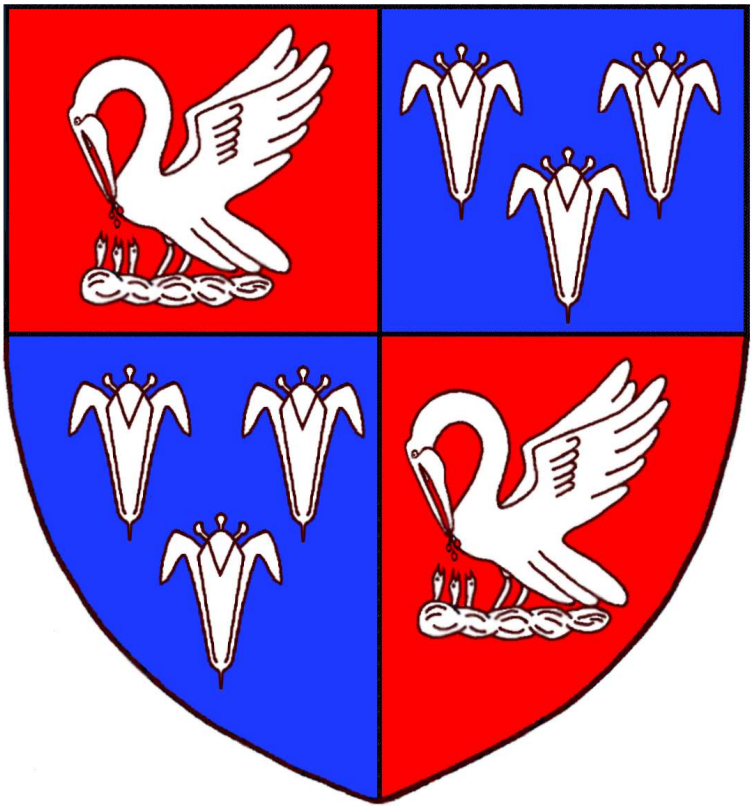
EVANGELICAL ECCLESIOLOGY AND LITURGICAL REFORM IN THE EDWARDIAN REFORMATION, C. 1545-1555



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PREFACE

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface or specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

This thesis is 79,661 words in length.
It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

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Title of dissertation: EVANGELICAL ECCLESIOLOGY AND LITURGICAL REFORM IN THE EDWARDIAN REFORMATION, C.1545-1555

Summary:

This thesis offers an assessment of the Edwardian Reformation and its significance for the wider development of English Protestantism by examining the liturgical reforms of the period. The central question that this thesis grapples with is, how did Edwardian reformers apply their theological concept of the 'church' as an invisible spiritual body of believers to the task of reforming the visible temporal institution of Tudor England? The overarching argument of this study is that, in the eyes of the reformers, the formal liturgy of the Church of England, as defined by the Prayer Book, formed a nexus between the temporal and spiritual realms so that the invisible Church was given visible expression in public worship. This meant that Tudor men and women could actively participate in the spiritual communion of saints through the tangible experience of church services, especially through the sacraments and by observing the Sabbath.

The examination of the relationship of mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology and liturgical reform presented in this thesis allows us to understand the Edwardian Church on its own terms. It challenges some long-held assumptions about the figures and events of the period, and their combined effect on later developments in English Protestantism, which continue to colour historiography. By taking a fresh approach to seemingly well-known texts, such as the Book of Common Prayer, this thesis argues that the relationship of ecclesiology and liturgical reform was a central feature of the Edwardian Reformation, an aspect of the period that has not been widely acknowledged in recent scholarship. A different ecclesiological theme is investigated through the lens of liturgical reform in each chapter to show how significant the doctrine of the church was to mid-Tudor reformers' goals in terms of ecclesiastical structure and practical ministry.

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Abbreviations

APC (with dates)	*Acts of the Privy Council of England: New Series (1542-1628)*, ed. J. R. Dasent 32 vols. (London, 1890-1907).
BCP49	*Book of Common Prayer* (1549)
BCP52	*Book of Common Prayer* (1552)
BL	British Library
Bray, *Documents*	*Documents of the English Reformation*, ed. Gerald Bray (Minneapolis, 1994).
Bucer, *Censura*	*Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer*, ed. and trans. E. C. Whitaker, (Great Wakering, Mayhew-McCrimmon for the Alcuin Club: England, 1974).
Bucer, *De Regno Christi*	*Melanchthon and Bucer*, ed. Wilhelm Pauck (The Library of Christian Classics, xix, London, 1969).
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker Library
Cranmer, *Defence*	Thomas Cranmer, *A Defence of the True and Catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of our Sauiour Christ* (1550).
Cranmer, *Answer*	Thomas Cranmer, *An Answer of the Most Reuerend Father in God Thomas Archebyshop of Canterburye, Primate of all Englande and Metropolitane vnto a Crafty and Sophisticall Cauillation Deuised by Stephen Gardiner ...* (1551).
Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*	*The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1967).
Collinson, *Godly People*	*Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983).
CP	The Cecil Papers, Hatfield House
Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*	Brian Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford, 2011).

Davies, *A religion of the Word*	Catharine Davies, *A religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward V* (Manchester, 2002).
Davies, 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock'	Catharine Davies, ''Poor Persecuted Little Flock' or 'Commonwealth of Christians'; Edwardian Protestant Concepts of the Church', in Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (eds.), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1987), 78-102.
Dawson, *John Knox*	Jane Dawson, *John Knox* (New Haven-London, 2015).
Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*	Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven-London, 2nd edn 2005).
Early Writings	Hooper, *Early Writings of John Hooper*, ed. S. Carr (1843).
Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*	Carie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531-1558* (Zurich, 2006).
Forty-Two Articles	See Bray, *Documents*
Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1570)	*Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: http//www.johnfoxe.org
Gorham, *Gleanings*	*Gleanings of a few scattered ears, during the period of the Reformation in England and of the times immediately succeeding, A.D. 1533 to A.D. 1588: comprehending I. Engravings of eleven seals of Cranmer, Parkhurt, and Jewel. II. Letters, &c. (for a great part hitherto unpublished) of Marytr, Bishop Parkhurst, Sandys, &c.*, ed. George Cornelius Gorham (London, 1857).
Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*	Karl Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525-1590* (Cambridge, 2014).
Later Writing	Hooper, *Later Writings of John Hooper*, ed. C. Nevison (1844).
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library

MacCulloch, *Cranmer*	*Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven-London, 1996).
MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*	*Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London 1999)
Miscellaneous Writings	Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. J. E. Cox (Cambridge, 1846).
Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*	Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of Repentance: Renewing the Power to Love* (Oxford, 2000).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online database. References will include date article was accessed.
Original Letters	*Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, 1537-1558*, ed. H. Robinson 2 vols. (1846-7).
Reformatio	Gerald Bray (ed.), *Tudor Church Reform: the Henrician Canons of 1535 and the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (Woodbridge, 2000).
Statues of the Realm	*The statutes of the realm, printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third, in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain. From original records and authentic manuscripts*, 11 vols. (London, 1810).
Sermons	Latimer, *Sermons by Hugh Latimer, sometimes Bishop of Worcester, Martyr 1555*, ed. G.E. Corrie (1844).
Works	Cranmer, *The Works of Thomas Cranmer: Writings and Disputations Relative to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, ed. J. E. Cox (Cambridge, 1844).
Works of Ridley	Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, ed. H. Christmas, (London, 1841).
Wriothesley, *Chronicle*	Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors from 1458 to 1559*, ed. William Douglad Hamilton, 2 vols. (Camden Society, new series xx, Westminster, 1875-77).

VAI	*Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the period of the Reformation*, ed. W. H. Frere 3 vols. (Alcuin Club collections, 14-16: London, 1910).
UL	University Library, Cambridge

Note on the Text

Original spelling and punctuation has been retained. All contemporary published works were printed in London unless otherwise stated. Lengthy titles have been abbreviated in the footnotes where convenient, with full citations in the bibliography. The texts of the Prayer Books are taken from *The First and Second Prayer-Books of King Edward the Sixth*, ed. Ernest Rhys (London-Toronto, 1910, reprint 1927). All biblical quotations/allusions are from the New International Version (Grand Rapids, Mich. 1984) unless otherwise stated. The year has been taken as beginning on 1 January in all dates.

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Of course, this thesis would not have been possible without the support, guidance, and love of many. There is only room here to mention the most significant contributors. Many others will remain unnamed, such as the endless stream of Australian visitors.

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I have also had the privilege and benefit of personally interacting with many other scholars in the field, all of whom have stretched my mind in helpful ways. I particularly acknowledge and thank the following for their time and interest in my research: Gerald Bray, George Bernard, Paul Cavill, Brian Cummings, Jane Dawson, Ben Lowe, David Manning, Richard Rex, and Greg Walker. Thanks also goes to my fellow 'Walshamites', especially Alice Evans, Jens Aklundh, Greg Salazar, and Fred Smith. Outside the circle of Alex's students, Andy Niggeman, Lee Gatiss, Derek Scales, Allan Blanch, and Joe Mock have all helped shape my thinking; I thank those who read and commented on various chapter drafts over the last couple of years. Special thanks must also go to Mark Earngey for sharpening my theological understanding, helping to track down elusive footnotes, pointing me to various manuscript sources, hitting the archives together, and especially for his fellowship.

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[1] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 490.

Ecclesiastical Historical Society kindly gave me a postgraduate grant to attend the 2016 Summer Conference in Edinburgh, where I presented some initial findings on John Bale that have been incorporated into my thesis. In addition, I was awarded the Sir John Neale Prize in Early Modern British History by the Institute for Historical Research in 2017 for an essay on the doctrine of the Sabbath, which was adapted from a chapter in this thesis. My research has also been assisted by the staff of the Rare Books Room, Cambridge University Library (especially Claire Welford-Elkin). I also thank the staff of the Divinity Faculty Library for their hospitality of this interloper. I must also mention Christopher de Hamel, Steven Archer and Beth Dumas of the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, for their continually generous welcome of me and my multitude of guests over the past five years.

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Laus Deo

Introduction

This thesis offers a fresh assessment of the Edwardian Reformation and its significance for the wider development of English Protestantism through an examination of the ways mid-Tudor evangelicals grappled with Protestantism's ecclesiological paradox. The central question we will ask is, how did Edwardian reformers apply their theological concept of the 'church' as an invisible spiritual body of believers to the task of reforming the visible temporal institution of Tudor England? At the heart of this process was the reform of public worship through the development of an evangelical liturgy, which culminated in the second edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1552. The overarching argument of this thesis is that, in the eyes of the reformers, the formal liturgy of the Church of England, as defined by the Prayer Book, formed a nexus between the temporal and spiritual realms so that the invisible Church was given visible expression in public worship. This meant that Tudor men and women could actively participate in the spiritual communion of saints through the tangible experience of church services, especially through the sacraments and by observing the Sabbath. A close study of the relationship of mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology and liturgical reform will help us to understand the Edwardian Church on its own terms, thereby challenging some long-held assumptions about the figures and events of the period, and their combined effect on later developments in English Protestantism.

An Ecclesiological Paradox

When Edward VI succeeded his father, Henry VIII, thirty years after Martin Luther posted the Ninety-Five Theses, English reformers were in the midst of a struggle to project their ecclesiological vision onto the established Church. They were confronted by a conundrum that challenged their practical abilities to apply abstract theology in a specific local context that was subject to human contingences. In their efforts to reshape the existing ecclesiastical institution, a key issue was trying to give visible form to an invisible object, what mid-Tudor

evangelicals called the True Church. This was not a simple process, for the doctrine of the church itself was not straightforward.

Building on William Tyndale's definition of the Church as an eternal fellowship of repentant sinners stretching from Ancient Israel to the contemporary age, mid-Tudor evangelicals conceived the Church as a spiritual and invisible entity entered into by faith alone.[1] Toward the end of Henry's reign, and writing from his continental exile, John Bale provided an archetypal definition of ecclesiology in his commentary on the book of Revelation, *The Image of Bothe Churches* (c.1545).[2] For Bale, two distinct churches were in perpetual existence as spiritual entities: the True Church, which was comprised of the elect, and the False Church, which consisted of the unregenerate.[3] This distinction worked perfectly well in the minds of evangelical theologians and for those who were assured of their own salvation. However, there was an inherent difficulty in trying to differentiate members of the True Church from those of the False since the temporal Church contained both true and false believers. As Archbishop Thomas Cranmer admitted during a dispute with Richard Smith, the former Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford,

> this holy church is so unknown to the world, that no man can discern it, but God alone, who only searcheth the hearts of all men, and knoweth his true children from other that be but bastards.[4]

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[1] William Tyndale, *An Answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge* (1531), sigs A6-B2. See also Miles Coverdale, *Fruitful Lessons*, in G. Pearson (ed.), *Writings* (Cambridge, 1844), 409-11; Paul Avis, *The Church in the Theology of the Reformers* (London, 1981), 13-80; Ralph Werrell, *The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology* (Cambridge, 2013), 117-19.

[2] John Bale, *The Image of Bothe Churches* (Wesel? c.1545). Bale's ecclesiology is dealt with at length in chapter two. See also Davies, 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock', 78-102.

[3] Ibid. sigs A2-3v, and passim. For the earlier development of this ecclesiology, see Dewey D. Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525-1695* (Chapel Hill, 1982), 8-15.

[4] Thomas Cranmer, *Answer to Smith's Preface*, in *Works*, 377. Smith was replaced by Peter Martyr Vermigli in 1547. See Ellen A. Macek, 'Richard Smith: Tudor Cleric in Defense of Traditional Belief and Practice', *The Catholic Historical Review* lxxii (1986), 387.

While the True Church was an invisible corporation, a spiritual fellowship of believers whose membership was managed by God's election rather than by parish registers, the visible Church was a mixed assembly in which the wheat rubbed up against the tares.

Teasing out the relationship between the visible and invisible Churches was already a live issue under Henry. The official doctrine of the Henrician Church presented by *The Institution of a Christian Man* (1537), otherwise known as the Bishops' Book, discussed the doctrine of the church within a reflection on the Apostles' Creed. The true 'catholyque churche' was referred to as the 'mysticall body' of Christ in which believers shared an 'incomprehensible vnion & bande of charitie' through a common faith.[5] Because 'our sauior Iesu Christ is the onely heed & gouernour' of this body, the True Church was independent of the 'byshop of Rome' whose 'pretended' authority was null and void in Henry's Church.[6] Hence

> this holy churche ... can not be coarded or restrayned within the limittes or bondes of any one towne, cittie, p[ro]uince, region, or countrey: but that it is dispersed & spred vniuersally throughe out all the hole world ... be it in Affrique, Asia, or Europe.[7]

Emphasising the universal character of the invisible Church accentuated the independence of true believers from the earthly powers of Rome. Ironically, Henry later exploited this aspect of Protestant ecclesiology to further assert his own supremacy over the Church of English in the official doctrine of the King's Book (1543).[8] The Bishops' Book did not shy away from acknowledging that the

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[5] *The institvtion of a Christen man, conteynynge the exposition or interpretation of the co[m]mune Crede, of the seuen sacramentes, of the x. co[m]mandementes, & of the Pater noster, and the Aue Maria, iustification and purgatorie* (1537), sigs C3v-4.

[6] Ibid. sigs B8, C4.

[7] Ibid. sig. C2.

[8] The equivalent discussion on this article of the Creed in the King's Book was modified to emphasise Henry's supremacy over and against the authority of the pope. See *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man set furthe by the kynges maiestye of Englande &c* (1543), sigs F1-H8v. For Henry's annotations on this section of the Bishops' Book, see BL Cotton MS Cleopatra E. V, fols. 29-34 (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 91-2).

visible Church was a mixed assembly of true and false believers. It was granted that

> there haue ben euer, and yet be, & euer shall be ioyned, and mingled togither an infinite nombre of the euyl & wicked people ... in the cōmune societie or cōpany of those, whiches be the very quycke and lyuyng membres of christis misticall body.[9]

However the identity of such folk would be kept secret

> ... vntyl the time that Christe hymselfe shal come at the worldes ende, and there shall manifest, and declare his veray kyngdome, and who be the very true membres of his body, and who be not.[10]

This sanguine confidence in God's election regarding both the character of the visible Church and the Last Judgement was carried through into the Edwardian Church, as we will see throughout the thesis.[11] From the outset, though, we must be aware that this concept of the church as a society of God's true children linked together through a common faith in Christ became problematic at the point of application.

With the accession of Edward VI, a convinced evangelical, the opportunity for a wholesale reform of the temporal Church was better than it had ever been.[12] Yet for all the political advantages that the Edwardian regime afforded evangelicals, reformers were still confronted by the challenge of how to reconcile their theological model of the church with the earthly realities of Tudor society. To what extent could the visible Church be made to resemble the True Church? Indeed, could the human institution ever be moulded into a genuine representation of the spiritual True Church? The Edwardian Reformation can be seen as a sincere attempt by mid-Tudor evangelicals to provide positive solutions to these questions. Indeed the transformation of public worship in this period is the best illustration of how these reformers sought to fuse the

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[9] *The institvtion of a Christen man*, sig. C1v.
[10] Ibid.
[11] For a discussion of Cranmer's theology of predestination and how it applied to the English Church, see Null, 195-204.
[12] For the evangelical convictions of Edward, see MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 21-41.

seemingly opposing concepts of the invisible and visible Churches within the existing temporal institution of the Church of England.

Historiography

'The surpassingly important Prayer Book'

Paying close attention to the ways in which the ecclesiological vision of mid-Tudor evangelicals was rooted and expressed in liturgical change is one way to continue the modern historiographical trend of expanding the traditional source base. Since the 1980s historians have moved away from the official channels of information to investigate early modern society, politics and religion from different angles. A series of studies based on wills, parish records, deposition accounts and sermons sought to unveil the impact of religious change at the local parish level.[13] At the same time, the early modern print trade was probed for signs of change in the popular religious culture.[14] As the search for the 'view from the pew' progressed, so the source base continued to expand.[15] Visual sources, material objects, and even the physical landscape have all been examined in creative and innovative ways to reveal new insights into patterns of religious devotion and worship across the early modern world.[16] Efforts have

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[13] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1987); Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford-New York, 1989); Robert Whiting, *Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge, 1989); Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morbath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven-London, 2003).

[14] Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge (1991). See also Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 1999), 72-4.

[15] Christopher Marsh, '"Common Prayer" in England 1560-1640: the view from the pew', *Past and Present* clxxi (2001), 66-94.

[16] Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household* (New Haven, 2010); Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011). See also Tara Hamling and R.L. Williams (eds.), *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2007); Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious*

also been made to reconstruct and study the auditory experience of an early modern church service.[17] Uncovering the rich visual and material culture of Protestantism, along with its crowded auditory landscape, has forced us to acknowledge that early modern people interacted in a complex world filled with symbols and messages, foreign to the modern age, which required the physical senses to decode.[18] It is no longer possible to hold the opinion that Protestantism had an inherent aversion to aesthetic devotion, either inside or outside the parish church walls.[19] As Matthew Milner observed, 'protestantism was itself dependent on sensual experience ... the very basis of [the evangelical] reform programme was sensory in nature with its emphasis on scripture and their

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Worship, 1547-c.1700 (Oxford, 2007); Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 2010).

[17] John Craig, 'Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547-1642,' in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), 104-23. See also Christopher Marsh, ''At it ding dong': Recreation and Religion in the English Belfry, 1580-1640', in Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Surrey, 2013), 151-72. Modern technology has made it possible to digitally experience John Donne's 'Gunpowder Plot sermon' of 1622, see http://vpcp.chass.ncsu.edu (accessed 26 November 2014).

[18] Adam Morton, 'Glaring at Anti-Christ: Anti-Papal Images in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1680' (PhD Thesis, The University of York, 2010), 29-55, 60-70 and 297-306; Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*. See also Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 107-117. Pettegree makes a similar point in discussing the enigmatic symbolism and subtle code evident in Holbein's *The Ambassadors*, 'Art', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World* (London-New York, 2000), 482. See also John N. King's *Tudor Royal Iconography* (New Jersey, 1989); Margaret Aston *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge, 1993); Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth- century England* (New Haven, 2009); David J. Davies, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity during the English Reformation* (Leiden-Boston, 2013). [19] Patrick Collinson spoke about Protestant culture in general as an 'iconoclastic holocaust', *Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1988), 94. See also John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkeley- New York-London, 1973), 15; Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts Vol. 1, Laws Against Images* (Oxford, 1988), 246-77; Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, 2009), 3-4; *Stripping of the Altars*, 448-77; Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford, 2007), ch. 5.

redefinition of faith'.[20] The religious experience Milner referred to was clearly depicted in the changes made to public worship throughout the Reformation. Thus it is natural to add liturgies to the expansive list of sources under the historical microscope.

With such a wide range of sources, one might tend to agree with Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie, who suggest that 'we know [almost] everything' there is to know about early modern England.[21] However, the Prayer Book – and especially the two Edwardian editions – remains comparatively neglected in Reformation historiography.[22] Part of the reason for this is because the *Book of Common Prayer* is often considered to be a timeless text. The perception of the Prayer Book as a static object owes something to the spread of the British Empire from the late seventeenth century onwards that saw a nearly ubiquitous use of the 1662 version throughout the global Anglican Communion until recent times.[23] On closer inspection though, the two Edwardian Prayer Books, along with the other officially sanctioned formularies of faith, were dynamic and fluid creations designed for daily use in the mid-sixteenth century.[24] Unfortunately though, the assumed knowledge that the Prayer Book was 'surpassingly important' in early modern Britain and Ireland has led many to pass over its centrality to the narrative of English Protestantism.[25]

This is not to say that the theology undergirding the reform of public worship has escaped historians' attention, or that the wider social and political impact and influence of the Prayer Book has gone totally unnoticed.[26] It is rather

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[20] Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, 3.
[21] Mears and Ryrie (eds.), *Worship and the Parish Church*, 1.
[22] It is interesting to note that the Prayer Book does not rate a single mention in Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman's *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge, 2011).
[23] Louis Weil, 'Liturgical Renewal and Modern Anglican Liturgy', in Jeremy Morris (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism Volume IV: Global Western Anglicanism, c. 1910-present* (Oxford, 2017), 50-3.
[24] For further discussion of this, see Tim Patrick, 'Resurrection and Eschatology in the Reformation Formularies of the Church of England, 1536-1571' (unpublished PhD thesis, Macquarie University, 2013), 24-8.
[25] Mears and Ryrie, *Worship and the Parish Church*, 5.
[26] Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998); John P.D. Cooper, '"O Lord save the kyng": Tudor Royal Propaganda and the Power of Prayer', in George Bernard and Steven Gunn (eds.),

to say that recent studies dedicated to specific aspects of Protestant worship have tended to isolate these traits from their liturgical context, particularly in the case of preaching.[27] Moreover, most studies that do emphasise the importance of the Prayer Book begin with Elizabeth's reign and have little to say about the development and impact of the original English-vernacular liturgies produced by Cranmer for mid-sixteenth-century congregations.[28] On the other hand, a large corpus of scholarship has been compiled over the past century and a half, which details the composition of the Prayer Books, and other related liturgical resources, of the period.[29] Generally speaking though, these studies are rigidly

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Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays presented to C.S.L. Davies (Aldershot, 2002), 176-96; Natalie Mears, Alasdair Raffe, Stephen Taylor and Philip Williamson with Lucy Bates (eds.), *National Prayers: Special Worship since the Reformation* (Woodbridge, 2013).

[27] The exception to prove this rule is Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'singing psalms' and Scottish 'psalm buiks', c. 1547-1640* (Farnham, 2014). For the relationship of preaching and liturgical reform, see chapter three.

[28] For instance, Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England*; Marsh, '"Common Prayer" in England 1560-1640'; Mears and Ryrie (eds.), *Worship and the Parish Church*.

[29] The literature stretches from the late nineteenth century to the twenty-first century. The following list is a selection of titles not already cited above. Edward Burbridge, *Liturgies and Offices of the Church for the Use of English Readers, in Illustration of* The Book of Common Prayer. *With a Catalogue of the Remains of the Library of Archbishop Cranmer* (London, 1885); F. A. Gasquet, and E. Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1890); F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite* 2 vols. (London, 1915); Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, 1943); C. C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529-1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England* (Philadelphia, 1953); Charles Neil and J. M. Willoughby (eds.), *The Tutorial Prayer Book: for the Teacher, the Student, and the General Reader* (London, reprint 1959); A. H. Couratin and D. H. Tripp (eds.), *Liturgical Studies* (London, 1976); Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold (eds.), *The Study of Liturgy* (London, 1978); W. H. Griffith Thomas, *The Principles of Theology: an Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles* (London, 6th edn revised 1978); O. O'Donovan, *On the 39 Articles: A Conversation with Tudor Christianity* (Carlisle, 1993); Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (Oxford, 2006); Bryan D. Spinks, 'German Influence on Edwardian Liturgies', in Dorothea Wendenbourg (ed.), *Sister Reformations, The Reformation in Germany and England* (Tübingen, 2010), 175- 89; Brian Cummings, 'Print, Popularity, and the *Book of Common Prayer*', in Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (eds.), *The Elizabethan Top Ten. Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Surrey, 2013), 135-144, and Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer.*

textual in their analyses and do not always place liturgies in the wider context of religious change that affected the lives of men and women in early modern Britain and Ireland. This thesis seeks to bridge the gap between these strands of historiography and provide a new perspective on an ostensibly well known text by conceiving the Prayer Book as a quintessential expression of mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology.

Liturgies as Historical Sources

Utilising liturgies to access the past is not a new phenomenon. Medieval specialists from a range of disciplines have been demonstrating how to use liturgical sources for some time now, and early modernists can learn from their example.[30] There are, however, a number of recognised Reformation historians who have forged the way already. Eamon Duffy's investigation of liturgical sources such as primers and Books of Hours has not only illuminated our understanding of private devotion and public ritual, but has also helpfully blurred the chronological boundaries between the late medieval and early modern periods.[31] More recently, Natalia Nowakowska and Aude de Mézerac- Zanetti have highlighted the importance of liturgy as an agent of ecclesiastical reform. Nowakowska examined the 'episcopally commissioned printed liturgy' produced by the late medieval Church in the Holy Roman Empire to argue that German prince-bishops attempted to impose a uniform liturgy as a form of civic and doctrinal control. [32] There were echoes of this mentality in mid-Tudor England. Mézerac-Zanetti has demonstrated how alterations made to liturgical texts were central to the evangelical reform programme of the 1530s.[33] In the

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[30] For a discussion of how medieval literary scholars, art historians, and musicologists incorporate liturgical texts into their research, see Richard Pfaff, *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England* (Aldershot, 1998), 18-19.

[31] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, and *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven-London, 2006).

[32] Natalie Nowakowska, 'From Strassburg to Trent: Bishops, Printing and Liturgical Reform in the Fifteenth Century', *Past and Present* ccxiii (2011), 3-39, at 13. See also Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers"? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past and Present* clxviii (2000), 72-123.

[33] Mézerac-Zanetti, 'Reforming the Liturgy under Henry VIII', 96-111.

months preceding the Act of Supremacy (1534) all clergy were forced to sign a statement by which they renounced papal authority, and accompanying moves were made to extirpate any reference to the pope in all forms of printed liturgy by scratching out the name 'Papa', while the King, Queen Anne (Boleyn) and their hoped for children were to be commended in sermons and prayers.[34] This practice was reinforced in Edward's Royal Articles of 1547.[35] Liturgy therefore lay at the heart of the relationship between Church and state in mid-Tudor England.

Liturgy also lay at the heart of the Reformation struggle between the champions of reform and those who defended the traditional forms of religious devotion. For this reason, this thesis is marked by a detailed theological discussion of the relevant printed and manuscript writings of contemporary reformers and their non-evangelical adversaries. Understanding the associated theological arguments provides the necessary intellectual backdrop to see the development of the Prayer Book as a response to what evangelicals perceived to be false religion, as epitomised by traditional church ceremonies. While changes to public worship had a direct impact on the devotional lives of ordinary lay folk, the theory that lay behind those changes was by and large fleshed out by a small group of theological experts and interested politicians. As such, the discussion that follows will not provide the 'view from the pew', although it will complement those studies which do.[36] Instead, our primary interest is in how the Edwardian clergy and reformers conceptualised the liturgy and perceived the church they sought to build. This is essentially an exploration in the history of theology and liturgy. It is a consideration of those elements that characterised

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[34] Laymen of importance were also required to swear an oath to the new order of succession. Ibid. 97-102. See also Paul Ayris, 'The Rule of Thomas Cranmer in Diocese and Province', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* vii (2005), 69-110, esp. 80-2.

[35] '44. *Item*, Whether they have put of their church books this word *papa*, and the name and service of Thomas Becket, and prayers having rubrics containing pardons or indulgences and all other superstitious legends and prayers'. *VAI*, 109.

[36] For example, see Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon', *Past and Present* xc (1981), 40-70; Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2nd edn 2005); Susan Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London, 1997); Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*.

the evangelical imagination and movement at the macro-level of mid-Tudor society.

The Edwardian Reformation

Ultimately, this thesis seeks to contribute to our understanding of the Edwardian Reformation. For much of the twentieth century, scholarly interest in the Edwardian period concentrated on the political dynamics of the boy king's reign.[37] The combination of Edward's minority, Northumberland's overthrow of Somerset in 1549, and rising inflation led historians to describe this period, along with Mary's reign, as a 'mid-Tudor Crisis'.[38] The late Jennifer Loach convincingly overturned that myth in a posthumously published pamphlet to the effect that the terminology of a 'mid-Tudor crisis' is now obsolete.[39] However, a consensus on the way the Edwardian period should be seen is far from settled, as exemplified in the wider historiography of the English Reformation.

Recent reassessments of the reception and success of Mary's Counter Reformation are predicated on the assumption that mid-Tudor evangelicals were rather unsuccessful in penetrating Tudor hearts and minds.[40] G. R. Elton summed up this attitude in arguing that 'The Edwardian Reformation was superficial – imposed on a reluctant or indifferent people by a few ardent spirits and the

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[37] A. F. Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation* (London, 1905); W. K. Jordan *Edward VI: The Young King, The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London, 1968), and *Edward VI: The Threshold of Power, The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland* (London, 1970); M. L. Bush, 'Protector Somerset and Requests', *The Historical Journal* xvii (1974), 451-64, and idem. *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (London, 1975); D. E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1976); B. L. Beer, *Northumberland: The Political Career of John Dudley, Early of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland* (Kent, OH, 1973) and idem. 'Northumberland: The Myth of the Wicked Duke and the Historical John Dudley', *Albion* xi (1979), 1-14; David Loades, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 1504-1553* (Oxford, 1996).

[38] W. R. D. Jones, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1539-1563* (London, 1973); David Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1565* (London, 1992).

[39] Jennifer Loach, *A Mid-Tudor Crisis?* (Oxford, 2000).

[40] For example, see Eamon Duffy and David Loades (eds.), *The Church in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2006); Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London, 2008); Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (eds.), *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (New York, 2011); John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven, 2011).

politicians'. [41] Even Loach was reluctant to attribute any success to the Edwardian reformers, claiming that Mary had a smooth transition into power thanks mostly to the religious stability of a widespread conservative clergy and laity.[42] Perhaps more surprisingly, most evangelical bishops, with the exception of Nicholas Ridley, also supported Mary's succession – even John Hooper, that most zealous of evangelical bishops, aided Mary's cause by supplying her with troops.[43] Yet the fact that nearly 300 Protestants were willing to go to the stake for their faith validates David Loades' contention that, 'under Mary the protestant settlement turned out to be much stronger at the grass roots than it was at the level of political action'.[44]

In a different way, studies of the Elizabethan period also view the Edwardian Reformation in an unhelpful manner. A well-established myth that portrays the Edwardian Reformation as a hotbed of radical Protestant thinking, which was crystallised during the Marian exile and injected into the Elizabethan Church, continues to influence the way we see mid-Tudor evangelicals. Historians searching for the roots of English nonconformity invariably turn to the Edwardian period for their answers, especially to Hooper. [45] Patrick Collinson's seminal work on the Elizabethan puritan movement is a prime example of this.[46] Most recently, Karl Gunther has proposed that Henricians such as Tyndale should also be considered as prototype 'radical reformers' alongside Hooper, as well as those who have traditionally been seen as emblematic

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[41] G. R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London-New York, 3rd edn 1991), 211. John Guy offers a revision of Elton in *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), 154-77.
[42] Loach, *Mid-Tudor Crisis?*, 14-19.
[43] Jordan, *Threshold of Power*, 520-32; Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1566*, 145-6. On the practice of pragmatic conformity, see Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), esp. chs. 7 and 8.
[44] Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 180. Andrew Pettegree has also highlighted the strength of the Edwardian Reformation at a popular level in the Nicodemite faith of many under Mary, *Marian Protestantism*, ch. 4, esp. 95-105. See also Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 562-72; MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 108-109.
[45] For example, W. M. S. West, 'John Hooper and the Origins of Puritanism', *Baptist Quarterly* xv (1954), 346-68; xvi (1955), 22-46, 67-88. This historiographical trend is discussed in detail in chapter one.
[46] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*.

conformists such as Cranmer and Ridley.[47] Gunther suggests that the theological trajectory of earlier 'radicals' was only fully realised by Elizabethan nonconformists such as Thomas Cartwright. This is an interesting theory, which has stimulated fresh thinking about the inspiration Elizabethan reformers drew from their forebears.[48] Highlighting the influence of mid-Tudor reformers on the development of later nonconformity also indicates that the Edwardian legacy outlived the Marian persecution, which says something about the long term success of the Edwardian Reformation. But viewing the mid-Tudor evangelical movement from the perspective of later periods can be dangerously misleading. The myth of a 'radical' Edwardian Reformation is inaccurate because it is based on long held assumptions about the mid-Tudor period. Part of the reason this myth has gone unchallenged is because the Edwardian Reformation is a relative blind spot for many.[49] Current historians owe a great debt to the late Collinson, but it is time to refine and nuance the accepted impression of the Edwardian Reformation as a prelude to the longer Elizabethan drama – an impression tinged by an air of inevitability. This thesis will give an alternative account of the Edwardian Reformation by assessing it within its own historical and theological context, and by building on recent works that have redefined the way we understand the period.

Around the turn of the twenty-first century, two important studies emerged that centred on the role of Edward as king. In a biography of Edward that was unfinished at the time of her passing, Loach successfully disrupted the traditional image of Edward as a sickly boy, while also challenging the traditional impression of him as a godly imp.[50] By making extensive use of Edward's personal journal, known as the *Chronicle*, Loach emphasised Edward's potential to emulate his father in the political and military spheres, and downplayed the

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[47] Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*.
[48] Ibid. esp. ch. 7.
[49] Gunther's comments on the Edwardian Church are limited to a few pages, see ibid. 60-1, 82-5, 90, 254. There is only one published essay (which was adapted from a lecture given in Kebel College Chapel) among Collinson's large body of scholarship that deals specifically with the Edwardian Church. See 'Thomas Cranmer and the Truth', in Collinson, *From Cranmer to Sancroft* (London, 2006), 1-24.
[50] Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI* (New Haven, 1999) eds. George Bernard and Penry Williams.

religious aspects of Edward's personal and political life. In the other work that focused on Edward's kingship, Stephen Alford balanced Loach's interpretation by demonstrating that political ambition and religious ideology were intrinsically linked throughout the Tudor period.[51] The Edwardian regime needed to portray the king as the new Josiah just as much as the evangelical churchmen relied on the support of the Privy Council to maintain any momentum of reform.[52] The double life of Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury and active member of the Privy Council is a key example of this delicate relationship, which came under acute pressure during Northumberland's administration.

The centrality of Cranmer to the Edwardian Reformation and the influence of Diarmaid MacCulloch's magisterial biography of the archbishop in shaping our thinking of this period must be acknowledged.[53] MacCulloch's *Cranmer* provides the most thorough and wide-ranging account of the religious and political changes that involved Cranmer from the late 1520s to his death in 1556. Along with *Tudor Church Militant*, MacCulloch has illuminated the intricate machinations undertaken by Cranmer to construct the Edwardian Church as an evangelical bastion, fending off his theological and political opponents in the process.[54] An important feature of MacCulloch's research has been to emphasise the influence of international reformers on the mid-Tudor evangelical movement, thus reminding us that the sixteenth-century English Church was not isolated from the continent, a point recently reiterated by Carrie Euler.[55] This thesis picks up the international theme, but seeks to balance Euler's focus on Zurich and the influence of Heinrich Bullinger by arguing that the thought of Martin Bucer was more instrumental in forming the public character of the

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[51] Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002).

[52] Ibid. esp. ch. 4. While Alford draws on a range of sources to make his point about seeing Edward as a Josiah figure, Diarmaid MacCulloch has recently exposed Cranmer's famous coronation speech of 1547, in which he directly addressed the king as Josiah, as a seventeenth-century fraud. MacCulloch, *All things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (London, 2016), 321-58. For the fraudulent text, see *Miscellaneous Writings*, 126-7.

[53] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*.

[54] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*.

[55] Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531-1558* (Zurich, 2006). See also Spinks, 'German Influence on Edwardian Liturgies', 176-7.

Edwardian Church. Bucer's immediate and lasting impact on English Protestantism after his death in 1551 is difficult to trace with any precision, but is arguably more significant than we have previously realised.[56] We do know that Bucer's critique of the 1549 Prayer Book, the *Censura* (1550), was a major source of inspiration for Cranmer in preparing the revised edition of the Prayer Book (1552), as we will see throughout the thesis. In addition, the unparalleled analysis of Cranmer's theology provided by Ashley Null, which details a whole range of topics, is an invaluable aid in grasping the theological contours of the Edwardian Reformation. [57] Null's meticulous research has helped to correct certain features of past scholarship that have relied on an imprecise theological understanding of the figures under review here.

In contrast to the ambiguous nature of Henry' faith as well as Elizabeth's cautious Protestantism, the reign of the last Tudor king presents a unique opportunity for historians to understand what it meant for the Church to use an evangelical form of worship fully sanctioned by the government. This was also a time when the evangelical party of the English Church was relatively united in purpose and stance.[58] Yet as we have already noted, mid-Tudor reformers faced an ideological dilemma in regard to their doctrine of the church. This theological predicament was contemplated by Catharine Davies in the 1980s, when she asked the 'rather impertinent question' of how evangelicals conceptualised the 'Church' as a means of grasping their reforming agenda.[59] Davies emphasised the unease that many evangelicals felt when they found themselves in the political ascendancy under Edward, even though they remained a minority of the population.[60] In one sense it was easier for evangelicals under both Henry and Mary, especially those in exile during these reigns, to uphold the doctrine of the

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[56] See Patrick Collinson, 'The Reformer and the Archbishop: Martin Bucer and an English Bucerian', in Collinson, *Godly People*, 19-44; Stephen Tong, 'Martin Bucer: the catholic Protestant', in Mark D. Thompson, Colin Bale, Edward Loane (eds.), *Celebrating the Reformation: Its Legacy and Continuing Relevance* (London, 2017), 119-39.

[57] In particular, Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*.

[58] Catharine Davies' study of Protestant printed literature reveals a closer degree of commonality between Edwardian evangelicals than their 'disparate voices' might suggest, *A religion of the Word*, 231.

[59] Davies, 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock', 78.

[60] Ibid. 88-9

True Church as a purely spiritual body of believers since the official doctrine of the institutional church under these monarchs was not defined by evangelical theology; neither did evangelicals hold the upper hand in politics. Therefore evangelicals styled themselves as a 'persecuted little flock of Christ', harangued by the earthly powers of the 'popish tyranny'.[61] But under Edward, evangelicals were forced to engage with their ecclesiology from a position of power and influence. Davies argued that evangelicals retained a minority complex throughout the period despite their political advantages. This resulted in an unresolved tension between the ideal concept of a True Church and the realities of mixed congregations in the Edwardian Church.

Davies developed her thoughts and provided a 'presentation of the protestant case' through a comprehensive study of mid-Tudor evangelical printed literature – sermons, polemic, entertainment literature and the like.[62] In *A religion of the Word*, Davies showed us how Edwardian reformers harnessed the potential of early modern print culture to defend their actions by promoting the evangelical concept of the True Church. A major objective was to reconstruct the temporal Church according to solifidian theology, hence the saturation of evangelical works in scripture, where 'Christological concerns were a priority'.[63] Davies' observations have helpfully elucidated how and why mid-Tudor evangelicals consciously framed their collective identity in ecclesiological terms in direct contrast to those who belonged to the False Church, namely Roman Catholics and Anabaptists.[64] However, an intriguing omission from Davies' study is the Prayer Book and the other official formularies. Since the *Book of Homilies* (1547), two Prayer Books (1549 and 1552), and the Forty-Two Articles were apparently 'left largely to speak for themselves' in contemporary polemic, the relationship between evangelical ecclesiology and liturgical reform in the Edwardian Reformation has not been fully acknowledged yet.[65]

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[61] Ibid. 79-87, at 79.
[62] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 13.
[63] Ibid. 75.
[64] Ibid. chs. 1 and 2.
[65] Davies, 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock', 78. See also Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 114-22; Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013), 318-24.

This thesis poses essentially the same question that Davies did thirty years ago, but seeks to answer it in the light of previously marginalised liturgical sources. Understanding liturgical reform through the lens of evangelical ecclesiology will throw new light on the nature of the Edwardian Reformation. As we will see, liturgical reform was the stimulus for major rifts within and without the mid-Tudor evangelical movement. In turn, these disagreements had important ramifications for the subsequent character of English Protestantism, but not necessarily in the way that Gunther has proposed.

Ecclesiology and Liturgical Reform in mid-Tudor England

Patrick Collinson once described the Reformation as 'awash with words'.[66] The Edwardian Reformation can equally be described as awash with liturgical reform: the Church of England in the mid-sixteenth century played host to an exponential increase in liturgical texts and forms. Changes to the official formularies of the Church had begun under Henry VIII.[67] Indeed, it has been noted that 'liturgical texts and their performance mattered greatly in Henry's England and evolved significantly after 1534'.[68] A reformatted litany appeared in 1544 that celebrated Henry's military venture into France and was the first time the English language was used in an authorised liturgy.[69] After Henry's death,

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[66] Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation: A History* (London, 2003), 27.

[67] Two schemes aimed at revising the breviary and establishing liturgical uniformity were drawn up by Cranmer sometime in the late 1530s and early 1540s (the exact dating of these schemes is imprecise). Both are found in BL Royal MS 7.B. IV and are discussed at length by J. Wickham Legg, *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects* (London, 1915), which also provides an edited version of the manuscript. MacCulloch also provides helpful commentary on these schemes, *Cranmer*, 221-6 and 331-3.

[68] Aude de Mézerac-Zanetti, 'Reforming the Liturgy under Henry VIII: The Instructions of John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells (PRO, SP6/3, fos 42r– 44v), *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* lxiv (2013), 102.

[69] *An Exhortation vnto prayer...Also a letanie with suffrages...* (1544). See also J. Eric Hunt, *Cranmer's First Litany, 1544 and Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer Noted, 1550* (London, 1939); Roger Bowers, 'The vernacular litany of 1544 during the reign of Henry VIII', in George Bernard and Steven Gunn (eds.), *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays presented to C.S.L. Davies* (Aldershot, 2002), 113-30. On the developing use of the vernacular in religious

liturgical reform took on a new momentum. Under the guiding hand of Archbishop Cranmer, the following liturgical texts were produced within the six- and-a-half years of Edward's reign alone: *The Order of Communion, 1548*; *The Book of Common Prayer* (1549); the 1550 Ordinal; *Merbeck's Prayer Book Noted* (1550); *The Book of Common Prayer* (1552).[70] Liturgical change did not cease with the premature death of Edward in 1553. When evangelicals fled to Europe under Mary, debate over liturgical practice caused a major rift to develop between English congregations dotted around Germany. [71] Neither did the Elizabethan Settlement bring liturgical conformity to the English Church. English Protestants were constantly at odds with each other (and often the monarch) on the subject liturgy from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, as illustrated by well known episodes such as the Admonition Controversy, the Civil War, and the Great Ejection in 1662 when another revised Prayer Book was republished.[72] So

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settings see Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (Basingstoke, 2nd edn 2006), ch. 4.

[70] Merbeck's edition of the Prayer Book was a unique – and short lived – text in which the author added musical notation to the 1549 Prayer Book. This version never made it to a second edition, and was soon superseded by the 1552 edition. See Hunt, *Cranmer's First Litany, 1544 and Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer Noted*, 25-8.

[71] For the controversy begun at Frankfurt see the anonymous Elizabethan narrative *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554*, John Petheram (ed.), (London: reprint, 1846) and George W. Sprott (ed.), *The Second Prayer Book of King Edward the Sixth and the Liturgy of Compromise*, (Edinburgh-London, 1905). For the authorship of this work see Patrick Collinson, 'The authorship of *A Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford*', in Collinson, *Godly People*, 191-211. See also Ashley Null, 'The Marian Exiles in Switzerland', *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte* (Band 7, 2006), 3-22; Timothy Duguid, 'The 'Troubles' at Frankfurt: a new chronology', *Reformation & Renaissance Review* xiv (2012), 243–268; Karl Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525-1590* (Cambridge, 2014), ch. 5. These issues are discussed at greater length in the epilogue.

[72] For a succinct overview of the history of the Prayer Book, see Brian Cummings, 'Introduction', in Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*, ix-lii. For the ructions within the Elizabethan and Stuart Churches, see Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, and *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2013); Claire Cross, *Church and People: England 1450-1660* (Oxford, reprint 1999); Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987); Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998); Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England*

the long decade of the Edwardian Reformation from 1544 to 1555, if not the entire English Reformation, can be seen as one dominated by an obsession with getting liturgical practice right. However, not everyone agreed on what the right form of public worship was.

Considering the fluctuations in Church and state from the fall of Thomas Cromwell in 1540 onwards, the evangelical character of the Edwardian Church, was far from a foregone conclusion upon Edward's accession in January 1547, let alone the future direction of English Protestantism.[73] Although Edward Seymour, the Duke of Somerset, had assumed power as Lord Protector, and gathered together a Privy Council sympathetic to the evangelical cause, many traditionalists still retained positions of influence, such as Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner, the bishops of Winchester and London respectively. Importantly though, the late 1540s was a period of theological change for Cranmer, whose eucharistic theology crossed the Rubicon somewhere between 1546 and 1548, moving in a direction away from Rome and towards Strasbourg.[74] Indeed Cranmer was the linchpin of Protestantism in both the Henrician and Edwardian Churches, ensuring that a continuity of evangelical reform was maintained across the two reigns.[75] The early years of Edward's reign also saw the return of a number of 'hot gospellers', such as John Hooper and John Bale, who had gone into self-imposed exile under Henry VIII. These English reformers were soon joined by some of their continental hosts who had migrated to England either on the invitation of Cranmer or because they were

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(Woodbridge, 1999); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* (Basingstoke, 2nd edn 2001); Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: the Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007); John Coffey and Paul C.H. Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008); Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, esp. ch. 8; Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Surrey, 2013); Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*.

[73] For the Henrician period, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 237-369; Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in Early English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003).

[74] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 342-8, 391-2, at 391. See also Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 205-12.

[75] MacCulloch notes that Cranmer 'was the one man who guaranteed the continuity of the changes, and he was chiefly responsible for planning them as they occurred', *Cranmer*, 365-7, at 366.

fleeing the Augsburg Interim of 1548 – Bernardino Ochino, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Martin Bucer, and Jan Łaski being the most prominent.[76] The intake of religious refugees from the continent also heightened the pre-existing fears of radical Protestantism; the 'Anabaptist' threat was both local and international.[77] Recognising that mid-Tudor England was a melting pot of disparate confessional identities and theological opinions reminds us that the Edwardian Church was in a constant state of evolution, characterised by tensions from within and without the evangelical coterie. It also underlines the need for historians to grapple with theological questions.[78]

Under Edward, the liturgy was a major battleground for the competing ecclesiological visions of the period. Champions of traditional religion used their positions of ecclesiastical and political prominence to resist change in parliament and diocese; many were deprived and imprisoned for their efforts. The evangelical camp itself was divided at times about how best and how quickly to enact reform, although those who comprised it generally shared a grand vision of recreating the Tudor Church on the foundation of scripture. Alongside the Bible, the Primitive Church of the pre-Constantine Roman world provided a blueprint for ecclesiastical revival in the early modern period.[79] By contrast, the immediate

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[76] For a succinct account of the continental contingent in Edwardian England, see MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 77-9. For the fate of the international reformers under Mary, see Andrew Pettegree, 'The London Exile Community and the Second Sacramentarian Controversy, 1553-1560', in idem. *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies* (Aldershot, 1996), 55-85.

[77] See Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protesant Communities in Sixteenth Century London* (Oxford, 1986), 65-6; Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 67-86.

[78] As MacCulloch argues, 'no history of Christianity which tries to sidle past its theological disputes will make sense', *History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London, 2009), 95.

[79] David Manning, ''That is Best, Which Was First': Christian Primitivism and the Reformation Church of England, 1548-1722', *Renaissance and Reformation Review* xiii (2011), 153-93. See also Euan Cameron, 'The 'Godly Community' in the Theory and Practice of the European Reformation' *Studies in Church History* xxiii (1986), 131-53; Patrick Collinson, 'Biblical rhetoric: the English nation and national sentiment in the prophetic mode', and Debora Shuger, ''Society supernatural': the imagined community of Hooker's *Laws*', in Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (eds.), *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge, 1997), 15-45, 116-41; Alec Ryrie, 'The problems of legitimacy and precedent in English Protestantism, 1539–47', in Bruce Gordon (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 1996), 78–92.

medieval past was seen as a period of ecclesiastical history dominated by the False Church.[80] An example of this attitude is found in an undated letter written in the hand of Cranmer that survives in the collection of manuscripts held by the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[81] The general purpose of the letter was to identify any historical precedents of church practice that matched an evangelical interpretation of scripture. One of the questions posed was:

> Whether in ye primatyve church there were any preists y^t lyved by saying of masse matins & evyensonge & praying for sowls only. And whether any such state of preisthode be allowed in ye scripture or it be mete to be allowed now.[82]

Numerous references to the Primitive Church were also made by reformers in their printed works as a way to legitimise their theology.[83]

Using the weight of history authenticated contemporary reform as a return to first principles. It also reiterated the ecclesiological claim that the congregations of early modern evangelical believers were coterminous with the communities of the first disciples, thus confirming mid-Tudor evangelicals as authentic members of the eternal True Church, well before John Foxe cemented the idea in the English popular mind through the first English-language edition of *Actes and Monuments* (1563).[84] It was difficult to prove this apart from delving into complex theology. So the True Church would remain an imagined reality for

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[80] For instance see Bale, *Image*, sigs F2v-3v, G2v-5, and passim.

[81] The letter must have been written before 1544 when the first officially sanctioned vernacular-language liturgy was performed, because it contained the following question: 'Ffor what cause were it not expedient no cōnevient to have ye hole masse in thenglysh tongue', CCCC MS 105 fol. 230.

[82] Ibid.

[83] For example, Cranmer, *Defence*, sigs Ff2v, Ff 4-4v; Robert Crowley, *The Confutation of the Mishapen Aunswer to the Misnamed, Wicked Ballade, called the Abuse of ye blessed Sacrament of the Aultare* (1548), sig. G1v; Hooper, *A Declaration of Christe and his Offyce* (Zurich, 1547), sigs K6-7v; John Ponet, *A Defence for Mariage of Priestes by Scripture and Aunciente Wryters* (1549), sig. C1; William Turner *A Preseruatiue or Triacle, agaynst the poison of Pelagius, lately renued, & styrred vp agayn, by the furious secte of the Anabaptistes* (1551), sigs C1-D7v.

[84] Neither was this a sixteenth-century phenomenon, nor restricted to British Protestantism. See S. J. Barnett, 'Where Was Your Church before Luther? Claims for the Antiquity of Protestantism Examined', *Church History* lxviii (1999), 14-41.

many during Edward's reign. But, just as modern populations adhere to constructed concepts of nationality, mid-Tudor evangelicals sincerely believed they belonged to a spiritual community that spanned time and space.[85] This brings us once again to the significance of liturgy in actualising evangelical ecclesiology. As Benedict Anderson observed, 'communities are to be distinguished ... by the style in which they are imagined'.[86] For mid-Tudor evangelicals, this style was forged through liturgical reform, and epitomised by the Prayer Book. Transforming public worship was at the heart of the ecclesiological vision of mid-Tudor evangelicals because reformers understood that the liturgical texts and practices which framed corporate devotion helped to embed a sense of collective identity of the True Church in the minds and lives of individual believers.[87] It has even been argued that the liturgical reform of this period was a critical factor in turning England into a Protestant nation.[88] The communal impulse of the mid-Tudor evangelical movement is an important aspect to remember since some historians have argued that Protestantism had

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[85] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London-New York, revised edn 2006).
[86] Ibid. 6.
[87] Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), 4; Kenneth Stevenson, 'Worship by the Book', in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (Oxford, 2006), 9-20. See also the three volume series on 'Cultural Liturgies' by the theological anthropologist James K. A. Smith, *Desiring the Kingdom: Worship, Worldview, and Cultural Formation* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 2009), *Imagining the Kingdom: How Worship Works* (2013), *Awaiting the King: Reforming Public Theology* (2017).
[88] R. T. Beckwith, 'Thomas Cranmer and the Prayer Book', in Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold (eds.), *The Study of the Liturgy* (London, 1978), 70-1 and 74. Dan G. Danner explains that part of the liturgical conflict that ensued in Frankfurt from 1554-1555 regarded issues of national allegiance, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555-1560* (New York, 1999), 21. Patrick Collinson argues that Protestantism did not become synonymous with English nationality until much later, *This England* (Manchester, 2011). See also Alexandra Walsham, 'Impolitic Pictures: Providence, History, and the Iconography of Protestant Nationhood in early Stuart England', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church Retrospective: Papers Read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical Historical Society* (Woodbridge, 1997), 307-28. The issue of nationalism in the Edwardian Reformation is discussed at length in chapter two.

the negative effect of atomising early modern societies. [89] The practical application of evangelical ecclesiology in liturgical reform sought to do exactly the opposite. Public worship that was characterised by the Prayer Book enabled early modern men and women to celebrate their common faith together, by physically and spiritually participating in the life and ministry of the True Church.

The Marks of the True Church

Having outlined the importance of ecclesiology to liturgical reform during the Edwardian Reformation, it will be helpful to explain how mid-Tudor reformers believed that the True Church could be visibly recognised. While mid-Tudor evangelicals accepted the reality of mixed congregations, they strove to reshape public worship so that the Edwardian Church would become a temporal expression of the spiritual True Church. To that end, reformers identified certain physical marks that pointed to the existence of the True Church. These marks chiefly related to the function of minsters to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments in a godly manner, and were codified by the end of the reign in the Forty-Two Articles and the official catechism.[90] It is worth spending some time considering these definitions.

According to Article 19 of the Forty-Two Articles,

> The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure Word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.[91]

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[89] For example, Eamon Duffy has suggested that Cranmer's liturgies deconstructed the medieval community of believers that was structured around the activities of the traditional liturgical calendar, *Stripping of the Altars*, 464-77. Timothy Rosendale has also suggested that vernacular liturgies of the period engendered an 'intensely subjective' type of faith, '"Fiery Tongues": Language, Liturgy, and the Paradox of the English Reformation', *Renaissance Quarterly* liv (2001), 1142-64, at 1159.
[90] See also Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 114-22.
[91] Bray, *Documents*, 296.

The wording of this Article was precise. It did not say that the Church of Christ is visible. That is to say, the Church is not synonymous with one particular ecclesiastical institution, the Church of Rome for instance, since these human institutions have and will continue to err in matters of ceremony and faith.[92] Rather, the *visible* Church of Christ is recognised as a congregation of faithful men wherever the two key marks of preaching the Gospel and godly administration of the sacraments took place. Such an ecclesiological understanding placed great emphasis on the public ministry of the temporal Church because its outward appearance pointed to its inward nature. Hence why mid-Tudor evangelicals cared so much about the liturgies that framed public worship. The Prayer Book reflected the evangelical desire to use the two key marks of the visible Church as the litmus test for the Edwardian Church. The official catechism of 1553, written by Cranmer's former chaplain, and Bishop of Winchester, John Ponet, went further by outlining four marks that could be used to discern the visible existence the True Church:

> firste, pure preachyng of the gospel: thē brotherly loue ... thirdlye vprighte and vncorrupted vse of the Lordes sacraments accordynge to the ordynaunce of the Gospell: laste of all brotherlye correction, and excōmunication ... [what] the holye fathers tearmed discipline.[93]

Ponet's addition of 'brotherly love' as a mark of the visible Church corresponded to Article 19's definition of the Church as a *congregation* of faithful men. The liturgical reforms of the period emphasised this aspect, especially by renovating the way that communal participation in the sacraments became a moment when the invisible Church was given tangible expression. Ecclesiastical discipline proved to be more difficult to apply within the Edwardian Church. Even still, efforts were made to integrate the concept into the liturgy of communion, as will be discussed in chapter four. Taken together, these defining marks were a set of success criteria against which mid-Tudor evangelicals could assess their efforts of reform at the institutional level.

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[92] The Article continued: 'As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith'. Ibid.
[93] John Ponet, *A Shorte Catechisme* ... (1553), sig. G2v.

At the personal level, another way of identifying individual members of the True Church was to see a renovation in behaviour and attitude. From Cranmer's perspective at least, individual members of the True Church were recognised by the spiritual fruit they produced in daily life; true faith was visibly expressed through a sinner's repentance in a renewed love of God and neighbour.[94] Hooper concurred, concluding his 1547 work, *A Declaration of Christe and his Offyce*, with an exhortation to live in obedience to God's Word: 'the sciens of the scripture is practiue and not speculatiue, it requirithe a doer, and not a speaker only'.[95] This was just as much an ecclesiological point as it was an application of scripture. Hooper exposed the frailty of the visible church to ensure that all earthly members were also members of the True Church in his very next phrase: 'there be many that dissemblith faythe, and hathe a certayne shew of religion when indeed in the inward man is nofaithe at all'.[96] It was incumbent for 'euery man therfore [to] sarche his awne conscience with what faithe he is induced' remembering that 'but a few' walk the 'straight waye and narrow, that ledithe to liefe'.[97] Here was an example of Protestantism's stress on a personal relationship with God that bypassed the Roman Catholic soteriological system involving human priests who acted as mediators between sinners and God.[98] Yet Hooper's call for personal introspection did not come at the expense of the collective identity of the church. As we will see throughout the thesis, Hooper and his fellow evangelical reformers were very sensitive to the need for 'the ceremonies ordeinid for a godd order to be obseruid in the churche ... [and] not [to] be neglected'.[99] Great importance was placed on the public meeting of Christians because when 'the assemblaūs of people [came together] in

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[94] Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, esp. 120-33. For how Cranmer invested this doctrine of repentance into the liturgy, see 236-45.
[95] Hooper, *Christe and his Offyce*, sig. M5v.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid. Cf. Matt 7:13-14.
[98] Hooper had earlier explained that 'scripture teachīte Christ to be the ueri trew prist ād bishop [of] the church, [He] prayth for the churche, satisfieth the Ire of god for the sinne of the church and only sanctifieth the churche. So doothe it proue Christ to be the Kyng Emperour and protector of the churche', ibid. sig. K2v.
[99] Ibid. sig. L2v.

the sabboth day and other festes ... the word of god is preached and the sacramentes rightly ministrid'.[100]

It is important to remember that the faith of an individual believer in the Edwardian Church was shaped in a corporate context; holding evangelical convictions was personal but never private.[101] When the first Prayer Book was promulgated in 1549 Latin was abolished from public worship, which meant that 'there was no longer any need for a person to carry a primer to church in order to take an intelligent part in the worship'.[102] On the strength of the Act of Uniformity (1549), the entire kingdom was now theoretically singing from the same hymn-sheet, or least praying for the same prayer book. To state the obvious, the unifying – and universal – quality of the Edwardian liturgy was promoted by its title: *The Book of Common Prayer*. Public worship was inclusive by design, suitable for everyone in the Tudor kingdom: people who hailed from every social status and background. Moreover, the congregational setting of regular public worship was a significant factor in priming the individual believer to live a life of repentance beyond the walls of the parish church – a theme that will be touched on throughout the thesis. This is partly why the relationship of evangelical ecclesiology and liturgical reform is so fascinating. Although the True Church could not be contained in any physical sense, the temporal Church played a key role in the devotional life of true believers by providing a framework for true worship in the transformed liturgical texts and practices of the Edwardian Church. And yet this could never have been achieved perfectly. Faced with the impossible task of establishing the True Church within the physical dimensions of the temporal institution, mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology juggled theory

[100] Ibid.
[101] See also Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago-London, 2001), 14-35; Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (London-New York, 2011). For discussion on 'evangelical conversion', see Peter Marshall, 'Evangelical conversion in the reign of Henry VIII', in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), 14-37, and *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's Reformation* (Aldershot, 2006), 40-1); Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, 157-8.
[102] Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, 1970, combined edn 1996), 410-11.

and practice. This tension was never fully resolved.[103] However, this does not mean that no serious attempt was made to square the circle. This thesis will demonstrate how the key marks of the visible Church were integrated into the Prayer Book so that public worship was transformed into a legitimate expression of evangelical ecclesiology.

Structure of Thesis

The arrangement of chapters in this thesis mirrors the ecclesiological concerns of mid-Tudor evangelicals. The range of subjects covered can be broadly divided into two categories: structural and practical. The first two chapters address the institutional shape of the Edwardian Church, while the remaining three contemplate how the active ministry of public worship showcased the visual marks of the True Church. In some respects, these chapters consider disparate topics that could each conceivably warrant a full scale project on its own. Yet every chapter essentially answers the same question of how Edwardian reformers dealt with the ecclesiological paradox. An epilogue has been appended to these chapters as a means of drawing these strands together to help make sense of the whole period.

Chapter one explores the ways mid-Tudor evangelicals justified episcopacy as a legitimate form of ecclesiastical hierarchy for the visual Church. As other centres of reform altered the forms of church governance, the Edwardian Church retained the three-fold structure of bishop-priest-deacon inherited from the medieval Roman Catholic Church. However, the way bishops were conceived was drastically different from previous generations. This change was reflected in the reformed Ordinal of 1550, but not all evangelicals approved of this new liturgy. John Hooper's protest over the requirement to wear vestments is well known. However, this chapter offers a critical and overdue challenge to the accepted narrative of the so-called vestments controversy, which asserts that the germ of Elizabethan puritan-separatist ideology was

[103] See also Davies, 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock', 78-95.

unequivocally seeded in this episode. In the process, Hooper's credentials as an important and influential Edwardian bishop will be restored.

The second chapter looks at another misunderstood Edwardian bishop: John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, County Kilkenny. Although Bale was only a bishop for the final twelve months of Edward's reign in the far flung regions of the Tudor kingdom, he wrote a semi-autobiographical account of his Irish ministry known as the *Vocacyon*. The significance of this treatise is twofold. On the one hand, it provides a distinctive appraisal of the failure of the Edwardian Reformation to establish any foothold in Ireland. By incorporating Ireland into the discussion of the Edwardian Reformation via an examination of Bale's episcopal career, this chapter will break new ground since the development of Protestantism in early modern England has characteristically been separated from that of Ireland in the existing historiography. On the other hand the *Vocacyon* gives us a rare insight into the development of mid-Tudor ecclesiology at a time of crisis when English evangelicals were dispersed throughout Europe because it was written at the start of the Marian exile. Bale's work is therefore a helpful lens to consider questions surrounding the relationship of English nationality and Protestantism in the sixteenth century, as well as the extent to which the institutional structures of the Edwardian Church could stretch beyond geographical boundaries.

In chapter three, the role of preaching as the key mark of the True Church will be discussed by focusing on the often neglected Edwardian *Book of Homilies*. Much like the Prayer Book, the importance of the Edwardian *Homilies* is often missed due to the negative criticism this text drew from Elizabethan puritans, who emphasised extempore preaching over the practice of reading printed sermons. However, this chapter will argue that the *Homilies* represented the first liturgical innovation of the reign and did much to promote preaching as an important function of the visible Church. Thus we should view the *Homilies* as an essential building block in establishing a preaching culture that was later enjoyed by English Protestants in the Tudor and Stuart Churches. The ecclesiological dimension of the *Homilies* will be made clear through a discussion of the solifidian substance of these sermons – something that non-evangelical bishops were quick to notice at the time.

It is natural to follow a chapter on one of the key marks of the visible Church with a chapter on the other essential mark, godly administration of the sacraments. This chapter will revisit a site of acute theological tension in the sixteenth century to advance the argument that liturgical reform was driven by ecclesiological concerns. In many respects, the ecclesiological paradox was most apparent to reformers when mixed congregations of the elect and unrepentant physically participated in the sacraments side by side. The attempt to resolve this issue forced reformers to apply deep theological contemplation to real world situations. Indeed, it is the contention of chapter four that we can view the sacraments as a form practical ecclesiology, in that sacramental participation was an evocative way to reveal the spiritual True Church in a visibly tangible way through the use of earthly substances such as water, bread and wine. Existing scholarship tends to consider baptism as separate from communion, but this chapter will address both sacraments in a single analysis to further emphasise the ecclesiological dimensions of mid-Tudor sacramental theology.

Chapter five reassesses the doctrine of the Sabbath and its place in mid-Tudor thinking. It challenges long-held assumptions that this doctrine was only considered important by later generations of English Protestants when it became a shibboleth in the early Stuart Church. By tracing the development of this doctrine in the theology of mid-Tudor reformers, this chapter will argue that the evangelical concept of the church was not bound to the walls of the parish church. Edwardian congregations were encouraged to observe the Fourth Commandment for the entirety of Sunday, which meant taking seriously Christ's command to love one's neighbour. The application of the doctrine of the Sabbath was intended to generate pastoral care amongst the lay folk. Once again, we will notice that certain changes were made to the liturgy that reflected these concerns.

The thesis is rounded off by a short epilogue that discusses the notorious episode during the Marian exile known as the 'Troubles at Frankfurt'. Including Frankfurt into the discussion pushes the chronological boundaries beyond Edward's regnal years, and demonstrates that the theological principles that mattered so much to reformers under Edward continued to characterise the mid-Tudor evangelical movement, albeit in a very different context. Our

discussion will reveal how many of the issues raised in the preceding chapters coalesced in the English congregation at Frankfurt as they embarked on a unilateral move to further reform the liturgy of the Edwardian Church. Frankfurt brought a rather controversial close to the Edwardian Reformation and ensured that its memory and legacy would remain contested in the sixteenth century and beyond. As the existing scholarship emphasises, Frankfurt had underlying later implications for the Elizabethan Church. However, it is also important to acknowledge that it was very much an Edwardian episode, which is why each chapter of the thesis will make reference to the liturgical reforms enacted at Frankfurt. An important suggestion this thesis makes, therefore, is that it is perhaps more appropriate to see the Troubles at Frankfurt less as a prelude to Elizabethan puritanism and more as part of the legacy of the Edwardian attempt to resolve the ecclesiological paradox.

Chapter One:
Episcopacy and Evangelical Ecclesiology

Introduction

One of the more intriguing features of the Edwardian Reformation is that episcopacy was preserved as the form of church governance in England. The retention of the three-fold ecclesiastical structure of bishop, priest, and deacon, as the visible face of the institutional Church would puzzle some later English reformers.[1] Even before Presbyterianism was a fully developed movement, a number of Elizabethan puritans considered the Reformation incomplete since 'no fundamental reform of the Church in the institutions of its ministry and government' had been undertaken.[2] The zealous nonconformist authors of the *Admonition* could not understand how the great influence of continental divines upon the Edwardian Church had failed to overturn the ecclesiastical structure of episcopacy. It was apparently self-evident that those who defended episcopacy had 'all the best reformed churches thorowout Christendom againste them'.[3] And yet the English Church continued the form of church governance inherited from the medieval Roman Catholic Church. More recently, Karl Gunther has argued that calls to abolish episcopacy were made by English reformers under Henry VIII.[4] While Gunther overstates his case, his provocative thesis raises the question of how episcopacy survived the heady days of reform under Edward.

In trying to explain this ecclesiastical situation, historians have often pointed to the Edwardian vestments controversy. The late Jennifer Loach argued that the outcome of this episode 'saved the episcopacy in which Cranmer so believed'.[5] Her explanation concentrated on the frayed relationship between the

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[1] Patrick Collinson, 'Episcopacy and Reform in England in the Later Sixteenth Century', in Collinson, *Godly People*, 155-90; Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990).
[2] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 38.
[3] John Field and Thomas Wilcox, *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572), sig. Av.
[4] Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, 16-63.
[5] Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI*, ed. George Bernard and Penry Williams (New Haven-London, 1999), 129.

foreign divines and the Council; those reformers who were opposed to episcopacy as a form of church governance were denied their opportunity to push for this outcome due to the prevailing political circumstances.[6] Others have tended to emphasise the threat to episcopacy posed by John Hooper's theologically driven opposition to wearing clerical vestments during his consecration service. In the only full-length study of the two vestments controversies under Edward and Elizabeth, J. H. Primus claimed that Hooper was Thomas Cartwright *avant la lettre*.[7] One consequence of this interpretation has been to view the Edwardian and Elizabethan controversies as a single episode in the development of English Protestantism.[8] This fundamental tenet of Primus' thesis has never been seriously challenged. As such it has become customary to look for the origins of the Elizabethan strife regarding ecclesiology and church governance in the Edwardian period. More precisely, John Hooper has been singled out as the initial spark that lit the puritan fire, and ignited a movement of nonconformity.[9] This has been a long-held assumption of English Reformation historiography that has gone unquestioned for too long.[10] Because of this, it is necessary to re-examine the broader question of episcopacy faced by Edwardian reformers and Hooper's involvement in providing an answer.

There are two glaring omissions from previous discussions of the vestments controversy. Oddly, there is scant mention of Hooper's time as Bishop

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[6] Ibid. 124-30.

[7] 'England was not ready for a Thomas Cartwright, but if she had been, John Hooper might soon have learned to function in that capacity', J. H. Primus, *The Vestments Controversy: An Historical Study of the Earliest Tensions within the Church of England in the Reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth* (J. H. Koh, N. V. Kampen, 1960), 30.

[8] Primus, *Vestments Controversy*, 66-7, 165-6.

[9] 'Sein echt zwinglischen Radikalismus in der praktischen Reform war zweifellos der Funke, an dem sich spätter schon in Frankfort und dann in England unter Elisabeth das erste Feuer das puritanischen Geistes entzündete', A. Lang, 'Butzer in England', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 38 (1941), 234, as quoted by Primus, *Vestments Controversy*, 6. Also Primus, *Vestments Controversy*, 149-66.

[10] See G. Baskerville, 'Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester under Bishop Hooper', *The English Historical Review* clxxiii (1929), 1-32; M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago- London, 3rd edn 1970), 82-90; W. M. S. West, 'John Hooper and the Origins of Puritanism', *Baptist Quarterly* 15 (1954), 346-68; 16 (1955), 22-46, 67-88.

of Gloucester and Worcester from 1551-1553.[11] Neither the liturgy nor its reform have been analysed in any depth, which is ironic given that the 1549 Prayer Book and accompanying Ordinal of 1550 incited Hooper's ire in the first place.[12] In response, this chapter seeks to clarify Hooper's attitude to episcopacy by considering his opposition to vestments within the broader context of efforts to reform the visible offices of the Edwardian Church. This chapter is not a reassessment of the vestments controversy *per se*. But it does recognise the significance of this episode as an important testing ground for wider questions about ecclesiastical authority, the relationship of Church and State, the rule of scripture in matters of public worship, the significance of liturgical practice to evangelical doctrine, and the pace of reform pursued by various Edwardian reformers.

In regard to the reformation of the office of bishop, this chapter builds on the important work of Kenneth Fincham, Rosemary O'Day, Felicity Heal, and more recently Kenneth Carleton.[13] All of these scholars have provided excellent studies on English bishops throughout the long Reformation. Interestingly though, none of these studies examines the vestments controversy or the Edwardian period in any depth. This chapter also extends the work of Barrett L. Beer, whose overview of evangelical bishops in the Edwardian Church describes how episcopal ministry was transformed by highly educated, intelligent, and sincere preachers who sought to pastor their flocks with the Word of God rather than administer dioceses as socio-political magnates.[14]

Our chief concern here will be to explain how episcopacy fitted within evangelical ecclesiology, as well as to offer an explanation for the survival of episcopacy during the Edwardian Reformation that is guided by the theological

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[11] Primus says nothing about this at all.

[12] Diarmaid MacCulloch's overview of the vestments controversy is an exception to this rule on both counts, see *Cranmer*, 460-513.

[13] Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal (eds.), *Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration of the Church of England 1500-1642* (Leicester, 1976); Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge, 1980); Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990); Kenneth Carleton, *Bishops and Reform in the English Church, 1520-1559* (London, 2001).

[14] Barret L. Beer, 'Episcopacy and Reform in Mid-Tudor England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* xxiii (1991), 231-52.

concerns of the day, as demonstrated by the reactions to the reformed Ordinal of 1550.

Remodelling the Episcopate

Anticlericalism?

As Diarmaid MacCulloch points out, one of the key agendas for Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury and leader of the Edwardian Reformation was 'the remodelling of the episcopate'.[15] This process involved a two-pronged strategy that intertwined high politics and theology. The first step entailed the promotion of evangelicals to various sees made vacant by either death or deprivation. From as early as possible, a systematic attempt was made to deprive non-evangelical bishops of their sees in order to create space for evangelicals on the bench of bishops.[16] The second step was to produce a reformed Ordinal that gave formal liturgical expression to an evangelical vision of clerical ministry.[17] The need to reform the doctrine and improve the active ministry of English clergy had been recognised for some time, and the evangelical renovation of holy orders during the Edwardian Reformation should be seen within this wider context of clerical criticism.

Writing in 1530, William Tyndale viewed the clergy as a source of corruption within the Henrician Church: 'out of the deacons sprang all the mischief ... [for they] were more subtle and worldly wise then the old bishops, and less learned in God's word, as our prelates are'.[18] Calls to reform the clerical

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[15] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 454.

[16] The deprivations included Edmund Bonner (London) in 1549, Stephen Gardiner (Winchester) in 1550, George Day (Chichester) and Nicholas Heath (Worcester) in 1551, Cuthbert Tunstall (Durham) in 1552 as well as the translation of Thomas Thirlby (Westminster) to Norwich in 1550. For details, see MaCulloch, *Cranmer*, 408, 454-9, 484-6, 498-9.

[17] MacCulloch suggests that the publication of the new Ordinal of 1550 was only possible once the balance of senior clergy was tipped in favour of evangelicals, *Cranmer*, 460.

[18] William Tyndale, *The Practyse of Prelates* (1548), sigs B7v-8. This work was originally published in 1530, and was reprinted in 1548 and 1549.

office were not limited to evangelical reformers. John Colet's 1512 sermon at Convocation called for bishops to lead a thorough reform of the Church because

> ... prelates are chosen often times more by favour of men than by the grace of God: Therefore truly have we not a few times bishops [who are] ... rather worldly than heavenly, savouring more the spirit of this world than the spirit of Christ.[19]

Such comments were polemical tropes and possibly unrepresentative of how clergy outside of London were perceived.[20] Yet these criticisms suggest that there was a degree of so-called 'anticlericalism' that existed within the English Church throughout the Reformation era, which is further evidenced by contemporary observations made about the Edwardian Church.[21]

Soon after Martin Bucer arrived to Cambridge as Regius Professor of Divinity, he expressed his disappointment about the lack of parish ministers who were 'qualified for their office' in a letter to John Calvin on Whitsunday 1550.[22] The absence of doctrinal unity amongst the bishops was only partly to blame for the poor quality of the lower orders.[23] Bucer also fulminated about the intrusion of temporal responsibilities upon the spiritual ministry of English clerics. Prelates were 'aided by the activity of many noblemen [and] enriched by the possessions of the church'.[24] The result was a Church 'procrastinating of the cause of Christ'.[25] Bucer's diagnosis was neither novel nor unique.

The imperial ambassador, Jean Scheyfve, who was no friend to the evangelicals, reported in 1550 that 'all the Catholic bishops will be stripped and

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[19] John Colet, *The sermon of Doctor Colete made to the conuocacion at Paulis* (1531?), sigs B6-C3, at B6-6v.
[20] Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Dean Colet's Convocation Sermon and the Pre-Reformation Church in England', *History* lxxiii (1988), 191-210.
[21] Patrick Collinson argued that attacks on 'bastard bishops' dominated ecclesiastical discussions throughout the sixteenth century, 'Episcopacy and Reform in England in the Later Sixteenth Century', in Collinson, *Godly People*, 160.
[22] *Original Letters*, II, 546.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid. 547. Almost a century later, John Strype offered a similar assessment of the Edwardian clergy. They were 'generally very bad, from the bishops to the curates', thanks in large part to the 'secular employments' of bishops at the time, *Ecclesiastical Memorials ...* (Oxford, 1822), II, ii, 141-5.
[25] Ibid.

deprived of their sees and dignities ... [and] the temporalities will be applied to the Crown and the King's domain'.[26] The Grey Friars Chronicler had noted earlier that in late 1547, the 'Strand churches [were] also pullyd downe to make the protector duke of Somerset's place larger'.[27] Even those sympathetic to the evangelical cause made similar observations. Richard Scudamore wrote to his master Philip Hoby, a top English diplomat to the Emperor, about the deprivation of Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, in February 1550. Scudamore commented that 'the landes therof is seased ynto the kynges handes for the Master of the kynges woodes sellyng the wooddes growyng of the land of the late Busshoppes'.[28] Thus in a similar way to the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII, the Edwardian government enjoyed the financial benefits that flowed from reorganising the ecclesiastical personnel.

The emphasis on material gain in much of the criticism directed at the English clergy has led some historians to view the Edwardian deprivations as motivated solely by political gain and financial greed on the part of the secular elites. [29] Others have sought to downplay the significance of this form of 'anticlericalism' as a factor in the reception of Reformation ideas.[30] However such interpretations do not adequately account for the theological concerns that inspired mid-Tudor reformers to remodel the episcopate. A more useful term to help understand the theological dimensions at play has been coined by Alec Ryrie: 'hyperclericalism'. Ryrie suggests that what historians once called 'anticlericalism' in the pre-Reformation Church should instead be seen as an attempt by 'priests ... to galvanise their brethren to live up to the height of their

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[26] *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish x (1550-52)*, ed. Royall Tyler (London, 1914), 215.
[27] *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. John Gough Nichols (Camden Society, 53, 1852), 55.
[28] *The Letters of Richard Scudamore to Sir Philip Hoby, September 1549-March 1555*, ed. Susan Brigden, *Camden Miscellany xxx* (London, 1990), 122.
[29] Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of Economic and Social Postion of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge, 1980), 126-50.
[30] For instance, Christopher Haigh, 'Anticlericalism and the English Reformation', *History* cxviii (1983), 391-407. For a recent discussion that helpfully nuances the term 'anticlericalism', see Ben Lowe, 'A Short Reformation? A Case for Recalculating the Chronology of Religious Change in Sixteenth-Century England', *Anglican and Episcopal History* lxxxii (2013), 418-21.

calling'.[31] During Edward's reign this meant a complete transformation in the way clergy, and in particular bishops, were conceived as the spiritual leaders of God's earthly flock.[32] We will explore this in greater detail later by focusing on Hooper's hyperclerical criticisms and episcopal career. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to recognise that the liturgical reform of the Ordinal in 1550 was a structural attempt to set a new standard for English clergy.

The reformed Ordinal of 1550

The revision of the Ordinal was given official sanction by an Act of Parliament on 31 January 1550.[33] This Act empowered the king to appoint six bishops and six 'learned' men 'to devise orders for the creacion of bisshopps and priestes'.[34] The commissioners completed their task within a week, which suggests Cranmer had already prepared a draft.[35]

In keeping with Cranmer's pattern of gradual liturgical reform, the new Ordinal blended elements of traditional religion with aspects of Reformed devotion.[36] This reflected the fact that the two key sources Cranmer used in his preparation were the *Sarum* pontifical and Martin Bucer's essay on ordination,

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[31] Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms, 1485-1603* (London-New York, 2nd edn 2017), 24-7, at 25; Diamaird MacCulloch, 'Angels and the Reformation', in idem. *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (London, 2016), 28. See also Harper-Bill, 'Dean Colet's Convocation Sermon', 191-210; Jonathan Arnold, *Dean John Colet of St Pauls: Humanism and Reform in early Tudor England* (London-New York, 2007), 108-56.

[32] Catharine Davies details the plethora of positive comments made by Edwardian reformers who sought to reform the clerical office by combining biblical preaching with godly living, *A religion of the Word*, 94-114.

[33] *Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 112 (3 and 4 Edward VI c. 12). The passing of this Act was not without controversy, see J. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England: An Historical Survey* (4 vols. London, 1908-13), III, 178-82.

[34] *APC 1547-50*, 379.

[35] F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the sources and revisions of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1915), cxxx; Aidan Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1928), 241-7; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 460-1. See also Paul Avis, 'The Revision of the Ordinal in the Church of England 1550-2005', *Ecclesiology* i (2005), 95-110.

[36] Brian Spinks likens Cranmer's method to 'the prudent householder who brought forth treasures old and new', in 'Treasures Old and New: a look at some of Thomas Cranmer's methods of liturgical compilation', in Paul Ayris and David Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar* (Woodbridge, 1993), 175-88, at 187.

De ordinatione legitima.[37] At times these two sources converged. For instance, the ceremonial action of laying on of hands at the moment of installation for deacons, priests, and bishops was not only a continuation of ancient ritual, but was also endorsed by Bucer as a scriptural practice.[38] In other respects, however, *Sarum* and Bucer differed significantly. For instance there was no provision in *De ordinatione* for ordinands to receive a symbolic instrument of their office, an act of ceremonial that had become central to the Roman Catholic rite.[39] While Cranmer demonstrated his independence from Bucer by retaining this ritual, a closer inspection reveals that Cranmer actually integrated Bucer's theology of clerical ministry into traditional practice.[40]

While there remains a degree of uncertainty about when and where *De ordinatione* was written, Bucer's short essay presents his thoughts on ordination in a distilled fashion.[41] In fact, *De ordinatione* is a condensed version of an earlier work, *Von der waren Seelsorge* (*Concerning the True Care of Souls*), which Bucer

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[37] Brightman provides a table comparing the textual sources and differences between the Ordinals of 1550, 1552 and 1660, *The English Rite*, cxxx-cxli, 928-1017. A translation of Bucer's essay is included in, *Censura*, 176-83.

[38] Bucer had a very high view of the practice of laying on of hands, writing in the *De ordinatione* that 'the imposition of hand signifies and represents the guidance, the strength, and the protection of the hand of Almighty God, enabling the man who is ordained to effect and perform his ministry to the glory of God's name and the welfare of his Church', *Censura*, 176. Bucer also contemplated the possibility that laying on of hands was a sacrament, see Martin Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, 239-40.

[39] Geoffrey Lampe notes that, 'In the ancient Roman rite the delivery of a symbolical instrument of office was the essence of the ceremony of appointment to any of the minor orders, the doorkeeper receiving the keys, and so on. From about the eleventh century this *porrectio instrumentorum* had come to take a prominent place in the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons as well, and the English Reformers retained the practice', 'The English Ordinal', *Churchman* lxxvi (1962), 26.

[40] MacCulloch comments that Cranmer chose to adapt Bucer's suggestions 'in a traditional direction', *Cranmer*, 460.

[41] MacCulloch proposes that Bucer wrote it soon after arriving in England, which implies that the archbishop specifically requested Bucer to undertake this task as he began to remodel the episcopate in earnest, *Cranmer* 460. On the other hand, E. C. Whitaker suggests that this rite was originally created for use in Strasbourg, rather than for an English context, *Censura*, 4-6. Although neither refer to *Von der waren Seelsorge*, its affinity to *De ordinatione* strengthens Whitaker's position.

produced for his colleagues in Strasbourg in 1538.[42] *Von der waren Seelsorge* included a skeleton liturgy for ordination that formed the basis for *De ordinatione*.[43] His earlier and much larger work, also gave the verbose Bucer enough space fully to articulate his views on the role and responsibility of ordained ministers. The structure of Bucer's ecclesiological vision involved two essential forms of ministry; elders had the greater ministry of the word and discipline, while deacons were ordained to serve the church in temporal matters through a 'ministry of bodily care', while bishops were elected from the body of elders to be 'the chief overseers and shepherds of the flock of Christ'.[44] Thus pastoral ministry in the local parish was to be characterised by the combination of Word and action whereby the primacy of preaching was coupled with the provision of alms. This dual emphasis on proclaiming the Gospel and practical support was impressed upon new ordinands in the Edwardian Church via a series of questions asked by the presiding bishop during the ordination service, which had been derived from Bucer's *De ordinatione*.[45] The relationship of *De ordinatione* and the 1550 Ordinal reminds us of the increasing inspiration Cranmer drew from Strasbourg. The archbishop's sacramental theology had already moved from Wittenberg towards the Rhineland.[46] The theological thrust of the 1550 Ordinal indicates that his ecclesiological thinking about the nature of clerical ministry and the order of the institutional Church was moving in the same direction. Paradoxically though, the connection between Cranmer and Bucer's ordination rites can be detected at the point of greatest difference.

De ordinatione is a one-size-fits-all liturgy. The ordination service for each order of minister was essentially the same in terms of wording and ritual. The only difference was that 'when anyone is ordained Superintendent, that is, bishop, everything is done and carried out more solemnly and at greater length than when a presbyter of the second or third order is ordained'.[47] In contrast, Cranmer's rite distinguished between the orders by having three distinct

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[42] Martin Bucer, *Concerning the True Care of Souls*, trans. and ed. Peter Beale (Edinburgh, 2009).
[43] Bucer, *Concerning the True Care of Souls*, 60-8; *Censura*, 176-83.
[44] Ibid. 25-39, at 30 and 36.
[45] BCP49, 300-301, 308-10; Bucer, *Censura*, 180-1.
[46] For a fuller discussion on Cranmer's sacramental theology see chapter four.
[47] Bucer, *Censura*, 183.

services with different bible readings, prayers and ceremonial for deacons, priests, and bishops.

This difference was most obviously seen at the moment in the service when the presiding bishop laid hands on the ordinand, spoke the words of commission, and presented him with a symbolic instrument of his office.[48] Although these liturgical practices were derived from *Sarum*, we can also detect the influence of Bucer's emphasis on preaching as the central function of clerical ministry at this point in the services. A deacon received a New Testament and was told to 'Take thou aucthoritie to reade the Gospell in the Churche of God, and to preache thesame, iff thou bee thereunto ordinarely commaunded'.[49] A priest was given 'the Bible in the one hande, and the Chalice or cup with the bread, in the other hande', with the instruction to 'Take thou aucthoritie to Preache the worde of God, and to minister the holy Sacramētes in this Congregation'.[50] And a bishop had a Bible laid upon his neck, a liturgical gesture that physically represented the verbal exhortation to 'thinke upon these thinges conteined in this boke, [to] be diligent in them, ... [taking] hede upon thyselfe, and unto teaching'.[51] The variations in ceremonial across the three orders reinforced the episcopal hierarchy. Deacons were only commissioned to read the New Testament and preach when necessary, whereas priests were given authority to administer the sacraments. The headship of bishops over the lesser orders was emphasised by giving them an additional symbolic instrument.

The consecrated bishop also received a 'pastorall staffe' to represent the spoken command to be a shepherd 'to the flocke of Christ'.[52] This combination of visual symbolism and oral instruction effectively reinvested an ancient ritual with contemporary theology. While the tradition of giving bishops a staff derived

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[48] For a comparison of the services, see Brightman, *The English Rite*, 952-3, 994-5, 1014-15. Brightman's comparison is strictly textual, and therefore does not consider how Cranmer's liturgical innovations might have incorporated Bucer's theology in a more subtle fashion. Geoffrey Lampe also provides a helpful comparison, with commentary, between *Sarum* and the 1550 Ordinal in the services for the ordering of priests and deacons (but not bishops), 'The English Ordinal', 22-31.
[49] BCP49, 301.
[50] BCP49, 312.
[51] BCP49, 317.
[52] Ibid.

from *Sarum*, the linguistic use of the shepherd metaphor here actually indicates a closer theological affinity with Bucer.[53] The Strasbourg reformer was very fond of using the shepherd metaphor when writing about holy orders. In *De ordinatione* he explained that the primary role of ordained ministers was to 'seek out [God's] sheep and the sons of God who are dispersed in this lost world, [so] that you yourselves may lead them to the salvation of eternal life'.[54] The shepherd metaphor was also the central image of *Von der waren Seelsorge*, which included specific chapters on seeking, restoring, and strengthening lost, stray and weak sheep; binding up and healing 'the wounded sheep'; feeding 'the healthy and strong sheep'; and administering spiritual discipline within the flock.[55] The 1550 Ordinal crystallised these ideas in the words of commissioning, which instructed the new bishop to 'feede [the sheep], deuoure them not; hold up the weake, heale the sicke, binde together the broken, bryng againe the outcastes, seke the lost ... [and] so minister discipline'.[56] These words of commissioning were substantially different to those in *Sarum*.[57] The Ordinal defined the pastoral office of a priest in very similar terms. Priests were 'to be the messengers, the watchemen, the Pastors, and the stewardes of the LORDE to teach to premonissh, to feede, and prouyde for the Lordes family: to seeke for Christes shepe that be dispersed abrode, and for hys children whiche bee in the myddest of thys naughtye worlde, to be saued through Christe for euer'.[58] The correlation between Bucer's well-established thoughts on clerical ministry and Cranmer's liturgical innovation at the point of a bishop's consecration suggests that, as subtle as it may be, Bucer's imprint on the 1550 Ordinal is more

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[53] The words of commissioning in *Sarum* are: 'accipe baculum pastoralis officii' (Receive the staff of the pastoral office), Brightman, *The English Rite*, 1014.
[54] Bucer, *Censura*, 178.
[55] See *Concerning the True Care of Souls*, passim, esp. 69-210.
[56] BCP49, 317. Cf Bucer, *Concerning the True Care of Souls*, 69-73.
[57] *Sarum*: '*accipe baculum pastoralis officii: et sis in corrigendis vitiis pie seviens iudicium sine ira tenens, in fouendis virtutibus auditorum animos demulcens, in tranquillitate severitatis censuram non deserens*' (Receive the staff of the pastoral office, so that in the correction of vices you may be lovingly severe, giving judgment without wrath, softening the minds of your hearers whilst fostering virtues, not neglecting strictness of discipline through love of tranquillity), Brightman, *The English Rite*, 1014.
[58] BCP49, 308.

pronounced than previously thought.[59] Recognising this balances Carrie Euler's excellent research on the impact of Zurich upon the shape of the English Church in the sixteenth century.[60] This is to say that, although Bullinger's *Decades* became mandatory reading for English clergy under Elizabeth, the order used to ordain these men was thoroughly infused with Bucer's high view of holy orders. Thus Bucer left a lasting impression on the English Church via the liturgical reform undertaken during the Edwardian Reformation.

The new English rite also reflected Bucer's 'hyperclerical' attitudes to holy orders. *De ordinatione legitima*, lay out a framework for the ordination ceremony that emphasised 'the dignity and the responsibility of this office'.[61] Further gravity was added to this solemn responsibility with the warning that 'if by any fault of yours the church suffers injury or harm, you know how great an offence you have committed and what dreadful punishment will be visited upon you'.[62] Therefore, Bucer continued, 'you see how far you must put from you all the business and occupations of the world'.[63] It was a 'daily' task to 'labour to sanctify your life and the lives of your flock ... so that you may present yourselves and your flock as wholesome examples of the flock of the Lord'.[64] Bucer's thoughts were incorporated almost *verbatim* into the ordination service for priests.[65] However, the distinctive character of the 1550 Ordinal in retaining the three-fold order of episcopacy demonstrated that while the influence of Strasbourg was substantive, the Edwardian Church was an independent ecclesiastical institution.

The preface to the 1550 Ordinal justified the retention of episcopacy on the basis that 'it is euident unto all men diligently readinge holye Scripture and auncient Aucthours, that frō the Apostles tyme there hathe bene these orders of

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[59] MacCulloch argues that the 1550 Ordinal was a rather conservative 'adaption of Bucer's draft', *Cranmer*, 461. Brightman's comparison is strictly textual, and therefore does not consider how Cranmer's liturgical innovations might have incorporated Bucer's theology in a more subtle fashion.
[60] Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*. On Edward's reign, see 79-96.
[61] Bucer, *Censura*, 176-83, at 178.
[62] Ibid. 179.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid, 179-80.
[65] BCP49, 308-309.

Ministers in Christes Church; Bisshoppes, Priestes, and Deacons'.[66] This was not to say that episcopacy was the only legitimate form of church governance. More simply, the Ordinal claimed episcopacy had biblical precedent, and therefore could be 'continued, and reuerentlye used, and estemed in this Church of England'.[67] It was an unqualified claim, but one that allowed the continuation of episcopacy to strengthen the English reformers' assertion that the Edwardian Church was part of the eternal, apostolic, Catholic Church. Yet despite this, as we shall see, opponents of reform detected that an entirely new ecclesiology had been formalised in the reformed Ordinal.

Reactions to the Revised Ordinal

Like the 1549 Prayer Book, the new Ordinal did not receive an overly positive reception. When John Hooper was offered the See of Gloucester in early 1550, he refused on the grounds that the newly reformed Ordinal retained some unbiblical elements. These will be discussed later. But Hooper was not the first to object to this new rite. A number of existing bishops also found fault with it. Nicholas Heath, the Bishop of Worcester, who sat on the committee that drafted the Ordinal, 'obstinantely ... denyed to subscribe to the booke devised for the consecration and making of busshops and priestes'.[68] The specific reasons for Heath's refusal to subscribe remain mysterious. We do know that, as a consequence, he was sent to the Fleet on 4 March 1550 and eventually deprived of his see.[69] This initially negative reaction to Cranmer's latest liturgical reform by men from opposite ends of the theological spectrum reminds us of two things. First, achieving a unified theological consensus within the Edwardian Church

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[66] BCP49, 292.
[67] Ibid.
[68] *APC (1547-50)*, 403-405, at 405. Little is recorded about Heath's objections to the Ordinal besides what can be gleaned from the official records. See also J. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, III, 178-82. Heath was a former ally of Cranmer's during the Henrician Reformation, but his loyalty to the evangelical cause was increasingly under question during Edward's reign. He was restored under Mary, and made Archbishop of York, a position he held until his death in Elizabeth's reign. Cf. David Loades, 'Heath, Nicholas (1501?– 1578)', *ODNB* [accessed 9 Aug 2017].
[69] Ibid.

was extremely difficult. Second, liturgical practice expressed confessional identity.

Both of these aspects were underlined in the establishment's protracted effort to remove Stephen Gardiner from office.[70] After a naïve attempt by the Duke of Somerset (recently restored to Council) to release Gardiner from the Tower and co-opt him into a conservative bloc against the Earl of Warwick, the Bishop of Winchester was presented with a set of articles for his submission.[71] These articles were designed to force Gardiner into a theological corner in order that the Council might proceed with his deprivation. They contained the usual litany of Protestant hot button issues: the royal supremacy, condemnation of idolatry and pilgrimages, public reading of scripture in the vernacular, *solifidian* soteriology, denial of the real presence in the sacrament, the destruction of altars, and clerical marriage. Gardiner refused to submit to these articles. Thus his temporalities were sequestered on 19 June, he was put on trial in December, and eventually deprived of his see in February 1551. This was a major triumph for the evangelical regime. For in the words of the imperial ambassador, Gardiner was the 'head and chief of all who might resist'.[72] The former bishop remained in the Tower until August 1553, when Mary personally released him and restored his ecclesiastical dignity.[73]

A further practical injunction included in the articles of submission commanded Gardiner to abolish and deface all service books in Latin 'tavoide dissension; and that the said Service in the Church shulde be through thole realme in one uniforme conformitie'.[74] Gardiner was also asked to accept the new 'fourme and manner of making and consecrating of Archebusshops,

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[70] An extensive contemporary account of Gardiner's trial is provided by Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1570), 1563-75. Further details of what MacCulloch calls the 'tortuous negotiations to win over Gardiner to acquiescence' during the summer of 1550, *Cranmer*, 484, can be followed in *APC (1550-52)*, 43-4, 48, 65-9, 72-7. See also James Arthur Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (London, 1926), chaps 22-25; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, 45-6; Glyn Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic: The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), 285-90.

[71] These articles can be found in *APC (1550-52)*, 72-7.

[72] *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish x (1550-52)*, 214.

[73] Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, 289-90.

[74] *APC (1550-52)*, 75.

Bisshops, Priests and Deacons'.[75] The imposition of the Ordinal therefore aligned with the general objective of streamlining the formal structures and public worship of the Edwardian Church into a unified evangelical institution. The resounding ecclesiological significance of this was surely not lost on the Bishop of Winchester. At the start of Edward's reign, well before the Ordinal was produced, Gardiner had sensed that evangelicals had wanted to renovate the episcopate. In March 1547, Gardiner wrote to his one-time protégé William Paget, who was in the midst of switching his political and religious allegiance and now sat on the Council, warning him that the 'realme ... [could] not stande without' bishops as he understood their office to be.[76] He surmised that 'if they wer away, it wer a newe experience'.[77] In other words, if episcopacy was transformed, or worse abolished, the English government and its established Church would be radically different entities. The reformed Ordinal of 1550 brought Gardiner's fears to life. Most conspicuously, the new Ordinal omitted 'thordres of sub-deacons, Benet and Colet, and such others as were commonly called *minores ordines*', which had been authorised in the Henrician Church by the King's Book (1543).[78] The reason was that they 'be not necessarie by the Worde of God to be reteigned in the Churche'.[79] Thus these articles echoed the preface of the 1550 Ordinal by appealing to scripture to defend the retention of the three-tiered hierarchy of episcopacy.

It is important to point out that Gardiner was not being asked to undergo a process of re-ordination. The 1550 Ordinal had stated that previous rites were

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[75] Ibid. 76.

[76] *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. James Arthur Muller (Cambridge, 1933), 271. For William Paget, see Sybil M. Jack, 'Paget, William, first Baron Paget (1505/6–1563)', *Odnb* [accessed 12 September 2017].

[77] Ibid.

[78] *APC (1550-52)*, 76. The King's Book argued that the primitive church added 'other inferiour and lower degrees, as subdeacons, accolites, [and] exorcistes' to the orders of priests and deacon, *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man set furthe by the kynges maiestye of Englande* (1543), sig. M3v.

[79] Ibid. MacCulloch makes the point that the Act authorizing the Ordinal 'allowed the creation of 'other ministers of the Church' besides the main scripturally attested three', which was probably intended to allow for the introduction of readers. This provision was not used during Cranmer's time, however, and only sparingly by Archbishop Matthew Parker in the 1560s. *Cranmer*, 460.

still valid in the Edwardian Church.[80] However, accepting the new form of ordination and consecration implied that one also approved of the transformed understanding of holy orders, and therefore the new ecclesiology. This is ultimately where Gardiner drew the line in the sand. Earlier in the negotiations for his submission, Gardiner had allowed himself to accept the 1549 Prayer Book as 'a godly and christian booke and order' on account of the theologically equivocal order for Communion. [81] He would later argue that the 1549 Communion service maintained the doctrine of the real presence.[82] The latest liturgical reform in the shape of the Ordinal, however, did not present the same kind of theological ambiguity. This is perhaps one of the reasons why Gardiner could not accept those articles presented to him by Council. The significance of the Ordinal in this context has not been acknowledged before. Without mentioning the Ordinal, Glyn Redworth, Gardiner's most recent biographer, rather imprecisely suggests that sometime during his five-year imprisonment in the Tower from 1549 onwards, the former bishop began to question and ultimately to reject the royal supremacy that he had once so vigorously defended.[83] It is quite possible that the Ordinal was one of the triggers for this. For one thing, the new rite included 'The Oath of the King's Supremacy', which repudiated the ecclesiastical authority of Rome in no uncertain terms.[84] More importantly, though, the way clerical ministry was conceived had undergone a radical shift.

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[80] The Preface to the 1550 Ordinal stated: 'to the intent these orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (**not being at this present bishop, priest, nor deacon**) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following', BCP49, 292 (emphasis added).

[81] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, 1571.

[82] Gardiner, *An Explication and Assertion of the Catholic Faith touching the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*, as reprinted in Cranmer, *Answer*, passim, esp. sigs H4, H6-6v.

[83] Glyn Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, 287-91. For an example of Gardiner's defence of the royal supremacy during Edward's reign, see his letter to Ridley of February 1547 where he refers to 'the bishop of Romes pretended authoritie in government and usurped power in perdons'. *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, 255.

[84] BCP49, 299-300. The oath was replicated for deacons, priests and bishops, ibid. 308, 314.

For the centuries before Edward, and then again under Mary, bishops were seen as conduits of sacramental grace.[85] Now, for the first time, the official liturgy reflected the evangelical emphasis on the efficacy of the Word alone, over and above the quality of sacrifice offered in the Mass. To help demonstrate this, we turn to the literary battle between Cranmer and Gardiner that erupted in the context of Winchester's deprivation trial of 1550/51.[86]

In his *Defence*, published shortly after the Ordinal was promulgated, Cranmer cited Hebrews to argue that priests were no longer 'ordayned to offre gyftes & sacrifices for synnes' in the mould of Old Testament priests, since Christ was 'our euerlastyng priest, whiche onely by one oblacion of himselfe taketh away the synnes of the worlde'.[87] Against this, Gardiner used the authority of Peter Lombard in his *Explication* to maintain that 'the priest hath a special functiō to make this offering ... this sacrifice ... by the great power of the inuisible priest'.[88] Winchester went on to argue that Christ had ordered a 'daily sacrifice ... to be done ... [that] ought to be trusted upon to haue a propitiatory effect with God to the members of Christes body'.[89] Although the 1549 Prayer Book could be, and was, interpreted through a Roman Catholic lens, the 1550 Ordinal was an attempt to stop this. Compared to *Sarum*, which invested priests with 'power to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate the Mass (for both the living and the dead)', the reformed Ordinal commissioned priests to administer the sacraments on the 'authority' of God's Word.[90] Priests were to act in the name of Christ only, not as Christ. That is to say, they were not to offer another propitiatory sacrifice but to celebrate Christ's 'one oblacion once offered ... for the sinnes of the whole worlde ... until his comming again'.[91] If the Ordinal was used to clarify the sacramental duties of priests outlined in the 1549 Prayer Book, then Cranmer's *Defence* further clarified what the Ordinal expected of new ordinands.

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[85] Carleton, *Bishops and Reform*, 156-78. Cf. *A necessary doctrine*, sigs M1-2.
[86] See also MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 483-92.
[87] Cranmer, *Defence*, sig. Ee4v. For a fuller discussion of Cranmer's *Defence*, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 461-9.
[88] Gardiner, *Explication*, sig. Ll6v. For a fuller discussion of the *Explication*, see Muller, *Stephen Gardiner*, 204-16, 313.
[89] Ibid. sig. Mm2.
[90] Brightman, *The English Rite*, 994. Lampe makes a similar observation, 'The English Ordinal', 26-7.
[91] BCP49, 222.

The priest's role in administering the sacraments was reconceived in almost purely functional terms. Cranmer stated that

> Christ made no suche difference betwene the priest and the lay man, that the priest should make oblacion and sacrifice of Christ for the lay man, and eate the Lordes supper from him al alone, and distribute & apply it as him liketh. Christ made no suche difference, but the diffrence that is betwene the priest and the lay man in this matter, is onely in the ministration: that the priest (as a common minister of the church) doth minister and distribute the Lordes supper vnto other, and other receiue it at his handes. But the very supper it selfe, was by Christ instituted and geuen to the whole church, not to be offered and eaten of the priest for other men, but by him to be deliuered to all that would duely aske it.[92]

This was a rather democratic view of the Church. Spiritually speaking, there was no division between the ordained and laity. Since all were sinners, both echelons of the church came together to celebrate the Lord's Supper in unison as a physical representation of 'the whole church'. However, the temporal Church retained a division of labour because it was the ordained ministers who had undergone specific theological training to prepare them for this ministry. It was they who had taken the solemn oaths outlined in the Ordinal, not the laity.[93] And it was the ordained ministers who, in the words of Bucer, had 'a special requirement of the Holy Spirit that they should excel in those virtues by which they may be a particularly outstanding example to the flock'.[94] Cranmer went on to deploy a rather prosaic analogy in support of this:

> As in a princes house the officers & ministers prepare the table, and yet other (aswell as they) eate the meate and drynke the drynke: so do the priestes and ministers prepare the Lordes supper, reade the Gospell, and reherse Christes woordes, but all the people say therto: Amen.[95]

The collective 'Amen' was significant, for it was this that signified spiritual unity within the temporal Church. However, the spiritual unity that was signified in

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[92] Cranmer, *Defence*, sig. Ee3v.
[93] BCP49, 308-10.
[94] Bucer, *Concerning the True Care of Souls*, 47.
[95] Cranmer, *Defence*, sig. Ee3v. The domestic illustration Cranmer used quite possibly reflected his own household hierarchy, which was 'as well ordered and probably as large as those of his predecessors. See Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, 167-8.

sacramental participation was balanced by the practical need for a structured format, hence only the ordained minister was permitted to preside at the Lord's Supper.[96] This tension between the spiritual ideal and the practical reality was reflected in ecclesiastical governance. As Bucer observed, the visual Church required some kind of political order and hierarchy to function 'in an orderly and productive way'.[97] From this perspective, it made sense to retain episcopacy as the form of church governance in England since it had already been established as a working system independent from Rome. But ironically, it was this exact point about order and decency that caused acute tension within the evangelical camp at the same time as Gardiner's prosecution.

John Hooper *contra episcopos?*

Using deprivations to rid the Edwardian Church of men who stood in the way of reform was only one side of the coin. Cranmer also needed evangelical bishops to lead and enforce reform within their dioceses. However, the establishment faced the practical matter of finding suitable candidates for each see. Filling the vacancy of the new diocese of Gloucester after the death of its bishop, John Wakeman, in December 1549 proved to be a contentious affair.[98] It is not clear exactly when John Hooper came into the frame for this role. But his return to England from self-imposed exile in Zurich in May 1549 was marked by a heady schedule of preaching, which no doubt raised his profile.[99] Indeed it was on the strength of his preaching that Hooper was offered the bishopric of Gloucester.

An offer of a bishopric

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[96] Although those willing to partake in the Lord's Supper were to inform the curate beforehand, it was the ordained priest who actually presided over the administration of the bread and wine. See the introductory rubrics in BCP49, 212; BCP52, 377.

[97] Bucer, *Concerning the True Care of Souls*, 38.

[98] For Wakeman, see Caroline Litzenberger, 'Wakeman, John (*d.* 1549)', *ODNB* [accessed 27 July 2017].

[99] *Original Letters*, I 65-6. Hooper had fled England in response to the Act of Six Articles in 1539. For biographical details, see D. G. Newcombe, *John Hooper: Tudor Bishop and Martyr* (Oxford, 2009), 9-24.

In February 1550, Hooper was called by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer to deliver a series of weekly Lenten sermons before the Court of Edward VI.[100] Hooper preached on Wednesdays while John Ponet (one of Cranmer's chaplains) preached on Fridays.[101] Both were offered bishoprics soon after, which indicates something about their effectiveness as preachers; Hooper was offered Gloucester, while Ponet was offered Rochester.[102] That Hooper was invited to preach for such a significant occasion should not surprise us. According to John Foxe, Hooper had quite a reputation as a preacher:

> In his Sermons, according to his accustomed maner, he corrected sinne, and sharpely inueyed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the Church. The people in great flockes & companies, dayly came to heare his voyce, as the most melodious sounde and tune of Orpheus harpe, as the prouerbe sayth: In so much that often times, when he was preaching, the church should be so full, that none could enter further then the doores therof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in toung eloquent, in the scriptures perfect, in paynes indefatigable.[103]

John Butler, Hooper's close associate, concurred in a letter to Thomas Blaurer of Konstanz in February 1550, and was quick to add that Hooper's preaching had affected 'very many of the aldermen of London, who were veteran papists, [but now] have embraced Christ'.[104] Hooper's indefatigable spirit was also noticed by his wife, who complained to Bullinger in 1551 that her husband was working too hard because he preached three or four times a day.[105] Anne Hooper worried

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[100] *Original Letters*, I, 75. For the significance of official Lenten sermons at Court, see Peter McCulloch, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998), 55-70.

[101] Richard Scudamore reported to Philip Hoby on 23 February 1550 that alongside Hooper and Ponet, William Bill had preached 'on the ffurst Sonday ... and this present day Mr Latymar', *The Letters of Richard Scudamore*, 124.

[102] Rochester was newly vacant on account of Nicholas Ridley's translation to London on 28 February 1550 following Edmund Bonner's deprivation, *APC (1547-50)*, 400. King Edward made a note of this in his journal, *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, ed. W. K. Jordan (London, 1966), 23.

[103] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1570) xi, 1714

[104] *Original Letters*, II, 636.

[105] *Original Letters*, I, 108. For Hooper's own account of his busy preaching schedule in London during Lent 'by order of the duke of Somerset', see ibid. 75. Susan Brigden provides more detail, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1991), 458-63.

that 'these overabundant exertions should occasion a premature decay'.[106] Moreover, as Barrett Beer has pointed out, Hooper had high political connections; he was not the outsider to Edwardian religious politics he has commonly been assumed to be.[107] But while Ponet accepted his nomination to Rochester and was consecrated according to the new Ordinal in June 1550, Hooper refused his offer.[108] According to John Burcher, who couriered a report directly from Hooper to Bullinger in June 1550, Hooper 'could not allow himself with a good conscience to be consecrated with the vestments and tonsure of the papacy, which is not yet abolished in the case of the bishops'.[109] Almost immediately then, Hooper's attitude to the 1550 Ordinal was framed in ecclesiological terms.

Like the 1549 Prayer Book, the 1550 Ordinal provoked opprobrium from both sides of the Reformation divide. But while traditionalists detected a new form of ecclesiology, Hooper was disappointed to see a continuation of ceremonies associated with 'the old faith'. He expressed as much in his third Lenten sermon, delivered on 5 March 1550 just after the new Ordinal had been published.[110] Hooper took issue with the wording of 'The Oath of the King's

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[106] Ibid.

[107] Beer, 'Episcopacy and Reform', 236, fn. 18. Andrew Pettegree argued that by 'the spring of 1550 Hooper was fast becoming the most influential cleric at Court', *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), 30.

[108] For details of Ponet's consecration see, LPL Cranmer's Register fols. 330v-332. MacCulloch observes that Cranmer's Register 'made a particular point of recording the exact dress of those taking part', *Cranmer*, 473. Although Ponet held similarly negative views about clerical vestments, he was happy to overlook that requirement since the theology of the new Ordinal represented a clear departure from the Roman Pontifical, especially since clergy no longer had to take a vow of celibacy. See Mark Earngey, 'New Light on the Life and Theology of Bishop John Ponet (1514-1556)' (M.Phil Thesis, Oxford University, 2016), 38. On Ponet's sermon and subsequent consecration, see Mark Earngey, 'New Light on the Life and Theology of Bishop John Ponet (1514-1556)' (D.Phil Thesis, Oxford University, forthcoming). I thank Mark for sharing an early copy of his work with me.

[109] *Original Letters*, I, 665.

[110] Hooper's 1550 Lenten sermons were published under the title, *An Ouersight, and Deliberacion vpon the Holy Prophete Ionas: made, and vttered before the kynges maiestie, and his moost honorable councell, by Ihon Hoper in lent last past. Comprehended in seue[n] sermons. Anno. M.D.L.* (1550), and reprinted in *Early*

Supremacy' that all new deacons, priests and bishops had to swear.[111] Each ordinand was asked to invoke the help of 'God, all saints and the holy Evangelist' to carry out the 'derogacion, extirpacion, and extinguishmēt of the Bisshop of Rome'.[112] Hooper 'did not a little wonder' at the inclusion of saints here, and pondered that it was 'the faute of the correctoure in the printynge'.[113] Such faux-puzzlement was a 'common device of the time for legitimizing harsh words', as MacCulloch put it, and Cranmer was immediately outraged.[114] Within four days of preaching, the Archbishop brought Hooper before the Star Chamber on possible charges of sedition for what he had said about the oath.[115] Hooper was acquitted and subsequently nominated to the diocese of Gloucester on Ascension Day, 15 May 1550.[116] Meanwhile, Edward struck the insulting phrase out of the Ordinal with his own pen.[117]

What caused the most trouble for Hooper, though, was his stance on clerical vestments. The injunction that those 'be admitted to the ministery of goddes word or hys sacramentes must come in white vestimētes ... semeth to repugne playnelye' with the doctrine of salvation through scripture alone, which was emphasised in the new Ordinal, as Hooper pointed out.[118] This residue of traditional ceremony also contrasted with the practice of 'the primatiue and best church'.[119] Clerical garments were described by Hooper as 'the habit and vesture of Aron and the gentiles, [rather] then of the ministers of Christe'.[120] Hooper thus saw the requirement to wear vestments as a contradiction of the emerging evangelical identity within the Edwardian Church. His refusal to be consecrated

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Writings of Bishop Hooper, ed. Samuel Carr (Cambridge, 1843); 431-560. Hereafter *Oversight*.

[111] BCP49, 299-300.

[112] Ibid. 300.

[113] Hooper, *Oversight*, sig. H4 (*Early Writings*, 479).

[114] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 472.

[115] Ibid.

[116] *APC (1550-52)*, 30-31.

[117] John ab Ulmis related the story of Edward's action to Bullinger in August 1550, *Original Letters*, II, 416.

[118] Hooper, *Oversight*, sig. H4v (*Early Writings*, 479). The vestments required for ordination or consecration varied across the orders: deacons and priests wore a plain alb; bishops wore a surplice and cope, BCP49, 293, 307, 313.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid.

according to the 1550 Ordinal indicated a fear of being mistaken as a papist of the False Church. Although the theological thrust of the Ordinal did not allow for that, as discussed above, Hooper saw things in black and white. Any retention of traditional ceremony was automatically associated with false religion. He saw the late medieval obsession with the Mass being reiterated in the consecration service when the priest was handed a chalice with bread in one hand, and a bible in the other. If baptism was 'a sacramente as well as the other', Hooper asked derisively, then 'Why do they not as well gyue hym in hys hande the founte and the water' too?[121]

However, for all of Hooper's criticisms of the 1550 Ordinal, he did not seek to overthrow the politico-ecclesiological structures of the Edwardian Church. As Catharine Davies helpfully reminds us, although Hooper's 'radicalism might have led him to attack episcopacy, instead [he] restricted his objections to the vestiges of popery that he saw in vestments and in swearing by the saints during ordination'.[122] Once the reference to the saints was scratched out from the oath, Hooper had no issue with the fundamental premise of the English Church that the king was her Supreme Head. In fact he appealed to 'the Kynges Maiestye and his mooste honorable Councell to halte in anye parte' the ways in which the new rite perpetuated traditional religion.[123] The goal might have been 'to restore vs to the primatiue church', but this did not necessarily entail an overthrow of episcopacy and the relationship the magistrate had with his bishops.[124] Hooper argued for quite the opposite when he revisited this topic in his fifth sermon of Lent 1550. The king and his bishops had a mutual responsibility to keep each other on task in their respective offices:

> [While] It is not the offyce of the Byshoppe to playe the kinge and Lorde, nor the kinges parte to playe the Byshoppe ... let the kynge take hede he be able to iudge whether the Byshop do true seruice to God in his vocacion bi the worde of God, and let the Byshop do the same, take hede whether the kynge or councell wolde commaunde hym to do anye thynge contrarye to the workes of his vocacion, which is to preache gods worde.[125]

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[121] Ibid. sig. H5 (*Early Writings*, 479).
[122] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 104.
[123] Hooper, *Oversight*, sig. H5 (*Early Writings*, 479).
[124] Ibid. sig. H5v (*Early Writings*, 479).
[125] Ibid. sigs O1-v (*Early Writings*, 506-7).

Thus it would take a partnership of divines and secular rulers, each fulfilling their separate vocations, and both under the authority of scripture, to fully reform the kingdom.

This was not a new idea for the English Church. Hooper's thoughts echoed those of a theologically diverse group of Henrician bishops on the roles of clerics and Christian princes.[126] Responding to the call by Pope Paul III in 1537 to form a General Council in Mantua, these English bishops wrote from England to affirm 'the highness and excellency of christian princes' authority and power'.[127] But it was

> The bishops and priests [who] have charge of souls within their own cures, power to minister sacraments, and to teach the word of God, to the which word of God christian princes knowledge themselves subject; [but] in case the bishops be negligent, it is the christian princes' office to see them do their duty.[128]

This collective opinion suggests that, at the very least, Henrician bishops understood that part of their role was to instruct their monarch on how to be a Christian prince. Cranmer's influence on Edward's education is a good example of how seriously he took this.[129] By the time Hooper came to preach before the Court during Lent 1550, a culture of preaching to educate the magistrate had

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[126] The group included Cranmer, Cuthbert Tunstall of Durham, John Stokesley of London, Nicholas Shaxton of Salisbury, Thomas Goodrich of Ely, and Hugh Latimer of Worcester, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. J. E. Cox (Cambridge, 1846), 467-8. See also MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 193-4.

[127] Ibid. 468. There are two anonymous tracts on General Councils in Hatfield House Cecil Papers, MS 46 and 47. For discussion of these MSS, see P. A. Sawada, 'Two Anonymous Tudor Tracts on the General Council', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xii (1961), 179-214.

[128] Ibid.

[129] See Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2015), 106-38. Others have also pointed to Cranmer's speech at Edward's coronation, when he called the young king 'Josiah', to support this idea, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 127. However, Diarmaid MacCulloch has recently exposed Cranmer's coronation speech as a fabricated fiction emanating from the seventeenth-century Irish historian, Robert Ware, who used his pen as a weapon to fight Roman Catholicism and Protestant Dissenters. See, MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (London, 2016), 321-58.

been developed and was well established.[130] Hooper took his opportunity to remind the secular authorities of their godly duty since the magistrate was ultimately accountable to the Word of God. Unfortunately for Hooper, his plea to amend the Ordinal met with an icy reception. The theological controversy that ensued, along with the relevant events, is well known and has been rehearsed by scholars for many years. [131] It is only necessary here to outline the more significant moments in the affair.

The Vestments Controversy

Although Hooper was offered the See of Gloucester immediately following his Lenten sermons, he defiantly refused to be 'consecrated and anointed in the usual way', receive the tonsure, or, be addressed as 'my lord'.[132] By July, Hooper had won over (or worn down) the Council. He confidently reported to his Zurich mentor, Heinrich Bullinger, that he was happy to take 'upon myself the charge committed to me' [i.e. his bishopric], since the Council had agreed to his demands 'for the purity and comeliness of the rising church'.[133] At the same time, the king made a note in his diary that 'Hooper was made Bishop of Gloucester'.[134] What the Privy Council could not do, however, was to convince Cranmer and Ridley to consecrate Hooper without the prescribed garments.[135]

In August, Ridley took his grievances to the Council directly, and argued in person that clerical vestments were a matter of indifference and could therefore

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[130] Stephen Alford discusses this culture of preachers instructing Edward on how to be a Christian prince in detail, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002), 32-64.

[131] For recent narratives, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 471-82; Newcombe, *John Hooper*, 145-64. For a full treatment see Primus, *Vestments Controversy*; D. A. Scales, 'Henry Bullinger and the Vestment Controversies in England' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1978).

[132] Christopher Hales' letter to the Zurich reformer Rudolf Gwalter, May 1550, *Original Letters*, I, 187.

[133] *Original Letters*, I, 87.

[134] *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, 40.

[135] As Bishop of London, Ridley had been asked by Cranmer to participate in Hooper's consecration. Primus points out that Ridley had already participated in other ordination and consecration services that deviated from the approved Ordinal; these were Bishop Farrar of St David's, and Deacons John Bradford and Thomas Sampson. See Primus, *Vestments Controversy*, 12-13.

be used despite having no scriptural mandate. [136] There was also an issue regarding obedience to the 1549 Act of Supremacy and the Prayer Book of the same year. The Prayer Book's section entitled 'Of ceremonies' admitted that 'the keping or omytting of a ceremonie ... is but a small thyng: Yet the wilful and contempuous transgression, and breakyng of a common ordre, and disciplyne, is no small offence before God'.[137] Hooper's objectionable behaviour was easily portrayed as an act of wilful disobedience. In essence, however, the whole controversy turned on the theological definition of *adiaphora*.[138]

In October, Hooper wrote a formal paper addressed to the Council that outlined his view of *adiaphora* under four headings; he was implicitly justifying his wilful disobedience at the same time. [139] According to Hooper, things indifferent had to have their 'source and ground in the Word of God', but importantly also

> ... not have a positive command by which it is ordered, nor a negative command by which it is prohibited, but that it is left free and unimpaired, for us to use or not to use, just as it shall seem helpful or unhelpful to the conscience of the user.[140]

Since vestments 'lack this primitive characteristic', Hooper concluded that 'we exclude vestments from the number of the adiaphora'.[141] Such was the logic that prompted Hooper to oppose wearing clerical garb at his ordination. In Hooper's

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[136] Ibid. 14-15.
[137] BCP49, 286.
[138] Primus provides a thorough account of the theological exchange between Hooper and Ridley, as well as the views of Jan Łaski, Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr Vermigli. Ibid. 35-59.
[139] These notes were discovered and published by C. Hopf, 'Bishop Hooper's 'Notes' to the King's Council, 3 October 1550', *The Journal of Theological Studies* xliv (1943), 194-9. I thank Derek Scales for providing a full translation of these Latin notes, see Appendix 1.
[140] '*originem suam et fundamentum in verbo Dei habere debent ... Quamvis Res Originem suam habeat in Scriptura, requiritur tamen si sit Indifferens, vt neque preceptum habeat affirmatiuum quo iubeatur, neque Negatiuum quo prohibeatur, sed vt liberu atque integrum , ad vtendum , vel non vtendum , nobis relinquatu vtentis Conscienciae vtile, aut inutile videbitur*', ibid, 196-7.
[141] '*Quare quum hac prima proprietate careant, quae in rebus indifferentibus requiritur, vestimenta ex Adiaphororum numéro excludimus...'*, ibid. 198.

eyes, vestments were just as unedifying as candles, crosses and altars and should be removed from public worship altogether.[142]

Ridley countered with his own paper to the Council, which dealt with each of Hooper's theological propositions in sequence.[143] The Bishop of London maintained that vestments were indifferent, and could be lawfully required by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church. In fact no liturgical or ecclesiastical change could be initiated without the consent of the Crown and parliament.[144] This argument carried the day. Hooper was denied his bishopric until he conceded this point. Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer both counselled Hooper to do so for the sake of good order and decency after reading a copy of his notes on *adiaphora* in November and December.[145] But Hooper remained resolute (due in great part to the encouragement of Jan Łaski) throughout the season of Advent and into the new year; even a period of internment at Lambeth under the watchful eye of Cranmer and the interpolations of Martyr could not sway him.[146] He was more compliant after a stint in the Fleet prison, from where he finally wrote a letter of contrition to Cranmer on 15 February 1551.[147] Hooper was finally consecrated in full clerical garb on 8 March.[148]

The exact reasons for Hooper's decision to back down remain opaque. Perhaps, the embarrassment of being imprisoned alongside the recently deprived non-evangelical bishops, Heath and Day, prompted a sense of humility

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[142] Hooper had already argued in his 1550 Lenten sermons that if 'Candels, Uestiments, Crosses, Altars ... be kept in the church as thynges indifferēt, at lēgth they wyl be mayntayned as thynges necessary', *Oversight*, sig. S7v (*Early Writings*, 534).
[143] A copy of Ridley's reply is reproduced in *The Writings of John Bradford*, ed. A. Townsend (Cambridge, 1853), 373-94.
[144] See MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 481-3.
[145] Gorham, *Gleanings*, 185-209.
[146] Hooper wrote to Bullinger in August 1551 explaining that Łaski 'alone, of all the foreigners who have any influence, stood by my side', *Original Letters*, I, 95. For Łaski's role in the affair, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 477-84; Primus, *Vestments Controversy*, 35-43; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 40-42; Dirk W. Rodgers, *John à Lasco in England* (New York, 1994), 149-57. In a letter to Bucer, Martyr complains about Łaski's interference with Hooper during his time at Lambeth in January 1551, Gorham, *Gleanings*, 233.
[147] BL Add MS 28571 fol. 25v. trans. Gorham, *Gleanings*, 233-5.
[148] LPL Cranmer's Register fols. 332-3.

and contrition inside Hooper.[149] But Bullinger's role in this affair should not be underestimated either. It was on his advice that Hooper sought the judgement of other godly men such as Bucer and Martyr. That Bucer and Martyr did not support Hooper is beside the point. It is quite possible that a letter (which has not survived) Hooper received from his Zurich mentor while in prison 'marked the turning point in the Edwardine controversy' as Hooper tended his submission soon after.[150]

Another factor that upset the ecclesiastical balance at the same time, by implicitly undermining the formal structure of episcopacy, was the foundation of the Stranger Church.[151] The significance of this lies not only in the theological affinity between Hooper and Jan Łaski, as demonstrated throughout the vestments controversy.[152] But also in the fact that the Stranger Church received its charter securing the use of the Austin Friars property, along with liberties to 'freely and quietly ... exercise their own rites and ceremonies and their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline', the day after Hooper was granted permission by the Council to be consecrated without vestments.[153] What appeared to be an outpost of Zurich in the heart of London would continue to cause issues for the Edwardian Church because the charter effectively placed the Stranger Church outside the episcopal oversight of Ridley. The Bishop of London had no jurisdictional power over Łaski, who used his profile as 'Superintendent' to press for further reforms well after the Hooper affair was concluded.[154] It is also highly

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[149] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 482.

[150] Scales, 'Henry Bullinger and the Vestments Controversies in England', 51-61, at 60.

[151] Pettegree provides a narrative of the vestments controversy that importantly highlights the impact of the Stranger Church, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 30-45. Following Pettegree's definition, the singular form of 'Church' is being used throughout this thesis because under Edward all foreign churches were conglomerated under one title in the charter.

[152] See fn. 146.

[153] Hooper was permitted to be consecrated on his own terms on 23 July 1550; the Stranger church received their charter on 24 July. See Primus, *Vestments Controversy*, 11-12; Pettegree, 33. The charter is reprinted in J. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars: History of the Dutch Reformed Church in London, 1550-1950*, trans. D. de Iongh (The Hague, 1950), 198-203, at 202.

[154] Łaski continued to seek the removal of clerical vestments, and also suggested that kneeling during Communion was inappropriate. The charter also granted Łaski 'full faculty, power and authority to amplify and make greater the number

possible that the model of 'the best reformed churches' provided inspiration for John Knox, another non-English-born reformer who did not approve of episcopacy, to harass Cranmer and the Court to accelerate the reform programme in 1552.[155]

It had been an intense twelve months for the evangelical establishment since Hooper's initial protest. The Duke of Somerset's final fall from grace; Edward's testy confrontation with Mary over her continued celebration of Mass; the deprivation trial of Stephen Gardiner; and the burning of the Anabaptist Joan Bocher all coincided with Hooper's principled stand against the Ordinal between summer 1550 and summer 1551.[156] Once these challenges from within and without had been resolved, Cranmer's ability to guide the direction of the Edwardian Reformation was consolidated for the time being; his political battle with John Dudley as Chief Minister was just beginning.[157]

Episcopacy Strengthened

This brief overview of the vestments controversy reminds us that Protestantism in early modern Britain was thoroughly international in character, which was most prominently seen during Edward's reign. Kenneth Carleton's discussion of episcopal reform requires some nuancing in this respect. Too often he portrays the evangelical wing of bishops as a unified bloc without adequately distinguishing between the distinct influences of Zurich, Strasbourg, Poland, and to a lesser degree Wittenberg, upon the thinking and actions of the Edwardian

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of ministers' within his congregation where and when necessary, Lindeboom, *Austin Friars*, 202. See also Rodgers, *John à Lasco*, 141-57. On Łaski's influence on the Edwardian Church, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Łaski in the English Reformation', in Christoph Strohm (ed.), *Johannes a Lasco (1499-1560): polnischer Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator* (Tübingen, 1997), 325-45.

[155] Patrick Collinson, 'Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', in Collinson, *Godly People*, 247-8; Michael Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church: John a Lasco and the forma ac ratio* (Aldershot, 2007), 46-9; Rodgers, *John à Lasco*, 146-7, 162-4.

[156] For a narrative on these events see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 474-98; Loach, *Edward VI*, 116-34.

[157] See MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 498-500,520-41.

bishops.[158] One way to read the Edwardian vestments controversy is as an allegory of the divisions within the wider evangelical community. If the influence of Bucer on Cranmer's thinking was expressed in the Ordinal, then Hooper's reaction reflected that of Bullinger and Zwingli.[159] Edwardian England was therefore another theatre in the longstanding theological battle between Strasbourg and Zurich. Of course, the reality was not quite as neat. For instance Łaski was Polish by birth, had left his East Frisian ministry in Emden before taking refuge in England, and had also spent considerable time enjoying Cranmer's hospitality at Lambeth in 1548 and 1550.[160] Łaski and Hooper were also later invited by Cranmer to contribute to the revision of canon law and the Prayer Book, as well as helping the archbishop to devise the *Forty-Two Articles*.[161] Thus it should not come as a surprise to note that the 1552 Prayer Book, with its revised Ordinal attached, responded to the concerns that Hooper had raised in 1550.

The most obvious liturgical changes were manifested in the ceremonial rubrics. The revised Ordinal of 1552 omitted the rubrics requiring ordinands to wear an alb, and bishops no longer had to wear surplices and copes during their consecration.[162] Neither was the priest presiding at Communion required to

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[158] Carleton highlights the influence of Luther more than any other continental theologian, *Bishops and Reform*, 17-18, 27, 72.

[159] Bucer and Bullinger did not see eye to eye on a number of issues, especially on sacramental theology and Bucer's ecumenical outlook. For examples of how those connected to Zurich reacted to Bucer's ministry in England, see *Original Letters*, I, 37-8, II, 650-51, 678-9. For an impression of Bucer's attitude toward Zurich, see Gorham, *Gleanings*, 142-3. See also Constanin Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1946), 12-13; Wilhelm Pauck, *Heritage of the Reformation* (Oxford, 2nd edn 1961) 95; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 27-33. Hooper had been called 'the future Zwingli of England', see Newcombe, *John Hooper*, 36-87.

[160] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 395, 478. For a fuller biographical discussion of Łaski's career that spanned Europe, see Basil Hall, *John à Lasco 1499-1560: a Pole in Reformation England* (Friends of Dr Williams's Library Twenty-Fifth Lecture, London, 1971), 1-33.

[161] Ibid. 500-506. For a list of 'the xxxij persones' authorised to 'resolve uppin the reformacion of the Cannon Lawes', see *APC (1550-52)*, 382.

[162] For comparison of the consecration rites see BCP49, 293, 307, 313, BCP52, 439, 453, 459.

wear 'the vesture appoincted for that ministery' any more.[163] This change was obvious and significant enough to elicit a comment in Wriothesley's *Chronicle*. When he recorded the inauguration of the new Prayer Book on 1 November 1552, he also made note that on

> This day all copes and vestments were put downe through England, and the prebendaries of Pawles left of their hoodes, and the Bishops their crosses, so that all prestes and clarkes should use none other vestmentes, at service nor communion, but surplisses onely.[164]

During their ordination, priests were now only given a Bible and not the chalice and bread, which underlined their primary role as preachers and teachers while silently dismissing any notion of receiving sacerdotal power.[165] Bishops no longer received a pastoral staff or had the Bible placed on their necks, but rather had it 'delivered' to them.[166]

Even more than altering these simple ceremonial gestures, the reconstituted Communion service gave a new liturgical role specifically to bishops that emphatically underlined evangelical theology. While the 1549 service of the Lord's Supper had no specific role for a bishop, the 1552 version gave him two distinct functions to perform if he were present. The first was to pronounce the absolution in response to the general confession, which is then followed by the priest reciting the 'comfortable words' of Christ.[167] The visual significance of this cannot have been lost on the congregations of Edwardian England. Rather than have the bishop consecrate the elements, his duty was to remind those present of God's 'promised forgiueness of synnes ... through Jesus Christe our Lorde' for those who 'with hartie repentaunce and true fayth turne

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[163] The full rubric in the 1549 Communion Service reads: '...the Priest that shal execute the holy ministery, shall put upon hym the vesture appoincted for that ministracion, that is to say: a white Albe plain, with a vestement or Cope. And where there be many Priestes, or Decons, there so many shalbe ready to helpe the Priest, in the ministracion, as shalbee requisite: And shall haue upon them lykewise the vestures appointed for their ministery, that is to saye, Albes with tunacles...', BCP49, 212, compare with BCP52, 377.
[164] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, 78-9.
[165] BCP52. 457.
[166] BCP52, 463.
[167] BCP52, 387.

unto hym'. [168] This indicated that receiving God's unconditional love for unworthy sinners was more important than receiving the physical bread and wine. This same principle was echoed in the rubrics of the liturgy for 'The Communion of the Sick'.[169] The second task designated for a bishop was to conclude the service by giving the blessing. Hence the highest-ranking cleric present had the responsibility of sending God's people out into the world in 'the peace of God' which will 'kepe youre heartes and mynds in the knowledge and loue of God'.[170] According to these liturgical reforms, the bishop could not be viewed as a conduit of sacramental grace. Instead, he acted as a mouthpiece of God's Word in pronouncing forgiveness of sins. Since Bucer did not mention bishops in his *Censura*, these Prayer Book edits are quite possibly Cranmer's own work. Ironically, the liturgical function of a bishop in public worship had become more prominent after the vestments controversy.

Noting these liturgical changes brings us back to the central question of how episcopacy survived the Edwardian Reformation. According to Jennifer Loach, Archbishop Cranmer's triumph in the vestments controversy effectively 'saved' episcopacy in England. [171] Had Hooper prevailed, 'the whole shape of the English Church thereafter would have been different'.[172] But this assessment rests on the assumption that Hooper intended to abolish episcopacy all together, as many have previously argued.[173] Basil Hall claimed that the 'uninspiring reductionism moulded by the pattern of Zurich and promoted by a handful of Swiss-oriented zealots led by 'Superintendent' Hooper would have left Elizabeth I and Cecil with no adequate basis for restoring the Church – fortunately Cranmer had laid some foundations'.[174] But this negative view of Hooper needs to be weighed in light of the evidence.

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[168] BCP52, 387.
[169] BCP52, 422-3. See chapter four on sacrament for further details.
[170] Ibid. 391.
[171] Loach, *Edward VI*, 129.
[172] Ibid. 130.
[173] See fns. 7-10.
[174] Basil Hall, 'Cranmer's Relations with Erasmianism and Lutheranism', in Paul Ayris and David Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar* (The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 1993), 4.

John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester

Hooper never objectively rejected the concept of episcopacy. Hooper's letter of submission to Cranmer (15 Feb 1551) suggests that he had at least accepted the ecclesiastical structure of the Church of England at this point in the ordeal. His appeal to council in October 1550 was justified as an attempt 'to purge myself from every charge of disobedience and contempt of the Royal authority and of your clemency; and, to this end, I introduced a few arguments which had hitherto had influence with me'. [175] Hooper's official submission to the established ecclesiastical structure and hierarchy was given during his long- awaited consecration in March 1551. Cranmer's register records Hooper reciting the oath of due obedience:

> I John Howper Chosen Busshoppe of the Church and See of glocester do professe and promise all due Reverence and obedience to you T. Archebyshoppe and to the metropoliticall Church of Cantur and to yor Successe^{r}s so helpe me god, and his holie gospell.[176]

Hooper was also happy to swear to

> ...utterlie renowence refuse relinquissh and forsake the Busshoppe of Rome and his auctorite power and Iurisdeccon ... And I from hensfo^{r}th will accepte repute and take the kings maiestie to be the supreme head in earth of the Church of England ... I will observe kepe maynteyne & defende the Hoole effects and contentes of all and singuler Rites and Statutes made and to be made within this Realme ... in reformation and corroboration of the kinges power as the Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England...[177]

From all accounts, Bishop Hooper certainly did 'from henceforth' uphold this oath. Soon after taking office, Peter Martyr reported to Rudolf Gwalter in April 1551 that Hooper 'discharges his duty faithfully and earnestly'.[178] Bullinger must have felt a sense of pride in his protégé when he wrote to Utenhoven in November 1551 informing him that Hooper is 'laborious, indefatigable, and

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[175] Hooper is here referring to his 'Notes to Council' (October 1550). BL Add MS 28571 fol. 25v, trans. Gorham, *Gleanings*, 233-5, at 234.
[176] This was the standard oath of due obedience as found in the Ordinal. LPL Cranmer's Register, fol. 333. Ponet swore the same oath, ibid. fol. 331v.
[177] This was the Oath of the King's Supremacy. Ibid. fol. 332v.
[178] Gorham, *Gleanings*, 262.

wonderfully diligent in his office'.[179] A few years later John Foxe reflected, 'of all those vertues and qualities required of S. Paule in a good bishop in his epistle to Timothe, I know not one in this good bishop lacking'.[180] He 'behaued him selfe so well' as Bishop of Gloucester that not even 'hys very enemies (except it were for hys good doinges, and sharpe correcting of sinne) could finde no fault with him: and after that hee was made bishop of Worcester.'[181] Although Hooper had previously denounced episcopal pluralism, he accepted Worcester since it was combined with Gloucester into one diocese.[182]

The visitation records made by Hooper as Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester from 1551-1552 certainly corroborate these contemporary reports.[183] Hooper was also dutiful in reporting the progress of his visitations to William Cecil.[184] Both the visitation records and letters reveal a bishop who leveraged his episcopal authority to enforce reforms and maintain theological standards amongst his clergy.[185] However it must be pointed out that he was not

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[179] Ibid. 276.
[180] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1570) xi, 1714.
[181] Ibid. 1715.
[182] BL Lansdowne MS 980/126 fol. 173v notes that 'A patent and Grant made by the Kings Maiesty to the Bp of Gloucester John Hoper for uniting the Bishopricks of the said Counties of Worcestre and Gloucestre into one and loke one from henceforth of one Dyoces ... 8th Decemb. 6. Ed. VI. 1552'. For Hooper's comments on pluralism, see *A Declaration of the .x. Holy Commaundementes of Almighty God written Exo .xx. Deu .v. Collected oute of the Scripture canonicall, by Iohn Houper, with certayne new addicions made by the same maister Houper* (1550), sig. M7 (*Early Writings*, 395-6).
[183] Three copies of Hooper's visitation book exist. The earliest version dates from the eighteenth century and is located in Dr Williams's Library, Morice MS 31 L/3. The two other copies are located BL Add MS 21251, and Gloucester Public Library, 'Hockaday Collections, vi, no. 2. The BL copy is a transcript presented by the Parker Society and is reprinted in *Later Writings of Bishop Hooper* (Cambridge, 1852), 117-56. For discussion on these copies, and Hooper's visitation, see D. G. Newcombe, 'John Hooper's visitation and examination of the clergy in the diocese of Gloucester, 1551', in Beat A. Kümin (ed.) *Reformations old and new: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470-1630*, ed. (Aldershot, 1996), 65-6. See also James Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation of Gloucester', *The English Historical Review*, xix (1904), 98–121.
[184] Hatfield House Cecil Papers 151/79, 151/104. BL Lansdowne MS 2 fols. 199-200v, 202-203v, reprinted with some minor discrepancies in *Later Writings*, xvii-xx.
[185] The fullest account of Hooper's episcopal career remains F. D. Price, 'Gloucester Diocese under Bishop Hooper, 1551-3', *Transactions of the Bristol*

completely successful in this, as he complained in 1551 that many people 'commonly' failed to take Communion according to the 1549 Prayer Book.[186] Ridley carried out a similar systematic visitation of London, and it seems was just as exacting in his assessments of clergy.[187]

In Gloucester and Worcester, Hooper sought to achieve reform in two ways. First, he became personally involved in the machinery and operation of the diocesan consistory courts.[188] Second, he drew up a set of articles for all diocesan clergy to subscribe to.[189] These articles mimicked Cranmer's draft *Forty-Two Articles* that had been in circulation for subscription amongst 'preachers and lecturers of divinity' as early as 1549.[190] However, as doctrinally sound as Hooper's articles might have been, his visitation of Worcester was cut short due to 'the negligense and vngodly behauour of the ministers in Glouc. shere compellyd me to returne'.[191] Thus he urged Cecil to 'cause the Articles that the Kinges ma^{iest} spake of when we toke o^{r} oaths, to be set forth by his authorite ... for I will cause eny minister to confess them openly before there parisheners'.[192] Hooper had already made his clergy sign a petition of subscription to his Diocesan articles, but as he admitted 'prescibing p^{ri}vetely in the papers I p^{r}euce little avaylith as not wthstanding that, they speak as Euell as gadd faith as ever

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*and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*3 lx (1938), 51-151. See also Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge, 1997), 67-82; Newcombe, 'John Hooper's visitation', 57-70, idem. *John Hooper*, 165-206.

[186] *VAI*, II, 283. Cf. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 494.

[187] Ibid. 230-45; *Original Letters*, I, 187-8; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, 38, 41, 79, 83-4. The Grey Friars Chronicler noted that in April 1552 Ridley commanded that the 'olde costome that sent Gorge shulde be kepte holy day ... shulde not be kept, and no more it was not', *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. John Gough Nichols (Camden Society, 53, 1852), 74. See also Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 463-4.

[188] Price, 'Gloucester Diocese under Bishop Hooper', 65-99.

[189] These articles reflected both the *Forty-Two Articles*, which were still in their embryonic state, and Ridley's articles and injunctions for London Diocese. *VAI*, II, 230-45, 267-309.

[190] Hooper mentions these articles in a letter to Bullinger in December 1549, *Original Letters*, I, 71-2. See also MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 503-504.

[191] BL Lansdowne MS 2 fol. 199.

[192] Ibid. The King's Articles referred to here are the *Forty-Two Articles* that were promulgated in 1553.

they dyd before they subscribyd'. [193] Apparently wayward clergy and their congregations would be brought to heel under the greater authority wielded by the Supreme Head of the Church. While Hooper's eagerness to push on with reform is reiterated here, this appeal to Edward's authority also reinforces the impression that Hooper wanted to work within the established structures of governance. Moreover, Hooper's dedication to the coercive method of subscription puts him at odds with later puritans who found outright subscription so offensive, but with whom Hooper has so often been closely associated.[194]

It is also important to note that Hooper combined the jurisdictional and doctrinal duties of episcopal office with genuine pastoral care. As bishop, he offered daily hospitality to 'beggers and poore folke', worked to reconcile unhappy marriages, and tried to resolve family feuds over disputed wills.[195] The Duchess of Somerset also received Hooper's pastoral care; he was given access to the wife of his former patron 'for the settling of her conscience' while she remained in the Tower following her husband's beheading until Mary's accession.[196] In addition, his affection for his wife, Anne, never wavered. When Hooper was imprisoned under Mary and Anne was safe on the continent, he sent the following instruction 'To my beloved in the Lord W.P – I have sent you letters for my wife who is at Frankeford in High Almayne St pray you convei them honestely and spedily, 29. Apr. 1554'.[197] The urgency with which this note is laced is a striking example of Hooper's sensitivity and pastoral heart, even in the face of imminent death.

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[193] Ibid.

[194] On the objections Puritans made to subscription, see Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 243-72; Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), 46-54; Kenneth Fincham, 'Clerical Conformity from Whitgift to Laud', 125-58, and Peter Lake, 'Moving the Goal Posts? Modified Subscription and the Construction of Conformity in the Early Stuart Church', 179-210, in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000).

[195] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1570) xi, 1717. See also Price, 'Gloucester Diocese', 80. Latimer had set a precedent of generosity when he was Bishop of Worcester in the 1530s, see Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, 164-9.

[196] *APC (1550-52)*, 465-6, at 466.

[197] BL Lansdowne MS 980/126 fol. 174v.

It appears, then, that Hooper did not want to overthrow episcopacy, or even subvert the politico-ecclesiastical authority. Rather he was willing to work within the established system of episcopacy. Hooper's exercise of episcopal office drew high praise from Foxe, who described it as 'a spectacle to all Bishops which shal euer hereafter succede him, not only in that place but in what soeuer Dioces through the whole Realme of England.'[198] Yet the paradoxical reality of Hooper's impetuous attitude combined with his ecclesiastical conformity has confused many historians. His most recent biographer describes the bishop as 'an enigma'; Hooper was 'a curious mixture of Cistercian monk and Zurich protestant ... equally committed to the embryonic Church of England [yet] desiring to change it within its existing structures ... with vigour and imagination'.[199] So why has it been so hard for scholars to accept that Hooper embraced episcopacy?

Part of the reason must lie in the intriguing note Hooper made about appointing 'Superintendents in Glouc. shere' in a letter to Cecil written in October 1552. [200] These men were appointed in response to the lack of theological acumen that Hooper discovered among his clergy during his visitations.[201] Their appointments had been anticipated by Hooper in his 1550 Lenten sermons when he suggested that bishops should 'institute and take vnto hym some wyse and learned preacher to helpe him' as a 'coumpanion and coadiutor', especially when age or learning hampered a bishop's ability to fulfill his office; or in Hooper's case when distance and geography were significant obstacles.[202] Yet these 'superintendents' remain a mystery. Although F. D. Price claims that these ministerial assistants were an imitation of Łaski's model of churchmanship, he also admits that 'nothing is known to their work or fate'.[203]

We are given one clue as to why Hooper appointed 'superintendents' in a letter to Cecil, written 2 February 1553. Almost exactly two years after being

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[198] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1570) xi, 1716.
[199] Newcombe, *John Hooper*, 233-4.
[200] BL Lansdowne MS 2 fol. 202.
[201] See Price, 'Gloucester Diocese', 110-16; *Later Writings*, xvii-xx. Carleton notes that Hooper had 'ordained' Robert Byocke, curate of Stroud, without any formal ceremony involving the official Ordinal, *Bishops and Reform*, 170.
[202] Hooper, *Oversight*, sigs O3-v (*Early Writings*, 507-508).
[203] Price, 'Gloucester Diocese', 110.

consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, Hooper remained 'Doubtles' in his conviction that there was 'agreat flock that christ will save in England', but if only there were enough workers for the harvest.[204] He still complained about the lack of 'sober, lernyd, and wyse men' to ensure that 'godes flock [was] fed'.[205] Hooper singled out the minister of 'Hertilbury' and threatened to remove him on the strength of Ezekiel 33, that 'terrible and yet most trew sentence' that underlined the responsibility of God's watchmen to warn Israel about impending danger.[206] It appears as if Hooper's enthusiasm for reform was taking a while to catch on at the grassroots level in his diocese. Surely the appointment of 'superintendents' was intended to fill the void of qualified ministers; he had previously bemoaned the want of 'goode men in the Cathedrall Churches!'[207] One wonders whether Bucer would have approved of this unilateral move, having raised concerns about the quality of parish ministers himself. [208] Still, appointing 'superintendents' does not necessary mean that Hooper rejected episcopacy. In fact, the opposite is equally plausible. As we have seen, there is every reason to believe that Hooper relished the opportunities for reform that were created by taking episcopal office. Moreover, he was happy to call himself a bishop and use that term in his preaching and writing, which we will examine shortly.

In terms of ecclesiological language, the Latin term 'superintendent' was not used in any English translation of the Bible in this period; even the 1560 English translation of the Geneva Bible, which John Knox had a significant hand in preparing, retained the term 'bishop'.[209] It was actually John Ponet – not

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[204] Hatfield House Cecil Papers 151/79.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Hooper used the Greek translation to ram his point home in his letter to Cecil. 'Hertilbury' was under review according to 'this terrible and yet most trew sentence: καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ σκοποῦ ἐκζητήσω [*Ezekiel*, xxxiii. *v*. 6.]', ibid. 'But if the watchman sees the sword coming and does not blow the trumpet to warn the people and the sword comes and takes someone's life, that person's life will be taken because of their sin, but I will hold the watchman accountable for their blood', Ezekiel 33:6.
[207] BL Lansdowne MS 2 fol. 202.
[208] See above, p. 35.
[209] The Great Bible (1540), the Matthew Bible and Erasmus's *Paraphrases* translated the Greek word ἐπίσκοπος (episkopos) in 1 Timothy 3 as 'bishop'. *The Byble in Englyshe ...* (1540) sig. Ll3v; *The Bible in Englishe: that is to saye The content of al the holy scripture ...* (Matthew Bible) (1550), sig. Q5v; Erasmus, *The*

Hooper – who toyed with the idea of replacing the terminology of 'bishop' with 'superintendent' to purge the office of any negative connotations associated with Roman Catholicism.[210] The concept of a 'superintendent' was wholly derived from scripture, and underlined the preaching and pastoral elements of ministry as opposed to the secular distractions in which prelates had previously indulged. During the Marian exile, John Scory, Bishop of Rochester under Edward, used the term in a letter to the English congregation at Frankfurt in late 1554. Although he offered to become the 'superintendant of youre churche at francford', his proposition was ignored.[211] Interestingly, though, as the hostilities of the so-called 'Troubles of Frankfurt' were being resolved in mid-1555, Ponet counselled John Bale, as Bishop of Ossory, Ireland, to 'blow the trumpet therfor boldly the trumpet of Gods treuth [i.e. preach and admonish], and play the bushop amonge your companions ther, as thoughe ye were amonge your flok in Yerland'.[212] This suggests that episcopal authority still carried some weight amongst the exile communities, especially in the sense that Bale's ecclesiastical rank would help him to restore order to the fractured congregation.[213]

Despite all this, modern scholarship seems to have confused Bishop Hooper's appointment of 'superintendents' with a proto-puritan ecclesiology that ultimately resulted in either a Congregationalist or Presbyterian ecclesiology. This assumption is based largely on the close links Hooper had with

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first tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Newe Testamente (1548), sigs BBBB2v-4. The 1560 Geneva Bible retained the use of 'bishop' in this passage, and in Titus 1: *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament, translated according to the Ebrue and Greke…* (Geneva, 1560), sigs BBb1v, BBb4v; as did the 1587 edition, *The Bible: that is, the Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament…* (1587), sig. Mmm5.

[210] Earngey has pointed out that Ponet was drawing on Łaski for this concept of superintendancy, 'New Light on the Life of John Ponet', 36-8, 193-5. Both Beer and Carleton correctly point to Ponet and not Hooper as the one Edwardian bishop who mooted this change, although neither forms the link between Ponet and the Polish reformer. Beer, 'Episcopacy and Reform', 237; Carleton, *Bishops and Reform*, 50-1.

[211] Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, 32. See also Timothy Duguid, 'The 'Troubles' at Frankfurt: a new chronology', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, xiv (2012), 248.

[212] BL Additional MS 29546, fol. 25. See also E. J. Baskerville, 'John Ponet in Exile: a Ponet Letter to John Bale', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxvii (1986), 442–447.

[213] For Bale's bishopric, see chapter two.

Zurich and Łaski. We must remember, though, that the model of superintendency that Łaski embodied in the Stranger Church was an anomaly within the Edwardian Church. And while we can accept Pettegree's claim that Hooper saw the existence of the Stranger Church as 'a constant spur to further reform in the English Church itself', this did not necessarily mean that Hooper advocated an overthrow of episcopacy.[214] Łaski operated outside the formal structures of the Church of England, and there is little to suggest that his churchmanship or liturgical reforms had any material impact on the direction of the English Reformation until after Edward had died.[215] While Łaski's innovative liturgy known as the *Forma ac ratio* was begun in 1551, it was not printed until 1555 in Frankfurt.[216] And although it was composed at roughly the same time as the second *Book of Common Prayer*, there is no demonstrable literary dependence of Cranmer's revised liturgy on Łaski's.[217] Furthermore, the process of electing new ministers in the Stranger Church involved the entire congregation: the laity nominated men for these positions before a secret ballot was held, followed by an interview of the successful candidate by the elders who would then present the candidate to the entire Church for their approval, at which point the laity could then raise any objections before the decision was ratified.[218] From what we can tell, the English congregation in Frankfurt employed a similar method of appointing their ministers during the Marian exile; John Knox accepted the invitation of the elders, who were acting on the congregation's will, to become minister there in late 1554.[219] By contrast, Hooper's appointment of

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[214] Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 35.
[215] On Łaski's influence on the communities of Marian exiles, see Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church*, 111-32.
[216] Ibid. 41-58; Rodgers, *John à Lasco*, 51-80.
[217] Ibid. 149-53; Rodgers, *John à Lasco*, 141-49.
[218] Springer gives a succinct description of the process outlined by Łaski in his *Forma ac ratio*, ibid. 70. D. G. Lane's translation of the *Forma ac ratio* is presented as 'Appendix B' in Bryan D. Spinks, *From the Lord and "The Best Reformed Churches": A study of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the English Puritan and Separatist traditions 1550-1633* (Rome, 1984), 157-76.
[219] Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, 32-33; *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554* (1575), ed. John Petheram, *A brief discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfurt, in the year 1544, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies* (London, 1846), XIX-XX. See also, Duguid, 'The 'Troubles' at Frankfurt', 246-50.

'superintendents' circumvented the local parish congregations; these were executive appointments made on the authority of his episcopal office. In a similar way, Hooper's own nomination to the See of Gloucester did not involve any kind of consultation with the local diocesan parishioners or clergy.

Therefore, episcopacy as a form of church governance does not appear to have ever been under threat from Hooper. Not only did Hooper accept the offer of a bishopric, he used the system of episcopacy and full authority of this office to enact reform within his diocese. The friction caused by Hooper's initial outburst against the 1550 Ordinal had more to do with the pace of reform than with changing the field the game was played on.[220] In one sense, then, we can agree with Jennifer Loach that episcopacy was strengthened as a result of the vestments controversy. But this was not because Hooper opposed it as Loach and others have supposed; rather it was because he exemplified what could be done for the Gospel as an evangelical bishop.

John Hooper: Defensor Episcoporum

An Oversight *in print*

In reassessing Hooper's ecclesiological stance, particularly within the context of the vestments controversy, one more piece of evidence needs to be re-examined: Hooper's 1550 Lenten sermons. While these sermons have traditionally been seen as the origin of the Edwardian vestments controversy, their content has rather oddly never been considered at length in any discussion of the vestments controversy.[221] This historiographical omission is all the more curious when we

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[220] MacCulloch notes that Cranmer's vision for 'root-and-branch reform ... was to be accomplished in a strictly regulated series of steps taken with the authority of the Crown and the consent of Parliament', *Cranmer*, 483.

[221] Primus begins his account of the vestments controversies with this sentence: 'The occasion for the first outbreak of the vestments controversy in England should be dated Easter, 1550', *The Vestments Controversy*, 3. Most discussions of the vestments controversy only highlight those moments when Hooper touches on the question of vestments as a form of superstitious papalism in his third sermon. See for example, Primus, *Vestments Controversy*, 6-9. Newcombe provides a more rounded discussion without considering Hooper's attitude to episcopacy specifically, *John Hooper*, 125-45. Stephen Alford has also examined

consider the timing of their publication: September 1550.[222] The production of Hooper's sermons for public consumption therefore coincided with the very moment when the Hooper-Ridley stalemate was being established before the Privy Council. This was also the point at which the focus of the theological debate quickly shifted to the question of *adiaphora* and the place of ceremonial within that definition.[223] There is little indication in the contemporary sources about how Hooper's printed sermons were received by those evangelicals embroiled in the debate. However, we do know that Hooper's printed sermons aroused the ire of Stephen Gardiner, who wrote a response from the Tower in an unpublished tract.[224] Hooper caused greater offence to the evangelical authorities when he breached a preaching and printing ban during his house arrest in December 1550, when John Day published Hooper's *A godly confession and protestacion of the christian fayth*.[225] It was this kind of maverick action that won Hooper a reputation as a radical nonconformist; it also led to his being brought to Lambeth by Cranmer in January as a disciplinary measure.[226]

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these sermons, but only from the perspective of what Hooper says about kingship, *Kingship and Politics*, 32-6.

[222] The dedicatory epistle of Hooper's *Oversight* provides the exact date of printing as 6 September 1550, sig. *2v (*Early Writing*, 442). The title of each sermon in the printed version included the original date of preaching, except for the fifth, sixth, and seventh sermons. While both Newcombe and Alford mention that these sermons were printed September 1550, neither makes a conspicuous chronological link to the vestments controversy.

[223] Hooper only mentioned *adiaphora* once in his 1550 Lenten sermons, and this was in the context of a discussion about the administration of the sacraments, see pp. 56-8 above.

[224] Stephen Gardiner, *A Discussion of Mr Hooper's Oversight where he entreateth among his other Sermons the matter of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ* (1550). For details on Gardiner's tract, see Muller, *Stephen Gardiner*, 204-207, 315.

[225] John Hooper, *A Godly Confession and Protestacion of the Christian Fayth, made and set furth by Ihon Hooper, wherin is declared what a christia[n] manne is bound to beleue of God, hys Kyng, his neibour, and hymselfe* (1550). On Hooper's house arrest, see *APC (1550-52)*, 191, BL Lansdowne MS 980/126 fol. 173. See also Primus, *Vestments Controversy*, 60-1.

[226] This attitude did not impress Bullinger, Scales, 'Henry Bullinger and the Vestment Controversies in England', 72-9. MacCulloch also points to the way that Hooper's views on divorce could potentially be linked to radicalism, *Cranmer*, 473-4, 482. In July 1550, his *A Declaration of the .x. Holy Commaundementes* was republished three times by printers working for Richard Jugge. The new edition included an extended section outlining his progressive views on divorce, which

Back in September 1550, Hooper's Lenten sermons were published under the title *An Oversight and deliberation upon the holy prophet Jonah*. As with other early modern sermons that were published, we must be careful not to receive the printed versions as uncorrupted transcriptions of the original oral delivery. However, given the furore caused by Hooper's actual preaching at Court, and the current context of intensified politico-ecclesiastical tension, the timing of this publication was potentially explosive. Hooper attached a provocative dedication to his printed sermons in which he urged the king and nobility to remove the 'fethers' of the Mass, that is, 'the aulter, vestmentes, and suche like as apparelled her'. [227] Considering this preface was added sometime after the vestments controversy had begun, we must ask whether or not Hooper had planned to print these sermons in September all along, or, whether their arrival in print at this specific moment was a move designed to garner wider political and popular support for his conspicuous minority position? It is impossible to tell which of these possibilities is more accurate; both are plausible.

The relationship between preacher and print also had a commercial element. The reading public certainly had an appetite for Hooper's works. After all, Hooper was 'the most prolific and influential writer among the bishops with nine published works and numerous reprints between 1547 and 1553'.[228] In 1550 alone, ten of Hooper's works were printed, three of which were new titles.[229] Multiple publishers printed the same title in the same year, which suggests that Hooper's works brought in a profitable gain for these businesses.[230] The *Oversight* was printed twice in 1550 by the publishing- printing duo of John Day and William Seres.[231] Day had already built a 'lucrative

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were not wholly welcome by the more moderate reformers. See Hooper, *Declaration*, sigs L4-8 (*Early Writings*, 379-85). For Martyr's acknowledgement of, and response to, Hooper's views on divorce, see Gorham, *Gleanings*, 196.

[227] Hooper, *Oversight*, sig. ✚8 (*Early Writings*, 440).

[228] Beer, 'Episcopacy and Reform', 239.

[229] Details can be found http://estc.bl.uk/.

[230] By way of comparison, Andrew Pettegree provides an insight into the book trade of early modern Germany and how Luther's works had a similar affect on that market, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (New York, 2016), 157-63.

[231] The ESTC records that *An Oversight* was reprinted again in 1560(?) by John Tisdale.

business venture' printing evangelical texts.[232] He had also established intimate connections with the Stranger communities, including employing four Dutchmen in his business in 1549.[233] Thus Hooper's Lenten sermons fitted nicely into Day's target market. Printed in a small octavo format, the *Oversight* was a cheaper product with potentially higher sales compared to the larger and more expensive editions of the Bible that Day and Seres had produced in 1549 for the higher end of the market.[234] We can therefore conjecture that the print editions of Hooper's *Oversight* benefitted author as much as publisher; while Day and Seres capitalised on Hooper's name to raise sales, Hooper's own reputation as a popular and effective preacher was enhanced.

Although Hooper had been confident of being consecrated bishop without vestments in July, the *Oversight* probably did not curry many favours for Hooper among the ecclesiastical and political hierarchy when it appeared in September, one month after Ridley had convinced the Council that vestments were *adiaphorous* and therefore should be worn. That he penned his 'Notes to Council' in October indicates that Hooper realised his influence there was waning. Yet given the timing of their publication, and their apparent significance for the vestments controversy, it is still worth examining the content of these sermons in detail.

Hooper's Hyperclerical Sermons

When Hooper accepted the invitation to preach at Court during Lent 1550, he chose to preach on the book of the prophet Jonah. This biblical account of a reluctant missionary who was sent to call the pagan city of Nineveh to repentance allowed Hooper to comment on contemporary England. Jonah's disobedience and eventual repentance, which involved spending three days inside the belly of a giant fish, had the double effect of acting as both a warning and encouragement to listen to God's Word and act on it. Although Hooper

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[232] John N. King, *Foxe's* Book of Martyrs *and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), 80-91, at 83; cf. idem. 'John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation', in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), 180-208.
[233] Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot, 2008), 16-18.
[234] Ibid. 14-16.

originally preached to the nobility at Court, the printed editions allowed him to speak to the population at large. Thus in his second sermon, Hooper implored 'euery condicion and sorte of people with in thys realme amonge the nobles, lawers, Byshoppes, priestes, and the commune people' to respond to God's Word in full obedience.[235] Jonah's life was taken as an allegory to be applied to each strata of society because 'euerye man is apoynted hys vocatiō'.[236] To disregard this theological truth was to court spiritual danger, for he/she that 'fyghteth and repugneth wyth the word of God ... subiect to eternal dampnaciō'.[237] Therefore even lay folk had a godly responsibility to lead industrious lives, for idleness dangerously led to 'sedicion and treson'.[238] But above all, it was the clergy who came under greatest scrutiny.

'Before God', Hooper argued in his seventh sermon, 'there is nothynge more miserable, sorowful, and damnable' than for 'a Byshop, Priest, or Deacon ... [to exercise his office] lyghtlye, or hypocriticallye'.[239] Hooper underlined the spiritual gravity inherent in the office of bishop in his fifth sermon. There he confessed that

> I am afraied of gods threteninges & vēgeaunce toward them, if they amende not. For God sayeth he wyl requyre the bloude of the people at the Byshoppes hande. Eze. iii.xxxiii. And Paule sayeth: wo be vnto me if I preach not .i. Cor. ix.[240]

It is easy to imagine the kind of bishop Hooper had in mind when he spoke/wrote these words. He might even have been thinking about one prelate in particular. Hooper had a long-standing feud with Stephen Gardiner, still Bishop of Winchester, over the sacraments that stretched back to his time in Zurich.[241] In fact, Hooper had been summoned to give account of his budding

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[235] Hooper, *Oversight* sigs D4v-5 (*Early Writings*, 460). Hooper explained to Bullinger that Jonah 'was a very suitable subject ... which will enable me freely to touch upon the duties of individuals', *Original Letters*, I, 75.
[236] Ibid. sig. C6v (*Early Writings*, 456).
[237] Ibid. sigs C6v-7
[238] Ibid. sig. D6v (*Early Writings*, 461).
[239] Ibid. sig. Y3 (*Early Writings*, 551).
[240] Ibid. sig. O2v (*Early Writings*, 507).
[241] Hooper wrote a lengthy *Answer* to Stephen Gardiner's *A Detection of the Devil's Sophistrie...* (1546) from Zurich in 1547, reprinted in *Early Writings*, 97-

evangelical faith before Gardiner as early as 1539.[242] Clearly it was the likes of Gardiner, and his conservative associates, that incited Hooper to declare in his first sermon how

> Myserable and cursed is our tyme ... that ther be such dom bishops, vnpreaching prelats, and such asseheadded Mynysters in the church of God. Christ institutid nether singers, nor massers, but preachers, and testimonies of his true doctrine.[243]

But given the timing of this sermon coming into print, we can also read this comment as a more general criticism of the Edwardian Church, which was maturing into a conspicuously evangelical institution by 1550.

Hooper's disapproval of the pace of reform in England was well established. Writing to Bullinger in March 1550, he described the first Prayer Book as 'no small hindrance to our exertions ... [it] is so very defective and of doubtful construction, and in some respects indeed manifestly impious ... [that] I neither can nor will communicate with the church in the administration of the [Lord's] supper' unless it is amended.[244] Yet only a few lines above in the same letter, Hooper expressed his optimism about the newly appointed Bishop of London. Nicholas Ridley was described as 'a pious and learned man ... [who could] destroy the altars of Baal, as he did heretofore in his church when he was bishop of Rochester'.[245] That is to say, 'if only [Ridley's] new dignity do not change his conduct'.[246] The evidence suggests that the new Bishop of London did not change his conduct in regard to tearing down altars.[247] But what later frustrated Hooper (certainly at the time of printing his 1550 Lenten sermons)

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248. In March 1550, Hooper wanted a face-to-face showdown with Gardiner, who was locked in the Tower at that stage, see *Original Letters*, I, 80. Although this personal confrontation never took place, Gardiner responded to Hooper's sacramental theology as published in his 1550 Lenten sermons in an unpublished tract, see Muller, fn. 224.

[242] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1570), xi, 1713; Newcombe, *John Hooper*, 14-16, 34-5. Cf. *Later Writings*, viii.

[243] Hooper, *Oversight*, sig. B7v (*Early Writings*, 451).

[244] *Original Letters*, I, 79.

[245] Ibid.

[246] Ibid.

[247] *VAI*, II, 230-45; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, 41, 47. See also Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 463-4.

was Ridley's defence of clerical vestments that, to Hooper's mind, were unhelpfully associated with the Levitical priesthood of the Old Testament.[248] Surely then Hooper was also mindful of some evangelical bishops when he began his first sermon with this comment: 'the note and marke to know the byshoppes and ministers of god, from the mynisters of the deuyll: by the preachyng tounge of the Gospel, and not by shauyng, clyppyng, vestyments and vtward apparel'.[249] Thus mid-Tudor 'hyperclericalism' cut both ways; Hooper's criticism of Roman Catholic bishops doubled as a rebuke to his evangelical colleagues who retained some traditional customs and ceremonies. In both cases he was calling for a return to biblical first principles established in the New Testament and the practice of the primitive Church.

This exact point had already been raised in Hooper's *Answer* to the conservative Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, in 1547. Back then, he posed the hypothetical question: 'whether a shauen crowne makythe a pryst: ... [or] doothe a long gowne make a pryst'?[250] This was Hooper at his sarcastic best. He continued:

> Is the like in the dignite of a byshope or prist suppose ye, that who so euer was or is a godd pryst must haue necessayly that shauen crowne, and long gowne. I report me to the scripture they be nethere necessary nor commendable signes to know a prist by. As thow knowist the lest nombre to be comprehendyd in the more. So be these uertewes comprehendid in a trew byshope and not a crowne. *Maritus unius uxoris uigilancia sobrietas modestia, temperantia. Hospitalitas &*c. 1. Tim. 3. Tit. 1. What deuil hathe mad a crowne, a long gowne or a typpid to be a thing necessary for a bishope? Restore it to Rome agayne from whens it came.[251]

In essence, Hooper was arguing that the clergy should be recognised by the ministry assigned them by the Bible rather than by any distinctive outward appearance. These biblical features included marriage to one wife, sobriety,

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[248] See also Hooper's comments in his 'Notes to the Council', Appendix 1.
[249] Hooper, *Oversight*, sig. B3v (*Early Writings*, 448).
[250] Hooper, *Answer*, sig. V6v (*Early Writings*, 244).
[251] Ibid. sig. V7 (*Early Writings*, 245). 1 Timothy 3:2: 'Husband to one wife, watchful

modesty, hospitality, gentleness, generosity, and an ability to teach.[252] It was an emphasis on godly character over visual form.

Clearly the groundwork for Hooper's case against clerical vestments had been laid well before the 1550 Lenten sermons. And there is no doubt that Hooper's experience of worship in Bullinger's Zurich (where he wrote his *Answer*) was a major influence on this front, as Primus and Derek Scales rightly point out.[253] Therefore it must have irritated Hooper to feel the need to rehearse his argument a few years later to a very different audience at Edward's Court. We have already noted his hopes for Ridley's potential as a zealous reforming bishop of London. He had also twice written positively to Bullinger about Cranmer's theological opinions, especially regarding the sacraments, in December 1549 and February 1550. [254] It is highly possible, then, that Hooper entertained the expectation that such luminaries of the evangelical establishment would heed his admonitions about clerical dress and enact the necessary reforms. These hopes were frustrated throughout the prolonged controversy that followed. However, these liturgical reforms were eventually incorporated into the revised Prayer Book of 1552, as we have seen.

Reading Hooper's 1550 Lenten sermons through the lens of 'hyperclericalism' reminds us that we must be careful not to overstate the causal relationship between Hooper's anti-vestiarian stance under Edward and the later Elizabethan campaign to abolish episcopacy. His attack on clerical dress worn by Edwardian bishops was not a frontal assault on the nature of episcopacy as a form of church governance. Rather it was one aspect of an all-encompassing 'hyperclerical' attitude. Hooper's 1550 Lenten sermons, which ostensibly kick-started the vestments controversy, must be viewed in this light. For whether he was debating with a Roman Catholic-minded bishop, or preaching to a congregation of evangelicals, Hooper held them to account according to his high view of ordained ministry, of which bishops were the hierarchical leaders.

[252] 1 Timothy 3:1-13.
[253] Primus, *Vestments Controversy*, 3-5. For a fuller account of the intimacy between Hooper and Bullinger (and by association Zwingli), see Scales, 'Henry Bullinger and the Vestment Controversies in England', 1-61.
[254] *Original Letters*, I, 71, 76.

In fact, these sermons were not the first time Hooper had expressed a form of 'hyperclericalism'. We find an earlier instance of this in his *Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments*, originally composed in Zurich in 1547 but republished in London just before his 1550 Lenten sermons were printed. Under the heading of the Eighth Commandment, 'Thou Shalt Not Steal', Hooper criticised the way bishops' responsibilities intermingled secular business with spiritual matters. He observed:

> A great pity it is to se, how far that office of a bishop is degenerated from the originall in the scripture. It was not so at the begynnynge, when byshops were at the best, as the Epistole of Paul to Tit. testifieth, that wylled hym to ordayne in euery citie of Crete a bishop. Ti. i. cap. And in case there were suche loue in them nowe as was then towards the people, they would say them selfes, there were more to do for the best of them in one cytie, thē he could do. They know that the primatyue churche had no suche byshoppes as be now a dayes, as examples testify vntyll the tyme of Siluester the firste, a lytle and a litle, ryches crept so into the churche that men sought more her, then the wealthe of the people. And so increased within fewe yers, that byshopes becam princes, and princes were made seruauntes ... what blyndnes is there befall in the worlde that can not se this palpable yle, that oure mother the holye churhe had at the begynnynge such byshopes as dyd preach many godly sermonnes in lesse tyme, then oure byshopes horses bee a brydelynge.[255]

As creative as this exposition of the Eighth Commandment may be, it does contain some interesting features that help our understanding of Hooper's attitude to bishops. The first is to notice how Hooper echoed the sentiment underlying other 'hyperclerical' comments. Hooper disdained the way worldly affairs had encroached upon the ministry of bishops, and saw money and power as corrupting that office.

The second, and perhaps more significant, observation to make is that Hooper saw a positive affirmation of the office of bishop in scripture. For one who was so adamant about using scripture to regulate doctrine and practice, this was important. In the midst of the brewing vestments controversy, Hooper wrote to the Council that 'Indifferent things ought to have their source and ground in the Word of God'.[256] In one sense, vestments did have scriptural precedent since they had 'the ancient character of the Aaronic rituals,

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[255] Hooper, *Declaration*, sigs M7-v (*Early Writings*, 396).
[256] Hooper, 'Notes to the Council', Appendix 1.

ceremonies, priesthood, types, and shadowy figures' of the Old Testament.[257] Importantly though, Hooper clarified that the 'shadows of the Aaronic priesthood are not able to consist with the priesthood of Christ, much less can that papistical priesthood'.[258] Thus vestments failed Hooper's test of *adiaphora*. For Hooper, the 'special and distinctive clothing' worn by contemporary clergy was particularly offensive to the Gospel because 'the Apostles and the Evangelists make no mention of this matter'.[259] In contrast, the office of bishop was clearly endorsed by the Apostle Paul, who commissioned his disciple Titus to 'ordain in every city of Crete a bishop'. Hooper's citation of Titus in his *Answer* can therefore be read as an early recognition of episcopacy as a genuine form of church governance. This is not to say that Hooper accepted episcopacy as the only legitimate form of governance though. His experience of 'the best reformed churches' in Strasbourg and Zurich ruled that out. But it is telling that Hooper did not mention ecclesiology in his 'Notes to Council'. This absence implies that he viewed church governance as *adiaphorous*; the form of church administration that suited Zurich did not necessarily fit England. However Hooper made an illuminating comment to Bullinger in August 1551, after settling into his role as Bishop of Gloucester. He wrote 'that we are born for our country, and not for ourselves: were it not so, I could not now be discharging the office of a bishop'.[260] While Hooper had a clear spiritual affinity with Bullinger, his earthly loyalty lay in England. This overriding sense of duty to his homeland enabled Hooper to work within the established ecclesiological framework of episcopacy. Far from rejecting episcopacy, Hooper proved himself to be flexible in regard to ecclesiology.

Hooper's understanding that the office of bishop had scriptural origins must lead us to question the long-held view of him as a proto-puritan whose stance on clerical dress was only fully realised in an ecclesiology that rejected episcopacy. When Hooper left Henry's England it was not because he longed for a presbyterian-style of church. Rather it was on account of the theology he found so repugnant in the Six Articles and that his life was directly under threat for

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[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.
[260] *Original Letters*, I, 94.

opposing them. When he returned to Edward's England, the challenge he laid down for his co-reformers was not to reconstitute the ecclesiastical structure. Instead, in an early form of the regulative principle, it was an admonition to reform the use of ceremonial in public worship in accordance with the theological principles he assumed he shared with the existing evangelical bishops. Since bishops had a special responsibility as the hierarchical leaders of the Church to set an example in life and doctrine, Hooper urged them in particular to divest their office of anything that might hinder that purpose – especially vestments. On this point, Hooper was in harmony with other 'hyperclerical' criticisms of the day. Rather than seeking the removal of bishops, these sermons called for a restoration of bishops to their godly vocation, as modelled in the primitive Church:

> the offyce [of bishops and priests] was in the primatiue & fyrste churche, to be preachers of goddes worde, and ministers of Christes Sacramentes. Not to sacrifyce for ded nor lyue, not to synge, or masse or anye souche lyke. Unto the fyrst original must al these mē as they be called, of the holye churche, be called: els by they no shepherdes, but rauenynge woulfes, to deuoure the shepe of God.[261]

Conclusion

This chapter has presented evidence that challenges the way we understand the survival of episcopacy in the Edwardian Church. It has contested the claim that these were 'years of crisis for the English bishops', as Felicity Heal suggests.[262] From the reformers' perspective, the visible structure of the Church of England needed to be renovated in concept as much as in personnel so that it could be recognised as a fully reformed institution, cast in the image of the True Church. Importantly though, 'the problem of redefining the role of the clergy took place within an unquestioned structure'.[263] Reforming the visible offices of the English Church, then, was as much about bringing evangelical clarity to holy orders as it was about legitimising episcopacy as a biblical form of church governance. This

[261] Hooper, *Oversight*, sig. H6v (*Early Writings*, 480).
[262] Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes*, 162.
[263] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 99.

was an important goal to pursue given that no other early modern centre of evangelicalism retained episcopacy. For all the influence that international reformers brought to mid-Tudor England, the Edwardian Church charted its own ecclesiological course in terms of ecclesiastical structure and governance.

Instead of constructing an entirely new establishment, Edwardian reformers used the existing framework of the English Church, which had already seen a degree of doctrinal reform infused into an outwardly traditional ecclesiastical structure under Henry. Importantly though, the 1550 Ordinal sought to redeem episcopacy by reconceiving the clerical offices, especially that of bishop, according to an evangelical interpretation of scripture. This liturgical reform can be seen as one practical solution to the ecclesiological dilemma of how to reveal the invisible Church within the temporal institution. Characteristically, Cranmer incorporated traditional and evangelical influences to create the new services of ordination, but this was no Frankenstein. It was very much an English product designed for the English situation. The next chapter will consider how far the concept of a national Church could be stretched within mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology. For now, it is important to recognise that when evangelicals held all the political cards, they chose to strengthen episcopacy rather than to discard it as an out-dated or unbiblical model of church governance.

A central component of the argument put forward in this chapter has been to offer a revision of John Hooper's position on episcopacy. It is suggested that Hooper's famous criticism of the Ordinal is better seen as fitting into the overarching hyperclerical schema of his ecclesiological vision, and the wider rhetoric of the period. When viewed in this light, it is possible to see that Hooper held a very high view of the office of bishop, and also that his queries related to the exercise of that office – not the office itself. Moreover, Hooper's objection to clerical vestments has underlined for us the importance of liturgical practice to the ecclesiological vision of mid-Tudor evangelicals. Hooper's careful application of doctrine to ceremonial practice reveals a man who understood the significance of liturgy as an expression of confessional identity. This was equally the case for non-evangelical bishops such as Heath and Gardiner who were

deprived of their sees for refusing to accept the ecclesiological changes represented by the liturgical reform of the Ordinal.

Adjusting our view of Hooper's reaction to the Ordinal also has the potential to disrupt long-held assumptions about him as the quintessential proto-puritan. Although we cannot deny that the memory of Hooper was exploited by Elizabethan puritans, a close examination of his episcopal ministry does not present us with a smoking gun of ecclesiastical independence and nonconformity.[264] Perhaps a better place to look for the germ of these concepts is in the ministry of John Knox during the Marian exile at Frankfurt and Geneva, as we will see later in the thesis.[265]

Having examined the place of episcopacy within mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology, the next chapter will focus on the reforming efforts of one particular bishop, John Bale, who attempted to use his episcopal authority to extend the evangelical vision of the Tudor Church in England across to Ireland.

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[264] For the way Elizabethan nonconformists used Hooper's writings, see Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, esp. ch. 7

[265] See epilogue.

Chapter Two:
Bishop John Bale and the English Church in Ireland

Introduction

Like many of his evangelical contemporaries, John Bale reacted to the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England under Queen Mary by seeking refuge on the continent. This was the second time Bale had fled his mother country. The first occurred during Henry VIII's reign following the downfall of Thomas Cromwell (Bale's former patron) in 1540.[1] For a man who was both deeply patriotic and vehemently loyal to the Royal Supremacy, undergoing exile must have come with a certain degree of heartache and sense of loss. Yet the experience certainly stirred something inside Bale. For on both occasions, he penned works that sought to define and defend an evangelical ecclesiology. *The Image of Both Churches* (c.1545) was the first full commentary on Revelation.[2] It spoke about the True Church as embodied by the elect through the ages, and the biblical exegesis was peppered with large doses of apocalyptic history.[3] Written in the latter stages of Henry's life, it went on to exercise a great influence on ecclesiological thinking during the Edwardian Reformation.[4] At the other end of Edward's life, Bale focused his historical gaze and responded directly to the events unfolding in England under Mary. Within the first six months of her reign,

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[1] Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette, 1976), 71-2. See also Peter Happé, *John Bale* (New York, 1996), 1-25.
[2] *The Image of Both Churches* (c.1545).
[3] For an overview of Bale's ecclesiology as established in the *Image*, see Katharine Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (Oxford, 1979), 38-68; Gretchen E. Minton, 'Introduction', in *John Bale's The Image of Both Churches*, ed. Gretchen E. Minton (New York, 2013), 1-30. See also Susan Royal, 'Historian or Prophet? John Bale's Perception of the Past', in Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds.), *Studies in Church History: The Church on Its Past* xlix (Woodbridge, 2013), 156-67.
[4] Davies, 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock', 78-102.

Bale had published *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande his persecusions in ye same & final delyueraunce* (Wesel? 1553).[5]

The *Vocacyon* is ostensibly about Ireland and the struggles Bale faced there as Bishop of Ossory, County Kilkenny, from mid-1552 to mid-1553. It tells the story of Bale's appointment by Edward VI to episcopal office, his struggle to make headway against a bloc of conservative clergy, his escape from murderous mobs upon the accession of Mary, and his high-sea adventures involving pirates en route to a Protestant refuge in the Low Countries.[6] However, the events described by Bale must be treated with caution. Bale's retrospective account of his Irish ministry is told from his unashamedly English Protestant perspective. Previous evaluations of the *Vocacyon* have too readily taken Bale at face value.[7] The *Vocacyon* has also long attracted the attention of literary scholars interested in early-modern concepts of nationality within the British and Irish Isles.[8] It has been described as one of the earliest examples of autobiography in the English language.[9] But its original purpose was not literary.

Bale's carefully constructed self-representation of his time in Ireland served a pastoral need of the English evangelicals newly exiled on the continent at the start of Mary's reign. The *Vocacyon* was one of the earliest published responses to the ecclesiological dilemma faced by these men and women. It is

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[5] Hereafter, *Vocacyon*. The critical modern edition of the text is *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale*, eds. P. Happé and J. N. King (New York, 1990).

[6] Ibid. See also Steven Ellis, 'John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552-3', *Journal of the Butler Society* ii (1984), 283-93; Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2003), 1-12.

[7] For example, Katherine Walsh, 'Deliberate provocation or reforming zeal? John Bale as first Church of Ireland bishop of Ossory (1552/53-1563)', in Vincent Carey and Ute Lotz-Heumann (eds.), *Taking Sides? Colonial and Confessional Mentalities in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), 42-60.

[8] Leslie P. Fairfield, '*The vocacyon of Johan Bale* and early English autobiography', *Renaissance Quarterly* xxiv (1971), 327-40; John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, 1982), 56-76; Andrew Hadfield, 'Translating the reformation: John Bale's Irish *Vocacyon*', in B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield, and W. Maley (eds.), *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of the Conflict, 1534-1660* (Cambridge, 1993), 43-59; Stewart Mottram, *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature* (Suffolk, 2008), 11-34.

[9] Fairfield, '*The vocacyon of Johan Bale*', 327.

therefore an important text to help us assess the mid-Tudor evangelical reaction at this time of crisis.

Historians have commonly overlooked this aspect of the *Vocacyon*. The usefulness of Bale's work as a historical source has generally been limited to gauging the religious climate of mid-Tudor Ireland, even in Steven Ellis' important essay on the Bishop of Ossory.[10] This is perhaps symptomatic of the historiographical trend to isolate the Irish Reformation from its English counterpart, and to simultaneously perceive its outcome as a foregone conclusion.[11] On the other hand, English historians commonly take an Anglocentric view of the period and often ignore Ireland.[12] Henry Jefferies has recently challenged these models. By conceiving the sixteenth-century Irish Church as existing under the umbrella of the English Church, he has demonstrated how helpful, and important, it is for Tudor historians to incorporate Ireland into our thinking about the English Reformation.[13] This chapter follows Jefferies' lead. It offers a reconsideration of the *Vocacyon* and

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[10] Ellis, 'John Bale', 283-93; Walsh, 'Deliberate provocation', 42-60.

[11] There is a vast historiography dealing with the failure of the Reformation in Ireland. An introduction to this discussion is helpfully presented in a series of articles, see Brendan Bradshaw, 'Sword, word and strategy in the Reformation of Ireland', *Historical Journal* xxi (1978), 475-502; Nicholas Canny, 'Why the Reformation failed in Ireland: une question mal posée', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xxx (1979), 423-50; K. S. Bottigheimer, 'The failure of the Reformation in Ireland: une question bien posée', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xxxvi (1985), 196-207; S. K. Bottigheimer and B. Bradshaw, 'Revisionism and the Irish Reformation: a debate', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* li (2000), 581-92; H. A. Jefferies, 'The early Tudor Reformation in the Irish Pale', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* li (2001), 34-62.

[12] Bale's Irish bishopric is not mentioned at all in any of the following: Barret L. Beer, 'Episcopacy and Reform in Mid-Tudor England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* xxiii (1991), 231-252; MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*; Davies, *A religion of the Word*. Compare this to Brendan Bradshaw, 'The Edwardian Reformation in Ireland, 1547-53', *Archivium Hibernicum* xxxiv (1977), 83-99.

[13] Henry Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations*, (Dublin, 2010), esp. 101-103; idem, 'The Marian Restoration in Ireland', *British Catholic History* xxxiii (2016), 12-31. See also Brendan Bradshaw, 'The English Reformation and identity formation in Ireland and Wales', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533- 1707* (Cambridge, 1998), 43-111; James Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: Clerical Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534-1590* (Cambridge, 2009).

Bale's role in the Edwardian Reformation in Ireland. It also attempts to restore Ireland's place within the sixteenth-century English Church by upholding Bale's Irish mission as an instructive episode within the wider story of the mid-Tudor evangelical movement. Thus we will approach the old historiographical debate about the eventual failure of Protestantism in Ireland with fresh insights.

In addition, this chapter addresses a principle conundrum faced by mid-Tudor evangelicals. It seeks to ascertain how far Edwardian reformers imagined the temporal institution as synonymous with the spiritual True Church. Two major considerations will shape the following discussion. The first half of this essay will examine the juxtaposition of national and international emphases in Bale's ecclesiology. When reading the *Vocacyon*, one cannot escape the decidedly English perspective that permeates the text. This has added complexity since it is written from the perspective of a religious refugee to the beleaguered diaspora of English evangelicals spread throughout the Low Countries, Germany, and Switzerland. The second half of this essay will focus more directly on Bale's Irish ministry. We will contemplate the extent to which mid-Tudor evangelicals were able to stretch the concept of a national Church. Bale's reflections on his time in Ireland reveal another sort of ecclesiological conflict. To a certain degree, Bale subscribed to the vision of a broad and inclusive church that incorporated the entire population. But his double experience of exile made it hard for him to square this ecclesiastical model with his theological concept of the True Church that consisted only of the elect.

Bale's Ecclesiology

The ecclesiological framework of the *Vocacyon* is clear. Bale opens the text with a succinct account of church history from Adam to Edward VI that emphasises England's place in God's unfolding plan. [14] He concludes by providing a theological interpretation of the times. [15] This overarching ecclesiological framework placed Ireland within the domain of England, and the reformation of

[14] *Vocacyon*, sigs B1-7v.
[15] Ibid. sigs F3-G1.

the Irish Church as a natural extension of the Edwardian Reformation. Equally, the *Vocacyon* is underwritten by a concern for the visibility of the invisible True Church. As such, it is characterised by an ecclesiological tension that was both symptomatic and representative of the way reformers responded to Mary's accession. And like subsequent works of other Marian exiles that attempted to justify God's apparent punishment of His elect, this ecclesiological tension was never fully resolved.[16]

An afflicted and sorrowful congregation

Emblazoned across the title page of the *Vocaycon* is a striking image of ecclesiological significance (Title Page, *Vocacyon*, sig. A1v.). Two figures stand opposite each other in an open field, presumably somewhere in Ireland. On the left, a man stands resolute and ready to receive the abuse of his intimidating counterpart on the right. His hands are clasped together as though he were praying, petitioning God to deliver him from the impending attack. His mortal fear is completely understandable since the figure on the right is drawing his sword, and his body language suggests that he is about to unleash it upon the defenceless sojourner. Animal symbolism is used to further emphasise the antagonism between these two. A meek (perhaps a blameless) lamb cowers behind the figure on the left. On the right, a fierce dog (or is it a wolf?) accompanies the aggressor on the right with a clear intention to harm the sheep. Depicted mid-air, the dog bares its teeth and growls on its way to pounce upon the lamb. The reader is left to use his/her own imagination to complete the narrative of the scene. Although the last phrase of the full title suggests that the figure on the left escapes unharmed thanks to God's 'finall delyveraunce'. The accompanying references to Psalm 91 and 2 Corinthians 11 underline this.

[16] Joy Shakespeare, 'Plague and Punishment', in Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (eds.), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1987), 114-16.

This image is a condensed version of the text that follows. It is also Bale's ecclesiology in a nutshell: all of mankind was divided into two rival Churches, one True Church made up of the faithful and elect, and one False Church consisting of the unregenerate and damned.[17] Directly below the image, the two figures are identified as 'The English Christian' and 'The Irish Papist' on the left and right respectively. Thus one might assume that the figure on the left is representative of Bale and his co-religionists, while the figure on the right stands for the Irish clergy, politicians, and other folk who rejected Bale's reforming agenda and hounded him out of the country.

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[17] See John Bale, *The Image of Bothe Churches* (Wesel? c.1545), *passim*.

The visual allegory of a suffering 'Christian' and persecuting 'Papist' fits the ecclesiological model of the Edwardian Reformation identified by Catharine Davies. That is, the godly minority self-identified as a 'poor persecuted little flock' which was vulnerable to spiritual and physical attacks in this world.[18] Suffering for the Gospel's sake was indeed a central tenant of mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology. This was especially so for those who chose martyrdom or exile over conformity during Mary's reign.[19] Bale was a prime exponent of this rhetoric, and there is evidence of this well before the Edwardian Reformation. Around the time of the Henrician dissolution of the monasteries, Bale wrote to his patron, Cromwell, complaining of his suffering and imprisonment for preaching against popery in his native county of Suffolk.[20] Apparently it was 'for zele of goddes mynde, and most faythfull obedyēt loue towardes my prince' that Bale 'suffred pouerte, persecinoyes, and hate of y^{ll} persones ... and at y^{is} p^{r}sēt seasō soch vylenes, stynke, penurye, [and] colde'.[21] This theme of earthly and physical oppression would characterise much of Bale's later literary output; indeed suffering for the Gospel's sake would be represented as a badge of honour.

Although the persecution he endured in Ireland came during Edward's reign, the *Vocacyon* provided an ecclesiological paradigm for other exiles during the Marian period. Bale drew on personal experience throughout the *Vocacyon* to suggest that physical suffering was tangible proof that one belonged to the True Church.[22] The title-page image displays this clearly: the weak lamb conjures biblical images of the Church as a flock that is vulnerable to wolves.[23] But underlying this apparent weakness was an assurance of God's providential

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[18] Davies, 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock', 78-102.
[19] Shakespeare, 'Plague and Punishment', 114-16; Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, 100-104.
[20] BL Cotton MS Cleopatra E. IV, fol. 167 (Microfilm 2512 fol. 167). This letter is undated, although the BL suggests a date of 1 January 1537.
[21] Ibid.
[22] *Vocacyon*, sigs A2v-7, *passim*.
[23] For instance Matthew 7:15, where Jesus warns His disciples to 'watch out for false prophets. They come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ferocious wolves'.

deliverance. Bale's final exhortation reminds his readers of 'what [God's] churche is in the world'.[24] Although

> ... it is an afflicted and sorrowfull congregacion / forsaken in a maner / and destitute of all humaine confort in this lyfe ... God hath taken her to [be] his spowse / and hath promised her protection / help and confort / in all her afflictions and parels'.[25]

Buoyed by this spiritual truth, Bale gave his fellow exiles courage to face their earthly trial with confidence.

Taken at face value, then, the *Vocacyon* appears to uphold Davies' thesis. Going further, Davies contends that mid-Tudor evangelicals struggled to find positive ways of expressing the fact that they were in the ascendant while Edward sat on the throne.[26] For example Davies highlights the prevailing anti- Catholic and anti-Anabaptist rhetoric of the period to argue that evangelicals felt a continual need to contrast themselves against the False Church.[27] That reformers were conscious of the continual presence of that 'perpetuall and unplacable enemye ... Sathan', however, does not necessarily mean that their ecclesiology was always articulated in a negative way.[28] According to the apocalyptic tradition that greatly influenced the way sixteenth-century Protestants interpreted history, the continual presence of Antichrist as a perpetual thorn in the side of the True Church was to be expected in every age.[29]

Bale was instrumental in developing this apocalyptic tradition in England via his commentary on Revelation, *The Image of Both Churches*.[30] Within a decade of its publication, Bale found himself in a similar position. It should not surprise us, then, to notice a sense of joyful acceptance of suffering in the *Vocacyon*, as if Bale was grateful for the visible afflictions of the True Church. He boldly claimed that 'my inward rejoice is in the crosse of his sonne Jesus

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[24] *Vocacyon*, sig. F8.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, *passim*.
[27] Ibid. esp. chs. 1 and 2.
[28] *Vocacyon*, sig. F8v.
[29] Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 32-68.
[30] Ibid.

Christe'.[31] Even in the midst of acute suffering, Bale argued that the 'most swete voyce' of Christ continues to speak comfort and joy to 'his churche / assistinge / helpinge / and socouringe it alwaies'.[32] Thus the *Vocacyon* is characterised by a genuine hope in God, rather than despairing at Satan's meddling. And it is this positive message that Bale wanted to impart to his English audience.

Although Bale was a most zealous missionary, he wrote the *Vocacyon* wearing his pastor's hat. The bishop-cum-exile sought to comfort his fellow English evangelicals 'in the middes of thy afflictions' so that 'thu shuldest not despayre'.[33] Rather, 'that my persecuted brethrene might in lyke maner have their reioyce in that heavenly Lorde'.[34] This was an attempt to consolidate the English Church against the forces of Antichrist when its individual members were physically dispersed. Hence Steven Ellis has described the *Vocacyon* as a 'homily for the true believers'.[35]

The trauma associated with being physically dislocated was also addressed by Bale. The location and timing of publication combined with the subject matter of an English bishop in Ireland means that the *Vocacyon* conveys a heightened sense of being removed from one's mother country.[36] Like John Calvin in Geneva at the same time, Bale presented a vision of the church that emphasised the biblical concept of sojourning through a foreign land.[37] Hence Bale reminded his fellow exiles that the True Church was not confined to national borders. It was a mistake to conceive 'the Christen churche to be a politicall commen welthe / as of Rome and Constantinople / mayntayned by

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[31] *Vocaycon*, sig. F2. Cf. sigs A4v-8.
[32] Ibid. sig. G1.
[33] Ibid. sig. F3.
[34] Ibid. sig. A7v.
[35] Ellis, 'John Bale', 286.
[36] The place of publication is a mystery. The most likely location is Wesel, the location of Bale's first exile, 1540-1548. Although the colophon claims that it was published in Rome, this is clearly 'an impudent joke'. The title page is known to have been in the possession of Joos Lambrecht, who worked in Wesel from 1553-1556, while the printer's device on sig. G8^{v} belonged to Hugh Singleton, who had been locked up in the Tower with John Day since October 1553. This suggests 'a joint enterprise' between the two men. For details of this see Happé and King, 'Introduction', 17-18.
[37] Heiko Obermam, '*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees', in Heiko Oberman, *John Calvin and The Reformation of the Refugees* (Geneva, 2009), 177-94.

humayne polycyes', since it is sustained and created 'by the only wurde of God'.[38] The experience of exile must have reinforced the understanding that the True Church transcends man-made constraints, and exists independent of any human institution. Bale rooted the supranational aspect of his ecclesiology in history by pointing to the many examples from scripture and medieval chronicles. Thus Bale stated that 'the true churche of God had never sumptuouse hospitalles any longe tyme together but very simple cottages and caves'.[39] Underlining this would surely have resonated with his audience.

Bale also wanted to reassure members of the True Church by reminding them of their identity and vocation. This was achieved by making his own episcopal career a didactic example. In the opening paragraph of the preface, Bale enumerates three distinctive characteristics of 'the office of a Christen byshop'.[40] It was implicit that the wider Church shared these aspects. They were first, to 'purely ... preache the Gospell of God'; second, to endure persecution; and third, to 'beholde how gracyously' God delivers His Church from affliction.[41] The reader would soon see that Bale's own 'vocacyon to the churche of Ossorye in Irelande' followed this pattern.[42] His Irish career was thus tangible proof that he had faithfully fulfilled his duty as a Christian bishop.

More significantly, it accorded with the experience of biblical figures.[43] Bale singled out the apostle Paul. Direct parallels were drawn between himself and Paul's missions to the gentile world of first-century Asia-Minor.[44] Apart from Paul's martyrdom in Rome, Bale's description of his Irish mission and subsequent escape to Germany is remarkably akin to Paul's testimony. Bale's self-deprecation mimicked that of Paul, who 'boasted muche of his persecucions ... [and] Very gladly (saith he) will I rejoice of my weaknesse / that the strength of Christe maye dwell in me'.[45] Like the apostle, Bale did not seek praise for his 'rude treatise', but rather he 'wolde God to have all the prayse ... [who] by grace

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[38] *Vocacyon*, sig. A7v.
[39] Ibid. sig. A7.
[40] Ibid. sig. A2.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid. sigs B1-7v.
[44] Acts 13-28.
[45] *Vocacyon*, sigs A3v-7, at A4v.

hath called me by persecucion hath tried me / and of favour ... hath most wonderfully delievered me'.[46] Such self-identification with a significant biblical figure was not unusual for Bale. In *The Image of Both Churches*, Bale had unashamedly associated himself with the apostle John, whose vision was given to him while in exile on the Greek island of Patmos.[47] The two typological models Bale appropriated to himself were obviously well suited to the purposes of each of these texts. Considering the ecclesiological point of the *Vocacyon*, Paul's ministry of suffering and persecution provided an apt template upon which Bale could sketch his own life. This is not to be overly dismissive of Bale's description as a factual account.[48] It is rather to make the point that he reconstructed the events of his time in Ireland according to a set formula in order to bolster his rhetorical agenda. The point of this was to establish his episcopal career as illustrative of the broader situation in which the English Church found itself with the accession of Mary.

Bale's autobiographical account was to be read as a miniature version of the larger ecclesiological dilemma faced by the English Church. English members of the True Church in exile needed to be reminded of their original vocation, or 'gracious callinge ... from wicked Papisme to true christianyte'.[49] This was the first step toward identifying membership of the True Church. Their current trial was the necessary second step. The Church was made to wait while God 'tryeth their paciences by contynuall afflictions' until their final deliverance (the third stage of its vocation) 'eyther from tyrannouse molestacions / as he hath done me / eyther els into martirdome for his truthes sake'.[50] The prophetic nature of this ecclesiological vision was soon vindicated.

Within months of publishing the *Vocacyon*, Mary was burning the first martyrs. The same sequence of preaching, persecution, and providential deliverance that Bale's career followed was also being lived out by his fellow exiles. His individual experience was projected onto the corporate body to help

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[46] Ibid. sig. A7v.
[47] Bale, *Image*, sigs A1-B3v. Cf. Revelation 1.
[48] Due to the specific dates given in the text, Happé and King suggest that Bale worked from a diary, 'Introduction', 12-13.
[49] *Vocacyon*, sig. A7v.
[50] Ibid. sigs A7v-8.

justify the historical contingencies of Edward's death and Mary's accession within an evangelical ecclesiological framework. Indeed the current circumstances of English evangelicals fitted with the apocalyptic interpretation of church history that Bale had established in his earlier works, in which the notion of enduring persecution for the Gospel's sake was well developed.[51] During his Henrician exile, Bale had written that the True Church was recognised by 'longe sufferynge' (amongst other qualities such as goodness, gentleness, patience, faithfulness etc).[52] This concept was reinvigorated in the *Vocacyon*. The glory of the Church, wrote Bale, was 'in continuall labours and dayly afflyctions for his names sake'.[53]

Paradoxically, then, rejection of the Gospel was a sure indication that the True Church existed – as was the case with both the apostle Paul and Bale. Persecution was a visible and tangible way of revealing the invisible, spiritual fellowship of believers in the lives of the elect. Moreover, it was essential to the godly vocation of the True Church. Thus the Marian exile was both a punishment (as we will see) and a blessing. Thus because of, and not in spite of, their current circumstances, the English evangelical diaspora could be heartily comforted and strengthened in their faith. Bale told them that they belonged to a robust Church, protected and preserved by God's grace. No human power could prevail against it. Not even a Roman Catholic monarch of England would thwart the Church's final deliverance. Written on the eve of the Marian persecution, with no foresight about how long it might last, the *Vocacyon* was a call to endure.

Our realm now named England

At this point, we must raise a question about Bale's supranational ecclesiology as outlined above. The dispersed nature of the Church that Bale emphasised by

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[51] See *The Epistle Exhortatorye of an Engyshe Christiane vnto his derely beloued contreye of Englande against the pompouse popyshe Byshoppes therof as yet the true membres of theyr fylthye father the great Antichrist of Rome* (1544), *The Image of Both Churches* (c. 1545), *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorium Summarium* (1548), and *The Laboryouse Journey & serche of John Leylande for Englandes Antiquitees geuen of hym as a newe years gyft to Kynge Henry the viii. in the xxxvii. yeare of his Reygne, with declarcyons enlarged: by Johan Bale* (1550?). See also Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 32-68.

[52] Bale, *The Epistle Exhortatorye*, sig. C1.

[53] *Vocacyon*, sig. F2v.

highlighting its international dimension provokes the suggestion that his ecclesiology was incipiently congregational, or even separatist. However, we must weigh this consideration against the national, or even patriotic, rhetoric prevalent throughout the *Vocacyon*.

We begin by taking another look at the title-page image. As well as the obvious visual metaphors at play that speak to the spiritual battle, 'Christians' and 'Papists' are distinguished on the basis of nationality (if not ethnicity or race). In the light of Bale's supranational ecclesiology, the ethnocentric tags of 'English Christian' and 'Irish Papist' need to be examined more closely. Could it be that these national labels were insinuating that a true Christian had to be English? The strong links of mid-Tudor evangelicals with continental reformers preclude this as a possible interpretation, let alone the probable location of publication for the *Vocacyon* being Wesel.[54] A more plausible explanation is given by inverting the formulation: to be a true Englishman was to be an evangelical Christian, not a Roman Catholic. It appears as if nationality was being associated with, and subsumed within, faith.

There are times throughout the text when Bale conflates nationality with membership of the True Church. For instance, Bale's first impressions of the coastal town of Waterford, where he disembarked in Ireland, were that 'Christe had there no Bishop, neyther yet the Kynges Majestie of Englande any faithful officer of ye mayer'.[55] And when describing the violent attacks made against him and other Englishmen in the wake of Edward's death, Bale explained that he was living amongst the 'wild Irish'.[56] He was especially aghast that the judicial system freely pardons 'theves & murtherers ... whan they have slain English men and done their robberies within the English pale'.[57] But these instances of disgust in the *Vocacyon* are rare. It is highly probable that Bale's ire was directed at the

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[54] For the location of publication see fn. 36. For the influence of continental reformers on the Edwardian Reformation, see Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-century London* (Oxford, 1986); MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 77-81; Alec Ryrie, 'The Strange Death of Lutheran England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* liii (2002), 64-92; Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*.
[55] *Vocacyon*, sigs C1v-2.
[56] Ibid. sig. F7, see also sigs D4-5.
[57] Ibid. sig. F7v.

Gaelic Irish subsection of early modern Ireland specifically rather than the entire population. However, this is debatable as Bale used terminology associated with nationality, race and ethnicity in a very fluid manner.[58] We must also keep in mind that the 'Old English' were 'somewhat antagonistic to newcomers' like Bale, as Steven Ellis has pointed out that.[59] Thus it is possible that the bishop was venting his spleen against those within the English-speaking community who did not support his reforms.

Bale qualified his seemingly xenophobic attitude in the conclusion. Although he could have written about 'all prodigiouse kindes of lecherie and other abhominacions' carried out in Ireland, Bale limited his commentary to only that 'whiche all concerneth religion'.[60] Neither did he condemn the entire Irish population – 'only of those which are bredde and borne there / and yet not all of them'. [61] He instead blamed the established 'Irishe lordes and their undrecaptaines' along with the 'prestes / lawers / and kearnes' for undermining the English political authority within the Pale.[62] It was they who spread 'utter confusion ... [and maintained] all vices' throughout the land, thereby setting a poor example for those of lower social standing.[63] Most sinister of all was the perpetuation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which turned 'a tame Irishe [into] a wilde Irishe'.[64] For instance, those who murdered five of Bale's servants were identified as a 'sworne brethrene togyther in mischefe ... by vertue of transubstanciacion'.[65]

It is significant that Bale links religion and civil duty. It was a typical attitude for his time: 'to be English was to be free and civilised; Irishness was

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[58] Hadfield discusses Bale's fluid usage of nationality, race and ethnicity in 'Translating the Reformation', 47-54. For discussion of the cultural division of Irish society between the 'native Irish', the 'New English', and the 'Anglo-Irish' or 'Old English', see Alan Ford, 'James Ussher and the creation of an Irish protestant identity', in *British Consciousness and Identity*, 185-212.
[59] Ellis, 'John Bale', 289. See also idem, 'Crown, Community and Government in the English Territories, 1450-1575', *History* lxxi (1986), 187-204.
[60] *Vocacyon*, sig. F6.
[61] Ibid. sig. F6v.
[62] Ibid. sigs. F6.
[63] Ibid. sig. F6v.
[64] Ibid. sig. F7.
[65] Ibid.

synonymous with servitude and savagery'.[66] But as Andrew Hadfield has argued (against Steven Ellis), although Bale may have viewed the Irish in that way, he did not write the *Vocacyon* to establish ethnic superiority over the Irish.[67] Rather he characterised the Irish as the 'other' in order to gain a favourable comparison to himself. It is important to recognise that the Irish/English differences are treated in 'theological rather than ethnological terms'. [68] The reformer 're-presented' the Irish in 'a classic case of cultural/colonial *mis*-representation'.[69] Because Bale's ethnography was wrapped up in theological terminology, his negative portrayal of the Irish had more to do with confessional identity than it did with nationality. Hadfield is right to emphasise Bale's religious diagnosis of Ireland as the main objective of the *Vocacyon*. However, he may be mistaken in suggesting that Bale's elastic usage of 'English' and its association with Christianity were ill defined.

Bale had been steadily refining the concept of Englishness and nationhood throughout his literary career previous to taking up episcopal office in Ireland. Well before John Foxe took up his pen to write *Acts and Monuments*, Bale was co-opting history to bolster the Protestant claim of continuity with the Primitive Church. And England was given a special place in Bale's apocalyptical interpretation of history that coupled his ecclesiology with his ethnological loyalty to his mother country. Not only is this noticeable in Bale's political plays such as *King Johan* (performed before Henry VIII, 1538-1539), but also in his polemical works immediately preceding the *Vocacyon*, especially his *Epistle Exhortatorye...* (1544), and *The Image of Both Churches* (c.1545).[70]

But it was *The Laboryouse Journey & serche of John Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees...* (1550?) that made the case for England as a chosen nation most

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[66] Steven Ellis, *The Making of the British Isles: The State of Britain and Ireland, 1450-1660* (London, 2007), 25.
[67] Hadfield, 'Translating the Reformation', 47-54. Cf. Ellis, *The Making of the British Isles*, 24-6; 'Crown, Community and Government', 187-204.
[68] Ibid. 50.
[69] Ibid. 54 (original emphasis).
[70] For discussion of Bale's plays see Fairfield, *John Bale*, 55-62; Happé, *John Bale*, 71-136.

conspicuously.[71] As the title suggests, Bale was not the original author of this work. In 1546 King Henry commissioned John Leland to make a survey of antiquities extant in England and Wales. This included sourcing manuscripts that mentioned England's Christian heritage. Leland's mental health deteriorated after Henry's death so Bale completed the task of compiling and collating the manuscript collection gathered by Leland, edited the original text and added his own commentary.[72] The decidedly more favourable atmosphere for evangelicals in Edward's reign was a significant difference, however. Compared to Leland's original text, Bale's additional comments are more attuned to justifying the association of the Church in England with the eternal True Church by establishing a historical narrative for English Christianity. There is little doubt that the evangelical establishment, which was still trying to assert its dominance throughout the land, would have welcomed such a goal. It is hardly insignificant that Bale mentions the Western Riots of 1549 in Devon and Cornwall in his dedication.[73]

The *Journey* sought to legitimise the evangelical credentials of the Edwardian regime. Constructing an evangelical pedigree for the English Church down the ages would help to consolidate the reformers' claims to God's eternal blessing on their ecclesiological vision. Bale understood this well. Thus he marshalled examples of English writers who 'In all ages haue ... both smelled out, and also by theyr writynges detected the blasphemouse frauds of thys Antichrist'.[74] One of Bale's more imaginative suggestions was that 'Joseph of Arymathie' brought the Gospel into England. [75] This was not an original brainchild.[76] But the point was an important one for mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology. Not only did it claim that the True Church had a presence in

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[71] *Journey*. For a fuller discussion of the *Journey* see Mottram, *Empire and Nation*, 1-34.
[72] Ibid.
[73] *Journey*, sigs A5-5v.
[74] Ibid. sig. C6.
[75] Ibid. sigs C8, F5v.
[76] There is a long tradition of this, see James P. Carley, 'A Grave Event: Henry V, Glastonbury Abbey, and Joseph of Arimathea's Bones' in James P. Carley (ed.), *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition* (Suffolk, 2001), 285-302; Alexandra Walsham, 'The Holy Thorn of Glastonbury: The Evolution of a Legend in Post-Reformation England', *Parergon* xxi (2004), 1-25.

England before Augustine's arrival in 596, and thus pre-dated the influence of Rome. It also traced the direct lineage of the English Church to one of Jesus' disciples. Although Joseph of Arimathea was not an apostle in the strictest sense, this claim gave the evangelical Church of England a pretence of apostolic succession.

The same historical perspective framed the *Vocaycon*. In the Preface, Bale argued that 'the inhabitours of our realme / have alwayes had knowledge of God / almost sens the worldes beginninge'.[77] On the strength of Gildas' *Excidio Britannie*, he maintained that Joseph of Arimathea was sent by the apostle Phillip to bring the Gospel to 'our realme / in those dayes called Britaine, and now named Englande'.[78] Hence 'our first faythe ... [came] From the schole of Christe hymselfe ... From Jerusalem / & not from Rome'.[79] Despite such an auspicious start, Bale highlighted the way 'wicked ministers / made havoc of the Christien flocke' in Britain as a result of coming under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.[80] Yet in God's providence there was always 'some in that miste of palpable darkenesse / that smelled out their mischefes'.[81] Matthew Paris, John Wycliffe, Geoffrey Chaucer, William Tyndale, John Frith, Robert Barnes, Thomas Bilney, and John Lambert were all registered in the cloud of witnesses who revealed God's 'great mercy to his elected heritage gathered [in England] ... togyther from the parels of perdicion / by the voyce of his holye Gospell'.[82] History was essential to Bale's ecclesiology because it proved that evangelicals belonged to an ancient Church. After all, Christ, as head of the Church, is 'oldar than the devyls vycar at Rome'.[83] More than this, as the literary scholar Stewart Mottram has observed, history enabled Bale 'to root English Protestantism, not only in early Christian, but in specifically ancient British soil ... [to bring] the full weight

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[77] *Vocacyon*, sig. B3v.
[78] Ibid. sigs B3-4v, at B3.
[79] Ibid. sig. B4v.
[80] Ibid. sig. B5v. Cf. *Journey*, *passim*.
[81] Ibid. sig. B7.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid. sig. A3.

of history to bear on papist criticisms that the English church was simply a shrewd political manoeuvre'.[84]

Preserving English antiquities, especially manuscripts, was equally important to the vocation of the True Church. As a former Carmelite friar Bale welcomed the dissolution of the monasteries. However his commentary in the *Journey* shows that he lamented the loss of many 'lyuelye memoryalles of our nacyon' as a result.[85] Bale held this opinion throughout his life. Upon his return from his second exile, Bale became a prebendary of Canterbury. This brought him into direct contact with Matthew Parker, Elizabeth's first Archbishop. Like Bale, Parker was eager to establish ecclesiastical links with the past to bolster the Protestant identity of the English Church. Hence in 1560 he requested Bale's assistance in tracking down documents concerning church history.[86] In his response, Bale described 'the lamentable spoyle of the lybraryes of Englande' as 'vncircumspect and carelesse'.[87] It was 'only conscience, [mixed] with a feruent loue to my contray [that] moued me to saue that [which] myght be saued'.[88] Bale clearly viewed the dispersal of books and manuscripts under Henry as a blight on the evangelical reputation of the English Church.

In the *Journey*, Bale sought to distance the English Church from the radical wing of the Protestant movement. Interestingly, he linked the destruction of

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[84] Mottram, *Empire and Nation*, 27. Contrary to this, Steven Ellis does not see any evidence that Bale's ideas about nationhood stemmed from his concept of England as an elect nation: 'John Bale', 289.

[85] *Journey*, sig. A7v.

[86] Parker's request was prompted by a group of German ecclesiastical historians known as the 'Magdeburg Centuriators' led by Matthias Flacius Illyricus. Their objective was to write a century-by-century account of church history as a defence of Lutheranism, and to expose the errors of Rome. Norman L. Jones, 'Matthew Parker, John Bale, and the Magdeburg Centuriators', *Sixteenth Century Journal* xii (1981), 35-49; Timothy Graham and Andrew G. Watson, 'Introduction', in *The Recovery of the Past in Early Elizabethan England: Documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the Circle of Matthew Parker*, ed. Timothy Graham and Andrew G. Watson (Cambridge, 1998), 3; Elizabeth Evenden, 'Agendas and Aesthetics in the Transformations of the Codex in Early Modern England', in Sas Mays (ed.), *Libraries, Literatures, and Archives* (London, 2014), 97-114.

[87] Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 7489, fol. 1. For a modern transcription of this letter, see *The Recovery of the Past*, 17-30.

[88] Ibid.

books and manuscripts to the Anabaptist community in Münster. Bale's concluding remarks are damning:

> The Anabaptists in our tyme, an vnquyetous kynde of men, arrogaunt without measure, capcyose and vnlerned, do leaue non olde workes vnbrent, that they maye easely come by, as apered by the lybraryes at Mynster in the lande of Westphaly, whom they most furyously destroyed. ... The Anabaptistes burne all bokes ... without respect, thynkynge scorne of any other sprete to seme lerned, than of theyr owne fanatycall braynes. A wretched thynge it is to beholde, the noble lybraryes so to be destroyed of that execrable secte. ... The fury or frantycke madnesse of the Anabaptistes, hath consumed awaye the most excellent writers and the moste noble exemplaryes of honourable Antiquyte, in the worthie library of Osnaburg. I could brynge out a great nombre of lyke testimonyes, from Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Caluyne, and Philyppe Melanchthon...'[89]

The comparison was stark. Anabaptists expunged history, whereas those of the True Church preserved it. The conservation of historical records was necessary to support ecclesiological claims of continuity with the Primitive Church. Burning books was decidedly un-Christian, as well as uncivilised. In this regard, the burning of Lutheran books under Henry is conspicuous by its absence here. But the literary legacy of England's past recovered by Leland, and honoured by Bale, proved 'that we are no Babarouse nacyon, as the contemptuouslye Italyane wryters doth call vs'.[90] Thus the Edwardian Church was fashioned as a bastion of Christian learning with a rich heritage. At the same time the godly and historic credentials of the English Church were defended.

Fire was not the only method of purging one's library. When Bale fled Ireland in 1553, he was forced to leave behind his private collection of up to eighty manuscripts.[91] As mentioned earlier, the potential usefulness of such documents in re-establishing Protestantism under Elizabeth was quickly

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[89] *Journey*, sigs E8-F1.
[90] Ibid. sig. C7.
[91] It has been estimated that in 1553, before departing Ireland, Bale's library might have included anywhere between a hundred and fifty to two hundred volumes. This collection has since been scattered and can be found in various repositories including the Parker Library in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Lambeth Palace Library, and Trinity College Dublin. See Honor McCusker, *Johan Bale, Dramatist and Antiquary* (Bryn Mawr, 1942), 29-54, at 30; William O'Sullivan, 'The Irish 'remnaunt' of John Bale's manuscripts', in Richard Beadle and A.J. Piper (eds.), *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A.I. Doyle* (Aldershot, 1995), 374-87.

realised; Bale was described by the queen as 'a man that hath byn studious in the serche for the history & antiquities of this our realme & other our dominions'.[92] It was perhaps thanks to the prompting of Parker, that Elizabeth drafted a terse letter to Warham and Robert St Leger demanding that 'all suche bookes & other writinges & scrolles of [Bale's]' be returned from Ireland.[93] However the St Leger boys denied ever having possession of them, and the collection had probably already been dispersed by this time.[94] Bale felt this loss acutely. When he wrote to Parker about his lost collection in 1560, Bale could hardly contain his anger against the 'papystes vndre quene Marye' who wreaked 'hauock' with his books.[95] Always the theologian, Bale interpreted this as 'an other wurke of the Deuyll'.[96] Aside from the forfeiture of such a prized possession, Bale grieved the missed opportunity to share his discoveries with the wider church. Given his previous, and current, experience of enjoying continental hospitality as a religious refugee, he was eager 'to geue to our foren Christen fryndes, thynges lasting and durable, as they haue full learnedly done vnto vs in most ample maner'.[97] On the day before he left Ireland, Bale received two letters – one from Konrad von Gesner, a German-Swiss evangelical, and one from Alexander Alesius, a Scottish confidant of Thomas Cranmer.[98] These letters contained 'commendacions' from leading continental reformers such as Philipp Melanchthon and Mathias Flacius 'and other learned men / desierouse of the

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[92] SP 63/1 fol. 208.

[93] Ibid. fol. 208v. Warham was one of the five sons of Anthony (former Lord Deputy of Ireland), see David Edwards, 'St Leger, Sir Warham (1525?– 1597)', *ODNB* [accessed 1 November 2017]. Little is known about the identity of Robert, but we can assume that he was related to Warham, if not one of his brothers.

[94] McCusker, *John Bale: Dramatist and Antiquary*, 30-2; O'Sullivan, 'The Irish 'remnaunt' of John Bale's manuscripts', 374-5.

[95] Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 7489, fol. 1.

[96] Ibid.

[97] *Journey*, sig. F8v.

[98] *Vocacyon*, sigs E6-6v. On Gesner, see 'Gessner, Conrad (Also Konrad Gesner, 1516–1565). *Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World* (New York, 2004); [http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/gessner-conrad-also-konrad-gesner-1516-1565, accessed 13 April 2017]. On Alesius, see Gotthelf Wiedermann, 'Alesius [Allane or Alan], Alexander (1500–1565)', *ODNB* [13 April 2017].

English churches Antiquytees and doctrines'.[99] Sharing resources across national borders was more than an academic exercise; it was an exchange of brotherly love within the universal Church for mutual edification. Here was an example of the contraflow of theological ideas and spiritual blessings common within the mid-sixteenth-century evangelical community.

An Elect Vyneyarde

Again we are faced with the conundrum of Bale's ecclesiology, in which patriotism intermingles with universalism. Patrick Collinson's comment on the Elizabethan Church is helpful here: the growth of national self-consciousness must be viewed within 'the context of the threatening international situation in which England was caught up from the mid-sixteenth century onwards'.[100] Collinson reminds us that 'all English Protestants, Foxe included, were internationalists, conscious of their common identity with the other Reformed churches of Europe'.[101] Yet the extent to which sixteenth-century men and women had a 'national consciousness' is debatable. Such a concept was still not fully formed in the popular mind by the turn of the seventeenth century.[102] But the possibility that Bale seeded the idea of England as an elect nation in the mid- sixteenth century is worth considering.

Bale's version of history sought to demonstrate that time and again God had raised up faithful servants in England to defend its Church from the foreign heresies of Roman Catholicism and Anabaptism. Thus he was very effective in making England's ecclesiastical history stand tall in contrast to that of other nations. Others followed his lead. We have already noted how Bale was drafted

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[99] Ibid. sig. E6.

[100] Patrick Collinson, *Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1988), 11-20, at 11.

[101] Ibid. 16.

[102] For England see Patrick Collinson, *This England* (Manchester, 2011); Alexandra Walsham, 'Impolitic Pictures: Providence, History and the Iconography of Protestant Nationhood in Early Stuart England', in *The Church Retrospective: Studies in Church History* xxxiii (Woodbridge, 1997), 316-27. For Ireland see Marc Caball, 'Faith, culture and sovereignty: Irish nationality and its development, 1558-1626', in *British Consciousness and Identity*, 116-39; Bradshaw, 'The English Reformation and identity formation', in *British Consciousness and Identity*, 85-90.

into helping Archbishop Parker in his goal of establishing England's special place among the nations. However Bale's influence on John Foxe was arguably more significant in developing a popular sense of national identity, even if this outcome was unintentional.[103] Although these two spoke about the church as dispersed throughout the nations, and also believed that the English Church was merely a part of the wider universal church, their major works display a proclivity to emphasise the work of God in their home nation. A symptom of this was to promote England as a contemporary Israel, a spiritual home for all members of the True Church. For Bale, this was a particularly apt analogy in assessing the situation for his exiled English audience of the *Vocaycon*.

Edward's death and Mary's accession were typically justified by mid-Tudor evangelicals as God's punishment of England due to a lack of godly zeal.[104] The Edwardian Reformation had failed to produce the complete renewal of Tudor Britain that evangelicals had hoped for. Bale explained that 'God chose the [England] for his elect vyneyarde ... But whan thu shuldest have brought hym fourth frute / for grapes thu gavest him thornes'.[105] Hence it was natural for him to describe the situation like this:

> God at this present / in Englande hath his fanne in hande / and after his great harvest there / is now syftinge the corne from the chaffe / blessed shall they be / which persever in faythe to the ende. IN case without doubt / is Englande now / as was Jewrye / after the heavenly doctryne was there plentuously sowne by Christe and by his Apostles / the true ministers of his wurde beinge partly enprisoned and partly dispersed / as they were. God of his great mercye preserve it from that plage of destruction / whiche not only Hierusalem but also that whole lande tasted / for their wylfull contempt / of that massage of their salvacyon. Amen.[106]

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[103] Fairfield, *John Bale*, 151-6; Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge, 2011), 38-79. See also Jane Facey, 'John Foxe and the Defence of the English Church', in Lake and Dowling (eds.), *Protestantism and the National Church*, 162-92.

[104] Shakespeare, 'Plague and Punishment', 108-109. Continental reformers used similar reasoning to justify their political setbacks. See Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, trans. Stephen E. Buckwalter (Louisville, 2004), 211-17.

[105] *Vocacyon*, sig. F7v.

[106] Ibid. sig. F2v.

That Bale correlated England with Israel is significant. England's portrayal as the contemporary Israel was partly based on the biblical narrative of a particular nation that was continually chastised by God precisely because it was chosen by Him.[107] But it was effective only in so much as the comparison 'consisted in the scale and enormity of the nation's sins'.[108] Thus it was not a triumphalist battle cry for the English Church, more a lament for an unrepentant population. Yet this negative analysis was paradoxically intended as a positive. After all, suffering was an essential component of the True Church's vocation.

By equating England with Israel, Bale sought to cast the Marian exile, from the very outset, as a temporary aberration from the inevitable restoration of the English Church. Perhaps this provided some form of comfort for the newly exiled refugees reading the *Vocacyon*. The underlying message was that God would remain faithful even when His chosen nation was faithless.[109] Such confidence was buoyed by Bale's apocalyptic and teleological sense of history. A further consequence was to heighten the allegiance of individuals to the corporate institution of the national Church. Certainly there is an overwhelming sense throughout the *Vocacyon* that Bale held a real hope that the True Church might reassemble on English soil once more. His admonition was plain: the English Church 'suffrest thu persecucions diversly / for not regardinge the time of thy visitacion' (i.e. when the Gospel was preached under Edward) Repent yet in the ende / and doubtless thu shalt have a most propserouse delyveraunce'.[110] Such rhetoric worked to intensify the sense of patriotism for Bale and his exiled audience.

This rhetorical trait would subsequently become a commonplace among Elizabethan and Jacobean writers.[111] In addition, the later influence of federal theology upon some Elizabethan divines strengthened the concept of a 'national covenant', or contract, into which God had entered with England.[112] So with the

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[107] Collinson, *Birthpangs*, 22-7.
[108] Ibid. 18.
[109] 2 Timothy 2:13
[110] *Vocacyon*, sig. F3.
[111] Collinson, *Birthpangs*, 17-20.
[112] Jens G. Møller, 'The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xiv (1963), 46-67; Theodore Dwight Bozeman, 'Federal

benefit of hindsight, returned exiles like James Pilkington drew on covenant theology to tell their story of deliverance with 'the power of a national myth', even before John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* was published.[113] However, unlike his Henrician contemporary, William Tyndale, there is no hard evidence to suggest that Bale propounded covenant theology.[114] It would be erroneous to cast Bale as a 'radical' puritan forerunner on these grounds, as Karl Gunther has attempted to do with others early reformers.[115] But the *Vocaycon* does indicate that this idea of a blessed nation was germinating within mainstream evangelical theology much earlier than previously thought.

All this points in the direction of an ecclesiology that was not congregational, but unashamedly inclusively national. Indeed the *Vocacyon* indicates that by the end of Edward's reign reformers were conceiving of the institutional Church as being closely tied to national identity generations before Protestantism became synonymous with 'Englishness'. Yet at the same time we cannot ignore the international aspect of mid-Tudor ecclesiology. The *Vocacyon* holds these two supposedly opposing forces in unresolved tension. It is difficult for the historian trying to make sense of these apparently divergent impulses to separate them. Perhaps the reason why is that mid-Tudor evangelicals did not see them as mutually exclusive throughout the Edwardian Reformation. Just as Archbishop Cranmer enlisted the aid of foreign theologians in composing the national directory of public worship, the *Book of Common Prayer*, so Bale drew on international resources to amplify his message to the English exiles. The title-page image of the *Vocacyon* is a pertinent example of this. The image was borrowed from the Dutch printer, Joos Lambrecht, who had set up a business in the German town of Wesel as a religious refugee himself.[116] Emerging from such an international context, the two figures are iconic of the ubiquitous struggle of the True Church against the forces of Antichrist. But thanks to the national labels appended to the visual in the *Vocacyon*, this appropriated image was given

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Theology and the 'National Covenant': An Elizabethan Presbyterian Case Study', *Church History* lxi (1992), 394-407.

[113] Richard Bauckham, 'Marian Exiles and Cambridge Puritanism: James Pilkington's 'Halfe a Score'', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xxvi (1975), 140.

[114] Møller, 'The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology', 50-4.

[115] Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, 20-31, 232-46.

[116] See fn. 36.

another layer of ecclesiological complexity. Mid-Tudor ecclesiology therefore intertwined national loyalty with a very real and practical acknowledgement of the wider church.

Realising this reminds us that sixteenth-century reformers believed they belonged to the catholic church, the universal and eternal fellowship of believers. Bale knew that he shared a common faith with his continental counterparts. But he was also deeply loyal to the visible manifestation of this catholic church in his mother country. The *Vocacyon* was not addressed to the entire church militant, but specifically to the 'sorowfull churche of England'.[117] That is to say, the segment of the English Church that was dispersed and scattered across various nations at that specific moment in history: 'for my exiled bretherne of whom a great nombre is at this tyme in Germanie, Denmarke, and Geneva'.[118] Yet for all Bale's patriotic fervour, the physical location of these 'brethren' was not his greatest concern. He was more anxious that these members of the True Church would reveal their membership in a visible way by persevering through their persecution in the hope that they would one day return to England.

Bale in Ireland: Extending A National Church?

Bale's ecclesiological message of hope to the diaspora of English evangelicals gives us an insight into his approach to Ireland, and provides the framework within which his episcopate is set. Bale described his Irish posting as another theatre in which the True Church battled the False. At one level this was a case of English colonial superiority. On another, this was seen as a testing ground for the Gospel in a hostile environment. If the experience of exile strengthened Bale's theological concept of the afflicted Church, then his practical involvement in the established institution bolstered his conviction that the True Church had a visible manifestation in the realms of Edward Tudor.

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[117] *Vocacyon*, sig. A7.
[118] Ibid. sig. F3.

The King's Ambassador

Early attempts to reform the Irish Church were dogged by a perennial struggle to provide it with convinced evangelical bishops.[119] Under Henry, George Browne was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin in March 1536 with high hopes of replicating the English Church in Ireland.[120] These hopes were never fulfilled. Browne had been a close associate of Thomas Cromwell's and a keen advocate of the Royal Supremacy. But he did not prove flexible enough to adapt to the religious conditions he faced. Browne admitted in letter to Cromwell that he found it difficult to 'persuade or induce anye' in his diocese 'by gentill exhortacion, evangelicall instrucion, neither by oaths ... nor yeate by threates of sharpe correccion'.[121] Although he did make a particular point of mentioning his personal involvement in deleting 'out of the canon of the masse or other bookes the name of the Busshop of rome'.[122] The political fluctuations in Ireland after Cromwell's fall hampered Browne's ability to enact any form of successful reformation throughout his career, which ended dismally in 1553. By Edward's reign, Browne had relinquished any hard-nosed zeal. To his credit though, in 1547 Browne did propose a scheme for the endowment of a university in his diocese to advance 'the unspeakeable reformacōn of that realme … [and to increase] the obedience of [the king's] Lawes' there.[123] The archbishop also sought to promote the 'book of reformation' in 1548 with the aid of Walter Palatyne, a Scotsman who had preached in Dublin against the Pope, 'the masse and other ceremonies'.[124] The contents of the 'book of reformation' remain a mystery, but Jefferies suggests it was a watered down version of the 1547 Royal Injunctions and possibly some of the homilies.[125] Against this, however, is an accusation that Browne did not preach for a full year. The anonymous letter that made this claim, written in November 1548 to Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord

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[119] Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 71-103.
[120] Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland*, 91-5.
[121] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 602, fol. 104v.
[122] Ibid.
[123] *Original Letters and papers in illustration of the history of the Church in Ireland during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth* (London, 1851), ed. E.P. Shirley, 11.
[124] *Original Letters and papers*, 19-21, at 19.
[125] Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 90.

Deputy at the time, also questioned whether or not Browne had even implemented the king's injunctions or homilies of 1547. [126] Bale's assessment of 1553 concurred, arguing that the Archbishop 'was alwayes slacke in thynges perteyninge to Gods glorie'.[127] And on the two occasions a year that Browne was known to have preached, the texts were 'so wele knowne by rott of every gosipp in Dubline that afore he commeth up into the pulpet / they can tell his sermon'.[128] The gradual wearing down of Browne's resolve illustrates how difficult it was for evangelicals to make any ground in Ireland.

The experience of the other English-born bishop, Edward Staples of Meath, tells a similar story. According to his own anecdote recorded in a letter to Bellingham's secretary in December 1548, Staples was the 'best beloved man' that ever presided over Meath.[129] But after preaching against the Mass and Roman Catholic saints in a sermon in Dublin, he returned as 'the woarst beloved that ever came here'.[130] His life was subsequently threatened with 'more cusses [curses] then ye have heres of yor hedde'.[131] Staples had a quiet ministry thereafter, and there is little evidence to suggest that he preached much again.[132] Perhaps his inactivity explains why he wrote to Bellingham in the first place. Did he feel the need, or was he coerced, to defend himself to the Lord Deputy? Regardless of the motivation, Staples' letter again highlights the unreceptive nature of the Irish population that flirted with aggressive rejection of evangelical efforts.

In comparison, when Bale was chosen to fill the vacant see of Ossory in August 1552 the Edwardian Reformation was in its apogee in England.[133] Yet it remains unclear why Bale was the king's specific candidate for Ireland at this particular moment. Throughout 1550 the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Anthony St Leger, petitioned William Cecil to appoint his chaplain to 'the Busshoprick of Ossery' on the grounds that he was 'of that Churche ... [and] hath asmoche

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[126] *Original Letters and papers*, 19.
[127] *Vocacyon*, sig. C5v.
[128] Ibid. sig. D8.
[129] *Original Letters and papers*, 24. The original letter is SP 61/1 fol. 277.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 91-2.
[133] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 126.

traveled the settingfurthe of his Ma^{ts} S^{r}vice touching Religion' [i.e. the 1549 Prayer Book Communion Service].[134] This petition was unsuccessful. When Sir James Croft replaced St Leger as Lord Deputy in April 1551, he inherited a Church with many vacant sees.[135] The most significant was Armagh, the bishop of which carried the nominal title of Primate of Ireland.[136] In a sign that the confessional tide was changing, the presiding primate, George Dowdall, had fled earlier that year. In the words of George Browne, Dowdall 'would never be bishop where the holy Mass (as he called it) was abolished'.[137] Yet Croft still lamented the fact that 'the olde seremonies yet remayne in meny places [and that] The Busshops as I find, be negligent and fewe lerned, and none of any good zeale'.[138] His frustration motivated three letters to the Privy Council requesting bishops throughout 1551.[139] The English administration was slow to respond. It was not until summer 1552 that serious consideration was given to filling vacant sees in Ireland. In the meantime St Leger's chaplain, Patrick Walsh, had been given the benefice of Waterford in 1551.[140] The real stimulus to provide Ireland with a Primate came when Archbishop Cranmer wrote to Cecil on 25 August 1552. He suggested four men for Armagh; Bale was not on the list.[141] In fact there is no existing evidence to suggest that Bale was ever in the frame to be considered for episcopal preferment.

The only other clue to Bale's appointment is the common link he shared with the Archbishop of Armagh elect, Hugh Goodacre. [142] Both men had ministries in Winchester under the evangelical bishop, John Ponet. Bale was a prebendary at the Cathedral, and Goodacre was Ponet's chaplain. Thus it is certainly possible that Ponet had had a hand in the promotions of both these

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[134] *Original Letters and papers*, 41-50, at 45.
[135] Jefferies, 94-101.
[136] A minute of the Council meeting of 9 September 1551 proposed changing 'the Primacy of that realme to the Sea of Dublin', *APC (1550-52)*, 356.
[137] *Original Letters and papers*, 58. See also Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 93-7.
[138] Ibid. 63.
[139] Ibid. 50-54; 61-2; 63-4. See also Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 98.
[140] Ibid. 48.
[141] Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 438.
[142] Ibid. Note that Cranmer refers to Goodacre as 'Whitacre'. See also *Vocacyon*, sigs C2-2v. For Goodacre, see Henry Jefferies, 'Goodacre, Hugh (*d.* 1553)', *ODNB* [13 April 2017].

men to Irish Sees. At the very least, we know that Ponet's name topped the list of signatures on the letter that bestowed the bishopric of Ossory upon Bale, written 26 August 1552.[143] So was this a case of Bale having friends in high places? Or, was Bale's appointment a convenient way for the regime to isolate this belligerent figure from the centre of ecclesiastical politics?[144] We will never know with certainty, but the hypothetical answer is probably a little of both.

Another possibility is that Bale's appointment was the next stage in an official strategy of the English administration to reform the established Church in Ireland. Notwithstanding the numerous suggestions to fill vacant sees the Edwardian establishment had made it clear to Croft that 'the [financial] fruicts of the busshoprick' are not meet for any man 'but a good mynister and a preacher of the worde of God'.[145] More than this, there was a need for a man tough enough to withstand the pressures and problems associated with the 'wild Irish' in such a remote zone. The example of Edward Staples emphasised this. So, did the administration think that Bale was the right man for the job? His experience abroad and reputation as a writer with a 'brass-knuckled polemical style' meant he fit the bill.[146] But the fact that Cranmer and others had previously overlooked Bale for episcopal preferment renders the suggestion that Bale's promotion was calculated in official circles improbable.

Bale's own romanticised account of being 'called in a manner from deathe / to this office' by the king gives the impression that he was outside the official circle of ecclesiastical and political influence.[147] Apparently Edward had assumed

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[143] A full copy of the letter is found in the *Vocacyon*, sigs B8v-C1.

[144] Hadfield notes that Bale 'was the first in a long line of Protestant dissidents who, for one reason or another, ended up in Ireland. The list includes Christopher Goodman, William Lyon, Meredith Hanmer, John Long, and Thomas Cartwright', 'Translating the Reformation', 53.

[145] *Original Letters and papers*, 52-3.

[146] Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England*, 38.

[147] *Vocacyon*, sigs. C1. The king's direct involvement in Bale's appointment is consonant with the view that Edward began to take greater control of government from 1550 onwards, especially in regard to religious policy, despite still being a minor. See W. K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Threshold of Power, The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland* (London, 1970), 367–8; Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI*, ed. George Bernard and Penry Williams (New Haven, CT, and London, 1999), 130–4.

that Bale was 'dead & buried'.[148] Yet when the king saw the seasoned reformer during his royal progress through Winchester, he 'behelde me a poore weake creature / as though he had had upon me so simple a subject / an earnest regarde / or rather a very fatherly care'.[149] The very next day letters arrived informing Bale 'of my first calling' to Ireland 'without my expectation or yet knowledge therof'.[150] Considering Bale's real sense of calling, it is striking to note that he initially made an 'earnest refusall' to his promotion on the grounds of 'povertie / age / and sycknesse'.[151] These protests were not accepted, and within six weeks and six days Bale was ready to depart England.[152]

It was highly significant for Bale that he was chosen by the king himself. It gave him another excuse to associate himself with the Apostle Paul. Just as Christ had appointed Paul Apostle to the Gentiles, Bale's 'vocacion to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Ireland' was a matter of divine 'election' facilitated by his earthly king.[153] Edward's royal progress through Winchester was a true act of providence. Again we are reminded that the *Vocacyon* is a carefully crafted self- narrative. Bale's modesty in accepting the appointment should not necessarily be taken at face value. But it does inform our understanding about his ecclesiology in two ways.

First, the *leitmotif* of being called, chosen, and elected to take the Gospel to Ireland underlined Bale's firm belief that God was eternally sovereign. In taking up episcopal office, Bale promoted himself into the pantheon of previous saints whom God had raised for the purposes of building the True Church throughout history. Being sent to Ireland also reiterated the doctrine of a universal catholic church. The second observation regards Bale's attitude toward the visible institution, and the role of the godly monarch in particular. The

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[148] Ibid. sig. B8.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid. sig. C1.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid; cf. Acts 9. John Hooper understood the call to ministry in a similar way. During his 1550 Lenten sermons, Hooper made the point that 'no man shuld wysh, or desyre for any office or vocacion to a priuate commoditie, and his own lucre, but to tarye tyl God cal hym to it, chiefely the offyce of a byshop or preacher', *An Ouersight, and Deliberacion vpon the Holy Prophete Ionas... (1550)*, (*Early Writings*, 505).

attitude of fatherly care that the boy-king adopted toward Bale portrays Edward in a Christ-like manner. He clearly held the king in high regard, and saw him as necessary to the godly vocation of the visible church. With these two aspects combined, there was little doubt in Bale's mind that he was being sent as a missionary bishop, ordained by God and commissioned by Edward to help establish the English Church in Ireland.[154]

Royal Supremacy

Gaining the official stamp of approval was grist to Bale's ecclesiological mill. The king's letter of appointment was taken as a directive to establish English order in Ireland. This was to be achieved via ecclesiastical reform. Within days of his arrival, Bale noted that 'heathnysh behavers' (i.e. traditional practices associated with the Mass) went unchecked because 'Christe had there no Bishop, neyther yet the Kynges Majestie of Englande any faithful officer of the mayer'.[155] Soon after, Bale's disgust was compounded when he discovered that it was considered 'an honour in this lande to have a spirituall man as a bishop, an Abbot, a Monke, a Fryre, or a Prest' as father.[156] Thus he resolved 'to refourme [the Irish Church] ... by our preachinges [so that] the popes superstitions wolde diminishe & true Christen religion increase'.[157] From Bale's perspective, God and king had both called him to tame the 'wild-Irish'.[158] This required an abrasive strategy of reform. As an official representative of the crown, Bale's *modus operandi* was to exploit England's imperial prerogative and impose evangelical doctrine and practice upon his diocese. The Royal Supremacy was constantly invoked to justify this strategy. Bale's formative years as a reformer were under Henry VIII. As such, the Royal Supremacy was deeply ingrained, and Bale found it natural to justify his reforming agenda in such terms.

During his Henrician exile, Bale had criticised English papists for establishing 'theyr counterfete kyngdome of hypocresye wherin they shewe now what they haue bene euen verye heretikes to God trayters to theyr Princes and

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[154] Ibid. sigs B7v-C3v.
[155] Ibid. sigs C1v-2.
[156] Ibid. sig. C2.
[157] Ibid. sigs C2-2v.
[158] Ibid. sig. F7.

theues to theyr Christen commons'.[159] Then as Bishop of Ossory he claimed to have 'mayntened the politicall ordre by [preaching evangelical] doctrine, & [thus] moved the commens always to obeye their magistrates'.[160] It is also interesting to note that despite fleeing Henry's regime in the 1540s, Bale still referred to Henry in the *Vocacyon* as 'that noble prince' who completed 'that wonderfull wurke of God ... an overthrowe [of] the great Golias of Rome'.[161] This indicates that the Royal Supremacy continued to affect modes of thinking within the fledging communities of exiled evangelicals even as Henry VIII's elder daughter appropriated it for her own counter reformation.[162] Of course, other evangelicals would seriously challenge this soon.[163] Most prominently, Bale's close friend and mentor, John Ponet, would go on to write the first defence of regicide in his treatise, *Politike Power* (1556).[164] Bale never followed Ponet's lead in this regard, however.[165] The picture Bale gives of his time in Ireland is quite the opposite. Although Bale crossed the Irish Sea, he understood his ministry as falling under English legal jurisdiction both civil and ecclesiastical.

This was neither out of step with the prevailing culture of obedience throughout the Tudor reformations, nor was it a novel way of conceiving the reach and influence of the English crown in Ireland.[166] From as early as the turn

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[159] Bale, *The Epistle Exhortatorye*, sig. A3.
[160] *Vocacyon*, sig. C4v.
[161] Ibid. sig. B7v.
[162] Lucy Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000), 135-6.
[163] See also Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, chs. 3 and 4.
[164] John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power, and of the True Obedience which subjects owe to kynges and other civile Governours, with an Exhortation to all true naturall Englishe men* (1556). See also Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002), 176-9. Mark Earngey, doctoral student at Oxford, argues that Ponet's 'theological reflections on the limitations of the monarchy' had begun during Edward's reign but crystallised 'during the final stages of his life' during the Marian exile, 'New Light on the Life and Theology of Bishop John Ponet (1514-1556)' (MPhil thesis, Oxford, 2016), 41-3.
[165] Walsh points out that in comparison to other Marian exiles, Bale was a first-generation reformer. This may help to explain the variance between Bale and Ponet on the Royal Supremacy. 'Deliberate provocation', 47.
[166] Hadfield argues that the 'Old English' saw themselves as living under English jurisdiction, 'Translating the Reformation', 43-4. For the virtue of Tudor obedience see Ryan Reeves, *English Evangelicals and Tudor Obedience, c.1527–*

of the sixteenth century the Diocese of Dublin had been seen as the handmaid of the English Church.[167] Henry's proclamation of supremacy in the 1530s effectively displaced papal jurisdiction there.[168] Thus the 1549 Act of Uniformity, which did not explicitly mention Ireland, was imposed 'with the acquiescence of the local secular elite' in the Anglophone parishes of the Pale.[169]

The official description of Edward's position as Head of the Church perpetuated the Royal Supremacy in both England and Ireland. In July 1547, the royal proclamation ordering the *Book of Homilies* to be read in each parish was given 'for the establishment and confirmation of the King's authority, jurisdiction, as supremacy of the Church of England and Ireland'.[170] Interestingly, the form of bidding prayers attached to this proclamation placed Edward's Church within the context of the universal church: 'You shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's Church, and specially for this Church of England and Ireland, wherein first I commend to your devout prayers the King's most excellent majesty, supreme head immediately under God of the spirituality and temporality of the same church'.[171] By the end of the reign, the official catechism was hailing Edward as 'king of England, France and Irelande defendoure of the faith: and of the church of Englande and also of Ireland in earthe the Supreme head'.[172] Clearly the Churches of England and Ireland were conceived as one unified ecclesiastical body under the supreme headship of the Tudor monarch. Hence the Edwardian Church theoretically exceeded the geographic borders of England and incorporated the dioceses of Ireland. On this basis, the ecclesiastical institution could be used as a political instrument to enhance the colonial reach of the Tudor crown.

1570 (Leiden, 2014), esp. ch. 3; Stephen Chavura, *Tudor Protestant Political Thought, 1547-1603* (Leiden, 2011), esp. ch. 5.

[167] Murray, *Enforcing the Tudor Reformation in Ireland*, 20-47, 202.

[168] Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 87. See the Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) *Statues of the Realm* vol. III (Dawsons: London, 1963), 427 (24 Hen. VIII c. 12). See also J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents A.D. 1485-1603 with an historical commentary* (Bath, 1922), 40.

[169] Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 93.

[170] No. 287, *Tudor Royal Proclamations* vol. I, eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (New Haven, 1964), 393.

[171] Ibid. 403.

[172] *Catechism* (1553), sig. A2.

This was noticeable throughout the Edwardian period. Perhaps the most 'exemplary moment of colonization' came in 1551 – a full year before Bale's arrival – when the 1549 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* became the first book printed in Ireland.[173] A population that had showed no previous signs of welcoming reform was now forced to pray for deliverance from 'the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities' in the English language.[174] This was significant. Forcing the Irish Church to adopt English as its official language of prayer and worship was a powerful means of enveloping it into the English Reformation since 'authority ... was clearly on the side of the dominant tongue', as Felicity Heal has demonstrated.[175] This also reminds us that the Edwardian Reformation was essentially a top-down movement, in which religious change was driven by the officialdom.[176] Evidence of any popular reception of Protestantism in Ireland at this stage is scant, which has led many to argue that the Reformation was introduced and imposed upon 'an unwilling populace' throughout the Tudor realms of England and Ireland.[177]

Crossing the language barrier was a persistent obstacle for the Edwardian Reformation throughout the Tudor realms. St Leger explained to Cecil that the evangelical religion 'be hard to plante in mens myndes' because they do not understand the English language.[178] Thus he sought permission to print a Latin translation of the Prayer Book.[179] However such a translation was deemed unacceptable by the evangelical administration, as the Lord Deputy's

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[173] Brian Cummings, 'Introduction', in Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*, xlvii.

[174] A prayer from the Litany, *The boke of common praier* (Dublin, 1551), sig. O5. This copy is housed in Trinity College Library, Dublin, and a digitised version is available at http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=BOCP1551_001.

[175] Felicity Heal, 'Mediating the Word: Language and Dialects in the British and Irish Reformations', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* ii (2005), 265.

[176] MacCulloch makes the point that in England, 'Cranmer and his colleagues must cope with the uncomfortable reality that outside the court and the Council chamber, their chief support came from people who did not matter in poitics: Cabridge dons, a minority of clergy and a swathe of people below the social level of the gentry, all concentrated in south-east England', *Tudor Church Militant*, 59.

[177] Ellis, *The Making of the British Isles*, 131.

[178] *Original Letters and papers*, 47.

[179] St Leger had already promulgated a Latin manuscript copy in Limerick, which had some degree of success. Ibid. 47-8.

instructions of 1550 made clear. All religious services were to be conducted in English 'in all places where the Inhabitants or a convenient nomber of them understand the englishe tongue'.[180] And in those areas where English was not widely understood, St Leger was instructed to translate the English 'truly into the Irishe tongue, unto such tyme as the people maye be brought to understand the englishe'.[181] The impulse to stamp out Latin services was presented to the population via the Preface to the Prayer Book in a benign way. One of Cranmer's hopes was to 'haue suche language spoke to the people in the churche, as they mighte understand and haue profite'. [182] Privately, the Archbishop also encouraged reformers to gain the Gaelic language in order to be better equipped to reach local communities in Ireland.[183] Despite this there is no evidence to suggest that Bale entertained this possibility. For him, the inherent danger of permitting a Latin translation of the 1549 Prayer Book was its similarity to the Latin Mass, which Bale condemned as 'howlinge and jabberinge in a foren language'.[184] Thus it was not only theologically suspect to conduct services in Latin, but also un-English. Indeed, no Latin version of the 1552 Prayer was ever produced.[185]

As a point of comparison, Thomas Gualtier was given a licence to print a French translation of the 1552 Prayer Book for use in the Channel Islands and the French Stranger Church in December 1552, but the 1559 version was never translated into French; no translation of any edition of the Prayer Book into Manx was made until 1610, nor published until 1765.[186] At the same time in

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[180] Ibid. 40.
[181] Ibid.
[182] BCP49, 3; BCP52, 321.
[183] *Miscellaneous Writings*, 439. See also Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 98-99.
[184] *Vocacyon*, sig. F5v, also D3v.
[185] D. N. Griffiths, 'The French Translations of the English Book of Common Prayer', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* xxii (1972), 93.
[186] Ibid. D. N. Griffiths lists all translations of Prayer Books before 1900 in his appendix to 'Prayer-Book Translations in the Nineteenth Century', *The Library*, 6th series vi (1984), 20-4; and, 'The early translations of the Book of Common Prayer', *The Library* 6th series iii (1981), 1-16. See also Jennifer Loach, '"A Close League with the King of France": Lady Jane Grey's Proclamation in French and its Part in a planned Betrayal', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* xxv (1991), 234–41, at 235; Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Importance of Jan Laski in the English Reformation', in Christoph Strohm, ed., *Johannes a Lasco (1499–1560). Polnischer*

Wales, William Salesbury, a lay reformer and Oxford graduate, translated the epistles and gospel readings prescribed by the 1549 Prayer Book into Welsh in 1551.[187] He later completed a full Welsh translation of the Prayer Book, which was published in 1567.[188] Even if we accept Glanmor Williams' conclusion that Salesbury's efforts were mostly in vain, the difference between Wales and Ireland in the attempt to reach the local population is noteworthy.[189] Unlike in Wales, very little was done to help 'inculturate' the Reformation in Ireland under the Tudors.[190] Ireland had to wait for a Stuart monarch before receiving a translated Prayer Book. An abridged version did not appear until 1608, while the complete liturgy only appeared in 1712.[191] Similarly, a Gaelic Irish translation of the New Testament was first published in 1602, with the Old Testament translation arriving in 1685.[192] Initially then, the Irish Reformation was aimed at and intended for those who understood English. It was not until well after the Edwardian Reformation that Gaelic Irish Protestants became 'centrally involved' in the print culture used by reformers to spread their faith.[193]

Liturgical Reform

While the Tudor state used the Church as a political tool, Bale was able to exploit the political advantage for his own evangelistic purposes. The most prominent example of this appears in Bale's description of his consecration in Dublin. The service became a flashpoint because the dean of Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin, Thomas Lockwood, or as Bale calls him 'Blockhead', tried to prevent the

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Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator, Spätmittelalter und Reformation n.s. 14 (Tübingen, 2000), 325–46, at 336; *Miscellaneous Writings*, 439; Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 98-99.

[187] Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), 177-78.

[188] Heal, 'Mediating the Word', 261-86.

[189] Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, 157-87.

[190] For a fuller discussion of this see Bradshaw, 'The English Reformation and identity formation in Ireland and Wales', 43-111.

[191] Griffiths lists 'Prayer-Book Translations in the Nineteenth Century', 20-4; and 'The early translations of the Book of Common Prayer', 1-16.

[192] For a detailed discussion on the protracted development of these translations from the 1560s onwards, see Marc Caball, 'The Bible in Early Modern Gaelic Ireland: Tradition, Collaboration, and Alienation', in Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1700* (Oxford, 2015), 332-49.

[193] Ibid. 332.

use of the revised Ordinal of 1552 in consecrating the bishops elect, Bale and Goodacre.[194] Although the 1549 Prayer Book had been printed in Ireland in 1551, it did not contain the reformed Ordinal of 1550, which was subsequently revised and incorporated into the 1552 Prayer Book.[195] This variation of Prayer Book editions between England and Ireland highlights the difference in pace of official reform within the Tudor empire, from its centre in London to the farthest outposts in the English Pale of Ireland. While the English Church accelerated its reform programme under the protectorship of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, the Irish Church lagged behind.[196] Lockwood understood this. Thus

> … he wolde in no wise permyt ye obseruacion to be done after ye boke of consecratinge bishoppes w^{c} was last set fourth in Englāde by acte of parlement alleginge y^{t} it wolde be both an occasiō of tumulte and also that it was not as yet consented to by acte of their parlemēt in Irelande.[197]

This standoff between Bale and Lockwood was not just about which edition of the Prayer Book was to be used in Ireland, nor was it about retaining traditional forms of ceremonial as embodied in the 1549 Prayer Book. At a deeper level, it was a disagreement over which parliament had authority in Ireland, and by implication, the freedom which the Irish Church had from the English Church in matters of doctrine and worship.

Ironically, had Bale been familiar with the Irish Prayer Book of 1551, he could have invoked the 'Prayer for the Lord Deputy' to counter Lockwood's argument.[198] This was an additional prayer for the Irish edition that was not in the English equivalent of 1549 for obvious reasons. By using it, Irish congregations beseeched God to 'lighten the herte of thy seruaunt, now

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[194] The presiding bishop was 'George the archebishop of Dublyne', who had 'Thomas the bisshop of Kyldare & Vrbane ye bishop of Duno assisinge him', *Vocacyon*, sigs C2–C3v, at sig. C2v.
[195] *The Boke of Common Praier* (Dublin, 1551).
[196] Ellis, 'John Bale', 285; MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 52–6.
[197] *Vocacyon*, sigs C2v–C3. Constitutionally, Lockwood was right; I thank Paul Cavill for pointing this out to me. Although, it is interesting to note that this very issue was being debated in 1538, see Inner Temple Library Petyt MS 538/18 fols. 445-448.
[198] *The boke of common praier* (Dublin, 1551), sig. S4v.

gouernour ouer this realme under our most dread and soueraigne Lord, Edward the sixt', so that he might set the example of living in 'due obedience to their kyng'.[199] The implication being that every Irish resident was an English subject. The official liturgy of the Irish Church was being used to establish a clear political hierarchy of England over Ireland. It was natural for ecclesiastical practice to follow suit. The impasse at Bale's consecration was instead broken by his forceful will and obstinate obedience to English law. Even though Lockwood was constitutionally correct, Bale reasoned that 'If Englande and Ireland be under one kinge / they are both bounde to the obedience of one lawe under him'.[200] Furthermore, the soon-to-be consecrated bishop asserted that once he set foot in Ossory 'I wolde execute nothinge for my part there / but accordinge to the rules of that lattre boke'.[201] Thus the 1552 Prayer Book entered Ireland and was enforced throughout the diocese of Ossory.

The implementation of liturgical reform in Ireland was one way in which Bale made a conscious effort to fuse the structure of the visible church with the theologically pure doctrine of evangelical reformers. He advocated the need for the official institution to help defend evangelical doctrines: 'For doctrine without discipline & restraint of vices / maketh dissolute hearers / And on the other syde / discipline without doctrine maketh eyther hipocrites / or els desperate doars'.[202] Discipline in this sense refers to the framework provided by the visible church as founded by the authority of a godly monarch, in which true spiritual devotion could take place and be expressed in public worship. '[T]rue obedience to Gods most holy wurde' involved obeying 'the commaundement of your christen Kynge'.[203] For this reason, Bale 'requyred [all prebendaries and priests in Kilkenny] to observe and folowe that only boke of commen prayer [i.e. the 1552 edition] / whych the kynge & hys counsel that yeare put fourth by acte of parlement'.[204]

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[199] Ibid.
[200] *Vocacyon*, sig. C3.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid. sigs C5-5v.
[203] Ibid. sig. D5v.
[204] Ibid. sig. C5v.

Bale's endorsement of the temporal church under Edward displays a subtle but significant shift in his thinking. His previous major ecclesiological work, *The Image of Both Churches*, had little to say about the visible institution. Referring to the Henrician Church of the 1540s, Bale wrote that 'a sincere Christian order cannot yet be seen there'.[205] The same might have been written about Ireland in late 1553. However, as the *Vocacyon* reveals, Bale had done all that was humanely possible to reform the visible church in Ireland so that a sincere Christian order might be seen there, as it was in Edwardian England. The subtle difference in these two works, written at either ends of Edward's reign, shows that English evangelicals were beginning to consider the established institution as a manifestation of the True Church. Although the ecclesiastical structure of Henry's Church had been retained – that is the threefold ministry of bishop, priest, and deacon – the doctrinal ground had shifted significantly. The 1552 Prayer Book was a singular expression of this change. Bale's programme of reform in Ireland did not entail an overthrow of the ecclesiastical structure. It was instead a movement of renewal within the existing institutional framework.

However, we must be careful not to read too much into Bale's fervour for liturgical reform. Although he was clearly satisfied with the theological shape of the 1552 Prayer Book, Bale understood that the marks of the True Church were not to be found in mere liturgy or loyalty to the godly monarch. These were signs and symptoms of health, but not the real thing. Rather the True Church was seen in preaching the Gospel and in the right administration of sacraments.

The Vocation of the True Church

Once installed in Ossory, Bale 'sought to distroye the ydolatries / & dissolve the hypocrites yockes', which abounded amongst the local clergy. [206] His first instructions where a reminder 'that their office by Christes strayght commaundement / was chifely to preache / and instruct the people in the doctryne and ways of God' rather than 'chauntynge / pypynge / and syngynge' the Mass.[207] Not much changed over the course of a year. Bale's anger was

[205] Bale, *Image*, sig. Q6.
[206] *Vocacyon*, sig. C4v.
[207] Ibid.

expressed in his forthright accusation that the Irish clergy were 'abhomynable traytors / both to God and to all godly odre ... For ye never yet preached the wurde of God truly / neither mynstred the sacramentes rightly / neyther yet taught the people to honour God purely'.[208] Despite Bale's best efforts he 'founde none amonge my prebendaries & clergie' who were willing to promote evangelical doctrine from their pulpits. [209] Instead, Bale was lumped with 'adversaries a great nombre'.[210] Thus the two key marks of the True Church – preaching and right administration of the sacraments – were absent. Meanwhile 'supersticions / false worshippynges / and ydolatryes' continued unabated.[211] The emphasis on preaching and right administration of sacraments shows us that Bale's real concern was to establish the True Church in Ireland. Exploitation of the political prerogative and liturgical reform proved to be very helpful to this ambition, but only in so much as they would help promote the two key marks of the True Church.

The practicalities of this involved abolishing the idolatry of the Mass to clear a platform for pure preaching of the Gospel. The Mass is denigrated repeatedly throughout the *Vocacyon*, and Bale reserved some of his most lurid language to describe it. According to Bale, 'a toorde (their ydolatrouse masse) yet will a toorde be but a stinkinge toorde / both in smelle and sight'.[212] In contrast, Bale promoted an evangelical sacramental theology by arguing that 'the sacramentes of Christes bodie and bloud ... preached the lordes deathe till he come / and declared us of manie members to be one misticall bodie of Christ'.[213] This two-fold function of the right administration of the sacraments was enabled by the 'newe changed ordre of the communion' drawn up in the 1552 Prayer Book.[214] The 1549 version simply did not meet Bale's requirements since its rubrics were ambiguous enough for conservatives to retain a belief in a substantiated presence. This helps explain why Bale was so adamant about using the 1552 version at his consecration and in his diocese. Thus the revised

[208] Ibid. sig. D5.
[209] Ibid. sig. C4.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid. sig. D5v.
[212] Ibid. sig. F5.
[213] Ibid. sig. B3, also sig. D1.
[214] Ibid. sig. C3.

communion service was just as essential in Ireland as it was in England to give visible expression to the invisible True Church. This was not because liturgical reform was an end in itself, but because it ploughed the ground for clear Gospel proclamation.

Preaching was the primary item on Bale's reforming agenda from the moment he arrived. 'My first procedinges ... were these. I earnestly exhorted the people to repentaunce for sinne / & required them to give credite to the Gospell of salvacion'.[215] Preaching remained his main objective and method of ministry to the end. In Kilkenny, when Mary was proclaimed Queen on 20 August 1553, a great procession took place involving 'all the noble captaynes and gentilmen ... [with] the prebendaryes and prestes abought wearing the cope / croser / and myter'.[216] The mob tried to compel Bale to conduct Mass. He refused on the grounds that 'I was not Moyses minister but Christes', and would not repeat 'sacramentes & ceremoniall shaddowes'.[217] Instead, he 'toke Christes testament in my hande' and strode out to the open-air pulpit of the market cross.[218] There he preached to 'the people in great nombre' on Romans 13, explaining that all 'worldly powers & magistrates' derive their authority from God.[219] The following Thursday, Bale preached another public sermon. His text was Romans 1, which acted as a defence of his evangelical convictions.[220] He declared, 'I am not ashamed of the Gospell. and whie? For it is the power of God into salvacion / to all them that believe it'.[221] The sermon was followed by a communion service in which 'I required them very reverently to take it / as a sacrament only of Christes deathe / wherby we are redemed and made innocent membres of hys misticall bodye'.[222]

This was effectively Bale's final church service in his capacity as Bishop of Ossory. By the end of August

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[215] Ibid. sig. C4.
[216] Ibid. sig. C8.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Ibid. sig. C8v.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Ibid. sig. D1.

> ... the clergie of Kylkennie / [had] blasphempously resumed agayne the whole papisme / ... to the utter contempte of Christe and his holye wurde / of kinge and counsell of Englande / and of all Ecclesiasticall and politike ordre / without eyther statute of yet proclamacion. They ronge all the belles in the cathedral minstre and parrish churches / ... They brought fourth their coopes / candelstickes / holy waterstocke / crosse and sensers. They musteredfourth in generall procession most gorgeously / all the towne over / with Sancta Maria ora pro nobis / & the reest of the latine Letinie/ They chattered it / they chaunted it / with great noyse and devocion.[223]

The restoration of the Mass was quickly followed by two assassination attempts.[224] Bale saw the writing on the wall. For all his dogmatic allegiance to the Royal Supremacy, Bale could not tolerate a Roman Catholic monarch. He therefore sought 'to be discharged of the othe which I made to the Kynge and hys counsel for abolyshement of that popish masse', and fled into exile beyond the reach of the English crown.[225]

Bale's second period of exile was not free from controversy either. He was embroiled in the Trouble at Frankfurt, where, as noted in the previous chapter, he probably played an influential role in its aftermath in summer 1555.[226] By the end of that year Bale was residing in Basel with John Foxe in the house of the master printer Joannes Oporinus. The bulk of Bale's time here was spent revising the *Summarium* (1548), a massive bibliographical work detailing Britain's literary past, and published it in two volumes under the title of *Scriptorum illustrium Maioris Brytannie ... catalogus* (1557-9). This would be Bale's final

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[223] Ibid. sigs D3-3v. Thomas Hothe was probably one of the four sons of Robert St Lawerence, Second Baron of Howth (1435?-1486). Thomas was Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer in 1541, Justice and Royal Commissioner in 1549. See Happé and King (eds.), *The vocacyon of Johan Bale*, 121, note 892; Robert St Lawrence (1435?–1486): doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/24511 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24511, accessed 29 June 2016]

[224] *Vocacyon*, sigs D4-5, D7-7v. Bale was not the only Edwardian bishop to have his life threatened. As Bishop of Exeter, Miles Coverdale survived an attempt to poison him, see Beer, 'Episcopacy and Reform in Mid-Tudor England', 247.

[225] Ibid. sig. D7. He first intended to travel to Scotland, but was taken captive by pirates who eventually delivered him to the Continent, ibid. sigs D8v-F1v.

[226] The biographical details of this paragraph can are based on Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker*, 144-56; Happé, *John Bale*, 20-5; John N. King, 'Bale, John (1495–1563)', *ODNB* [2 November 2017]. These historians provide different dates for Bale's return to England and death; I am following King's ODNB article. For Bale's involvement at Frankfurt, see Timothy Duguid, 'The 'Troubles at Frankfurt': a new chronology', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* xiv (2012), 243-68.

printed work of major significance. He returned to England on 10 January 1560 and became a prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral, attended Convocation of 1563 and died shortly after on 26 November.

The initial reception of the *Vocacyon* is hard to gauge. We do know that it found some kind of readership in Marian England.[227] The polemicist Myles Huggard was sufficiently offended by it that it is the only work of Bale's mentioned in a raft of Protestant literature denounced by Huggard in his 1556 work, *Displaying of the Protestants*.[228] James Cancellar, another Roman Catholic apologist and chaplain to Queen Mary, also felt it necessary to criticise Bale's *Vocacyon*. Cancellar's *The pathe of Obedience*, also published in 1556, dedicates a few folios to specifically attack the *Vocacyon*.[229] Considering that Bale had produced numerous other polemic tracts, some more inflammatory than the *Vocacyon*, it is intriguing to note that this particular text is scrutinised by Huggard and Cancellar. At the very least, the immediate Marian reaction to the *Vocacyon* reiterates its significance to understanding the dynamics of mid-Tudor England. Bale penned a response to Cancellar, but, for reasons that remain a mystery, it was never published.[230] Considering Bale's longevity, experience, and the context of the Tudor Church's fluctuating confessional identity, the forty- three folio manuscript in Lambeth Palace Library would be a fruitful source for further investigation.

Conclusion

As a portent of the ultimate failure of Protestantism in Ireland, Bale left Ossory a defeated man. However, at the time of his departure, the eventual outcome was not inevitable. [231] Nor was the later success of Protestantism in England foreseeable at this stage. Bale may have lost his Irish battle, but he was confident

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[227] See Happé and King, 'Introduction', in *The vocacyon*, 16-17.
[228] Myles Huggarde, *The Displaying of the Protestantes, & sondry their practises, with a description of diuers their abuses of late frequented ...* (1556), sig. O6.
[229] James Cancellar, *The pathe of Obedience, righte necesarye for all the king and Queens maiesties loving Subiectes* (1556), sigs D3-7.
[230] LPL MS 2001.
[231] Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, 102. See also Ellis, 'John Bale', 291-2.

of God's victory in the larger ecclesiological war. This was the exact point of the *Vocacyon*. With the restoration of Roman Catholicism, the Tudor Church was now completely 'undre a colour of false religion'.[232] Bale therefore condemned 'the bewteouse face of our Irishe *and* English churches at *this present*. [Because] The poore people are not taught / ... and all christen ordre confounded'.[233] In light of this reality, Bale encouraged his fellow exiles to stand firm. He reminded them that God had 'called his disparsed remnaunt' from all parts of the world, and from generation to generation.[234] Bale's interpretation of history attested to this. In their current context of political turmoil and physical dislocation, Bale sought to reassure his readers with the biblical truth that God would preserve His Church until its final deliverance.

Considering this, the *Vocacyon* needs to be read with its original purpose firmly in mind. It was a rallying cry to hold fast to the godly vocation of preaching, persecution and persevering. This message was a pertinent one for the newly arrived religious refugees. By going into exile, they had chosen to suffer visibly for the sake of the Gospel; the continental diaspora of Edwardian evangelicals were not Nicodemites. Bale could thus identify the True Church by pointing to the lived experience of persecution. In this sense, evangelical ecclesiology was not an abstract concept. Earthly suffering vindicated believers' status as the holy dispersed remnant. But it went further than that. It 'transfourmeth the [Church] into the very similitude of his derely beloved sonne'.[235] By reminding his fellow exiles of their identity as the True Church, he was applying a balm to those who had felt the sting of Mary's persecution.

Yet for all the emphasis on personal faithfulness, the *Vocacyon* also stimulates thinking about the model of an inclusive national church during a period not normally associated with such a concept. Bale's loyalty to King Edward and the 1552 Prayer Book demonstrates that he believed that the temporal Church had the capacity to meet the theological demands of evangelical reformers. This indicates that under Edward mid-Tudor evangelicals were inclined to retain an episcopalian ecclesiastical structure rather than seek to

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[232] *Vocacyon*, sig. D5.
[233] Ibid. sig. E4v. Emphasis added.
[234] Ibid. sig. B7v.
[235] Ibid. sig. F8.

plant and produce independent congregations along a presbyterian model in which each congregation elected its elders. That was a later development, and a departure from the mainstream of the Edwardian Reformation, as was suggested in chapter one. The blossoming of separatist ecclesiology was made possible by Edward's death since there was no longer a godly monarch to obey. However at the start of the Marian exile, Bale's *Vocacyon* offered a blueprint for establishing working churches in refugee locations. They may not have been in England, but use of the Prayer Book would give these new congregations 'the face of an English churche' as it had done for Bale in Ossory.[236] The veracity and viability of such an understanding would very soon become the central issue of debate amongst the English congregation in exile at Frankfurt.[237] There the relationship between liturgy, confessional identity, and the model of an inclusive national Church was sorely tested. The ramifications of this continued to echo into the Elizabethan Church, and down into the seventeenth century in both England and Scotland.[238]

The juxtaposition in the *Vocacyon* of national ambitions and institutional expansion on the one hand, and personal faithfulness and persecution on the other, reveals how flexible mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology could be. Bale's contorted double emphasis indicates that the exile community was still coming to grips with the reality of its situation. Its theology of an afflicted, scattered congregation was grounded in individual repentance. Yet Bale also worked hard to preserve a glorious memory of the Edwardian Church at the same time as Mary was dismantling it. One biographer has called Bale the 'myth-maker of the English Reformation'.[239] The *Vocacyon* shows us that he was instrumental in creating a myth about the Edwardian Church specifically, which Foxe later perpetuated. Evangelical progress had been abruptly halted by the king's

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[236] *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles Begun at Frankfort, in the year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies* (London, 1846), ed. John Petheram, XXXVIII.
[237] See Duguid, 'The 'Troubles' at Frankfurt', 243–268; Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, 158-188; Dawson, *John Knox*, 90-108.
[238] See Peter Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England: His Work in Her Pulpit and His Influence Upon Her Liturgy Articles and Parties* (London, 1875), 201-43; Dawson, *John Knox*, 169-73.
[239] Fairfield, *John Bale*.

untimely death, meaning that the Edwardian Reformation would remain unfinished business. Bale acknowledged this to be the case in both England and Ireland. But he also understood the power of propaganda. The *Vocacyon* deliberately sought to establish in the mind of the newly arrived refugees a positive memory of the Edwardian Reformation. In this regard, the *Vocacyon* does more than enlighten our understanding of the Irish Reformation. Coming as it did at the start of the Marian exile, the *Vocacyon* is worth reconsideration as a first attempt by an English reformer to bridge the gap between the grand optimism of the previous six years and the reality of thwarted dreams.

We turn now from thinking about the structures of the Edwardian Church, to consider how the key marks of the visible Church – preaching, and godly administration of the sacraments – were remodelled in the Edwardian Church according to evangelical theology.

Chapter Three:
Preaching and Common Prayer

Introduction

The primacy of preaching to the evangelical movement of the Edwardian Church seems almost too obvious to bear stating. Compared to the intricate disagreements within sixteenth-century Protestant sacramental theology that spoke to the disunities of the movement, all reformers agreed that the pure preaching of God's Word was the chief mark of the True Church. This has been widely acknowledged and well established for a long time, [1] and recent scholarship has probed the practice of early modern preaching with interest.[2] The attention given to Reformation preaching has also modified our impression of Edward VI. The emblematic image of Hugh Latimer preaching to the young king in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* helped to create Edward's reputation as a godly imp.[3] Moving beyond Edward's personal devotion, evangelical preaching has also been shown to have had a direct impact on the way kingship was

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[1] For example, see A. G. Dickens, *The English* Reformation (London-Glasgow, revised edn 1973), passim; R. W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London-Ronceverte, 1987), 49-70, 123-44.
[2] John N. King, *English Protestant Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (New Jersey, 1982), 122-44; Peter E. McCulloch, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998); Eric Josef Carlson, 'The boring of the ear: shaping the pastoral vision of preaching in England', in Larissa Taylor, (ed.), *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2001), 249-96; Susan Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002); Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven-London, 2002); Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), 10-39; Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, Emma Rhatigan, (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011); Torrance Kirby and P.G. Stanwood (eds.), *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520-1640* (Leiden, 2014).
[3] Jennifer Loach challenged this model in her biography of the king, concluding thus: 'My picture of Edward himself, above all, is a picture not of the young Josias purifying the Church and destroying idolatry, but of a conventional upper-class youth, delighting in warfare, castle building and in the substitute for war that tournaments provided', *Edward VI*, 184. MacCulloch revised Loach's interpretation in *Tudor Church Militant*.

moulded in the theological-political context of mid-Tudor England.[4] But while the religious, political and cultural importance of early modern preaching has been thoroughly examined, little attention has been given to the relationship between preaching and liturgical reform in the period. [5] This chapter concentrates on the Edwardian *Book of Homilies* (1547) to explore how sermons were incorporated into the regular liturgical rhythms of public worship, and why this integration had ecclesiological significance. It will also augment recent scholarship that has underestimated the importance of the Edwardian *Homilies* to the development of a robust Protestant preaching ministry in the Church of England.

Any attempt to gauge the impact of early modern preaching is fraught with difficulties. Sermons were ephemeral events, and we cannot accept the printed versions of them as completely accurate accounts of what was said – let alone how congregations received the message delivered.[6] Our concern here, however, is not so much with the art of preaching, or the sermon as event, which Arnold Hunt, Matthew Milner, and others have examined with aplomb.[7] Rather, our aim is to probe the evangelical *mentalité* in using sermons as an instrument to help align the institutional, visible church with the spiritual, invisible church. The following discussion is therefore confined to considering how an official programme of preaching was introduced and used to advance the ecclesiological vision of mid-Tudor evangelicals in combination with liturgical reform, as it related to the ordinary devotional life of the national Church.

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[4] Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002), 32-46; Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2017), 175. See also G. R. Elton, 'Reform and the 'Commonwealth-men' of Edward VI's reign', in Peter Clark, Alan Smith, Nicholas Tyacke, and Joel Hurstfield (eds.), *The English Commonwealth, 1547-1640: Essays in politics and society* (New York, 1979), 23-38.

[5] Peter E. McCullough is a possible exception to this trend, as he discusses the way Jacobean divines such as Lancelot Andrewes contested the relationship between preaching and common prayer in the early seventeenth century, *Sermons at Court*, 155-67.

[6] For recent successful examples of how to get around these difficulties, see Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590- 1640* (Cambridge, 2010), esp. 5-13; Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham, 2011), chs. 7 and 8; Kirby and Stanwood (eds.), *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England*.

[7] Ibid.

A Culture of Preaching

The origins of an official preaching culture in the pre-Reformation English Church are often dated to the thirteenth century. When the Council of the Province of Canterbury met at Lambeth in 1281, Archbishop John Peckham (1279-92) established a standard that all priests were to deliver a vernacular sermon in their parishes at least four times a year.[8] Peckham's initiative built on the papal encouragement of itinerate preaching a generation earlier, when Pope Innocent III approved the status of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders at the Fourth Lateran Council (1214); Peckham was a Franciscan himself.[9] These 'quarterly sermons' were meant to cover 'a formidable list of essential subjects, revolving around the seven vices and seven virtues'.[10] In time, the doctrinal content of these sermons was complemented throughout the year, particularly on feast days and other special occasions, by meditations on saints' lives and morality tales as found in John Mirk's *Festial* and the *Legenda aurea*.[11]

Further evidence for the existence of a preaching culture in pre-Reformation England is attested to by two manuscript collections in the British Library. Royal MS 18B XXV contains eighty-nine fifteenth-century homilies, many of which correspond to Mirks' *Fesital*.[12] Another manuscript collection is Cotton MS Cleopatra B XVIII, which is a compilation of eleventh-century homilies written in Old English.[13] This second manuscript predates Peckham's institution of the quarterly sermon, which indicates that a preaching culture existed in Britain prior to the Norman conquest.[14] Moreover, the preservation of sermons

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[8] See Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation*, 33-40, and idem. 'Bishops and the Provision of Homilies, 1520-1547', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* xxv (1994), 553-4.

[9] Ibid. 111-22.

[10] Ibid. 34.

[11] John Mirk, *The Festyuall* (1532); Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive, Lombardica historia*. *The Golden Legend* (1483). Ashley Null notes that the *Legenda aurea* was 'widely available in English as *The Golden Legend* since Caxton's translation in 1483', 'Official Tudor Homilies', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, 350.

[12] BL Royal MS 18.B.XXV.

[13] BL Cotton MS Cleopatra B.XVIII.

[14] The mission of Patrick to Ireland in the early fifth century also stands out as an example of this. For an introduction on this, see Alfred P. Smyth, 'Bishop Patrick

as a written text suggests that the pre-Reformation Church had developed a strong homiletic tradition. That is to say that a conscious effort was made by the ecclesiastical authorities to provide clergy with approved and formulated texts to help teach orthodoxy. This homiletic tradition was carried through to the sixteenth century, when it was enhanced by Erasmian humanism.[15] It was successively exploited for different political and religious purposes by Henry VIII and his three children.[16]

The intersection of religion and politics in Tudor England is clearly seen in the way Henry VIII commandeered the pulpits for state purposes. In June 1535, Thomas Cromwell ordered a preaching campaign to promote the Royal Supremacy.[17] This was run in conjunction with liturgical changes, whereby churchgoers were instructed to scratch out the pope's name, or any reference to him in their primers, books of hours, and even public liturgies such as the Sarum Manual.[18] When the Bishops' Book was issued in 1537, the king ordered 'all that haue any Ierysdiction or cure [of souls] in there handes vnder vs [to] doe there vttermoste' to ensure 'the contentes of this boke, [was] soe oftē declaryde and instyllide into [the] eares' of the Tudor population in each parish.[19] This command involved regular preaching. Henry's instructions specified that

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and the earliest Christian mission to Ireland', in Brendan Bradshaw and Dáire Keogh (eds.), *Christianity in Ireland: Revisiting the Story* (Dublin, 2002), 10-20.

[15] Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation*, 115-32; Lucy Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000), 16-48. See also Brendan Bradshaw and Eamon Duffy (eds.), *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: The Career of Bishop John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1989); Richard Rex, *Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1991), 30-49; Jonathan Arnold, *Dean John Colet of St Paul's: Humanism and Reform in Early Tudor England* (London-New York, 2007); Carlson, 'The boring of the ear', 249-54. Susan Brigden provides an overview of the preaching culture in Henrician London, *London and the Reformation*, (Oxford-New York, 1991), 256-61. For preaching on the continent see Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 12-16.

[16] For a general overview of the homiletic tradition in the Tudor Churches of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, see Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 348-65.

[17] Wabuda, 'Bishops and Provisions of Homilies', 559-61, Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 349-50.

[18] Aude de Mézerac-Zanetti, 'Reforming the Liturgy under Henry VIII: The Instructions of John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells (PRO, SP6/3, fos 42r–44v)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* lxiv (2013), 96-111.

[19] SP 6/2 fol. 85.

> some convenyent parte therof maye euery Sondaye and euery other Festyuall daye be at the leaste redde vnto o^{r} pepull in euery parishe churche and other ecclesyastyecall place wthin this o^{r} realme.[20]

In retrospect, the 1530s proved to be a real turning point in the development of a Protestant preaching culture in England. As Susan Wabuda has shown, this is when we see the 'start of an official rejection of fabulous sermons', which relied on the *Festial* and *Legenda aurea* for content, and 'an official shift to scripturally based homilies, [which was] one of the Reformation's fundamental changes from late medieval practice'.[21]

Another feature that helped transform the culture of preaching across the Tudor age was the 'fundamental change in the image of the minister's duties' from a conduit of sacramental grace to preacher of the Word.[22] As discussed in chapter one, the reformed Ordinal of 1550 emphasised the preaching function of newly ordained ministers, invested with 'aucthoritie to preache the word of god'.[23] These men were instructed 'to banishe and driue away al erronious and straunge doctrines, contrarye to gods worde, and to use both publyke and priuate monycyons and exhortacyons ... within youre cures' to do so.[24] Evidence that English clergy had grown into this new mould is demonstrated by the fact that Elizabethan and Stuart divines operated in a culture where preaching occurred on 'more occasions than ever before'.[25]

Arnold Hunt has summed up the impact on Tudor society that this increase in preaching had by attributing the wide acceptance of the Reformation in England at the turn of the seventeenth century to 'the success of the Protestant preaching ministry'.[26] Hunt's research on Elizabethan and Stuart preaching pushed back against the assumption 'that the Reformation captured the hearts and mind of the people not so much through preaching as through the ritual and liturgical apparatus of the new religion: bells, music and the Prayer

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[20] Ibid. fol. 86v (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 470).
[21] Wabuda, 'Bishops and the Provision of Homilies', 566.
[22] Carlson, 'The boring of the ear', 255, 260-2.
[23] BCP49, 312; BCP52, 457.
[24] BCP49, 310; BCP52, 455-6.
[25] Carlson, 'The boring of the ear', 255, 260-2.
[26] Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, 234.

Book'.[27] However, we need to keep asking how this successful preaching ministry developed, for the later 'success' of Protestantism did not appear *ex nihilo*. Pointing to the Henrician reforms, or the reformed Ordinal of 1550, does not provide the whole picture. Wabuda's helpful study of the homiletic tradition goes no further than 1547, and thus does not fully capture the impact of the *Homilies* on later developments in English Protestant preaching. In addition, we can go a step further than Hunt to help explain why the Protestant preaching culture of post-Reformation England was so successful by paying closer attention to the Edwardian *Homilies*. This chapter proposes that this volume of sermons was a key link in the chain between the medieval homiletic tradition and the thriving preaching ministry of later Protestants.

Certayne Sermons

The strōg rocke & foundacion of Christian religion

Just six months into the reign of Edward VI, the Church of England was placed on a distinctly evangelical footing via the Royal Injunction of July 31 1547 that promulgated a new volume of officially authorised homilies, known as *Certayne Sermons, or homilies, appoynted by the kynges Maiestie, to be declared and redde, by all Persones, Uycars, or Curatesm euery Sōday in their Churches, where they haue Cure*, more commonly referred to as the Edwardian *Book of Homilies*.[28] According to the Injunction (the substance of which formed the preface to the *Homilies*), the purpose of this new set of official homilies was to equip every clergyman with the ability to 'purely and sincerely declare the word of God'.[29] With the uneducated layman in mind, technical theological terminology was

[27] Ibid. 233.

[28] No. 287, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, eds. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (New Haven, 1964), I, 393-403. This legal stipulation was reiterated in the 'Preface' of *Certayne Sermons, or homilies, appoynted by the kynges Maiestie, to be declared and redde, by all Persones, Uycars, or Curatesm euery Sōday in their Churches, where they haue Cure* (London, 1547) (hereafter *Homilies*). A new critical edition that includes Bishop Bonner's Marian homilies as well as the Elizabethan volume is, *The Books of Homilies: A Critical Edition*, ed. Gerald Bray (Cambridge, 2015).

[29] Ibid. 394; *Homilies*, sigs 2-3.

avoided and a 'plain style' vernacular was employed throughout the volume.[30] Moreover, the length of each homily was considerably shorter than other sermons that anecdotally lasted up to 'three or four hours'.[31]

Certayn Sermons provided readymade texts that were to be read from every parish pulpit each Sunday *in seriatim* throughout the year. [32] The extent to which this diktat was obeyed was a matter for the local bishop to investigate, as the visitation articles and injunctions for various dioceses indicate. [33] It is interesting to note that mention of the *Homilies* almost always came in the context of using the Prayer Book, while other injunctions instructed clergy to preach themselves or find someone who was licensed to do so. For instance, Bishop Bulkeley asked his clergy in the diocese of Bangor:

> Whether every Sunday one part of a Homily as they be now divided is read immediately after the Creed (if there be no sermon) openly and distinctly that all in the Church may hear and understand it, and so likewise the Epistle and Gospel and Lessons.[34]

Hooper made similar demands of his clergy in the diocese of Gloucester and Worcester:

> the Homilies [are to] be read orderly (according unto the King's Majesty's Injunctions) every Sunday and holy-day without omission of any part thereof, so that no sermon be made upon any of these days.[35]

The imagined frequency of these homilies came in addition to the continuing expectation that ministers would still preach original sermons four times a year in accordance with Peckham's thirteenth-century standard, which the Royal Injunctions of 1547 had maintained.[36] However there is an indication that the new set of official homilies was seen by the authorities as more

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[30] John N. King, *English Protestant Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (New Jersey, 1982), 122-44, at 138.
[31] Latimer, *Sermons*, 239.
[32] *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 402; *Homilies*, sigs 2v-3.
[33] *VAI*, II, 213-4, 233, 263, 277.
[34] Ibid. 263.
[35] Ibid. 277.
[36] Ibid. 115.

important than merely preserving the tradition of a quarterly sermon. Apart from those on a select list, preaching was restricted to reading the substitute sermons of the *Homilies*.[37] Thus the *Homilies* represented the first step of the legal imposition of an evangelical character upon the Edwardian Church.

It was natural for Cranmer to begin the Edwardian Reformation by using the pre-existing homiletic tradition to rekindle the practice of preaching Protestant doctrine. Back in 1540, a semi-official set of evangelical homilies or 'postils' had been produced by Richard Taverner entitled *The Epistles and Gospelles with a brief Postyl upon the same*.[38] This volume was a preacher's handbook of sermon outlines and basic commentary on the set readings for each Sunday according the Sarum lectionary printed in the Great Bible (1539).[39] Taverner's were not the only set of evangelical postils to emanate in the early 1540s.[40] However the impact and implementation of these sermon outlines was blunted by the conservative doctrine imposed by the King's Book in 1543. In one sense, then, the publication and imposition of the *Homilies* was a renewal of an earlier Henrician effort to preach Protestant doctrine.

Certayne Sermons comprised twelve authorised homilies that outlined a Protestant understanding of salvation.[41] As noted earlier, one of the intentions of this volume was to replace the substance of late medieval sermons that often consisted of old saints' lives, such as the *Legenda aurea* and John Mirk's *Festial*,

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[37] A list of approved preachers from 1547 is SP 10/2/34 fol. 116. Other evangelicals were subsequently granted royal licences to preach, such as John Bradford, 'professo^r of diuinitie', in December 1550, BL Royal MS 18.C. XXIV, fol. 19v. See also *VAI*, II 119; MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 84-6.

[38] This volume was popular; five editions were printed in 1540, with further editions coming in 1542 and 1545. John K. Yost, 'German Protestant Humanism and the Early English Reformation: Richard Taverner and Official Translation', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* xxxii (1970), 622. Taverner's importance to the shape of the English Protestant formularies in Henry's, Edward's and Elizabeth's reigns is suggested by MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 336, 418; and Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 425-7.

[39] Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 350.

[40] Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), 114-21, at 117.

[41] Ashley Null explains that while Cranmer drew together theological strands from Luther, Melanchthon, he was more in line with Bucer and Calvin. See Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 205-34, esp. 210-11, and 'Official Tudor Homilies', 348-65.

with sermons that presented salvation by grace alone through faith in Christ alone.[42] This was reflected in the placement of each sermon within the structure of the volume.

The first sermon, 'A Fruitful exhortation to the reading of holy Scripture', established the Bible as the principal source of our knowledge of God. And as God revealed Himself in the pages of the Bible, so the inherently sinful nature of humankind was also made plain. Hence the second sermon, 'Of the misery of all mankind', confronted early modern men and women with the reality of original sin. In response to this seemingly bleak situation, the next three sermons expounded God's unmerited grace and love for all sinners: 'Of salvation of all mankind', 'Of the true and lively faith', and 'Of good works'. This trilogy of sermons articulated salvation by faith alone and formed the doctrinal epicentre of the *Homilies*.

Immediately following the news that salvation is offered as a free gift and received by faith in Christ, congregations were exhorted to respond to God's grace with a renewed love for God and neighbour. The sixth sermon, 'Of Christian love and charity', explained that 'trewe charitie ... [is directed] not only toward god ... but also toward his neyghbour, as wel frēd as foo'.[43] The remaining six sermons exhorted believers to amend their lives in response to God's love. As the titles indicate, these sermons carried a strong social element that underlined the identity of the True Church as a community of repentant sinners, forgiven by God in Christ and made holy by the indwelling Spirit: 'Against swearing and perjury', 'Of the declining from God', 'An exhortation against the fear of death', 'An exhortation to obedience', 'Against whoredom and adultery', and 'Against strife and contention'. However, this second set of six sermons did not deal with merely 'topical' subjects as Ronald Bond has argued.[44] Rather, as Ashley Null has

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[42] Wabuda, 'Bishops and the Provision of Homilies', 552, and *Preaching During the English Reformation*, 143.
[43] *Homilies*, sigs K3-L4, at L3v.
[44] Ronald B. Bond, 'A Two-Edged Sword: The History of the Tudor Homilies', in *Certain Sermons or Homilies (1547) an A Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion (1570)*, ed. Ronald B. Bond (Toronto, 1987), 4.

pointed out, they addressed 'important aspects of Christian living' that sprang from a renewed heart of faith.[45]

While Cranmer oversaw the project, he did not write every sermon. Only four authors have been definitively linked to specific sermons. There is no doubt that Cranmer wrote the crucial three sermons on salvation (the 'Homily on Scripture' is also attributed to him). The draft material for these sermons is found in a manuscript known as Cranmer's 'Notes on Justification'.[46] These 'Notes' differ from the Archbishop's larger 'Great Commonplaces', which are a collection of quotes from scripture and Church Fathers with commentary on various theological topics, in form, content, and purpose.[47] They were prepared during the prolonged doctrinal debate of the early 1540s in response to an essay on justification by the traditionalist Dr John Redman that 'clearly attacked solifidianism'.[48] Cranmer aimed to express justification by faith alone in as simple language as possible and thus produce a homily that presented the doctrine in a pastoral fashion.[49] However it was not until Edward's reign that Cranmer could publically express his soteriology as official doctrine due to the imposition of the King's Book in 1543. As for the rest of the volume, the only other evangelical known to have contributed a homily was Thomas Becon, one of Cranmer's chaplains, who wrote the 'Homily Against Adultery'.[50]

Significantly, Cranmer also enlisted the aid of two traditionalists: John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, wrote the 'Homily on Sin', and Edmund

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[45] Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 354.

[46] LPL MS 1108, fols. 58r-67v. For a full description and discussion, see Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 205-12, 265-9.

[47] Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 205-206. On the 'Great Commonplaces', 254-69.

[48] Redman presented his essay to King Henry, who then passed it to Cranmer and 'asked him for a rebuttal'. Incidentally, Redman was also subsequently a member of the drafting committee for the King's Book. Ibid. 267-9. Redman later accepted salvation by faith alone and made a death bed recantation during Edward's reign, although this was late disputed by Roman Catholic apologists under Mary. See Chedsey, *A reporte of maister doctor Redmans answeres, to questions propounded him before his death concernynge certaine poyntes of religion, now beyng with many in controuersye. Whervnto diuerse artycles be added, lately subscribed by Master Chedsey* (1551); Ashley Null, 'Redman, John (1499–1551)', *ODNB* [20 November 2017].

[49] Ibid. 205-206.

[50] On Becon, see Jonathan Reimer, 'The Life and Writings of Thomas Becon, 1512-1567' (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2016), 121, 141-2, 150-7.

Bonner, Bishop of London, wrote the 'Homily on Love'. How and why Bonner and Harpsfield agreed to do this remains mysterious. It is possible that Cranmer came into possession of the sermons written by this pair of traditionalists during his previous attempt to introduce a book of homilies under Henry.[51] At that stage, neither Harpsfield nor Bonner would have had an inkling about how the archbishop might use their material in the future. But by using these two sermons to form the bookends of Cranmer's trilogy on salvation, Cranmer took universally held theological positions regarding sin and charity, and deployed them in a teaching context that was specifically evangelical.[52] It has even been argued that the theology espoused by 'the staunchly traditionalist Bonner now functioned as the fullest expression of the life to be lived by those assured of their salvation by grace through faith alone'.[53]

The doctrinal substance of the *Homilies* brought the break with Rome to a resounding conclusion. A clearly expressed solifidianism distinguished Edward's Church from that of his father, and aligned official English doctrine with the broader international Protestant movement.[54] The 'Homily of Salvation' went further by asserting that the doctrine of salvation by faith alone was the 'the strōg rocke & foundacion of Christian religion'.[55] Cranmer then professed unity with the Ancient Israelites in saying that '[t]he tyme is altered, but not the faythe. For we have bothe one fayth, in one Christe. The same holye gost also that we have, had they.'[56] It was a bold claim of historical and spiritual continuity for the Edwardian Church; one that could not have been made so emphatically under Henry. Since solifidian soteriology provided a common link for sixteenth-century believers and the True Church, Cranmer saw the imposition of the *Homilies* as a

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[51] Ronald B. Bond has suggested a date of 1542 for Harpsfield and Bonner's homilies, '"Lean and Flashy Songs", The Themes, Organization, and Style of the First Book of Homilies', in *Certain Sermons*, 27. See also MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 293-4, 372.
[52] For the structure of the *Homilies*, see Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 352-7
[53] Ibid. 357
[54] The soteriology that the 'Homily of Salvation' articulated resonated with Luther's concepts of 'alien righteousness', or 'forensic justification'. See Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification* (Cambridge, 2nd ed. 2002), 188-240.
[55] *Homilies*, sig. D3v.
[56] Ibid. sig. F4v.

necessary first step in reforming the Edwardian Church. For if the visible Church was to resemble the invisible Church, its official doctrine would need to be modified accordingly and placed under the authority of scripture alone. However not all Edwardian bishops approved of such a change.

Opposition

Stephen Gardiner's opposition to the *Homilies* was well established before Edward became king. Cranmer first attempted to produce a set of homilies that pronounced Protestant doctrine in 1542.[57] However these plans were thwarted by the Bishop of Winchester and other conservatives who outmanoeuvred the archbishop and helped persuade Henry VIII to have the King's Book passed through convocation.[58] Although Gardiner's involvement in preparing the details of the King's Book may have been 'peripheral', its publication was a resounding victory for the forces of traditional religion within a context of heated doctrinal and political debate following the passing of the Act of the Six Articles in 1539, the fall of Thomas Cromwell in 1540, and the Prebendaries' Plot of 1543 in which Cranmer very nearly lost his life.[59]

The King's Book, officially titled *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man set furthe by the kynges maiestye of Englande &c* (1543), was a conservative revision of the Bishops' Book (1537). Significantly, it rejected any notion of justification by faith alone.[60] Under the heading of 'The Article of Iustification', The King's Book stated that

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[57] See pp. 138-40 abpve.

[58] Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 350-1; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 293-4.

[59] Glyn Redworth points out that Gardiner's involvement in preparing the King's Book 'was largely confined to helping establish the right doctrinal atmosphere at Court', *In Defence of the Church Catholic: The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), 167-75, at 168. For a detailed overview of this period, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 237-348.

[60] *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man* (1543), sigs Y3v-Z5v. Null has described the formulation of justification in the King's Book as 'uniformly Erasmian Catholic', and MacCulloch explains how it was essentially the same as that expounded by John Fisher in the 1520s. See Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 351; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 342-7. For a detailed theological comparison of the King's Book and Cranmer's soteriology, see Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 157-212.

> ... it pleaseth the hyghe wysdome of god, that man ... shall be also a worker by his free consent ... in the atteinyng of his owne iustification, and by goddis grace and helpe, shall walke in such workes, as be requisite to his iustification, & so continuing come to the perfect end therof, by such meanes & waies, as god hath ordeyned.[61]

Sacramental grace and works of penance were essential in this economy of salvation: 'Iustification, ones conferred and giue in baptisme, or recouered again by penāce, [is granted] through the mercy of our sauiour Christ'.[62] The section of the King's Book dealing with good works declared that it was 'by these meanes [that one] doth entre into iustification'.[63] Thus one was made just by cooperating with God's grace.

In direct contrast, the 'Homily of Salvation' specified that 'we be justified by faith only, freely, and without works'. [64] Sacramental participation and works of penance as conceived by Roman Catholic theology were excluded 'from the office of justifying ... we may not do them, to this intent, to be made good by doing them. For all the good works that we can do, be unperfect: and therefore not able to deserve our justification.'[65] Rather than working with God to become just, evangelical soteriology framed justification as a free gift of God's grace that was received by faith in Christ. Such a definition was built on the concept of original sin that the previous homily had expounded.[66] The very first sentence of the 'Homily of Salvation' picked up the argument thus:

> BEcause all men be synners, and offendors against GOD, and breakers of his law and commaundementes, therfore can no manne by his awne actes, woorkes, and deedes, (seme thei neuer so good) be iustified, and made righteous before God: but euery man of necessitie, is constrayned to seke for another righteousnesse, or iustificacion, to be receiued at Gods awne handes, that is to saie, the remission, pardon, and forgeuenesse of his synnes and trespasses, in suche thynges as he hath offended. And this iustificacion or righteousnesse, whiche we so receiue by Gods mercie, & Christes merites,

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[61] *Necessary Doctrine*, sig. Y3v.
[62] Ibid. sig. Y4v.
[63] Ibid. sig. Z3.
[64] *Homilies*, sig. D3v.
[65] Ibid. sigs D1v-2.
[66] Ibid. C1-D2. The King's Book defined original sin in a similar way: everyone is 'borne with concupiscence, wherof springe vnlaufull desires, repugnant and contrarye vnto the lawes of god, and be giltie to euerlasting deathe and damnation', *Necessary Doctrine*, sig Y2v.

> embraced by faithe, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full iustificacion. For ... God sent his onely sonne, our sauior Chrste into this worlde, to fulfill the lawe for vs: and by shedyng of his moste precious bloud, to make a sacrifice and satisfaccion or (as it maie bee called) amendes, to his father for our synnes: to asswage his wrathe and indignacion conceiued against vs, for thesame.[67]

Such language anticipated the use of similar terminology in the Prayer Book, which appeared two years later. For example, the communion service proclaimed Christ's death as a 'full, perfecte and sufficiente sacrifice, oblacion, and satisfaccion, for the synnes of the whole world'.[68] Since the 'Homily of Salvation' and the Prayer Book came from the same man, it was natural to express Christ's sacrifice in almost identical language.[69] This linguistic continuity is another reminder that the *Homilies* and the *Book of Common Prayer* were complementary parts in the continuum of Cranmer's effort to reform the English Church.

The definition of justification expounded by the 'Homily of Salvation' therefore stood in stark opposition to that found in the King's Book. Cranmer was effectively overturning previously held orthodoxy and establishing the Edwardian Church on the strong rock and foundation of justification by faith in Christ alone. This did not go unnoticed. As the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner refused to accept this doctrinal change quietly. He wrote a series of letters to Somerset, Cranmer and other officials between February and September 1547 debating the legality of this official change in doctrine.[70] The strength of his argument lay in the 1543 Act for the Advancement of True Religion, which established the King's Book, and invalidated further changes to

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[67] Ibid. sig. D2v.
[68] BCP49, 222; BCP52, 389.
[69] The liturgical expression of solifidiansim is thoroughly discussed by Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 236-45. It is also instructive to remember that Dom Gregory Dix described BCP52 as 'the only effective attempt ever made to give liturgical expression to the doctrine of "justification by faith alone"', *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, 1945), 672.
[70] Nos. 120-125, *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. James Arthur Muller (Cambridge, 1933), 276-360; Spencer J. Weinreich, 'Two Unpublished Letters of Stephen Gardiner, August-September 1547 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. th. b. 2), *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* lxvii (2016), 819-33.

official doctrine until new laws were passed.[71] Winchester was also quick to point out the king's minority as an objection to reformation. From as early as February, Gardiner wrote to Somerset pleading that it was unreasonable 'to disturbe the state of the realme' in matters of religion until 'the Kings Majestie cometh to full age'.[72] In his biography of Gardiner, Glyn Redworth highlighted these points to argue that the bishop's 'campaign against the publication of the homilies was not based on a narrow-minded refusal to countenance their leanings towards solafidianism'.[73] However Redworth's assessment does not do justice to the significance of the *Homilies* as a new doctrinal orthodoxy for the entire English Church.

It is fair to say that Gardiner feared the potential socio-political disorder that often accompanied Protestant zeal. In response to an outburst of iconoclasm in Portsmouth in May 1547, Gardiner wrote to Edward Vaughan, the 'Captain of Portsmouth', denouncing the event as 'an enterprise to subvert religion and the state of the world with it'.[74] He also weighed up the need for him to 'be enterprised in the pulpit or not' to deliver a sermon of 'reprofe', or 'to send one thither for that purpose upon Sonday nexte comming'.[75] Gardiner was not opposed to preaching, especially as a means of enforcing political and social conformity under the guise of religious devotion. But he baulked when confronted with the duty of preaching to impose evangelical orthodoxy in his diocese. With the death of Henry VIII, the political winds of change had blown against Gardiner, and the bishop's legal objections to the introduction of the *Homilies* were merely a smokescreen for a deeper theological concern. As we are about to see, the principled stand Gardiner made against the *Homilies* was informed by his theological convictions. His opposition to Cranmer's 'Homily on Salvation' in particular was rewarded with a stint in the Fleet prison from

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[71] 34 and 35 Hen. VIII c. 1, *Statutes of the Realm*, III, 894-7.
[72] *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, 265. He continued this line of argument in May, ibid. 278.
[73] Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, 259.
[74] *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, 274.
[75] Ibid. 273. For two contrasting interpretations on Gardiner's reaction to the iconoclastic events at Portsmouth, see W. K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King, The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London, 1968), 150-1; Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, 254-7.

October 1547 to January 1548; he was arrested again in June 1548, deprived soon after, and spent the remainder of Edward's reign in the Tower.[76] It is therefore misleading for Redworth to propose alternative motives for Gardiner's opposition to the Edwardian regime.[77]

This newely ymagined speech

Two recently discovered letters, whose contents are yet to be widely discussed, throw more light on the nature Gardiner's objection.[78] These unpublished letters can be tentatively dated from the end of August to the first weeks of September 1547. [79] They were part of Gardiner's pre-emptive strike against the royal visitation that had been launched to ensure the *Homilies* were being used, which was undertaken by those who held 'pronounced evangelical views'. [80] By employing complex theological arguments that systematically attacked various points raised in the 'Homily of Salvation', Gardiner attempted to intimidate those visitors appointed to Winchester, 'Sr John Mason and Sr Frauncis Cave knights and Mr Doctor Briggs'.[81] If nothing else, these letters reinforce how threatened the bishop felt by the new evangelical regime.

The Bishop of Winchester saw himself as the guardian of 'the olde forme of holsome doctrine'. [82] His first letter to the royal visitors defended the soteriological position of the King's Book. Gardiner reaffirmed that

> o^r^ imp[er]fect iustice is supplied by the p[er]fection of gods iustice. And thus wee maye & should endevo^r^ o^r^selves w^t^ thassistance of gods grace to creepe wher we cannot p[er]fectly goe, & doo good works to thintent to be made good by the doing of them,: for god loveth them that love him & maketh them good & better that be occupied in doing goodnes, adding to man y^t^ man had not, & not making the reckoning only of that man hath.[83]

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[76] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 376.
[77] Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, 248-69.
[78] Weinreich, 'Two Unpublished Letters', 825-33. Further references to these letters will be to the page number of the journal article where they are printed with MS fol. numbers provided in brackets.
[79] Ibid. 820-1.
[80] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 70.
[81] Gardiner, 'Two Unpublished Letters', 825 (fol.875).
[82] Ibid. 831 (fol. 879).
[83] Ibid. 826 (fol. 876).

In his second letter, Gardiner maintained that 'It shall never be showed in sense or meaning that faithe excludeth charitie in thoffice of Iustification'. [84] Accordingly, no one should 'bee allowed to devise newe metaphores & swarve from' Henrician orthodoxy in which faith 'is ioyned wt pennance, charitie & hope, in the man to be iustified'.[85] In a previous letter to Somerset, Gardiner had argued that whoever teaches 'the doctrine of only faith ... is not to reputed a true Christian man ... [it] is a terrible speech and a marvellous to be published in this realm to the condemnation of our late sovereign lord, the condemnation of ourself, and the prejudice of the truth'.[86] Winchester was clearly trying to resurrect the late king's authority in matters of doctrine. On the other hand, the Edwardian *Homilies* put the nail in the coffin of the King's Book, and Gardiner knew this. Of particular significance was the exclusion of works from the office of justification. For Winchester, faith and works were both necessary components in the process of justification since 'faithe cannot lyve, charitye being excluded, no more then my body can lyve, my soule excluded'.[87] He simply could not accept or understand the evangelical approach that viewed repentance as a response to God's love.

For Cranmer, the effect of 'true and lively faith' did not terminate in God's pronouncement of righteousness, but always led to a renewed life of love for God and others.[88] The extrinsic operation of God's love gave birth to an intrinsic renewal of the believer's heart by the work of the indwelling Spirit. Accordingly, repentance flowed from a believer's heart as a gratuitous response to God's initial act of loving the unworthy sinner. '[T]rue christen fayth', explained the 'Homily of Faith', 'is manifestly shewed by good liuynge, & not by wordes onely'.[89] The 'Homily of Works' complemented this by citing Christ, who taught that as 'The tre is knowen by the fruit', so believers were called to

> declare our faythe to be the liuely christen faith. Let vs by such vertues as ought to spring out of fayth, shew our eleccion to be sure & stable as S. Peter

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[84] Ibid. 830 (fol. 878).
[85] Ibid. 831 (fol. 879).
[86] *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, 362.
[87] Gardiner, 'Two Unpublished Letters', 831 (fol.879).
[88] *Homilies*, sig. D2. See also Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 209-12.
[89] Ibid. sig. F3.

> teacheth. Endeauour you selues to make your calling & eleccion certaine by good workes.[90]

Thus works were given an important role in evangelical theology – not because they wrought salvation, but rather because they confirmed it through tangible evidence of God's transformative grace in people's behaviour.[91]

The reverse was equally true: evil works, or no good works, revealed a counterfeit faith. The 'Homily of Salvation' stated that 'faith, whyche bringeth furth (without repentance) eyther evil workes, or no good workes, is not a ryght, pure, and liuely fayth, but a dead, devilish, counterfayt, and fayned fayth, as sainct Paule, and sainct James call it.[92] For,

> ... euen the divils knowe and beleve, that Christ was borne of a virgin, that he fasted fortie daies, & fortie nights, without meate and drinke: that he wrought al kynde of miracles, declaring hum selfe very God: they beleue also, that Christe for our sakes, suffered most paynefull death, to redeme us from eternall death, & that he arose agayn from death the third day: They beleve that he ascended into heaven, and that he sitteth on the righte hande of the

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[90] Ibid. sig. G3v.

[91] This was not a new articulation of the medieval concept of 'double justification', whereby justification is acquired through a combination of God's infused grace and a sinner's penitential works. For details of this complex theological concept, the reformers' reaction to it, and its reception in the debates on justification at Trent, see McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 40-70, 203-207, 242-50. In regard to Cranmer's understanding of the place of works in salvation, it is more accurate to consider Null's exposition of the archbishop's doctrine of repentance: 'God pardoned a sinner based on the extrinsic righteousness of Christ which a believer laid hold of through the divine gift of faith. At the same time, however, the Holy Spirit indwelt the believer and reordered his desires by shedding an intrinsic love in his heart. Hence, justification made a believer 'right-willed', not righteous. Therefore, justification could be narrowed to the moment of repentance when saving grace changed the will's direction away from sin and towards God ... [thus] Cranmer was able to argue that the repentant were already justified before any works of satisfaction. However, since to be justified meant to be repentant, those pardoned would lead amended lives obedient to both God and his king'. *Doctrine of Repentance*, 211-12, see also 98-102, 209-12. A wider debate concerning the role of repentance in defining the 'Gospel' took place on the continent within Lutheran and Reformed circles, see Martin Foord, 'Salvation accomplished: Heinrich Bullinger on the gospel', in Mark Thompson, Colin Bale and Edward Loane (eds.), *Celebrating the Reformation: Its Legacy and Continuing Relevance* (London, 2017), 103-18.

[92] *Homilies*, sigs E2-2v.

> father, & at the last ende of this worlde, shall come agayne, and judge both the quicke & the deade.[93]

This was an important point to make because it drove home the evangelical emphasis on repentance as the hallmark of true faith. It was not quite enough to simply associate right doctrine with true faith, for even the devil was proficient in the articles of faith. While true faith began with right doctrine, its legitimacy was verified by the visible evidence of a renewed love for God and neighbour in a response of gratitude to God's grace. And although it was not explicitly stated, the ecclesiological consequences of redefining orthodoxy via the *Homilies* were bubbling just under the surface in this theological debate. The solifidian theology presented in the *Homilies* implicitly defined the church as a community of believers saved by faith alone, who embodied their faith through acts of repentance, so that the invisible church would be made visible in their individual and collective lives.[94] Equally so, those who showed no signs of repentance stood outside the True Church. Ironically, Bonner's 'Homily on Love' was made to defend this evangelical position well by its inclusion and position in the *Homilies*: 'hereby manifestly are knowen the chyldren of God, from the children of the deuil, for whosoeuer doth not loue hys brother belongeth not vnto God'.[95]

Gardiner was rankled by 'this newely ymagined speech'.[96] In a bid to expose the supposedly flawed logic of solifidianism, the Bishop of Winchester formulated this syllogism:

> The Homilies saye, dead faithe is no faithe: faithe voide of charitie is a dead faithe, & then in reason wthout the booke exclusion & void benuce is all one.
>
> The Homilies teache, that faithe w^{t}out love & hope is the divells faithe: Nowe *ex premissis*, as they be taught, *arguitur sic*.
>
> Faithe, charitie excluded iustifieth: faithe, charitie excluded, is a devells faithe *ergo* a divells faith iustifieth.
>
> Faithe, by exclusion of charitie, dead, iustifieth: ergo no faith iustifieth.[97]

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[93] Ibid. E2v. Cf. James 2:19.
[94] Cf. Galatians 5:22-23.
[95] *Homilies*, sig. L1v.
[96] Gardiner, 'Two Unpublished Letters', 831 (fol. 879).
[97] Ibid. 831 (fol. 879).

'[S]uch contradictions' as contained in the *Homilies*, argued Gardiner, went against scripture, 'our late Sovereigne Lorde teaching, & the whole p[ar]liament nowe by strength of the Acte'.[98] He complained that 'nowe I must preache that the divells beleeve all the articles of o^r^ faithe, wch I will never beleeve till I see playne scripture in that specialtie'.[99]

Although both sides of the argument appealed to scripture, there was a clear disagreement on interpretation. Paradoxically though, Gardiner agreed with Cranmer that soteriology was fundamental to discerning true from false faith. But because he held an opposing soteriology, Gardiner sought to invert the central ecclesiological message of the 'Homily of Salvation'. For him, salvation by faith alone was inadequate. More than that, it was insidious: it was 'the divells faithe'.[100] It apparently 'hath neither scripture ne author to beare yt'.[101] Instead, he wrote to the royal visitors that the author of the 'Homily of Savlation' had 'beene familyer wth the dyvell'.[102] Gardiner's invective was a thinly veiled attack on the Archbishop's episcopal authority and the direction he was taking the English Church, even at this early stage of Edward's reign. As far as Gardiner was concerned, the 'Homily of Salvation' effectively announced the Edwardian Church as a new ecclesiastical establishment set apart from the Catholic Church, traditionally aligned with the Roman See.

Gardiner's second letter includes an intriguing reference to the Council of Trent. On 13 January 1547, only six months prior to Gardiner penning this letter, the sixth session of Trent discussed the Lutheran position of *sola fide*.[103] Thirty-three canons were passed, all of which effectively rejected solifidianism as a scriptural and proper way of understanding justification.[104] Canon 9 was the most succinct:

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[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid. 831-2 (fol. 879).
[100] Ibid. 831 (fol.879).
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid. 832 (fol.879).
[103] *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. and ed. H. J. Schroeder (Rockford, Illinois, 2nd edn 1978), 29-50. See also McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 241-84.
[104] Ibid. 42-6.

> If anyone says that the sinner is justified by faith alone, meaning that nothing else is required to cooperate in order to obtain the grace of justification, and that is not in any way necessary that he be prepared and disposed by the action of his own will, let him be anathema.[105]

Gardiner agreed wholeheartedly. He reported that 'The Author of those Annotations [i.e. Luther] [had been] pressed by them of Trident', where his soteriology of 'only faithe' was exposed as 'a false proposition'.[106] He then leapt to the conclusion that 'o^r^ newe teaching of only faithe, to iustifye, [is] laid in the duste'.[107] Considering Gardiner's former defence of the royal supremacy, his appeal to Trent is striking.[108] It indicates that despite the institutional and legislative independence of the Church of England, the Bishop of Winchester still saw Rome as doctrinally authoritative and her decrees as universally binding. Years after Luther had been personally excommunicated, Trent issued a blanket condemnation of those who espoused similar soteriology. No wonder Gardiner was worried about the direction of the English Church. His immediate reception of, and response to, Trent's decrees was part of a wider reaction to the ardent evangelical doctrine that initiated the Edwardian Reformation. To accept and promote 'only faithe as the homelyes declar yt' would be to commit institutional heresy, which was far worse than transgressing domestic law.[109] In Gardiner's eyes, the solifidian character of the *Homilies* meant that the Edwardian Church was not only out of step with the universal faith, but was itself a False Church, an ecclesiastical institution founded on erroneous doctrine.

Cranmer saw things from a different perspective. To help understand this, we must make a theological sidestep and travel back to the Henrician period to trace Cranmer's thinking about the ecclesiological function of scripture, and how this was embedded in the structure and theology of the *Homilies*.

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[105] Ibid. 43.
[106] Gardiner, 'Two Unpublished Letters', 827 (fol.876).
[107] Ibid.
[108] Weinreich suggests that this reference to Trent 'may be an appeal to [John] Mason's own conservatism: in 1538 Edmund Bonner (c. 1500-69) had remarked on Mason's blatant 'popery'', ibid. 827 fn.11. See also Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, 84.
[109] Ibid. 826 (fol.876).

The ecclesiology of sola scriptura

In the build up to the 1537 synod that would approve the Bishops' Book, Henry VIII was wary of being politically isolated by the King of France and the Emperor if they attended a General Council in Mantua that Pope Paul III had summoned for May that year.[110] In response to this, the English king set his senior clergy to work on a document to explain why this gathering could not be classified as a General Council.[111] The agreed statement, signed by Henry's senior clergy, including Cranmer, cited John 20 to say that

> the ministres of the worde of god, chosyn, and sent for that intente, are the messingers of Christ, to teache the trueth of his gospell and to lowse and bynde synne etc. as Christ was the messinger of his Father.[112]

Thus ministers of the Word were agents of Christ, not the pope; spiritual authority lay in teaching the truth of scripture, not in the hierarchy of the ecclesiastical institution.

Two other manuscript treatises on general councils were prepared around this time: Hatfield MS 46, and Hatfield MS 47.[113] Because the doctrinal content of these anonymous manuscripts 'fell short of evangelical principles of justification', it is difficult to link them specifically to Cranmer.[114] However, the archbishop could hardly have been ignorant of their substance, and it is highly probable that he approved of the broad argument against papal authority. Considering this, both manuscripts maintained that

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[110] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 193-4.
[111] Ibid.
[112] SP 1/105, fol. 77v. See also MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 194 fn. 62.
[113] These manuscripts are part of Cecil Papers held at Hatfield House. According to the *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House: Volume 1, 1306-1571* (London, 1883), these are MS 46 and MS 47. The recent digitisation of the Cecil Papers reassigned these manuscripts new accession numbers. Hatfield MS 46 corresponds to accession number CP 137/36; Hatfield MS 47 corresponds to accession number CP 238/2. For a fuller discussion on these manuscripts, see P. A. Sawada, 'Two Anonymous Tudor Treatises on the General Council', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xii (1961), 197-214. MS 47 has no pagination, but was published with little alteration as *A Treatise concernynge Generall Councilles, the Byshoppes of Rome, and the Clergy* (1538).
[114] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 193-4; Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 119-20, at 120.

> in the assemblies of the apostelles it doth not appere who was hedd, for the first council where Matthias was put in Iudas Power was not called by Peter but Christes ownecomaundement.[115]

In other words, the original source of ecclesiastical authority was Christ Himself.

Cranmer made a similar point a few years later in 1540. Henry had set up a doctrine commission in April to ascertain his bishops' views on a set of seventeenth questions mostly concerning the sacraments, the source of episcopal power and the relationship of church and state.[116] Commenting on Cranmer's responses here, Diarmaid MacCulloch observed that the archbishop was 'far from holding any doctrine of apostolic succession in 1540'.[117] Another doctrinal questionnaire of the period specifically asked whether or not the 'sacrament' of confirmation was instituted by Christ. Cranmer answered in the negative. The 'sacramente' of confirmation was instituted by the 'Acts and Deads of thappostlls' who were exercising 'a speciall gifte gyven to thappostells for the confirmation of godds wourde at that tyme'.[118] But 'the said speciall gyfte doth not now remayn w^t^ the Successours of the Appostells'.[119] Therefore the apostles neither transferred their particular spiritual authority, nor transmitted any spiritual grace, through the appointment of bishops in the Primitive Church. The Roman Catholic understanding of apostolic succession had clearly been rejected by Cranmer well before Edward's reign, as MacCulloch rightly pointed out. However, Cranmer did believe that the apostles deposited something which ensured the continuation of the True Church throughout history.

According to Ashley Null, the first section of Cranmer's personal theological notebooks, known as 'Cranmer's Great Commonplaces', 'considers the church's lack of authority apart from Scripture'.[120] Tucked away in that section is this revealing question: 'Is not the Church a creature? Is not the Gospel

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[115] CP 137/36, fol. 53. A similar passage is found in CP 238/2, chapter five, cf. *A Treatise Concernynge Generall Councilles*, sigs B4v-C3.
[116] BL Cotton MS Cleopatra E. V, fols. 36-45. Cranmer responses are found on fols. 53-8, and another copy in LPL MS 1108 fols. 69-73v. In both manuscripts, the questions are separated from the answers. Cranmer's replies are conveniently coupled with the questions in *Miscellaneous Writings*, 115-7.
[117] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 278-9, at 279.
[118] BL Cotton MS Cleopatra E. V, fol. 86 (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 80).
[119] Ibid.
[120] Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 257.

the voice of God? Why, therefore, should one believe in a creature rather than the Creator?'[121] Here was a stab at papal authority that underlined scripture as a necessary precedent in the formation of the Church. What the apostles had passed on from Christ, was the Gospel of Christ. And since the Gospel was the voice of God, it followed that scripture was also the conduit of the Holy Spirit. When the scriptures were read and explained, God breathed out His Spirit and drew people to Himself. As this Gospel was carried from place to place down through history, communities of faith emerged as local manifestations of the True Church. True apostolic succession, then, was to perpetuate the Gospel message written in scripture. This is exactly what the *Homilies* professed to do.

At its most fundamental level, the *Homilies* exposed Tudor congregations to scripture in the hope that men and women would undergo spiritual transformation. The 'Homily on Scripture' spoke about the supernatural power of God's Word in this way:

> The wordes of holy scripture, be called wordes of euerlastyng life, for they be Gods instrument, ordeyned for thesame purpose. They haue power to conuerte through Gods promise, & thei be effectual, through Gods assistence: and, (beyng receiued in a faithfull harte) thei haue euer an heauenly spirituall- woorkyng in them.[122]

Placing this sermon at the start of the *Homilies*, with its endorsement of *sola scriptura*, was one way in which Cranmer helped the Edwardian Church to continue the apostolic succession conceived of in terms of passing on the Bible's message of salvation by faith alone. Indeed making scripture accessible and comprehensible to Tudor men and women was a central motivation behind all of Cranmer's liturgical reform initiatives.

Sitting alongside the solifidian soteriology of the *Homilies* was the evangelical acknowledgement that Christian doctrine and devotion was founded on the principle of *sola scriptura*; the Bible was the one indispensable tool that

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[121] BL Royal MS 7.B. XI, fols. 32v-33r. '[Cranmer's Great Commonplaces I, fol. 32v] Nonne ecclesia creatura est? Nonne evangelium, dei vox est? Cur igitur creaturae credendum [fol. 33r] est potiusquam creatori?' I thank Ashley Null for supplying me with this reference and discussing this point of Cranmer's theology.
[122] *Homilies*, sigs A4v-B1.

reformers had to build the True Church. In the 'Homily on Scripture', or to use its full title, 'A fruitfull exhortation, to the readyng and knowledge of holy scripture', God's Word was described as 'the foode of the soule'.[123] Cranmer had previously referred to the scriptures as 'ye fatte pastures of the soule' in his preface to the 1540 edition of the Great Bible. [124] Now, Edwardian congregations were encouraged to 'chewe the cudde [of scripture], that we maie haue the swete ieuse, spirituall effecte, mary, hony, kirnell, tast, comfort, and consolacion of theim'.[125] Such viscerally sensory language was specifically used to evoke an affective response to God's Word, which would be expressed in a renewed sense of devotional dependence on Christ.[126] The archbishop saw scripture as more than just a repository of knowledge; he believed 'that the promises of the Bible were the divine vehicle through which God's love drew his children to love him in return'.[127] Because scripture alone held out such an enticing offer, there was no need for a believer to lean on the prop of 'Catholic doctors' or 'ancient writers'. Instead, one should

> diligently searche for the welle of life, in the bokes of the new and old Testament, and not ronne to the stinkyng podelles of mennes tradicions, deuised by mānes imaginacion, for our iustificacion and saluacion.[128]

A right understanding of any and all doctrines could be attained simply by reading God's Word alone, which was the singular encouragement of this homily. Again, this echoed Cranmer's preface for the Great Bible, which followed the exhortation of Chrysostom

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[123] *Homilies*, sig. A4.
[124] *The Byble in Englyshe ... with a prologe therinto, made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas archbysshop of Cantorbury* (1540), sig. ✚2 (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 121).
[125] *Homilies*, sig. B4v.
[126] Null has convincingly linked Cranmer's intentions here to the medieval affective tradition exemplified by Richard Rolle (d.1349), 'Divine Allurement: Thomas Cranmer and Tudor Church Growth', in David Goodhew (ed.), *Towards a Theology of Church Growth* (Farnham, 2015), 197-207. See also Milner, *Senses*, 221-82, esp. 265-72.
[127] Ibid. 206.
[128] *Homilies*, sig. A4.

> that euery man shulde reade by hymselfe at home in the meane dayes and tyme, betwene sermon and sermon: to the entent they myght both more profoūdly fyxe in their myndes and memories that [the preacher] had sayde before vpon sochtextes.[129]

One purpose of the *Homilies*, then, was to help reset the focus of Tudor piety on the Word of God by encouraging an affective devotional attitude toscripture.

Of course, this began by attaining a right knowledge of God and mankind. By reading scripture we 'learne to know our selfes, how vile and miserable we be, and also to know God, how good he is of hymself'.[130] But getting doctrine right was only one side of the coin. In order for true faith to blossom, God's Word had to penetrate the heart; true repentance involved a complete renovation of one's affections, and only scripture as the source of God's Spirit could elicit such a transformation.[131] For this reason, God's Word

> ... ought to be much in our hādes, in our eyes, in our eares, in oure mouthes, but moste of all, in our hartes. For the scripture of God is the heauēly meate of our soules, the hearing and kepyng of it, maketh vs blessed, sanctifieth vs, and maketh vsholy'.[132]

Since this was true on a personal level, Cranmer also sought to apply the principle of *sola scriptura* to reshape the corporate meeting of Christians.

The conclusion to the 'Homily on Scripture' anticipated the method Cranmer would adopt to bring his ecclesiological vision to fruition.

> Lette vs night and daie muse, and haue meditacion [on the scriptures] ... Let vs staie, quiet, and certifie our consciences, with the moste infallible certaintie, truthe, and perpetual assuraunce of them. Let vs praie to God, (the onely aucthor of these heauenly meditacions) that we maie speake, thynke, beleue, liue, and depart hence, accordyng to the wholesome doctrine, and verities of theim. And by that meanes, in this worlde wee shall haue Gods proteccion, fauor, and grace, with the vnspeakeable solace of peace, and quietnes of conscience: and after this miserable life, we shall enioy the endlesse blisse, and glorie of heauen, whiche, he graunt vs all, that died for vs all, Iesus Christ:

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[129] *The Byble in Englyshe*, sig. sig. ✚1 (a slightly different rendering is given in *Miscellaneous Writings*, 119).
[130] *Homilies*, sig. A4.
[131] See also Null, 'Divine Allurement', 204-15.
[132] *Homilies*, sig. A4v.

> to whom, with the father, & holy ghost bee all honor and glorie, both now & euerlastyngly.*AMEN.*[133]

This ideal pattern of meditating on scripture and joining together for prayer each morning and evening (the congregational aspect of this practice is implicit in use of the plural pronoun) had been in the works for some time. Once more we find an almost identical passage already written by Cranmer in his preface to the 1540 edition of the Great Bible: 'I commend the law which biddeth to meditate and study the scriptures always, both night and day, and sermons and preaching to be made both morning, noon, and eventide'.[134] Around the same time as this, Cranmer began drafting a revision of the medieval breviary that would adapt the eight offices of the monastic life into two.[135] But it was not until the 1549 Prayer Book that Cranmer's desire for scripture to enter the daily lives of Tudor men and women through a regular routine of public devotion was given full liturgical expression in the form of Matins and Evensong.[136] The 1553 Primer would later provide a similar pattern for private devotion.[137]

The Prayer Book's preface, which had been taken from his manuscript draft a decade earlier, gave a number of reasons why the medieval breviary had been reformed.[138] Although previous divine services had been conceived for 'a good purpose, and for a great aduauncement of godliness', all human inventions

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[133] Ibid. sigs B4-4v.

[134] *Miscellaneous Writings*, 123.

[135] BL Royal MS 7.B. IV contains two liturgical 'schemes' that Cranmer drafted in 1538-9, and c.1544-5. The MS was edited by F. A. Gasquet and E. Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of common prayer: An examination into its origin and early history with an appendix of unpublished documents* (London, 2nd. ed. 1891), 311-96, and J. Wickham Legg, *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects* (London, 1915). The first scheme was drawn up in the context of negotiations with German Lutherans; the more conservatively theological second scheme emerged around the time Henry gave permission for the first English-language litany to be published and used. For a fuller account and further discussion of composition and dating, see Geoffrey Cuming, *The Godly Order: Texts and Studies relating to the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1983), 1-23; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 221-6, 328-35.

[136] BCP49, 21-31; BCP52, 347-60.

[137] *A primmer, or boke of priuate prayer nedefull to bee vsed of all faythful Christians. Whiche boke is auctorised and set forth by the kynges Maiestye, to be taught, learned, read, and vsed of hys louyng subiectes. Contynue in prayer. Ro. xii.* (1553), sigs E1-O4v (*Two Liturgies*, 382-438).

[138] MacCulloch points out the draft preface 'appears with minor adjustments in 1549', *Cranmer*, 225.

were prone to corruption.[139] For example, 'uncertein stories, Legēds, Respondes, Verses, vaine repeticions, Commemoracions, and Synodalles', as well as the use of Latin over against the vernacular, had obfuscated the scriptures from those participating in these services.[140] In response, Cranmer defended this new order for public worship as 'more profitable, because here are left out many thynges ... and is ordeyned nothyng to be read, but the very pure worde of God, the holy scriptures, or that whiche is euidently grounded upon the same' in a language comprehensible for reader and hearer alike.[141] To facilitate this change, a newly devised lectionary and Kalendar were appended to the Prayer Book to map out how (almost) the entire Bible would be read through in a year at these services.[142] A further detail is worth pointing out. The preface described the streamlined liturgy as 'muche agreable to the mynde and purpose of the olde fathers, and a greate deale more profitable and commodious, than that whiche of late was used'. [143] Cranmer's phrase of self-congratulation reminded Tudor congregations that this comprehensive liturgical renovation superseded Roman Catholic rites and traditions by recapturing the spirit of the Primitive Church, something that Gardiner had feared all along. We are reminded again that the process of making scripture the focal point of public worship had an ecclesiological dimension. Cranmer clearly saw scripture as being necessary to the existence of the Church in the post-Apostolic age as well as being sufficient as the authority over the institutional Church. Thus the reorientation of public worship away from the Mass to the Word of God came from an evangelical imagination that viewed scripture as the only route back to the True Church.

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[139] BCP49, 3.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid. 4.
[142] BCP49, 6-20; BCP52, 327-46. For a recent discussion on the Prayer Book lectionary, see Ian Green, ''Hearing' and 'Reading': Disseminating Bible Knowledge and Fostering Bible Understanding in Early Modern England', in Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1700* (Oxford, 2015), 272-85; Tim Patrick, 'Thomas Cranmer: The Reformation in Liturgy', in Mark Thompson, Colin Bale and Edward Loane (eds.), *Celebrating the Reformation: Its Legacy and Continuing Relevance* (London, 2017), 140-55.
[143] BCP49, 4.

The Evangelical Function of Preaching

Having examined the theological character of the *Homilies*, our discussion will now shift gears to consider how these sermons were integrated into regular services of public worship. It is important to recognise that the legal imposition of the *Homilies* symbolised the first liturgical intervention of the Edwardian Church, which will be more fully discussed later. Before doing so, it will be useful to consider briefly how the *Homilies* were part of the broader mid-Tudor push to develop a culture of evangelical preaching.

The people muste haue meate

The Edwardian Reformation was characterised by a 'committed and forceful evangelism' that relied on 'preaching [as] the harbinger of religious change'.[144] There was no better exponent of this attitude than Hugh Latimer. In his famous 'Sermon of the Plough', delivered in early 1548 at Paul's Cross, Latimer repeatedly made the point that the Church lived on a regular diet of preaching.[145] The central metaphor of this sermon was that ministers were agricultural workmen whose chief tool for ploughing the field was preaching. Delivering regular sermons was essential for the spiritual sustenance of believers because

> the preachyng of the woorde of God vnto the people is called meat. Scripture calleth it meat. Not strawberies, that come but once a yeare and tarye not longe, but are sone gone: but it is meat. It is no deynties. The people muste haue meate that muste be familier and cōtinuall, and dayly geuē vnto them to fede vpon.[146]

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[144] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 91. See also Milner, *Senses*, 270.

[145] For a fuller discussion of this sermon, see John N. King, 'Paul's Cross and the Implementation of Protestant Reforms under Edward VI', and Jason Zuidema, ''Lords and Labourers': Hugh Latimer's Homiletical Hermeneutics', in Kirby and Standwood (eds.), *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion*, 150-4, 175-86.

[146] Hugh Latimer, *A Notable Sermo[n] of ye reuerende father Maister Hughe Latemer whiche he preached in ye Shrouds at paules churche in Londo[n], on the. xviii. daye of Ianuary. 1548.* (1548), sigs A6-6v (*Sermons*, 62).

In a similar fashion, John Hooper called on Edward 'to commaund more sondry tymes to haue sermōs before your magestie' during his 1550 Lenten sermons.[147] Such comments have often been construed as perpetuating the old myth that preaching was absent in the pre-Reformation Church.[148] Other historians have understood these comments as reflective of an antipapal rhetoric that conceived of non-evangelical sermons as disingenuous preaching on account of their doctrinal content.[149] For our purposes, it is helpful to note that the demand for more 'familiar and continual' preaching chimed with Cranmer's intention for the *Homilies* to create regular moments of evangelical instruction within the routine of public worship.

At its most basic level, the function of preaching was to bring people to faith. During a sermon delivered at Stamford in 1550, Latimer explained that 'the preachynge office, is the office of saluacion, and the onlye meanes that God hath appointed too saluacion'.[150] Emphasising the soteriological function of preaching

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[147] John Hooper, *An Ouersight, and Deliberacion vpon the Holy Prophete Ionas: made, and vttered before the kynges maiestie, and his moost honorable councell, by Ihon Hoper in lent last past. Comprehended in seue[n] sermons.* (1550), sig. Z7 (*Early Writings*, 558).

[148] For a recent debunking of this myth, see McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 51-99; Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation*, 26-63. Considering Latimer's Cambridge education and Hooper's former life as a Cistercian monk, it is safe to assume that these reformers were well aware of the pre-existing culture of preaching. For Cambridge, see Cerianne Law, 'Religious Change in The University of Cambridge, c. 1547-84', (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013), 18-23, 47-8. For the Cistercian preaching pedigree, see Jessalyne Bird, 'The Religious's Role in a Post-Fourth-Lateran World: Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones ad Status* and *Historia Occidentalis*', and Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Liturgical Dimension of Twelfth-Century Cistercian Preaching', in Carolyn Muessig (ed.), *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden, 1998), 209-30, 335-50; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Woodbridge, 2001). See also, Susan Wabuda, 'Latimer, Hugh (*c.*1485–1555)', ODNB [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16100, accessed 18 Nov 2017], and D. G. Newcombe, 'Hooper, John (1495x1500–1555)', ODNB [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13706, accessed 18 Nov 2017].

[149] See Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 53 fn. 2; Carlson, 'The boring of the ear', 265.

[150] Hugh Latimer, *A Sermon of Master Latimer, preached at Stamford the. ix. day of October. Anno. M.ccccc. and fyftie* (1550), sig. C1 (*Sermons*, 291). For Latimer's role in promoting Protestant doctrine under Henry, see Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation*, 129-35.

was a favourite theme of the Henrician Bishop of Worcester.[151] A year earlier, during Lent, Latimer warned his young king that if you 'Take away preachyng, [you] take away saluation'.[152] He repeated himself at Lincolnshire in 1552, saying that 'the office of preachynge is the office of saluation, it hathe warrantes in Scripture, it is grounded vpon Gods worde'.[153] Latimer then cited Romans 10:14-15 to emphasise 'how necessarye a thyng it is, to heare gods word, and how needefull a thing it is to haue preachers, which may teach vs the worde of god: for by hearing we must come to faith, thorough faithe we must bee iustified'.[154] However this did not mean that all preaching was effective.

During his 1550 Lenten series, Latimer made an unfavourable comparison to Jonah's brief – but successful – one sentence sermon to the Ninevites, complaining that 'here in England ... we preach many long sermons, and yet the people wil not repet nor conuert'. [155] However, the lack of conversions was not necessarily the fault of the preachers, or their sermons, let alone the *Homilies*: the power to convert souls lay in the hands of God alone. Latimer admitted that preachers 'canne do nomore but call, God is he that must bryng in, god muste open the hertes ... god must do the thyng inwardelye'.[156] Understanding the effectiveness of preaching in the light of (and in reliance on) God's supernatural power to convert was not a sign of fatalistic resignation. Rather it emphasised the function of preaching to create the conditions in which an evangelical awakening could take place. According to God's providence, the elect members of the invisible Church would hear God's voice and respond in

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[151] Latimer took his lead from Romans 10:13-17. See also Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation*, 12-13; Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 88-100; Carlson, 'The boring of the ear', 270-2.

[152] Hugh Latimer, *The Seconde Sermon of Maister Hughe Latimer which he preached before the Kynges Maiestie in his graces palayce at Westminster, ye xv. day of Marche, M.ccccc.xlix*. (1549), sig. D4. (*Sermons*, 123).

[153] Hugh Latimer, *27 Sermons preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God and constant matir of Iesus Christe, Maister Hugh Latimer ...* (1562), sig. B4 (*Sermons*, 470).

[154] Ibid. sig. B4v. Cf. Rom 10:14-15, 'How, then, can they call on the one they have not believed in? And how can they believe in the one of whom they have not heard? And how can they hear without someone preaching to them? And how can anyone preach unless they are sent? As it is written: "How beautiful are the feet of those who bring good news!"'. See also Milner, *Senses*, 265-82.

[155] Latimer, *27 Sermons...*, sig. D3 (*Sermons*, 240).

[156] Latimer, *A Sermon ... preached at Stamford*, sig. A7v (*Sermons*, 285, cf. 477).

faith, while the same message of salvation would fall on the deaf ears of the reprobate. Since there was no definitive way of knowing who the elect were outwardly, it was imperative for the evangelical cause to increase the frequency of scriptural preaching within the visible Church. At the very least, the *Homilies* provided doctrinally sound sermons that would provide opportunities for congregations to respond to the Word in faith.

Preaching was not just about converting lost souls, however; it also aimed to nurture the elect. Latimer urged his audiences to listen to sermons more regularly. For 'Howe shalt thou prouyde for thy soule? Go here sermons'.[157] Robert Crowley made a similar point in his reflection on the recantation of Nicholas Shaxton, the former Bishop of Salisbury who had stood with Latimer in promoting reform during the 1530s but then assented to the Henrician Six Articles under the threat of burning in 1546.[158] In his polemical tract, Crowley posed the hypothetical question, 'why haue we preaching or teaching?' The answer was because it made God's elect 'strong and mighty souldiours to fight against our aduersarues, the world, the deuill and our own flesh'.[159]

The *Homilies* fulfilled this pastoral function by preparing men and women to face their own mortality with the inclusion of the homily 'Against the Fear of Death'. This homily was not an evangelical *Ars moriendi*, nor a mere *momento mori*, but offered Tudor society a biblical hope to face 'the feare of the frayle fleashe'.[160] It spoke to the elect who had no cause to fear 'the miserable state of the worldly and vngodly people after theyr death'.[161] Instead, because 'Christ our head dyd aryse agayne ... from the dead, we shall ryse also from the same'.[162] Congregations were told these 'comfortable promyses of the gospell, and of holye scriptures' to encourage them to 'cast away the burdē of sinne ... and returne vnto god by true penaunce, & amendment of our liues ... cleauing cōtinually to his

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[157] Latimer, *The Seconde Sermon of Maister Hughe Latimer*, sig. Aa1 (*Sermons*, 215).
[158] See Susan Wabuda, 'Shaxton, Nicholas (*c.*1485–1556)', *ODNB* [17 November 2017].
[159] Robert Crowley, *The Confutation of the. xiii. Articles, wherunto Nicolas Shaxton, late Byshop of Salilburye [sic] subscribed* (1548), sig. K4v.
[160] *Homilies*, sig. O2.
[161] Ibid. sig. O3v
[162] Ibid. sig. P4.

merites'. [163] Moreover, the hope of resurrection in Christ gave the godly confidence to 'suffer [the] sorowes and paynes [of this world] whā they come' because Christ had already triumphed over death in 'his paynful passion ... for synners'.[164] As exemplified here, it was intended that the *Homilies* would play a vital pastoral role in the Tudor kingdom. To be forewarned was to be forearmed. By providing evangelical instruction and encouragement, the *Homilies* sought to help Tudor congregations fight temptation, avoid the dangers of sin, and ultimately be rescued from everlasting death.

Political Preaching

While preaching was primarily conducted to edify and convert, the Edwardian regime also used preaching for political purposes. The Western Rising, or 'Prayer Book Rebellion', that erupted in Devon and Cornwall between June and August 1549 represented an immediate and popular challenge to the new liturgy, which was derided as a 'Christmas game'.[165] Most historians have focused on the political and social dimensions of this episode.[166] However, it is also worth noting that a key component of the government's response to the rebels were

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[163] Ibid. sigs P4v, O2v, O3v.

[164] Ibid. sig. O3.

[165] As MacCulloch notes, this phrase was used in various versions of articles produced by the rebels to air their grievances, *Cranmer*, 430. One example can be found in Nicholas Udall's response to the rebels' demands in BL Royal MS. 18.B. XI, fols. 22-24v.

[166] M. L. Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (London, 1975), 84-99; Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2002), and, *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007). See also the debate carried out in a series of articles, Ethan Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: New Sources and New Perspectives', *The English Historical Review* cxiv (1999), 34-63; Michael L. Bush, 'Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: A Post-Revision Questioned', cxv (2000), 103-112; George Bernard, 'New Perspectives or Old Complexities?', cxv (2000), 113-20; Ethan Shagan, 'Popularity' and the 1549 Rebellions Revisited', cxv (2000), 121-33. For a succinct account of the uprising, see B. L. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot: Popular Disorder in England during the Reign of Edward VI* (Kent State University Press, 1982), 38-82; Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (London-New York, 6th edn 2016), 53-65. See also Loach, *Edward VI*, 70-8.

two set-piece sermons delivered at St Paul's: one by Cranmer in July, the other by Edmund Bonner, the Bishop of London, in September.[167]

A direct comparison of these sermons is worthy of a full blown study, which unfortunately is beyond the scope of this thesis, although we are able to glimpse just how drastically they differed in content and purpose. For Cranmer, this sermon was an opportunity for the highest ranking ecclesiastical figure to condemn 'this spirite [of the rebels as] not of Christe, but of the devill'.[168] It was a powerful means of justifying and reinforcing the government's authority over all Tudor territories. By contrast, Bonner's sermon was a very public test of his loyalty to the evangelical regime. The Bishop of London failed 'bicause I wyll not bileve one thyng my selfe, and teache yow an other', namely transubstantiation, which was defended as 'the trew and the catholyke biliefe'.[169] Such a brazen objection to evangelical orthodoxy confirmed Bonner's incompatibility with the Edwardian Church, and his deprivation soon followed.[170] This episode reveals that preaching was as much a political tool as it was a religious practice. Like Gardiner before him, Bonner discovered that the authorities would not tolerate deviation from the evangelical mean, and preaching was used as the litmus test for those high ranking clergy suspected of not meeting that standard. In this sense, preaching played an ecclesiological function by weeding out those who jeopardised the ability of the visible Church to project evangelical doctrine.

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[167] Cranmer's sermon was largely based on a text Peter Martyr Vermigli had prepared for the archbishop on the subject of rebellion. For a full discussion of the sermon, see Torrance Kirby, '"Synne and Sedition": Peter Martyr Vermigli's "Sermon concernynge the tyme of rebellion" in the Parker Library', *Sixteenth Century Journal* xxxix (2008), 419-40. Cranmer's text is CCCC MS 102, pp 409-99 (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 190-202). Bonner's sermon was delivered a month later at the behest of government orders to test his loyalty to the evangelical regime. The text of Bonner's sermon is preserved in Hatfield House Cecil Papers under the accession number CP 198/34 fols. 34-46v. For the government orders and subsequent questions put to Bonner concerning his sermon, see SP 10/8 fols. 63-64, 67, 105-105v, 107-107v.

[168] CCCC MS 102, p 451 (*Miscellaneous Writings*, 196).

[169] CP 198/34 fol. 45v-46.

[170] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 447-57; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 439-40.

Printing sermons

There is another aspect about the preaching culture that was developing in the Edwardian Church that bears consideration. Alongside the *Homilies*, many Protestant sermons were printed throughout the Edwardian period.[171] Not all printed sermons had prefaces, but a brief survey of some of those that did provides an insight into why they were published. Generally speaking, evangelical sermons were printed to provide a key resource for ongoing spiritual edification. For instance, the printed version of Latimer's first 1549 Lenten sermon carried an exhortation to share 'the abundaunt eloquence and learnyng which floweth most abundantli out of godly Latymers mouth'.[172] In much the same way that the *Homilies* purported to supply a resource for untrained clergy, printed sermons could act as proxies in lieu of a live preacher. Publishing sermons meant that preaching was not limited to time and place; when the spoken words of a sermon were transmitted to printed text, the ephemeral live event of seeing and hearing a preacher was transformed into a physical object that could be used and reused in different locations at different times. In an ideal world, the imposition of the *Homilies* would mean that the same sermon would be read out in Tudor pulpits, simultaneously providing the same doctrinal instruction to various congregations in different locations.

There was another dimension to printing evangelical sermons: identity formation. The preservation of current and past sermons enabled mid-Tudor evangelicals to build a corpus of literature that exemplified the kind of doctrine that represented the theological character of the True Church. To this end, prefaces to printed sermons often made favourable comparisons based on history that accentuated the intrinsic worth of the preacher. Latimer's 1549 Lenten sermons were put on the same pedestal as the 'workes of worthy oratours, of famous and renoumed Philosophers'.[173] In the same way that

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[171] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford 2000), 195–6.

[172] Hugh Latimer, *The Fyrste Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whiche he preached before the Kinges Maiestie wythin his graces palayce at Westminster. M.D.XLIX. the. viii. of March* (1549), sigs A2-4v, at A3.

[173] Latimer, *The Seconde Sermon of Maister Hughe Latimer which he preached before the Kynges Maiestie in his graces palayce at Westminster, ye xv. day of Marche, M.ccccc.xlix*. (1549), sig. A1v.

> ye Ethenickes ... when thei had suche noble and worthy clerkes (as Socrates. Plato, and Aristotle) w^t al diligence; caused ye frutes of those most rare and profound wittes, to be preserued for their posteritie, that the eyes of all generations myght enioye the fruicion and vse of them, thinking that such wōderfull vertues, shuld not be buried in ye same graue that theyr bodyes were.[174]

Publishing sermons therefore 'redemed [evangelical preaching] from the tyrannye of obliuion'.[175] Continental reformers also had their sermons printed during the period for similar reasons. One of Martin Luther's antipapal sermons was printed in English in 1547 with the instruction to 'Reade it (I pray y^e) w^t a sober Iudgemēt. And conferre ye Idolatries of ye old time, w^t the abhominable Idolatry in our tyme'.[176] The existence of a Lutheran sermon at the start of the Edwardian period may say more about the recently lifted ban on printing than about the reception of Lutheranism at this time.[177] At the very least, however, it does show an eagerness to preserve sermons from well-known names that could be appropriated to serve an evangelical purpose in mid-Tudor England.

One further example will suffice to round out the picture: the 1550 reprinting of a sermon originally delivered by Thomas Wimbledon at Paul's Cross in 1388.[178] One of the reasons Wimbledon's medieval sermon was deemed worthy to be revived in a mid-Tudor context was because 'this lytle sermon so longe sithens written ... [has] the same quicke spirite in the authoure therof, that thou nowe merueilest at in other of oure tyme'.[179] The continuity of spirit was

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[174] Ibid. sigs A2-2v.
[175] Ibid. sig. A1v.
[176] Martin Luther, *The Dysclosi[n]g of the Canon of the Popysh Masse wyth a sermon annexed vnto it, of the famous clerke, of worthye memorye. D. Marten Luther* (1547), sig. A4.
[177] Davies, 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock', 83; Alec Ryrie, 'The Strange Death of Lutheran England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* liii (2002), 64-92.
[178] The medieval and early modern preservation of Wimbledon's sermon in manuscript and print has a convoluted and intriguing past. See Alexandra Walsham, 'Inventing the Lollard Past: The Afterlife of a Medieval Sermon in Early Modern England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* lviii (2007), 628-55.
[179] Thomas Wimbledon, *A sermon no lesse frutefull then famous made in the yeare of oure lord god m.CCC.lxxxviii. In these our later dayes moost necessarye to be knowen. Neyther addynge to nor diminishynge fro. Saue the olde and rude englishe therof mended here [and] there* (1550), sig. A2.

important in establishing the doctrinal credentials of this medieval sermon. It was on the basis of this quality that one was

> to reade thys lytle treatise diligently, and not onelye to reuerence antiquitie, and the lyuely spirite, and worde of God therin, but also to lerne, bothe to acknowledge and more ouer to amende the wyckednes of thy lyfe.[180]

As Alexandra Walsham has argued, reprinting Wimbledon's sermon fed the evangelical obsession with tracing 'an historical pedigree and *imprimatur*'.[181] Publishing contemporary sermons from current preachers, such as Latimer and other notable figures like Thomas Lever, can be seen in the same light. These printed sermons were embryonic signs of a movement that saw the potential in preserving sermons as printed artefacts that were emblematic of the evangelical cause. Here was a conscious effort to manufacture a memory of the Edwardian Reformation for posterity's sake, to future-proof its evangelical credentials. Yet the later reception of these memorials to Edwardian preachers was a contested affair as each side of the Elizabethan conformist-nonconformist divide claimed to be rooted in the theology of Edwardians like Latimer, Cranmer, and Hooper.[182]

There was a difference, however, in printing sermons that had already been preached for the purpose of creating a specific identity, and printing homilies for wide distribution and formal instruction. While the process of publishing sermons of famed preachers can be seen as an organic product of the evangelical desire to spread the Gospel, the *Homilies* were a mass produced article used by the authorities to brand the Edwardian Church with an evangelical stamp in the period itself. Part of the rationale for this was 'to put awaye all contencyon, whiche hathe heretofore rysen, throughe diuersitie of prechinge'.[183] A cynical interpretation of this justification might be to see the *Homilies* as a muzzle for exponents of traditional doctrine; the treatment of Gardiner certainly hints at this. More positively, we can view the *Homilies* as part

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[180] Ibid. sig. A2v.
[181] Walsham, 'Inventing the Lollard Past', 630.
[182] Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, 218-52.
[183] *Homilies*, sig. 2v. A similar line had been used by Henry VIII when the Bishops' Book was promulgated in 1537: 'Oure commaundement therefor ys, that yowe agree in youre preachynge', SP 6/2 fol. 85v.

of Cranmer's intention to give the Edwardian Church a cohesive evangelical identity through the uniformity of doctrine preached in each parish pulpit.

While printed sermons cashed in on the name of a famed preacher, the *Homilies* were very much part of a top-down imposition of reform whereby ministers were required to read set texts rather than preach original sermons. As we will discuss later, this caused some Edwardian reformers a degree of concern. In particular, Bucer was worried about the efficacy of the *Homilies* but would tolerate them as surrogate sermons until a Protestant ministry was formed within the English Church.[184] However, the reason that reading set texts did not come under serious fire from most Edwardian reformers can partly be explained by pointing to the existing homiletic tradition that the *Homilies* exploited.[185] Importantly though, the *Homilies* pushed this homiletic tradition in a decidedly evangelical direction. It is possible that reformers realised that the *Homilies* were not merely a solution to the problem of having unlearned clergy without the ability to preach, but that the *Homilies* were also a key part of the programme of evangelical exposition of scripture, which was central to the ecclesiological vision of the Edwardian Refomation. The significance of the *Homilies* was further underlined at the end of the reign by their incorporation into the Forty-Two Articles: Article 34 endorsed them as 'godly and wholesome, containing doctrine to be received of all men'.[186]

It was not until Elizabeth's reign that differing opinions about the spiritual efficacy of reading a set text as opposed to the art of lively preaching became a major issue.[187] The rise of puritan 'exercises', or 'prophesyings', in the Elizabethan Church whereby ministers would gather to develop their preaching abilities and sharpen their biblical exposition, was viewed by the monarch as undermining the uniformity of religion in her realms – a uniformity that was being imposed through the 1559 Prayer Book, the Thirty-Nine Articles and a second book of Protestant homilies, which was also given official sanction in

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[184] See pp. 175-8 below.
[185] See pp. 132-4 above.
[186] *Forty-Two Articles*, 305.
[187] Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London, 1979), 233-52. On a similar argument about the 'bare reading' of texts carried out a generation after Grindal, see Carlson, 'The boring of the ear', 274-82.

Article 35 of the new Articles of Religion.[188] The removal of Archbishop Grindal from office for supporting the prophesyings represented the extent to which uniformity could be tested under Elizabeth. However, the Edwardian Church evolved in a very different context, which has not always been fully appreciated. It is perhaps due to the negative feelings many Elizabethan Protestants harboured against official homilies that the significance of the Edwardian *Homilies* for the development of a successful Protestant preaching culture has often been overlooked. Few have recognised that the imposition of the Edwardian *Homilies* on the Tudor Church helped to create a platform on which later reformers could build. To fully understand how, we must now turn to consider the relationship of preaching and liturgical reform in the Edwardian period.

Liturgical Integration

Although we can accept that there was a pre-existing culture of preaching, sermons were not a strong feature of weekly church services in England before the sixteenth century. It is telling that Eamon Duffy's 593 page *magnum opus* on late medieval devotional life in England has a mere three pages on preaching.[189] What is perhaps more revealing for our current discussion is Duffy's observation that, while sermons were popular, preaching in pre-Reformation England 'was something of an event'.[190] And despite the expectation of teaching the essentials of the faith through weekly homilies, 'preaching is not given a high priority' in the instructional manuals for clergy in this period.[191] Thus Duffy concludes, 'it is difficult to be sure just how widespread Sunday preaching was' in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century.[192] Moreover, as Andrew Pettegree has pointed out,

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[188] The practice of 'prophesying' was inspired by similar activities in Zurich and Emden. See Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 168-76, 191-239. For the Elizabethan Homilies, see Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 359-63. *Forty-Two Articles*, 305-6.
[189] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 56-8.
[190] Ibid. 57.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.

medieval preaching throughout Europe was 'an overwhelmingly urban experience' and was 'by and large not embedded in the fabric of routine worship'.[193]

The disconnection of preaching from late-medieval worship is also attested to in Hatfield MS 47, one of the manuscript treatises on general councils prepared in 1537. Under the heading 'What ministracions prestes haue power to exercise among the people by the lawe of god', the very first power listed was 'the power of preaching and teaching'.[194] According to the law of God, ministers were instructed to

> preache ye the gospel to every creature and that might every preste haue dooin in the begynnyng of the chruche as sone as he was preste, and none might thenne haue prohibyte him thereof: but after by lawes of the Bisshopps of Rome: ordynaryes might make suche prohibitions thereof and that hathe hindered true p[re]ching veryemoche.[195]

As discussed earlier, the ecclesiological thrust of this manuscript was to undermine papal authority. This was achieved here by validating the expectation for priests to preach according to the rule of scripture and the model of the Primitive Church. It is revealing that this anonymous treatise saw the medieval liturgy as constraining the opportunities for preaching, which was apparently meant to be a staple of regular worship. The blame was firmly placed on the 'ordynaryes', those parts of liturgy that remain fairly constant throughout the year outside of Lent and Eastertide, as well as the 'Ceremonies' introduced 'by lawes of the bisshopp of Rome or by custome'.[196] The liturgical framework inherited from Rome was therefore seen by some Henricians as an unhelpful, even prohibitive, intrusion on public worship in England. Under Edward, the marriage of the *Homilies* and public worship in the formalised liturgy of the 1549

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[193] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 15.
[194] CP 238/2, chapter two, cf. *A Treatise Concernynge Generall Councilles*, sigs A6-7v (there are duplicate pages, which means this citation runs across three pages).
[195] Ibid.
[196] CP 238/2, chapter two, cf. *A Treatise Concernynge Generall Councilles*, sig. A7v. For the devotional rhythm in late-medieval England provided by the liturgical cycle, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 11-52, and *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven-London, 2006); Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), esp. 379-80.

Prayer Book sought to reverse this damage by implanting a moment of *solifidian* instruction into the routine of regular public worship.

The newly reformed communion service of 1549 instructed ministers to either preach a sermon (if they were licensed to do so), or read one of the officially sanctioned homilies, or at the very least 'some portion of one'.[197] The *Homilies* had been divided into thirty-one readings to mirror the psalter, which, in an ideal world, allowed the entire set of sermons to be read through in a given month, although to begin with the official recommendation was for weekly readings at the main service.[198] This preaching rubric was retained in 1552 despite the many revisions applied to the Order of Communion in the second edition of the Prayer Book.[199] In both the 1549 and 1552 versions of the communion service, the sermon was placed after the initial intercessory prayers and immediately following the Creed. Instituting a sermon at this point in the liturgy underlined the evangelical emphasis on preaching. It also indicates that Cranmer never sought to separate the ministry of the spoken Word from that of the 'visible Word', rather this liturgical reform was a deliberate effort to unite the two. Indeed the combined event of sermon and sacrament was intended to help visibly identify the faithful from the unrepentant. Once the sermon or homily had been delivered, the minister would declare an exhortation to 'receyue [the Lord's Supper] worthilye' and then an offertory would be collected.[200] After which, only those who wished to participate in communion would 'tary still in the quire' before the institution and distribution of the Lord's Supper took place.[201] Ronald B. Bond was right to observe that this sermon had the liturgical function of serving as 'a propaedeutic to reception of the sacrament'.[202]

The only other Prayer Book service that mandated a sermon was the marriage ceremony. In 1549, a sermon in which 'thoffice of man and wife shall bee declared according to holy scripture' was delivered after the priest blessed

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[197] BCP49, 214.
[198] For the division of the *Homilies*, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*,374.
[199] BCP52, 380.
[200] BCP49, 216.
[201] BCP49, 219. This rubric was dropped in 1552.
[202] Ronald B. Bond, 'A Two-Edged Sword: The History of the Tudor Homilies', in idem (ed.), *Certain Sermons or Homilies*, 5.

the newly married couple.[203] In 1552, the rubric clarified that this sermon signalled the beginning of Communion, which 'the newe maried persons (the same daye of their mariage) must receiue'.[204] Although marriage itself was no longer considered a sacramental rite, the new marriage service was a liturgical combination of scripture, sermon, and sacrament. Prayer Book weddings thus provided another opportunity visibly to define the True Church as a body of believers whose significant life moments were marked by preaching and the appropriate response of faith in sacramental participation.[205]

The incorporation of a sermon into the official liturgy was a major step in shaping the culture of public devotion in Tudor England. Diarmaid MacCulloch notes that the Prayer Book's reformed communion service was meant 'to be the centre-piece of the regular weekly worship of the Church, but this was not happening' in 1552 because people did not want to take the Lord's Supper so frequently.[206] Instead, the Sunday morning service was expanded by integrating features of Matins so that a service known as 'ante-communion' was created, which was 'a morning marathon of prayer, scripture reading and praise ... as the matrix for a sermon to proclaim the message of scripture anew week by week'.[207] The Edwardian Church had effectively replaced the gravitational core of regular worship in the medieval Church, the Mass, with a scripturally based sermon.

This liturgical trend can also be noticed in the 1553 Primer, a new manual for private devotion designed to reflect the patterns of daily public worship.[208]

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[203] BCP49, 257.

[204] In both 1549 and 1552, the marriage service concluded with the imperative rubric for the newly married couple to receive communion that day. BCP49, 258; BCP52, 415, 416.

[205] For a fuller discussion of this aspect, see chapter four.

[206] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 510.

[207] Ibid. 511. See also McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 71.

[208] *A primmer, or boke of priuate prayer nedefull to bee vsed of all faythful Christians. Whiche boke is auctorised and set forth by the kynges Maiestye, to be taught, learned, read, and vsed of hys louyng subiectes. Contynue in prayer. Ro. xii.* (1553). Primers have been relatively neglected in scholarship. For recent discussions, see Bryan D. Spinks, 'The Elizabethan Primers: Symptoms of an Ambiguous Settlement or Devotional Weaning?', in Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (London-New York, 2013) 73-87; Ian Green, 'Varieties of Domestic Devotion in Early Modern English Protestantism', and Micheline White, 'Dismantling Catholic Primers and Reforming Private Prayer: Anne Lock, Hezekiah's Song and Psalm 50/51', in

Although an edited version of the Henrician Primer of 1545 was published in 1551, the 1553 edition broke all ties with traditional religion and had a 'close assimilation to the Book of Common Prayer of 1552'. [209] The centrality of preaching to Sunday worship was emphasised at the personal level by the inclusion in the Primer of a prayer to be said 'After the Sermon or Homily'.[210] The evangelical concept of a true and lively faith was reiterated in this prayer, which asked God to take

> the wordes whyche we haue hearde this daye wyth oure outewarde eares, [and] throughe thy grace be so grafted inwardlye in oure heartes, that they may bring forth in vs, the fruyte of good lyuynge, to the honoure and prayse of thy name, throughe Iesus Christ oure Lorde, Amen.[211]

There was no equivalent prayer to acknowledge the Lord's Supper, which suggests that listening to sermons was considered to be of greater importance than sacramental participation. It remains unclear whether the 1553 Primer was an example of liturgy imitating life in that its emphasis on preaching reflected the realities of 'ante-communion', or whether this private liturgical text was an attempt by the evangelical authorities to push the devotional culture in a particular direction. At the very least, we can say that the Primer's assumption of a weekly Sunday sermon points to a shifting culture in mid-Tudor devotion whereby public worship was beginning to be characterised as a gathering of churchgoers listening to the Word preached.

The slow development of a Protestant preaching culture in public worship can be further glimpsed in the witness of contemporary chroniclers. Wriothesley noted that on 'The 29 of September [1552], beinge Michaelmas day and the day of the election of the Lord Mayor, there was a sermon made in the Guildhall Chappell by Mr. Sampson, parson of All Hallowes in Bread Strete, in the

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Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie, *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Abingdon, 2012), 9-31, 93-113.

[209] Helen C. White, *The Tudor Book of Private Devotion* (Westport, Connecticut, 1951), 119-33, at 120. See also Spinks, 'The Elizabethan Primers', 74-6; White, 'Dismantling Catholic Primers and Reforming Private Prayer', 93-4.

[210] *A primmer*, sigs G8v-H1 (*Two Liturgies*, 400).

[211] Ibid.

stead of the Communion of late yeares accustomed'. [212] The Grey Friars chronicler also noted that in May 1553, 'this yere was very fewe cherches in London that had aany procession in the Rogacion dayes in London this yere for lacke of devocion'.[213] As fragmentary as this evidence is, it does indicate that by the end of Edward's reign the sermon had taken the place of the Mass as the high point of public worship.

Evangelical Comparison

Cranmer's liturgical innovation of making a sermon the key devotional act in public worship was in line with other liturgical developments initiated by fellow evangelicals. It is instructive to compare the new liturgical mandate of a sermon each Lord's Supper with the practice of the Stranger Church outlined in the *Forma ac ratio*. Jan Łaski's liturgy stipulated that

> in every assembly whatsoever a sermon, which seems especially useful for instruction, is always chosen in some way from the Scriptures, and an assembly of the Church is never held in which the Church is not taught something from the Word of God (1 Cor 14).[214]

Much like Cranmer's ecclesiological application of *sola scriptura*, Łaski understood that the visible Church must be characterised by God's Word. Scripture based preaching was more than an evangelical ideal, it was the determining factor that made a public gathering of believers 'an assembly of the Church'. The *Forma ac ratio* followed with an important caveat regarding the form and content of these sermons:

> The Scriptures, to be sure, are not explained in sermons in little bits, as is accustomed to be done in Papism, where mutilated stories or places of Scripture sometimes without head or tail are set before the people in such a

[212] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, 77.
[213] *Grey Friars Chronicle*, ed. John Gough Nichols (Camden Society, 53, 1852), 77.
[214] *Reformation Worship: Select Liturgies from the Past for the Present*, eds. Jonathan Gibson and Mark Earngey, (Greensboro, 2018), 460-1. I thank the editors for letting me see an advanced copy of this volume. An older translation of *Forma ac ratio* (although shorter in length) by D. G. Lane is provided as Appendix B, in Bryan D. Spinks, *From the Lord and "The Best Reformed Churches": A study of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the English Puritan and Separatist traditions 1550-1633* (Rome, 1984), 157-76.

> way that [they] ... are not sufficiently explained ... [rather] only so much [of scripture] is read aloud in individual sermons as can conveniently be explained in a way suitable to the people in the space of one hour.[215]

Łaski clearly shared Cranmer's desire to expound scripture as clearly as possible in the public assemblies of the Church.[216] Although, there was a noticeable difference in the length of sermons prescribed in the *Forma* compared to the Prayer Book; even the full length of each sermon contained in the *Homilies* would struggle to fill a full hour. However, the division of the *Homilies* into digestible segments can be read as a practically pastoral measure that speaks to Cranmer's sensitivity to a population unprepared to receive the regular diet of evangelical doctrine. This is not to say that early modern men and women were unused to long sermons.[217] But it is to reiterate that the incorporation of the *Homilies* into the Prayer Book signalled a new direction for the preaching culture of early modern England. Since the frequency of medieval sermons was irregular and detached from ordinary public worship, the preaching standard set by the combination of the *Homilies* and the Prayer Book, let alone the example of the Stranger Church, must have cut a sharp contrast to the typical church service before the Edwardian Reformation. It was through such liturgical reforms that the seeds of what Arnold Hunt refers to as the 'success of the Protestant preaching ministry' of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart Churches were sown. However, this was neither a smooth nor instant success.

Evangelical Criticism

We must balance the ideal vision of a seamless integration of sermons into common prayer with the criticism of fellow evangelicals; the reaction of

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[215] Ibid, 461.

[216] Cranmer and Łaski did not agree on every detail of church order and administration, though. See Dirk W. Rodgers, *John à Lasco in England* (New York, 1994), 141-57; Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Importance of Jan Laski in the English Reformation', in Christoph Strohm (ed.), *Johannes a Lasco (1499–1560). Polnischer Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator*, (Tübingen, 2000), 325–32.

[217] See John N. Wall, 'Virtual Paul's Cross: The Experience of Public Preaching after the Reformation', in Kirby and Standwood (eds.), *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion*, 81-6.

traditionalists such as Stephen Gardiner has been already been discussed.[218] The regulated and prescriptive practice of reading the *Homilies* did not meet with the approval of all reformers.

Martin Bucer offered faint praise for the *Homilies* in his appraisal of the 1549 Prayer Book, the *Censura*. Although the Strasbourg reformer lauded the new Communion Service as 'derived from holy scripture', his first point of criticism took aim at 'the sermon which is to be preached to the people after the recitation of the Creed'. [219] Bucer was particularly worried by the lack of ministers 'who can properly expound the scriptures to the people in his own words'.[220] In his eyes, there was 'no ministry more necessary to the salvation of the sons of God than that of teaching and feeding the Lord's flock'.[221] Therefore Bucer urged the Edwardian regime to 'use our utmost endeavours to restore this ministry effectively to the churches'.[222] The answer lay in the 'reform of the universities'.[223] Bucer reemphasised this point directly to the king a year later in *De Regno Christi*, which laid out a comprehensive blueprint for a nation-wide reform of the Tudor Church. 'It must be confessed', wrote Bucer, 'that there is not so great a number of [adequate preachers] as the vast multitude of Christian people in this realm requires', yet if the Universities could be harnessed as training grounds, then 'how great a swarm of approved evangelists would then come forth for the churches!'[224] For the time being, the *Homilies* were to be

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[218] For Gardiner, see pp. 141-50 above.
[219] Bucer, *Censura*, 44.
[220] Ibid. The complaint about lack of evangelical preachers was common to English and continental reformers in this period. For example, see Latimer, *Sermons*, 62; Thomas Butler to Blaurer in *Original Letters*, II, 636; Fagius to Marbach, April 1549 in Gorham, *Gleanings*, 78.
[221] Ibid. 46.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, 274. While the Cambridge Regius Professor did not live to see his recommendations come to fruition, it is tantalising to speculate about his influence on the older generation of Elizabethan divines. Bucer left a deep impression on Edmund Grindal, Elizabeth's second Archbishop of Canterbury. This may help account for Grindal's determination to support the 'prophesying' exercises against the wishes of his Queen. However, Matthew Parker, Elizabeth's first Archbishop, who oversaw the second *Book of Homilies* was arguably closer to the German theologian since he acted as Bucer's executor (hence why many of Bucer's papers are contained in the manuscript collection of

tolerated as a stopgap measure until the preaching ministry of parish clergy had been 'fully restored'.[225]

Despite his begrudging acceptance of the necessity of the *Homilies*, Bucer encouraged them to be 'read with the greatest solemnity and devotion in a manner calculated to build up the people'.[226] This admission was followed by Bucer's most severe criticism. According to his own observations (or more probably via one of his local acolytes, since Bucer did not speak English), parish pulpits were largely occupied by 'either Epicureans or Papists, who decline to expound the mysteries of Christ faithfully', or by 'men of outstanding ignorance that even if they wished to do so they have not the ability to read those holy matters distinctly so that the people could understand them to their benefit'.[227] This 'vast number of pastors' read the set homilies in a 'confused, casual, and hasty' way.[228] Delivering the *Homilies* in such a way was 'an ungodly mutter' that rendered these sermons no more understandable than if they were 'read in Turkish or Indian'.[229] The woeful delivery of the *Homilies* therefore was no better than the muttering of popish prayers. [230] Bucer repeated this negative assessment in a letter to John Hooper during the vestments controversy in November 1550. Again Bucer despaired that 'no sermon has been heard for five, six, or more years' in many parish churches due to the 'paucity of Evangelists'.[231] The lack of effective preachers in these places meant that, even a full year after the first Prayer Book had been introduced,

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the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge). Bucer's legacy and continuing influence on the English Church is therefore intriguing and complex. Yet it is a subject that remains relatively understudied. See Constantin Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1946); Patrick Collinson, 'The Reformer and the Archbishop: Martin Bucer and an English Bucerian', in Collinson, *Godly People*, 19-44, and idem. *Archbishop Grindal*, 49-56. For the Elizabethan *Book of Homilies*, see Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 359-63.

[225] Bucer, *Censura*, 46.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Ibid.

[228] Ibid.

[229] Ibid.

[230] See Peter Marshall, 'Mumpismus and Sumpsimus: The Intellectual Origins of a Henrician Bon Mot', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* lii (2001), 515-7.

[231] Gorham, *Gleanings*, 201.

> all the Divine offices are recited by many Pseudo-Parish-Priests, or Vicars, so frigidly, slovenly, and mumblingly, that they are understood by the common people just as well as if they had been read in an African or Indian dialect.[232]

If Bucer's attitude toward the *Homilies* was widely shared amongst other mid-Tudor reformers, we have little evidence of it being expressed. This should not, however, belie the significance of Bucer's comments, which were prescient of later criticisms made by Elizabethan puritans, as we have already noted.[233] They reveal that the idea that God's Word was best activated through lively and animated preaching, rather than via a flat and dull reading of set texts, was latent in the Edwardian Reformation, well before similar non-conformist objections were raised under Elizabeth.[234]

However, by reminding Cranmer that his reforms had not yet fully taken hold of the Tudor population, the Strasbourg reformer was not attempting to separate preaching from common prayer. Like the English archbishop, Bucer saw the combination of the two as creating the circumstances for affective devotion in public worship. This explains why he objected to the way the Prayer Book 'cut up the homilies into such short pieces'.[235] If congregations lacked 'the patience to listen with alert and eager minds to the homilies in their whole length, so short and salutary as they are', Bucer asked, then 'what can they endure for the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ'?[236] Once again we notice that continental reformers were dissatisfied by the length of each individual homily. Moreover, the list of homilies was 'too short and covers too few aspects of our religion in its teaching'.[237] Thus Bucer encouraged the Edwardian regime to commission a 'number of distinguished preachers ... to compile more homilies on the most necessary matters'; his suggested list ranged over a wide array of topics, with a strong focus on ecclesiastical discipline.[238] If the *Homilies* had to be

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[232] Ibid.
[233] See pp. 167-8 above.
[234] See Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 209-18, for particular puritan objections raised about the reading of Prayer Book services, 251-2, 358-9.
[235] Bucer, *Censura*, 46.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid. 46-8. In a memorandum for the Council dated 13 October 1552, Edward raised the possibility of 'making more homilies', *The Chronicle and Political*

tolerated as ersatz sermons, then Bucer wanted to make sure Tudor congregations were being given the best possible substitute for preaching. This suggestion was eventually taken up by Elizabeth, and under the guidance of Archbishop Matthew Parker another set of twelve homilies were added to the official list in 1563.[239]

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to recalibrate our view of the Edwardian *Homilies* by seeing them as an important component of the attempt to reform the visible Church according to mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology. The introduction of a weekly sermon to public worship via the *Homilies* was born from an ecclesiology that saw scripture as fundamental to the life of the visible Church. Part of the rationale for this was to make preaching evangelical doctrine a distinguishing feature of the the Edwardian Church from the very beginning of the reign. The significance of this set of sermons to the evangelical agenda throughout the period is attested to by their inclusion in the more formal liturgical reforms of the Prayer Book, as well as the endorsement the *Homilies* received in the Forty- Two Articles. It was hoped that the *Homilies* would carry solifidian theology to every quarter of the Tudor realm. This set of sermons epitomised the evangelical ideal of regular biblically based preaching, and was intended to be a tool for mass conversion, instruction, and edification.

However, the *Homilies* did not signal an immediate triumph of popular Protestantism; nor for that matter did the 1549 Prayer Book. As noted above, the Western Rising stood out as a palpable moment of popular challenge to the liturgical reforms of the period. Yet despite the challenges to reform raised by traditionally minded lay folk and clergy during Edward's life, the lingering effect of the *Homilies* can be detected in the Marian Church. During the Legatine Synod of 1555-6, Reginald Pole commented that the 'majority' of English congregations

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Papers of King Edward VI, ed. W. K. Jordan (London, 1966), 179. See also Bond, 'A Two-Edged Sword', 8.

[239] See Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 359-63.

had been 'infected' with 'corruptions and abuses, both in doctrine and in practice, which prevailed in the time of that schism' (referring to the reign of Edward VI).[240] To counter this situation, Pole oversaw the composition of a new set of thirteen homilies that enshrined conservative doctrine; for instance, the twelfth sermon was entitled 'Of transubstantiation'.[241] Of course, the Edwardian reforms were not accepted by the entire Tudor Church, but Pole's observations do imply that some parishes had, and his comments stimulate thinking about how this took place. Since the *Homilies* were a main driver of doctrinal instruction under Edward, it is possible to suggest that they played a key role in this process. Indeed, it is by considering the purpose and theological substance of the *Homilies* within their original context that we can begin to appreciate their long-term impact with greater clarity.

This chapter has presented the *Homilies* as both an extension of the pre-existing homiletical tradition, and as a natural product of the emerging Protestant preaching ministry. In doing so, we have extended Susan Wabuda's survey of the homiletic tradition that concludes in 1547. While Cranmer drew inspiration from the past, the preaching reforms he ushered in through the *Homilies* were designed to rebuild the temporal Church on the foundation of scripture, which would enable it to last the test of time. The integration of the *Homilies* into the Prayer Book also raised the evangelical expectation that routine public worship would revolve around the exposition of scripture in a sermon. Viewed in this light, the Edwardian *Homilies* can also be used to help explain the successful preaching ministry of later Protestants referred to by Arnold Hunt. While we must be careful of drawing direct links between the Edwardian and later Reformations, we can point to the preaching culture that was forged in the middle years of the sixteenth century to highlight the importance of the *Homilies* to the later development of English Protestantism. From Cranmer's perspective at least, the *Homilies* were fundamental to instilling the Edwardian Church with one of the key marks of the True Church. The attempt to reform the sacraments,

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[240] *The Anglican Canons 1529–1947*, ed. Gerald Bray (Suffolk, 1998), 104-5.
[241] Ibid. 104. See also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 535-7; Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 357-9.

the other visible mark of the True Church, is the subject of the next chapter, to which we turn now.

Chapter Four:
The Sacraments as
Practical Ecclesiology

Introduction

A key issue for mid-Tudor evangelicals was transforming the way the sacraments were understood and practised. Doctrinal changes to sacramental theology had a direct impact on the devotional life of men and women in Edwardian England, and signalled a distinct break with the immediate pre- Reformation past. While many historians have characterised this change in negative terms, this chapter will examine the way evangelicals portrayed sacramental practice as beneficial for the entire community of faithful believers. Significantly, this will reveal a deep connection between mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology and sacramental theology. As Arnold Hunt has demonstrated with the Elizabethan and Stuart Churches, the sacraments were highly prized by English reformers because they reflected confessional identity in a very tangible fashion.[1] This was certainly true of an earlier generation. John Hooper wrote in 1547 from Zurich that 'This cōmune wealthe of the trew churche is knowyn by these too Markes the pure preaching of the gospell and the ringht [sic] use of the sacramētes'.[2] From the earliest stages of Edward's reign, then, sacramental reform was a leading characteristic of mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology.

During the Edwardian Reformation, the two scripturally mandated sacraments of baptism and communion were seen as visual signs of the invisible True Church. Rather than being modes of salvation, the physical elements of water, bread and wine were instruments of spiritual edification that communicated spiritual truths via tangible means. Hooper explained that baptism signified a washing away of sins, and the Lord's Supper was a perpetual

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[1] Arnold Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, clxi (1998), 39-83.
[2] John Hooper, *A Declaration of Christe and his Offyce* (Zurich, 1547), sig. K6v.

'memori of Christes death'. [3] Peter Martyr Vermigli called the consecrated elements 'speakyng signes' and 'visible words'.[4] Thomas Cranmer provided an eloquent description of the relationship between the spiritual and physical in his prolonged dispute with Stephen Gardiner:

> [in baptism and communion] ... we may se Christ with our eies, smell him at our nose, taste hym with our mouthes, grope hym with our handes, and perceue him with all our senses. For as the word of god preched, putteth Christ into our eares, so likewyse these elements of water, bread and wine, ioyned to gods word, do after a sacramētal maner, put Christ in to our eies, mouthes, handes and al our senses.[5]

Recognising the role of the physical senses in evangelical sacramental theology and practice is important, as Matthew Milner has shown.[6] But examining this particular aspect in detail is beyond the scope of this chapter.[7] Instead, our discussion will focus on the previously unrecognised relationship between the sacraments and evangelical concepts of the Church.

Part of the reason why this link in evangelical thinking has gone relatively unnoticed is because modern scholarship has depicted the Edwardian Reformation as an unwanted rupture in the fabric of late-medieval English

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[3] John Hooper, *An Answer vnto my Lord of Wynthesters [sic] Booke Intytlyd a Detection of the Deuyls Dophistrye wherwith he robith the vnlernyd people of the trew byleef in the Moost Blessyd Sacrament of the Aulter* (Zurich, 1547), sigs E2, M3v.

[4] Peter Martyr Vermigli, *A Discourse or Treatise of Petur Martyr Uermilla Florētine ...* (1550), sig. Bb4v; idem. *The Common Places of the most famous and renowmed diuine Doctor Peter Martyr ...* (1583), III, ch. 8, 209. See also idem. *Most Learned and Fruitfull Commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine ...* (1568), sig. P6v.

[5] Cranmer, *Defence*, sig. C2v. When Cranmer refined his theology in his *Answer*, he stated that '... as surely as we see the bread and wine, with our eyes, smell them with our noses, touch them with our handes, and taste them with our mouthes, so assuredlye ought we to beleue, that Christ is a spiritual lyfe and sustinaunce of our soules like as the sayd bread and wine is the foode and sustinance of our bodyes', sig. E3v.

[6] Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham, 2011), 207-82.

[7] Recent works on the transformation of physical space due to changes in sacramental theology and practice include Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke (eds.), *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007); Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 2010).

society.[8] The apparently vibrant devotional life of pre-Reformation England centred on the social institution of the Mass, which was 'the sign of unity, [and] the bond of love'.[9] But this idyll of corporate piety and mutual love was allegedly disrupted and replaced by an individualistic and subjective faith.[10] According to John Bossy, a Protestant understanding of communion 'was more likely to disintegrate Christian community than to unite it'. [11] This interpretation continues to linger. In her erudite account of the Edwardian Reformation, Catharine Davies asserts that liturgical reform 'tended to atomise the congregation into a series of private experiences'.[12] Davies' discussion of the Lord's Supper emphasises 'the demands of individual faith', and says little about the ways in which communion 'witnessed to the church's corporate unity'.[13]

This chapter sets out to challenge these assumptions by assessing mid-Tudor evangelical sacramental theology and practice through the prism of ecclesiology. A closer examination of the evidence reveals that the evangelical reformers framed both sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper as edifying exercises for the entire Church community. Many of the same emphases of love, unity, and mutuality that existed in late-medieval devotion were also at the forefront of evangelical rhetoric in Edwardian texts that discussed the sacraments. These theological discussions informed liturgical reform such that the services of baptism and communion in the 1552 Prayer Book represented the most advanced protestant form of public worship that the Church of England would use in the sixteenth century.

Unravelling the nuances of sacramental theology in early modern Europe and Britain is a difficult task. Although evangelicals held a broad consensus that baptism and communion had a real spiritual benefit for the life of the Church, their disagreements were subtle but significant enough to reveal distinct

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[8] Two of the more influential works that promote this interpretation are Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*; and, Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), 168-202.
[9] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 92.
[10] Ibid. 464-5, 472-7.
[11] John Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution 1200-1700', *Past and Present* c (1983), 57.
[12] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 118.
[13] Ibid. 118 and 125. Davies does not discuss baptism.

variations across the evangelical world, from Wittenberg to Geneva, Zurich to Strasbourg, and even within the diocese of England.[14] In order to clarify these idiosyncratic positions, most studies concentrate upon a single figure.[15] It is not necessary to duplicate their work here. When discussing the impact of evangelical sacramental theology on the institutional Church, there is a tendency in existing scholarship to separate discussion of how the Eucharist was reinterpreted and reformed by evangelicals from the development of the concept of believer's baptism within the circles of radical reformers.[16] Moreover, there has been a tendency to dwell on the political dimensions of the conflict at the expense of the theological, especially when discussing Anabaptism. [17] This imbalance will be rectified here by combining baptism and the Lord's Supper in a single historical analysis. Reconsidering mid-Tudor evangelical sacramental theology within the wider framework of ecclesiology will demonstrate that equal

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[14] A helpful guide is provided by Brian Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude: The Eucharistic Theology of John Calvin* (Edinburgh, 1993), 167. For a snapshot of the highly nuanced disagreements between Edwardian reformers see Letters XXIII-XXXI, LXXXII, in Gorham, *Gleanings*, 80-118, 282.

[15] Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 227-36; Joseph C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God; An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli, A.D. 1500-1562* (Edinburgh, 1957); W. P. Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Martin Bucer* (Cambridge, 1970); D.F. Wright (ed.), *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community* (Cambridge, 1994); D.G. Newcombe, *John Hooper: Tudor bishop and martyr (c.1495-1555)* (Oxford, 2009). See also Lee Palmer Wandal (ed.), *Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation* (Boston, 2014), which includes chapters on Luther, Zwingli and Bullinger, Bucer, Calvin, Anabaptists, and the Council of Trent. For a survey of the positions held by Bullinger, Martyr, Bucer and Cranmer, see Gordon Jeanes, *Signs of God's Promise: Thomas Cranmer's Sacramental Theology and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 2008), ch. 4.

[16] Where studies have covered both sacraments, they are treated independently. For example, see Davies, *A religion of the Word*, chs. 1 and 2; and Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, chs. 4 and 5. Other studies focus solely on one sacrament or the other. For instance, Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper'; and Anna French, 'Disputed Words and Disputed Meanings: the Reformation of Baptism, Infant Limbo and Child Salvation in Early Modern England', in Jonathan Willis (ed.), *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (London-New York 2016), 157-72. I am grateful to Dr Willis for allowing me a preview of this volume.

[17] The contemporary term, 'Anabapist', is being used to label a disparate group of radical Protestants who existed in Edwardian England. For discussion of terminology regarding the 'Radical Reformation' see George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Missouri, 1992), 'Introduction to Third Edition', 1-21; Irvin Buckwalter Horst, *The Radical Brethren: Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558* (Nieuwkoop, 1972), 30-6.

weight was given to promoting baptism (particularly infant baptism) *and* communion as essential activities through which the True Church was revealed within the Edwardian institution.

Since the theological content examined in this chapter is highly complex, it will be useful to provide an outline for the discussion that follows. The first half of this chapter will recast the sacramental controversy of the period as a triangular affair between evangelicals, Roman Catholics, and the Anabaptists. Particular attention will be given to the specifically ecclesiological rhetoric used by evangelicals in their bid to use the sacraments as way to legitimise the Edwardian Church as a visible manifestation of the True Church. The second half of the discussion will counter the settled interpretation of the Edwardian Reformation. It will be argued that mid-Tudor evangelicals recast the sacraments of baptism and communion as ceremonies that used the spiritual promises of scripture to promote friendship, love and concord within the visible Church. This will lead to a final consideration of the way reformers justified the use of the sacraments as a means of visibly identifying true believers, even as they physically participated alongside unregenerate members of their earthly congregations.

A Triangular Conflict

Perhaps the most controversial change to the structure of devotional life implemented by the sixteenth-century reformers across Christendom was to reduce the number of sacraments from seven to two.[18] The Edwardian Church accepted this change because only baptism and the Lord's Supper had been 'explicitly instituted and commanded for us by Christ'.[19] This was the standard explanation taught by the three major catechisms of the period: Cranmer's translation of Justus Jonas' Lutheran catechism (1548), Edmund Allen's

[18] Even this was debated amongst Protestants: Luther saw penance as a 'second baptism', and Bucer argued for the practice of 'laying on of hands' to be considered a sacrament as well. See Heiko Oberman, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil* (New Haven, 1989), 231; and, Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, 236.
[19] Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, 236.

Catechism (1548, 1551), and the official catechism produced in 1553.[20] It was also reinforced in public worship through the use of the Prayer Book: infant baptism was justified by citing Mark 10; and, during the Lord's Supper the minister explained that Christ 'did institute, and in his holy Gospell command us, to celebrate a perpetuall memory of his precious death, until his coming again'.[21] The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesasticarum* also declared that 'only these two [are] true and proper sacraments of the New Testament'.[22] The scriptural foundation for baptism and communion ensured that mid-Tudor evangelicals held them in high regard. As Allen's *Catechism* taught, these two sacraments had been 'commaunded vnto vs to be vsed in perfecte obedience towarde God: therfore can we not forbeare or neglecte the vse of them'.[23] Sacramental participation therefore doubled as a scriptural obligation and an appropriate response to God's Word.[24]

Upholding scripture as the ultimate authority on theological matters also had broader ecclesiological implications. As people of the Word, mid-Tudor evangelicals subverted papal primacy and dismissed centuries of Roman Catholic tradition as practices of the False Church. Confirmation, penance, holy orders, matrimony and extreme unction were now perceived as non-scriptural additions that poisoned the purity of earthly congregations. Article 26 of the *Forty-Two Articles* stated that these rituals

> are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of sacraments ... for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.[25]

This theological position led to significant change within the ecclesiastical institution. Over the course of Edward's reign the evangelical administration

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[20] D.G. Selwyn (ed.), *A catechism set forth by Thomas Cranmer* (Abingdon, 1978), 181-214; Edmund Allen, *A Catechism, that is to say, a Christian instruction now newly corrected* (1551), sig. I8; John Ponet, *A Shorte Catechisme ...* (1553), sigs G8-H2v.
[21] BCP49, 222, 238; BCP52, 389, 395.
[22] 5.1 'What a sacrament is', *Reformatio*, 227.
[23] Allen, *Catechism*, sig. I7.
[24] Ibid. sigs B4-6.
[25] Article 26, *Forty-Two Articles*, 299-300.

acted judiciously to remove and suppress those voices that expressed opposing sacramental views.

Differences of opinion on the Lord's Supper stimulated the most controversial and prolonged theological debate of the period between reformers and traditionalists.[26] A significant fault line opened in December 1548 during the so-called 'Great Parliamentary Debate', which took place between the bishops in the House of Lords.[27] As evangelical bishops lined up against their traditionalist counterparts, scripture was pitted against ecclesiastical tradition as the matter of the Real Presence in the sacramental bread and wine was debated. It was a set-piece battle in the fight to purify the established Church.[28] For those eager to reform the visible institution, the physical House of God had to be established on the eternal Word of God.[29] Yet the presence of non-evangelical bishops thwarted this ambition and stood in the way of presenting a united scriptural understanding of the Lord's Supper. Thus a succession of bishops who opposed reform was imprisoned or deprived from as early as August 1547 onwards: Edmund Bonner, Stephen Gardiner, George Day, Nicholas Heath, and Cuthbert Tunstall.[30] By the end of 1551 seven sees held by conservative bishops had become vacant 'through confrontations with the newly aggressive [Northumberland] government'. [31] Cleansing Convocation of conservative bishops reflected the growing political strength of evangelicals. As time went on, the establishment was able to impose its own brand of theology upon the

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[26] As Carl Trueman put it: 'The simple fact is that Eucharistic controversies provided the focal point for English Reformation theology at this time', *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and English Reformers* (Oxford, 1994), 248.

[27] BL Royal MS 17.B. XXXIX. A modern translation is provided by Colin Buchanan in *Background Documents to Liturgical Revision 1547-1549* (Grove Liturgical Studies no. 35., 1983), 15-33. Further references will be to Buchanan's transcription. For an account of the debate see Aidan Cardinal Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1928), 125-47.

[28] For a fuller narrative, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 404-409. See also Basil Hall, 'Cranmer, the Eucharist and the Foreign Divines in the Reign of Edward VI', in Paul Ayris and David Selwyn (eds.), *Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar* (Woodbridge, 1993), 217-37.

[29] Buchanan, *Background Documents*, 16.

[30] See MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 408, 454-9, 484-6, 498-9.

[31] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 96.

national Church more confidently. This can also be seen in the official response to Anabaptists.

Although Anabaptists did not present a united front either as an organised religion, or in terms of doctrinal unity, we can say with confidence that evangelicals felt threatened by their presence.[32] Paul Fagius, Bucer's long-time confidant at Strasbourg and recently appointed Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, wrote in early 1549 that the 'old knave, Satan ... has introduced into England ... the noxious dogma of Anabaptists'.[33] Not long after, John Hooper bemoaned that many Anabaptists 'flock' to his sermons.[34] He later commented that there was a 'frenzy of Anabaptists' operating in Kent and Essex.[35] The perceived danger to established religion posed by Anabaptists was considered so severe that Nicholas Ridley initially attempted to join forces with Stephen Gardiner in order to stamp it out.[36] This task would later be given to trusted evangelicals, most notably John Hooper and John Bradford.[37] At the same time, two official Heresy Commissions were established to deal with the Anabaptist problem.[38] Even the Stranger Church under the watchful eye of its Polish leader Jan Łaski was enlisted to help protect the realm from radicals. The registration process for the Stranger Church was closely monitored because it was well known that many Dutch refugees had Anabaptist leanings. [39] It has been suggested that Łaski's cooperation in this regard led to the burning of George van

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[32] For an overview of the radical threat to the established Church in this period see Davies, *A religion of the Word*, ch. 2; Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, ch. 5; Thomas Freeman, 'Dissenters from a Dissenting Church: the Challenge of the Freewillers, 1550-1558', in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), 129-56.
[33] Fagius to Marbach, 26 April 1549, *Gleanings*, 79.
[34] Hooper to Bullinger, 25 June 1549, in *Original Letters*, 65.
[35] Hooper to Bullinger, 29 June 1550, ibid. 87.
[36] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 68-9.
[37] For Hooper's involvement see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 474-8; Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, 208-11. For Bradford see Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, 208; Tom Freeman, 'Dissenters from a Dissenting Church', 129-56. See also Trueman who has separate chapters on Hooper and Bradford in *Luther's Legacy*, chs. 7-8.
[38] Horst, *Radical Brethren*, 97-111.
[39] Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), 30-7, 66-7.

Paris, one of only two heretics burnt by Edward – both in 1551.[40] The other victim was Joan Bocher, another radical figure convicted of heresy for denying the humanity of Christ.[41]

Catharine Davies likens the burning of Anabaptists under Edward to the use of a sledgehammer to crack a nut, asserting that 'the whole weight of the establishment was set against these few dissidents'.[42] Such an overly negative assessment of the evangelical regime is not entirely accurate, however. As Diarmaid MacCulloch has observed, a huge investment of time and energy was put into persuading Bocher to recant.[43] When compared to the fact that no Roman Catholics were burnt for heresy under Edward, what these two radical deaths indicate is that recalcitrant Protestant heretics were considered worse than obstinate Roman Catholics because they had rejected the truth that conservatives had not yet accepted.[44] All this effort to quell radical Protestantism also suggests that the Anabaptist threat was more real than the paper tiger Davies portrays in her account of the period.[45]

Recognising that evangelicals fought a war on two fronts helps us to see how their ecclesiology was partly determined by their sacramental theology. Despite posing distinct political and social threats to the stability of the kingdom, Roman Catholic and Anabaptist sacramental theologies were lumped together as two sides of the same heretical coin. Within months of arriving home from Zurich in mid-1549, Hooper complained to Bullinger about the 'libertines and wretches' (i.e. Anabaptists) in the same breath as the 'popish faction' operating

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[40] Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 44-5, 65-6. MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 141.
[41] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 474-8.
[42] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 68.
[43] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 474-8.
[44] Ibid. and *Tudor Church Militant*, 140.
[45] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, ch. 2. Davies argues that 'if the threat of anabaptism was as serious as protestants presented it to be, why were there so few burnings and recantations? The impression of a disproportionate campaign is strengthened by comparing the reality of religious radicalism with its propaganda image. It is argued ... that the discrepancy between the image of anabaptism and its English reality was a significant element in the presentation of protestant ideology. In campaigning against 'anabaptism', Edwardian protestants were clearly using a sledgehammer to crack a nut – but it was vital to their credibility that they should be seen capable of wielding the sledgehammer', 68.

in England.[46] Both of these forces 'set at nought God and the lawful authority of the magistrates' so much so that Hooper was 'greatly afraid of a rebellion and civil disorder'.[47] This comment indicates that evangelicals conflated political obedience with godliness.[48] Noting Hooper's fear also underlines the magisterial nature of the Edwardian Reformation: the established Church of Tudor England was beginning to be seen as a contemporary manifestation of the eternal universal True Church. As such, it needed to be cleansed of all false doctrines that contaminated its purity.

Hooper's complaints about the non-evangelical factions reminds us that the Edwardian Reformation was characterised by a willingness on the part of most mid-Tudor evangelicals to work in conjunction with the state authorised powers to realign the visible Church with scriptural standards, as we noted in chapter one. The mid-sixteenth century did see the rise of a 'church within the Church', as Patrick Collinson once put it, which led to the establishment of exclusive congregations separate from the official institution. [49] Hooper's example is instructive again. When given the chance as Bishop of Gloucester to cleanse his own See, Hooper forced his clergy to agree to a set of articles specifically forbidding Roman Catholic and Anabaptist sacramental theologies and practices.[50] Here is another indication that Hooper used the system of episcopacy to enforce evangelical reform within his diocese. It is also an indication that sacramental theology was influencing the way mid-Tudor reformers saw the role of the temporal Church.

While the mechanics of the institutional Church were being reconfigured, reformers also produced theological works that aimed to disprove traditional eucharistic thinking as well as the radical concept of believer's baptism. Motivated by the goal of a doctrinally pure Church rather than by political

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[46] Hooper to Bullinger, 25 June 1549, *Original Letters*, 66.
[47] Ibid.
[48] For a full discussion of this see Ryan Reeves, *English evangelicals and Tudor obedience, c. 1527-1570* (Leiden, 2014); Stephen Chavura, *Tudor Protestant Political Thought, 1547-1603* (Leiden, 2011). See also Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge. 2002), passim, esp. 100-35.
[49] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 168.
[50] *VAI*, 267-78. See also Ridley's Injunctions for the Diocese of London, *VAI*, 230-40.

stratagem, the theological model of an ecclesiological dichotomy of True and False Churches was stretched to incorporate the three competing ecclesiastical forces extant in Edwardian England. This was possible because evangelicals clearly saw their enemies on both the right and left as components of falsehood.

Throughout the period, conservative eucharistic theology remained the chief target for evangelicals. Even in the throes of death, Nicholas Ridley wrote to John Bradford from his Oxford prison in 1554 about the two 'most perilous and most dangerous' things that 'impugn Christ's verity, his Gospel and his faith'.[51] One was papal authority. The other was the 'false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's supper'. [52] Years earlier, Cranmer had linked Roman Catholic sacramental doctrine with the False Church in a forceful manner. In the preface to his *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ*, published in 1550 but composed in 1548, the Archbishop likened the Church of England to a garden that had been infested with obnoxious weeds.[53] 'The rootes of the wedes', Cranmer wrote, 'is the popish doctrine of Transubstātiation', and the seed from which these weeds sprouted was 'that greate harlot, y^t is to saye, the pestiferous sea of Rome'. [54] This was a representative attitude of reformers in the period, and was not unique to England. John Knox's first sermon, preached in St Andrews, Scotland, in the summer of 1547, drew the same conclusion by equating the Pope with Antichrist on the basis of the doctrine of transubstantiation.[55] Outside the British Isles, as the *Interim* was being imposed throughout the Holy Roman Empire, Bullinger wrote to Calvin about 'those impious men and vassals of Antichrist', the 'Princes' of Germany, who had accepted an article on the sacraments that was 'altogether

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[51] *Works of Ridley*, 366.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Cranmer, *Defence*, sig. *3v. For date of composition see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 461-3.
[54] Ibid. sig. *3v-4v.
[55] The content of Knox's sermon is preserved as a fragmentary memory given by Knox in his *History of the reformation* (1587), reprinted in Knox, *Works*, 185-93. Jane Dawson discusses the content and impact of this sermon in her recent biography, *John Knox*, 46-8. Although Knox would later come to play a significant role in the shaping the Edwardian Church, at this stage 'his thinking had not been shaped by the English experience of the twenty years since the break with Rome' and so must be considered as a non-English reformer, Dawson, *John Knox*, 75.

Papistical'.[56] Since the Eucharist was a central pillar of late-medieval soteriology, it was only natural for reformers to attack this sacrament as a fundamental strategy in their opposition to the Old Religion.[57] This was true of the situation unfolding on the Continent as much as it was for the Church of England in the mid-sixteenth century.

The polemical denunciation of the Roman Catholic Church was bolstered by theological arguments that had historic precedents. Central to this was the evangelical interpretation that Christ's words of institution, 'this is my body', were figurative and not literal. The importance of these four words to both a Roman Catholic and evangelical understanding of the Lord's Supper is attested by the fact that they were hotly debated in disputations held in Oxford and Cambridge in 1549 and 1550 respectively, which we will return to later in our discussion.[58] Beyond these disputations, we turn to Nicholas Ridley as the most prominent English proponent of a figurative interpretation of the words of institution.

Like other reformers, Ridley leaned on the authority of the Church Fathers to support his theological understanding. But most significantly, Ridley had also discovered a medieval author who greatly informed his views: a ninth- century French monk known as 'Bertram', now identified as Ratramnus. We do not know exactly how Ridley came across Ratramnus' work, but sometime during 1545 (or 1546) he read a copy of *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (c. 840s).[59] And an English translation was published in 1548 under the title *The boke of Bartram priest intreatinge of the bodye and bloude of Christ: wryten to*

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[56] Bullinger to Calvin, 26 May 1548, in *Gleanings*,47-8.

[57] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: A House Divided* (London, 2003), 10. See also Hall, 'Cranmer, the Eucharist', 217-258.

[58] For the Oxford disputation see Martyr, *Discourse*, sigs L2-O4v. For the Cambridge disputation see Ridley, *A Determination concerning the Sacrament*, in *Works of Ridley*, 167-179.

[59] During his heresy trial in 1554 Ridley admitted that 'This Bertram [i.e. Ratramnus] was the first that pulled me by the Ear, and that first brought me from the common Error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the Writings of the old Ecclesiastical Fathers in this manner', in *Works of Ridley*, 206.

greate Charles the Emperoure.[60] Ratramnus' original treatise was composed at the request of Charles the Bald to clarify a doctrinal question regarding transubstantiation.[61] He argued that the physical nature of the elements could be distinguished from their spiritual nature.[62] The bread remained bread, but should be taken as a figure pointing to the reality of Christ's body in heaven.[63] Since no substantial transformation took place during the Mass, the words of institution should be understood in a figurative sense.

It was important for evangelicals to root their sacramental theology in history because it bolstered their claim to be the righteous inheritors of the eternal True Church. While both Roman Catholics and evangelicals invoked various Church Fathers to support their arguments, Ratramnus' Carolingian opinion added a compelling angle for mid-Tudor reformers.[64] He was considered the last in a line of trusted patristic authors.[65] In his own time as abbot of Corbie, Ratramnus was highly regarded as a theologian; no taint of heresy was attached

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[60] Ratramnus, *The Boke of Barthram Priest Intreatinge of the Bodye and Bloude of Christ: wryten to greate Charles the Emperoure, and set forth. vii.C. yeares a goo. and imprinted. an. d[omi]ni M.D.XLviii* (1548). See also Hanah Matis, 'Ratramnus of Corbie, Heinrich Bullinger, and the English Reformation', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* xliii (2012), 375-92; Marcus Loane, *Masters of the English Reformation* (London, 1954), 178-83; George E. McCracken (ed. and trans.), *Early Medieval Theology* (Louisville, 1957), 115; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 177-81.

[61] In 836 Paschasius Rabertus, who would succeed Ratramnus as abbot of Corbie, wrote a treatise stressing that after consecration, the eucharistic elements miraculously transformed into the flesh and blood of the historical Jesus. Charles the Bald called on both Duns Scotus and Ratramnus to respond. Matis, 'Ratramnus of Corbie', 377-8; Loane, *Masters of the English Reformation*, 178-9. Loane mistakes Charles the Bald (823-877) for Charles the Bold (1433-1477).

[62] Ratramnus, *The Boke of Barthram Priest*, sigs B2v-C3v.

[63] Ibid. Ratramnus used the terms 'figure' and 'figurative' throughout his tract, *The Boke of Barthram Priest*. However, we must keep in mind Hannah Matis' warning about the dangers of appropriating the medieval term 'figura' in an early modern, and modern, context, 'Ratramnus of Corbie', 392.

[64] For example Stephen Gardiner also made extensive use of patristic sources in his great eucharistic work, *An Explication and Assertion of the True Catholic Faith touching the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar* (1551), translated and reprinted within Cranmer's *Answer*. See also Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1991), 93-109.

[65] Ridley said as much during his heresy trial. See *Works of Ridley*, 205-6. See also Matis, 'Ratramnus of Corbie', 391.

to his name or teaching during his lifetime.[66] Thus sixteenth-century reformers were only too delighted to rediscover Ratramnus' treatise and conscript him in their war against Roman Catholicism. Here was an example that the pope had not always exercised doctrinal hegemony in the past, hence the Roman Church was not universal or catholic. Of equal importance, this demonstrated that denial of transubstantiation was not heretical. Quite the opposite: Ratramnus provided a historical precedent with which to question Roman Catholic doctrine, and significantly also showed that a figurative interpretation of the consecrated elements was orthodox. This became a hallmark of Ridley's sacramental theology from as early as the parliamentary debate of 1548.[67] This would have great consequences for the English Reformation.

Having pointed Cranmer to Ratramnus' work Ridley, along with the influence of Bucer and Martyr, helped the Archbishop cross the 'Eucharistic Rubicon' certainly by summer 1548. [68] Henceforth, the English Church was distinguishable from the Lutheran movement due to its acceptance of a figurative interpretation of Christ's words of institution.[69] Before this, other English evangelicals such as John Frith, John Bale, and John Hooper had also invoked Ratramnus in their polemical writings.[70] Continental reformers did the same.[71] Thus a generation before Matthew Parker, Elizabeth's first Archbishop, amassed his collection of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, now held by Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to demonstrate Protestantism's historical continuity, Edwardian reformers sought to bolster their claims for orthodoxy by citing, translating and publishing for wide distribution a clear example of an early

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[66] Matis, 'Ratramnus of Corbie', 377-8; Loane, *Masters of the English Reformation*, 178-9.
[67] See Buchanan, *Background Documents*, 30, 33; Ridley, *A Brief Declaration on the Lord's Supper*, and 'Determination Concerning the Sacrament', in *Works of Ridley*, 1-46, 169-75.
[68] See MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 383, 391. For a contrary view see Hall, 'Cranmer, the Eucharist', 219-20.
[69] For the eucharistic disagreement between Luther and Reformed theologians see Oberman, *Luther*, 226-45; Carrie Euler, 'Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger', in *Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, 57-74.
[70] Matis, 'Ratramnus of Corbie', 386-89.
[71] Martyr, *Discourse*, sigs D1, I3v, L1v, M3-3v, O2v. For Bullinger's use of Ratramnus see Matis, 'Ratramnus of Corbie', *passim*.

medieval writer who challenged the doctrine of transubstantiation, that pillar of medieval Catholicism.[72]

Although eucharistic works dominated the English print market during Edward's reign, evangelicals were also determined to defend infant baptism as a sacrament of the True Church.[73] The significance of infant baptism to evangelical ecclesiology has not always been recognised by historians.[74] This is perhaps because evangelicals often subsumed baptism into wider discussions that focused on the Lord's Supper.[75] In addition, of the eleven specifically anti- Anabaptist works of the period, only two sought to defend the evangelical doctrine of infant baptism exclusively.[76] One of these was John Veron's 1551 translation of Bullinger's 1531 text, *A moste sure and strong defence of the baptisme of children, against [the] pestiferous secte of the Anabaptystes*.[77] This was a section of a larger dialogue that Veron had already partly translated in 1548.[78] By 1551, however, Veron felt compelled to produce a text with a singular focus on infant baptism. The reason he gave for this was that 'thys deuylysshe heresie' of believer's baptism had filled the gap left by 'the erroneous secte of the papistes', which had recently been removed from the kingdom.[79] Like Hooper

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[72] For Parker see Anthony Grafton, 'Church History in Early Modern Europe: Tradition and Innovation', and Rosamund Oates, 'Elizabethan Histories of English Christian Origins', in Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (eds.), *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford, 2012), 16-17, 165-84.

[73] Mark Earngey, doctoral student at Oxford, calculates that at least 194 eucharistic works were produced during Edward's reign, 'Edwardian Eucharistic Theology: Sacrifice and the Body' (unpublished paper, 2015), 3. I am grateful to Mark for letting me view an early version of this essay.

[74] Only two studies exist that provide a substantive account of anti-Anabaptist writing: Davies, *A religion of the Word*, ch. 2; and Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, ch. 5.

[75] For instance, Martyr, *Discourse*, sigs D1-1v; Cranmer, *Defence*, sigs C2-2v.

[76] The others dealt with a range of issues from the Trinity, to the Incarnation, to justification. See Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, 210-22.

[77] Heinrich Bullinger, *A Moste Sure and Strong Defence of the Baptisme of Children, against [the] pestiferous secte of the Anabaptystes. set furthe by that famouse clerke, Henry Bullynger: & nowe translated out of Laten into Englysh by Ihon Veron Senonoys* (1551).

[78] John Veron, *An Holsome Antidotus or Counter-Poysen, agaynst the pestylent heresye and secte of the Anabaptistes* (1548). For the background to this translation see Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, 213-18.

[79] Ibid. sigs A3-3v.

before him, Veron defined radical and conservative sacramental theologies as synonymous with false doctrine. In this instance though, denial of infant baptism disqualified Anabaptists from the True Church. Bullinger's translated text surmised that 'rebaptyzatyon is repugnaunte vntoo GOD, and is nothynge elles, but a newe secte, agaynste the vnytye of the churche'.[80] This was a common attitude among mainline reformers. Zurich was not the only source of anti-Anabaptism in Edwardian England as Euler hints.[81] It is instructive that Martin Bucer, the ecumenically minded Strasbourg reformer with whom Bullinger did not always see eye to eye, also denounced believer's baptism. He emphatically claimed that those who did not practise infant baptism 'altogether separate themselves from the Kingdom of Christ'.[82]

In a similar way to the eucharistic debate, the evangelical defence of infant baptism reveals a willing exchange of experience and resources between Continental and English reformers as they strove to purify the doctrine and practice of the Church of England. Veron's translations speak to the international character of mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology: the True Church was not confined to the borders of Edward's realm. Yet neither could the extent of the False Church be constrained by human powers.

William Turner, an Englishman, made this point in the other Edwardian text defending infant baptism, *A preseruatiue or triacle, agaynst the poison of Pelagius, lately renued, & styrred vp agayn, by the furious secte of the Anabaptistes*.[83] Although Turner was a medical doctor he was drawn into a public debate with a known Anabaptist, Robert Cooche, about the scriptural precedent for infant baptism.[84] *A preseruatiue* was the result of this debate. In true evangelical fashion, Turner argued that the only effective method of defeating Anabaptism was to 'fight with the sworde of goddes word' – not to use 'the material fyre, and faggot' that Roman Catholics used against Anabaptists on

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[80] Ibid. sig. B7. See also sigs B7-E1v.
[81] Euler notes that of the eleven anti-Anabaptist texts, three were translations of Bullinger, and one was a translation of Calvin, *Couriers of the Gospel*, 210-22.
[82] Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, 230.
[83] William Turner, *A Preseruatiue or Triacle, agaynst the poison of Pelagius, lately renued, & styrred vp agayn, by the furious secte of the Anabaptistes* (1551).
[84] For Robert Cooche see Horst, *Radical Brethren*, 115-22.

the Continent.[85] Hugh Latimer was therefore the perfect choice as dedicatee because his learning was 'a better defence, then all the dignitie & riches of the worlde'.[86] Such a call for doctrinal persuasion – not forceful coercion – stands in stark opposition to C.H. Smyth's assertion, which Catharine Davies accepts without qualification, that the Edwardian regime would have burnt as many radical heretics as Mary did.[87] This is simply not the case. Although the rise of radical Protestantism in Edwardian England directly opposed the evangelical concept of the True Church, the Anabaptist threat was primarily dealt with through doctrinal correction. Denying infant baptism was seen as the thin edge of the wedge causing division within Protestantism, and ultimately undermined the theological foundations of the True Church.

The premise of *A preseruatiue* was to defend the biblical doctrine of infant baptism as a contemporary sign of God's covenant of salvation and grace originally given to Abraham via circumcision. [88] Although the influence of covenant theology remained relatively undeveloped in the Edwardian Church, Turner's argument shows us how mid-Tudor evangelicals framed their sacramental position as part of the on-going ecclesiological contest to prove the visible existence of the True Church. Turner continually challenged his opponent to prove that believer's baptism is a biblical practice. Underlying this challenge was an ecclesiological determination. Anabaptists took up the practice of believer's baptism partly because they associated infant baptism with the corrupted institutional Church.[89] Turner responded to their claim that an early pope had instituted infant baptism by appealing to scriptural evidence, historical accounts of the Primitive Church, and various patristic arguments.[90] Not only did

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[85] Turner, *A Preseruatiue*, sig. A3v.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Apparently 'two-thirds' of the Marian martyrs would have been burnt under Edward due to their radical leanings. See Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 67-8. Cf. C.H. Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation Under Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1926; reprinted Greenwood CT, 1970), 3. However it is interesting to note that while John Bradford was burnt as an evangelical, Henry Hart, the chief 'free-willer', was not, despite sharing time in prison with Bradford. See Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, 245.
[88] Turner, *A Preseruatiue*, sigs F5-7v.
[89] Horst, *Radical Brethren*, 115-18, 123-4, 168-9.
[90] Ibid. sigs B1-C6v, E1v-2.

Anabaptist congregations separate themselves from the established Church in a physical sense; their deviation from scripture in regard to infant baptism removed them from the True Church in a spiritual sense.[91] As with antipapal rhetoric and eucharistic discussions, the mark of difference between evangelicals and others was adherence to the Word of God. For Turner, administering infant baptism was consistent with the Old Testament stipulation to circumcise infant boys, it ensured that the contemporary Church continued to uphold its covenantal obligations in response to God's grace as dictated by scripture. By contrast, since both Roman Catholics and Anabaptists disregarded the authority and plain interpretation of scripture, it was easy for Turner to align radical religion with traditional devotion.

Turner took the Anabaptist accusation that magisterial reformers retained too many trappings of the Roman Catholic institution and spun it around. The manner in which Anabaptists received the Lord's Supper was, to Turner's eyes, in a posture of 'right Popishly knelyng'.[92] This shows how flexible anti-Catholic rhetoric was as a weapon, even at such an early stage in the English Reformation. Turner went further and overtly equated the Anabaptist insistence on believer's baptism with Roman Catholic soteriology that stipulated sacramental participation as necessary for salvation.[93] Since membership of an Anabaptist church depended upon receiving this sacrament (sometimes more than once), Turner portrayed the theology and practice of believer's baptism as another form of 'papistry'.[94] He did this by discussing salvation. Turner sought to correct Anabaptist soteriology by shifting the *locus* of salvation from a human decision as signified by believer's baptism, to God's covenantal promise of salvation as signified by infant baptism.[95] According to Turner, it is the role of the Holy Spirit to grant entry into the True Church.[96] And because outward baptism is a work of man, it does not necessarily follow that one is inwardly baptised by

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[91] Turner, *A Preseruatiue*, sigs G3v-4, and *passim*.
[92] Ibid. sigs D6v-7.
[93] Ibid. sigs B1-C5, F8v-G1v.
[94] Ibid. sig. L_2.
[95] Ibid. sigs F5-G7, K5-5v.
[96] Ibid. sigs N2-5v.

the Holy Spirit.[97] Just as the Gospel is to be proclaimed to all yet may be rejected by unbelievers, baptism is to be administered to all (including children) yet may not always signify true spiritual rebirth.[98] The Anabaptist emphasis on making a decision to turn to Christ before receiving baptism unduly promoted the human element over and above God's grace. Salvation is not the result of human activity, not even a sacramental action. Once Turner pointed this out, it was natural for him to link Anabaptism to Roman Catholic sacramental soteriology. Thus with one stroke of the pen, Turner effectively tarred both opponents of the magisterial reformers with the same brush.

This rhetorical device also featured in official doctrine. The *Reformatio* was intended to revise canon law, and provide the visible Church with an evangelical legal structure. Realising that King Edward was on death's door, Cranmer rushed a copy of the *Reformatio* through Parliament, but it was never fully sanctioned by law.[99] Had Edward lived longer there is every chance that the *Reformatio* would have had significant impact on the shape of the English Church. Yet despite its lack of practical influence, the *Reformatio* remains an important document for our purposes. Its vision was comprehensive in the sense that a team of evangelicals of differing temperaments, headed by Cranmer, was involved in the drafting process.[100] As such, the content of the *Reformatio* reflects the broadest statement of evangelical opinion in any single document of the Edwardian Reformation. This is significant when one considers the way in which the sacraments are discussed under the section heading 'Of Heresy'. For in full knowledge of the varied and subtle differences of opinion evangelicals held in regard to the sacraments, they were able to couple Roman Catholics with Anabaptists as twin heresies based on their sacramental misunderstanding.[101]

The article addressing sacramental heresy begins with a robust defence of infant baptism. Because

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[97] Ibid. sigs I3, L1v-2.
[98] Ibid. sigs H4v, I2v-3, L1v-2.
[99] Bray, *Tudor Church Reform*, lxxiii-lxxvi; and, MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 533-5.
[100] Ibid. xli-lxxiii.
[101] Jeanes suggests that because Cranmer added two notes to the MS here, a committee was responsible for the formulation of these paragraphs, *Signs of God's Promise*, 138-9.

> ... the children of Christians do not belong any less to God and the church than the children of the Hebrews once did, and since circumcision was given to them in infancy so also baptism ought to be imparted to our children, since they are participants in the same divine promise and covenant, and have been accepted by Christ with the greatest human kindness.[102]

It is obvious that Anabaptism was being targeted here. However the paragraph that follows also labelled as heresy 'the scrupulous superstition of those who combine the grace of God and the Holy Spirit with the elements of the sacraments', that is Roman Catholic sacramental theology.[103] Taken as a whole, two important aspects were being addressed here. The first was to make the ecclesiological point that children are *bone fide* members of the True Church on the strength of God's 'promise and covenant'. Children born to believing parents inherit a status as full-fledged members of the Church community even before they become cognisant of it. Thus age is no barrier for a relationship with God. Infant baptism recognises this spiritual truth appropriately. The analogy with Ancient Israel and circumcision was also deliberate, and indicates the influence covenant theology had on the formation of official doctrine in the Edwardian Church.[104] Practising infant baptism ensured contemporary believers had a continuous link to God's people of the past, and could therefore be used to point to the existence of the True Church within the ecclesiastical structure of the day.

The second purpose of the Article was to address the notion of baptismal regeneration associated with Roman Catholic soteriology. The concept of sacramental grace known as *ex opere operato* implied that participation in the sacraments was crucial to the process of salvation. Traditional theology held that original sin was effectively dealt with through infant baptism, but since individuals could not avoid committing sin in later life, participation in the other sacraments was necessary to continue to receive God's grace. In direct contrast to this understanding of sacramental grace, the *Reformatio* stressed that

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[102] 2.18 'Of baptism', *Reformatio*, 205.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Euler points to the direct influence of Bullinger in this regard, *Couriers of the Gospel*, 260-5. For an overview of covenantal theology see G. Vos, *Redemptive History and Biblical Interpretation* (Phillipsburg, 1980), 234-67. See also Euler, 'Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger', 57-74.

> The salvation of souls, the indwelling of the Spirit, and the blessing of adoption ... come from the divine mercy flowing to us through Christ, as well as from the promise which appears in the Holy Scriptures.[105]

Infants, and by implication adults, were saved by God's grace alone and not through the work of a sacramental action, hence the language of adoption.[106] Baptism did not bestow salvation on an individual; it was a sacramental practice acknowledging one's inclusion in God's family of saved sinners on the basis of, and in response to, God's grace alone. However, the evangelical interpretation of baptism was problematic when it came to discerning true from false believers.

Cranmer was aware of the lingering influence of the traditional perception of baptism within the framework of *ex opera operato*, and anticipated the difficulty of using baptism as a visible confirmation of salvation. He therefore stressed that paedobaptism was effective only for the elect. [107] During the summer of 1549, Cranmer enlisted the help of Bucer to begin work on a commentary of Matthew's Gospel known as the 'Croydon Commentary', preserved as MS 104 in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[108] Although the project was never completed, what remains gives us an insight into Cranmer's thinking about election, paedobaptism, and membership of the True Church in the context of the mixed congregations of the temporal Church. Ashley Null offers a precise translation of the difficult Latin:

> Therefore, God is both the God of our children, and he has among these those chosen to his kingdom. Since it is not ours to discern them from others, we ought, no less than ancient Israel [who practised infant circumcision], reverently to seek and to receive with good faith the grace offered in baptism for all our children. For these also belong to the kingdom of God. Matthew 19.[109]

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[105] 2.18 'Of baptism', *Reformatio*, 205.

[106] For a concise account of traditional sacramental theology that saw baptism and penance as necessary for salvation, see Gardiner to Cranmer, shortly after 1 July 1547, in James Arthur Muller (ed.), *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 1933), 339-48.

[107] Cranmer was in agreement with Bucer, Martyr and Calvin on this point. See Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 229-31.

[108] For date and authorship of this MS see Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 276-77, MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 426.

[109] CCCC, MS 104, pp. 213-14. Cf. Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 226.

This is a charitable vision of an inclusive institutional Church, whereby all residents can participate in the full sacramental life of the Church body because it is not the prerogative of humans to cast judgement about other people's salvation. Hence the True Church was conceived of as a subset within the visual and physical parameters of the temporal Church. This ecclesiological paradox did not undermine the substance of the sacraments for mid-Tudor evangelicals. An important distinction was made by Cranmer, who 'described infant baptism as offering saving grace to the elect, without ever actually explaining how the sacrament did so'.[110] We will return to consider how this understanding of infant baptism shaped the baptismal liturgy of the 1552 Prayer Book. But for now, it is necessary to recognise the significance of padeobaptism to evangelical ecclesiology.

Both the *Reformatio* and Turner's *A preseruatiue* suggest that as Edward's reign matured, baptism was used to chart an ecclesiological frontier that sought to defend the Edwardian Church from the threats posed by both traditionalist and radical theology, perhaps more so than the Lord's Supper. Defining Roman Catholic and Anabaptist sacramental theology as a single heresy allowed evangelicals to identify both as products of the same False Church. The anti-Christ might change his guise, but his base nature remained the same. More positively, the proposed revision to canon law was intended to help legitimise the Edwardian Church as a contemporary manifestation of the eternal True Church. Baptism was a particularly appropriate battleground for this theological fight because it directly addressed questions of salvation and election that were essential to evangelical ecclesiology. The salvation of unbaptised children who died was raised to counter Roman Catholic soteriology. Since baptism was unnecessary for salvation, and because 'nothing can be determined against their [unbaptised infants] salvation by the authority of the Scriptures', the evangelical principle was to trust in 'the common promise' that included children.[111] From a soteriological perspective it did not matter that an unbaptised child died because God's grace was sufficient to rescue those whom He had promised to save. And this covenantal promise gave evangelicals the confidence to face the realities of

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[110] Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 229.
[111] Ibid.

high infant mortality in the sixteenth century.[112] Building on this premise, believer's baptism was opposed on the grounds of election. Children should not be denied the sacrament since 'the best hope for their salvation ought to be conceived by us'.[113] Even though a degree of human uncertainty about a child's eventual embrace of the Gospel remained, it was not an adequate reason for discarding infant baptism. Therefore the magisterial reformers of the Edwardian Church defended their understanding of infant baptism to protect the human institution from what they perceived as the corrupt system of Roman Catholicism and the separatist tendencies of Anabaptists.

What the triangular nature of the sacramental controversy in the Edwardian Reformation shows is that evangelical reformers did not intend to present the Church as a *via media*. The Edwardian Church stood distinct from both manifestations of the False Church because it was *not* defined by either traditional or radical sacramental theologies. Such negative rhetoric helped reformers conceptualise, and defend, the visible Church as a legitimate manifestation of the True Church. The second half of this chapter will consider the positive arguments put forward by evangelicals to show the link between their sacramental theology and ecclesiology. We will see that both sacraments were used to reveal the invisible in a visible way.

The Ecclesiology of the Sacraments

Sacraments of 'frendeshyp, loue, and concorde'

The modern argument that Protestant sacramental theology dissolved the unity of the earthly Church and atomised early modern English society is as old as the Reformation itself. The Henrician theologian John Fisher criticised Swiss evangelicals for denying the Real Presence because it tore asunder the perpetual

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[112] Anna French provides a contrary view, arguing that evangelicals retained a 'soteriological uncertainty' regarding the salvation of unbaptised infants, 'Contested Words', 157-72. For the prevalence of infant mortality see James Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History, 1500-1700* (London, 1997), 36-42.

[113] Ibid.

unity of the Church.[114] Thomas More was similarly quick to point out the variance in eucharistic views between Robert Barnes, John Frith, and others.[115] Throughout Edward's time, Stephen Gardiner constantly aired his concerns about church unity being disrupted by Protestant reforms.[116] By Mary's reign, this line of attack had become a commonplace within Roman Catholic apologetics. It was typified by Myles Huggarde who responded to the Edwardian Reformation in his polemic work, *The displaying of the Protestantes* (1556).[117] Huggarde sought to defend the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Roman Catholic Church by pointing to the varieties of Protestant sacramental thought and practice inspired by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin.[118] In contrast to 'the sondry opinions' of Protestants, 'the catholique churche is of one faith, of one spirite, & of one iudgement, not lacerated, deuided or torne but whole and intier'.[119] The Marian restoration was celebrated as God's justice against the 'Babilonicall Tower of confusion' built by divergent Protestant thinking.[120] According to Huggarde, the Edwardian Reformation had 'set before mennes eies the execrable factions of their malignaunt churche'.[121] And the prime example of these factions was the many and 'often alteracions' to the administration of the Lord's Supper. [122] The communion table was constantly moved, which meant the minister continually 'myste the right waye' to face.[123] Neither was there a uniform way to receive the bread and wine: some kneeled, some sat, and some stood, some took the elements in their own hands while others received them

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[114] Rex, *Theology of John Fisher*, 137-8.
[115] W. A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants, 1520-35* (New Haven, 1964), 293.
[116] See Gardiner to Cranmer, shortly after 1 July 1547, in *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, 332-5. For a more subtle argument see idem. *Explication*, sigs B2, F3v, F8-8V, G3v-4, H8v, and *passim*.
[117] Myles Huggarde, *The displaying of the Protestantes, & sondry their practises, with a description of diuers their abuses of late frequented. Newly imprinted agayne, and augmented, with a table in the ende, of all suche matter as is specially contained within this volume* (1556).
[118] Ibid. sigs A7-B4v.
[119] Ibid. sigs B4-4v.
[120] Ibid. sig. K4.
[121] Ibid. sig. B4v.
[122] Ibid. sig. I8v.
[123] Ibid. sig. K1.

from the minister directly.[124] Worst of all, not all Protestants were 'contented too take it in the churche' but administered communion in their own houses 'at their owne tables, & after souper'.[125]

Huggarde's observations were perceptive up to a point. Not all evangelicals agreed on the form and manner of sacramental administration. For instance it is well known that John Knox and Thomas Cranmer clashed over the biblical reasoning for kneeling during communion.[126] However the veracity of Huggarde's reflection on the Edwardian Reformation needs to be tested against the way evangelicals understood the sacraments in their own minds. The lack of uniformity in administrating the Lord's Supper across the Protestant spectrum clearly alarmed Roman Catholic apologists such as Huggarde. It was apparently a sign of a divided Church. Protestants may not have espoused 'the catholike fayth of the vniuersall church', which agreed in 'one vnitie of fayth and ministracion of sacramentes'.[127] Yet on closer inspection, mid-Tudor evangelicals did conceive baptism and communion as signs of church unity. From the reformers' perspective, the sacraments were corporate activities commanded by scripture to edify the visible Church and foster love between its members.

As Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer took a leading role in the sacramental controversy of the Edwardian Church. He produced two major works on the Lord's Supper, both of which came under intense scrutiny from his *bête noir*, Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester. We noted earlier in the preface to his 1550 work, the *Defence*, that Cranmer was susceptible to polemic vitriol. There, Cranmer denigrated the doctrine of transubstantiation as a product of the False Church. However in the opening passages of the text itself, the Archbishop argued that

> CHRISTE ordeyned the sacrament [of the Lord's Supper] to moue and styrre all men to frendeshyp, loue, and concorde, and to put away all hatred, variance and discord, and to testifie a brotherly and vnfained loue betwene all theim that bee the membres of Christ: but the diuell, the ennemy of Christ, and of al his membres, hath so craftily iuggled herein, that of nothyng ryseth so muche contention as of this holy sacrament.

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[124] Ibid. sigs K1-3v.
[125] Ibid. sig. K3v.
[126] See MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 525-33; and Dawson, *John Knox*, 72-8.
[127] Huggarde, *Displaying*, sig. A4.

> God graunt that al contention set aside, both the parties may come to this holy communion with suche a liuely faith in Christe, and such an vnfained loue to all Christes membres, that as they carnally eate with their mouth this sacramentall bread and drink the wine, so spiritually they maye eate and drynke the very fleshe and bloud of Christe whiche is in heauen, and sitteth on the right hande of his father. And that finally by his meanes, they may enioy with him the glory and kyngdome of heauen. Amen.[128]

Like his conservative counterparts, Cranmer rightly perceived how contentious rival sacramental theologies were. He too conceived the sacraments as essential for church unity. But Cranmer's focus here was not on imposing ceremonial uniformity on the institutional Church as though that would automatically manifest the spiritual Church within earthly congregations. On one level, the form and manner of administration was a matter of indifference. According to the Prayer Book, some ceremonies had been 'retayned for a Discipline and order, whiche (upon just causes) may be altered and chaunged, and therefore are not to be estemed equal with God's law'.[129] The invisible church was not defined by outward doings and shows of religion that 'had their beginnings by ye institution of man'.[130] But since the True Church consisted of saved individuals, the Christ-ordained sacraments revealed the invisible church through congregational participation. Human relationships and spiritual bonds of fellowship were strengthened by coming together to share a common meal. Based on this premise, Cranmer used the Lord's Supper as an olive branch to reach out to his opponents. By suggesting that God's love was powerful enough to consume personal discord, participation in the Lord's Supper had the potential to move and stir up mutual love amongst disparate individuals. Contrary to Huggarde's later criticism, Cranmer clearly defined the Lord's Supper as an exercise in reconciliation to express 'one unity of faith'.

The theme of church unity was carried through in Cranmer's second eucharistic treatise, *An Answer to a crafty and sophistical cavilliation devised by Stephen Gardiner* (1551).[131] Using the illustration of a single loaf of bread, Cranmer explained that 'the bread and wine doe most liuely represent vnto vs

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[128] Cranmer, *Defence*, sig. B2.
[129] BCP49, 288; BCP52, 326.
[130] BCP49, 286; BCP52, 234.
[131] Cranmer, *Answer*.

the spirituall vnion and knot of all faithful people, as well vnto Christ, as also amonges them selues'.[132] The *Reformatio* echoed this language. Sacramental participation 'enables us to profess [our salvation] openly ... Furthermore, it strengthens [**us in**] mutual love [*between us*]'.[133] Thus one important reason for congregations to gather for the Lord's Supper was to 'teach that there must be the closest cooperation with other faithful men, since they are all members of, and joined to, the same body of Christ'.[134]

The theme of spiritual unity and mutual love was explored in a less well-known treatise, Thomas Lancaster's *The ryght and trew vnderstandynge of the Supper of the Lord* (c. 1550). Although the exact date of publication is unclear, it is probable that Lancaster was dean of Kildare, Kilkenny, in Ireland at the time.[135] Due to the advanced protestant position (relative to the 1549 Prayer Book) he presented on the Lord's Supper in *The ryght and trew vnderstandynge*, Lancaster felt it necessary to use the pseudonym of Johan Turke to publish his treatise. Like Cranmer, Lancaster argued that 'we are exhorted in this holy supper to ye vnitye loue & concorde y^t^ is in ye congregaciō of god, because y^t^ we (though we be many) yet are one bread and one body, y^t^ is one body in Christ Iesu'.[136] He continued by using the rather apt analogy of a loaf of bread to explain that

> ... as of ye graynes of corne, [that] can not be baken breade, but throw fyer, euen so can not the congregacion be a ryght spirituall lyfe (wherof paul speaketh) but through bunrnynge loue and charytye and so the Chrystyan congregatyon [is] to be one lofe ... and [should] also vse the supper of the

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[132] Ibid. sig. E1v. MacCulloch notes that this image was borrowed from Cyprian of Carthage, featured in Cranmer's *Defence*, and was repeated by Miles Coverdale, Nicholas Ridley, and Roger Hutchinson. See *Cranmer*, 464, and fn. 28.
[133] 5.1 'What a sacrament is', *Reformatio*, 227. Following Bray's transcription conventions, italicised words were deleted from the MS and absent from the first and second printed copies (1571 and 1640), whereas the words in bold were added to the MS and present in the first and second printed copies.
[134] 5.4 'What the eucharist is, and what fruits it contains', *Reformatio*, 229.
[135] Lancaster was deprived under Mary for being married, but was later appointed Archbishop of Armagh, and therefore Primate of Ireland, under Elizabeth. For Lancaster's career, see Henry A. Jefferies, 'Lancaster, Thomas (d. 1583), Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh', ODNB, accessed 15 Feb. 2018.
[136] Thomas Lancaster, *The Ryght and Trew Vnderstandynge of the Supper of the Lord ...* (1550), sigs C3-3v.

> Lorde ryghtlye after the wordes of Paule [for] we many are one breade and one bodye in as moch as we are partakers of one breade.[137]

Like other mid-Tudor evangelicals, Lancaster understood that the concepts of Christian unity and fellowship were reflected and reinforced through active participation in the Lord's Supper. These qualities may well have been crystallised in the late medieval Mass, as Duffy asserts.[138] However, they were also clearly at the forefront of sacramental reform in the Edwardian Church. The intention of mid-Tudor evangelical sacramental theology was anything but atomising. The shape of the reformed liturgies of both the communion and baptism services further underlines this.

Liturgy of Communion

The emphasis on mutual love within the physical body of Christ is best seen in the exhortation to take communion that appeared in both editions of the Prayer Book produced under Edward. In the 1549 edition, the exhortation had instructed communicants to put 'out of your heartes al hatred and malice against' any other member of the congregation.[139] But the emphasis throughout was overwhelmingly on personal confession and repentance.[140] The exhortation was considerably altered for the 1552 edition. The revised edition placed greater emphasis on the communal aspects of participation in the Lord's Supper. Each individual member of the congregation had a 'dutie to recyue the Communion *together* in the remembraunce of hys death'.[141] To neglect the Lord's Supper was a serious offence to the body of Christ. Those who refused to communicate were likened to those in Jesus' parable of Luke 14 who refused an invitation to a great banquet. [142] Non-attendance involved a deliberate breaking of the sacred fellowship symbolised by sharing the bread and wine: 'when you depart, I beseche you, pondre with yourselues from whom you depart: ye depart from the lordes table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquete of moste

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[137] Ibid. sigs C4-4v.
[138] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, *passim*, esp. 91-154.
[139] BCP49, 217.
[140] Ibid. 214-17.
[141] BCP52, 383. My emphasis.
[142] Ibid.

heauenly fode'.[143] Breaking communion was therefore thought of as a grave breach of brotherly love; it signified discord in the Church. In his *Answer*, Cranmer argued that those who refused to share in the Lord's Supper 'haue very hard and stony hartes ... and more cruell and vnreasonable be they then bruit beastes'.[144] This was perpetuated by wrong sacramental doctrine. The 'Papistes' who taught transubstantiation were blamed directly for breaking the 'vnity and concord [of] this Sacrament'.[145]

In contrast, the ideal of the Lord's Supper was intended to fuse the Church together as the congregation celebrated their common faith and forgiveness in Christ. It was to be a meal of reconciliation in a physical and spiritual sense. Ramie Targoff makes the apposite point that the practice of pre-Communion confession had been transformed 'from a personal exchange between priest and penitent to a standardized utterance performed by the entire congregation'.[146] By 1552, then, the Edwardian Church had a communion service that highlighted the ecclesiological nature of evangelical sacramental doctrine and practice. It hinted at the relationship between the physical and localised congregation, and the spiritual and universal fellowship of believers. This is better understood when seen within the wider theological debate.

A disputation on the Lord's Supper was held at Oxford in 1549. It was a major event and provided the newly appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, the Italian refugee Peter Martyr Vermigli, with an opportunity to personally influence the Edwardian Church. Shortly after the disputation, Martyr summarised his position in a Latin tract, which was translated into English the following year. [147] A cornerstone of Martyr's sacramental theology was the spiritual incorporation into Christ that came through sacramental practice. When the sacraments were received in 'true feyth', we 'abyde in hym, and he

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[143] Ibid. 384.
[144] Cranmer, *Answer*, sig. E2v.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago, 2001), 30.
[147] Martyr's *Discourse* is an English translation of the 1549 Latin version, *Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiae habita in celebrina vniuersitate Oxoniensi in Anglia...* (1549).

againe abydeth in vs'.[148] Thus sacramental participation literally created 'one veray bodye' of believers as they were 'more and more knit vnto God'.[149] Cranmer concurred. Receiving communion joined 'the whole multitude of true christen people' to Christ and each other 'in one fayth, one baptisme, one holy spirite, one knot and bond of loue ... we be all members of one spirituall body, wherof Christ is the head, that we be ioyned together in one Christ'.[150] For these reformers, the spiritual body of Christ was synonymous with the earthly congregations of faithful believers. Thus the sacraments created an overlap between the visible and invisible churches.

The communion service of the 1552 Prayer Book is again instructive at this point. The climax of the service centred on the Invocation Prayer, which included the biblical narrative of institution. However, no 'Amen' was to be spoken after this prayer. Instead, the words of administration and the physical act of receiving the bread and wine conclude the prayer.[151] As Gordon Jeanes points out, the narrative of institution 'is actualized through the act of communion'. [152] Hence the congregation is effectively incorporated into the biblical story, and the physical consumption thus becomes a spiritual activity. The present action of sacramental participation linked congregations to the ancient, yet continuous, fellowship of believers via the eternal Word of God. The reformed liturgy of communion thus provided an avenue for true believers to celebrate their fellowship as members of the invisible True Church.

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[148] Martyr, *Discourse*, sig. P3. Martyr's conclusion revisited this idea: 'Besides thys there is there conteined a certain token or pledge wherbye the Christianes dooe note theym selfes ioyned and knitte together emong themselfes and with Chryste, & besides this, they professe their feyth concernyng the bodye of Chryste nailed on the crosse, and concernynge his bloud that was shed forth for our redempcion for it is not enough to beleue with the herte, but confession is made wyth the mouth too, and not onelye wyth the mouthe, but also wyth outewarde dooinges', ibid. sig. Bb4v.
[149] Ibid. sig. O3. Cf. Martyr, *Common Places*, III, ch. 8, 209.
[150] Cranmer, *Answer*, sigs E1v-2.
[151] BCP52, 389.
[152] Jeanes, *Signs of God's Promises*, 239. See also Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 242.

Liturgy of Baptism

The Edwardian Church also cast baptism as a sacrament of practical ecclesiology. According to the *Forty-Two Articles*, baptism was 'a sign of profession and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened'.[153] Baptism 'grafted [members] into the Church' to form a 'company of new people'.[154] The theme of entering God's family in both a spiritual and physical sense is especially seen in the sequence of prayers following the immersion in the baptismal service of the 1552 Prayer Book, which had undergone significant revision from 1549. When the child was signed with the cross on his/her forehead, the minister would pray, 'We receyue this child into the congregacion of Christes flock'.[155] He would then declare, 'these chyldren be regenerate and grafted into the bodye of Christes congregacion'.[156] The Lord's Prayer followed, which, in this context, can be seen as a family prayer to '*Our* Father'. [157] A final prayer thanked God for receiving 'thy owne chylde by adopcion, and to incorporate him into thy holy congregacion'.[158] These post-immersion prayers highlight the symbolic nature of baptism as an initiation rite. According to Bucer, although the child has already been saved on account of Christ's death and resurrection, 'their adoption as sons of God, should be confirmed and sealed' through 'the most holy sacrament of Baptism'.[159] Having first been reborn by the Spirit, now symbolised by the water, the baptised had a

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[153] Article 28 (27), *Forty-Two Articles*, 301.
[154] Ibid.
[155] BCP52, 398.
[156] Ibid. Null reminds us that 'For Cranmer, baptismal regeneration meant the infant's receiving the Holy Spirit, not the child's restoration to perfect purity as well', *Doctrine of Repentance*, 229.
[157] My emphasis. Jeanes finds the position of the Lord's Prayer here 'curious'. He explains that having been baptised, the regenerate child is now in the right spiritual condition to pray confidently for the fulfillment of God's promise of salvation as signified in the sacrament, *Signs of God's Promise*, 281-2.
[158] BCP52, 398.
[159] Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, 228. See also the 'Homily On Salvation' where infant baptism is discussed as a post-salvation symbol of justification, *Certayn Sermons*, sigs C4-4v; and John Hooper, *An Answer vnto my Lord of Wynthesters [sic] Booke Intytlyd a Detection of the Deuyls Sophistrye wherwith he robith the vnlernyd people of the trew byleef in the Moost Blessyd Sacrament of the Aulter* (Zurich, 1547), sigs E1v-3.

new status before God and within the community of faithful. This was to be celebrated with 'heartie thankes' by 'Christes Church militant here in earth'.[160]

The corporate nature of baptism was made clearer in the exhortation to the godparents that concluded the service. Responsibility for the spiritual welfare and education of the newly baptised was entrusted to the godparents at this stage.[161] They were to ensure that their godchild grew up to 'leade a godly and Christen lyfe ... continually mortifying al our euill and corrupte affeccions, and dayly proceding in all vertue'.[162] This was to be achieved by teaching the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and listening to sermons – all 'in the Englishe tongue'.[163] Once the child could recite these articles of faith 'in theyr vulgare tongue' he/she could be presented to the bishop for confirmation.[164] Hence one's initiation into the visible Church would be complete. Due to the spiritual weight of such a task, Bucer encouraged natural parents to take special care in choosing godparents for their children.[165]

However this specific exhortation to the godparents did not excuse others in the church family from contributing to the spiritual welfare of the youngest members. The entire community of faithful believers was responsible for raising the child in the love of God because every member of the Church was bound to the other. The unity of faith that connected earthly congregations as the spiritual body of Christ was to be extended to each new member of 'Christ's church', as Bucer argued,

> so that just as in this sacrament he becomes a member of each one of them, so each one of them receives him as a member of himself and binds himself to him in the presence of the Lord.[166]

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[160] See the Thanksgiving prayer in the service for Public Baptism, BCP52, 398, and the prayer for the Militant Church in the service of Communion, BCP, 382.
[161] BCP52, 399. This was a slightly expanded version from 1549, see BCP49, 241.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Bucer, *Censura*, 82-96. See also idem. *De Regno Christi*, 187, 228-30. Will Coster provides insight into other, more prosaic, considerations (many social, and familial) that accompanied the choice of godparents, *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2002), 75-97.
[166] Bucer, *Censura*, 82.

Baptism therefore impressed upon congregations 'the bodily and spiritual obligations of Christian fellowship'.[167] This is why Bucer, in his review of the 1549 Prayer Book, endorsed the original prefatory 'direction' (i.e. rubric) that stipulated that 'baptism should be performed in the presence of a full congregation'.[168] The Strasbourg reformer reasoned that simply by being present at a baptism, a fresh consideration of one's own baptism and 'the covenant of salvation' would take place.[169] In coming together to celebrate the salvation of one infant via baptism, the entire body of Christ was edified.[170] Thus any individual profit of spiritual regeneration was balanced by, even subsumed into, the community of believers who actively welcomed a new member into their fellowship.

It is worth pointing out two more examples. It is interesting to note that Cranmer's response to the Devonshire and Cornwall rebels of 1549 touched on baptism specifically. The archbishop rehearsed the Prayer Book's prefatory instruction verbatim:

> it is more convenient y^{t} Baptisme sholde not be ministred but vpon y^{e} holyday, whan y^{e} most nōbre of people be togither. Aswel for y^{t} the hole church $^{of Christ}$ $^{there\ pr\underline{e}sent}$ may reioyce to gither of y^{e} receyvynge of new members $^{of\ Christ}$ into y^{e} same church, as also y^{t} ~~anymen pre~~ $^{al\ men}$ beinge p<u>re</u>sent, may remēber $^{\&ye\ better}$ ^{knowe} what they p<u>ro</u>mised theyselfes ~~whan~~ by their godfatheres &godmotheres in their ^{own} baptisme, & be y^{e} more earnestly styred in theirhartes to p<u>er</u>forme y^{e} same.[171]

It is striking that Cranmer should emphasise the corporate element of baptism in a key battle to enforce liturgical uniformity throughout the Tudor kingdom. That he did indicates something of the way he conceived of the relationship between

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[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid. The original rubric of the 1549 Prayer Book reads: '...the people are to bee admonished, that it is moste conueniente that baptisme shoulde not be ministred but upon Sondayes and other holy dayes, when the most numbre of people maye come together. As well for that the congregacion there presente may testifie the receyuyng of them, that be newly baptysedm into the noumbre of Christes Churche ... euery manne presente maye be put in remembraunce of his owne profession made to God in his Baptisme'. BCP49, 236; BCP52, 394. The stipulation that baptism be conducted on a Sunday is discussed in chapter five.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid, 84-8.
[171] CCCC MS 102, p. 371.

baptism and ecclesiology. A premium was placed on the communal dimension of baptism such that active participation in the sacramental life of the local congregation was a clear indication of spiritual concord and fellowship with the entire temporal Church spread throughout Edward's realm. This was taken to another level during the Marian exile when the English congregation at Frankfurt removed the service for private baptism in their liturgical revision.[172] The intention was to ensure that all baptisms were conducted within a congregational setting for the same ecclesiological purposes outlined above. The option of conducting a baptism independent from one's fellow believers had been eliminated.

Continuity or break with the medieval past?

Recognising that mid-Tudor evangelicals had a strong emphasis on 'friendship, concord, and love' in their sacramental theology and liturgical practice begs questions about the received understanding of late medieval devotion. If late medieval piety was already so robustly communal, why did the reformers, and the revised liturgy, feel the need to stress these aspects? The answer is gleaned from a letter of complaint written by Stephen Gardiner to Cranmer at the very start of Edward's reign.

Gardiner wrote in anticipation of the publication of the Edwardian homilies to protest the use of vernacular in all church services.[173] As part of his critique of this reforming initiative, Gardiner provided a portrait of the Mass that bears quoting at length:

> For in tymes paste, when men came to churche more diligently then some doo nowe, the people in the churche toke smale hede what the priest and the clerkes dyd in the chauncell, but only to stond upp at the Ghosple and knele at the Sacryng, or elles every man was occupied him self severally in severall praiou*r*. And as for the priestes prayou*r*, they could not all have hard and understanded, although they would, and had given eare therunto. For suche an enterprise to bring that to pass is impossible, withoute the priest should torne his face to the people when he prayeth, and occupie many prayers to

[172] *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles, 1555*, ed. Robin Leaver, (Bramcote, 1984), 11. See also the Epilogue.

[173] Gardiner to Cranmer, shortly after 1 July 1547, in *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, 316-60. For a wider discussion of this letter see also Targoff, *Common Prayer*, 14-35.

> them to make them hold their peace. And therfore yt was never ment that the people should in dede here the Mattyns or here the Masse, but be present ther and praye them selves in silence; with commen credytt to the priestes and clerkes, that althoughe they here not a dystincte sounde to knowe what the<y> saye, yet to judge that they for their parte were and be well occupied, and in prarou*r*; and so should they be.[174]

Apparently the congregation did not need to comprehend what the priest was saying since ritual performance was more important. The only moments of congregational involvement were the sacramental gestures of standing at the Gospel and kneeling during the Sacring. Other than these physical actions, there was no sense of spiritual community because each person was to occupy themselves 'severally' in personal prayers. This is hardly a portrayal of the Mass as a corporate activity. It would have taken a special effort by the priest to turn and face his parishioners and enjoin them in a collective prayer in order to capture and hold the attention of the congregation (which was inconceivable for Gardiner). Yet that is precisely how Cranmer envisioned public worship.

In regard to the sacraments, public worship in the Edwardian Church signalled a definitive departure from the medieval Catholic Church. The liturgical reforms of the period were a conscious reformulation of the way lay folk interacted with God and with each other within the sacred space of the parish church. Both communion and baptism became focal points in the life of a local congregation whereby one's personal salvation was celebrated with, and within, a community of fellow believers. Indeed the sacraments required a congregation in order to take place. William Turner mused that 'no man can baptise hym self, but is baptised of an other'.[175] The sacraments also reminded true believers that they abided in Christ together, having been first knit and incorporated into Christ by God's grace and election. Baptism and communion therefore sealed the collective of faithful believers as Christ's body here on earth. Quite literally then, on a spiritual and social level, the Church was formed through sacramental practice. The invisible was being made visible.

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[174] Ibid. 355.
[175] Turner, *A Preseruatiue*, sig. G8.

A Church of mixed congregations

True Sacramental Participation

While Edwardian reformers stressed the communal aspect of sacramental participation, there was another dimension that struck a chord with mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology. The sacraments were conceived of as signs and seals that confirmed the existence of the True Church in a very real sense. Hooper stated that baptism and communion were 'seales and confirmacions of godes promises where he warrantyd and assuryd his churche openlye that he would be her god, and she tobe his spouse for euer'.[176] Edmund Allen's *Catechism* (1548) taught that 'the vse of all externall or outwarde sacramentes [was] to serue' as a sign of God's grace and to seal 'our participacion, felowshyp and incorporacion with Christ'.[177] Therefore sacramental participation could be used to prove 'a true disciple' of Christ.[178] However, physical participation and spiritual reception did not always go hand in hand.

The key ingredient for true sacramental reception was faith in Christ alone, which was used to distinguish between the outward ceremony of sacramental practice and the inward spiritual renewal signified by baptism and communion. For Hooper, 'these sacramentes by fayth doothe applicat and aplye uttwardy unto hym that in fayth receauyth them'.[179] This was made clear by reference to baptism. Outward baptism reflected the 'interiour ... clensing of the hart, ... whē he belyuith and trustith that Christ is the only auctor of his saluacion'.[180] As William Griffith Thomas observed, the spiritual regeneration celebrated in the baptismal service was 'conditional and associated with the Gospel'.[181] It was one thing to participate in the sacraments; it was another thing altogether to receive their spiritual benefit through faith. By separating the outward ceremony from the inward reality, evangelicals struck a careful balance

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[176] Hooper, *Answer*, sigs D4v-E1.
[177] Allen, *Catechism*, sigs I5-7.
[178] Ibid. sig. I7v.
[179] Hooper, *Christ and His Offyce*, sig. E1v.
[180] Ibid. sig. I6.
[181] William Griffith Thomas, *Principles of Theology: An Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles* (London, 6th ed. 1978), 385. See also this theme throughout the revised baptism service in BCP52, 394-99.

between the quality of individual faith and the communal element of sacramental participation.

Evidence that these two aspects were held in tension can be seen in the rubrics of the service for 'Communion of the Sick'. This service was designed so that ministers, accompanied by other communicants, could visit those parishioners who were too ill or infirm to leave their house but still desired to receive communion.[182] The Plague and the 'Swete' were specifically mentioned as reasons for this.[183] Ideally all present would eat and drink the Lord's Supper in the house of the sick person. However, those who 'by reason of extremitie of sicknesse ... or by any other iust impedimente, doe not receyue the sacramente' could still 'eate and drynke spiritually ... profitably to his soules helth, although he doe not receyue the sacrament with his mouth'.[184] Only a truly repentant heart, a steadfast belief in Christ, an earnest remembering of the benefits offered, and hearty thanks were necessary.[185] Those who could not ingest the physical elements were not denied their spiritual food. It would seem that the physical elements were non-essentials for the spiritual event of the Lord's Supper after all.[186] Neither was a physical congregation. Stripped to its core, the essence ofthe Lord's Supper was the spiritual communion one had with Christ through faith.[187] This service was reserved for extreme cases, and is not indicative of normal practice. But considering the serious outbreak of the sweating sickness in Edward's reign that took the lives of the king's childhood friends, Henry and

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[182] 'if the sicke persō be not hable to come to the churche, and yet is desirous to receyue the communion in his house ...', BCP49, 266; BCP52, 422.
[183] BCP49, 266; BCP52, 423.
[184] BCP49, 268; BCP52, 423.
[185] '...yf he doe truely repent hym of his sinnes, and stedfastly beleue that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the crosse for hym, and shed his bloud for his redempcion, earnestly remembring the benefits he hath therby, and geuing hym hertie thankes therfore; he doeth eat and drynke spiritually the bodye and bloud of our sauioure Christe...', BCP49, 268; BCP52, 423.
[186] Cf. Bucer's comments on the Lord's Supper in his *Censura*: 'no power resides of itself either in the ministers, the words, or the sensible signs ... but all the power is that of Christ our Saviour ... we do not receive him except by faith', 78-80.
[187] Cf. Martyr, *Discourse*, sig. P3.

Charles Brandon, the provision of this service had contemporary resonance and was no doubt warmly received.[188]

The extremity of the cases that made the service for the 'Communion of the Sick', and that of private baptism, necessary did not dissolve the spiritual efficacy of the sacraments.[189] Nor did it contradict the corporate emphasis of sacramental participation. Instead every effort was made to ensure that those who could not participate physically were still able to receive Christ, and be incorporated into His spiritual body by allowing them to communicate in the truest sense. Above all, the Lord's Supper was an act of faith. In a counterintuitive way, this service enabled all members of the visible Church to be included in the spiritual exercise that engendered Church unity.

The overriding principle of possessing faith in accessing the spiritual benefits of the sacraments also had negative ecclesiological connotations. The topic of the *manducatio impiorum* (the question of whether or not unregenerate participants receive Christ in the sacraments) was a feature of sacramental discussions in the Edwardian Church from its earliest stages. Allen's *Catechism* warned that those who do not use the sacraments in 'true fayth, loue, and obedience towardes God ... are accursed and abominable in the syght of God. And therfore they shall bee reiected and refused of the Lorde for euer, as periured rebellions, yf they do not turne and amend'.[190] Cranmer said much the same in the parliamentary debate of 1548, during which Ridley also quipped that 'euyn as glasse receaueth the light of the sonne, but the stone cannot for it may not pearce thorough it. So the euill man cannot receaue the body' of Christ in the Lord's Supper.[191] The Archbishop continued to raise the *manducatio impiorum* in his *Defence* and *Answer*: '...as for the wicked members of the Deuill, they eate the Sacramental bread, and drinke the Sacramētall wine, but they doe not

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[188] On the Brandon boys, see Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2015), 149; MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 127. Wriothesley noted that the 'sweating sicknes beganne ... in Shropshire first, and so came from shire to shire ... wherof died many ... booth of rich yong men and other', *Chronicle* II, 49-50. Hooper also mentioned the outbreak of the 'sweating sickness' in a letter to Bullinger, 1 August 1551, *Original Letters*, 94.
[189] For the service for private baptism see BCP49, 242-46; BCP52, 400-403.
[190] Allen, *Catechism*, sigs I6v-7.
[191] Buchanan, *Background Documents*, 16, 23.

spiritually eate Christs flesh, nor drinke his bloud, but they eate and drinke their own damnation'.[192] Lancaster echoed this sentiment in *The ryght and trew vnderstadynge of the Supper of the Lord*: those who 'eyther throwe fayned holynes or desyre of worldly honour or disceat ... eate of the bread and drinke of the cuppe ... eateth or drynkethe it vnworthylye [to] his owne damnaciō'.[193] At the end of the reign, Article 26 of the *Forty-Two Articles* explicitly stated that 'they that receive the sacraments unworthily purchase to themselves damnation'. [194] Just as breaking communion through non-attendance was considered a grave breach of brotherly love, so participation in the sacraments without a saving faith in Christ evoked God's wrath. Such reasoning allowed the sacraments to function as gateways into the True Church. Faithfully regenerate believers were joined together and incorporated into Christ's body, while reprobates were excluded from participating in the true spiritual communication taking place.[195] This theological position created a dilemma with real practical difficulties.

Although participation was theoretically open to all members of a human congregation, the sacraments were only spiritually effective for the elect, as we noted earlier in the case of infant baptism as particularly outlined in Cranmer's 'Croydon Commentary'. [196] Martyr established that faith is required for the spiritual eating of the Lord's Supper such that the efficacy of the sacrament does not extend equally and indifferently to all, but 'is according to ye rate & porcion of feithe in the parties that dooe communicate'.[197] What complicated this from a

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[192] Cranmer, *Answer*, sig. E4v. See also idem. *Defence*, sigs A2-E1v. For a wider discussion of this theme in the *Defence*, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 405-6, 463-7.
[193] Lancaster, *The Ryght and Trew Vnderstadynge of the Supper of the Lord*, sigs C5v-6.
[194] This sentence was later moved to the introductory paragraph of Article 25 in the *Thirty-Nine Articles*. Bray, *Documents*, 299-300.
[195] Martyr, *Discourse*, sig. P3.
[196] Cranmer, *Defence*, sigs C2-2v. For a full discussion of election and predestination in Cranmer's theology see Null, *Doctrine of Repentance*, 195-203, 227-36. See also Coverdale's treatment of election and baptism in *An Exhortation to the Carrying of Christ's Cross*, in G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter* (Cambridge, 1846), 256-69.
[197] Martyr, *Discourse*, sig. Cc4, see also sigs H1-1v where Martyr argues that 'the Infideles be as dead personnes (as touchyng the inwarde man) they vtterly lacke the toole or instrument, wherewith they shoulde receyue spirituall thinges'.

practical perspective was that knowledge of who was numbered in the elect was kept hidden from man. This gave rise to a tension that was never fully resolved. And as Patrick Collinson has shown, this tension continued to plague the Church of England for the rest of the sixteenth century.[198]

Discipline in the Formularies

Catharine Davies suggests that since the subject of discipline was limited to 'a few writers' in the latter stages of the reign, it was not a high priority for Edwardian reformers. [199] This does not mean, however, that discipline was unknown to mid-Tudor evangelicals. The trial and execution of the radical George van Paris indicates that the Dutch Stranger Church had an effective and efficient system of ecclesiastical discipline in place, which the English Church benefitted from in terms of helping to snuff out the threat of radicalism. It could equally be argued that the deprivations of Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner, the figureheads of traditional religion, are examples of ecclesiastical discipline in that their episcopal ministries were curtailed by Cranmer due to their opposing theological opinions.

Some reformers recommended formalising ecclesiastical discipline in the strictest sense of excluding individuals from participating in the Lord's Supper. In *De Regno Christi*, Bucer's most comprehensive outline for institutional reform in England, the Strasbourg reformer gave a stern admonition to have 'irreligious and unworthy persons removed ... [and] altogether excluded from the sacred assembly' when communion was celebrated. [200] The *Reformatio* endorsed a similar attitude: 'We do not want anyone to be admitted to the Lord's table until

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[198] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 367-70. See also Peter Lake, 'Presbyterianism, the Idea of a National Church and the Argument from Divine Right', in Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (eds.), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1987), 193-224; Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper', 41-51; Alexandra Walsham, 'Supping with Satan's Disciples: Spiritual and Secular Sociability in Post-Reformation England', in Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton (eds.), *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England – Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils* (Aldershot, 2012), 29-55.

[199] Davies, ''Poor Persecuted Little Flock'', 90-5.

[200] Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, 239, also 229-30.

he has professed his faith in church'.[201] Yet Bucer did not live long enough to see his recommendations take real shape in a formalised version of ecclesiastical discipline, neither did Northumberland's Parliament approved the planned revision of canon law.[202]

It is also possible that the aversion to enforcing sacramental discipline was a result of Zurich's influence on the English scene. Bullinger viewed excommunication as 'a temporal punishment' exacted by the civil magistrate, not the ecclesiastical powers.[203] Moreover, he opposed disciplinary measures that excluded people from the Lord's Supper 'for the sake of maintaining the unity of the community' within the visible Church. [204] The heterodox views on ecclesiastical discipline within the mid-Tudor evangelical movement is another possible reason why it did not materialise sooner.

This is not to say that discipline was viewed as unimportant. John Ponet's *Short Catechisme*, which became the official catechism of the Church in 1553, promoted discipline as one of the four key marks of the True Church. Ponet explained that 'brotherlye correction, and excōmunication, or banishynge those out of the church, that wyll not amend their liues' was what 'the holye fathers tearmed discipline'.[205] Even before Ponet's catechism was published, the Prayer Book contained an introductory rubric to the communion service instructing the curate to exclude 'any of those [that] be an open and notorious euill liuer'.[206] A second disciplinary rubric urged the curate to bar 'those betwixt whom he perceiueth malice, and hatred to reigne ... untill he know them to bee reconciled'.[207] Those involved in a feud were not to be admitted 'untill [the

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[201] 5.5 'Who should be admitted to the Lord's table', *Reformatio*, 229. For Northumberland's opposition, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 533-5.
[202] See J. William Black, 'From Martin Bucer to Richard Baxter: "Discipline" and Reformation in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England', in *Church History* lxx (2001), 644-73; Patrick Collinson, 'The Reformer and the Archbishop: Martin Bucer and the English Bucerian', in Collinson, *Godly People*, 19-44.
[203] Robert C. Walton, 'The Institutionalization of the Reformation in Zurich', *Zwingliana* xiii (1972), 505. See also Charles D. Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate: a Renaissance physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden, 2011), 164-73.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ponet, *A Short Catechisme*, sig. G2v.
[206] BCP49, 212; BCP52, 377.
[207] Ibid.

curate] knowe them to be reconciled'.[208] The application of discipline in these cases underscored the significant communal dimension of participating in the Lord's Supper. However, it is difficult to tell just how regularly this form of excommunication was exercised in the Edwardian Church.[209] Indeed, when John Knox was in Frankfurt during the Marian exile, he retrospectively criticised the Edwardian Church for having 'the wante offdiscipline'.[210]

Perhaps the closest Edwardian parishes got to a congregational form of discipline was in the stern warnings introduced to the communion service of 1552. One of Cranmer's liturgical innovations was to make each member of the congregation individually responsible for their own participation by including searching exhortations to confess their sin before receiving the bread and wine. The congregation was reminded that 'no man shoulde come to the holy Communion but with a full truste in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience'.[211] Otherwise they were to seek further counsel and instruction from the parish curate.[212] Furthermore, one needed to acknowledge one's sin as having personal and communal consequences before sharing in the Lord's Supper.[213] The 1552 Prayer Book included a reminder that sin 'be not only against god, but also

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[208] Ibid.

[209] One notable instance of this form of ecclesiastical discipline took place at Frankfurt during the Marian exile. After the expulsion of John Knox from the city, his ally Christopher Goodman was temporarily barred from taking communion for not subscribing to the 'stipulation' that church ceremonies were 'of their own nature matters of indifference'. Goodman was 'publically insulted' by this disciplinary action. Although this instance of evangelical excommunication was 'part of a conspiracy to discredit [Goodman] in front of the congregation', it does show the extent to which ecclesiastical discipline could affect the earthly community of believers in a publically visible way. Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, 57; Timothy Duguid, 'The 'Troubles' at Frankfurt': A New Chronology', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* xiv (2012), 254-5, at 255.

[210] *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554* (1575), ed. John Petheram (London, 1846), XXXIX. Cf. Knox, *Works*, 43.

[211] BCP52, 384-5.

[212] Ibid, 385.

[213] BCP49, 214-7; BCP52, 382-6.

against your neighbours'.[214] Even so, outward actions could conceal the inner workings of the heart.

There was no definitive way of knowing whether or not your neighbour was a member of the elect. The biblical examples of Cain, Esau, Judas, and Simon Magus were cited in anti-Roman Catholic and anti-Anabaptist works to underline how one might outwardly appear to have fellowship with Christ, yet actually be numbered with the devil.[215] In some instances the congregation could not even trust their minister to be a true disciple of Christ. Article 27 of the *Forty-Two Articles*, entitled 'The Wickedness of the Ministers doth not take away the effectual Operation of God's Ordinances', spoke about this directly.[216] Official doctrine acknowledged the fixed reality of mixed congregations: 'in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometime the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the Word and sacraments'.[217] However, since public ministry was conducted by the 'commission and authority' of Christ's name, 'the effect of God's ordinances [is not] taken away by their wickedness', and so the Word and sacraments may be received by faith on the strength of 'Christ's institution and promise'.[218] In other words, sacramental grace did not depend on the worthiness of the minister, but on the work of 'the holy ghoste, [and] of the lords woordes'.[219] The difficulties associated with using sacramental participation as a definitive visual sign of one's salvation remind us that the principle of *manducatio impiorum* was central to mid-Tudor sacramental theology.

Acknowledging the phenomenological ambiguity inherent in the attempt to identify the elect cuts to the heart of mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology.

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[214] BCP52, 384. The warning in BCP49, was less precise: 'You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your synnes to almighties God, and be in loue and charitie with your neighbors, and entende to lede a newe life...', BCP49, 224.
[215] Hooper, *Answer*, sigs E1v-2; Bullinger, *A Moste Sure and Strong Defence of the Baptisme of Children*, sigs C6-D2v; Turner, *A Preseruatiue*, sigs I7-8.
[216] Article 27, 'The Wickedness of the Ministers doth not take away the effectual Operation of God's Ordinances', *Forty-Two Articles*, 300-301. See also Stephen Mark Holmes, 'The Title of Article 27 (26): Cranmer, Durandus and Pope Innocent III', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* lxiv (2013), 357-64.
[217] Bray, *Forty-Two Articles*, 300.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Martyr, *Discourse*, sig. S3. On baptism see Bullinger, *A Moste Sure and Strong Defence of Baptisms of Children*, sigs B7v-8.

Members of the invisible fellowship of believers co-existed alongside the unregenerate within the single visible institution. The official recognition of this awkward reality anticipated the ecclesiological stance adopted by the Elizabethan Church that took a charitable view of the 'whole of society'.[220] A new Article 29 was inserted into the 1571 version of the *Thirty-Nine Articles* that spoke directly to this conundrum.[221] This new article enshrined the *manducatio impiorum* as official doctrine:

> The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth, as St Augustine saith, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.[222]

The later addition of this Article reflects the growing tensions within English Protestantism in the second half of the sixteenth century. By comparison, the Edwardian Church was still fighting a triangular battle in which 'protestants of varying theological types [were able] to fight together in the same war, and present a united front'.[223] The untimely death of King Edward also meant that the Reformation had not yet been fully institutionalised. Without any formal means of discipline, the extent to which the idea of an inclusive national Church could exist in harmony with the desire to protect the sacraments from the ungodly would remain in question. The role of judging who did or did not truly participate in the sacraments was taken out of human hands and left to God's divine judgement. Ultimately the Edwardian Church would only ever be 'a reflection as in a mirror' of the True Church in regard to sacramental participation.[224]

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[220] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 22.
[221] Article 29, 'Of the Wicked which do not eat the Body of Christ in the Use of the Lord's Supper', *Forty-Two Articles*, 302-3.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 51.
[224] Cf. 1 Corinthians 13:12.

Conclusion

The sacramental controversy that consumed evangelicals, Roman Catholics, and Anabaptists provides an insight into how doctrinal disagreements affected ecclesiastical affairs in the Edwardian Church. Moreover, understanding the triangular context in which evangelicals developed their sacramental theology helps us to better grasp their ecclesiological vision as it evolved throughout the Edwardian Reformation. Anti-papal and anti-Anabaptist rhetoric threw the evangelical concept of the Church into sharp relief as this double menace was characterised as emanating from the same False Church. And by undermining their opponents' sacramental theology as heresy, Edwardian evangelicals believed they were exposing their enemies' churches for what they were: an unbiblical human institution headed by Antichrist on the one hand, and seditious gatherings of radicals on the other. The positive flipside of this was to identify the Edwardian Church as a localised earthly extension of the spiritually universal and eternal True Church. This claim was undergirded by the deep connection between the sacraments and the Church noticeable within evangelical thinking. Adopting an evangelical attitude towards baptism and communion gave visual expression to evangelical ecclesiology. As Allen's *Catechism* stated:

> [baptism and communion] ... shoulde be tokens of the people of god, wherby the whole company and congregacion of god myght bee gathered together as it were into one bodye, and separated or diuided & knowen by suche seuerall tokens and peculiar exercises (whiche no nother congregacion doeth vse,) frō all other false sectes. And they serue also for this purpose that the congregacion of Christ may shewe and declare by them theyr seruice, reuerence and obedience towarde God, and so maye prouoke others also thorowe their exāple vnto the trew religion and seruice of God.[225]

Clearly sacramental reform was a distinguishing mark of mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology.

To echo again the comments of Arnold Hunt on the Elizabethan and Stuart Churches, the evangelical identity of the Edwardian Church was necessarily bound to a reformed sacramental theology.[226] Ironically this was reinforced in

[225] Allen, *Catechism*, sigs I6-6v.
[226] Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper', 40.

Mary's reign. Mary acted urgently to restore Papal primacy and traditional religion in the Church of England.[227] Edmund Bonner's 1554 Visitation Articles for London Diocese, and Cardinal Pole's 1556 national visitation reveal a preoccupation with reinstating the Mass and ensuring that '*practical* indicators of orthodoxy – devout use of the sacraments and sacramental such as holy water' were exhibited in English parishes.[228] Later in 1556, Pole's Legatine Constitution officially re-established the seven sacraments in the Church of England.[229] It is also instructive to remember that the three 'Oxford Martyrs' were tried, condemned and burnt as heretics for denying transubstantiation. [230] The burnings certainly made an emphatic ecclesiological statement. Mary convicted evangelicals of an ecclesiastical crime that was official doctrine of the Church of England only a matter of months previously. The speed and ferocity of the Marian reaction to the Edwardian Reformation arguably indicates how successful the evangelical reformers had been. It was reported that 'people have been infected with various errors in the doctrine of faith, and most particularly of the sacraments, which are the chief foundations of the Christian religion'.[231] Much like mid-Tudor evangelicals, Marian divines conceived the sacraments in ecclesiological terms. Despite their obvious disparities, both parties drew links between sacramental doctrine and its expression in worship to help give shape to their particular vision of the Church.

Once we comprehend that mid-Tudor evangelicals rooted their sacramental theology in ecclesiology, we can begin to overturn previously held assumptions about the Edwardian Reformation. Contrary to the long-held interpretation that Protestantism engendered an interior and individualised faith, baptism and communion were seen by mid-Tudor evangelicals as exercises

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[227] Mary's first Parliament (autumn 1553) repealed much of Edward's legislation; the following year 'Parliament repealed all anti-Papal legislation which had been enacted since 1529'; and, 'England was officially reconciled with Rome on 29 November 1554', Bray, *Documents*, 315. See also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 543-64.

[228] *VAI*, 355-6. Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven-London, 2009), 114-54, quoted 131.

[229] *The Anglican Canons 1529-1947*, ed. Gerald Bray, (Suffolk, 1998), 77-93,

[230] David Loades, *The Oxford Martyrs* (London, 1970), ch. 7. See also MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, ch. 13; Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 7 and *passim*.

[231] Bray, *The Anglican Canons*, 77.

in practical ecclesiology in both a spiritual and physical sense. The liturgical reforms of the Edwardian Church were not designed to disintegrate Christian community, as some have suggested, but rather to enhance the corporate identity of the True Church.[232] Recognising this provides a wider context in which to raise further questions about the breakdown of relationships between conformists and nonconformists in the Elizabethan Church, who argued over the way public worship could accomodate both the elect and unregenerate.[233]

In regard to the sacraments and their ecclesiological function, Edwardian reformers did not see a conflict between the local parish congregation and the broader Tudor Church. The influence of continental reformers, and to a lesser degree covenant theology, undoubtedly affected mid-Tudor evangelical thinking in these areas. The bodily and intellectual presence of continental reformers reminded English divines that the True Church was not confined to one particular location, but equally that each civil society needed to reform the institution of their land in accordance with scripture. The magisterial nature of the Edwardian Reformation cannot be ignored. In the words of Bishop Hooper's Articles for Gloucester and Worcester Dioceses, the purpose of institutionalising sacramental reform was to create 'one society of godly people'.[234] Although the lack of formalised discipline hindered this goal, it can be said that evangelicals embraced the sacraments for the communal benefits derived by their practice, and for their potential to generate reconciliation between members of the earthly Church. Despite the nuanced theological differences that existed within the mid-Tudor evangelical movement, the Prayer Book, *Forty-Two Articles*, and the *Reformatio* brought a liturgical and doctrinal unity that provided a framework for the sacraments to become a channel for the invisible True Church to be revealed visibly and tangibly in the physical setting of the Edwardian Church. Sacramental participation may have epitomised the liturgical expression of evangelical ecclesiology, but as the next chapter will discuss, the practical outworking of evangelical ecclesiology was also intended to flow beyond the parish church walls.

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[232] See fns. 8-13.
[233] See fn. 198 above.
[234] *VAI*, 272.

Chapter Five:
Keeping the Sabbath Holy in the Edwardian Church

Introduction

For mid-Tudor evangelicals, godly observance of the Sabbath Day was an essential act of worship. It was critical from both a theological perspective that sought to promote true biblical worship in the lives of common people, and from a political perspective that aimed to impose order on the nation. Aside from the daily offices of Matins and Evensong, the liturgical rhythm of life in Edwardian England emphasised the Sunday gathering.[1] Although the number of holy days was reduced, particular Sundays throughout the year were still singled out for special attention.[2] For instance, the Sunday services during the seasons of Advent and Easter were prescribed specific lessons and collects.[3] But even before the new liturgy provided a revised format for corporate worship on the Sabbath, the Crown issued a set of Injunctions that sought to rectify a proper honouring of the Lord's Day. The 24th Royal Injunction of 1547 took issue with the 'idleness, pride, drunkenness, quarrelling and brawling' that had become commonplace throughout the kingdom on Sundays rather than attending an edifying church service.[4] To combat this, the Injunction encouraged people to hear the word of God read and taught; confess and repent from sins; reconcile themselves to their neighbours; receive communion in both forms; and visit the poor and sick.[5] These liturgical and political reforms indicate that a concerted effort was made to formalise observance of the Sabbath for the Edwardian Church. However the seriousness with which mid-Tudor reformers took Sabbath observance has not always been recognised.

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[1] *The Act of Uniformity, 1549* (2-3 Edward VI c.1), in Bray, *Documents*, 266-71. For the process of liturgical simplification undertaken by Cranmer, see J. Wickham Legg, *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects* (London, 1915), xi-xxii.
[2] Legg, *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects*, xiii-xvi.
[3] BCP49, 32-132; BCP52, 368-72.
[4] *VAI*, II, 124-5.
[5] Ibid.

Within the existing scholarship on both subjects, the Edwardian Reformation and the doctrine of the Sabbath have passed each other like ships in the night. For instance Catharine Davies' erudite and comprehensive account of the Edwardian Church mentions the Sabbath only once.[6] Similarly, few studies have investigated English Sabbatarian theology prior to 1580 in depth, let alone acknowledged its significance for the Edwardian Reformation.[7] For the most part, attention has dwelt on developments around the turn of the seventeenth century.[8] It has been widely accepted that a distinctively puritan strand of Sabbatarian thought arose concurrently in Cambridge presbyterian circles and the Dedham Classis during Elizabeth's reign; in turn this catalysed division within the established Church, which led to the Civil War and culminated in the Great Ejection of 1662.[9]

This trend owes much to Patrick Collinson's definition of 'English Sabbatarianism'. It is worth quoting him at length:

> Sabbatarianism, for the purpose of this discussion, is defined as something more than a certain ethical and social attitude to the use of Sunday: it implies the doctrinal assertion that the fourth commandment is not an obsolete ceremonial law of the Jews but a perpetual, moral law, binding on Christians;

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[6] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 120-1; idem. 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock', 78-102.

[7] Richard Baukham is an exception. See his 'The Lord's Day', 'Sabbath and Sunday in the Post-Apostolic Church', 'Sabbath and Sunday in the Medieval Church', 'Sabbath and Sunday in the Protestant Tradition', in D. A. Carson (ed.), *From Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Investigation* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), 221-341. See also John Primus, *Holy Time, Moderate Puritanism and the Sabbath* (Macon, Georgia, 1989).

[8] Winton Solberg, *Redeem the Time: the Puritan Sabbath in early America* (Cambridge, 1977); Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England, Holding their Peace* (London, 1998), 96-107; Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism In Pre-Revolutionary England*, (London, 2nd edn 2003); Alistair Dougall, *The Devil's Book: Charles I, the* Book of Sports *and Puritanism in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Exeter, 2011).

[9] Patrick Collinson, 'The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism', in Collinson, *Godly People*, 429-44. See also Richard L. Greaves, 'The Origins of English Sabbatarian Thought', *Sixteenth Century Journal* xii (1981), 19-34; John Primus, 'The Dedham Sabbath Debate: More Light on English Sabbatarianism', *Sixteenth Century Journal* xvii (1986), 87-102, and idem. *Holy Time*, ch. 2, 165-81; Edward Martin Allen, 'Nicholas Bownde and the Context of Sunday Sabbatarianism', (PhD thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 2008), 2-23. For the Dedham Classis see Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 222-39.

> in other words, that the Christian observance of Sunday has its basis not in ecclesiastical tradition but in the Decalogue. The more important propositions of the Sabbatarians are that the Sabbath derives from the creation and so antedates both man's fall and the Mosaic law, although its use was defined in the Decalogue; that the hallowing of the Lord's day in place of the Sabbath was of apostolic or even divine appointment, and more than an ecclesiastical convention; so that the Sabbath is still in force in this altered form, commemorating the second creation in Christ's resurrection, and robbed only of some of its ceremonial detail; that the whole day should be kept holy and devoted to the public and private exercise of religion; and that this precludes all otherwise lawful recreations and pastimes as well as the work of one's calling, unlawful games and mere idleness.[10]

Collinson attributed this definition exclusively to puritans of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart Churches. 'Sabbatarianism' was thus viewed as a new development within English Protestantism, which quickly became a shibboleth for nonconformists.

Kenneth Parker challenged Collinson's thesis in *The English Sabbath*. He contended that 'the developments of the 1580s and 1590s were not theological *innovations*, but the elaboration of received sabbatarian doctrine'.[11] Parker traced Sabbatarian thought from the medieval church through to the seventeenth century in an attempt to establish the existence of a general consensus in the English Church across the centuries on this doctrine.[12] He claimed that the Sabbath aroused relatively little conflict within English Protestantism until the seventeenth century, and that it 'remained a virtually undisputed doctrine' from Elizabeth's accession to the 1630s.[13] The strict Sabbatarianism associated with puritanism was explained as a consequence of a sustained political smear campaign rather than a new take on the Decalogue.[14]

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[10] Collinson, 'Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism', 429-30.

[11] Kenneth Parker, *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1988), 91 (original emphasis). See also idem. 'Thomas Rogers and the English Sabbath: The Case for a Reappraisal', *Church History* lii (1984), 332-47.

[12] Parker does so with varied success. A more thorough account is provided by Richard Bauckham, see fn. 7.

[13] Parker, *The English Sabbath*, 40.

[14] Ibid. 214-16; idem. 'Thomas Rogers', passim. For a contrary view see Greaves, 'Origins', 31-4; Primus, *Holy Time*, 165-81.

Having said that, those who espoused strict Sabbatarian ethics did have strong presbyterian links. [15] Interestingly, though, no modern historian has squared the developments in Sabbatarian ethics around the turn of the seventeenth century with an account of the emerging presbyterian movement of the same period. But if Parker is correct in asserting that there was a general consensus in Sabbatarian theology from the medieval church right through to the Civil War, then why did mid-Tudor evangelicals escape being tarred with the same presbyterian brush by Stuart divines? To put it more precisely for our purposes, how does the doctrine of the Sabbath fit into mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology?

This chapter revisits this old historiographical debate in the light of new evidence. It provides a fresh perspective on the doctrine of the Sabbath by arguing that it was a vital component of evangelical ecclesiology in the mid- Tudor period. The practical implications of this doctrine helped put flesh on the bones of an abstract conception of the Church at a time when a minority group of former exiles, hot-gospellers, and 'cautious' Protestants found themselves playing the role of magisterial reformers under Edward VI.[16] By paying closer attention to these English reformers this study complements and extends current scholarship, which emphasises the influence of continental reformers on the English Church.[17] In doing so, it offers a reconsideration of the doctrine ofthe Sabbath in the wider development of English Protestantism throughout the long reformation, which will help to clarify the extent to which the Edwardian Reformation contained the antecedents of puritanism. It will also help us to rethink why disagreements about matters of worship were so contentious in this period.

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[15] Primus, *Holy Time*, 165-81; Allen, 'Nicholas Bownde and the Context of Sunday Sabbatarianism', 2-23.

[16] Davies, 'Poor Persecuted Little Flock'; *A religion of the Word*. See also Paul Avis, *The Church in the Theology of the Reformers* (London 1981), 36-80.

[17] For example see Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*. Previous studies on the Sabbath have amplified continental voices, particularly those of Henry Bullinger, Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr Vermigli and Emmanuel Tremellius, over those of their English counterparts. See Collinson 'Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism', 432-7; Parker, *The English Sabbath*, 23-32; Primus, *Holy Time*, 104-45; Bauckham, 'Sabbath...Protestant Tradition', 312-21.

Developments in the Doctrine of the Sabbath

Lords ouer the Saboth

The first generation of English reformers advocated an unorthodox attitude toward Sabbath worship. Robert Barnes, John Frith, and William Tyndale, all interpreted the Fourth Commandment in a purely analogical, or figurative, way. Stemming from their Lutheran roots, these theologians understood the biblical requirement to observe the Sabbath in a purely spiritual sense since they believed that the ceremonial laws of the Old Testament had been abolished in Christ. [18] The contemporary application of this analogical interpretation of scripture was to attack any form of traditional religion. The Sunday Sabbath was one target of their criticism.

On Christmas Eve, 1524, Barnes preached a sermon that raised many points of contention for which he was subsequently condemned as a heretic.[19] Given that he was preaching on Christmas Eve, there is a pointed tone in Barnes' first challenge to traditional religion: 'I pray you what is ye cause or what nature is in one day that is not in a nother where bi that that shulde be holyar than the other'?[20] Barnes' response to this hypothetical question was a succinct account of his take on the Sabbath that raged against a literalist interpretation of the precept. 'Christen men', he preached, 'were not bōunde to abstayne from bodily labour by that commaundement for it was so geuyn to the Iuys' only and did not apply to the sixteenth-century Church.[21] Barnes looked to scripture, and the wisdom of the Church Fathers, rather than the authority of tradition for justification of his anti-Sabbatarian position. Citing Augustine, Barnes argued that

> ... we must obserue the holly day not by corporall idyllenes and vn to the letter but spiritually must we reste from vices and concupiscensys where fore a

[18] Parker, *The English Sabbath*, 24-5; Bauckham, *From Sabbath to Lord's Day*, 313-15.
[19] Robert Barnes, *Supplicatyon made by Robert Barnes doctoure in divinitie unto the most excellent and redoubted Prince Kinge Henrye the Eyght*, (1534), sigs C6v- E3v.
[20] Ibid. sig. C8.
[21] Ibid. sig. C8v.

> monge all the ten commaundemētes that of the sabboth day alonly is commaundid to be figuratlye obserued and not by corporall idyllnes.[22]

Tertullian was also enlisted to bolster his case for an analogical interpretation of the Sabbath. Since

> The carnall circumcision ys put a way and extyncted at hys tyme. Solykwyse the obseruacion off the sabboth day ys declared to be for a tyme for we must kepe the sabboth day not allonly the seventh day but at all tymes.[23]

As other ceremonial aspects of the Mosaic Law, such as circumcision, had been removed by Christ, Barnes concluded that the Sabbath could not be limited in a narrowly literal sense of abstaining from physical labour on one day out of seven each week. The fiery preacher was so incensed by all forms of ecclesiastical ritual that he called those who had instituted the Sunday Sabbath 'the preachers of Antichrist'.[24] Barnes stressed the spiritual dimension of Sabbath observance as a continual 'rest from vices and concupiscences', which should be kept 'not only [on] the seventh day but at all times'.[25] Thus Sabbath observance was not limited to a single act of ceremonial worship on Sundays alone.

Tyndale was similarly offended by the overtly ceremonial worship of the temporal Church in his day. In a long running debate with Thomas More in which he tried to establish the authority of scripture over against that of the pope, Tyndale also challenged the biblical orthodoxy of a Sunday Sabbath. In his view, there was no New Testament requirement to keep the Sabbath on Sundays. Because Christ had declared Christians 'lords ouer the Saboth', it could hypothetically be moved to 'monedaye or any other daye as we se need or [we] maye make euery tenth daye [a] holy daye'.[26] It might even be expedient to have two Sabbath days in one week, or to abolish it altogether 'if the people might be taught with out it'.[27] These provocative suggestions were designed to incite a reaction against the established ecclesiastical order. However they were minimal

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid. sig. D1.
[25] Ibid. sig. C8v.
[26] William Tyndale, *An Answer vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge made by William Tindale*, (1531), sig. H3v.
[27] Ibid.

at best, tucked away in one small paragraph within a much larger diatribe on traditional practices in his *Answer vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge*.[28]

Frith was slightly more expansive on his views about the Sabbath in a 1523 treatise on baptism, *A myrroure or lokynge glasse wherin you may beholde the sacramente of baptisme described*.[29] Interestingly, Frith's treatise found its way into a 1548 compilation, published by John Daye and William Seres, which included works by John Hooper and Heinrich Bullinger, as well as Richard Smith's recantation delivered at St Paul's in May 1547.[30] Frith's work was the final piece in this collection, and we find a snippet on the Fourth Commandment towards the end of this treatise on baptism. The Sabbath was but one example Frith used in a wider denunciation of extraneous ceremonies and traditions prevalent in the Roman Catholic Church of his day.[31] His main objection was against 'they that seke health in suche cerimonies [and] are fallen frō grace and treade vnder theyr fote the bloude of Christe: vnto theyr condemnation'.[32] Frith justified moving the Sabbath from Sunday by arguing that the Mosaic Law had been abolished in Christ. Although 'the Sabaoth was institute and cōmaūded of God to be kepte of the chyldren of Israel... all ceremonies and shadows ceased whē Christ came'.[33] Since Frith found no explicit mandate in the New Testament to maintain the Sabbath on a Sunday, he did not see it as a binding ceremonial practice for the contemporary Church. This led him to suggest that 'it were at this tyme very expedient ... to ouer set [i.e. to move] our Sabbaoth which is the Sonday (because the ignorante people do coūt it as necessary) vnto the mondaye or tewysday'.[34] Accordingly, the ceremonial observation of the Sabbath was something that 'might be done or left vndone indifferently'.[35] Thus in a stroke,

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[28] Ibid. passim, esp. sigs H2-H3.
[29] John Frith, *A Myrroure or Lokynge Glasse wherin you may beholde the Sacramente of Baptisme described ...* (1548)
[30] Anon, *Certeyn Meditacions, and thynges to be had in remembraunce ...* (1548).
[31] For instance Frith criticised the lacklustre job godparents were doing in instructing their godchildren. Ibid. sigs C6-7.
[32] Ibid. sig. C3v.
[33] Ibid. sigs C3v-4.
[34] Ibid. sig. C5.
[35] Ibid. sigs 4.

the Sabbath was annexed into the on-going dialogue concerning *adiaphora*.[36]

The authority of scripture and the extent to which it could be used to regulate the life of the Church was a hotly debated question throughout the English Reformation. It was of course an ecclesiological discussion, as the later emergence of puritanism demonstrated.[37] *Adiaphora* were physical measures used to distinguish the faithful from the false believers; between those who held stringently to the Word of God in all the minutiae of life, and those who were content to abide with some degree of ecclesiastical tradition. In the Elizabethan and Stuart contexts, the interpretation and application of the doctrine of the Sabbath was ultimately about the authority and use of scripture in determining public and private worship. The Henrician reformers were asking similar questions. While they accepted the tradition that the Sabbath had been moved from Saturday to Sunday as a memorial of Christ's resurrection, Barnes explained that no day is holier than another 'but all days be lyke and equalle and Christ is not ... rysen only on the sonday but ye day of resurreccyō ys all ways & all ways may we eate of oure lordes fleshe'.[38] However, as Richard Bauckham observed, in pre-Reformation England 'the Lord's Day [i.e. the Sunday Sabbath] rested sufficiently on the authority of the Church'.[39] This worried the Henrician reformers because, as Frith argued, 'the word of God ... [is] against us' on this point.[40] Thus 'we are much madder' than the Jews, who at least followed the Old Testament by keeping the Sabbath on Saturdays.[41] By contrast the Roman Catholic Church continued to misuse scripture by observing a ceremonial Sabbath on Sundays. From this perspective, the early reformers' analogical interpretation of the Sabbath was one expression of resistance to papal authority.

Defining the Sabbath as *adiaphora* was an effective means for these early

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[36] Peter Marshall, 'The Debate over 'Unwritten Verities' in Early Reformation England,' in Bruce Gordon (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 1996), 60-77

[37] John S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford 1970), esp. chs. 2 and 3.

[38] Barnes, *Supplicatyon*, sig. C8v.

[39] Bauckham, 'Sabbath and Sunday in the Protestant Tradition', 313; idem. 'Sabbath and the Sunday in the Medieval Church in the West', 299-309.

[40] Frith, *A Myrroure*, sig. C5v.

[41] Ibid. sig. C5

reformers to make a broader ecclesiological point. For Frith and Tyndale, at least, it was a matter of indifference to the function and identity of the 'True Church' when a corporate Sabbath was organised and observed. Rather, as Barnes argued, the focus was on an individual's continual cessation from sin. By promoting Sabbath observance as a daily activity in the life of a believer, its relevance to organised worship was minimised. Believers were being given the prerogative and autonomy to worship God in a biblical fashion independent of the pope's dictates. The analogical interpretation of the Sabbath was therefore one suggested remedy to the pope's misappropriation of his office and incorrect application of scripture. This emphasis on the quality of individual faith reflects the concerns of reformers working against a state Church that was viewed as corrupt. As we will see, mid-Tudor reformers reconsidered how to apply the doctrine of the Sabbath under Edward VI when the visible Church was seen in a more positive light.

However, we must be careful not to overemphasise the place of the Sabbath in the theology of Henrician reformers. Unlike later English reformers, none of these early reformers produced a single work dedicated to expounding the doctrine. The brief expositions mentioned above were fragments of more substantial theological arguments addressing a wide range of ecclesiastical ceremonies and traditions. This indicates that the doctrine of the Sabbath was not of primary concern for English reformers at this point, compared to soteriology for instance. Arguably, Kenneth Parker, and more recently Karl Gunther, have made too much of these titbits of theological contemplation without placing them within their proper textual context.[42]

The Covenantal Sabbath

The passing of the English crown from Henry VIII to his son, Edward VI, was accompanied by a changing of the theological guard. From the mid-1540s onwards, English evangelicals increasingly looked to the 'Strasbourg-St Gall axis' for theological inspiration rather than Wittenberg.[43] This change was reflected in

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[42] Parker, *The English Sabbath*, 32-6. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, 189-252.
[43] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, ch 6; Alec Ryrie, 'The Strange Death of Lutheran England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* liii (2002), 64-92.

the way the doctrine of the Sabbath was expounded. There is no better example of this than John Hooper's *A Declaration of the ten holy commandments*. It was the only English work produced in the Edwardian period that dealt specifically with the Decalogue.[44] Naturally, it contains an extensive discussion of the Sabbath, however Hooper's comment on the Sabbath have been discussed before. The *Declaration* was originally published in 1548, and went through three editions by 1550.[45] By this stage, Hooper was Bishop of Gloucester, but when he first penned the *Declaration*, he was living in Zurich as a disciple of Bullinger.[46] There, the 'point of reformation [was] the ordering of the external world to the service of the spiritual. ... [thus all human institutions, laws, and societal relationships] must be measured against the standard of the Word of God'.[47] In regard to implementing the Decalogue, this thinking represented a clear difference from Luther's classic separation of Law and Gospel. For the Swiss reformers, the moral responsibilities embedded in the Old Testament continued to hold sway for the contemporary believer.[48]

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[44] See also John Bossy, 'Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments', in Edmund Leites (ed.), *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 1988), 214-34; Jonathan Willis, ''Moral Arithmetic' or Creative Accounting? (Re-) defining Sin through the Ten Commandments', in Jonathan Willis (ed.), *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (London-New York 2016), 69-88.

[45] According to the title page the first edition was written in 1548, although the preface is dated 5 November 1549. Hooper revised his work and included additions in the 1550 editions, where a second preface is dated 28 July 1550. The third edition has been used, and any following references made are to this copy, *A Declaration of the. x. Holye Commaundementes of Almighty God: Written Exo. xx. Deu. 5. Collected oute of the Scripture canonicall, by Iohn Houper, with certayne newe addicions made by the same maister Houper* (London, 1550). The 1550 edition is reprinted in *Early Writings*, 249-430.

[46] For Bullinger's influence on Hooper, see D. G. Newcombe, *John Hooper: Tudor Bishop and Martyr* (Oxford 2009), 36-120. For Bullinger's Sabbatarian thought, see Bauckham, 'Sabbath and Sunday in the Protestant Tradition', 318-9; Primus, *Holy Time*, 136-8.

[47] Bruce Gordon, 'Preaching and the reform of the clergy in the Swiss Reformation', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation of the Parishes: The Ministry and the Reformation in Town and Country* (Manchester-New York 1993), 64.

[48] Jens G. Møller, 'The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xiv (1963), 46-67.

Hooper expressed this throughout the *Declaration* by promoting the Mosaic Law as a covenantal obligation, rather than a ceremonial or analogical one, for the Christian to follow. Indeed, part of the purpose in writing the *Declaration* was to introduce Bullinger's covenantal theology to an English audience. Hooper explained that there

> ... can be no contracte, peace, alianunce, or confederacye betwene two persones or more, except fyrst the persones that wil contract, agre within them selfes vpon suche thinges as shall be contractyd, as thou right well knowest: also seyng these ten commaundementes, are nothing else but the Tables or wrytynges that contayne the condicions of the peace betwene God and man... [and because God continues] to ayde, and succoure, kepe, and preserue, warrant, and defende maune frome al yll, boothe of bodye and soule, and at the laste to geue hym eternall blysse and euerlastynge felicitie ... Manne is bound of the other parte to obey, serue, and kepe Gods commaundementes, to loue hym, honour hym, and feare hym aboue all thynges.[49]

Hooper maintained that salvation was by grace alone, but he also argued that one was expected to respond to God's grace in repentance, obedience and love. This was a moral duty demanded by scripture. In the opening passage of the *Declaration* Hooper claimed that whatever the prophets, Christ and the apostles said or wrote 'is none other thing but the interpretacion and exposition of these ten wordes or ten cōmaundementes'.[50] The Mosaic Law thus became a perpetual covenant still binding on sixteenth-century believers. [51] This theological presupposition undergirded Hooper's discussion of the Fourth Commandment.[52] Hooper argued that there were both moral properties and ceremonial aspects associated with observing the Sabbath.[53] He agreed with earlier English reformers in saying that the keeping of the Sabbath was one of the 'the woorkes of the spirite, which secreatly, should be done euer day'.[54] Like Barnes, Frith, and Tyndale, Hooper even conceded that

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[49] John Hooper, 'Unto the Christian Reader' written 5 November 1549 as included in the 1550 edition, *Declaration*, sigs A2-2v (*Early Writings*, 255).
[50] Ibid. sig. B3 (*Early Writings*, 271)
[51] Ibid. sigs A2-B1 (*Early Writings*, 255-69).
[52] Møller disagrees with this interpretation of Hooper, 'Puritan Covenant Theology', 55 fn. 3.
[53] Hooper, *Declaration*, sigs G6v-8 (*Early Writings*, 341-3).
[54] Ibid. sig. G7 (*Early Writings*, 342).

> yf ye consider frydaye, and Saturne daye, Saturne day, or Sondaye in asmuche as they be dayes, and the workes of GOD, the one is no more holye then the other... but that daye is always mooste holye in the whyche we mooste applye, and geue our selues vnto holy workes.[55]

According to Hebrews 4, Hooper stated that the weekly pattern of the Sabbath rest 'is a type, and fygure of the eternall, and euerlastyng rest, that is to come'.[56] Thus the analogical, or figurative, interpretation of the Sabbath was retained by viewing the Sabbath through an eschatological perspective. But what marks Hooper out as different from earlier evangelicals is his take on the practical application of the Fourth Commandment, which gave greater significance to the organised outward expression of this doctrine.

For Hooper, keeping the Sabbath was no mere tradition of man. Rather the Fourth Commandment was the only Mosaic ceremony that had been vindicated for use in the post-apostolic Church.[57] The apostles commemorated Christ's resurrection by instituting the Sunday Sabbath, and Paul endorsed this practice in his first epistle to the Corinthians.[58] Therefore the Sabbath was 'neuer to be abolyshed, as longe as the churche of Christ shall contynew, vpon the erthe'.[59] As such, believers were compelled by the covenantal requirements of the Decalogue to meet 'vpon the Sonday openly without the labour of our handes', even if no day was inherently holier than another.[60] Such biblical reasoning raised Sabbath observance above routine ecclesiastical practice. It also imbued the Sabbath with a spiritually restorative quality. It was at church, while resting from physical labour, that the believer's strength was renewed 'by Goddes grace'.[61] Having considered the sins of the past week, one was reinvigorated 'in the contemplacyon of Goddes mooste mercyfull promysse ... to sustayne all the troubles of temptacyon, in the weke that followeth'.[62] This definition of the Sabbath is remarkably akin to Collinson's description of

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[55] Ibid. sig. G5 (*Early Writings*, 338).
[56] Ibid. sig. G5b (*Early Writings*, 339).
[57] Ibid. sigs G5-H2v (*Early Writings*, 337-50).
[58] Ibid. sig. G4v (*Early Writings*, 337-8). See also Primus, *Holy Time*, 18-23.
[59] Ibid. sig. G7(*Early Writings*, 341).
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid. G4v (*Early Writings*, 338).
[62] Ibid.

Sabbatarianism. It indicates that the seeds of a strict interpretation of the Sabbath were being sown much earlier than previously thought.

Hooper also pre-empted later forms of Sabbatarianism by endorsing the practice of reserving the entire Lord's Day for Sabbath worship. While the Fourth Commandment prescribed rest from physical labour, it also stipulated active spiritual exercise. In conjunction with the personal call to perpetually abstain from sin, the purpose of the Sunday Sabbath was to collect the local community of God's people 'to exercise the ceremonyes of the Churche'.[63] That is to say, the Sabbath gave licence for a formalised and regulated manner of public worship. To clarify, the ceremonies that took place on

> the sonday, & the houres there of apoynted for a decent order, [were] to preach ye word of god, vse the sacraments, to haue commune praiers, [and] to prouide for the pore.[64]

These corporate activities were highlighted as the appropriate covenantal response of the contemporary Church to the moral imperatives of the Sabbath precept. To put it another way, the moral obligation of the Church to uphold the Fourth Commandment was expressed in a ceremonial way via corporate public worship that aimed to 'reflect the righteousness of God'.[65] Hence keeping the Sabbath was framed an act of true repentance that sprung from true faith, and enabled the True Church to be manifested in the experience of regular Sunday worship. This interpretation of the Sabbath was comprehensive. Personal and public – individual and corporate – worship were combined, just as the moral and ceremonial aspects of the precept were. Significantly, Sabbath worship did not stop at the church door. While the formal church service reminded believers of God's love, the remainder of the Sabbath was to be given over to loving others. Hooper encouraged believers actively to serve the surrounding community through almsgiving. Therefore Sabbath observance aimed to glorify God, edify

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[63] Ibid. sig. G6v (*Early Writings*, 341).
[64] Ibid. sigs H2-2v (*Early Writings*, 341). The same list of ceremonies is found on sig. G6v: 'vse commune prayer, Heare the Sermon, vse the blessed supper of the Lord and to geue almes'.
[65] Bauckham, 'Sabbath...Protestant Tradition', 315.

the church, and provide an opportunity to share God's love with the world. It was truly evangelistic in purpose.

A significant result of this was to affirm evangelical concepts of the Church. To illustrate this, Hooper provided a counter example. Never one to miss an opportunity to attack his theological enemies, Hooper turned the Fourth Commandment into a condemnation of the Roman Catholic Church: 'to teache false doctrine [through traditional homilies and ritual], is a worke against thys commaundement'.[66] Hooper went on to criticise those who had

> broughte into the churche Massynge, and Moumlynge of canonicall loures ... [for] to augment the ceremonyes of the churche, and bring in a new Judaisme and Aronicall rites, is against thys cōmaundement.[67]

This new form of Judaism included 'the supersticious, and vnkownē prayer' recited in the Latin Mass, transubstantiation, neglecting to give alms to the poor, participating in ungodly pastimes such as sports and games, setting up markets and fares, and dedicating the day to saints rather than the Lord.[68] According to Hooper, then, the Sabbath was continually dishonoured in the very fabric of Roman Catholic devotion. Against this, and implicitly contradicting the Henrician reformers, Hooper sought to redeem the orthodox view of the Sunday Sabbath by applying the rule of scripture to all ecclesiastical matters.

The ecclesiological contrast could not be clearer. Interpreting the Mosaic Law through the prism of covenantal theology allowed the Sabbath to become an umbrella under which other acts of false worship were condemned. The right honouring of the Fourth Commandment provided a visible expression of the True Church; dishonouring the Sabbath precept by corrupting this scriptural mandate gave tangible proof that the False Church also existed. Accordingly, the moral dimension of Sabbath observance necessitated ceremonial expression via a reformed mode of corporate public worship on Sundays. What was at stake was nothing short of the maintenance of scriptural integrity for the English Church. Strict adherence to the Sabbath may not have been the shibboleth it later

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[66] Hooper, *Declaration*, sig. H1v (*Early Writings*, 345).
[67] Ibid. sigs H2, G8v (*Early Writings*, 346).
[68] Ibid. sigs H1v-2 (*Early Writings*, 345-6).

became for the Elizabethan and Stuart puritans, but Hooper's exposition of the doctrine hinted in that direction. Hooper never ascribed any salvific benefit to these Sabbath ceremonial practices. Yet because true faith brought forth true repentance, Sabbath observance was classed as a sign of true faith. It was one means of tangibly demonstrating the invisible and spiritual realities of a renewed heart of faith. Again, Hooper's attitude toward the Sabbath suggests the need to rethink the chronological contours of Collinson's analysis.

The Edwardian Reformation signals a turning point in the development of English Protestantism. Hooper's Sabbatarian theology was a clear departure from that of his Henrician forebears. Moreover, it indicates a shift in emphasis for English evangelicals from countering false doctrine espoused by a corrupt Church, to conscientiously building a visible Church founded on scriptural truths. Indeed Hooper's embryonic form of covenantal theology was partly a function of being in a position to be able to create an institutional, inclusive national Church. Due to the king's pronounced evangelical faith, mid-Tudor reformers under Edward enjoyed political advantages previously unknown.[69] The platform this provided to transform official doctrine and practice was significant. Hooper must have understood this to some degree. Despite writing the *Declaration* in Zurich, he advocated the role of the magistrate to authorise and enforce a blanket Sabbath Day upon the entire kingdom. Apparently it was the custom throughout Ancient Israel to 'constraine the straungers within theyr cytie, to heare and so [see] their relygyon vpon the Sabboth'. [70] Therefore Hooper concluded that 'euery well ordered commune wealthe, nowe in the tyme of the gospell shoulde do the same, and constrayne all people to hear the word of God, and se the mynystracyon of theyr sacraments'.[71] This all-encompassing vision for the Church intended to coalesce society under the Word of God. The head of each household shared this duty with the government and he was encouraged to ensure that those under his care 'exercise theymselues vpon the sabboth, in hering the word of God, and se they frequent the place of commune prayers, and

[69] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, 57-156.
[70] Hooper, *Declaration*, sig. G6v (*Early Writings*, 339-40).
[71] Ibid.

vse the sacramētes, as God commaundeth'.[72] Sabbath observance was even meant to be extended to

> ... the straunger lyke wyse within thy porte, though he be of an other religion: thou shouldest assaye to winne him vnto the knowledge, & rites of thy religion, as thou seyst here commaynded vnto the Israelytes, and consequently vnto vs all. For we are bound no lesse, but rather more thē they, to the loue of god, and our neyghbour, and by expresse wordes, cōmaūded to do the same.[73]

Thus keeping the Sabbath would have a truly evangelistic effect on the entire Tudor kingdom in that unbelievers would be exposed the Gospel in the hope of being converted, and brought into the True Church. Hooper found an unlikely ally for this position in Martin Bucer.

Bucer outlined his thoughts on how to use political power for evangelical purposes in *De Regno Christi* (1550). This work spoke directly to the Tudor situation. Bucer drafted it as a new year's gift for the king in October 1550, thanking Edward for appointing him Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge the previous year.[74] In *De Regno Christi*, the Strasbourg reformer commented that 'it must be a matter of special concern for those who wish the Kingdom of Christ to be restored among them that Sunday religious observance be renewed and established'.[75] Like Hooper, Bucer pointed to the pattern of worship in Ancient Israel to argue that God had

> ... consecrated for his whole people, wherever they were living, one day in every week when they might have time to worship him in a special way. As strictly as possible he commanded all who were of his people, or stayed among his people, to keep that day holy to himself ... for all in any way associated with his people to be called together and congregated in the

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[72] Ibid. sig. G5v (*Early Writings*, 339-40).
[73] Ibid. sig. G6 (*Early Writings*, 340).
[74] The presentation copy was sent to John Cheke on 21 October 1550. For discussion see Benjamin Pohl and Leah Tether, 'Books Fit for a King: The Presentation Copies of Martin Bucer's *De regno Christi* (London, British Library, Royal MS. 8 B. VII) and Johannes Sturm's *De periodis* (Cambridge, Trinity College, II.12.21 and London, British Library, C.24.e.5)', *Electronic British Library Journal* Article 7 (2015), 1-2.
[75] Bucer, *De Regno Christi*, 252.

> synagogues, there to hear his precepts and to pour forth prayers to him, and to give thanks to him for all his blessings.[76]

The similarity of Bucer and Hooper's positions is somewhat surprising given the different stances each took to wearing vestments in the English Church.[77] Acknowledging this, however, serves to remind us that the mid-Tudor evangelical movement was far from homogenous. Neither should we view the theological differences that existed between Strasbourg and Zurich as static ideologies. The many points of theological overlap within this group of reformers, especially regarding soteriology, did not necessarily result in a uniform approach to practical divinity.

The government eventually passed a law that compelled weekly church attendance for the first time in English history, a feature that was retained by Elizabeth in 1559.[78] The second Edwardian Act of Uniformity (1552) demanded that

> ... all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm, or any other the King's Majesty's dominions shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable cause to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed ... upon every Sunday, and other days ordained and used to be kept as holy days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the common prayer, preachings, or other service of God there to be used and ministered, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church.[79]

Later legislation would tighten the screws on Sabbath discipline and act with 'greater vigilance' to enforce proper observation of this civil, ecclesiastical and moral law.[80] The legislative attempts to regulate pastimes on the Sabbath have been discussed at length by previous studies on the doctrine, which see the distribution of the 'Book of Sports' by James I in 1617, and its reissue by Charles I

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[76] Ibid. 250.
[77] See pp. 55-9 above (chapter one).
[78] Bray, *Documents*, 281.
[79] The Act of Uniformity (1552) (5-6 Edward VI c. 1), ibid. 281-2. Cf. The Act of Uniformity (1559) (1 Elizabeth 1 c.2), ibid. 330-3.
[80] R. H. Helmholz, *Roman Canon Law in Reformation England* (Cambridge, 1990), 113-15.

in 1633, as a relaxation of official attitudes toward keeping the Sabbath.[81] Back in 1552, however, the move to institute a corporate Sabbath indicates a greater awareness by the Edwardian regime of the implications of this doctrine for establishing the reformation. The importance of the Sabbath to the ecclesiological vision of mid-Tudor evangelicals also had implications for liturgical reform.

Formalising Sabbath Worship

'Kepe holyly and religiously the Sabbat day'

While Hooper and Bucer promoted the doctrine of the Sabbath as a moral obligation, some Edwardian reformers retained the figurative interpretation inherited from the previous generation. One of these was Lancelot Ridley, cousin to the future Bishop of London. In his 1548 commentary on Colossians Ridley denounced ecclesiastical traditions, 'legall Ceremonies and sacrifices, not necessarie for saluacion'.[82] In regard to the 'kepyng of holy daies ... [such] as Sabboth daies, feastes of newe Moones, or other holy daies, cōmaunded by the lawe', Ridley argued that

> thei bee kepte as indifferent thynges, [for] thei make no manne good, iust, or holy, for kepyng of them, nor yet thei condempne no man, if thei bee necglected or omitted, and lefte vndoen: therefore no man should iudge another, good or euill, for dooyng or omittyng these workes, abrogated by Christe, and left to vs as workes indifferent.[83]

This comment did not rule out the ceremonial aspect of Sabbath observance. However, in contrast to Hooper, Ridley's reading of scripture led him to deem formal, institutionalised Sabbath observance as *adiaphora*. By the same token, Ridley was happy to defend Lenten fasting on the grounds of obedience to Royal authority.[84] By implication, the only requirements of the Fourth Commandment

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[81] See esp. Parker, *The English Sabbath*, 160; Dougall, *The Devil's Book*, 66-81.
[82] Lancelot Ridley, *An Exposicion in Englishe vpon the Epistle of S. Paule, to the Colossians ...* (1548), sig. I6v.
[83] Ibid. sigs. K6v-7.
[84] Ibid. sigs. K8-L4.

still binding on the contemporary Church were its moral qualities. That Ridley held this position and was in close proximity to Archbishop Cranmer as a prebendary at Canterbury is intriguing.[85] For Cranmer took a similar view of all ceremonies, as he made plain in both Prayer Books and the *Forty-Two Articles*.

The explanatory note 'Of Ceremonies', which was moved from the rear of the 1549 Prayer Book to the front in the 1552 edition, was mindful to spell out the role of ceremonial in public worship.[86] While he plainly stated that the performance of ritual (many of which were 'by thinstitucion of man') could not earn God's grace, Cranmer struck a careful balance between condemning Roman Catholic tradition and defending the retention of some 'olde Ceremonies'.[87] The Archbishop realised that some forms of liturgical continuity with the medieval past might offend some evangelicals. But he contended that this was necessary to preserve 'a decente ordre and godlye discipline' in the visible church.[88] Cranmer drew on Paul's exhortation to the Corinthian Church that all things be done in a 'semely and due ordre' to support his case.[89] This was the biblical warrant for allowing certain ceremonies to continue in the Church of England. Compared to the 'wilfull and contemptuous transgression, and breakyng of a common ordre and disciplyne', which Cranmer perceived as 'no small offence before God', the 'keping or omytting of a ceremonie … is but a small thyng'.[90] The reason for this was because 'Christes Gospell is not a Ceremoniall lawe ... but it is a relygion to serue God ... in the freedome of spirite'.[91] Therefore, those ceremonies that affected doctrinal understanding were to be abolished, whereas those that did not contradict scripture were to be tolerated for the purposes of order and discipline within the visible Church. From this perspective, ancient ceremonies that aided piety and furthered the Gospel were viewed in a positive light. In essence, then, all liturgical ceremonies were considered *adiaphora*.

The *Forty-Two Articles* reiterated this principle. Article 33 stated that:

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[85] See MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 284-6.
[86] BCP49, 286-8; BCP52 324-6.
[87] BCP49, 287; BCP52, 325.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid. 286, 324. Cf. 1 Corinthians 14:40.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid. 287, 325.

> It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like. For at all times they have been divers, and may be changed, according to the diversity of countries, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word.[92]

The scriptural reasoning for this was provided earlier in Articles 6 and 19. Article 6 declared that the Old Testament was not contrary to the New Testament and so should 'be kept still' by all believers.[93] Article 19 qualified this by stressing that the Mosaic Law was not binding on Christians 'as concerning the Ceremonies, and Rites' of public worship, however no one is 'exempt and loose from the Obedience of those Commandments, which are called Moral'.[94] It was an important nuance. Official doctrine of the Edwardian Church did not accept the covenantal interpretation of the Old Testament emanating from Zurich at this time.[95] By contrast, the biblical hermeneutic laid out in Article 19 indicates that the Fourth Commandment was principally interpreted as a moral law rather than as a necessary covenantal response to salvation. Even so, the practical outworking of this position involved ceremonial renovation. Although Cranmer never published his thoughts on the Sabbath, the shape of both Prayer Books suggests that he was aware of the practical advantages that reinforcing the Sunday Sabbath would bring to his programme of reform.[96]

The liturgical reform of the period recast baptism as a sacrament reserved almost exclusively for the Sabbath. Pastors and curates were required to 'oft admonysh the people, that they differ not the Baptisme of infantes any

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[92] *Forty-Two Articles*, in Charles Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, (Cambridge, 1859), 318.
[93] Ibid. 274.
[94] Ibid. 290. Article 19 was later incorporated into Article 6 of the *Thirty-Nine Articles* in 1563.
[95] Ashley Null suggests that the seeds of the later puritan covenantal theology were contained in the second set of Homilies issued in 1563, which were 'personally reviewed' by Queen Elizabeth. 'Official Tudor Homilies', in Peter MacCulloch, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), 363.
[96] The Sabbath rates one mention in 'Cranmer's Great Commonplaces', and there is no exposition of the doctrine. BL Royal MS 7.B. XI, fol. 34v; transcribed and translated in Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's 'Great Commonplaces', Volume I: The Efficacious Word of God* (Oxford, forthcoming). I thank Ashley Null for providing me with this information.

longer than the Sondaye, or other holy daye, nexte after the chylde bee borne'.[97] There was an ecclesiological reason for this. The introductory rubric for the baptismal service explained that baptism should only take place on Sundays 'when the most numbre of people maye come together' and receive the 'newly baptysed, into the noumbre of Christes Churche'.[98] By the same token, private baptisms were discouraged 'onlesse upon a great and reasonable cause declared to the curate and by hym approued'.[99] Bucer concurred in his critique of the 1549 Prayer Book, the *Censura*: 'baptism should be performed in the presence of a full congregation'. [100] Like the Lord's Supper, which in 1552 required a minimum of three people to proceed, baptism was conducted as an inclusively corporate sacrament to signify the unity of Christ's spiritual body on earth.[101] Once the baptised child had matured and was confirmed, it was assumed that adult believers would regularly participate in communion. There, they would join in a post-communion prayer that petitioned God 'to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy felowship, and doe all suche good workes as thou hast prepared for us to walke in'.[102] Having been restored to a right relationship with God and His people via the scriptural promises embedded in the communion service, the repentant believer was impelled to respond to God's grace by meeting the physical and spiritual needs of their neighbour. This might include participating in communion with someone who was unable to attend church due to the 'many sodain perils, diseases and sicknesses' of this life, or by providing alms for the poor.[103] Such Sabbath exercises extended the spiritual community beyond the physical boundaries of the parish church. Thus the Sunday Sabbath gave the True Church physical expression through both formal ceremonies of public worship, and informal acts of neighbourly love. These Sabbath ceremonies also underlined the corporate impulse of evangelical

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[97] *BCP*, 242, 400.
[98] Ibid. 236, 394.
[99] Ibid. 242, 400.
[100] Bucer, *Censura*, 82. Bucer also encouraged ordinations to be reserved for Sundays for similar reasons. Ibid. 177-9.
[101] BCP52, 392.
[102] BCP49, 227; BCP52, 390.
[103] BCP49, 266-8; BCP52, 422-3.

reform.[104] Rather than atomising early modern society, communal worship was designed to strengthen spiritual bonds of fellowship in a visible and tangible manner. The Sunday Sabbath was utilised for that express purpose.

The Sabbath was also used for educational purposes. The 1549 Prayer Book ordered curates to provide a catechism class on Sundays, half an hour before evensong at least once every six weeks.[105] In 1552, these classes became weekly fixtures where 'The Curate of euery Parishe ... shall diligently upon Sundaies, and holy daies halfe an hour before Euensong, openly in the Churche instruct and examine so many children of his parishe ... in some parte of this Catechisme'.[106] Placed alongside the mandated evangelical sermon or homily, catechism classes helped to combat false doctrine. [107] This didactic process involved learning to recite the Ten Commandments, Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer in preparation for confirmation. [108] During the confirmation service, the candidate was asked what the Decalogue teaches. They answered: 'I learne two thinges: My duetie towardes god, and my duetie towardes my neighbour'. [109] This learnt response underlined the perpetual moral responsibilities of the believer over and above any ceremonial aspects contained in the Law.

Apart from the Sunday school classes run by local curates, the Edwardian Reformation also produced catechisms for use in schools throughout the kingdom.[110] For instance the official *Short Catechisme* of 1553, which was to be used by 'scholemasters and teachers of youth', was introduced by a royal injunction to 'truely and diligently teach ... good lessōs and instructions of true religion stablyshed, ... [so foster] a greate furtherance to the ryght worshipping of

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[104] See Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago 2001), 14- 35. For a contrary opinion see Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 118-22; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, esp. chaps. 14 and 15.
[105] BCP49, 251.
[106] BCP52, 409.
[107] For discussion of preaching, see chapter three.
[108] BCP49, 248-50; BCP52, 405-407. For the use of catechisms generally see Ian Green, *The Christian's ABCs: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530-1740* (Oxford, 1996), 59-79, 170-84, 279-89.
[109] BCP49, 249; BCP52, 406.
[110] Green, *The Christian's ABCs*, 170-84.

God'.[111] According to such catechisms, the youth throughout the Tudor kingdom were taught to treat the Sabbath with serious reverence. The *Shorte Catechisme* explained that 'stedfastly and wyth deuout conseyēce ... we kepe holyly and religiously the Sabbat day: which was appointed oute from the other, for rest, and seruice of God'.[112] Edmund Allen's 1551 *Catechism* provided a blueprint for Sabbath worship whereby physical labour was given up in order to

> ... come to churche or [the] congregacion to heare [the Word] ... bee presente at the common prayers ... to receyue the holye Sacramentes with [the] faithful congregacion ... and to bring and geue hys almes in the same congregacion for the succour and reliefe of the poore. And so both to confirm: and strengthen hys owne faythe, and also to geue a good exaūple of virtue vnto others.[113]

Observing the Sabbath was held in such high regard that

> ... whosoeuer absenteth himselfe from the faithful congregacion at the tyme of common prayers, and specially vpon the sabboth daye ... is worthy to be excommunicate and excluded out frō the nūber of the faithful congregacion, for contemning the same, & the ordinaunce & commaundement of god.[114]

Although it is an isolated comment, this threat of excommunication highlights the seriousness with which some mid-Tudor evangelicals took the Sabbath. Moreover, the fact that the Sunday Sabbath was being taught in multiple catechisms further emphasises the centrality of the doctrine to evangelical ecclesiology. That is to say, the communal practice of public worship on a Sunday was seen as an essential way of revealing the invisible church within the physical confines of the visible Church.

It is important to point out that while Cranmer and Hooper both commended the Sunday Sabbath as a godly exercise, each arrived at this point by using vastly different scriptural hermeneutics. Cranmer's theological framework for applying the Old Testament meant that the Sabbath was used for the ecclesiological purpose of edifying the Church. At a basic level, the Sunday

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[111] John Ponet, *A Shorte Catechisme...* (London, 1553), sigs A2-3.
[112] Ibid. sigs B5-5v.
[113] Edmund Allen, *A Catechism, that is to say, a Christian instruction now newly corrected* (1551), sigs C3v-4. For the outline provided in Ponet's *Shorte Catechisme*, sig. G6v.
[114] Allen, *Catechism*, sig. C4v.

Sabbath was a ceremonial matter of indifference. Such a definition jarred with Hooper's theology, which posited the Sabbath as an essential covenantal response of the faithful to God's grace as dictated by scripture. Of course the great irony of the way the reformed liturgy enshrined the Sunday Sabbath as an acceptable and commendable, albeit indifferent, ceremony was that the Edwardian formularies essentially captured Hooper's understanding of the Sabbath by combining the moral and ceremonial aspects. Regular Sunday public worship as characterised by the Prayer Book provided a singular moment when three of the four Sabbath 'ceremonies' defined by Hooper took place – common prayers, preaching, and administration of the sacraments. This is perhaps why Kenneth Parker was convinced there was a general consensus on the doctrine of the Sabbath in this period.[115] However Parker failed to notice that a significant fissure was threatening to open within the evangelical wing of the Edwardian Church. While Cranmer and Hooper never came to blows over the Sabbath, the latter's intransigence over the *adiaphorous* use of clerical vestments created considerable tension within the Edwardian Church. [116] In the end Hooper conformed to Cranmer's creed of using *adiaphora* for the purpose of decent order and godly discipline and wore vestments during his Ordination service as Bishop of Gloucester. But at the heart of this intra-evangelical struggle to define *adiaphora*, and its appropriate use, was a debate about the role of scripture in regulating ecclesiastical practice. It was a dispute that plagued Edwardian evangelicals well after the boy king had died.

Post-Edwardian developments

Having examined the development of the doctrine of the Sabbath in Edward's regnal years, it will be helpful now to consider how mid-Tudor evangelicals turned the doctrine into a theological football in the years immediately following Edward's death. It was in the context of the Marian exile that divergent interpretations of the Sabbath began to become entrenched and directly associated with distinctive Protestant ecclesiologies.

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[115] Parker, *The English Sabbath*, 40 and passim; Primus, 'Dedham', 99-100.
[116] See chapter one.

During the Marian exile, John Knox had a leading role in the 'Troubles of Frankfurt'.[117] This acrimonious episode was primarily about whether or not the Cranmerian *status quo* of the Edwardian Church should be preserved while in exile. Knox advocated further reforms to the liturgy according to the regulative principle, the paradigm for ecclesiastical practice that permits only those activities explicitly mentioned in scripture. But such a position was not acceptable to many other exiled mid-Tudor reformers. Although the doctrine of the Sabbath was not explicitly raised by those who disagreed with Knox, who was expelled to Geneva as a result of the dispute, the Frankfurt affair provided the background for the next instalment of the continuing debate over *adiaphora*, in which the Sabbath made a prominent appearance once again.

Soon after Cranmer's death in 1556, and with Frankfurt still fresh in the minds of the Edwardian evangelical diaspora, an anonymous editor known as EP translated and published a selection of Cranmer's manuscript commonplace notes under the title *A Confutation of Unwritten Verities*.[118] This work was partly an attempt to preserve the memory of the Edwardian Church when 'a swete and pleasaunt grape of godly doctrine was thē gathered in England to the great comfort and reioysing of al thē that louinglye tasted thereof'.[119] On the other hand, EP's preface took aim at those who had worked against Cranmer's reform programme: those involved in the Marian restoration, as well as the Protestant critics of the Edwardian Reformation.[120] The second category were referred to as 'hot disputers, busy talkers, taunters and fault-finders'; men such as Knox.[121] In the context of the Troubles at Frankfurt, *Unwritten Verities* must be seen as an attempt to leverage the authority of the recently martyred archbishop's name to quell further disturbance amongst the exiled evangelical communities. This is clearly demonstrated in the section dealing with the Sabbath. As already noted,

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[117] See Timothy Duguid, 'The 'Troubles' at Frankfurt: a new chronology', *Reformation & Renaissance Review* xiv (2012), 243–268. See also the Epilogue.
[118] *A Confutatiō of vnwrittē verities, both bi the holye scriptures and moste auncient autors, ... made by Thomas Cranmer ... translated and set forth, by E.P.* (Wesel? 1556?). MacCulloch has suggested that EP can be identified as Stephen Nevison, *Cranmer*, 633-6.
[119] Ibid. sig. A3v.
[120] Ibid. sigs A3-D1.
[121] Ibid. sigs A4-5, at A4.

Cranmer's original notes did not contain a detailed explanation of the doctrine of the Sabbath.[122] However, in *Unwritten Verities* EP took the liberty of injecting a substantial amount of discussion on the topic. The reason for this is not entirely clear. Publishing the late archbishop's theological notes did provide a convenient means of entering the debate about the scriptural basis for ecclesiastical ceremonies anonymously at time when intra-Protestant tensions were high. The appropriated authority of this text also endorsed the form of public worship and church governance that Cranmer had established under Edward over against further reforms that were being forged by Knox in Geneva.

EP's discussion of the Sabbath in *Unwritten Verities* was essentially a rebuttal of the Roman Catholic claim to absolute theological and ecclesiastical authority. Since the Primitive Church had changed the traditional Jewish Sabbath from Saturday to the first day of the week, it was claimed that 'the [Roman Catholic] church hath authorite to chaunge Goddes lawes: muche more it hath authorite to make newe lawes necessarie to saluacion'.[123] EP challenged papal authority by clarifying the doctrine of the Sabbath. The Fourth Commandment prescribed two types of Sabbath rest: 'One is the outward bodely reste from all maner of labour and worke', while 'The other part of the Sabboth day is the inwarde rest or ceassing frō sinne from our own wils and lusts and to do only gods wil and commaūdementes'.[124] In an echo of John Frith, *Unwritten Verities* was quick to dismiss any continuing ceremonial obligation for the Church of England, explaining that this 'was taken awaye with other sacrifices and ceremonies by Christ at the preaching of the gospell'.[125] Instead, the prevailing principle was the 'spirituall Sabboth that is to abstayne from synne and to doe good'.[126] It was this moral dimension that 'all men [are] bounde to kepe all the dayes of their life and not only on the sabboth day'.[127] To support this point, EP cited Cranmer's favourite Church Father:

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[122] See fn. 96.
[123] *vnwrittē verities*, sig. M6v.
[124] Ibid. sig. M8v.
[125] Ibid. sigs M8v-N1.
[126] Ibid. sig. N1.
[127] Ibid.

> Austine also affirmeth saying that amōg all the ten commaundements this only that is spoken of the sabboth is cōmaūded figuratiuely: but al the other commaundements we must obserue playnly as they be cōmaunded with out any figuratyue speche.[128]

The emphasis here was clearly on an analogical, or figurative, interpretation of the Fourth Commandment that dismissed any ceremonial obligations in regard to observing the Sabbath. Hence it was a matter of indifference when the contemporary church formally and corporately observed the Sabbath. Yet the Sunday Sabbath was retained because 'tradycions, outward gestures, rites & ceremonies which be not necessary for our saluacyon', were to 'be ordained for a decente order, and conformite in the churche'.[129] EP clearly echoed the Prayer Book on this point. He also claimed theological and spiritual continuity with the Primitive Church since 'the [Edwardian] church hath not chaunged the speciall part of the sabboth whiche is to cease from vice and sinne: but the cerimoniall part of the Sabboth only'.[130] This was a definitive defence of Cranmer's liturgical legacy in hopeful anticipation of a future resettlement of evangelicals in England. Once again, the doctrine of the Sabbath had been requisitioned into the debate about *adiaphora*.

The on-going disagreement about the application of the regulative and normative principles, and the determinative role of scripture in the lives of individuals and communities, spread into the Elizabethan and early Stuart Churches. For instance, the second *Book of Homilies* of 1563 included the sermon 'Of the Place and Time of Prayer' that dealt specifically with the doctrine of the Sabbath, supposedly to help bring doctrinal uniformity to the Elizabethan Church on a previously divisive topic. However, this did not stop the doctrine of the Sabbath from becoming a bone of contention within English Protestantism, as Collinson, Parker and others have so adequately demonstrated. Interpreting how the Fourth Commandment should be applied continued to be a thorn in the side of the Church of England throughout the early modern period. Yet what is striking about the mid-Tudor literature surveyed above is that none of these

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[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid. sigs L8-8v.
[130] Ibid. sig. N2v.

theologians reached the level of literalism that became so characteristic of later puritans.

Conclusion

The spotlight thrown on the Edwardian Reformation in this chapter reveals a period of dynamic theological imagination that demands greater academic attention. Despite the brevity of Edward's reign, the Edwardian Church acts as a hinge in the wider narrative of English Protestantism. We cannot fully understand the later breakdown in relations within the Church of England without considering the way in which Edwardian reformers approached similar issues. The doctrine of the Sabbath is a pertinent example of this.

By combining two previously unconnected strands of Reformation scholarship, this chapter has demonstrated that the doctrine of the Sabbath was more significant in the eyes of English Edwardian evangelicals than has previously been assumed. Kenneth Parker was right to challenge Collinson's thesis that Sabbartianism was a new development in the later sixteenth century. Hooper's interpretation of the Fourth Commandment reveals an embryonic form of Sabbatarianism normally associated with the much later emergence of puritanism. This suggests the need to re-date the origins of the brand of English Sabbatarianism classically defined by Patrick Collinson. On the other hand, Parker's account of the doctrine of the Sabbath is not entirely accurate either. His thesis that a purely analogical, or figurative, interpretation of the Sabbath was accepted as orthodoxy by the end of Edward's reign needs to be revised. No such consensus on the topic existed during this period. While the divergent views did not result in a direct clash over the Sabbath, the different ways of interpreting and applying Old Testament Law held the potential to fracture whatever achievements the Edwardian Reformation had won during the young king's life. Perhaps the one point of consensus during the period was that the Sunday Sabbath was promoted to foster a greater sense of corporate identity as the True Church. At the very least we can say that the doctrine of the Sabbath gave

impetus to mid-Tudor evangelicals in their attempt to instil their vision of the Church throughout the kingdom.

A further question that neither Parker nor Collinson adequately address is: considering the prevailing divergence in thought, why did the Sabbatarian controversies around the turn of the seventeenth century not occur earlier? The answer lies in a consideration of the distinctive ecclesiological concerns of English reformers under various monarchs. Mid-Tudor evangelicals worked out their Sabbatarian views as part of their attempt to construct the visible Church in the face of stiff opposition from those whose sympathies were largely Roman Catholic. The main concern for these reformers was correcting traditional soteriology by articulating a Protestant *solifidianism*, as reflected in the Edwardian *Book of Homilies*.[131] It was only once a Protestant-styled Church had been fully established that later reformers began to dispute matters of practical divinity in a more openly ferocious manner, which was clearly demonstrated by the *Admonition* controversy. Part of the reason why the Sabbath took on such significance within the puritan movement was because it tangibly illustrated their interpretation of Old Testament Law as still binding on contemporary believers. Although Hooper pre-empted this attitude, the fact is he conformed to the ecclesiological model of the day.

Having said that, we have observed that the moralism which we normally associate with Elizabethan and Stuart puritans was already beginning to develop in the mid-sixteenth century, which was a direct function of the shift from the Henrician battles of reforming doctrine to the Edwardian attempt at building a visible church. The doctrine of the Sabbath therefore also registers a point of demarcation between the evangelical movements under Henry and Edward. Both sets of reformers couched their Sabbatarian theology in terms of opposition to adverse human ceremonies and papal authority. But a significant difference was that the earliest reformers used the Sabbath to challenge the theological foundations of the state Church, while the likes of Hooper and Cranmer contested the theological contours of a state Church in the midst of reform. This difference is demonstrated by the fact that both sides of the Edwardian debate reinforced the spiritual benefits of the institutionalised Sunday Sabbath. The

[131] See Null, 'Official Tudor Homilies', 348-65.

changes in Sabbatarian theology across the ages therefore represent the evolving nature of English Protestantism throughout the long sixteenth century. We gain another insight into this development in the epilogue that follows, which focuses our attention on the immediate aftermath of the Edwardian Reformation in Frankfurt-am-Main during the Marian exile.

Epilogue:
Frankfurt, the Final Frontier

For a period of about twelve months from mid-1554 through to September 1555, the German city of Frankfort-am-Main played host to an episode that arguably brought the Edwardian Reformation to an end. Like other Protestant centres on the continent such as Zurich, Strasburg, Emden, Wesel, and Geneva, Frankfurt provided a safe haven for those fleeing Mary's regime.[1] While the new queen was busy re-establishing Roman Catholicism and burning many leading evangelicals, other Edwardian divines were hoping to set up English congregations in their new homes.[2] It quickly became apparent, however, that the form of public worship in these settings was a source of contention. Frankfurt was the site where these tensions boiled over in a dispute over liturgy and church governance that effectively split the English exile community; the division was far from resolved when the newly-crowned Elizabeth re-established a modified version of the 1552 Prayer Book in 1559.

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[1] For the exile communities, see Christina Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Protestantism* (Cambridge, 1938); Andrew Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism: Six studies* (Aldershot, 1996), 10-38. The original manuscripts of Frankfurt's city registers that would list the English exiles resident there at this time was destroyed by bombing campaigns during World War II. However Garrett relied on the work of the former city archivist, Rudolf Jung, *Die englische Flüchtlings-Gemeinde in Frankfurt am Main, 1554-59* (Frankfurt, 1910). Martin Simpson provides a commentary on Jung's archival work in *John Knox and the Troubles begun at Frankfurt: comprising a critical commentary on "A brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford ... A.D. 1554", John Knox's narrative of his expulsion from the city, with annotations, and an analysis of Rudolf Jung's "Englische Flüchtlingsgemeinde" (1910)* (Edinburgh, 1975), 137-51.

[2] On the Marian Restoration, see John Edwards and Ronald Truman (eds.), *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza* (Aldershot, 2005), esp. chs. 2-5; Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven-London, 2009). On the exile communities, see Dan Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555-1560* (New York, 1999), 15-24; Ashley Null, 'The Marian Exiles in Switzerland', *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte* (Band 7, 2006), 3-22.

This is not the place to rehearse a detailed chronology of the events, or to re-examine every aspect of a very complex affair.[3] However, it is appropriate to raise a couple of features of the Frankfurt dispute for consideration as we close our discussion of the Edwardian Reformation. In particular, we will pay close attention to the ways in which the liturgical reforms undertaken by this small exile congregation, along with its attempt to initiate a change in the structures of church governance, signalled a new development in the evolution of mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology. We shall also investigate how this reflected on the memory of the Edwardian Reformation. More broadly, this epilogue serves as an important coda to the thesis because the Troubles at Frankfurt act as a Janus face in the history of sixteenth-century English Protestantism. The controversy pointed forward to the Elizabethan Church just as much as it pointed backward to the Edwardian Church. For within a year of Edward VI's death, the memory of his Church was being seriously challenged and contested by the very people who had helped to shape it.

Two rival groups emerged within the English congregation at Frankfurt that hotly disputed the continued usage of the 1552 Prayer Book as well as the most suitable form of church governance. On the one hand, the 'Geneva party', (initially led by William Whittingham, Thomas Wood, and later John Knox) saw the Marian exile as an opportunity to accelerate liturgical reform.[4] On the other hand, the 'Prayer Book party' (initially led by David Whitehead and Thomas Lever, and later Richard Cox) sought to continue to 'do as they had donne in Englande', to ensure that the visible church would retain the 'face off an English churche' while in exile.[5] The upshot of the dispute was that Knox was expelled

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[3] The authoritative chronology of events in Timothy Duguid, 'The 'Troubles at Frankfurt': a new chronology', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* xiv (2012), 243-68. See also, Dawson, *John Knox*, 90-108.

[4] Previous scholarship has referred to these groups as the 'Coxians' and the 'Knoxians' after the supposed leaders of each faction, Richard Cox and John Knox. Instead, I am using the terminology coined by Duguid. See ibid. 243-4, fn. 2.

[5] *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554* (1575), ed. John Petheram (London, 1846), XXXVIII. The authorship of this works has been disputed. See Simpson, *John Knox and the Troubles begun at Frankfurt*, 12-22; Patrick Collinson, 'The authorship of *A Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford*', in Collinson, *Godly People*, 191-211.

from Frankfurt in March 1555 and found refuge in Calvin's Geneva.[6] He was joined six months later by Whittingham and others who rejected the leadership of Cox; both Knox and Christopher Goodman were duly elected ministers of the English congregation in Geneva.[7] The split at Frankfurt has traditionally been seen as representative of a greater rupture in the unity of mid-Tudor evangelicals, a breach that would continue to plague English Protestantism from the Elizabethan settlement onwards.

Most historians still agree, at least in part, with the assessment of the nineteenth-century Presbyterian historian Peter Lorimer, who saw the entrenched divisions of Frankfurt as resulting in 'the rise of the Puritan party in the Church of England'.[8] Patrick Collinson wrote that this controversy was 'proleptic of later convulsions in the Elizabethan Church'. [9] And while Karl Gunther's most recent reassessment has placed the Troubles of Frankfurt 'in a very different political and polemical context than the Elizabethan (or earlier Edwardian) debates over *adiaphora* and religious authority', he still concedes that 'the positions staked out at Frankfurt are better seen as presaging the widespread commitment of the returning exiles to purge the Elizabethan Church of the "remnants of popery"'.[10] Since most scholarship focuses on the Geneva party, the later impact of this splinter group on the Elizabethan Church in providing ideological inspiration for nonconformists in the 1570s is often portrayed as an inevitable development of what transpired at Frankfurt.[11] Such an interpretation has been coloured by the fact that, until Jane Dawson's recent discovery of a number of letters owned by Christopher Goodman, the key primary text used to research the Troubles at Frankfurt has been the 1575 tract, *A Brieff Discours of the Trouble Begun at Frankfort*.[12] This is problematic because

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[6] Ibid. XXXVI-XLVII.
[7] See Dawson, *John Knox*, 119-63.
[8] Peter Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England: His Work in Her Pulpit and His Influence Upon Her Liturgy, Articles and Parties* (London, 1875), 201.
[9] Patrick Collinson, 'England and International Calvinism, 1558-1640', in idem. *From Cranmer to Sancroft* (London, 2006), 77. See also Euan Cameron, 'Frankfurt and Geneva: the European context of John Knox's Reformation', in R. Mason (ed.), *John Knox and the British Reformations* (Alderhsot, 1998), 51-61.
[10] Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, 160.
[11] For instance, Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, ch. 5.
[12] For these letters, see http://www.marianexile.div.ed.ac.uk.

previous studies have drawn conclusions about this incident without treating with sufficient caution a highly polemic document that was produced in a context of heated debate, twenty years after the events of Frankfurt.[13] As a result, the existing scholarship lacks an awareness that the Troubles at Frankfurt were just as much a chapter of the Edwardian Reformation as they were a prelude to the Elizabethan controversies.[14] Moreover, little attention has been given to the specific liturgical reforms that were carried out at Frankfurt at this time, and to what those reforms signalled about the evolution of mid-Tudor ecclesiology.

Another aspect that tied the Troubles of Frankfurt to the Edwardian Reformation was the international dimension of the episode. This seems a rather obvious point to make considering the geography. But it is important to recognise the continuing intellectual influence on the Edwardian diaspora of leading continental theologians such as Heinrich Bullinger, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Jan Łaski, and John Calvin, who were all drawn in to provide their opinions on the situation.[15] Thus the Troubles at Frankfurt was not just an Anglo-Scottish affair; it involved the entire evangelical diaspora along the Strasbourg-St-Gall axis, and north into the Low Countries.[16] This was one of the last moments when English reformers enjoyed the international tenor and thrust that was characteristic of the Edwardian Church. Elizabeth's subsequent contempt for Knox, and by association any reformers connected to Calvin's Geneva, meant that the creative forces of continental theologians, so crucial to the Edwardian Reformation, were somewhat lost in the Elizabethan Church.[17]

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[13] A helpful reminder to take due caution is Collinson, The authorship of *A Brieff Discours*', 191-211.

[14] In his classic study of the period, A. G. Dickens saw Frankfurt as 'the battleground of those controversies left unresolved by the reign of Edward VI, and soon to be revived under Elizabeth', *The English Reformation* (London-Glasgow, revised edn 1973), 394.

[15] For the correspondence between the English exiles and these continental theologians, see Jane Dawson, 'Letters from Exile: Documents from the Marian Exile', http://www.marianexile.div.ed.ac.uk.

[16] For the importance of the Strasbourg-St-Gall axis, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 173-9, 356-8; idem. *Tudor Church Militant*, 57-63.

[17] Commenting on the Elizabethan settlement, Collinson noted that 'Theodore Beza had to explain to Heinrich Bullinger why Geneva was hated in England and on another occasion exclaimed: 'Quae talis unquam Babylon extitit?' The English church settlement rested primarily on the principles of autonomy from Rome

The influence of international reformers on the English congregation at Frankfurt was evident in the liturgy and church polity developed for use while in exile. The first group of English exiles arrived in Frankfurt in June 1554. This advance party included William Whittingham, Edmund Sutton, William Williams, and Thomas Wood and their households. They were soon given permission to establish a congregation in the same building as the French exile congregation led by Valérand Poullain, who had been the minister of the French Strangers Church in Glastonbury during Edward's reign.[18] This concession to the English refugees came with the proviso that public worship 'shulde not discent from the French men in doctrine, or ceremonyes ... [and that] they shulde approue and subscribe the same confession off faith'. [19] Accordingly, the English exiles composed a new liturgy akin to Poullain's *Liturgia sacra*, which also meant that a more congregational-style of church governance would be adopted in Frankfurt. Once 'the Englishe order was perused ... at length', it was decided 'by general consente' that a versicle-style service 'should not be used, the letanye, surplice, and many other things also omitted, for that in those reformed churches, such things would seem more then strange'.[20] These changes in liturgy and church governance were not necessarily radical moves in the context of the Marian exile, as Timothy Duguid has pointed out.[21] But the manner in which the Frankfurt exiles advertised these changes as 'free from all dregs of superstitious

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and royal supremacy, not on the reception of true doctrine and conformity with the community of Reformed churches. Consequently, relations between England and the centres of continental Reform were never secure and always subject to political arbitrariness. As early as 1568, Bullinger wrote: 'Expectabimus ergo non ex Anglia sed ex coelo liberationem'.' Patrick Collinson, 'England and International Calvinism, 1558-1640', in Menna Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541-1715* (Oxford, 1985), 198. See also Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1979), 67-82. However, Carrie Euler has convincingly demonstrated the continued influence of Bullinger on Elizabethan divines. See *Couriers of the Gospel*, passim.

[18] *A Brieff discours*, VI-VII.

[19] Ibid. VI.

[20] Ibid. VI-VII.

[21] See Duguid, 'The 'Troubles of Frankfurt'', 247-8. Other exile congregations adapted Łaski's *Forma ac ratio*, for instance in Emden and Wesel. See Michael Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church: John a Lasco and the forma ac ratio* (Aldershot, 2007), 123-32. However, many English congregations scattered around the continent persevered in using the 1552 Prayer Book. See Duguid, 'The 'Troubles at Frankfurt'', 244-9.

ceremonies' in a general letter sent out to other English exile communities, inviting them to come together in Frankfurt, was arguably the spark that ignited the troubles.[22] However, due to a misunderstanding on the part of Edmund Grindal, who received this letter in Strasbourg and mistook it as an invitation for ministers, the Prayer Book party were slightly delayed in realising the threat posed to the Edwardian legacy by this new liturgy.[23]

With a workable liturgy in place, the Frankfurt congregation now required ministers to lead them. Separate letters were sent to John Knox at Geneva, Thomas Lever at Zurich, and James Haddon at Strasbourg, inviting these men to act as ministers of the new congregation.[24] Knox responded immediately and arrived mid-November, Lever was in Frankfurt by the end of January 1555, and Haddon declined altogether. [25] It is worth pausing to consider the significance of these choices. All three men were well-known preachers under Edward VI, but none of them were bishops. Although Haddon had been licensed to preach 'bie expresse com(m)aundemente of the higher powers, & of the kynge himselffe', he declined Frankfurt's offer because 'I am no mininster', opting instead to use his exile as an opportunity to deepen his Hebrew skills.[26] Lever had demonstrated his abilities before the English Court, boldly preaching against the 'carnal gospellers' of the realm on more than one occasion.[27] Of the three, Knox was perhaps the most belligerent. His preaching had aroused the ire of Archbishop Cranmer in the lead up to the publication of the 1552 Prayer Book when the Scot agitated for further liturgical reform by arguing that kneeling during communion was not biblical. Although this resulted in the inclusion of the

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[22] *A Brieff discours*, IX.
[23] Duguid, 'The 'Troubles of Frankfurt'', 248-53.
[24] *A Brieff discours*, XIII.
[25] Duguid, 'The 'Troubles of Frankfurt'', 248-9.
[26] Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, p. 35 [http://www.marianexile.div.ed.ac.uk/documents/Haddon-Frankfurt-541016.shtml#5410, accessed 4 September 2017]. See also C. S. Knighton, 'Haddon, James (*b. c.*1520, *d.* in or after 1556)', *ODNB* [6 November 2017].
[27] During Lent 1553, 'evangelicals of very different backgronds and temperaments combined their rhetoric in an attempt to shock and shame the country's governors'. The preaching group included Latimer, Lever, Bradford, Grindal, Knox, Wilson and Haddon. MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 532; idem. *Tudor Church Militant*, 151. See also, see Ben Lowe, 'Lever, Thomas (1521– 1577)', *ODNB* [6 November 2017].

infamous 'Black Rubric', Cranmer had won the theological argument 'game set and match'.[28] Others saw Knox's fiery preaching as a positive. It was on the strength of his preaching that Northumberland had offered him the See of Rochester in winter 1552, which Knox declined, preferring to remain with his beloved congregation at Berwick.[29] Northumberland then offered Knox 'the plumb London living of All Hallows, Bread Street' in February 1553, which was also turned down.[30] The decision to invite these three men to be ministers reveals much about the direction in which the Geneva Party originally wanted to take the Frankfurt congregation. Clearly preaching was a top priority. But it is also significant that none of the three choices were Edwardian bishops, a point on which most scholarship, including Gunther, is silent.[31]

As we have noted earlier in the thesis, there were bishops among the Marian exiles: John Ponet, John Bale, and John Scory. Ponet and Scory were both resident at Strasbourg, while Bale was in Frankfurt and headed the list of signatures on Knox's letter of invitation.[32] Bale's involvement in this decision is intriguing and deserves more attention than can be afforded here, not least because he retained an interest in the welfare of the English congregation at Frankfurt for some time after Knox's expulsion.[33] The initial decision by the

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[28] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 525-30, at 529. Knox wrote a 'Note to the Council' defending his views. Two copies are contained in Dr Williams's Library Morrice MSS, 'The Second Parte of a Register': MS B II, fols. 217-24, MS C, pp. 856-62, cf. Lorimer, *John Knox*, 267-74. See also Dawson, *John Knox*, 72-5.

[29] Dawson, *John Knox*, 76-8, at 77. For Knox's pastoral concern, see his letter 'To the Congregation of Berwick'. Two copies are found in Dr Williams's Library Morrice MSS, 'The Second Parte of a Register': MS B II fols. 207-16, MS C, pp. 73-82, cf. Lorimer, *John Knox*, 251-65.

[30] This parish 'had become vacant when Thomas Sampson, a well-known and radical preacher, was moved to the deanery of Chichester'. Dawson, *John Knox*, 76-8, at 77.

[31] Many of those involved in the Frankfurt affair would later become Elizabethan bishops, including Edmund Grindal, John Jewel, and Robert Horne.

[32] Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, pp. 32-33 [http://www.marianexile.div.ed.ac.uk/documents/Frankfurt-Knox-540924.shtml#5409, accessed 6 November 2017]; *A Brieff discours*, XIX-XX. Peter Happé mistakenly claimed that Bale was one of the four candidates invited to take up the post of minister at Frankfurt, *John Bale* (New York, 1996), 21.

[33] For instance he was a signatory of a new 'Order of Discipline', which was composed in 1557, well after Knox had left for Geneva. A original copy of this Order is LPL MS 2523 fols 5-7v; also printed in *A Brieff discours*, CXI-CXV. See

Frankfurt congregation not to invite those with proven episcopal leadership experience to become their ministers suggests a deliberate rejection of episcopacy; at the very least, we can observe that established leaders of the Edwardian Church had been snubbed in favour of equally, if not more, fiery preachers.[34] This conscious choice to avoid bishops was perhaps born out of an intention to create a presbyterian form of church eldership.[35] Grindal first reported this to Richard Cox in November 1554, writing with alarm that 'by the instigation of some younge heades' the Frankfurt congregation has

> conceyved this opinion, that thei wyll not have any one superattendente or Pastoure that shall have preeminence above the reste of the ministeres, but that all things shall be done, *communi consilio presbyterorum*.[36]

The extent to which Thomas Lever was content with this arrangement is unclear. However, by the time he had arrived in January to assume his ministerial position, the Frankfurt congregation had clearly begun to move away from its Edwardian moorings. It is easier to see how such a church polity would have appealed to Knox, whose previous refusal to accept ecclesiastical promotion under Edward sits in sharp contrast to John Hooper's acquiescence with the structural status quo of the established Church, as discussed in chapter one.

It was no coincidence that Knox was at the epicentre of this storm. Like the Troubles at Frankfurt, his pugnacious presence has been felt lurking in the

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also BL Additional MS 29546, fo. 25; cf. E. J. Baskerville, 'John Ponet in Exile: a Ponet Letter to John Bale', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxvii (1986), 442–447.

[34] When describing the preaching that took place to condemn the 'carnal gospellers' of the Edwardian Privy Council, Ridley noted that 'As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them, no doubt, of that filthy matter, that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes', *A Pituous Lamentation of the miserable Estate of the Churche of Christ in Englande ...* (1566), sig. B5v (Ridley, *Works*, 59).

[35] See Duguid, 'The 'Troubles at Frankfurt'', 248-9.

[36] Grindal was quoting Jerome, and also believed that the presbyterian 'conceyte will soon be ouerthrowen'. Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839 p 38 [http://www.marianexile.div.ed.ac.uk/documents/Grindal-Cox-541106.shtml#5411, accessed 15 November 2017].

wings just off stage throughout this thesis. While his direct involvement in the Edwardian Church was limited, he was very much an English reformer during the Marian exile.[37] And he was determined not to let the English congregation at Frankfurt continue to worship in a compromised manner.[38] That is to say, Knox took his opportunity to instil the regulative principle into the polity and liturgy of his adopted home. In doing so, Knox hoped to restore the English congregation to its proper place amongst the 'best-reformed churches' of the continent; only then would it visibly resemble the True Church. According to Knox's own narrative of the Frankfurt affair, 'the only matter that I sought' was to ensure that the congregation would 'have the face of Christ's Church ... therefore I would have had it agreeable in outward rites and ceremonies with Christian Churches reformed'.[39]

Knox's application of the regulative principle was consistent throughout his ministry. Writing to his congregation at Berwick in 1552, he claimed that 'in ceremonies and rites ... I did observe the preceptes and practice of Christ and his apostilles so nye as the Holye Gost did oppin vnto me'.[40] He maintained this stance in 1559 when he tried to justify his notorious attack on female leadership, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (1558), in a letter to Queen Elizabeth. Knox reasoned that 'any offence wch I have cōmitted against England' was misplaced, because 'nothing in my booke contenes is or can be preiudiciall to yor graces iust regiment'.[41] However, only that which God

> approuethe by his eternall woorde, that shalbe approued and whatsoeuer he damnethe shalbe condemned ... It apperteingthe to you therefore to grounde the iustice of youre aucthoritie, not vpon that lawe whiche from yere to yere dothe change, But vpon the eternall prudence of him who contrare to nature and withowt yor deserning hathe thus exalted yor hed.[42]

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[37] Dawson, *John Knox*, 89.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Knox, *Works*, 41.
[40] Dr Williams's Library, Morrice MS B II fol. 212, cf. Lorimer, *John Knox*, 259.
[41] Inner Temple Library Petyt MS 538/46 fols. 41-41v.
[42] Ibid. fols. 41v-42.

On similar grounds, Knox found fault with the use of the Edwardian Prayer Book in Frankfurt 'because I do find in the English Book ... things superstitious, impure, unclean, and unperfect, ... therefore I could not agree that their Book should be of our Church received.' [43] Such a pronounced manifestation of the regulative principle had not been expressed by any other English reformer of the period, not even by John Hooper.[44]

Considering such vehement opposition to the Prayer Book, it was natural for Knox to feel a sense of betrayal when his co-minister, Thomas Lever, invited John Jewel to lead the Frankfurt congregation in the Litany on 20 March 1555.[45] Knox was highly offended by this for a number of reasons. Jewel had remained in Marian England longer than the other exiles, and it was understood that Jewel 'had been at Masse in England, and had subscribed to blasphemous Articles' of Roman Catholicism.[46] As bad as this was, the tipping point for Knox was the reintroduction of the Litany into public worship since this part of the service had been omitted from the original liturgy drawn up for use in Frankfurt, well before Knox had arrived.[47] An outraged Knox took to the pulpit that afternoon decrying the Prayer Book as containing 'thinges bothe superstitious, unpure, and unperfect'.[48] To continue its usage in Frankfurt would be to 'burthen that free congregation'.[49] Knox went on to condemn the leaders of the Edwardian Church for a 'slacknes to reforme religion', and cited Hooper's imprisonment during the vestments controversy as well as the multiple livings of ministers as examples of this.[50]

The Litany was seen by Knox as a retrograde feature of Edwardian public worship and needed to be jettisoned in order to create a fully reformed liturgy. Furthermore, the reintroduction of the Litany broke an agreement between the Geneva party and the Prayer Book party made on 6 February not to alter a newly

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[43] Knox, *Works*, IV, 43.
[44] Jan Łaski certainly agitated for this kind of reform, and he has been connected with Knox in the latter stages of the Edwardian period. See Dirk W. Rodgers, *John à Lasco in England* (New York, 1994), 162-4.
[45] Knox, *Works*, 42-3.
[46] Ibid. 42. Cf. *A Brieff discours*, XXXIX.
[47] See fn. 20; Duguid, 'The 'Troubles of Frankfurt'', 249.
[48] *A Brieff discours*, XXXVIII. Cf. Knox, *Works*, 43.
[49] Ibid. XXXIX.
[50] Ibid.

devised 'liturgy of compromise' for three months, when an appraisal of its form would take place in consultation with the congregation.[51] Despite Knox's obvious disappointment over the unilateral move to conduct the Litany, the Prayer Book party exploited the congregational polity of Frankfurt to undermine Knox's leadership.[52] When accusations of treason against Knox came before the city Magistrates, the Scot was defeated and left for Geneva on 25 March. The Prayer Book party continued to harass the remaining members of the Geneva party over the next six months until this remnant joined Knox in September 1555.[53] A strange irony of all this fuss over the Litany was that those who contended for a more congregational based church polity sought to limit the congregation's involvement in public worship, whereas those who defended the top-down leadership model of episcopacy wanted to preserve lay participation in church services. Perhaps this difference in leadership style says more about Knox's headstrong personality than it does about Cox's loyalty to Cranmer's Prayer Book. But in terms of ecclesiology, both forms of governance made a conscious effort to provide the laity with an active role in the visible church. Either way, this was a far cry from the separation of clergy and laity that existed in the medieval Roman Catholic Church.

In the immediate aftermath of Knox's expulsion, the new leadership drew up a revised liturgy and a new 'Order of Discipline' for the Frankfurt congregation. An original copy of this liturgy and order is preserved in the British Library in Egerton MS 2836. Duguid has suggested that it was first used a week after Knox left for Geneva on 31 March 1555, which implies that the Prayer Book party already had a version of it ready to use before Knox left.[54] Apart from

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[51] *A Brieff discours*, XXXVII- XXXIX. The arrival of Richard Cox a week before on 13 March certainly escalated the tensions, and it is probable that Jewel acted on the prompting of Cox. See also Duguid, 'The 'Troubles at Frankfurt'', 249-52.
[52] For this and the following narrative details, see *A Brieff discours*, XXXVI-XLVII. Cf. Duguid, 'The 'Troubles at Frankfurt'', 251-9.
[53] Ibid. XLVII-LXII.
[54] BL Egerton MS 2836; an original copy of 'Thorde off disipline for the Englishe Churche off Franckforde Received' is also found in LPL MS 2523 fols. 5-7v. A modern transcription of BL Egerton MS 2836 fols. 1-13v, with commentary, is provided by Robin Leaver (ed.), *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles 1555* (Grove Liturgical Study, No. 38, 1984). For the use of this liturgy, see Duguid, 'The 'Troubles at Frankfurt'', 250.

Robin Leaver's textual analysis of this manuscript, this liturgy has escaped thorough examination in the existing scholarship. Its significance to the preservation of the memory of the Edwardian Reformation has therefore been overlooked.[55]

The new Frankfurt liturgy of 1555 not only represented a victory for the Prayer Book party, it also provided a sense of continuity with the form of public worship in the Edwardian Church. Although this liturgical revision modified the 1552 Prayer Book it could be argued that Cox and his colleagues were following Cranmer's principle for *adiaphora* outlined in the Prayer Book's introductory essay 'Of Ceremonies'.[56] There Cranmer had stated that it was 'conueniente that euery countreye should use such ceremonies, as thei shal thynke beste to the settyng foorth of goddes honour, and glorye'.[57] Therefore, 'from time to time ... it often chaunceth [that liturgy will differ] diuerselye in diuerse countreyes'.[58] In other words, it was permissible to adapt the liturgy to suit the cultural sensitivities of a particular location as long as these changes were edifying and biblical. This is exactly what we see in the Frankfurt liturgy of 1555.

The preface to the Frankfurt liturgy explained that although 'we neither condempe, iudge, nor refuse enythinge as wicked, or repugnant to the trewe sence and meaneinge of godes worde' in the 1552 Prayer Book, 'we haue omytted in respect of tyme, place, and such circūstancis, certeine rites and ceremonyes appointed in the saide boke, as thinges of ther owne nature

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BL Egerton MS 2836 has been often been confused with the so-called 'liturgy of compromise' agreed upon on 6 February 1555 (*A Brieff discours*, XXXVII- XXXIX). George W. Sprott was the first to misname this manuscript in, 'The Liturgy of Compromise used in the English Congregation at Frankfort', in H. J. Wotherspoon (ed.), *The Second Prayer Book of King Edward the Sixth (1552) and the Liturgy of Compromise*, (Edinburgh-London, 1905), 205-29. A copy of the order (but not the liturgy) contained in BL Egerton MS 2836 was printed in *A Brieff discours* as a comparison to a later 'Discipline reformed and confirmed by the authoritie off the churche and Magistrate' in 1557, CX-CXXXV.

[55] Leaver, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*.

[56] This essay was moved from the rear of the 1549 Prayer Book to the front of the 1552 edition. BCP49, 286-8; BCP52, 324-6.

[57] BCP49, 288; BCP52, 326.

[58] Ibid.

indifferent'.[59] In the context of the bitter infighting that saw Knox expelled, Cox was wise to apply this principle. Moreover, the English exiles in Frankfurt were still bound by the city regulations to conduct public worship in a similar manner to the French congregation there.[60] Thus the surviving manuscript copy of the 1555 Frankfurt liturgy represents 'a compromise involving the content of the English 1552 Prayer Book and the form of the liturgy of the French congregation in Frankfurt' – not a compromise between the Prayer Book and Geneva parties.[61] It was therefore the closest equivalent to Edwardian public worship that the English congregation at Frankfurt would get. Different features of the Frankfurt liturgy have been discussed at various points throughout this thesis. One final aspect needs to be discussed: the reintroduction of the Litany.

Consideration of the Litany at the close of the Edwardian period takes us back to the beginning of Cranmer's liturgical reforms under Henry VIII. The Litany of 1544, otherwise known as *An Exhortation to Prayer*, was the first officially sanctioned liturgy to use vernacular English in public worship.[62] Its arrival coincided with Henry's latest military adventure in France, and Cranmer incorporated a number of intercessory prayers into this extended prayer service asking God to guide the monarch.[63] One of the collects called on God to act in the hearts of all monarchs so that they 'be directed and gouerned by the holie spirite of god, and bothe rule, and be ruled, by his holy feare'.[64] A later collect made particular intercession for Henry: 'That it maye please the to rule his hearte in thy faithe, feare, and loue that he maye euer haue affyaunce in the, & euer seke thy honour & glory'.[65] The 'noble Quene Catherin' was then prayed for with a

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[59] BL Egerton 2836 fol. 1v (Leaver, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*, 6). Leaver described this prefatory justification of liturgical adaption as a 'temporary accommodation made necessary by their situation as exiles', *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*, 5.
[60] *A Brieff discours*, XLIII.
[61] Leaver, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*, 5.
[62] J. Eric Hunt, *Cranmer's First Litany, 1544 and Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer Noted, 1550* (London, 1939), 15-28. See also MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 328-32.
[63] *Ibid*.
[64] *An Exhortation vnto prayer...Also a letanie with suffrages...* (1544), sig. A5v.
[65] Ibid. sig. B5.

request for an 'increase of all godlynes, honour, and chyldren'.[66] When the Litany was incorporated into the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books, Edward's name was substituted for Henry's in the above-mentioned collect (the reference to a queen or children was omitted for obvious reasons).[67] Interestingly, the Frankfurt liturgy continued this trend of praying for the reigning monarchs by including a collect for Queen Mary and King Philip.[68] The prayer confessed the guilt of those who were filled with 'vnthankfullnes and contempt of thy most blessed worde' during Edward's reign, which resulted in God sending 'hipocrites' to 'rule for ye synnes of the people'.[69] But then the collect offers an unexpected request:

> [We] praye for them, not seeke their deathes but wishe their amendement, that thi glorye maye be advaunced, and the dayes of ther violent persecution shorttened ... So most mercifull Lord god turne we beseche the, the hartes of kynge Philippe and Marye his Quenne that in England thei maye become of p[er]secutours favourers, of hynderers promoters, and of blasphemers, setters forthe of thye name and gospell.[70]

The hope was that, in His mercy, God might convert Philip and Mary so that the True Church might flourish in England once more.

The inclusion of this prayer for the reigning monarchs of England indicates that the royal supremacy had an enduring effect on mid-Tudor ecclesiology. Gunther argues that the Geneva party did not feel bound by the royal supremacy because their continental location placed them beyond the political reach of the Marian regime.[71] However there is evidence to suggest that the original Frankfurt liturgy retained a sense of allegiance to the motherland. According to the order of public worship described in *A Brieff discours*, the sermon was followed by 'a general praier for all estates and for oure countrie of Englande was also devised'.[72] One can only speculate whether the contents of such a prayer included a petition for Mary and Philip's conversions in the same

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[66] Ibid. sig. B5v.
[67] BCP49, 232; BCP52, 362.
[68] Robin Leaver notes that this prayer could only have been written after John Knox left Frankfurt for Geneva due to his contempt for the Roman Catholic monarchs, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*, 3-5, 22.
[69] BL MS Egerton 2836, fol. 13 (Leaver, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*, 22).
[70] Ibid. fol. 13v (Leaver, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles 1555*, 22).
[71] Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, 172.
[72] *A Brieff discours*, VII.

way as the liturgy of BL Egerton MS 2836 did.[73] We can be more confident in suggesting that those reformers whose public devotion had been shaped by the Edwardian Prayer Books, and who subsequently stayed loyal to that form of worship in exile, inherently associated the fortunes of the visible church with the faith of the earthly authority. Hence when the sovereign was a Roman Catholic, prayers went up in a bid to change the situation. Those exiles who later proposed godly resistance as a legitimate response to an ungodly monarch were arguably just as concerned with the human leadership of the visible church. The Frankfurt liturgy, however, provided a positive response to a situation that was far from the evangelical ideal.

Even though the political circumstances were vastly different from the Edwardian heyday, what we notice at Frankfurt is that mid-Tudor reformers continued to be confronted with the ecclesiological paradox of giving visible form to the invisible church within the established institution. The Marian restoration came as a bleak reminder to mid-Tudor evangelicals of the frailty of human effort and the destructive consequences of sin.[74] Against this, persecuted evangelicals took comfort in the doctrine of the invisible True Church, which was governed by God's providential election. As we saw in chapter two, John Bale's *Vocacyon* was one example of this. His presence in Frankfurt suggests that he might have used the doctrine of the invisible church to provide direct pastoral care for other English evangelicals coming to terms with their exile. A prayer in the Frankfurt liturgy of Egerton MS 2836 also chimes with such an ecclesiology. These exiles called on God to 'Beholde our discomfort concerninge the place wher at we haue called vpon thi name' (i.e. England).[75] But equally asked the

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[73] It is possible that this prayer included a similar petition to that found in the 1555 Frankfurt liturgy: 'O Lord forget not our bretherne in Englande, which nowe lye in prison readye to the slaughter for professeinge of thy name but graunt vnto them either bye their continueaunce in this life ... that their maye still profit thie congregacōn, or ells bye constant professeinge and chearfull bearinge of thi crosse, their maye pacientlye to thende susteine the same to thi great praise and glorye', BL Egerton MS 2836, fol. 12v (Lever, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*, 21).

[74] Warning against covetousness and carnal living had been a common theme for evangelical preachers throughout the period. See fn. 27. See also Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 24-6, 204-9.

[75] BL Egerton 2836 fol. 12 (Lever, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*, 20).

Almighty to 'Remember ye Citie of London, howe godlye fundacōns were ther layde of Religion'[76] This petition to restore true religion to the mother country was followed by a request to 'graunt vnto the Citie of Ffrankforde whein we are, continuall peace & longe presperitie ... [and to] Mercifullye looke vpon all the Churches in Germanye, or ells wher reformed, and namelye, the Church of Zuriche'.[77] On the one hand, this prayer reveals a sensitivity to the function ofthe visible church as the conduit of true faith. On the other, it celebrated the spiritual fellowship of believers within the invisible church. Once again we are reminded that themes of nationalism and internationalism were intermingled in mid- Tudor evangelical ecclesiology. But the experience of the Marian persecution also reminded mid-Tudor evangelicals that their attempts to resolve the ecclesiological paradox were contingent upon socio-political circumstances beyond their control. And it was within the specific context of working out how to make sense of the relationship that the exiles still had with their English brethren that the memory of the Edwardian Reformation began to be disputed.

In many ways, the Troubles at Frankfurt were reflective of a latent disunity that had existed within evangelical ranks throughout the Edwardian period. While the boy-king was still alive the tensions that existed were able to be contained, thanks in large part to the magnanimous leadership of Archbishop Cranmer.[78] Once these twin pillars of the Edwardian Church were no longer in place, mid-Tudor evangelicals lacked coherence and a unified sense of direction. While Knox and others looked to Geneva for a new source of theological inspiration and leadership, the Prayer Book party tried to distil the Edwardian past and boil it down to its liturgical essentials. Even for the likes of Edmund Grindal and John Ponet who advised on the Troubles at Frankfurt, but stayed in Strasbourg, retaining an allegiance to the 1552 Prayer Book was a means of legitimising their ecclesiastical leadership over the diaspora of Edwardian evangelicals in exile. This was not just a declaration of loyalty to the type of reform that had been successful in the unique conditions of Edwardian England.

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[76] Ibid.
[77] BL Egerton 2836 fols 12v-13 (Lever, *The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*, 21).
[78] MacCulloch notes that 'Thomas Cranmer was the one man who guaranteed the continuity of the changes [throughout the Edwardian Reformation], and he was chiefly responsible for planning them as they occurred', *Cranmer*, 366.

It was also an attempt to extend the ecclesiastical uniformity that went hand in glove with the institution of the Prayer Book, thus bringing a sense of continuity with the temporal Church that the exile congregations had been forced to leave behind. Looking forward, there was no way of telling at this stage of the exile how Elizabeth might move the goalposts if and when she succeeded her half-sister. It made sense to the Prayer Book party, therefore, to preserve Edwardian religion as best they could, which entailed a defence of the 1552 Prayer Book, as we have seen.

Although the Prayer Book was re-established in 1559 it was not exactly the same as the 1552 version. One important modification was to splice the 1549 rubrics for administration of communion with those of 1552, which was an accommodation to the traditionalists in Elizabeth's Church; subsequent Prayer Book revisions never quite recaptured the full-blown evangelical tenor of the 1552 edition.[79] Had the Marian exiles embraced a uniform attitude to liturgical reform, either a progressive or a conservative attitude, they might have been in a stronger position to bargain with Elizabeth over the form of her Prayer Book upon their return.[80] As it was, objections to the Elizabethan Prayer Book were raised by a group of dissidents almost immediately after its promulgation. In a note to the governing bodies, twenty-two signatories criticised the way scripture was (mis)handled in the Prayer Book, particularly in relation to infant baptism: 'we doubt how ... it is certayne by Godes word that children being baptized, haue all thinges necessary for their saluation, and be vndoubtedly saued'.[81] Until such scruples 'be resolued in o^r consciences by the word of God we dare not (as fayne we would) so freely subscribe to all thinges contained in the booke'.[82] Clearly the exile period had hardened attitudes toward the Prayer Book for those who cleaved to the regulative principle. As such, we should view the Protestant disruptions to the Elizabethan settlement as partly a function of the liturgical controversies sparked at Frankfurt.

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[79] Brian Cummings, 'Introduction', in Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*, xxxiv-xli.
[80] See, Beth Quitsland, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603* (Aldershot, 2008), 194-5.
[81] BL Add Ms 28571 fol. 51.
[82] Ibid.

However, Frankfurt was also a moment when some exiles decided to look back to their immediate past and attempted to preserve the memory of the Edwardian Church. That this memory was not able to be fully revived under Elizabeth was not the fault of Frankfurt's Prayer Book party, but rather a consequence of a very different set of politico-religious conditions in the post-Marian age. Acknowledging the initial victory of the Prayer Book party over the Geneva party during the Marian exile should make us see the Troubles of Frankfurt less as the prelude to Elizabethan puritanism and more as an aftermath of the Edwardian Reformation. Changing our perception of this central episode in the development of English Protestantism matters because it alters our view of the mid-Tudor period, but not in the ways that Karl Gunther suggests. Rather than seeing Frankfurt as a necessary stopover on a one way route from the Edwardian to Elizabethan Churches, it should be seen as major junction where theological ideas and competing ecclesiologies travelled in both directions. Paradoxically, the dispute about the future direction of the English Church that took place at Frankfurt was framed by disputing the past. We cannot forget that the Prayer Book party remained loyal to the form of public worship established in the Edwardian Church. When seen in its mid-sixteenth-century context, and when close attention is paid to the liturgical reforms carried out in this episode, the Troubles at Frankfurt demonstrate that many sought desperately to preserve the legacy and memory of the Edwardian Reformation, even as strangers in a strange land.

Conclusion

A small brass plaque lies on the right-hand side of the chancel floor of Great St Mary's Church, the University Church of Cambridge. It marks the grave of one of the most influential sixteenth-century reformers, Martin Bucer. But his bones will not be found there. When the Strasbourg reformer died in Cambridge in 1551, there was a public outpouring of grief; a reported 3,000 people attended his funeral including the University dignitaries, town mayor, and other civil representatives.[1] The death and funeral of Bucer was of such significance that even Edward VI made an entry in his personal journal noting these events.[2] In his time, Bucer had clearly won a reputation as a leading evangelical scholar and reformer. This was ironically consolidated during the next reign. In 1556, Queen Mary ordered that Bucer's remains be exhumed, his bones placed in a box and chained to a stake in the town marketplace to burn along with any available works of the German theologian. [3] It was a symbolic act of ecclesiastical retribution and excommunication. And coming on the back of the burnings of other prominent Edwardian evangelicals, it can be seen as an act that signalled the Roman Catholic regime's desire to completely extirpate England of any trace of the evangelical movement. Yet when Queen Elizabeth opened the door to Protestantism in the Church of England once more, Bucer's remains took on a

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[1] Constantin Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1946), 28-31. The estimated population size of Cambridge in 1550 was 25, 000.

[2] *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, W. K. Jordan (ed.) (London, 1966), 53-4.

[3] The remains of Paul Fagius, Bucer's close friend from Strasbourg and an eminent Hebraist who had died in Cambridge in 1549, were also subjected to this treatment. Arthur Golding recounted this story for an Elizabethan audience, *A Briefe Treatise concerning the burnynge of Bucer and Phagius, at Cambrydge, in the tyme of Quene Mary, with theyr restitution in the time of our most gracious soverayne Lady that now is* (1562), sigs H1v-5v. Foxe provides a narrative of the exhumation and burning, *Actes and Monuments* (1570), Book 12, 2182-93. See also Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times* (Louisville, 1990, trans. 2004) trans. Stephen E. Buckwalter, 249; N. Scott Amos, 'The Alsatian among the Athenians: Martin Bucer, mid-Tudor Cambridge and the Edwardian reformation', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* iv (2002), 94-124; Cerianne Law, 'Religious Change in the University of Cambridge, c.1547-84' (unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 2013), 1-2, 82-90, 117-23, 157-9.

new significance. In a formal act of rehabilitation, some of the ashes from under the stake were reburied in Great St Mary's near Bucer's original grave on 22 July 1560. In typical Protestant style, the process of restoration involved a rousing sermon that celebrated the memory of Bucer, and also incited the spontaneous posting of passages of scripture in Greek, Latin, and English around the church's interior walls, an act that inverted the destructive iconoclasm often associated with sixteenth-century evangelical reform.[4] Since then, however, Bucer's name has slowly dropped out of the common consciousness of those who belong to the Church of England, as well as from English Reformation historiography.[5]

The manner in which Bucer's reputation was posthumously contested in the immediate years after his death serves as another reminder of the need to evaluate the Edwardian Reformation within its own context. This thesis has attempted to do this by thinking about the important liturgical reforms of the period through the lens of ecclesiology. For mid-Tudor evangelicals, liturgical reform was a worthwhile goal to pursue because it had the potential to make the spiritually invisible True Church a visibly tangible reality within the earthly confines of the temporal Church. As we have seen, Bucer shared this ambition with his English counterparts, particularly Archbishop Cranmer, which helps explain why we can see his fingerprints all over the formularies of faith produced during the Edwardian Reformation. Acknowledging Bucer's particular significance to the Edwardian Church has been a valuable way to focus our attention on the connection between ecclesiology and liturgy. By considering the influence of this German theologian, among other international voices, we have been able to comprehend the enigma of the ecclesiological paradox with greater clarity. We have observed that the Edwardian Church was a distinctly English institution, yet built by local and foreign churchmen; it was also the product of the specific mid-Tudor political and geographic circumstances, yet purported to be an extension of the eternal, universal Church of Christ.

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[4] Golding, *A Briefe Treatise concerning the burnynge of Bucer and Phagius*, sigs I3-M4v.

[5] David C. Steinmetz, *Reformers in the Wings* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1981), 121-32. MacCulloch has done much to rehabilitate Bucer's influential role on the English Church in *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven-London, 1996).

This thesis has brought new depth and perspective to the Edwardian Reformation by reassessing seemingly well known liturgical texts from the viewpoint of those who formulated them, especially the Prayer Book. By focusing on the prescribed and idealised vision of reform represented in the liturgy and other theological texts, this study has sought to complement and balance existing scholarship that analyses popular reception of religious change in the early modern period. In essence, this thesis offers an assessment of how the mid- Tudor evangelicals went about actualising their ecclesiological ambition of making the visible marks of the True Church conspicuous features of the temporal institution. For such a holy calling, the devil was in the detail in terms of agreeing on the exact form these changes would take. The implementation of the *Homilies* changed the outward character of the Edwardian Church, and their incorporation into the Prayer Book made preaching a principal act of regular public worship. Providing biblically based sermons for every parish fitted with the emerging preaching culture of the day, but this patently evangelical innovation to the liturgy did not go uncontested. Reforming the administration of the sacraments was especially difficult, although the response to both Roman Catholicism and Anabaptism went some way to soften theological disparities between mid-Tudor evangelicals, as we noticed in chapter four. Despite the challenges reformers encountered, their ecclesiological vision had theoretically been given full liturgical expression by the end of the reign in the form of the 1552 Prayer Book. The real experience of Prayer Book worship, and its positive or negative reception, is harder to gauge and is worthy of another study altogether.[6] At the very least, we can say that the liturgical reforms of the Edwardian Reformation provided the necessary tools for ministers to transform their parishes into local manifestations of the True Church through preaching and the godly administration of the sacraments, if they so wished to do.

Bucer's convoluted afterlife evokes another reflection. Similar to the way in which Bucer's legacy was subject to the confessional whims of subsequent generations, so too the mid-Tudor period has been prone to misconception. Part of the reason for this is because, with the premature death of the king in July

[6] Matthew Milner goes someway toward this in *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham, 2011).

1553 after only six-and-a-half years on the throne, the Edwardian Reformation remained in a 'state of suspended animation'.[7] This feeling of unfinished business cast a shadow over the diaspora of English evangelicals on the continent during the Marian exile, and fed into the ecclesiastical milieu of the Elizabethan Church, where the initial lack of qualified (and trusted evangelical) preachers and pastors reminded reformers that the achievements of the mid-Tudor evangelical movement were limited. [8] Even within the Edwardian years, the failure to establish Protestantism in Ireland presented a revealing counter example to the progress being made in England. The Edwardian Church may have had a uniform liturgy, but its implementation did not necessarily create a cohesive ecclesiastical unit.

Moreover, as Diarmaid MacCulloch observed, Cranmer 'bequeathed to the Church of England ambiguity' because remnants of the Catholic past were embedded in the new evangelical liturgy.[9] These vestiges of traditional religion had an impact on English Protestantism during the seventeenth century, and, it could be argued, have continued to plague the identity of the Church of England into the modern era.[10] An ironic quirk of history has been that the tool designed to enforce uniformity of public worship in Tudor England, the Prayer Book, has been reinterpreted and used in a variety of ways across the centuries wherever the British Empire spread.[11] Identifying the true heirs of Cranmer's liturgical project thus remains a difficult task. Indeed the liturgical ambiguity of Cranmer's legacy was exploited by nineteenth-century members of the High Church party

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[7] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies* xxx (1991), 14. MacCulloch actually argues that the Edwardian Reformation arrived at this moment in 1550-51 with Hooper's vestarian controversy.

[8] See Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1979), 111-13.

[9] MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', 7.

[10] For the seventeenth-century developments, see Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 2002). The controversy surrounding the proposed revision to the Prayer Book in 1928 is a salient example of the enduring complexity of the relationship of the Prayer Book and the identity of the Church of England. See John G. Maiden, *National Religion and the Prayer Book Controversy, 1927–1928* (Woodbridge-New York, 2009).

[11] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Making of the Prayer Book', in idem. *All Things New: Writings on the Reformation* (London, 2016), 136-48.

who created the myth that the English Reformation did not really happen, which has been compellingly destroyed by recent scholarship.[12]

This thesis has sought to dispel another powerful myth about the 'radical' nature of the mid-Tudor evangelical movement. Old assumptions about the Edwardian period are often accepted by historians because they have primarily viewed the period through the lens of Elizabethan puritanism. Although the effects of the period would continue to reverberate in the Church of England, the Edwardian Reformation should not be principally viewed as a prequel to the conformist-nonconformist debates of the later Tudor and Stuart reigns, as this thesis has argued. In particular, the episcopal careers of John Hooper and John Bale have been re-evaluated – two figures who are readily associated with so-called 'radical' Protestantism. The reappraisal of such figures presents a challenge to the accepted scholarship of Patrick Collinson, as well as to the more recent work of Karl Gunther, and suggests another way to see the period.[13] The picture of the Edwardian Church that has emerged is a complex one in which evangelical heterodoxy blends with official orthodoxy. On one level, we have reaffirmed Catharine Davies' conclusion that what united these reformers was more significant than what divided them.[14] It is worth mentioning Hooper again to make the point that even he eventually cooperated with Cranmer, despite their divergent views on *adiaphora*. On another level, however, new light has been thrown on the Edwardian Church by examining the relationship between evangelical ecclesiology and liturgical reform. One observation is that mid-Tudor evangelicals did not always find a neat resolution to their tensions.

Neither did reformers always agree on the best course of action when faced with difficult ecclesiological circumstances. To illustrate this point, it is worth briefly comparing the ways in which Edwardian bishops reacted to the Marian regime. Hooper, Bale, and Miles Coverdale (Bishop of Exeter, 1551-1553) had all fled for their lives under Henry, and only returned to England when the religious circumstances were more favourable. Edward made each of these men bishops, but only Hooper stayed to face the full brunt of the Marian persecution.

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[12] MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', 1-5.
[13] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*; Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*.
[14] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 231.

Bale and Coverdale opted for another round of continental exile (two other evangelical bishops, John Ponet of Winchester and John Scory of Rochester, also sought continental refuge). [15] On the other hand, Cranmer and Ridley had withstood the Henrician regime, yet were targeted by Hooper for not enacting a more complete reformation of the liturgy in regard to vestments under Edward. But it was these evangelical bishops, along with Robert Ferrar (Bishop of St David's), and Hugh Latimer (former Henrician Bishop of Worcester) who joined Hooper in the fires of martyrdom.[16] The contrasting fates (perhaps reflective of their personalities) of these evangelical bishops reveal that the Edwardian Reformation was far from uniform in the lived experience of its leaders. While Davies argues that Edwardian reformers shared a 'reformed protestant outlook' that was 'remarkably united', there were also significant differences of theological opinion between the leaders of the movement as well as in their reactions to the Marian regime.[17]

More generally, this thesis has proposed that appreciating the theological complexities of the Edwardian Reformation helps to illuminate the narrative of British and Irish Protestantism throughout the so-called 'long Reformation'. The theological queries that vexed Edwardians anticipated the issues that provoked conflicts in the Elizabethan period. However, close analysis of these matters in the Edwardian context suggests we need to readjust our view of their long-term impact. For instance, recognising the prominence of the doctrine of the Sabbath in mid-Tudor evangelical thought widens our awareness of the importance of this doctrine to the development of English Protestantism. More ephemeral questions about national identity have also been raised by considering the contribution of Edwardian reformers to the Protestant concept of historical continuity. Mid-Tudor evangelical ecclesiology relied on establishing the historical continuity of reformed theology and practice with the plain reading of scripture and the model of the Primitive Church, which was emphasised in

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[15] For Coverdale, see David Daniell, 'Coverdale, Miles (1488–1569)', *ODNB* [accessed 31 July 2017]. For Scory, see Andrew Pettegree, 'Scory, John (*d.* 1585)', *ODNB* [accessed 31 July 2017].
[16] For Ferrar, see Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St David's, Glanmor Williams, 'Ferrar, Robert (*d.* 1555)', *ODNB* [accessed 31 July 2017].
[17] Davies, *A religion of the Word*, 231-3, at 231.

evangelical rhetoric throughout the period. Indeed it was a key component in developing an ecclesiological identity for Edwardian (and later English) evangelicals, as witnessed in the writings of John Bale discussed in chapter two. Thus while a precise date of when England became a Protestant 'nation' continues to elude scholars, paying close attention to the theological writings of mid-Tudor evangelicals might help clarify this process.[18] At the same time, though, we cannot forget the impact of international theologians on the Edwardian Church, which continued to effect the development of English Protestantism well into the seventeenth century.

Since the view of the Edwardian Church presented in this thesis has leant towards the official channels of reform, some avenues of inquiry have been left relatively unexplored. For instance, the 1549 Prayer Book Rebellion deserves more attention than it is given here. Not only did it signify a popular rejection of the evangelical regime, this negative reaction to liturgical reform also points to underlying ecclesiological tensions across the Tudor kingdom that have not been fully investigated. Another stimulating thought is provoked by reconsidering the Troubles of Frankfurt as an Edwardian affair. If many of those who took refuge on the continent continued to see themselves as defenders of the Cranmerian legacy, then how did those evangelicals who stayed in Marian England see themselves? Unlike the martyrs whose deaths acted as tangible evidence of their theological convictions, the 'Nicodemites' did not publically profess their inner faith. Contemplating such a question brings us back to the ecclesiological dilemma faced by mid-Tudor evangelicals explored in this thesis.

Examining the relationship between liturgical reform and ecclesiology has revealed the creative dynamism of the Edwardian Reformation. This alone should stimulate a reassessment of the period in a similar vein to the recent wave of interest in the Marian regime.[19] If the Marian Counter Reformation

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[18] For a recent discussion of this with specific mention of Hooper's ministry as Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, see Ben Lowe, 'A Short Reformation? A Case for Recalculating the Chronology of Religious Change in Sixteenth-Century England', *Anglican and Episcopal History* lxxxii (2013), 409-47.

[19] For example, see Eamon Duffy and David Loades (eds.), *The Church in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2006); Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London, 2008); Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (eds.), *Mary Tudor: Old and New*

indicates something about the prolonged attachment to traditional religion in England, then the Edwardian Reformation gives us the vision for the Church of England that evangelicals wanted to establish in perpetuity. It was a vision that was founded on invisible realities, and one that sought to replace traditional religion with a recovery of ancient truths. In probing the ecclesiological paradox faced by mid-Tudor reformers, this thesis has highlighted the connections between high theology and practical changes in religious devotion in the Edwardian Church with clarity. It has contended that the vision of the True Church that dominated the mid-Tudor evangelical imagination was crystallised in the form and manner of public worship that evolved during Edward's reign. It was this vision that produced a thoroughly evangelical blueprint for public worship in the 1552 Prayer Book, gave the Edwardian diaspora a sense of purpose during the Marian exile, and has continued to shape the trajectory of English Protestantism for the past five hundred years.

Perspectives (New York, 2011); John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven, 2011).

Appendix 1
Hooper's 'Notes to Council'

Bodleian Library: MS. New College 343, fols 16 – 17v

Journal of Theological Studies, 44 (1943), 196 – 199

From Master Hooper's treatise, produced by him for the King's Councillors on October 3rd., 1550, against the use of the vesture which the English Church uses in the sacred ministry. That treatise is set out as follows:

Nothing is to be used in the Church which is not expressly authorised by the Word of God, or else is a thing indifferent of itself, the doing or use of which brings no advantage, and the not doing or omission of which is not harmful.

Special and distinctive vestures in the Ministry do not have the Word of God as their authority, nor are they matters indifferent of themselves. Therefore they should not be used.

The first part of the argument is so obviously true that it requires no proof. I am indeed demonstrating the second from the nature and special characteristics of all indifferent things; they ought necessarily to possess the following four conditions and characteristics, or otherwise they are not indifferent.

The first Mark, or Condition

Indifferent things ought to have their source and ground in the Word of God. For what cannot be proved by the Word of God is not of faith, since faith comes by hearing the Word of God (Romans 10). So what is not of faith cannot be some median or indifferent matter; but, just as the Scripture says, it is truly sin (Romans 14) and something that cannot please God; furthermore it is also to be rooted out, as a plant which our heavenly Father has not planted (Matthew 15) and is not to be cherished by any man.

The second Mark, or Condition

Although a thing has its origin in Scripture, yet it is necessary, if it is to be indifferent, that it does not have a positive command by which it is ordered, nor a negative command by which it is prohibited, but that it is left free and unimpaired, for us to use or not to use, just as it shall seem helpful or unhelpful to the conscience of the user. So that, if anyone uses it, or does not use it, the thing itself brings advantage and help, not disadvantage and hindrance, to the conscience of the user. For those things which are commanded by God must always of necessity be observed; and certainly those things which are forbidden are always and of necessity to be avoided and eschewed. However, not only what is commanded or forbidden by the express Word of God, but also all knowledge of the divine will which can be necessarily deduced and concluded by the collation and comparison of the Scriptures with themselves has the force and the character of a divine precept – whether as a command or as a prohibition – if only it fits with the nature and proportion of faith and Scripture. Just as we are commanded to baptize infants, not indeed by explicit words, but by comparison of the Scriptures with themselves, which in this matter has equal force with the express commandment of God. Similarly, also, we admit women to the communion of the Lord's Supper, although we do not have the explicit commandment of God that we should do so.

The third Mark, or Condition

Things that are indifferent ought to have a clear and obvious usefulness, recognised in the Church, so that they do not seem to be groundlessly accepted, or to be thrust into the Church by craft or trickery. To avoid this occurring the Civil Magistrate and the Minister of the Church must take heed with the most careful application. For to each (as Master Paul says) power is given for edification, not for destruction (1 Corinthians 14), so that they may act for the

truth, not against the truth (2 Corinthians 13). For neither of them has the power of introducing into the Church things which do not edify.

The fourth Mark, or Condition

Things that are indifferent ought to be appointed in the Church with an Apostolic and Evangelical mildness and freedom, not to establish obligation and compulsion with a violent tyranny, since in matters of this sort Christian freedom ought to be free. Anything that is considered to be something indifferent in the Ministry of the Church, if it once degenerates and falls into this tyranny and slavery, ceases to be a thing indifferent.

These are the marks and signs by which things indifferent can be distinguished; so that hereafter we consider and think none of those things to be indifferent which do not possess in themselves these four conditions.

But now, let us come to the point of this particular disagreement of ours, which turns on special vesture designated for and assigned to the Ministers of the Church and to the Ministry. Our controversy does not touch upon what relates to the Civil State. So I should not willingly want the point of this controversy of ours to be diverted from the Ecclesiastical Realm to the Civil one by anyone – which my opponents are almost doing; they also do not readily submit to their case being tried and decided in their own ecclesiastical court, but are begging aid and help from the Civil court and the Magistrates. They are even trying to persuade the Magistrates of this, that if the freedom and power of using this display of vesture is taken away from them – which they foolishly dream has regard to the preservation of usefulness, seemliness, and order in the Ministry – contempt for the Magistrates will immediately follow from that, and a very great lessening of their Authority in the ordering and governance of the State. 'O children of this world, wiser in your generation than the children of light (Luke 16)!' You who are so easily able to persuade the Magistrates that their enemies are friends, and their friends are enemies; and to carry forth, guard, uphold,

ornament and defend your superstitious and blind Church, and the dignity of the Magistrates and of those exercising the offices of God himself here in these lands, rather than that perfect and radiant Church of the Apostles!

But because this matter has come to a hearing, if it shall seem good to the Magistrates that you are compelled to take up this case of yours into your own hands, and to maintain it by the sacred volume of the Scriptures, which is both your Book and mine, your Judge and mine, either by the example of the apostolic Church or of some other Church that in this our age is ordered by the Word of God: if I do not prove that my case is good and that yours is indeed bad, I shall indeed not refuse to undergo the same punishment with that man who, when he wished to convince [men] of a new law, but was not able to reject the old law by fair arguments, had to be punished by death for his rash enterprise.

Concerning Vestments

If that first Note of things indifferent were found in vestments, if they had their origin and source in the Word of God, so that a Minister might use them in the Church, that matter would indeed appear plainly in the Apostolic and Evangelical Scriptures, which for us place very clearly before our eyes the ancient character of the Aaronic rituals, ceremonies, priesthood, types, and shadowy figures, and the establishment of the new and perfect Ministry of Christ. From these books they ought to show us why and when some special and distinctive clothing had to be used in the ministry, for the ornamenting of the Ministry, or for the preservation of seemliness, or for a distinction by which a Minister might be able to be discerned by the people, as once was commanded by the Lord in the ministry of the Aaronic priesthood. But the commands, rules, and decrees of the Apostles and the Evangelists make no mention of this matter. Therefore, since they lack this primitive characteristic which is required in things indifferent, we exclude vestments from the number of the adiaphora.

Afterwards he cited Polydor Vergil, Book 4, Chapter 7, and Book 6, Chapter 12.

Vestments lack the second Mark and condition of things indifferent

What is forbidden by God can in no way be indifferent, as we argued earlier. Now this is the teaching of Master Paul in Galatians 2 that whoever recalls those things which have been done away in Christ transgresses the will of the Lord. And the same Apostle plainly teaches that the priesthood of Aaron has been abolished in the priesthood of Christ (Hebrews 7, 8, 9, 10), with all its rites, vestments, scrapings, anointings, consecrations, and such like. If therefore those shadows of the Aaronic priesthood are not able to consist with the priesthood of Christ, much less can that papistical priesthood, which even by the testimony of their own books has been derived either from Aaron or from the Gentiles (Polydor, as above). Nor indeed does it lack its own mystery, that our Saviour Jesus Christ hung naked upon the Cross. For the Aaronic priests used vestments in their ministry, because the truth of their priesthood, Christ himself, had not yet come; but when Christ himself was to be sacrificed, he was divested of all his clothes, showing his own priesthood by this, because, since he was indeed the truth itself, he no longer had need for any veils or shadows ...

thus also the use of those clothes for the remaining two marks ...

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