottish presbyterian minister, John Craig. Craig spent six years in England with other Scottish exiles when the religious troubles of their native country made it unsafe for them to remain there. "I thought good to recommend the same to you again in speciall," wrote Craig from Edinburgh on July 20, 1581, in his dedication to "the Professors of Christs Gospell" at New Aberdeen, "as a token of my good wil towards you all, and as a memoriall of my doctrine, and earnest labours, bestowed among you, and vpon that countrie" His work was published at least five times between 1581 and 1597.³

Puritan ministers, particularly concerned about the individual piety of their parishioners, found the printed catechism an invaluable aid in their ministry. In stating his reasons for publishing A Briëf and short Ca-techisme (n.d.), Thomas Sparke wrote in the prefatory

and two editions translated by T. Sparke and J. Seddon in 1588. See STC Nos. 13028-13031; see also Pierre Du Ploiche, A treatise in Englishe and French (1578); Robert Le Macon called De La Fontaine, A Catechisme and playne instruction for children (1580); Theodore De Beza, A little Catechisme (1578, 1579); Jeremias Bastingius, An Exposition Or Commentarie Vpon the Catechisme (1589, 1592 (?), 1595; Johann Spangenberg, The sum of diuinitie (1560, 1561, 1567).

¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. 12. LXXI. fol. 34. A. Nowell to Sir W. Cecil, June 16, 1570.

² See STC Nos. 18708-18710; 18730-18733; also B.M. Gen. Cat. for editions not in STC.

³ For Openshaw and Craig, see STC Nos. 18817, 5963, and B.M. Gen. Cat., for Stockwood, B.M. Pressmarks 3504. aaa. 12 and C. 123. a. 12. For catechisms published in at least two editions, see W. Hopkinson, Richard Jones, John Gibson, STC Nos. 13775, 14729, 11832.

epistle to the Christian Reader, "My speciall purpose therein hathe bin, that I may haue certaine copies, for the particular houtholdes in my Parish, the better to enable them by acquaintance with them at home, to annswere to these points publickely." Edmund Chapman, another Puritan, issued his catechism with a prayer annexed "meete for all Christian families". Dr. Edmund Chapman was a deprived Norwich prebendary who became lecturer at Dedham in 1578 and was a prime mover of the Dedham Conference, a secret presbyterian-like gathering of puritan ministers in and around Dedham. His catechism contains a dedicatory epistle to "the auncients and whole Congregation of Dedham professing the pure doctrine of the Lord Iesus" in which an oblique reference is made to the illegal gathering at Dedham: "Considering your present state ... your freedome from troubles, your peaceable possession of those temporal blessings, which the Lord hath bestowed vpon you, your holy exercises, your good consent, the decay whereof in your handes, might become through the iustice of God prouocations of his high displeasure against you and yours." But if the form of prayer annexed to the catechism were followed by them, "then the Lorde will hear you, your thankes and supplications shal be plentifully poured downe vpon your selues and yours. And though your peace be interrupted, your troubles renewed and multiplied, though the measure of earthly blessings shoulde be deminished, though afflictions should fall vpon you in heapes, as they haue done vpon the most excellent and deere Sainctes of God: feare you nothing at all, the Lorde will neuer leave you, your comfortes shall abounde, your consciences shalbe quiet, your peace shalbe vnspeakable, and the issue of all your wayes can not be but blessed aboue your desire"¹ Other Puritan ministers who published catechisms were George Gifford, John Field² Josias Nichols, William Burton, Richard Greenham and William Perkins.³

Completing the range of topical didactic publications of the period were the numerous treatises on the Apostles' Creed, the Ten

¹E. Chapman, A Catechisme with a Prayer annexed (1583), sigs. Clv-C2v. For discussion of the Dedham Conference and Chapman's involvement, see Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp. 220-223.

²STC No. 11238 attributes A Most breefe manner of Instruction.... (B.M. Press. Mic. A. 605. (19).) to John Foxe ("I.F."). However, J.F. Mozley in John Foxe And His Book (London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940), p. 245, ascribes it to John Field and dates it c. 1585. Field is certainly the likelier candidate.

³See STC Nos. 11848, 18540, 4167, 12315, 19710.

Commandments, The Lord's Prayer, and statements and creeds of the early Church. Confessions of faith were also available in print. Worthy of special notice was The Confession Of Faith, vsed in the English Con=gregation at Geneva, printed by Richard Schilders at Middleburgh in 1586 and 1587 and smuggled into England, probably from Scotland. In addition to a confession of faith, prayers of confession and prayers for other occasions, it contained "The Order of Baptism," "The Administration of the Lord's Supper," and "The Forme of Marriage." Finally there were the usual treatises on ethics, moral philosophy, morality, and liberty including two editions in 1579 of Luther's famous work on the topic, A Treatise Touching the Li-bertie of a Chri-stian.¹

Given the great emphasis on the Holy Scripture, "the Word of God" during the period, it is not surprising that there was considerable demand for works of biblical exegesis. Every book of the Bible came in for consideration in one way or another: if not in a commentary or series of sermons on a single book, as was usually the case, then in a general treatment of the whole Bible. The latter consisted of a bird's eye view of the complete canon of Scripture, such as Robert Hill's The Contents of Scripture: Containing the sum of euery Book and chapter of the old and new Test-ment (1596). Supplementing those approaches to biblical exegesis was the ubiquitous book of sermons or lectures on a variety of Scripture passages.² As noticed earlier in the chapter, further aids to Bible study could be found in the form of concordances, dictionaries, histories and tables of the Bible.

As in the other categories of Elizabethan religious publications, the contribution of foreign authors was clearly predominant.

¹Luther's work was translated by James Bell and printed by Ralph Newberry and Henry Bynneman, STC No. 16996. See J. Bradford, Godly Meditations vppon the ten Commaundementes, the Articles ... and the Lords prayer(1567); J. Hooper, A briefe and cleare confession of the Christian fayth(1584); J. Gardiner, A briefe ... Confession ... Containing An hundreth Articles, af-ter the order of the Creede of the Apostles (1577); J. Baker, Lectures of I.B. vpon the xii, Articles of our Christian faith (1581); W. Perkins, An Exposition Of The Symbole Or Creed Of The Apostles(1595). See also G. Gascoigne, The Glasse of Gouvernement (1575) and The Steele Glas(1576) R. Rice, An inuective againste vices taken for vertue(1575, 1579, 1581,1589); W. Fulbecke, A Booke of christian Ethicks or Moral Philosophie (1587).

²For example, G. Estey, Certaine Godly and learned Ex-positions vpon diuers parts of Scripture (1603).

Certainly Calvin by far was the most prolific author of exegetical literature in print. His commentaries and books of sermons on the Old Testament covered Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Job, Psalms Daniel, and Jonah; on the New Testament, a harmony of the first three Gospels, St. John's Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I and II Timothy, Titus, I John and Jude. Altogether there were at least thirty-three Elizabethan publications of Scriptural exegesis bearing Calvin's name.¹ Much less prolific (in fact, Calvin published more than all of them put together) but nevertheless significant for their biblical exegesis were the other well known continental reformers: Luther, Beza, Bullinger, Gualter, Hemmingsen, and Marlorat. About fifteen more foreign divines were authors of one or two publications.²

Relatively few English authors published commentaries, lectures or sermons on whole books of the Bible. Most were partial treatments. There was, for example, Edward Dering's popular Lectures, or readings, vpon part of the Epistle written to the Hebreues (1576), a work published no less than seven times between 1576 and 1597.³ There were, however, complete commentaries of Genesis, Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, Nehemiah, Haggai, Obadiah, and Jonah from the Old Testament; and James, Jude and Revelation from the New. It would almost seem that there was a conscious effort on the part of English authors and/or publishers to publish mainly works on books of the Bible not treated already by foreign divines. In Gervase Babington's work on Genesis, one of the few duplicates, the author of the prefatory epistle felt called upon to justify its publication. He pointed out that what translations there were available to the public were 'right worthie and most woorth the reading, but yet for the more learned and zealous sort of the common people, not for them that were lately weaned from the brest, and must be tolled on by a little at once, and by a small price also." He

¹ See STC and B.M. Gen. Cat.

² See STC and B.M. Gen. Cat. under Bartholomew Traheron, Urbanus, Regius, Levinus Lemnius, John Brentius, Antonie La Roche de Chandieu, Victorinus Strigelius, Jean de Serres, Pietro Martire Vermigli, Pierre Merlin, John James Gryneus, Francois Du Jon (or Junius), the Elder, Lambert Daneau, and Antonie de Corro. For Scottish divines, see Robert Rollock and John Napier.

³ STC Nos. 6726-6731; B.M. Press. 3755. aa. 7.

went on to commend the author for "writing vpon the Scripture to profit the common people."¹

The most prominent Elizabethan English authors of biblical exegetical literature were Thomas Wilcox, George Gifford, James Pilkington, and Richard Turnbull. None of them published more than four or five works, and that number includes expositions on portions of the Bible.² Most printed expositions of Scripture by English authors were single-edition efforts of one work or two. That was true of about thirty Elizabethan authors. No Elizabethan exegete reached the stature of any of the leading continental reformers; never mind Calvin. The most obvious reason for such a situation is that the prominent continental divines were well-known and respected by Elizabethan bishops and London clergy and the market had become saturated with their exegetical publications. It is conceivable, therefore -- though there is no direct evidence -- that publishers and book-sellers encouraged English authors to exercise their talents on other kinds of literature. According to the report of one Elizabethan who studied the literature, biblical exegesis was one of the better aspects of the theological literature of the time:

In this part touching the exposition of the Scriptures, I can report noe defincience; but by way of remembrance this I will adde, In perusing Bookes of Diuinitie, I finde many Bookes of controversies, and many of common places and treatises, a masse of positie Diuinitie, as it is made an Arte: a number of Sermons and Lectures, and many prolix commentaries vpon the Scriptures with harmonies and concordances: but that form of writing in Diuinitie, which in my Iudgement is of all others most rich and precious; is positie Diuinitie collected vpon particular Texts of Scripture in briefe obseruations, not dilated into common places: not chaseing after controversies, not reduced into Methode of Art, a thing abounding in Sermons, which will vanish, but defectiue in Bookes which will remaine, and a thing wherein this age excelleth. For I am perswaded, and I may speake it, with an Absit invidia verbo, and in no waies in derogation of Antiquitie but as in a good emulation between the vine and the oliue, That if the choise, and best of those observations vpon Texts of Scriptures which haue beene made dispersedly in Sermons within this your Maiesties Islands of Brittanie by the space of these fortie yeares and more (leauing out the largeness of exhortations and applications thereupon) had beene set downe in a continuance, it had beene the

¹G. Babington, *Certaine Plaine, briefe, and comfortable Notes vpon euerie Chapter of Genesis* (1592), sig. A3v.

²Wilcox *STC* Nos. 25622, 25625-28; Gifford, *STC* Nos. 11443, 11853-55, 11864, 11866, 11871; Pilkington, *STC* Nos. 19926-29; Turnbull, *STC* No. 24340, B.M. Press. 133. b.39 (2), and 3932. aaa. 4.

best worke in Diuinitie, which had beene written since the Apostles times. ¹

Social Criticism and Commentary

It only remains to consider works of social criticism and commentary. Events and occasions of importance in the life of the nobility often inspired the publication of a small treatise or the preaching and publishing of a sermon. The Queen, of course, received the most attention. From John Prime's sermons comparing her reign to the glories of the Old Testament kings, David and Solomon, to Stubbes' diatribe against her proposed marriage to the duke of Alençon in 1579, to Rainolds' sermon of thanksgiving for her deliverance from the Babington conspiracy and to numerous sermons mourning her death, Elizabeth remained in the limelight throughout her reign and always a popular topic for publication.² For most of the nobility, the only time, if ever, they were the subject of a publication was when the sermon preached at their funeral was published. Such was the case with the Earls of Essex and Bedford, and Lord Grey of Wilton.³

Sermons preached before the Queen and prominent members of the nobility were also in demand for publication. Sometimes these became vehicles of Puritan propaganda as, for example, in the cases of Edward Dering's sermon before the Queen,⁴ Anthony Anderson's before Sir William Fitzwilliam, and Christopher Shutte's before the young Countess of Cumberland. All of these voiced the usual Puritan

¹ Francis Bacon, Of the proficience and advancement of Learning, diuine and humane (1605), Bk. II. pp. 115-116. See also Arber, Transcript, III. 12.

² See J. Prime, A Sermon Brief-ly Comparing The E-state of King Salomon And ... Queene Elizabeth ... (1585) and The Conso-lations Of Dauid.... (1588); J. Stubbes, The Discoverie Of A Gaping Gulf (supra., p. J. Rainolds, A Sermon ... to giue thanks to God.... (1586); A. Nixon, Elizaes Memoriall ... (1603); J. Hayward, GodsVniversal right proclaimed (1603); J. Hall, The Kings Pro-phecie ... Expressed in a Poeme, to the Honor of Eng-lands too [sic] great Solemnities (1603).

³ See R. Davies, A funerall sermon preached at the buriall of Walter Earle of Essex (1577); T. Sparke, A Sermon Preached AtCheanies At The Buriall of ... the Earle of Bedford (1585) and A Sermon Preached At Whaddon at the buriall of ... Arthur Lorde Grey (1593). For a popular funeral sermon -- published in five editions between 1602 and 1617 -- see W. Harrison, Deaths Ad-vantage Little Re-garded ... Preached ... at the buriall of Mistris Katherin Brettergh (1602).

⁴ Supra., p. 70

complaints of the unlearned clergy, the impure worship and the half-hearted reformation of the Church of England.¹

The traditional Christian holy days and seasons of the year often inspired the publication of a pamphlet or two. The Puritans, never backward in using the pulpit and press to advance their opinions, especially took advantage of politically significant occasions. The summoning of Parliament in 1584, for example, prompted John Rainolds or Reynolds, fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to publish A Sermon vpon part of the Prophetie of O-badiah: Touching the destruction, as of Idumae-ans, so of Papists; and meanes where-by it must be wrought (1584). The chief point of the sermon was that while the lives of Catholics ought to be spared, Catholicism ought to be utterly destroyed. "Reformations of disorders cannot be made al at once: chiefly, when the Church hath of long time beene ouer-grown with them, as then it had vnder idolatry, and hath with vs vnder Popery [King Henry and King Edward] began to purge England from Images, and Masses, and Massing-altars, and superstitions. I doubt not but our gratiouse Queene and soueraigne Lady desireth in the steppes of her father and brother, to adde this vnto them, that workemen be maintained for repairing of the Church." He then adds, with double-entendre, "But it lieth not in her Highnes alone to bring it to effect: the Lordes and the Commons haue a stroke in it." While Rainolds' statement could be taken as a reminder of Parliament's responsibility to assist the Queen in a more vigorous reformation, it more than likely was meant to prod Parliament into pressuring the Queen to eradicate completely the vestiges of Roman Catholicism in the Church of England.² There is no doubt, however, that much Puritan prayer and fasting -- and lobbying -- went into the Parliament of 1584-85 and that on December 14th Sir Thomas Lucy, Member for Lincolnshire, and Mr. Geoffrey Gates, an Essex gentleman, presented Puritan petitions to the House from their respective counties urging Parliament to call upon the Queen for reformation. Considering John Rainolds' involvement in the Puritan movement at that time, it is tempting to believe that the publication of his sermon was part

¹ A. Anderson, A Godlie Sermon Preached on Newe yeeres(1576); C. Shutte, A very godlie and necessarie sermon(1578). See also W. James, A Sermon Preached before the Queenes Maiestie(1578) and M. Hutton, A Sermon Preached at Yorke, before ... Henrie Earle of of Huntington(1579).

² Sigs. A3, B6v.

of a concerted effort to influence Parliament. Significantly enough, no name of publisher, printer or bookseller appears on the title-page or elsewhere.¹

Support and criticism of Government policy from a religious viewpoint frequently were the subjects of publications. The subject of high treason came in for special attention. Episodes like the Rising in the North of 1569; the intrigue surrounding Mary Queen of Scots and Thomas, Duke of Norfolk; the arrival and activity of Jesuits and Seminary priests; the Throgmorton Plot of 1583; the Parry Plot of 1584-5; the Babington Plot and the subsequent execution of Mary in 1587; the Lopez Plot of the early 1590's and the revolt of Essex inspired the publication of pamphlets either criticizing or justifying the government's handling of traitors. So sensitive was the government to the charge of excessive use of torture by Catholic pamphleteers that William Cecil himself replied with The execution of Justice (1583), a clear enunciation of royal policy. The gist of the pamphlet was that Catholic missionaries deserved persecution because they were spreading treason, since acceptance of papal supremacy and the issue of the bull of excommunication made every Catholic who embraced the missionary cause a potential traitor.² Similar pamphlets came off the press dealing with English foreign policy especially with regard to the Netherlands, France and Spain. Spain more than any other nation, and understandably so in the light of the Armada of 1588 and fears of a second in the late 'nineties, was the subject of numerous pamphlets. Many were directed towards encouraging the populace and reminding them of their national responsibility should an invasion occur while others, after the Armada

¹See Neale, Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, Vol. II, pp. 60-61. For Rainolds' Puritanism, see Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp. 129, 320, 413; and for another sermon in the same year, on the election of "godly" magistrates, see J. Stockwood, A verie god=lie and profitable Sermon of the ... choice of a godly Magistrate. (1584)

²See T. Norton, To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceived Subiectes of the Northe con-treie (1569); R. G., Salutem in Christo (1571); A. Munday, A breefe and true reporte, of the Execution of certaine Traytours (1582); W. Cecil (?) A Declaration of the fauourable dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners (1583); W. Cecil, The Execution of Iustice in England (1583); W. Barlow, A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse With a short discourse of the late Earle of Essex (1601). See R.B., STC No. 1062 (no title), for eye-witness account of examination and execution of traitors. For a detailed account of government propaganda, see C. Read, "William Cecil and Elizabethan Public Relations", Elizabethan Government and Society (ed. S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield, C. H. Williams), pp. 29-54.

had been defeated, were expressions of praise and thanksgiving to God.¹

The experience of natural disasters also called forth works of social commentary and criticism. When St. Paul's cathedral was struck by lightning on June 4, 1561, and caught fire, one Catholic author saw it clearly as an act of God in judgement upon Protestants, and as a warning that unless they repented and returned to the fold of the Roman Catholic Church all would "lykewyse peryshe".² Another fire, on Saturday, September 13, 1595, at Woburne, county of Bedford, inspired Thomas Wilcox to write about other judgements "past already, in divers quarters of our kingdom, and iustly feared, that hereafter may fall out vpon vs for our sinnes."³ An earthquake that occurred between five and six o'clock on April 6, 1580, was an act of God's judgment upon England for the many vices rampant in the land, wrote Arthur Golding. He points to the wholesale abuse of the Sabbath and holy days as one of the primary causes of God's wrath. Instead of godly meditation, people were spending their time "full heathenishly, in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stageplayes, to the utter dishonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances

¹See, for example, A Declaration Of The Causes Moouing The Queene... to giue aide to the ... lowe Countries (n.d.); The Apologie Or Defence, Of The Most Noble Prince William....(1581?) or, as another edition is entitled, A Treatise against the Proclamation published by the King of Spayne, by which he proscribed the late of Orange (n.d.); A Meruaylous discourse vpon ... Katherine de Medicis, Queene-mother (1575); A Summe of the Guisian Ambassage to the Bishop of Rome (1579); Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, A Discouery ... of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne(1568); E. Harris, A Sermon Preached At Brocket Hall, Before ... Gentlemen there assembled for the trayning of Souldiers (1588); O. Pigge, Meditations Concerning ... the safetie of England(1589); E. Daunce, A Brieffe Discourse ... Shewing how false & dangerous their reports are, which affirme, the Spaniards intended invasion to be for the reestablishment of the Romish religion; for her Maiesties succors giuen to the Nether-landers, and for Sir Frances Drakes enterprise three yeares past into the West. (1590); A. Marten, A Exhorta-tion, To ... Subiects, to defend their Country.... (1588); S. Harward, The Solace for the Souldier and Saylour(1592); J. Norden, A Christian Familiar Comfort And Incouragement vnto all English Subiects, not to dis-maie at the Spanish threats(1596); T. Nun, A Comfort Against the Spaniard (1596); J. Norden, The Mirror Of Honor; Wherein euerie professor of armes, from the Generall ... to the priuate officer and inferiour souldier, may see the necessitie of the ... service of God (1597).

²J. Pilkington, The burnynge of Paules church in Lon=don.... (1563), sigs. A2-A6.

³T. Wilcox, Narration of the fearfull Fire that fell at Woobourne (1595), sig. A2. Title is handwritten on sig. A1 as title-page is lacking.

which ought to be better employed." It was only the mercy of God, concluded Golding, that not more than two persons were killed and the destruction of buildings greater.¹ The plague, of course, occurring periodically throughout the reign, was the most common and most devastating of natural disasters and, not surprisingly, formed the subject of numerous publications.²

Natural disasters to many Elizabethan preachers and writers were the direct result of social immorality. One author, in laying the blame for the desperate conditions of the poor at the doors of the rich, accuses them of having so deep a "foundation laide in unmercifulnesse, that an earthquake cannot moove you."³ The fact of the wide disparity between rich and poor was not an uncommon theme at the time. It appears most often in the numerous attacks upon the practice of usury. Usury was the social sin of the period, receiving more attention than any other in Elizabethan religious literature. It was a long-standing problem faced by the governments of the day. Tolerated in 1545, prohibited in 1552, usury again was tolerated in 1571 but within limits of no more than ten percent. Monographs on the subject appeared throughout the reign, from Dr. Thomas Wilson's A discourse vppon vsurye (1572) to Gabriel Powel's Theologicall And Scholas-ticall Positi-ons Concer-ning Vsurie (1602). All excoriated those engaged in the practice of usury in no uncertain terms, and more than one blamed it for the plight of the poor.⁴

Other publications treated the problem of poverty in general. One of the earliest works to grapple with the problem was The Regiment of the Pouertie by Andreas Gerardus or Hyperius (the name he took from his birthplace), the German Protestant reformer. Its publication in

¹ A. Golding, A discourse vpon the Earthquake that happened throughe this Realme of Englande (1589).

² See J. F[ox?], A brief exhor=tation ... in this heavy tyme of Gods visitation (n.d.); W. Cupper, Certaine Sermons Concerning Gods Late visitation.... (1592); H. Clapham, An Epistle ... vpon the present Pestilence (1603); C. Hooke, A Sermon Preached In ... the wofull time of God his generall visitation (1603); see also supra., pp. 149 ff for discussion of the plague.

³ G. Phillips, The Life and Death of the Rich Man and Lazarus (1600), sig. C4v.

⁴ See also P. Caesar, A General discourse against the damnable sect of usurers.... (1578); T. Lodge, An alarum against vsurers (1584); H. Smith, The examination of vsury (1591); Anonymous, The Death Of Vsury (1594); and M. Mosse, The Arraignment And Conuiction Of Vsurie (1595).

1572 was inspired by an act of parliament of the previous year "for the punishment of vacabondes [sic], and for the releefe of the poore and impotent." The translator, the Reverend Henry Tripp, described the act as being "charitably, wisely, and prouidently decreed" and that it "serueth best for the state of this realm." His translation of The Regiment of the Pouertie was meant to put flesh on the skeleton provided by the act of Parliament. The practicability of the work can be seen quickly and well in its outline:

1. That it belongeth iointly both to the Ecclesiasticall and politique gouernors, to take care for the releefe of the pore.
2. How many things there be, in these wretched times, which ought to moue vs to helpe the poore.
3. That euery parishe and citie must take aduise, howe they may best prouide for theyr pouertie, as place and time requireth.
4. That certayne fitte men must be chosen by voyces, to take charge of ye whole busines.
5. What belongeth to those mens office.
6. Whiche way the true pouertie may be discerned from the counterfaites, and howe they muste be particularly searched and knowne.
7. Howe the money and necessarie charges may be raysed, without any great griefe to the Citizens.
8. Howe the almes must be distributed to the needy particularly.
9. It must be prouided, that they which be the distributors be knowne to be faithful and trusty men, whose estimation may not be empayred.
10. It must be prouided, that the releefe appointed for the poore, when it is once wel established, be alwayes after continued. ¹

At least two other pamphlets, both sermons, appeared in 1572 and took up the case for the poor. Two main points were made, and continued to be argued throughout the period. One was that the poor should be relieved through the practice of almsgiving; the other that it was an obligation of the rich to care for the poor. "It is your dutie, to remember the poore and their continuall want," preached Henry Smith in The poore mans teares (1592). "You rich men," he continued, "that eat till you blowe, and feede till your eie swell with fatnesse, that tast first your course meats and then fall to finer fare: that haue your seuerall drinckes for your stomacke, and your sortes of wine for your appetite impart some of your superfluitie vnto the poore"² Though most of these writings were dedicated to wealthy patrons, the authors showed little restraint

¹Sig. A7v.

²Sig. C2. See H. Bedel, A Sermon exhorting to pitie the poore (1572); T. Drant, A fruitfull and necessary Sermon(1572).

when it came to stating the responsibility of the rich to the poor. Dedicated to Sir Francis Knollys, Thomas Drant published a sermon which contained a poem of twenty-four lines. The flavour of it can be tasted in the following few lines:

Ye riche men repent you
 and geue of your goodes,
 For if death preuent you,
 ye fall into floudds,
 Of cares, and of carkyng,
 of panges, and of payne,
 And of conscience barkyng,
 for ill gotten gayne.
 The worme (loe) will byte you,
 as Esay doth tell,
 Gods vengeannce will smite you,
 for euer in hell. 1

Henry Arthington warned the rich that if they "refuse to beare and helpe the needie when they crie for succour, they shall crie themselves and not bee heard when they would fainest speed." Furthermore, Arthington states that while all too often the rich are tight-fisted and reluctant to share their abundance, "they may bee proued to have bin makers of poore." He does not elaborate the point. Nevertheless, his approach to the rich is two-pronged: give to the poor out of a sense of Christian charity or give out of a sense of guilt.²

Arthington's reference to less-than-honest acquisition of riches was more explicitly stated and documented in other works of the period. There was Edward Hake's Newes out of Pawles Churchyarde (1567) written to reprove the "excessiue and vnlawfull seeking after riches, and the euill spending of the same." Thomas Rogers trumpeted the same theme in the prefatory remarks to his translations of Nicolas Hemingius' A Godlie Treatise concerning the Lawful Use of Ritches (1578) and Philippus Caesar's A General Discourse against the Damnable Sect of Usurers (1578). Richard Turnbull castigates both landlords who oppress their tenants and employers who cheat their uneducated workers by holding back or changing their wages.³ The lawful bounds of buying and selling, wrote the Reverend John Deacon, ought to be according "to the infallible line of the lawes of

¹ Drant, op. cit., sig. A3.

² H. Arthington, Prouision For the poore (1597), sig. A3. See also S. Gardiner, The Cognizance Of A True Christian (1597); R. Allen, The Oderifferous Garden of Charitie (1603).

³ R. Turnbull, A exposition vpon the canonicall epistle of St. James (1591), sig. Mm5v.

the Lord." He went on to upbraid dishonest merchants. The title-page of his pamphlet bore two epigraphs which illustrated his general theme: "It is naught, it is naught saith the buyer: but when he is gon apart he boasteth." (Prou. 20:14) "Let no man oppresse or defraud his bro-ther in bargaining or in anie matter: for the Lord is the auenger of all such things." (1 Thes. 4:6)¹ All these authors, and several others, were quick to identify and to condemn the roots of the problem: greed and selfishness. "Covetousness," declared Henry Smith, "makes an usurer and extorner [sic] and deceiver."² To Richard Turnbull, it was "the roote and mother of all wickedness."³ Taken together, all of these represent a formidable arraignment and condemnation of the expansivist spirit of the age. The publisher of Smith's sermon on "contentation", "which intreateth of couetousnes," thought it most appropriate as it dealt with "a doctrine so necessarie for these dayes."⁴

Other aspects of social morality came in for criticism. Stephen Gosson railed against "Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters, and such like Caterpillars of a Commonwealth" in The Schoole of Abuse (1579). Gosson wrote in condemnation of the theatre. So too did John Rainolds. But John Northbrooke went further and blasted "Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine plaies or Enterludes with other idle pastimes."⁵ In The Anatomie of Abuses (1583), Philip Stubbes is even more comprehensive. Beginning with pride, swearing and covetousness, he goes on to denounce the attire and habits of the common people condemning, for example, "great excesse in hose", the wearing of "costly netherstockes," and great excess in shoes. Also coming in for a lambasting were cockfighting, hawking and hunting, playing football, and reading wicked books. Stubbes' work was one of the more popular in this genre, going into five editions by 1595.⁶ Similar works

¹ J. Deacon, A Treatise, Intituled; Nobody is my name, which beareth Eueri-bodies blame (1580?).

² Smith, A Sermon of the benefite of Contentation (1590), sig. A3.

³ Turnbull, op. cit., sig. Mm5v.

⁴ Smith, A Sermon of ... Contentation (1590), sig. A3. See also T. Twinne, A Disco-ulrie of ten English lepers (1592); W. Perkins, A case of conscience (1592) and How to live and that well (1601); J. Carpenter, A preparatiue to contentation (1597); R. Greenham, Two Learned And Godly Sermons (1598).

⁵ Northbrooke, Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra.... (1579). See S. Gosson, Playes Confuted in fiue Actions (1582); J. Rainolds, Th' overthrow Of Stage-Playes (1599).

⁶ This includes The Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses (1583).

could be found that listed and abhorred the immorality of the time, sexual and otherwise.¹ And some had a late twentieth century ring to them decrying the health hazards -- physically and spiritually -- of smoking, drinking, swearing, and of too much idle time spent in playing dice and cards.²

Works purporting to expose the fraudulent and deceitful practices of astrologers and witches were also in vogue throughout the period, from William Fulke's Antipro-agnosticon in 1560 to John Chamber's A Treatise Against Iudicial Astrologie in 1601;³ and Lambert Daneau's A Dialogue of Witches (1575) to King James' Daemonology (1597).⁴ Similar works appeared on the practice of exorcising evil spirits. As early in the reign as 1565, a brief account of a successful exorcism of an evil spirit from a young girl in Chester was published. Again, Agnes Brigges and Rachel Pynder, two London maidens, scattered abroad their testimony in print of being delivered from demons in August, 1574, at Paul's Cross. Such action, it would appear, was not uncommon as what looks like an official censure containing examinations and confessions of Brigges and Pynder, probably ordered by the Bishop of London, was published in the same year.⁵

But it was not until the last few years of the reign that an exorcism controversy got going in earnest. John Darrell, a Nottinghamshire minister, had acquired a reputation for having the gift of casting out devils. Soon accounts of his exorcisms began circulating

¹ A. I., A godly Ballad declaring ... the plagues that haue insued whordome (1566); A. Hill, The Crie Of Eng-land (1595); T. Nashe, Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell (1592) and Christs Teares Ouer Ierusalem (1593); R. Fenton, A Sermon of Simonie and Sacriledge (1604).

² See I. H., Work for Chimny-sweepers: Or A warning for Tabacconists (1602); G. Gascoigne, A Delicate Diet, for daintie mouthde Droon-kardes (1576); E. Bicknoll, A Swoord agaynst Swearying (1579); and S. Bird, A friendlie communication ... howe we are to vse the pleasures of this life (1580).

³ Another work attacking astrology, Foure Great Lyers.... (1585?), ascribed on the title-page (and by STC) to "W.P.", was possibly written by William Painter, the "loving friend" of William Fulke who contributed a poem and prefatory epistle in Antipro-agnosticon, sigs. A2, A2v.

⁴ See also Anonymous, A Detection of damnable driftes, practized by three Witches.... (1579); H. Holland, A Trea-tise Against Witchcraft (1590); G. Gifford, A Dialogue concerning Witches (1590).

⁵ Anonymous, The disclosing of a late Counter=feyted possessi-on ... in two maydens within...London (1574), sig. A2. Also J. Fisher, The copu of a letter describing the wonderfull woorke of God (1565).

in print and Darrell found himself in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities and eventually in prison with a fellow minister, George More. This began a literary skirmish between Darrell and Samuel Harsnet, a Cambridge don and later Archbishop of York. Harsnet wrote an exposé of Darrell accusing him of deceit and legerdemaine. Darrell replied in an effort to vindicate himself. Before it was over, at least four others had entered the fray. What seems to have been most upsetting to the authorities in the whole affair was Darrell's use of the Puritan exercise of prayer and fasting as the instrument effecting the exorcism. Darrell's method was to call for public prayer and fasting. He and More ended up with a prison sentence of at least two years.¹

By the end of the Elizabethan period, English Protestantism had enjoyed forty-five years of relative freedom in printing and publishing its own distinctive literature. While a large proportion of works of edification was written by foreign divines, the deciding factor in publication was whether the theological bias fitted Church of England theology. Anabaptist and Family of Love literature, for example, had to be printed secretly and severe penalties meted out to those caught distributing or in possession of it.² Other translations somewhat dubious in theological content often were prefaced with an explanatory note forewarning the reader to take the good and leave the bad.³ One could argue that such a heavy influx of foreign writing stifled and hindered a more indigenous English Protestant literature. On the other hand, in a nation so unsettled religiously as England was at the outset of Elizabeth's reign, to have ready-made, acceptable theology for publication was an undoubted boon in helping to stabilize religion. When King James acceded to the throne in

¹The literature in the Harsnet-Darrell controversy is as follows: A Discovery Of The Fradulent practices of Iohn Darrel....(1599); supporting Harsnet's viewpoint in controversy were J. Deacon and J. Walker, A Summarie Answer To ... Master Darel(1601) and Dialogicall Discourses of Spirits and Diuels....(1601). Darrell, A detection of ... Samuel Harsh-net(1600), A True Narration....(1600) and An Apologie, or defence of the possession of William Sommers....(1600?); supporting Darrell's viewpoint were G. More, A true Discourse(1600) and Anonymous (under W. Sommers and J. Darrell in STC Nos. 6281 and 22917), A Briefe Narration(1598). Harsnet also wrote against the Jesuits in England for claiming to exorcise demons in A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures....(1603).

²See infra., pp. 253-4.

³See infra., pp. 279ff.

1603, the question was not the extent of compromise with Roman Catholicism that would be made, but to what extent radical Protestants would be tolerated or even accepted.¹ That such a change in the religious climate had occurred since 1558 can be attributed, to a significant extent, to the accumulation and distribution of Protestant ideology via the printing press for the previous forty-five years.²

¹See Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp. 448-451; Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, pp. 317-319.

²For further discussion, see Chapter II.