

**‘THE PERFORMANCE OF
PIETY’**

**Exploring Godly Culture and
Identity in England
c.1580-1640**

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Abstract

The godly Protestants of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England were seen by many in their society as Puritans, mere actors of Christianity, hypocritically performing their religion. This thesis asks to what extent the godly did in fact 'perform' their religion. The idea of performance is used to explore godly culture and identity in England in the period c.1580-1640. It is argued that the godly looked for signs of assurance of their faith, and performed to God, to themselves and to each other to receive reassurance.

This study is based on two different urban communities, Banbury and Nottingham. The records of these towns are used comparatively to explore broader questions about the nature of godly culture and the creation of godly/ Puritan identity on different levels, incorporating the individual, the communal, the family, the private, the public, the domestic and the urban. Chapters focus on themes such as baptism name choice, preparations for death, non-conformity in church and iconoclasm to show how godly performance could be dramatic and distinctive within the communities in which they lived. They discuss how and why godly culture developed and changed in Banbury and Nottingham over the course of this period, considering the relative importance of the roles played by the clergy, local magistrates and wider personal and social networks.

For my grandparents

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My greatest thanks go to my supervisor, Graeme Murdock, for his patience, encouragement, insight, generosity and good-humour throughout my time at Birmingham. I would like to thank my family, particularly my parents, my boyfriend Pete, and my friends, for their unceasing support, and for providing light relief at times of stress. I would also like to thank the members of the Birmingham Historical Studies' Postgraduate Forum, especially Sylvia Gill and Anna French, for their friendship, for listening to me talk about my work on many occasions, and for sharing discussions about early modern England. I have also benefited from advice given by the various audiences who have heard my papers over the last few years, particularly those at EERG in 2006 and at the History of Religion Seminar at the University of Birmingham in 2007. I am grateful to the staff at the Nottinghamshire County Archives, the Oxfordshire Record Office and, in particular, the Borthwick Institute, for allowing me to use their documents and for answering my queries during the course of my research. I would also like to acknowledge the generosity of Willem J. op't Hof and Annemie Godbehere in my quest for information about Willem Teellinck's stay in Banbury in the early seventeenth century, and for sending me their unpublished work. Similarly, I am grateful to John Craig for sending me an unpublished paper, given at the Reformation Studies Colloquium in 2006, and to Kenneth Fincham, for sending me some of his notes on a case from the act book of the Nottingham Archdeaconry. Finally, I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council for selecting me for a three-year scholarship, which gave me the freedom to undertake my PhD.

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List of abbreviations used in this thesis

Archives

BI = Borthwick Institute, York

BL = British Library, London

NA = National Archives, London

NMSS = University of Nottingham Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections

NRO = Nottinghamshire County Archives, Nottingham

ORO = Oxfordshire Record Office, Oxford

Publications

Archdeaconry (1) = (NRO) M461 - Colonel Hodgkinson, *Transcriptions of Proceedings of the Court of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham 1565-1675, Volume 1*

Archdeaconry (2) = (NRO) M462 - Colonel Hodgkinson, *Transcriptions of Proceedings of the Court of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham 1565-1675, Volume 2*

Archdeaconry (3) = (NRO) M463 - Colonel Hodgkinson, *Transcriptions of Proceedings of the Court of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham 1565-1675, Volume 3*

Banbury VCH = Alan Crossley ed. *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume X, Banbury Hundred, Victoria County History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972)

Bawdy Court = E.R.C. Brinkworth and R.K. Giles eds. *The 'Bawdy Court' of Banbury: The Act Book of the Peculiar Court of Banbury, Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, 1625-1638*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 26 (1997)

BBR = Mrs N. Fillmore and J.S.W. Gibson eds. *Baptism and Burial Register of Banbury, Oxfordshire, Part One, 1558-1653*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 7 (1966)

BCR = E.R.C. Brinkworth and J.S.W. Gibson eds. *Banbury Corporation Records: Tudor and Stuart*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 15 (1977)

Bloxham VCH = Mary D. Lobel and Alan Crossley eds. *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume X, Bloxham Hundred, Victoria County History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969)

BMR = Mrs N. Fillmore and Mrs J. Pain transcribed, J.S.W. Gibson ed. *Marriage Register of Banbury: Part One, 1558-1724*, The Banbury Record Society, Volume 2 (1960)

BW1 = E.R.C. Brinkworth and J.S.W. Gibson eds. *Banbury Wills and Inventories, Part One, 1591-1620*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 13 (1985)

BW2 = E.R.C. Brinkworth and J.S.W. Gibson eds. *Banbury Wills and Inventories, Part Two, 1621-1650*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 14 (1976)

DNB = *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com, consulted 14 February 2008

HMC = Historical Manuscripts Commission

Hodgkinson, Registers = (NRO) DDTS 14/26/1-25 – R.F.B. Hodgkinson translated and transcribed, *Registers of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham* (undated and unpublished)

NBR IV = W.H. Stevenson and James Raine eds. *Records of the Borough of Nottingham: Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham, Volume IV, King Edward VI to King James I, 1547-1625* (Nottingham: Thomas Forman & Sons, 1889)

NBR V = W.T. Baker ed. *Records of the Borough of Nottingham: Being a Series of Extracts From the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham, Volume V, King Charles I to King William III, 1625-1702* (Nottingham: Thomas Forman & Sons 1900)

NMR Nich. = W.P.W. Phillimore and James Wood eds. *Nottingham Parish Registers. Marriages, St Nicholas' Church, 1562-1812* (London: Phillimore and Co. 1902)

NMR Mary = W.P.W. Phillimore and James Wood eds. *Nottingham Parish Registers. Marriages, St Mary's Church, Volume I, 1566-1763* (London: Phillimore and Co. 1900)

NMR Peter = W.P.W. Phillimore and James Wood ed. *Nottingham Parish Registers. Marriages, St Peter's Church, 1572-1812* (London: Phillimore and Co. 1901)

OED = *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com, consulted 14 February 2008

Peyton, Presentments = Sidney A. Peyton, *The Churchwardens' Presentments in the Oxfordshire Peculiars of Dorchester, Thame and Banbury*, The Oxfordshire Record Society, Volume 10 (1928)

SP Dom = State Papers Domestic

Other notes

- When primary works are referenced in the footnotes an abbreviated title is given, noting the date and place of publication. The full title and details of the publisher are given in the bibliography.
- When referencing wills from Banbury and Nottingham in the footnotes, the person and the date the will was proved are given. When this date is not available, or it seems more appropriate for the purpose of the reference, the date the will was written is given. For full references of these wills, including archive details and full dates, refer to the table of wills in appendix three. These tables do not record surviving inventories. If inventories are referred to in the chapters a full archive reference is given in the footnotes.
- The original spelling and grammar of the titles of printed primary works used in this thesis have been retained as far as possible, but the capitalisation has been changed to sentence case.
- Where relevant, abbreviations used in original archival material have been expanded in the transcriptions quoted in the chapters of this thesis without being noted. In the transcriptions included in the appendix, and in the footnotes, expanded abbreviations have been marked using an italic font.
- Where relevant, the dates included in this thesis have been changed for the year to begin 1 January.

Introduction

The godly Protestants of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England were seen by many in their society as Puritans, mere actors of Christianity, hypocritically performing their religion. To what extent did the godly in fact 'perform' their religion? In this thesis the idea of performance will be used to discuss godly culture and identity. It will be argued that the godly sought assurance of salvation for their own conscience and within the godly community. The godly looked for signs of assurance of their faith, and performed to God, to themselves, and to each other to receive reassurance. Godly performance could be dramatic and distinctive within the communities in which they lived, ranging from destroying town crosses to using Biblical baptismal names for their children and supporting preachers in their wills, all themes which will be discussed here. This study will be based in two different urban communities, Banbury and Nottingham. The records of these towns will be used comparatively to explore wider questions about the nature of godly culture and the creation of godly/ Puritan identity on different levels, incorporating the individual, the communal, the family, the private, the public, the domestic and the urban. This study contributes to broader discussions about distinctive religious cultures in this period and how religious identities were formed and performed in a local context.

Although historians have come to a working consensus in the definition of Puritanism, increasingly the term 'godly' is used in place of 'Puritan.'¹ Since this

¹ The problems of defining Puritan/Puritanism have been discussed in many works, including Basil Hall, 'Puritanism: The Problem of Definition' in G.J. Cumming ed. *Studies in Church History* 2 (1965) pp.283-296; Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London: Panther Books, 1969); Patrick Collinson, 'A Comment Concerning the Name Puritan' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 31 (1980) pp.483-8; Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Patrick Collinson, 'The Godly: Aspects of Popular Protestantism' in his *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The

thesis focuses on the culture of the godly themselves, principally from their own perspective, the term godly will be used to describe this group of believers. In this thesis godly is taken to mean English Protestants who differed from others in the temperature rather than the substance of their religion. They were in Peter Lake's words 'marked off from contemporaries by a round of religious observances and forms of ethical rigorism that transcended a merely formal attendance at the public congregation and the discharge of day-to-day social duty.' Theirs was an active piety, in which the theology of predestination and practical divinity were reflected upon, and performed, in everyday life.² As will be explained in more detail below, the idea that 'Puritan' was an identity constructed from without, but recognising the same signs of religious culture or performative behaviour as distinctive, is vital to this thesis. The word Puritan will therefore be used in places to show this external perspective on godly identity.

This study begins in the 1580s and ends in 1640, before the start of the Civil War. As such it is concerned with the accommodation of Reformation changes later in Elizabeth's reign, rather than the early Reformation. Change to religious culture within Banbury and Nottingham was implemented because of local influences, such as the rise to power of particular magistrates or the arrival of new ministers. Both places were also affected by national ideological and political developments,

Hambledon Press, 1983) pp.1-18; Patrick Collinson, *The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth Century English Culture* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1989); Patrick Collinson, 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol: Religious Satire in the 1590s and the Invention of Puritanism' in John Guy ed. *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp.150-170; Peter Lake, 'Defining Puritanism – Again?' in Francis J. Bremer ed. *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Sixteenth Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993) pp.3-29; Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700' in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (London: Macmillan, 1996) particularly pp.1-9; John Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603-1689* (London: Macmillan, 1998)

² Peter Lake, 'A Charitable Christian Hatred: The Godly and Their Enemies in the 1630s' in Durston and Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism* p.154; Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* p.27; Spurr, *English Puritanism* p.5; Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (London: Arnold, 2003) p.129

such as the anti-Puritan backlash of the 1590s and the rise of Laudianism or avant-garde conformism in the 1620s and 1630s. The relative impact of local and national changes on godly culture, and religious practice more generally, within Banbury and Nottingham, is important in understanding how religious identities changed and developed over the course of this period.

Within this introduction the themes of the thesis will be grounded within the recent historiography of religion in post-Reformation England in four ways. The first of these is the Reformation in the towns. The second is the cultural history of religion. The third looks at developments in the study of religious identities and the wider spectrum of religion in England in this period. The fourth theme to be discussed is how the concept of performance can enhance our understanding of Puritanism and godly culture.

The first theme of recent historiography which forms a base for this thesis is the study of the Reformation in the towns, particularly smaller, provincial towns. 1998 saw the publication of two works of this genre, Robert Tittler's *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture c.1540-1640* and Patrick Collinson and John Craig's edited volume, *The Reformation in English Towns 1500-1640*.³ These works built on a longer tradition of exploring religious change and Puritanism within its local context, studies which have helped demonstrate the variety of Reformation experiences in England.⁴ This thesis, however, departs from previous

³ Robert Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c.1540-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Patrick Collinson and John Craig eds. *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); there are others who have also looked at religion in provincial towns, for example W.J. Sheils, 'Religion in Provincial Towns: Innovation and Tradition' in Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day eds. *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1977) pp.156-176; see also footnote 4 below.

⁴ For example, Daniel C. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998); Barbara Coulton, 'The Establishment of Protestantism in a Provincial Town: A Study of Shrewsbury in the Sixteenth Century' in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Volume 27, Number 2 (Summer, 1996) pp.307-335; W.J. Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610* (Northampton: Northamptonshire Record Society,

work in two ways. Firstly, rather than studying one town, a diocese, a county, a parish or a collection of villages, the aim here is to explore, compare and contrast identical questions about religious culture and identity within two different urban environments.⁵ The towns differ in size and function. Nottingham was a county town and Banbury a market town. They also lay in different counties and different dioceses. The extent to which their structures and geographical locations, Nottingham within the diocese of York, in the north-east Midlands, and Banbury nearer London and the south-east, affected their religious cultures is a theme which will be brought into discussion. Nottingham for instance had a constant Catholic population throughout this period, while Banbury was more clearly dominated by godly magistrates and ministers. Banbury also had a contemporary reputation for Puritanism. Secondly, this study differs from other recent work on towns in post-Reformation England by beginning in the 1580s. As such it is less concerned with the making of a 'Protestant town,' and more interested in the experience of, and adjustment to, Reformation changes in local communities twenty years after Elizabeth's accession.

1979); John Fielding, *Conformists, Puritans and the Church Courts: The Diocese of Peterborough, 1603-1642* (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1989); Ann Hughes, 'Religion and Society in Stratford-upon-Avon, 1619-1638' in *Midland History*, Volume XIX (1994) pp.58-84; Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity, Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); R.A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (London: Longmans, 1960); Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and Their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1560-1643* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005); R.C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North-west England: A Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972); Margaret Steig, *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (London: Associated University Press, 1982); David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); David Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: The Life of an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1992); Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (London: Academic Press, 1979)

⁵ One exception to this is John Craig's *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglican Market Towns, 1500-1610* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) which looks at the process of Reformation within four market towns in Suffolk, Mildenhall, Bury St Edmunds, Thetford and Hadleigh.

It is important to stress that this thesis does not attempt to provide an urban history of Banbury and Nottingham. For example, aspects of the political and socio-economic history of the towns are not the focus of study. Instead, the towns' records will be used to explore religious life and wider themes of godly culture, performance and interaction. Urban communities provide useful contexts for a study of godly culture and identity for several reasons. Towns were important local centres, providing the focus of political administration, services and trade for the surrounding countryside.⁶ They were places of social interface and cultural exchange. The urban community was not an enclosed world. The relationship with the countryside was vital and will be integrated into this study. However, as Peter Clark and Paul Slack have argued, there was 'an 'urban' quality of life different from that of the countryside.' Towns were physically different to their surroundings, as well in their political, cultural, social and economic make up.⁷ Urban society was more heterogeneous and its population more mobile. As such there was greater potential for a range of religious expressions.⁸ Furthermore, as Patrick Collinson and John Craig argue, it was in the urban context that 'such familiar features of reformation as town preachers, weekly lectures, and 'combinations' of preachers, the tightening of social discipline, the growing influence of Sabbatarianism and the emphasis on 'godly learning' developed and flourished.'⁹ As other studies have shown us, it is in towns

⁶ John Patten, *English Towns, 1500-1700* (Folkstone: Wm. Dawson & Sons Ltd. 1978) pp.39-40; Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) p.2; David Marcombe, *English Small Town Life: Retford, 1520-1642* (Oxford: The Alden Press, 1993) p.4

⁷ Clark and Slack, *English Towns in Transition* pp.13-14

⁸ Beat Kumin, 'Voluntary Religion and Reformation Change in Eight Urban Parishes' in Collinson and Craig eds. *The Reformation in English Towns* p.176

⁹ Patrick Collinson and John Craig's introduction to *The Reformation in English Towns* p.11; Richardson, *Puritanism in North-west England* p.13 also stresses the importance of the market towns to the spread of Puritanism.

that religious factionalism can be observed most acutely.¹⁰ With their larger, more socially diverse populations, increased communication with a wide geographical area, higher literacy and greater provision of education and preaching, towns have better records for studying social interaction and religious performance.

In comparison with Nottingham, Banbury has received a fair amount of historical attention, partly due to its reputation for Puritanism and also record survival.¹¹ Banbury's religious history has been the subject of various articles, for example Jacqueline Eales' work on the conduct books of the minister William Whately and Patrick Collinson's study of Puritanism and Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*. It has also been the subject of a PhD, Barton John Blankenfeld's *Puritans in the Provinces: Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1554-1660*.¹² Blankenfeld's thesis is much more focussed on the town itself, looking at Puritanism in an urban context but also aiming to provide a 'full picture of the government and economy of a market town.'¹³

¹⁰ Reynolds, *Godly Reformers* p.15; see also, for example, Hughes, 'Religion and Society in Stratford-upon-Avon' passim; Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics*; and Barbara Coulton, 'Rivalry and Religion: The Borough of Shrewsbury in the Early Stuart Period' in *Midland History*, Volume 28 (2003) pp.28-50

¹¹ The Banbury History Society have transcribed many of Banbury's records from this period, an example of which is Mrs N. Fillmore and J.S.W Gibson eds. *Baptism and Burial Register of Banbury, Oxfordshire, Part One, 1558-1653*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 7 (1966); The Banbury Historical Society also have their own journal, *Cake and Cockhorse*; The Oxford Record Society has also transcribed some of Banbury's records and its journal, *Oxoniensia*, contains some articles about the town, for example Sidney A. Peyton, *The Churchwardens' Presentments in the Oxfordshire Peculiars of Dorchester, Thame and Banbury*, The Oxfordshire Record Society, Volume 10 (1928); there is also a detailed Victoria County History volume on Banbury, Alan Crossley ed. *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume X, Banbury Hundred* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) and a good Victorian history of the town written by Alfred Beesley, *The History of Banbury Including Copious Historical and Antiquarian Notices of the Neighbourhood* (London: Nichols and Son, 1841); Banbury has a continuous run of parish registers over this period, in good condition. The Nottingham registers are in worse repair and there are some gaps, particularly in the records for the parishes of St Mary's and St Peter's. Some of the Nottingham wills are also badly damaged. The Nottingham Archdeaconry court records survive in greater numbers and over a wider time-span than the records of Banbury's peculiar court but many are too fragile to be examined, refer to chapter five, p.225, footnote 150.

¹² Jacqueline Eales, 'Gender Construction in Early Modern England and the Conduct Books of William Whately (1585-1639)' in Robert Swanson ed. *Gender and Christian Religion, Studies in Church History 34* (1998) pp.163-174; Patrick Collinson, 'Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair: The Theatre Constructs Puritanism' in David L. Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington eds. *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp.157-169; Barton John Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces: Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1554-1660* (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1985)

¹³ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.10

Written in the mid-1980s it came before the recent developments within the cultural historiography of Puritanism. My treatment of sources differs in important regards and several documents have been discovered that were not used by Blankenfeld, which are key to the study of godly performance in the town. These include the Dutch minister Willem Teellinck's account of the godly of Banbury, written following his stay in the town in 1604, and the discovery of a second collection of records relating to the destruction of Banbury's market crosses in 1600.

Turning to the historiography of Nottingham in the period 1580-1640, despite the work of the Thoroton Society, the focus of existing research has tended to be the county rather than the town of Nottingham.¹⁴ Furthermore, with the exception of Marion Gibson in her work on John Darrell, Adam Fox and C. J. Sisson in their work on the town's religious libels in the 1610s, and Ronald Marchant in his study of Puritans in the diocese of York, there has been little work done on the religious history of Nottingham.¹⁵

A second theme in the historiography of religion in post-Reformation England over the last twenty years has been religious culture. Studies have explored topics

¹⁴ There have, however, been some useful articles and transcriptions of Nottingham material, for example W.P.W. Phillimore and James Wood eds. *Nottingham Parish Registers. Marriages, St Mary's Church, Volume I, 1566-1763* (London: Phillimore and Co. 1900); Adrian Henstock, 'Early Stuart Nottingham: New Evidence from the St Peter's Easter Book of 1624' *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume 97 (1993) pp.99-115; W.H. Stevenson and James Raine eds. *Records of the Borough of Nottingham: Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham, Volume IV, King Edward VI to King James I, 1574-1625* (Nottingham: Thomas Forman & Sons, 1889)

¹⁵ Adam Fox, 'Religious Satire in English Towns, 1570-1640' in Collinson and Craig eds. *The Reformation in English Towns* pp.221-240; C.J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936); Marion Gibson's chapter 'Sinnful, Shamfull, Lying and Ridiculous: The Possession of William Sommers' in her *Possession, Puritanism and Print: Darrell, Harsnett, Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Exorcism Controversy* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006) pp.72-100; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*; William Page ed. *The Victoria County History of Nottingham: Volume One* (London: James Street, 1906) covers themes such as geology, palaeontology, early man, forestry and the county's political history; William Page ed. *The Victoria County History of Nottingham: Volume Two* (London: Reprinted by Institute of Historical Research, 1970) has sections on Romano-British Nottinghamshire, the ecclesiastical history of the county, including the religious houses and the schools, the social and economic history and the history of the county's industries, agriculture and sport, amongst other themes; there is also Robert Thoroton's *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire (1790-96)* edited and enlarged by John Throsby, Volume II (Menston: Scholar Press, 1972) and John Beckett ed. *A Centenary History of Nottingham* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), which discusses the town's socio-economic and political history.

such as gender and piety, common prayer and the experience of Communion, the emergence of new forms of voluntary religion and distinctly Protestant festivities, changes to traditions associated with birth, marriage and death, iconoclasm, the role of churchwardens, book ownership and the endorsement of lectureships.¹⁶ There has been a similar turn to the cultural history of Puritanism, perhaps epitomised by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales' collection of thematic essays on *The Culture of English Puritanism*, published in 1996. Their collection was instrumental in bringing together various scholarship on the distinctive culture or 'counter-culture' of Puritanism. It promoted the idea that Puritans shared a common spiritual and cultural outlook, stressing the importance of the communal aspect of their culture.¹⁷

¹⁶ For example, Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts, Volume I, Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Sharon L. Arnould, 'Spiritual and Sacred Public Actions: The Book of Common Prayer and the Understanding of Worship in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church of England' and other articles in Eric Josef Carlson ed. *Religion and the English People 1500-1640: New Voices, New Perspectives* (Kirksville, Missouri: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998); Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988); Will Coster, *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); 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: Cambridge University Press, 2005) pp.104-123; John Craig, 'Co-operation and Initiatives: Mildenhall, 1550-1603' in his *Reformation, Politics and Polemics* especially pp.37-50; Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in Early Modern England, 1500-1720* (London: Routledge, 1993); David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd. 1989); David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007); Fox, 'Religious Satire in English Towns,' Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530-1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Christopher Haigh, 'Communion and Community: Exclusion from Communion in Post-Reformation England' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 51, Number 4 (October, 2000); Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998); Christopher Marsh, 'Sacred Space in England, 1560-1640: The View from the Pew' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 53, Number 2 (April, 2002) pp.286-311; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

¹⁷ Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism: 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996) in particular pp.9, 20, 56. This work builds on much of the work by Patrick Collinson, including *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) and *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, as well as, 'The Godly: Aspects of Popular Protestantism,' *The Puritan Character* and 'The English Conventicle' in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood eds. *Voluntary Religion, Studies in Church History 23* (1986) pp.223-260; also work by others, including Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and*

In studies of Puritan culture, attention has been drawn to various distinguishing aspects of godly piety, including gadding to sermons, a dislike of ceremonies such as kneeling to receive the Communion, the value placed on preaching and the Bible and, in some places, a fashion for unusual baptism names. It has increasingly been these social and cultural markers which have allowed historians to move away from the problems of defining Puritanism and to form some degree of consensus about Puritanism as an identifiable movement in the everyday life of local communities in England.

Whereas aspects of godly culture and Puritan identity have been explored in other studies, they have usually been discussed thematically and not grounded within local communities. Much work on Puritanism has also focussed on ministers, social elites and printed material. This thesis draws together a wide range of sources to discuss godly culture in two towns to gain a clearer sense of how religious identities were constructed in practice, how and why they changed over time, and in what ways the godly made themselves distinctive within the communities in which they lived. It incorporates recent developments in the history of material culture, space and gesture into discussion of the visual aspects of the performance of godly piety.¹⁸ The

Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988); Margo Todd, 'Puritan Self-Fashioning,' in Bremer ed. *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives* pp.57-87; Nicholas Tyacke, 'Popular Puritan Mentality in Late Elizabethan England' reprinted in his *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) pp.90-110; Diane Willen, 'Communion of the Saints: Spiritual Reciprocity and the Godly Community in Early Modern England' in *Albion* 27, Number 1 (Spring, 1995) pp.19-42; Diane Willen, 'Godly Women in Early Modern England: Puritanism and Gender' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Number 43 (1992) pp.561-580; Barbara Donagan, 'Godly Choice: Puritan Decision Making in Seventeenth Century England' in *Harvard Theological Review*, Volume 76, Number 3 (1983) pp.307-334; Jacqueline Eales, 'Samuel Clarke and the 'Lives' of Godly Women in Seventeenth Century England' in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood eds. *Women in the Church, Studies in Church History* 27 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991) pp.365-376

¹⁸ For example, Coster and Spicer's edited *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, particularly John Craig's article 'Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers;' John Craig's unpublished paper 'The Cultural Politics of Prayer in Early Modern England' given at the Reformation Studies Colloquium, Somerville College, Oxford, April 2006; Katie Wright, *A Looking-glass for Christian Morality? Three Perspectives on Puritan Clothing Culture and Identity in England c.1560-1620* (MPhil(B) thesis,

influence of ministers and social elites on fostering changes to godly culture is an important thread but this is placed within the urban community as a whole.

As this study is centred on the available sources for Banbury and Nottingham, not all aspects of godly religion and culture can be covered. For example, the control of morals or ‘reformation of manners,’ which has been the topic of some historical debate in the recent past, is not something the records of either town provide much material on. Nor do godly attitudes towards divine providence or ‘anti-Popery’ find much of a place here.¹⁹ That being said, surviving urban records are supplemented with contemporary literature, as well as other archival and personal records, to provide comparisons. For example, the portrayal of Puritanism in anti-Puritan satire will be used to provide the view of godly culture from without. This perspective is of key importance here because satire discloses elements of godly culture which would otherwise be hidden from view.

A third theme within recent historiography has been to explore the diversity of religious identities within the wider spectrum of religion in England in this period.²⁰ Whilst the focus of this thesis is on the godly, it is also interested in how they interacted with their non-godly neighbours. Recent work on tolerance and intolerance in England in this period has been of particular interest here in asking probing questions, such as whether

University of Birmingham, 2004); Christopher Marsh, ‘Sacred Space in England, 1560-1640;’ Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England*

¹⁹ As discussed for example by Martin Ingram, ‘Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England’ in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle eds. *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996) pp.47-88; Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village*; Margaret Spufford, ‘Puritanism and Social Control?’ reprinted in her *Figures in the Landscape: Rural Society in England, 1500-1700* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000) pp.295-312; Lake, ‘Defining Puritanism – Again?’ pp.10-13; Walsham, *Providence* passim; Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Fatal Vesper:’ Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London,’ *Past and Present*, Number 144 (1994) pp.36-87; Peter Lake ‘Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice’ in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes eds. *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (London: Longman, 1989) pp.72-102

²⁰ This has been explored most recently by Christopher Haigh, *The Plain Man’s Pathways to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

‘confessional hostility, prejudice and antagonism [was] in fact the dominant characteristic of the multiple, mundane interactions that made up everyday life? Or were forbearance and cordiality the real keynotes of the conduct of the orthodox towards their heterodox neighbours?’²¹

The relationship between those in the middle of the religious spectrum in post-Reformation England and those on its ‘extreme’ ends is a difficult subject, as is finding a way to define those who fitted somewhere between the poles of Catholicism and Puritanism.²² The term ‘conformist’ to define those as different from Puritans or Catholics is problematic since the definition of what was required of conformity changed over the period. Some historians have, however, fruitfully explored this middle-ground. Judith Maltby has highlighted that there were some who were positive adherents to the religion of the English *Book of Common Prayer*, her ‘Prayer-book Protestants.’ Her work provides a more positive assessment of the character of the religion of the ordinary church-goer compared to Christopher Haigh’s argument in 1984 that ‘parish-Anglicans’ or ‘crypto-Catholics’ were indicative of a failure of the English Reformation. Alexandra Walsham has suggested that these prayer-book Protestants and parish-Anglicans may have welcomed the later, Laudian changes to the church, suggesting a new identity, ‘proto-Laudians.’²³ Walsham’s earlier work also highlighted the presence of Church-papists as a branch of English Catholicism, also deserving of their place in the English religious spectrum.²⁴

²¹ Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) p.269

²² This was suggested by Collinson in his *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* p.27, but this theme has been expanded in recent studies.

²³ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Christopher Haigh ‘The Church of England, the Catholics and the People’ in his ed. *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984) pp.195-220; Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and ‘Parish Anglicans’ in Early Stuart England’ in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 49, Number 4 (October, 1998) pp.620-651

²⁴ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999)

Although these studies have increased our problem of labelling people's beliefs, they have also expanded our awareness of different experiences of the Reformation in England, and taught us to be more sensitive and nuanced in our discussion of religion in this period. This has had an impact on the definition of Puritanism. As Peter Lake has argued, Puritanism represented 'a distinctive style of piety and divinity, made up of not so much distinctively Puritan component parts' but 'a synthesis made of strands most or many of which taken individually could be found in non-Puritan contexts, which taken together formed a distinctively Puritan synthesis or style,' a visible piety incorporating the social, psychological and theological.²⁵ The focus of this study is two different urban communities, one of which had a significant Catholic presence, to further explore questions about the relationship between the godly and their neighbours, how their identity was perceived from different perspectives within the community, as well as how the idea of a 'religious spectrum' and the godly having a 'semi-detached' relationship to the wider community worked in practice.

Fourthly, turning to examine how the concept of performance adds to the discussion of godly culture and identity-formation within the historiography of Puritanism. Historians have identified two sides to godly/Puritan identity in this period. As Peter Lake explains

'what from the inside of godly opinion looking out appeared to be personal godliness and a proper zeal for God's cause seemed, from the outside looking in, to be an over-precise hypocrisy and subversive radicalism.'²⁶

From whichever perspective, and under whichever title, godly or Puritan, the entity in discussion was the same, distinctive for similar characteristics. Instead it was the

²⁵ Lake, 'Defining Puritanism – Again?' p.6

²⁶ Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) pp.12-13

interpretation of what it meant which differed.²⁷ This is shown most clearly by the fact that some among the godly came to recognise the name Puritan as a positive attribution, representing desirable qualities.²⁸ Another way of seeing these distinctive characteristics of godly or Puritan religiosity is as performance. From the outside the godly were seen as hypocritical actors. Their religion was seen as an empty performance but the actions that were mocked were actually performed by the godly themselves. The meaning ascribed from their perspective, however, was a reflection of their inner faith and a desire to be assured of their election, not hypocrisy. As will be argued, the concept of religious performance helps to link these two different perspectives of godly identity and understand more about the social realities of godly culture and theology in everyday life.

Historians have long used phrases such as ‘Puritan style’ and have stressed the idea that Puritans could ‘recognise’ each other. Margo Todd has written of ‘Puritan self-fashioning.’ The idea of performance has also begun to be used by historians to describe godly religiosity. Patrick Collinson, Alexandra Walsham, Ellen Rydell and Francis Bremer are just a few of the historians who have seen Puritan sermons as ‘performance art,’ drawing attention to the dramatic language and even gesture which sometimes accompanied public preaching.²⁹ Peter Lake has talked of the performance of individuals at the gallows as re-affirming a Puritan identity and Ralph Houlbrooke has described the performance of Puritans on their death bed in the process of ‘dying

²⁷ Lake, ‘Defining Puritanism – Again?’ p.22; Patrick Collinson, *English Puritanism* (London: Chameleon Press, 1983) p.8

²⁸ Examples of this are given on p.22, below.

²⁹ Todd, ‘Puritan Self-fashioning’ passim; Francis Bremer and Ellen Rydell, ‘Performance Art? Puritans in the Pulpit’ in *History Today*, 45:9 (September, 1995) passim; Patrick Collinson, ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Culture’ in Durston and Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism* p.48; Walsham, *Providence* pp.315-23; for the idea that Puritans could recognise each other, see for example Lake, *Moderate Puritans* p.12, Spurr, *English Puritanism* pp.6-7; and for the idea of a ‘Puritan Style’ see quote above p.12, taken from Lake, ‘Defining Puritanism – Again?’ p.6

well.’³⁰ Furthermore, David Cressy has talked of what he calls the ‘theatrical exhibitions of iconoclasm’ and Stephen Greenblatt has noted the dramatic aspects of Puritan exorcism.³¹ Although historians have acknowledged the drama of Puritan religiosity, it has always been mentioned incidentally, whereas I want to discuss ‘the performance of piety’ as a means to explore godly culture and identity as a whole more fully.³²

The terminology of performance is, however, not merely an historical construct. Contemporaries used the word performance itself for describing religious activities in general, for example the performance of daily religious tasks and performing God’s will.³³ They also used the theatre as a metaphor for religious worship and described godly religiosity in performative language. Archbishop Sandys gave a sermon at York, published in 1585, explaining how his congregation were to imagine themselves almost as actors, saying

³⁰ Lake, ‘A Charitable Christian Hatred’ p.148; Ralph Houlbrooke, ‘The Puritan Death-bed, c.1560-1660’ in Durston and Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism* p.122; for further discussion of the ‘theatre of martyrdom’ refer to James Sharpe, ‘Last Dying Speeches: Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth Century England’ in *Past and Present*, Number 107 (1985) especially pp.161-2 and Walsham, *Charitable Hatred* p.169

³¹ David Cressy, ‘Different Kinds of Speaking: Symbolic Violence and Secular Iconoclasm in Early Modern England’ in Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward, Michael MacDonald eds. *Protestant Identities, Religion, Society and Self-fashioning in Post-Reformation England* (California: Stanford University Press, 1999) pp.19-20; Stephen Greenblatt’s chapter ‘Shakespeare and the Exorcists’ in his *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) passim.

³² Peter Lake discusses godly performance and the role of audience in the process of edification in relation to the content of John Ley’s tract on Mrs Jane Ratcliffe in ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The ‘Emancipation’ of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe’ in *Seventeenth Century Journal*, Volume 2 (1987) pp.151, 156; other historians who have used the theatre as a metaphor for religious worship include, Ramie Targoff, ‘The Performance of Prayer: Sincerity and Theatricality in Early Modern England’ in *Representations*, Number 60 (Autumn, 1997) pp.49-69 and Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997)

³³ For example, William Gouge commented ‘a conscionable performance of domesticall and household duties tend to the good ordering of the Church and common-wealth’ in his *Of domesticall dvties, eight treatises* (London: 1622) p.18; Robert Harris praised Sir Thomas Crew in the dedication of his *Two sermons the one preached before the iudges of Assizes at Oxford* (London: 1628) for ‘adorning Religion with real performances, whilst others talk.’ (For full titles of primary printed works and details of their publication refer to the bibliography.)

‘we are set as it were upon a stage: the world, angels and men fix their eyes upon us. And if the eyes of all these were closed, yet ...our eternal God, he... searcheth our heart: he understandeth all our ways.’³⁴

In a similar vein, John More in *A liuely anatomie of death* (1596) wrote ‘Our life is like a stage, on which men play theyr partes, and passe away.’³⁵ From without, the godly were mocked for their ‘show of religion’ implying their hypocrisy. A woman in a Consistory Court case of 1629 was accused of making a ‘shewe of going to a sermon unto St Antholins Church’ in London.³⁶ Theatrical terminology was also used to criticise the non-godly. The Banbury divine William Whately commented in 1619,

‘in the societies of men professing the true Christian religion; neither are all true, neither are all false: but some honest, sound-hearted, vpright Christians; other-some hollow, dissembling, hypocriticall actors of Christianitie.’³⁷

The clearest way in which godly religiosity and performance was linked by contemporaries, however, was in the satire of Puritans on the stage. By the first two decades of the seventeenth century the ‘stage-Puritan’ had become a stock character in plays performed in metropolitan theatres.³⁸ The play seen by historians as portraying one of the most mature satires of the stage-Puritan is Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair* of 1614.³⁹ This play is particularly significant here since the key Puritan character, Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, was a ‘Banbury man,’ a former baker of the

³⁴ ‘The Eleventh Sermon: a sermon made at York. Rom. XIII 8-13’ in John Ayre ed. *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys: To Which are Added Some Miscellaneous Pieces by the Same Author*, The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1841) p.213

³⁵ Francis Rodes, *Life after death, containing many religious instructions and godly exhortations for all those that meane to liue holy, and dye blessedly* (London: 1622) p.33; John More, *A liuely anatomie of death wherein you may see from whence it came, what it is by nature and what by Christ* (London: 1596) E5r; similarly, Collinson in his ‘Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*’ p.158 commented, ‘if Shakespeare, typically, stole the line that everyone remembers, ‘All the world’s a stage,’ Jonson wrote, no less memorably: ‘Our whole life is like a Play.’

³⁶ Quoted in Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* p.146

³⁷ William Whately, *God’s hvsbandry, the first part. Tending to shew the difference betwixt the hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian* (London: 1619) B3r

³⁸ Collinson, ‘Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*’ p.164; Collinson, ‘Ecclesiastical Vitriol’ pp.154-7; William P. Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire, 1572-1642* (New York: Yale University Press, 1954) pp.123, 142; Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Anti-Christ’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) p.xxxii

³⁹ Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (1614); Collinson, ‘Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*’ p.164; Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire* pp.123, 142

famous Banbury cakes. In the course of the play, Zeal-of-the-Land is mocked for his overbearing and repetitive language, tending to preach rather than converse, his complaints of idolatry, his gluttony and his choice of baptism names, amongst other things.

Puritan characters such as Zeal-of-the-Land and Grace Seldome, from Nathaniel Field's *Amends for ladies*, were satirised using a variety of familiar means. These included their use of over-blown gestures, such as raising their eyes heavenward and opening their Bibles, often carried with them, their pious speech and their distinctively dull clothing.⁴⁰ The stage directions for Rustico's wife Lamia in the anonymous play, *Two wise men and all the rest fooles*, for example, read 'counterfeiting to be a Puritan, lifting her eyes upward' and 'she openeth her Bible and makes shew to read, and many times turnes her eyes with the white upward.'⁴¹ The directions for Florilla, a Puritan noblewoman in George Chapman's *An humerous dayes myrth*, read 'enter like a puritan' when she dresses beneath her status and is attired like a milkmaid.⁴² The visual and vocal piety of such characters was then turned into hypocrisy by how they behaved, for example stealing or committing adultery. In *The Pvritaine* (1607) Nicholas Saint-Tantlings, a Puritan servant, steals a chain and when his crime is discovered Sir Godfrey cries,

'O Villaine one of our society,
Deemd always holy, pure, religious,
A Puritan? A theefe, when wast euer hard?'⁴³

⁴⁰ Nathaniel Field, *Amends for ladies* (1611); for more detail on this subject see Katie Wright's chapter 'Puritanism 'in the Eye of the Beholder:' The Stage-Puritan and the Construction of Puritan Identity' in her *A Looking-glass for Christian Morality* pp.41-65; Collinson, 'Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair' passim; Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire* passim

⁴¹ *Two wise men and all the rest fooles* (1619) (Old English Drama Students' Facsimile Edition) Act IV, Scene II, p.46

⁴² George Chapman, *An humerous dayes myrth* (1597) in *Chapman's Dramatic Works, Volume One* (London: John Pearson, 1873) p.101

⁴³ W.S. *The Pvritaine or the widdow of Watling-streete* (London: 1607) Act V, Scene IV, H3v

Overall, the upright and diligent piety the godly saw in themselves was exaggerated and satirised into an empty show of religion, a portrayal of counterfeit piety and hypocrisy.

The characteristic traits of the stage-Puritan also resembled the ways in which the godly were mocked by other means, such as in satirical epigrams, one of the most well-known being John Earle's 'a shee precise hypocrite' in his *Micro-cosmographie* (1628), or in religious libels which were paraded through the streets of some towns.⁴⁴ Nottingham, as we will see, was one such town, where the local godly were mocked for their aspirations of sainthood, their fondness of psalms, their sermon-gadding and their sexual immorality. It was said that in the town the godly were commonly called 'proecisians' and the ballad was referred to in alehouses as the 'songe of the Puritanes of Nottingham.'⁴⁵ Here again it was the show the godly made of their religion that was being mocked. It was perceived as a desire merely to be seen as more religious, and was criticised as hypocrisy. Performance in the streets and on the stage was thus used by contemporaries to mock the godly but they were also actually mocking the performance of the godly themselves. The fact that the godly were seen from the outside as performers of religion is integral to their identity and to the arguments in this thesis. As we will see, however, the suggestion that the godly may have performed their religion is not intended to imply a shallowness of the actions of the godly themselves, nor to signal agreement that their religion was empty and all for show.

⁴⁴ John Earle, *Micro-cosmographie. Or, a peece of the world discovered; in essayes and characters*. (London: 1628); similar texts and libels are discussed in Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire* pp.54-5; Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age*, especially pp.188-203; Hughes, 'Religion and Society in Stratford-upon-Avon' pp.58-64; Underdown, *Fire from Heaven* pp.27-32; Fox 'Religious Satire in English Towns' passim.

⁴⁵ These libels will be discussed in detail in chapter seven.

Although grace was God-given and no-one could be sure of their election in this world, increasingly the godly came to understand that there were signs of election which were visible to the discerning eye. English ministers and theologians encouraged the godly to use the Scriptures as a guide for self-discipline. Through their sermons and printed literature they attempted to provide an ethical and moral framework for behaviour, 'practical divinity,' which could demonstrate that a covenant of grace was operating in the lives of the faithful.⁴⁶ In this good works were no longer necessary for salvation but it was understood that good works could be evidence of salvation. As William Whately, minister of Banbury from 1611 to 1639, told his readership, 'no man can be saved without good workes, more than without faith, because that faith is not lively which produceth not good workes.'⁴⁷

The godly were expected to reflect their godliness in their everyday life, to distinguish themselves from the reprobate. In *The bright star* (1603) John Dod, minister of Hanwell, near Banbury, instructed 'those that be called Christians' to 'labour to be Christians.' They must 'be carefull to frame their life according to the life of Gods word and so to order all their carriage to the line of gods word.' If not, he argued, 'they are as grosse profaners of the name of god and as liable to the curse and vengeance of god as he that swears many a vaine and idle oath.'⁴⁸ Similarly, William Perkins in *A discourse of conscience* showed that 'things indifferent' were to be used

⁴⁶As William Perkins explained in *A case of conscience, the greatest test that ever was: how a man may know whether he be the childe of God or no* in *The workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, Mr William Perkins. The first volume* (London: 1626) p.429 'The Elect, before they are called to Christ, are neuer sure of their election;' Ian Breward ed. *The Work of William Perkins* (Abingdon: The Sutton Courtney Press, 1970) p.92; Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* pp.434-5; Kenneth L. Parker and Eric J. Carlson, 'Practical Divinity: The Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham' (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) passim; Lake, 'Defining Puritanism - Again?' p.11

⁴⁷ William Whately's address in *The poore mans advocate, or, a treatise of liberality to the needy, delivered in sermons* (London: 1637); Steven Denison similarly expressed that 'faith without good works is but a carcass of faith' in *The doctrine of both the Sacraments* (London: 1621) p.146, quoted in Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy,' 'Heterodoxy' and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001) p.21

⁴⁸ John Dod, *The bright star which leadeth wise men to our Lord Jesus Christ: or a familiar learned exposition of the Ten Commandements* (London: 1603) p.54

to ‘shew forth the graces & virtues that God hath wrought in the heart.’ For example, he advised his readers to

‘make our apparell both for matter and fashion, and so weare it, that it may in some sort set forth to the beholder our modestie, sobrietie, frugalitie, humilitie, &c. that hereby he may be occasioned to say, behold a graue, sober, modest person.’⁴⁹

The godly were encouraged to be active in their faith and avoid all appearances or shows of evil. It was the emphasis on appearances and externalising beliefs which led to the charge of hypocrisy.⁵⁰ In order for their outward activities and good works not to reflect pride or hypocrisy they had to be accompanied by a sincere heart. Puritans were mocked as hypocrites but fear of hypocrisy also weighed heavily on their minds and was prominent in their own writings. Advice on how to tell a true Christian from a hypocrite litters the work of contemporary Protestant moralists. Some wrote whole tracts on the subject, including Banbury’s William Whately and his two tracts entitled *Gods husbandry*, the first ‘tending to shew the difference betwixt the hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian’ and the second ‘tending chiefly to the reforming of an hypocrite and making him true hearted.’⁵¹ As the authors of *A garden of spirituall flowers* wrote in 1622, ‘take heede of performing holy duties for fashions sake, or without feeling and profit: for this is hypocrisie and profaneness.’⁵² Similarly, John Dod and Robert Cleaver, ministers of Banbury’s neighbouring

⁴⁹ William Perkins, *A discovrse of conscience: wherein is set down the nature, properties, and differences thereof: as also the way to get and keepe good conscience* (Cambridge: 1596) pp.103-4

⁵⁰ Paul Seaver, *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth Century London* (London: Methuen, 1985) pp.34, 190

⁵¹ William Whately, *Gods hvsbandry, the first part. Tending to shew the difference betwixt the hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian* (London: 1619) and *Gods hvsbandry, the second part, tending chiefly to the reforming of an hypocrite and making him true hearted. As it was delivered in certaine sermons, and is now published* (London: 1622); other tracts discussing hypocrisy include, Samuel Hieron, *The discoverie of hypocrisie. The perfect pattern of true conversion* (London: 1613); John Yates, *Gods arraignment of hypocrites: With an inlargment concerning gods decree in ordering sinne* (Cambridge: 1615); godly polemic about hypocrisy is also discussed in Lake, ‘A Charitable Christian Hatred’ pp.161-3

⁵² Richard Greenham, William Perkins, Richard Rogers and George Webb, *A garden of spirituall flowers. 2 part. Yielding a sweet smelling sauour in the nostrils of each true-hearted Christian* (London: 1622) A8r

parishes, advised in their *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements* (1604),

‘God doth not looke on the outside onely, but on the inside also. Shewes cannot deceiue him. If we say, and sweare, and protest neuer so much that we loue and feare him, and this be not in our soule, it is not before his fact: but in his sight there is nothing but hypocrisie and dissimulation.’⁵³

Contemporary interest in the relationship between exterior and interior man and the dangers of hypocrisy stretched to discussion of acting and the stage, where the stage was criticised for encouraging the audience to praise outward spectacles over inner faith.⁵⁴ As William Perkins commented in his *Whole treatise of the cases of conscience* (1608), players

‘doe devise artificiall formes and favours, to set upon their bodies and faces, by painting and colouring; thereby making themselves seem that which indeede they are not.’⁵⁵

This was taken further in some commentaries expressing a fear that what began as a mere performance, would transform the actor permanently.⁵⁶ The fear of the transformative power of stage-performance and the idea that Puritans were false and dishonest was mocked by Thomas Dekker in his *Jests to make you merry* (1607): two actors compare their talents, one saying ‘I have so naturally playd the Puritane, that many took me to be one,’ the other, ‘true... thou playst the Puritaine so naturally, that thou couldst never play the honest man afterwards.’⁵⁷ Furthermore, Samuel Hieron in his *Truths pvrchase* demonstrated the linguistic relationship between the words hypocrite and actor, writing,

⁵³ John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements, with a methodicall short catechisme, containing briefly all the principall grounds of Christian religion* (London: 1604) p.29

⁵⁴ Targoff, ‘The Performance of Prayer’ p.50; Jean Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1994) p.28

⁵⁵ William Perkins, *The whole treatise of the cases of conscience* (1608) p.297r, quoted in Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage: Protestantism and Popular Theater in Early Modern England* (USA: Cornell University Press, 1997) p.177

⁵⁶ Targoff, ‘The Performance of Prayer’ p.52

⁵⁷ Thomas Dekker, *Jests to make you merry*, II, (1607) p.282, quoted in Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire* p.56 and Collinson, ‘Ecclesiastical Vitriol’ p.169

'Hypocrite, is a Greeke Word, and signifieth a stage player, who many times for the time weareth the habite, and carrieth the style and title of a king, himselfe, being but a rascall, or representeth a chaste and modest louer, when his owne life is a practise to vncleannesse: This is properly an Hypocrite, and being applied to matters of religion, it signifieth such an one, whose profession, & mouth and face, and habite, make by fits and vpon occasions, great shewes of Pietie, when in his heart, he is nothing lesse than he makes shew of.'⁵⁸

As has been shown, the godly condemned hypocrisy in the ungodly and criticised the stage for relying on disguise, duplicity and outward shows, but playwrights used the stage to mock the godly themselves for these same characteristics. There was a tension within prescriptive literature between the public externalisation of faith and private activities of the godly, having to live in the world but not be of it. Public appearances could be deceptive and therefore it was important to rely on private actions to provide indication of one's inner condition. For example, William Hinde in his life of the godly magistrate John Bruen, praised him for praying in diverse places,

'because he would not bee too much observed to frequent one place, lest he should draw himself into some suspition of vanity or hypocrisie. He had a variety of Closets, Studies, Chambers and other Convenient rooms.'⁵⁹

To avoid hypocrisy the godly had both to examine their motivations to be sure that their actions were performed for God and put forward a public persona which was beyond reproach.⁶⁰ This tension between public and private performances of piety was satirised in the 1592 play, *A knack to know a knave*, when a bailiff advises his son, a priest, to

'make a shew of holiness;
and blind the world with thy hypocrisy;

⁵⁸ Samuel Hieron, *Truths purchase: or, a commoditie, which no many may eyther neglect or buy, or dare to sell* (London: 1613) p.57; similarly William Prynne wrote 'the proper name of Player is hypocrite' in *Histrio-mastix* (1633) p.93 quoted in Margaret Aston, 'Iconoclasm in England: Official and Clandestine' in Clifford Davidson and Ann Eljenholm Nichols eds. *Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama* (Michigan: Western Michigan University, 1989) p.79; also discussed in Targoff, 'The Performance of Prayer' p.51

⁵⁹ William Hinde, *A faithful remonstrance of the holy life and happy death of John Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford* (London: 1641) p.156

⁶⁰ Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* p.76; Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge* pp.21-2; Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) p.11; Seaver, *Wallington's World* pp.34, 190

and sometime give a penny to the poor,
but let it be in the church or market-place,
that men may praise thy liberality.’⁶¹

The fine line between introspection and appropriate external performances of religion on the one hand, and proud and hypocritical conduct on the other, was the tightrope which godly individuals had to walk on a daily basis. They were, however, not always alone in their insecurities about their salvation and how to perform their religious duty with a true heart and a true conscience. The wider godly community also played an important part in assuaging doubts and providing reassurance. By talking about a performance of godly piety the idea of audience is implicit. We have already seen the attitudes of one audience for the activities of the godly in the mocking satire of their enemies and the idea that the godly wanted to differentiate themselves from the reprobate. The extent to which that played out in the communities of Banbury and Nottingham is something which will be brought into discussion in this thesis. The efforts of the ungodly to demonstrate the distinctiveness of the godly may have helped confirm their status as elect, a persecuted minority separate from the reprobate.⁶² In fact the signs of religion that the godly were criticised for, and seen as characteristics of ‘Puritanism,’ were later recognised by some as desirable qualities. Some even took on the name of Puritan. Samuel Ward, town preacher in Ipswich, declared in a sermon of 1615 that he wanted to worship God ‘with that which most call Puritanism.’ He believed that ‘none shall ever please Christ till they appear odd, strange and precise men to the common sort.’⁶³

⁶¹ *A knack to know a knave* (1592) in W. Carew Hazlitt ed. *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, Volume 6, (London: Reeves and Turner, 1874) p.517; Whately argues in *The Poore mans advocate*, p.173 that giving is good for the soul, and also ‘good to the name, procuring more honour to ones selfe, and more honour to ones religion, than all the fine clothes in the world and all those gay buildings.’

⁶² Walsham, *Charitable Hatred* pp.213-4; Walsham, *Church Papists* p.109; Lake, ‘Defining Puritanism – Again?’ pp.15-16; Collinson ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism’ p.34

⁶³ Samuel Ward, *A coal from the altar to kindle the holy fire of zeal in a sermon preached at a general visitation at Ipswich* (1615) p.41, quoted in Durston and Eales’ ‘Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700’ p.2; Peter Lake, in his chapter ‘A Charitable Christian Hatred’ also discusses this. He notes that

Were there other audiences for godly performances? On one level they were for God. It was with a sincere heart and to reflect God's glory that religious practices were performed. It was for this reason that the activities of the godly in private, away from the eyes of the world, were seen as being a more reliable indication of a true faith. True godliness was, however, demonstrated in an active piety which could not always be hidden from the eyes of the world and performances of piety may have served to help in the process of assurance before the audience of the wider godly community. As we have already seen, historians have drawn upon the idea that the godly could recognise each other, partly through the visible religious practices which were so essential to godly worship. More recently historians have discussed spiritual reciprocity within the godly community and the godly, both lay and clerical, operating as spiritual aids to each other in the process of edification. For example Peter Lake, in his discussion of the pious performances of Jane Ratcliffe, refers to a process of 'collective growth in grace' and that

'the personal gifts and spiritual graces of the godly not only contributed to their own salvation they also contributed to the germination and nourishment of that community of the godly.'⁶⁴

As John Dod and Robert Cleaver extolled in 1609,

'the fellowship of faithfull Christians in fasting and prayer, in participation of the word and the sacraments, and in all holy exercises of religion, doth as much refresh the hearts of them that addict themselves to the services of God and unfainedly seeke eternall salvation. They gladly come together, they willingly stay together, they comfortably converse together.'⁶⁵

John Parker, former vicar of Pitchley, Northamptonshire, executed for infanticide, exclaimed from the scaffold, 'You must abide in the truth and walk in that way which is called Puritanism, or you shall never come to heaven. Those that are most religious and have most of the power of godliness in them, those and those only are the best Christians, those which you call puritans and except you become such as they are, ye shall certainly be damned for ever in hell,' see pp.146, 153-4.

⁶⁴ Lake, 'Feminine Piety and Personal Potency' pp.144, 156; see also Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat* p.595; Lake, 'A Charitable Christian Hatred' p.149; Willen, 'Communion of the Saints' particularly pp.19-20

⁶⁵ John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Solomon* (London: 1609) pp.98-9; in their *A plaine and familiar exposition of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the prouerbs of Solomon* (London: 1611) p.13 Dod and Cleaver

Of course there was a fine line between an active true faith and putting forward a show of religion to gain credit from others, as William Whately reminded,

‘many a sonne and seruant of a godly father or master, wil hearken diligently at Sermon, and bring home (by memorie or writing) all the substance of the sermon; yea, and be diligent at prayers in the family, and perhaps also pray himself, with very good and commendable petitions and words; when as all this while he is guiltie to himselfe, of making no reckoning of any goodnesse; and in truth careth for, nor thinketh of any thing else, but winning the fauour of his parent or master, or credit and reputation of those amongst whom he liueth.’⁶⁶

In this thesis performance will be used to discuss godly piety and Puritan identity on several levels. Firstly, to link how the godly were seen from the outside, as hypocritical and duplicitous actors of Christianity, and their own need to externalise their faith and receive assurance. Secondly, to help visualise how the godly and others could indeed recognise each other and show how the activities of the godly could be distinctive within the communities in which they lived. Thirdly, the broad category of performance helps to link the everyday and life-cycle-specific practices and rituals of the godly, such as Bible reading and naming of children, with the more irregular and dramatic gestures such as iconoclasm. Fourthly, it will be used to show an audience for godly piety, a collective aspect to their activities and that their culture was not merely a culture of individuals.⁶⁷

It is understood that not all the godly performed in all the ways discussed in this thesis, different people prioritised different matters. The aim, however, is to use a variety of sources to bring together aspects of godly identity, and to chart the godly performing in different contexts in the two towns, mapping their distinctive behaviour

gave, ‘Instruction for all men to obserue the state of their owne soules and the better when occasion is offered to informe themselues of others by the company which they most desire to frequent.’

⁶⁶ Whately, *Gods hvsbandry, the first part* p.21

⁶⁷ The individual perspective has been discussed, for example, in works on Puritan diaries, such as M.M. Knappen, *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries by Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward* (USA: American Society of Church History, 1933); Todd, ‘Puritan Self-fashioning;’ Seaver, *Wallington’s World*; Joanna Moody ed. *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Ltd. 1998)

on an individual, familial and collective level, linking general trends with biographical details. By recreating networks and relationships between people and events in Banbury and Nottingham it is hoped to get closer to an understanding of how different religious identities were formed within small, urban communities.

It is impossible to disentangle religion from many other factors in discussing culture and identity, such as social hierarchy and social networks, personality, gender, economic status and political roles, and it is important not to over-interpret signs of religion within the sources. As such, these and other factors all have an important part to play in discussion here. The focus, however, is on religious culture and trying to draw out the threads of religion within society, exploring what part it played in social interaction and social bonding, and in the creation of different cultures and identities.

The structure of the thesis is thematic, each chapter dealing with different aspects of godly culture and performance. The themes covered in the chapters fall broadly into discussion of different arenas for the performance of godly piety: the household, the church and the street. The chapters are also to a large extent based around different source material, including baptism registers, wills and inventories, church and other court records, and contemporary publications. Prescriptions for godly behaviour, for example from conduct literature and guides of practical divinity, are incorporated into analysis of the reality of godly lives, perceived from the urban records of the two towns. Banbury and Nottingham are used together and compared throughout.

The first chapter sets the urban context for the thesis and introduces Banbury and Nottingham in more detail. The following three chapters explore the domestic environment for godly piety and the culture of the godly on an individual and familial

level. They are divided into different stages of the godly life. Chapter two examines the framing of godly lives, exploring distinctive choices of baptism names made by certain families in the two towns. These included Old Testament names and grace names, indicating a distinctive and an emotional side to godly religiosity. Chapter three explores the ideal of the 'godly household' and evidence of godly domestic culture in practice in Banbury and Nottingham, in particular through book-ownership, material culture and social networks. Chapter four looks at the other end of framing the godly life, exploring preparations for death as a performance of piety. The remainder of the thesis discusses the more public arenas of godly piety and the interaction of the godly with the wider community. Chapter five looks at godly performance in church and pulpit, showing the ways in which the laity and the clergy can be seen as performing within church, both at regular worship and during particular ceremonies, for example at Holy Communion. The final two chapters explore the more dramatic moments of godly performance, drawing upon some of the bigger cases in the towns' histories for what they tell us about the growth and character of godly culture in Banbury and Nottingham. Chapter six explores three acts of iconoclasm in Banbury, the ban on maypoles in 1589, the destruction of the two market crosses in 1600 and the removal of church statues in or around 1610.⁶⁸ Chapter seven explores John Darrell's exorcism of William Sommers in Nottingham in 1597-8 and the exchange of religious libels between rival factions in the 1610s.

Overall, these chapters question the nature of godly networks, godly culture and godly identity. They ask what influence did the ministry and social elite have on forming godly culture in urban areas, and fostering changes to it? How important were social bonds and local networks in influencing the spread and distribution of

⁶⁸ The precise date of the destruction of the church statues is unknown. From the position of the case in the act book, it is likely to have been around 1610. For more detail refer to chapter six p.270, footnote 128

godly culture? To what extent can we talk of a godly community? To what extent was godly culture in Banbury and Nottingham different and why? To what extent was godly culture gendered? And also broader questions about how religious difference was articulated and accommodated and why, when and over what issues it produced tension.

Chapter One

The Urban Environment Banbury and Nottingham c.1580-1640

Banbury and Nottingham differed in terms of their size, administrative status and social and economic make-up. They also differed in ecclesiastical structure and in the pace and impact of Reformation changes. Banbury was a medium-sized market town, with one parish church and a reputation for Puritanism. Nottingham was a county town with three parishes and an established Catholic community. These are just some of the towns' differences in this period, but their differences, as well as their similarities, are important to this study. They provide contrasting environments in which to study questions about religious interaction and identity-formation, and different perspectives on godly culture in an urban setting. They show how different aspects of the urban environment, for example the relationship between magistrates and ministers, the personality of ministers and the religious spectrum could and did affect the growth, change and nature of godly culture. In this chapter the towns themselves will be discussed in more detail and placed within their own local social, political and ecclesiastical context. The towns will be discussed in turn, beginning with Banbury.

BANBURY

Banbury was a well-established market town with a population of about 1,500 in the mid-sixteenth century, rising to over 2,500 in the mid-seventeenth.¹ The town stood at a major crossroads, midway on the road from Oxford to Coventry. It was

¹ Barton John Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces: Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1554-1660* (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1985) pp.11, 85-6

situated at a distance from other, larger towns, such as Oxford and Northampton, encouraging its growth as an important local centre for trade and other services.² The town supported a broad range of occupations. Shoe-making was the most popular trade, although its strength was to dwindle in the later seventeenth century, due to competition from Northampton. Other key occupations included suppliers of food and drink and professions associated with the cloth trade, which employed several of the town's elite families.³

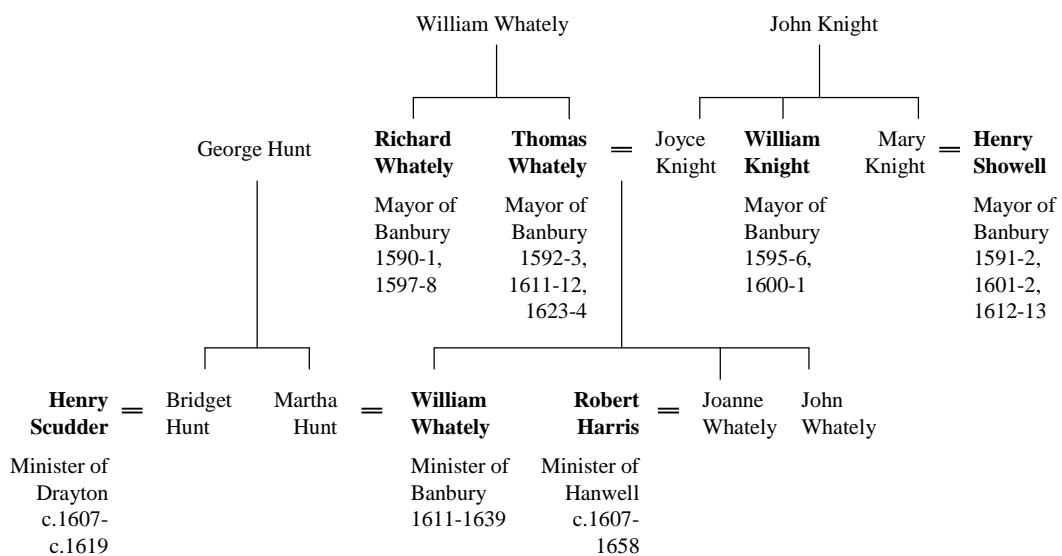


Figure one - Family tree showing the connections between the Whately and Knight families, and the relationship between the ministers William Whately, Henry Scudder and Robert Harris.⁴

² Ibid. pp.15-126; Alan Everitt, 'The Banburys of England' in *Urban History Yearbook* (1974) pp.31, 36

³ E.R.C. Brinkworth and J.S.W. Gibson eds. *Banbury Wills and Inventories, Part One, 1591-1620*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 13 (1985) (hereafter BW1) pp.22-37; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.37, 39, 49, 112

⁴ Note that John Knight had another daughter, Alice, who is not included in the family tree. She married Edward Edens 2 November 1579, E.R.C. Brinkworth and J.S.W. Gibson eds. *Banbury Corporation Records: Tudor and Stuart*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 15 (1977) p.305 (hereafter BCR.) The birth order of John Knight's children has been changed to fit the family tree. William was baptised 14 November 1558, Alice Knight was baptised 2 November 1559 and Joyce Knight was baptised 8 May 1563; Mary's baptism is not registered. She was possibly the eldest, since the baptism registers only begin in 1558. See Mrs N. Fillmore and J.S.W Gibson eds. *Baptism and Burial Register of Banbury, Oxfordshire, Part One, 1558-1653*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 7 (1966) (hereafter BBR) pp.2, 3, 7; for detail of further marital connections in Banbury's corporation refer to BCR pp.271-280

The town and borough of Banbury was incorporated by charter in 1554, transferring the government of the town to the control of a bailiff, twelve aldermen and twelve high burgesses. The charter also gave the corporation the right to elect a Member of Parliament.⁵ Banbury received a second charter in 1608 in which the number of burgesses was reduced from twelve to six and the role of bailiff was replaced by that of mayor. The town also gained the right to hold its own Quarter Sessions.⁶

Banbury's corporation had long been dominated by a few families, including the Whatelys, the Halheads, and the Vivers, most of which derived their wealth from the cloth industry and traded as mercers or woollen-drapers.⁷ By the turn of the seventeenth century, as was common in other towns, the dominance of the corporation by a few individuals from select families was causing discontent amongst the wider group of burgesses.⁸ This is something which surfaced around the time of the destruction the town's market crosses in 1600. Complaints were made to the Court of Star Chamber about the oligarchic rule of the corporation by five individuals, William Knight, Thomas Whately, Richard Whately, Henry Showell, and John Gill. The relationship between four of these men is shown in **figure one**. They were further accused of treating visiting market traders harshly, when they came to Banbury to 'make merry,' as well as zealously attacking the crosses. Richard Whately had also been involved in a campaign in 1588-9 to remove maypoles from the hamlets surrounding Banbury. These two cases will be discussed in detail in chapter six but it

⁵ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.22; Alan Crossley ed. *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume X, Banbury Hundred, Victoria County History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) (hereafter Banbury VCH) pp.5, 73

⁶ BCR pp.98-102; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.36, footnote 61; Banbury VCH pp.74, 81

⁷ Other important governing families included the Austens, the Hills, the Wests and the Knights; Banbury VCH pp.8, 64; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp. 42, 49, 99

⁸ Peter Clark and Paul Slack call the continuous growth of oligarchic magistracy, 'the most obvious theme in English urban history from 1500-1700' in their edited *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 1972) pp.21-22, 25; see also Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) pp.130-3

is important to note here that by the early seventeenth century the corporation was dominated by a group of closely related and like-minded godly magistrates, who were also closely related to ‘the roaring boy of Banbury,’ William Whately, who served the parish as curate and lecturer between 1605-1611, and then minister 1611-1639.

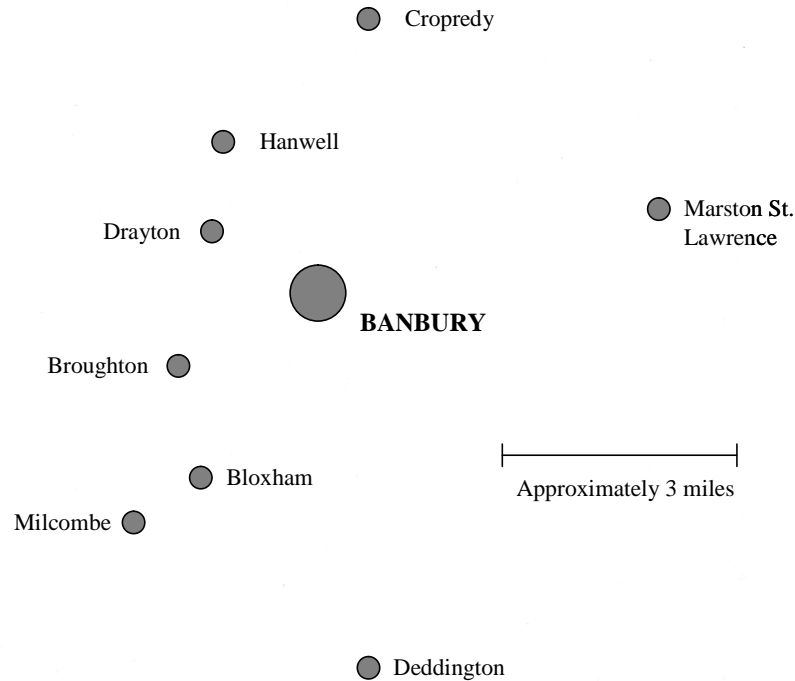


Figure two – map showing Banbury and some of its surrounding parishes.⁹

The connection between godly magistrates and ministers in Banbury was made stronger by the town’s relationship with the local gentry. Banbury itself had no residing gentry or nobility but there were gentlemen living in the neighbouring hamlets of Calthorpe and Wickham. Furthermore, Hanwell, a few miles from Banbury, was the seat of Sir Anthony Cope and the Fiennes family, Lords of Saye and Sele, lived at nearby Broughton.¹⁰ (See map in **figure two**.) Sir Anthony Cope

⁹ <http://maps.google.co.uk/maps?f=q&hl=en&geocode=&q=banbury&ie=UTF8&ll=52.060512,-1.340332&spn=0.096677,0.31929&z=12&iwloc=addr&pw=2> consulted 6 February 2008.

This map website was used to locate the towns and villages shown in figure two. Only the places mentioned in this thesis are shown.

¹⁰ Richard T. Vann, ‘Wills and the Family in an English Town: Banbury, 1500-1800’ in *Journal of Family History: Studies in Family, Kinship and Demography*, Volume 4, Number 4 (Winter, 1979)

represented Banbury borough in all but one Parliament from 1571 to 1614. In 1584 it was Richard Fiennes who took his place. In the seventeenth century representation was again dominated by the two families. Anthony Cope gained notoriety for his Presbyterian views when he proposed a revised *Book of Common Prayer* in the 1586-7 Parliament, for which he was imprisoned in the Tower of London.¹¹ He also served the county of Oxfordshire as sheriff in 1582-3, 1591-2 and 1603-4, and as deputy lieutenant from 1596.¹² In the charter of 1608 Anthony Cope and Richard Fiennes were given the role of justice over Banbury's Quarter Sessions and their sons were named assistants. In 1632 William, Viscount Say and Sele was elected as High Steward of Banbury. These offices were, however, mostly nominal and devoid of specific responsibility.¹³

As well as their political involvement, the Copes and Fiennes had other social, financial and religious connections with the town. Both families owned property in Banbury and had business connections with some of the leading aldermen. Four out of the five main contributors to Banbury's lecture by combination held livings in the hands of the Copes, including the famous John Dod and Robert Cleaver.¹⁴ Furthermore, following a presentment to the local church court on a number of non-conformist charges, including not wearing the surplice and not following the *Book of Common Prayer*, Ralph Taylor, curate and school teacher in Banbury, was presented

p.348; Mary D. Lobel and Alan Crossley eds. *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume X, Bloxham Hundred, Victoria County History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) (hereafter Bloxham VCH) p.112; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.213; Sir Thomas Chamberlain lived at Wickham. His will was proved 14 February 1627 (Refer to appendix three for full references for the wills cited throughout this thesis. In the footnotes only the testator and the date that their will was written or proved will be given.)

¹¹ Elizabeth Allen's article on Sir Anthony Cope in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com> (hereafter DNB) consulted 14 February 2008; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.155, 409-10; Banbury VCH p.89; P.W. Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558-1603, Volume I: Introductory Survey, Appendices, Constituencies, Members A-C* (London: History of Parliament Trust, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1981) p.226

¹² Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.409

¹³ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.434, 444; for details of this second charter refer to BCR pp.98-102

¹⁴ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.394, 429-30

to the rectory of Broughton in 1615. A former rector of Broughton, Haymon Leigh, retired to Banbury after his deprivation in 1605.¹⁵

Despite their influence in the villages surrounding Banbury, neither family held the advowson for Banbury. It was held by the crown until 1589, when it was granted to the Bishop of Oxford.¹⁶ Banbury parish was formerly part of the diocese of Lincoln. It was a peculiar and as such was exempt from diocesan jurisdiction. After the creation of the diocese of Oxford in 1542, the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln retained the right to appoint the commissary to oversee the peculiar court and to visit Banbury every three years, but they did not always take up that right.¹⁷

The town of Banbury was served by only one parish church, the church of St Mary's. The parish was large, incorporating the town of Banbury and its surrounding hamlets, Nethercote, Calthorpe, Overthorp, Huscote, Grimsbury, Hardwick, Neithrop and Wickham.¹⁸ The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535 recorded that the vicar of Banbury earned £22 6s 8d. The salary had increased to an estimated £55 by 1650.¹⁹ The vicar was assisted in his work by a curate. At the beginning of our period, Banbury was

¹⁵ Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 Libels and Articles undated, ff.100-101, held in the Oxfordshire Record Office (hereafter ORO); Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.278-80, 441. Note that Taylor's appointment at Broughton did not necessarily follow the presentment directly, since the presentment is undated; Bloxham VCH p.98 says that Taylor was minister of Broughton, 1615-1646; in his will proved 4 November 1619, Haymon Leighe is described as 'latelie minister and Incumbent of Broughton in the countie of Oxon, and nowe sojourning in Banburie.' He made bequests to 'my lord' and 'my lady' Sele; *The Clergy of the Deaneries of Chipping Norton and Deddington and the Peculiars of Banbury and Cropredy During the Settlement of 1559 and Afterwards: Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Report 1916* (Banbury: William Potts, 1917) p.51 states that one Hennion Leigh became rector of Broughton on 20 May 1596 but was deprived in 1605. His name also appears as Raymond.

¹⁶ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.259, 260

¹⁷ There was some contemporary confusion as to whether Banbury lay within the diocese of Oxford or the diocese of Lincoln. This is discussed in Banbury VCH pp.96-7 and Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.19, 257-8, 381-4; E.R.C. Brinkworth and R.K. Giles eds. *The 'Bawdy Court' of Banbury: The Act Book of the Peculiar Court of Banbury, Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, 1625-1638*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 26 (1997) (hereafter Bawdy Court) explains that had it not been a peculiar, Banbury would have come under the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon's court at Oxford pp.12-13; Elliot Rose, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans Under Elizabeth I and James I* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975) p.170

¹⁸ Rev. F.N. Davis transcribed, *Parochial Collections, Made by Anthony Wood and Richard Rawlinson* (Oxford: Oxford Record Society, 1920) p.22; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.154

¹⁹ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.261

served by Thomas Brasbridge. He was minister from September 1581 until his deprivation in June 1590 over ‘some matter of ceremonies,’ which are not specified in the records. He was evidently popular among some in the town since ninety-five of his parishioners petitioned Lord Burghley against his dismissal. Their petition was, however, unsuccessful and Brasbridge was replaced, dying in the parish in 1593.²⁰ His own letter protesting his deprivation shows that he was fond of preaching, which he felt was necessary to keep Popery at bay. He was involved in a factional dispute in the late 1580s between John Danvers, a recusant from nearby Calthorpe, and Sir Anthony Cope, which will be discussed in chapter six. Brasbridge was reportedly attacked by members of Danvers’ family and mocked by Danvers’ servant in church.²¹ He had previously trained as a doctor, and of his three printed works, only one was religious, *Abdias the prophet*, an anti-Catholic publication.²²

Little is known about Brasbridge’s successor, Ralph Houghton, who left no printed works. In a letter protesting his deprivation, Brasbridge put forward his concern that Houghton was ‘but a yong scholar, and therefore (vpon certaine knowledge I speake yt) ys not willing to preche often.’²³ His lack of interest in preaching was also noted by William Osbourne, one of Houghton’s curates, who accused Houghton of not being ‘troubled with preaching.’ Both Houghton and Osbourne were presented to Banbury’s peculiar court in February 1607 for not

²⁰ Lansdowne MS 64 (13) Burghley Papers 1590 ff.43-4, at the British Library (hereafter BL); BCR pp.59-60; BBR p.174

²¹ (BL) Lansdowne MS 64 (13) ff.45r-46v; State Papers Domestic (hereafter SP Dom) Great Britain 1547-1625, 12/223/47 Articles against recusants and other offenders in causes ecclesiastical.

²² Thomas Brasbridge, *Abidas the prophet, interpreted by T.B. fellow of Magdalene College in Oxford* (London: 1574); Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.169-70, 447; BCR pp.59-60; Alfred Beesley, *The History of Banbury Including Copious Historical and Antiquarian Notices of the Neighbourhood* (London: Nichols and Son, 1841) pp.242-4; ‘A Survaie of the state of the ministerie in Oxfordshire’ in Albert Peel ed. *The Seconde Parte of a Register, Being a Calendar of Manuscripts Under That Title Intended for Publication by the Puritans about 1593 and Now in Dr William Library, London, Volume II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915) p.137; Julian Lock’s article on Thomas Brasbridge in the DNB; for more information on Thomas Brasbridge and his publications refer to appendix one.

²³ (BL) Lansdowne MS 64 (13) f.45r; Beesley, *History of Banbury* pp.243-4; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.169-171

catechising the youth of the parish. Houghton was also accused by Thomas Holloway, vicar of nearby Cropredy, of not keeping a register of couples he married without banns. Holloway referred to Banbury St Mary's as a 'lawless church,' also citing the irregular ministration of the sacraments which took place there.²⁴ Whatever his own views and style of ministry, godly culture can be seen to have flourished during Houghton's term. This was partly due to the influence of his curate and lecturer William Whately who, for example, was brought before the peculiar court on several occasions for administering the sacrament to parishioners who were not kneeling, as we will see in chapter five. It was also during Houghton's term that Banbury established a lecture by combination, whereby a panel of local ministers preached a lecture by rotation in the parish.²⁵ Houghton was buried in Banbury on the 15 February 1609. His successor, Thomas Bradbury left after a year.²⁶

Thanks to his printed works and his strong connection with the urban elite of Banbury more is known about the ministry of William Whately, which covered nearly half of the period studied here. Following his term as curate and lecturer, Whately

²⁴ Sidney A. Peyton, *The Churchwardens' Presentments in the Oxfordshire Peculiars of Dorchester, Thame and Banbury*, The Oxfordshire Record Society, Volume 10 (1928) (hereafter Peyton, *Presentments*) pp.200-1; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.270-1; BCR pp.59-60; E.R.C Brinkworth, 'Cases from the Peculiar Court of Banbury,' in *Cake and Cockhorse*, Volume 1 (1959) pp.149-150; this is not to say that Houghton did not preach. In the records of the case of the crosses (1600) from the Court of Star Chamber, Houghton claimed in his testimony that 'he beinge at his sermon and drawinge unto the ende and enteringe into his prayers the people many together came disorderly out of the church...' which implies that he did some preaching; STAC 5 B32/4 f. 6, held at the National Archives (hereafter NA)

²⁵ The exact date of the start of the lecture by combination in Banbury is unknown. In the early 1590s Banbury residents began leaving money to John Dod and Robert Cleaver. For example, Anthony Clarkson bequeathed 20s to Mr Dod of Hanwell in his will proved 17 March 1592 and Robert Poope bequeathed 6s 8d to Mr Cleaver in his will proved 12 September 1592; Cleaver was only appointed minister of St Peter's, Drayton, 19 June 1598 but may have served the parish in some other guise before then, see *The Clergy of the Deaneries of Chipping Norton and Deddington and the Peculiars of Banbury and Cropredy* p.45; in his will proved 24 November 1588, Henry Halhead left 10s annually towards the continuation of weekly preaching at an appointed sermon or lecture in Banbury, suggesting that there was a weekly lecture by the end of the 1580s; in his will proved 11 March 1600 Thomas Hadley left 20s to be divided between the ministers who 'keep our lecture;' for more detail on lectures by combination in England in this period see Patrick Collinson, 'Lectures by Combination: Structures and Characteristics of Church Life in Seventeenth Century England' reprinted in his *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983) pp.467-498

²⁶ BBR p.192; the circumstances of Bradbury's removal from Banbury are unknown. Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.281

was appointed to the vicarage by the Bishop of Oxford, John Bridges, in February 1611.²⁷ Whately completed his BA at Christ's College, Cambridge, one of the more Puritan colleges, where he is said to have heard lectures by Laurence Chaderton and William Perkins. He then completed his MA at St Edmund Hall, Oxford, in 1604.²⁸ His father Thomas and uncle Richard both served as mayors of Banbury and had been involved in the removal of the town's maypoles and market crosses. His mother was described by Henry Scudder, Whately's brother-in-law and minister of nearby Drayton, as 'a rare woman for her naturall parts; but chieflly for Piety, Diligence in her calling, frugality and mercifulnesse to the poore.' His sister was praised in the life of Robert Harris, minister of nearby Hanwell, as 'most religiously bred, born of parents eminently pious, a most constant worshipper of God all her time, who seldome rose from her knees with dry eyes.' It was said she was fond of reading Foxe's *Acts and monuments*.²⁹ On 16 November 1602 William Whately married Martha Hunt, the daughter of George Hunt, minister of Collingburne Ducis, Wiltshire.³⁰ He served the parish of Banbury until his death in 1639, when he was replaced by John Howes, a choice of the Laudian Bishop of Oxford, John Bancroft. Howes was an unpopular choice in the parish and in November and December 1640 several parishioners presented a petition against him to the House of Commons and House of Lords. Complaints included his neglect of pastoral responsibilities, his

²⁷ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.454

²⁸ Edward Leigh and Henry Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death* published with William Whately's *Prototypes or the primarie precedent presidents ovt of the booke of Genesis* (London: 1640) A2r; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.274, 453-4

²⁹ Leigh and Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death* Av; William Durham, *The life and death of that judicious divine and accomplish'd preacher Robert Harris* (London: 1660) pp.46, 109

³⁰ Mrs N. Fillimore and Mrs J. Pain transcribed, J.S.W. Gibson ed. *Marriage Register of Banbury: Part One, 1558-1724*, The Banbury Record Society, Volume 2 (1960) (hereafter BMR) p.34; Leigh and Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death* A2r-v

failure to perform his proper duties on the fifth of November, his cancellation of the Tuesday lecture and refusal to preach twice on Sundays.³¹



Figure three - image of William Whately, taken from the beginning of William Whately's *Prototypes or the primarie precedent presidents ovt of the booke of Genesis* (London: G.M for Edward Langham, Banbury, 1640)

Despite initial difficulties in the parish (it was even said that when he entered the pulpit at Banbury he 'bore a great part of the peoples displeasure') Whately soon gained fame for his preaching.³² In his spiritual biography, Whately was praised for preaching twice on Sunday and during the week at the Tuesday lecture but that 'as occasions fell out sometimes [he was] an every day preacher.'³³ Latterly, in the 1630s, Whately joined Robert Harris, John Dod's successor at Hanwell, in lecturing at Stratford-upon-Avon. In some quarters, however, his preaching attracted reproach. Richard Corbett, later Bishop of Oxford, referred caustically to Whately as 'that Saint' at Banbury in his poem, *Iter boreale*. Corbett mocked Whately's enthusiasm for preaching and his lengthy sermons, hoping that he not 'spraine a Lecture' or miss his 'fiveteenth point.'³⁴ In 1637, Archbishop Laud was informed by Bishop

³¹ Various inhabitants of Banbury petitioned Parliament in 1640, complaining about their 'wicked vicar at Banbury that put down preaching and vexed those that were godly and sought it elsewhere;' Banbury VCH p.99; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.286-90, 494-5

³² Durham, *Life and death* p.12

³³ Leigh and Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death* A3r

³⁴ Richard Corbett, *Iter boreale* in J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper eds. *The Poems of Richard Corbett* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955) p.47

Thornborough that he was 'less troubled with nonconformists since Mr Whately of Banbury gave over his lecture at Stratford.'³⁵

As well as a preacher, Whately was a prolific writer. Fifteen of his works were published, some of which went through several editions during his own life.³⁶ (Refer to appendix one for a full list of his works.) Richard Baxter, minister of Kidderminster, in his introduction to the 1673 edition of Whately's *The redemption of time*, commented,

'I well remember that even in my youth (and since much more) the writings of Mr Whately were very savoury to me: especially his *New-Birth*, his *Care-Cloth*, and his *Sermon of Redeeming Time*.'³⁷

Much of his writing dealt with spiritual regeneration and the pathway to salvation. His portfolio included several works of conduct literature, *A bride-bush* and *A care cloth*. Aside from the fifteen known publications, there are additional works which are suggested in other sources. Edward Leigh and Henry Scudder in *Mr Whatelyes life and death* (1640) refer to him having written a tract on the art of preaching, but there is no evidence of it ever being printed.³⁸ Furthermore, Willem Teellinck, a Dutch theologian and friend of Whately's, who spent nine months in Banbury in 1604, received several of Whately's manuscripts in 1607. Whately dedicated one of the manuscripts to Teellinck, which Teellinck later translated into Dutch and printed

³⁵ William Laud, *History of the troubles and trial* ed. Wharton (1695) p.552 quoted in Darren Oldridge, *Religion and Society in Early Stuart England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) pp.73-4; Beesley, *History of Banbury* pp.268-9, footnote 10; Durham, *Life and death* pp.26-7; Ann Hughes, 'Religion and Society in Stratford-upon-Avon, 1619-1638' in *Midland History*, Volume XIX (1994) p.70

³⁶ Bawdy Court p.74; Jacqueline Eales' article on William Whately in the DNB; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.281, 453

³⁷ William Whately *The redemption of time* (London: 1673)

³⁸ Leigh and Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death* A4r; William Whately, *A bride-bvsh: or, a direction for married persons plainly describing the duties common to both, and particular to each of them* (London: 1619); William Whatley, *A care cloth: or a treatise on the cumbers and troubles of marriage* (London: 1624)

in 1609 as *Corte verhandelinge van de voornaemste Christelicke oeffeninghen*. There is no record of it ever having been published in English.³⁹

Whately's works are significant in telling us about his theology but also in the information they communicate about his connection with his audience and readership in Banbury. Whately dedicated his *The new birth*, first published in 1618, to the mayor, aldermen and inhabitants of Banbury, saying

'I haue (not long since) preached amongst you some things concerning the nature of the New Birth, I am glad to vnderstand, that in handling of them, I gaue to some of you some good content.'⁴⁰

This suggests he had conversed with some of his parishioners about the content of his sermon and received positive feedback. *Sinne no more* (1628) and *The poor mans advocate* (1637) were also dedicated to the people of Banbury.⁴¹ Banbury had two booksellers in this period, Henry Sharpe and Edward Langham.⁴² *Sinne no more* and Whately's posthumously published *Prototypes*, were both published for Edward Langham's bookshop and the first edition of his *Gods husbandry* and an edition of *The new birth* were produced for Henry Sharpe's shop in 1619.⁴³ John Dod's 1607

³⁹ For more information on Teellinck's stay in Banbury refer to chapter three pp.106-9; I am grateful to Willem J. op't Hof for sending me a copy of his unpublished article, 'The Eventful Sojourn of Willem Teellinck at Banbury in 1605,' where this information can be found on pp.7-9; *Corte verhandelinge van de voornaemste Christelicke oeffeninghen* means 'short essay of the most important Christian exercises.' I am grateful to Liesbet Thewissen for translating this title for me.

⁴⁰ William Whately, *The new birth, or a treatise of regeneration delivered in certaine sermons* (London: 1622) was addressed to the 'worshipfull the maior, aldermen and bvrgeesses, and the rest of the Inhabitants of the Towne and Parish of Banbury.'

⁴¹ William Whately, *Sinne no more, or a sermon preached in the parish church of Banbury on Tuesday the fourth of March last past* (London: 1628) and William Whately, *The poore mans advocate, or, a treatise of liberality to the needy delivered in sermons* (London: 1637)

⁴² Henry Sharpe is variously described as bookbinder, bookseller or stationer in the records. Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.360-1; Bawdy Court p.131; for information on his trading dates and apprenticeship, refer to the British Book Trade Index <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk>, consulted 14 February 2008; Henry Sharpe is likely to have been the Henry Sharpe who had previously traded in Northampton and who was involved in the Martin Marprelate affair. See William Pierce, *The Marprelate Tracts 1588, 1589* (London: James Clarke & Co. 1911) pp.176, 337, 352; W.J. Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610* (Northampton: Northampton Record Society, 1979) p.122

⁴³ For publication details refer to appendix one pp.340-1; Edward Langham also published two works by Roger Matthew, *The flight of time, discerned by the dim shadow of Iobs diall... as it was delivered to his charge at Bloxham in Oxford-shire by the pastor thereof R.M* (London: George Miller for Edward Langham at Banbury, 1634) which was dedicated to Mrs Frances Fiennes, wife of Mr James

tract, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the proverbs of Salomon* was also printed for Henry Sharpe's shop.⁴⁴ Two of these works, *Sinne no more*, published following the town fire of 1628, and Whately's *Prototypes*, to which was attached *Mr Whatelyes life and death*, are likely to have been of specific interest to the inhabitants of the town. However, the fact that they and others were published with his congregation in mind indicates a thirst for texts of practical divinity within the town.

Another striking aspect of the ministry in Banbury was its connections with two of its surrounding parishes, St Peter's Hanwell and St Peter's Drayton. Both Hanwell and Drayton were less than three miles from the town and in the presentation of Sir Anthony Cope.⁴⁵ By 1585 John Dod was minister of Hanwell and by 1598 Robert Cleaver was minister of Drayton.⁴⁶ They both became widely known for their prolific printed works, the most famous being their collaborative *A brief exposition of the Ten Commandments* (1604). They were also known locally for preaching at the weekly lecture in Banbury and clearly made some impact on the town, shown by the fact that several inhabitants remembered them in their wills and requested them to act as godparents to their children.⁴⁷ Whately credited John Dod with having converted his parents 'from blindness and profaneness, to some measure of the sauing knowledge of God and feare of his name.'⁴⁸

Fiennes, esquire, son of Lord Viscount Lord Say and Sele, and *Peteres not let downe: or the fisher and the fish, both prepared towards a blessed haven delivered at a synod at Chipping Norton in Oxfordshire by R. Matthew, a neighbour minister* (London: George Miller for Edward Langham, bookseller in Banbury, 1634)

⁴⁴ John Dod, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the proverbs of Salomon* (London: Felix Kynston for Henrie Sharpe, 1607) This was dedicated to William Fenys and Sir William Cope, Knight.

⁴⁵ Bloxham VCH pp.103, 112; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.438

⁴⁶ For the dates of these ministers refer to appendix one.

⁴⁷ John Dod was for instance 'surety' to alderman William Knight's daughter Naomi in 1597, BBR p.48; for discussion of the gifts made to these ministers in Banbury wills refer to chapter four pp.165-6

⁴⁸ Whately, *Gods hvsbandry, the first part* A3r. This was dedicated to John Dod.

These clerical networks operating within and outside the town of Banbury are further shown by the visit of the Dutch theologian Willem Teellinck to Banbury in 1604, which will be detailed in chapter three. He had been directed to Banbury by Arthur Hildersham, minister of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. Furthermore, Dod and Cleaver joined William Whately and John Lancaster, a former minister of nearby Bloxham, in signing an attestation in 1606 testifying that Teellinck had lived a godly and truly Christian life during his stay in Banbury. It is noteworthy here that Whately, who was only lecturer and curate at the time, was involved but the signature of Ralph Houghton, who was then minister of Banbury, is absent from this list.⁴⁹

Dod and Cleaver were both deprived of their ministries in the early 1600s, for refusing to subscribe to the 1604 articles, but their connection to Banbury and William Whately continued after their deprivation.⁵⁰ They were, for example, amongst other signatories of a certificate asking for help toward the relief of those affected by the town fire of 1628 and Whately dedicated his 1619 publication *Gods hvsbandry* to John Dod, ‘the reverent and my much esteemed friend and father in Christ.’ He left Dod ‘the ring which I now wear’ in his will in 1639.⁵¹ The connection between the parishes of Banbury, Hanwell and Drayton also continued with Dod and Cleaver’s successors, Henry Scudder as minister of Drayton and Robert Harris minister of Hanwell. Henry Scudder and William Whately had lived together when at Cambridge, and Scudder went on to marry Bridget Hunt, the sister of William’s wife Martha.⁵² Robert Harris married William’s sister Joanne. (Refer to the family tree in **figure one**.) Referring to Harris, Scudder and Whately, William

⁴⁹ Op’t Hof, ‘The Eventful Sojourn of Willem Teellinck at Banbury in 1605,’ pp.6-7; for more information on John Lancaster see Bloxham VCH p.74. He was presented in 1598 for not wearing the surplice and deprived of his ministry in 1605.

⁵⁰ For more information on John Dod and Robert Cleaver’s deprivations refer to appendix one.

⁵¹ BCR pp.144-5; preface to Whately’s *Gods hvsbandry, the first part*; will of William Whately proved 25 June 1639

⁵² Leigh and Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death Av*

Durham, the cousin and biographer of Robert Harris, wrote that the three men were ‘united not onley in judgment and Christian affections, but in affinity.’ They used to meet weekly to discuss and translate chapters from the Bible.⁵³

The tight connections between these three parishes and the character and weight of the publications of the ministers who served there, combined with the close relationship between the magistrates in Banbury, the links between magistracy and ministry in the town, and the supportive relationship of the gentry from the surrounding countryside all contributed to godly culture in the town of Banbury. Alongside incidents like the destruction of the town’s market crosses in 1600, they also contributed to the town’s reputation as a centre of Puritanism.

The first suggestion of this reputation is seen in William Camden’s *Britain, or a chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland and Ireland*, published in 1610, in which he commented, ‘now the fame of this towne is for zeale, cheese and cakes.’⁵⁴ Soon Banbury became almost a metaphor for Puritanism within contemporary satire. In c.1616 one of Richard Braithwaite’s poems included the verse,

‘To Banbury came I, O prophane one!
Where I saw a Puritane one
Hanging his cat on Monday
For Killing of a mouse on Sunday.’⁵⁵

A few years later Richard Corbett’s *Iter boreale* mocked Banbury’s saints, its bare church, with statues removed, and its crosses ‘like old stumps of trees.’⁵⁶ Further examples are provided by Ben Jonson’s 1621 masque, *The gipsies metamorphosed*,

⁵³ Durham, *Life and Death* pp.15-16; that Durham was Harris’ cousin is noted in C.D. Gilbert’s article on William Durham in the DNB.

⁵⁴ William Camden, *Britain, or a chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland and Ireland* (London: 1610) p.376; Banbury VCH p.8

⁵⁵ Richard Braithwaite, *Barnabee’s Journal* quoted in Banbury VCH p.8; Beesley, *History of Banbury* p.456; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.1, 148; for more on Richard Braithwaite, refer to the article on him by Julie Sanders in the DNB.

⁵⁶ Corbett, *Iter boreale* p.48; Banbury VCH p.8

which made reference to the ‘loud pure wives of Banbury’ and Sir William Davenant’s 1636 comedy, *The wits*, in which a lady is described as being ‘more devout/ than a weaver of Banbury.’⁵⁷ The work, however, which perhaps immortalised this reputation was Ben Jonson’s 1614 play, *Bartholomew Fair* and the characterisation of the quintessential Puritan hypocrite and ‘Banbury Brother,’ Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, a character who will appear intermittently throughout this thesis.

Banbury during this period was, therefore, widely recognised both for Puritanism and godliness, depending on who was observing the town. On the one hand the borough attracted visitors keen to learn from its religious practices, on the other its zealous magistracy and ministry attracted satire and scorn. By the early seventeenth century the town was dominated by a tightly-connected godly magistracy and ministry and the effects this had on the religious culture of the town is something which will be explored here.

NOTTINGHAM

Nottingham was a county town with a larger population than Banbury, which rose from about 3,000 in the 1590s to about 3,500 in the mid-1620s.⁵⁸ It was a significant commercial centre. The annual fair at nearby Lenton was an important occasion for trade both within and outside the region. Nottingham itself held a daily market at the Weekday Cross, as well as a larger Saturday market held in the market

⁵⁷ Banbury VCH p.8; Beesley, *History of Banbury* pp.456, 459

⁵⁸ Adrian Henstock, ‘Early Stuart Nottingham: New Evidence from the St Peter’s Easter Book of 1624’ in *Thoroton Society Record Series*, Volume XCVII (1993) pp.105, 106-7; A.C. Wood in his ‘A note on the Population of Nottingham in the Seventeenth Century’ in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, Volume XL (1936) p.111 estimates the population of Nottingham in 1600-9 to have been 3,540; Adrian Henstock, Sandra Dunster and Stephen Wallwork, ‘Decline and Regeneration: Social and Economic Life’ in John Beckett ed. *A Centenary History of Nottingham* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) p.134 estimate the population of the town to have been 2,920 in 1580, 3,440 in 1590, 3,080 in 1600, 3,480 in 1610, 3310 in 1620, 3,750 in 1630 and 4,250 in 1640. The number of communicants in the parish records in 1603 was 2360. They note on p.132 that there was an outbreak of plague in the town in the mid-1590s and it was more than 20 years before the town regained a population equal to that of the late sixteenth century levels.

place.⁵⁹ Similar to Banbury, trade in the town was dominated by the leather and food and drink industries. As Adrian Henstock has shown, over 34% of the burgesses alive in 1625 worked in some form of leather-work, for example as tanners, cordwainers or glovers. About 26% were involved in food and drink production and distribution, the most numerous tradesmen being butchers.⁶⁰ The broad range of the town's trades is reflected in the professions of the men who served the borough as mayor between 1580 and 1640. In a similar proportion to the burgesses among the general population, 23% were involved in the leather industry and 19% in food and drink. Unlike in Banbury, only two were mercers and one a draper.⁶¹

Nottingham was given its county borough status by charter in 1449. Like Banbury, Nottingham was a parliamentary borough, its representation in Parliament separate from the county. The town was governed by seven aldermen, elected by the burgesses for life. One alderman was selected annually to be mayor. These were also joined by six other common council men, to make a governing council of thirteen.⁶² Outside this small council was a body known as 'the Clothing,' so-named because of their distinctive apparel. This was made up of former sheriffs and chamberlains, who had some rights to participate in borough administration. In 1577, in response to

⁵⁹ www.thorotonsociety.org.uk/gateway/places/nottingham/nottingham3.htm, consulted 14 February 2008; Henstock, Dunster and Wallwork, 'Decline and Regeneration: Social and Economic Life' p.145 note that the Lenton fair lasted eight days; Marion Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print: Darrell, Harsnett, Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Exorcism Controversy* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006) notes on p.86 that the Lenton fair started on the 11 November.

⁶⁰ Henstock, 'Early Stuart Nottingham' pp.106-7

⁶¹ There was 1 draper, 1 glover, 1 apothecary, 1 grasier, 1 skinner, 2 cordwainers, 2 ironmongers, 2 mercers, 2 fishmongers, 3 butchers, 3 tanners, 3 barbers and 4 gentlemen. This list is compiled from Bernard Clarke, 'Notes on the Mayors of Nottingham, 1600-1775' in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume 41 (1937) pp.35-75; transcriptions of the burgess rolls CA 4649 in file entitled 'nottm. burgesses, mayors etc.' containing an index of roles and personnel within the borough of Nottingham, held at Nottinghamshire County Archives (hereafter NRO); Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.74; with additional material from the wills of Humphrey Bonner (proved 19 January 1614) and Richard Morehaugh (proved 31 January 1620)

⁶² Charles Deering, *Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova or an Historical Account of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Nottingham* (Nottingham: George Ayscough & Thomas Willington, 1751) p.103; Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558-1603, Volume I* p.225; David Marcombe, 'The Late Medieval Town, 1149-1560' in Beckett ed. *A Centenary History of Nottingham* p.89

petitioning by the wider population of burgesses, the number of men sitting on the council was increased from six to twelve and the Clothing was incorporated into the council. It did, however, little to widen participation in the town's government, a right which the burgesses continued to fight for.⁶³

As with Banbury, Nottingham's corporation elite faced criticism of oligarchic rule. The town's corporation was dominated by a similarly small collection of individuals, some from families whose names appear repeatedly in the town's records over the period, including the Gregorys, Nixes, Greaves, James and Parkers. There was not, however, the same degree of intermarriage between aldermanic families as was a strong feature of Banbury's corporation.⁶⁴ Furthermore, there was less of a connection between the town's magistrates and ministers. None of the town's three parishes were in the presentment of the corporation and, apart from the marriage of the daughter of alderman Anker Jackson to George Coates, one of the ministers of St Peter's church, there were no other known marital connections between the magistrates and ministers.⁶⁵

⁶³ Marcombe, 'The Late Medieval town, 1149-1560' p.89 and Martyn Bennett, 'Turbulent Centuries: The Political History of Nottingham, 1550-1750' p.165 in Beckett ed. *A Centenary History of Nottingham* p.89; A.C. Wood, *A History of Nottinghamshire* (Nottingham: Thoroton Press, 1947) p.154; W.H. Stevenson and James Raine eds. *Records of the Borough of Nottingham: Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham, Volume IV, King Edward VI to King James I, 1574-1625* (Nottingham: Thomas Forman & Sons, 1889) (hereafter NBR IV) pp.x-xviii; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.76-7; Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558-1603, Volume I* p.225

⁶⁴ There were of course some exceptions. For example, Thomas Nix married Mary Morehaugh in September 1603 at St Mary's and Robert Staples married Elizabeth Oxlay 22 December 1629, also at St Mary's, in W.P.W. Phillimore and James Wood eds. *Nottingham Parish Registers. Marriages, St Mary's Church, Volume I, 1566-1763* (London: Phillimore and Co. 1900) (hereafter NMR Mary) pp.40, 45; Nicholas Sherwin married Jane Alvy 16 February 1578 at St Peter's. Peter Clarke married Anne James 27 January 1583 and John James married Marie Sherwin 31 January 1614, also at St Peter's, in W.P.W. Phillimore and James Wood ed. *Nottingham Parish Registers. Marriages, St Peter's Church, 1572-1812* (London: Phillimore and Co. 1901) (hereafter NMR Peter) pp.3, 4, 13; Clarke, 'Notes on the Mayors of Nottingham' pp.35-48

⁶⁵ Marmaduke Gregory mentions his wife Cicelie in his will proved 10 August 1625; (NRO) M 13,865 indenture dated 12 December 1625 between Cicely Gregory, widow, and George Coates, minister, in consideration of their marriage. Luke Jackson, Cicely's brother, was one of the witnesses. For more information about the significance of this marriage see chapter seven, for example pp.310-11

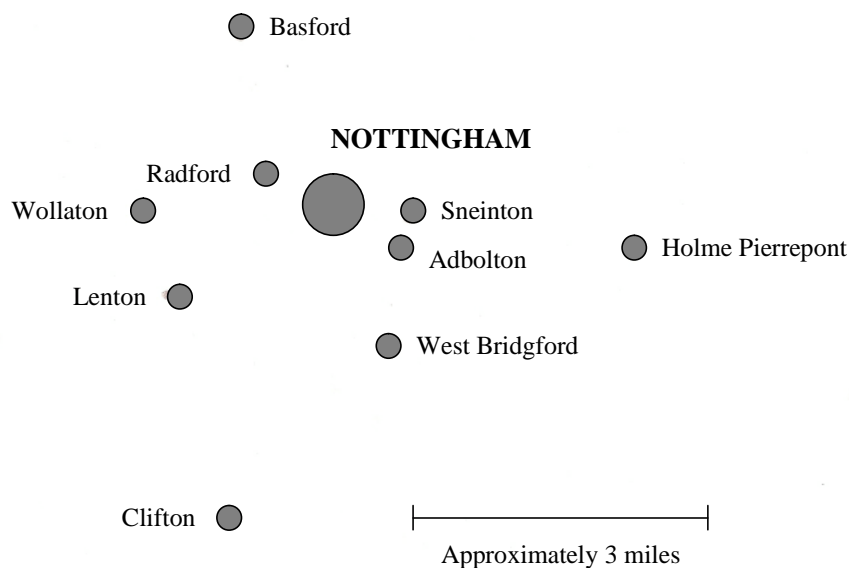


Figure four - map showing Nottingham and some of its surrounding parishes⁶⁶

The presence of gentry and nobility in Nottingham was greater than in Banbury, even if their residence was no more than seasonal. The Holles family, for example, who were the Earls of Clare, owned Thurland Hall in St Mary's parish. It was at Thurland Hall that James I stayed when he visited the town in 1611, and on other occasions.⁶⁷ The hall had originally been owned by the Willoughby family of nearby Wollaton, but it later passed to the Stanhopes, from whom the Holles family inherited it.⁶⁸ Other gentry and nobility who retained property in the town included the Stanhopes, the Plumtrees and the Hutchinsons. The Stanhopes had a property on

⁶⁶ <http://maps.google.co.uk/maps?f=q&hl=en&geocode=&q=nottingham&ie=UTF8&ll=52.956084,-1.149445&spn=0.189453,0.63858&z=11&iwloc=addr&pw=2> consulted 6 February 2008.

This map website was used to form the basis of the map in figure four. *Nottinghamshire Street Atlas, Ordnance Survey* (London: Phillips, 1994) p.172 was used to find the location of Radford. It is difficult to construct a more accurate map of Nottingham and its surrounding parishes in this period due to the growth Nottingham has experienced since the seventeenth century.

⁶⁷ D.J. Peters, *Nottingham Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin: A Short History and Guide* (Newark: Partners Press Ltd. 1974) pp.8-9; (NRO) Calendar of the Hall Books, 1500-1621 (Microfilm Z231) p.79. There were royal visits recorded in 1611, 1612, 1613, 1615 and 1621. Adrian Henstock, 'The Changing Fabric of the Town, 1550-1750' in Beckett ed. *A Centenary History of Nottingham* p.110

⁶⁸ Henstock, 'The Changing Fabric of the Town' p.110

Stoney Street, east of St Mary's Gate and the Plumtrees owned a house next to St Mary's churchyard.⁶⁹

As well as owning residences in the town, these and other leading families in the county served Nottingham borough and the county of Nottingham in a variety of political roles. The Hutchinsons, Stanhopes, Markhams and Cliftons were amongst those who served Nottinghamshire as High Sheriff. In 1598 the crown sold the patronage of St Mary's church to Sir Henry Pierrepont, of nearby Holme Pierrepont, the only of the town's three parishes not to remain in the crown's hands. From 1601-1616 Sir Henry Pierrepont was appointed town recorder and Nicholas Plumtree served as town clerk from 1574 until 1597, when the position was given in turn to two urban gentlemen, William Gregory and Robert Greaves.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the corporation of Nottingham involved some of the powerful local magnates in its parliamentary representation. In the first Parliament of Elizabeth's reign, both representatives had connections to the Earl of Rutland, one being reared in his household, Thomas Markham, and the other his secretary, John Batemen. In 1563 the mayor of Nottingham, Humphrey Quarnby, joined John Bateman in representing Nottingham. The influence of the Earl of Rutland continued in 1572 and 1584, when a Rutland nominee was elected with the borough's recorder, Richard Parkins.⁷¹ In the subsequent Parliaments of the reign, as well as James' first Parliament, Nottingham elected members of the corporation. Such nominees included Humphrey Bonner,

⁶⁹ Peters, *Nottingham Parish Church of St Mary* pp.10-11. John Holles inherited Thurland Hall from his mother-in-law, Lady Stanhope, in c.1613. Sir Thomas Hutchinson's second wife was Katherine Stanhope. The Manners Family of Haddon Hall also owned land and property in Nottingham; Henstock, 'The Changing Fabric of the Town' pp.111, 114

⁷⁰ For the location of Holme Pierrepont refer to the map in **figure four**. Wood, *History of Nottinghamshire* p.155; <http://www.stmarysnottingham.org/cl31-40.html>, consulted 14 February 2008; (NRO) File entitled 'nottm burgesses, mayors etc.'

⁷¹ J.N.Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1976) p.163

Anker Jackson, William Gregory and William Greaves.⁷² In due course, however, the cost of nominating and supporting MPs from the corporation itself became too great and they instead voted for ‘foreigners’ to represent the borough. The position was thus once more undertaken by landed gentry and nobility from outside the town.⁷³ The Pierrepoints, Manners, Stanhopes and Markhams and other leading families in the county also supplied many of the MPs who served the county in Parliament.⁷⁴

Overall, Nottingham’s government appears to have been of a different character to that of Banbury. One example of this is provided by the town’s crosses. Whereas the mayor and chief aldermen ordered the destruction of the two market crosses in Banbury in 1600, Nottingham’s corporation paid for the repair of its crosses on several occasions in the early seventeenth century.⁷⁵ The town had various crosses which are shown on the map in **figure five**. The Malt Cross and Butter Cross are also shown clearly in **figure twenty-four**, in chapter seven. Richard Corbett mocked the removal of Banbury’s crosses in *Iter boreale*, saying they stood ‘like old stumps of

⁷² Humphrey Bonner represented Nottingham in Parliament in 1593 and 1597 and was mayor in 1593-4, 1600-1 and 1607-8; Anker Jackson was another MP in 1597 and mayor in 1598-9, 1605-6, 1612-13 and 1619-20; William Gregory was town clerk from 1597-1617; William Greaves had been chamberlain in 1580-1, was sheriff 1582-3 and a councillor in 1584-5; William Gregory and William Greaves were MPs in 1601; Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558-1603, Volume I* pp.224-5; (NRO) File entitled ‘nottm burgesses, mayors etc.’

⁷³ Extracts from the council minutes 1620-1 in NBR IV notes ‘the greater parte of this companie doe hold ytt convenient that 2 foreigners be chosen for the towne to serve in this parliament for the easing of the town chardge’ p.373; a similar comment was noted in the minutes of the common council, Tuesday 20 November 1627, in W.T. Baker ed. *Records of the Borough of Nottingham: Being a Series of Extracts From the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham, Volume V, King Charles I to King William III, 1625-1702* (Nottingham: Thomas Forman & Sons 1900) (hereafter NBR V) p.129; subsequent individuals to represent Nottingham in Parliament during James’ and Charles’ reigns were Michael Purefoy, John Lascells, J. Byron and Francis Pierrepoint, Robert Greaves, John Martin, G. Clifton, Charles Cavendish, Henry Pierrepoint, Gil. Boun and G. Millington; Deering, *Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova* pp.208-9

⁷⁴ David Kaye, *A History of Nottinghamshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1987) p.63; Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558-1603, Volume I* pp.222-3

⁷⁵ Presentments were made to Nottingham’s Mickeltorn Jury about the state of the town crosses. For example, (NRO) CA 3028 presentment dated May 1604, ‘we present the chester crosse to be in decay’ and ‘we present the wick [week] day crosse to be in decay.’ In CA 3050, dated 27 April 1626, ‘we present the weekday crosse to be in decay for want of paynting and mending.’ In (NRO) CA1632 Chamberlain’s Accounts, for the year 1614-15, money was given for ‘making the hed of the crosse and for helping about it iis’ also to one Selby ‘for making the fanes for the cross viiis vid’ and ‘for five stone of sawther used about the said crosse xxis;’ Henstock, ‘The Changing Fabric of the Town’ p.108

trees' and 'carry noe heads aboue ground.' By contrast, he commented on the affection that Nottingham's inhabitants had for their crosses, which were complete with a picture of the Virgin and child,

'Crosses not yet demolish't; and our *Ladye*
With her armes on, embracing her whole Baby.
Where let us note, though those are Northerne parts,
The *Crosse* finds in them more then Sourtherne hearts.'⁷⁶

Another example is provided by play-going in the town. With the exception of one payment made in the chamberlain's accounts in 1624 for players not to come to the town, in most other years Nottingham welcomed touring players. In March 1614 seventeen people were presented to the court of the Archdeaconry for attending a play when they should have been at church.⁷⁷ Furthermore, whereas Banbury's corporation was dominated by godly magistrates, Nottingham's contained members of Catholic recusant families. In fact, unlike in Banbury, where a Catholic population was all but absent, Nottingham appears to have had a constant Catholic presence throughout this period.⁷⁸ There was even a 'popish recusant,' sometimes referred to

⁷⁶ Corbett, *Iter boreale* pp.36, 48

⁷⁷ NBR IV pp.viii, 387-8; the Chamberlain's Accounts record references to players, for example, (NRO) CA1264 dated 7 October 1584, 5s was given to 'Lord Bartlettes players' and 5s to the Earl of Oxford's players; in CA1633a, dated October 1616, 10s was given to the Queen's revels and the Queen's players, 20s to the Prince's players and 10s to Lady Elizabeth's players; in the 1623-4 accounts (CA1636) 13s 4d was given to the Prince's players 'because they should not play in the town.' The same year 10s was given to the late Queen's players, 10s to the players of the King's revels and 10s to Princess Elizabeth's players; (NRO) M462 Colonel Hodgkinson, *Transcriptions of Proceedings of the Court of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham 1565-1675, Volume 2* (hereafter Archdeaconry (2)) p.341; (NRO) R.F.B. Hodgkinson translated and transcribed, *Registers of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham* (hereafter Hodgkinson, *Registers*) DDTS 14/26/13 p.145 and DDTS 14/26/14 pp.140-141; Patrick Collinson, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture' in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996) p.43 discusses other corporations paying players not to play in towns.

⁷⁸ Banbury Castle served as a prison for notorious Catholic recusants for about 20 years from 1589. The only other references to Catholics in Banbury are found in complaints by the minister, Thomas Brasbridge, following his dismissal in 1591, that papists 'sojourned' close to the town, and in the presentment of some recusants from the hamlets surrounding Banbury around the same time, found in the State Papers. For more detail refer to chapter six pp.248-251; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.383; Banbury VCH p.41; Alan Davidson, 'Oxfordshire Recusancy, 1580-1640' *Cake and Cockhorse*, Volume 5, Number 9 (Summer: 1974) p.168

as being from nearby Adbolton, who taught an unlicensed school in the parish of St Mary's.⁷⁹

One such Catholic and aldermanic family was the Nixes. Thomas Nix was mayor of Nottingham in 1616-17. His second wife was Mary Morey (or Morehaughe), the daughter of Richard Morey who was mayor in 1596-7, 1603-4 and 1610-11.⁸⁰ Richard Morey was accused of being a papist in the publications related to John Darrell's exorcism of William Sommers in Nottingham in 1597-8, discussed in chapter seven. Similarly, his wife Margery Morey had been referred to the Assizes for her recusancy in 1587.⁸¹ Mary Nix, wife of Thomas, was referred to as a papist in the records of the Archdeaconry court, both when married, and also when widowed in the 1630s. Furthermore, Thomas himself was accused of keeping his daughter at home when she should be attending church in 1626 and several of his other children were presented on various occasions for recusancy.⁸²

⁷⁹ For the location of Adbolton, refer to the map in **figure four**. William Allen was, for example, presented to the Archdeaconry court 10 September 1638 as a popish recusant and for teaching a school, see presentment from St Mary's parish AN/PB 303/550, held at the University of Nottingham Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections (hereafter NMSS); he was presented to Nottingham's Quarter Sessions on 19 July 1624 for keeping a school and not attending church for 3 months, (NRO) z254 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls 1620-41; NBR IV p.384

⁸⁰ (NRO) File entitled 'nottm burgesses, mayors etc; Clarke, 'Notes on the Mayors of Nottingham' pp.40, 42; marriage of Mary Morey and Thomas Nix in September 1603, NMR Mary p.24. His first wife was Amy Reeve, who he married 11 August 1584, NMR Mary p.11

⁸¹ Anon, *Triall of Mait. Dorrell, or a collection of defences against allegations not yet suffered to receiue convenient answere* (Middelburg: 1599) pp.65-6; John Darrell, *A detection of that sinful shameful lying and ridiculous discourse of Samuel Harshnet entituled: a discoverie of the fraudulent practises of John Darrell* (1600) pp.120-1; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.82, 95; Margery Morey was presented to the Archdeaconry court as a recusant 16 May 1587 and was referred to the next Assizes, (NRO) M461 Colonel Hodgkinson, *Transcriptions of Proceedings of the Court of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham 1565-1675, Volume 1* (hereafter Archdeaconry (1)) p.56; Mrs Morey was presented again for not attending church and not communicating 6 May 1588, recorded in (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/2 p.194

⁸² In 1630 Mary Nix was presented for housing William Hammerton, another recusant, (NRO) M463 Colonel Hodgkinson, *Transcriptions of Proceedings of the Court of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham 1565-1675, Volume 3* (hereafter Archdeaconry (3)) p.448. Hammerton witnessed the will of Thomas Nix, proved 20 August 1629. On 31 May 1631 Hammerton was living in nearby Lenton, when he was presented to the Archdeaconry court (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.464; Thomas Nix was presented to the Quarter Sessions 24 April 1626 for keeping his daughter Anne from church, (NRO) z254 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls 1620-41; Anne Nix was presented to the Archdeaconry court for not attending church and being a popish recusant in 1626 and 1628, (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 302/307 dated 24/04/1626 and AN/PB 302/595 dated 24/04/1628; another daughter, Mary, was also accused of not attending church in the 1630s, for example (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 303/62 dated

Another member of the corporation whose family were recusants was Richard Hare. In 1588 he was presented for not receiving the sacrament and not coming to church and in 1623 his wife Elizabeth was presented for not receiving.⁸³ In 1620 Mary Hare, wife of a Richard Hare, possibly the son of the elder Richard Hare, was presented for acting as godmother to the child of Richard and Dorothy Lea or Ley, which was baptised at home. The Leas were regularly presented for recusancy over this period. Two of the other godparents, Christopher Strelley and Mrs Morton, were also presented at various times for recusancy.⁸⁴ Other Catholic recusants included the family of John Collinson and the wife and daughters of Michael Cooke. Michael Cooke, a cooper, served the corporation as chamberlain in 1615-16 and sheriff in 1617-8. Although Michael himself was not presented for recusancy, he was presented for housing recusants in 1619.⁸⁵ John Collinson had served as mayor in 1567-8 and

30/05/163; Leonard Nix, possibly Thomas' son, was presented to the Quarter Sessions for keeping a maidservant from church, 17 January 1630 (NRO) microfilm z254, and his wife Elizabeth was also accused of not attending church in the late 1620s and early 1630s. She was, for example, presented to the Quarter Sessions in October 1630 (NRO) microfilm z254 and presented to the Archdeaconry court in May 1633, (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 303/146 dated 06/05/1633; a Francis Nix, again possibly Thomas' son, was accused of not coming to church in 1626 (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 302/307 dated 24/04/1626.

⁸³ Richard Hare married Elizabeth Picwell, 2 May 1590, NMR Peter p.6; Richard Hare was presented to the Archdeaconry court 6 May 1588 for being absent from church and not communicating for 12 months, (NRO) DDTS 14/26/2 Hodgkinson, *Registers* p.194; Elizabeth Hare was presented for not coming to church for 2 months in 1623, (NMSS) Presentment St Peter's AN/PB 297/6; it is difficult to disentangle the two Richard Hares, in the corporation lists. One Richard Hare, apothecary, was sheriff 1609-10. A Richard Hare, mercer, was sheriff in 1631-2. Other roles held by Richard Hares included member of the Clothing in 1603-4, alderman 1611-12, as well as acting as chamberlain and school warden. For more detail refer to (NRO) file entitled 'nottm burgesses, mayors etc.'

⁸⁴ Richard Ley was presented the 18 November 1620 for baptising his own child at home (NMSS) presentment St Nicholas AN/PB 302/76; a Mr Hare was accused at the Quarter Sessions in 1621 of housing Mr Richard Lea (NRO) z254 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls 1620-41; Mrs Moarton was presented in St Nicholas' parish in 1623 for not attending church and not receiving Communion at Easter, (NMSS) AN/PB 297/33, presentment dated 25 October 1623; Christopher Strelley, his wife and children, were all presented for recusancy; see for example (NMSS) AN/PB 302/374, presentment dated 6 May 1622, of Christopher Strelley for not coming to St Peter's church for three months; AN/PB 302/306 dated 24 April 1626, Mrs Katherine Strelley, widow of Christopher Strelley was presented for a popish recusant along with her five children, all above 12 years old; for more examples see chapter seven, p.307, footnote 118.

⁸⁵ Michael Cooke was presented for entertaining one 'Cotesope and Brock suspected recusants in his house several times,' Visitation Court Book 1619 (V.1619 CB) f.360r, held at the Borthwick Institute (hereafter BI); he was also presented in 1612 for keeping company with William Dawson at the time of divine service, (NMSS) presentment St Peter's AN/PB 295/3/123 dated 21/04/1612; Catherine Cooke was, for example, accused of not receiving Communion and for refusing to be churched in May 1620

was a member of the Clothing in 1577-8. His son Robert, daughter Alice, and two of his sons-in-law were repeatedly presented to the Archdeaconry court and Quarter Sessions for recusancy, between 1587 and 1637.⁸⁶

The Archdeaconry of Nottingham formed part of the diocese of York. It was one of four archdeaconries in the control of York, but the only one at a distance from York itself, which provided it with a degree of practical autonomy. The Archdeaconry was composed of four deaneries, Bingham, Newark, Retford and Nottingham.⁸⁷ The Archbishop of York had the right to hold an official visitation of the diocese every four years. For the day-to-day running of the Archdeaconry, however, the Archbishop had to rely on the Archdeacon's administration and his determination to carry out instructions from above.⁸⁸ As will be explored in more detail in chapter five, the comparative lack of interference of the Archbishops in the affairs of Nottingham Archdeaconry changed in the late 1620s and 1630s with the

and in August 1638, Catherine Cooke and her daughters, Catherine and Mary, were accused of being popish recusants, (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.398; 510; references to Catherine Cooke's non-attendance are also recorded in the Quarter Session rolls, for example, on 15 January 1620 for not coming to St Peter's for three months and again on 15 July 1622 for the same charge, (NRO) z254 microfilm of Quarter Session rolls 1620-41; in some presentments Michael is referred to as cooper, and in others, later, as gent; (NRO) file entitled 'nottm. burgesses, mayors etc.'

⁸⁶ (NRO) file entitled 'nottm. burgesses, mayors etc;' Alice Collinson, daughter of John Collinson, was presented for recusancy in 1587, (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 292/1/1r/1 and Robert Collinson, son of John Collinson, was presented 6 May 1588 to the Archdeaconry court for not receiving or coming to church for 12 months (NRO) DDTS 14/26/2 Hodgkinson, *Registers* p.194. In 1626 he was presented as a popish recusant and in 1637 as an absolute recusant, (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 302/307 dated 24/04/1626 and AN/PB 303/466 dated 19/05/1637; in John Collinson's will, proved 28 April 1591, he names a daughter 'Fishbourne.' In 1588 John Fyshbourne and his wife were presented to the Archdeaconry Court for not receiving and not coming to church for 12 months (NRO) DDTS 14/26/2 Hodgkinson, *Registers* p.194, entry dated 6 May 1588. In 1592 Alice Fishborne, wife of John, was presented for not communicating at Easter DDTS 14/26/3 Hodgkinson, *Registers* p.196; in the will of Millicent Collinson, widow, proved May 15 1595, her daughter is named Alice Wiron, wife of Francis Wiron. Alice wife of Frances Wyrton was presented to the Quarter Sessions for not coming to church for three months between 1605-7 (reference is undated) (NRO) z253 microfilm of Quarter Sessions rolls 1605-1620; 21 April 1612 Francis and Alice Wyrton were presented to the Archdeaconry court for not receiving the Communion at Easter, (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 295/3/133; both John and Millicent Collinson refer to Richard Morehague as a good neighbour in their wills.

⁸⁷ Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (London: Longmans, 1960) p.132; www.nottingham.ac.uk/mss consulted 14 February 2008

⁸⁸ R.A. Marchant, 'The Restoration of Nottingham Churches, 1635-40' in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume 65 (1961) pp.60-1

appointment of Samuel Harsnett to the see of York in November 1628 and subsequently Richard Neile in April 1632.⁸⁹

The town of Nottingham was divided into three parishes (refer to map in **figure five**.) St Mary's was the only one of the three parishes which was not purely urban. It was also the largest, estimated to have 1414 communicants and 10 non-communicants in the returns of 1603. It was the corporation church, to which the new mayor processed, and where assize sermons were performed. It was also the parish in which the majority of the local gentry had their town houses.⁹⁰ In this period, the parish of St Mary's incorporated the chapel of Sneinton, and the minister was shared with nearby Wollaton, the seat of the Willoughby family. Consequently a curate was appointed to share the responsibility of the churches. In 1603, St Mary's with Sneinton was valued at £10 6d and Wollaton was valued at £14 2s 6d.⁹¹ St Peter's was the next largest of the parishes, and incorporated the commercial districts. In 1603 it was reported to have about 560 communicants and the benefice was valued at £8.⁹² Unlike St Mary's, both St Peter's and the third parish, St Nicholas', remained in the presentment of the crown throughout this period. St Nicholas with its 360 communicants in 1603 was the smallest and poorest of the parishes, worth a mere 50s

⁸⁹ Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* pp.50, 168, 189 and Marchant, 'The Restoration of Nottingham Churches' pp.60-1; Tobias Matthew died 29 March 1628. His successor was George Montagne, who died 24 October 1628. He was replaced by Samuel Harsnett, who was nominated 3 November 1628 and served unto his death 25 May 1631; E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy eds. *Handbook of British Chronology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3rd Edition, 2000) p.283

⁹⁰ (NMSS) Presentment AN/PB St Mary's 292/10/28, dated 01/08/1603; Henstock, 'Early Stuart Nottingham' p.99; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.74

⁹¹ (NMSS) Presentment AN/PB St Mary's 292/10/28 dated 01/08/1603; K.S.S. Train ed. *Lists of the Clergy of Central Nottinghamshire, Thorton Record Society Series*, Volume 15, Part II (1953) p.27; refer to **figure four** for the location of Wollaton and Sneinton.

⁹² (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 292/10/15 dated 1603; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.74

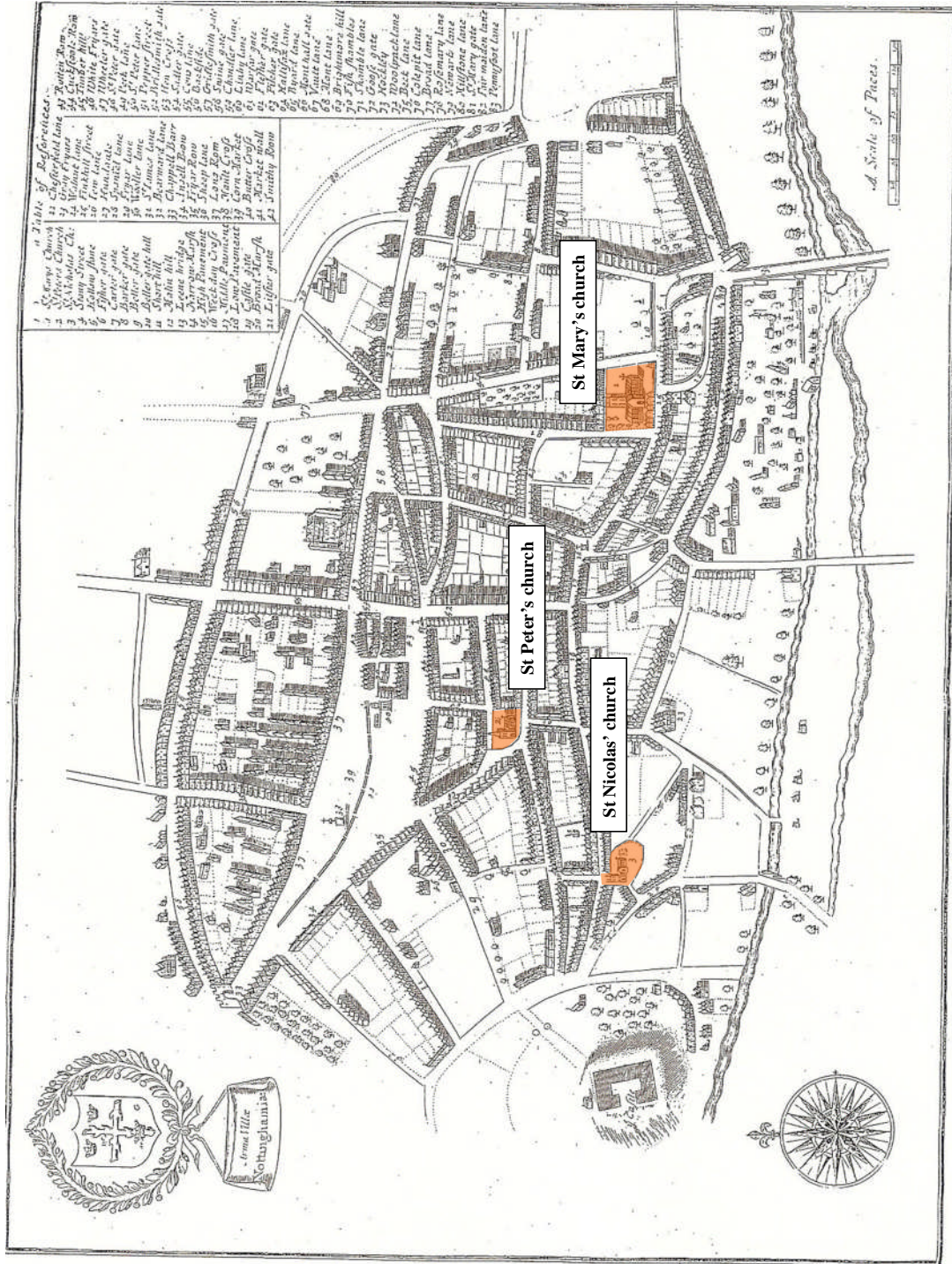


Figure five – Robert Thoroton's 1677 map of Nottingham, showing the location of the three parish churches

8d. The rector also served the benefice of Radford, about a mile from Nottingham, valued at £3 11s.⁹³

Unlike Banbury with its relatively long-serving ministers, Nottingham had a high turnover of appointments in some years during this period. One of the most long-serving was Robert Aldridge, minister of St Mary's from May 1578 to July 1616. Another was Ralph Hansbie, who served St Mary's from October 1617 until Edmund Laccocke's appointment in November 1635. At St Peter's the only minister to continue in the parish for any length of time was George Coates. He was appointed in July 1617 and served the parish until his death in November 1640. Coates was then replaced by his nephew, John Goodall, who had been curate in the parish from 1637 to 1640.⁹⁴ Another difference to Banbury was that the Nottingham ministers who were presented to the church courts, tended to be so for negligence rather than non-conformity. Robert Aldridge, for example, was accused in 1595 of not being resident, favouring Wollaton over his Nottingham benefice. He was also presented for not giving the required share of his living to the poor and leaving his house in disrepair. Ralph Hansbie was accused of not catechising the youth of the parish in 1622, and again in 1624.⁹⁵ Roger Freeman, rector of St Peter's (1606-1610), was presented in 1608 for being absent for about a month.⁹⁶ (Refer to appendix one for more details of the ministers of Nottingham's three parishes in this period.)

In contrast to the prolific output from Banbury and its surrounding parishes, none of the ministers of Nottingham over the period 1580-1640 produced any

⁹³ (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 292/10/14 dated 01/08/1603; Train ed. *Lists of the Clergy* pp.38, 44; refer to **figure four** for the location of Radford.

⁹⁴ (NRO) M416 John T. Godfrey, *Manuscripts Relating to the Ancient Parish Churches of Nottingham* (c.1900) pp.27, 30, 31, 106; Train ed. *Lists of the Clergy* pp.30-31, 44-45

⁹⁵ (NRO) M461 Archdeaconry (1) p.175; (NMSS) presentments St Mary's AN/PB 302/376 dated 06/05/1622, AN/PB 302/414 dated October 1622 and AN/PB 302/443 dated 12/04/1624.

⁹⁶ (NMSS) Presentment AN/PB 352/2/4 St Peters, dated 11/01/1608; he was presented on the 11 April 1607 for being absent when he should have baptised a child, AN/PB 294/2/111.

publications. We know, however, that the town's inhabitants had access to printed material through resident and visiting chapmen, and John Woolley, who traded as a bookseller there from 1631.⁹⁷ From at least 1573, there was also regular preaching in the town. In addition to the resident and preaching ministers, the chamberlain's accounts show payments being made to visiting preachers on a regular basis, usually at St Mary's, but sometimes also at St Peter's.⁹⁸ Despite the provision of preaching, there were concerns that some of the town's inhabitants had not responded positively. In 1588 the Mickeltorn Jury, effectively the jury of the old manorial court, which presented issues of public nuisances to the mayor and aldermen, made reference to the 'most Godlye exercise of preaching on the Frydaye once a weeke.' They were concerned that the mayor and other members of the Clothing should attend the lecture,

'lest the same should dekey [decay] amongst vs through our negligence in nott cominge as wee ought to dooe, and specially the chieffest of our towne which ought to be most present.'⁹⁹

There was still concern about the lack of enthusiasm for preaching in the town in the late 1590s, when John Darrell, the famous exorcist, and newly-elected town lecturer, commented that the people of Nottingham had been very slow in hearing the word.

⁹⁷ The first Nottingham bookseller recorded in the British Book Trade Index www.bbti.bham.ac.uk is John Woolley. He is registered as a bookseller in the burgess roles from 1631-2 (NRO) CA 4649; the will of Andrew Foster, a chapman, proved 27 April 1647, contains bequests to Edward Wright, another chapman, and John Woolley, bookseller; there is, however, evidence of others in the book trade in Nottingham. The will of John Hough, a joiner, written in 1627 but proved 12 February 1631 mentions Thomas Woolley, a bookseller; the marriage of Thomas Woolley to Jone Roper, 6 July 1606, is recorded in NMR Peter p.12; Robert Wilkinson, bookbinder, was presented to the Quarter Sessions in 1606-7, for not coming to church for 3 months, noted in NBR IV p.283.

⁹⁸ NBR IV, for example pp.148, 158, 159, 164; this is also recorded in the Chamberlain's Accounts, for example (NRO) CA 1620 covering the year 1580-1 and CA 1621 covering 1581-2. In CA 1625 dated 1585-6, the accounts show 20d given to 'the preacher that preached at St Peter's Church in Wine and sugar' and also on 30 June, 18d given to the 'preacher that preached at Saint Maries in the forenoon and St Peters in the afternoon in wyne & sugar.'

⁹⁹ (NRO) Records of the Mickeltorn Jury CA 3017, dated April 1588; NBR IV pp.viii, 222; the definition of 'Mickeltorn Jury' is taken from Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.76

Darrell, however, only preached in the town for a few months before his suspension and later imprisonment.¹⁰⁰

In 1603 St Mary's had a preaching curate, Oliver Withington, as well as a preaching minister, Robert Aldridge, but the first mention of the corporation paying for a permanent town lecturer was Richard Caldwell's appointment in 1617-18. Caldwell was granted a salary of £10 'in regard of his greate paynes which hee contynually taketh.' He served Nottingham until 1628, when he left to become rector of Normanton-on-Soar.¹⁰¹ The next town lecturer to be appointed at St Mary's was Thomas Cranage, where he served as curate and lecturer from 1633 to 1640. In the intervening years, George Coates, minister of St Peter's, gave the town lecture.¹⁰²

Very little is known about the ministers employed in Nottingham during this period. George Coates is one of the few about whom information can be pieced together to gain some idea of the character of his ministry. He was rector of St Peter's from 1617 to 1640 and, alongside Richard Caldwell, was satirised as a Puritan in

¹⁰⁰ Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the fraudulent practises of John Darrel, bachelor of arts, in his proceedings concerning the pretended possession and dispossession of William Somers at Nottingham* (London: 1599) p.127; for more on John Darrell's presence in Nottingham refer to chapter seven.

¹⁰¹ (NMS) Presentment AN/PB St Mary's 292/10/28, dated 01/08/1603; NBR IV pp.354-5; (NRO) CA3393 Hall Book (or Mayor's book), minutes of the council 1617-8, f.28; (NRO) CA1633b Chamberlain's Accounts, dated 15 December 1617; CA1634 records a payment made in November 1618 by 'mr maior for the use of Mr Caldwell 1s.' Payments continue to be made to Caldwell until he leaves the parish in 1628; Richard Caldwell, was instituted as minister of Normanton-upon-Soar on 16 July 1628. He was buried there 4 August 1637; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714 Volume 1, Early Series* (Oxford: James Parker, 1891) p.230; J.T. Godfrey, *Notes on the Churches of Nottinghamshire: Hundred of Rushcliffe* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1887) p.158

¹⁰² (NRO) Hall Book 1627-8, CA 3402, f.52, entry dated 19 September 1628, records that Mr Coates, 'in respect of his well deservinge and greate paines taken in this towne, (and in hope of the continuance thereof in succeeding tymes) to grant him the yearly payment of Xli which Mr Caldwell lately had the company to allowe Xli more to another lecturer such a one as shall be by the towne preferred;' (NRO) Chamberlain's Accounts CA1638, dated 1628-9, record 50s paid 'Mr Coats upon M. Maior's note for his lecturing for michs quarter,' and the same for lady day quarter and midsummer; (NRO) Hall Book 1631-2, CA 3406, f.44, dated 9 April 1632, records that 'this companie are contented to allowe a preachinge minister in St Maries parishe churche an one as Mr Hansbie and the parishe shall agree to electe xli for this yeare to be paide quarterly;' NBR V p.153; in (NRO) Chamberlain's Accounts CA1642, dated 1632-3, there are also references to payments for 'Mr Cranage lecturer;' Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* pp.194, 300

several libels which were paraded through the streets of the town in the mid 1610s.¹⁰³ Despite this early upheaval, by the later 1620s Coates had won the respect of the corporation. A minute made by the Common Council in 1628 mentions that Coates was consulted in the choice of a replacement school teacher for the town. It was reported that

‘in case maister coats doe nott approve him to be sufficient for that place, then this companie upon such his dislyke signified to maister mayor to proceed to a newe election of a schoolemaster.’¹⁰⁴

In 1630 he was again consulted in the choice of usher or assistant school teacher for the free school.¹⁰⁵ In 1628, following Caldwell’s resignation, the council agreed that George Coates, ‘in respecte of his well deservinge and greate paines taken in this towne, and in hope of the contynuance thereof in succeeding times’ should receive the £10 which had previously been given to Richard Caldwell, during his time as minister of St Peter’s. They also agreed that a further £10 be allocated for another town lecturer.¹⁰⁶ In 1634-5, the council showed further favour to Coates, agreeing that he could have the annual profit of 30s from the ‘close hee nowe holde called noe mans ptt’ to continue ‘unto him duringe the tyme hee stayes here in the towne.’¹⁰⁷

George Coates may have gained the respect of members of the corporation, but he made enemies of the town’s recusants. A member of the Lea family was quoted in a case at Nottingham’s Quarter Sessions in 1629-30 asking, ‘doth he [Coates] not raile of me for he does nothing but rail against papists.’¹⁰⁸ Coates does, however, appear to have been popular with some of his other parishioners. As will be

¹⁰³ For more information on the libels refer to chapter seven pp. 297-321

¹⁰⁴ (NRO) Hall Book 1627-8, CA 3402, dated 29 April 1628, f.65; NBR V p.131; a similar example of a corporation valuing the opinion of one of their preachers in clerical appointments is provided by William Sanderson in King’s Lynn, Norfolk, in Patrick Collinson and John Craig eds. *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998) p.10

¹⁰⁵ NBR V p.144

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. pp.131-2

¹⁰⁷ (NRO) Hall Book 1634-5, CA 3409, f.47, entry dated 22 January 1635

¹⁰⁸ (NRO) Quarter Sessions rolls 1629-30, microfilm z254, records dated 10 October 1629 and 23 April 1630; NBR V p.142

shown in chapter four, he was the only one of the town's ministers to receive numerous bequests in the wills of the town's inhabitants. Other popular recipients were his clerk, Robert Troupe, and Richard Caldwell.¹⁰⁹ After his appointment the parish became the destination for sermon-gadding, something discussed in chapter five. He was also of sufficient reputation to be mentioned in the diary of Robert Woodford, the Puritan steward of Northampton. In August 1637 Woodford noted, 'I am glad to understand by him [Adrian Garner, a Nottingham apothecary] that Mr Cotes is still at Nottingham, & hath the liberty of his ministry.'¹¹⁰ Finally, praise for the life of George Coates was anonymously noted in the parish register of St Peter's after his death,

'hee was a godly man, and one whom the lord had furnished, not only with a good measure of humane arts and learning, but also with abundance of heavenly and divine knowledge, hee was an excellent and painefull preacher, and such a one as to not only teach his people the way to heaven and happiness, but also did give before them in a godly way in holy conversation and goe guiding him of his ... hath received him into glory.'¹¹¹

Nottingham's corporation and ministry overall may appear more conservative in religion than that of Banbury, but the town thus provides a contrasting environment in which to study the nature and development of godly culture, and the interaction of the godly with the wider community. Whereas Banbury only had one parish church, Nottingham had three. As has been indicated here, there were differences between the three parishes in terms of characters of ministers and styles of worship practised, a theme which will be discussed throughout the thesis, particularly in looking at baptism name choices, sermon-gadding and responses to railed altars in the 1630s.

¹⁰⁹ For more on this refer to chapter four pp.162-4; George Coates received gifts in 17 wills; Robert Troupe in 5 and Richard Caldwell in 3.

¹¹⁰ Diary of Robert Woodford, Steward of Northampton 1637-41 (New College, Oxford, MS 9502) entry dated 29 August 1637, f.9r

¹¹¹ (NRO) PR 3630 St Peter's Parish Register, f.2; also copied in Robert Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire (1790-96)* edited and enlarged by John Throsby, Volume II (Menston: Scholar Press, 1972) pp.96-7

Both Nottingham and Banbury faced moments of political and religious unrest, but by the early 1600s Banbury had a tightly-connected godly magistracy and ministry. By contrast, in Nottingham this unrest continued well into the seventeenth century, demonstrated in particular by the religious libels of the 1610s between rival factions of ‘papists’ and ‘puritans,’ which will be discussed in chapter seven. Having introduced the two urban environments which form the basis of this study of godly culture and identity, discussion will now move towards the first of the themes, the choices of baptism names for children.

Chapter Two

Framing Godly Lives: Baptism Name Choices for Children c.1580-1640

Names had significance in post-Reformation England. Biblical names were used metaphorically for monarchs, where Edward VI was seen as ‘Josiah’ and Elizabeth I as ‘Deborah.’¹ Classical, Biblical and other names were also used metaphorically in educative dialogues, where names were chosen to give some indication of the position the character would argue within the debate. For example, the dialogue between Atheos and Zelotes in George Gifford’s *A brief discourse of certain points of religion*.² Descriptive names such as Sin-Defy and Grace Seldome were incorporated into contemporary theatrical satire, both of Puritans and of other characters.³ Godly household manuals and guides for baptism stressed the importance of the choice of an appropriate name for children and disagreements were reported in some parishes between ministers and parents over the choice of particular names.

¹ Graeme Murdock, ‘The Importance of Being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity’ in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXIX, 4 (1998) pp.1043-1059 passim

² For example, George Gifford, *A brief discourse of certaine points of the religion which is among the commo(n) sort of Christians, which may be termed the countrie diuinitie* (London: 1581); Thomas Becon, *The sicke mans salve. Wherein the faithfull Christians may learne both how to behaue themselves patiently and thankfully in the tyme of sickenes* (London: 1568) with the characters Philemon, Eusebius, Theophilus, Christopher and Epaphroditus (the sick man) Epaphroditus is a character in the book of Philippians (chapter 2:25-30) who dedicates himself to the work of Christ and is sick until his death; Arthur Dent’s Theologus (a divine but in Greek ‘speaker of God’), Philagathus (an honest man or ‘lover of the good’) Asunetus (an ignorant man or ‘witless fool’) and Antilegon (a caviler or ‘denyer’) in his *The plaine-mans path-way to heauen, wherein every many may cleerly see whether he shall be saved or damned. Set forth dialogue-wise, for the better understanding of the simple... ninth impression* (London: 1607); for a discussion of this tract see Christopher Haigh, *The Plain Man’s Pathways to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) p.3; Philip Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses: contayning, a discoverie, or briefe summarie of such notable vices and imperfections, as now reigne in many Christian countreyes of the worlde* (London: 1583) is a dialogue between Spudeus (unlearned) and Philoponus (learned); see also Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp.373-378 for a discussion of dialogues of this style.

³ Sin-Defy is a prostitute in George Chapman, Ben Jonson and John Marston’s 1605 play *Eastwood Ho* and Grace Seldome is the name given to a Puritan in Nathaniel Field’s *Amends for ladies* (1611); advice on naming from godly household manuals and disputes over names will be discussed later in the chapter.

There were changes to patterns of naming in England in this period, with a decline in the popularity of saints' names, and an increase in Biblical names. When the baptism registers of particular communities are looked at by family, it becomes clear that there were some families who were influenced by godly household manuals, and thought that through a godly name the child would be encouraged on a path to godliness. They chose to name some or all their children with Biblical names or with 'grace names,' such as Patience and Hopeskill. It is these distinctive patterns of naming which will be examined in this chapter.⁴ It will be argued that these names are significant both as part of a godly culture to bring children up in the fear and remembrance of God, and for the role they played in the creation of a godly identity within Nottingham and Banbury. Although not the subject of this chapter, naming must be seen as part of the wider performance of the godly at baptism, where the child might have been distinctive for more than its name, if the sign of the cross was not used by the minister or godparents were conspicuously absent. This research adds to the work which has already been published on baptism names, and more specifically Puritan naming, by looking at naming culture within urban parishes. It shows how the popularity of grace names was not so geographically and chronologically restricted as has been argued by Nicholas Tyacke.⁵ It also considers Biblical as well as grace names as part of a godly culture of naming. Grounded within specific communities, it looks at naming patterns to the level of particular families and how naming fits with other aspects of godly culture.

⁴ The baptism data for Banbury used in this chapter comes from BBR pp.1-121, which is a transcription of the register of births, marriages and deaths, (ORO) MSS D.D. Par. Banbury St Mary c.1 and d.1; the data for Nottingham is taken from (NRO) PR 2019-20 parish registers for births, marriages and burials St Mary's, beginning in 1566; PR 2138 parish register for births, marriages and burials St Nicholas, beginning in 1562; PR 3630 parish register for births, marriages and burials St Peter's, beginning 1572; various gaps in these Nottingham registers have been filled from (NRO) DR Bishop's Transcripts of Parish Registers for the three parishes. Refer to the bibliography for the years covered by the Bishop's transcripts.

⁵ Nicholas Tyacke, 'Popular Puritan Mentality in Late Elizabethan England' reprinted in his *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) pp.90-110.

There are, however, several limitations to the evidence presented in this chapter. Firstly, the use of grace and Biblical names could be distinctive but name choice was also affected by many other social conventions and traditions, such as the custom of naming children after their godparents or family members. However, as will be argued, the use of more traditional names like William could still have been a ‘religious’ choice since such names were also promoted by conduct literature. Secondly, dividing the names used in Banbury and Nottingham into discrete categories, which will be detailed in due course, is problematic. For example, names from the Apocrypha are difficult to categorise, as are angelic names, which were criticised in some contemporary publications. Some Apocryphal names like Judith and Susannah gained in popularity and have been linked in other studies to Puritan name choices. Both these types of name have been classed here in the category of Biblical names.⁶

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section considers the types of names used in England in this period and the changes to naming patterns in Banbury and Nottingham. This begins with discussion of the role of godparents in naming. It then explores the most popular name choices over the course of this period, the increase in use of Biblical names and the decrease in saints’ names. Finally, it looks at the use of grace names in the two towns. The second section focuses on Biblical- and grace name-

⁶ The popularity of the name Susannah is discussed in more detail later in the chapter, see pp.94-5; another problem with categorising Biblical names is that some names occur in both the Old and New Testament. For the purposes of this thesis, these names are listed as Old Testament names; for the use of angelic names see Charles W. Bardsley, *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1880) p.131 and David Hackett Fischer, ‘Forenames and the Family in New England: An Exercise in Historical Onomastics’ in Robert M. Taylor and Ralph J. Crandall eds. *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986) p.220; Will Coster, *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) p.169 notes that the changes of the Reformation and the arrival of the Bible in English, brought new names, including Tobias and Judith. On p.183 he notes that Thomas Cartwright wanted godparents to avoid names of angels; Philip Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) pp.105, 150 lists Judith and Susanne among the most popular names in the Protestant population of Rouen; William E. Monter, ‘Historical Demography and Religious History in Sixteenth Century Geneva’ in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, IX: 3 (Winter 1979) p.413 refers to Judith as a Calvinist name which, unknown before the Reformation, rose to be in the top dozen most popular names in Geneva after 1560; George Redmonds, *Christian Names in Local and Family History* (Richmond: The National Archives, 2004) p.41 also notes the popularity of Susanna and Judith.

use and explores the influences on these distinctive name choices. These included conduct literature, the local clergy and social networks. The conclusion discusses the gendered patterns of the use of grace names, and how names contributed to collective godly identity.

The role of naming children in the baptism service traditionally fell to the godparents of the child. The choice of godparent could therefore be of instrumental influence in the choice of names given to children. Often children were named after their godparents. Between 1590 and 1614 in the parish of St Margaret's York, almost two thirds of children have been found to share the name of one godparent.⁷ In the baptism registers of other parishes it is very unusual to find the name of godparents mentioned. In Banbury the names of godparents were only recorded at the beginning of the register, in 1558. Between 1558-9, 83% of children received the name of at least one of their godparents. Within the records for the remaining eighty years studied, only seven baptisms registered in the parish note the names of godparents, all between the years 1583-97. Three of those children received the name of one godparent.⁸ In Nottingham, although the names of godparents are not shown in the baptism registers, evidence from some wills indicates godparents naming their godchildren after themselves. Richard Hardmeat mentioned four godsons in his will of September 1630. All of them were called Richard. Similarly, of the eight female godchildren mentioned in the will of Helen Whitemore in 1612, seven were named Helen.⁹

The role of godparents was in transition in this period. Increasingly children were named after family members rather than godparents. Towards 1700 there was a

⁷ Will Coster, 'English Naming Systems' in his *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship* p.173

⁸ BBR pp.1-3, 28, 32, 34, 38, 40, 48

⁹ Will of Helen Whitemore, proved 8 October 1612; will of Richard Hardmeat, written 9 September 1630 but proved 28 March 1646

further shift away from naming children after anyone in particular.¹⁰ As a result, the pool from which godparents and parents chose names was increasing. A dislike of the practice of using godparents was, however, a complaint which was linked by contemporaries to a Puritan attitude. The godly disliked the role ascribed to nominated godparents since they had no scriptural warrant. They also believed it was the parents' role to educate children in religious matters, a role which traditionally had fallen to the godparents. On one level this manifested itself in their using the term witness or surety in place of godparent.¹¹ In his will alderman William Knight, for example, whose children were baptised in Banbury with a range of Biblical names, referred to the child of the minister Robert Cleaver, 'I was suretie to.'¹² This attitude was mocked in a scene from Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) where John Littlewit comments of the Banbury Puritan, Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, 'he was *witness* for Win here (they will not be called godfathers).'¹³ Some fathers attempted to have their children baptised without godparents. There were three cases of this in Banbury. Philip Ward was presented to the peculiar court in 1605 for naming his own child at the font (in other words without godparents.) His children were also named with Biblical names: Samuel, John, Hannah, Elizabeth and Sarah. In 1626, John Newman, father of a daughter called Temperance,

¹⁰ Scott Smith-Banister, *Names and Naming Patterns in England 1538-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) pp.38, 53, 184

¹¹ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) pp.151-2; Will Coster, 'From Fire and Water: The Responsibilities of Godparents in Early Modern England' in Diana Wood ed. *The Church and Childhood, Studies in Church History 31* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994) pp.301, 304; Patrick Collinson, 'What's in a Name? Dudley Fenner and the Peculiarities of Puritan Nomenclature' in Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake eds. *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006) pp.115-6

¹² Will of William Knight, proved 25 November 1631; the children of William and Elizabeth Knight were named, Mary, John, Deborah, Jonathan, Naomi, Joane, Bezaleel, Elizabeth, William, Barzillai, Mary and Abigail in Banbury between 1590 and 1615.

¹³ In this quote the italics are mine and are put there for emphasis. Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, ed. Suzanne Gossett (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) Act 1: Scene 4, lines 126-7, p.54

was accused of attempting to baptise his child without godparents, a charge also laid at William Allen, father of a daughter called Hopestill.¹⁴

Turning to other patterns and changes in naming practice which are demonstrated in the baptism registers of Banbury and Nottingham. The first of these is the dominance of a relatively small pool of names for both girls and boys. In Banbury, over the course of the eighty year period from 1558-1640, 1 in 5 boys was called John and over half of all boys were named John, Thomas, William, Richard or Robert.¹⁵ In Nottingham, over a similar period, nearly two thirds of boys received one of these five names. The popular choices of girls' names came from a similarly small pool. In Banbury, Elizabeth was the most popular name, consisting of 15% of all girls' names, closely followed by Mary, Ann and Margaret. In both towns nearly half of girls were named with one of these four names.¹⁶ Although all five boys' names retained their popularity over the period, there was a noticeable shift in girls' name choices, with a decline in the popularity of Margaret, and increase in the popularity of Mary. The patterns shown here for the most popular names are typical of studies of the period, and Mary and John were also the most popular name choices amongst the Reformed congregations in Geneva and Rouen.¹⁷

¹⁴ Bawdy Court pp.67, 74-5; Peyton, *Presentments* p.200

¹⁵ 58% of all boys were named with these five names.

¹⁶ In Banbury John constituted 20% of all male baptisms, then Thomas (14%), William (12%), Richard (8%) and Robert (6%). Elizabeth constituted 15% of all girls' names, then Mary (14%), Ann (12%) and Margaret (7%); in Nottingham, from 1572-1640, 18% of boys were named John, 16% William, 11% Thomas, 9% Robert and 8% Richard, together a total of 61% of all boys' names. 17% of girls were called Elizabeth, 15% Mary, 9% Margaret and 6% Ann, together constituting 47% of all baptised females.

¹⁷ Coster, 'English Naming Systems' pp.168-9; Tyacke, 'Popular Puritan Mentality' p.108 footnote 23; David Marcombe, *English Small Town Life: Retford, 1520-1642* (Oxford: The Alden Press, 1993) p.254; Jeanne Jones, *Family Life in Shakespeare's England: Stratford-upon-Avon, 1570-1630* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1996) p.99; Virginia Davis, 'The Popularity of Late Medieval Personal Names as Reflected in English Ordination Lists, 1350-1540' in Dave Postles and Joel T. Rosenthal eds. *Studies on the Personal Name in Later Medieval England and Wales* (Michigan: West Michigan University, 2006) p.105; Monter, 'Historical Demography and Religious History' p.412; Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* p.105; Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp.227-8, 243-4 testifies to the importance of Mary in Elizabethan Protestantism as an emblem of virtue and spiritual humility.

Figure six – Graph showing the percentages of different categories of baptism name choices in Banbury 1558-1640

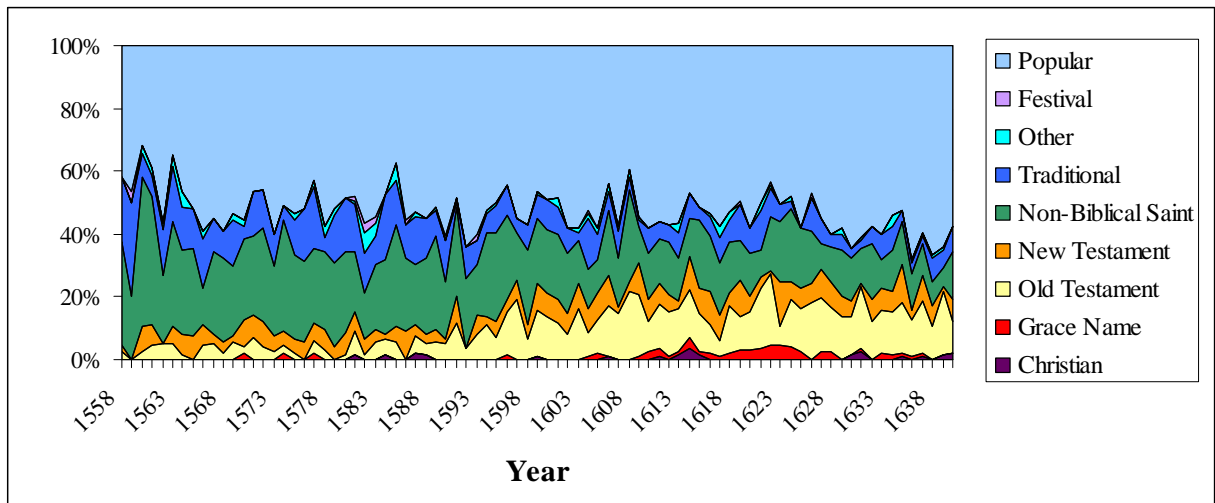
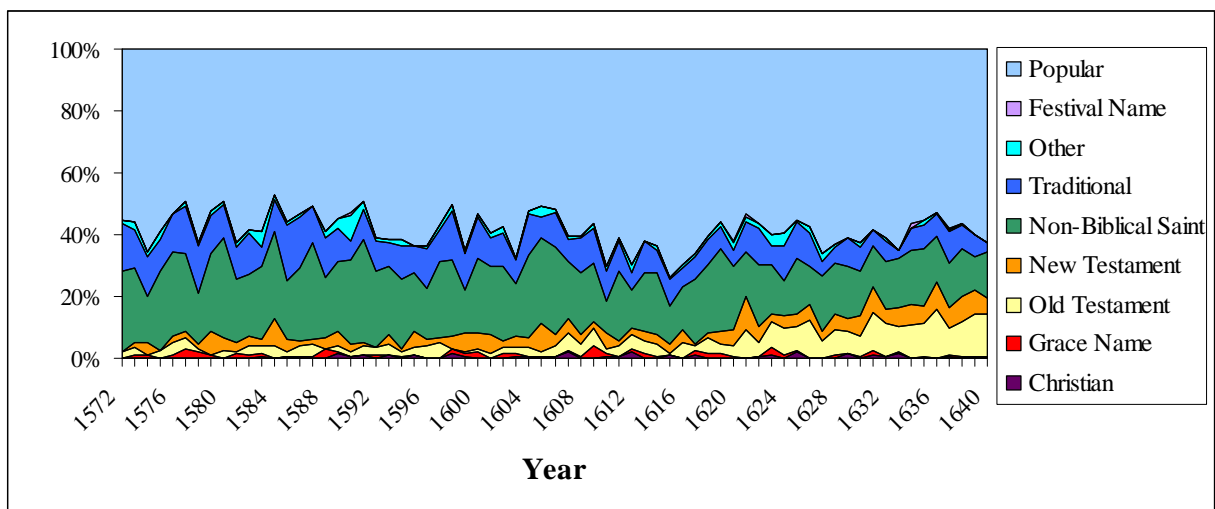


Figure seven – Graph showing the percentages of different categories of baptism name choices in Nottingham 1572-1640



The dominance of these nine names is shown clearly in **figures six and seven** where they make up the ‘popular’ category of names at the top of the charts. The charts show the change in percentage of children named by different categories of name over time for Banbury and Nottingham.¹⁸ The other categories consist of grace names, Old and New Testament names, non-Biblical saints’ names, traditional names (including

¹⁸ Note that for Banbury the time period covered by these graphs begins in 1558, when the registers started. For Nottingham the time period begins in 1572, since this is an amalgamation of the registers for the three parishes, which all start at different dates: St Nicholas’ in 1562, St Mary’s in 1566 and St Peter’s in 1572.

Old English and Norman names, and names popular in the Middle Ages and medieval period), festival names, such as Pentecost and Epiphany, and ‘other’ names. Christian has been placed in a category of its own for reasons which will now be explained before the changes to name choices are explored in more detail.¹⁹

The name Christian (often used interchangeably with Christina as a girl’s name) is a difficult name to place into any of the categories used here. Whilst it literally means ‘believer’ from the Greek, or ‘follower of Christ’ it cannot be classed as a New Testament name.²⁰ Unlike Grace or Prudence, it cannot be categorised as a virtue, and the category of ‘other’ names does not acknowledge its religious connotations. Dudley Fenner, the Presbyterian curate of Cranbrook in Kent, discussed Christian along with names like Grace, Repentance, Faith, Patience and Charity, as well as Richard, Charles and Russell, in a positive light, as names which had some significance in English.²¹ As such, Christian has been placed here in its own category, not part of the grace name category but next to it in the graphs. The names Christian and Christina appear in George Redmond’s studies of fourteenth-century England but it is noteworthy that the name Christian only appears in the baptism registers of both Banbury and Nottingham from the 1580s, remaining relatively popular throughout the rest of the period.²²

Whilst the popularity of the nine most dominant names had longevity, there were new patterns of naming emerging in this period. The most dramatic of these was the increase in popularity of Biblical names. The increase of sermons, encouragement to read the Bible, and the publication of the Geneva Bible in 1560, are thought to have

¹⁹ See appendix two for the names in these categories. These names have not been categorised in all the different ways they might have been. For instance, monarchical names have not been separated, and the names have not been investigated by which saints’ days the baptisms were on, something looked at by Coster in ‘English Naming Systems’ p.183. See also p.63 and footnote 6, above.

²⁰ Marcombe in *English Small Town Life* classes Christian as a New Testament name p.254; Fischer, ‘Forenames and the Family in New England’ p. 220 writes that no child in Concord, Massachusetts, was ever named Jesus (a strong Catholic favourite) or Emmanuel, Christian or even Christopher.

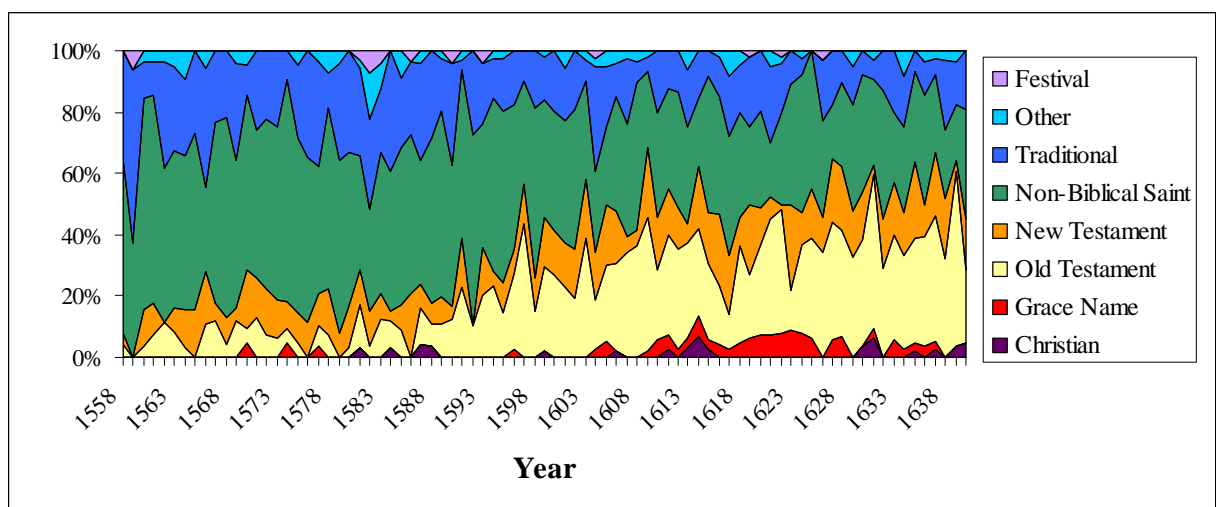
²¹ From the 17th Article objected against Dudley in his trial before Archbishop John Whitgift (Northamptonshire Record office, MS F.(M). P.62) quoted in Collinson, ‘What’s in a Name?’ pp.126-7

²² Redmonds, *Christian Names* pp.32-3

led to the choice of names such as Samuel, Rebecca and Martha on a wide scale in England.²³ As with the most popular names, studies of Protestant communities abroad have also noted the increase in use of Biblical names, particularly Old Testament names. In Geneva, William Monter found that families turned to the Old Testament in particular for inspiration for their children's names. From 1560 names such as Abraham, Daniel, Isaac, David, Sara, Judith and Rachel, which were unknown before, rose to be in the top twelve names chosen for at least a generation. In Rouen, Philip Benedict found that naming choices differed along confessional lines, with the Huguenot population again favouring Old Testament names, in particular Abraham, Isaac, Pierre and Daniel for boys, and Judith, Sara, and Suzanne for girls.²⁴

In **figures eight** and **nine** the same data is shown as in **figures six** and **seven** without the category 'popular' names. By removing the popular names, the increase in the proportion of Biblical name choices being made in both towns is shown more clearly. Both the graphs show that it is the increase in Old Testament names which is the most significant component of this increase, but over a different chronology.

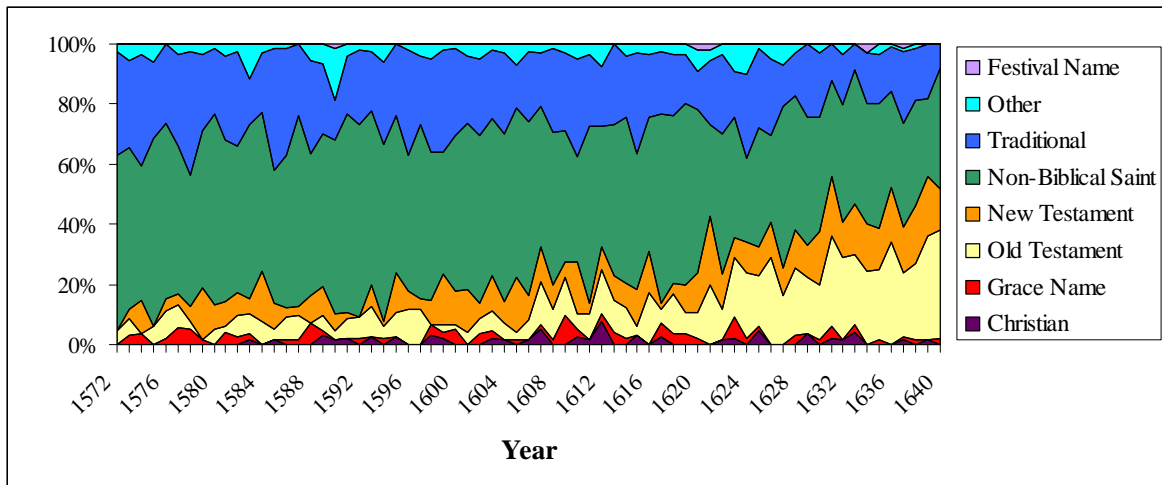
Figure eight – Graph showing the percentages of different categories of baptism name choices in Banbury 1558-1640 without the category of 'popular' names



²³ Coster, 'English Naming Systems' p.169; Leslie J. Nightingale, 'Puritans at the Font' in *History Today* 9:3 (March, 1959) p.196; Redmonds, *Christian Names* p.153; Collinson, 'What's in a Name?' p. 117

²⁴ Monter, 'Historical Demography' pp.412-3; Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* pp.104-5

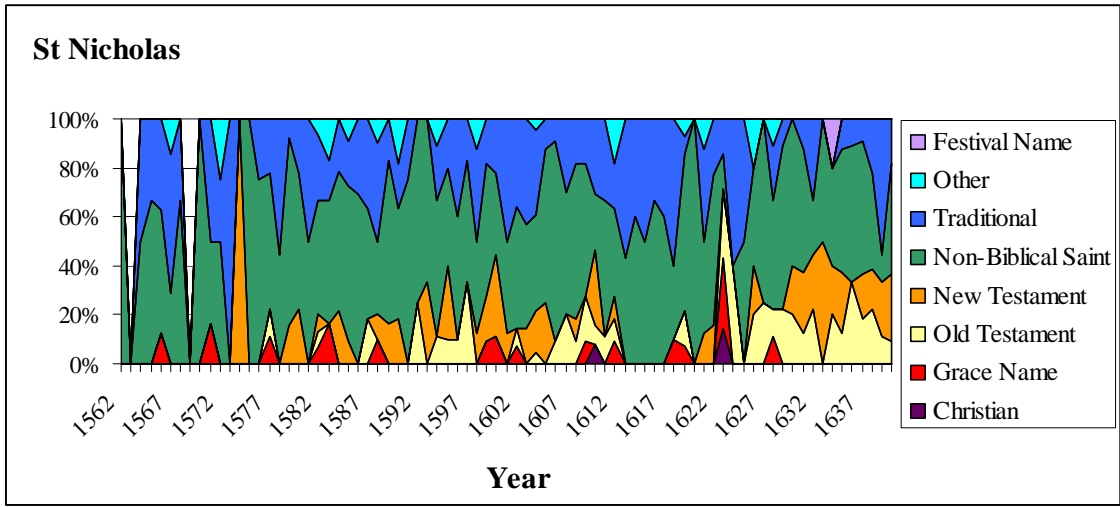
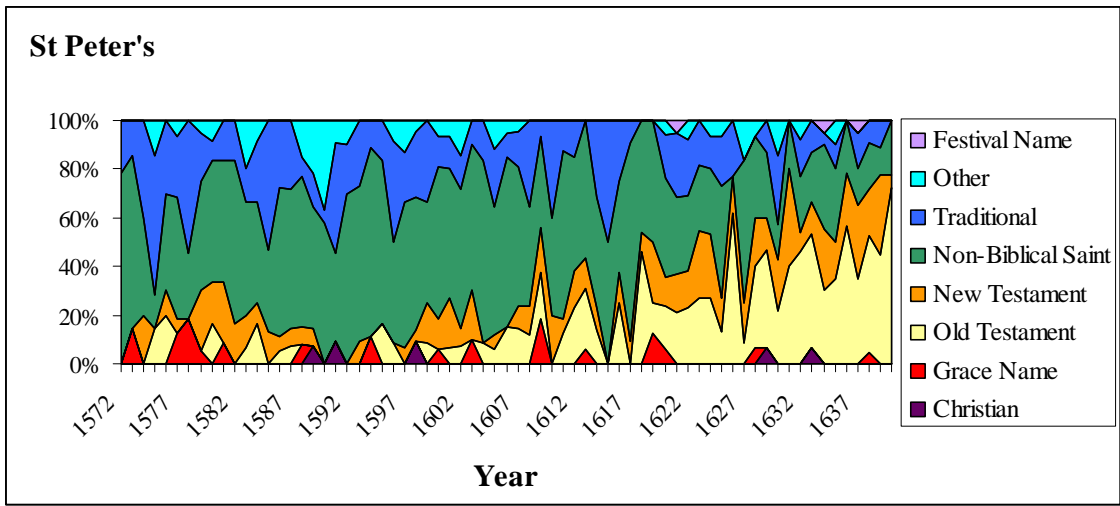
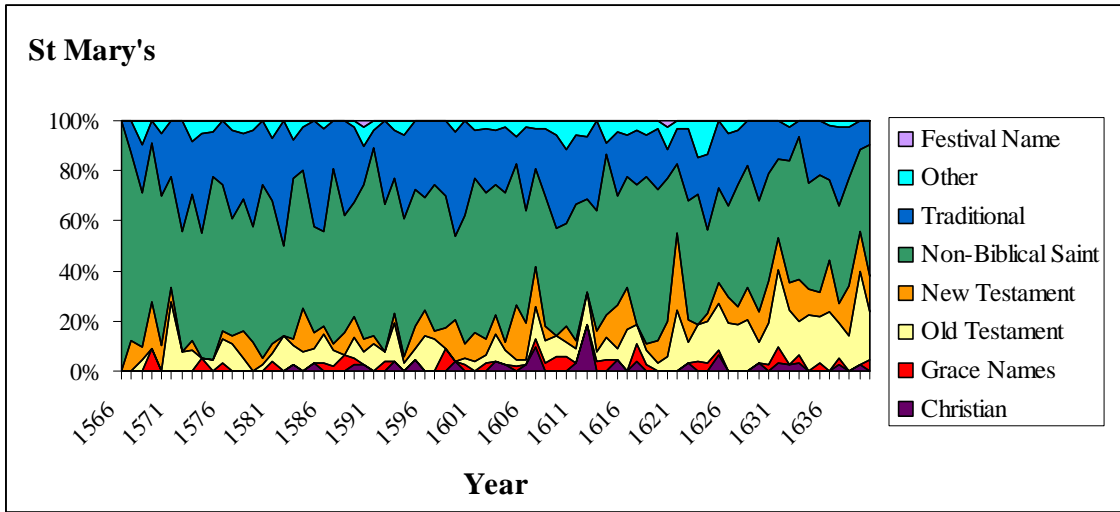
Figure nine – Graph showing the percentages of different categories of baptism name choices in Nottingham 1572-1640 without the category of ‘popular’ names



In both towns this increase in Old Testament names is reflective of both a wider range of Old Testament names in use and their adoption by a greater number of families. When Nottingham and Banbury are compared, Banbury is seen to have a higher proportion of children named with Old Testament names, and the popularity of Old Testament names increased earlier, in the 1590s, around which time a lecture by combination was established in the parish. For both towns over half of the Old Testament name choices were Sarah, Samuel, Hannah and Susanna. In addition to these four names, Banbury had twice as many different Old Testament names in use throughout the period compared to Nottingham.²⁵ This list also included some more unusual choices such as Hozea, Zephaniah, Bezaleel and Israel. Overall, the proportion of children with Old Testament names in Nottingham was lower and the names were not so distinctive. However, when the data is broken down into the three individual parishes, it is St Peter’s parish which emerges as having a greater proportion of children named with Old Testament names. (Refer to **figures ten, eleven and twelve.**) The most dramatic increase in popularity of these names dates from after 1617, when George Coates was appointed minister, as well as a town lecture established.

²⁵ There are 52 different Old Testament names used in Banbury over this period and 27 in Nottingham.

Figures ten, eleven and twelve – Graphs showing the percentages of different categories of baptism name choices in Nottingham 1572-1640 without the category of ‘popular’ names, by parish (St Mary’s begins when the registers begin in 1566, St Peter’s in 1572 and St Nicholas in 1562)



There was a general increase in use of Biblical names in both towns. While there are many families where a scattering of Biblical names appear amongst other more traditional names, the fact that in some families all of the children received Biblical names, and in particular Old Testament names, can be seen as more distinctive, and suggestive of an active choice.²⁶ Not only did these names carry significance due to the Bible stories in which the characters were known, but it has been noted by Patrick Collinson that Puritans favoured Hebrew names, or names which when translated from Hebrew had significance in English.²⁷ The name Israel, found in Banbury, for example, meant 'he who strives with God' and Isaiah meant 'God is salvation.'²⁸ William Gouge, minister of St Anne's Blackfriars in London, referred to the meaning of some names in his tract *Of domesticall dvties* (1622.) He advised parents to name their children with names,

'such as are warranted by scripture as John (the grace of god) Jonathan (the gift of God) Andrew (manly) Clement (meeke) Simeon (obedient) Hannah (gratious) Prudens (wise) and such like.'²⁹

In this way, Biblical names can be seen as acting like metaphorical grace names, both virtues and godly exhortations, and it could be argued that families who chose Biblical names for all or almost of their children demonstrated a similar piety and concern for godly education to those who chose grace names.³⁰ It is also important to note that although names like John might have been very common they still had

²⁶ Some New Testament names have been seen in other studies as being new to this period, and as Puritan name choices, such as Martha, Timothy, Tabitha, Dorcas; see for example Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) and Julia Cresswell, *Bloomsbury Dictionary of First Names* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2001)

²⁷ Collinson, 'What's in a Name?' p.118

²⁸ Hanks and Hodges, *A Dictionary of First Names* pp.166, 167

²⁹ William Gouge, *Of domesticall dvties, eight treatises* (London: 1622) pp.522-3

³⁰ Dudley Fenner, when giving a justification for his use of grace names claimed 'the reason which moved me to consent to suche names and to allowe them was firste because I fynde it the contynuall practise of the Church in tholde and newe Testament to name their children with significant names in their owne tounge. As the Hebrewes in hebrewe. Samuell. Ezechiell Sacherye. And of the Apostles. Barnabas. And also in Greeke. As Tymothie. Damarys. The Latines in Latin. Urbanus.... I thoughte it more to edefye to have the names significant in that tounge which is understoode then in that which is not understoode.' From the interrogation of Dudley Fenner by Archbishop John Whitgift (Northamptonshire Record Office, MS F.(M).P.62) quoted in Collinson, 'What's in a Name?' pp.123, 127

Scriptural significance and when examined within the context of the other names given in certain families they had meaning. Examples of this type of family naming pattern are relatively numerous in both towns. In Nottingham, for example, James Crabtree had sons called Isaac, Nathaniel and Zachariah, and William Froste's children were baptised Daniel, Elizabeth, Mary, Lydia, Joshua, Abraham, Samuel and Susannah.³¹ There are in fact over eighty families who could be grouped in this category, particularly in the 1620s and 1630s, nearly two thirds of whom were from St Peter's parish. In Banbury a similar number of families can be identified as naming their children with a majority of Biblical names.

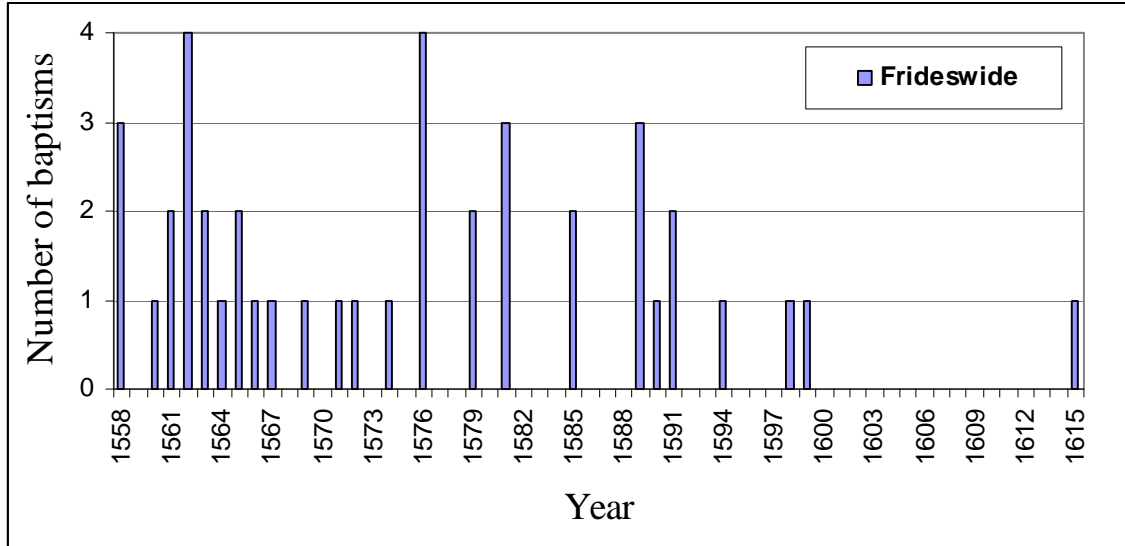
Mirroring the increase in Biblical names was a decrease in the popularity of saints' names. In **figures eight** and **nine** the category of non-Biblical saints' names has been separated from Biblical saints' names, which are included in the category of Old or New Testament names. This provides a clearer indication of the decline in popularity of saints' names over the course of the period. There was no list in England banning the use of saints' names, as was introduced in Geneva. In Geneva the name 'Claude' was banned, as well as other names, since it was the name of a local saint, whose shrine was close to the town.³² There was, however, an overall decline in the use of non-Biblical saints' names, a decline which was much more dramatic in Banbury than in Nottingham. Within Nottingham, **figures ten, eleven** and **twelve** show that this decline was more marked in St Peter's compared to the other two parishes. The decline in saints' names in Banbury is demonstrated clearly in **figure thirteen** which shows the decreasing number of children baptised Frideswide between the start of the register in

³¹ Note that James Crabtree's first born son, Isaac, was baptised at St Nicholas in 1609 and Nathaniel and Zachariah were baptised at St Mary's in 1611 and 1613; William Froste's first child Daniel was baptised in 1612 at St Mary's. His other children after 1614 were baptised at St Peter's.

³² Monter, 'Historical Demography' pp.412-3; Karen E. Spierling, *Infant Baptism in Reformation Geneva: The Shaping of a Community, 1536-1564* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) p.141

1558 and the last use of the name in 1615. Frideswide had been an abbess in the nearby town of Oxford, and is latterly the town's patron saint.³³

Figure thirteen – Graph showing the decline in the use of the name Frideswide in Banbury 1558-1615



The registers for the two towns also reflect a further change in naming choices developing in this period, the use of grace names. These names are composed of two different types, descriptive names which denoted desirable virtues, such as ‘Temperance’ and ‘Patience,’ and also godly exhortations such as ‘Makepeace’ and ‘Hopestill.’ Although both types of names were relatively rare on the whole, the use of godly exhortations as names appears to have been popular in only a very few places. These names were criticised by contemporaries and used in the stereotyped satire of the Puritan. The historian William Camden, for example, commented on the new names such as ‘Free-gift, Reformation, Earth, Dust, Ashes, Delivery, More fruite, Tribulation, The Lord is Neare, More triall, Discipline, Joy againe, From above’ in his *Remaines of*

³³ For more information on the legend of St. Frideswide refer to www.newadvent.org/cathen/06303b.htm consulted 14 February 2008

a greater worke, concerninge Britaine of 1605, ‘which have lately beene given by some to their children with no evil meaning, but upon some singular and precise conceit.’³⁴

Ben Jonson used these types of name to satirical effect in *Bartholomew Fair*, where the main Puritan character was the Banbury brother, Zeal-of-the-Land Busy. In addition to Zeal-of-the-Land, there are other characters in the play with satirical names, for example the Puritan Dame Purecraft, her daughter Win-the-fight, who is married to John Littlewit and there is a Justice of the Peace named Overdo. The play also specifically refers to Puritan naming practices in one scene,

Quarelous - ...His Christian name is Zeal-of-the-land.

Littlewit – Yes, sir, Zeal-of-the-land Busy.

Winwife – How, what a name’s there!

Littlewit – Oh, they have all such names, sir; he was witness for Win here (they will not be called godfathers), and named her Win-the-fight. You thought her name had been Winifred, did you not?

Winwife – I did indeed.

Littlewit – He would ha’ thought himself a stark reprobate, if it had.

Quarelous – Ay, for there was a blue-starch woman o’the name at the same time...³⁵

This scene is interesting for two specific reasons. Firstly, we learn that it is Zeal-of-the-land who was the godfather or, rather, the witness of Win-the-fight and therefore chose for his goddaughter a grace name of the type of godly exhortation. Secondly, it is implied in Littlewit’s speech that all people in Banbury had grace names. In the course of *Bartholomew Fair* Jonson refers to other aspects of Banbury culture but it is unknown whether he visited Banbury. Patrick Collinson and Nicholas Tyacke have stressed that William Camden, Jonson’s friend and former school teacher, was likely to have been the influence on his use of names of this genre.³⁶ In Jonson’s *The alchemist*

³⁴ William Camden, *Remaines of a greater worke, concerninge Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, surnames, empresses, wise speeches, poesies and epitaphes* (London: 1605) p.33

³⁵ This extract is from Gossett ed. Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, Act 1: Scene 4, lines 123-134 p.54

³⁶ Tyacke, ‘Popular Puritan Mentality’ p.90; Patrick Collinson, ‘Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*: The Theatre Constructs Puritanism’ in David L. Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington eds. *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p.162; Rosalind Miles, *Ben Jonson: His Life and Work* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986) p.17

(1610) one of the separatist characters is named Tribulation, a name which is featured in Camden's commentary on naming.³⁷ Camden obviously knew of Banbury or had visited the town. He commented in his *Britain, or a chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes England, Scotland and Ireland* (1610) 'now the fame of this towne is for zeale, cheese and cakes.'³⁸ Significantly overlooked by Tyacke and Collinson, however, grace names were used in Banbury in this period, something Ben Jonson may have been satirising more directly.³⁹

Nicholas Tyacke's article, 'Popular Puritan Mentality in Late Elizabethan England' is the most detailed study of grace naming in England in this period.⁴⁰ In this work Tyacke discusses the use of 'Puritan baptismal names,' such as Flee-sin and Repent, in villages in East Sussex and along the Kentish border, what he refers to as the 'heartland of Puritan nomenclature.'⁴¹ He comments that with the exception of the area around Daventry, similar names do not appear to have gained a foothold. Tyacke found that these names were used in eighteen East Sussex parishes in the last two decades of the sixteenth century and in one of those parishes, Warbleton, more than half of the children baptised each year between 1587 and 1590 received 'Puritan names,' ninety three in total receiving these names from 1586-96.⁴² The proportion of children named with grace names is far greater in the parishes studied by Tyacke, particularly with

³⁷ Ben Jonson, *The alchemist* (1610); Camden, *Remaines of a greater worke* p.33; Collinson, 'Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair' p.162

³⁸ William Camden, *Britain, or a chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes England, Scotland and Ireland* (London: 1610) p.376

³⁹ Patrick Collinson in his article 'Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair: The Theatre Constructs Puritanism', p.162 mentions that 'it only slightly spoils the effect to admit that such peculiar names as 'Zeal-of the Land' were not much used in Banbury, being almost confined to certain parishes in East Sussex and to some parts of Northamptonshire, admittedly not a thousand miles away from Banbury.' In another article, 'What's in a Name?' p.113, Collinson reiterates this point, stating that, 'that any burgess of Banbury ever christened his son Zeal-of-the-Land is perhaps unlikely. He certainly would not have done in the 1560s and 1570s when the character Zeal-of-the-land Busy would have been born.'

⁴⁰ Nicholas Tyacke, 'Popular Puritan Mentality in Late Elizabethan England' in his *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) pp.90-110

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p.94

⁴² *Ibid.* pp.91, 93, 96, 103, 105. He does not discuss the use of Biblical names within his classification of 'Puritan names.' For a list of the names he does classify as Puritan names, refer to appendix two.

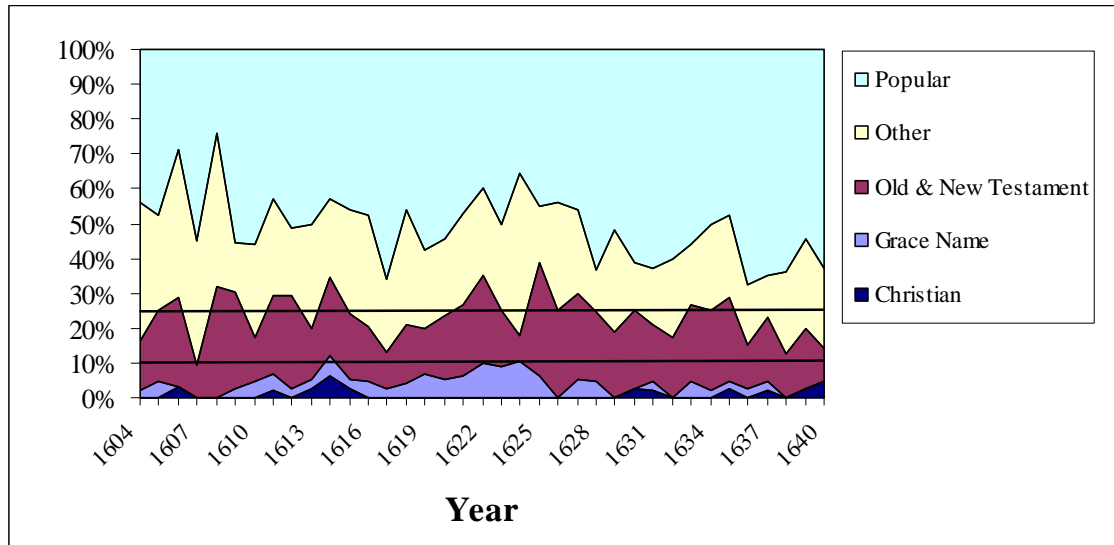
names of godly exhortations. Grace names, however, appear to have existed in smaller numbers in other parishes, and over a wider chronology than Tyacke's study shows. For example, David Marcombe in his study of Retford, Nottinghamshire, mentions the increase of names such as Faith, Grace and Prudence in the early seventeenth century, and historians have also found that similar names were used in the colonies of New England.⁴³ They can also be shown in Banbury and Nottingham.

Figures fourteen and **fifteen** chart the numbers of children baptised with grace names in both towns between 1570 and 1640. There is a much more discernable pattern to these name choices in Banbury. Although four girls received the names Innocence, Constance and Grace before 1600, the true popularity of grace names in Banbury appears to date from the baptism of the first Hopestill in 1604. Over the course of the period shown in the graph there were a total of fifty-six children who received such names and, significantly, these names were all given to girls. It is also important to note that within the grace name choices there are a mixture of virtue names and godly exhortations.⁴⁴ **Figure sixteen** shows the percentages of girls in Banbury between 1604 and 1640 named Christian, or with grace names, Old and New Testament names, the most popular names and other names. The line at the 10% mark shows that in some years in the 1620s 1 in 10 girls were named with grace names. The line at the 25% mark shows that when the percentages for grace names in Banbury are added to Old and New Testament names, a quarter of girls on average received names in these categories after 1604.

⁴³ Marcombe, *English Small Town Life* p.254; Coster, 'English Naming Systems' p.185; Gloria Main, 'Naming Children in Early New England' in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Volume XXVII, Number 1 (1996) p.17; Fischer, 'Forenames and the Family in New England' p.218; Scott-Banister, *Names and Naming* p.181; Tyacke, 'Popular Puritan Mentality' especially pp.94, 96, 103, 105; Bardsley, *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature* passim, especially pp.140, 142

⁴⁴ The virtue names used in Banbury were Grace (11 baptisms), Patience (9), Temperance (7), Constance (2), Innocence (2), Obedience (2), Prudence (2), Charity (1), Justice (1) and Silence (1). The godly exhortations included Hopestill (17) and Makepeace (1).

Figure sixteen – Graph showing the percentages of different categories of baptism name choices for girls in Banbury after 1604



Of the forty-five fathers in Banbury who gave their daughters grace names, thirty-eight named only one of their children with a grace name, and in five cases this appears to have been their only child. There were, however, seven families who named several daughters with a grace name. These included Henry Halhead who baptised a Hopestill, Patience, Grace and Temperance, Robert Lampery with daughters called Temperance, Patience and Silence, and Christopher Needle who named his daughters Obedience, Patience and Grace.⁴⁵ When not naming their children with grace names, parents of these children appear to have used a mixture of names, some using the more popular names, or family names, as well as Old and New Testament names. William Allen and his first two wives, Dorcas and Bathsheba, for example, had children called Elizabeth, Martha, William, Joshua, Hopestill, Mary and Bathsheba between 1615 and 1629.⁴⁶ In Nottingham, by contrast, at least sixty-two different fathers gave their children grace names and of those, only one used more than one grace name for their

⁴⁵ The others were Edward Basse with Patience (1625) and Obedience (1628); Thomas White with Justice (1619), Prudence (1621) and Temperance (1625); John Yates with Charity (1631) and Patience (1633); and John Turton with Hopestill (1623) and Temperance (1628). In Turton's will proved 11 February 1637 there is also a daughter called Patience mentioned.

⁴⁶ William Allen married Dorcas 12 November 1611. After her death in 1617 he married Bathsheba (Bethshua); BCR p.299

daughters. Furthermore, there were only a handful of these families where all of the other children received Biblical names.

In Nottingham grace names were found over a much longer period of time and, unlike in Banbury, were dominated by the name Grace, which made up 62% of these name choices.⁴⁷ The next popular name was Sense with 8 baptisms. As with the names in Banbury these were all given to girls. Compared to the choices in Banbury, categorising all these names in the Nottingham registers as ‘grace names’ is complicated. Sense for example is spelt in a variety of ways from Sence to Saince to Saint. Fortune is also problematic as a grace name since it cannot really be classed as a virtue, and Stephen Denison, curate of St Katherine Cree in London, mentioned in *The doctrine of both the Sacraments* (1621) that parents should not use ‘light names’ like Fortune or Rose.⁴⁸

Grace names have been discussed in many studies as a post-Reformation and more specifically a late Elizabethan, phenomenon, and one associated with Puritans or the godly. Some historians have noted, however, that some grace names were used prior to this period. Scott Smith-Banister, for example, has drawn attention to the use of Charity, Honour, Mercy and Worship earlier in the sixteenth century. George Redmonds claims that the name Grace had a much longer history, even if it gained popularity from about 1540. His charts of fourteenth-century names also regularly include the name Constance.⁴⁹ Innocent (Innocence) was also a popular Papal name. Whereas the godly exhortation names would appear to have been new in the late sixteenth century, the virtues were part of Catholic as well as Classical rhetoric, and therefore their appearance in earlier registers is not surprising. Here, however, it is

⁴⁷ Redmonds, *Christian Names* pp.152-3 comments that Grace was one of the more common grace names and, although it had a longer history than this period, it possibly helped other abstract nouns to become acceptable as names.

⁴⁸ Stephen Denison, *The doctrine of both the Sacraments: to witte, baptisme and the supper of the Lord... delivered in sermons* (London: 1621) pp.27-8

⁴⁹ Smith-Banister, *Names and Naming* p.181; Redmonds, *Christian Names* pp.32-3, 152-3

suggested that these names were re-appropriated in some quarters in the late sixteenth century and took on a new significance for godly families wanting to select names which provided their children, and particularly their daughters, with guidance on how to live their lives. Although the numbers of families using grace names were smaller in this and other studies, compared to the figures in Tyacke's study, families making such naming choices were therefore more distinctive, a point other historians have failed to recognise. Furthermore, even though in some families only one child received a grace name, the identity of other children in those families would to some degree be affected by association.

In the second part of the chapter attention will turn to why the godly may have adopted these more distinctive name choices in Banbury and the parish of St Peters in Nottingham. As indicated above, the godly were particularly concerned to diminish the spiritual role godparents had. Godly parents, it seems, played a greater role than most in naming their children, choosing names they felt would educate their children to live a godly life. A growing preaching and Bible-reading culture is likely to have influenced the choice of some of the names, particularly the more unusual Old Testament names. Similarly, an awareness of the virtues and the Ten Commandments provided ample material for some of the grace names. In addition, godly household manuals provided advice for appropriate name choices, in which not only were parents advised to choose a good name for their child, but guidance was given on the types of names to be chosen. It is this influence which will be discussed first, before looking at the role of the clergy and other social networks in the two towns.

In works of conduct literature and guides to baptism it was Biblical names which were widely encouraged. Other than William Gouge, with his suggestion of the name 'Prudens', quoted above, the ministers who mentioned naming in their sermons and tracts did not suggest any names in the category of 'grace names.' Robert Cleaver,

minister of Drayton, included a passage on naming in his well-known 1598 publication *A godlie forme of hovseholde government*. In a section describing the ‘duties of parents,’ Cleaver typically advised fathers to give their children

‘such names, as are named and commanded unto us in the holie scriptures, to the end that when they come to yeares of discretion, then by hearing those names may be excited and moved to follow the virtuous life and Christian conversation of those men and women, whose names they beare... and contrariwise to eschue and avoide those faults and vices, which are discommended in them’.⁵⁰

The idea was that the child would be influenced by the behaviour of the person whose name they shared, and others in turn may also be affected by their example.

Robert Cleaver was not the only minister to include details of naming practices in his tracts.⁵¹ William Gouge considered naming as part of his instruction on baptism in *Of domesticall dvties*. Like Cleaver he advised using names which had been given to people of good note, ‘whose life is worthy our imitation, as Isaac, David, Peter, Marie, Elizabeth.’ It is important to note that he also included in his list traditional names of ‘our owne ancestors and predecessors, to preserve a memorie of the familie’ and ‘names of the country which custome hath made us familiar, as Henry, Edward, Robert, William.’⁵² Stephen Denison, noted in his commentary on baptism that children should not receive ‘light names’ like Rose or Fortune, nor ‘heathen names’ like Caesar or Cicero, names which are too high such as Jehovah, Immanuel or Jesus, nor ‘notorious wicked persons from Scripture like Caine, Ishamel, Esau, Jeroboam and Jezabel.’ Instead he approved of the practice of giving children names according to the saints mentioned in Scripture, such as Abraham, Isaac, James, Peter, Jeremiah, Stephen, Mary, Sarah and Elizabeth. The reason he gave, as with Cleaver, was that

⁵⁰ Robert Cleaver, *A godlie forme of hovseholde government: for the ordering of private families, according to the direction of Gods word* (London: 1598) p.247

⁵¹ William Perkins also discussed naming in his *A direction for the government of the tongve according to Gods word in The workes of that famovs and worthy minister of Christ in the vniversitie of Cambridge, Mr William Perkins. The first volvme* (London: 1626) pp.444-5. He advised, for example, that men ‘must haue care to giue such names to children as are proper and fit, vsuall and knowne: the signification whereof may admonish them of the promises of God, of godlinesse, or of some dutie.’

⁵² Gouge, *Of domesticall dvties* pp.522-3

‘they would faine have them to imitate and to follow the way of good men and women, and to be stirred up to good, by the examples of them after whom they are named.’⁵³

The dating of the impact of grace and Old Testament names and the speed of change in Banbury and Nottingham also suggests a second more local influence, that of ministers. In his study of East Sussex and the Kentish border, Nicholas Tyacke found that ministers were the key influence in the local patterns of naming children due the names they chose for their own children and the networks existing between them.⁵⁴ Eric Carlson has also noted that following the arrival of Richard Greenham to the ministry of Dry Drayton, Cambridgeshire, children increasingly began to receive Biblical baptismal names, a pattern which diminished after his departure from the parish.⁵⁵ The potential influence ministers had on name choices is also highlighted by the disagreements that occurred in some parishes between minister and parent over the naming of children. Edmund Snape, a minister in Northampton, refused to baptise a child Richard after the child’s grandfather because it was not a Biblical name.⁵⁶ A case in Barnstaple in 1599 shows the opposite attitude, where John Symons tried to have his child named ‘Doe well’ but the minister chose instead to baptise the child John. Similar disagreements occurred in Geneva.⁵⁷

In Banbury, as shown in **figure eight**, the popularity of Old Testament names in the parish dated from the 1590s, when a combination lecture began between the

⁵³ Denison, *The doctrine of both the sacraments* pp.27-9

⁵⁴ Tyacke, ‘Popular Puritan Mentality’ particularly pp.92-95; Collinson, ‘What’s in a Name?’ p.116

⁵⁵ Eric Josef Carlson, *Marriage and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994) p.159; Jones, *Family Life in Shakespeare’s England* p.99 notes that names like Abigail, Ruth, Rebecca, Zachariah and Obadiah started appearing in Stratford when a Puritan faction was gaining power in the seventeenth century; similarly W.J. Sheils noted in his *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610* (Northampton: Northamptonshire Record Society, 1979) p.141 that the godly in several parishes all adopted the convention, often at the instigation of their pastors, of giving their children Biblical Christian names, which in itself marked them out from their fellow parishioners.

⁵⁶ Richard Bancroft, *Davngerous positions and proceedings, published and practised within this iland of Brytaine, under pretence of reformation, and for the presbiteriall discipline* (London: 1593) p.106; Sheils, *Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough* p.125

⁵⁷ Smith-Banister, *Names and Naming* p.28; W.G. Naphy, ‘Baptisms, Church Riots and Social Unrest in Calvin’s Geneva’ in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Volume XXV, Number 1 (1995) p.89

ministers of Banbury, Hanwell and Drayton. The potential influence of Robert Cleaver, minister of Drayton, and his published advice on naming has already been mentioned. Both Cleaver and John Dod, minister of Hanwell, used Biblical names for their own children, as did their successors Robert Harris and Henry Scudder.⁵⁸ As noted in chapter one, the ministers of Drayton and Hanwell had a close relationship with the parish of Banbury. John Dod, for instance, served as ‘surety’ to alderman William Knight’s daughter Naomi in 1597. The name Naomi was not shared by either the mother or any of the godparents, and this was the first time the name was used in the parish.⁵⁹ That being said, the principal influence in these naming patterns, particularly grace names, is likely to have been William Whately.

As lecturer and curate in the parish from 1605, and then minister from 1611 until his death in 1639, Whately was the individual who had the role of baptising children at the time when most children were baptised with grace names. As shown in chapter one, he was also a member of a Banbury family who held a strong presence in the town’s corporation, and who were involved in destroying the town crosses and campaigning to remove maypoles from the countryside around the town. He himself published many tracts of practical divinity. He was also the first person in the parish to baptise his daughter Hopestill on 21 December 1604.⁶⁰ Hopestill went on to be the most popular of the grace names in Banbury, used at seventeen baptisms, fifteen of which were after Whately became minister. The other names used by William and his wife Martha were

⁵⁸ Robert Cleaver’s children were baptised Samuel, Dorcas, Anne, John and Timothy; John Dod had children called John, Anne, Timothy, Nathaniel, Martha and Peter; Robert Harris had children called Malachi (baptised at Banbury in 1607), Rebecca, John, Thomas and Robert (baptised at Hanwell.) There are also baptisms of a Joyous, Gyles and Patience Harris between 1628 and 1634 in Hanwell, but the father’s name is not mentioned; Henry Scudder’s children were John, Nathaniel, Elizabeth, Samuel and Jane; the detail of the Drayton baptisms comes from Drayton’s register of births, marriages and deaths (ORO) MSS D.D. Par. Drayton St Peter d.1, and Mr Collin Harris transcribed, *Drayton St Peter, Oxfordshire, Parish Registers* (Oxford, 1989); the detail of the Hanwell baptisms comes from Hanwell’s register of births, marriages and deaths (ORO) PAR/122/1/R1/1 and b.1, and Mrs Vera Wood transcribed, *Hanwell St Peter, Oxfordshire, Parish Registers* (Oxford Family History Society, 1992)

⁵⁹ The other ‘suerties’ of Naomi were Anne Villers and Jane Fynnys, BBR p.48

⁶⁰ (ORO) MSS D.D. Banbury St Mary’s f.52r; BBR p.59; Bardsley, *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature* p.125, makes a note of this baptism but he spells the name incorrectly as Hopeful rather than Hopestill.

a mixture of Biblical and family names.⁶¹ Although Whately did not use grace names for all his daughters, the fact that he had a daughter called Hopestill and that the popularity of grace names in Banbury neatly coincides with his presence as curate and minister is suggestive of his acceptance, and perhaps encouragement, of grace naming amongst his congregation.

In Nottingham there was a notable increase in the use of Old Testament names from the late 1610s. Similarly, evidence of families using Biblical names for all their children only appears in St Peter's parish in the 1620s and 1630s, following George Coates' arrival as minister in July 1617. Richard Caldwell was also appointed the first official town lecturer in 1617, based in St Mary's parish. Both Coates and Caldwell were mocked as 'Puritans' in the two anti-Puritan libels performed in the town in 1615 and 1617.⁶² Although there are no records of any Coates or Caldwells being baptised in Nottingham in this period, it is possible that George Coates was the father of Grace Coates. Grace Coates married Richard Mirrian at St Peter's in 1627. They went on to name their children Elizabeth, Joseph, John, James and Sarah.⁶³ There are thus suggestions in St Peter's parish, at least, of the influence of ministers on naming practices within Nottingham.

Now to turn to the third influence, social networks within the towns. In Banbury and Nottingham, when fathers who used predominantly grace and/or Biblical names are looked at in more detail, some links between them emerge, in terms of status,

⁶¹ In order of baptism, William and Martha's children were, Hopestill, Solomon, William (baptised at Drayton in 1609), John (the name of William's brother), Thomas (the name of William's father), Joyce (the name of William's mother), George (the name of William's father-in-law, George Hunt.)

⁶² Refer to chapter one, pp.57-9 and chapter seven, pp.297-321 for more information on this.

⁶³ Grace Coates married Richard Mirrian on the 15 June 1627 at Nottingham St Peter's, recorded in NMR Peter p.24. There are marriages of other Coates recorded at St Peter's, including Thomas Coats and Jane Lansdalle 13 August 1619 (p.21); Edward Morson and Mary Coates, 10 June 1620 (p.21); James Mirrian and Isabel Coates 9 June 1628 (p.24); and Nehmia Cogges and Elizabeth Coates 17 November 1638 (p.28); George Coates married Cicely Gregory, widow of Marmaduke Gregory, as noted in an indenture dated 12 December 1625 between Cicely Gregory, widow, and George Coates minister, in consideration of their marriage (NRO) M13,865.

occupation and role in the urban government. Four of the fathers who used grace names and seven using Biblical names in Banbury were mayors at some point in their lives.⁶⁴ A total of twelve others had roles within the corporation such as aldermen, tithing men and constables, and five more had roles linked to the corporation, such as toll-gatherers, searchers and sealers of leather, or tasters.⁶⁵ They followed a range of occupations, from woollen-drapers and shoemakers to labourers and joiners but there were some shared occupations amongst them. Of the occupations that are known, there were for example eight shoemakers, four carpenters, three tailors and three woollen-drapers. One was a gentleman.⁶⁶ Of the fathers in Nottingham who used Biblical names, one was a mayor, two were aldermen and nine more held other roles in the corporation.⁶⁷ Their professions were equally varied, and some were also shared. For instance, seven were tailors, seven were cordwainers, four were tanners, three were coopers, and three were glovers. Four of them were gentlemen.⁶⁸

When looking at Banbury in more detail, it is very difficult from the baptism registers to gain a sense of how the popularity of grace and Biblical names may have spread within the town and whether the influence moved down the social hierarchy. As we have seen, William Whately was the first to use the name Hopestill. With the other grace names, Henry Halhead was the first individual to baptise a daughter Patience in 1614. He was the third person to baptise a Hopestill in 1610 and the third to baptise a

⁶⁴ These were William Allen, Henry Halhead, Organ Nichols, John Turton, John Austen, Edward Beale, William Knight, John Nichols, George Nichols, Robert Bentley or Pentelyn and Henry Showell.

⁶⁵ These bibliographical details have been taken from the Banbury baptism registers, surviving wills and also the 'Biographical Notes on Members and Officers of Banbury Corporation' BCR pp.299-330

⁶⁶ There were also three husbandmen, two glasiars, two saddlers and two ministers.

⁶⁷ This information is taken from Nottingham baptism registers, surviving wills, Bernard Clarke, 'Notes on the Mayors of Nottingham, 1600-1775' in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume 41 (1937) pp.34-75 and also the list of burgesses alive in 1625 (enrolled between 1567 and 1625) and complete list of burgesses enrolled 1626-1637 (CA 4649), as well as the list of mayors copied in the file indexing personnel and roles within the borough of Nottingham (NRO) entitled 'nottm burgesses, mayors etc.' The mayor was John James, and the aldermen were William Drury and Alexander Staples. Other corporation members were George Alesbrook, Thomas Barnes, John Barret, Gabriel Bateman, Nicholas Coulton, William Froste, Edward Goodwyn, William Parker and William Rocket.

⁶⁸ There were also two chandlers, two butchers, two feltmakers and two bakers.

daughter Temperance. Halhead was from a long-standing aldermanic family, and he had a career in the corporation from 1609, later becoming mayor in 1630. The first Obedience, however, was baptised by Christopher Needle. Little is known about him other than he did not kneel to receive the sacrament in 1613. He rented his cottage from John Kimbell, whose wife was involved in the statues' case in 1610. He later had daughters called Patience (1614) and Grace (1617).⁶⁹

What is clear is that many of the fathers using grace names in Banbury were among the more wealthy social groups, several with roles in the corporation. The use of Biblical names was more common and socially widespread, yet there were also several from among the social elites who favoured this naming pattern. It should be noted, however, that these names were not given by all fathers who were members of the corporation in either town, nor from all fathers within the more-elite families. These names were given by couples of a variety of professions and wealth. Of the defendants in the Banbury crosses case, for example, who were all mayors around the turn of the seventeenth century, Thomas and Richard Whately did not use any distinctive names at all. Most of their children were, however, baptised before the start of the lecture by combination in the parish and the resultant growth in Biblical name use. Of the other defendants, John Gill's children were called Mary, Susannah, Edward and Sarah.⁷⁰ Henry and Mary Showell's children were called Margaret, Richard, Elizabeth, William, Jane, Joane and Henry between 1580 and 1590, and then Mary, John, Isaiah and Nathaniel between 1593 and 1600. William and Elizabeth Knight's children were, however, among the most distinctive in the parish, named Mary, John, Deborah, Jonathan, Naomi, Bezaleel, Elizabeth, William, Barzillai, Mary and Abigail between

⁶⁹ BBR pp.69, 71, 75, 76, 80; BCR p.308; will of John Kimbell proved 26 April 1620; (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31, September 1613; Peyton, *Presentments* p.209; (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan papers c.94, libels and articles undated ff.98r-99v

⁷⁰ Thomas Whately's children were baptised Joane, Robert, William and John between 1583-1588, Richard Whately's children were baptised Elizabeth, Edward, William and Dorcas between 1577-1593; BBR; BCR pp.271 and 272

1588 and 1616. Nicholas Tyacke found a similar socio-economic spread of fathers naming their children with grace names, but also commented that often they were from among the more wealthy families.⁷¹

Wills for Banbury inhabitants can also be used to show connections between some of the families in the town who used distinctive names, indicating a shared religious culture. William Lucas, a baker, who had a daughter called Hopestill, bequeathed money to the children of Robert Sowtham and one of his overseers was alderman William Allen. A daughter of the same Robert Sowtham was called Grace, and William Allen also had a daughter called Hopestill.⁷² John Goodwin, a tailor, who served the corporation as constable, married Frideswide Lamprey and they baptised the first Temperance in the parish in 1610. A few years later a Robert Lamprey, who served the corporation as taster, had daughters called Temperance, Patience and Silence.⁷³ A William Claridge baptised a Hopestill in 1619 and a Henry Claridge had sons called Isaac and John, and daughters called Hopestill and Mary.⁷⁴ William Boulter, a shoemaker, married Elizabeth Perrin and they had a daughter called Temperance in 1623. A William Perrin, saddler, had a daughter called Hopestill in 1622. Similarly, Edward Bridges married Alice Dudley and they had a daughter Hopestill in 1634 and a Matthew Dudley baptised a Constance in 1635.⁷⁵

Richard Newman, a shoemaker used Biblical names for his children. One of his sons, Thomas, also a shoemaker, did the same. His other son John had a daughter called Temperance. Both sons had roles in the corporation. Richard Newman's will

⁷¹ Tyacke, 'Popular Puritan Mentality' pp.93, 97-8, 101-2. He noted that of the earliest Sussex laity to adopt the names, some were yeomen, others husbandmen. Although there were only 14 families where the status is clear he shows that puritans and non-puritans were similar in socio-economic terms.

⁷² Will of William Lucas proved 30 May 1638

⁷³ Marriage of John Goodwin and Frideswide Lamprie, 16 October 1604 in BMR p.36; it is likely that Frideswide and Robert were related since Robert baptised a son Henry and although his own baptism is not registered, Frideswide's father was called Henry and she was baptised in Banbury in 1585.

⁷⁴ Will of Henry Clarage proved 27 April 1635

⁷⁵ Marriage of William Boulter and Elizabeth Perrin, 27 June 1615 in BMR p.48; marriage of Edward Bridges and Alice Dudley 12 Oct 1620 in BMR p.53

was witnessed by Henry Halhead, later an alderman, who also had daughters with grace names. William Sprigg, another witness, used Biblical names.⁷⁶ Finally, alderman John Nichols, who used Biblical names for his children, was the uncle of Joanne Nichols. She married alderman John Turton and had daughters with grace names. His will names aldermen John Austen and William Knight, and the minister William Whately as ‘loving’ friends. Austen and Knight used distinctive, Biblical names for their children, and Whately had a daughter called Hopedstill. John Nichols’ second wife was the widow Mary Pym. Mary and John Pym had also used Biblical names for their children.⁷⁷

Further examples of relationships between families who adopted a distinctive, godly practice in naming their children can be found in presentments to the peculiar court in Banbury. Two of the individuals brought to court in 1610 for removing statues from the outside walls of St Mary’s in Banbury, William Samon and Ann Sharpe, were among those who used Biblical names. William Samon’s children were called Thomas, Priscilla, Ann, Gamaliel, Job and John. Ann and her husband Henry Sharpe’s children were called Daniel, Hannah, Bethshua (Bathsheba), John, Martha and Zachariah.⁷⁸

Henry Sharpe was a bookseller. Ann Sharpe was also accused of refusing to kneel at

⁷⁶ Will of Richard Newman proved 2 July 1619; Richard Newman had children called John, Thomas, Samuel and Ann between 1595-1604; Thomas Newman had children called Ann, Thomas, Benjamin, Samuel and Mary between 1628-1640; John Newman had children called Richard, Temperance and John between 1626-1635. (His second wife was called Christian); Henry Halhead had children called Alice, Ann, Mary, John, William, Hopedstill, Patience, Grace, Temperance and Samuel between 1601-1624; William Sprigg had children called Joshua, Rebecca, Hester, Caleb, Seth, Jonathan, Sarah and William between 1618-1633; for the Newmans and Henry Halhead’s careers in the corporation, see BCR pp.308, 316

⁷⁷ Will of John Nichols proved 29 June 1631; John Nichols had children called Mary, Susan, Gamaliel, Dorcas and Sarah between 1595-1610; John Turton had children called Samuel, Alice, Sarah, William, Mary, Hopedstill, Temperance between 1611-1628. Turton’s will, proved 11 February 1637 also names children called Elizabeth, Martha and Patience; John Austen had children called John, Joseph, Samuel, Hannah and Mary between 1607-1623; William Knight had children called Mary, John, Deborah, Jonathan, Naomi, Bezaleel, Elizabeth, William, Barzillai and Abigail between 1590-1615; William Whately had children called Hopedstill, Solomon, William, John, Thomas, Joyce and George 1604-1618; Mary and John Pym had children called Mary, John, Elizabeth and Samuel 1600-1611; John Turton was alderman from 1631-2 until his death in 1636. He was mayor at the time of his death. For more information on John Turton, John Nichols, John Austen and William Knight see BCR pp.300, 313, 316, 324.

⁷⁸ The case of the removal of the church statues is discussed in detail in chapter six pp.270-276; the records of the case are found in (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 libels and articles undated ff.98r-99v

Communion in 1621, a charge frequently committed by the godly in Banbury, something which will be discussed chapter five. Others presented in 1621 were Manasses Plumber, who had a daughter called Hopestill, and the wife of William Allen, who also had a daughter called Hopestill.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, those who had been presented for not kneeling in 1613 included William Hosiar and Bartholomew Strong's wife, both who used Biblical names, and Christopher Needle, who gave three of his daughters grace names.⁸⁰

Similar connections and indications of a shared religious outlook can be seen in Nottingham. Many of the fathers who gave all or most of their children Biblical names lived in St Peter's parish. In 1638, following the erection of an altar rail in the church of St Peters, forty-five parishioners refused to take their Communion at the rail, some commenting that this was because there was now 'more than indifference put to it.'⁸¹ Fourteen of the families involved in this case baptised all, or almost all, of their children with Biblical names. (Refer to **figure seventeen**.)

Connections between the individuals presented in 1638 will be discussed in more detail in chapter five, but here it is important to note a few connections between those who also chose Biblical names for their children. George Cranwell, a linen draper, baptised his sons Samuel, Joseph and Thomas. His will also names four step-daughters, Elizabeth, Abigail, Mary and Sarah, and mentions that James Chadwick was a loving friend. James Chadwick, a gentleman, formerly of St Mary's, used Biblical

⁷⁹ This case is discussed in more detail in chapter five, pp.218-220; the records of the case are found in (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.41; Peyton, *Presentments* p.215

⁸⁰ This case is also discussed in chapter five, pp.218-220; the records of the case are found in (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31; Peyton, *Presentments* p.209; William Hosiar had children called Steven, John, Samuel, James, Nathaniel, Thomas, Timothy and Christian between 1596-1615; Bartholomew Strong had children called Sarah, Hanniell, Nathaniel, Zachariah and Mary between 1597-1609; Christopher Needle had daughters called Obedience (1611), Patience (1614) and Grace (1617).

⁸¹ This case will be discussed in detail in chapter five, pp.225-231; the names of those involved are listed in appendix six; detail of the case is found in (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.511-2; (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/21 p.67; and (NMSS) Presentments St Peter's AN/PB 303/583 and AN/PB 303/585

names for his children. His wife Petronell refused Communion at the rail in 1638.⁸² Thomas Lawson received a bequest in the will of Marie Lawton. He and his wife Anne also both refused Communion at the rail and used Biblical names for their children. Other recipients in Marie Lawton's will included her adopted son, Robert Nichols, and his wife Ursula. They also used Biblical names and both refused Communion in 1638. Marie Lawton also left £3 for the minister George Coates, 30s to the poor annually, and chose Robert Troupe as overseer.⁸³ Robert Troupe, a clerk of St Peter's, had sons called Joshua and Jonathan. He also received a gift in the will of Dennis Caulton. Caulton requested a funeral sermon from George Coates, and also left bequests for Latimer Walker, John and Anne Drewry and Elizabeth and William Drewry. These individuals gave Biblical names to their children, and Latimer Walker, John Drewry and Elizabeth Drewry refused to take Communion at the rail. It is likely that John and William Drewry were brothers.⁸⁴ It is likely that William and Roger Riley, who both used Biblical names and refused Communion, were also brothers.⁸⁵ This strong evidence of close personal and familiar connections between some of the individuals who chose grace and/or Biblical names for their children suggests another influence on naming culture in the town. It also shows the importance of familial and friendship networks in godly culture, something which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

⁸² Will of George Cranwell proved 6 March 1628

⁸³ Will of Marie Lawton proved 9 October 1634

⁸⁴ Will of Dennis Calton proved 18 May 1640; William the son of Thomas Drewrie was baptised at St Peter's in 1594 and John the son of Thomas Drewrie was baptised at St Peter's in 1597

⁸⁵ (NRO) parish register St Mary's PR 2019 refers to baptism of Roger (1598) and William (1599), sons of George Ryley. Roger is registered as a tanner in the burgess rolls dated 1620-1 and William in 1623-4. The will of Ann Ryley proved May 1642 refers to sons called Roger and William and grandchildren with similar names to those mentioned here.

Figure seventeen – Table showing the names used by some parents in St Peter’s parish in Nottingham who refused to receive Communion at the altar rail in 1638

PARENTS’ NAMES	CHILDREN’S NAMES IN ORDER OF BAPTISM	PERSON NOT KNEELING
Elizabeth & William Bailey	Elizabeth, Martha, Abigail, Ruth	William Bailey
James Chadwick	John, James, Daniel, Samuel	Petronell, wife of James Chadwick
John & Anne Drewry	Joseph, Martha, John, Rebecca, Hannah, Sarah	John Drewry
William & Elizabeth Drewry	John, Mary, William, Sarah, Thomas, Susanna	Elizabeth Drewry
Francis & Christian Hall	Christian, John, Thomas, Mary, Joseph, Hannah, Luke	Christian Hall
Thomas & Anne Lawson	Mary, Daniel, Esther, Jonathan, Joseph	Thomas & Anne Lawson
Philip & Anne Martin	Prudence, Mary, Samuel, George, Philip	Anne Martin
John & Mary Mason	John, Elizabeth, Samuel, Thomas, Hannah	Mary Mason
Robert Nichols	Mary, Joseph, Samuel	Robert Nichols and his wife, Ursula
Roger & Elizabeth Riley	Steven, Sarah, Elizabeth, George, Mary, Susanna, John, Samuel, Anne	Roger Riley
William & Mary Riley	John, Luke, Joseph, Daniel	William Riley
Robert & Susanna Tailor	Mary, Martha	Susanna Tailor
Latimer & Margaret Walker	Samuel, Latimer, Mary, Sarah	Latimer Walker
Edward & Anne White	Mary, Steven, Sarah, Samuel	Edward & Anne White

There are two further themes which emerge from the discussion of name choice in this chapter. The first is the gendered division of name choices and what the choice of girls’ names can show us about the nature of godly culture in Banbury and Nottingham. The second is how name choices could contribute to a godly identity and how they show godly religiosity to have been performative.

Firstly, although in some other studies grace names have been found to have been used for boys as well as girls, in Banbury and Nottingham grace names were only

given to girls.⁸⁶ The records for some families also show a clearly gendered division of name choice for their children. For example, in Banbury all of Robert and Dorothy Lamprey's daughters received grace names, Temperance, Silence and Patience, while the boys received a mixture of family and other names, John, Henry, Nathaniel and Robert. Virtue names were probably seen as more appropriate for girls. Piety and charity were virtues frequently connected with female identity, something reflected in accounts given in 'godly lives,' but women were also seen as the weaker vessel, in need of guidance and education.⁸⁷ As we have seen above, conduct book writers advised that through the choice of a good name, the child would be influenced by the behaviour of the person whose name they shared. Names were thus seen as a means of guidance and education.

Furthermore, women did not preserve family names in marriage, and their upstanding feminine virtues and chaste reputation were vital in their making a good match.⁸⁸ Grace names reflect the language of domestic conduct literature, which stressed the importance of a wife's obedience to her husband, her silence and her chastity.⁸⁹ As Robert Cleaver wrote,

'it is to be noted, and noted againe, that as the prouision of household dependeth onelie on the husband: euen so the honour of all dependeth onely on the woman.'⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Tyacke, although not discussing gender specifically, cites examples in 'Popular Puritan Mentality' of grace names being given to boys and girls, for example Obedient Fuller, Zealous Luff and Much-mercy Hely were boys, p.92; Smith-Bannister, *Names and Naming* p.181 mentions that grace names were mostly given to girls but cites Innocent, Hopestill, Obedience and Godly being given to boys as well as girls; Main, 'Naming Children in Early New England' p.17 notes that these names were rarely bestowed on boys; Redmonds, *Christian Names* pp.152-153 notes that virtue names were usually given to girls but cites that Grace and Patience were sometimes given to boys.

⁸⁷ Anthony Fletcher, 'Prescription and Practice: Protestantism and the Upbringing of Children, 1560-1700' in Wood ed. *The Church and Childhood* p.341; Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007) pp.17-19

⁸⁸ Peters, *Patterns of Piety* p.5; Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) p.226; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Woman, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) p.2

⁸⁹ For example, Cleaver in *Hovseholde government* wrote 'silence is the best ornament of a woman' (p.106) and a 'husband must love his wife for her virtues; as for her shamefastnesse, modestie, chastity, diligence, patience, faithfulness, temperance, secrecie, obedience, & such like Christian qualities and graces of God' (p.172)

⁹⁰ Cleaver, *Hovseholde government* p.171

Biblical characters were frequently used in contemporary texts to provide models for female behaviour.⁹¹ This may account for the popularity of names such as Susannah, famed for her chastity, and other Biblical figures who provided role models for the good wife and mother, such as Sarah and Martha.⁹² Some Biblical characters including Esther, Rebecca, Susanna and Bathsheba were also popular subjects of ballads, and regularly appeared on decorative items in the domestic interior, such as embroidery and painted cloths.⁹³

The importance of choosing appropriate names for girls is shown clearly in Dorothy Leigh's 1616 publication, *The mother's blessing*. Leigh addressed her tract to her three sons George, John and William.⁹⁴ In it she included a section advising her sons to 'giue their children good names.' Mirroring advice in other conduct literature, she explained

'for though I doe not thinke any holinesse to be in the name, but know that God hath his in euery place, and of euery name; yet I see in the Bible it was obserued by GOD himselfe, to giue choyse names to his children which had some good signification. I think it good therefore, to name your children after the names of the Saints of God, which may bee a meanes to put them in mind of some virtues which those Saints vsed; especially, when they shal read of them in the Bible.'⁹⁵

⁹¹ For example, an anonymous woman was praised as being 'a Sarah for obedience, Rebecca for wisdom, Mary for piety, Martha for housewifery, a true Lydea, she heard, and God opened her heart, that she attended to those things she heard. A true Dorcas, full of good works' in *The house of mourning* (1640) quoted in Eric Josef Carlson, 'English Funeral Sermons as Sources: The Example of Female Piety in Pre-1640 Sermons' in *Albion* 32, Volume 4 (2000) p.582; Peters, *Patterns of Piety* refers to the tomb of Dame Dorothy Selby at Inghtham (Kent) built in 1641, who was described as being 'in heart a *Lydia*, & in tongue a *Hannah*, in zeale a *Ruth*, in wedlock a *Susanna*, prudently simple, providently wary, to the world a *Martha* and to Heaven a *Mary*' p.227

⁹² Peters, *Patterns of Piety* pp.224, 234, 251 and 327; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers* p.2

⁹³ Peters, *Patterns of Piety* pp.246-7

⁹⁴ Dorothy Leigh, *The mother's blessing: or, the godly counsel of a gentlewoman not long since deceased, left behind for her children* (London: 1616) reprinted in Sylvia Brown ed. *Women's Writing in Stuart England: The Mothers' Legacies of Dorothy Leigh, Elizabeth Joscelin and Elizabeth Richardson* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999) pp.3-87. Leigh's work went through 7 editions in the first 5 years of publication, Peters, *Patterns of Piety* p.251; Dorothy Leigh was a gentlewoman. She wrote her tract to ensure that her sons received the religious instruction that it was the parents' duty to provide, in case she died prematurely. Although addressed it to her sons, she decided to publish the text and share her maternal advice with a wider audience. Other matters discussed in the text include advice on Sabbath observance, the proper and improper use of worldly wealth, the choice of a good wife and how to care for children. For more information see Brown, *Women's Writing in Stuart England* pp.4-6

⁹⁵ Leigh, *The mothers blessing* p.27

The names she chose for her grandchildren were Philip, Elizabeth, James, Anna, John and Susanna. Although she chose male and female names, she only discussed the girls' names in detail, particularly Susanna, in which she praised her chastity. She claimed,

'I thinke it meete, that good names bee giuen to all women, that they might call to minde the virtues of those women whose names they beare: but especially aboue all other moral Vertues.'⁹⁶

Finally, what role did names play in collective godly identity? By using grace names or some of the less common Old Testament names, families within Banbury and Nottingham were distinctive in their choices, and those who carried such names stood out within their communities. But did parents make these choices in order to be distinctive and to distinguish themselves and their children from others within the congregation? Philip Benedict in his study of Rouen found that there were marked differences in name choices amongst the Huguenot and Catholic population. Across the confessions the most popular names for boys and girls were Jean and Marie respectively and the names of the apostles and New Testament figures were found in both. Names of Saints were, however, overwhelmingly Catholic, whereas the Huguenots favoured Old Testament names, where 50% of names had a Hebrew origin. After the St Bartholomew's Day's Massacre in 1572, when the Huguenots were keen not to stand out too distinctively within their communities, the baptism registers show a reduction in Old Testament names chosen, and an increase in what he calls 'religiously neutral' names like Jacques and Pierre in place of names like Abraham and Isaac.⁹⁷ How far did the choice of grace and Biblical names represent a similar desire for the godly to set themselves apart from, and possibly set an example to, the wider community in Banbury and Nottingham?

⁹⁶ Ibid. pp.27, 30; she explained that Susanna provided a good role model, 'for who so is truly chaste, is free from idlenesse, and from all vaine delights, full of humility, and all good Christian virtues: who so is chaste, is not giuen to pride in apparel, nor any vanity, but is always either reading, meditating, or practising some good thing which she hath learned in the Scripture' p.27

⁹⁷ Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* pp.104-6, 149

The dating of these naming patterns in Banbury and Nottingham is perhaps significant here. Their increased use suggests a growth in the confidence of the godly populations of both towns, their growing dominance in Banbury, and expanding minority in Nottingham. These names became popular in Banbury at the time when connections between the ministry and magistracy were getting stronger, the town had a lecture by combination, and the magistrates were asserting their power by cleansing urban spaces of what they saw as vestiges of Catholicism, such as maypoles and market crosses, something which will be discussed in more detail in chapter six. The town's urban elite and ministry were among some of the most fervent supporters of these new fashions for naming. The names in Nottingham became popular after the first appointment of a permanent town lecturer and a godly minister to the parish of St Peter's, both in 1617. It also occurred during a decade when the godly felt confident enough to publicly libel two of their enemies, something which will be discussed in chapter seven. Despite their enemies reciprocating with libels of their own, the godly of Nottingham continued to advertise their particular identity and perform before an audience.

Although names were not mentioned in the mocking of Puritans in the Nottingham libels, fashions for naming children with distinctive names, particularly grace names, were seen by some observers as a desire to be perceived as more religious than their neighbours. As demonstrated earlier, naming practices were incorporated into the characteristics of the stereotyped, hypocritical Puritan on the stage. The choice of grace and Old Testament names demonstrates a way in which godly religiosity was seen by outsiders as being performative. John Earle when mocking his 'shee precise hypocrite' drew attention to the fact that she favoured good Biblical role models for her daughters. She was said to 'rayle' 'at other women with the name of Iezabeth and

Daliah: and calls her own daughters Rebecka and Abigail and not Anne but Hannah.’⁹⁸

This cultural difference between the choice of Anne and Hannah highlights a reason why the godly were seen as being precise or puritanical. It also shows why naming mattered or was seen to matter to the godly within contemporary society.

By choosing to name their children with names to encourage them towards virtuous and godly behaviour, either by giving their daughter a virtue name or choosing a Biblical character whose behaviour the child was encouraged to imitate, the parents, or even the godparents, were making an active choice which did not follow the more traditional pattern of naming a child after their godparents or even family members. Not strictly following these more traditional naming patterns, godly name choice would appear to have been affected by other factors including the clergy, family-specific cultures of naming, as well as the influence of the wider network of the godly community, which in turn created their own distinctive cultural patterns.

There were a mixture of social and religious motivations for the choice of baptism names and different families appear to have placed emphasis in different areas.⁹⁹ The discussion here has not suggested that all of those who could be counted amongst the godly chose to name their children in such an overtly pious way or that those who did were godly.¹⁰⁰ It is one way of capturing the godly community of the two towns, among others. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, William Gouge in his list of names ‘as be fit and beseeming Christians’ included a list of more traditional names,

⁹⁸ John Earle, *Micro-cosmographie. Or, a peece of the world discovered; in essayes and characters* (London: 1628) H7r

⁹⁹ Smith-Banister, *Names and Naming* p.152 emphasises that the importance of family names and the role of godparents meant that names were not freely chosen; Coster, *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship* pp. 176, 179; Davis, ‘The Popularity of Late Medieval Personal Names’ p.104

¹⁰⁰ Collinson in ‘What’s in a Name?’ comments that ‘there is no doubt that puritans came close to insisting on Biblical names,’ p.117 and in Tyacke’s study, ‘Popular Puritan Mentality’ he finds 100 families at Warbleton who were consistent in their choice of baptism names, 42 families choosing consistently ‘Puritan’ names and 58 chose consistently non-Puritan names, p.96.

such as Henry and Robert, as well as advocating Biblical names choices.¹⁰¹ William Whately is the perfect example of this, with his offspring named using a mixture of the names of close family members, Biblical characters and grace names. As Robert Cleaver concluded his passage on naming advice in *A godlie forme of hovseholde government*, ‘wee have to remember’ that children named after Scriptural characters,

‘are not any thing the better, because they have such godly and Christian names, unlesse that they doe imitate and follow them in faith, virtue and godly behaviour... So on the other side, they that bee not called by such Christian names as are mentioned in the sacred scripture, are not in respect of their names anything the worse, having assumed faith in the merits of Christ his death, passion and blood shedding, and leading their lives agreeable to the same.’¹⁰²

In other words, names could not be seen to confer grace upon a person, grace was God-given. Instead names were seen to be able to stir people towards grace, through influencing their behaviour. This passage from Cleaver highlights the tension between belief, appropriate behaviour and the danger of hypocrisy, and links back to the introduction and the signs of assurance the godly looked for in the performance of piety in their lives and the lives of others. When matched with virtuous and godly behaviour, a godly, Christian name could be seen to confirm a godly identity. It could also be seen to confirm the hollowness of their performance as perceived from without.

This study of baptism names contributes to the wider discussion of godly performance, showing that godly culture was not merely individualistic but collective, and that the family was vitally important. It highlights the importance of godly education and discipline within the godly household and shows the extent to which religion could affect social choices, suggesting a way in which religion could divide communities in an easily observable way. It shows how religious and cultural practice changed over time and how new cultures developed as godly communities gained in confidence in the two towns. Finally, it also suggests a dominant role played by

¹⁰¹ Gouge, *Of domesticall dvities* p.522

¹⁰² Cleaver, *Hovseholde government* pp.247-8

ministers in fostering changes to godly culture and that aspects of godly culture were gendered, threads which will be drawn out throughout discussion in this thesis.

Chapter Three

The Godly Household

Godly conduct literature emphasised that the family was to be a ‘little commonwealth’ and the household a ‘little church.’¹ The household was to be both a place of discipline and education, where God’s word was expounded, meditated upon and replicated in the lives of its inhabitants. Borrowing the phrase ‘the godly household’ from Robert Cleaver’s well-known tract, *A godlie forme of hovsholde government: for the ordering of private families, according to the direction of Gods word* (1598) this chapter looks at how advice given in conduct literature was reflected in the lives of parishioners in Banbury and Nottingham. Following on from the themes of the previous chapter, it looks at the more private performance of godly culture and how religion informed social choices connected with the household, both as a place and the people who inhabited it.

It will begin by exploring contemporary manuals of godly household government and texts of practical divinity, in particular those by Banbury’s William Whately and his close associates, Robert Cleaver and John Dod, for what they tell us about the ideal expected of the godly in the religious culture of their households. Other texts will be used in collaboration with the work of these three but it is suggested that as their work made a significant contribution to the body of conduct literature produced in this period more generally, it is also likely to have had some effect within Banbury itself. Interpreting the reality of the godly household is much

¹ Robert Cleaver, *A godlie forme of hovsholde government: for the ordering of private families, according to the direction of Gods word* (London: 1598) p.13; William Gouge, *Of domesticall dvities, eight treatises* (London: 1622) p.18; John Dod and Robert Cleaver, ‘First sermon on Zech. 12. verse 10.11 &c.’ in their *Three godlie and fruitful sermons* (London: 1610) p.50; Patrick Collinson, ‘The Protestant Family’ in his *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988) p.60

more difficult, and the divergence of the lives of the godly in practice from the literary model is something which has been highlighted by several historians.² In the second part of the chapter various themes advocated in the conduct literature of this period will be explored through surviving records for Banbury and Nottingham to show, where possible, the religious culture practised in households in the two towns.³ This will begin by discussing a unique testimony of domestic life and religious practice in Banbury written by a Dutch visitor to the town, Willem Teellinck. Three themes will then be drawn out from the sources for more detailed discussion, book-ownership and readership, clothing and attitudes towards material culture, and choices of marriage partners, servants and wider social networks. Within these themes other domestic religious practices such as prayer, Psalm-singing and sermon repetition will also be discussed where relevant. Individual piety, meditation and self-examination were an

² Collinson, 'The Protestant Family' pp.83-4; Anthony Fletcher, 'Prescription and Practice: Protestantism and the Upbringing of Children, 1560-1700' in Diana Wood ed. *The Church and Childhood, Studies in Church History 31* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994) p.325; Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) pp.26-7, 269; Jacqueline Eales, *Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 2003) p.11; Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell 2007) p.7

³ This will not cover all possible themes. For example, when discussing material culture the focus is on clothing, and themes like fasting, which have been examined, for example by Patrick Collinson in his 'Elizabeth and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture' in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996) pp.32-57, will not be discussed in any detail; for other work on the religious culture of the godly household refer to other essays in Durston and Eales' edited *The Culture of English Puritanism* and also other work by Patrick Collinson, such as *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), particularly chapter six, 'Voluntary Religion: Its Forms and Tendencies' pp.242-283, his 'The Godly: Aspects of Popular Protestantism' in his *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983) pp.1-18, and his 'The English Conventicle' in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood eds. *Voluntary Religion, Studies in Church History 23* (1986) pp.223-59; Andrew Cambers, *Print, Manuscript and Godly Cultures in the North of England c.1600-1650* (D.Phil, University of York, May 2003); Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988); Margo Todd, 'Puritan Self-fashioning' in Francis J. Bremer ed. *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Sixteenth Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993) pp.57-87; Diane Willen, 'Communion of the Saints: Spiritual Reciprocity and the Godly Community in Early Modern England' in *Albion 27*, Number 1 (Spring, 1995) pp.19-42; Jacqueline Eales, 'Samuel Clarke and the 'Lives' of Godly Women in Seventeenth Century England' in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood eds. *Women in the Church, Studies in Church History 27* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991) pp.365-376

important part of godly religiosity.⁴ The focus here, however, is less on interior religiosity and more on the collective piety of members of the godly household and how their religious practices were shared with close friends.

Works on domestic piety and the godly household were immensely popular in the post-Reformation period, although the market had been expanding in the years before the Reformation. Amongst some of the most popular publications in the early seventeenth century were Robert Cleaver's, *A godlie forme of hovseholde government*, which went through nine editions between 1598 and 1624, and his collaboration with John Dod, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements*, of which at least nineteen editions were published between 1603-1662.⁵ William Whately also produced several works of conduct literature, including *A bride-bush*, based on a wedding sermon, which went through three editions between 1617 and 1623.⁶ Dod, Cleaver and Whately joined other writers of conduct books and works of practical divinity, such as William Gouge and Richard Greenham, in advising their audience to marry those like-minded in religion and to educate their children and servants in the fear of God. They were to study the Bible and live by its

⁴ See for example Todd, 'Puritan Self-Fashioning' passim; M.M. Knappen, *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries by Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward* (USA: American Society of Church History, 1933); Joanna Moody ed. *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Ltd. 1998); Paul Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth Century London* (London: Methuen, 1985); Peter Lake, 'Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The 'Emancipation' of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe' in *Seventeenth Century Journal*, Volume 2 (1987) pp.143-165

⁵ Robert Cleaver, *A godlie forme of hovseholde government: for the ordering of private families, according to the direction of Gods word* (London: 1598); John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements, with a methodicall short catechisme, containing briefly all the principall grounds of Christian Religion* (London: 1604); Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p.347 and also their works are listed in the appendix to Green's work, covering a 'sample of best-sellers and steady sellers first published in England c.1536-1700' pp.594-672

⁶ William Whately, *A bride-bush, or a wedding sermon; compendiously describing the duties of married persons: by performing where of, marriages shall be to them a great helpe, which now find it a little hell* (London: 1617); Jacqueline Eales, 'Gender Construction in Early Modern England and the Conduct Books of William Whately (1585-1639)' in Robert Swanson ed. *Gender and Christian Religion, Studies in Church History 34* (1998) p.163

example, reflecting godliness in their daily conduct, in both their behaviour to one another and through other aspects of their lives. These included the material culture of their households, their Sabbath observance, the names they gave their children and how they prepared for death. As Samuel Hieron, minister of Modbury in Devon, stated, the Bible should give ‘direction for his apparel, his speech, his diet, his company, his disports, his labour, his buying and selling, yea and for his very sleepe.’⁷

The godly household was to be a ‘little church,’ where religion was performed, God was both served and feared, and his word read, heard and embraced.⁸ It was a place where the family individually and collectively prayed, discussed the Bible, and prepared for, and reflected upon, the lessons of the sermon. As Stephen Egerton, minister of St Anne’s Blackfriars in London advised ‘we are to reade and meditate in private with others if wee may fitly, and by ourselves upon that place of scripture that is to be handled in the publike assemblie.’⁹ Similarly, William Whately explained in *Gods hvsbandry* that the true Christian ‘satisfieth not himselfe in having heard the sermon, unlesse hee have chewed the cud, and considered if those things were so and examined himselfe by that rule.’¹⁰ The household was also a place for religious instruction. The minister or curate was supposed to organise catechism for the unlearned in the parish, in which to educate them in the basic principles of faith, so that

⁷ Samuel Hieron, *The dignitie of the Scriptvre, together with the indignitie which the unthankfull world offereth thereunto* (1613) in *All the sermons of Samvel Hieron, minister of Gods word, at Modbvry in Devon* (London: 1614) p.72

⁸ Dod and Cleaver, ‘First sermon on Zech. 12. verse 10.11 &c.’ p.50

⁹ Stephen Egerton, *The boring of the eare*, quoted in Cambers, *Print, Manuscript and Godly Cultures* p.72

¹⁰ William Whately, *Gods hvsbandry, the first part. Tending to shew the difference betwixt the hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian* (London: 1619) p.69

‘he or she should be better able to understand the teachings of the Bible, the arguments of the preacher, the significance of the sacraments, and the role of the individual in church life.’¹¹

Godly household manuals encouraged parents to teach their children at home in addition to sending them to catechism classes in church. Catechising could take place more regularly in the household by educators who were more knowledgeable of the specific needs of their pupils. As Robert Cleaver explained,

‘it is not enough to bring children (and servants) to be catechised at the church, but thou must labour with them at home after a more plain and easier manner of instruction.’¹²

The godly family was compared by Robert Cleaver and William Gouge to a ‘commonwealth,’ ‘by the good government whereof, Gods glorie may be advanced.’¹³ Conduct books at length explained the duties of each member of the household in turn: husbands, wives, children and servants.¹⁴ Within their advice, writers tended to stress the divisions between the public duties of husbands and the private, domestic duties of wives. That being said, couples were to command mutual love and respect and support each other in domestic matters. Men were to lead religious education in the household. Robert Cleaver explained how the father of the household should ‘set an order in his house for the service of God’¹⁵ Women, however, had a specific role in catechising servants and children. Samuel Clarke, for example, wrote of Margaret Corbet that ‘her great care and endeavour was to set up God in her family.’ She took notes during sermons and used them to catechise her servants. Her servants then

¹¹ Ian Green, *The Christian’s ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530-1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) p.43

¹² Cleaver, *Hovseholde government*, p.46; Gouge, *Of domesticall dvities* pp.537-542; Green, *The Christian’s ABC* pp.204, 209

¹³ Quote taken from Cleaver, *Hovseholde government* p.13; a similar statement was made by William Gouge in *Of domesticall dvities* p.18 that ‘a family is a little church, and a little commonwealth, at least a lively representation thereof.’

¹⁴ This structure is applied, for example, in Cleaver’s *Hovseholde government*, Gouge’s, *Of domesticall dvities* and by Thomas Gataker in *Marriage dvities briefly covched together out of Collossians 3. 18, 19* (London: 1620); Gowing, *Domestic Dangers* p.25

¹⁵ Cleaver, *Hovseholde government* p.43

repeated what they had learned to her husband.¹⁶ Women also had a responsibility for the moral reputation of the household, something indicated in chapter two.¹⁷ William Gouge explained how husbands and wives could help forward the growth of grace in each other ‘by their mutuall practice and example: making themselves to each other a patterne of pietie.’¹⁸ This pattern of piety could also be of influence to children and other members of the household, to steer them on a path to godliness.

The duties of each member of the household stretched to gesture and behaviour as well as to religious exercises. A well-governed household was one in which all the inhabitants performed their inward godliness outwardly. As William Whately wrote in *The new birth*,

‘you shall not be confirmed of the inward man, if you doe not keepe your selues somewhat short in outward liberties of the body, about profit, pleasure, food, attire, and the rest of these bodily and sensuall matters.’¹⁹

Clothing, food and other household contents were to reflect godliness in the same way that bodily comportment and behaviour were.

Turning to Banbury and Nottingham, the collective aspects of godly piety and the role of education and discipline within the household are clear within the ideal model provided in contemporary literature. The fact that three of the most well-

¹⁶ From ‘The Life of Mrs Margaret Corbet’ in Samuel Clarke, *A collection of the lives of ten eminent divines, famous in their generations for learning, prudence, piety and painfulnesse in the work of the ministry* (London: 1662) pp.506-7; Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* p.265; Anthony Fletcher, ‘The Protestant Idea of Marriage in Early Modern England’ in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts eds. *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p.170; Susan Amussen, ‘Gender, Family and the Social Order’ in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson eds. *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) p.201

¹⁷ Eales, ‘Gender Construction in Early Modern England’ p.173; Eales, *Women in Early Modern England* pp.10-11, 25, 94; Margo Todd, ‘The Spiritualized Household’ in her *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) pp.98, 105, 106; Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p.198; Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in Early Modern England, 1500-1720* (London: Routledge, 1993) p.40; Flather, *Gender and Space* p.17; R.C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North-west England: A Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972) pp.105-6

¹⁸ Gouge, *Of domesticall dvities* p.243

¹⁹ William Whately, *The new birth or a treatise of regeneration, delivered in certaine sermons* (London: 1622) p.157

known writers in this genre had their ministries in and around Banbury had potential influence for the godly culture of Banbury's inhabitants. A text published by Willem Teellinck, the leading advocate of the Dutch Further Reformation, provides unique detail of the workings of this godly household ideal in practice on Banbury. In the preface to his Dutch translation of one of William Whately's manuscripts, *Corte verhandelinge van de voornaemste Christelicke oeffeninghen*, Teellinck praised the religious life of Banbury's inhabitants, which he had discovered during a nine-month stay in the town in 1604. This text was then reused in the preface to his *Huys-boeck* in 1636, with additional praise that in Banbury fathers ensured their families carried out their Christian duties faithfully on working days as well as appropriately sanctifying the Lord's Day.²⁰ Most of his text is about the citizen's family with whom he stayed in Banbury. Teellinck does not name the family but it is likely that this was the family of Thomas Whately, father of the minister William Whately, with whom Teellinck maintained a friendship after his return to Zeeland.²¹

Teellinck described how on a daily basis the whole family, including the servants, prayed and read a chapter from the Bible before work. When they returned

²⁰ The forthcoming detail of Willem Teellinck's impression of religious life in Banbury comes from the preface to his Dutch publication, *Huys-boeck, ofte Eenvoudighe verclaringhe ende toe-eijgheninghe, van de voornaemste Vraeg-stucken des Nederlandtschen Christelijken Catechismi* (Middelburg: 1636) p.3. Published English translations of parts of the preface to this text are found in Kevin L. Schucking, *The Puritan Family: A Social Study From the Literary Sources* (London: Routledge, 1969) pp.57-8 and G.M. Alexander, 'Banbury Zeal' from *Changes for the Better*, Volume 2 (offprint) (Osset : Zoar Publications, 1978) pp.66-8; I am also grateful to Willem J. op't Hof for sending me the unpublished first draft of his article, 'The Eventful Sojourn of Willem Teellinck at Banbury in 1605' which summarises the text on p.8 and Annemie Godbehere for sending me her unpublished translation of a chapter on 'Teellinck's Life' from Dr W.J.M. Engelberts, *Willem Teellinck* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Ton Bolland, voorheen H.A. van Bottenburg B.V, 1973) which has a translation of the preface on pp.6-8. Other background to the text is found in J.R. Beeke, 'Willem Teellinck (1579-1629)' in *The Banner of Sovereign Grace Truth*, Volume 11, Number 3 (March 2003) pp.72-3; Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c.1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) p.27; Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: a History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982) p.360

²¹ It is likely that Teellinck stayed with a family of relatively high social status. It is perhaps unlikely this was the home of William Whately himself since he only married in 1602 and received his MA from St Edmund Hall in 1604, the year of Teellinck's visit; Op't Hof, 'The Eventful Sojourn of Willem Teellinck at Banbury in 1605' p.11

home for lunch at midday, they would kneel together in prayer and read another chapter from the Bible. Grace was said before lunch, and during the meal discussion centred on the chapters which they had heard, and the family shared any problems or questions which were concerning them. Before returning to work, they sang a Psalm together. At dinner this ritual was repeated. At the end of the day, each member of the family reflected on the day's events and individually prayed to God. The family were said by Teellinck to be attentive listeners at weekday sermons and on special occasions they would devote extra time to prayer and fasting.

Teellinck explained in his account that the citizen's family worked a five-day week and their Saturday was spent preparing for the Lord's Day. On Saturday afternoons, the servants and children were catechised. Early on the Sabbath, the family gathered together in prayer and read a chapter of the Bible. They made sure they arrived at church in plenty of time and took notes during the service. After the service they would sing a Psalm together, before retreating to individually prepare for the afternoon sermon. The family then reconvened in the evening to discuss the sermon. The servants and children were questioned on what they remembered and together the family discussed any points of the sermon which particularly applied to them. When going for a walk, they sought the company of a person who was able to expound a Psalm or a chapter. The family supported, encouraged and disciplined each other. If a member of the family was felt to be acting inappropriately they would be reproved by other family members until they displayed signs of repentance.

Although his text focuses on the religious practices of the family with whom he stayed in 1604, Teellinck emphasised that similar activities were practised by many families in Banbury. He explained that on the Sabbath, the town was quiet with people occupied in godly exercises. As you passed by houses you could hear Psalms

being sung, where people were praising God and edifying one another. People did not speak of ‘vain worldly things’ on the Lord’s Day and if there were any disturbances in the town, Teellinck claimed, the culprits were soon reprimanded by the authorities. Christian conduct in Banbury, he argued, was so convincing that no Roman Catholics or other sectarians were living there.²²

Teellinck included these passages in order to encourage the ‘sincere hearts’ of the ‘Christian families of the town of Middleburg,’ to whom his tract was dedicated, to ‘follow the Christian way of life as I found it during the yeares while I stayed abroad, especially in Banbury.’²³ It is significant that he used Banbury as a model with which to influence his Dutch audience. The description of household religion in Banbury is reminiscent of the godly life promoted by works of practical divinity which leads us to approach the detail of the domestic life of Banbury’s godly with caution. That being said, Teellinck included this detail in the preface to his work rather than in the main body, a place where writers frequently added asides from personal experiences. Furthermore, Teellinck was directed to Banbury through godly connections and the recommendation of Arthur Hildersham. It is likely that he chose the town because of its reputation as a godly town and the network of preachers operating in its vicinity. He was so taken with the town that he stayed for nine months and maintained a correspondence with William Whately after his departure.²⁴ William Whately in his biography, written by his brother-in-law Henry Scudder and friend Edward Leigh, was especially praised for characteristics which were evocative of the detail in Teellink’s description:

²² Godbehere, ‘Teellinck’s Life’ p.7

²³ Ibid. p.6

²⁴ Op’t Hof, ‘The Eventful Sojourn of Willem Teellinck at Banbury in 1605’ pp.5-7; for relationships within similar clerical networks and evidence of foreign students visiting England see Graeme Murdock, ‘The Experience of Peter Kőrmendi: Foreign Calvinist Students’ Contact with Presbyterians and Puritans in England’ in M. Balázs, Z. Font, G. Keserő, P. Ötvös ed. *Művelődési törekvések a korai újkorban, Adattár* 35 (1997) pp.433-451

'His manner was daily morning and evening to call his family together, and to read a Psalme or chapter in the scriptures, and to pray with them and oft to catechise them; besides his constant prayer morning and evening with his wife and also constantly alone by himself. He did set apart private dayes of humiliation for his family upon speciall occasions and oft times before their preparation for their due receiving of the Lords Supper. He was much in dayes of private fasting and humbling himselfe before God alone.'²⁵

Although spiritual biographies also followed their own conventions,²⁶ there are suggestions that Teellinck's tract may have been a relatively accurate representation of some households in Banbury.

It is now important to turn to other sources to show evidence of the godly household ideal in practice in Banbury and Nottingham. The first of the themes to be discussed is book-ownership. As works of practical divinity advised, and as Teellinck's text represents, the godly were encouraged to regularly study the Bible, both as individuals and families, and to make it a pattern for their lives. Wills and inventories for Banbury and Nottingham provide some indication that there were inhabitants who owned and are likely to have read the Bible and other religious texts. Between 1580 and 1650, a total of 83 individual book-owners are recorded in Banbury. In Nottingham, only two inventories survive over the course of this period. One of these, the inventory of the minister George Coates, refers to a 'librarie of books with the tables and all other implements' worth £80 in 1640. There are nineteen further book-owners revealed by their wills.²⁷

²⁵ Edward Leigh and Henry Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death*, attached to William Whately, *Prototypes or the primarie precedent presidents ovt of the booke of Genesis* (London: 1640) A4v; for more information on Henry Scudder refer to appendix one; for more information on Edward Leigh see John Sutton's article on Edward Leigh in the DNB. He was in Banbury in the 1630s, and his daughter Anne was baptised by William Whately 15 May 1638.

²⁶ Patrick Collinson, 'A Magazine of Religious Patterns: An Erasmian Topic Transported in English Protestantism' in his *Godly People* pp.499-527 has argued this point most strongly; others have, however, highlighted their usefulness as sources for the behaviour and practices of some individuals, see for example, Eric Josef Carlson, 'English Funeral Sermons as Sources: The Example of Female Piety in Pre-1640 Sermons' in *Albion* 32, Volume 4 (2000) pp.567-8; Lake, 'Feminine Piety and Personal Potency' p.143

²⁷ Inventory of George Coates taken 15 December 1640 (NRO) DDTs 17/3; copy of will of George Coates dated 19 July 1636 (NMSS) AN/M3/2/103

Due to better records, the known occupations and wealth of the book-owners in Banbury provide more scope for assessment than those in Nottingham. As might be expected, many of the owners, although not all, came from the more-wealthy in society. Their professions are wide-ranging, including gentlemen, surgeons and ministers, but also blacksmiths, labourers and a shepherd.²⁸ Of the total, twenty two had had a role within the corporation at some point in their life. Of the sixty-eight book-owners who left inventories only 18% owned goods worth less than £10 and 82% owned goods worth £10 or over. 15% owned goods worth more than £100. Furthermore, of the thirty-one inventories which divide objects by rooms, seven houses had four or fewer rooms, five had five or six rooms, but fourteen had more than seven rooms, also denoting a degree of wealth on the part of most of the recorded book-owners.

Although many wills and inventories do not name or categorise the books they mention, they show that the Bible was the most common book owned in both towns. In Nottingham, seven of the twenty recorded book-owners owned a Bible. In Banbury, forty-eight individuals owned a total of fifty-nine Bibles between them. Other religious texts that are mentioned in Banbury include Psalm books or Psalters, owned by four testators, ‘testaments,’ ‘a booke of martyrs,’ presumably John Foxe’s martyrological work *Acts and monuments* and ‘Mr Dod’s book,’ as well as two books called ‘learn to live’ and ‘learn to die,’ which were bequeathed in a will of 1644.²⁹

²⁸ The spread of occupations of book-owners in Banbury, taken from the wills and inventories: Unknown (10), Gentleman (8), Shoemaker (6), Widow (5), Glover/fellmonger (4), Husbandman (4), baker (4), Yeoman (4) Minister (4), Tanner (3), Surgeon (3), Tailor (2), Currier (2), Blacksmith (2), Woollen-drapeer (2), Mercer (2), Labourer (2), Miller (2) Weaver (1), Smith (1), Shepherd (1), Servant (1), Saddler (1), Milliner (1), Mason (1), Victualler (1), Ironmonger (1), Alderman (1), Gentlewoman (1), Gardener (1), Clerk (1)

²⁹ These other named books are found in the following wills and inventories: the will of Robert Gascoyne, written 1 May 1644; the inventory of Isaiah Showell of Banbury, taken 19 June 1622 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 51/1/38, copied in E.R.C. Brinkworth and J.S.W. Gibson eds. *Banbury Wills and Inventories, Part Two, 1621-1650*, The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 14 (1976) (hereafter BW2) p.18; the inventory of Henry Dudley, dated 21 June 1619 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 36/3/1, copied

One Nottingham will refers to ‘my greatest written book of God,’ although this is also likely to be the Bible, and in 1597 William Piggen left his *Book of Common Prayer* to the parish church of St Nicholas ‘there to remaine and be to the use of the said church.’³⁰ Some key texts which were popular amongst the godly are included in this selection, such as works of practical divinity, including a work by John Dod, Foxe’s *Acts and monuments* and Psalm books.

It is likely that the surviving wills and inventories largely underestimate the number of book-owners and readers in Banbury and Nottingham in this period.³¹ In the first place we do not have wills and inventories for all the occupants of the two towns. Some of the wills and inventories qualify books with descriptions such as ‘my biggest Bible’ or even ‘my old worst Bible,’ implying that the individuals counted here may have owned more than one Bible. In addition, it should be noted that all goods that were present in a house were not necessarily itemised in an inventory, nor did book-owners always name books specifically as bequests in wills. Books were likely to have been included in the unspecified remainder of the testator’s goods left to their wives or executors at the ends of their wills.

in BW1 p.294; the inventory of Thomas Middleton taken 9 November 1644 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 46/2/19, copied in BW2 p.153; will of William Shorte, minister, written 19 February 1616/17; inventory of Alice Taylor dated 10 April 1632 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 52/4/11, copied in BW2 p.98

³⁰ The will of William Jonson, written 7 March 1611; the will of William Piggen proved October 13 1597; the will of Alice Butler, proved 8 July 1654 (NA PROB 11/234) included a bequest of ‘my great booke of all perkins workes.’

³¹ Other historians note similarly low figures. Jeanne Jones in her *Family life in Shakespeare’s England: Stratford-upon-Avon, 1570-1630* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1996) p.65 mentions that in the sixteenth century, books are only recorded in 4 wills and inventories, but recorded 14 times in the seventeenth century; Patrick Collinson in his essay, ‘Cranbrook and the Fletchers: Popular and Unpopular Religion in the Kentish Weald’ in Peter Newman Brooks ed. *Reformation Principle and Practice: Essays in Honour of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens* (London: Scolar Press, 1980) p.188 mentions that only 20 out of 138 Cranbrook inventories between 1565-1612 mention a Bible among the content of the household; by contrast, Peter Clark in ‘The Ownership of Books in England, 1560-1640: The Examples of Some Kentish Townsfolk,’ in Lawrence Stone ed. *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1976) p.98 comments that in Canterbury, although less than 10% of inventories referred to books in the 1560s, by the 1580s this was over 25%. Over 1/3 inventories mentioned books by the 1590s.

It is now important to give some thought to the use of these texts within the household. In two of his works which were dedicated to his parishioners in Banbury, William Whately encouraged them to read his sermons, stating,

‘I am willing (you see) to renew your content, by offering the same things now to your eyes that formerly to your eares; that the serious (and I hope) often reading of what you but once heard, may instruct you better, and ground you further in this necessary doctrine.’³²

This suggests that Whately felt there was a local readership for his work. This is further suggested by the fact that several of Whately’s works were not only dedicated to Banbury’s inhabitants but they were produced for the town’s two booksellers, Henry Sharpe and Edward Langham.³³

It is difficult to gauge from numbers of book-owners and numbers of books owned what, if, how, when, why, and by whom books were read. However, wills and inventories do provide some information about the qualitative value of books and suggestions of their use. The choice of recipient for books in wills is something which will be explored in more detail in chapter four. Some owners in both towns referred to their Bibles in positive terms such as ‘my great Bible’ or my ‘new Bible,’ suggesting that Bibles were used and replaced. More descriptively, Martha Whately, the widow of the minister William Whatley, referred to three Bibles in her will of 1641. The first was ‘my great Bible which I usually used.’ The second, ‘my little Bible,’ was possibly the book she took with her to church. The third was described as ‘my Bible which is in Collingborne,’ the parish of her brother-in-law, the minister Henry Scudder, and formerly the living of her father.³⁴ Furthermore one family Bible

³² This quote comes from Whately *The new birth*, A2r, but similar sentiments are expressed in William Whately, *Sinne no more, or a sermon preached in the parish church of Banbury on Tuesday the fourth of March* (London: 1628) A3v

³³ Whately’s *Sinne no more* and *Prototypes* were published for Edward Langham’s book shop and editions of Whately’s *Gods hvsbandry, the first part*. (1619) and *The new birth* (1619) were produced for Henry Sharpe’s book shop; for more detail refer to chapter one p.39 and also appendix one.

³⁴ Will of Martha Whately of Banbury, proved 23 December 1641

from a Banbury inhabitant still survives. Edward Russell signed the Bible in 1646 declaring that he ‘owneth this Bible.’ In it he recorded his and his wife’s birth dates. It is also signed by successive owners.³⁵

Another indication of the use of books is given through looking at where they were kept and how they were displayed.³⁶ In his life of John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford in Cheshire, William Hinde explained that Bruen removed card and dicing tables from his house,

‘both to prevent these mischiefs and to exercise the minds and hearts of his own family (and such as might by occasion come to his house) unto godlinesse and good things. To which end hee brought in, and set up upon a deske, both in his Hall and in his Parlour, two goodly faire Bibles of the best Edition and largest Volume... and these he placed to be continuall residentaries, the bigger in the Parlour, and the lesser in the Hall (as the holy tables of the Covenant of God, instead of the profane tables of the men of the world) wherein men of good minds might exercise themselves in reading and hearing the Word of God, for their farther edification and comfort, as their life and leisure would serve them thereunto.’³⁷

This quote is significant in the symbolic meaning of having the Bible on show in the house ‘to exercise the minds and hearts of his own family (and such as might by occasion come to his house) unto godlinesse and good things’ and the idea that not just the family but other ‘men of good minds’ might read it.³⁸

The positioning of the books both in the hall and the parlour, rooms which received collective use, is also significant. The hall was more public, as the main reception room in the house, and the parlour to some extent more private, for the use of the family, although its use depended on the size of the house. Of the Banbury

³⁵ ‘Family Bibles’ in *Cake and Cockhorse*, Volume 3, Number 5 (Autumn, 1966) p.78

³⁶ Ian Green in *Print and Protestantism*, for example, notes that some individuals had special places to keep their Bibles, such as particular shelves or in a Bible box p.79

³⁷ William Hinde, *A faithful remonstrance of the holy life and happy death, of John Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford, in the County of Chester, Esquire* (London: 1641) pp.123-4

³⁸ Wilfred R. Prest, *The Rise of the Barristers: A Social History of the English Bar, 1590-1630* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) pp.227-229 gives an example of one barrister displaying the Bible upon a table for ‘public relations purposes’ to attract godly clients, and an example of another who kept the Bible, Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* and ‘other books of Protestant piety’ for the edification of his clients; Ian Green *Print and Protestantism* p.79

inventories that mention the rooms where books were kept, fifteen mention the hall, three the parlour, and four the study. Aside from these, nine other different rooms or chambers were mentioned as holding books. In most cases, the books appear to have been kept in rooms for communal activity.³⁹

Although it is impossible to rely completely on the evidence provided in inventories, the objects listed alongside books in some inventories suggest that they were frequently used. Thomas Halhead, for instance, kept his books in the hall with his wearing apparel; Thomas Crowder's Bible was kept along side his brass and pewter; and John Jackson's books were kept along side his clothes, his instruments and 'other implements belonging to his art' (he was a surgeon.)⁴⁰ Although often books are mentioned in inventories alongside apparel, in a few cases it is implicit that the books in Banbury were kept in boxes or trunks rather than on display. The gentleman John Bayley's books were recorded 'in an old coffer,' Elizabeth Knib's Bible was mentioned alongside a chest and a trunk and William Shipton's inventory reads 'three books and a box.'⁴¹

These details suggest that in some households the Bible and other religious texts were in fact read and, as Teellinck inferred, Psalms were actually sung, by their occupants. Indeed, the ownership and use of religious texts can also be built into the wider pattern of the lives of individuals to indicate their godly identity. This is something that will be done throughout the thesis. To take one example, John

³⁹ Two inventories mention books in the chamber over the buttery, two the chamber over the parlour, one the chamber, one the little chamber, one in the middle chamber, and also the chamber next to the street, the chamber over the entry and the 'other chamber;' see also Clark, 'The Ownership of Books in England, 1560-1640' pp.103-4 for a similar discussion of where books were kept.

⁴⁰ Inventory of Thomas Halhead taken 10 April 1639 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 41/3/43, copied in BW2 p.132; inventory of Thomas Crowder undated but exhibited 18 April 1628 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 34/4/48 copied in BW2 p.62; inventory of John Jackson dated 31 May 1609 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 43/3/11 copied in BW1 p.201

⁴¹ Inventory of John Bayley exhibited 1 July 1618 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 32/4/68 copied in BW1 p.265; inventory of Elizabeth Knib dated 30 June 1639 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 44/4/8 copied in BW2 p.138; inventory of William Shipton dated 3 August 1639 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 51/2/34 copied in BW2 p.139

Newman was a shoemaker by trade, with a related role in the corporation as searcher and sealer of leather. He was a wealthy man with goods amounting to £104 10s 5d in his inventory dated 1637. His inventory shows him in possession of three Bibles, along with other 'small books' worth £1 3s 4d. From other records of his life in Banbury we know that he was accused in 1626 of attempting to have one of his children baptised without godparents. His wife, Christian, was also accused the same year of going abroad without being churchd. They had a daughter called Temperance.⁴² Of course Bible ownership cannot always be taken to denote a godly household or godly individuals but the records about John Newman and others suggest that in some cases Bible-owners were among the godly and that reading religious literature may have impacted on the domestic choices of those individuals.⁴³

Now to turn to the second theme of the godly household in Banbury and Nottingham, as well as reading and reflecting on the Bible, the godly were to interpret its lessons within their own lives. One aspect of this was in choices about consumption. The focus of discussion here will be clothing. Clothing, like other aspects of the material culture of the household in early modern England was imbued with both social and moral meaning, two meanings which it is difficult to separate. The limited evidence of clothing worn in this period in Banbury and Nottingham and the difficulty in interpreting the little evidence which does survive means that discussion here will also turn to other sources, including prescriptive literature and stage satire. This section will be divided into three parts. The first will look in more detail at some of the contemporary advice on appropriate clothing. It will be argued

⁴² Will of John Newman, written 29 December 1636 and inventory taken 22 February 1637 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 47/2/5 copied in BW2 p.120; (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16 f.5v, dated 3 January 1626; Bawdy Court p.67; baptism of Temperance Newman on 28 January 1627 in BBR p.98

⁴³ Collinson, 'Cranbrook and the Fletchers' p.188 mentions one man in Cranbrook who owned a Bible was in trouble with the church authorities for allowing dancing in his house on Sunday and, subsequently, for calling the vicar who denounced him in church a 'knave;' a similar point is made in Clark, 'The Ownership of Books in England, 1560-1640' p.98

that the fact that contemporary conduct literature frequently discussed clothing suggests that an appropriate, moral and godly way of dressing was widely understood by contemporaries.⁴⁴ Secondly, this section will explore evidence of real clothing from the wills and inventories of inhabitants in Banbury and Nottingham. The third part will look at the use of clothing in the satire of the Puritan and what that can tell us about godly attitudes to clothing and whether the godly were sartorially distinctive in the communities in which they lived.

The social and economic symbolism of clothing was something which had been behind sumptuary legislation, passed throughout the sixteenth century but not renewed after 1604. Sumptuary legislation was an attempt to restrict certain fabrics and styles of clothing to specific social ranks and ensure people did not step outside their prescribed boundaries.⁴⁵ There was widespread concern over extravagance in dress as a disruption of 'good order' expressed in social satire, plays, ballads and other tracts and sermons during this period, something in part precipitated by the expansion of the textile market in England in the sixteenth century and the so-called 'new draperies.'⁴⁶

Clothing also held moral significance, something demonstrated clearly in contemporary conduct literature. Tracts of practical divinity from this period are littered with prescriptions on the provision and correct use of material culture in the household. Writers argued that moderation, modesty, decency, cleanliness and

⁴⁴ These arguments have been discussed in more detail in Katie Wright, *A Looking-glass for Christian Morality? Three Perspectives on Puritan Clothing Culture and Identity in England c.1560-1620* (MPhil(B) thesis, University of Birmingham, 2004), particularly in the chapter 'Protestant Clothing Ideology and Puritan Culture' pp.12-40

⁴⁵ N.B. Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England' in D.C. Coleman and A.H. John eds. *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F.J. Fisher* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1976) pp.132-165; William Hooper, 'The Tudor Sumptuary Laws' in *English Historical Review*, Number 30 (1915) pp.433-449

⁴⁶ Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) pp.13-15, 44-47; this was both through improvements in domestic cloth production, and a new range of imports from abroad.

sobriety were key to displaying godliness in clothing. Clothing was to provide no visual temptation for others. This worked against the sins of pride, covetousness, vanity and sexual immorality. Although writers gave advice for both men and women, because of the association between clothing and questions of morality, much of the focus was on female attire. Robert Cleaver, for example, suggested that women, in dressing their heads and their body ‘with such comely apparel as best beseemeth their calling...may draw on other women to reforme themselues in this behalfe.’⁴⁷ It is noteworthy here that Cleaver uses the idea of ‘reform’ through ‘comely’ clothing. Contemporary definitions of ‘moral clothing’ were seen as a standard by which a godly man or woman could be judged. For example, Cleaver included ‘the apparel’ in his list of six means to recognise a godly man or woman. He argued, ‘a modest man or woman, are for the most part knowne by their sober attire.’⁴⁸ Similarly, Arthur Dent, advised his readers in 1607 to imitate the clothing of the most ‘godly, wise, graue and modest men and women... for who better can iudge what is comely, sober and modest, than they?’⁴⁹

John Dod also commented on clothing in *The bright star* of 1603, based on the Ten Commandments. He wrote that

‘to have meat and drinke, and apparel, is a thing common to reprobates, but to have these things and the right use of them also in joy and comfort and thankfulness, this is a speciall favour, and a thrift not common to many.’⁵⁰

The ‘right use’ of them was to keep within the bounds of God’s given social status, to dress your person and your house as would be appropriate for your rank, and if anything below your rank but never above. For women this meant dressing in

⁴⁷ Cleaver, *Hovseholde government* p.249

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* pp.103, 108

⁴⁹ Arthur Dent, *The plaine mans path-way to Heaven: wherein every many may cleerly see, whether he shall be saved or damned. ... The ninth impression* (London: 1607) p.51

⁵⁰ John Dod, *The bright star which leadeth wise men to our Lord Jesus Christ: or a familiar learned exposition of the Ten Commandements* (London: 1603) p.76

clothing which was appropriate to their father's, and then their husband's, rank. Writers of practical divinity thus adhered to the social conventions attached to clothing. Dod argued in favour of status being reflected in clothing, but that,

'in no estate or degree, may one be so excessive as to hinder him from good workes of mercie and religion, that one should bestow so much time in trimming the bodie as he can have no time for trimming his soule, and bestowe so much cost in rich apparel as hee can spare nothing to bestowe on poor servants.'⁵¹

The arguments and advice of John Dod, Robert Cleaver and indeed William Whately were typical of many writers of conduct books and works of practical divinity in this period.⁵² That these three wrote such texts is, as noted above, significant for the culture of the town of Banbury. In Whately's 1628 tract, *Sinne no more*, which followed a fire which had devastated the town a few weeks earlier, clothing and other aspects of domestic material culture were directly related to the sins of covetousness, pride and a desire for riches in the town. Whately told his parishioners not to weep at all for their loss of possessions but 'for your sinnes of your soules.'⁵³ Rhetorically he asked,

'wherein hath the Lord smitten vs? In our houses and in our goods... without all question the Lord intends hereby to warne you of those sins and discords, which are busied about this paultry of riches of the world wherein he saw it fit to visit you.'⁵⁴

He criticised those who spent too much money on 'proud and vaine-glorious vses' such as 'ouer-gorgeous trimming of your bodies and houses' and advised the people of Banbury to 'be richer in good workes then in good clothes, and good house-hould stufte, and good fare, and good building.' In these things, he argued 'equall your selues with them of the lower sort that in better things you may be equall with them of

⁵¹ Ibid. p.57

⁵² For more detail refer to Wright, *A Looking-glass for Christian Morality?* pp.12-40

⁵³ Whately, *Sinne no more* p.6

⁵⁴ Ibid p.38

the higher.’⁵⁵ Like John Dod he was not suggesting that social rank should not be displayed in material culture, only that it was important not to be extravagant.

Moderation was the key. As he had written in his 1623, tract, *Mortification*,

‘austereness is not necessary to mortification, moderation is. To goe woolward, or in haire cloth is a foolish destroying of the body; to go in less costly attire then one might is a due keeping under of the body.’⁵⁶

Although there is no evidence of what was preached in Nottingham in this period, the sins of pride and extravagance in dress were enacted by the possessed apprentice William Sommers, and interpreted by the preacher and exorcist John Darrell, in the town in 1597. It was reported that in his possession ‘was shewd the deadye sinnes of pride.’ In his fits Sommers demonstrated some of the key fashions of the day, which were widely ridiculed in contemporary satire. These included starched ruffs, ‘with the manner of clappinge them and setting them,’ and the wearing of farthingales and cork shoes. The fashion for women wearing ‘frisselled’ hair high above their heads and men with their ‘longe heare lying upon their shoulders, and the pride and glorie they tooke in wearing it’ were also enacted. The pride wearers took in these fashions was mocked, but also the sexual immorality suggested in the display of extravagance and the wearing of garments like ‘un-gartered hose.’⁵⁷

There is therefore some evidence that the potential sins of material culture were understood by the inhabitants of Banbury and Nottingham, but whilst it is easy

⁵⁵ Ibid p.44

⁵⁶ William Whatley, *Mortification: a sermon preached upon the third of the Colossians, the fifth verse* (London: 1623) p.136; this is something Whately also discusses in *The new birth* p.156 and in his *A pithie, short and methodicall opening of the Ten Commandements* (London: 1622) pp.143-4

⁵⁷ This report is found in the papers of the Willoughby family of Wollaton Hall in *Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter HMC) Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Notts* (1931) pp.165-7; also discussed in Samuel Harsnett, *A Discovery of the fraudulent practises of John Darrel, bachelor of arts, in his proceedings concerning the pretended possession and dispossession of William Somers at Nottingham* (London: 1599) pp.114, 118-20; John Darrell, *A true narration of the strange and greivous vexation by the Devil, of 7 persons in Lancashire and William Sommers of Nottingham* (1600) p.18; Marion Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print: Darrell, Harsnett, Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Exorcism Controversy* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006) p.86; garters were small sashes tied in a large bow below the knee on the outer side, not only securing the stocking but also acting as decoration, defined in C. Willet Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1955) p.28

to see what godly Christians were advised not to wear, it is much harder to ascertain and interpret what people actually wore, and what meanings they personally ascribed to their clothing. As suggested above, it is also difficult to separate the social and religious meaning of clothing. This is made particularly problematic through a lack of visual material of the inhabitants of the two towns and because only a small percentage of wills and inventories mention clothes. When they do mention clothes, wills and inventories invariably fail to mention all the clothes that the person owned, or describe them in detail. As such it is difficult to compare and make sense of the evidence we do have.

The fact that clothes were bequeathed in wills indicates their economic value, but also suggests some sentimental attachment to certain items. The importance of social status and the fact that different clothes were deemed appropriate for different social echelons is also something which can be gleaned from the records. The minister William Whately, and alderman William Knight and his wife, were each left £5 in the will of James West to buy a gown ‘befitting their status.’ What was understood as ‘befitting’ of status and appropriate for a minister and a magistrate was so obvious to the recipient and the testator that no further detail was required.⁵⁸ Richard Whately, the Banbury magistrate who was involved in removing both maypoles and crosses from the town, bequeathed all his clothes to the poor except his

⁵⁸ Will of James West, proved 24 November 1621; in the Canons of 1604 it was decreed that in their everyday wear, no ecclesiastical person ‘shall wear an coif or wrought nightcap, but only plain nightcaps of black silk, satin or velvet’ and that they ‘may use any comely and scholar-like apparel, provided it be not cut or pinkt [cut into]; and that in public they go not in their doublet and hose, without coats or cassocks; and that they wear not any light-coloured stockings.’ Their wives, children and families, were similarly supposed to be ‘apparelled handsomely, without vanity and great charges, fit for the callings of their husbands.’ The emphasis was in colour and style, but fabric, something that clearly denoted status, was of less importance, and the status of the clergy could be reflected in the fabric they wore; see Gerald Bray ed. *The Anglican Canons, 1529-1947, Church of England Record Society*, 6 (Suffolk: Boydell, 1998) p.369 and item number 47 in Bishop Bickley’s articles for Chichester Diocese, 1586 in W.P.M. Kennedy ed. *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration. An Essay in Sociology and Politics. Volume III. Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1583-1603* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd. 1924) p.216

best garments. These best garments included his ‘gowns, one black cloak laced, one paire of laced hose, a taffeta doublet and two damask coats.’ Both taffeta and damask were expensive fabrics, but appropriate to Whately’s social status, since he was a wealthy mercer and had been twice mayor.⁵⁹

Robert Wood, a gentleman, left George Coates, minister of St Peter’s, Nottingham, ‘halfe my shirts, one hat, my shirt band ruffes, and stockings’ all clothing which must have been seen as appropriate for a minister.⁶⁰ Other clothes he mentioned in his will were my ‘my best stufte suite & coate,’ ‘my laced coate’ and ‘my plaine cloth coate.’ Stuff was a woollen fabric and his other coat was in plain cloth, implying simplicity.⁶¹ George Coates also received ‘my best silke grogram suite’ in the will of his brother-in-law George Jackson. Grogram was a coarse fabric of silk and/or wool.⁶² Robert Wood, George Coates and George Jackson were named as Puritans in the case surrounding the libels of the 1610s. Other clothing bequeathed in the will of George Jackson included

‘one great seal ring which was my mothers, my wifes wedding ring, my wives silk grogram gowne & her purple hamlet petticote & her new night gown, a faire diamond ring that was my wives, the taffity gown, taffity petticote which were my sister coates; two great seal rings, my best apparel; my best silke... my best mourning cloak one black chamlett gown which was my wifes.’⁶³

The jewels and fabrics owned by George Jackson and his family were expensive but befitting of his gentlemanly status.

The difficulty of interpreting evidence in wills is shown clearly in the furniture noted in the wills of the minister William Whately and his wife Martha. As we have seen, Whately demanded moderation in his congregation. If he was not to be seen by

⁵⁹ Will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately of Banbury, proved 4 January 1604

⁶⁰ Will of Robert Wood of Nottingham, proved 1 March 1637

⁶¹ ‘Stuff’ is described as a woollen fabric in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, www.oed.com (hereafter OED) consulted 14 February 2008

⁶² Will of George Jackson of Nottingham, proved 4 May 1637; ‘grogram’ is described in the OED as a coarse fabric of silk, mohair and wool or these mixed.

⁶³ Will of George Jackson, proved 4 May 1637

all as a hypocrite his possessions presumably remained in keeping with the advice given in his sermons and contemporary social conventions. The Whatelys appear to have reflected their status in their material culture, William being the son and nephew of mayors and wealthy mercers and woollen drapers, one of which was Richard Whately, mentioned above. The family, for example, slept on featherbeds, owned a lot of linen and silver ware, including embroidered napkins and gilt wine bowls, and their house was decorated with many comforts, including green and red rugs, carpets, cushions, laced pillow cases, curtains and valances. Both William and Martha wore gold rings, and Martha also had a diamond ring and a watch among her jewellery. Martha had at least five suits of linen throughout, a tawny and red petticoat, a 'plaine stuffe program gowne,' a 'frize coat,' and two hats among other items of clothing. Although these items are not described in any great detail, the implication is that Martha owned more outfits than someone beneath her status, but that they were not overly decorous. The fabrics named were wool and linen not silk.⁶⁴ Mary Showell had gowns ranging from an 'ould ript' one to a 'gownde with foxe fur.' She also had a black gown trimmed in velvet lace and her best gown and petticoat were valued at £5, a large sum, but again appropriate to her status. She was the wife of Henry Showell, another magistrate who was involved in the crosses case, the sister of William Knight and aunt of William Whately.⁶⁵ One of the Showells' children, Richard, was a mercer whose stock included fine linen, silk stockings and haberdashery.⁶⁶

As we have seen in the moralists' tracts, to dress of your status was acceptable, as long as clothing was sober and modest. As well as the importance of

⁶⁴ Will of William Whately, proved 25 June 1639; will of Martha Whately, proved 23 December 1641

⁶⁵ Evidence from the inventory of Isaiah Showell, son of Mary Showell, dated 19 June 1622 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 51/1/38; BW1 p.100 and BW2 p.18

⁶⁶ Inventory of Richard Showell, 2 April 1611 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 50/5/43; BW1 pp.31, 214

status, the evidence of 'best' attire in Banbury and Nottingham indicates that a different set of clothing was kept in some families for church attendance.⁶⁷ As Stephen Egerton advised in 1613, it was important on the Lord's Day for all ranks,

'in as short time, and with as much speed as may bee, to make our selues readie in such manner as is most sober and comly, and of best example and report, for men and women of our Profession in the Church of God.'⁶⁸

Robert Cleaver advised wives to see their husband's, 'her owne, & their childrens best apparel brusht & handsomely laid vp' for the Sabbath.⁶⁹ Although it is difficult to gauge to what extent and how 'best attire' may have differed from other clothing in terms of its cut, colour or fabric, in some wills for both towns testators separated their 'best' clothing within their bequests. In Nottingham, for example, Agnes Bowman bequeathed 'my workeday gowne and my best gowne' and Jane Roe referred to her 'best red petticote' 'my best ruffe' and 'my best waistcot' in her will.⁷⁰ It was normal for some, like Agnes Bowman, to have only two main suits of apparel and in relatively small towns like Banbury and Nottingham, amongst friends and neighbours, these suits of apparel would have become familiar. If indeed a different outfit, rather than just a clean outfit, was kept for church attendance,⁷¹ not just on the Sabbath, the

⁶⁷ John Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500-1610* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) p.30; Leigh Eric Schmidt, 'A Church-going People are a Dress-loving People: Clothes, Communication, and Religious Culture in Early America' in *Church History*, Volume 28 (1989) p.45; J.T. Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry: The Great Puritan Families of Early Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984) p.56; John Earle's 'Plaine country fellow' 'comes to Church in his best clothes' in *Micro-cosmographie. Or, a peece of the world discovered; in essayes and characters* (London:, 1628) F5r

⁶⁸ Stephen Egerton, *Indecorvm: or a briefe treatise vpon one of Salomons Prouerbs* (London: 1613) p.118

⁶⁹ Robert Cleaver, *Hovseholde government* p.368

⁷⁰ Will of Agnes Bowman, proved 18 April 1611; will of Jane Roe, proved 15 February 1638; Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics* in footnote 77 on p.30 mentions that 'explicit mention of Sunday clothing is not common but it is implicit in the bequests of 'best' clothing and even possibly red petticoats.'

⁷¹ For a discussion of cleanliness and clothing refer to Keith Thomas, 'Cleanliness and Godliness in Early Modern England' in Fletcher and Roberts eds. *Religion, Culture and Society* especially p.61

godly would have been sartorially distinctive in their 'best' attire when they attended additional sermons during the week or gadded to sermons outside their parish.⁷²

It is difficult to gain a clear picture from wills and inventories as to how people dressed on a daily basis and on the Sabbath, and whether the godly dressed any differently from their neighbours. On occasion, individuals were praised within contemporary printed literature for their moral attitude to consumption. John Bruen was, for example, praised with the words, 'he could never be brought into any love, or liking of the garish, foolish, vaine and new-fangled fashions of the world in attire.'⁷³ Samuel Clark in his biography of the lecturer John Carter commented, 'for his own and his wives habit, it was very plain, and homely, of the old fashion, yet very cleanly and decent.'⁷⁴ Similarly, John Gere, minister of Tewkesbury, reminiscing about *The character of an old English Puritane or non-conformist* in 1640 mentioned that the 'old English Puritane' in his habit 'avoyded costlinesse and vanity, neither exceeding his degree in civility, nor declining what suted with Christianity, desiring in all things to expresse gravity.'⁷⁵

That some among the godly did reflect the advice of the Scriptures and texts of practical divinity in their own wardrobes and were distinctive in their dress is suggested in the fact that clothing was incorporated into the common stereotype of Puritans. John Earle's stereotype of 'a young rawe preacher,' for example, claimed

⁷² When fasting, Joseph Bentham also told his audience at the Kettering lecture that 'toll or whole abstinence' was required from 'costly and curious apparell' amongst other kinds of sustenance or nourishment,' in *The Christian conflict: a treatise, shewing the difficulties and duties of this conflict* (London: 1635) p.270; Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England* p.66

⁷³ Hinde, *A faithful remonstrance* p.192; Bruen was also praised for 'if hee had seene a professor of religion in some decay and want for outward things, he would endeavour to relieve him, by his own and other good means, according to his present occasions and necessities. I know those that have seen him take off a good suite of apparel from his owne body, as it might be this day, to bestow it the next, upon an honest godly man that wanted seemly raiment to fit him for some better service and employment' p.184

⁷⁴ Samuel Clarke, *A collection of the lives of ten eminent divines, famous in their generations for learning, prudence, piety, and painfulness in the work of the ministry* (London: 1662) pp.7-8

⁷⁵ John Gere, *The character of an old English Puritane or non-conformist* (London: 1640) p.6

'his fashion and demure Habit gets him in with some Town precisian, and makes him a guest on Fryday nights. You shall know him by his narrow velvet cape, and serge facing, and his ruffe, next to his haire, the shortest thing about him.'⁷⁶

Here sexual immorality is implied in his 'getting in' with the town precisian at a nocturnal meeting and that his clothing, after his hair, was the 'shortest thing' about him. It is also interesting that Earle's 'Town precisian' placed importance on clothing and that his association with the preacher was only possible because of his demure, simple clothing and short hair. Clothing was also incorporated into the satire of the stage-Puritan, where he or she was often marked by their simple or 'plain' apparel, like Earle's example, wearing narrow cloaks, short hair, and plain neckbands.⁷⁷

The portrayal of the sartorial attitudes of Puritans on the stage had a direct relationship with moralistic polemic and the style of Puritan clothing could have been fabricated by dramatists as a more austere version of the clothing criticised in many sermons and tracts. That being said, the similarities between the portrayal of one particular stage-Puritan, Florilla, in George Chapman's *An humerous dayes myrth* (1597), and the godly life of Jane Ratcliffe, written by John Ley, disclose parallels which suggest that the satirised Puritan may have had real counterparts, who are otherwise hidden from view. Florilla, for example, vehemently dislikes ostentatious

⁷⁶ Earle, *Micro-cosmographie* B4v-B5r; similarly, in 1623 one Henry Moll of King's College composed some verses after seeing a play in Newmarket, and described how, 'The Puritan surely lookt very demurely/ With his little ruffe and hose/ each word that he spoke was as long as his cloake/ And drawn quite through his nose,' quoted in Adam Fox, 'Religious Satire in English Towns 1570-1640' in Patrick Collinson and John Craig eds. *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998) p.239

⁷⁷ In *A pleasant conceited comedie, wherein is shewed how a man may chuse a good wife from a bad* (1602) one character, Fuller, jokes about when he tried to woo a Puritan lady without success because, 'ever somewhat did offend her sight,/ Either my double ruffe or my long hair,/ My scarf was vain, my garments hung too low,/ My Spanish shoo was cut too broad at toe.' He succeeded later in the story when, 'Seeming to be conform'd in look and speech;/ My shoes were sharp-toed, and my band was plain,/ Close to my thigh my metamorphos'd breech./ My cloak was narrow-cap'd./ my hair cut shorter;/ Off went my scarf, thus march'd I to the porter,' in W. Carew Hazlitt ed. *A Select Collection of Old English Plays, Volume 9* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1874) Act III, Scene III, p.61; for more discussion of the clothing of the 'stage-Puritan' see Wright, *A Looking-glass for Christian Morality?* pp.51-60 and Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) pp.584-5

dress and jewellery and is described as going ‘more like a milke maide then a Countesse.’ As part of a plot, and to be acceptable to her husband, she gets tricked into putting on ‘her best attire.’ At the end of the play she returns to her normal appearance and the stage direction reads ‘enter Florilla like a Puritan’ suggesting that she once more looks like a milkmaid.⁷⁸ Her precise attire is never described but it is implicit in the term ‘milkmaid’ that her clothes are plain and made of simple, inexpensive fabric.

An identical portrayal of a wealthy woman purposefully dressing below her status is shown by a story related in John Ley’s *A patterne of piety*, on the life of Jane Ratcliffe. Jane Ratcliffe was an alderman’s wife, living in Chester. Within a section praising Jane’s humility, Ley describes a scene where her husband gives her a new gown,

‘wherein his kindnesse had put him to more cost than she wisht, to make her more fine than she desired to be... shee would haue worne a meaner habit, both for matter and fashion than what was, and she humbly besought, with trickling teares on her cheeks, that it might not come upon her backe, I was present and stood silent with some marvaile at the matter because I had neuer seene such a sight before... she said little with her tongue (but with her eyes spoke much) because shee was loath to contradict him whom she was bound to obey, yet shee suffered a contradiction within her selfe (and that a strong one) where the strife was not (betwixt pride and covetousnesse or two adverse vices as many times it is) but betwixt two humilities, whether the humility of prompt obedience... or the humility of refusing gay cloathes should prevaile.’⁷⁹

In the end Jane submitted to her husband’s will, not only because the gown was ‘no better than others of her ranke did weare’ but because to wear it was a symbol of her husband’s love and her loyal subjection to his command.⁸⁰ Ley continued, describing

⁷⁸ George Chapman, *An humerous dayes myrth* in *Chapman’s Dramatic Works, Volume One* (London: John Pearson, 1873) pp.54, 57-8, 69 and 101; I am grateful to Eleanor Lowe for drawing my attention to this play and its portrayal of Puritan clothing; Eleanor Lowe, *A Critical Edition of George Chapman’s ‘The Comedy of Humours’ Later Printed as ‘An Humerous Day’s Mirth’* (PhD Thesis, Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham, 2005)

⁷⁹ John Ley, *A patterne of pietie. Or the religious life and death of that grave and gracious matron, Mrs Jane Ratcliffe widow and citizen of Chester* (London: 1640) Kr-K2r; for discussion of the wider context of this text see Lake, ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency’ pp.143-165

⁸⁰ Ley, *A patterne of pietie* K2r

how after her husband's death she 'would have relapsed to meaner raiment' but continued to dress of her rank because it was suitable to her status 'as being wife to him who had been twice Mayor of the City, and divers times Burgesse of the Parliament.' More importantly, she reasoned, the alternative would be a demonstration of pride:

'God made such good things not onely for the use and wearing of the wicked, nor principally neither, but for the godly, and for that it might have been imputed either to singularitie or nigardice, to have come too much below the condition wherein she was placed, she made no remarkeable change in her habit, nor was there any great danger of pride in her dressing.'⁸¹

This story mirrors the portrayal of Florilla, both in the ladies wanting to dress beneath their status, and their subsequent change of clothing to reflect their husbands' positions in society, something ambiguously seen by moralists as more important than dressing in the stereotypically simple, 'Puritan' manner. Jane may have dressed of her status but she was not proud of her attire. As the story shows, there was a fear that dressing beneath your status could itself be perceived as demonstrating pride and as a mark of 'singularity' or precision, even Puritanism. Within Arthur Dent's *The plaine man's path-way to Heaven*, Antilegon argues with the divine, Theologus, 'One may be proud of plaine apparell, as well as costly. And some are as proud of their falling bands, and little sets, as others are of their great ruffs.'⁸²

Ley uses dramatic and evocative language to relate the incident. His story also shows how a godly attitude to material culture could be performative, aware of an external audience. One audience for Ratcliffe's performance is John Ley. Her performance was read and interpreted by Ley as a demonstration of her humility. By dressing of her station she conformed to social conventions. As such she was able to

⁸¹ Ley, *A patterne of pietie* K3r

⁸² Dent, *The plaine mans path-way to Heaven* pp.47-8. Theologus replies, 'can you say, when mens and womens apparel is sober, modest and Christian like, that they have proud hearts and are proud of that attire: you goe very farre indeed to judge the heart. You ought to judge charitably of such as go soberly and modestly attired.'

ward off the criticism of other audiences, keen to denounce her as a hypocrite. The story shows clearly the tension between prescriptive literature and practice and the idea that the godly lived in the world but were not of it. The fact that John Ley was present at the scene and that the story was preached at her funeral, in front of people who knew Jane, suggests that there was some truth behind it.

Clothing was of practical and economic value but, as has been shown, it also had moral and social meaning. There are suggestions from plays and godly lives that some members of the godly took the advice of moralists that good Christians should dress in a sober, modest and comely manner to heart and were more distinctive in their dress. It would be unrealistic to expect all the godly to have followed the ideals of Christian morality and the Scriptures to the word in a single, uniform style of appearance. Clothing had wider social meanings, which, whether or not from choice, were reflected in the wardrobes of both the laity and the clergy. Much evidence of material culture is hidden from the historian's view but it is important to note that even if the godly did not dress differently from their neighbours they were still recognisable within their communities through a range of other cultural and social markers. Marginal differences in clothing, when set alongside other aspects of behaviour, became part of a reputation of godliness.

Having looked at the ownership of religious texts and attitudes to clothing consumption, attention will now turn to the third theme, relationships within and among godly households. One key piece of advice within tracts of practical divinity was that the godly should be wise in decisions about choosing a good husband or wife, a partner for their children and also for choosing good servants, in order to make their households like 'little churches.' Godliness and a shared religious attitude were

encouraged in the marriage guidance published by both Robert Cleaver and William Whately. Whately in *A care cloth*, advised his readers,

‘he takes the best course, to gaine content in marriage that chuseth not the finest body, the sweetest face, the greatest state, the largest portion, but the holiest heart, the richest soule, the beautifulest spirit, and the most virtuous man or woman.’⁸³

Similarly, Cleaver advised that when choosing a partner to marry,

‘there be certaine signes of this fitness and godliness both in the man and in the woman. So that if the man be desirous to know a godly woman, or the women would know who is a godly man, then let them obserue and marke these sixe points. 1. the report. 2. the lookes. 3. the speech. 4. the apparel. 5. the companions. 6. and lastly, the education and bringing up, which are like the pulses that shew whether a man may be sick or whole, well or ill.’⁸⁴

Intermarriage was common within networks of godly clerical families. As we have seen in chapter one, the ministers in Banbury and its surrounding villages were typical of this. John Dod’s first wife was the step daughter of Richard Greenham, minister of Dry Drayton, Cambridgeshire. Closer to home, William Whately chose the daughter of a clergyman for his bride. His daughter, Hopestill, also married a minister, Robert Morton. Dod’s successor at Hanwell, Robert Harris, married Whately’s sister Joanne and Henry Scudder, minister of Drayton, married Bridget Hunt, the sister of Whately’s wife Martha.⁸⁵ William Whately dedicated his marriage tract, *A bride-bush* to his father-in-law, George Hunt, and commented that his wife was ‘a most excellent and virtuous wife’ and that

⁸³ William Whately, *A care cloth: or a treatise on the cumbers and troubles of marriage* (London: 1624) p.73; also Cleaver, *Hovseholde government* pp.102, 313

⁸⁴ Cleaver, *Hovseholde government* p. 103

⁸⁵ For more information on these marriages and the lives of these ministers refer to chapter one, pp.35-42 and appendix one; William Whately refers to Robert Morton as his son-in-law in his will proved 25 June 1639. Hopestill Whately married Robert Morton 26 May 1624, BMR p.56. The baptism of a Martha Morton, daughter of Mr Robert and Hopestill is recorded 25 October 1625, BBR p.96. There is a burial of Martha Morton, daughter of Mr Robert 18 March 1626, BBR p.213, and also a burial of a Martha Morton, daughter of Mr Morton, minister 9 May 1637, BBR p.227. Martha was the name of Robert Morton’s mother-in-law, the wife of William Whately.

‘I have been better able to shew what a good wife should do, by finding the full dutie of a wife, in as exact compleatenesse, as mortality can afford, daily and continually performed unto mee in mine owne house.’⁸⁶

It is of course impossible to be clear about the motivations for particular choices of marriage partners, and partners were often socially determined by status and wealth. That being said, there are some further suggestions that marriage partners may have been chosen in Banbury from within the network of the town’s godly population.⁸⁷ John Gill, for example, one of the defendants in the case of the Banbury crosses, and one of the authors of the most religious will preambles in the parish, which will be discussed in chapter four, thanked God in his will for his ‘faithful and religious wives.’ His daughter Mary was married to John Pym, who also made a distinctively pious preamble to his will. His other daughter Susan was married to George Gee, a minister from Manchester who resided in Banbury. One of their sons, Edward, became a Presbyterian divine. John Gill’s son Edward was married to the daughter of William Knight, another defendant in the crosses’ case.⁸⁸ Mary Pym, who was presented to the church courts for refusing to be to be churched in 1610, went on to marry John Nichols in 1630. John Nichols had been mayor in 1605-6, 1614-5 and 1624-5.⁸⁹ From a previous marriage he had five children, all of whom were given distinctive, Biblical names.⁹⁰ At his death he left 10s to be paid annually to his ‘loving friend’ William Whately to preach the lecture and also offered £10 to

⁸⁶ Whately, *A bride-bush* A2r; William Whately married Martha Hunt 16 November 1602, BMR p.34

⁸⁷ This is something also commented by Richardson, *Puritanism in North-west England* pp. 96-7; on pages 92, 95-7 he gives examples from the diocese of Chester of individuals choosing servants and marriage partners from within the godly population.

⁸⁸ The will of John Gill proved 17 March 1635; the will of John Pym proved 18 June 1611; marriage of Mary Gill to John Pym 7 February 1598, BMR p.28; marriage of Susanna Gill and George Gee January 20 1602, BMR p.33; marriage of Edward Gill to Mary Knight 24 February 1606, BMR p.38; Barton John Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces: Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1554-1660* (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1985) p.187; for more information on Edward Gee, refer to S.J. Guscott’s article in the DNB; for more information on George Gee refer to chapter six, p.260, footnote 83

⁸⁹ (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry c.157 f.46; marriage of Mary Pym and John Nichols 8 September 1630, BCR pp.316-7

⁹⁰ John Nichols’ children were baptised Mary, Susan, Gamaliel, Dorcas and Sarah between 1595-1610

the stock for the poor. Mary Nichols in her will gave money to both William Whately and Robert Cleaver.⁹¹

Like John Gill, James West was another individual who praised the religiosity of his wife. As well as giving money to William Whately in his will, whom he made his overseer, and giving money for the continuance of the town lecture, he commented on his wife as having been

‘a very loving and duitiful wife to me, being a special meanes by her good... and diligent walkings in her callings... that estate the Lord has blessed us withal... recommending to her motherlie affection... of the honest religious and godly education of my children.’⁹²

James West was married to Ann Coleing, and a James West and Thomas Coleing were named as the masons who destroyed the crosses.⁹³ West’s will also demonstrates the concern felt amongst the godly for the choice of guardian for the religious education of their children. This was perhaps exemplified by Richard Whately in his will dated 1604 and the concern he had for his orphaned daughter Dorcas, that she be brought up in some ‘godly’ family such as that of Mistress Gill, or some other ‘like family.’ Mistress Gill was likely to be the wife of John Gill, mentioned above. It is interesting that it is the wife, rather than the husband, who is shown here as reflecting the family’s godliness in the bringing-up of children.⁹⁴ The importance of this role for women is again highlighted in the will of William Francklin, dated 1616. He bequeathed part of his estate to Isabell Ricketts, a widow,

‘because her husband was a man that feared god and she beying a woman that I have found uprighte in bringing up her children in the feare of God and she is resolved to lyve in the feare of God.’⁹⁵

⁹¹ Will of John Nichols, proved 29 June 1631; will of Mary Nichols, proved 9 November 1639

⁹² Will of James West, proved 24 November 1621

⁹³ BCR p.326; (NA) Records of the Court of Star Chamber, STAC 8/82/23 Blinco vs. Knight and others ff.3r, 4r and STAC 5 B31/4 Blincoe vs Austen Webbe etc. ff.3, 21-3

⁹⁴ Will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately, proved 4 January 1604

⁹⁵ Will of William Francklin, proved 18 July 1616

As well as suggestions of godly networks in Banbury being formed and cemented through marriage, some wills indicate further religious bonds which could exist in godly households, both in terms of domestic servants and in the choice of workmen who were employed. Richard Whately, uncle to William Whately, played a key role in the cases of the crosses and maypoles, and was mayor twice in the 1590s. Amongst a range of other charitable bequests he left some money towards the repair of the church windows, suggesting that William Hosiar and one 'Dingley' were employed to do the work. William Hosiar and his maidservant were accused of sitting rather than kneeling to receive Communion in 1613. Hosiar named his children distinctively Steven, John, Samuel, James, Nathaniel, Thomas, Timothy and Christian. The Dingley he mentions may have been related to John Dingley, the servant of Peter Deguillaine, a French man who lived in Banbury. In his will, Deguillaine requested a funeral sermon, left money to the ministers Robert Harris and Robert Cleaver, stating I 'am bound to him for his love towards me,' bequeathed personal goods to several members of the family of William Whately, as well as £60 to his servant John Dingley, and bequests to his servant's brothers. By the time of his own death John Dingley described himself as a yeoman, and had served the corporation as tithing-man from 1640 to 1642. He requested a funeral sermon in his will and his children were all named with Biblical names. Richard Whately also named Bartholomew Strong in his will to advise his executor in some repairs to be done to his house. Bartholomew Strong's wife was accused of not kneeling to receive the sacrament in 1613 and his children were named distinctively Sarah, Hanniel, Nathaniel, Mary and Zachariah. Strong in his own will named John Dod and Robert

Cleaver as overseers, even though they had been deprived of their local ministries ten years earlier, suggesting a continuing friendship.⁹⁶

One further individual in Banbury who clearly made a godly choice of servant was Nicodemus Edens. He was mayor in 1603-4 and again in 1613-14. Unfortunately his will does not survive. His son Edward Edens was the town clerk from 1617-18 until his death and had a daughter named Makepeace. Edward also owned a Bible, as shown by his inventory. Nicodemus's servant Roger Higgs, in his will of 1610, bequeathed 50s to the poor, gave money to his good friends the ministers Robert Cleaver, John Dod, Haymon Leigh, John Lancaster, George Gee, William Shorte and William Whately, as well as money to the corporation. He bequeathed his Bible to his sister.⁹⁷

In Nottingham, the case surrounding the religious libels which mocked the town's 'Puritans' in 1615 and 1617 provides some evidence as to personal religious identity influencing similar choices of marriage partners, as well as friendships, amongst the godly in the town.⁹⁸ Of those who were libelled, Anker and George Jackson were father and son, and Christian Hall and Cicely Gregory were Anker's married daughters. Christian and her husband Francis named almost all their children with Biblical names, and in 1638 Christian was among forty-five parishioners in St Peter's church who refused to receive Communion from the newly railed altar.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately, proved 4 January 1604; BCR pp.305, 328; (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31; Peyton, *Presentments* p.209; will of Peter Deguillaine, proved 17 November 1628; nowhere in Banbury's records does it say that Deguillaine was French but his surname and the bequests in his will suggest this; will of John Dingley, proved 11 February 1642, his children were named in his will as John, Matthew, Peter and Marie; will of Bartholomew Strong, proved 13 June 1617; see also BBR for baptisms of Strong's children between 1597-1609.

⁹⁷ BCR pp.305-6; will of Edward Edens proved 15 December 1643 and inventory dated 1 December 1643 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 37/4/4 copied in BW2 p.105; baptism of Makepeace Edens 19 May 1618, BBR p.83; will of Roger Higgs, proved 10 October 1610

⁹⁸ This case will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven pp.297-321

⁹⁹ Mr Francis Hall's children were baptised Christian, John, Thomas, Mary, Joseph, Hannah, and Luke between 1606-1626 in St Mary's Church Nottingham, (NRO) PR 2020 parish register for births, marriages and burials St Mary's; the St Peter's kneeling case is found in (NMSS) AN/PB 303/583, St

Cicely Gregory went on as a widow to marry George Coates, minister of St Peter's, another individual accused in the libel. Of the others who were named in the libel case, William Froste had seven children all with distinctively Biblical names and Robert Wood left generous bequests to many local preachers in his will, including George Coates. He requested that no bells be rung at his funeral. Robert Wood was also remembered in the will of Anker Jackson's other son Luke.¹⁰⁰ As we will see in chapter five, several of those libelled were accused at the Archbishop's 1619 visitation of attending St Peter's rather than their own parish churches.¹⁰¹ Another individual presented in 1619 was a widow, Elizabeth Huthwaite. In 1627 she married William Westoby, a clerk, and in 1628 she was presented for not kneeling to receive the sacrament.¹⁰² This is possibly the same William Westoby who was repeatedly presented in different parishes between 1619 and 1634, where he was minister or preacher, for not wearing the surplice or using the cross in baptism, amongst other accusations.¹⁰³

Familial and friendship connections between the libelled godly in Nottingham suggest a shared religious outlook. The case surrounding the libels also provides further insight into godly household religion in the town. One of the main contentions

Peter's, presentment dated 6 April 1638 and AN/PB 303/585 dated 1638; (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTs 14/26/21 p.67; (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.511-2.

¹⁰⁰ (NRO) M13,865 indenture dated 12 December 1625 between Cicely Gregory and George Coates, Luke Jackson and George Abell, on consideration of marriage between George Coates and Cicely Gregory; William Froste's children were baptised Elizabeth, Mary, Lydia, Joshua, Abraham, Samuel and Susanna between 1614-1626 in St Peter's Church, (NRO) PR 3630 parish register for births, marriages and burials St Peter's; will of Robert Wood, proved 1 March 1637; (NRO) PR 4556 copy of the will of Luke Jackson, citizen and girdler of London, dated 26 January 1630; (NRO) PR 3633 copy of the codicil of Jackson's will made at the end of the burial register for St Peter's 1725-1784

¹⁰¹ (BI) Visitation Court Book 1619 Part Two (V.1619 CB) ff.357r- 358r

¹⁰² Marriage of William Westoby, clerk, and Elizabeth Huthwaite 26 May 1627 in St Peter's, Nottingham, NMR Peter p.24; it is not certain that these Elizabeth Huthwaites are the same person. The lady presented in 1628 for not kneeling was called Elizabeth Huthwaite, not Elizabeth Westoby; (NMSS) AN/PB 302/595 presentment St Mary's dated 28 April 1628; (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTs 14/26/20 p.72; (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.443-4

¹⁰³ R.A Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (London: Longmans 1960) p.316; Mr William Westoby, of Skegby, was presented to the Archdeaconry court for not wearing the surplice in 1634, (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.482

was that ‘by night’ the godly or ‘Puritans’ would ‘catechise each other/ the holy sister with the brother.’¹⁰⁴ In the testimonies brought before the Court of Star Chamber there were further accusations that the godly group held clandestine meetings within Nottingham and within seven miles of the town, and that they met for religious exercises at the house of Anker Jackson, where they used their own form of common prayer.¹⁰⁵ This Nottingham evidence implies that as well as religious matters being discussed amongst family members, just as in the detail of Banbury provided by Teellinck, the godly also shared their domestic piety with their friends. It suggests that there was a degree of internal sociability within the godly population of the town.

Just as Dod and Cleaver wrote,

‘both the wicked and the godly are sociable of their owne sorte and much affected with the company of those which aproue of their wayes: and bee ready to ioyne with them in the exercises which delight them.’¹⁰⁶

John Dod was praised in his spiritual biography as having been,

‘given to hospitality, delighting therein, keeping a constant table on the Sabbath, and on the Wednesday lectures, upon which dayes he had not under eight or twelve persons commonly dining with him, and he spent the time amongst them in spiritual exhortations and conference.’¹⁰⁷

Viewed from the outside, occasions like these were seen as suspicious. The church authorities in Banbury became concerned in or around 1610 when Ralph Taylor, curate and schoolteacher in Banbury, was said to have ‘often preached or catechised’ in his private house and that others ‘beside your owne familie have byn admitted there

¹⁰⁴ The wording of the anti-Puritan religious libels are found in (NA) Records of the Court of Star Chamber, STAC 8/27/7 Attorney-general Yelverton vs Withington, Hansbye, Withington, Allen, Mason, Sacheverel and others f.29. See appendix seven for a full transcript of these libels. They are also printed in C.J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare’s Age* (Cambridge University Press, 1636) pp.201-3.

¹⁰⁵ (NA) STAC 8/27/7, ff.11, 21 and STAC 8/303/8 Wythington vs Jackson, Hopkins, Frost, Woode, Gregorie and others f.2

¹⁰⁶ John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the prouerbs of Solomon* (London: 1609) p.98

¹⁰⁷ Samuel Clarke, *A generall martyrologie, containing a collection of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the church of Christ... Third edition, corrected and enlarged.* (London: 1677) p.169

unto.’ He was also accused of administering Communion at home. In 1616 another individual, William Shorte, was presented for preaching at a private fast or conventicle, although where it took place and who was present was not disclosed.¹⁰⁸

The format of these private meetings in Nottingham and Banbury is not detailed but similar evidence of godly households being opened up to a wider social network for various religious practices, including sermon repetition, reading a Biblical text or Psalm-singing, has been discussed in the work of Patrick Collinson and others.¹⁰⁹ Collinson, for example, cited evidence from Aythrop Roding in Essex, dating from the 1580s, where on a Sunday the godly met in one house, ‘to the number of tenne persons or thereabouts of his kindred and neighbours, being invited thether to supper.’ Over dinner they discussed what they had heard at the public catechising and afterwards some listened to a reading from Foxe’s *Acts and monuments* whilst others listened to the minister reading a catechism by the fire.¹¹⁰

To conclude, godly culture and identity within the household could be articulated on many levels: individual, familial and shared with friends. Religion was supposed to be the focus of many of the day’s activities, thoughts and discussions within the godly household but it also informed choice in material culture and social connections, whether it was friends, marriage partners or servants. This was more of a private aspect of godly culture, shared amongst a godly audience. That being said, some aspects this culture fostered within the household travelled with the godly

¹⁰⁸ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94, libels and articles undated, articles against Ralph Taylor ff.100v-101r. The articles against Taylor are undated but from their context in the diocesan papers it is likely to have been around 1610, at a similar date to the destruction of the church statues, which will be discussed in chapter six; (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry c.157 miscellaneous papers f.62. It is not clear that this reference reads ‘William Shorte’ but that is how Blankenfeld in *Puritans in the Provinces* read it pp.273, 282

¹⁰⁹ Richardson, *Puritanism in North-west England* pp.88-90, 178-9; Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* pp.265-6; Collinson, ‘The English Conventicle’ passim

¹¹⁰ Sir Julius Caesar to Sir Francis Walsingham, 18 May 1584, (BL) Lansdowne Ms 157 f.186, quoted in Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* p.266

outside the home, for example, their clothes, their baptism names, their Bibles, which were taken to church, and their friendships and social connections. As such it affected how the godly were perceived by the wider community. One aspect of this we have seen in the mocking of the godly in the religious libels in Nottingham. It has also been suggested in Jane Ratcliffe's dilemma over her choice of clothing, where she decided to follow social conventions and use her dress as a mark of respect for her husband, but questioned whether her decision would be interpreted by others as pride. It is also suggested by Teellinck's description of passers-by being able to hear domestic Psalm-singing in the street in Banbury.¹¹¹ This would also have been the case when individuals were not seen to participate in communal, social activities within their parish, for example on the Sabbath, instead remaining indoors to read the Bible or perform other religious exercises.¹¹²

This chapter has also highlighted some differences between Banbury and Nottingham. Banbury was used by contemporaries as a model for the performance of household religion and godly piety. We know that soon after the turn of the seventeenth century Banbury was dominated by both a godly magistracy and ministry. If Teellinck's eulogy is to be believed, on some level a godly form of household government permeated a large number of the houses in the town, even if there was always room for improvement, something Whately drew attention to in his sermon

¹¹¹ 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: Cambridge University Press, 2005) mentions that in Mildenhall, Suffolk, the prayer meetings of Thomas Settle in 1584 were said to be so loud that the 'noise might be hard to the furltherside of the striate' p.110

¹¹² For example, Richard Baxter, famously wrote of his father that, 'only for reading Scripture when the rest were Dancing on the Lord's Day, and for prayer (by a Form out of the end of the Common-Prayer Book) in his house, for reprovng of Drunkards and Swearers, and for talking sometimes in few words of Scripture and the Life to come, he was reviled commonly by the Name of Puritan' in N.H. Keeble ed. *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter* (1974) p.6 quoted in Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p.27; Patrick Collinson, *The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth Century English Culture* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1989) p.12

following the town's fire in 1628.¹¹³ In Nottingham, by contrast, where the godly appear to have been more of a minority presence in the town, their domestic culture, internal sociability and religious practices were seen to be so distinctive that they were mocked and paraded through the town in libellous songs. Rather than a positive model, they were considered divisive and threatening to the principles of 'good neighbourhood' and 'commonwealth.'¹¹⁴

¹¹³ In *Sinne no more* William Whately criticised excesses in material culture, Sabbath observance, church attendance and drunkenness amongst other sins.

¹¹⁴ (NA) STAC 8/27/7 ff.21, 29 the first anti-Puritan libel in 1615, for example, ended 'But cease my muse here take thy rest/ of their Conversion hope the best,/in love to those that haue trew zeale,/ that love the king and Comon weale,/ I wishe all those that do not soe,/ to this dammed Conventicle goe.'

Chapter Four

Dying Well: Performance at the Deathbed

Having looked at the framing of godly lives through choices of names and aspects of household living, this chapter will focus on the godly at the end of their lives. The deathbed will be considered as a final arena for performance, through which the dying person articulated their faith to sustain their own sense of assurance in front of God, themselves, their neighbours and their family.¹ Many of the rituals of the deathbed, such as writing a will, praying with your loved ones and displaying signs of piety were traditional Christian practices. In post-Reformation England these remained important aspects of ‘dying well.’ How one died did not affect one’s salvation. However, as Ralph Houlbrooke has argued, ‘the classic puritan type of the *ars moriendi* made especially heavy demands of the individual at the heart of the death-bed drama.’² There may not have been a specifically ‘godly’ way of dying but the importance of deathbed performances to the godly is seen in their inclusion in the popular spiritual biographies or godly lives. Godly individuals wanted to be seen to be making a good death to provide comfort and reassurance for themselves and for their audience.

This chapter will be divided into three sections. The first section examines the deathbed scene itself. It looks at advice given in contemporary publications on how to die a good death and evidence of godly deathbed performances. Preambles to wills are also examined within the framework of the deathbed performance. More detailed preambles can be seen as a way that some individuals chose to declare their faith, to

¹ Ralph Houlbrooke refers to the deathbed as a performance in his ‘The Puritan Deathbed, c.1560-1660’ in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996) p.122

² *Ibid.* p.143

ensure that they had fulfilled their dying duties, in case the manner of their death did not allow them to do so as they wished. The second section of the chapter uses the remaining contents of wills to explore ways in which a godly identity can be seen to have been performed through certain bequests made in both Banbury and Nottingham. Wills may not have always formed part of the deathbed performance, but they were an important part of dying well in early modern England.³ They are problematic as sources for religious identity, something which will be explained in more detail in due course. They put forward a mixture of overlapping identities, including social status, financial status and gender, as well as religion, which are difficult to disentangle. They were also bound in tradition. This section of the chapter will therefore focus on three particular types of bequest which can be seen to more accurately reflect religious identity, in particular, it is suggested, a godly identity. Firstly it will look at the language of certain bequests to the poor which show a more select philanthropy. Secondly, clerical recipients in wills and gifts made towards preaching will be used to show how some among the godly in the two towns placed themselves within particular social networks, articulating their relationship with godly ministers. Thirdly, religious texts bequeathed in wills will be used to demonstrate a care for the religious education of those left behind. The third and final section of the chapter will explore the preparations for remembrance after death, including payments for funeral sermons, requests for limited bell-ringing, the location of burial and choice of funeral monument. In these last requests, the extent to which social and religious identity were interwoven is particularly apparent.

³ Claire Gittings, 'Sacred and Secular: 1558-1660' in Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings eds. *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) p.155

Deathbed rituals changed in England with the Reformation. It was no longer necessary to receive the last sacrament before death. There was no belief in Purgatory, nor need for prayers for the dead, nor payments for the intercession of saints. Although salvation was received through the work of God alone, individuals in post-Reformation England still had to prepare for death and the way one died was still of great importance.⁴ Symbols of death still abounded reminding of the need to reflect on, and prepare for, death throughout life. There were, for example, skulls in *momento mori* portraiture. ‘Death’s heads’ or skulls and messages such as ‘learn to die’ featured on memorial rings bequeathed to loved ones in wills, a fashion continuing from the medieval period.⁵ (Refer to **figure eighteen** for a photograph of a memorial ring.) John Wilson’s tomb, constructed in St Peter’s Nottingham in 1634, reminded onlookers to reflect on death with the words,

‘here John Wilson sleeps in trust, that Christ will raise him from his dust. Serve God with fear thou canst not tell whether thy turn be next. Farewell. *Disce Mori.*’⁶

Many tracts also continued to be published with advice on how to ‘die well.’ Thomas Becon’s *The sicke man’s salve* was one of the most popular. It went through twenty-five editions between c.1560 and 1632.⁷ Robert Gascoyne, a glover from Banbury, was an owner of one such text. He bequeathed ‘bookes called learne to die and learne

⁴ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) p.60

⁵ Tarnya Cooper, *Memento Mori Portraiture: Painting, Protestant Culture and the Patronage of Middle Elites in England and Wales, 1540-1630* (D.Phil, University of Sussex, 2002) passim; Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500-c.1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991) p.96; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* p.59; William Clarke of Nottingham left his son ‘my old ring with a deaths head on it’ in his will proved 18 May 1646; Bezaleel Knight of Banbury left five recipients in his will 40s to buy either a mourning cloak or a ring with a deaths head on it ‘in remembrance of me’ in his will proved 6 November 1635.

⁶ Charles Deering, *Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova or an Historical Account and Present State of the Town of Nottingham* (Nottingham: George Ayscough and Thomas Willington, 1751) p.36

⁷ Thomas Becon, *The sicke mans salve. Wherein the faithfull Christians may learne both how to behave themselves patiently and thankfully in the tyme of sickenes, and also virtuously to dispose their temporal goods and finally to prepare themselves gladlye and godlye to die* (London: 1568); for numbers of editions see appendix of ‘sample of best-sellers and steady sellers first published in England c.1536-1700’ in Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp.594-672

to live' as well as four Bibles, a Psalm book and 'Mr Dodd's book' in his will of 1644.⁸

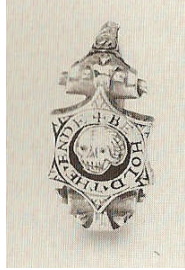


Figure eighteen - Sixteenth century mourning ring from the Victoria and Albert Museum collection

William Perkins' *A salve for a sicke man* was another popular tract on dying in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Perkins advised that a good death involved dying in faith. Being prepared for death meant submitting readily to God's will and rendering one's soul into God's hands. The inner faith at death was to be expressed outwardly by prayer and thanksgiving, possibly accompanied by the tears and groans of a repentant heart.⁹ As had been the case in pre-Reformation England, the dying had a part to play in their deathbed performance. They were to show the 'approved signs of piety.'¹⁰ The dying individual was to make an external and visible demonstration of faith at their deathbed before their friends and family, as well as an internal one.¹¹

The importance the godly placed on the manner of their death is reflected in the popularity of printed spiritual biographies or 'godly lives' and funeral sermons in this period, which rarely failed to mention deathbed performances. Godly lives

⁸ Will of Robert Gascoyne proved 2 November 1646

⁹ William Perkins, *A salve for a sicke man, or, a treatise containing the nature, differences, and kindes of death: as also the right manner of dying well* (1638) pp.153-71 discussed in Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* p.160; in the appendix to his *Print and Protestantism*, Ian Green shows that Perkins' tract went through 11 editions between 1595 and 1638.

¹⁰ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) p.323 notes that in pre-Reformation England 'in return for prayers and encouragement from friends and family, the dying person was expected to affirm the common framework of belief by manifesting orthodox faith and the approved sign of piety.'

¹¹ Houlbrooke, 'The Puritan Deathbed' p.122; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* p.162

served a didactic purpose, providing exemplary models of the lives and death of the godly, which could be emulated. Accounts of the godly in sickness and on their deathbeds were used to both remind readers of the need to prepare for their own death, but also to reassure them through the positive examples of others.¹² Although the positive bias of such accounts leads us to be cautious about their reliability, many godly lives were based on funeral sermons which were given in front of an audience who knew the subject. Furthermore, their printed versions were often dedicated to the friends, close relations, or even parishioners of the individual in question. The portraits painted by the preacher or biographer, therefore had to be recognisable.

Godly lives are one of the few sources which give us an idea about the godly deathbed, even if it is idealised. For Banbury, the account of William Whately's deathbed survives as part of his spiritual biography, written by his brother-in-law Henry Scudder and his friend Edward Leigh.¹³ It was said that on his sickbed Whately gave 'heavenly and wholsom counsel to his people, neighbours and friends that came to visit him.' He told them to 'be carefull to redeeme the time' and to frequently read, hear and meditate on the Word of God. They were to be 'much in Prayer, much in brotherly love and communion of the Saints.'¹⁴ Although his pains were great towards the end 'hee bore them patiently.'¹⁵

'A little before his death, a godly friend and minister praying with him, that if his time were not expired, God would be pleased to restore him for the good of his church, or if otherwise, that he would put an end to his pains, if he saw

¹² Eric Josef Carlson, 'English Funeral Sermons as Sources: The Example of Female Piety in Pre-1640 Sermons' in *Albion* 32, Volume 4 (2000) pp.572, 582, 590; Jacqueline Eales, 'Samuel Clarke and the 'Lives' of Godly Women in Seventeenth Century England' in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood eds. *Women and the Church, Studies in Church History* 27 (1991) pp.368-9; Peter Lake, 'Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The 'Emancipation' of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe' in *Seventeenth Century Journal*, Volume 2 (1987) pp.145, 160; Houlbrooke, 'The Puritan Deathbed' p.122

¹³ Edward Leigh and Henry Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death* attached to William Whately, *Prototypes or the primarie precedent presidents ovt of the booke of Genesis* (London: 1640)

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 16v; Samuel Clarke, *The first part of the marrow of ecclesiastical history* (London: 1654) p.933

¹⁵ Clarke, *First part of the marrow* p.933

good; he lifting his eyes steadfastly towards heaven, and one of his hands, in the close of that prayer gave up the ghost.’¹⁶

Here we see William Whately, like many others in their godly lives, ‘playing an active role in the drama’ of his own deathbed, conversing with his audience on religious matters and accepting death patiently and silently, directing his eyes and hands towards heaven.¹⁷ A similar deathbed scene is portrayed in **figure nineteen**.

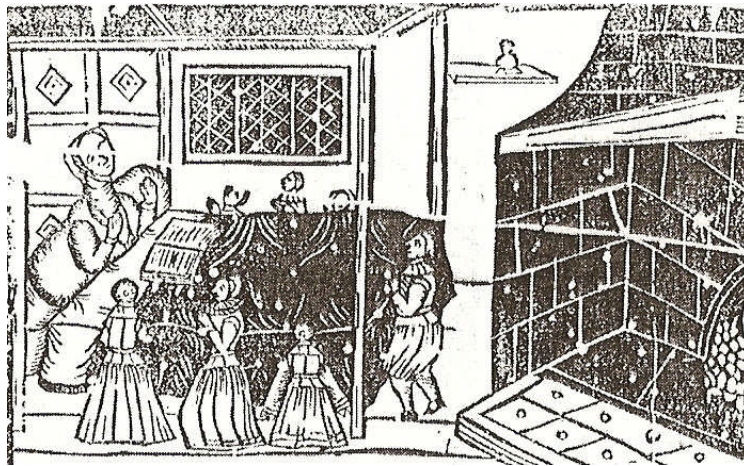


Figure nineteen - a woodcut from the ballad, *An hundred godly lessons that a mother on her death-bed gave to her children whereby they may know how to guide themselves towards God and man, to the benefit of the commonwealth, joy of their parents, and good to themselves*.¹⁸

In the account of Whately’s deathbed we see the interaction between the dying person and their audience. This is made more explicit in the account of Elizabeth Juxton’s deathbed. In Juxton’s funeral sermon, given in November 1619, Stephen Denison, minister of St Katherine’s Cree in London, explained how not long before

¹⁶ Leigh and Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death* 16v; Clarke, *First part of the marrow* p.934

¹⁷ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* p.161 and Houlbrooke, ‘The Puritan Deathbed’ p.131; Claire Cross, ‘The Third Earl of Huntingdon’s Death-Bed: A Calvinist Example of the *Ars Moriendi*’ in *Northern History*, Volume 21 (1985) pp.80-108 mentions that by Nathaniel Gilby’s account, Huntingdon ‘did very joyfully lift up his eyes towards heaven’ and also his hands, before he died. It was reported that those with him, ‘commended his soul to God Almighty, though with most dolefull grieve and most plentifull tears’ pp.101-3; Samuel Clarke, noted in his life of Margaret Ducke of Blackfriars that she also died with her eyes lifted towards heaven in *A Collection of the lives of ten eminent divines, famous in their generations for learning, prudence, piety and painfulness in the work of the ministry* (London: 1662) p.500

¹⁸ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) pp.101-2; this ballad was registered in 1624 and was still on the stock list in 1712. This particular woodcut comes from a copy dated 1686-8 but the costumes suggest that the woodcut was produced at an earlier date.

her death Elizabeth ‘made a very excellent acknowledgement of goodnesse of God unto her’ making clear that ‘she knew that it should be well with her after this life ended.’¹⁹ She blessed God for the benefit she had received ‘by the ministerie of the word’ and exhorted her kindred and friends ‘which were about her, that they should be carefull to heare sermons and meditate of them.’ Apparently ‘she did so speake with that evidence of spirit, as that she drew teares from them which heard her at that time.’²⁰ Here we see Elizabeth Juxton’s confidence in her salvation, and her elect status being confirmed both by her own performance and also by the tears shed by her kindred and friends, who witnessed it.²¹ A show of emotion at the deathbed is understandable, but here we see the tears of the godly playing a different role, that of assurance.

It was important to be conscious at death and what contemporaries feared above all was sudden death, without adequate preparation.²² The performance of the dying on their sickbed and at their death was felt to be a summation of their life. In an attempt to console his readers, William Perkins wrote that

‘by the outwarde condition of any man, either in life or death, we are not to iudge of his estate before God... it is true indeed that suddaine death is a curse and grieuous judgement of God and therefore not without cause feared of men in the world.’²³

He continued, ‘yet all things considered, we ought to be more afraid of an impertinent & evil life, then of sudden death.’²⁴ How one died did not affect one’s salvation but a good death following a good life was interpreted as a sign of assurance of faith in the

¹⁹ Stephen Denison, *The monument or tombe-stone: or, a sermon preached at Laurence Pountines chvrch in London, November 21 1619 at the funeral of Mrs Elizabeth Iuxton, the late wife of Mr John Iuxton* (London: 6th edition, 1631) p.51

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker’s Revenge: ‘Orthodoxy,’ ‘Heterodoxy’ and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001) p.26

²² Gittings, ‘Sacred and Secular’ p.155

²³ William Perkins, *A salve for a sicke man, or a treatise containing the nature, difference and kindes of death; as also the right manner of dying well* (Cambridge: 1595) pp.17-18

²⁴ Ibid p.18; also Houlbrooke, ‘The Puritan Deathbed,’ p.122

eyes of the audience. In his biography of Mary Gunter, Samuel Clarke reported her concern that she would be mocked if she said anything out of place on her deathbed, with phrases such as ‘this is the end of all your precise folks, they die mad, or not themselves, &c.’²⁵ This suggests that the godly were seen to be particularly concerned that their deathbed performance lived up to the ideal printed in conduct literature. If it did not they were likely to be mocked by their enemies. Even if it did, however, their enemies might still mock their performance.

Some testators in both Banbury and Nottingham commented at the start of their wills that although the time of death was unknown, at that time ‘as yt shall please my maker and saviour Jesus Christe to take me from this transitorie life’ my mind and ‘trust shalbe fullie towards my god and the ioyes of heaven.’²⁶ By doing so, the testator was reiterating that their mind would be towards God at death, fearing that their appearance at the deathbed might deceive through illness or lack of consciousness. It could be argued that a similar fear lay behind some of the more detailed will preambles.

Wills in this period traditionally began with a preamble which released the testator’s soul to the hands of God and their body to the earth. These ranged from the very simple ‘I bequeath my soul to Almighty God’ to quite detailed expressions of faith. Some testators acknowledged a belief that they would be ‘saved’ and others hoped they would sit amongst the elect in heaven.²⁷ In his will of 1629 Thomas Hayes of Nottingham emphasized that he would be saved by Christ alone ‘by none

²⁵ Mary Gunter died in 1622. From Samuel Clarke, *The lives of sundry eminent persons*, Part 2 (1683) p.140, quoted in Houlbrooke, ‘The Puritan Deathbed’ p.127

²⁶ This example is taken from Margaret Youicke of Banbury’s will, proved 17 July 1617

²⁷ An example is provided by the will of Thomas Blissard, a baker from Banbury, proved 25 May 1598. It began, I ‘commend and frelie doe give my soule to god that gave it me trustinge and stedfastlie beleeving to be saved and to have that comfortable ioye in heaven which is prepared for his elect through the merritts death passion and glorious resurrection and assention of his son Jesus Christ my onlie saviour and redeemer.’

other meanes neither saint nor angel' and several others stressed that it would be 'by noe merytte or worke.'²⁸ The usefulness of will preambles as testaments of faith or as a reflection of a particular religious identity, particularly for the years following Elizabeth's accession, has been the subject of much historical debate.²⁹ The preamble formulas which were in circulation and the role played by scribes in writing wills limit the usefulness of reading preambles as accurate expressions of the beliefs of the testator. Even if testators made an active choice of preamble from a selection offered by a scribe, for example, who was known to them, something which has been argued more recently, it is difficult to detect and interpret this in the wills from Nottingham and Banbury.³⁰ In a few wills for both towns, however, the presence of a scribe and the use of formulae are evident. The preamble featured in Thomas Becon's *The sicke man's salve* is used in at least three Nottingham and two Banbury wills over the course of the period.³¹ Four Nottingham wills which were witnessed by John Tomson

²⁸ Will of Thomas Hayes of Nottingham proved 20 August 1629; also, for example, will of William Clarke of Banbury (undated) proved 1611 and will of Robert Newell proved 1 October 1611

²⁹ This debate is discussed for example by Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* pp.505-6; Claire Cross, 'Wills as Evidence of Popular Piety in the Reformation Period: Leeds and Hull, 1540-1640' in David Loades ed. *The End of Strife* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1984) pp.46-49; Gittings, 'Sacred and Secular' pp.154-5; John Craig and Caroline Litzenberger, 'Wills as Religious Propaganda: The Testament of William Tracy' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44, 3 (1997) p.43; Houlbrooke *Death, Religion and the Family* pp.123-27; Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp.160-1; Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (London: Academic Press, 1979) p.158; preambles have, however, been studied usefully by some historians to indicate early Protestantism or residual Catholicism, for example Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) passim.

³⁰ This is something discussed in Craig and Litzenberger, 'Wills as Religious Propaganda' p.431; Cooper, *Memento Mori Portraiture* p.137; Christopher Marsh, 'Attitudes to Will-Making in Early Modern England,' in Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose eds. *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2000) p.168. They have argued that a scribe was unlikely to waste time on a lengthy preamble when a simple 'I bequeath my soul to Almighty God' would suffice in the eyes of the testator.

³¹ The preamble featured in Becon's *The sicke mans salve* is 'I The unprofitable seruant of god, weak in body and notwithstanding strong in minde do willingly with a free hart, render and geve agayne into the hands of the Lord my God, my spirit, which he of his fatherly goodness gave unto me when he fashioned this my body in my mother's wombe, by this means makyng me a lyving creature, nothyng doubtyng but that this my lord god for his mercies sake set forth in the precious bloud of his dearly beloved sonne Christ Jesus our alone saviour & redeemer, will receive my soule into his glory, and place it in the company of the heavenly angels and blessed saintes' pp.121-2; the Nottingham wills

or Thompson in the early 1600s have an identical preamble, as do five of the wills witnessed by John Lambert between 1626 and 1641. These men were also likely to have been the scribes.³²

The focus here will be on the distinctive preambles written by three testators in Banbury, Richard Showell, John Pym and John Gill. They are particularly detailed and clearly differ from preambles left by others in the town. Some of the phrases and sentiments used are very similar to those found in shorter, simpler preambles. These preambles however appear more performative, since the sentiments are expressed at greater length and sometimes loaded with very emotional language. Their detail indicates that more time and thought was spent writing them. It suggests that their choice of wording mattered more to these individuals and that these preambles can more reasonably be regarded to reflect the particular beliefs and identity of the dying. That being said it is impossible to know in what condition the testator was when the will was written. With the exception of John Pym's will, these three wills were written a while before the testator actually died, implying that the testator may have been well enough to reflect upon the content of the preamble.³³ Here it is argued that

containing this preamble are the wills of Thomas Burche (proved 8 October 1601), Richard Tomlinson (proved 12 October 1609), William Collinson (proved February 1633); and for Banbury, the wills of Frances Genyver (proved 6 April 1601) and Christian Butler (proved 5 October 1624)

³² The witness was present at the reading of the will and signed the will declaring that its contents truly reflected the wishes of the testator. Often the scribe's signature is included amongst the list of witnesses. The wills witnessed by John Tomson with identical preambles are George Richardson's (proved 7 January 1601), John Clarke's (proved 13 October 1608), Elizabeth Tompson's (proved 15 May 1606) and Henry Pepper's (proved 21 April 1608.) He is named scribe in the will of Henry Pepper. The wills witnessed by John Lambert with identical preambles were Thomas Singleton's (proved 2 August 1626), Adam Jackson's (proved 11 February 1634), Robert Harries' (proved 26 January 1636), Anne Beldon's (proved 9 February 1639) and Ellin Allen's (proved 9 March 1641.) In the wills of Robert Harries and Ellin Allen he is named as scribe. There are, however, also examples of wills witnessed by these two men which have different preambles. More notably, also in Nottingham, fifteen wills witnessed by John Tibberd, the *notarie publique*, have the identical and simple preamble 'I commit my soule into the hands of almighty God trusting in the merits of ye Lord & saviour Christ Jesus to be made partaker of life everlasting.' Another three by him share a different preamble which mentions the forgiveness of sins. Seven other wills witnessed by him all have different preambles from each other.

³³ Richard Showell was buried 10 November 1610. His will was written 20 August 1610. John Pym was buried 28 March 1611 and his will was written the day before. John Gill was buried 25 June 1634. His will was written 3 September 1626; BW1 pp.214, 307 and BW2 p.105

these preambles served a purpose for the dying men in declaring their faith to ensure they had adequately prepared for their death, in case they were not able to do so on their deathbed. The contents of wills, including the preamble, was shared before an audience, whether at their writing, their signing before witnesses or their final reading. These more detailed preambles may, therefore, also have been intended to influence the audience of their will through their assurance of faith and example.

The first of these distinctive preambles is found in the will of Richard Showell written in 1610.³⁴ He was a mercer and the son of Henry Showell, one of the magistrates who had organised the destruction of the market crosses in 1600. Showell's preamble stands out in the strength of his faith that 'I verily beleue to be made partaker' of the everlasting happiness provided for God's 'electt people.' He emphasised his faith in God alone and Christ's role as reconciler, writing that God

'of his infinite love to mee without any meritte or desert of myne, did send his onely sonne Jesus Christ to seeke mee when I was lost, and to reconcile him to mee.'³⁵

He also described at length Christ's death and resurrection, acknowledging that he was one of the number whom Christ died to save.

'I am of the number of those for whome hee dyed on the crosse and being buried rose againe overcominge death and hell for my sins to this and that whereas I was deade in sinn and trespasses he should quicken mee through the vertue of his holie spirit to newnes of lieffe, and hath assended into heaven where he sitteth triumphantlie at the right hand of God his father.'³⁶

Showell's will also stands out in referring to the Day of Judgement when God 'shall come to judge both the quicke and the dead according to their deserts.'³⁷ Showell went on to leave many charitable bequests, including gifts to three ministers who resided in Banbury, William Shorte, George Gee and John Lancaster, as well as

³⁴ Will of Richard Showell, proved 2 April 1611

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

money to the corporation towards the building of an almshouse, a house of correction or a free school. His will was overseen by his cousin, the minister Henry Scudder, and witnessed by William Shorte and another minister, Haymon Leigh, who also resided in Banbury.³⁸

A second example is provided by the will of John Pym, written in 1611.³⁹ John Pym served the corporation in various roles including bridge-master and auditor. He was the son of alderman Thomas Pym. His wife Mary was the daughter of alderman John Gill, another defendant in the case of the crosses. She was accused of not being churchd in 1610.⁴⁰ John Pym's will, like that of Showell, stands out in the conviction of his election, bequeathing his soul to the

'handes of the Lord my god whoe of his owne free love and goodnes did elect me in Christ Jesus unto eternall life from before the begynning of the worlde.'⁴¹

He later asserts that 'by a true and livelye faithe' and through the death of Christ his sins will be forgiven. By Christ's merits he looks 'for saluation in ye life to come.'⁴²

More distinctively his preamble continues by discussing his conversion to the correct pathway to salvation through a knowledge and fear of God, which he received through the preaching of the Word:

'And whereas by the corruption of nature I was utterlie lost and became a childe of wrathe and bond slave of Sathan: yt pleased the Lorde according to the good purpose of his will to redeeme me by the bloude of Jesus Christe shed upon the crosse to that ende I mighte serve hym in holynes and righteousnes all the dayes of my life whoe also did converte me from the wicked life wherein I lived without either knowledge or feare of his name to knowe hym in Jesus Christe which he did by his good spiritt through the preaching of his worde and which worke begunne he will contynewe beyng the Author and finisher of faithe untill he brings me to the end of my hope even the saluation of my soule.'

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Will of John Pym, proved 18 June 1611

⁴⁰ Biographical information on John Pym taken from BCR p.319; the case of Mary Pym is found in (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry c.157 f.46

⁴¹ Will of John Pym proved 18 June 1611

⁴² Ibid.

Furthermore, towards the end he places himself in the hands of God's 'good providence' in which

'I looke for protection and defence according to the tyme that he hath appointed me to abide in this troublesome pilgrimage till he bring me to the place of rest.'⁴³

The third and most detailed of the preambles is featured in the will of John Gill, a gentleman of Wickham, in the parish of Banbury.⁴⁴ (Refer to appendix three for a full transcript.) He was the father-in-law of John Pym and involved in the destruction of the market crosses. He served Banbury as bailiff in 1602-3. More than the other two examples, the words of his preamble betray that his will had an intended audience. John Gill's will is dominated by his preamble, which is divided into three sections. In the first part, concerning his 'Christian estate and soule,' he discusses his belief in salvation. In this, his preamble is notable for its discussion of Christ's conception, and in referring to Christ as the Messiah. For example, he placed his faith in

'Jesus Christe, whome I acknowledge to bee that Messiar promised to our fathers of old who in the fulnes of tyme was conceived in the wombe of the blessed virgin Mary.'⁴⁵

Like Pym's description of life as a 'troublesome pilgrimage' Gill also uses long, emotional phrases, referring to life as a 'vale of teares,' expressing how he is clothed

'with the perfecte righteousness obedience and holines of the same Christe putt on by faith and soe mistifye mee before his Maiestye and beinge soe made pure and holy in his sighte whensever it shall please him to call mee out of this vale of teares hee will give to mee that eternal life my and happinesse which is prepared and reserved for mee and all the electe men.'⁴⁶

He firmly asserts his belief that Christ died to become a saviour for the elect and reiterates his confidence of being amongst those who would be saved, claiming

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Will of John Gill, written 3 September 1626 but proved 17 March 1635

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

‘and soe [Christ] became true man able to suffer and God able to meritt, and that person God and man fulfilled all righteousness and thereby became according to his name a Saviour of all the Electe: of which number it hath pleased Almightye God of his owne good will and pleasure to ordayne and appointe mee to bee one.’⁴⁷

This first section ends with John Gill emphasising he does not fear death, but is prepared for it, saying

‘therefore I doe desire ioyfully and patiently to waite expecte and longe (with the rest of his church on earth) for that comfortable calling and departure and whensoever it shalbee I desire and hope I shall willingly yeild my soule into the hande of my said father and Saviour and my body to the earth.’⁴⁸

The second section of his preamble acts as a thanksgiving to God for his happy life and asks God to ‘give wisdome and faithfullness’ to his family and friends he is leaving behind. He thanks ‘his heavenly Majestie’ for being

‘wonderfull mercifull to mee both in keepinge mee and providinge for mee (when I had neither father nor mother left and I very younge) as also in my faithfull and religious wives.’⁴⁹

Of most interest, however, is the third section. Here Gill turns his attention fully towards his children, giving them advice on how to live a godly life. They are told to ‘love and feare the lord and all his ordinances and in him their neighbours and all gods creatures.’ Furthermore, they must ‘sett their affection on heavenly things and not on things which are on the earth.’ They must not love the world or worldly things, ‘which if they doe it is certain the love of god is not in them.’ He adds later that they must use ‘earthly things’ for God’s honor and glory and not live a ‘vayne and idle life’ but be

‘diligente and faithfull in some honest callinge not for the desire to bee rich for the desire of riches is the roote of all evill but in obedience to gods ordinances and comandemente.’⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Gill advised his children to be content with their fortune and status in life and not covet other people's wealth and possessions. They must

'have their conversacion without covetousnes for God hath said to all his hee will not faile them nor forsake them; yet esteeme not to lightlye of those things which God giueth for their maintenance in this life.'

The wording of John Gill's preamble suggests a familiarity with the language of contemporary conduct literature and works of practical divinity. We know from his inventory he owned a Bible and other books worth £2 10s.⁵¹ It also suggests that he was fearful that the manner of his death may not allow him to perform his fatherly duty as he ought to do on his deathbed. The godly divine William Gouge, in his 1622 publication *Of domesticall dvties*, commented that

'when parents observe their time to draw neere, they ought to commend some wise and wholesome precepts unto their children, the better to direct them in their Christian course.'⁵²

By writing such 'wholesome precepts' in wills, testators such as Gill could ensure that their message was heard and/or read by the desired recipients, and also that the advice was preserved in some format so that it could be consulted more than once. Like Gill, Robert Harris, minister of Hanwell, added 'advice and counsel' to his family in his will. It began 'My dear selfs, I know not what leisure I shall have to speak unto you at my death...'⁵³ This was the case for women as well as men. We have seen Elizabeth Juxton performing at her deathbed above, and **figure nineteen** depicts a mother talking to her children on her deathbed. Furthermore, it was for fear of dying prematurely, for example in childbirth, unable to fulfil their role in bringing their children up in the fear of God, that some mothers wrote tracts of advice to their

⁵¹ Inventory of John Gill dated 6 October 1634 (ORO 39/4/20) BW2 p.105

⁵² William Gouge, *Of domesticall dvties, eight treatises* (London: 1622) p.568

⁵³ Robert Harris died in 1658; William Durham, *The life and death of that judicious divine and accomplish'd preacher, Robert Harris* (London, 1660) p.108; Stephen Wright's article on Robert Harris in the DNB

children, such as Dorothy Leigh's *Mother's blessing* and Elizabeth Jocelin's *The mothers legacie to her unborne childe*.⁵⁴

The preambles of Richard Showell, John Pym and John Gill were exceptional in Banbury and no such distinctive wills were found in Nottingham. Preambles therefore do not serve as a way to capture the more widespread performance of godly culture. A few testators clearly saw will preambles as an important vehicle for the expression of religious beliefs. It is probable that many others did not see the preamble as serving such a purpose. Instead they turned to different arenas for such performances, such as their last dying moments or funeral sermons, which will be discussed in due course. Having looked at will preambles in the context of the deathbed itself, the second section of this chapter will turn to the contents of the main body of wills as a different way in which some testators performed a particular religious identity.

As with the ideal deathbeds described in godly lives, where the conscious, dying individual performed to the deathbed audience, composed of friends, family and neighbours, will-writing can also be seen as a type of performance complete with a similar audience. As Christopher Marsh argues, 'there is an element to wills, sometimes at least, where the testator saw it as his responsibility to set an example to others, to lead his neighbours into similarly godly practice.'⁵⁵ This has been argued already for the preambles. A few individuals were literate enough, and in a sufficient mental state, to write their own wills. Many others employed the skills of a scribe, where the will was read out to the testator before their signature was applied. In a

⁵⁴ Dorothy Leigh, *The mother's blessing: or, the godly counsel of a gentlewoman not long since deceased, left behind for her children* (London: 1616); Elizabeth Jocelin, *The mothers legacie to her unborne childe* (London: 1624); for others see Sylvia Brown ed. *Women's Writing in Stuart England: The Mothers' Legacies of Dorothy Leigh, Elizabeth Joscelin and Elizabeth Richardson* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999)

⁵⁵ Marsh, 'Attitudes to Will-Making' p.174

dispute over the will of Bartholomew Naylor in Banbury in 1628 a witness explained that,

‘Thomas Seagle being then present, who did put in writing the said will, which was then distinctly read all over unto the said Naylor who did thereupon approve thereof.’⁵⁶

As well as a scribe, as in the example of Epaphroditus, the sick man in Thomas Becon’s *The sicke man’s salve*, wills tended to be witnessed by friends or neighbours who signed their names to the document. In Becon’s example, the will-writing took the form of a lengthy dialogue between the testator and his witnesses.⁵⁷

Writing a will was an important part of the deathbed ritual for some, if it had not already been written prior to that point. William Gouge explained in his *Of domesticall dvities* that it was a

‘common ciuilitie, when they who have any estate... haue any occasion of expecting death offered unto them, to make their last will and testament. This is set forth in the Old Testament in the phrase (put thy house in order.)’⁵⁸

Will-writing was both a practical necessity for the disposal of goods but also a Biblical commandment. Gouge went on to show that once this had been completed, the individual ‘may the more quietly settle himselfe for heavenly contemplations and preparations to death.’⁵⁹

Wills had a social as well as a religious purpose. It is impossible to know whether testators in this period viewed their wills as primarily secular or religious documents, although it may be inappropriate to make distinctions between the two.⁶⁰ They put forward a mixture of overlapping identities, including social status, gender, financial status as well as religion. They were also bound in tradition. Wills are

⁵⁶ Bawdy Court p.95, record dated 10 November 1628

⁵⁷ Becon, *The sicke mans salue* pp.117-159

⁵⁸ Gouge, *Of domesticall dvities* p.571

⁵⁹ Ibid; Christopher Marsh, ‘Departing Well and Christianly:’ Will-making and Popular Religion in Early Modern England’ in Eric Joseph Carlson ed. *Religion and the English People, 1500-1640: New Voices, New Perspectives* (Missouri: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998) p.214

⁶⁰ Marsh, ‘Departing Well and Christianly’ p.203

problematic as sources for religious identity since not everybody produced a will, and it is unlikely that all the wills which were written between 1580 and 1650 in either Nottingham or Banbury have survived.⁶¹ Those that do survive vary in length and detail, and it is unclear in what condition the testator was when the will was written or what role a scribe may have played in constructing the will. Furthermore, testators with more money were in more of a position to make generous charitable bequests.

Whilst understanding that the seemingly religious aspects of wills are bound up with conventions of tradition and social status, when the wills from Nottingham and Banbury are looked at together, over a long period of time, there are some details which stand out. The more distinctive bequests can also be fitted with other details of peoples' lives to understand more about the identity of the testators. This second part of the chapter will not discuss all the charitable bequests made in wills, for example gifts to the parish church, the corporation or the more common gifts to the poor, since it is particularly difficult to sever these bequests from other more social aspects of personal identity. Instead the focus of discussion will be on the types of bequest which appear to have been more popular amongst the godly populations of both towns. Firstly, specific gifts to the poor, for example to set them to work, will be examined. Secondly, discussion will move to preaching, looking at money given towards the town lecture or lecturer, money for sermons, for example on the new Protestant holidays, and gifts made to specific, godly ministers. Thirdly, this section will end by looking at the bequests of religious texts to targeted recipients. These bequests will be seen as a way in which some of the godly chose to reflect their

⁶¹ In Banbury, wills written by 402 individuals 1580-1650 have survived, 73 female and 329 male; in Nottingham, wills written by 499 individuals 1580-1650 have survived, 111 female and 388 male; for discussion of change in testamentary religious provisions in England in this period and before, refer to David Hickman, 'From Catholic to Protestant: The Changing Meaning of Testamentary Religious Provisions in Elizabethan London' in Nicholas Tyacke ed. *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (London: UCL Press, 1998) pp.117-139

identity at their death, for example their concern for hearing and reading the Word, bringing children up in the fear of God and avoiding superstition. They will also be seen as a way in which the godly may have articulated their place within a particular religious community.

Many testators in Banbury and Nottingham chose to leave bequests for the poor. These varied from small gifts of money, sometimes for the 'poor box in the church,' to bread to be distributed at the funeral and money for the coal stock for the poor. Mostly these were one-off payments and in the majority of cases they had a value less than 20s, but some were to be made annually. Amongst the mass of donations for the poor, there are bequests which stand out not for their generosity, but in the way the money was to be spent and the language in which the bequest was phrased. For example, although having a large crowd attending your funeral remained a sign of status in the post-Reformation period, Clare Gittings has written that payments made to the poor to encourage their appearance were disapproved of by some of the 'more puritanical Protestant clergy' in case they were misinterpreted as payment of doles for prayers.⁶² This may have been an idea reflected in the will of Nicholas Kinnersley, a gentleman of Nottingham in 1607. He insisted that his bequest to the poor was to be given 'within the month of my funeral in bread or money' 'for avoiding their assemblie on my funeral.'⁶³

Some testators stressed in their wills that they wanted their money to be given to 'honest and godlie' poor.⁶⁴ William Wheigham, of Banbury, left money to a combination of the general poor, poor 'Christians' and poor, faithful ministers. He was the son-in-law of Richard Whately, who was involved in the cases of the

⁶² Gittings, 'Sacred and Secular' p.160; also noted by Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1560-1643* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005) pp.60-61

⁶³ Will of Nicholas Kinnersley of Nottingham, proved 16 June 1607

⁶⁴ Taken from the will of Thomas Pinme of Banbury proved 5 May 1590

maypoles and the crosses, to be discussed in chapter six. Wheigham left 20s for both Robert Cleaver and John Dod to give his funeral sermon and made Dod overseer to his will.⁶⁵ The role of overseer was to ensure that the executor to the will, chosen by the testator, carried out their duty. Anne Austin, also of Banbury, left money in 1635 for ten ‘honest’ widows. In addition, she left black gloves for the minister William Whately and his wife, and requested a funeral sermon from Whately.⁶⁶ Banbury alderman Thomas Whately, the father of minister William Whately, also involved in the destruction of the town’s crosses, bequeathed cloth to members of the poor who were not ‘disordered by drunkenness, cursing, railing or swearing.’ Haymon Leigh, a retired minister from Broughton, who resided in Banbury, made a similar statement in his will. He left money to set up a fund to lend money to poor tradesmen, ‘not for the scandalous or idle but only those that are honest and truelie religious and industrious in their calling.’⁶⁷ Although it is important not to over-interpret the divisions between the ‘honest’ and general poor, it seems implicit in the use of the term ‘honest’ and also in references to the ‘religious,’ ‘godly’ and ‘industrious’ poor that the testators were concerned that the recipients of their money would not waste it. It was traditional to give alms to the poor but some testators were more specific in their fund allocations, as well as more supportive in their desire to educate the poor and promote

⁶⁵ Will of William Wheigham, proved 4 January 1604; will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately, proved 4 January 1604

⁶⁶ Will of Anne Austin, proved 2 May 1633. Her will was witnessed by Anne Sharpe. Sharpe was involved in removing the statues from the Banbury church in 1610, which will be discussed in chapter six, and refused to kneel to receive the sacrament in 1621. Her husband was Henry Sharpe, one of the booksellers for whom William Whately’s works were published; (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 ff.98r–99v; Peynton, *Presentments* p.215

⁶⁷ Will of Thomas Whately proved 23 April 1638; will of Haymon Leighe, proved 4 November 1619; *The Clergy of the Deaneries of Chipping Norton and Deddington and the Peculiars of Banbury and Cropredy During the Settlement of 1559 and Afterwards: Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Report 1916* (Banbury: William Potts, 1917) p.51 shows that Hennon Leigh was minister at Broughton from 20 May 1596 until his deprivation in 1605.

public morality.⁶⁸ Henry Showell, another participant in the destruction of the crosses, exemplified this in 1616, insisting that a share of his property went towards the clerk of Banbury to teach young and poor children to read.⁶⁹

In both towns there were a few testators who left bequests aimed at helping the poor in work. In Banbury, William Francklin offered half of the money received from the residue of his goods to be lent to honest men and women to employ them in his will in 1616. The other half was to go to deprived ministers. The same year Henry Showell asked that some money from his goods go towards the maintenance of a man to be in control of setting the poor to work, and in the establishment of a 'house of correction for the punishment of ydle and untrustie persons.'⁷⁰ Similarly, in 1621 James West left money to be lent money to two poor men and Peter Deguilaine left money to be lent to 'young men of good conversation' for a period of three years to further them in work in his will of 1628.⁷¹ James West was one of the masons who helped bring down Banbury's market crosses in 1600. Peter Deguilaine was a French surgeon. He also left his books to be sold for the benefit of the French church in London, bequeathed gifts to the family of William Whately and requested a funeral sermon from Whately who, along with Robert Cleaver, was made executor of his will.⁷² In 1641, Martha, the wife of William Whately, left £10 towards 'the stock to

⁶⁸ This is also something argued by David Marcombe, *English Small Town Life: Retford, 1520-1642* (Oxford: The Alden Press, 1993) p.57; David Underdown, *Fire From Heaven: The Life of an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1992) pp.33-4, when discussing the charity of the anti-Puritan magistrate Matthew Chubb and his wife, Underdown comments that 'they cultivated the reputation of being generous to the clergy and hospitable to the poor, and so they were in their way. But that way was not the selective philanthropy directed towards improving people that Puritans favoured.'

⁶⁹ Will of Henry Showell, proved 29 January 1616

⁷⁰ Ibid; will of William Francklin, proved 18 July 1618

⁷¹ Will of James West, proved 24 November 1621; will of Peter Deguilaine, proved 17 November 1628

⁷² Refer to chapter six for discussion of the case of the crosses; nowhere in Banbury's records does it say that Deguilaine was French but his surname and the bequests in his will suggest this.

set poor on work.’ In 1649 Thomas Pym left £5 for the same cause.⁷³ Two men in Nottingham, a Mr Parker and Richard Staples, gave money to be lent to young men for a period of time to further them in work.⁷⁴ Bequests of this type helped to reinforce the poor law of 1601, which required parishes to elect overseers of the poor, and to maintain stocks, for example of hemp, on which the poor could be set to work. A similar scheme to set the poor on work had been established in Banbury in 1597-8.⁷⁵

A second way in which testators’ bequests appear to perform a godly identity, demonstrating a further commitment to improving education and morality within the community, is through the support of preaching. By giving money for the continuation of the lecture, supplementing the income of specific ministers and bequeathing gifts to chosen, godly ministers, testators also articulated their relationship with their clergy and their place within a specific network of believers. Bequests made to the personnel of the church may not have been new to this period but these bequests appear to have increased in popularity over the course of the early seventeenth century in Banbury and Nottingham. Ministers started to receive more gifts in wills, independent of their diminishing role as scribe.⁷⁶ As will be shown, not all ministers within Banbury and Nottingham between 1580 and 1640 received bequests in equal numbers, suggesting that some among the laity responded more to certain ministers than others.

⁷³ The will of Martha Whately, proved 23 December 1641; will of Thomas Pym, proved 17 February 1649

⁷⁴ Robert Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire (1790-96)*, edited and enlarged by John Throsby, Volume 11 (Menston: Scolar Press, 1972) pp.50-51

⁷⁵ BCR pp.68, 78; Underdown *Fire from Heaven* pp.12-13 discusses the Poor Law and similar schemes to those in Banbury.

⁷⁶ Over the course of this period fewer ministers acted as witnesses to wills, a role which may have indicated that they had also written the will. Increasingly lay scribes were taking over the practice of writing wills. In Banbury these included Robert Benbow and Nicholas Austen, and in Nottingham, John Tomson or Thompson, John Lambert and John Tibberd.

Over the course of the period 1580 to 1650, six bequests were made in Banbury towards the town lecture.⁷⁷ The first of these was in 1588, where Henry Halhead, a former bailiff and alderman, bequeathed 10s annually towards, ‘the maintenance of the true and sincere preaching of the Gospel and the true word of God weekly within the parish of Banbury, for ever.’ If it should happen, ‘God forbid,’ that the ‘appointed lecture or sermon in Banbury’ should cease, his 10s was to be used to teach the poor children of the parish.⁷⁸ Thomas Hadley left 20s in 1599 to be divided between ‘them that keep the lecture,’ likely to be referring to the lecture by combination, whose preachers included John Dod and Robert Cleaver. In 1616 Henry Showell left 10s annually ‘so long as there be a lecture for the praising of Gods word.’⁷⁹ Three bequests were also made specifically to William Whately’s Tuesday lecture. For example, in 1633 Daniel Dadson gave 4s a year to the lecture ‘while William Whately is serving.’⁸⁰

In Nottingham no bequests were made specifically to the town lecture, which was in existence from at least 1617. Instead, Henry Woodis of Nottingham generously left £6 in 1636 for the maintenance of a monthly lecture at Matlock.⁸¹ Three testators did, however, leave bequests to two successive town lecturers, Richard Caldwell and Thomas Cranage. Caldwell, for example, was left 10s a year in the will of alderman Stephen Hill, while he continued preacher in the town. Cranage received 20s in the will of George James in 1635.⁸² Unlike in Banbury, in Nottingham bequests were also made for specific, annual sermons in four wills. John Parker, for

⁷⁷ Note that wills dating from between 1580 and 1650, rather than 1640, have been examined, to capture a greater number of inhabitants who were alive and adults in the period 1580-1640.

⁷⁸ Will of Henry Halhead written 24 November 1588

⁷⁹ Will of Henry Showell, proved 29 January 1616; will of Thomas Hadley, proved 11 March 1600

⁸⁰ Will of Daniel Dadson, proved 13 July 1633; also wills of James West, proved 25 November 1621, and John Nichols, proved 29 June 1631

⁸¹ Will of Henry Woodis of Nottingham, proved 13 May 1636

⁸² Will of Stephen Hill, proved 8 May 1628; will of George James written 9 August 1635

example, bequeathed money in 1603 for the minister of St Mary to preach an annual sermon on ‘Christian love and charity’ on Good Friday with accompanying almsgiving.⁸³ Alderman Robert Staples left 10s in 1630 to be given annually to a ‘godly and learned preacher whome my executor hereafter named shall from time to time like well of and appoint’ to preach two sermons. One was to be on the Sabbath before ‘the feast of the nativitie,’ the other on the Sabbath before the feast of Pentecost, ‘exhorting his hearers to good hospitality and to the releiving of the poore.’⁸⁴ William Collinson bequeathed 10s in 1632 for two sermons a year at St Nicholas, at which time bread was to be distributed for the poor.⁸⁵ Luke Jackson, a citizen of London but born in Nottingham, left money in 1630 for two annual sermons at St Peter’s, Nottingham, on 25 July and 5 November. They were to celebrate ‘God great mercy’ and give ‘thanks for the miraculous deliverance’ from the threat of the Spanish Armada and the Catholic gunpowder treason plot.⁸⁶ Anker and George Jackson, Luke’s father and brother, were presented to the Archdeaconry court in 1619 for gadding to hear George Coates at St Peter’s.⁸⁷ They were also mocked as Puritans in the religious libels in 1615 and 1617, which will be discussed in chapter seven.

In addition to leaving money for lectures, some individuals bequeathed gifts or money to specific ministers or preachers in their wills. In both towns the incidence of

⁸³ Will of John Parker mentioned in Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* p.48. Whether these testators were among the godly of Nottingham is difficult to interpret. In the pamphlets surrounding the trial of the exorcist John Darrell, which will be discussed in chapter seven, Darrell argued that his enemies in Nottingham were ‘naturall men, not favouring the spirit.’ They showed a dislike to his preaching and advised him to preach of love and charity. John Darrell, *A detection of that sinful shameful lying and ridiculous discourse of Samuel Harshnet entituled: a discoverie of the fraudulent practises of John Darrell* (1600) p.113

⁸⁴ Will of Robert Staples, proved 26 April 1632

⁸⁵ Will of William Collinson, written 14 November 1632

⁸⁶ (NRO) PR 4556 copy of the will of Luke Jackson, citizen and girdler of London, dated 26 January 1630; (NRO) PR 3633 copy of codicil of will made at the end of the burial register for St Peter’s parish for the years 1725-1784; these new Protestant festival days and others are discussed in more detail in David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd. 1989) *passim*.

⁸⁷ This case is from (BI) Visitation Court Book 1619 Part Two (V.1619 CB) ff.357r, 357v, 358r. It is discussed in more detail in chapter five pp.199-200

this was higher among the female testators than the male. Some testators particularly referred to the minister or lecturer as their friend. In Banbury seventeen people made reference to at least one minister being a 'friend' and nine people did in Nottingham. Some gifts to ministers may have been intended for forgotten tithes and other charges, something expressed in the Nottingham will of John Elton in 1580.⁸⁸ However, the fact that some ministers received personal bequests and were singled out as friends suggests a greater relationship between the testator and the clerical recipient.

The choice of clerical recipient is also of interest. Although fifteen different ministers, curates or lecturers, operating both in Nottingham and the surrounding area, each received gifts in only one or two wills, there were other ministers who received multiple bequests. Whereas Ralph Hansby, minister of St Mary's from 1617 to 1635 received no bequests, George Coates, minister of St Peter's from 1617 to 1640, who was mocked in the town's religious libels in the 1610s as a Puritan, received gifts in seventeen wills and was overseer to three.⁸⁹ This mirrored the pattern of sermon gadding from St Mary's to St Peter's after 1617, as will be discussed in chapter five. The gifts he received included £10 to buy him a gelding, a bequest of 20s a year during his lifetime, and half of Robert Wood's shirts, his hat, his coals and corn. He was also referred to as the friend of Richard Hare and Edward Guye.⁹⁰ Other recipients of multiple bequests in the town were Robert Troupe, the clerk of St Peter's

⁸⁸ John Elton left 3s 4d to the parson of St Peter's 'in full satisfaction and payment of all thythes whatsoever they be that I haue forgotten in all my life tyme.' Will of John Elton, proved February 15 1580.

⁸⁹ For the ministers' dates refer to (NRO) M416 John T. Godfrey, *Manuscripts Relating to the Ancient Parish Churches of Nottingham* (c.1900) pp.30, 106; George Coates received bequests in the following wills: (the dates the wills were proved are given in brackets in this and the subsequent footnotes) Anne Clarke (26 April 1621), Katherine Rosse (16 May 1622), Stephen Hill (8 May 1628) for whom he was also overseer, Anne Baylie (9 February 1632), John Walker (9 February 1632), Marie Lawton (9 October 1634), Richard Hare (22 April 1635), George James (October 1635), Henry Woodis (12 May 1636), Robert Wood (1 March 1637), Jane Roe (15 February 1638), Edward Whittington (9 February 1639), William Deverell (12 March 1640) for whom he was also overseer, Elizabeth Linley (30 April 1640), Jane Randon (written 3 September 1638, proved 1641), Barbara Hill (written 27 July 1640, proved 1646) and Edward Guye alias Lawther (15 August 1633) for whom he was overseer.

⁹⁰ Will of Robert Wood (1 March 1637); will of Richard Hare (22 April 1635); will of Edward Guye alias Lawther (15 August 1633)

under Coates, and Richard Caldwell, the lecturer of St Mary's, also named in the libel as a Puritan. Robert Troupe received gifts in five wills, including a new black cloak and a pair of mourning gloves. He was the overseer and witness of Marie Lawton's will.⁹¹ Richard Caldwell, received gifts in three wills. He was witness to two wills and overseer to one.⁹² Robert Troupe was remembered in both the wills of George Coates and Richard Caldwell, also indicating a friendship between the ministers themselves.⁹³

Although both his predecessors, Thomas Brasbridge and Ralph Houghton were beneficiaries in a few wills, of all the ministers receiving gifts in the wills of Banbury inhabitants it was William Whately who received by far the most.⁹⁴ Whately received gifts from fifteen of his parishioners, a number which does not include members of his extended family in the town. These gifts ranged from silver spoons and rings, to black gloves, mourning gowns, and in one will a 'gown fitting of his calling.'⁹⁵ He was referred to as a friend of four testators and was witness to eighteen

⁹¹ Will of Marie Lawton (9 October 1634); Robert Troupe also received bequests in the wills of Anne Baylie (9 February 1632), Richard Hare (22 April 1635), Elizabeth Linley (30 April 1640), Jane Randon (9 March 1641) and William Clarke (18 May 1646)

⁹² Richard Caldwell was remembered in the wills of Anne Clarke (26 April 1621), Stephen Hill (8 May 1628) and George Jackson (written 15 February 1637); he was witness to the wills of John Wasterneys (24 November 1617) and Marmaduke Gregory (10 August 1625), and overseer of the will of William Deverell (12 March 1640)

⁹³ (BI) Admon. Bond of Richard Caldwell, dated 22 September 1637, microfilm reel 1636 covering chancery wills between 1636/7-1641/2; (NMSS) NA/M3/2/103 will of George Coates written 19 July 1636. The gift of £5 in Coates' will was given to Robert T..p (likely to be Troupe).

⁹⁴ Thomas Brasbridge received bequests in the wills of Anthony Clarkson (17 March 1591) and Henry Halhead (24 November 1588); Ralph Houghton received bequests from Anthony Clarkson (17 March 1591) Thomas Harrys (17 March 1595), Thomas Dixe (27 October 1600), Richard Wheatlie (4 January 1604), William Wheigham (4 January 1604), Grace Kelye (4 October 1605), James Driver (28 June 1608) and Elizabeth Brightwell (will undated, BW1 p.123)

⁹⁵ William Whately received bequests in the wills of Roger Higgs (10 October 1610), Edward Weston (14 April 1613), Anne Walter (proved 4 October 1613) Margaret Hawtaine (27 September 1616), Joyce Moseley (28 November 1616), Andrew Vivers (11 November 1617), James West (24 November 1621), Thomas Chamberlaine (14 February 1627), Peter Deguillaine (17 November 1628), John Nichols (29 June 1631), Daniell Dadson (13 July 1633), Anne Austin (2 May 1633), George Helmedon (27 April 1635), Edward Wisedome (21 January 1737) and Mary Nichols (9 November 1639)

wills and overseer of thirteen.⁹⁶ Some testators also remembered his wife and children in their wills. Peter Deguillaine, for instance, made William Whately one of his executors, 'bound to him for his love towards me.' He left his glasses and 'physic' stuff (medicinal herbs) to William's wife Martha, £5 to their daughter Hopestill and £3 to a lady dwelling at the vicarage.⁹⁷

The fashion for bequeathing gifts to ministers was more popular in Banbury than Nottingham. In addition to gifts made to the incumbent in Banbury there were numerous bequests made both to other ministers residing in the parish in the early seventeenth century and to ministers who took part in the combination lecture. Haymon Leigh, formerly minister of Broughton, received gifts from four testators.⁹⁸ William Shorte, received five bequests between 1610 and 1616 and George Gee, a minister from Manchester, received gifts in seven wills between 1610 and 1620.⁹⁹ Robert Cleaver received gifts from thirteen people between 1592 and 1639, bequests which continued after his deprivation. He was referred to as the friend of three testators and his sons also received gifts in several wills.¹⁰⁰ John Dod received gifts in

⁹⁶ The wills where William Whately is referred to as 'friend' are William White (30 April 1622), James West (24 November 1621), Thomas Chamberlaine (14 February 1627) and John Nichols (29 June 1631)

⁹⁷ Will of Peter Deguillaine (17 November 1628); Peter Deguilliane or Digwillion was described as a physician in Bawdy Court p.79; in BW2 p.44 he is described as a Gent.

⁹⁸ *The Clergy of the Deaneries of Chipping Norton and Deddington and the Peculiars of Banbury and Cropredy* p.51 states that Hennion Leigh was minister of Broughton from 20 May 1596 until his deprivation in 1605; in his will proved 4 November 1618, Haymon Leighe is described as 'latelie minister and Incombent of Broughton in the countie of Oxon, and nowe sojourninge in Banburie;' Mr Lea or Haymon Leigh received bequests in the wills of William Halhead (23 August 1600), Roger Higgs (10 October 1610), Henry Showell (29 January 1616) and Margaret Hawtaine (27 September 1616)

⁹⁹ William Shorte received bequests in the wills of Roger Higgs (10 October 1610), Richard Showell (2 April 1611), Henry Showell (29 January 1616), Wolstone Walker (27 September 1616) and Margaret Hawtaine (27 September 1616); and George Gee received in the wills of Roger Higgs (10 October 1610), Richard Showell (2 April 1611), Anne Walter (4 October 1613), Henry Showell (29 January 1616), Wolstone Walker (27 September 1616), William Shorte (written 19 February 1617), Haymon Leigh (4 November 1618) and Thomas Halhead (28 September 1620)

¹⁰⁰ For more information on Robert Cleaver, see appendix one. Cleaver was remembered in the wills of Robert Poope (12 September 1592), William Halhead (23 August 1600), Humphrey Hadley (31 July 1602), Roger Higgs (10 October 1610), who referred to him as a friend, Henry Showell (29 January 1616), Margaret Hawtaine (27 September 1616), William Shorte (written 19 February 1617), who referred to him as a friend and gave bequests to his family, Thomas Halhead (28 September 1620),

eleven wills, including the ‘ring which I now wear’ from William Whately. He was also named as the friend of six testators. Gifts and requests for John Dod to act as overseer similarly continued after his deprivation. One will in 1616 referred to John Dod of Canons Ashby and another in 1639 to John Dod of Fawsley.¹⁰¹ John Lancaster, formerly minister of nearby Bloxham, deprived of his living at a similar time to Dod and Cleaver, received gifts from nine Banbury parishioners between 1600 and 1622. His widow received three after his death.¹⁰² Dod’s replacement at Hanwell, Robert Harris, also received gifts from two inhabitants other than his relatives in Banbury.¹⁰³

The choice of ministers given gifts in these wills suggests testators were reflecting and articulating their place within a particular, godly network. Richard Caldwell and George Coates in Nottingham were mocked as ‘Puritans’, and John Dod, Robert Cleaver and William Whately were well known for their preaching and works of practical divinity. Some testators’ support of deprived ministers is also noteworthy. The Banbury testator William Francklin left money in 1616 to ‘deprived ministers as the overseers shall think good.’ Two of the intended recipients were

Peter Deguilliane (17 November 1628), William Knight (25 November 1631), who also remembered his family, John Gill (17 March 1635), Thomas Whately (23 April 1638), Mary Nichols (9 November 1639) and Haymon Leigh (4 November 1618) who remembered his youngest son.

¹⁰¹ These gifts were in the wills of Anthony Clarkson (17 March 1591), William Bleek (4 July 1598) who referred to Dod as a friend, William Halhead (23 August 1600), Humphrey Hadley (31 July 1602), William Wheigham (4 January 1604), Roger Higgs (10 October 1610), who referred to him as a friend, Henry Showell (29 January 1616), William Shorte (written 19 February 1617), who referred to him as a friend, Bartholomew Strong (13 June 1617), Thomas Halhead (28 September 1620), who referred to him as a friend, Alice Lord (21 April 1623), who also referred to him as a friend, Thomas Whately (23 April 1638) and William Whately (25 June 1639), who also referred to him as a friend; for more information on John Dod’s career, refer to appendix one.

¹⁰² John Lancaster received bequests from William Halhead (23 August 1600), Philip Kendall (30 June 1606), Roger Higgs (10 October 1610), Richard Showell (2 April 1611), Henry Showell (29 January 1616), Margaret Hawtaine (27 September 1616), Haymon Leigh (4 November 1618) and Isaiah Showell (30 September 1622); his widow received gifts in the will of Peter Deguilliane (17 November 1628), Thomas Whately (23 April 1638) and Elizabeth Widowes (26 May 1646); Mr Lancaster was listed with Mr Dod and Mr Cleaver as ‘those three shining stars’ who had lost their positions after the 1604 articles, in Durham, *Life and death* pp.10-11; he was presented for not wearing the surplice in 1598. He was deprived in 1605. For more information on John Lancaster see Bloxham VCH p.74.

¹⁰³ In the will of Margaret Hawtaine (27 September 1616) he received four of her best silver spoons; in the will of Peter Deguilliane (17 November 1628) he received £5 or his horse.

possibly Dod and Cleaver.¹⁰⁴ Some testators also stand out in their bequests to numerous ministers. Margaret Hawtaine, a widow of Banbury, left bequests for Robert Cleaver, Robert Harris, John Lancaster, Haymon Leigh, William Shorte and William Whately.¹⁰⁵ Two Nottingham men also left money to a range of local ministers. Henry Woodis left bequests to two Staffordshire preachers, John Taylor and John Ball and two Derbyshire preachers, Mr Westoby and Mr Blackman, as well as to George Coates in 1633.¹⁰⁶ Robert Wood in 1636 left £30 to George Coates and gifts varying from 20s to £5 to four other ministers, Mr Ball, Mr Taylor, Mr Westoby, and Mr Goodwin.¹⁰⁷ Wood was listed among the Puritans of Nottingham in the case of the libels in the mid-1610s, and in 1620 was mocked again in the town as a ‘lame rascall and villaine, dissembling puritayne and hypocrite.’¹⁰⁸ Although the connection these ministers had to Nottingham is unknown, as is the connection between the ministers and testators, it is interesting that both testators chose a similar list of preachers. It is known that William Westoby was in trouble in 1634 with the Archdeacon’s court for not wearing a surplice or using the sign of the cross in Baptism and John Ball was also a non-conformist, according to his biographer.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Will of William Francklin of Banbury proved 18 July 1616

¹⁰⁵ Will of Margaret Hawtaine of Banbury proved 27 September 1616

¹⁰⁶ Will of Henry Woodis of Nottingham, proved 12 May 1636. He left £20 to John Ball and 50s to the others. John Ball was named in the will as ‘preacher at whitemore,’ John Taylor as ‘preacher at wotton,’ Mr Westerbie was named as ‘late preacher at paintridge in darbishire’ and Mr Blackman as ‘preacher of gods word at heage in darbyshire.’

¹⁰⁷ Will of Robert Wood of Nottingham, proved 1 March 1637

¹⁰⁸ (NRO) z253 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls for 1605-1620, articles dated 22 February 1619; for discussion of the libels refer to chapter seven.

¹⁰⁹ Mr William Westoby of Skegby was presented for not wearing the surplice in 1634, (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.482; R.A Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (London: Longmans 1960) p.316; this William Westerbie or Westoby was possibly the same William Westoby, clerk, who married Elizabeth Huthwaite 26 May 1627 at Nottingham St Mary’s, NMR Mary p.24; John Sutton’s article on John Ball in the DNB explains that he was at Whitemore from 1610 for 30 years. He was a non-conformist and considered emigration in the 1630s. He had been deprived of his ministry in Cheshire before moving to Whitemore. Tom Webster referred to John Ball as ‘perhaps the most important ecclesiological scholar of his generation’ in *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c.1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp.25, 54; a Mr Goodwin, minister, was to be reliably consulted by the Council along with George Coates regarding the appointment of the usher to the free school, September 20 1630, NBR V p.144, see also chapter one p.58

The third way in which testators can be seen to have performed a particular, godly identity through their wills is in the bequest of religious texts. For the godly, the word read as well as the word preached was important. The number of wills mentioning books in both Banbury and Nottingham is small, as seen in chapter three. In Nottingham ten people between 1580 and 1650 made bequests of religious texts in their wills. In Banbury the figure was also ten.¹¹⁰ In the ten Nottingham wills, six gifts were made of the Bible. In addition, Ellen Twells, a servant, left 10s for her brother to ‘buy him a bible withal.’ Other religious texts given included ‘my greatest written book of God’, again possibly the Bible, and ‘my books of divintie.’¹¹¹ William Piggen bequeathed his *Book of Common Prayer* to St Nicholas’ church.¹¹² Eleven other testators gave unspecified books. In Banbury, twelve gifts were made of copies of the Bible. Robert Gascoyne gave away more books than another inhabitant of the town. He gave his biggest Bible and ‘Mr Dod’s book’ to his son Thomas, his ‘new Bible’ and ‘two other books called learne to die and learne to live’ to his other son Robert. He also gave Bibles to Stephen Gascoyne and Thomas Bailes and a Psalm book to Martha Bailes.¹¹³

As with other personal bequests, there was a tendency to give Bibles and other books to close members of the family, for example to sons or siblings. Roger Higgs, a servant in Banbury, gave his Bible to his sister Mary Buckingham for her to pass to ‘which of her children she sees fittest to have it.’¹¹⁴ Most, but not all, of the recipients were male. Martha Whately, the wife of William Whately, divided her three Bibles

¹¹⁰ There were more testators who left unspecified books or books without religious content, such as law books, books of surgery and dictionaries. Of the 10 Nottingham testators who bequeathed religious texts, 2 were women and 8 men. In Banbury, of the 10 people who made such bequests, 2 were also women and 8 were men.

¹¹¹ Will of Ellen Twells proved 4 August 1598; will of William Johnson, proved 19 January 1614; will of Nicholas Kinnersley proved 11 July 1607; Alice Butler in her will proved December 1653 (NA) PROB 11/234 bequeathed ‘my greatest booke of all Perkins’ workes’ as well as to her ‘greate’ Bible.

¹¹² Will of William Piggen, proved October 13 1597

¹¹³ Will of Robert Gascoyne, proved 12 November 1646

¹¹⁴ Will of Roger Higgs, proved 10 October 1610

between her son Thomas and two of her daughters-in-law.¹¹⁵ Those book-owners who singled out the Bible or other religious texts to bequeath in their wills were not necessarily among the godly populations of either town. The recipients of religious texts may have been favoured for their literacy, their youth, or because other potential recipients already had books of their own. The bequests, however, can be seen as indicative of the personal value of the object and may reflect a concern for the religious practice and education of the recipient. In the spiritual biography of Robert Harris, minister of Hanwell, published in 1660, his cousin William Durham notes that Harris bequeathed ‘to all my children and their children’s children, to each of them a Bible with this inscription, ‘None but Christ.’¹¹⁶ William Whately, in the preface to *A bride-bvsh* of 1619, mentions how the poverty of the father of George Hunt, his father-in-law, at his death meant he had nothing to bequeath to George except his Bible, what Whately calls ‘a most fit legacie for a Confessor to his onely son.’¹¹⁷ The minister William Shorte gave his brother’s children, Timothy, Nathaniel and Samuel Sherwood, a Psalm book each, clearly concerned for their religious education.¹¹⁸

Turning to the third section of the chapter, examining arrangements made for funerals and burials. Arrangements for funerals, burials and funeral monuments reflected social status and social convention as well as religious identity. For example contemporary attitudes to mourning clothing were ambiguous. Some amongst the godly felt that black mourning clothes were superstitious and hypocritical. William Hinde wrote in his life of John Bruen that on his deathbed, Bruen made clear ‘I wil have no blacks’ and ‘I love not any proud pompous funerals, neither is there any

¹¹⁵ Will of Martha Whately, proved 23 December 1641

¹¹⁶ Durham, *Life and death* p.57

¹¹⁷ William Whately, *A Bride-bvsh: or, a direction for married persons plainly describing the duties common to both, and particular to each of them* (London: 1619) preface.

¹¹⁸ Will of William Shorte, written 19 February 1617

cause of mourning, but of rejoicing rather.’¹¹⁹ The London minister Robert Hill, however, argued that mourning clothes served several purposes. They were to put one in remembrance of the dead. They reminded the wearer of their own mortality and God’s love towards them. They were a means to clothe the poor and acted as a legacy of the dead to the living. Mourning clothes acted as signs of status and showed respect to the dead.¹²⁰ In both towns there were a scattering of bequests of mourning clothes, ribbons, gloves and rings in remembrance, but too few to give a clear idea of common practices. Peter Deguillaine of Banbury was unique in the town for leaving money in 1628 for black cloth to be hung about the pulpit during his funeral sermon. Sir Thomas Chamberlaine, also of Banbury, bequeathed William Whately a cloak to wear whilst giving his funeral sermon in his will of 1625.¹²¹

Some bequests related to funeral arrangements demonstrated more clearly a desire not to follow tradition and were reflective of attitudes associated with the godly. Payments to the bellman were often part of funeral expenses and some individuals left money to repair the bell in the church. There were, however, some testators in both towns who wanted to limit bell-ringing at their death and burial. Traditionally the bell was rung when an individual was ill, to call neighbours to their bedside, and then again when they died and at the funeral. Some people, however, were concerned that bell-ringing would encourage superstitious beliefs, that ringing had the power to fight off evil spirits or that bells helped to sanctify the departing soul in some way. Ringing was thus tolerated more during illness and before death than it

¹¹⁹ William Hinde, *A faithful remonstrance of the holy life and happy death of John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford, in the County of Chester, esquire* (London: 1641) p.227

¹²⁰ Robert Hill, *The pathway to prayer and pietie* (London: 1610) pp.275-6; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) pp.439-440; for more information on Robert Hill see J.F. Merritt, ‘The Pastoral Tightrope: A Puritan Pedagogue in Jacobean London’ in Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake eds. *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) pp.143-161

¹²¹ Will of Peter Deguillaine proved 17 November 1628 and Sir Thomas Chamberlaine proved 14 February 1627.

was for the burial.¹²² In Banbury in 1604 Richard Whately, a defendant in both the cases of the crosses and maypoles, asked in his will that no bells be rung except the great bell. He feared ‘some have to superstitious an opinion of ringing.’¹²³ In Nottingham Robert Wood, cited above for his generous bequests to local preachers, and Margaret Major, who had an otherwise unremarkable will, asked that only the great bell be rung at their passing.¹²⁴

Another aspect of contemporary funeral rituals where godly identities were performed was in the funeral sermon. The merits of funeral sermons were debated by contemporaries. Early reformers, including John Knox and Thomas Cartwright, criticised the practice since it had no scriptural warrant and, they argued, resembled popish customs. Despite the opinions of an outspoken few in the early Reformation, funeral sermons grew in popularity, particularly in the early seventeenth century, amongst those who could afford one.¹²⁵

Gradually funeral sermons became accepted by the godly as a means to represent the dead person’s virtues to the living, providing an example to be followed. John Dod even preached a sermon at the burial of Thomas Cartwright, although unfortunately its content is unknown.¹²⁶ Funeral sermons served not to praise the dead so much as educate those left behind, persuading them of the importance of

¹²² Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death* pp.421-3

¹²³ Will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately, proved 4 January

¹²⁴ Will of Robert Wood of Nottingham, proved 1 March 1637; will of Margaret Major of Nottingham, proved 29 May 1647

¹²⁵ The fees for a funeral sermons ranged from 3s 4d to 40s in Banbury, and 6s 8d to £3 in Nottingham. In both towns 20s was the most common fee.

¹²⁶ Frederic B. Tromly, ‘Accordinge to Sounde Religion:’ The Elizabethan Controversy over the Funeral Sermon’ in *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Volume 13, Number 2 (1983) pp.294-5, 311; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* pp.297-300; David Cressy, ‘Death and the Social Order: The Funerary Preferences of Elizabethan Gentlemen’ in his *Society and Culture in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) p.108; Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall eds. *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) p.13 footnote 33; Carlson, ‘English Funeral Sermons as Sources’ pp.568-74; Samuel Clarke’s life of Thomas Cartwright in his *The lives of two and twenty English divines, eminent in their generations for learning, piety and painfulnesse* (London: 1660) p.26 mentions that Mr. Dod preached Cartwright’s funeral sermon. Thomas Cartwright died 27 December 1603.

contemplating, and preparing for, death.¹²⁷ In Nottingham in 1587, Robert Pote requested a funeral sermon, ‘whereby God’s word and glory may be advanced and the people putt in remembrance of their departure owte of this miserable worlde.’ The Banbury woollen draper Thomas Pinme or Pym made a similar statement of intent in his will of 1590, desiring a sermon to be preached at his burial ‘to the edifying of the people there present.’¹²⁸ Some funeral sermons went on to be published and many informed the content of godly lives. Like godly lives, funeral sermons were ways in which a godly identity could be performed before an audience known to the dead. Elizabeth Juxton from her deathbed actually chose the text that she wanted Stephen Denison to use at her funeral. Elizabeth Machell instructed her minister Stephen Geree in a similar manner, demonstrating the importance placed by some individuals on an appropriate sermon.¹²⁹

In both Banbury and Nottingham there were relatively few requests made in wills for funeral sermons. There were, however, many other bequests to ministers which could have been intended for such a service and payments for sermons may have been included in money allotted more generally for ‘funeral expenses.’ In both towns in the period 1580 to 1620 there were only seven requests for funeral sermons. This increased in the period 1620 to 1650 when there were eleven requests in

¹²⁷ Tromly, ‘According to Sounde Religion’ p.309; Gittings, ‘Sacred and Secular’ p.158; Lake, ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency’ p.145

¹²⁸ Will of Robert Pote of Nottingham, proved 27 June 1587; will of Thomas Pinme of Banbury proved 5 May 1590; there was also a request for a funeral sermon in Thomas Becon’s *A sicke man’s salve*, ‘wherein the people may be admonished of their mortalitie, & taught how they ought to dispose themselues in this life, that when the time comment, they may yeld up a good soul into the hands of God’ p.134

¹²⁹ Cited in Carlson, ‘English Funeral Sermons as Sources’ pp.575, 590; there were, however, still some who did not want a funeral sermon. The Suffolk preacher John Carter had apparently requested no sermon at his funeral. Samuel Ward, preacher of Ipswich, desired to preach his funeral sermon, however. After he was stopped by Carter’s children, he preached it at the Ipswich lecture instead; Samuel Clarke, *A collection of the lives of ten eminent divines, famous in their generations for learning, prudence, piety, and painfulness in the work of the ministry* (London: 1662) p.20

Nottingham and fifteen in Banbury. Approximately a third of these requests came from female testators.

During the eighteen years of William Whately's incumbency in Banbury, the eight testators who requested funeral sermons requested that he do the sermon. This is perhaps unsurprising since he was the resident, preaching minister. It is, however, possible that these requests reflected a specific choice or are indicative of support for his preaching. One of Whately's predecessors, Thomas Brasbridge, received 6s 8d to give Thomas Pinme's funeral sermon. Brasbridge was later deprived over 'ceremonies.' In his absence, 'some other godlie learned man' was to give the sermon.¹³⁰ During Ralph Houghton's ministry, between 1591 and 1609, there were no requests for him specifically to do the funeral sermon. It is unknown whether Houghton was a preaching minister. Brasbridge, in a letter protesting his deprivation, put forward his concern that Houghton was 'but a yong scholar, and therefore (vpon certaine knowledge I speake yt) ys not willing to preche often.'¹³¹ One of his curates in 1607 claimed that Houghton had no excuse for not catechising since he was not 'troubled with preaching.'¹³² In 1597 Elizabeth Goodrytche left 3s 4d for a funeral sermon but did not specify who was to perform it. It is perhaps noteworthy, however, that in 1604 Richard Whately requested a funeral sermon from John Dod. The same year William Wheigham, Whately's son-in-law, left 20s for John Dod and Robert Cleaver to collaborate on his funeral sermon.¹³³

¹³⁰ Will Thomas Pinme of Banbury proved 5 May 1590; the detail of Brasbridge's deprivation comes from (BL) Lansdowne MS 64 (13) Burghley Papers 1590 f.43; see also BCR pp. 59-60

¹³¹ (BL) Lansdowne MS 64 (13) f.45r

¹³² Peyton, *Presentments* pp.200-1; this is not to say that Houghton did not preach. In the records of the case of the crosses (1600) from the Court of Star Chamber, Houghton claimed in his testimony that 'he beinge at his sermon and drawinge unto the ende and enteringe into his prayers the people many together came disorderly out of the church...' which implies that he did some preaching, (NA) STAC 5 B31/4 Blincoe vs Austen, Webbe etc. f.6

¹³³ Will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately, proved 4 January 1604; will of William Wheigham, proved 4 January 1604

In Nottingham the resident ministers were the favourite choices for giving funeral sermons. Robert Aldridge of St Mary's parish (1578-1616) received two requests and George Coates of St Peter's (1617-1640) received five. That being said, during Ralph Hansby's incumbency at St Mary's (1617-1635), the town lecturers Richard Caldwell and Thomas Cranage were requested to give the sermon. As will be shown in chapter five, St Mary's parish under Robert Aldridge, and then St Peter's under the tuition of George Coates were destinations for sermon-gadders, suggesting that these choices of preacher for funeral sermons were made consciously.

Some wills also make reference to how and where the testator was to be buried. There were some testators in both towns who requested to be buried in a 'seemly' or 'Christian manner.' The interpretation of such requests is unclear but is likely to refer to the testator's status more than any desire for a specifically simple burial. John Wasteneys of Nottingham in 1616, for example, wanted a 'Christian burial' and to be buried in 'decent & seemly manner as shall be thought fitting for a gentleman of that sort and quality I lived.'¹³⁴ There were some inhabitants who wanted to be buried in the church, which was more expensive than being buried in the churchyard and thus also reflects social status. The chancel was restricted to those from the more elite social groups. In Nottingham 154 inhabitants expressed a wish to be buried in the church in the period 1580-1650 and there were several requests to be buried in the chancel.¹³⁵ Seating in churches was also ordered by status, and some

¹³⁴ Will of John Wasteneys, gentleman of Nottingham, proved 24 November 1617

¹³⁵ The figure of 154 comes from requests made in wills; several of those of higher status requested to be buried in the chancel of the church, including Nicholas Kinnersley (will proved 16 June 1607), Anne Clarke (will proved 26 April 1621) and William Cooke (will proved 9 May 1639.) Payments for burials in the church are also noted in the accounts of the churchwardens of St Mary's which survive between 1582 and 1593 see (NRO) PR 4611-4615B. For example PR 4614, accounts of the churchwardens of St Mary's 1590-1 f.9r records 'burials in ye church' 'Item for Henry Oldfield vis viiid,' 'Item for John Collinsons brother in law vis viiid,' 'Item for William Hyndes child iiis iiiid;' Will Coster, 'A Microcosm of Community: Burial, Space and Society in Chester, 1598-1633' in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer eds. *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p.131; Hickman, 'From Catholic to Protestant' p.133

testators asserted their position in the local hierarchy by requesting to be buried near the place where they had sat or knelt. This was also likely to be where their ancestors had sat and their descendents would sit.¹³⁶ John Elton of Nottingham requested a burial ‘at the deske ende where nowe my wife doth accustomed knele.’¹³⁷ Being buried in church was less popular in Banbury, where there were only thirty-one such requests.¹³⁸

After the Reformation, being buried in consecrated ground was no longer in theory of critical importance. It could not benefit the dead in any way. As such, many testators requested to be buried ‘in church or churchyard’ in their wills.¹³⁹ A small minority of testators made a point of asking specifically for the churchyard, even though their status meant they would be allowed a place in the church. Samuel Clarke records that the Suffolk preacher John Carter left an order in his will to be buried in the churchyard rather than in the church, where ‘he, and his wife, that glorious pair, lie interred together without so much, or rather so little as a poor grave-stone over them.’¹⁴⁰ Lady Margaret Stanhope of Nottingham requested in 1613 to be buried ‘where so ever it pleaseth God I shall die, my will is to have noe funeral for I

¹³⁶ For example William Borrowe (will proved 7 October 1630) and Ann Milner (will proved 10 August 1625), both of Nottingham, wanted to be buried near the font; Thomas Burche of Nottingham wanted to be buried near his ‘desk’ (will proved 8 October 1601); Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* explains that in the Medieval period, ‘many testators stipulated burial [in church] near a favoured image or altar, thereby soliciting the intercession of the saint. As more churches were pewed, testators began to ask for burial ‘afore my seat’ against my ‘pue and seat ther’ p.322; Will Coster, ‘A Microcosm of Community’ pp.131, 134

¹³⁷ Will of John Elton, proved 11 February 1580

¹³⁸ In Banbury, for example, Thomas French (will proved 2 September 1613) and John Robins (will proved 14 April 1613) wanted to be buried ‘near unto my seat where I do usually sit;’ Bezaleel Knight wanted to be buried in the church near his father (will proved 6 November 1635); Richard Vivers wanted to be buried in the church near his brother Vivers (will proved 6 December 1644)

¹³⁹ Discussed in Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* p.125

¹⁴⁰ Clarke, *A collection of the lives of ten eminent divines* p.21; Gittings, ‘Sacred and Secular’ refers to the case of ‘Mistress Quarles who, with a well known puritan, had a maidservant buried in an orchard, ‘without any ceremony and without the communion book,’ which led to a prosecution in the church courts of Essex in 1589’ p.154

ould it a vaine ceremonie.’¹⁴¹ The minister William Whately, son and nephew of mayors, was buried in the churchyard rather than the church, possibly indicative of his choice to avoid being buried in consecrated ground. His wife was later buried next to him.¹⁴²

In a few cases we have information as to how some among the wealthy in Banbury and Nottingham were commemorated after death. The wording on tombstones tended to put forward a mixture of religious and social statements about the individuals they commemorated, some emphasising religion more than others. A couple of testators left details of the tombstones they wanted in their wills. John Lowthe, a former minister of St Mary’s, Nottingham, requested in 1590 that he be buried

‘in the north aisle of the qyer in st maries in Nottingham without any pompe or solemnitie saving only a small monument of brasse to be made with my name, to be nailed upon a stone in the wall.’¹⁴³

In Banbury, George Gaskyn wanted a ‘plain tombment’ and William Tayler, esquire, wanted his gravestone engraved with plain letters with the name, day of the month and ‘year of our Lord God.’ He may have requested a simple stone but he left a large sum of £100 to cover his funeral expenses.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Will of Lady Margaret Stanhope of Nottingham, proved 14 April 1613. However, she did also say that she wanted to be buried in Shelford ‘in the vault where my husband now lieth.’

¹⁴² William Whately wanted to be ‘decently buried’ in the churchyard at the discretion of his executrix, his wife Martha (will proved 25 June 1639). Martha wanted to be buried ‘by my deare husband.’ Her will was proved 23 December 1641

¹⁴³ Detail of John Lowthe’s tomb comes from (NRO) M416 John T. Godfrey, *Manuscripts Relating to the Ancient Parish Churches of Nottingham* (c.1900) p.25; John Boun, gentleman of Nottingham, wanted just the inscription of his name and the date of his decease (will proved 15 September 1599); William Clarke, gentleman, also of Nottingham, wanted a broad stone over his grave in St Peter’s churchyard in 1645 with a foundation of birch measuring one foot and a half (will proved 18 May 1646); amongst other roles, John Lowthe was vicar of St Mary’s 1569-1572. From 1565-1590 he was Archdeacon of Nottingham, <http://www.stmarysnottingham.org/cl31-40.html>, consulted 14 February 2008

¹⁴⁴ Will of George Gaskyn, proved 26 January 1604; will of William Tayler, proved 14 February 1631

Although no longer surviving, several of the monuments in Banbury church were recorded in the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁵ These included monuments of the Knight family, of whom successive generations were mayors. There was, for example, a plate of black marble holding an inscription for John and Joanne Knight which highlighted their social status. It recorded John's role as bailiff and noted that they had a large and prosperous family. It also praised their charity, that 'in their life time they cherished the poore & having bequeathed certain lands for their perpetuall reliefe.' The inscription continued on a second piece of marble discussing their hope for resurrection

'When the trump shall all awake
Every soule his flesh shall take,
And from that which putrifies
Shall immortall bodyes rise;
In this faith these liv'd & dyde,
In this hope they here reside.'¹⁴⁶

On the same site was 'the proportion of an old man to the middle between two pillars of marble, with a booke in one hand and handkerchief in ye other.' It was the statue of their son, the gentleman William Knight, who also served a long career on the corporation and was instrumental in removing the town crosses. (Refer to a drawing of the monument in **figure twenty**.) Words around the statue discussed William's education and his role as Justice of the Peace for the borough. It also explained that he

'gave good examples of morality and piety, finished his course in the true faith & was here laid up in the hopes of a glorious resurrection...his lamp is out yet still his light doth shine.'¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Reverend F. N. Davis ed. *Parochial Collections, Made by Anthony Wood and Richard Rawlinson* (Oxford: Oxford Record Society, 1920) pp. 21-30. This collection is taken from the work of Anthony à Wood (1632-1695) and Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755) held at the Bodleian and also the British Museum (Wood. MS Harl. 4170 fo.52 dated 1660 and Rawl. 400 b. fo.72)

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pp.23-4

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp.24-5



Figure twenty - Drawing made of the bust of William Knight, which once stood in Banbury St Mary's

The monument to William Randall, an inn-keeper, focussed on his works of charity, mentioning that ‘among other of his workes yt follow him, he gave a stocke of £100 for the benefit of the poor of this burrough.’ The tomb of a William Whately, not the minister, focussed on his faith and religious performance. Biblical analogies were used, where it was written that

‘He was like Enoch in his walke,
 In zeale like Phineas more than talke,
 Job-like a perfect upright man,
 In mercy the Samaritan.
 A foe to error & false wayes
 A strict observer of Gods dayes
 Cast up the account & when you have done
 Say we have lost many in one.’¹⁴⁸

Several of the ministers also had tombstones. The inscription on William Whately's tomb praised his life, mourning his loss and reminding onlookers to be mindful of their own death:

‘death was his crowne but our crosse,
 if not a great man yet ile say
 a good man sure the greater losse
 is failed in Israell this day...
 read this o man & rightly kno
 that one day thou must ly as low.’¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. pp.25-6

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. pp.25-6

His wife Martha was buried adjacent in December 1641. Her tomb connected her with her husband, explaining the sadness of another loss so soon after the first.

William Whately was buried 14 May 1639.¹⁵⁰

‘Scarce had the streames of the sad teares
Caused by this tombe surceast their course,
But loe another straight appears
Which doth renew their former force.’¹⁵¹

A monument to George Coates once stood in the chancel at St Peter’s Nottingham, commissioned by his nephew Samuel Coates, also a minister. It had apparently spoken of his scholarship, his upright lifestyle at home and elsewhere, and his care for his flock:

‘his breast was a storehouse of piety, his tongue was a trumpet of the Spirit, his hand always delivered Christ to others, his home was a school of religion, his life was a moral example.’¹⁵²

To conclude, there was not a set ‘godly’ way of dying discrete from other Christians in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There may have been an understanding of the ‘ideal’ deathbed performance but in reality this was affected by the conditions in which one died. Furthermore, the way in which one chose to, or was able to, express oneself at death was shaped by other factors, such as gender, wealth and local tradition. Social status was heavily intertwined with the religious identity expressed in wills and in arrangements for funerals and burials. It influenced, for example, where and how one was buried, whether one had a funeral sermon, whether one was likely to write a will, whether one owned or bequeathed religious texts and the generosity of charitable bequests. There were, however, exceptions where individuals went against the social grain. We have seen this in choices made for the style and location of the burial of certain individuals but another

¹⁵⁰ BBR p.231

¹⁵¹ Davis ed. *Parochial Collections* p.26

¹⁵² <http://www.stpetersnottingham.org/history/rectors2.htm> consulted 14 February 2008

example is shown by the fact that at least two testators who bequeathed Bibles in their wills were servants.¹⁵³

Some godly inhabitants in Banbury and Nottingham chose in their wills to support particular causes, such as setting the poor on work or financing the town lecture. They also articulated their place within particular social and religious networks. The last will and testament was, however, not always a place in which the godly chose to perform, and they differed in the ways that they did so. Testamentary bequests vary widely and the content of wills is likely to have been affected by when, where and how they were written. They may also have been influenced by local traditions. It was, for instance, more common in Nottingham to request a burial in the church than in Banbury, but in Banbury it was more customary to leave money to ministers.

For both towns there are some who give the impression of being amongst the godly through their activities in their lifetime, but made no distinctive bequests at their death. The difficulty of interpreting the performance of a 'typical' godly identity from material in wills is shown clearly by two wills made by men of a similar social status in Banbury. Richard Whately was uncle to the minister William Whately. He served the town twice as bailiff and was a defendant in both the case of the crosses and maypoles. He left a very charitable will when he died in 1604. He left money to his 'well beloved friends' John Dod and Robert Cleaver for a funeral sermon and made them his overseers. He left a generous £100 to the poor of Banbury, as well as most of his clothes, and £20 in bread. He also gave money to the church to repair the glass window behind the pulpit. He wanted his daughter be brought up in a 'godly' family after his decease and requested that only the great bell be rung for him for fear

¹⁵³ These were Ellen Twells in Nottingham, will proved 4 August 1598, and Roger Higgs in Banbury, will proved 10 October 1610.

of superstition.¹⁵⁴ William Knight died in 1631. He was another defendant in the case of the crosses and was twice mayor of Banbury. He gave money to two of his godsons, one of which was a child of his nephew William Whately, and another the son of the minister Robert Cleaver. He made both ministers his overseers. In his will he gave nothing to the poor or the church, and did not leave money to any ministers or request a funeral sermon. As quoted above, there was a bust of him erected in the church showing him holding a book. It praised him as an example of morality and piety.¹⁵⁵

One thing that stands out in the discussion of this chapter is the extent to which the deathbed gave women an opportunity to perform. Women, like men, were taken seriously at their deathbed when they gave advice on religious matters, read the Bible and prayed with their loved ones. As shown in chapter three, they too played an important role in religious education in the household.¹⁵⁶ Some also produced texts of advice for their children to be consulted posthumously. For those women in a position to have a will, wills were another way in which they were able to perform their godly identity at death. The more common gender differences in wills have been discussed by others. Wills of male testators, for example, tended to be dominated by gifts of land and property to sons and other heirs, and females tended to bequeath much smaller gifts, to a wider range of recipients.¹⁵⁷ Here women have been shown as recipients and donors of religious texts. A higher proportion of female than male testators in Banbury and Nottingham left gifts for ministers and preachers. Furthermore, considering that they left far fewer wills it is interesting that a third of recorded requests for funeral sermons came from women. We have also seen

¹⁵⁴ Will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately, proved 4 January 1604

¹⁵⁵ Will of William Knight, proved 25 November 1631

¹⁵⁶ This is something also argued by Houlbrooke, 'The Puritan Deathbed' p.140

¹⁵⁷ J.S.W Helt, 'Women, Memory and Will-making in Elizabethan England' in Gordon and Marshall eds. *The Place of the Dead* p.199

evidence from godly lives that Elizabeth Juxton and Elizabeth Machell consulted their ministers over the texts that would be used for their funeral sermon.

There was a performance expected of the godly at the deathbed itself, but through their wills, funeral sermons and even funeral monuments their godly identity continued to be performed after their death. The dying godly performed for themselves and for God, making a show of patience, faith and thanksgiving, but the wider audience at the deathbed also had an important part to play. The faith, support and even tears of witnesses at the bedside of the dying person helped in the process of assurance. In return, a good performance at the deathbed, whether it was seen in person or read in a spiritual biography, gave the godly encouragement and offered experiences which could be emulated. Wills too were vehicles through which the godly could use their experience to influence others, both in the bequests but also in the preamble. The deathbed was a time in which the godly looked internally within themselves, and turned to their close network of friends and family. It was also a time when they looked to the wider community. Attention in the last three chapters will turn more closely to the interaction between the godly and the wider community in which they lived.

Chapter Five

Godly Performance in Church and Pulpit

The church provided an arena for the dramatic, public performance of godly piety, both lay and clerical. In contemporary literature the church was compared to the theatre and the pulpit to the stage.¹ Some ministers were known for peppering their sermons with fiery language and dramatic gestures, and for their severe correction of sinners in their congregation. Some also performed their non-conformist attitudes to certain prayer book ceremonies, for example, by not using the sign of the cross in baptism or administering the sacrament to seated recipients. The godly laity also performed distinctively in church, for example refusing to kneel to receive Communion or to select godparents for the baptism of their children. They were mocked for the ‘show’ they made of religion, gadding to sermons, clutching their Bibles, attentively listening to preachers, responding with groans and tears, and raising their eyes towards heaven.

The study of gesture and the physical performance of piety is challenging for the historian since it is impossible to observe our subjects and it often goes unmentioned in surviving sources.² That being said, gesture formed an important part of how worship was experienced in this period and how different religious identities were performed within communities. It therefore forms an essential part of this

¹ Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640* (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998) pp.65-6; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) p.281; Paul Whitfield White, *Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage and Playing in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) p.172

² As Patrick Collinson explained, unlike Geertz and his study of Bali and cockfights, it is impossible to study the pious gestures of the Puritan cultural image, such as the upturned white of an eye, at first hand, in his ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture’ in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996) p.33

chapter.³ Observations made of lay church performance taken from contemporary literature, including satires of Puritanism, will be used to show the tension caused by the activities of the godly and to provide evidence of godly performance which would otherwise be hidden from view.

This chapter discusses the performance of piety in church worship, thinking about the interaction between both the minister and godly laity, and their wider audience. It shows how the godly made themselves distinctive on a regular basis in their worship, as well as during particular, and more infrequent, ceremonies such as baptism and Communion. It also looks at the effects of Laudian changes to religious practice in the two towns, particularly through discussion of Communion. Through their performances, it will be suggested, the godly not only created an identity for themselves, but they may have hoped to gain assurance of their faith from their fellow believers.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part discusses how ministers can be seen to have ‘performed’ in church and how godly preachers might have been distinctive because of the language and gesture they used in their pulpit performances. It will look at styles of preaching and moral discipline in detail, and briefly explore attitudes to clerical appearance. The performance of the clergy in the administration of baptism and Communion are also indicated, but they are dealt with in more detail in the discussion of lay performance. The second part of the chapter looks at the distinctive performance of godly laity in church. This is divided into two sections.

³ Interest in gesture in church worship has expanded recently. See for example Francis Bremer and Ellen Rydell, ‘Performance Art? Puritans in the Pulpit’ in *History Today*, 45:9 (September, 1995) pp.50-54; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*; 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: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and his unpublished paper ‘The Cultural Politics of Prayer in Early Modern England,’ given at the Reformation Studies Colloquium, Somerville College, Oxford, April 2006, for which I am very grateful to John Craig for sending me a copy; more will be cited throughout the chapter.

The first looks at how the godly laity in Banbury and Nottingham were distinctive as they went to church, when gadding to sermons and carrying Bibles. The second part focuses on gestures used or misused in church itself. This begins with a discussion of regular worship, looking at both activities of non-compliance with ecclesiastical canons and prescriptions in the *Book of Common Prayer*, such as not bowing at the name of Jesus, as well considering gestures the godly may have performed at their own direction, such as groaning or crying. Discussion then moves to the performance of the laity at particular ceremonies. The Communion is discussed in detail before moving to other more irregular ceremonies, including baptism, churching and weddings.

To begin with the performance of the clergy and preaching, there were many tracts on the role of the minister and the art of preaching produced in this period. One of the most popular tracts on preaching was William Perkins' *The art of prophecying*.⁴ Henry Scudder in his life of William Whately mentions that Whately also wrote a tract on preaching, although no printed copy survives.⁵ The minister's role in preaching the sermon was didactic, to explain the significance of the chosen Biblical text to their audience. Perkins' tract and others emphasised that the success of good preachers was due to their ability to adapt to the capacity of their hearers. John Dod was for example praised for his style of preaching, taking

‘some portion of scripture in order before him, opening a verse or two, or more at a time, first clearing the drift and connection, then giving the sense and

⁴ William Perkins, *The arte of prophecying: or, a treatise concerning the sacred onely true manner and methode of preaching* (London: 1607); Neal Enssle, 'Patterns of Godly Life: The Ideal Parish Minister in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Thought' in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Volume XXVII, Number I (1997) especially pp.4, 21-2; Hunt's chapter on 'The Theory of Preaching' in his *The Art of Hearing*; Mary Morrissey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth Century English Theories of Preaching' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 53, Number 4 (October, 2002) pp.686-706; Bremer and Rydell, 'Performance Art?' especially p.51

⁵ Edward Leigh and Henry Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death attached to William Whately, Prototypes or the primarie precedent presidents ovt of the booke of Genesis* (London: 1640) A4r

interpretation briefly, but very plainly, not leaving the text until he had made it plain to the meanest capacity.’⁶

‘Good’ preachers favoured a ‘plain’ style of preaching, which prioritised the word of God rather than making the sermon a display of the wisdom and eloquence of the preacher.⁷ As Perkins explained in *The calling of the ministerie*,

‘to speake in the demonstration of Gods spirit, is to speake in such a plainnesse, and yet such a powerfulness, as that the capacities of the simplest, may perceive, not man, but God teaching them in that plainnesse, and the conscience of the mightiest may feele, not man, but God reproofing them in that powerfulness.’⁸

Similarly, although not a tract on the art of preaching, William Whately in *The new birth* (1622) criticised

‘daintie preaching, consisting in wel-sounding words, and streins of wit and humane learning, to set out the skill & art of the speaker, and make the hearer applaud and commend him.’⁹

He accused such preachers of putting the ‘sword of the Spirit into a veluet scabbard, that it cannot prick and wound the heart.’ Instead he advocated

‘plaine and down-right preaching of the Word, by laying it open in plaine termes, to the eyes of the mind; and laying it hard to the very consciences by exhortations, rebukes and comforts.’¹⁰

As well as plain speaking, Perkins advised preachers not to memorise the text of their sermon as it prevented them from concentrating on gesture, delivery, and the

⁶ Samuel Clarke on the life of John Dod in his *A generall martyrologie, containing a collection of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the church of Christ... Third edition* (London: 1677) p.176; Enssle, ‘Patterns of Godly Life’ p.21; Morrissey, ‘Scripture, Style and Persuasion’ p.690

⁷ Morrissey, ‘Scripture, Style and Persuasion’ p.696 and Bremer and Rydell, ‘Performance Art?’ pp.50-51

⁸ William Perkins, *The calling of the ministerie* in his *The workes of that famovs and worthie minister of Christ in the universitie of Cambridge... the third and last volume* (London: 1631) p.430 quoted in Morrissey, ‘Scripture, Style and Persuasion’ p.692

⁹ William Whately, *The new birth or a treatise of regeneration, delivered in certaine sermons* (London: 1622) p.129

¹⁰ Ibid; similarly in his *A caveat for the covetous* (London: 1610) 3r-v Whately argued that preaching was not to ‘tickle the eare with a gay speech’ but ‘to pierce the heart with sharpe reproofe, and earnest exhortation; not to winne credit and applause to the speaker; but to work knowledge and obedience in the hearer; not to make the audiorie commend us, and say, sure, hee is a good scholler, a man of good wit and great reading, &c. But to condemne themselues, and say we haue been bad men, men of polluted hearts and liues. In a word, not to draw men to admire the gifts of him that speaketh, and offer him preferment; but to repent of their own sins, and offer submission unto Christ that sent him to speake.’

‘holy motions of affections.’ Sermons were to be spontaneous and inspirational, rather than pre-prepared.¹¹ His use of the word ‘gesture’ also suggests a more physical sermon performance. The dramatic delivery of some godly preachers led contemporaries to use theatrical language to describe both preachers and pulpits. Richard Bernard in his *The faithfull shepheard* (1609), for example, criticised the use of ‘unseemly gestures’ such as thumping on the pulpit and those who ‘by acting upon a stage’ cannot ‘but shew their vaine and phantasticall motions ridiculously in a pulpit which they have used in prophane pastimes.’¹²

Whilst it is very difficult to get beneath the recorded narrative of sermon texts to explore the gestures that were used by preachers, the language of some written texts gives an indication of the drama of delivery. This is shown in the use of vivid metaphors, reported speech or emotive and repetitive phrases, such as ‘O England, England.’ William Perkins was said to emphasise the word ‘damn’ in his sermons, which left a lasting impression on his audience.¹³ There are, however, also a few eyewitness accounts which survive, detailing the theatrical gestures used by some ministers. A sermon by John Rogers of Dedham was described by Thomas Goodwin as taking the format of a dialogue between God and his people, both sides impersonated by Rogers. Rogers chastised his parishioners in an impersonation of God, ‘well, I have trusted you so long with my Bible, you have slighted it, it lies in

¹¹ William Perkins, *The art of prophesying* in his *The works of that famous and worthy Minister of Christ in the universitie of Cambridge, the second volume* (Cambridge: 1609) 3v3v, quoted in Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* p.14

¹² Richard Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard amended and enlarged* (London: Arnold Hatfield for John Bill, 1609) pp.89-90; Walsham, *Providence* p.281 notes that the outside pulpit in St Paul’s churchyard was referred to by contemporaries as the central ‘theater’ and the very ‘stage of this land,’ see also pp.315-23; dramatic pulpit performances have also been discussed in Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) p.245; Collinson, ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism’ pp.47-8; Bremer and Rydell, ‘Performance Art?’ passim; Eric Carlson, ‘The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540-1640’ in Larissa Taylor ed. *Preachers and People in the Reformation and Early Modern Period* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001) pp.249-296

¹³ Walsham, *Providence* pp.316-7; Bremer and Rydell, ‘Performance Art?’ pp.51, 53

such and such houses all covered with dust and cobwebs.’ He then acted as if he meant to take the Bible away from the people and, impersonating their response, cried out, ‘Lord, whatever thou dost to us, taken not the Bible from us.’¹⁴ Rogers was described on another occasion as ‘taking hold with both hands at one time of the supporters of the canopy over the pulpit, and roaring hideously, to represent the torments of the damned.’ Similarly, William Fenner was described as being ‘full of zeale, stirring about, and thundering and beating on the pulpit’ during sermons. Stephen Marshall and Richard Greenham were said to have had sweat-soaked shirts after their vigorous pulpit performances.¹⁵

There are indications that Banbury’s William Whately was another of these pulpit performers. He has posthumously been named ‘the roaring boy,’ possibly referring to his loud delivery.¹⁶ In his spiritual biography, Whately was described by Henry Scudder and Edward Leigh as being both a ‘sonne of Thunder’ and ‘a sonne of sweet consolation.’ His preaching ‘was not with enticing words of mans wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and power.’¹⁷ John Rogers was also said to have ‘roared,’ and was posthumously described as a ‘son of thunder and a son of consolation.’¹⁸

¹⁴ Bremer and Rydell, ‘Performance Art?’ p.53

¹⁵ John Rogers, *Ohel or Beth-shemesh, a tabernacle for the sun: or irenicum evangelicum. An idea of church discipline in the theorick and practick parts* (London: 1653) 3H4r and Oliver Heywood, *A narrative of the holy life and happy death of that reverent, faithful and zealous minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ Mr John Angier* (London: 1683) p.50 quoted in Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* p.70; Kenneth L. Parker and Eric J. Carlson eds. ‘Practical Divinity:’ *The Works and Life of Revd. Richard Greenham* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) p.52; Bremer and Rydell, ‘Performance Art?’ p.52; Walsham, *Providence* p.320

¹⁶ It is not clear when Whately’s reputation as the ‘roaring-boy’ first came into being. Alfred Beesley, *The History of Banbury, Including Copious Historical and Antiquarian Notices of the Neighbourhood* (London: Nichols and Son, 1841) pp.268-9; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p.219

¹⁷ Leigh and Scudder, *Mr Whatelys life and death*, A2v-A3r; Thomas Walkington in *Salomons sweete harpe* E4r wrote that the true preacher was a son of thunder ‘who like thunder can pierce and wound the inner heart, make the haire to stand upright, the flesh to tremble’ quoted in Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* p.164

¹⁸ As were the ministers Thomas Hooker and John Wilson, discussed in Bremer and Rydell, ‘Performance Art?’ pp.53-4

In his sermon, *Sinne no more*, following the fire which destroyed much of the town in 1628, William Whately used very emotional language, asking his congregation to cry for the town's sins. He exclaimed,

'giue mine eyes leaue therefore, to speake unto you in the language of teares, and seeing I heard so generall a cry for water, water, the other day; let me also cry, water, water; and let all our eyes joyne together, to powre forth a streame of water.'¹⁹

Here we see an example of Whately using a form of spirituality which was designed to produce an emotional response in his audience. Patrick Collinson has commented that when 'hearers spoke of their preference for an 'edifying' ministry, it may have been the capacity to stir the heart and emotions which they had in mind.'²⁰ As we shall see later, there are suggestions that the sermons of some preachers, including John Rogers and William Gouge, actually reduced their congregations to tears.²¹

Whilst it is difficult to know the effect these preachers and their sermons had on their audiences, it is known that some of them attracted massive crowds. John Rogers was said to have attracted as many as 1,200 to his Tuesday lecture in Dedham. Although no numbers were given, Banbury was described later in the seventeenth century as having been 'much frequented by precise and busie people there and in the neighbourhood for his [William Whately's] too frequent preaching.'²² Sermon-gadding will be discussed in more detail below, but there is indication that in some quarters dramatic and emotional styles of preaching may have been popular and some individuals may have gadded to hear particularly dramatic ministers.

¹⁹ William Whately, *Sinne no more, or a sermon preached in the parish church of Banbury on Tuesday the fourth of March* (London: 1628) p.2

²⁰ Collinson, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism' p.47

²¹ The audience of John Rogers was said to be 'deluged with their owne teares' and William Gouge was praised in his funeral sermon for having frequently made his congregation weep; Bremer and Rydell, 'Performance Art?' pp.52, 53; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* p.71

²² Quote taken from Beesley, *History of Banbury* pp.268-9, footnote 10.

Turning to moral discipline, another aspect of church worship where ministers can be seen performing was in the correction of the sins of their congregation. Whilst preaching against sin was seen an important part of the role of a minister, there was a general dislike of ‘particularising’ amongst both the godly and the non-godly, where ministers addressed the sins of particular parishioners, naming them in their sermons. Thomas Wilson, minister of Stratford-upon-Avon, was criticised by members of the town corporation in 1635 for ‘grossly particularing in his sermons.’²³ There was sometimes, however a fine line between fervent preaching against a particular sin in general before a congregation and accusations of particularising. For example, Samuel Clarke described John Dod’s style of ministry as ‘searching.’ Some of his parishioners, however, ‘did suppose that he had informers and spies because he came so close to them.’ Dod defended himself answering that ‘the word of God was searching.’²⁴

Whilst different to particularising, and part of the traditional practice of seeking to reform morals, public penance was a way in which ministers were able to discipline their parishioners. Penance was a common punishment for those who had committed certain sins, including fornication and adultery. It was a way through which the sinner could be reintegrated back into the community of believers. The rituals involved varied in the scale of their humiliation.²⁵ Margaret Gold had to perform penance in Banbury church at morning prayer on a Sunday in 1610 for an act of fornication,

‘bare footed with a white sheete round aboute her from the shoulders to the ankles havinge a white rodd in her hand unto the church porch of Banbury

²³ Ann Hughes, ‘Religion and Society in Stratford-upon-Avon, 1619-1638’ in *Midland History*, Volume XIX (1994) p.69; particularising is also discussed by Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* pp.170-2; Enssle, ‘Patterns of Godly Life’ p.26

²⁴ Clarke, *A generall martyrologie* p.173

²⁵ Bawdy Court p.41; public penance is discussed in more detail in Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p.54

aforesaid presentlie after the first peale and there shall stand until the beginnige of Mornings prayer and then shall be brought by the parishe Clerke or the apparitor unto the middle of the saide Church where penitent people for the like faulte do usuallie stande.’²⁶

The minister was then to follow with a ‘godlie exhortacion’ and recite her confession, which she was to repeat after him. Having confessed, she then had to lead the entire congregation in the prayer ‘Our Father.’ Through this ritual of public humiliation and their godly exhortation and address to their parishioners, the minister was able to make an example of sinfulness.²⁷

A complaint made by John Whately, a Banbury mercer, against his brother, the minister William Whately, provides a rare example of how ministers could perform before their congregation in the process of moral discipline. (See appendix five for a full transcript.) John Whately complained of the ‘unkind and unheard of carriage’ of the minister towards him when he was denied Communion in 1625 due to a ‘fame of incontinence’ with Mary, wife of Matthew Weston.²⁸ The testimonial narrates how William Whately walked past Mrs Weston without offering her the sacrament ‘although she plucked him by the gowne, intimating that hee was forgetfull

²⁶ ‘A forme of penance to be performed by Margaret Gould for committing fornication with John Taylor’ in (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry Papers c.157, miscellaneous papers f.195

²⁷ Ibid; Barton John Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces: Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1554-1660* (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1985) p.379

²⁸ The detail in this case is taken from SP Dom: Series Two, Great Britain 1625-1702, 16/50/63 folios 182(1)r-v. The incident referred to took place 5 February 1625/6 but the text was written on January 21 1627/8; a case of ‘fame of incontinence’ between John Whately, mercer, and Mary Weston, wife of Matthew Weston is recorded in the first of the surviving act books for the Banbury peculiar on 3 January 1625/6. Both individuals were cited to the court, Whately was excommunicated and Weston was sought ‘by ways and means’ for the next court. In the same session Whately was accused of drunkenness and swearing, Bawdy Court pp.331, 335; John Whately married Elizabeth Crowell, 6 June 1613, BMR p.46 and they baptised six children in Banbury between 1614 and 1624 (BBR). Elizabeth Whately’s death is not recorded but in May 1631 a defamation case between an Elizabeth Whately, wife of John, and Edward Russell was presented to the peculiar court, (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16 ff.83v, 87v, transcribed in Bawdy Court p.131; it is unknown how specifically the case came to the attention of the Privy Council, or what the result of the complaint was. At the end of John Whately’s letter, on f.182(1)v, John Howson, Bishop of Oxford, wrote ‘having heard some report of this disorder in the peculiar of Banbury, I sent to the Register to signifie to me the truth thereof, who sent me the informacion whereof this is a true copie.’

of her.’ When it was the turn of John Whately, William went to the Communion table and exclaimed to the congregation

‘neighbours, it is fitt that when any notorious offendour comes to the communion they should first by acknowledging their offences, and sorrow for offending and purpose of amendment, give satisfaccion to the congregation.’²⁹

On returning to his brother, William

‘protested his unwillingnes to deale so with mee but acquainted the hearers openly that hee had admonished me both publicquely and privately, and was therefore forced to do what hee did, then falling upon his knees prayed that I would confesse unto the parishe.’³⁰

As John Whately got up to leave the church he said with a low voice, so as to be audible only to those next to him, ‘brother I thanke you, god be with you.’ William followed him to the Communion table where

‘hee pronounced before them all, that he did cast off all brotherly affection toward me, and then falling upon his knees and his hands lifted upp did pray to god to cast downe his speedie vengeance upon me crying, nowe, nowe, nowe, that hee may bee an example to all the congregation.’³¹

William then returned to Mary Weston and presented the charge of incontinency to her, asking her to confess her guilt before the congregation, stating ‘I will not give you the sacrament unles you will take it upon your innocency.’ Mary Weston called upon the congregation to witness that she took it upon her innocence, to which he replied ‘if thow bee guiltie I desire that this bread may bee thy damnacion’ and then ‘flung away leaving the cup in her hands.’³²

The image of Whately falling to his knees in prayer and inciting God’s vengeance upon his own brother provides further insight into how theatrical aspects of church worship could be. The language used in the dialogue also gives weight to the reputation of William Whatley as the ‘roaring boy.’

²⁹ SP 16/50/63 f.182(1)r

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid. f.182(1)v

In addition to sermon delivery and the correction of morals there were several other ways in which the church provided an arena for ministerial performance, showing a particular commitment to certain forms of religious practice. Although these will be dealt with in more detail in the second section of this chapter it is important to mention that arguments, for example, over the use of the sign of the cross at baptism, administering the sacrament to those kneeling and aspects of the burial service, were ways in which some ministers performed different attitudes. This has been shown in chapter two, where some ministers disagreed with the choice of name to be given to the child, and baptised the child with a name of their own choosing.³³ These actions may have been even more dramatic if the minister was not wearing the surplice, as was prescribed, instead wearing the black gown worn for preaching.



Figure twenty-one - Late sixteenth century woodcut, *Of God, of Man, of the Divell*

³³ Refer to chapter two p.83

The surplice was seen by some among the clergy as popish and that by wearing it the ministry and their practices would be connected to Catholic practices of the past. Not wearing the surplice was a clear, visible way that the clergy performed a non-conformist identity in church worship. It emphasised their role as preachers. It made them more like lay men and, resembling academic dress, demonstrated their intellectual authority. It made them less like an elite priesthood, and visibly connected with them more with the Reformed ministers on the Continent.³⁴ These arguments over clerical vestments are shown clearly in **figure twenty-one**, where the minister on the left ‘of God’ distinctively wears the black preaching gown rather than the surplice, as well as a round hat. There is no difference in the clothing of the cleric representing ‘man,’ who conforms to the prescriptions of the prayer book and ecclesiastical canons, and the minister ‘of the Divell,’ who represents a Catholic priest and ‘superstition.’

There is no formal evidence that William Whately did not wear the surplice. Although it is important not to over-interpret the choice of wording, it is interesting to note that in the above case Mary Weston is reported to have plucked Whately by ‘the gowne.’ Ministers were supposed to wear the surplice when administering Communion. By contrast, a curate in Banbury around the time of Whately’s transfer from lecturer to minister, Ralph Taylor, was presented because he had,

‘worne the surplice never or verie seldome or at the least that you have & comonlie & most usually omit to weare the surplice at the readine of morninge & evening prayer in the parishe church of Banburie & so likewise at christenings & the ministration of the sacrament of the Lords supper.’³⁵

³⁴ For more discussion of the sartorial distinction of some ministers and the discussion of clerical dress in the vestiarian controversy, refer to Katie Wright’s chapter ‘Fashioning Puritan Identity’ in her *A Looking-glass for Christian Morality? Three Perspectives on Puritan Clothing Culture and Identity in England c.1560-1620* (MPhil(B) thesis, University of Birmingham, 2004) pp.66-80

³⁵ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94, libels and articles undated, ff.100r-v; it was also accused that ‘at all & every of the foresaide divine exercises you have never or at the least verie seldome worne your hood competent to your degree taken in the universitie’ according to the ecclesiastical canons of 1603.

In Nottingham, Thomas Cranage, the lecturer of St Mary's, was presented in 1635 for not wearing the surplice, although he claimed that he usually wore it.³⁶

Having explored the ways in which the clergy could be seen to perform in church, attention will now turn towards the second section of this chapter, lay performance. This will firstly look at how the godly laity could make themselves distinctive as they travelled to church before looking at how they performed their religious beliefs within church itself.

Parishioners had to attend church on Sunday, for morning and evening prayer, as well as services on other holy days or feast days. Representatives of households were also supposed to attend services during the week, which they reported back to their families. In some parishes Sunday sermons were also supplemented with weekday lectures.³⁷ William Whately preached in Banbury twice on Sunday, and at the weekly lecture on Tuesday, but 'as occasions fell out' sometimes he was 'an every day preacher.'³⁸ Some parishioners attended as many sermons as possible in their parishes, even those early in the morning before work. In this they received encouragement from their ministers, but at times provoked the derision of their neighbours. George Abbott, preaching at St Mary the Virgin in Oxford, said of the congregation who attended his early morning lectures on Jonah that he was

'rather induced to thinke that everyone here belongeth to Gods election, for it standeth much with reason, that grace should have deep roote in that people,

³⁶ (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.463

³⁷ John Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500-1610* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) pp.1-2; Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* p.209

³⁸ Leigh and Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death* A3r; that Whately's Banbury lecture was on Tuesday is hinted at in several sources: James West in his will proved 24 November 1621 gave 6s 8d annually towards 'Mr Whately's lecture on Tuesday or any other day;' Elizabeth Widowes, in her will written 14 January 1641, left 10s quarterly to the 'Tuesday lecture at Banbury;' a margin note in William Whately's *Charitable teares: or a sermon showing how needful a thing it is for every godly man to lament the common sinnes of our countrie. Preached in Banburie* (London: 1623) p.252 mentions, 'this was preached upon a Tuesday in whitsun week.'

who do early before day light come together with devotion, to heare what the Lord doth say concerning all of them.’³⁹

Sermon-gadding, or attending sermons in parishes other than your own, as well as attending all the sermons on offer in your own parish, are characteristics commonly associated with the godly and were a common rebuke against Puritans. Typically, Peter Studley, in his anti-Puritan tract *The looking-glass of schisme* (1634), criticised his ‘schismatic’ subject Enoch ap Evan,

‘for hee was not contented to stint and confine his solemne and publike worship of God to the Lord’s day, commonly called Sunday: which together with those few other Holy-daies appointed by the wisdom of our Church might have satisfied a wise man and a sound Christian: but he busily harkened after weeke-day Lectures, and would often times ride three or foure miles to heare sermons.’⁴⁰

Women in particular were satirised for their love of sermon-gadding, and the distrust of women ‘going abroad’ with the freedom to attend sermons led frequently to accusations of immorality.⁴¹

John Earle in his satire of ‘a shee precise hypocrite’ compares the godly passion for gadding to sermons with pilgrimages, giving an image of the godly being distinctive within their communities as they processed *en masse* to sermons. Earle comments that

‘her oftest Gossipings are Saboath-dayes iourneyes where (though an enemy to superstition) shee will goe in pilgrimage five mile to a silenc’d Minister, when there is a better sermon in her own parish.’⁴²

This is reminiscent of customs of *Auslauf* on the Continent where Protestants in some provinces, denied the right to worship, left the confines of their Catholic towns to

³⁹ George Abbot, *An exposition upon the prophet Jonah* (1600) pp.365, 636, quoted in Walsham, *Providence* pp.309-10.

⁴⁰ Peter Studley, *The looking-glass of schisme: wherein a briefe and true narration of the excrable murders, done by Enoch ap Evan a downe-right separatist on the bodies of his mother and brother, with the cause moving him thereunto* (London: 1634) p.24

⁴¹ Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* pp.145, 149

⁴² John Earle, ‘A shee precise hypocrite’ in his *Micro-cosmosgraphie. Or, a peece of the world discovered; in essayes and characters* (London: 1628) H6r-v

attend sermons beyond the town walls.⁴³ William Hinde, in his life of John Bruen, evokes a similar image when he explains how Bruen regularly walked about a mile to his church with his family and servants in tow, conspicuously singing Psalms as they went. Hinde went on to comment that the religious practices and ‘godly example’ of John Bruen ‘did much to increase his owne comforte’ but was also ‘a great encouragement to many others, yea, a very spurre and goade unto them, to bee more religious and conscionable in Gods worship and service.’⁴⁴ This is interesting since it suggests that there was an audience for Bruen’s godly performance. Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales have likewise suggested that sermon-gadding provided the godly with opportunities ‘for the defiant flaunting of their lifestyles before their ungodly neighbours.’⁴⁵ Having attended a sermon, the ‘gadders’ might return to the house of the lecturer or a parishioner to discuss the sermon.⁴⁶

Evidence from Banbury and Nottingham shows that some inhabitants were sermon-gadders and particular parishes or ministers were favoured destinations for sermon-gadding. Banbury’s lecture by combination dates from before 1600. People travelled between the parishes of Hanwell, Drayton and Banbury to attend the lecture. William Durham explained in the biography of his cousin Robert Harris, that Harris

⁴³ For example, Elaine Fulton in her article, ‘Wolves and Weathervanes:’ Confessional Moderation at the Habsburg Court of Vienna’ in Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie eds. *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) described that on Sundays as many as 3000 of Vienna’s 25,000 to 30,000 inhabitants left Vienna to hear a Lutheran preacher, p.148; Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) pp.59-60 mentions that one Etienne Pasquier, a moderate Catholic, reported that 8,000 or 9,000 people attended Calvinist services outside the Porte Saint-Antoine in October since they could not worship within Paris’ walls. On 12 October 1561 angry Catholics closed the city gates against the large number of people that had gone out to hear Calvinist preachers in the north-eastern suburb.

⁴⁴ William Hinde, *A faithful remonstrance of the holy life and happy death of John Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford in the county of Chester, esquire* (London: 1641) pp.210, 211-212; another example is given in Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* p.260

⁴⁵ Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, ‘Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700’ in their eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism* p.30

⁴⁶ For examples see Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* pp.57-60 and Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* p.266

preached at Hanwell on Sunday and other days, including festival days, providing that they did not interfere with the lecture or market at Banbury,

‘at which times troops of Christians from all quarters, many miles distant, flocked to him... thence on the morrow they were entertained at Banbury by Mr Whately; what a fair of souls was then held at Hanwell and Banbury, by these two brothers.’⁴⁷

That there were large numbers of participants is hinted at in the choice of the word ‘troops.’⁴⁸ One of these Banbury gadders appears in the records of the town’s peculiar court. In 1630 John Sparks from Hardwick, in the parish of Banbury, was accused of not attending Banbury church for the previous three weeks. He replied that when he was not attending Banbury church he was at Hanwell.⁴⁹

The churchwardens of Banbury in 1619 insinuated that people came from outside Banbury to hear Whately preach. They claimed that ‘sometimes also some straungers that happen to ly here on the Sunday do come to the communion, also because our parish bounds are sufficiently known.’⁵⁰ In the case of the removal of several statues from the outside wall of St Mary’s church in 1610, which will be discussed in chapter six, it was reported that the wife of Mr Pitts of Adderbury, an excommunicate, had accompanied Agnes Kerwood to sermons in Banbury.⁵¹ In 1631 one William Reeve of Milcombe in Oxfordshire admitted missing a sermon in his own church, explaining that ‘his brother coming to him at the same time did desire to

⁴⁷ William Durham, *The life and death of that judicious divine and accomplish’d preacher, Robert Harris* (London: 1660) pp.24-5

⁴⁸ The word troops was used to describe sermon-gadders in other places. Christopher Haigh in his *The Plain Man’s Pathways to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) cites two examples: in 1632 the vicar of Pitminster, Somerset, named four parishioners for going to other churches, ‘as remote, sometimes more remote from their dwellings than their own church is, unto which they flock in troops, they and their families, unto the great scandal and offence of their neighbours.’ (p.112) In 1621 John Lambe of Northampton warned the King, ‘the puritans go by troops from their own parish church (though there be a sermon) to hear another whom their humour better affecteth.’ (p.136)

⁴⁹ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16, f.91, dated 24 October 1631, in Bawdy Court pp.138-9

⁵⁰ Presentment dated 17 June 1619 in Peyton, *Presentments* p.214

⁵¹ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 ff.98v-99r, 100v; Mrs Pitts was also presented in 1612 at Kings Sutton for standing at the Communion, Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.272, footnote 62.

hear Mr Whately of Banbury preach, and entreated this respondent to accompany him.’ He also confessed that he usually went to Broughton rather than Milcombe, because the curate of Milcombe had once struck him. Broughton was the parish of Ralph Taylor, the ex-Banbury curate who was presented in or around 1610 for numerous non-conformist offences, including not wearing the surplice, as noted above.⁵² The Warwick schoolmaster, Thomas Dugard, mentioned travelling to Banbury to hear sermons by William Whately, Robert Harris and Charles Chauncey in his diary in the 1630s. Robert Woodford of Northampton made a note in his diary in 1637 that he had heard the lecture at Banbury where ‘Mr Wheatley that good man preached very profitably (amongst other things) shewing what is required of husbands to their wives.’⁵³

Within the records for the Archdeaconry of Nottingham it emerges that under certain ministers different Nottingham parishes were the destination of sermon-gadders from both within and outside the town. Prior to the death of Robert Aldridge, minister of St Mary’s, the cases of sermon-gadding were in the direction of St Mary’s. For example, on 18 November 1615 four Nottingham men were accused of attending St Mary’s church despite there being a sermon at their own parish church.⁵⁴ Following the appointment of his successor Ralph Hansby in 1617, and that of George Coates to St Peter’s the same year, sermon-gadding changed towards St Peter’s. During Archbishop Tobias Matthews’ 1619 visitation, five parishioners were presented for ‘often leving their owne parish and going to St Peters as well when there

⁵² Cited in Haigh, *The Plain Man’s Pathways to Heaven* p.113; for more information on Ralph Taylor refer to chapter one pp.32-3 and appendix one. For the location of Milcombe refer to **figure two** p.31.

⁵³ Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p.65; Diary of Robert Woodford, Steward of Northampton 1637-41, entry dated 20 March 1637 (New College, Oxford) MS 9502 f.79r; Francis J. Bremer’s article on Charles Chauncey in the DNB states that Chauncey became minister of Marston St Lawrence in August 1633; for the location of Marston St Lawrence refer to **figure two**, chapter one, p.31.

⁵⁴ Richard Aldridge was buried 28 July 1616, (NRO) PR 2020, parish registers for St Mary’s; the sermon-gadders were John Sherwood junior, Edward Awsebrooke, William Ellison and William Froste, (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers DDTs* 14/26/15 p.82

have bene sermons as otherwise.’ Four others were accused of leaving their own parish church and going to other unspecified churches, also likely to be St Peter’s. Of these nine individuals, Anker and George Jackson, Thomas and Margaret Wilson, Christian Hall and Dorothy Wood were among the Puritans who were mocked in the libels of 1615 and 1617. Another was Robert Troupe, a school teacher and later clerk at St Peter’s. Many of them were from St Mary’s parish.⁵⁵ In 1629, one Thomas Morely of Sneinton, part of St Mary’s parish, was accused of attending St Peter’s church on Sundays. He was presented again on the same charge in 1639, and in 1637 was presented for receiving the sacrament sitting at Sneinton, along with his daughter-in-law.⁵⁶ Eight parishioners from St Nicholas’ parish were presented over the years 1589, 1615, 1625, 1629 and 1630 for attending other, unspecified, churches.⁵⁷ One of these individuals, Robert Bamford, a gentleman, admitted in 1629 that ‘he is many times at Olenteen in Derbyshire but when he is in town he does frequent his owne parish church but sometimes doth go to St Peters.’⁵⁸

There are also indications that parishioners from further afield might have come to Nottingham to attend sermons. Incidences of sermon-gadding were reported in the Archdeaconry of Nottingham in increasing numbers in the parishes around Nottingham following Archbishop Samuel Harsnett’s 1629 visitation. Although not

⁵⁵ (BI) Visitation Court Book 1619 Part Two (V.1619 CB) ff.357r, 357v, 358r; the others were Christian, wife of Anker Jackson, Elizabeth Huthwaite, widow, and Robert Troupe; f.357r mentions that George Jackson was of St Mary’s; Francis and Christian Hall’s children were baptised at St Mary’s, Nottingham, as were Elizabeth and Thomas Huthwaite’s children, recorded in St Mary’s register for births, marriages and burials (NRO) PR 2019-2021

⁵⁶ (NMSS) presentments for Sneinton AN/PB 303/606 dated 26/04/1629, AN/PB 303/473 dated 19/05/1637 and AN/PB 303/606 dated 24/04/1639; for the location of Sneinton see **figure four** p.46; in 1638 Thomas Morely was presented for not attending church when there was no sermon in AN/PB 303/533 dated 8/09/1638

⁵⁷ (NMSS) AN/PB 292/2/2r/3 presentment of John Doughtie, dated 1589; Thomas Killingley of St Nicholas’ admitted 1 December 1615 that sometimes ‘he doth go to other parish churches,’ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/15 p. 87; (NMSS) AN/PB 302/271 presentment of Anne Meason, dated 15 October 1625; (NMSS) AN/PB 302/513 presentment of Robert Bamford, Thomas Kente alias Hempe and Robert Bowes dated 29 October 1629; (NMSS) AN/PB 303/10 presentment of George Balderton and his wife, 25 September 1630.

⁵⁸ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/20 p.187

always stated, the destination of their gadding may have been Nottingham. In 1629 Harsnett decreed that parishioners must attend their own church only. Previously parishioners had been allowed to listen to a sermon in another church when there was none in their own parish.⁵⁹ In 1631, for example, six women and one man from Clifton, next to Nottingham, were accused of attending other parishes. A list of seven individuals from Clifton, some of them the same, were presented in 1635 for ‘going from their parish church on Sundays during evening prayer.’ In 1639, ten were presented for ‘not going to church on Sundays and holy days sometimes for morning prayer, sometimes evening prayer.’⁶⁰ In 1635 at Adbolton Mrs Christian Hall and Sara Winfield, a widow, were presented for ‘neglecting to hear divine service at their parish church and for running to St Peter’s in Nottingham.’⁶¹ Two presentments at West Bridgford the same year named thirteen individuals for ‘continually absenting

⁵⁹ This earlier rule was reflected in the presentment of George Jackson for sermon-gadding at the diocesan visitation of 1619, where he was ‘ordered to repaire to his owne parish church hereafter upon sondayes and other festival dayes excepting when ther is no sermon at st maries but a sermon at st peters then it is tolerated that he shall and may heare a sermon or sermons at St Peters but not otherwise.’ (BI) V.1619 CB f.357r; R.A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (London: Longmans, 1960) pp.185-6, 197

⁶⁰ In 1631 those presented were Marie Lambert, Penelope James, Alice James, Grace Stockley, Marie Winter, Helen Wheatley and Gervase Barker (NMSS) AN/PB 315/219 presentment dated 21/04/1631; in 1635 the list included Elizabeth James, Alice James, Penelope James, Richard Bacon, Marie Winthorpe, Ellin Wheatley and Alice Marratt (NMSS) AN/PB 315/10/10 dated 31/10/1635; in 1639 those named were Francis Wallis, William Thorpe and his wife, John and Henrie Wallis sons of Francis and Dennis his daughter too, Marie Winthorp, Richard Bacon, Elizabeth Lambert and Alice James (NMSS) AN/PB 315/16/11 dated 24/04/1639; in 1628 Anne Lummas, widow, Elizabeth James and Mary, servant of Richard Bacon, were presented for attending other churches (NMSS) AN/PB 314/8/47 dated 28/04/1628 and in 1630, Anne Lummas was presented along with Elizabeth wife of Richard James and Elizabeth wife of William Carter for the same charge (NMSS) AN/PB 315/1/9 dated 12/04/1630; Anne Lummas was also presented for being absent from church in 1632 (NMSS) AN/PB 315/4/11 dated 14/05/1632

⁶¹ (NMSS) AN/PB 315/9/2 presentment dated 27/04/1635; this is possibly the same Mrs Christian Hall, originally from Nottingham St Mary’s, who had been presented for gadding in 1619, and the same Christian Hall who was the daughter of Anker Jackson and named in the libels of 1615 and 1617, who later refused to receive Communion at the altar rail at St Peter’s in 1638, which will be discussed in due course; Sara Winfeild of Adbolton was also presented for not attending her parish church in 1634 (NMSS) AN/PB 315/8/2 dated 27/9/1634.

themselves from church and going to other churches' particularly on Sunday afternoons.⁶² For the location of these parishes refer to **figure four**, in chapter one.

The churches of St Mary and St Peter attracted parishioners from other parishes both within and outside the town, but some Nottingham parishioners also travelled to hear sermons outside Nottingham itself. The Puritans of Nottingham who were libelled in 1615 and 1617 were accused of travelling five or six miles to attend parish churches other than their own 'to heare the sermons and exercises of other sectaries which were of their humerous faction.'⁶³ William Hopkins and Thomas and Margaret Wilson were among the libelled group. They were presented to the Archdeaconry court in 1618 for attending the nearby church of Basford, rather than their own parish church, and receiving Communion there 'irreverently' by sitting, rather than kneeling.⁶⁴ Another two of those libelled, William Froste and William Ellison, were among the group accused on 18 November 1615 of going to St Mary's despite there being a sermon at their own parish church. Although not named, their own parish church is likely to have been St Peter's. William Froste baptised a son Daniel in St Mary's in 1612, but his remaining children after 1614 (Elizabeth, Mary, Lydia, Joshua, Abraham, Samuel and Suzanna) were baptised at St Peter's. Obviously it is difficult to assess the motives of these sermon-gadders in Nottingham, but the accusations of the libellers indicate that some of them were identified amongst the town's godly community. This is supported by the choice of Biblical baptism names in the case of William Froste. Christian Hall who was accused of gadding in

⁶² These thirteen individuals were Gervase Kirke and his wife Alice, Robert Pecke, his wife and his daughter Joane, James Pecke and his wife, Richard Gartan and his wife, James Garton and Anne Wright his daughter-in-law, Francis Garton and his wife. They had apparently been formerly presented to the Bishop of York and had promised that they would reform. In 1630, however, they were presented for continually absenting themselves from church and going to other churches (NMSS) AN/PB 315/1/6 dated 12/04/1630 and AN/PB 315/1/59 dated 25/9/1630

⁶³ (NA) Records of the Court of Star Chamber, STAC 8/27/7, Attorney-general Yelverton vs Withington, Hansbye, Withington, Allen, Mason, Sacheverel and others, ff.11, 21

⁶⁴ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/16 p.239; (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.383; Hopkins was named as a draper 'of Basford.'

1619 and mocked in the libels also had children with distinctive names, Christian, John, Thomas, Mary, Joseph, Hannah and Luke.⁶⁵

Those gadding to sermons, particularly when they were deliberately not walking in the direction of their own parish churches, or were attending additional weekday sermons, would to some degree have been distinctive within their communities. John Earle, quoted above, compared them to trails of Catholics on pilgrimage and they have also been likened to soldiers or ‘troops’ on the march. The performative aspect would have been accentuated if the gadders were singing Psalms as they walked and wearing ‘Sunday best.’ Another way in which they may have been distinctive is in carrying the Bible as they travelled, in their pockets, at their girdles or in their arms, something suggested in several contemporary comments.⁶⁶ For example, in his biography of the minister William Gouge, Samuel Clarke claimed that ‘it was his constant practice to carry his Bible and some other Books in his pocket.’⁶⁷ An innkeeper in Colchester complained that ‘there be a sort of woman of this town that go to the sermons with the books under their arms.’⁶⁸ The Shrewsbury minister Peter Studley, commented that the Puritan subject of his *The looking-glass of schisme* had

‘a Bible, which he seldome omitted to carry about with him in his pocket: in so much that at the plough in the field and in the barne when he threshed his

⁶⁵ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/15 p.82; the baptisms of Christian Halls’ children, between 1606 and 1626, (NRO) St Mary’s parish register for births, marriages and burials PR 2020.

⁶⁶ The fashion for wearing books at one’s girdles is discussed in more detail by Alexandra Walsham, ‘Jewels for Gentlewomen: Religious Books as Artefacts in Late Medieval and Early Modern England’ in R.N. Swanson ed. *The Church and the Book, Studies in Church History 34* (2004) particularly pp.129-130; William Heale commented in his *An Apology for Women* (Oxford: 1609) ‘I could never approve those too holy women-gospellers, who wear their testament at their apron-strings’ pp.35-6, quoted in Akiko Kusunoki, ‘Their Testament at Their Apron Strings: The Representation of Puritan Women in Early Seventeenth Century England’ in S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne Davies eds., *Gloriana’s Face: Women, Public and Private in the English Renaissance* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992) p.187

⁶⁷ The life of William Gouge in Samuel Clarke, *A collection of the lives of ten eminent divines, famous in their generations for learning, prudence, piety, and painfulness in the work of the ministry* (London: 1662) p.112

⁶⁸ Quoted in Collinson, ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism’ p.48

fathers corne, hee borrowed some time from his present employments, to cast his eyes on this Sacret Booke.’⁶⁹

Similarly John Bruen was also said in his spiritual biography to carry ‘some part of the Bible or his sermon notebooke, if he went abroad into the field to meditate.’⁷⁰

Those who brought their Bible with them to church were not necessarily among the godly. However, Bible-carrying was used to convey a sense of the display of hypocrisy in satires of Puritans. For example, a stage direction in the play *The Pvritaine or the widow of Watling-streete* (1607) explains how three of the ‘Widow Puritanes servingmen’ enter with ‘bookes at their girdles coming from Church.’⁷¹ Rustico in the 1619 play *Two wise men and all the rest fooles* says of his wife, ‘I know her by the signe of the Bible’⁷² and ‘Might they be saved by their booke, they have the Bible always in their bosome’ is a line from *The anatomie of absurditie* (1589).⁷³ Furthermore, a libel which mocked the local Puritans in Dorchester in 1606 included the line ‘you carry your Bible God’s word to expound, and yet in al knavery you daily abound.’⁷⁴ Similarly a song called ‘Gowers the Puritane,’ which made its way to the Essex Quarter Sessions in 1618, featured the line ‘he carries a Bible under his arme/ how ys yt possible his neighbours he sholde harme.’⁷⁵

Although there is no direct evidence that any inhabitants of Banbury or Nottingham brought their Bibles with them to Church, William Whately in his 1606

⁶⁹ From Studley, *The looking-glass of schisme* p.23

⁷⁰ Hinde, *A faithfull remonstrance* p.142

⁷¹ W.S. *The Pvritaine or the widdow of Watling-streete* (London: 1607) Act I, Scene III, B2v; similarly in *The description of a Puritan* (1640) in Laurence A. Sasek ed. *Images of English Puritanism: A Collection of Contemporary Sources, 1589-1646* (USA: Louisiana State University Press, 1989) p.118 a Puritan is described as being someone ‘that at his Belt a buff clad Bible bears, stampt with the true Genevah Characters.’

⁷² *Two wise men and all the rest fooles* (1619) Act IV, Scene II, p.46

⁷³ *The anatomie of absurditie* (1589) p.22 quoted in William Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire, 1572-1642* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954) pp.54-5

⁷⁴ Quoted in David Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: The Life of an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1992) p.29

⁷⁵ Quoted in Adam Fox, ‘Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England’ in *Past and Present*, Number 145 (November, 1994) p.79

sermon *The redemption of time* implied that some of his parishioners were more inclined to read the Bible in church than at home. He complained that,

‘many may say (with grief inough if they did wel) that their hands are so ful of the world as they can scarce throw the weeke take the Bible into their hands to read any thing therein, vnlesse perhaps it be in the church or at some public meeting.’⁷⁶

He also asked the readers of his 1637 treatise *The poore mans advocate*, that this text

‘may accompany your purses in your pockets, and so warne you to pull them forth more frequently and more willingly for mercifull deeds, then perhaps you have heretofore accustomed.’⁷⁷

This quote suggests that some of his parishioners may have tended to carry texts in their pockets. Furthermore, among the three Bibles bequeathed in the will of his wife, Martha, were ‘my great Bible which I usually used,’ and ‘my little Bible,’ possibly the copy she took with her to church.⁷⁸

The carrying of Bibles or other religious texts, as well as sermon notebooks, made godly individuals conspicuous as they travelled in public. They could be distinctive within the church itself when they referred to scriptural passages in their Bibles and annotated the margins during the sermon, making noise when they turned pages and wrote notes. One James Warre in 1630 complained of parishioners who ‘tosse the leaves of their Bibles to and fro’ and often ‘close the book without finding the same.’ In a similar manner, John Doughton, a Warwickshire minister, complained that ‘turning and tossing over the leaves of the Bible is a disturbance to the congregation.’⁷⁹ Although the noise is not mentioned, William Whately commented on the practice of writing notes in his tract *God’s husbandry*, that ‘many a sonne and

⁷⁶ William Whatley, *The redemption of time, or a sermon containing very good remedies for them that have mis-spent their time: showing how they should redeeme it comfortably* (London: 1606) p.67

⁷⁷ William Whatley, *The poore mans advocate, or, a treatise of liberality to the needy delivered in sermons* (London: 1637) dedicatory

⁷⁸ Will of Martha Whately, proved 23 December 1641

⁷⁹ James Warre, *The toughstone of truth* (1630) and Robert Hudson, *Memorials of a Warwickshire Parish* (London: 1904) p.157 quoted by John Craig in his unpublished paper ‘The Cultural Politics of Prayer in Early Modern England,’ pp.15, 20, footnote xxix.

servant of a godly father or master will hearken diligently at sermon and bring home (by memorie or *writing*) all the substance of the Sermon' and Willem Teellinck described the Banbury family he stayed with in 1604, possibly the Whatelys, taking notes during the service.⁸⁰

Turning to the performance of the godly inside the church itself, it is first important to introduce the gestures which were prescribed and how by non-conforming, the godly made themselves distinctive within the congregation. It will also be suggested that where the godly sat in the church may have made their performance more visible and distinctive.

The prayer book service was structured so that the laity would respond to the minister's words with various gestures, including kneeling during the confession of sins and at prayer, using 'due and lowly reverence,' such as bowing at the name of Jesus and standing up at the reading of the articles of belief. The Communion was also supposed to be received kneeling.⁸¹ These gestures were required by the ecclesiastical canons and the *Book of Common Prayer* and non-compliance was punishable in the church courts. Many of these gestures fell under the title of *adiaphora* or things indifferent, neither forbidden nor commanded by Scripture. They were however commanded by the magistrates and, therefore, legally they were not matters indifferent. Contemporaries debated what practices should fall under the

⁸⁰ (My italics.) William Whately, *God's hvsbandry, the first part. Tending to shew the difference betwixt the hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian* (London: 1619) pp.20-1; for more detail on Teellinck and church worship refer to chapter three, pp.106-8

⁸¹ Christopher Marsh, 'Sacred Space in England, 1560-1640: The View from the Pew' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 53, Number 2 (April 2002) p.290; Sharon L. Arnoult, 'Spiritual and Sacred Public Actions: The Booke of Common Prayer and the Understanding of Worship in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church of England' in Eric Josef Carlson ed. *Religion and the English People, 1500-1640, New Voices, New Perspectives* (Missouri: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998) pp.28, 29

category of things indifferent, whose authority it was to command in such matters and what justification there was for liberty of conscience.⁸²

Matters indifferent did not affect salvation, and there were many among the godly who felt that gestures such as kneeling to receive the sacrament or wearing the surplice were acceptable since they were commanded by the magistrate. In *A care cloth*, printed in 1624, William Whately referred to kneeling to receive the sacrament as a matter indifferent. He explained,

‘so to adore Christ by bowing of the knee unto him, is lawfull, and hath generall warrant out of the word of God, as all yield (for to me every knee shall bow, is a thing that God hath sworne:) therefore it cannot but follow, that to bow the knee to him in the act of receiving the sacrament, is also lawfull.’⁸³

In his *The new birth* (1619) he also contended that godly men should avoid

‘al iangling and frivolous disputes about unnecessary quirkes and quiddities, and matters of ceremony, and disputable points in things externall (wherewith some doe onely take up the time and trouble themselves, and the Church, without edification).’⁸⁴

Whately qualified his point about the lawfulness of gestures such as kneeling, arguing that such practices were only lawful so long as it was given no superstitious or idolatrous meaning.⁸⁵ This implied a concern that the indifference of such gestures depended on the beliefs of those that performed them. Although the godly knew that the act of kneeling was indifferent to salvation, since there may be those who still believed in the real presence, the godly felt that by kneeling they would encourage

⁸² Ethan H. Shagan, ‘The Battle for Indifference in Elizabethan England’ in Racaut and Ryrle eds. *Moderate Voices* pp.27-8, 71

⁸³ William Whately, *A care cloth: or a treatise on the cumbers and troubles of marriage* (London: 1624) p.20

⁸⁴ Whately, *The new birth* p.172; Whately wrote in *A godlie treatise, intituled the view and down-fall of pride* (London: 1602) pp.20-21 ‘and to what end should a Countrie Pulpit meddle with matters of government in *Malem Portem*, except it were to teach the people to read upon the Princes lawful scripture, and tread the crowne under their feet? Admit some things may be amise, the best way to amend them, is here to speake of them where mends may be had, and not to keepe a wrangling among such as cannot help;’ also discussed in Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c.1620-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp.159-60; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.470

⁸⁵ Whately, *A care cloth* p.17; as we shall see later, there was a contradiction between Whately’s printed words and his performance in his own parish, where he administered the sacrament to parishioners who sat or stood.

superstition in others. There were thus some among the godly who, for reasons of conscience, acted against authority and refused to conform. Certain gestures of church worship such as kneeling and bowing became once more a subject of controversy in the 1630s due to the greater emphasis placed by the Laudians on obeying the ‘ceremonial and liturgical aspects of the beauty of holiness’ and the due reverence required of those in the ‘house of God.’ They became part of a renewed effort to enforce ceremonial conformity in worship.⁸⁶ As we will see, in Nottingham this led to both increased determination in godly non-conformity as well as an expansion of the number of individuals who refused to conform.

Not all the godly were non-conformists, and some found certain ceremonies more offensive than others. In terms of salvation it was equally justifiable to kneel or not kneel and motives for doing so were varied, including following tradition, obedience, arguments of good order, or arguments of conscience and superstition. As we shall see in the example of Jane Ratcliffe, decisions over whether to kneel to receive Communion were not, however, a matter the godly took lightly.

By not complying with the regulations of the *Book of Common Prayer* the godly performed distinctively in church, but this distinctiveness would also have been affected by where they sat in church. Although no evidence about church seating survives for either Banbury or Nottingham, in other sources there are hints that in some churches the godly may have sat apart from the rest of the congregation. Richard Powell, vicar of Pattishell in the diocese of Peterborough, complained of some seats behind the pulpit ‘where ye puritans and Non Conformists doe all sitt soe

⁸⁶ Peter Lake, ‘The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity, and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s’ in Kenneth Fincham ed. *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-42* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993) p.165

that their reverend gestures cannot be seen.’⁸⁷ Studies have also suggested that church papists may have sat towards the back of the church, away from the pulpit and Communion table.⁸⁸ As will be shown, many but not all of the non-conformists presented in this chapter were from the higher social orders. Many of them were also female. Since church seating tended to be divided by gender and social hierarchy, it is likely that many of these individuals were sitting near each other towards the front of the church.⁸⁹ In dressing of their social station or to reflect their position in the corporation they may also have been sartorially distinctive. Despite the dominance of the social elites, the fact that there was a mix of genders and a mix of social orders among those presented for non-conformity also implies that some of godly who performed distinctively may have been dispersed throughout the church, which would have made their performance stand out within their own pews. For examples servants and masters did not necessarily sit together but were sometimes presented together.⁹⁰

This discussion of lay performance in church is broken into three sections. The first looks at gesture in ordinary church worship, the second at performance at

⁸⁷ From Peterborough Diocesan Records, 1637 church survey f.50, at the Northamptonshire Record Office, quoted in John Fielding, *Conformists, Puritans and the Church Courts: The Diocese of Peterborough, 1603-1642* (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, April 1989) p.114; Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007) p.156, writes that some have argued that high pews were sometimes constructed for principled reasons, so that Puritans could hide behind them and avoid what they believed to be popish liturgical gestures such as bowing at the name of Jesus or turning east for the Gospel or Creed; this was an accusation laid at the parishioners of St Peter’s by William Easdell, quoted below p.224, who said that they remained in their seats to receive Communion so that the churchwardens could not ‘take notice of such as refuse or omit to kneele as they ought to doe at that sacred action;’ similarly J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984) p.165 discusses the idea that tall pews could hide inattention, and non-conformist behaviour, hence Laud’s insistence on low pews of uniform height.

⁸⁸ Caroline Litzenger, ‘The Coming of Protestantism to Elizabethan Tewkesbury’ in Patrick Collinson and John Craig eds. *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998) pp.91-2 states that in Lancashire and Cheshire it was reported that Catholics, when attending church, often withdrew ‘to the farthest partes of the churche from the worde.’

⁸⁹ For discussion of church seating see for example, Amanda Flather’s chapter on ‘Sacred Space’ in her *Gender and Space* pp.135-173; Marsh, ‘Sacred Space in England, 1560-1640’ pp.286-311; Margaret Aston, ‘Segregation in Church’ in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood eds. *Women in the Church, Studies in Church History* 27 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991) pp.237-294

⁹⁰ Flather, *Gender and Space* p.153; for example, in Banbury in September 1613, William Hosiar and his maidservant were presented for not kneeling to receive Communion, (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31; Peyton, *Presentments* p.209

Communion and the third section looks at other, more irregular church ceremonies. In this first section two types of gesture will be examined. The first considers gestures such as groaning in prayer, which the godly may have performed at their own direction or more enthusiastically than others in the congregation. Secondly, it will look at their non-performance of gestures dictated by the prayer book. It is suggested that some gestures in prayer, for example groaning and crying, were ways in which individuals could make themselves and others aware of the spirit working within them and a manner in which they could communicate its working to others in the congregation.⁹¹ In his diary, Nehemiah Wallington noted that to overcome the weakness of sleeping in church one could stand up or utter ‘short and sudden ejaculations.’ He also noted that the congregation were to remember that the church was a public place, ‘such as see me, will suspect my religion.’⁹² There was of course a fine line, however, between making a show of religion which reflected genuine belief and the accusation of hypocrisy and an empty display of religion as perceived from the outside.

To begin with regular church worship, there are suggestions that the godly may have used their own, different gestures in public worship, or used some common gestures more fervently than their neighbours. Patrick Collinson has suggested that ‘sighs, tears and stern clearings of throats’ may have been common sounds among the audience of edifying preachers.⁹³ John Craig has similarly drawn our attention to the idea that the godly in particular may have ‘taken to heart Christ’s example of praying’ and the scriptural promise that the ‘Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings, which cannot be uttered.’⁹⁴ There are certainly some contemporary

⁹¹ Craig, ‘Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers’ pp.110-111

⁹² Quoted in Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* p.55

⁹³ Collinson, ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism’ p.55

⁹⁴ Craig, ‘Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers’ p.110

sources which indicate that prayer may have been more audible than previously imagined. Matthew Sutcliffe criticised gestures such as ‘humming, sighing and groaning’ as signs of a ‘raging desire for innovation’ that was dangerous for the unity of the church.⁹⁵ More positively, George Foxley commented in his *The groanes of the spirit*, that

‘by these unpressible groanes is meant the vehemency or fervency of Prayer, being the work of the spirit, which worketh after an unspeakable manner in the hearts of all that pray.’⁹⁶

Similarly, Daniel Featley wrote that ‘the aflectted soule, which sometimes stealeth a groane and fetcheth a sigh in church, offers up often prayers with strong cries at home’ and John Foxe was said to pray with ‘vehement groans.’⁹⁷ There are also suggestions that some members of the congregation may have verbally responded to sermons, such as with an enthusiastic ‘amen.’ Richard Bancroft mocked the groans of the godly, saying that at the end of the sermon the ‘chief gentlemen in the place begynnyng with a gronyng, but yet with a lowed voice crieth most religiously, Amen. And then the whole companie of that sect followe, Amen, Amen.’⁹⁸

Some contemporary commentary suggests that the gestures of the godly may have made them visibly, as well as audibly, distinctive within church services on a regular basis. Turning up the white of the eye or lifting the eyes heavenward were used frequently in godly lives as a metaphor for piety. Minister John Carter was praised by Samuel Clarke that his ‘eyes were frequently lifted up towards heaven,’ and William Whately was said to have lifted his eyes ‘steadfastly towards heaven’ as

⁹⁵ Quote taken from Matthew Sutcliffe, *A treatise of ecclesiastical discipline* (London: 1590) pp.199-202, quoted in Peter Iver Kaufman, *Prayer, Despair and Drama: Elizabethan Introspection* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1996) p.30

⁹⁶ George Foxle, *The groanes of the spirit, or the triall of the truth of prayer* (Oxford: 1639) p.34; John Craig, ‘The Cultural Politics of Prayer’ p.16

⁹⁷ Daniel Featley, *Ancilla Pietatis: or, the hand-maid to priuate devotion* (London: 1626) p.5; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* pp.91-2; Craig, ‘Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers’ p.110

⁹⁸ Albert Peel ed. *Tracts ascribed to Richard Bancroft* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) p.72; Craig, ‘Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers’ p. 111

he died.⁹⁹ It was, however, also a characteristic of the godly that was mocked. John Earle, for example, described the ‘devotion at the church’ of his ‘shee precise hypocrite’ as being ‘much in the turning up of her eye, and turning downe the leafe in her Booke, when she heares nam’d chapter and verse.’¹⁰⁰ When in the street a character in Thomas Dekker’s *The wonder of a kingdome* (1623) is said to ‘cast up the white of her eye like a Puritane.’¹⁰¹ Similarly, the stage direction for Rustico’s wife Lamia in *Two wise men and all the rest fooles* (1619) reads ‘counterfeiting to be a Puritan, lifting her eyes upward.’¹⁰² As John Earle’s satire suggests, looking heavenward was a gesture that the godly may have used within church, as well as outside, although advice was also given to ‘look downward, or cover the eies; that the minde having no distraction from without, may be the more intent on his present business’ within the church.¹⁰³

Crying was a further gesture which was commented upon by contemporaries, both when discussing prayer and listening to sermons. As quoted above, William Whately asked his congregation to ‘join together, to powre forth a streame of water’ while he spoke to them in his sermon, *Sinne no more*, in ‘the language of teares.’¹⁰⁴ There are indications that some of his parishioners may have taken him to his word and cried for their sins. Henry Scudder, one time minister of Drayton, commented that ‘the time when Gods Children have most plentie of teares’ was when ‘their hearts

⁹⁹ Clarke, *A collection of the lives of ten eminent divines* pp.8-9; Samuel Clarke, *The first part of the marrow of ecclesiastical history* (London: 1654) pp.933-4

¹⁰⁰ Earle ‘A shee precise hypocrite’ H6r

¹⁰¹ Quoted in Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire* p.113

¹⁰² *Two wise men* Act IV, Scene II, p.46

¹⁰³ This is quoted in Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* p.51. Advice for looking downward to avoid temptation or distraction is something discussed on p.45; Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988) p.142 comments that John Angier advised his flock not to stand up in order to gaze about ‘to see who of our friends we can espy, or who comes in, or what apparel others wear.’

¹⁰⁴ Whately, *Sinne no more* p.2

beginne to melt through hope of mercy.’¹⁰⁵ Whately’s sister, the wife of the minister Robert Harris, was said by Harris’s cousin to have been ‘a most constant worshipper of God all her time, who seldome rose from her knees with dry eyes.’¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the prayer of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe of Chester was apparently ‘no dry devotion, but steeped and drenched in showers of tears.’¹⁰⁷ For some this display of emotion was performed in church as well as at home. On one occasion Robert Woodford wrote in his diary that ‘diverse scriptures came into my mind & did me much comfort, I afterward prayed in private to many teares.’ On another occasion he noted that during a sermon of Mr Ball ‘I was greatly affected to teares in heareinge the evening sermon I did receive the Lord by fayth in some gracious measure.’¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, at one sermon given by the ‘roaring’ John Rogers of Dedham the congregation was witnessed to be ‘deluged with their owne teares’ and William Gouge was praised in his funeral sermon for having frequently made his congregation weep.¹⁰⁹ An emotive response to sermons was encouraged, but as Arthur Hildersham explained in his *Doctrine of prayer and fasting*, the godly may still be in the state of grace even if they did not weep at every sermon they heard.¹¹⁰

In addition to gestures performed at their own direction, the godly would also have been conspicuous through not performing the gestures that were prescribed in the prayer book. One example of this is in not bowing at the name of Jesus.¹¹¹ One

¹⁰⁵ Henry Scudder, *The Christian’s daily walk in holy sevcritie and peace* (London: 7th edition, 1637) p.664; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* pp.73-4

¹⁰⁶ Durham, *Life and Death* p.46

¹⁰⁷ From the life of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe in Clarke, *A collection of the lives of ten eminent divines* p.426

¹⁰⁸ Diary of Robert Woodford, entries dated 7 December 1638 and 16 December 1638 (New College, Oxford) MS 9502 ff.149r, 155r.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Bremer and Rydell, ‘Performance Art?’ p.53 and Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p.72

¹¹⁰ Arthur Hildersham, *Doctrine of fasting and prayer* (1633) N1v and N2v, quoted in Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* pp.73-4

¹¹¹ Andrew Foster, ‘Church Policies of the 1630s’ in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes eds. *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (London: Longman, 1989) p.206; Barbara Coulton, ‘Rivalry and Religion: The Borough of Shrewsbury in the Early Stuart Period’ in *Midland History*, Volume 28 (2003) p.38 notes that at the visitation of Shrewsbury in the autumn of

of the sermon-gadders from Clifton near Nottingham, Marie Winthorp, was also presented in 1639 for not standing at the reading of the Gospel.¹¹² Another example of this is not removing one's hat during the service. It was prescribed in canon 18 of the ecclesiastical canons of 1604 that no man should remain covered in church during the service 'except he have some infirmity; in which case let him wear a nightcap or coif.'¹¹³ Women's heads were, however, supposed to be covered. Although there could be many motivations for not removing a hat, such as a mark of social disrespect or to protect the hat from being damaged, the custom of removing hats in church was seen by some as demonstrating an elevated reverence to the place of worship. The act of men keeping hats on in church became more of an issue in the 1630s.¹¹⁴ In 1621 the churchwardens of Banbury commented that 'the greatest part put of theyr hats.' The visitation of 1630, however, reported that

'the judge, being credibly informed that many as well of the younger as of the older sort of men do usually sit covered in the time of divine service in this church of Banbury, to the great abuse and dishonour of so holy an exercise and disturbance of the devotion of others well affected to all good religious customs and ceremonies of the church doth strictly admonish and require all such offenders therein hereafter to reform it.'¹¹⁵

1633 Peter Studley, the Laudian minister of St Chad's, named 20 heads of families of St Chad's parish for not bowing at the name of Jesus; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) p.134

¹¹² She was among those listed in 1635 and 1639 for not attending her own parish church (NMSS) AN/PB 315/16/11 presentment dated 24/04/1639 and AN/PB 315/10/10 dated 31/10/1635.

¹¹³ Kenneth Fincham, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Volume II* (Suffolk: Boydell, 1998) p.xxii

¹¹⁴ R.C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North-west England: A Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972) pp.80-1 discusses this and gives further examples; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* gives further examples from the 1630s on pp.78, 116, 126 and 127. On p.116 he notes that in Leeds, during Archbishop Neile's visitation, the only faults which were detected and corrected included the wearing of hats in church by ten men; keeping hats on in church later became a trademark of Quaker behaviour.

¹¹⁵ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16 folio 59v, 13 April 1630, copied in Bawdy Court p.110; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.332

In Nottingham, one John Alvye of St Peter's was presented to the Archdeaconry court 15 September 1635 for that 'he did put on his hat in the chancel during the time of baptism.'¹¹⁶

Now to turn to the second theme of lay performance in church, the Communion. The 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* and the canons of 1604 required parishioners to receive Communion at least three times a year. Whilst it is unlikely that most parishioners received more than once a year some ministers favoured more regular Communion.¹¹⁷ John Whately referred in 1627 to 'our monethlie assemblies for the celebrating of the lords supper' in Banbury.¹¹⁸ The sacrament was to be received kneeling but some among the godly felt that this resembled former Catholic practices too closely, indicating a belief in the real presence. Instead they advocated taking Communion sitting or standing, as if they were guests at the Lord's table, re-enacting the Last Supper.¹¹⁹ By sitting or standing whilst others knelt members of the godly thus made visible gestures in their worship. The practice of Communion appears to have varied between parishes, with a few parishes having special Communion rooms or permanent seats around the Communion table. In most places parishioners received Communion in their pews or kneeling at the table which was in an east/west position, usually in the middle of the chancel.¹²⁰ The image in **figure twenty-two** shows wealthy communicants in a London church kneeling around three sides of the Communion table, with the table positioned in an east/west orientation. The minister stands on the north side. The issue of how the sacrament was received

¹¹⁶ (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.495

¹¹⁷ Discussed in Arnold Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England' in *Past and Present*, Number 161 (November, 1998) pp.41, 53

¹¹⁸ SP Dom 16/50/63 f.182(1)r

¹¹⁹ Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'Heterodoxy' and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001) p.80; Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper' p.71; Bawdy Court p.31

¹²⁰ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored* especially pp.34, 58, 59, 106-7, 211

became increasingly divisive in the 1630s following the Laudian policy of railing the Communion table and orientating it in a north/south direction, creating an ‘altar’ at the east end of the church. Communicants were to receive Communion at the rail. The changes augmented the power of the clergy, who alone had access to the altar, and were perceived by many as indicating a ‘backsliding to popery.’¹²¹



Figure twenty-two - Communion at St Saviour Southwark (St Mary Overy) in the 1620s, from *The Christians Jewell* (1624)

Here the performance of the godly of Banbury and Nottingham at Communion will be examined in turn. Both the issue of not kneeling and in Nottingham’s case the impact of the Laudian changes to Communion practice in the town, for which there is no evidence in Banbury, will be discussed.

Nothing is known about the position of the Communion table in Banbury in the period 1580-1640. Although the evidence is unclear, the description of John Whately’s dispute with his brother in the church provides some clues about Communion practice in the parish. Firstly it is suggested that women may have received before men, or before some men, since Marie Weston was to receive before John Whately. Whately referred to himself being of the ‘last forme that was to

¹²¹ Kenneth Fincham, ‘The Restoration of the Altars in the 1630s’ in *Historical Journal*, Volume 44, (December, 2001) pp.922, 936; Peter Lake, ‘The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness’ in Fincham ed. *The Early Stuart Church* pp.171, 176; Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (London; Arnold, 2003) pp.199, 207

receave.’ When it was his turn to serve his brother William Whately stopped and went to the Communion table to address the congregation, suggesting he had been away from the table when administering Communion. He then turned back towards his brother. As John Whately made an attempt to depart from the church ‘going out of the chancel,’ William was said to have followed him ‘to the communion table.’¹²² This suggests that John Whately had been in the chancel, possibly where his seat was located, when expecting to receive Communion, and that the Communion table was further within the church, possibly in the nave.

Whilst it is not stated whether John Whately or Marie Weston had knelt in their expectation of receiving the sacrament, John Whately in his letter of complaint mentioned that

‘concerning the administering, [of the Communion] sitting, it is so usuall that I thinke hee [William Whatley] will not deny it, but the churchwardens are too much convenient.’¹²³

This statement implies that usually parishioners sat in Banbury to receive Communion and that the churchwardens supported Whately in this or turned a blind eye. That several of the ministers and parishioners in Banbury had an issue with kneeling to receive the sacrament is also confirmed in other sources. In 1607 William Whately, who was then lecturer and curate of St Mary’s, was presented by his fellow curate, William Osbourne, for administering the sacrament to such as ‘wold not kneele.’¹²⁴ Thomas Holloway, vicar of nearby Cropredy, commented the same year that Banbury

¹²² SP Dom 16/50/63 f.182(1)r

¹²³ SP Dom 16/50/63 f.182(1)v

¹²⁴ Presentment dated 6 April 1607 (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.15; Peyton, *presentments* p.202; in (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.61 there is a presentment dated 3 March 1605/6 which names Elizabeth Kinge, servant of Mr Henry Showell, Robert Benbow, Richard Newman’s wife, Thomas Wing’s wife, Mr Shorte, Mr and Mistres Gee and others, but no charge is mentioned (f.173). Some similar names occur again on a presentment dated 11 September 1606 including Elizabeth King and William Samon but, again, no charge is mentioned (f.172); another list on f.182 dating from 1621 includes Elizabeth Newman, Manassess Plumpton and Judith his wife, Ann Sharpe, Bathshua Allen. It is possible that these were all presentments for not kneeling. Many of these names come up in other records of non-conformist activities in the parish.

was called a ‘lawless church,’ ‘in respecte of the gyvinge & ministracion of the sacraments,’ presumably referring to the fact that parishioners sat or stood to receive.¹²⁵ In 1613 Whately, then minister, claimed he would have no hand in the presentment of several individuals charged with not kneeling.¹²⁶ In 1621 ten others were presented for the same charge.¹²⁷ In addition to William Whately, two other Banbury curates, Ralph Taylor and James Hathaway, and William Hollihead, a clerk and school teacher, were all at one time brought before the court for administering the sacrament in this manner.¹²⁸

Despite the disparity between Whately’s words on the lawfulness of kneeling to receive the Sacrament in print, quoted earlier, and his actions in practice, it is clear that some of his parishioners felt strongly about the issue of kneeling. Whately was supported by one of his churchwardens, Edward Smallbone, and a sidesman, Thomas Wing, in his refusal to support the presentment of those who refused to kneel in 1613.¹²⁹ Thomas Wing owned a Bible and a Psalm book and he was named overseer to the very charitable will of Richard Whately, who was involved in both the cases of the maypoles and crosses. Edward Smallbone went on to marry the niece of three of the defendants in the case of the crosses.¹³⁰ Those who were brought forward to the peculiar court in 1613 and 1621 for refusing to kneel were a socially mixed group.

¹²⁵ Complaint dated 23 February 1607 (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.13; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.271

¹²⁶ (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31, on the back of this presentment is the date September 1613; Peyton, *Presentments* p.209; Whately stated ‘I William Whately vicar sett myne hand to all these but onely against them that are presented for sitting I will have none hand.’

¹²⁷ (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.41, 15 March 1620/1; Peyton, *Presentments* p.215

¹²⁸ Ralph Taylor presentment dated c.1610 (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94, libels and articles undated f.100v; James Hathaway presented 5 September 1610 (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry b.61 visitation processes f.181; Bawdy Court p.3; presentments for William Hollyhead dated 13 April 1630 (f.64) and 2 April 1630 (f.69v) in (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16; Bawdy Court pp.115, 120

¹²⁹ (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31; Peyton, *Presentments* p.209; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces*, pp.186, 283-4

¹³⁰ Inventory of Thomas Wing, dated 17 April 1628 (ORO) Oxon Wills Peculiars 54/2/45 in BW2 p.67; will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately proved 4 January 1604; BCR p.271

Several were servants, some acting independent of their masters. Many, however, show signs of godliness, captured from a variety of sources.

In 1613 the five individuals presented were Julian Smithson, William Hosiar and his maidservant, Christopher Needle and the wife of Bartholomew Strong. Julian Smithson was a servant of Thomas Kimble. He is probably the same Thomas Kimble or Kimbell whose ladder was borrowed by the iconoclasts who destroyed several statues in Banbury's churchyard in 1610. William Hosiar, a glasier, was selected in Richard Whately's will to mend the church window and he had children distinctively named James, Samuel, Thomas, Nathaniel, Christian and Timothy. Bartholomew Strong was also mentioned in Whately's will to be reliably consulted on some building work. His children were named Mary, Anna, Hannial, Nathaniel and Zachariah. Christopher Needle had three daughters named Obedience, Patience and Grace, as well as other children called Elizabeth, Hannah and John.¹³¹

A different group of ten individuals were brought forward in 1621. Most of them were women.¹³² They included Millicent Gulliver, Widow Newman, Manasses Plumber (Plumpton) and his wife, John Wamesley junior, Sara Norman, daughter of William Norman, Marie Sherwood, the wife of Samuel Sherwood, Ann Sharpe, the wife Robert Letch and the wife of William Allen. This 'widow Newman' was possibly Elizabeth, widow of Richard Newman and mother of John, Thomas and Hannah Newman. John Newman went on to baptise his daughter Temperance and his second wife was called Christian. At his death he owned three Bibles. John Newman attempted to baptise one of his children without godparents in 1626 and the same year

¹³¹ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan papers c.94, libels and articles undated ff.98-9; will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately proved 4 January 1604; William Hosiar's children were baptised between 1596-1615, Bartholomew Strong's between 1597-1609 and Christopher Needle's between 1611-26, in BBR; will of John Kimbell, proved 26 April 1620; BCR pp.271, 321; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces*, pp. 327-8, 330

¹³² (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.41; Peynton, *Presentments* p.215; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp. 284, 330

his wife Anne went abroad without being churched.¹³³ Manasses Plumpton and his wife baptised a daughter called Hopenstill in 1621.¹³⁴ Ann Sharpe was the wife of Henry Sharpe, the bookseller, for whose shop several of William Whately's works were published. She was questioned in conjunction with the removal of the church statues in 1610. Robert Letch or Leach's children were named Richard, Sarah, Daniel, Joseph and Zephaniah. His first wife Ursula, who died in 1617, was the sister of Henry Halhead, who was also involved in the removal of the church statues. William Allen was later mayor in 1632-3. He and his wife Bathsheba had a daughter called Hopenstill. William was accused of baptising his daughter Mary without godparents in 1626. Samuel Sherwood was a taster in the corporation in 1637-45 and a recipient of a Psalm book, along with his brothers Nathaniel and Thomas, in the will of William Shorte, a minister residing in Banbury.¹³⁵

Although the status of all the individuals presented in 1613 and 1621 is not known, six were members of the corporation in some capacity during their lifetimes, or were closely related to someone who was.¹³⁶ The only one of any seniority was William Allen and, as the wife of a man who was later mayor, Bathsheba Allen was likely to be sitting in a prominent position near the front of the church when taking Communion.

¹³³ Will of Richard Newman proved 2 July 1619; will of John Newman proved 13 November 1637; presentments of John Newman and his wife dated 3 January 1626, (ORO) MS Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16 f.5v, copied in Bawdy Court p.67; Temperance Newman was baptised 28 January 1627, BBR p.98; note that Manasses' surname is spelt Plumber in the records of this case and Plumpton elsewhere, including in the baptism registers.

¹³⁴ Hopenstill Plumpton was baptised 24 June 1621, BBR p.88

¹³⁵ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94, libels and articles undated ff.98-9; Ursula Leach was buried 28 November 1617, BBR p.203; Joseph and Zephaniah were born in 1620 and 1622, therefore they were the children of Robert's second wife; BCR pp.273, 299; presentment of William Allen dated 18 December 1626 (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16 f.14v copied in Bawdy Court p.321; will of William Shorte, written 19 February 1617; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.329

¹³⁶ Other than William Allen and Samuel Sherwood mentioned in the above text, Bartholomew Strong's son Nathaniel was a tithing-man, Richard Newman and his sons John and Thomas were searchers and sealers of leather and Manasses Plumpton was a tithing man, as was Robert Leach; see BCR pp.314, 316, 318 and 322

Turning to Nottingham, several of St Mary's parishioners were also presented for not kneeling to receive the sacrament: Mary Ludlam in 1623, and then in 1628 Joan Rowe or Roe, Elizabeth Huthwett or Huthwaite and Frances Teller, servant to one Littlefeare.¹³⁷ Joan Rowe and Elizabeth Huthwaite may have been related through marriage. Elizabeth Huthwaite had also been presented for attending St Peter's rather than her own parish church in 1619.¹³⁸ William Withington commented in his testimony in the case of the religious libels in 1618 that the town's Puritans thought 'the Lord's supper must be taken by persons standing or sitting & not kneeling.'¹³⁹ Three members of this libelled godly group were accused in 1618 of 'standing unreverentlie' at the nearby church of Basford to receive the sacrament.¹⁴⁰ For some inhabitants of the town, kneeling to receive the sacrament was therefore an issue long before the changes of the 1630s.

Much more can be said on the impact of Laudianism on religious worship in the town of Nottingham. In St Peter's parish it was the hostility felt towards the railing of the 'altar' at the east end of the church which provoked the most visible display of non-conformity in the town in this period. By contrast, in St Mary's parish there appears to have been little resistance to the altar rail or to the other changes ordered on 3 September 1637. These changes included a 'decent screen to be placed for a distinction between the chauncell and the church as formerly and anciently hath beene' and that the 'square pew or stall at the south side of the Middle alley in the

¹³⁷ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/18 dated 4 March 1622/3 p.99 and DDTS 14/26/20 p.72; (NMSS) AN/PB 302/595 presentment St Mary's dated 28/04/1628; (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.443-4

¹³⁸ The presentment of Elizabeth Houthwaite, widow, is recorded in (BI) V.1619 CB f.357v; it is possible that Jane Rowe or Roe and Elizabeth Huthwaite were related through marriage. On 27 January 1606 Thomas Huthwith married Elizabeth Roo at St Mary's church (NMR Mary p.26) and Emirye Rowe married Jane Linnlay, 22 Jan 1622 at St Peter's church (NMR Peter p.22); the baptisms of Elizabeth Roo and Emirye Rowe, however, do not appear in the surviving parish registers for any of the three Nottingham parishes in this period.

¹³⁹ (NA) Records of the Court of Star Chamber STAC 8/303/8 Wythington vs Jackson, Hopkins, Frost, Woode, Gregorie and others, f.2

¹⁴⁰ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/16 p.239; (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.383

body of the said church to be made into stalles uniforme to the rest on that ranke.’ Furthermore, that the King’s arms be erected, the clock removed and the font be ‘railed about’ and to have a ‘decente cover.’ Edmund Laccocke, the vicar, and Humphrey Greaves and Thomas Widdison, the churchwardens, certified all these changes in February 1638 except the screen, for which they claimed they could not get the wood. The screen is not mentioned again in the records. It is therefore assumed that it was eventually carried out.¹⁴¹

The churchwardens of St Peters were ordered on 14 September 1635 to install a rail for their Communion table. It had not, however, been erected by the time that their successors took over the following year. Edward Bampton and John Parsons were given until Lent 1637 to certify that a rail had been erected and on 27 March 1637 they were excommunicated for not complying. On 8 April Parsons alleged that ‘there is a convenient rayle in the chancel of the parish church’ for which they were both absolved. On 12 September, however, it was reported that although the rail had been erected, the table itself had not been placed within it. On 16 September the churchwardens were ordered to ‘set their communion table close to the high end of the chancel with the ends north and south.’ This was finally certified on 10 October 1637.¹⁴²

In addition to the procrastination about moving and railing the Communion table, the Archbishop of York’s register provides evidence that George Coates administered Communion to strangers who were not of St Peter’s parish, and to

¹⁴¹ (BI) Visitation Court Book 1636 part two (V.1636 CB) f.515r dated 16 February 1637; Ronald A. Marchant, ‘The Restoration of Nottinghamshire Churches, 1635-40’ in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume LXV (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, 1961) pp.80-1; Foster, ‘Church Policies of the 1630s’ suggests that the fact that the screen was not erected may have been because it was unwanted. He writes that ‘some of the delaying tactics employed by the churchwardens are as revealing as the initial cases of evasion’ and cites that the churchwardens of St Mary’s Hull claimed in December 1633 that they had ordered wood from Amsterdam and consequently there would be a six month delay to the beautifying of their church p.205

¹⁴² (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.497-8; (BI) V.1636 CB f.519r; Marchant, ‘The Restoration of Nottinghamshire Churches’ p.81; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*, pp.194-5

parishioners who sat or stood to receive. An inhibition dated 1636, before the construction of the rail, written by William Easdall, official principal to Richard Neile, Archbishop of York, noted that

‘divers persons & of other parishes as well within the towne of Nottingham of the dioces of York as of other parishes near adioyning leaving their near parish church in contempt and scorne of their owne minister and upon their idle humours and disposicions doe repaire unto the parish church of St Peters in Nottingham aforesaid not only to heare divine service & sermons but also to receive the sacrament of the Lords Supper there. And that Mr George Coats parson of the said Church hath administered the same to many of them sitting or standing and not reverently kneeling.’¹⁴³

George Coates was subsequently forbidden from administering the sacrament to those from outside the parish and to anybody who does not ‘reuerently kneele at the receipt thereof.’¹⁴⁴

Although this is the first time that it is mentioned in the records for St Peter’s it seems clear that George Coates had been administering Communion to those who did not kneel for a long time. He had been minister there since July 1617. It also appears from Easdell’s accusation that outsiders travelled to St Peter’s to receive Communion from a minister who they knew would not make them kneel to receive.¹⁴⁵ Coates was not alone in this. William Gouge, minister of St Anne’s Blackfriars in London, was another minister who welcomed ‘Communion-gadders’ to his church,

¹⁴³ (BI) Archbishop’s Register 32 ff.33r-v, undated, but the previous entry is 2 June 1635 and the subsequent is dated 16 September 1636; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* pp.194-5 refers to this and dates it 1636.

¹⁴⁴ (BI) Archbishop’s Register 32 f.33v

¹⁴⁵ Note that some of the individuals who were presented from outside Nottingham for sermon-gadding, may also have been Communion-gadders. For example, in Clifton Anne Lummas, widow, Elizabeth James and Mary, a servant of Richard Bacon, were presented 28 April 1628 for not receiving Communion at their own parish church and attending others, (NMSS) AN/PB 314/8/47; Francis Wallis, William Thorpe and his wife, John and Henrie Wallis, sons of Francis Wallis and Dennis, his daughter, of Garbathorp in the parish of Clifton were presented for not receiving at their parish church and not going to their own church, 24/04/1639 (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 315/16/11.

those ‘who could not either at all, or at leaste purely (in regard of superstitious gestures, genuflexions &c.) enjoy that ordinance in their home parishes.’¹⁴⁶

Similar sentiments were repeated in a further inhibition sent by Easdell in November 1637, this time following the railing and repositioning of the altar:

‘wee are informed that divers of the inhabitants and parishioners within the parish of St Peter’s in Nottingham doe sit or remaine in their seats stalls or pewes in the bodie of the said church at the receivinge of the holy communion, and nott come up into the chancel that the churchwardens and others may take notice of such as refuse or omit to kneele as they ought to doe at that sacred action.’¹⁴⁷

It is clear from this second inhibition that even though the Communion table had been railed by October 1637, parishioners at St Peter’s were still able to receive Communion without kneeling at the rail in November. This time, Coates was prohibited from administering

‘the holie communion unto any person or persons or whatsoever within the said church upon paine of lawe but onely to such as come up to the railles before the communion table and there kneele.’¹⁴⁸

This was to be certified by 8 December 1637. William Richards and John Pearsons, then churchwardens, signed and certified on 28 November 1637 that George Coates had been prohibited accordingly.¹⁴⁹ These orders eventually came into effect in the parish and forty-two parishioners were presented on 6 April 1638 for not receiving the sacrament because they refused to take it at the rails. An additional three parishioners

¹⁴⁶ William Jenkyn, *A shooke of corn coming in its season. A sermon preached at the funeral of that ancient and eminent servant of Christ William Gouge* (London: 1654) p.42; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* pp.124-5; the idea of ‘sacrament-gadding’ for baptism and Communion is also discussed by Fielding in *Conformists, Puritans and the Church Courts* p.182 and Christopher Haigh in ‘The Church of England, the Catholics and the People’ in his ed. *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984) pp.217-8; Communion-gadding could also be in the other direction with people wanting to receive Communion from ministers who did not allow seated parishioners, something noted in Underdown, *Fire from Heaven* p.31

¹⁴⁷ (BI) Archbishop’s Register 32 f.35v; Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts* pp.194-195

¹⁴⁸ (BI) Archbishop’s Register 32 f.35v

¹⁴⁹ This John Pearsons is possibly the same as John Parsons above. (BI) Archbishop’s Register 32 f.35v; at the bottom of this note it is mentioned that ‘the Like inhibitions went forth the same time against the ministers of St Maries and St Nicholas in Nottingham aforesaid.’ It is not clear whether or not the ministers of these parishes were conforming or not before this date.

were named in an undated presentment from 1638 for not receiving the Easter Communion, likely to be connected to the same case. (Refer to appendix six for a full list of the parishioners presented.)¹⁵⁰

Two-thirds of the individuals presented in this case were women and some were of a high social status. Several held roles in the corporation or were related to men who did. Robert Sherwin was mayor at the time of the presentment. The Mr Fletcher presented was likely to have been William Fletcher, gentleman and town recorder. The widow Christian Hall was the daughter of Anker Jackson, who was mayor four times between 1594 and 1620. Barbara Hill was the widow of Stephen Hill, who had been mayor in 1618-19 and 1625-6. Elizabeth Drewrie was the wife of Mr Drewrie, possibly alderman William Drewrie, who was to be mayor in 1640-1. Anne James was the wife of Henry James who was appointed chamberlain in 1637-8 and sheriff in 1639-40. Cicely Burroughs or Burrowes was the daughter of Samuel Burrowes who had been sheriff in 1616-17, amongst other roles. Elizabeth Parsons was married to John Parsons, who in 1638-9 was a councillor and was made chamberlain in 1639-40. Mrs Petronell Chadwick was the wife of Mr James Chadwick, a gentleman. Frances Clarke's husband William was also a gentleman.

¹⁵⁰ The following detail of the case comes from (NMSS) AN/PB 303/583 presentment St Peter's dated 06/04/1638; the second presentment is AN/PB 303/585 dated 1638; the material related to the case at the Archdeaconry court dated 27 August 1638 can be found in (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers DDTs* 14/26/21 p.67 and (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.511-2; the case is also discussed in Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*, pp.67-8; Kenneth Fincham, 'The Restoration of the Altars in the 1630s' p.938; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) pp.200, 213; in Hodgkinson's transcription M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.511 he notes that there were 45 parishioners presented, but he does not name them all. William Ryley's name appears in his list and in the presentment AN/PB 303/585 rather than the presentment dated 6 April 1638. Owing to the fact that the act book is now too fragile to be consulted I have been unable to check these figures, or read the original of the case myself. I have relied on the two presentments and the transcriptions of the act book noted above. I am also very grateful to Kenneth Fincham for sending me his transcription of the responses of Thomas Lawson and his wife, Anna Lynley, Richard Meriall and his wife, Edward White and his wife, and Thomas Hydes, to the charges in August 1638. Within this list Thomas Hydes only appears on the undated presentment from 1638; Fincham and Tyacke in *Altars Restored* p.213 note that those presented, except for the mayor Robert Sherwin, were prosecuted by the Archdeaconry court and many but not all certified over the next year that they had received at the rails.

Ann Richards' husband William had been sheriff in 1635-6 and Mrs Winifield was the wife of Joseph Winifield, who was sheriff in 1638-9. William and Roger Riley were the sons of George Riley, who had been a member of the Clothing early in the seventeenth century.¹⁵¹ These individuals were socially significant and would have been visually distinctive within the church setting. In addition to sitting towards the front of the church they may have taken their Communion first, if the Communion at St Peter's was taken in order of social precedence, as was the case in other churches.¹⁵² Furthermore, members of the Council were supposed to wear 'theire gownes to the church on sabbothe daies according to the order' on pain of a fine. Therefore the distinctive clothing of some may have made their performance even more conspicuous.¹⁵³

The reasons some of the parishioners from St Peter's gave for refusing to take Communion at the rail survive in the Archdeaconry act books.¹⁵⁴ Some show a dislike of change, that they could not have it now 'but at the rail.' Robert Sexton had thought the bread and wine would be 'brought down to him in the body of the church.' We have seen in Easdel's inhibition the accusation that parishioners 'doe sit

¹⁵¹ (NMSS) AN/PB 303/583 presentment dated 06/04/1638; (NA) Records of the Court of Star Chamber STAC 8/27/7 ff.7, 26 and STAC 8/303/8 f.2; will of alderman Stephen Hill, proved 8 May 1628; the nuncupative will of Isabel Burrowes, written 12 July 1640 mentions a daughter Cicely and son Samuel, and Cicely (1611) and Samuel (1613) were two of the children of Samuel Burrowes baptised at St Peter's (NRO) PR 3630 St Peter's parish register for births, marriages and burials; George Ryley had sons named Roger 1598 and William 1599 in the baptism registers of St Mary's (NRO) PR 2019; will of William Clarke, gentleman, proved 18 May 1646; (NRO) file containing an index of the roles and personnel within the borough of Nottingham and also a list of burgesses alive in 1625 and a complete list of burgesses enrolled 1626-1637, entitled 'nottm. burgesses, mayors etc; Bernard Clarke, 'Notes on the Mayors of Nottingham, 1600-1775' in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume 41 (1937) pp.37-49

¹⁵² Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper' p.49 notes that from the charges against John Vicars, minister of St Mary's Stamford, Lincolnshire, drawn up between 1628 and the High Commission hearing in 1631, it appears that people came to receive Communion in order of social precedence, with 'the ordinarie sort of people' receiving last. Some parishes even used two grades of communion wine.

¹⁵³ NBR V pp.128-9; in the minutes of the Common Council, November 1634, it was ordered 'that the scarlet gownemen of the clothing shall come to the churche on the fifth day of November yearly decently attired in their scarlet gowns to give god thanks' (p.170); a minute of the council 1635 noted that 'the order for wearing gowns on saboathe daies, festival dayes and on the burials of the better sort and cloathing to be continued.' (p.174)

¹⁵⁴ A list of those presented in 1638 and the reasons some of them gave are detailed in appendix six.

or remaine in their seats stalls or pewes in the bodie of the said church at the receivinge of the holy communion, and nott come up into the chancel' implying that Communion at St Peter's had previously been served to parishioners in their seats. Thomas Lawson and his wife alleged in their testimonies that they sat in their usual seat in the chancel to receive.¹⁵⁵ This suggests that those administering Communion would have had to serve it separately to those who came to the rail and those who remained in their seats, making their non-conformity more distinctive.¹⁵⁶ Others complained of the 'throng in the chancel' due to the number of people moving towards the rails and that they could no longer see or hear the consecration of the bread and wine, presumably because this now took place at the east end, rather than in the body of the church.

Some of the explanations that were made, however, indicate a more consciously non-conformist attitude to the new practice. John Drewry, for example, alleged that

'his *conscience* would not serve him to receive the Holy Communion because he might not receive it as he used to and the minister did not consecrate it at the north side of the table.'¹⁵⁷

Coates had evidently tended to consecrate the Communion at the north side of the Communion table before it had been moved to a north/south orientation and railed. Robert Nichols said he did not receive it because 'he could not hear the consecration' but also he did not want to receive it at the rail because 'he thought that there was something in it enjoyed *more than indifference*.' Similarly, Latimer Walker admitted

¹⁵⁵ (NMSS) ANA/A 45 f.169r; I am very grateful to Kenneth Fincham for sending me his transcription of this response.

¹⁵⁶ This is something suggested in Haigh, *The Plain Man's Pathways to Heaven* p.118

¹⁵⁷ The italics in these quotes have been added by me for emphasis; (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.511-2

that he ‘durst’ not go up to the rail because he thought there was ‘*more than indifference* put to it.’¹⁵⁸

Further biographical details can be used to show the godly identity of some of these non-conforming parishioners and connections between the group. The fact that fourteen of those presented named all or most of their children with Biblical names has already been noted in chapter two. For example, William Bailey had children called Elizabeth, Martha, Abigail and Ruth, and Thomas and Anne Lawson had children called Mary, Daniel, Esther, Jonathan and Joseph.¹⁵⁹ Joan Roe in her statement of 1638 explained that she had not taken Communion because she ‘did not receive it in the old order with the table standing in the body of the church.’ Here we see that the Communion table used to stand in the middle of the church. She had also been presented in 1628 for not kneeling to receive Communion in St Mary’s church. Joan Roe is likely to have been related to Jane Roe, whose will was proved in February 1638. In her will, Jane named alderman Mr Sherwin as her good friend. He was also presented in 1638 for not receiving and was mayor at the time of the presentment. One of Jane’s sisters, Elizabeth Twells, wife of John Twells, was also presented for not receiving. She gave the reason that ‘the chancel was so very throng [full of people] that she could not come to receive it or see the same consecrated.’ Another sister, Ann Linley, also refused Communion at the altar rail. Their mother, Elizabeth Linley, left a bequest in her will of 1640 to her friend ‘mr alderman drewrie’ (William) whose wife Elizabeth refused Communion. William Drewrie was one of the executors in the will of Jane Roe.¹⁶⁰ He was also the brother of John

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Refer to **figure seventeen**, chapter two p.92

¹⁶⁰ (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.443-4, 511-2; will of Jane Roe, proved 15 February 1638. She was buried at St Peter’s 26 September 1637, (NRO) PR 3630 St Peter’s parish register for births, marriages and burials; will of Elizabeth Linley proved 30 April 1640; the relationship between Jane and Joan Roe is unclear. John Lynley baptised a daughter, Anne (1596) at St Nicholas’ (NRO) PR

Drewrie who refused Communion in 1638. John Drewrie, William Baylie, who was also presented in 1638, and John Parsons, whose wife was presented, were also named in the will of Jane Roe as suggested appraisers for the goods in her inventory.¹⁶¹

Petronell Chadwicke, another parishioner presented in 1638, was the wife of James Chadwicke, who received a bequest in the will of William Clarke. William Clarke was the husband of Frances Clarke, also presented.¹⁶² Mrs Christina or Christian Hall, the widowed daughter of alderman Anker Jackson, refused to take Communion at the rail 'in regard of the straitness of the place.' Christian, her husband Francis, father Anker and brother George, were all among those mocked as Puritans in the religious libels of 1615 and 1617. Christian and Francis used Biblical names for their children and Christian was also presented alongside her parents and her brother for attending St Peter's church rather than their own in 1619.¹⁶³ William and Roger Ryley who were both presented were brothers.¹⁶⁴ Millicent Hall, also presented, was the sister of Henry Woodis who left a distinctive will, discussed in chapter four, with many bequests to local ministers.¹⁶⁵ Elizabeth Parsons, who did not receive, was the wife of John Parsons, who was one of the churchwardens who had

2138 St Nicholas' parish register for births, marriages and burials. A John Lynley baptised daughters called Jane (1598) and Jone (1601) at St Peter's, (NRO) PR 3630. A John Lynley baptised an Elizabeth (1602) and Ellen (1605) in St Mary's (NRO) PR 2020 St Mary's parish register for births, marriages and burials; in the will of John Lynley, proved 7 October 1630 he names Elizabeth as his wife and his daughters as Jane, Joane, Anne and Elizabeth. He also he names Alderman Sherwin as his good friend; Jane Linnlay married Emiryne Rowe, 22 January 1622 at St Peter's, NMR Peter p.22; Elizabeth Linley married John Twelles 8 July 1626 in NMR Peter p.23; Joan Linley was still unmarried in 1624, since she is named along with her father John Linley in the St Peter's Easter Book for that year, see Adrian Henstock, 'Early Stuart Nottingham: New Evidence for the St Peter's Easter Book of 1624' in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume 97 (1993) p.109.

¹⁶¹ William the son of Thomas Drewrie was baptised at St Peter's in 1594 and John the son of Thomas Drewrie was baptised at St Peter's in 1597 (NRO) PR 3630 St Peter's parish registers for births, marriages and burials; will of Jane Roe, proved 15 February 1638

¹⁶² Will of William Clarke of Nottingham, gentleman, proved 18 May 1646

¹⁶³ (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.497-8, 511-2; (NA) Records of the Court of Star Chamber STAC 8/27/7 and STAC 8/303/8; (BI) V.1619 CB ff.357r-v; for the names of their children refer to pp.202-3, above.

¹⁶⁴ Refer to (NRO) PR 2019, parish registers St Mary's for the baptism of Roger (1598) and William (1599), sons of George Ryley. Roger is registered as a tanner in the burgess rolls dated 1620-1 and William in 1623-4, see (NRO) file entitled 'nottm burgesses, mayors etc.' The will of their mother, Ann Ryley, survives, proved May 1642.

¹⁶⁵ Will of Henry Woodis of Nottingham, proved 12 May 1636, discussed in chapter four pp.161, 167

delayed erecting the rail in 1636. Interestingly Ann Richards who refused Communion in 1638 was married to William Richards, another churchwarden who had signed the inhibition against George Coates on the 28 November 1637.¹⁶⁶ In addition, Mary Lawton, who died four years before the 1638 case, left bequests in her will to three individuals who refused to kneel. These were Thomas Lawson, and her adopted son and daughter-in-law, Robert and Ursula Nichols. Similarly, although Dennis Caulton was not presented for refusing to take Communion himself, in his will of 1640 he left bequests for John Drewrie and Latimer Walker, neither of whom received, as well as William Drewrie whose wife Elizabeth did not receive.¹⁶⁷

Some of the parishioners who refused to receive Communion at the rail in 1638 seem to have had a history of refusing to kneel. Before the erection of the rail George Coates apparently often gave Communion to those who sat or stood. It may have been that the Laudian changes of the mid-1630s pushed some parishioners who normally conformed to join the non-conformers. Forty-five is quite a large number of individuals to have been presented. However, given that St Peter's was the second largest parish in Nottingham after St Mary's, it is clear how conspicuous these non-conformers would have been in refusing to take Communion, possibly remaining in their seats while others braved the 'throng' in the chancel. As we have seen above, Easdel, Archbishop Neile's assistant in the Archdeaconry, commented that because parishioners remained in their seats in St Peter's, and did not come up to the chancel to receive the sacrament, it was harder for the churchwardens to 'take notice of such as refuse or omit to kneele as they ought to doe at that sacred action.'¹⁶⁸ Fifteen of those presented were gentlemen and/or in the corporation or closely related to

¹⁶⁶ (BI) Archbishop's Register 32 f.35v

¹⁶⁷ Will of Mary Lawton, proved 9 October 1634; will of Dennis Caulton or Calton proved 18 May 1640.

¹⁶⁸ (BI) Archbishop's Register 32 f.35v; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* pp.194-5

someone who was. Through looking at the family and friendship networks of those presented, it is clear that there were further social connections between some of them and they may have made the decision collectively. Refusing to kneel to take Communion was a way that the godly could be visible within the church and, as the case in St Peter's demonstrates, they may have performed as a group or groups within the congregation.

Having looked at gestures in Sunday church worship and at Communion, attention will now turn to the ways in which the godly performed distinctively during more irregular church ceremonies. Some of the rituals connected with baptism have already been mentioned in chapter two, such as attempting to baptise children without godparents. In Banbury, Philip Ward was accused of naming his child at the font in 1605 and in 1626 both John Newman and William Allen were accused of baptising their children without godparents. Allen admitted the charge stating that it had taken place

'before the open congregation by Mr William Wheatley, the vicar there, without any godfather or godmother, which he did not contradict or dislike with, and he saith that he himself was then present, and confesseth that he did not provide any godfather or godmother for his said daughter's christening, but he saith that he moved some of his neighbours to undergo that offence for him who denied him, because as they said they were unwilling to taken upon them so great a charge.'¹⁶⁹

He then 'being interrogated of his opinion of the order or manner of baptising children with godfathers and godmothers' asked to be allowed to have until the next meeting of the court to give his answer. Of his answer nothing is known.¹⁷⁰ John Wheatley, William Whately's brother, however, commented in 1627 that

¹⁶⁹ The case of Philip Ward, 1605, from (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52, f.8 in Peyton, *Presentments*, p.200; the case of John Newman, dated 3 January 1626 is in (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16 f.5v and the case of William Allen, dated 18 December 1626, is on f.14v; Bawdy Court pp.67, 74-5

¹⁷⁰ (ORO) Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16 f.14v in Bawdy Court pp.74-5

‘concerning baptizing without godfathers it was but once: and now hee (William Whately) doth not stir out of his pue till his clerke bring him word the godfathers and godmothers are present.’¹⁷¹

Another contested aspect of the baptism ceremony was the minister using the ‘sign of the cross.’¹⁷² Other than a comment made in the case of the religious libels, that the godly group in Nottingham thought the ‘signe of the crosse in baptisme’ was ‘superstitious and unlawfull,’ there is no evidence of this being an issue in either town.¹⁷³

Linked to baptism was the ceremony of churching, a kind of thanksgiving, celebrating the mother’s safe deliverance from childbirth and reintegration into the congregation. Some, however, felt that this was superstitious and smacked of Jewish ritual, and a few mothers decided not to show up for their churching, something which would be conspicuous in a small community.¹⁷⁴ The ceremony became more contentious when the Laudians insisted that women wear a veil to be churched.¹⁷⁵ Robert Woodford of Northampton recorded in his diary two occasions where his wife was churched at home, possibly so that the ceremony could take place as they preferred it.¹⁷⁶ In Banbury, in the same session of the peculiar court as John Newman was accused of baptising his child without godparents in 1626, his wife was accused of not being churched and going ‘abroad’ without giving thanks for a safe delivery. John Newman was a wealthy shoemaker, and at his death was in possession of three

¹⁷¹ SP Dom 16/50/63 f.182(1)v

¹⁷² David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) pp.124-134

¹⁷³ (NA) STAC 8/303/8 f.2

¹⁷⁴ David Cressy, ‘Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churching of Women in Post-Reformation England’ in his *Society and Culture in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) pp.114, 118; Jacqueline Eales, *Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 2003) pp.70-1

¹⁷⁵ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death* pp.4, 216-7

¹⁷⁶ Diary of Robert Woodford, entries dated 3 September 1637 and 10 September 1639 (New College, Oxford) MS 9502 ff.11v, 214v; also discussed in Cressy, ‘Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churching of Women’ p.129

Bibles and other small books. He had a daughter called Temperance.¹⁷⁷ Millicent, the wife of John Austen, and Mary, the wife John Pym, had been accused in 1610 of not being churching after giving birth. John Pym wrote one of the most distinctive preambles among the wills of the Banbury inhabitants. Mary Pym was the daughter of John Gill, who wrote another godly preamble, and had been involved in the destruction of the market crosses. John and Millicent Austen also named their children with Biblical names.¹⁷⁸ These women were all of a relatively high social status. In the case of the Nottingham libel, William Withington claimed in his testimony that one of the 'Puritans,' the wife of William Hopkins, had refused to be churching after the birth of two of her children. She had said at the time of the first churching that churching 'was a kind of witchcraft' and had travelled to London to avoid the second ceremony.¹⁷⁹

One final ceremony that was commented upon in the Nottingham religious libel was that the local Puritans felt that the use of a ring in marriage was unnecessary, unlawful and superstitious.¹⁸⁰ Although relatively rare in the records, this is an accusation which was frequently placed against the godly. John Earle commented of his 'Shee precise hypocrite' that she 'marries in her tribe without a ring.'¹⁸¹ Other than this comment in the testimonies of the libel case, there is no evidence in Nottingham of people being presented over this issue. In Banbury, there is one incident in 1613 when Edward Beale and his wife were accused of not bringing a ring

¹⁷⁷ The case of the wife of John Newman is found in (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16 f.5v, dated 3 January, copied in Bawdy Court p.67; John Newman, will proved 13 November 1637 and inventory taken 22 February 1637 (ORO) Wills Oxon Peculiars 47/2/5 copied in BW2 p.120; baptism of Temperance Newman, 28 January 1627, BBR p.98

¹⁷⁸ The case of Mary Pym is from (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry c.157 f.46, dated 1610; the case of Millicent Austen is from (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry, visitation processes b.61 f.181, dated 5 September 1610; will of John Gill proved 17 March 1635; will of John Pym, proved 18 June 1611; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.335; the children of John and Millicent Austin were called, John, Joseph, Samuel, Hannah and Mary, baptised between 1607-23, BBR.

¹⁷⁹ (NA) STAC 8/303/8 f.2

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Earle, 'A shee precise hypocrite' H6r; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death* pp.5, 11, 343-6

to be married. They used Biblical names for all of their children.¹⁸² It would appear, however, that this was not a general opinion of William Whately's parishioners. This is the only case in the records and from their wills we can see that both William Whately and his wife Martha wore gold rings, presumably wedding rings. Furthermore, this presentment occurred in the group of presentments where Whately stated he would have 'no hand' in the presentment of those who had not knelt at Communion. He did not mention the ring in marriage.¹⁸³

To conclude, three themes can be brought out of the discussion of godly performance in church presented here. Firstly, that the church provided an arena for the performance of female piety. Secondly, that the presentments and cases cited here indicate that there were disagreements within the two towns over the correct performance of religion in church. Thirdly, that the godly reflected upon the motive and audience for their performance in church.

Firstly this chapter has shown that there were many women who were presented in Banbury and Nottingham for not conforming to the prescriptions of the prayer book. In Banbury, while two out of the five individuals who did not kneel in 1613 were women, eight out of the ten presented in 1621 were female. Of these eight, five were married women who were presented without their husbands. In Nottingham, the four individuals presented in the 1620s at St Mary's were all women, and of the forty-five presented at St Peter's in 1638, two-thirds were women.¹⁸⁴ Six couples were presented in the 1638 case, as well as eight widows or single women.

¹⁸² (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31 in Peyton *Presentments* p.209; Edward and Ellin Beale's children were called Mary, Thomas, Martha, Hannah, James and Sarah between 1616 and 1627, BBR

¹⁸³ Included among the bequests in the will of William Whately, proved 25 June 1639, was 'the ring which I now wear;' bequests in the will of Martha Whately, proved 23 December 1641, included 'my diamond ring,' 'my greate gold ring' and 'the next great gold ring.'

¹⁸⁴ This figure is 30 women out of 45.

The remaining sixteen women were wives who were presented without their husbands. Furthermore, a third of the Nottingham sermon-gadders were women, two of which were married women presented without their husbands, three were married women presented with their husbands, one was a widow, and the marital status of the other is unknown. Women dominated the sermon-gadders presented from nearby Clifton. This is all in addition to the women who refused to be churched. These figures show clearly that the church was a place in which women were able to, and, in some cases, perhaps, more likely to perform their particular form of religiosity than men, or at least more visible. Jacqueline Eales has commented that ‘the most direct challenge to the authority of individual husbands came, however, from women who disagreed with their spouses about forms of religious worship.’¹⁸⁵ In Banbury, the wife of Robert Letch or Leach did not kneel to receive Communion in 1621, but he had been among the sidesmen who had presented the five individuals for not kneeling in 1613.¹⁸⁶ In Nottingham St Peter’s, one of the wives who refused to receive at the altar rail in 1638 was married to one of the churchwardens who had signed the inhibition against George Coates on 28 November 1637 over administering the sacrament to parishioners who refused to come to the altar rail.¹⁸⁷

The second point to be made is that the fact that some individuals were brought before the church courts for such performances implies that the godly were not in agreement in these matters with the churchwardens or sidesmen, or even at times the minister. An example of this is provided by the case in 1607 where William Whately was presented to Banbury’s peculiar court by his fellow-curate, William Osbourne, for not praying for the bishops in his prayer before the sermon, preaching against the ceremonies and administering the sacrament to those who refused to kneel.

¹⁸⁵ Eales, *Women in Early Modern England* p.95

¹⁸⁶ Peyton, *Presentments* pp.209, 215

¹⁸⁷ (BI) Archbishop’s Register 32 f.35v

In this presentment Osbourne was retaliating against a different presentment that had been made against him the previous year for not catechising the youth of the parish. Osbourne claimed that this, earlier presentment had arisen ‘on ill will because they dislike me for not administering the sacrament to such as will not kneel.’ One of those who presented Osbourne was John Pym, the author of one of the most distinctive will preambles in the town, discussed in chapter four, and husband of Mary Pym, who refused to be churchd in 1610.¹⁸⁸

In 1588 in Nottingham one John Owle of Sneinton, a parish neighbouring Nottingham, which was served by the minister of St Mary’s, was accused of saying that ‘yf he saw not the curat in his surplesse he would not come to the church, for he stood more lyke a dyvell then a minister,’ an example of a lay man presenting his minister for non-conformity.¹⁸⁹ Whether non-conformist activities were presented depended to a large degree on the attitudes of the magistrates, ministers, churchwardens and other parishioners and the relationships between them, as well as the degree of diocesan or archdiocesan influence. It is remarkable for instance that George Coates did not get into further trouble over not insisting that his parishioners knelt to receive Communion. It is also remarkable that until the case of the altar rail no-one in St Peter’s parish was presented for not kneeling, even though Coates had been minister there since 1617. The reason was possibly the dedication of his parishioners, many of whom were prominent residents in the town.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 ff.9, 11, 15, dated 6 April 1607; Peyton, *Presentments* p.202

¹⁸⁹ (NMSS) AN/A Register, Archdeaconry act books 4 October 1585-February 1589/90, f.86v entry dated 29 April 1588; (NRO) M461 Archdeaconry (1) p.63; Patrick Collinson, commented in ‘The Godly: Aspects of Popular Protestantism’ in his *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983) p.13 that contrary to the impression conveyed by some of the authorities, the strongest prejudices against the most concrete and symbolic of popish survivals in the Church of England, the surplice, resided not in the puritan clergy but among ‘simple gospellers;’ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) p.94

¹⁹⁰ Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* p.195

To turn to the third theme, although non-conformists risked being punished in the courts, many of the ceremonies or gestures discussed in this chapter were matters indifferent, and godly consciences were troubled about whether to conform or not. Jane Ratcliffe, for example, the godly wife of a mayor and alderman of Chester, whose funeral sermon by John Ley was printed in 1640, had been tempted not to kneel to receive Communion and had received a warning from the church courts.¹⁹¹ Her mind was divided, ‘because on the one side it was required but as a thing indifferent, on the other cried down as a thing Idolatrous.’ In not kneeling, John Ley explained, she followed the example of those

‘who thought they could not bee good and sound Protestants unlesse they shewed themselves zealous deterants of whatsoever had been abused by Popish superstition.’¹⁹²

Having reflected on her warning from the church courts, she was subsequently persuaded by

‘reading some of the chief books of the controversy concerning it and conferring with those divines and other good Christians whose knowledge might inform her and their godly conversation confirm her in the truth’

that ‘she might safely receive the sacrament upon her knees.’¹⁹³ Gestures such as kneeling did not affect salvation but to some individuals these performances really mattered. It was even said by Ley that there was a rumour that her conscience was troubled shortly before her death over the matter of her conformity over kneeling.¹⁹⁴

As this example shows, the godly could be torn between being upstanding in society,

¹⁹¹ Peter Lake, ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The ‘Emancipation’ of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe’ in *Seventeenth Century Journal*, Volume 2 (1987) pp.152-3; it is interesting to note that John Ley was charged with serving Communion to seated parishioners in 1619, noted in Richardson, *Puritanism in North-west England* p.31. Like William Whately discussed above, there was a difference between the views he shared in print and his performance in his own parish.

¹⁹² John Ley, *A pattern of piety or the religious life and death of that grave and gracious matron Mrs Jane Ratcliffe, widow and citizen of Chester* (London: 1640) p.145; Lake, ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency’ p.152

¹⁹³ Ley, *A pattern of piety* pp.145-7; Lake, ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency’ p.152; Richardson, *Puritanism in North-west England* p.83

¹⁹⁴ Ley, *A pattern of piety* p.147; Lake, ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency’ p.153

showing obedience to the magistrate, or one's social superiors, including one's husband, and doing what one's conscience felt was right. They at length reflected on the lawfulness of gestures such as kneeling, some concluding that there was 'more than indifference' to certain ceremonies in the church and being persuaded to act on their instincts and make a public display of their religious conviction in church, in front of an audience.

For which audience did the activities of the godly in church matter? The case of Jane Ratcliffe shows that her own 'conscience' was troubled by kneeling and some of the testimonies of the parishioners of St Peter's in 1638 refer to their consciences not 'serving' them to receive Communion at the rail. Similarly Jacqueline Eales notes that the wife of Thomas Starr of Ashford, who refused to be churched, declared before the church court in 1603 that 'her conscience would not suffer her to do so, because she never read in the scriptures of any such kind of churching in women.'¹⁹⁵ This use of 'conscience' implies an element of self-examination and more of a personal expression of piety. Similar to Jane Ratcliffe seeking the aid of 'good Christians' in her decision-making process, however, the networks of individuals who refused to take Communion at the rail in St Peter's also suggests that the motivation for such non-conforming activities may have come from within a godly group, from whom they may have received mutual reassurance. Furthermore, it would appear from the evidence of George Coates and William Whately, that the minister may also have provided encouragement and direction. It was to these ministers that parishioners within Banbury and Nottingham, as well as from their surrounding parishes, gadded to hear sermons and also to receive Communion, where they were able to receive in a manner they felt comfortable. These parishes also possibly housed a congregation

¹⁹⁵ Eales, *Women in Early Modern England* p.71

where similar gestures were performed by the majority or, even if a minority, that the rest of the congregation was sympathetic and would not mock the godly for their show of religion.

Not all the godly chose to perform their piety in the ways discussed in this chapter. Similarly not all those who performed their piety in these ways were necessarily identified among the godly. Performance in church was a grey area, and does not provide a clear marker of discrete godly/non-godly identity. Furthermore, the records which survive often only allow a glimpse of these performances. That being said, this chapter has demonstrated more aspects of godly religiosity which were emotional and performative, how church performances could contribute to the distinctiveness of the godly within their communities, and the tension that was produced at times by their performances. In the next chapters, attention will turn to some of the more dramatic activities of the godly in Nottingham and Banbury, including iconoclasm and exorcism, which took place publicly but outside the arena of the church.

Chapter Six

Dramatic Moments: Iconoclasm in Banbury

The final two chapters look at particular snapshots of godly performance in Nottingham and Banbury, events which took place in public spaces outside the church, including the street, the market place, taverns and the churchyard. These snapshots show the more dramatic and provocative side to godly activity and the tension it produced in urban communities. They were spectacles, symbolic of the godly asserting their power over urban spaces and religious culture in the two towns. They were almost theatrical in their staging, mostly taking place before an audience, metaphors that their enemies were keen to draw upon. This chapter will discuss three acts of iconoclasm in Banbury between 1588 and 1610. Chapter seven will look two events in Nottingham, the first, an exorcism case in 1597-8, and the second, a series of religious libels in 1614-17. The details of these incidents, which found their way to the Court of Star Chamber, the State Papers, and into print, allow us to explore aspects of godly culture and interaction which would be otherwise hidden from view. Dramatic moments like these were not peculiar to Banbury or Nottingham at this time, nor are they representative of more general social and religious interaction within the two towns. They will be used here for what they tell us about the nature of godly culture and identity in the two towns, how it developed and changed over time, and what reactions it provoked.

At ten year intervals over three decades the borough of Banbury was the site of iconoclasm. The first act of iconoclasm in the town was an attempt to ban maypoles in 1588-9. The second, in 1600, involved the destruction of the town's two market crosses.

The third was the removal of eight statues from the outside wall of the parish church of St Mary's in 1610. Many icons and vestiges of Catholicism had been removed from churches during Edward VI's reign, and at the start of Elizabeth I's. These included rood screens, statues of saints and shrines, which were sites of pilgrimage. Crosses in churches and churchyards were also destroyed.¹ The Elizabethan church did not go so far as to formally prohibit all religious imagery and artefacts seen as less controversial by the ecclesiastical authorities survived, for example images in church windows and crosses in market places.² To the more zealous amongst the godly the earlier bouts of iconoclasm had not gone far enough. They took it upon themselves to further cleanse churches and public spaces of religious iconography which they thought idolatrous and likely to cause superstition and false worship, or encourage immorality.³

Icons such as crosses and statues were disliked by the godly because of their former Catholic associations. In some places these icons were removed because they continued to be abused by onlookers who performed reverent gestures in their presence, seen as contrary to the second commandment.⁴ Maypoles had more tangible religious

¹ Margaret Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560-1660' in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996) pp.94, 103

² In some places stained glass windows were removed. John Bruen, for example, destroyed the 'painted puppets and popish idoles' in his parish church of Tarvin, Cheshire which 'by their painted coates and colours did both darken the light of the church and obstruct the brightnesse of the gospel.' Henry Sherfield broke a glass window in his parish church in Salisbury in 1630. See William Hinde, *A faithful remonstrance of the holy life and happy death of John Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford in the county of Chester, esquire* (London: 1641) pp.78-9; Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm' pp.100-1; Paul Slack, 'Religious Protestant and Urban Authority: The Case of Henry Sherfield, Iconoclast, 1633' in Derek Baker ed. *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest, Studies in Church History* 9 (1972) especially p.295

³ See for example Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm' p.98; Keith Thomas, 'Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England,' in Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake eds. *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006) p.18

⁴ Thomas, 'Art and Iconoclasm' p.26; Ann Kibbey, *The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism: A Study of Rhetoric, Prejudice and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) pp.43, 45; Margaret Aston, 'Iconoclasm in England: Official and Clandestine' in Clifford Davidson and Ann Eljenholm Nichols eds. *Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama* (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1989) p.74; Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm' p.92

connotations than crosses or monuments in churches. They were, however, also referred to by godly critics as idols and criticised as pagan symbols and relicts of popery. They were seen as symbols of immorality, disliked because of the festivities they were associated with, which were seen to encourage sin, partly through close encounters between the sexes.⁵ As will be shown, it is arguments such as these which were behind the iconoclasm in Banbury.

In this chapter, each of Banbury's cases of iconoclasm will be examined in turn, beginning with the case of the maypoles. Discussion of each will begin with the event in question, detailing what happened and who was involved. Attention will then move to what the case shows us about the interaction between the godly and their neighbours within Banbury and its surrounding countryside. It will be shown how the godly increased in confidence in Banbury over the decades at the turn of the seventeenth century and that this confidence was articulated through their claims to authority over important symbols within the community, both material objects and public spaces. These claims were made at first by Banbury's magistrates but over time the iconoclastic impetus spread to a wider social group in the town.

During the 1580s attacks were made on maypoles in several towns, for example, in Canterbury, Lincoln and Shrewsbury.⁶ In these towns and others, maypoles became

⁵ Barbara Coulton, 'The Establishment of Protestantism in a Provincial Town: A Study of Shrewsbury in the Sixteenth Century' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Volume 27, Number 2 (1993) p.327; Barton John Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces: Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1554-1660* (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1985) p.158; C.J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) pp.163-178, 191; David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) p.55; Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and Mocking Rhymes in Early Modern England' in Barry Reay ed. *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (London: Routledge, 1988) pp.171-8

⁶ Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* p.121; Christopher Haigh, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the People' in his ed. *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984) p.215

symbols of division between rival groups. On the one side were those who favoured traditional and popular pastimes. On the other were those who wanted to cleanse their communities of sin and signs of paganism and Catholicism. Banbury was no exception.⁷ On 20 May 1589 Richard Whately, High Constable of the hundred of Banbury, wrote to the constables of Neithrop and Calthorpe, Banbury's neighbouring hamlets. He charged them to 'take downe all mayepoules' within their districts and to 'suffer no more to be erected.' He added a further command to 'put downe all whit son ales may games' and morris dancing, as well as forbid any wakes or fairs on the Sabbath day.⁸ On 22 May John Danvers, a gentleman of Calthorpe, who was serving as sheriff of the county of Oxfordshire, wrote to all justices of the peace, bailiffs, constables and other officers in Oxfordshire with a contradictory order. He warned of the 'great danger and disturbance' to the peace of people gathered together 'under ye colour and presence of taking downe maypoules' which, he argued, had been used appropriately, not during divine service.⁹ The same day Danvers wrote another letter to the Lord Chancellor, Christopher Hatton, with detailed complaints against Anthony Cope, the deputy lieutenant of Oxfordshire. In his letter Danvers reiterated some of the complaints of 'the bad proceedings of some of her majesties subjects and officers in and about the towne of Banbury,' which he had already passed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift.¹⁰ Danvers felt that Cope

⁷ The detail of the case of the maypoles is taken from the SP Dom: Great Britain, 1547-1625 (12/224/54), (12/224/57), (12/224/58), (12/224/61), (12/224/65), (12/224/66) and (12/224/87); the case is also discussed for example in Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.154-168; Banbury VCH p.97; Elliot Rose, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans Under Elizabeth I and James I* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975) pp.170-1; Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988) pp.137-8; Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) pp.125, 139-40

⁸ SP Dom (12/224/54) f.111

⁹ SP Dom (12/224/57) f.115

¹⁰ SP Dom (12/224/58) f.116

was behind Whately's attempt to abolish maypoles and other mayday festivities, to the 'great discontentment of her majesties loving subjectes who finde themselves greeved to be restrained of their honest libertie.'¹¹ He further accused Cope of maintaining preachers and their families in his house 'as have bene deprived for their disordered speeches and sermons' and of holding unlawful conferences that this part of the country 'doth much marvaile at.'¹²

In a letter dated 24 May, the Privy Councillors wrote to Lord Henry Norris, the Lord-Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, expressing their concern about the

'disorder in the towne of Banbury about the erecting and setting up of a maypole and like pastimes or recreations the like whereof did happen also the laste yeare.'¹³

In their letter they came down on the side of John Danvers. They argued that they saw no reason why such recreations could not be enjoyed 'in peaceable and civil order' as long as they were not used 'at unlawfull tymes as on the sabbboth daye in tyme of Dyvyne service.' They decreed that 'if ther be any of that humour as will not permit the people to use this kinde of lawfull pastime' the individuals in question were to present their reasons before the Council.¹⁴

On the 25 May and 6 June respectively, William Long, constable of Neithrop and Calthorpe, and Richard Whately wrote letters to the Privy Council.¹⁵ They both defended their positions, stating that they had merely been following the orders of Lord Norris and his deputy in the removal of maypoles. They claimed that Danvers was in the wrong for

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ SP Dom (12/224/61) f.121

¹⁴ Ibid; John Roche ed. *Acts of the Privy Council of England New Series, Volume XVII, 1588-9* (Norwich: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1898) p.202

¹⁵ SP Dom (12/224/65) f.128 and (12/224/87)

disobeying higher orders.¹⁶ Whately explained in his letter that he had asked Danvers to take down ‘his maypole,’ suggesting that the maypole at Calthorpe was owned by Danvers himself. Danvers’ men, Whately argued, had reported that Danvers’ maypole was being ‘watched day and nyght.’¹⁷ Whately argued that his command had been for Danvers’ ‘owne quyett and others, as also to avoyde the danger that otherwayes myght have ensued.’ When Danvers refused, he threatened Whately, saying

‘he would brynge matter to light that should endanger my lyfe and ceaseth not to gyve out slanderous & malicious speches with continuall threateninge against me.’¹⁸

On 25 May, Anthony Cope wrote his own letter to the Privy Council to defend himself against the accusations made by Danvers. He claimed to be ‘so farre of from any suspicious meetings or conference touching matters of religion.’¹⁹ In his letter he did not criticise maypoles or claim any role in the orders made against them. Instead he highlighted the ‘riotious assemblies’ which were sometimes connected with May festivities. He claimed that as for ‘whitsunales & morris dancers (being in all the townes about me) I have restrayned none although they have used their sports in my presence.’²⁰ He also wrote of Danvers’ ‘neglect of all religion’ and of ‘the vicious lives & infamous report of himselfe & his famylye.’²¹

The papers relating to this case provide little more detail either of the supposed disorderly assemblies which had gathered on the occasion of the removal or setting up of maypoles, both in 1588 and 1589, the people involved, or the outcome of the case.

¹⁶ SP Dom (12/224/65) f.128 and (12/224/87)

¹⁷ SP Dom (12/224/87)

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ SP Dom (12/224/66) f.129

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

Neither do we know anything about maypoles in Banbury itself since the maypoles in question here were in Banbury's surrounding hamlets. On the back of Whately's letter a note dated 9 June refers to an order for Danvers and Whately to appear before the Privy Council so that Whately could reply to Danvers' charges.²² The act books of the Privy Council only refer to Danver's appearance, however.²³ As has been shown, Danvers had his way and the Privy Council defended maypoles. Evidence from the meeting of the Assize court in Oxford in the summer of 1589, related by Sir Francis Knollys, however, suggests that Danvers did get into trouble for disobeying Norris's orders.²⁴ The justice of the Assize was said by Knollys to have,

'very well liked of the virtuous behaviour of Mr Cope and very much disliked the contentious behaviour of Mr Danvers. In so much that he [Danvers] was fain to acknowledge his disorder undutifully used towards the said Lord [Norris]: and promised henceforth he would obediently acknowledge and observe his duty.'²⁵

The Banbury maypole case appears to be an almost stereotypical division between overly zealous Puritan magistrates trying to curb popular recreations pitted against those who favoured traditional pastimes. In these arguments it was not the maypole itself but what the maypole represented which was disputed. Richard Whately and Anthony Cope invoked traditional godly arguments. They promoted strict Sabbath observance, criticising wakes and fairs on the Sabbath and argued that Mayday festivities and the erecting of maypoles provoked 'riotous' assemblies. To Danvers, maypoles were 'honest

²² SP Dom (12/224/87); Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.157

²³ Roche ed. *Acts of the Privy Council* p.261, it was reported that 'This daie John Danvers, esquire, High Sheriffe of the Countie of Oxon, having been sent for by direccion from the Lordes of her Majestie's Privie Counsell to aunswere to such matters as might be objected against him, hath made his appearance, which is entered here for indemnitie, and enjoyned not to departe without speciall licence obtained from the Lordships for his dismissal;' Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.157

²⁴ John Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift, D.D. Volume 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822) p.604; Sir Francis Knollys represented the county of Oxfordshire in Parliament between 1563 and 1593. For more information refer to Wallace T. MacCaffrey's article on Francis Knollys in the DNB.

²⁵ Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift* p.604

liberties' that should not be denied the people. He would have them allowed on Sunday so long as they did not disrupt divine service. In contrast to Whately, Danvers argued that it was the taking down rather than the setting up of maypoles which had disturbed the peace.

The case also points to discontentment over wider issues and personal disputes between Richard Whately, Anthony Cope and John Danvers. Cope referred to Danvers in his statement as 'myne adversarie.'²⁶ Although the order for the prohibition of maypoles came from Lord Norris, there are suggestions that Whately and Cope may have agreed with the order. Biographical information can be drawn from other sources to suggest that these three men had very different ideas about how religion should be practised in Banbury.

Richard Whately and his brother Thomas were to be key figures in the destruction of the town's market crosses in 1600. Richard Whately was also the uncle of Banbury's future minister, William Whately. As discussed in chapter four, his will written on 28 November 1603 also contained several distinctive and godly features. He highlighted his dislike of superstition when he requested that only the great bell be rung for him at his death because 'many have too superstitious opinion in ringing.' He left money for a funeral sermon to be performed by his 'well-beloved friends' the ministers John Dod and Robert Cleaver, whom he also made his overseers.²⁷ Another of his overseers was Henry Sharpe, one of the booksellers for whose shop William Whately's works were published. Sharpe's wife went on to be involved in removing the statues from Banbury church in

²⁶ SP Dom (12/224/66) f.129

²⁷ Will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately proved 4 January 1604

1610 and refused to kneel to receive the sacrament in 1621.²⁸ If his overseers were to die prematurely, Whately wanted two 'Christian protestants' from Banbury be chosen in their place. Finally, he requested that his orphaned daughter Dorcas ought to be brought up 'in some godlie family either with Mistris Gill or in some suche like other familie.'²⁹

Anthony Cope of nearby Hanwell also portrayed himself as a godly magistrate. He held the livings for both Hanwell and Drayton, to which he appointed John Dod and Robert Cleaver and their successors, Robert Harris and Henry Scudder.³⁰ He was very supportive of John Dod after his deprivation from Hanwell. He used his connections to find Dod positions at Fenny Compton, in Warwickshire, and then Canons Ashby and Fawsley in Northamptonshire.³¹ Cope represented the borough of Banbury in all but one Parliament from 1571-1614 and, as noted in chapter one, in the 1586-7 session he gained a reputation and a spell of imprisonment for his attempt to introduce a Presbyterian replacement for the *Book of Common Prayer*.³²

On the other side of the debate, Cope's allusions to the immorality of John Danvers and his family appear have to had some basis in reality. There are also suggestions that he was a recusant. Detailed reports of the activities of the Danvers family are included in a collection of papers entitled 'articles against recusants and other

²⁸ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan c.94 ff. 98r-99v; Peynton, *Presentments* p.215; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.186-7

²⁹ Will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately, proved 4 January 1604

³⁰ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.438, 443-4; William Durham, *The life and death of that judicious divine and accomplish'd preacher, Robert Harris* (London: 1660) p.11

³¹ 'The life of Master John Dod' in Samuel Clarke, *A generall martyrologie, containing a collection of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the church of Christ... Third edition* (London, 1677) pp.170-1; John Fielding's article on John Dod in the DNB; Elizabeth Allen's article on Sir Anthony Cope in the DNB; John Fielding, *Conformists, Puritans and the Church Courts: The Diocese of Peterborough, 1603-1642* (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1989) especially p.15

³² Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.155, 409-10; Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967) pp.306-8; Elizabeth Allen's article on Sir Anthony Cope in the DNB; Banbury VCH p.89; P.W. Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558-1603, Volume I: Introductory Survey, Appendices, Constituencies, Members A-C* (London: History of Parliament Trust, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1981) p.226

offenders in causes ecclesiastical' filed in the State Papers.³³ Although these papers are not signed, they are likely to have been based on presentments from the minister and churchwardens of Banbury.³⁴ The report accused Danvers of not receiving the sacrament since Thomas Brasbridge's appointment to the vicarage of Banbury in 1581. Before 1588 he had also not attended services of common prayer more frequently than twice a year. Since 1588 he had come monthly to morning but not evening prayer, when his household was said to be the site of 'dancing or some other like pastime prophaning ye saboth day; offending many & withdrawing some from ye catechisme & from common praier.'³⁵ Although still married, he was rumoured to be living apart from his wife and Anne Haile, his maid, was reported to be his mistress. His wife was said to keep a servant, Thomas Savadge, and 'other lewde persons to satisfy her carnate lust.'³⁶ Furthermore, Mary, John Danvers' daughter, was said to have given birth three years earlier to a bastard which was 'suspected to be gotten in incest' by her father. Although the baby died soon after, it had reportedly been baptised at home by Danvers' son George, a layman.³⁷

Here John Danvers and his family are presented as immoral. Records in the State Papers also show evidence of John Danvers' antagonistic relationship with Banbury's minister, Thomas Brasbridge. On 17 November 1588 Thomas Horsman, a servant of John Danvers, humiliated Brasbridge before his congregation. He aimed, it was said in the report, to 'make ye minister a laughing stocke to a multitude of prophane persons,

³³ These papers are found in SP Dom (12/233/47) ff.92r-94r

³⁴ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.164 states that these charges against Danvers had been at the Court of High Commission but found their way to the Privy Council by March 9 1589.

³⁵ SP Dom (12/223/47) f.92v

³⁶ Ibid. f.93r

³⁷ Ibid. ff.93r-v

laughing & scoffing at him.’³⁸ Horsman approached Brasbridge after morning prayer and showed him a citation to appear at the ‘audience courte,’ a court of the Archbishop. When Brasbridge asked to see the citation, Horsman refused and left the church.³⁹ On 18 February 1589, Mary Danvers asked Brasbridge to come to the house of Roger Driver, who was said to be at the point of death. Mary Danvers, her sister Anne and their maidservant waited for Thomas Brasbridge at Driver’s house. When Brasbridge arrived they ‘violently sett upon him.’ They called him ‘villaine, traitor,’ held a knife to him and hit him until he was rescued by neighbours.⁴⁰

Little is known of the nature of Thomas Brasbridge’ ministry in Banbury but there are suggestions that he was accounted as a godly minister. He was deprived in 1590 over ‘some matters of ceremonies.’ This was, according to his parishioners, ‘presented against hym by suche his adversaries of whose vyolence and wrongs towards him ye whole contrye haithe harde.’⁴¹ One of Brasbridge’s ‘adversaries’ in this sentence is likely to have been John Danvers. Brasbridge, however, clearly had the support of some of his parishioners. On 16 June 1590 ninety-five Banbury inhabitants signed a petition to Lord Burghley against his deprivation, asking for his reinstatement.⁴² The petition referred to Brasbridge’s ‘godly conversation’ and that ‘he haithe paynfullye labored in his vocation, teachinge us our dutyes towardes god her maiesty and of one towardes another.’ They described him as someone ‘by whom we have receaved so greate a blessinge as is the ordinarye winninge of our soules unto god.’ The parishioners were concerned that

³⁸ Ibid. f.94r

³⁹ Ibid. f.93r.

⁴⁰ Ibid. f.94r

⁴¹ Unfortunately these ceremonies are not named, but they are likely to have referred to not wearing the surplice or neglecting other aspects of the order of service in the Book of Common Prayer; (BL) Lansdowne MS 64 (13) Burghley Papers 1590 f.43; see also BCR pp.59-60; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.169-171

⁴² (BL) Lansdowne MS 64 (13) ff.43-44

because the living at Banbury was small ‘no learned man will undertake the same, wherbye we are lyke to be ledd by an unfitt guyde.’⁴³

Brasbridge followed their petition with his own letter to Lord Treasurer Burghley on 23 June 1590.⁴⁴ He mentioned that Sir Francis Knollys had already written and spoken on his behalf. He referred to the inhabitants’ petition as being signed by ‘no smale number both rich & poure, of good reporte, of ye towne, & parish of Banbury’ who ‘have geven me a good commendation.’⁴⁵ He mentioned that the inhabitants of Banbury ‘in consideration of ye former paines, yt for ye space of nine yeares, I have taken amonge them’ had offered him a maintenance. He appreciated their generosity but wanted to earn this maintenance. If he was not able to retain his position as minister, he asked to be kept on as preacher in the town. He mentioned his concern that his replacement was ‘but a yong scholar, and therefore (vpon certaine knowledge I speake yt) ys not willing to preche often.’⁴⁶ He emphasised the necessity of frequent preaching. This was particularly necessary in Banbury, he argued, when ‘many recusants soiorne hard by ye towne’ and ‘many of ye inhabitants are to much enclined’ to ‘papistry.’⁴⁷ This concern over Popery may have been a rhetorical statement but at this time Banbury Castle served as a prison for Catholic recusants. It is also possible that Brasbridge was referring to John Danvers and his family, or the others mentioned in the articles against recusants. These included Mary, the wife of Richard Greene of Wickham, a gentlewoman and her servant, Jane Petherton.⁴⁸

⁴³ Ibid. f.43

⁴⁴ Ibid. ff.45r-46v

⁴⁵ Ibid. f.45r

⁴⁶ Ibid. f.45r

⁴⁷ Ibid. f.45r

⁴⁸ SP Dom (12/223/47) ff.92r-v; Mary Greene was accused of having been a recusant for twenty years or so and, like her servant, of not attending Banbury church since being resident in the town. She was also

We do not know why the attempt to ban maypoles in the hamlets around Banbury occurred in 1588 and 1589 or what the wider magistracy and inhabitants of Banbury felt about maypoles. There is also no direct link between Banbury's minister and the attempt to remove the maypoles, as was seen in other places. In Shrewsbury, for example, in the early 1590s, the minister John Tomkys' denouncement of the Shearmen's Tree, like a maypole, and other festivities connected with the annual Shearmen's feast, provoked division in the town.⁴⁹ That being said, we know that Brasbridge valued preaching, disliked Popery and during his nine years at Banbury had made an enemy of Danvers and his family.

What the case does tell us is that Banbury had an emerging godly presence at this time. With the support of some people in high places in the surrounding countryside, including Anthony Cope, they were growing in confidence. The maypole for them appears to have been a symbol of their burgeoning desire to cleanse the town and borough of Banbury of immorality and paganism. In 1589 Cope and Whately were asserting their authority in Banbury but their attitudes to May festivities were not shared by all who were involved in the government of the borough. Danvers differed ideologically from Cope and Whately. It is also likely that he, living in the countryside around Banbury, resented the interference of Banbury's magistrates in his own affairs.⁵⁰ The case therefore also speaks to a division between town and countryside, something

accused of having been married to Richard Greene at a Catholic Mass, using 'a forme of private & publicke prayer' in her house 'contrary to ye lawes of this realme' and not recognising Queen Elizabeth as head of the Church of England; Banbury VCH p.107; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.385

⁴⁹ Patrick Collinson, 'The Shearmen's Tree and the Preacher: The Strange Death of Merry England in Shrewsbury and Beyond' in Patrick Collinson and John Craig eds. *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1998) passim, but particularly p.211; Coulton, 'The Establishment of Protestantism in a Provincial Town' pp.327-8

⁵⁰ A similar case is argued in Ann Hughes, 'Religion and Society in Stratford-upon-Avon, 1619-1638' in *Midland History*, Volume XIX (1994) p.60; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces*, pp.159-160

also brought up in the case of the crosses. The impression given is of a borough still in conflict, with some residents tending towards traditional pastimes and religious practices, even Popery, and others who, persuaded by Brasbridge's preaching, might be tempted to gad to sermons elsewhere if his successor did not prove to be adequate for the job.⁵¹ In 1589 the age of godly rule in Banbury, both magistracy and ministry, was still for the future.

The second controversy to emerge in the borough was over the destruction of Banbury's two market crosses in 1600.⁵² This resulted in a case presented by George Blincoe to the Court of Star Chamber in 1602 against five of Banbury's magistrates, Richard Whately, Thomas Whately, Henry Showell, John Gill and William Knight.⁵³

⁵¹ Brasbridge, in his letter to Lord Burghley, argued 'also yf ye people shale lacke their accustomed preaching, many of them wil eassily straggle to other parishes adioyning to heare ye word, in heat, & in fowle wether: ye *which* wil be no smale inconvenience,' (BL) Lansdowne MS 64 (13) f.45r

⁵² The primary material for the case of the crosses comes from (NA) Records of the Court of Star Chamber STAC 5 B31/4 Blincoe vs Austen, Webbe etc. and STAC 8/82/23 Blinco vs Knight and others; STAC 8/82/23, which contains the interrogatory and testimony of Matthew Knight, is transcribed in part in BCR pp.71-73, and in P.D.A. Harvey, 'Where was Banbury Cross?' in *Oxoniensia*, Volume XXXI (1966) pp.83-106; the case is also discussed in Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.175-203 but he does not use the collection of depositions in STAC 5 B31/4, only STAC 8/82/23. It is only Patrick Collinson in 'Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair: The Theatre Constructs Puritanism' in David L. Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington eds. *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London 1576-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), particularly pp.160-163, who has discussed STAC 5 B31/4; the crosses' case is also discussed, for example by Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) pp.145-6 and Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm' pp.103-4

⁵³ Some of the defendants' statements to the case, STAC 5 B31/4, were taken in 1602 (ff.25, 26, 27.) Some of the witness statements were taken in October 1603 (f.3); STAC 8/82/23 is dated 1604; it is unknown how George Blincoe came to be involved. He was a gentleman from Marston St. Lawrence. There appears to have been some form of earlier dispute between Thomas Whately and George Blincoe, since in the Borough Records for 1596-7 there is a note of £1 12s paid to Mr Thomas Whately for charges in law to Mr Blyncoe (BCR p.67). George Blincoe is also mentioned in the Borough Records at later dates, possibly to do with the suit of the crosses. For example, accounts in 1601-2 refer to £2 1s appointed to Mr Knight onwards of his charges laid out upon the troubles by Mr Blyncoe (p.75). The accounts for 1607-8 mention £7 10s still owing to Mr Knight that he paid to Mr Blyncoe and that £13 10s is to be given to Mr Whately of his bill besides that which he requires for the Star Chamber charges £1 8s (p.103). There are still references to charges of the suit of the cross in April 8 1612 (p.110); it is unknown what the result of the case of the crosses was. In a letter dated 13 January 1602, the Jesuit Priest, Father Anthony Rivers commented that following the destruction of the crosses 'the Bishop of Canterbury thereupon convented the chief actors before him, and by circumstances discovering their riotous proceedings, hath enjoyed

The removal of market crosses appears less frequently in the records of other towns compared to issues over maypoles. In Durham, the Neville Cross was taken down in 1589.⁵⁴ In London on 2 May 1643, after many previous attempts, the Cheapside cross was removed.⁵⁵ (This is illustrated in **figure twenty-three**.) In others towns, however, including Nottingham, crosses were maintained and repaired rather than removed.⁵⁶

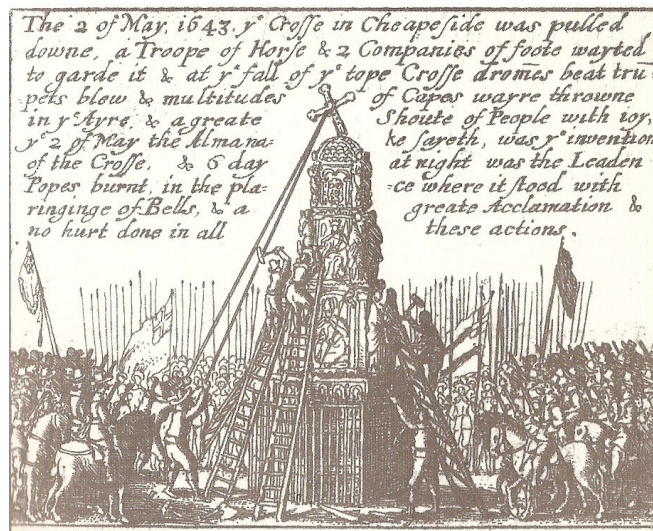


Figure twenty-three - *Destruction of the Cheapside Cross in 1643*
etching by Wenceslaus Hollar.

Numerous witnesses reported that at about 4 o'clock on the morning of 26 July 1600 two masons, Thomas Colinge and James West, set about pulling down the High

them to re-edify the same, and bound them over to receive condign punishment before the Lords in the Star Chamber,' in Henry Foley ed. *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Volume I* (London: 1877) p.8, BCR p.73, Harvey, 'Where was Banbury Cross? pp.86-7; in the Borough Records for 1610-11 there is a reference (BCR p.107) to £4 9s 6d owed to each of Thomas Whately and Henry Showell. Next to Whately's name it says 'owing to Mr Thomas Whately for the charges about the writ for £160 which came out of the Commission Court, for which Mr Knight and he were imprisoned at Oxford.' This was possibly something to do with the crosses case. In the Borough accounts for 1602-3 £1 was paid to Thomas Whately 'in part of his charges laid out in the High Commission Court' (p.84) and in 1605-6, another £1 paid to Thomas Whately 'and so all is even towards his charges in the High Commission Court;' Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.60, 66-7, 176, 178.

⁵⁴ Aston, 'Iconoclasm in England' p.75; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) note on p.115 that in 1614 the servants of John Bruen and John Ratchiffe were prosecuted in Star Chamber for demolishing seven strong crosses, three in the churchyards and four on the highway.

⁵⁵ Aston, 'Iconoclasm in England' pp.74-9

⁵⁶ This is discussed earlier in chapter one pp.48-9; see for instance NBR V p.111

Cross, one of two stone crosses that had adorned Banbury's market place. The other, known as the Bread Cross, had been pulled down at an earlier date.⁵⁷ Matthew Knight, a mercer and former alderman, was with William Alsopp, Raphe Tompson and others in the market place. He cried out to the masons to stop defacing 'so ancient a monument' that 'served for many good purposes.' At his words Colinge and West stopped what they were doing and went in search of the men who had hired them to pull down the cross.⁵⁸ Matthew Knight went to find some of the older aldermen to ascertain if they had given their consent to the pulling down of the cross. Meanwhile, William Alsopp, William Garland and other onlookers removed the workmen's tools. By the time Matthew Knight returned to the site there was a 'great multitude of people' standing around the cross numbering 100 to 150, including four of the five defendants, Richard Whately, Thomas Whately, Henry Showell and William Knight. Witnesses reported that William Knight was busy encouraging the masons with a loud voice, saying 'come let us downe with yt and downe with it quicklie.'⁵⁹ When the long spire fell to the ground, Henry Showell was heard to say in a rejoicing manner 'god be thanked there god dagon is fallen downe to the grounde.'⁶⁰

In the depositions which survive in the crosses' case, religion was not mentioned directly as a motivation for their destruction. The magistrates claimed their actions were

⁵⁷ (NA) STAC 5 B31/4, for example the testimonies of William Alsopp (f.3), Matthew Knight (ff.3r and 4r), Maude Pym (f.7), Edward Yorke (f.10) and the interrogatory for the defendants (f.2). There is no detail in the records of the pulling down of the Bread Cross. STAC 8/82/23 ff.6r-v, Matthew Knight stated that the Bread Cross was pulled down before the High Cross, and that the same four defendants were the 'cheefe and principall cawasers of the puling downe.' STAC 5 B31/4 Simon Wickham in his testimony stated that he did not see the Bread Cross pulled down but 'that certaine workemen pulled downe the same accompanied with William Knight, Richard Whately and Henry Showell with others' (f.12)

⁵⁸ STAC 8/82/23 f.4r; STAC 5 B31/4 testimony of Maude Pym (f.7).

⁵⁹ STAC 8/82/23, testimony of Matthew Knight (ff.4v, 5r); STAC 5 B31/4 testimonies of William Alsopp (f.3) and Thomas Udall (f.10).

⁶⁰ STAC 8/82/23 testimony of Matthew Knight (f.5v); STAC 5 B31/4 testimonies of William Alsopp (f.3), Thomas Udall (f.10) and Martin Wright (f.12)

intended to improve the market place for traders. For instance, when Martin Wright, a local gentleman, had asked the defendants ‘by what authoritie they pulled down the same [crosses]’ they had reasoned that it would be better than it was before.⁶¹ Religion is also absent from the arguments of those who made accusations against the defendants. Matthew Knight, for instance, only argued that before their destruction the crosses had been in good condition and not in any need of repair, showing that in his eyes there was no need for them to be pulled down.⁶²

Other evidence from the court depositions, however, provides three suggestions that there was a religious motivation behind the magistrates’ activities and that the destruction of the crosses was ‘iconoclasm.’ Firstly this is indicated by the fact that the spire of the High Cross was said to have been adorned with religious imagery. On one side of the long spire stone there was a crucifix as well as other, smaller pictures. These included a depiction of Christ on the cross, a picture of a woman with a child, likely to have been Mary with Christ, and a picture ‘of a man bare headed with a booke in his hand,’ possibly a saint.⁶³ When the cross was pulled down these images were aggressively smashed to pieces. There was even a suggestion that the five defendants had fought over who would be first to attack the cross. One question to be put to witnesses was whether any of the defendants did ‘come in outrageous manner or in any manner at all to strike att the stones of the crosses or strive who should gyve the first blow.’⁶⁴ William Knight was witnessed by William Alsopp, Maude Pym and Thomas

⁶¹ STAC 5 B31/4 f.3r

⁶² STAC 8/82/23 f.3v

⁶³ Ibid. ff.4r, 5v; STAC 5 B31/4 f.3

⁶⁴ STAC 5 B31/4 f.13

Udall taking an iron crow bar and attacking the cross.⁶⁵ Henry Showell, another of the defendants, was said by Matthew Knight to have taken a stone axe and ‘hewed the pictures into small pieces.’⁶⁶

The second suggestion of a religious motivation is provided in the Biblical analogy used by Henry Showell. Showell compared the fall of the Banbury cross with the fall of the statue of the Philistine god Dagon in 1 Samuel 5 verse 4, which had been a symbol of the Lord’s disfavour. The image of Dagon falling was also used in the pamphlet of 1643 entitled *The downfall of Dagon*, discussing the destruction of Cheapside Cross, seen as a ‘monument of idolatry.’⁶⁷ When Martin Wright asked Showell what he had meant, Showell answered the ‘imagerie’ of the cross.⁶⁸

The third piece of evidence is presented in Matthew Knight’s testimony. He mentioned that one John Trafford from Grimsbury, in the parish of Banbury, tended to doff his hat when he passed the cross.⁶⁹ This was just the kind of superstitious and popish gesture which the godly feared, and which led them on many occasions to commit iconoclasm. One of the motivations for the destruction of the Cheapside Cross was said to have been that,

⁶⁵ Ibid. f.3, William Allsop said that Knight ‘dyd both pul at the rope and helpe to colewaye the spire of the said cross;’ Maude Pym of Deddington, said that Knight ‘went to the grysses of the sayd crosse and put an iron crowe and a pybble under the shaft of the said high crosse for to overthrowe the same speedily’ (f.7); Thomas Udall argued that William Knight would not rest unto the cross had been completely defaced, and that he ‘did colewey downe the stuffe of the said crosse’ (f.10)

⁶⁶ STAC 8/82/23 f.5v

⁶⁷ Anon. *The downe-fall of Dagon, or, the taking downe of Cheap-side Crosse this second of May, 1643* (London: Thomas Wilson, 1643) f.2v; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.198; Ernest B. Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation: Down Went Dagon* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986) p.6; Collinson, ‘Ben Jonson’s Bartholomew Fair’ pp.160-1

⁶⁸ STAC 5 B31/4 deposition of Martin Wright of Trafford, in the parish of Byfeild (f.12)

⁶⁹ STAC 8/82/23 f.6v; Harvey, ‘Where was Banbury Cross’ p.106; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces*, p.197. At some point this statement was crossed through.

‘this crosse hath been a great meanes to cause superstition and idolatry from time to time in worshipping and adoring it, as many people have done as they passe by it.’⁷⁰

People were witnessed coming at three o’clock in the morning, barefooted, kneeling down to the Cheapside Cross, crossing their fore-heads and breasts.⁷¹ Similarly, in 1630 Henry Sherfield destroyed a stained glass window in the parish church of St Edmund’s, Salisbury, which had a ‘profane representation of God the Father.’ This was because a woman was seen making ‘low curtsies’ and ‘bowing to the window’ and others had knelt down in front of it in prayer.⁷²

Biographical details from other sources also provide evidence of a shared religious culture amongst the defendants in the crosses case, further suggesting that the destruction of the crosses had an ideological motive rather than the practical motive they claimed. The five defendants were related to one another by blood or marriage. Thomas and Richard Whately were brothers, and Thomas Whately and Henry Showell were married to sisters of William Knight. (Refer to the family tree in **figure one**, chapter one.) William Knight was married to Elizabeth Fennys, the step-daughter of John Gill, another of the defendants, and one of John Gill’s sons, Edward, married one of William Knight’s daughters.⁷³

⁷⁰ *The downe-fall of Dagon* p.2v

⁷¹ Ibid. pp.2v, 3r; David Cressy, ‘Different Kinds of Speaking: Symbolic Violence and Secular Iconoclasm in Early Modern England’ in Muriel C McClendon, Joseph P Ward and Michael MacDonald eds. *Protestant Identities, Religion, Society and Self Fashioning in Post-Reformation England* (California: Stanford University Press, 1999) p.41

⁷² Slack, ‘Religious Protestant and Urban Authority’ passim, but especially p.296; Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* p.51; Aston, ‘Puritans and Iconoclasm’ pp.107-8; Keith Thomas in his ‘Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England’ p.31 mentions that at Balliol College, Oxford, there was a crucifix in a painted window. It had survived the Reformation, but when a young man ‘was taken praying and beating his breast’ before it, the master and fellows had the window removed. He also included an example where at Canterbury the image of Christ and the holy ghost over the south gate was destroyed because it had been ‘the means of much idolatry: men now living testify that they have seen travellers kneel to it in the street.’

⁷³ BCR p.271

Henry Showell was bailiff in 1591-2 and 1601-2, and then mayor in 1612-13. He also served for a time as justice of the peace.⁷⁴ In his will of 1616 he bequeathed 10s annually towards the continuation of the town's lecture 'for the praising of God's word.'⁷⁵ If all his children, Nathaniel, Isaiah, Margaret and Jane, were to die without heirs, he requested that his property be divided four ways. These were to pay for constant preaching, relieving the poor, providing a clerk to teach poor and young children to read, and for maintaining a man to put the poor on work and for a house of correction for idle and untrustworthy persons. He left money to his nephews, the ministers Robert Harris and William Whately, and also left 10s to five other ministers, Mr Shorte, Mr Dod, Mr Cleaver, Mr Leigh and Mr Lancaster. As overseers to his will he chose two of the other defendants William Knight, Thomas Whately, as well as William Whately and Robert Harris.⁷⁶

Thomas Whately had been bailiff in 1592-3 and was bailiff when the crosses were destroyed. He went on to be mayor in 1611-2 and again in 1623-4.⁷⁷ In his will of 1638 he left £5 to be spent on woollen cloth for the poor, which he specified was to be distributed amongst 'such as have not been disordered by drunkenness, cursing, swearing, rayling or any the like misdemeaners.' He also left bequests to John Dod and Robert Cleaver. He made John Dod his overseer.⁷⁸ He was the father of the minister William Whately and one of his daughters was married to Robert Harris.⁷⁹ The will of Thomas' brother Richard Whately has already been mentioned for his involvement in the case of

⁷⁴ Biographical notes on Henry Showell in BCR p.321; the roles of bailiff and mayor in the corporation were identical but 'mayor' was the new title given to the role following the 1608 charter, BCR p.98

⁷⁵ Will of Henry Showell, proved 29 January

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Biographical notes on Thomas Whately in BCR p.328

⁷⁸ Will of Thomas Whately, proved 23 April 1638

⁷⁹ Marriage of Joanne Whately and Robert Harris, 20 May 1606, BMR p.38

the maypoles. He had been bailiff twice in 1590-1 and 1597-8 and was justice at the time of the crosses' destruction.⁸⁰ Amongst the bequests in his will he requested that his daughter be brought up in 'some godlie family,' such as the family of Mistress Gill, likely to be the wife of John Gill.⁸¹ John Gill was a gentleman who lived in Wickham, one of Banbury's neighbouring hamlets. He was to be appointed bailiff 1602-3.⁸² As discussed in chapter four, the preamble to his 1635 will was very detailed and served as a guide to godliness for his children. His inventory shows that his study contained a copy of the Bible, and one of his daughters was married to the minister George Gee.⁸³ Finally, William Knight had been bailiff in 1595-6 and was to be again the year after the crosses' destruction.⁸⁴ He was godfather to one of Robert Cleaver's children and John Dod was godfather to his daughter Naomi. Furthermore, he and his wife, Elizabeth, gave almost all of their children Biblical names, including the more unusual Old Testament names Barzilla(i) and Bezaleel. Richard Whately was among the godparents of Bezaleel, baptised in 1600.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Biographical notes on Richard Whately in BCR p.328

⁸¹ Will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately, proved 4 January 1604

⁸² Biographical notes on John Gill in BCR p.307

⁸³ Will of John Gill proved 17 March 1635; the contents of the will but not the preamble were transcribed in BW2 p.105; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* on p.187 claims that Susanna married the son of the minister George Gee; the marriage of Susanna Gill and George Gee, dated January 20 1602, is recorded in BMR p.33; the baptisms of Susanna (1608) daughter of Mr George Gee and John (1606) son of George are recorded in BBR pp.61, 65. An Edward Gee son of John, 1 November 1612 is noted in BBR p.73, although this may have supposed to have been recorded as George; S.J. Guscott's article on Edward Gee, a Presbyterian minister, in the DNB, says that he was the son of George Gee, minister of Newton in Manchester, and baptised at Banbury on this date; in H.T. Crofton, 'History of Newton Chapelry, Volume One,' *Chetham Society, New Series, Volume 52* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1904) pp.59-60 explains that George Gee became curate and preacher of Newton in 1617, and that in 1622 his wife, Susanna, was buried at Manchester. He was the son of Ralph Gee of Manchester; from these records it seems likely that Susanna Gill was the wife of Mr George Gee the minister.

⁸⁴ Biographical notes on William Knight in BCR p.313

⁸⁵ Will of William Knight, proved 25 November 1631; the names of Naomi's godparents are recorded in BBR p.48 and Bezaleel's on p.52; the Knights' children were baptised Mary, John, Deborah, Jonathan, Naomi, Joane, Bezaleel, Elizabeth, William, Barzilla and Abigail between 1590-1616 in Banbury; Bezaleel is in Exodus chapter 31:1-6 and chapter 36. He was a craftsman who was filled with the Lord's

There are hints therefore of a shared religious culture between the five defendants. There may also have been some connection between the two masons involved in the case and the defendants. The James West who pulled down the crosses in 1600 is likely to be the James West who was a yeoman at the time of writing his will in 1621. This James West married Ann Coleing in 1599 and in his will left money to Henry Coleing, also a mason. Although no relationship is indicated in the will, Henry and/or Ann were likely to have been related to the Thomas Coleing who was the second mason employed to destroy the crosses. James West also left £5 in his will to William Knight and his wife, as well as to William Whately, to buy gowns, and 6s 8d annually towards the continuation of Whately's weekly lecture.⁸⁶

Although it is only these seven individuals who are named as being involved in the crosses' destruction, the responses of some of the deponents suggest that support for the act might have been more widespread. Matthew Knight referred to the defendants and 'a great number more of their confederate then and there assembled' being fully resolved to bring down the cross.⁸⁷ Henry Lockwood, Nichodemus Edens, John Perryn, Thomas Long and William Alsopp, all argued that the crosses had been destroyed by the consent of 'most of the company then being,' meaning members of the corporation.⁸⁸ Matthew Knight, however, also suggested there were many who disagreed with their actions. He claimed that the crowd who were assembled at the cross 'in manner of a tummet or mutany' were 'saing what shall we doe against those persons that be defacing

power and skill for all kinds of an artistic work. With Oholiab he was to build the holy tent; Barzilla(i) is named in 2 Samuel 17:27 as a man from Rogelim in Gilead.

⁸⁶ Biographical notes on James West in BCR p.326; will of James West, proved 24 November 1621

⁸⁷ STAC 8/82/23 f.5v

⁸⁸ STAC 8/82/23 f.3v; STAC 5 B31/4 ff.4, 14, 18, 20, 21-23

the cross.’⁸⁹ Matthew Knight was one of the defendants’ staunchest attackers and his accusations of social unrest and division in Banbury at the hands of the magistrates are typical of accusations against the impact of Puritanism.

It would appear from the depositions of the opponents of the five defendants that the destruction of the market crosses was a climax of years of discontent at the interference of a new generation of magistrates in the affairs of the town. Although the term Puritan is not mentioned in any of these accusations, the accusations which were made follow classic themes of anti-Puritan rhetoric. Some of these deponents referred to corruption in the destruction of the crosses. One accusation was that the defendants had destroyed the crosses for their own private gain.⁹⁰ Matthew Knight and William Alsopp, for instance, argued that the changes were unwanted. They said that many of the inhabitants of Banbury and the ‘most part of the country people rounde therabout’ were grieved at the destruction of the crosses. They claimed ‘they cannot buy and sell as they were accustomed to.’⁹¹ Stalls were now more expensive and there were complaints from some traders that they could no longer get standings in the new arrangement of the market.⁹² There were also complaints that all the profit from the improvements went to the corporation and, specifically, to Thomas Whately. William Alsopp said that when the spire was on the ground William Knight had beaten the stones for the iron or lead that was inside. There were also claims that some of the larger stones from the crosses had

⁸⁹ STAC 8/82/23 f.5r

⁹⁰ STAC 5 B31/4 interrogatory for defendants (f.2) and interrogatory for witnesses (f.13); STAC 8/82/23 f.6r; Collinson, ‘Ben Jonson’s Bartholomew Fair’ p.163

⁹¹ STAC 8/82/23 f.3v and STAC 5 B31/4 f.3

⁹² STAC 8/82/23 f.6r and STAC 5 B31/4 ff.4, 20

been sold for profit by Henry Showell.⁹³ To their opponents the five defendants appeared to be self-serving hypocrites.

The defendants, however, had supporters on the town council. Their supporters argued conversely that the new house the magistrates had built on the site of the former Bread Cross was larger and more convenient than the previous trading space.⁹⁴ They argued that it was Thomas Whately who had paid for the work out of his own pocket and that after he had been reimbursed, the profit would be left to the corporation for the good of the town.⁹⁵ They also said that some of the stones from the crosses had been used in the erection of new seats and others had been sold for the use of the town, not for the private profit of the magistrates.⁹⁶

As well as complaints of corruption surrounding the crosses themselves, there were many wider accusations of the defendants forming a factious oligarchy. There were claims that they dominated control of the corporation by preventing others from taking the role of bailiff or justice.⁹⁷ Matthew Knight went further, claiming that William Knight had used ‘divers perswasion and reasons’ to hinder the appointment of Thomas Long and also Thomas Pym from being appointed bailiff, and that William Knight had made sure he, Matthew Knight, ‘was putt out of the company of alderman.’⁹⁸ In fact many of the complaints were directed specifically against William Knight. Simon Wickham claimed that William Knight ‘doth over rule the greatest part of them [the

⁹³ STAC 8/82/23 f.6r and STAC 5 B31/4 f.20

⁹⁴ STAC 5 B31/4 ff.16, 18, 19, testimonies of John Nichols, Thomas French, Rowland Bull, John Keeling and George Nichols. They also argued that it had been erected quickly to avoid inconvenience.

⁹⁵ STAC 5 B31/4 ff.3, 18, 20, 21-3, testimonies of Nichodemus Edens, Edward Edens, John Perryn and William Alsopp.

⁹⁶ STAC 5 B31/4 ff.21-3

⁹⁷ STAC 8/82/23 f.9r and STAC 5 B31/4 f.2

⁹⁸ STAC 8/82/23 ff.1r, 2r; also testified by William Alsopp and Thomas Long STAC 5 B31/4 ff.3, 4

corporation] being of his disposition a contentious man.’⁹⁹ Others complained that since Knight’s arrival the ‘peaceable government’ of the borough was ‘much altered.’¹⁰⁰ There were further protests that under Knight’s authority, money had been spent on a ‘very faire large mace of silver and guylt’ to be carried from the churchyard to the town hall when the corporation processed, as a symbol of his power.¹⁰¹ Those on the other side of the debate, however, argued there was no plot to hold office and that the role of bailiff was a burden and expense to the holder. Many, they said, including Thomas Whately and Henry Showell, had tried to pay money to be discharged from the burden.¹⁰²

Finally, as well as their corruption and oligarchic rule, there were complaints of the magistrates zealously rampaging against drinking and gambling in the town, complaints that evoke another familiar anti-Puritan stereotype, that of the kill-joy. Both Matthew Knight and William Alsopp, for instance, accused William Knight of being

‘a meanes that divers abuses & hard dealinge have been offered sundrie times to countrie people coming within the same Burrough to make merry there.’¹⁰³

As a result, the victuallers and inn-keepers in the town were suffering a decline in the number of customers.¹⁰⁴ Most of the instances which were cited, however, involved Banbury inhabitants, rather than country people, who were being arrested and even imprisoned for serving drink at inappropriate times and gaming, some of them quite well-to-do.

⁹⁹ STAC 5 B31/4 f.12

¹⁰⁰ STAC 8/82/23 f.2r and STAC 5 B31/4 ff.3, 12

¹⁰¹ STAC 5 B31/4 ff.2, 3, 4 and STAC 8/82/23 f.2r; Patrick Collinson, ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture’ in Durston and Eales eds. *The Culture of English Puritanism* p.45

¹⁰² STAC 5 B31/4 ff.16, 18-9, 20, testimonies of John Nichols, Nichodemus Edens, Edward Edens and George Nichols. Those named as trying to get out of the position of bailiff included Thomas Whately, Henry Showell, Nichodemus Edens, Edward Edens and George Nichols.

¹⁰³ STAC 8/82/23 f.2v; STAC 5 B31/4 f.3. The testimonies of Matthew Knight and William Alsopp were also supported by Simon Wickham, f.12; Collinson, ‘Ben Jonson’s Bartholomew Fair’ p.162

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

Richard Whately, for example, during his mayoralty, had demanded money from John Jackson, a surgeon, because Edward Wisedome had played at shovelboard in his house. On refusing to pay, Jackson was committed to the town hall.¹⁰⁵ In November 1597, Robert Scott, a victualler, was committed to the town hall by Richard Whately and William Knight, then justice, because his wife had sold 2d worth of ale to two servants at a nearby inn at about 8pm. The following Sunday, Scott was at dinner with family and friends, where they were all sitting by the fire ‘without play or any disorder.’ Richard Whately came into the house and ‘finding himself grieved with the company then present asked the cause of them thither coming.’ According to the testimonies of Scott and two witnesses, Scott replied that ‘he hoped the queens lawe did allowe him to invyte any friends or kynsmen to supper’ to which Whately answered, ‘that whatsoever the Queenes lawes did allowe he the said Whately would not allowe that.’¹⁰⁶ There was another case during Whately’s mayoralty in September 1598 when, accompanied with four others, he took goods from the house of John Smith because Smith had refused to pay a 20s fine ‘for keeping victualling contrary to the order of the burrough.’¹⁰⁷ Under John Gill’s command, Henry Wright, an inn-keeper, was arrested and assaulted in Banbury churchyard following his refusal to close his inn at the time of divine service. In a further incident, five men had been arrested in the house of Thomas Bennet, a vintner, for that some ‘did there play at tables for a punt of wine.’¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ STAC 5 B31/4 f.10

¹⁰⁶ STAC 5 B31/4 interrogatory for defendants (f.2), testimonies of Robert Scott (f.5), Edward Basse (f.6), Thomas Pyner (f.11); Collinson, ‘Ben Jonson’s Bartholomew Fair’ pp.162-3

¹⁰⁷ STAC 5 B31/4 interrogatory for defendants (f.2), interrogatory for witnesses (f.13), and testimonies of Thomas French (f.4), John Smith (f.5), Margaret Walker and Alice Smith (f.8), Henry Lockwoode (f.14), Rowland Bull (f.18), Mary Gill (f.20), and John Perryn (f.21).

¹⁰⁸ The case of Henry Wright is discussed in STAC 5 B31/4 in the interrogatory (f.2), interrogatory for witnesses (f.13), and testimonies of Elizabeth Daant (f.6), Edward Man (f.7), Joanne Wright (f.9), Henry Wright (ff.10-11), Thomas French (f.16), Thomas Halhead (f.17), Edward Man (f.20); the case of Thomas

Although most of the five defendants had been involved in the corporation in some capacity before, it was only after the case of the maypoles that they were to dominate the roles of bailiff or mayor and justice in the borough, and thus the affairs of the Banbury corporation. Richard Whately was, for instance, bailiff for the year 1590-1, then Henry Showell in 1591-2. Thomas Whately was bailiff the following year, then William Knight in 1595-6. Richard Whately was bailiff again in 1597-8, then Thomas Whately the year the crosses were destroyed. William Knight was bailiff again the year after. He was followed by Henry Showell in 1601-2 and by John Gill in 1602-3.¹⁰⁹ By the time of the case of the crosses these men may have dominated the most senior roles in the corporation but the government of the town was still divided. We have seen this in the accusations made against the town's oligarchy. This division is also shown in a unique record in the mayor's book for 1598 which notes the votes that were taken for the deprivation of William Saunders from the role of beadle. The reasons for the deprivation are not noted.¹¹⁰ The twelve councillors who voted against him included the five defendants, as well as Nicholas Austen, Edward Edens, Nichodemus Edens, Simon Hathaway, Henry Lockwood, John Nichols and William Potter. Many of these men were questioned in the case of the crosses and came down in support of the defendants.¹¹¹ Those who voted against the deprivation included Thomas Dix, Matthew Wigget and

Bennet is discussed in STAC 5 B31/4, testimony of John Smith (f.5) and testimony of Raphe Houghton (f.15)

¹⁰⁹ BCR p.288

¹¹⁰ BCR p.69; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.189-90, 202; a beadle acted as a ceremonial officer of the corporation, or as the apparitor of a trades guild or company (OED); Hughes, 'Religion and Society in Stratford-upon-Avon' p.77 mentions that Stratford's meticulous, almost obsessive recording of votes and division in the corporation minute book is a notable contrast to many other corporations that sought to hide conflict and stress unity.

¹¹¹ STAC 5 B31/4 Nicholas Austen is described as a defendant in the case of the crosses (f.2) and the others who gave testimonies were Henry Lockwood (f.14), John Nichols (f.16), Nichodemus Edens (f.18) and Edward Edens (f.20).

Thomas Foster, as well as the three ancient aldermen who were called upon by Matthew Knight on 26 July 1600 to see if they had given permission for the destruction of the crosses, Thomas Long, William Bentley and William Halhead.¹¹²

There are suggestions that some of those who defended these five in the case of the crosses, and/or voted with them against William Saunders were friends and shared a similar religious outlook. Some of them were also related to the five defendants. Edward Edens, for instance, was married to Alice Knight, another sister of William Knight.¹¹³ John Nichols' second wife, Mary, was the widowed daughter of John Gill. His brother George also defended the magistrates in the crosses case. One of the overseers to John Nichols' will was his 'loving friend' William Whately and William Knight was a witness. In 1600, along with Richard Whately, Nichols was one of the godparents or 'sureties' of William Knight's son Bezaleel.¹¹⁴ His own children were named distinctively Mary, Susan, Gamaliel, Dorcas and Sarah.¹¹⁵ Others who spoke in favour of the defendants in the case of the crosses or aided them in their punishment of drinking and gambling included Thomas French, William Hosiari, John Keeling and John Perryn.¹¹⁶ Thomas French had a daughter called Hopestill and other children with Biblical names.¹¹⁷ William Hosiari used Biblical names for all but two of his children and was remembered

¹¹² STAC 8/82/23 testimony of Matthew Knight, ff.1r, 1v and 4v. Thomas Long also made his own deposition against these defendants in STAC 5 B31/4 f.3.

¹¹³ Marriage of Edward Eden and Alice Knight 2 November 1579 in biographical notes on Edward Eden(s) BCR p.305

¹¹⁴ Marriage of John Nichols and Mary Pym 8 September 1630, in biographical notes of John Nichols, BCR pp.316-7; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.192; STAC 5 B31/4 testimonies of George Nichols, (ff.18-19) and John Nichols (f.16); will of John Nichols, proved 29 June 1631; reference for the baptism of Bezaleel Knight, BBR p.52

¹¹⁵ Baptisms of John Nichols' children between 1595 and 1610 in BBR

¹¹⁶ STAC 5 B31/4 testimonies of Thomas French (f.16), John Keeling (f.18) and John Perryn (ff.21-3). The testimony of William Hosiari, if there was one, has not survived. He was listed as a defendant in the interrogatory for defendants (f.2) and on (f.17) in the testimony of Henry Wright for laying violent hands on him, following the orders of John Gill.

¹¹⁷ Thomas French's other children, baptised between 1615 and 1622, were Peter, Martha, John, Samuel and Mary, see BBR.

in the will of Richard Whately. Hosiar and his maidservant were presented for not kneeling to receive the sacrament at Banbury in 1613.¹¹⁸ John Keeling also gave his children Biblical names and John Perryn witnessed the wills of the defendant, Henry Showell, and his son Isaiah.¹¹⁹

Many of the supporters of the five key defendants began their careers in the corporation at a similar time.¹²⁰ By contrast, most of the seven councillors who voted in favour of William Saunders had come towards the end of their careers, and several were to die at the turn of the seventeenth century.¹²¹ The evidence suggests that a new generation of councillors was taking over the corporation at the expense of some of the more ancient aldermen.¹²² This new generation were exerting their authority over the town's inhabitants. On one level this manifested itself through their attack on small scale gambling and drinking in the town, and Sunday trading. Those they attacked were not merely market traders from outside the town but also citizens of Banbury, some their

¹¹⁸ William Hosiar's children, baptised between 1596 and 1615, were called Steven, John, Samuel, James, Nathaniel, Thomas, Timothy and Christian, see BBR; will of Richard Wheatlie or Whately, proved 4 January 1604; (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31, September 1613; Peyton, *Presentments* p.209

¹¹⁹ John Keeling's children were baptised Sarah, Ann, Samuel, Ruth, Lydia, John, Joseph, Dorcas, Nathaniel, Martha, Dalaiah and Hester, between 1588 and 1606, see BBR; will of Henry Showell proved 19 January 1616 and will of Isaiah Showell proved 30 September 1622.

¹²⁰ Refer to the biographical notes on members and officers of Banbury's corporation in BCR pp.299-330; for example, Nicholas Austen was town clerk from 1588-9 onwards (p.300); Edward Edens was constable in 1588-9 and bailiff 1598-9 (p.305); Nichodemus Edens was tithing-man 1588-9, constable 1591-2, chamberlain 1598-1602 and bailiff 1603-4 (p.306); Henry Lockwood was constable 1588-9 (p.314); John Nichols was burgess by 1597-8, chamberlain 1598-1601, bailiff 1605-6 (p.316); William Potter was tithing-man 1588-9 (p.319); John Perryn was ale-taster 1588-9, sergeant-at-mace 1591-2, and from 1611 until his death (p.318)

¹²¹ See BCR pp.299-330; for example Matthew Knight was constable 1587-8, bailiff in 1594-5 and not again (p.313); Thomas Long was bailiff in 1588-9 and never again (p.314); William Bentley was chamberlain 1564-5, auditor 1584-5 and was buried 12 April 1603 (p.301); William Halhead was bailiff 1589-90 and never again. He was blind at the time of the case of the crosses (STAC 8/82/23 f.4v.) He was buried 21 July 1602 (p.309); Thomas Dix had been bailiff in 1574-5 and 1585-6. He was buried 21 November 1599 (p.305); Matthew Wigget was on the corporation by 1584 until at least 1597/8. He was buried 4 July 1604 (p.329); Thomas Foster is the exception since he was chamberlain 1589-93, auditor 1607-8 and mayor 1610-11 (p.306)

¹²² Also suggested by Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.202-4, but he only looked at STAC 8/82/83, which only holds Matthew Knight's deposition.

equals in social status. On another level they claimed their authority over public spaces and ancient civic symbols which they read as idols. The destruction of the crosses took place in front of a large audience and the defendants made no attempt to hide their involvement. Not only were they overheard encouraging and commending the workmen but William Knight and Henry Showell themselves attacked the crosses. Furthermore, Richard Whately or Henry Showell was reported to have said that he would 'lye all the daies of his life in prison before he would build up the foresaid high crosse in Banbury or contribute to any charge to that purpose.'¹²³ Similarly, Thomas Whately was heard by Anthony Rymell, at a wedding celebration in nearby Deddington, saying that in pulling down of the cross he thought that the Queen had nothing to do with it.¹²⁴ Like William Knight's purchase of a new silver mace, the magistrates' destruction of the crosses was symbolic of their new power.

This group of godly magistrates were increasing their control over Banbury's corporation at the turn of the seventeenth century but it is unknown exactly why they attacked the market crosses in 1600. Perhaps it was because inhabitants in the town and visiting traders from the surrounding countryside doffed their hats when passing the cross. Whether Banbury's ministers had any role in encouraging the removal of the crosses is similarly unknown. It is doubtful that any encouragement came from Ralph Houghton, then minister of Banbury. He was a witness in the crosses' case. Although making no accusations of his own against the magistrates, he testified to the defendants' aggressive punishment of several of Banbury's inhabitants, suggesting he was unlikely to

¹²³ STAC 5 B31/4 f.2, interrogatory for defendants.

¹²⁴ Ibid. and testimony of Anthony Rymell of Hempton, in the parish of Deddington (f.12).

have been behind their removal of the crosses.¹²⁵ John Dod and Robert Cleaver preached at Banbury's lecture by combination and, as indicated in chapter one, they appear to have been friendly with the town's magistrates. They discussed idolatry in their *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, published in 1604, but there is no evidence to link them directly with the events of 1600.¹²⁶ William Whately, a recent graduate, and not yet a serving minister in Banbury, briefly referred to the fall of the 'Idoll Dagon' in his 1602 tract *The downfall of pride*, which was dedicated to Robert Sackville, for whom he served as chaplain.¹²⁷ This may have been a coincidence since Whately was not mentioned in the case of the crosses and was still at university at the time of their destruction. Maybe the activities of the ministers in this case, like that of the maypoles, are hidden from view. The suggestion, however, is that the impetus for the destruction of the crosses came from the magistracy rather than the ministry.

Ten years into the seventeenth century there was another attack on Banbury's monuments.¹²⁸ This time the targets were statues on the outside walls of the parish church of St Mary's. A greater number of the culprits were from lower social orders than

¹²⁵ Testimonies of Ralph Houghton STAC 5 B31/4 ff. 6, 15; it was after Houghton's sermon that Henry Wright was attacked in the churchyard. Houghton was also having dinner at William Garland's house when John Jackson was bound over to the Assizes for questioning the actions of William Knight, then justice, and Richard Whately, then bailiff, who challenged Garland's guests for unlawful assembly.

¹²⁶ John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements, with a methodicall short catechisme, containing briefly all the principall grounds of Christian Religion* (London: 1604) p.56. When discussing the second commandment they commented, for example, 'there is a strange pronenesse & inclination in euery mans nature to this sinne of false worshippe.' They used Biblical passages such as Deuteronomy 7: 26, 27 'to teach vs to auoide all meanes and occasions; that may draw us to this haynous sinne' p.58

¹²⁷ Whately graduated with his BA in 1601 and took his MA in 1604. Whately's *A godlie treatise, intituled the view and down-fall of pride* (London: 1602) was dedicated to Robert Sackville and Lady Anne Compton, for whom he was a 'humble and loving chaplaine and servant.' It was written at Framfield in Sussex in 1602. In a section advising his readers to forsake their sins, he states 'be not like the Phillistines and men of Asdod. Who, because their Idoll Dagon could not stand by the holy arke, but still fell downe and was broken, sent away the Arke of God, to keepe their Idoll still' p.52

¹²⁸ The date of this case is not clear. The material for the case comes from (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 ff.98r-99v. The folios are undated. Banbury VCH places the date around 1610 p.98; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.276-7. On p.273 Blankenfeld also dates the case to around 1610.

in the previous two cases, hinting that zeal for reform had spread to a wider section of the urban population. Unfortunately most of the papers related to this case are missing. Only the questions or interrogatory to be put to the defendants and/or witnesses survive amongst the Oxford diocesan papers. The outcome of the case is not known.

From the interrogatory we know that at about one or two o'clock in the morning in the month of June or July, in or around 1610, eight statues were pulled down and destroyed.¹²⁹ The statues had stood on the walls within arches or pillars and were 'made in proportion like unto men.' It is unknown whom the statues represented. The culprits had apparently mounted ladders and pulled the statues 'from the places where they stood and throwen downe to the grounde and broken in many peeces and more defaced.'¹³⁰ A second attack was made on the images in August or September. Several individuals got into the room of the church where 'such fragments of the saide statues and monuments' as were found after the initial attack had been placed under the orders of the Official of Banbury, who presided over the peculiar court. At the time of this case this was Oliver Lloyd. They further vandalized one of the statues which before had been 'least or little defaced,' breaking it in two.¹³¹

Although the individuals to be questioned in the case are named, their role in the iconoclasm is not explained, nor their involvement certain. Furthermore, from the layout of the interrogatory is not always clear whether it was the husbands or their wives who were involved. Those to be questioned included Robert Benbow, Henry Hollihead, William Trafford, Agnes, the wife of Thomas Kerwood, the wife of Henry Sharpe, the

¹²⁹ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 f.98r

¹³⁰ Ibid. ff.98r-v

¹³¹ Ibid. f.99r

wife of John Kimbell, the wife of William Samon and the wife of George Gee.¹³² Unlike the defendants in the destruction of the crosses, this event did not involve Banbury's leading magistrates. It was claimed in the interrogatory that the statues were pulled down without consent from any lawful authority. It is likely that over half of those questioned were women, wives whose husbands were not presented.

The lack of surviving details about the case or the defendants makes it difficult to understand the motivation for the destruction of the statues at this time. Biographical details can, however, be pulled together to suggest their godly identity and some connections between them. Robert Benbow had the role of the sexton and was also a scrivener. He held the keys to the church and was 'to make sure that noone can enter the church without public knowledge.'¹³³ It was therefore suspicious that certain individuals were able to gain entrance into the church and further deface some of the monuments. He had been in trouble with the church authorities in 1606 for teaching a school without a licence, along with George Gee, whose wife was questioned in the statues case. He also had a daughter called Grace.¹³⁴ George Gee was a minister from Manchester who resided in the parish at this time. He was well connected since he was married to Susanna, the daughter of magistrate John Gill.¹³⁵ He received bequests from eight Banbury inhabitants in their wills, two of whom were also ministers, William Shorte and Haymon Leigh.¹³⁶

¹³² One (blank) Gee is named. It is presumed this 'Gee' refers to a relative of George Gee, the minister from Manchester who was residing in the parish at this time. Due to the fact that there is a blank before the name, and there are blanks in front of names of others in the list who are clearly named wife of or 'uxor,' it is suggested that this was the wife of George Gee.

¹³³ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 ff.99r

¹³⁴ (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52, churchwardens' presentments f.15, William Osbourne, curate of Banbury, presented Mr Gee, Mr Benbow and Mr Short for teaching a school in Banbury without licence, 6 April 1607; baptism of Grace Benbow, September 15 1605 in BBR p.60; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.275 and 340

¹³⁵ See above footnote 83 for more on George and Susanna Gee.

¹³⁶ Will of William Shorte, written 19 February 1617 and will of Haymon Leigh, proved 4 November 1619

Henry Hollihead or Halhead was accused of borrowing the ladder of one Thomas Kimbell in order to take down the statues. Thomas Kimbell's servant Julian Smithson later refused to kneel to receive the sacrament in 1613.¹³⁷ Henry Halhead was from one of Banbury's more well-established elite families and he was serving the corporation as constable at the time of the case, or shortly before. He later became mayor of Banbury in 1630-1. He named his daughters Hopestill, Patience, Grace and Temperance.¹³⁸ In 1632 he emigrated to the Puritan colony on Providence Island.¹³⁹ Agnes, the wife of Thomas Kerwood, was overheard commenting that she thought it was 'well done' that the statues were pulled down and defaced. She was also accused of allowing an excommunicate, the wife of Mr Pitts of Adderbury, to visit her house and accompany her to sermons at Banbury.¹⁴⁰ Thomas Kerwood referred to Thomas Kimbell, as his 'good neighbour' in his will of 1617. The will of John Kimbell, whose wife was also questioned, named Thomas Kimbell as his brother and the will was written and witnessed by Robert Benbow.¹⁴¹ Finally, two others in the list, the wife of William Samon and the wife of Henry Sharpe gave their children Biblical names. Ann Sharpe also later refused to kneel

¹³⁷ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 f.98v; (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31; Peyton, *Presentments* p.209

¹³⁸ Halhead was a constable 1609-10. His family moved to New England in March 1632, BCR p.308

¹³⁹ Providence Island is a small volcanic island off the coast of what is now Nicaragua. It was colonised by the English in 1630, an exact contemporary of the settlement in Massachusetts Bay. The settlement there lasted until 1641. Henry Halhead and his family were some of the first residents, sailing on the *Charity* in 1632. For more information refer to D.E.M Fiennes and J.S.W. Gibson, 'Providence and Henry Halhead – Mayor of Banbury 1630/1' in *Cake and Cockhorse*, Volume 7, Number 7 (Autumn 1978) pp.199-210; see also Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island 1630-41: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) especially pp.1-5, and for Henry Halhead's involvement, pp.46-9, 118-121, 147-8, 187-8, 264, 293-4

¹⁴⁰ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 ff.98v-99r, 100v; Mrs Pitts was also presented in 1612 at Kings Sutton for standing at the Communion, Blankenflod, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.272, footnote 62.

¹⁴¹ Will of Thomas Kerwood, proved 10 December 1617; will of John Kimbell proved 26 April 1620

to receive Communion in 1621. She was the wife of Henry Sharpe, a bookseller. Another of those questioned, William Trafford, was a bookbinder.¹⁴²

In the records of the case there is no indication that the removal of the statues was influenced by the minister of Banbury, Ralph Houghton, the lecturer, William Whately or even George Gee, whose wife was named in conjunction with the case.¹⁴³ An anecdotal reference to the case in Ralph Wallis' *More news from Rome* of 1666 suggests, however, that a sermon preached in Banbury did influence the participants' iconoclasm. Wallis wrote this tract as a criticism of the Restoration church and the 'times' which 'you know are much enclin'd to Superstition.'¹⁴⁴ He commented,

'Sometimes living at Banbury in Oxfordshire, I grew acquainted with one Mr. Sharp a Bookseller, who with a Companion of his, an old Puritan aswel as himself, got into the Church in the night (Sharp being Churchwarden) and threw down the Images, receiving some encouragement from a Doctor, who held a Visitation in Banbury, being a Peculiar within the Jurisdiction of Lincoln, who delivered this Observation in his sermon, *That it is the duty of every Christian to put his hand to the pulling down of Idolatry.*'¹⁴⁵

Although it was Henry Sharpe's wife Ann who was named in the surviving documents of the statue case and the statues were outside the church, it is noteworthy that here the motivation for the iconoclasm is linked directly to a visitation sermon.¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, however, it is not known who the preacher was.

¹⁴² William Samon's children were named Thomas, Priscilla, Ann, Gamaliel, Job and John between 1596 and 1606, BBR; Ann and Henry Sharpe's children were named Daniel, Hannah, Bethshua, John, Martha and Zacharia(h) between 1597 and 1607, BBR; (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.41; Peynton, *Presentments* p.215; William Trafford is named bookbinder in Banbury's burial register. He was buried 1 August 1622, BBR p.209

¹⁴³ Note that depending on the specific date of this case, William Whately might have been minister rather than lecturer.

¹⁴⁴ Ralph Wallis, *More news from Rome or Magna Charta, discoursed of between a poor man & his wife* (London: 1666) A2r

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. p.1; Alfred Beesley, *The History of Banbury Including Copious Historical and Antiquarian Notices of the Neighbourhood* (London: Nichols and Son, 1841) p.157

¹⁴⁶ Two of William Whately's publications *God's hvsbandry* and a *New birth* were published for Henry Sharpe's bookshop in 1619; he is likely to have been the same Henry Sharpe who had previously traded in Northampton and who had been persecuted for his involvement in the Martin Marprelate scandal of the

In the case of the statues, as in the maypoles and the crosses, we are presented with two sides. In the interrogatory, the statues were described as being representations of men,

‘taken onelie as ornamente of the parishe church of Banburie without any supersticion or idolatrie growinge or practised thereby during any of my or your memories.’¹⁴⁷

Behind this comment is the implication that some in the parish felt that the statues represented more than just men and were in some way superstitious. The interrogator felt the need to stress that no-one had treated the monuments in any superstitious manner ‘during any of my or your memories,’ and that idolatry in Banbury was neither practised nor growing. This suggests that it was at least suspected by the authorities that this was why the defendants had chosen to destroy the statues.

Unlike crosses with their obvious religious connotations, monuments to parishioners in churches and churchyards were more of a contentious issue. William Perkins wrote of three justifiable uses for secular imagery. One of these was where the image was symbolic, having a political use, such as on a coin. Another was where the image had a historic or commemorative use, such as in portraiture or in depicting historical events. Thirdly, images could be used in decorating or beautifying civic architecture.¹⁴⁸ In the opinion of most, funeral monuments came under the classification of ‘commemorative use.’ Funeral monuments were a sign of status, more than religious identity, and it is possible that even some of the defendants in the case of the crosses, all

1580s; Bawdy Court p.131; William Pierce, *The Marprelate Tracts 1588, 1589* (London: James Clarke & Co. 1911) pp. 176, 337, 352; W.J. Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610* (Northampton: Northampton Record Society, 1979) p.122; see also chapter one p.39, especially footnote 42
¹⁴⁷ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94 f.98v

¹⁴⁸ William Perkins, *A reformed Catholike: or, a declaration shewing how neere we may come to the present church of Rome* (Cambridge: 1598) pp.170-3 discussed in Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts, Volume I, Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) p.450

men of high status, would not have been in support of the removal of these church statues. As has been discussed in chapter four, a bust of William Knight was in fact erected in Banbury church after his death.¹⁴⁹

The wider social group involved in this case appears to demonstrate that godly attitudes about the right and wrong use of material objects had reached further down the social hierarchy than the confines of the magistracy. The town of Banbury, it is presumed, no longer had maypoles after the 1580s and in 1600 had lost its market crosses. Although it is impossible to be sure of the precise motivation for this act in 1610, it is noteworthy that the removal of the statues took place quietly, in the middle of the night, without attracting a large crowd. This implies that unlike the cases of the maypoles and the crosses, the removal of the statues was less about magistrates demonstrating power and authority. Instead, it is reflective of a genuine desire on behalf of some of Banbury's wider population to cleanse the town of its remaining idols, inhabitants who were perhaps keen to take iconoclasm further than even the magistrates.

To Banbury's godly community, icons like maypoles, statues and crosses were symbols of immorality, paganism and Catholicism. Ironically, to outsiders their destruction became different symbols, symbols of how far the town had become affected by Puritanism. Although Puritanism is not mentioned once in any of the three cases, everyone involved would recognise Puritanism in every one of the complaints made against the defendants.¹⁵⁰ The first suggestion of these cases being symbolic of the town's Puritanism came as early as 1602. That year the Jesuit priest Father Anthony Rivers wrote,

¹⁴⁹ Refer to **figure twenty**, chapter four p.178; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.278

¹⁵⁰ Collinson, 'Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair' p.163

‘the inhabitants of Banbury being so far gone in Puritanism... in a furious zeal tumultuously assailed the cross that stood in their market place, and so defaced it that they scarce left one stone upon another.’¹⁵¹

The case of the crosses was later referred to in the trial of Henry Sherfield in 1633, for his destruction of a stained glass window in Salisbury. The Attorney General, William Noy, is reported to have said,

‘in the Queen’s time, man went abroad (of their own heads) to break down crosses, images and pictures of all sorts, in the 44th of Elizabeth. At Banbury they pulled down the cross there.’¹⁵²

The removal of the statues and the crosses were also mocked by Richard Corbett in his satirical poem, *Iter boreale*, about a journey through the Midlands. Of Banbury’s crosses he wrote,

‘..The Crosses also, like old stumps of trees,
Are stooles for horsemen that haue feeble knees;
Carry noe heads aboue ground...’¹⁵³

He continued, commenting on the simple appearance of the church with its lack of monuments,

‘ther’s no Inscription there,
But the Church-wardens names of the last yeare:
Instead of Saints in Windowes and on Walls,
Here Bucketts hang, and there a Cobweb falls.’¹⁵⁴

Aspects of the cases of the maypoles and the crosses can also be read in the mocking of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy in Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). Busy had apparently ‘given over his trade’ of baker at Banbury because ‘those cakes he made were

¹⁵¹ Foley ed. *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Volume 1* p.8; William Potts, *Banbury Cross and the Rhyme* (Banbury: The Banbury Guardian Office, 1930) p.2

¹⁵² Potts, *Banbury Cross* p.2

¹⁵³ Richard Corbett, *Iter boreale* in J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper eds. *The Poems of Richard Corbett* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955) p.48; *Iter boreale* is undated but it is noted in this edition that it was written sometime before Corbett’s promotion to Dean of Christ Church in 1620 p.xxi; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.148

¹⁵⁴ Corbett, *Iter boreale* p.47

served to bride-ales, maypoles, morrisses, and such prophane feasts and meetings,' reminiscent of the attitude used by the magistrates against maypoles in 1589.¹⁵⁵ There are many points in the play which ridicule the paranoia of the godly over idolatry. For example, when at the market, Busy exclaims a fear that 'idolatry peepeth out on every side' and in one scene he destroys a gingerbread stall with the line, 'and this idolatrous grove of images, this flasket of idols, which I will pull down.'¹⁵⁶ In Act 5, the parallels with Banbury are even closer. When Busy takes to criticising a puppet play he actually uses the words, 'down with Dagon, down with Dagon!' 'Tis I will no longer endure your profanations.'¹⁵⁷ Dagon was to be used again in conjunction with the destruction of the Cheapside Cross in 1643, but as Patrick Collinson notes, it was otherwise quite a rare metaphor.¹⁵⁸

These acts of iconoclasm were without doubt dramatic and theatrical, particularly the destruction of the crosses and statues. Their attacks were visual and permanent markers of change. Not without reason, impressive public performances of the godly such as these were used by dramatists in the staging of their own performances. The three events in Banbury were mocked by outsiders but also provoked division in the town itself. Why then did the godly resort to iconoclasm and who was their intended

¹⁵⁵ Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* ed. Suzanne Gossett (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) Act 1, Scene 3, lines 118-123 p.54; also discussed in Collinson, 'Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair' p.160

¹⁵⁶ Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, Act 3, Scene 6, lines 46-7 p.124, and Act 3, Scene 3, lines 100-1 p.126; Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry* p.6; Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm' pp.92-3; Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) p.606

¹⁵⁷ Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* Act 5, Scene 5, lines 1-2, p.185; Collinson, 'Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair' p.161

¹⁵⁸ Collinson, 'Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair' p.161; in his diary, Robert Woodford hoped that 'Popery like dagon may fall before it,' in the Diary of Robert Woodford, Steward of Northampton 1637-41, entry dated 12 August 1638 (New College, Oxford) MS 9502 f.14r

audience? Was it in part, in Peter Lake's words, a reflection of their fundamentally active faith and

‘internal spiritual dynamic, a dynamic that forced the believer into a constant struggle to externalise his sense of his own election through a campaign of works directed against the anti-Christ, the flesh, sin and the world.’¹⁵⁹

Were these acts intended as symbols to distinguish them, the ‘hotter-sort’ of Protestant, from their lukewarm neighbours? Did the controversy provoked by their actions serve to convince the godly that they were on the pathway to salvation?¹⁶⁰ It is likely that all three have some bearing on the truth.

The motives and triggers for each case are unrecorded but the three cases speak to a progressive campaign to rid Banbury of immorality and irreligion, a campaign which involved initially the magistrates, but later spread to the wider godly inhabitants of the town. It appears that for a new generation of magistrates in Banbury, the maypoles and the crosses were symbols of a former government and a former religion, that was still corrupting the minds of the town's inhabitants.¹⁶¹ By removing the temptation, they could better instruct the town's inhabitants. As David Cressy has argued, ‘violence against the symbol implied a casting down of the powers and traditions it embodied.’¹⁶² Iconoclasm was a way in which the godly magistrates could stamp their own authority on the town's morals by reforming its public spaces and civic monuments.

¹⁵⁹ Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabeth Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) p.282; Peter Lake, ‘Defining Puritanism – Again?’ in Francis J. Bremer ed. *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Sixteenth Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993) pp.10-11

¹⁶⁰ Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) pp.213-4

¹⁶¹ Natalie Zemon Davis in her chapter ‘Rites of Violence’ in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. 1975) questions what we can learn of the goals of popular religious violence. She argues that ‘their behaviour suggests first of all, a goal akin to preaching: the defence of true doctrine and the refutation of false doctrine through dramatic challenges and tests’ p.156

¹⁶² Cressy, ‘Different kinds of speaking’ p.23

Chapter Seven

Wars of Words: Religious Interaction in Nottingham

In Banbury acts of iconoclasm served as symbols of a growing godly influence within the town and corporation around the turn of the seventeenth century. The influence of the godly in Nottingham was more limited, and increased more slowly than in Banbury. It was also symbolised in a different way, by the mocking of the town 'Puritans' in two religious libels in 1615 and 1617. In this chapter two polemical battles between the godly and the non-godly or anti-Puritans will be explored for what they can tell us about the extent of godly culture in Nottingham, and the interaction between the godly and their neighbours. Each case will be dealt with in turn. The first of these is John Darrell's dispossession of William Sommers in 1597-8, which became a factional dispute on a national as well as a local level. The second involved four slanderous songs or religious libels produced in the town between 1614 and 1617 by two rival factions, one Catholic, the other godly. The two cases involved largely different generations of Nottingham inhabitants and were stimulated by different causes. Both, however, employed similar religious stereotypes and involved rival groups trying to assert their own authority on the style of religion in the town. They also disclose information about godly culture in Nottingham which would otherwise be hidden from view. Together they can be used to show how the influence of the godly in the town changed over time and the role played by ministers and magistrates.

The exorcisms performed by John Darrell in England at the end of the sixteenth century have been discussed in other studies in the context of his career and

the contemporary debate over exorcism and possession.¹ Only recently have the Darrell cases been grounded within the communities in which they took place.² Here the focus will be Darrell's exorcism of William Sommers in Nottingham in 1597-8, the reactions it provoked and the divisions it exposed within the town.³ Firstly the events of Sommers' dispossession will be outlined. Then discussion will move to what the case can tell us about local disputes and godly culture in Nottingham.

Exorcism of the possessed had been a power associated with the Catholic clergy but Protestants came to believe that dispossession could be successfully carried out without superstition, by prayer and fasting. In this they followed Christ's model in Mark 9:29 that a demonic spirit can 'by no other meanes come forthe, but by prayer and fasting.'⁴ At the direction of the minister, the possessed was exorcised not through the power of one individual, the priest, but by the community of believers. John Darrell was a firm believer in dispossession by prayer and fasting and it was in this manner that he exorcised William Sommers.⁵

The documents of the trial of John Darrell in 1599 have not survived. The information which does survive regarding his activities in Nottingham comes from various tracts and pamphlets which were published following the trial. On one side of the pamphlet debate were the defenders of Darrell. These included Darrell himself,

¹ For example D.P. Walker, *Unclean Spirits: Possession and Exorcism in France and England in that Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century* (London: Scolar Press, 1981); Thomas Freeman, 'Demons, Deviance and Defiance: John Darrell and the Politics of Exorcism in Late Elizabethan England' in Peter Lake and Michael Questier ed. *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (Suffolk: Boydell, 2000) pp.34-63; Stephen Greenblatt's chapter 'Shakespeare and the Exorcists' in his *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) pp.94-128; R.A. Marchant, 'John Darrell – Exorcist' in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume 64 (Nottingham: 1960)

² See Marion Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print: Darrell, Harsnett, Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Exorcism Controversy* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006)

³ Note that Sommers is also spelt Somers in other works, both primary and secondary.

⁴ Quote taken from Mark 9 verse 29 in *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Old and Newe Testament* (Geneva: 1560) f.22r; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.4-5; Freeman, 'Demons, Deviance and Defiance' pp.39-41

⁵ Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.4-5; Freeman, 'Demons, Deviance and Defiance' pp.39-41

an anonymous writer and one ‘G. Co.’ whose identity remains unknown. On the other side, Darrell’s polemic opponents included Samuel Harsnett, chaplain to Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, and two local preachers, John Decon and John Walker.⁶ Decon and Walker’s line of attack differed from Harsnett’s. They were fearful that Darrell’s bad reputation was disgracing the reputation of the godly.⁷ Despite the bias of the rhetoric in these tracts it is possible to gain some sense of the activities surrounding Sommers’ dispossession and an understanding of the arguments of the different sides of the debate within the town of Nottingham.

Whilst the focus here is on the local, looking at religious identity and divisions in Nottingham itself, as will be shown, the wider implications of the case cannot be ignored. The debate over Darrell’s exorcism formed part of the anti-Puritan campaign of the 1590s. It exposed the threats felt by ecclesiastical and civil authorities, both local and national, from the godly exercises of collective preaching, prayer and fasting. It was also to have repercussions for Protestant exorcism in England more widely. Following four years of pamphlet war, canon 72 in the ecclesiastical canons

⁶ These publications included on the one side G.Co’s *A briefe narration of the possession, dispossession and repossession of William Somers* (Amsterdam: 1598); the anonymous *Triall of Mait. Dorrell, or a collection of defences against allegations not yet suffered to receiue convenient answere* (Middelburg: 1599); John Darrell’s *An apologie, or defence of the possession of William Sommers, a yong man of the towne of Nottingham* (Amsterdam: 1599), his *A briefe apologie proving the possession of William Somers* (Middelburg: 1599) which was written by Darrell but published without his knowledge, his *A detection of that sinful shameful lying and ridiculous discourse of Samuel Harshnet* (1600), his *A true narration of the strange and greivous vexation by the Devil* (1600), his *A Svrvey of certaine dialogical discovrses* (1602) and his *The replie of Iohn Darrell, to the answer of Iohn Deacon, and Iohn Walker, concerning the doctrine of the possession and dispossession of demoniakes* (1602); many of Darrell’s works were published by the English secret press; and on the other side Samuel Harsnett’s *A discovery of the fraudulent practises of John Darrel* (London: 1599) and his *A declaration of egregious popish impostures, to with-draw the harts of her Maiesties subiects from their allegiance, and from the truth of Christian religion professed in England, under the pretence of casting out deuils* (London: 1603); John Deacon and John Walker’s, *Dialogicall discourses of spirits and diuels* (London: 1601) and their *A Svmmarie answere to al the material points in any of Master Darel his bookes* (London: 1601)

⁷ Freeman, ‘Demons, Deviance and Defiance’ pp.51-2 explains that this is likely to be the John Deacon who had been curate of Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, in the 1590s, and possibly also curate of Bawtry. John Walker, was possibly born in Staffordshire, and may have been the John Walker who was curate of Brampton in Derbyshire in c.1602-3.

of 1604 ruled that no dispossession could take place without the authority of the bishop.⁸

In November 1597 the inhabitants of Nottingham faced the question of how to react to the perceived demonic possession of a musician's apprentice named William Sommers. John Darrell, known for his successful dispossessions of Katherine Wright, Thomas Darling and seven individuals in the house of Nicholas Starkie, was requested to come to Nottingham to examine Sommers. Darrell received three letters requesting his presence. The first came from various Nottingham inhabitants, including Mistress Wallis, Darrell's sister-in-law, Lady Zouch and a Mrs Gray. The second came from the minister of St Mary's, Robert Aldridge. A third was written by the mayor, Peter Clarke.⁹ Darrell arrived in Nottingham on 5 November 1597. Once Darrell had examined Sommers, he confirmed that he was indeed possessed and organised for a prayer meeting and fast to be held on 7 November.¹⁰ There were discussions as to where this meeting should take place. Darrell did not want it to be held in a sacred space, like Saint Mary's church, which for others was the obvious choice, for fear 'there would be much attributed to the holinesse of the place.' In the end the decision was made for a room in one George Small's house to be used.¹¹

On the eve of the exorcism Darrell reported that the night was spent 'by some well-disposed people in reading & praying.'¹² On 7 November Darrell was accompanied by three ministers, Robert Aldridge, William Aldred, minister of Colwick, and Nicholas Hallam, minister of Trowell, and 'diuers neighbours

⁸ Gerald Bray ed. *The Anglican Canons, 1529-1947, Church of England Record Society, 6* (Suffolk: Boydell, 1998) pp.363-5; Greenblatt, 'Shakespeare and the Exorcists' p.99; Freeman, 'Demons, Deviance and Defiance' p.60; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.5, 71; D.P. Walker, *Unclean Spirits* p. 62

⁹ Darrell, *Apologie* Br; Harsnett, *Discovery* p.23; Darrell, *Detection* p.27

¹⁰ Darrell, *Apologie* Bv

¹¹ Harsnett, *Discovery* pp.47-8, 128; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.91

¹² Darrell, *True narration* pp.18-9

Christianes to the number of 150 or thereabouts,' 'assembled in prayer and fastinge.'¹³ Over the course of the day Aldridge, Darrell and Aldred preached to their audience. Aldridge gave a sermon on Hosea 4, verses 1 and 2, explaining the Lord's accusation against the sins of the people of Israel, showing how Sommer's possession was a punishment for the town's sins. Darrell preached on Mark 9 verses 14 to 30, detailing Christ's dispossession of a boy by prayer and fasting, showing that he was justified in his method of exorcism, following Christ's example.¹⁴ Witnesses reported that Sommers was laid on a couch in the centre of the room and when the onlookers saw the signs of his possession they cried out 'most vehemently' 'as it were with one voice' 'Lord have mercy upon us: lord have mercy upon us.'¹⁵

'So did M. Darrell with his hands lift up as high as he could. The feare & astonishment then was exceedingly great, there being none present... but that they quaked & trembled and wept bitterly.'¹⁶

At Sommer's bedside, Darrell interpreted the signs of his possession, using them to draw attention to the sins that reigned in Nottingham. Sommers, for example, was said by witnesses to have

'acted many sins by signs and gestures, most liuely representing & shadowing, them out unto us: as namely brawling, quarrelling, fighting, swearing, robbing by the high waies, picking and cutting of purses, burglary, whore dome, pride in men and women, sluggishness in hearing of the word, drunkenness, gluttony, also dancing with the toyes thereunto belonging, the manner of Anticke dancers,

¹³ G. Co. *Briefe narration* Ciiir and Er; Darrell, *Apologie* Bv; Darrell, *True narration* p.10; Harsnett, *Discovery* p.126; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.95; Nicholas Hallam was presented for not wearing the surplice in 1587, when curate of West Bridgford. He was then presented for the same offence when at Trowell in 1591. William Alred or Aldred was curate of St Mary's Nottingham in 1569, then rector of Collwick 1569-1627. He admitted not wearing the surplice in 1591 and was excommunicated. See R.A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (London: Longmans, 1960) pp.294, 304; Aldred evidently retained connections in Nottingham after his departure, since he was witness or overseer to the wills of three Nottingham inhabitants, Laurence Worthe (proved 20 January 1594) George Roose (proved 15 May 1595) and William Longford (proved 13 October 1614.)

¹⁴ Darrell, *Detection* p.166; Darrell, *True narration* p.19; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.91-2

¹⁵ Darrell, *True narration* pp.19, 20; Harsnett, *Discovery* p.126

¹⁶ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.126

the games of dycing, and carding, the abuse of the viol with other instruments.’¹⁷

Although used here without any sense of dishonesty, the fact that these sins were ‘acted’ by Sommers, as we will see, was later used by Darrell’s enemies to mock the dispossession. According to Samuel Harsnett, a ballad was produced discussing the sins demonstrated by Sommers, widening the audience of Darrell’s activities.¹⁸ Two individuals present at the exorcism, Robert Cowper, Sommers’ step-father, one of the clerks of St Mary’s, and William Aldred, confessed their sins with tears ‘publickely’ before the crowd.¹⁹ This emotional display before an audience is reminiscent of godly performance at the deathbed and in church, discussed in chapters four and five.

Following the successful dispossession of William Sommers, Darrell was chosen by the people of Nottingham to be a preacher in the town.²⁰ There were accusations from some inhabitants after Darrell’s fall from grace that he had organised the possession to procure a lectureship in the town.²¹ For a time, however, the pulpit of St Mary’s became the centre of a mission against the town’s sin. Robert Aldridge made interpretations of the signs of sin portrayed by Sommers in his own sermons before his congregation. He argued that despite the admonitions of ‘many godly preachers’ they still continued to sin.²² Following his appointment, Darrell argued that people ‘flocked to the house of God, made hast, and were swift to heare

¹⁷ Ibid. pp.114, 118-9; Darrell, *True narration* p.18; a report found in the papers of the Willoughby family of Wollaton Hall contains similar descriptions of the sins acted out by Sommers in the published tracts. *HMC Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Notts* (1931) pp.165-7; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.88

¹⁸ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.120; the ballad included the lines ‘And after that he did bewray,/ how men at Dyce and cards do play./ He shewed the manner of our fardingales,/ our buskes, and periwigges, masks and vales,/ and by clapping of his handes,/ hee shewed the starching of our bandes;’ Greenblatt, ‘Shakespeare and the Exorcists’ p.102

¹⁹ Darrell, *Detection* p.166; Darrell, *True narration* pp.14, 18, 19, 20; Harsnett, *Discovery* p.126; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.84; Greenblatt, ‘Shakespeare and the Exorcists’ p.103

²⁰ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.14

²¹ Darrell, *Apologie IIII*r. Darrell claimed that these accusations came from ‘some adversaries to the cause and my selfe at Nottingham.’

²² Harsnett, *Discovery* p.119

the word. And so the worde of God grew mightily in Nottingham, and prevailed.'²³

The anonymous author of the *Triall of Mait. Dorrell* commented that 'Nottingham (heretofore not so forward) became (for a time) very zealous (as I heare) in hearing the word.'²⁴

Darrell's influence and support in Nottingham was soon to change when Sommers was found to be possessed once more. This time he was joined by his sister Mary and both began to accuse witches of causing their possession. There were those in the town who did not believe that Sommers was repossessed and by early December he was accused of counterfeiting.²⁵ Two months after the first dispossession, Darrell held a second fast and took to the pulpit, preaching on Matthew 12, verses 43, 44 and 45 about the return of the evil spirit, to 'greatly reprove those, that would not belieue that Sommers had been possessed.'²⁶ Even some of those who had been Darrell's allies at the start were, however, losing faith. Robert Aldridge, for example, was said to have commented that 'the people were cloyed' with Darrell's 'often repeating of one thing, and much offended, in that as they said, they could heare of nothing in his sermon but of the Devill.'²⁷

Samuel Harsnett in his efforts to stir up trouble between pro and anti-Darrell supporters after Darrell's trial quoted Aldridge asserting his ministerial role against the newcomer. According to Harsnett, Aldridge claimed that he had been preaching in Nottingham for twenty years and had found 'the people there being but as other such congregations are, & as willing to heare the word of God preached, as any other

²³ Ibid. p.127

²⁴ Anon, *Triall of Mait. Dorrell* A3v

²⁵ Harsnett, *Discovery* pp.4-5, 37-8, 101-2, 144-6; Darrell, *Apologie* Bv; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.93-95; Walker, *Unclean Spirits* pp.62-3

²⁶ Harsnett, *Discovery* pp.145-6

²⁷ Ibid; also Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.95

in my opinion.’²⁸ This he was using to rebuke the accusation made by Darrell and his allies that the town had no settled preacher before Darrell’s arrival. Darrell replied that he ‘denyeth not, that they haue had a preacher, but no settled preacher, or standing mynisterie.’ He went onto argue that

‘M. Aldridge hath flocks or congregations besides to attend upon as well as that, whereby it hath come to passe, that his people of Nott haue hearde his voice oft times but once in a month, sometimes sildome.’²⁹

Darrell was correct in his assertions. His appointment was the first of an official town preacher, as opposed to a preaching minister, and Aldridge was a pluralist. He was accused by his parishioners at St Mary’s in 1595 of spending more time at his benefice of Wollaton, under the patronage of the Willoughbys.³⁰

Interest in Darrell’s exorcism of Sommers came from a variety of quarters in the town and outside. Included in the numbers were relatives, friends and neighbours of Sommers, men and women of different social groups, both laity and clergy. Darrell was assisted in the exorcism, as noted above, by local ministers. Other ministers who made appearances included Robert Evington, rector of Normanton-upon-soar, Arthur Hildersham, minister of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and one report mentioned a ‘Mr Dodde’ likely to be Hanwell’s John Dod.³¹ Some were curious to see the spectacle, others were fearful of the message brought by the possession and

²⁸ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.147; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.95

²⁹ Darrell, *Detection* p.112

³⁰ (NRO) M462 Archdeaconry (2) p.175; (NMSS) AN/PB presentment St Mary’s 292/5/3 dated 1596.

³¹ Harsnett, *Detection* p.233. George Richardson in his testimony said that he had been ‘intreated by m.Evington to come to Garlands house... where I found Maister Darrell, M. Dodde, M.Hildersham, M.Aldridge, m. Euington and others;’ Robert Evington was rector of Normanton-on-Soar. He was presented for not wearing the surplice in 1591, 1595 and 1598. In 1605 he refused to subscribe to the articles in the canons, Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* p.302; for more on Hildersham’s relations with John Darrell see Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.33-38, Freeman, ‘Demons, Deviance and Defiance’ pp.34-7 and Bryan D. Spinks’ article on Arthur Hildersham in the DNB. Hildersham was deprived of his living at Ashby in 1605 for non-conformity; John Dod had connections with Arthur Hildersham, as shown earlier in the documentations of Willem Teellinck’s visit to Banbury, chapter one p.41. Dod visited Joan Drake of Esher, Surrey in the 1620s, who was possessed by the devil, see Patrick Collinson, ‘Ben Jonson’s Bartholomew Fair: The Theatre Constructs Puritanism’ in David L. Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington eds. *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p.157

keen to assist in prayer and fasting. There was one group, however, that took little positive interest in the case, the magistrates. Peter Clarke, in his role as mayor, had written to invite Darrell to investigate Sommers' possession. He also visited the apprentice on 6 November. It was not until Sommers and his sister began accusing witches, however, that Nottingham's other magistrates were named in conjunction with the case.³² Sommers made the mistake of accusing Alice Freeman of witchcraft. Alice was a relative of alderman William Freeman.³³ It took little more to turn the magistrates against Darrell.

Nottingham's magistrates did not share the attitudes of the inhabitants who had taken an interest in Darrell from the start. From the publications surrounding the case of William Sommers, as well as some of the town records, it can be shown that many of the men who dominated Nottingham's corporation at the end of the sixteenth century were conservative in religion and some of them were Catholics. For example, in 1588 the Mickeltorn Jury³⁴ noted poor attendance at the town's 'most Godlye exercise of preaching on the Frydaye once a weeke.' They were concerned that the magistrates or 'the chieffest of our towne which ought to be most present' should attend the lecture, 'lest the same should dekey [decay] amongst vs through our negligence in nott cominge as wee ought to dooe.'³⁵

The anonymous defender of Darrell in the *Triall of Mait. Dorrell* commented that Darrell had 'many adversaries in Nottingham (some affecting witchery, some popery.)'³⁶ Darrell himself complained of

³² This is a point made by Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.83

³³ Harsnett, *Discovery* pp.5, 37, 102, 142; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.93-4; Walker, *Unclean Spirits* pp.62-3

³⁴ The Mickeltorn Jury was effectively the jury of the old manorial court which presented issues of public nuisances to the mayor and aldermen, as defined by Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.76

³⁵ (NRO) CA 3017 Records of the Mickeltorn Jury, April 1588; NBR IV pp.Viii, 222

³⁶ Anon, *Triall of Mait. Dorrell* p.44

‘the malice of M.Gregory the town Clarke (a popistmate) against the work of God that is the dispossession of sommers and this because of his religion, being in hart a papist, as it playn, in that for the space of eleven yeares before he had not received the Lordes supper.’³⁷

Both authors commented that ‘M. Morrey of Nottingham is generally reputed to be a Papist and either for his owne or his wyves popery hath ben before the high commission at York.’³⁸ Richard Morey or Morehaghe had been mayor the previous year.³⁹ His wife Margery had been presented to the Archdeaconry court for recusancy in 1587 and was subsequently referred to the Assizes.⁴⁰

Within the evidence presented by Darrell and his supporters there are suggestions that some of the magistrates disliked Darrell’s preaching and his use of prayer and fasting as a means to dispossess the afflicted. Darrell, for instance, claimed that Mr Freeman at ‘length he could not indure to come to the church when I exercised my ministry.’⁴¹ He argued that these magistrates could not tolerate ‘that any such worke should be wrought in our church and by our ministry by fasting and prayer performed by us.’⁴² Here the choice of the words ‘our church,’ ‘our ministry’ and ‘performed by us’ is significant. They show Darrell claiming authority of the church and exorcism for the Protestants, even the godly, against the conservative and/or Catholic magistrates. It is likely that his sermons extolling his successful dispossession and justifying the Protestant way of exorcising contained anti-Catholic polemic, something which had the potential to irritate magistrates who had Catholic associations. At one point Sommers had been presented with a purse containing an *Agnus Dei* and some relics by one ‘Palin of Tamworth, a recusant’ in order to

³⁷ Ibid. pp.65-6; Darrell, *Detection* p.120-1

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ (NRO) File entitled ‘nottm burgesses, mayors etc.’ containing an index of the personnel of the corporation within the borough of Nottingham.

⁴⁰ NBR IV p.218; (NRO) M461 Archdeaconry (1) p.56. She was referred to the Assizes, 16 May 1587.

⁴¹ Anon, *Triall of Mait. Dorrell* pp.65-6; Darrell, *Detection* p.120-1

⁴² Darrell, *Detection* p.120

‘discouer sathan therby.’⁴³ Darrell also wrote that Mr Gregory had attempted to dispossess Sommers with alternative means, having him anointed to remove the Devil.⁴⁴ These two interventions were a direct challenge to Darrell’s methods and provide evidence of competing claims to authority over the style of dispossession in Nottingham.

Following the accusations of counterfeiting which were spreading around the town, three aldermen Richard Hurt, William Freeman and Anker Jackson, and William Gregory, the town clerk, consulted Sommers. They offered him money and help getting established in a trade if he would ‘declare the truth’ and confess to dissembling.⁴⁵ Towards the end of February they had their result. Sommers himself was accused of witchcraft, arrested and imprisoned. He confessed to counterfeiting his possession.⁴⁶ The commission organised by Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, which met to investigate the accusations of fraud and counterfeiting, however, came down on the side of Darrell. They believed what they saw of Sommers’ fits and the testimonies presented before them and declared that Sommers had truly been possessed and then dispossessed by Darrell.⁴⁷

Only briefly were Darrell’s supporters able to rejoice. On 31 March 1598 Sommers once more confessed to counterfeiting.⁴⁸ According to Harsnett, ‘with this alteration’ both sides in the debate ‘beganne to be more violent.’ The town, he argued,

‘became to be extraordinarily deuided, one rayling upon an other, at their meetings in the streets, as they were affected in that cause. The pulpits also rang of nothing but Diuels and witches.... Briefly such were the stirres in

⁴³ Darrell, *True narration* p.23; the Agnus Dei is a cake of wax stamped with a figure of a lamb bearing a cross or flag, blessed by the Pope (OED.)

⁴⁴ Darrell, *Detection* p.129

⁴⁵ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.192; G.Co, *Briefe narration Eiir*; Darrell, *True narration* p.21

⁴⁶ Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.96

⁴⁷ Harsnett, *Discovery* pp.7-9; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.97-8

⁴⁸ Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.98-9

Nottingham about this matter, as it was feared the people would grow (if they were not prevented) to further quarrels and mutinies or to some greater inconuenience.⁴⁹

Here Harsnett was drawing attention to the disorder which the exorcism had provoked for his own purposes, using rhetoric typical of accusations against Puritanism, claiming it as an instrument of division and social disharmony. The text suggests, however, that interest in the case may have been far greater than the 150 people who attended the exorcism. It also suggests that it was not just the magistrates who were working against Darrell but that more inhabitants of Nottingham took sides within the debate.

On 20 April Darrell was deprived of his right to preach. Soon afterwards a second commission met, composed of a mixture of Nottingham's aldermen and gentlemen: Peter Clarke, Richard Morey, William Freeman, Samuel Mason and William Gregory. Darrell referred to the group as 'the maine and open adversaries to the cause and myself.'⁵⁰ He accused them of having

'banished the worde of God out of there towne of Nottingham. I do not meane myselfe onely out of there pulpit... but sundry others also, yea the most learned and worthy preachers in all those quarters.'⁵¹

Darrell still had some supporters in the town. As the commission began, Robert Cowper, clerk of St Mary's, sang Psalm 94 in support of Darrell against the commissioners. Psalm 94 asks God to show himself as 'the aduenger' against 'the wicked.' It hopes God will avenge the good, and punish corruption, so that justice may reign again.⁵² As a result of this second commission Darrell was found guilty

⁴⁹ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.8

⁵⁰ Darrell, *Apologie* KIIv; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.99; these men have been introduced on p.289 above, except Samuel Mason, a gentleman. Samuel Mason and his wife of St Mary's parish were brought before the Archdeaconry court in 1588 for not receiving Communion, (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/2 dated 6 May 1588 p.195. His reason was that he was 'not in charity' with one Edward Cateby. His wife had apparently communicated at St Peter's.

⁵¹ Darrell, *Apologie* KIIIr

⁵² Darrell, *Apologie* KIIIr; G.Co. *Briefe narration, Aiiir*; *The Bible*, Psalm 94 verses 1-3, p.255v

and imprisoned for over a year.⁵³ Meanwhile, the battle between Darrell and his enemies was only just getting started in print.

It is impossible to view the exorcism of William Sommers and the polemic it created outside the context of bigger debates about Puritanism in the 1590s, and the demise of Presbyterianism following the Martin Marprelate scandal of the late 1580s. The harsh treatment of Darrell must be seen as part of Archbishop John Whitgift and Richard Bancroft's anti-Puritan campaign, one object of which was to 'show that the Puritans were as dangerous, seditious and rebellious against authority as the papists.'⁵⁴ Samuel Harsnett was Bancroft's chaplain. He argued in his *A discovery of the fraudulent practices of John Darrell* that

'many, who haue taken M.Darrells cause most to hart, haue bene noted heretofore as fauourers of the ouerworne Consistorian faction... for the setting up of their Presbyteriall conceits, they thought to supply their wants therein, by this descuise of casting out devils.'⁵⁵

He emphasised that Darrell was elected by the people of Nottingham in an almost Presbyterian manner to be a preacher in the town, 'hauing otherwise no lawfull authority in that behalf.'⁵⁶ He also claimed that Darrell thought the names parson and vicar were 'popish names, for preachers' and preferred the name 'Doctor,' a reference to one of the four officers in the Genevan ministry.⁵⁷

To the ecclesiastical authorities exorcisms were threatening since they took place outside the prescribed church hierarchy and order of worship. They were often held in parishioners' houses, involving a combination of ministers and an assortment of laity. In the case of Sommers, Darrell was a minister without a benefice, and other

⁵³ Freeman, 'Demons, Deviance and Defiance' notes p.34 that six months after Darrell's arrival in Nottingham he was stripped of his licence to preach and imprisoned awaiting trial. He was convicted of fraud in May 1599. See also Thomas Freeman's article on John Darrell in the DNB.

⁵⁴ Walker, *Unclean Spirits* pp.61-2, 65; Freeman, 'Demons, Deviance and Defiance' p.44

⁵⁵ Harsnett, *Discovery*, p.14; consistorian means favouring rule by a presbytery or Presbyterian (OED)

⁵⁶ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.14; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.92

⁵⁷ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.147

ministers who assisted him were known non-conformists.⁵⁸ Those who assembled at exorcisms, gathered together in prayer and fasting, but also to hear sermons. To outsiders and those in authority they resembled the recently prohibited prophesyings and clerical exercises, as well conventicles, a point of contention that will reappear in discussion of the libels.⁵⁹ Furthermore, as Tom Freeman argues, exorcism gave godly ministers the opportunity 'to build devoted followings from beyond the ranks of the godly' since possession cases attracted large crowds. Exorcism glorified two of the more disliked 'instruments of puritan evangelism, the fast and the godly preacher.' They were seen as propaganda tools for the godly, drawing otherwise conforming parishioners away from the control of the church.⁶⁰

In his arguments, Harsnett employed classic anti-Puritan stereotypes. He drew attention to Darrell's greed in 'counterfeiting' the possession to gain a lectureship, arguing that he 'cast out Divells for vaine glory sake.' He suggested that as a result of his activities in the town, Nottingham was 'extraordinarily deuided' with one side railing upon another.⁶¹ He also mocked the exorcism as theatrical performance. The exorcism in Nottingham was without doubt dramatic. It involved a public demonstration of the town's sins acted out by Sommers and interpreted by Darrell, in front of an audience, composed of the community of the godly in prayer and fasting. Here the godly were performing their duty to eradicate sin in the community and prevent God's further judgment, but to their enemies exorcism was trickery and false performance.⁶²

⁵⁸ See above in footnotes 13 and 31

⁵⁹ Freeman, 'Demons, Deviance and Defiance' pp.41-42; Greenblatt, 'Shakespeare and the Exorcists' p.97; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.91

⁶⁰ Freeman, 'Demons, Deviance and Defiance' pp.38, 43

⁶¹ Harsnett, *Discovery* pp.8, 14; also anon. *Triall of Maist. Dorrell* p.13

⁶² This is discussed in more detail by Greenblatt, 'Shakespeare and the Exorcists' passim; Gibson in her chapter 'The Madman in the Wilderness' in *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.151-174 discusses the theatrical representations of issues arising from the controversy over John Darrell, for example in *King Lear* and *Twelfth Night*.

Harsnett was keen to denounce Darrell's exorcism as fraudulent. He compared it to Catholic exorcism and condemned it as 'devil theater.'⁶³ It was, he argued, 'a singular foundation to uphold the pope his play-house, and to make religion a pageant of Puppittes.'⁶⁴ Harsnett emphasised that exorcism only took place in front of a large audience or 'great assembly.' He also accused the performance of being scripted, the possessed playing their part which was then commented on by a narrator, the minister:

'The company met, the exorcists do tell them, what a work of God they have in hand, and after a long discourse, how sathan doth afflict the parties, and what strange things they shall see.'⁶⁵

To Harsnett, exorcisms were stage plays and 'counterfeit miracles' that 'cunningly conceal their theatrical in-authenticity.'⁶⁶ He even went so far as to describe the Nottingham case as a 'tragical Comedie acted betweene him [Darrell] and Sommers.'⁶⁷

Darrell in turn replied to Harsnett's comments in the language of theatre, retaliating that the whole of Harsnett's book

'from the first leafe to the last is written in such scoffing and rayling characters, that it might seme rather to haue bene compiled by Nash Pasquil or some Interlude-maker, then any other of sobriety & judgement.'⁶⁸

The theatre may have been used as a metaphor on both sides of the debate but what is significant here is that like all Puritans, Darrell was accused of being a 'counterfeiting hypocrite.'⁶⁹ In performing exorcism, as elsewhere, the godly were denounced as empty performers.

⁶³ Harsnett, *A declaration of egregious popish impostures* p.106 quoted in Greenblatt, 'Shakespeare and the Exorcists' p.112

⁶⁴ Harsnett, *Discovery* A2v

⁶⁵ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.62; Greenblatt, 'Shakespeare and the Exorcists' p.101

⁶⁶ Harsnett, *Discovery* A2r; Greenblatt, 'Shakespeare and the Exorcists' pp.106-7

⁶⁷ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.142

⁶⁸ Darrell, *Detection* p.19

⁶⁹ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.78

To return to Nottingham itself, as Marion Gibson has noted in her recent study, anguish about Darrell appears to have come ‘as much from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities at Nottingham as from Bancroft and his allies.’⁷⁰ To the civil authorities in Nottingham, Darrell’s activities were disliked since they were seen to represent a challenge to religious order in the town, taking attention away from the church and the town hall. It must, however, also have resembled another threat to their authority seen earlier in 1597 in debates over a particular tithe of hay.

The lease of the right to the tithe of hay from the fields surrounding Nottingham had recently expired. It had been part of the estate of Nottingham’s free school, managed by Nottingham’s corporation. The concern amongst the wider burgess population was that the tithe would be leased out as favours by the mayor and aldermen for their own profit, as they felt was the case with other lands from the corporation estates. Their concern also drew upon long-standing issues in the town about the diminished rights of burgesses to contribute to corporate decisions, which were now the prerogative of the council.⁷¹ In Lent 1597, only months before Sommers’ dispossession, the common burgesses organised an unauthorised meeting in the Spice Chambers, beneath the town hall, to discuss the issue of the tithe hay.⁷² Their actions were threatening to the magistrates on several levels. Not only did their meeting take place away from the eyes of authority but the constables were also enlisted to help round the burgesses up to attend the meeting. The two ring leaders,

⁷⁰ Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.71

⁷¹ The incident of the tithe hay revolt is from (NRO) CA 3376 Hall Book 1597-8, microfilm Z232 ff.15-18, partially transcribed in NBR IV pp.245-8; the leases of corporation lands are annually noted in the Hall Books; this is discussed by Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.73-77; Duncan Gray, *Nottingham Through 500 Years: A History of Town Government* (Nottingham: Derry and Sons, Second Edition, 1960) pp.56-7; Peter Clark and Paul Slack have argued that ‘conflicts between oligarchies and ordinary citizens dominated the political life of towns for much of the period’ and ‘oligarchic management of town land was usually the most inflammatory issue’ in their *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) pp.132-3

⁷² (NRO) CA 3376 Hall Book 1597-8; NBR IV pp.245-8; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.77

Percival Millington and William Cooke, were questioned and imprisoned following the meeting but the corporation eventually heeded to their demands and gave the burgesses a share in the tithe of hay.⁷³ In discussing this case Gibson perhaps makes too much of connections between godliness and social rebellion as expressed both in the tithe hay dispute and William Sommers' exorcism. She is correct, however, to assert that to the magistrates in 1597 the activities of Darrell and his supporters must have added to the apparent threat to their authority experienced by the assembly of the burgesses at the Spice Chambers.⁷⁴

The possession of William Sommers demanded attention and the magistrates in Nottingham were in a difficult position. They had already suffered a threat to their authority earlier in the year and did not want to lose control against Darrell and his allies. For them the exorcism provided additional stress on the limited resources for keeping order in the town, something made worse when Sommers began to accuse other inhabitants of being witches and when Darrell was seen to be criticising the practices of a well-established minister in the corporation church. There were thus a wide range of political and practical issues which structured their involvement in the case. The magistrates who fought against Darrell were not necessarily motivated by general anti-Puritanism in the same way as Harsnett and Bancroft were.⁷⁵ That being so, the evidence points to a difference in religious attitudes between Darrell's allies and the town magistrates and conflicting attempts to control the style of exorcism performed.

⁷³ (NRO) CA 2758a Free School Accounts ff. 2r-3r, dated 25 February 1598; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.79

⁷⁴ Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.80-2, 91; Gibson herself is cautious about over-analysing the material in these cases. However, it is important to note that the motives of many of those who found their way to Sommer's bedside and gave witness statements in the case are unknown. They may have included interest or concern, rather than godliness. Similarly, the names of individuals partaking in the two events are mostly different.

⁷⁵ Marchant, 'John Darrell - Exorcist' p.55

The image of Nottingham presented by the Darrell case is of a relatively conservative town at the turn of the century, run by a small clique of magistrates, some of which had Catholic associations. If Darrell's evidence is to be believed then the town's inhabitants were relatively unused to preaching. The Mickeltorn Jury certainly suggested that although they had weekly preaching it was not being properly attended, particularly by the magistrates. As one defender, 'G.Co.' exclaimed following Darrell's defeat,

'now the powerfull preaching of the Gospell is hindred in Nottingham, where it hath bene a stranger for manie yeares: a number of people in that towne whose hearts were opened hereby to receive the Gospell are left to the wolfe: the holie exercise of prayer, and fasting are shamefullie shorned: wicked and popish persons are kindelie intertained: and highlie commended.'⁷⁶

Darrell was unfortunate in the timing of his exorcism, which coincided with the tithe hay revolt, but he perhaps also underestimated the resentment he could provoke amongst other ministers in the town through his over-zealous preaching. Darrell had found supporters but the godly presence in the town, particularly in positions of power, was small. Divisions between the 'papists' and the 'Puritans' over new preachers and the style of religion practised in Nottingham continued well into the seventeenth century, as we shall now see in the second part of this chapter.

Fifteen years after Darrell's dispossession of William Sommers, the performance of godly religion in Nottingham once more provoked tension. This began in the summer of 1614 with the publication of a libel against a gentleman named Michael Purefey.⁷⁷ This sparked three years of libelling and counter-libelling in the form of songs produced by two rival factions, which were sung and distributed

⁷⁶ G.Co. *Briefe narration* Ciir

⁷⁷ The primary data for these libels comes from (NA) Records of the Court of Star Chamber STAC 8/303/8, Withington versus Jackson, Hopkins, Frost, Woode, Gregorie and others, and STAC 8/27/7, Attorney-general Yelverton vs. Withington, Hansbye, Withington, Allen, Mason, Sacheverel and others; note that Purefey is spelt variously, Perfrey and Purefoy.

throughout the streets of the town. On one side were the godly group centred around Anker Jackson and his family. Jackson was an alderman and ex-mayor. On the other side were the anti-Puritans, associates of a gentleman named William Withington, some of whom were recusant Catholics. Both sides comprised men and women of a similar social status. They also incorporated both ministers and magistrates. Nottingham was not the only town in this period to experience such slanderous libelling. The godly of Dorchester in 1606 and Stratford in 1619, for example, received similar treatment, and the performance of libellous songs was also a familiar part of charivari and other shaming rituals.⁷⁸

Two cases regarding the libels were brought before the Court of Star Chamber. One was presented by Sir Henry Yelverton against the authors of the anti-Puritan libels, the other by William Withington against the godly group who slandered himself and Michael Purefey.⁷⁹ The depositions and interrogatories from the two cases expose aspects of the performance of godly religion in Nottingham. The libels have been discussed by other historians in the context of religious satire.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ For more information refer to C.J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) pp.163-185, 188-196; Ann Hughes, 'Religion and Society in Stratford-upon-Avon, 1619-1638' in *Midland History*, Volume XIX (1994) pp.58-64; David Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: The Life of an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1992) pp.27-32; the documents relating to the Dorchester libel are transcribed in Sally L. Joyce and Evelyn S. Newlyn, *Records of Early English Drama: Dorset and Cornwall* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) pp.173-198; David Underdown's chapter 'Cultural Conflict' in his *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) pp.44-72; Patrick Collinson, 'The Shearmen's Tree and the Preacher: The Strange Death of Merry England in Shrewsbury and Beyond' pp.205-220 and Adam Fox 'Religious Satire in English Towns' pp.221-240 in Patrick Collinson and John Craig eds. *The Reformation in English Towns* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); Andrew Cambers' chapter on 'Performance, Providence and Urban Conflict: Minister, Books and Religious Politics in the North of England' in *Print, Manuscript and Godly Cultures in the North of England, c.1600-1650* (D.Phil, University of York, May 2003) pp.122-176; David Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England' in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson eds. *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp.121, 127, 130, 132

⁷⁹ STAC 8/27/7 the case of Attorney-general Yelverton vs. Withington etc. dates from 25 November 1617; STAC 8/303/8 the case of Withington versus Jackson etc. dates from April 1618

⁸⁰ The anti-Puritan libels detailed in STAC 8/303/8 are discussed in Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* pp.196-203; both cases and sets of libels are also discussed in Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) pp.318-9 and Fox 'Religious Satire in English Towns' pp. 233-4

Here they will be placed within the context of Nottingham's religious communities. They will be used to expose different, competing religious identities in the town, and the relationship between them. Firstly the libels themselves will be discussed in turn, presenting the two sides in the debate. It will then be questioned why tension between the rival factions emerged at this time, and what the libels show about the growth of godly culture in the town.

It was a group of godly inhabitants in Nottingham who were accused of beginning the battle of wits in August and September 1614 with the mocking of Michael Purefey. Purefey was responsible for the administration of the Archdeacon's court, acting as deputy to the absentee Official.⁸¹ The anti-Purefey libel was said to have been 'published, sunge, spreade abroade & divulged' in 'divers places within ye said towne of nottingham & else where in the country thereabout.'⁸² It began,

'Who soe is ever desirous the life of Michaell Purfrey to knowe
A licentious slaue he is counted, and of all men generally hold soe,
And yf you desire of his life then further enquire,
of St James Lane he doth smell though he be not there.'⁸³

It went on to complain of his dishonesty, and pleaded for his replacement, requesting 'an honeste in his roome good Lord we beseech thee us send.' Once he had gone, the libellers argued, 'then shall this Towne be att peaceable rest.'⁸⁴ (See appendix seven for the full texts of all four libels.)

The libel explicitly accused Purefey of immorality and licentiousness. Implicit in the line 'of St James Lane he doth smell' are accusations of Catholicism.

⁸¹ Libel dated August and September in the 12th year of James (1614) STAC 8/303/8 f.2; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* p.167 calls Purefey a member of the country gentry and a Puritan of orthodox type. One member of the Purefey family, William, was a leader of the Puritan party in Leicestershire, others were pensioners at Emmanuel College in its early Puritan days. His uncle Humphrey was a friend of the Puritan Lord President, the Earl of Huntingdon. Marchant does not however discuss the libel.

⁸² STAC 8/303/8 f.2

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

There are suggestions in other sources that the word ‘smell’ may have been commonly used in conjunction with Catholics, possibly referring to their use of incense. For example, Job Throckmorton’s 1589 printed dialogue contains the line ‘I smell you already, I perceive you are a papist.’⁸⁵ In 1624 St James’ Lane was mentioned again in the town’s records, this time directly connected to Catholicism. One Mr Foxe and his wife ‘of St James’ Lane’ reported to the Quarter Sessions that ‘thear is a alter made wythe divers idollatrosse picketures vpon it.’ They explained that the picture was ‘of a profane treator that was in the Gonpowder Treasonne and, as they sayd, was canonised for a sainte.’⁸⁶ Father Henry Garnet, provincial of the Society of Jesus, was executed in conjunction with the gunpowder plot and was said to have been a Nottinghamshire man. It was perhaps his picture that was on the altar.⁸⁷ In *Iter boreale* Richard Corbett referred to rumours that the gunpowder plotters had practised their explosions in the caves next to Nottingham castle, not far from St James’ Lane, in the line ‘Tis thought the Powder-traitors practis’d there.’⁸⁸ Furthermore, as the map in **figure twenty-four** shows, St James’ Lane ran parallel with ‘Friar’s Lane’ and between the two lanes lay the site of the former Carmelite or ‘white friars’ religious house, suggesting that St James’ Lane was a site which before the dissolution had clear Catholic associations.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ From Job Throckmorton, *A dialogue. Wherein is plainely laide open, the tyrannicall dealing of L. bishoppes against Gods children* (La Rochelle: Robert Waldegrave, 1589) an extract in Laurence A. Sasek ed. *Images of English Puritanism: A Collection of Contemporary Sources, 1589-1646* (USA: Louisiana State University Press, 1989) p.60

⁸⁶ (NRO) z254 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls 1620-41. The sessions’ papers where this report is located are dated 1623-5. This report was possibly dated 19 July 1624.

⁸⁷ NBR IV p.389

⁸⁸ Richard Corbett, *Iter boreale* in J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper eds. *The Poems of Richard Corbett* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955) p.36; *Iter boreale* is undated but it is noted in this edition that it was written sometime before Corbett’s promotion to Dean of Christ Church in 1620 p.xxi; Adrian Henstock, ‘The Changing Fabric of the Town, 1550-1750’ in John Beckett ed. *A Centenary History of Nottingham* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) p.108

⁸⁹ Charles Deering, *Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova or an Historical Account of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Nottingham Gather’d from the Remains of Antiquity and Collected from Authentic Manuscripts and Ancient as well as Modern Histories* (Nottingham: George Ayscough & Thomas Willington, 1751) pp.53, 127. St James’ Lane was in the parish of St Nicholas.

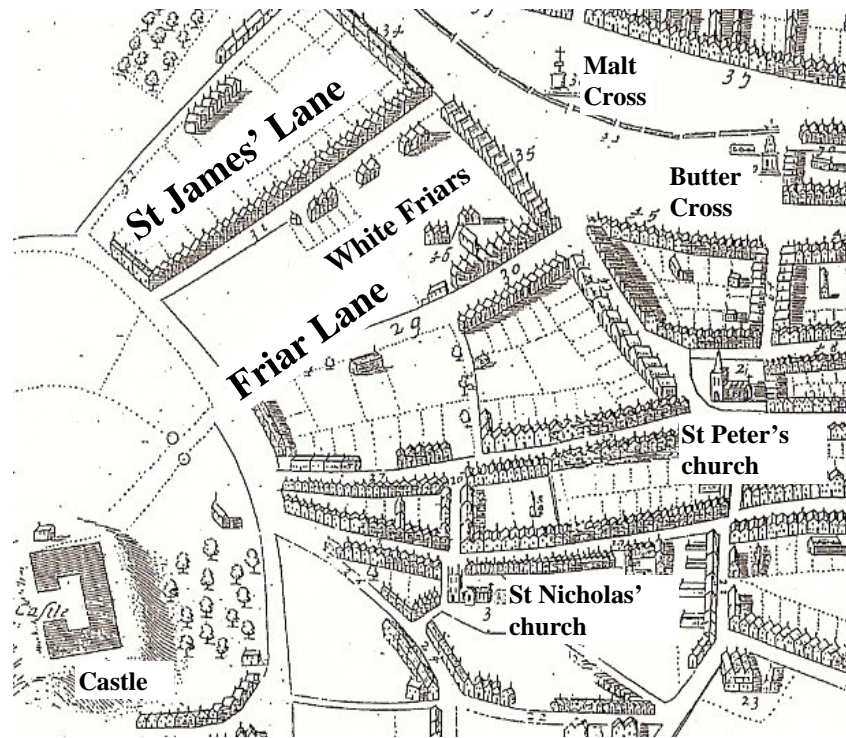


Figure twenty-four – extract taken from Robert Thoroton's map of Nottingham (1677) showing the location of St James' Lane.

The godly were accused of writing a second libel in the autumn of 1615. This time the victim was William Withington, a gentleman of Nottingham.⁹⁰ As with the first, written copies of this libel were distributed around the town of Nottingham and elsewhere.⁹¹ The libel referred at the start to

'A lyinge Bill that was made by pursinge will
that is his trade wherin he sheweth his witt & skill
in framinge of an Idoll Bill.'

It continued,

alas his case I doe lament⁹²
In his time so ill hath spent,
Oh then leaue off the theeuing trade
& spurr att home thy popishe Jade⁹³

⁹⁰ Libel dated October and November in the 13th year of James (1615), STAC 8/303/8 f.2. This accusation was made by William Withington.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² The document has a tear between 'doe lam' and 'in his time' so it is impossible to know what the full word beginning with 'lam' should read. 'Lament' fits with the rhyme.

⁹³ STAC 8/303/8 f.2

The libel alluded to Withington's Catholicism with the lines 'Idoll Bill' and 'popishe Jade.' To call someone a 'Jade' was an insult, possibly inferring sexual immorality or effeminacy.⁹⁴

William Withington brought forward this libel case to the Court of Star Chamber in 1618.⁹⁵ In his testimony he named a group of Nottingham inhabitants who he accused not only of writing and publishing the libels, but also of maintaining and publishing strange opinions concerning matters of religion against the canons of the church and the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁹⁶ Within this group, or 'sect' as he termed them, he listed thirteen individuals. They included Anker Jackson, who had been mayor three times, and was to be again in 1619-20; his son George, a gentleman; two of his married daughters, Christian Hall and Cicelie Gregory, and Christian's husband Francis; William Hopkins, a draper, and his wife; another gentleman, Robert Wood; Thomas and Margaret Wilson; Dorothy Wood, wife of Henry Wood; William Froste and William Ellison alias Lendall.⁹⁷ Withington accused them of holding clandestine meetings or exercises in Nottingham and within seven miles of the town. According to Withington they had spoken evil of those in authority and thought 'all others to be prophane & none to be holy but themselves.' They were cited as thinking the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the cap and the surplice for ministers and 'other decent rites & ceremonies of the church' were 'superstitious and unlawfull.' Furthermore, that 'the lords supper must be taken by persons standing or sitting & not kneeling,' that the churching of women was a 'kind of witchcraft' and

⁹⁴ In the OED 'jade' has two possible meanings, which could relate to the context of its use in the libel. 1) A contemptuous name for a horse, for a horse of inferior breed, or an ill conditioned or worn out horse; 2) A term of reprobation applied to a woman used playfully, as in hussy; it was rarely used for a man, usually in some form of the first definition.

⁹⁵ STAC 8/303/8; Withington's testimony dates from 28 April 1618.

⁹⁶ STAC 8/303/8 ff.1, 2

⁹⁷ STAC 8/303/8 f.2; STAC 8/27/7 ff.2, 7, 11; Dorothy Wood is not stated as being the wife of Henry Wood in this case, but a Dorothy Wood wife of Henry Wood was presented with others who were libelled in 1619 for sermon-gadding, see (BI) Visitation Court Book 1619 Part Two (V.1619 CB) f.358r and chapter five pp.199-200

that the *Book of Common Prayer* was for the most part ‘taken out of the masse booke, & therefore unlawfull.’⁹⁸

Withington and his faction retaliated with two libels of their own. The first of these was circulated in the months of June, July and August 1615, the second in August and September 1617.⁹⁹ The first anti-Puritan libel began

‘My muse arise and truth then tell
of a Pure secte that sprang from hell
who are so vaine soe false and fickle
they leave the Church to Conventicle.’¹⁰⁰

The godly were mocked in rhyming lyrics as aspiring ‘saints’ and as hypocrites, for their sexual immorality and drunkenness.¹⁰¹ The libel drew attention to their dislike of confession and Catholicism or ‘the ould profession.’ It also mocked their fondness of Psalms, their exclusive language of ‘brotherhood’ and their nocturnal meetings, away from the eyes of the authorities: ‘by night they Catichise each other/ the holy sister with the brother.’¹⁰²

In the second libel, entitled ‘Maries church,’ the godly were again mocked in sexual language and for similar activities, such as attending conventicles and catechising each other.¹⁰³ The libels mocked the show the godly made of their religion and their friendship with the ministers and new lecturer. They were seen as vain and proud, wanting to be perceived as more religious than other people. Ultimately, however, they were also hypocrites, their religious displays putting forward an empty performance, actions that were all for show.

⁹⁸ STAC 8/303/8 f.2; STAC 8/27/7 ff.11-12

⁹⁹ In the records in STAC 8/27/7 f.29 these libels are dated June, July, August in the 13th year of James (1615) and August and September in the 15th year of James (1617)

¹⁰⁰ STAC 8/27/7 f.29

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

As with the libels mocking Purefey and Withington, these songs were circulated to be both read and sung. Instructions for the first, ‘my muse arise,’ specified that it was ‘better to be song, then to be redd to the tune of Bonny Nell,’ a popular tune attached to ballads in this period.¹⁰⁴ Witnesses reported that the libels were performed during the day and by night, in the streets and market place, in houses and taverns, by local inhabitants and on occasion by minstrels. The singing was variably accompanied by someone playing the viols or a string of household utensils, including candlesticks, pewter jugs, tongs and basins.¹⁰⁵ The image their description evokes is that of a charivari, where the libellers were accused of whistling the tunes of the libels when passing by the doors of those intended by the lyrics, and pointing and jesting at them in public places. A few had apparently also drawn mocking pictures of two of the victims, Anker and George Jackson, with sticks in the ashes of a fireplace in a local alehouse. Some had considered turning the libels into a play, using local actors, to be performed in Nottingham and London, ‘before the best in the land.’¹⁰⁶ The libels were met with appreciative audiences both within and outside the town. There was even a request by the mayor of Nottingham, Thomas Nix, when at a fair at near-by Lenton, for ‘the songe of the Puritanes of Nottingham’ to be sung. One witness, William Clarke, said that Nix ‘would much reioyce and laugh at the singing

¹⁰⁴ Ibid; unfortunately the original tune of ‘Bonny Nell’ has not survived. For more detail refer to Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside & Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966) pp.57-9; for a discussion of ballads and the significance of particular tunes see Christopher Marsh, ‘The Sound of Print in Early Modern England: The Broadside Ballad as Song’ in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham eds. *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) pp.170, 179-80

¹⁰⁵ STAC 8/27/7 interrogatory for Withington (f.2) and interrogatory for other defendants (f.25); testimonies of Elizabeth Parkins (f.3), William Hansby (f.7), William Martindale (f.11), George Milner and Robert Hollyman (f.26), Jonathan Sacheverell (f.27) and accusation of Sir Henry Yelverton (f.29)

¹⁰⁶ STAC 8/27/7 interrogatory for Withington (f.2), interrogatory for other defendants (f.25), interrogatory for witnesses (f.17); testimonies of Gervase Eyre (f.7), William Hansby and Robert Leake (f.8) and Thomas Aldred. (f.9)

of the said libel' and seemed to countenance it despite it being 'in disgrace of the rest of his brethren.' His brethren in this instance meant other magistrates.¹⁰⁷

In both these anti-Puritan libels particular inhabitants of Nottingham were mocked directly. Alderman Anker Jackson was thinly disguised as St Anker, in the first libel and Caiphas in the second. In the first, the lyrics 'on huge Sct Anker they lay hould/ who is an hypocrite most bould' suggested that he was at the centre of the godly network.¹⁰⁸ In one of his testimonies William Withington alleged that the godly group met for religious exercises at Anker Jackson's house, where they used their own form of common prayer.¹⁰⁹ Anker's son George was mocked as St George or St Gorge and Margaret Wilson, the wife of Thomas Wilson, was referred to as St Margaret or St Megg. In the first libel Margaret's sexual immorality was mocked, where she was said to have been 'the sacredst person in this stew,' 'stew' meaning brothel. It continued,

'for be she baude or be she hore,
she takes vpp all vppon the score;
if she be faire and pure in speech,
she paies her brother on her breech.'¹¹⁰

In her sexual activities, she was directly linked to George Jackson: 'She hath a founte where manie thinke;/ the great Sct Gorge his fill doth drinke.' This linking between George and Margaret continued in the second of the libels with the lyrics,

'Sct George hath broke his lavnce
his Cutt doth leape and prounce
Sct Megg lies in a trance.'¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ STAC 8/27/7 f.15

¹⁰⁸ STAC 8/27/7 ff.2, 21, 25, 29

¹⁰⁹ STAC 8/27/7 ff.11, 21

¹¹⁰ STAC 8/27/7 ff.2, 21, 25, 29

¹¹¹ STAC 8/27/7 f.29

Accusations of sexual licentiousness was a common way in which heretics and sectaries were mocked in this period, particularly women, both directly, and through assertions that religious meetings took place at night, in private houses.¹¹²

The victims of these anti-Puritan libels also stretched to the ministry. Richard Caldwell, the new town lecturer, was mocked in both libels as Jonas. The lyrics in the first libel explained that he was like a puppet to the godly. He was

‘so ledd as never non was
by hipocrites and bawdy Queanes,
who would be sainted by his meanes.’¹¹³

He was said, however, to be ‘to honest for their crew.’ In the second libel, the character ‘Dildo’ either referred to George Coates, minister of St Peter’s church, or William Hopkins, a draper, depending whose testimony is to be believed.¹¹⁴

These four libels were the product of two rival factions in the town, one accusing the other of popery, the other retaliating with accusations of Puritanism. As we have seen, William Withington was mocked in the first libel as a ‘popish jade’ and Michael Purefey was said to ‘smell’ of St James’ Lane. Sir Henry Yelverton, the King’s Attorney General, who petitioned on behalf of the godly group, also commented that the anti-Puritan libellers ‘or most of them are much affected’ by the ‘superstitions of Rome.’¹¹⁵ On the other side, Withington referred to the godly as going by the name of ‘Proecisians’ in the town and one of the libels was referred to by Thomas Nix as the ‘songe of the Puritanes of Nottingham.’¹¹⁶ Before discussing why these libels were produced at this time and what they can tell us about the

¹¹² Katie Wright, *A Looking-glass for Christian Morality? Three Perspectives on Puritan Clothing Culture and Identity in England c.1560-1620* (MPhil(B) thesis, University of Birmingham, 2004) pp.50-1

¹¹³ STAC 8/27/7 ff.2, 7, 12, 21, 25, 26, 29

¹¹⁴ STAC 8/27/7 ff 2, 3, 7, 12, 21, 25, 26, 29

¹¹⁵ STAC 8/27/7 f.29; S.R Gardiner in his article on Sir Henry Yelverton in the DNB mentions that he had Puritan inclinations and was a keen patron of preachers.

¹¹⁶ STAC 8/27/7 ff.15, 21, testimonies of William Clarke and William Withington respectively.

development of godly culture in Nottingham, other sources will be used to show to what extent the identities portrayed within the libels were merely polemical weapons and to what extent the accusations of each side held some truth.

Of the ‘popish’ colleagues of William Withington questioned in the case, it appears that there were several who had been, or were to be, presented for recusancy. There is also some evidence of connections between them. Withington himself was asked during the interrogation whether he had received Communion in his parish church within the past seven years. Although his name is not recorded in the surviving records for non-attendance, his wife Frances had been presented to Nottingham’s Quarter Sessions in 1613 as a recusant.¹¹⁷ In 1620 Christopher Strelley, who admitted singing the libel ‘Maries Church,’ acted as godfather to the child of Richard Lea, another of the town’s recusants, who was baptised at home instead of in the church. Strelley’s widow and children were also repeatedly presented for recusancy after his death.¹¹⁸ William Allen, named by Sir Henry Yelverton in the libel case as a ‘popish recusant,’ was presented to the Archdeaconry court and the court of Quarter Sessions many times between 1623 and 1641 for recusancy and for teaching an unlicensed school in the town.¹¹⁹ Fabian Drewry, the owner of one of the houses in which the libels had been sung, was presented to the Quarter Sessions in 1619 for housing a recusant. Drewry was married to Dorothy Reason, the widow of William Reason. In his will of October 1612, William Reason’s overseers and ‘well

¹¹⁷ STAC 8/27/7 f.2; (NRO) z253, microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls 1605-1620. This record is undated but is in a section dated 1613-1620. It was possibly around 14 April 1613

¹¹⁸ STAC 8/27/8 deposition of Christopher Strelley, f.19; the recusancy records for the Strelley family are found in (NRO) z254 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls for 1620-1641, entries dated 1622, 1623, 1624, 1626; (NMSS) Presentment for St Nicholas’ parish AN/PB 302/76 (1620); (NMSS) Presentments for St Peter’s Parish AN/PB 302/374 (1622), 297/6 (1623), 302/306 (1626); (NRO) Hodgkinson *Registers* DDTS 14/26/17 dated 2 December 1620, p.230; NBR IV p.378

¹¹⁹ Deposition of Sir Henry Yelverton, STAC 8/27/7 f.29; the recusancy records for William Allen are found in (NMSS) Presentments for St Mary’s parish AN/PB 295/5 (1624), 303/550 (1638), 303/614 (1639); (NRO) z254 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls 1620-1641, dated 1623, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1641; NBR V p.190

beloved friends' were Robert Holliman and Robert Holland, and one of his witnesses was William Allen. Robert Holliman or Hollyman had heard the libel sung, and one of the places where the libel had been sung was the house of Mr Holland, a vintner.¹²⁰

Another defendant was Francis Withington. He was possibly related to William Withington.¹²¹ He was appointed minister of West Bridgford 20 September 1614, and acted as Purefey's deputy at the Archdeaconry court.¹²² In 1630 he presented eight of his parishioners for sermon-gadding, showing himself an enemy to the godly.¹²³ Thomas Nix had requested a performance of one of the anti-Puritan libels in a tavern in nearby Lenton, and had been mayor at the time of its first appearance. In 1626 he was brought before the Archdeaconry court for keeping his daughter Anne at home during divine service. His wife Mary, his daughters Anne and Mary, and his son Leonard's family, were all presented to the town's courts at various times for not coming to church and not receiving, as well as for housing 'papists' and keeping their servants away from church. Mary Nix, his wife, was also the daughter of Margery and Richard Morey (or Morehaghe) who had both been accused of popish superstition and not attending church in the late sixteenth century.¹²⁴ In 1599 it was

¹²⁰ STAC 8/27/7 f.11; NBR IV p.361; (NRO) z.252 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls for 1587-1605, entry dated between 1602-5, Fabian Drewry was accused of being a 'night walker.' In NBR IV he is reported as the owner of an unlicensed alehouse, pp.336-7. In (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers DDTS 14/26/17* there is a record dated 14 December 1620 relating to a case at the Archdeaconry court between Fabian Drurie and William Froste for defamation, p.233. William Froste was one of the godly inhabitants accused by William Withington; Fabian Drewry married Dorothy Reason 6 November 1613 at St Mary's, NMR; will of William Reason proved 22 January 1613; STAC 8/27/8 testimonies of George Milner and Robert Hollyman, f.26.

¹²¹ Fox, 'Religious Satire in English Towns' p.233 and Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* p.197 both claim these two were brothers but provide no evidence.

¹²² J.T.Godfrey, *Notes on the Churches of Nottinghamshire: Hundred of Rushcliffe* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1887) p.278. He was instated through the patronage of the assigns of Sir Henry Pierrepont, Knight, Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* pp.184-5.

¹²³ (NMSS) presentments West Bridgford AN/PB 315/1/6 dated 12/04/1630 and 315/1/59 dated 25/09/1630; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* p.185; for the names of these parishioners refer to chapter five, pp.201-2, footnote 62.

¹²⁴ STAC 8/27/7 f.15 testimony of William Clarke; marriage of Mary Morey and Thomas Nix in September 1603 in NMR Mary p.24; the recusancy records for the Nix family are found in NBR V pp. 7, 110, 139; (NRO) z254 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls from 1620-1641, entries dated 1626, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633 and 1637; (NMSS) Presentments for St Mary's Nottingham AN/PB 302/307 (1626), 302/473 and 302/595 (1628), 302/512 (1629), 303/785 (1630), 303/62 (1631), 303/737 (1632),

reported in the pro-Darrell propaganda that Richard Morey 'is generally reputed to be a Papist and either for his owne or his wyves popery hath ben before the high commission at York.'¹²⁵ Thomas and Leonard Nix and their wives were named in the will of Michael Purefey in 1627 as 'friends,' and were left money to buy rings.¹²⁶

A range of sources can also be used to show that there was some truth to the anti-Puritan accusations of William Withington. Some of the accusations made against the godly, such as a dislike of the sign of the cross and the surplice, were stock criticisms of Puritans and therefore could have been invented by Withington in order to provoke the judge of the case. Although other records of the incident do not survive, within the case of the libels against Purefey and Withington, Withington suggested that William Hopkins' wife had refused to be churched after the birth of two of her children. She had apparently said at the time of the first churching that churching 'was a kind of witchcraft' and had travelled to London to avoid the second.¹²⁷ The case of Hopkins' refusal to be churched is not recorded in the Archdeaconry records but the baptism registers of St Peter's parish show a William Hopkins having a daughter called Elizabeth baptised in March 1614, five months before the presentation of the first libel against Purefey.¹²⁸ William Hopkins was presented to the Archdeaconry court in 1618, along with two of the others among the libelled godly group, Thomas and Margaret Wilson, for attending the nearby church of Basford, rather than their own parish church, and receiving Communion there

303/146 (1633), 303/236 (1634), 303/509 (1636), 303/614 (1639); (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.448, dated 14 November 1629; the recusancy records for the Moreys are in NBR IV p.218; (NMSS) AN/PB Presentments for St Mary's Nottingham 292/1/1r/1 (1587); (NRO) z252 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls 1587-1605, entry undated but for period 1587-1593; (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/2 dated 16 May 1587, p.155 and 6 May 1588 p.194; (NRO) M461 Archdeaconry (1) p.56, dated 16 May 1587.

¹²⁵ Anon, *Triall of Mait. Dorrell* pp.65-6; Darrell, *Detection* pp.120-1; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp. 82, 95

¹²⁶ Will of Michael Purefey or Purefoy proved 1 October 1627

¹²⁷ STAC 8/303/8 f.2 testimony of William Withington.

¹²⁸ (NRO) PR 3630 St Peter's parish register for births, marriages and burials.

‘irreverently’ by sitting, rather than kneeling.¹²⁹ Wanting to receive sitting or standing rather than kneeling was another accusation made by Withington against the godly.¹³⁰

Withington also stated that the godly of Nottingham were prone to travel five or six miles to attend parish churches other than their own, ‘to heare the sermons and exercises of other sectaries which were of their humerous faction.’¹³¹ As has been shown in chapter five, two of the men Withington named here, William Froste and William Ellison, were accused on 18 November 1615 of going to St Mary’s Church despite there being a sermon at their own parish church.¹³² Six of the thirteen who were named by Withington, Anker Jackson, George Jackson, Christian Hall, Thomas Wilson, Margaret Wilson and Dorothy Wood were presented to the Archbishop’s visitation in 1619 for leaving their own parish churches to hear George Coates at St Peter’s.¹³³

Other sources provide further evidence of a shared religious culture, and even a close familiar relationship, amongst some of the accused godly group. As already mentioned, Anker and George were father and son, and Christian Hall and Cicely Gregory were Anker’s married daughters. Christian and her husband Francis baptised all but one of their children with Biblical names.¹³⁴ William Froste’s children also had distinctively Biblical names.¹³⁵ Robert Wood was slandered again in 1620 as a ‘lame rascall and villaine, dissembling puritayne and hypocrite.’ He went on in 1636 to leave a distinctive will with generous bequests to local preachers, one of which was

¹²⁹ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/16 p.239; (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.383

¹³⁰ STAC 8/303/8 testimony of William Withington, f.2

¹³¹ STAC 8/27/7 ff.11, 21.

¹³² (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/15 p.82

¹³³ (BI) Visitation Court Book 1619 Part Two (V.1619 CB) ff.357r- 358r

¹³⁴ Their children were baptised Christian, John, Thomas, Mary, Joseph, Hannah and Luke between 1606-1626, (NRO) PR 2020 St Mary’s parish register for births, marriages and burials

¹³⁵ William Froste’s children were baptised Elizabeth, Mary, Lydia, Joshua, Abraham, Samuel and Susanna, between 1614 and 1626, (NRO) PR 3630 St Peter’s parish registers for births, marriages and burials.

George Coates, and several others who were known non-conformists. He requested that no bells were to be rung at his funeral.¹³⁶ Both Robert Wood and George Coates were remembered in the will of Luke Jackson, Anker Jackson's other son.¹³⁷ In the 1620s George Coates and Richard Caldwell, both victims of the fourth libel, became more tightly connected to this group. Coates married Anker's widowed daughter Cicely Gregory in 1625 and Caldwell married Margaret Wilson in 1626.¹³⁸

A wide range of records provide additional information that the evidence brought out in the libels and the testimonies in the Star Chamber case had some truth, and that there was division of religious practice in the town. There was longevity to this division of religious practice, however, so why did tension emerge in the years 1614-17?

In the papers for the case against the godly libellers it is only William Withington's accusations against the godly, alongside a short defence of George Jackson and William Hopkins, which survive discussing the publication of the libels against Purefey and Withington in 1614 and 1615.¹³⁹ The wording of the first libel, against Purefey, gives little clue as to why it was produced. As the man who sat at the Nottingham Archdeaconry court, Michael Purefey had the potential to provoke the wrath of the godly if they were presented for non-conformity. Within Withington's

¹³⁶ (NRO) z.253 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls for 1605-1620, articles dated 22 February 1619; will of Robert Wood, proved 1 March 1637; the ministers he made bequests to were George Coates, Mr Ball, Mr Taylor, Mr Westoby, and Mr Goodwin. Of these it is known that Mr William Westerbie, was in trouble in 1634 with the Archdeacon's court for not wearing a surplice or using the sign of the cross in Baptism, from Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* p.316; John Sutton's article on John Ball (1585-1640) in the DNB states that Ball was a non-conformist, deprived of his ministry in Cheshire before moving to Whitmore. He was at Whitmore from 1610 for 30 years. He considered emigration in the 1630s.

¹³⁷ (NRO) PR 4556 copy of the will of Luke Jackson, citizen and girdler of London, dated 26 January 1630; (NRO) PR 3633 copy of the codicil of Jackson's will made at the end of the burial register for St Peter's for the years 1725-1784.

¹³⁸ Marriage of Mr Richard Caldwell and Margaret Wilson, 30 November 1626, NMR Mary p.41; (NRO) M 13,865 indenture dated 12 December 1625, between Cicely Gregory, widow of Marmaduke Gregory, and George Coates, minister, in consideration of their marriage; Marmaduke Gregory mentions his wife Cicelie in his will proved 10 August 1625.

¹³⁹ STAC 8/303/8 ff.1, 2

depositions there are suggestions that Purefey had disagreed with the godly over their conventicles, and there was also the issue of Hopkin's wife refusing to be churched. Withington cites the churching case immediately before he accuses Jackson and the rest of his 'confederate' of plotting

'to defame scandalize & reproache such of your maiesties subjects as were obedient & respective to the orders canons & proceedings of ye said church.'¹⁴⁰

He argued that the godly libellers hoped that their libel would

'bring the said Michael Purefey who utterly disliked & condemned their said unlawful meetings & vanities into shame & contempt with the world.'¹⁴¹

Although it is unknown whether it was connected to the libel or a separate case, a disagreement between another of the godly group, Christian Jackson, wife of Anker Jackson, and Michael Purefey, is suggested by a citation in the Archdeaconry act book. In November 1615 Christian was cited to the court to answer certain articles. What these articles were is not recorded.¹⁴² Although the case is not mentioned again, in December her name appears in the records of the Chancery Court at York in a case against Michael Purefey.¹⁴³ Again the reason is not recorded. It was possibly for defamation. The case is referred to frequently in the Chancery act book between December 1615 and May 1617 but there is no detail of its content. Finally, on 2 May 1617 the case was postponed, possibly because an agreement had been reached.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ STAC 8/303/8 deposition of William Withington, f.2

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS/14/26/14 p.80; (NMSS) AN/A 24/15 Journal of the act book of Nottingham Archdeaconry, November 1615-March 1615/6, f.3r

¹⁴³ I am grateful to the Borthwick archivists Philippa Huskin and Christopher Webb for help with this case. The case is found in (BI) Chancery Act Book (Chanc. A.B. 1613-18.) The case had been transferred to York from the 'correction court,' possibly referring to the Archdeaconry court in Nottingham. The first mention of the case is on f.260r.

¹⁴⁴ Other entries related to this case are in *ibid.* f.267r (26 January 1616), f.275v (23 February 1615), f.283v (8 March 1616), f.294v (3 May 1616), f.321v (21 June 1616), f.318v (12 July 1616), f.322v (27 July 1616), f.339r (15 October 1616), f.345r (8 November 1616), f.350r (22 November 1616 crossed through), f.352v (29 November 1616), f.361v (17 January 1617), f.374r (8 March 1617) and f.387r (2 May 1617). The other people involved were one 'Clapenson' on behalf of Purefey and 'Richards' on

Evidently there was some antagonism between Michael Purefey and members of Nottingham's godly population, which may reflect a specific incident or a clash of personalities. Compared to the libel against Purefey, the wording of the libel against Withington gives more of an indication as to why it was produced. In fact there are two possible explanations. The first line referred to 'a lyinge Bill that was made by pursinge will,' suggesting that he had presented some kind of legal bill against the godly.¹⁴⁵ Both William Withington's deposition as well Sir Henry Yelverton's petition mention the godly faction having been presented to the Archbishop of York and the King's High Commissioner for Nottingham over the issue of their attending conventicles and leaving their own parish churches at times of divine service.¹⁴⁶ The 1617 libel possibly refers to this in the verse,

'Sisters yor grief is mickle
for time hath with his sickle
Cutt off yor Conventicle.'¹⁴⁷

Unfortunately any other court records which might have mentioned this have not survived. The only known case of the libelled godly sermon-gadding *en masse* dates from August 1619, a year after most of the depositions for the libel case were taken.¹⁴⁸ Within Withington and Yelverton's depositions there is also a discrepancy. Withington's testimony claimed that the group were found guilty and fined, whereas Yelverton claims the accusations were found to be false. The words 'lyinge Bill' are found in the first line of the anti-Withington libel, and the second line states that Withington 'sheweth his witt & skill in framinge of an Idoll bill.' It could be inferred

behalf of Jackson. Also Rychard Gymmey, clerk, William Hewitt, clerk, and George Jackson (Christina's son) were asked to prove a libel.

¹⁴⁵ STAC 8/303/8 f.2

¹⁴⁶ STAC 8/27/7 the interrogatory for Withington, and Withington and Yelverton's depositions, ff.2, 21, 29

¹⁴⁷ STAC 8/27/7 f.29

¹⁴⁸ The depositions which are dated were taken between 25 November 1617 and 21 December 1618; the 1619 sermon-gadding case is in (BI) Visitation Court Book 1619 Part Two (V.1619 CB) ff. 357r-358r

that the 'lying' and 'idoll' or 'idle' bill meant this presentment to the Archbishop, and that the anti-Withington libel was produced in direct response to the presentment of the godly for attending conventicles.¹⁴⁹

The date of the anti-Withington libel holds other clues. The first anti-Puritan libel 'my muse arise' was performed in June, July and August of 1615. It thus appeared between the anti-Purefey libel, dated August and September 1614, and the anti-Withington libel, dated October and November 1615. At least five of the witnesses or defendants in the case of the anti-Puritan libels claimed to have heard Withington admit authorship of the libel 'maries church' in their testimonies.¹⁵⁰ It is likely he also wrote the first anti-Puritan libel, since his criticism of the godly group in his testimonies is very similar to many of the ideas within the libel itself. The 'lying bill' could therefore refer to the 'libel' 'wherin he sheweth his witt & skill.' In other words, the anti-Withington libel was a direct retaliation to his authorship of the first anti-Puritan libel.

As to the anti-Puritan libels, which appear chronologically in second and fourth place, it is likely that some element of the motive was in response to the publication of the libels against Withington and Purefey. It was said in the course of the trial that the libel 'Maries church' was produced in 1617 because the first libel had not wrought

'full effect which they expected in bringing the professors of trew religion itselfe into contempt and dislike and stirring upp deebats and dissention in the said towne.'¹⁵¹

William Withington was evidently an anti-Puritan and, as has been shown, quite possibly a recusant Catholic, or at least married to one. It is likely, therefore, that he had plenty of reason to dislike the godly and produce the libels. Underneath

¹⁴⁹ STAC 8/27/7 ff.21, 29; STAC 8/303/8 f.2

¹⁵⁰ STAC 8/27/7 testimonies of Gervase Eyre and William Hansby (f.7), Robert Leake (f.8), William Martindale (f.11), George Milner (f.26); STAC 8/303/8 f.2

¹⁵¹ STAC 8/27/7 f.29

Withington's criticism of the godly was the accusation that their divisive religious practices, particularly leaving their parish church to attend others and holding private conventicles, disturbed the peace and uniformity of religion in the town. The first anti-Puritan libel ended with hope for the conversion of the godly, and that they would join those that 'haue trew zeale, that love the king and Comon weale.'¹⁵² By contrast, he defended his own, and his friends', conformity and dislike of 'sectaries.'¹⁵³ More specifically, this libel also expresses a fear that the godly of Nottingham were expanding in numbers, as well as in confidence. The libel actually claimed

'Some Handicrafters by there trade,
have Gospellers by them ben made
the Coblers and the Tailors proude,
for Conventicklers are allowed,
theis Mechanickes are very nimble,
to leape beyond there laste and thimble.'¹⁵⁴

Whereas most of those named in the libel were magistrates and/or gentlemen and their relatives, this verse suggests that godly culture was also spreading to lower social orders in the town.

It would appear that Withington was not alone in his anti-Puritan sentiments. Withington found an appreciative audience for the libels, even in the mayor, Thomas Nix. At the time of Nix's mayoralty, two of the libellers, William Martindale and William Houghton, were sent to him for causing a disturbance at night by singing one of the anti-Puritan libels. Although Houghton 'could not be found' Nix passed on Martindale's name to be dealt with at the next Quarter Sessions.¹⁵⁵ Despite this, Thomas Nix was witnessed requesting the libel to be sung by a piper or minstrel in an alehouse in Lenton. When the musician began to sing a different song, Nix stated that

¹⁵² STAC 8/27/7 f.29

¹⁵³ Testimonies of William Withington, STAC 8/303/8 f.2 and STAC 8/27/7 f.21

¹⁵⁴ STAC 8/27/7 f.29

¹⁵⁵ STAC 8/27/7 testimony of Thomas Nickes or Nix f.27

he wanted to ‘hear the songe of the puritans of Nottingham.’ After the musician claimed ignorance, Nix confiscated his instrument until he returned with another musician capable of singing the desired song.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, Thomas Nix was one of only four of the defendants interrogated about the pictures of the Jacksons which were drawn in the alehouse fireplace.¹⁵⁷ Like Withington’s brazen involvement in the libelling, that the mayor of the town enjoyed a song which satirised fellow aldermen and members of the town authority is surprising. It perhaps indicates that although the godly presence in Nottingham was expanding, Withington’s associates still felt they had the upper hand and wanted to maintain it by ridiculing the godly.

Cases of similar anti-Puritan libels in other towns, such as those in Dorchester and Stratford, suggest another more direct trigger of tension, the arrival of new preaching ministers.¹⁵⁸ A similar trigger can be seen here. In the first of the anti-Puritan libels, dated 1615, Richard Caldwell was mocked as ‘Jonas,’ probably a reference to the Biblical story of the prophet Jonah. In the libel he was not altogether blamed for ‘Puritanism.’ Instead he was said to be too honest for the godly ‘crew’ who wanted to be ‘sainted by his meanes.’¹⁵⁹ He was appointed town lecturer in the corporation church of St Mary’s around the time of the libel. His salary is first noted in the mayor’s book for the year 1617-18 but the note says the salary is ‘in regard of his great paines’ in the town, suggesting he had been lecturing there before this date.¹⁶⁰ Sir Henry Yelverton in his petition for the libel case, dated 25 November 1617, referred to Richard Caldwell ‘who hath ben a zealous preacher of the word of

¹⁵⁶ STAC 8/27/7 testimony of William Clarke f.15

¹⁵⁷ STAC 8/27/7 ff.26, 27

¹⁵⁸ Underdown, *Fire from Heaven* pp.27-29; Fox, ‘Religious Satire in English Towns’ pp.237-8; Hughes, ‘Religion and Society in Stratford-upon-Avon’ pp.62-3

¹⁵⁹ STAC 8/27/7 f.29

¹⁶⁰ (NRO) CA 3393 Hall Book, mayoral year 1617-8, microfilm z233, f.28, reference made 15 December 1617; NBR IV pp.354-5; in the Chamberlain’s accounts (NRO) CA 1634, the first mention to Caldwell being paid is in the year 1618-19, in November 1618, then April and June 1619.

god in the said towne of Nottingham certen years now last past,' implying that Caldwell was preaching in the town at the time of the first anti-Puritan libel in 1615, but not much before.¹⁶¹ Caldwell was mocked again in the 1617 libel, as was George Coates. George Coates had only been appointed to St Peter's Nottingham on 9 July 1617, a month before the publication of the libel.¹⁶² Therefore, by the date of the publication of the second anti-Puritan libel these men were in control of the pulpits of the two larger and more important parishes in the town.

Although unclear, it appears that the lyrics of the fourth libel, 'maries church,' mocked a specific disagreement over an appointment to St Mary's church. There was a lot of change in the ministers of St Mary's around the time of the libels. The fourth libel was produced in August/September 1617. Robert Aldridge was minister of St Mary's until his death in July 1616. Under his tuition the parish had been the focus of sermon-gadding within the town. Although it is unknown in what circumstances he died, a note in the mayor's book on 6 October 1616 made reference to the goods of one Mr Aldridge who had committed suicide.¹⁶³ Aldridge's successor, appointed 26 July 1616, was Oliver Withington, who had been a curate of St Mary's since at least 1603. It is unknown if he was related to William Withington, but he was appointed through Withington's patronage.¹⁶⁴ Following Oliver Withington's death, John Tolson was appointed minister on 4 December 1616. Tolson resigned soon after and

¹⁶¹ STAC 8/27/7 f.29

¹⁶² Ibid; (NRO) M416 John T. Godfrey, *Manuscripts Relating to the Ancient Parish Churches of Nottingham* (c.1900) p.106

¹⁶³ He was buried 28 July 1616 but no suicide is mentioned against his name in the parish registers for St Mary's, (NRO) PR 2020; (NRO) M416 John T. Godfrey, *Manuscripts Relating to the Ancient Parish Churches of Nottingham* (c.1900) p.27; there is a suicide of a Mr Aldridge recorded in the council minute book October 6, 1616, (NRO) CA 3392 Hall Book, dated 1616-17, microfilm z233, f.79; NBR IV p.349; for information on sermon-gadding in Nottingham refer to chapter five, especially pp.199-200

¹⁶⁴ He is recorded in a presentment for the Archbishop's visitation in 1603 as preacher and curate of St Mary's, (NMSS) presentment for St Mary's, AN/PB 292/10/28 dated 01/08/1603; refer to appendix one for more information.

on 2 October 1617 he was replaced by Ralph Hansbie, another appointment of Withington's.¹⁶⁵

The 1617 anti-Puritan libel appears to be written from the perspective of the godly. It begins,

Brethren goe home and praie,
for wee haue lost a daie
the wicked beare the swaie,
Maries Church wee haue loste
with noe smale charge no cost.'¹⁶⁶

Why the 'Brethren' have 'lost' St Mary's Church is unclear. It perhaps refers to the loss of Robert Aldridge. In the next verse Caiphaz, meaning Anker Jackson, 'doth make greate moane' that 'the profett wilbe gone.' Caiphaz is probably a miss-spelling of Caiaphas the High Priest. It is possibly a play on the word Pharisee often used interchangeably with the word Puritan to mean a self-righteous hypocrite.¹⁶⁷ The lyrics suggest that a minister or 'prophet,' possibly Jonas (Jonah) was about to leave or be dismissed. The third verse begins 'Jonas is refused.'¹⁶⁸ What Jonas or Richard Caldwell was 'refused' is also unclear and near the beginning of the mayoral year 1617-8, Stephen Hill's year in office, Caldwell was officially appointed town lecturer. Stephen Hill in his will of 1627 left Caldwell 10s a year while he was a preacher. He also left George Coates 20s a year during his life. He left the house 'now in the

¹⁶⁵ NRO) M416 John T. Godfrey, *Manuscripts Relating to the Ancient Parish Churches of Nottingham* (c.1900) pp.29-30; K.S.S. Train ed. 'Lists of the Clergy of Central Nottinghamshire,' *Thoroton Society Record Series*, Volume 15, Part II (1953) pp. 30-31; in 1598 the Crown sold the rights of patronage to St Mary's to Robert Pierrepont in 1598. As noted above, the patron of Oliver Withington was William Withington. John Tolson's patron was Sir Robert Pierrepont. Ralph Hansby's was William Withington, the assignee of Sir Robert Pierrepont. Edmund Lacock's, after Hansby, was Robert Earl of Kingston. Therefore, behind Withington's appointments to St Mary's was Robert Pierrepont. www.stmarysnottingham.org/cl31-40.html consulted 14 February 2008; P.R. Seddon article on Sir Henry Pierrepont in the DNB notes that his father, Robert, helped the Jesuits and in 1628 was included in a list of recusants presented to the commons. His mother was presented to the Quarter Sessions for not receiving. Seddon writes that in July 1626 Frances Pierrepont, who had been a noted recusant, 'heard divine service in the presence of the archbishop of York and heard statutory oaths.' There was, however, no evidence that Robert himself had recusant sympathies.

¹⁶⁶ STAC 8/27/7 f.29

¹⁶⁷ Refer to the Biblical chapters, Matthew 26:57-67 and John 18

¹⁶⁸ STAC 8/27/7 f.29

occupation of richard cauldwell clerk' to his son Stephen.¹⁶⁹ His widow refused Communion at the altar rail in 1638.¹⁷⁰

Whether the libel does or does not refer to a disagreement over clerical appointments, the fact that Coates and Caldwell were appointed to positions in the town is suggestive of their support in some quarters. The fact that they were mocked so soon after their arrival in the town suggests that their presence had, however, created some rifts. Evidence in earlier chapters, from bequests made in wills, the development of new naming cultures and sermon-gadding, has shown the role of these two ministers in fostering godly culture in the town, in particular George Coates.¹⁷¹ As noted above, Coates later married Anker Jackson's daughter Cicely and Richard Caldwell married Margaret Wilson. There are also some suggestions that Coates may have been an enemy of the town's recusants. In the Quarter Sessions records for 1629-30, one of the town's recusant families, the Leas, were accused of exploiting and over-working their apprentice, the daughter of one Thomas Vickers. Elizabeth Lea explained in her defence that her mother had commended Mr Vickers' daughter for not remembering what George Coates had said in his recent sermon, saying 'doth he not raile of me for he does nothing but rail against papists.'¹⁷²

Whereas the precise reasons why the libels occurred at this time are unclear their appearance is indicative of conflict in the town. The libels show us how the godly were perceived by their neighbours and, like the Darrell tracts, allow us insight into the different religious identities living side by side in Nottingham. They tell us that the godly were conspicuous in the town and that their activities were seen by

¹⁶⁹ Will of alderman Stephen Hill, proved 8 May 1628

¹⁷⁰ (NMSS) Presentments St Peter's AN/PB 303/583 dated 06/04/1638

¹⁷¹ See chapter two p.85, chapter four pp.161-4 and chapter five pp.199-203

¹⁷² (NRO) z254 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls dated 1629-30, records dated 10 October 1629 and 23 April 1630; NBR V p.142

outsiders as provocative and divisive, working against ideas of neighbourhood and uniformity of religion in the town. This mirrored the way the Catholics were perceived.

From the evidence provided by the libels we can suggest that Nottingham's godly were growing in strength and confidence in the early seventeenth century. Complaints were made directly in the first anti-Puritan libel of their growing numbers and that godly culture was spreading down the social hierarchy. Their growing confidence is also shown by the very fact that the libel against the godly was produced and that it portrayed so many different and distinctive aspects of their culture. The godly were, it appears, confident enough to be parading their religion in front of their neighbours. Their confidence is also indicated by the fact that the godly wrote libels of their own, and had apparently spoken out about issues such as churching. As has been shown in other chapters, godly culture continued to grow in Nottingham. Here we have noted the presentment of many of the godly group in the libel for sermon-gadding in 1619, two years after the last of the libels. It has also been seen in the growth of Biblical name use, particularly in St Peter's parish, but also in St Mary's, after the arrival of George Coates and Richard Caldwell.

Other sources suggest that as the godly influence in Nottingham was growing, there was a reduced tolerance of Catholicism in the town. Although there was longevity to the Catholic presence in Nottingham and it continued into the 1620s and 1630s, in 1619 the Mickeltorn Jury protested to the mayor that 'there may be some present order taken concerning the recusants in this towne.' They feared that the recusants 'having there libertye, in time they may withdrawe others to be of their opinion.'¹⁷³

¹⁷³ (NRO) CA 3041 Presentment of the Mickelton Jury, 14 October 1619, item 37; NBR IV p.363

There are also suggestions that around the time of the libels there was a shift on the town council more in favour of the godly. As has been shown above, at the time of Darrell's presence in Nottingham the corporation was quite conservative, several of the leading magistrates having Catholic associations. Anker Jackson had been named very briefly in conjunction with the Darrell case for his involvement in provoking Sommers to confess. He had joined Richard Hurt, William Freeman and William Gregory, in offering Sommers money if he would 'declare the truth' and confess to dissembling. Jackson was not, however, one of the magistrates accused of being 'popish,' and there are no indications of his religious persuasion offered in the Darrell tracts. Jackson had apparently confessed before the mayor in the town hall, that the attempts to persuade Sommers to confess were done only 'in policy.'¹⁷⁴ By the time of the production of the anti-Puritan libels in 1615 and 1617, Jackson was being labelled as the centre of the godly clique in the town. Meanwhile tension between Thomas Nix and the rest of 'his brethren' was noted in the mayor's book on the 4 September 1620, the year of Jackson's fourth mayoralty. It was recorded that George Jackson, a gentleman, but not a councillor himself, had come before the council to relate the proceedings from Court of Star Chamber in the case of the libels. It was also noted that Thomas Nix, who had condoned the anti-Puritan libels, had been dismissed from his aldermanship. The reason being that

'most of them [meaning the aldermen] disliking of Mr Nixes caryadge as well in the time of his maiorality as sythence in that often times wold dissent from them in matters appertaining to the government of the corporation.'¹⁷⁵

The godly were steadily growing in power and conspicuousness in Nottingham. That being said, the fact that libels so brazenly mocking the godly were produced and found an amused audience in the town indicates that the godly were still

¹⁷⁴ Harsnett, *Discovery* pp.192, 343; G.Co, *Briefe narration* Eiiir-v; Darrell, *True narration* p.21; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.95

¹⁷⁵ (NRO) CA 3394 Hall Book for 1619-20, microfilm z233, dated 4 September 1620; NBR IV p.365

far from dominant. Fears that the godly were increasing in numbers and jokes made about godly religious practices are not likely to have been commented upon or even noticed, and certainly not found funny, if the godly had more of a presence in the town. It could also be asked whether people of Withington and Nix's status would risk involvement in libels like these unless they were confident of an appreciative audience. Furthermore, Purefey may have been subject to mocking by the godly in 1614, but in 1621 he was chosen to represent Nottingham in Parliament.¹⁷⁶ It appears that even if they were growing in strength and confidence, unlike in Banbury, they still constituted a minority.

¹⁷⁶ Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* p.168, writes that Purefey's 'standing in the town of Nottingham was such that he was elected to represent it in the Parliament of 1621, while in the next Parliament he represented the clergy of the archdeaconry in the Convocation at York. These two elections may be taken as sufficient evidence that he was favourably regarded both by clergy and laity. With a man of his background it would be presumed that no stern measures would be taken against nonconformists, and such in fact is what the court records reveal.'

Conclusion

This conclusion draws together four threads from the study of godly culture and identity in England c.1580-1640 presented in this thesis. Firstly, it discusses what effects the different structures of the towns of Banbury and Nottingham had on the development of godly culture. Secondly, it summarises the characteristics of godly culture in both towns over the course of the period. Thirdly, it considers what influence the ministers and social elite had in fostering changes to religious culture. Fourthly, it looks at godly identity and the interaction of the godly with their neighbours.

There were many similarities to godly culture in Banbury and Nottingham. The main differences occurred in the chronology and extent of influence the godly had within the towns. Banbury had a smaller population and only one parish church. By the early seventeenth century it was run by godly magistrates. The town also had close connections with godly gentlemen from the surrounding countryside, who owned the rights of presentment to Banbury's neighbouring parishes. Evidence suggests that Banbury was served by a godly minister, Thomas Brasbridge, between 1581 and 1590. Even though his successor could not be described in the same terms, during Ralph Houghton's ministry the parish benefited from the influence of Robert Cleaver and John Dod of nearby Drayton and Hanwell. By 1605, with William Whately in control of the town's only pulpit, and his father and uncles of key importance in the town's corporation, the godly were in a more favourable position to dictate religious culture in the town.

The ministers Whately, Dod and Cleaver, and their successors Robert Harris and Henry Scudder were all widely known for their printed work, especially works of practical divinity. Their preaching was reinforced by their numerous publications and

the town had two books shops in the early seventeenth century, for which some of their work was produced. The extent of Banbury's importance as a centre of practical divinity around 1600 is confirmed by Willem Teellinck's visit. As a result of these factors, and what can be gleaned of the personality of some of the magistrates and ministers, godly culture developed earlier in Banbury than Nottingham. Furthermore, due to their greater confidence, and support amongst a wider population, some of the signs of godly culture, such as the choice of Biblical baptism names, appear more prominently in the records. They also affected how Banbury was seen by contemporaries, as a Puritan town and a prime target for satire.

Nottingham had a larger and what appears to be a more heterogeneous population, with a wider range of religious affiliations. Its inhabitants were also divided into three parishes. As such, each of the town's ministers had influence over a smaller number of people. Unlike in Banbury, where there is no record of Catholicism in the town in this period, there were Catholic recusants living within Nottingham throughout the period 1580-1640, scattered in all three parishes. Magistrates with Catholic relatives were, until the early seventeenth century, members of the corporation. Overall the magistracy appears more conservative than Banbury's, without the same impetus to cleanse the town's urban spaces of iconography, and its population of immorality. Although little is known about the ministers, it appears that in the earlier period most of Nottingham's clergy were conformist and conservative. This changed briefly with the appointment of John Darrell in 1597, but more permanently in the seventeenth century with the appointments of Richard Caldwell and George Coates in 1617. Their influence on the godly culture of the town's inhabitants appears to have been significant but it was more restricted than it would have been if they had dominated a single pulpit in the town. As such, we have seen

that the different parishes in Nottingham came to develop different characteristics, and signs of godly culture appear stronger in Coates' parish, after 1617, than in St Mary's or St Nicholas'. Due to the more diverse population some of the patterns of godly culture are more diluted than in Banbury, and due to the characteristic of the ministry and magistracy, they developed later. As a minority, however, the godly were more distinctive, and thus more prone to ridicule from other inhabitants within the town.

It is now important to consider the nature of godly culture in the two towns. This thesis has shown that godly culture was communal and performative. It was driven by the clergy but also affected by social networks. It was also to some degree gendered. The household was at the heart of many of the religious practices of the godly. It was a place of moral discipline and religious education. It was where godliness was nurtured and shared among close family, children, servants and friends. It was an arena for the more private performance of godly piety. Theirs was an active piety and could not be hidden from the eyes of the world. They also thus performed acts of piety in more public arenas, the most important of which was the church. It was here that their piety was at its most visible to a wider audience.

The godly looked for signs of assurance of their faith and salvation. This they did through examining their lives and the lives of others, questioning their actions and motivations. In this process of self-examination they turned to Scripture and also to the wider godly community. They looked for patterns of piety and models of godliness to emulate and from which to receive reassurance. This we have seen in the popularity and content of godly lives and funeral sermons. It has also been shown in deliberations over whether to kneel to receive Communion and in the choice of baptism names. The godly understood, for example, that the choice of name did not

confer grace upon the recipient. Instead names served a process of education, to steer the individual on a path of godliness. In the eyes of the godly they could confirm the operation of God's grace in an individual's life if matched with a life of exemplary performance. In the eyes of the non-godly, however, name choice could be seen to confirm their hypocrisy. Shows of religion such as these were viewed as mere performance, designed to deceive the onlooker.

Godly culture was social and collective. To some extent the godly formed a community within Banbury and Nottingham. Some chose marriage partners, godparents, friends and servants from within that community. Through exploring the inter-marriage of the godly, the individuals presented for non-conformity in church, or performing acts of iconoclasm, and those who chose Biblical or grace names for their children we have exposed social networks of individuals with shared religious principles. This has indicated that religious culture could bond friends and family together. It has also shown that aspects of religious culture were performed not just by individuals but by groups of like-minded individuals, who made themselves distinctive as a collective within the wider communities in which they lived.

Godly religiosity was emotional. This we have seen in the choices of baptism names, particularly grace names such as Hopestill or Prudence and Faith. Furthermore, private prayer and self-examination involved internal reflection, which could result in crying and the groaning of a repentant heart. Tears were also shed in public, in response to sermons, during the confession of sins at the bedside of the possessed and following godly performances on the deathbed. This worked in the process of personal and mutual edification. Some preachers, including William Whately, appear to have cultivated a particularly emotional spirituality. Whately's surviving sermons show his preaching to have been designed to engender an

emotional reaction from his audience. We have seen this in his sermon following the Banbury fire of 1628. In his sermon entitled *Charitable teares* (1623), when advising his audience to reflect on their sinfulness, Whately admitted that,

‘I confesse that in meditating these things with my self I found mine eyes great with teares, and mine heart within me swolne with sighes, and I hope that the uttering of them, may also power to fill some of your hearts and of your eyes also.’¹

Godly religion was also gendered. It gave women opportunities for performance.² In the household women had a role in the education of children, to bring them up in the fear of God. This we have seen promoted in conduct literature and in the choice of guardians for orphaned children. It is also reflected in the deathbed narratives and the tracts of advice for children written by some women in case the manner of their deaths meant they could not give it in person. Godly lives show women as well as men performing on their deathbeds, conversing in religious matters with ministers and the audience at their bedside, even choosing Biblical texts for their funeral sermons. Women like men could also perform an identity through their wills, for example, by passing religious texts to specific recipients, requesting

¹ William Whately *Charitable teares: or a sermon showing how needful a thing it is for every godly man to lament the common sinnes of our countrie* (London: 1623) pp.245-6; this sermon is partly based around Psalm 119, verse 136, ‘Rivers of water runne downe mine eyes, because they keep not thy Testimonie;’ on p.252 he continues, ‘brethren will you spend some houre or two this day, this idle day, when others pipe and howte, and drinke and dally, and dance, and add to the heape of sinnes (as you know the season beares.) Will you say meditate and pray, and mourne, and sigh, and strive to send forth rivers of tears? But alack I feare you will not, I feare we loose our labour Businesse, businesse, sports, pastime, company, some one or other such thing, will steale your hearts away, I feare;’ William Whately in *Gods hvsbandry, the first part. Tending to shew the difference betwixt the hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian* (London: 1619) p.54 wrote ‘the power of a good Sermon, may draw an hypocrite to teares: but a godly man without any of these things, will set himselfe to mourne, and lament and most willingly (out of the loue hee beares to God, whom his sinnes haue offended) will euen turne his ioy into sorrow, his laughter into teares.’ In his discussion of hypocrisy in *Gods husbandry, the second part, tending chiefly to the reforming of an hypocrite and making him true hearted* (London: 1622) p.28 he refers to hypocrites that ‘can weepe at a Sermon, and bee much moued at the reproofs of sinn.’

² Peter Lake, ‘Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The ‘Emancipation’ of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe’ in *Seventeenth Century Journal*, Volume 2 (1987) pp.143-4, 147; Jacqueline Eales, *Women in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 2003) p.95

that no bells be rung at their funeral and articulating their relationship with networks of godly ministers.

Grace names in Banbury and Nottingham were given exclusively to women. In these towns, therefore, distinctive name patterns contributed to the godly identity of women more than men. These names were chosen possibly because women were seen as having a greater need for moral guidance but possibly also because they in turn could act as patterns of piety for other women. The importance of women as models of piety is seen in the popularity of female godly lives.³

Women also gave more public performances of their piety. Like men they gadded to sermons, and in some places they were more likely to gad to sermons than men. They also performed in church. Two-thirds of those presented in Banbury for not kneeling to receive the sacrament were women. In Nottingham, all of those presented for not kneeling at St Mary's were women and two-thirds of those presented for not receiving at the altar rail at St Peter's in 1638 were women. Some of these women were married and were presented with their husbands. Others were single or widowed. It is striking, however, that of those presented in 1638, sixteen were married women presented without their husbands. Women, therefore, did not always follow their husband's, or indeed their father's, lead in their religious performances. Sometimes they performed against their will. The fact that women made assertive performances of piety was seen as threatening and was mocked. John Earle said of his 'shee precise hypocrite,' 'nothing angers her so much as that women cannot preach.' He continued, 'but what she cannot at church, shee do's at the table,

³ Jacqueline Eales, 'Samuel Clarke and the 'Lives' of Godly Women in Seventeenth Century England' in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood eds. *Women and the Church, Studies in Church History* 27 (1991) p.367

where she prattles more then any against sense, and Antichrist.’⁴ This freedom women had to perform was seen as inappropriate empowerment and often related to sexual immorality. In the Nottingham libels, for example, Margaret Wilson was referred to as the ‘sacredst person in this stew’ and that ‘if she be faire and pure in speech,/ she paies her brother on her breech.’⁵

Having considered the nature of godly culture in the two towns, attention will now turn to the influence of the clergy and social elites in fostering changes to religious culture in Banbury and Nottingham. Ministers played an important role in cultivating godly culture. To some extent the relationship between the minister and his parishioners was reciprocal. For instance we know that William Whately discussed his sermons with some of his parishioners before publication.⁶ The influence of particular ministers in developing godly culture in Banbury and Nottingham, however, is shown effectively in the choices of baptism names. Old and New Testament names increased in popularity in Nottingham following the appointments of Richard Caldwell and George Coates. The influence of these ministers is further emphasised by the fact that these changes to naming patterns developed in Nottingham nearly twenty years after Banbury. In Banbury Old and New Testament names increased from the early 1590s, at the end of Thomas Brasbridge’s ministry, following John Dod’s appointment in Hanwell. Soon after this date a lecture by combination between parishes of Hanwell, Drayton and Banbury was created. The popularity of grace names dates from the baptism of Whately’s

⁴ John Earle, ‘A shee precise hypocrite’ in his *Micro-cosmographie. Or, a peece of the world discovered; in essayes and characters* (London: 1628) H7v-H8r

⁵ (NA) STAC 8/27/7 f.29

⁶ William Whately, *The new birth, or a treatise of regeneration delivered in certaine sermons* (London: 1622) was addressed to the ‘worshipfull the maior, aldermen and bvirgesses, and the rest of the Inhabitants of the Towne and Parish of Banbury.’ In his address he noted ‘I haue (not long since) preached amongst you some things concerning the nature of the New Birth, I am glad to vnderstand, that in handling of them, I gaue to some of you some good content.’

daughter Hopestill in 1604. He became curate and lecturer the following year and the popularity of these names continued throughout his ministry. This testifies to the influence of preaching in general, but also to the personality of the new appointments.

The relationship these ministers had with their parishioners has been shown in chapter four through gifts exchanged in wills and requests for funeral sermons from preachers who could better 'edify' the congregation. The evidence suggests that these ministers conducted a style of ministry that found favour with a particular group of their parishioners. As noted above, Whately's style of preaching was fiery and emotional, designed to incite reflection and repentance in his audience. We know that Richard Caldwell and George Coates were favoured in will bequests but were mocked as Puritans in the religious libels, suggesting that although they had support in some quarters in Nottingham, their presence also had a disruptive effect within the town. These ministers also appear to have influenced non-conformity within the parishes. In Banbury, William Whately served Communion to those who sat and stood and refused to comply with the presentment of his parishioners who did not kneel, even though he advocated kneeling to receive the sacrament in his printed works. The congregation of George Coates were said in 1636 to usually remain seated in their pews to receive Communion, a practice which possibly dated from his appointment in 1617. It was to Banbury and Nottingham St Peter's that the godly gadded to hear sermons. Furthermore both Whately and Coates were said to administer to strangers, who had possibly come especially to receive Communion from a minister who would not make them kneel.

Godly culture in Banbury and Nottingham was dominated by, but by no means exclusive to, the middling sorts and social elite. The accuracy of this conclusion is affected, however, by the bias of the sources. It has been impossible to work out the

status and wealth of all the individuals who are seen performing in this thesis and the wealthier the individual or family, the more likely they are to appear in a wider variety of sources, and the more that can be found out about their life, their status and their social relationships. From the evidence we do have, many of the book owners, families who chose Biblical and grace names, and individuals who were non-conformists, were from those who were higher in the social hierarchy. That being said, Bibles and other books were also owned by shepherds, labourers and servants, both male and female. Similarly, wider social groups performed in churches. For instance, one of the five presented for not kneeling in Banbury in 1613 was a servant, Julian Smithson. He was presented without his master, Thomas Kimble. In fact his master was possibly the same Thomas Kimble who was one of the churchwardens who signed the presentment. William Hosier, a glasier, was also presented with his maidservant.⁷ Furthermore, only a third of the forty-five St Peter's parishioners presented in 1638 are known to have had some familiar connection to the corporation.

In both towns, albeit to different degrees, the magistrates influenced the development and spread of godly culture. In Banbury, Sir Anthony Cope made his imprint through the presentation of ministers to Hanwell and Drayton. He also supported Richard Whately in the case of the maypoles. In the town itself, it was the magistrates who removed the market crosses. This iconoclastic impetus was then taken up ten years later by a wider section of the population, although still from the more middling social groups. In Nottingham, the magistrates did not support John Darrell's exorcism of William Sommers but by the time of the libels the godly laity who were mocked as Puritans were from among the social elite, many from the Jackson family, relatives of Anker Jackson, a former MP and three times mayor.

⁷ (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 f.31, September 1613; Peyton, *Presentments* p.209; Barton John Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces: Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1554-1660* (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1985) p.327

Godly culture was however seen to be spreading to the artisan classes. In both towns where the influence of the social elite was at its strongest was when it was matched by the appointment of godly ministers

Turning to godly identity and the interaction of the godly with their neighbours. Godly identity was nuanced. Aspects of godly culture and identity were prioritised and expressed by different people in different ways. There were not always discrete differences between the godly and other Christians. Of course the sources available for the study of religious culture mean that it is impossible to capture all aspects of godly performance. For example, the numbers of Bible-owners are likely to have been vastly underestimated, and how and if Bibles were used and read is hidden from view. That being said, evidence from Communion practice has demonstrated the variety of ways the godly could perform in church, none of which affected their salvation. Similarly some individuals might choose to remove statues from the outside wall of Banbury's church, whilst other families continued to erect funeral monuments. For William Knight, the crosses in Banbury's market place were idols which had to be destroyed, but a commemorative bust, erected in his honour in the church of St Mary's, was perfectly acceptable. Similarly, William Whately might preach fiery sermons against sin, be very strict on the moral lapses of his parishioners, including his brother, and baptise his daughter Hopestill, but name his other children with more traditional, family names and furnish his home with comforts which reflected his social status. Religious identity was intertwined with social status and social convention, and marginal differences in some of these social choices and religious performances could still form part of a reputation of godliness and a godly identity.

Overall the godly of Nottingham appear to have been more of a minority than in Banbury. This in turn had implications for how they were seen by the wider community. Godly identity may have been nuanced but the evidence presented here suggests that the godly were distinctive in their communities. They and their neighbours knew who they were. Nottingham inhabitants also clearly knew who local Catholics were. The impression given is that the populations of Banbury and Nottingham were mostly at peace. Individuals with differences in religious belief and practice, some more marked than others, lived alongside each other in relative harmony. The sources for these two towns do not allow us to study the more usual day-to-day interactions such as buying and selling or conversing. Other studies have shown us that although the godly may have frequented shops run by individuals they knew to be godly, they also traded with the non-godly, even local Catholics. Paul Seaver has suggested that people may have come to Nehemiah Wallington's shop because they knew he was a Puritan. Similarly Patrick Collinson has quoted an example of Thomas Edmunds, a London minister, claiming that the godly

‘as much as they might conveniently, refrained to buy or sell or usually to eat or drink with any person or persons which are not other faction and opinions or inclining in that way.’⁸

By contrast, in the diary of Robert Woodford, the Puritan steward of Northampton, we find evidence of him conversing with Catholics and John Hall in his medical practice in Stratford-upon-Avon treated patients from the town's Catholic, as well as its godly, population.⁹

⁸ Paul Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth Century London* (London: Methuen, 1985) p.190; Patrick Collinson, ‘The Godly: Aspects of Popular Protestantism in Elizabethan England’ in his *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983) p.7

⁹ Diary of Robert Woodford, Steward of Northampton 1637-41 (New College, Oxford, MS 9502) entries dated 15 May 1638 and 16 April 1639 ff.89v and 283v; Joan Lane, *John Hall and His Patients: The Medical Practice of Shakespeare's Son-in-Law* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd. 1996) for example pp.xvi-xviii, 79, 193 and 225; Christopher Haigh, *The Plain Man's Pathways to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

The records of Banbury and Nottingham do, however, provide other evidence of the accommodation of religious difference. We know about the presence of Catholics in Nottingham through presentments to the Archdeaconry court and the court of Quarter Sessions for not attending church and not receiving Communion. There is evidence from the parish registers that they used the church for some ceremonies, including getting married and being buried.¹⁰ One example of this is provided by the Cookes of St Peter's parish. Michael Cooke married Catherine Robinson in St Peter's in 1606 and they appear to have baptised seven children in the parish between 1607 and 1619.¹¹ Between 1620 and 1641 Catherine Cooke and her daughters Mary and Catherine were repeatedly presented for not coming to church and for being 'popish recusants.'¹² Michael Cooke was buried at St Peter's on the 9 February 1642 and his wife on the 11 April 1643.¹³ Catherine Cooke may also have been churched at St Peter's since the only indication that she was not came in April 1620, when she was excommunicated for refusing the 'order of Purification' after the birth of her last child.¹⁴ Similarly, Richard Lea, husband of Dorothy Lea, was buried in St Peter's on 26 November 1625.¹⁵ Two sons of Richard Lea were baptised in St Peter's in 1610 and 1612. He was possibly the father of Mary, baptised in St Mary's in 1608, and John, baptised at St Nicholas in 1615, since the family were presented

p.198; Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) p.275

¹⁰ Michael Gandy, 'Ordinary Catholics in Mid-Seventeenth Century London' in Marie B. Rowlands ed. *English Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558-1778* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1999) p.172; Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999) p.85; Haigh, *The Plain Man's Pathways* p.194

¹¹ These were Francis (1607), Richard (1609), Michael (1611), Francis (1614), Catherine (1617), Edmund (1617) and Catherine (1619)

¹² For the references for some of these presentments refer to chapter one p.51, footnote 85

¹³ (NRO) PR 3630 Parish registers St Peter's; will of Michael Cooke, inn-holder proved 5 May 1642.

¹⁴ (NMSS) Presentments St Peter's AN/PB 302/16, dated 19/04/1620; (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.398

¹⁵ This is likely to be same Richard Lea since presentments for recusancy bearing his name disappear after 1625 from St Peter's parish, whereas those for his wife Dorothy continue, and she is named as widow. See for example (NMSS) presentments St Peter's AN/PB 302/306 dated 24/04/1626, presentment of Mrs Ley, widow, aged around 50, Thomas Ley her son, aged 11, Anne Ley her daughter aged 17 and another daughter aged about 6 for popish recusants.

for recusancy in all three parishes at various times over the period 1605-1640. In 1620, then of St Nicholas' parish, however, he was presented to the Archdeaconry court for baptising his own child at home. Two of the godparents were also recusants.¹⁶

A Catholic presence continued in Nottingham over a long chronology. It was reinforced by intermarriage between some families, something indicated in chapter one, but also by their choice of Catholic godparents. As suggested in chapter seven, peaceable accommodation of Catholics in the town appears to have been changing around the time of the libels in the mid-1610s, possibly due to the influences of George Coates and Richard Caldwell. It is known that George Coates preached against Catholics, albeit from evidence in 1630.¹⁷ In 1619 the Mickeltorn Jury complained of the numbers of Catholics in the town.¹⁸ It is further interesting to note that despite baptising children in the parish from 1607-1619, Catherine Cooke is only presented for recusancy after 1620 and Richard Lea the same year decided to baptise a child at home.

In Nottingham both Catholics and Puritans were in a minority. There was, however, a difference in how they were seen by their neighbours. Catholicism was mocked in the religious libels of 1614 and 1615, but Withington and Purefey were merely said to be 'popish' and to 'smell' of St James' Lane. The godly, by contrast, were mocked in the libels of 1615 and 1617 for visible, public performances of

¹⁶ His sons baptised at St Peter's were, Thomas (1610) and William (1612); (NMSS) presentment St Nicholas AN/PB 302/76; the godparents were Christopher Strelley and Mrs Morton. Refer to chapter one p.51 footnote 84 for more detail of these two individuals and their recusancy.

¹⁷ (NRO) z254 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls 1629-30, records dated 10 October 1629 and 23 April 1630; NBR V p.142; in a case over the ill-treatment of an apprentice in the house of the Leas, Elizabeth Lea reported that her mother had commended the apprentice, Elizabeth Vickers, for not remembering George Coates' sermon, with the words 'doth he not raile of me for he does nothing but rail against papists.'

¹⁸ In 1619 the Mickeltorn Jury protested to the mayor that 'there may be some present order taken concerning the recusants in this towne.' They feared that the recusants 'having there libertye, in time they may withdrawe others to be of their opinion,' (NRO) CA 3041 Presentments of the Mickeltorn Jury, 14 October 1619, item 37; NBR IV p.363

religion, and accused of spreading their divisive culture amongst wider social groups. The Catholic presence was long-standing but the godly presence was newer and consequently seen as more distinctive and thus open to ridicule.

The fact that cases of non-conformity were presented to the church courts indicates that not everyone in the various parishes had the same ideas about how religion should be practised. It should be noted, however, that in most cases it is unclear the extent to which churchwardens may have agreed with their presentments, and the extent to which they were merely performing their duty. That being said, church court records can also be used to show a degree of accommodation of religious difference in the two towns, and that churchwardens may have turned a blind eye or agreed with certain non-conformist practices in the parishes. In Banbury there is a limited survival of records showing the activity of the peculiar court in this period. In the records that do survive, there were only two presentments for parishioners not kneeling to receive the sacrament during Whately's ministry. In 1627, however, John Whately claimed that it was usual for parishioners to receive Communion sitting and that the churchwardens were 'much too convenient.' Similarly there are no presentments for any form of non-conformity in St Peter's parish, even though the records are quite extensive, until the time of the Archbishop's visitation in 1636, when it was claimed that Coates often administered the Communion to seated parishioners.

The godly made themselves distinctive within the communities in which they lived. They were not always merely 'godly' but godly activists.¹⁹ Godly religiosity was seen to be divisive, something expressed in the sentiments of the Nottingham libels, but also shown clearly in the removal of Banbury's market crosses. When the

¹⁹ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p.10

godly interfered in the lives and morals of others, when new, fiery ministers took to the pulpit or when particularly confrontational magistrates gained influence in the town government, urban peace could be disrupted. Within urban communities in England in this period stereotypes of 'papist' and 'Puritan' were available as polemical weapons, often used at particular moments of tension. Their use helps us to isolate religious difference or perceptions of difference within a given population. However, with or without such terms, as has been shown here, religious identities were still created and recognised within the community, nurtured by the pious performances and interactions of individuals in their everyday lives.

Appendix One

Biographical details of the ministers of Banbury and Nottingham c.1580-1640

BANBURY MINISTERS

Thomas Brasbridge

Although his baptism is unrecorded, Thomas Brasbridge may have been born in the parish of Banbury since he referred to being a child in Banbury in the 1592 edition of his *The poore mans iewell*.¹ He trained in both divinity and medicine. He became a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1561, and later Vice-President in 1572 and 1574. He was inducted minister of Banbury 19 September 1581, by appointment of the crown.² He was involved in a factional dispute in the late 1580s between two local gentlemen, Anthony Cope of Hanwell and John Danvers of Calthorpe, over maypoles and other issues. Brasbridge was reportedly humiliated in church by one of Danvers' servants and, on another occasion, physically attacked by Danvers' daughters and maidservant. By June 1590 he had been dismissed from his position in Banbury over 'some matter of ceremonies.' Ninety-five of his parishioners signed a petition on 16 June 1590 protesting his dismissal, but he was not reinstated.³ He was buried in Banbury on the 11 November 1593. His inventory but not his will has survived.⁴

Publications

1. *Abidas the prophet, interpreted by T.B. fellow of Magdalene College in Oxford* (London: Henry Binneman for George Bishop, 1574)
Dedicated to the Earl of Huntingdon
2. *The poore mans iewell, that is to say, a treatise of the pestilence unto which is annexed a declaration of the virtues of the hearbes Carduus Benadictus, and Angelica* (London: George Bishop, 1578)
The 1592 edition (also printed in London by George Bishop) was dedicated to Anthony Cope of Hanwell and his wife Francis. The dedication is dated Banbury 20 January 1592.
3. *Qvæstiones in officia M.T. Ciceronis compendiarium totius opusculi epitomen continentes* (Oxford: 1592)

¹ Thomas Brasbridge in *The poore mans iewell, that is to say, a treatise of the pestilence* (London: 1592) wrote that 'the towne of Banburie (I being a childe) was very sore infected therewith [the plague]' A2

² Julian Lock's article on Thomas Brasbridge in the DNB; Barton John Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces: Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1554-1660* (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1985) p.260

³ BCR pp.59-60; SP Dom 12/223/47; for further discussion of the maypole case and Brasbridge's dismissal refer to chapter six pp.242-253

⁴ BBR p.174; inventory of Thomas Brasbridge, dated 7 May 1594 (ORO 1/105; 32/4/16) copied in BW1 pp.127-8; see also E.R.C. Brinkworth, 'The Inventory of Thomas Brasbridge' in *Cake & Cockhorse*, Volume 3, Number 5 (1966) pp.71-4

Ralph Houghton

Ralph Houghton was inducted minister of Banbury 10 July 1590 through the patronage of the Bishop of Oxford.⁵ In February 1607 he was presented to the church courts along with his curate, William Osbourne, for not catechising the youth of the parish. Houghton was also accused by Thomas Holloway, vicar of nearby Cropredy, of not keeping a register of couples he married without banns.⁶ His wife, Josuana was buried in Banbury 10 October 1593. He was buried there 15 February 1609.⁷ He left no surviving will or inventory, nor any known publications.

Between the death of Ralph Houghton and the appointment of William Whately, Banbury was served by **Thomas Bradbury**, about whom little is known.⁸

William Whately

William Whately was born to Thomas and Joyce Whately of Banbury. He was baptised in the parish church of St Mary's on the 26 May 1583.⁹ He took his BA at Christ's College Cambridge, graduating in 1601.¹⁰ On 16 November 1602 he married Martha Hunt at Banbury. She was the daughter of George Hunt, minister of Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire.¹¹ In 1604 he received his MA from St Edmund Hall, Oxford.¹² He held the position of lecturer and curate of Banbury St Mary's from 1605 to 1611. On 9 February 1611 he was inducted vicar of Banbury, where he served until his death.¹³ In April 1608 he was presented to the peculiar court by fellow curate William Osbourne for not praying for the bishops in his prayer before the sermon, for 'administering the communion to such as would not kneele' and for preaching against the ceremonies.¹⁴ In 1621 he was forced to recant his views expressed in *A bride-bush* (published in 1617 and 1619), that divorce and remarriage were permissible in the case of adultery or desertion, at the Court of High Commission.¹⁵ He was buried in Banbury 14 May 1639.¹⁶ Both his and his wife's wills survive at Canterbury, but not their inventories.¹⁷ Although his tombstone, which once stood in Banbury's churchyard, has not survived its contents were

⁵ BCR p.60; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.260

⁶ (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 Churchwardens' Presentments Banbury Peculiar f.13; Peyton, *Presentments* pp.200-2

⁷ BBR pp.173, 192

⁸ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.281-2; he was an Essex man, educated at Eton and then at King's College, Cambridge. He became vicar of Banbury in 1609. John Venn & J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, From the Earliest Times to 1751, Volume I, ABBAS to CUTTS* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) p.199

⁹ BBR p.28

¹⁰ Jacqueline Eales' article on William Whately in the DNB.

¹¹ BMR p.34

¹² Jacqueline Eales' article on William Whately in the DNB.

¹³ Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* p.454

¹⁴ Presentment dated 6 April 1607 in (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 Churchwardens' Presentments Banbury Peculiar f.15; Peyton, *Presentments* p.202

¹⁵ Jacqueline Eales, 'Gender Construction in Early Modern England and the Conduct Books of William Whately (1585-1639)' in Robert Swanson ed. *Gender and Christian Religion, Studies in Church History* 34 (1998) p.168

¹⁶ BBR p.231

¹⁷ Will of William Whately proved 25 June 1639; will of Martha Whately proved 23 December 1641

recorded by Anthony à Wood in 1660.¹⁸ His life was written by his friend Edward Leigh and his brother-in-law Henry Scudder, whom he made his literary advisers. It was published posthumously as an attachment to his work on Genesis, *Prototypes* in 1640.¹⁹

Publications (with editions between 1602 and 1640 given in brackets)

1. *A godlie treatise, intituled the view and down-fall of pride* (London: 1602)
Dedicated to Robert Sackville and Lady Anne Compton, for whom he served as chaplain in Framfield, Sussex.
2. *The redemption of time, or a sermon containing very good remedies for them that have mis-spent their time shewing how they should redeeme it comfortably* (London: 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1619, 1634)
Later re-printed 'for general good' by Richard Baxter in 1673.
3. *A caveat for the couetous. Or, a sermon preached at Pauls Crosse, the fourth of December, 1609* (London: 1609, 1610, 1616)
4. *A bride-bush, or a wedding sermon compendiously describing the duties of married persons* (London: 1617)
Re-printed with additions as *A bride-bush: or, a direction for married persons plainly describing the duties common to both, and peculiar to each of them by performing of which, marriage shall proove a great helpe to such, as now for want of performing them doe find it a little hell* (London: 1619, 1623)
Dedicated to his 'very loving and much esteemed' father-in-law George Hunt.
5. *The new birth, or a treatise of regeneration delivered in certaine sermons* (London: 1618, 1619, 1622, 1628, 1630, 1635)
Dedicated to the 'worshipfull the maior, aldermen and bvrghesses, and the rest of the inhabitants of the towne and parish of Banbury.'
One edition in 1619 was published in London by Henry Kingston for Henry Sharpe in Banbury.²⁰
6. *Gods husbandry, the first part. Tending to shew the difference betwixt the hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian. As it was deliuered in certaine sermons* (London: 1619, 1622)
Dedicated to John Dod, 'the reverend and my mvch esteemed friend and father in Christ.' In the dedication, on page A4r of the 1619 edition, Whately admits that 'three seuerall times I preached it [this sermon], in three seuerall Congregations, and two of those times had you [John Dod] mine hearer.'
One edition in 1619 was imprinted in London by Felix Kingston for Henry Sharpe, dwelling in Banbury.

¹⁸ Rev. F.N. Davis transcribed, *Parochial Collections, Made by Anthony Wood and Richard Rawlinson* (Oxford: Oxford Record Society, 1920) p.25-6; for some details of the inscription, see chapter four p.178

¹⁹ Edward Leigh and Henry Scudder, *Mr Whatelyes life and death* attached to William Whately, *Prototypes or the primary precedent presidents ovt of the booke of Genesis, shewing the good and bad things they did and had* (London: 1640); Edward Leigh lived in Banbury during the 1630s. For more information refer to John Sutton's article on Edward Leigh in the DNB. For more information on Henry Scudder, see below p.346. The title page of this work explains that Leigh and Scudder 'were appointed by the Author to Peruse his Manuscripts, and printed by his owne Coppy.'

²⁰ A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640, Volume Two, Q-Z* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 2nd Edition, 1976) p.450

7. *Gods husbandry, the second part, tending chiefly to the reforming of an hypocrite and making him true hearted. As it was delivered in certaine sermons, and is now published* (London: 1622) - attached to the 1622 edition of *Gods husbandry, the first part*.
8. *A pithie short, and methodicall opening of the Ten Commandements* (London: 1622)
9. *A care cloth: or a treatise of the cumbers and troubles of marriage* (London: 1624)
10. *Charitable teares: or a sermon showing how needful a thing it is for every godly man to lament the common sinnes of our countrie. Preached in Banburie* (London: 1623) - attached to the 1624 publication of *A care cloth*.
The title page and a margin note on p.252 indicate that this text was preached in Banbury at the Tuesday lecture.²¹
11. *Mortification, a sermon preached upon the third to the Colossians, the fifth verse* (London: 1623) - attached to the 1624 publication of *A care cloth*.
Dedicated to Lady Joane Herrick
12. *Sinne no more, or a sermon preached in the parish church of Banbury on Tuesday the fourth of March last past, vpon occasion of a most terrible fire that happened there on the Sabbath day immediately precedent* (London: 1628, 1630)
Dedicated to his 'welbeloued neighbours the Inhabitants of the Borough of Banbury in the County of Oxon.'
One edition published in 1628 in London by Eliot's Court Press was printed for Edward Langham, 'and are to be sold by him in Banbury.'
13. *The oyle of gladness. Or, comfort for dejected sinners first preached in the parish church of Banbury* (London: 1637)
14. *The poore mans advocate, or, a treatise of liberality to the needy. Delivered in sermons* (London: 1637)
Addressed to 'the Christians inhabiting in or about Banbury.'
15. *Prototypes, or, the primarie precedent presidents ovt of the booke of Genesis... together with Mr Whatelys life and death* (London: Printed by G.M. for Edward Langham booke-seller in Banbury, 1640)
Prototypes was published without *Mr Whatelys life and death* in 1647.

Another tract by William Whately was translated by Willem Teellinck and published in Dutch in 1609 as *Corte verhandelinge van de voornaemste Christelicke oeffeninghen*. His wedding sermon, *A bride-bvsh*, was also translated by Teellinck and published in Dutch in 1633 as *Cana Galileae, oete Houwelijcks Predicatdie*.²²

²¹ William Whately, *Charitable teares* p.252 states that this 'was preached upon a Tuesday in whitsun week.'

²² Willem J. op't Hof, unpublished article, 'The Eventful Sojourn of Willem Teellinck at Banbury in 1605' p.9. I am grateful to Willem J. op't Hof for sending me his article.

Curates, Lecturers and Clerks of Banbury

(With dates of their known presence in Banbury given in brackets)

William Osbourne (1607-8) – presented for not catechising the youth of Banbury parish in February 1607. He in turn presented William Whately for several offences in April 1608, including serving Communion to parishioners who did not kneel.²³

William Whately (1605-1611) – curate and lecturer. See above.

Ralph Taylor (c.1610-1615) – presented to the peculiar court in or around 1610 for administering the sacrament to parishioners and strangers who did not kneel, administering the sacrament to excommunicated persons, for not reading or singing the ‘lettanie upon sondaies & holidaiies wednesdaies & frydaies accordinge as is prescribed in the booke of common prayer,’ for omitting the confession of belief at morning prayer, for preaching in Banbury without being a licensed preacher, and catechising and administering Communion in his own house. In this presentment it was said that Taylor had served Banbury as curate and teacher at the free-school for 1-2 years. The baptism of Deborah, daughter of Ralph Tayler, minister, and his wife Isabel, is recorded in Banbury’s baptism register on 12 March 1615. In 1615 he was appointed minister of Broughton, near Banbury, which he served until 1646.²⁴

James Hathaway (1610) - presented to the peculiar court on 5 September 1610 for not observing the Communion book.²⁵

William Hollihead (1630) - clerk and school teacher. He was presented to the peculiar court in April 1630 for standing to receive Communion. He had to certify to receiving and administering the sacrament to others kneeling.²⁶

Ministers of St Peter’s, Hanwell

John Dod

John Dod was born in Cheshire and educated at Jesus College, Cambridge. Following a stint as lecturer, first at Cambridge and then at Ely, Cambridgeshire, Dod took the living of Hanwell in 1585.²⁷ John Dod’s first wife was Ann Bownd, sister of

²³ Presentment dated 6 April 1607 in (ORO) Oxford Archdeaconry Papers b.52 Churchwardens’ Presentments Banbury Peculiar f.15; Peyton, *Presentments* p.202

²⁴ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.94, libels and articles undated, ff.100r-101r; Blankenfeld, *Puritans in the Provinces* pp.278-80, 394, 441; Bloxham VCH p.98; BBR p.77; on 13 November 1613 Thomas, son of Ralph Taylor, was baptised (p.75); the minister William Whately referred to his ‘cousin Taylor’ of Broughton in his will proved 25 June 1639 and his wife Martha Whately referred to her ‘cousin’ Ralph Taylor in her will proved 23 December 1641. She made him the overseer to her will.

²⁵ (ORO) Ms Oxford Archdeaconry b 61 visitation processes f.181; Bawdy Court p.31

²⁶ (ORO) Ms Oxford Diocesan Papers c.16 f.64 entry dated 13 April 1630 and f.69v entry dated 2 April 1630; Bawdy Court pp.115, 120

²⁷ There is, however, some confusion over the date of his appointment to Hanwell in current literature: *The Clergy of the Deaneries of Chipping Norton and Deddington and the Peculiar of Banbury and Cropredy During the Settlement of 1559 and Afterwards: Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Report 1916* (Banbury: William Potts, 1917) pp.57-8 mentions that John Dod was appointed to Hanwell on the 28 July 1585; Bloxham VCH p.119 mentions that he was appointed in 1584; his name first appears in the baptism register at Hanwell in April 1588, with the baptism of his son John Dod, (ORO) Mrs Vera Wood transcribed, *Hanwell St Peter, Oxfordshire, Parish Registers* (Oxford Family History Society, 1992); curiously, in ‘A Survaie of the state of the ministerie in Oxfordshire’ in Albert Peel ed. *The Seconde Parte of a Register, Being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that Title Intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593 and now in Dr William Library, London, Volume II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1915) p.137, it is noted that in 1593 the living of Hanwell was vacant but

Nicholas Bownd, the sabbatarian controversialist, and step-daughter of Richard Greenham, minister of Dry Drayton, Cambridgeshire.²⁸ After 20 years at Hanwell Dod was suspended and later ejected from his ministry following his refusal to submit to Archbishop John Whitgift's three articles. He went briefly to Fenny Compton in Warwickshire, before moving to Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire, under the protection of Sir Erasmus Dryden. Later, following a preaching ban of nearly ten years, Dod moved to Fawsley and the patronage of the Knightly family. He died aged 96 and was buried at Fawsley on the 19 August 1645.²⁹ At least five of his own works were published.³⁰ He also published more than twelve works together with Robert Cleaver, minister of nearby Drayton (see below.) He was nick-named 'Decalogue Dod' for his contribution to their collaborative *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements*.³¹

- John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements* (London: 1604) was dedicated to Sir Anthony Cope. In the dedication, written at Banbury the 15 September 1604, they thanked him,

'for al the singular fauours which wee have received at your hands, for the space of these twentie yeares. Wherein you have alwaies shewed you selfe as willing to aide and defend us in our iust cause, as you were careful to make choice of us, at our first entrance into our places. Secondly, because we know not how soone we shal finish the daies of our ministerie, we thought it our dutie to give some teste, and to leave some testimonie thereof unto the world, to witness your godly desire to discharge the trust committed unto you, and our faithfull indeuours to performe the duty belonging unto us. Lastly, for that your selfe hauing formerly heard whatsoever is here set downe in writing...'³²

- John Dod, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the eleuenth and twelfth chapters of the prouerbs of Salomon* was published in 1607 in London by Felix Kynston for Henry Sharpe's book shop in Banbury.

(Other tracts written by John Dod and the other ministers of Hanwell and Drayton detailed below, which have been used in this thesis, are listed in the bibliography.)

Robert Harris

Robert Harris was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he graduated with his BA on the 5 June 1600.³³ By early 1607 he had been presented to Hanwell. He was

there was a curate there, Jonas Wheeler; see also 'The life of Master John Dod' from Samuel Clarke, *A general martyrologie, containing a collection of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the church of Christ... third edition* (London: 1677) p.169 and John Fielding's article on John Dod in the DNB

²⁸ Clarke, *A general martyrologie* p.169; John Fielding's article on John Dod in the DNB

²⁹ Bloxham VCH p.111; Bawdy Court p.139; Clarke, *A generall martyrologie* pp.168, 170, 178; John Fielding's article on John Dod in the DNB

³⁰ Several of these went through numerous editions.

³¹ John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements, with a methodicall short catechisme, containing briefly all the principall grounds of Christian religion* (London: 1604); John Fielding's article on John Dod in the DNB

³² Dod and Cleaver, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandements* A2r-v

³³ Stephen Wright's article on Robert Harris in the DNB.

not able to take up the position immediately, due to a dispute with Richard Bancroft over the nomination.³⁴ He married Joane Whately, the sister of the Banbury minister William Whately, at Banbury on the 20 May 1606.³⁵ Their first child, Mallachi, was baptised at Banbury on the 16 June 1607. Their second child, Rebecca, was baptised at Hanwell on the 25 September 1608, suggesting he was then minister.³⁶ As well as serving his ministry at Hanwell, Harris lectured at Stratford-upon-Avon and Deddington.³⁷ He died in 1658.³⁸ His life was written by his cousin William Durham and published in 1660.³⁹ More than twenty of Harris' sermons and tracts were published, including several volumes of collected works.

- The title page of Robert Harris' *Absalom's Funeral: Or the lamentation of a loving father for a rebellious child* (London: 1611) declared that it was 'preached at Banbury by a neighbour minister.' Harris addressed his readers with the words, 'if anything offend thee in the sermon preached, thou must remember that I meant it to an assemble known, not to strangers unknowne.'⁴⁰
- Robert Harris, preached the funeral sermon of Sir Anthony Cope, published as *Samuels funeral. Or, a sermon preached at the funeral of Sir Anthonie Cope, Knight, and Baronet* (London: 1618)

Ministers of St Peter's, Drayton

Robert Cleaver

Aside from his publications, little is known of the life of Robert Cleaver.⁴¹ He was educated at St Edmund Hall, Oxford, and graduated with his BA March 1581.⁴² Following the death of the previous incumbent, Simon Bonde, Cleaver was appointed minister of St Peter's, Drayton, on the 19 June 1598.⁴³ In May 1593 he married

³⁴ Stephen Wright's article on Robert Harris in the DNB; William Durham, *The life and death of that judicious divine and accomplish'd preacher, Robert Harris, D.D. late President of Trinity College in Oxon* (London: 1660) pp.13-15

³⁵ BMR p.38

³⁶ BBR p.64; (ORO) Wood transcribed, *Hanwell St Peter*; the introduction to Robert Harris' publication, *Absalom's funeral: Or the lamentation of a loving father for a rebellious child* (London: 1611) was penned at Hanwell, 25 August 1610.

³⁷ Durham, *Life and death* pp.26-7

³⁸ For more information on Robert Harris refer to Stephen Wright's DNB article.

³⁹ William Durham, *The life and death of that judicious divine and accomplish'd preacher, Robert Harris, D.D. late President of Trinity College in Oxon. Collected by a joint concurrence of some, who knew him well in his strength, visited him often in his sicknes, and attended him at his death* (London: 1660); for more information on William Durham refer to C.D. Gilbert's article on him in the DNB.

⁴⁰ Harris, *Absalom's funeral* A2

⁴¹ No 'godly life' was written about Robert Cleaver and there is no biography of him included in any of Samuel Clarke's collections of biographies. He does not have an entry in the DNB.

⁴² Bloxham VCH p.109; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Volume 1, Early Series* (Oxford: James Parker, 1891) p.288

⁴³ *The Clergy of the Deaneries of Chipping Norton and Deddington and the Peculiars of Banbury and Cropredy* p.45; Bloxham VCH p.109; there is, however, some confusion over when he came to Drayton, or if indeed he was from Drayton. He is named minister under entries in Drayton's baptism register for the month of December 1587. In the survey of the ministry c.1593 the incumbent of Drayton was named as Simon Bonde, 'A Survaie of the state of the ministerie in oxfordshire' in Peel ed. *The Seconde Parte of a Register* p.136; inside the cover of the Drayton parish register a Simon Banne is named as minister 9 May 1598; (ORO) Collin Harris transcribed, *Drayton St Peter*,

'Dorothie H' at Drayton and their first child, Samuel, was baptised there 14 January 1595.⁴⁴ Like John Dod, Robert Cleaver was deprived of his benefice after refusing to subscribe to the three articles of 1604. The parish registers note that he was a 'favourer of the Presbyterian discipline.'⁴⁵ It is unclear what followed his dismissal. Robert Cleaver was still named as minister in the baptism register in November 1606 and baptisms of children of both Cleaver and his successor Henry Scudder are recorded at Drayton in 1609.⁴⁶ John Fielding in his work on the diocese of Peterborough claims that Cleaver joined John Dod in preaching at Moreton Pinckney, Sulgrave and Weedon Lois between 1607 and 1610.⁴⁷ The introduction to Robert Cleaver's *A brief explanation of the whole booke of the prouerbs of Salomon* was written at Drayton on the 10 May 1615 by John Dod and Robert Cleaver.⁴⁸ Various inhabitants of Banbury left money to Robert Cleaver of Drayton in their wills in the 1610s and 1620s. The most distinctive of these was William Shorte who in 1617 left money to his 'loving friend' Robert Cleaver, and a bequest to one of his sons.⁴⁹ Furthermore, John Dod, Robert Cleaver, Thomas Lodge (Henry Scudder's successor at Drayton) and Ralph Taylor all signed a certificate asking for help towards the relief of those affected by the fire in Banbury in 1628.⁵⁰ The burial register at Drayton records the burial of Mr Robert Cleaver, son of Thomas, late rector, on 5 August 1640. This coincides with a will of Robert Cleaver, dated 1 July 1640, which mentions a wife named Dorothy and witnesses named Thomas Lodge and John Winston. John Winston was curate at Canon's Ashby, and was responsible for publishing many of Dod and Cleaver's works.⁵¹ Robert Cleaver was referred to in the spiritual biography of Robert Harris as a 'solid-Text man.'⁵² At least seven of his works were published in this period, along with more than twelve works in which he collaborated with John Dod. Of Cleaver's publications, the most famous is *A godlie*

Oxfordshire, Parish Registers (Oxford, 1989); Robert Poope of Banbury, however, bequeathed 6s 8d to a Mr Cleaver in his will proved 12 September 1592.

⁴⁴ Robert Cleaver married Dorothie H at Drayton on the 2 May 1593; (ORO) Harris transcribed, *Drayton St Peter*; Robert Cleaver's name is mentioned under the baptism of Elizabeth Kinche, December 12 1587, indicating he served some ministerial function in the parish.

⁴⁵ (ORO) Harris transcribed, *Drayton St Peter*, notes after the baptism of Anne Cotton, April 29 1619, Henry Scudder, 'Rector of this parish in ye room of Master Robert Cleaver who was removed – a favourer of the Presbyterian Discipline;' Durham, *Life and death* pp.10-11; Elizabeth Allen's article on Sir Anthony Cope in the DNB; Patrick Collinson, 'Lectures by Combination: Structures and Characteristics of Church Life in Seventeenth Century England' in his *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983) p.199

⁴⁶ A Timothy Cleaver, son of Robert Cleaver, was baptised at Drayton 24 September 1609 and John Scudder, son of Henry Scudder, 5 November 1609, (ORO) Harris transcribed, *Drayton St Peter*; Robert Cleaver is still named as minister after the baptism of Luke Davis 5 November 1606.

⁴⁷ John Fielding, *Conformists, Puritans and the Church Courts: The Diocese of Peterborough, 1603-1642* (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1989) p.154

⁴⁸ Robert Cleaver, *A brief explanation of the whole booke of the prouerbs of Salomon* (London: 1615)

⁴⁹ Will of William Shorte written 19 February 1617; Bartholomew Strong in his will written 23 August 1616 made Robert Cleaver of Drayton and John Dod of Canons Ashby his overseers; Thomas Halhead in his will written 4 August 1620 referred to Robert Cleaver of Drayton; Thomas Whately, whose will was written 13 March 1637, left money for Robert Cleaver of Drayton; and there were others including Peter Deguillaine who left money for Mr Cleaver in his will written 17 July 1628.

⁵⁰ BCR pp.144-5

⁵¹ (ORO) Will of Robert Cleaver, MS Wills Oxon 13/2/23 (microfilm 200:400) dated July 1 1640; Patrick Collinson, however, claimed in his article 'Lectures by Combination' p.199 that Robert Cleaver died in 1609; the fact that Robert Cleaver's father was named in the burial register suggests that he may have been a local man.

⁵² Durham, *Life and death* p.25

forme of hovseholde government, which went through nine editions between 1598 and 1624.⁵³

Henry Scudder

Like William Whately, Henry Scudder was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. In 1607, following Cleaver's deprivation, Scudder took up the position of minister of Drayton. On 7 June 1608 he married Bridget Hunt at Drayton. She was the sister of William Whately's wife Martha. Their first child to be baptised at Drayton was John Scudder, on the 5 November 1609.⁵⁴ He resigned his ministry sometime before 22 September 1619.⁵⁵ In 1633 he took over from his father-in-law, George Hunt, as minister of Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire.⁵⁶ He died in 1652 and his will dated 12 February 1651 was proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.⁵⁷ Four of his works were published.

Henry Scudder's successor at Drayton was **Thomas Lodge**. He served St Peter's for another thirty three years.⁵⁸

NOTTINGHAM MINISTERS

MINISTERS OF ST MARY'S⁵⁹

Robert Aldridge – appointed minister by the crown, 1 May 1578. He received his BA from Cambridge and was a fellow of King's College between 1564-7. He was also rector of Wollaton 1576-1616. Aldridge was presented to the court of the Nottingham Archdeaconry in 1595 for not being resident, not giving a 40th share of his income to the poor and for leaving his house in decay. An accusation that he neglected St Mary's in favour his cure at Wollaton was made in the documents relating to the trial of John Darrell. In 1612 he was presented for selling a gravestone from the chancel and for buying notorious felons there.⁶⁰ He was buried at St Mary's on the 28 July 1616.⁶¹

⁵³ Robert Cleaver, *A godlie forme of hovseholde government: for the ordering of private families, according to the direction of Gods word* (London: 1598); see Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 'sample of best-sellers and steady sellers first published in England c.1536-1700' pp.594-672

⁵⁴ (ORO) Harris transcribed, *Drayton St Peter*; in Bloxham VCH p.109 it is noted that Scudder was minister from 1607-1619.

⁵⁵ Kenneth Gibson's article on Henry Scudder in the DNB; Jane, a daughter of Henry Scudder, is recorded in the baptism records 1 January 1619, (ORO) Harris transcribed, *Drayton St Peter*; Thomas Lodge signed his name as minister between the marriages recorded on 2 August and 18 October 1619.

⁵⁶ Kenneth Gibson's article on Henry Scudder in DNB

⁵⁷ Will of Henry Scudder, minister of Collingbourne Ducis, dated 12 February 1651 (NA PROB 11/223)

⁵⁸ (ORO) Harris transcribed, *Drayton St Peter*; Lodge is recorded as beginning the baptism register on the 18 October 1619.

⁵⁹ Unless otherwise stated, the information below relating to the ministers of St Mary's comes from (NRO) M416 John T. Godfrey, *Manuscripts Relating to the Antient Parish Churches of Nottingham* (c.1900) pp.27-31; www.stmarysnottingham.org/cl31-40.html, consulted 14 February 2008; and K.S.S. Train ed. *Lists of the Clergy of Central Nottinghamshire, Thoroton Society Record Series*, Volume 15, Part II (1953) pp. 30-31

⁶⁰ (NRO) M462 Archdeaconry (2) p.175, case dated 17 June 1595; (NMSS) Presentment dated 21 April 1612 AN/PB 295/3/133; John Darrell, *A detection of that sinful shameful lying and ridiculous*

Oliver Withington – minister from 26 July 1616, until his death. He received his MA from Oxford. He was appointed through the patronage of William Withington. He previously served the parish as curate, see below.

John Tolson – he was instituted 4 December 1616, but he resigned soon after. He was appointed by the patronage of Robert Pierrepont.

Ralph Hansbie – he was minister from 2 October 1617 until his death. He was appointed through the patronage of William Withington, an assign of Robert Pierrepont of Holbeck Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire. He received his MA from Cambridge and was made a fellow of St John's College in 1609. He was also rector of Barton-in-Fabis between 1616 and 1635. He married Ann Plumtree on the 6 August 1621 at St Mary's.⁶² In 1622 one Robert Burton of St Mary's parish was accused of slandering the minister saying, 'I have heard that theie wente aboute to deprive you of your benefices or one of them without anie intent of scandal.'⁶³ Also in 1622, and again in 1624, Ralph Hansbie was presented to the Archdeaconry court for not catechising according to the book of articles.⁶⁴ In 1626 he was presented for causing certain seats which formerly stood in the church to be moved to the chancel.⁶⁵

Edmund Laccocke – he was instituted 28 November 1635, under the patronage of Robert, Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull. He was made a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge in 1626.

Lecturers at St Mary's

(With dates of their known presence in Nottingham given in brackets)

John Darrell (1597-8) – briefly appointed lecturer at St Mary's in 1597.⁶⁶

Richard Caldwell (1617-1627) – educated at Merton College, Oxford. He graduated with his BA on 1 March 1606 and then received his MA from Bailliol College, Oxford, on 4 July 1610.⁶⁷ He was officially appointed lecturer of St Mary's during the mayoral year 1617-18.⁶⁸ In the case of the Nottingham libels, Sir Henry Yelverton referred in his deposition at the Court of Star Chamber, dated 25 November 1617, to Richard Caldwell 'who hath ben a zealous preacher of the word of god in the said towne of Nottingham certen years now last past.'⁶⁹ In 1628 Caldwell took up the

discourse of Samuel Harshnet (1600) p.112; for more information about Aldridge's involvement in Darrell's dispossession of William Sommers refer to chapter seven and also Marion Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print: Darrell, Harsnett, Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Exorcism Controversy* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006) pp.84, 91-3, 95-6

⁶¹ There is a suicide of a Mr Aldridge recorded in the council minute book 6 October 1616, (NRO) CA 3392 Hall Book, dated 1616-17, microfilm z233, f.79; NBR IV p.349

⁶² NMR Mary p.36

⁶³ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/18 dated 1622 p.177

⁶⁴ (NMSS) AN/PB 302/376 presentment dated 6 May 1622, AN/PB 303/414 presentment dated October 1622 and AN/PB 302/443 presentment dated 12 April 1624.

⁶⁵ (NMSS) AN/PB 302/307 presentment dated 24 April 1626.

⁶⁶ Samuel Harsnett, *A discovery of the fraudulent practises of John Darrel, bachelor of arts, in his proceedings concerning the pretended possession and dispossession of William Somers at Nottingham* (London: 1599) p.14; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.92

⁶⁷ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Volume 1, Early Series* (Oxford: James Parker, 1891) p.230

⁶⁸ Caldwell was granted a salary of £10 'in regard of his greate paynes which hee contynually taketh,' recorded in the Hall Book for the years 1617-8, dated 15 December 1617 (NRO) CA1633b; the last payment to him recorded in the Chamberlain's Accounts is in 1626-7 (NRO) CA1637. The accounts for 1627-8 do not survive.

⁶⁹ (NA) STAC 8/27/7 f.29

position of rector of Normanton-on-Soar, Nottinghamshire.⁷⁰ He was buried there on 4 August 1637. A copy of his will and inventory are preserved at York.⁷¹

Thomas Cranage – he was curate and lecturer of St Mary's from 1633 to 1640.⁷² He was presented to the Archdeaconry court on 2 May 1635 for not standing at the creed, for not catechising 'by way of questions and answers according to the canon,' and for not reading divine service before the lecture nor constantly wearing the surplice.⁷³

Curates, Clerks and Deacons at St Mary's

(With dates of their known presence in Nottingham given in brackets)

Barnabas Evans (1581-1600)⁷⁴ – on 4 December 1589 Barnabas Evans, curate of St Mary's, appears in the Archdeaconry court records in a case against John Taylor of Gurton for defamation.⁷⁵ Dr Evans is referred to in the tracts surrounding the dispossession of William Sommers. He had visited Sommers and confirmed that he was possessed before the arrival of John Darrell.⁷⁶ He was married twice at St Mary's, once in 1581 to Margaret Gabitis, and again in 1597 to Alice Wilford.⁷⁷

Christopher Helowe or Heloe (1594-1596) – named curate of St Mary's in a case of a disputed marriage on the 4 November 1596.⁷⁸

Robert Cowper (1589-1622) – several of his roles in the church are noted in the churchwardens' accounts from 1589, such as keeping the clocks and keeping the register book.⁷⁹ He is named clerk of St Marys in a will of 1594.⁸⁰ He was the stepfather of the possessed apprentice William Sommers, and his position as clerk of St Mary's was referred to in the tracts surrounding the dispossession, dated 1599-

⁷⁰ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* p.230; J.T. Godfrey, *Notes on the Churches of Nottinghamshire: Hundred of Rushcliffe* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1887) p.158

⁷¹ Will or admon. bond of Richard Caldwell dated 22 September 1637 and inventory taken 27 August 1637, (BI) Microfilm Reel 1636, Chancery Wills 1636/7-1641/2; (NRO) PR 2605, parish register for births, marriages and burials, Normanton-on-Soar; Godfrey, *Notes on the Churches of Nottinghamshire* p.158

⁷² In April 1632 the common council agreed a £10 salary for a preaching minister in St Mary's, 'such a one as maister hansbie and the parishe shall agree to electe,' (NRO) Hall Book 1631-2, CA 3406, f.44, dated 9 April 1632; NBR V p.153; in (NRO) CA 1642 Chamberlain's Accounts dated 1632-3, there are references to payments for 'Mr Cranage lecturer.'

⁷³ (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.486

⁷⁴ He is named as clerk and curate of St Mary's in nine wills between 1582-1600, for example in the will of William Eaton, written 14 March 1588, and the will of Robert Pye, written 20 September 1600.

⁷⁵ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/3 p.73, dated 4 December 1589

⁷⁶ John Darrell, *An apologie, or defence of the possession of William sommers, a yong man of the towne of Nottingham* (Amsterdam: 1599) KIIIv; Harsnett, *Discovery* p.97; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.83-4

⁷⁷ NMR Barnaby Evans clerk, married Margaret Gabitis at St Mary's 17 January 1581 (p.10) and Barnabe Evans clerk of this church married Alice Wilford, widow, at St Marys 8 May 1597 (p.21)

⁷⁸ (NRO) M461 Archdeaconry (1) p.183; also named in another case in 1594, (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/5 p.103

⁷⁹ (NRO) accounts of the churchwardens of St Mary's PR 4613, 1589-90, f.8r mentions that one of the houses in the churchyard was rented by Robert Cowper and on f.10r that he was paid xiid for 'keeping of the register booke' and f.11r that he was paid viiis viiid for 'keepinge the clocke.' He was also paid for keeping the clock in PR 4614, accounts dated 1590-1 f.11r, and again in PR 4615A, 1591-2 f.11r, as well as for doing some sawing f.10r. Other references to him are found in the accounts for the year 1592-3 in PR 4615 B ff.9r and 11r.

⁸⁰ Will of William Towle, Nottingham, proved 10 October 1594; Cowper was a witness to several wills in 1593 but he is not named clerk or curate in them.

1600.⁸¹ The will of Robert Cooper, parish clerk of St Mary's was proved 9 August 1622.

Oliver Withington (1603) – in the 1603 visitation for St Mary's, Mr Oliver Withington was named 'preacher and master of arts and curate of the church.'⁸² Two of his children were baptised at St Mary's in 1604 and 1606.⁸³ In 1616 he was appointed minister of St Marys, see above.

John Sherot (1594-1612) - he is referred to in a will dated 1594, which refers to Robert Cowper, parish clerk of St Mary's, and afterwards to John Sherot as 'his fellow.'⁸⁴ He was named in the John Darrell tracts for accompanying Dr Evans in his visits to William Sommer's bedside in 1597 and for having read several tracts about witchcraft and possession.⁸⁵ In 1612 he was given a licence to read prayers at St Mary's and teach children the alphabet.⁸⁶

John Tibberd (1635) – he was ordained as a deacon at St Mary's in 1634, allowing him to read services at the chapel of Sneinton. He is named as deacon in the presentment of Thomas Cranage to the Archdeaconry court on the 2 May 1635 (see above.) Previously he had worked for the Registry of the Archdeaconry. He began examining presentment bills in 1596 and in 1602 became Deputy Registrar to the Archdeaconry court, where he worked until 1625. He was also *notarie publique*.⁸⁷

Hugh Parke (1642) – in his will of 1642, Hugh Parke refers to himself as 'one of the clerks of saint maires parishe church.'⁸⁸ He may have previously been a clerk at St Peter's, see below.

RECTORS OF ST PETER'S⁸⁹

St Peter's Nottingham remained under the patronage of the crown throughout this period.

John Wytter – rector from the 2 October 1578 until his death. He was buried on the 3 August 1583.

Charles Aynsworth – instituted on the 25 September 1583. Later rector of Bulwell between 1588 and 1626.

Ralph Shute – formerly minister of St Nicholas', Nottingham. Instituted rector at St Peter's on the 13 December 1588, where he served until his death. In 1589 he was

⁸¹ Darrell, *Apologie Kiiiir*; G.Co. *A briefe narration of the possession, dispossession and repossession of William Somers* (Amsterdam: 1598) Aiiiir; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* pp.84-5, 99

⁸² (NMSS) presentments for St Mary's, AN/PB 292/10/28 dated 01/08/1603

⁸³ Children of Oliver Withington, clerk, Garthurit (1604) and Susanna (1606,) are recorded in the baptism registers of St Mary's; (NRO) PR 2020 parish register for births, marriages and burials St Mary's.

⁸⁴ Will of William Towle, proved 10 October 1594

⁸⁵ Harsnett, *Discovery* p.97; Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print* p.84

⁸⁶ (NRO) M462 Archdeaconry (2) p.315

⁸⁷ (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.486; <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/mss/online/archdeaconry/>, consulted 14 February 2008, pages related to 'The Bawdy Court' exhibition at the NMSS; R.A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (London: Longmans 1960) p.194; he was also scribe and witness to many Nottingham wills, as shown in chapter four, p.148, footnote 32.

⁸⁸ Will of Hugh Parke, written 23 May 1642, proved 25 October 1642. In his will he states that he is one of the clerks of St Mary's, but requests to be buried in St Peter's churchyard.

⁸⁹ Unless otherwise stated, the information below relating to the rectors of St Peter's comes from (NRO) M416 Godfrey, *Manuscripts* pp.105-6; <http://www.stpetersnottingham.org/history/rectors2.htm>, consulted 14 February 2008; and Train ed. *Lists of the Clergy* pp.44-5

excommunicated for conducting an irregular marriage.⁹⁰ He was buried on the 28 January 1600.

John Pare – instituted the 20 February 1600. Subsequently rector of Tollerton between 1604 and 1636.

Francis Rodes – rector from the 23 May 1604.

Roger Freeman – rector from the 25 October 1606 until his death. Presented to the Archdeaconry court in January 1608 for being absent when he should have been christening a child, and in April 1608 for being absent for about a month.⁹¹ He was buried on the 29 December 1609.

John Keele – instituted the 26 April 1610.

Thomas Law – instituted the 14 Jan 1611. He was presented to the Archdeaconry court in 1612 for allowing a stranger to preach without authority.⁹² He was suspended in 1615 for quarrelling with his parish clerk, Hugh parke, in the church. He was forced to resign from St Peter's in 1617 for preaching after his suspension.⁹³ In 1618 he was presented for teaching school in St Mary's parish without a license and in 1619 for striking and quarrelling in St Mary's churchyard.⁹⁴

George Coates – he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge and received his BA in 1611-12.⁹⁵ He was appointed rector of St Peter's on the 9 July 1617, where he served until his death.⁹⁶ He was presented at the Archbishop of York's visitation in 1636 for serving Communion to inhabitants who would not kneel and for allowing his parishioners not to receive at the newly railed altar.⁹⁷ He died on the 28 November 1640. A praising comment on his life was anonymously noted in St Peter's parish register after his death. It refers to Coates as 'that faithfull minister of Christ.' It explained that he was a godly man and an excellent and painful preacher.⁹⁸ He was buried in St Peter's church, where his monument spoke of his scholarship, his upright lifestyle and his care for his flock. His home was compared to a 'school of religion.'⁹⁹ Both his will and inventory survive.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/3 p.45, case dated 16 August 1589, dispute over the marriage of Christopher Snoden.

⁹¹ (NMSS) presentment AN/PB 352/2/4 dated 11 January 1608 and presentment AN/PB 294/2/111 dated 11 April 1608

⁹² (NRO) M462 Archdeaconry (2) p.321

⁹³ (BI) Chancery Act Book 1613-18 f.272v, 1 February 1616; also (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/16 p.2

⁹⁴ (NMSS) presentments St Mary's AN/PB 295/7/22 dated 1618 and AN/PB 295/8/13 dated 17 September 1619

⁹⁵ John Venn and J.A. Venn *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, From the Earliest Times to 1751, Volume I, ABBAS to CUTTS* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) p.359

⁹⁶ In Venn and Venn *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Volume I* p.359 it is claimed that George Coates was vicar of Radcliffe-on-Trent until 1622 and also rector of Adbolton, Nottinghamshire, from 1622-8; this is disputed in Pamela Priestland and Beryl Cobbing eds. *Village Life in Tudor and Stuart Times: A Study of Radcliffe-on-Trent* (Radcliffe-on-Trent: Ashbraken, 1996) p.116 where it is explained that this other George Coates was at Radcliffe between c.1593-1622 and then rector of Adbolton from 1622 onwards. He cannot also have been rector of St Peter's since the George Coates of St Peter's is recorded as having been 52 at his death in 1640 and the George Coates in Radcliffe is noted as early as 1593, which would have made him aged six. The two men's signatures are apparently also different.

⁹⁷ (BI) Archbishop's Register 32 ff.33r-v, 35v; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* pp.194-5

⁹⁸ For a fuller description of the words of this note refer to chapter one p.59; (NRO) PR 3630 St Peter's parish register of births, marriages and death, f.2. It also explained that on 5 November 1640 he had preached on Jeremy 48 verse 13 and that 'was ye last text mr cotes did ever preach upon.'

⁹⁹ <http://www.stpetersnottingham.org/history/rectors2.htm> consulted 14 February 2008

¹⁰⁰ Inventory of George Coates, dated 15 December 1640 (NRO) DDTS 17/3; copy of will of George Coates dated 19 July 1636 in (NMSS) AN/M3/2/103

John Goodall – instituted rector on the 18 Dec 1640. He had been curate of the parish since 1637. He was the nephew of George Coates.¹⁰¹

Curates and Clerks of St Peter's

(With dates of known presence in Nottingham given in brackets)

John Renshawe (1593-4) – named as clerk of St Peter's in a will dated 1594.¹⁰²

Hugh Parke (1612-16) – named as clerk of St Peter's in 1612, when he was presented to the Archdeaconry court for allowing a stranger to preach without authority, along with the rector of St Peter's, Thomas Law. In 1616 he was cited to the Court of Chancery at York for brawling with Thomas Law.¹⁰³ A will of Hugh Parke, clerk of St Mary's, survives, dated 1642, suggesting he later became a clerk there.¹⁰⁴

Robert Troupe (1619 – at least 1646) – in 1619 Robert Troupe, then schoolmaster, was presented at the Archbishop's visitation for sermon-gadding.¹⁰⁵ The records of the Quarter Sessions for 1620 show that one Robert Simpson, a scrivener, threatened 'Robert Troope to doe him some mischiefe.' Simpson was also presented for calling Robert Wood a 'dissemblinge Puritayne' amongst other things.¹⁰⁶ At the beginning of St Peter's parish register, Robert Troupe, clerk of St Peters, wrote a memorandum 'that I did enter into my charge upon the 26 December 1623.'¹⁰⁷ He was still referred to in wills as late as 1646.¹⁰⁸

John Goodall (1637-1640) – curate from 1637 to 1640, when he was appointed rector.¹⁰⁹

RECTORS OF ST NICHOLAS'¹¹⁰

St Nicholas' in Nottingham remained under the patronage of the crown throughout this period.

Ralph Shute – instituted rector on the 17 March 1586. In 1588 he moved to the rectory of St Peter's. Shute was presented to the Archdeaconry court on the 16 May 1587 for not reading the Queen's injunctions as he ought to do.¹¹¹

¹⁰¹ Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* p.303

¹⁰² John Renshaw, clerk of St Peter's, was left 2s 6d in the will of Thomas Pickerde of Nottingham, written 20 November 1594; John Renshaw, clerk of Nottingham, was also remembered in the will of Thomas Cadman, written 6 April 1593

¹⁰³ (BI) Chancery Act Book 1613-18 f.272v, 1 February 1615/6; (MRO) M462 Archdeaconry (2) p.312

¹⁰⁴ Will of Hugh Parke, written 23 May 1642, proved 25 October 1642. In his will he stated that he was one of the clerks of St Mary's, but requested to be buried in St Peter's churchyard.

¹⁰⁵ (BI) Visitation Court Book (V.1619 CB) f.358r, presented for 'often going from his owne parish church as well when there are sermons as otherwise & goeth to other churches.' Others presented at the same time are discussed in chapter five pp.199-200

¹⁰⁶ (NRO) z253 microfilm of the Quarter Sessions rolls, 1605-1620, dated 1 May 1620; NBR IV p.367-8

¹⁰⁷ (NRO) PR 3630 Parish register of births, marriages and deaths St Peter's, f.2. It also notes refers to a payment of 46s 8d in 1625 which Troupe, clerk of St Peter's, paid for nails and planks for 'edifying' the ringing floor; also noted in (NRO) M416 Godfrey, *Manuscripts* p.191

¹⁰⁸ Named as parish clerk of St Peter's in the will of Elizabeth Linley, written 9 February 1640. He received a pair of mourning gloves in the will of William Clark, written 25 May 1645.

¹⁰⁹ Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts* p.303

¹¹⁰ Unless otherwise stated, the information below relating to the rectors of St Nicholas' church comes from (NRO) M416 Godfrey, *Manuscripts* pp.244-245 and Train ed. *Lists of the Clergy* p.38

¹¹¹ (NRO) M461 Archdeaconry (1) p.56, dated 16 May 1587.

John Lambe – he was instituted on the 5 January 1589. In 1593 he was accused at the Archdeaconry court of adultery with the wife of William Parke, ‘using words’ to William Elrowe and ‘using force’ on Thomas Reade.¹¹²

Thomas Thornley – instituted by 1601. He was also vicar of Radford between 1595 and 1612.

Robert Malham – instituted on the 10 Dec 1611. He was also vicar of Radford from 1612 to 1651.

Robert Aynsworth – instituted on the 22 March 1622.

St Nicholas’ church was demolished in 1643.¹¹³

Clerks of St Nicholas’

(With dates of known presence in Nottingham given in brackets)

John Lambert (1638) – he is named as parish clerk in a presentment to the Archdeaconry court dated June 1638, when he was presented for reading divine in St Nicholas’ church ‘being a mere layman.’ He also witnessed several wills in the period 1618-1638. In two wills he was named as scribe.¹¹⁴

¹¹² (NRO) Hodgkinson, *Registers* DDTS 14/26/4 p.151, dated 21 January 1593.

¹¹³ Train ed. *Lists of the Clergy* p.39

¹¹⁴ (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) p.508, 23 June 1638 he admitted ‘that during the tyme of the plague at Radford, he did read prayers there in the absence of Mr malham the parson there.’ He was dismissed with a warning; he was named scribe in the wills of Robert Harries, written 31 August 1635, and Ellin Allen, written 8 August 1638. He received ‘my cloak’ and was witness to the will of Thomas Singleton, written 9 May 1626.

Appendix Two

Categories of names used in Banbury and Nottingham c.1558-1640¹¹⁵

Popular names - Anne/Anna (d) Elizabeth¹¹⁶ (d) John (s) Margaret (d) Mary (d) Richard (s) Robert (s) Thomas (s) William (s)

Grace names - Charity (d) Constance (d) Faith (d) Fortune (d) Grace (d) Hope (d) Hopestill (d) Innocence (d) Justice (d) Makepeace (d) Obedience (d) Patience (d) Prudence (d) Sense (d) Silence (d) Temperance (d) Truth (d)

Christian (s/d)

Old Testament - Aaron (s) Abdih (Abida) (s) Abel (s) Abiezer (s) Abigail (d) Abraham (s) Adam (s) Aholiab (Oholiab) (s) Amos (s) Barzilla (Barzillai) (s) Bathsheba/ Bethshua (d) Benjamin (s) Bezaleel (s) Caleb (s) Dalaiah (Delaiah) (d) Daniel (s) David (s) Deborah (d) Ezechiell/Hezechia (Ezekiel/Hezekiah) (s) Gamaliel (s) Giddyon (Gideon) (s) Hannah (d) Hanniel (s) Hester (Esther) (d) Hozea (Hosea) (s) Isaac (s) Isaiah (s) Israel (d) Jacob (s) Jaell (Jael) (d) Jonah (s) Joshua (s) Josiah (s) Judith (d) Leah (d) Mallachi (Malachi) (s) Manasses (Manasseh) (s) Methushelah (Methuselah) (s) Michael (s) Micah (s) Miriam (d) Moses (s) Naomi (d) Nathaniel (Nathan) (s) Nehemiah (s) Rachel (d) Rebecca (d) Ruth (d) Salathiel (s/d) Samson (s) Samuel (s) Sarah (d) Seth (s) Solomon (s) Suzanna (d) Tobias (s) Zechariah (s) Zephany (Zephaniah) (s)

Where names are found both in the Old and New Testament, they have been categorised as Old Testament names.

New Testament - Andrew (s) Aquilla (s) Baptist (s) Barnabie (s) Bartholomew (s) Cressene (s) Damaris (s) Dorcas (s) Eunice/e (d) Gabriel (s) James (s) Jonathan (s) Lazarus (s) Luke (s) Lydia (d) Magdalen (d) Mark (s) Martha (d) Matthew/Matthias (s) Mychai (s) Nichodemus (s) Onesiphrus (s) Paul (s) Peter (s) Philip (s) Phoebe (d) Pricilla (d) Simon (s) Tabitha (d) Theophilus (s) Timothy (s) Titus (s)

Non-Biblical Saint - Adrian (s) Agnes (d) Ambrose (s) Annys (from Agnes) (d) Anthony (s) Aidan (s) Barbara (d) Benedict (s) Bonadventure (s) Brice (s) Bridget (d) Catherine (d) Christopher (s) Cicely (d) Clement (s/d) Cuthbert (s) Denise (d) Dorothy (d) Edith (d) Edmund (s) Edward (s) Ellen (from Helen) (d) Eustice (s) Fabian (s) Felix (s) Ferdinand/o (s) Frances (d) Francis (s) Frideswide (d) George (s)

¹¹⁵ These categories are based on information from David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Julia Cresswell, *Bloomsbury Dictionary of First Names* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2001); www.behindthename.com/nmc.bibl.php, consulted 14 February 2008; *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Old and Newe Testament* (Geneva: 1560)

¹¹⁶ Note that these names have been categorised as the same names - Elizabeth and Eliza; Alice and Alicia; Catherine and Katherine; Daurity and Dorothy; Ellen and Elenor; Hugh and Hewgh; Joan, Joane and Jone; Johann and John; Margaret and Margery; Mary, Marie and Maria; Maud and Maudlin; Rafe and Ralph; Sarzan and Susan and Susannah; Toby and Tobias

Gilbert (s) Gillian (from Julian) (d) Godfrey (s) Gregory (s) Giles (s) Helen (d) Henry (s) Hugh (s) Jerome (s) Gervase (s) Joanne (d) Julian (s) Lawrence (s) Leonard (s) Lucy (d) Martin (s) Nicholas (s) Oswald (s) Patrick (s) Petronell(a) (d) Steven (s) Theodore (s) Ursula (d) Valentine (s) Vincent (s) Winifred (d) Wolston (Wulstan) (s)

Traditional names - Alice (d) Allen (s) Anker (s) Arthur (s) Balthazar (s) Bennet (d) Brian (s) Cassandra (d) Charles (s) Collet (d) Emile (d) Fulk (s) Gertrude (d) Goodwyn (s) Griffin (s) Grissel (d) Harry (s) Humphrey (s) Isabel (d) Jane (d) Jasper (s) Jeffrey (s) Joyce (s) Lewis (s) Marian (d) Marmaduke (s) Mathilde (d) Maude (d) Miles (s) Millicent (d) Morris (s) Percival (s) Philippa (d) Ralph (s) Randall (s) Randolph (s) Reginald (s) Reynold (s) Roberta (d) Roger (s) Rose (d) Rowland (s) Sophia (d) Theodocea (d) Thomasine (d) Walter (s)

Festival names - Easter (d) Epiphany (s) Passover (s) Pentecost (s/d) Silvester (s)

Other names - Alexander (s) Alyonell (s) Amy (d) Annabel (d) Arden (s) Aryan (s) Avis (s) Bartua (s) Baynton (s) Beatus (d) Bedone (s) Beyvell (s) Blythe (d) Brackenberye (s) Brownloe (s) Burton (s) Castle (s) Cateris (s) Clifton (s) Cornelius (s) Crosswell (s) Damesinge (d) Darnagold (d) Densell (s) Deodatus (s) Dodin (s) Draycot (s) Ellis (s) Emmeris (s) Emott (d) Enryn (d) Erasmus (s) Evethe (d) Feyadatia (d) Florence (d) Garthwight (d) Goodridge (s) Grenawan (s) Hamden (s) Hatfeld (s) Hatell (d) Hercules (s) Huntingdon (s) Izd (d) Jayes (d) Jenkyn (s) Johnson (s) Jordan (s) Lamia (d) Lancelot (s) Latimer (s) Lettice (d) Lucretia (d) Mabel (d) May (d) Milberow (d) Newman (s) Novell (s) Olive (d) Oliver (s) Organ (s) Parnell (d) Pasyan (s) Perlis (d) Pevegrene (s) Philadelphia (s/d) Phylis (d) Rablan (d) Rawlen (d) Ronch (s) Rotheram (s) Shacarley (s) Sidney (s) Silvan (s) Stanley (s) Sybell (d) Syeth (d) Talbot (s) Triphona (d) Valence (d) Wilson (s) Yeedye (d) Younell (d)

Below is a copy of the categorisation of names used in Nicholas Tyacke's study of Warbleton in the period 1586-96, in order of popularity, for comparison¹¹⁷

Puritan names - Sin-deny (10) Be-thankful (9) Repent (9) Patience (7) Free-gift (5) Good-gift (5) Refrain (5) Abuse-not (2) Constance (2) Depend (2) Faint-not (2) Give-thanks (2) Increased (2) Magnify (2) Much-mercy (2) Obedient (2) Preserved (2) Renewed (2) Be-steadfast (1) Confidence (1) Eschew-evil (1) Faithful (1) Fear-God (1) Indued (1) Lament (1) Learn-Wisdom (1) More-fruit (1) No-merit (1) Obey (1) Repentance (1) Return (1) Silence (1) Sorry-for-sin (1) Unfeigned (1) and Zealous (1)

Non-Puritan names - Mary (16) Thomas (16) John (10) Richard (9) Elizabeth (8) Edward (5) William (5) Anne (4) Joan (4) Margaret (4) Samuel (4) Sara (3) Susan (3) Dorothy (2) Ellen (2) George (2) Lydia (2) Priscilla (2) Stephen (2) Abel (1) Abraham (1) Agnes (1) Alice (1) Ananias (1) Anthony (1) Benjamin (1) Cornelius (1) Denys (1) Edmond (1) Effagina (1) Henry (1) Judith (1) Michael (1) Obadiah (1) Odiane (1) Rebecca (1) Roger (1) Silas (1) Silvester (1) and Winifred (1)

¹¹⁷ Nicholas Tyacke, 'Popular Puritan Mentality in Late Elizabethan England' in his *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) pp.107-8 footnotes 22 and 23

Appendix Three

Lists of Nottingham and Banbury wills written and proved 1580-1650

Index to the abbreviated archive and will codes used in the table below:

NRO prnw1645	Nottinghamshire County Archives, will code PR/NW 1645
NRO ca 4645	Nottinghamshire County Archives, archive code ca 4645
BI v.22 f.348	Borthwick Institute, wills volume 22, folio 348
NMSS AN/M3/2/103	Nottingham University Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections, will code AN/M3/2/103
NA prob 11/193	National Archives, will code PROB 11/193
ORO 32/1/36	Oxfordshire County Record Office, wills oxon peculiars 32/1/36

In the table of Banbury wills, the volume and page numbers in the ‘transcript’ columns refer to transcriptions of the wills found in:

Vol. 1	E.R.C. Brinkworth and J.S.W. Gibson eds. <i>Banbury Wills and Inventories, Part One, 1591-1620</i> , The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 13 (1985)
Vol. 2	E.R.C. Brinkworth and J.S.W. Gibson eds. <i>Banbury Wills and Inventories, Part Two, 1621-1650</i> , The Banbury Historical Society, Volume 14 (1976)

These transcriptions only detail the bequests made in the wills, not the preambles. They only include the wills deposited at Banbury, not those at Canterbury.

These tables do not record surviving inventories. Where inventories are referred to in the chapters of this thesis a full archive reference is given in the footnotes. For Banbury, inventories survive in some cases without surviving wills. The contents of the surviving inventories for this period for Banbury have been transcribed in the above two volumes.

NOTTINGHAM WILLS

Archive	Will Code	First Name	Surname	Date Written		Date Proved	
				Month	Year	Month	Year
NRO	prnw 1645	William	Abbott	17-Oct	1644	20-Dec	1645
BI	v.22 f.348	Henry	Adley	02-Oct	1582	08-Feb	1582
NRO	prnw 1617	John	Allen	07-Feb	1616	16-Jan	1617
NRO	prnw 1641	Ellin	Allen	08-Aug	1638	09-Mar	1641
NRO	prnw 1630	John	Alton	08-Feb	1630	22-Apr	1630
NRO	prnw 1639	Elizabeth	Alton	18-Jun	1638	09-Aug	1639
NRO	prnw 1602	Nicholas	Alvye	19-Dec	1601	22-Jan	1602

NRO	prnw 1649	William	Atkin	20-Feb	1643	09-Oct	1649
NRO	prnw 1632	John	Atkinson	13-Jun	1628	26-Apr	1632
BI	v.22 f.375	George	Awood	04-Apr	1583	23-Apr	1583
BI	v.22 f.501	Richard	Ayscoughe	24-Oct	1583	11-Feb	1583
NRO	prnw 1605	Giles	Balderston	29-Oct	1604	25-Apr	1605
NRO	prnw 1626	Thomas	Ball	14-Nov	1624	15-Feb	1626
BI	v.25 f.1328	George	Bamforthe	04-Dec	1592	10-May	1593
NRO	prnw 1638	Edmund	Bampton	03-Apr	1638	16-Aug	1638
NRO	prnw 1596	Ann	Bardsey	20-Nov	1594	06-May	1596
NRO	prnw 1609	Ellen	Barker	17-May	1609	12-Jul	1609
NRO	prnw 1630	Richard	Barker	17-Jan	1630	22-Apr	1630
BI	v.22 f.570	Margerie	Barlebe	no date		24-Sep	1584
NRO	prnw 1630	Thomas	Barnes	16-Jul	1628	22-Apr	1630
NRO	prnw 1631	William	Barnes	09-Aug	1630	12-Feb	1631
NRO	prnw 1640	John	Barratt	29-Oct	1639	12-Mar	1640
NRO	prnw 1612	Robert	Barret	09-Sep	1611	17-Jan	1612
BI	v.23 f.25	Katherine	Bawmfford	28-Sep	1595	11-Feb	1585
NRO	prnw 1632	Anne	Baylie	29-Nov	1631	09-Feb	1632
NRO	prnw 1617	Alexander	Beardsley	12-Nov	1616	16-Jan	1617
BI	v.26 f.336	George	Beighton	25-Apr	1595	21-Aug	1596
NRO	prnw 1639	Ann	Beldon	20-Dec	1636	09-Feb	1639
NRO	prnw 1592	Henry	Bell	21-Nov	1591	13-Jan	1592
NRO	prnw 1612	John	Bell	23-May	1610	15-Jul	1612
BI	v.33 f.115	William	Bell	26-Apr	1612	19-May	1614
BI	v.25 f.1036	Richard	Bennett	03-Sep	1592	12-Oct	1592
NRO	prnw 1637	William	Benson	26-Jun	1636	01-Mar	1637
NRO	prnw 1617	John	Beresford	27-Mar	1617	15-May	1617
NRO	prnw 1621	Thomas	Bestwicke	02-Feb	1621	04-Aug	1621
BI	v.23 f.757	John	Birchall	07-May	1588	22-May	1588
BI	v.22 f.455	Richard	Birche	28-Dec	Blank	08-Oct	1583
BI	v.22 f.281	Michael	Bonner	03-Jul	1582	10-Oct	1582
NRO	prnw 1614	Humphrey	Bonner	21-Sep	1613	19-Jan	1614
NRO	prnw 1621	Richard	Bonner	03-Jan	1621	26-Apr	1621
NRO	prnw 1630	William	Borrowe	01-Apr	1630	07-Oct	1630
BI	v.22 f.290	Henry	Bosvill	16-Jul	1582	10-Oct	1582
NRO	prnw 1599	John	Boun	25-Nov	1597	15-Sep	1599
NRO	prnw 1611	Agnes	Bowman	21-Jan	1611	18-Apr	1611
NRO	prnw 1623	William	Brelesford	17-Jul	1623	09-Oct	1623
BI	v.22 f.158	Robert	Brigges	29-Jul	1580	12-Oct	1581
BI	v.31 f.586	Michael	Briggs	05-Dec	1610	18-Apr	1611
NRO	prnw 1612	Juliana	Briggs	16-Aug	1609	17-Jan	1612
BI	v.29 f.708	Henry	Brighteman	26-Mar	1602	10-Oct	1605
NRO	prnw 1632	Margaret	Brighteman	08-Feb	1627	09-Feb	1632
NRO	prnw 1648	Robert	Broadhead	14-Jan	1648	05-May	1648
BI	v.23 f.99	Anthony	Bromehead	09-May	1585	08-Oct	1585
BI	v.25 f.1032	John	Bromley	13-Sep	1592	12-Oct	1592
NRO	prnw 1614	Samuel	Broune, Browne	28-Oct	1613	19-Jan	1614
NRO	prnw 1640	William	Brownell	28-Mar	1640	16-May	1640
BI	v.34 f.137	William	Brumlowe	15-Dec	1615	22-Jul	1616
NRO	prnw 1613	Joan	Buckand	no date		28-Jul	1613

BI	v.24 f.389	Bridgett	Bullevaunt	16-Jan	1588	07-Aug	1590
NRO	prnw 1601	Thomas	Burche	07-Aug	1601	08-Oct	1601
NRO	prnw 1608	Gabriel	Burrowes	10-Jul	1607	21-Apr	1608
BI	v.42 f.252	Samuel	Burrowes	14-Feb	1633	20-Aug	1634
NRO	prnw 1640	Isabel	Burrowes	12-Jul	1640	Oct	1640
BI	v.23 f.33	Robert	Burton	05-Feb	1584	06-May	1585
BI	v.23 f.813	Edmund	Burton	05-Jun	1588	02-Jul	1588
BI	v.24 f.95	Edmund	Burton	12-Jul	1588	23-Aug	1589
NRO	prnw 1646	Robert	Burton	04-Aug	1646	08-Sep	1646
NRO	prnw 1648	Elizabeth	Burton	21-Dec	1647	05-May	1648
BI	v.37 f.35	Henrie	Butler	19-Mar	1621	09-Aug	1622
NRO	prnw 1628	Marie	Butler	14-Apr	1628	08-May	1628
NRO	prnw 1605	Thomas	Buxom		1605	25-Apr	1605
BI	v.28 f.378	James	Byarde	25-Jan	1600	07-May	1601
BI	v.25 f.1465	Thomas	Cadman	06-Apr	1593	11-Oct	1593
NRO	prnw 1646	Margaret	Callton	16-Mar	1643	18-May	1646
NRO	prnw 1640	Dennis	Callton, Caulton	19-Apr	1640	18-May	1640
NRO	prnw 1630	John	Calton, Caulton	07-Oct	1629	06-Feb	1630
NRO	prnw 1639	John	Cave	03-May	1639	10-Oct	1639
BI	v.23 f.449	John	Charlesworth	29-Jan	1586	01-Jun	1587
BI	v. 21 f.467	Richard	Clarke	24-May	1580	30-Nov	1580
NRO	prnw1601	Peter	Clarke	19-May	1601	29-Jul	1601
NRO	prnw 1608	John	Clarke	07-Jun	1608	13-Oct	1608
NRO	prnw 1617	Anne	Clarke	26-Oct	1616	15-May	1617
NRO	prnw 1621	Anne	Clarke	29-Feb	1620	26-Apr	1621
NRO	prnw 1646	William	Clarke	25-May	1645	18-May	1646
NRO	prnw 1647	William	Clarke	16-Jan	1647	23-Aug	1647
NRO	prnw 1624	William	Clifton	no date		07-Oct	1624
NRO	prnw 1615	Christopher	Cloose, Clowes	07-Mar	1615	20-Jul	1615
NMSS	AN/M3/2/1 03	George	Coates	29-Jul	1636		
NRO	prnw 1648	Patrick	Cocke	10-Jan	1648	05-May	1648
NA	prob 11/226	Patrick	Cocke	10-Jan	1647	06-Sep	1653
NRO	prnw 1648	William	Cocke	17-Apr	1648	Oct	1648
NRO	prnw 1636	Robert	Collin	09-Jan	1634	12-May	1636
BI	v.25 f.872	John	Collinson	03-Dec	1590	28-Apr	1591
BI	v.26 f.114	Millicent	Collinson	27-Jan	1594	15-May	1595
NRO	prnw 1627	Marmaduke	Collinson	20-Jun	1626	19-Apr	1627
NRO	prnw 1633	William	Collinson	14-Nov	1632	Feb	1633
NRO	prnw 1638	Leake	Collinson	06-Jun	1638	11-Oct	1638
NRO	prnw 1611	William	Cooke	25-Jun	1608	10-Oct	1611
NRO	prnw 1624	Isabel	Cooke	04-Apr	1620	07-Oct	1624
NRO	prnw 1639	William	Cooke	17-Oct	1638	09-May	1639
NRO	prnw 1640	Robert	Cooke	03-Apr	1639	30-Apr	1640
NRO	prnw 1641	John	Cooke	20-Oct	1640	20-May	1641
NRO	prnw 1642	Michael	Cooke	29-Jan	1642	05-May	1642
NA	prob 11/226	Michael	Cooke	17-Apr	1648	05-Sep	1653
NRO	prnw 1617	Anne	Cooper	07-Oct	1616	16-Jan	1617
BI	v.37 f.37	Robert	Cooper	02-May	1620	09-Aug	1622

NRO	prnw 1629	Gervase	Cooper	07-Apr	1629	20-Aug	1629
NA	prob 11/151	Edward	Copinger	09-Mar	1626	21-Apr	1627
NRO	prnw 1617	William	Cowdale	03-Jul	1616	16-Jan	1617
BI	v.23 f.391	William	Crane alias Hallam	02-Oct	1586	01-Mar	1596
NRO	prnw 1628	George	Crannwell	11-Jun	1627	06-Mar	1628
NRO	prnw 1636	Jane	Crosse	16-May	1636	03-Aug	1636
NRO	prnw 1633	Richard	Dalley	04-Oct	1632	07-Feb	1633
BI	v.35 f.261	John	Dalton	11-Dec	1618	20-Jan	1618
BI	v.23 f.98	Cuthlake	Danckes	05-Jul	1583	08-Oct	1585
BI	v.25 f.1464	Alice	Danckes	09-Jun	1591	11-Oct	1593
BI	v.27 f.127	John	Darbieshier	17-Oct	1597	11-Jan	1597
NRO	prnw 1625	George	Darbishire	07-Aug	1624	03-Feb	1625
NRO	prnw 1647	Bartholomew	Darbyshire	Dec	1646	18-Mar	1647
BI	v.25 f.1496	John	Dawson	28-Sep	1593	10-Jan	1593
NRO	prnw 1646	John	Dawson	08-Apr	1646	22-Jun	1646
BI	v.22 f.281	Luke	Deane	10-Oct	1581	10-Oct	1582
NA	prob 11/226	Roger	Derbishire	10-May	1647	29-Sep	1653
NRO	prnw 1640	William	Deverell	27-May	1633	12-Mar	1640
NRO	prnw 1641	Thomas	Dodd	12-Jan	1641	09-Mar	1641
NRO	prnw 1646	Luke	Dolphin	05-May	1646	24-Dec	1646
NRO	prnw 1605	John	Doughtie	20-Dec	1604	17-Jan	1605
NRO	prnw 1593	Lancelot	Doughtie	14-Oct	1592	18-Jul	1593
NRO	prnw 1630	Margaret	Drewrie	05-Sep	1629	07-Oct	1630
BI	v.34 f.79	Thomas	Drewry	14-Apr	1615	25-Apr	1616
BI	v.34 f.826	Paul	Dyvall	14-Sep	1617	21-Jan	1617
BI	v.24 f.95	William	Eaton	14-Mar	1588	23-Aug	1589
BI	v.24 f.635	Elizabeth	Eaton	27-Oct	1589	23-Jul	1591
NRO	prnw 1641	Anne	Eaton	10-Jun	1637	09-Mar	1641
NRO	prnw 1641	Robert	Egginton	26-Nov	1640	09-Mar	1641
NA	prob 11/213	Richard	Elkin	10-Sep	1649	02-Nov	1650
BI	v.26 f.46	Francis	Eller	26-Apr	1594	20-Jan	1594
BI	v.22 f. 4	John	Elton	28-Sep	1579	11-Feb	1580
BI	v.34 f.144	John	Elton	24-Mar	1615	22-Jul	1616
BI	v.34 f.140	William	Emerson	09-Mar	1615	22-Jul	1616
NRO	prnw 1629	Thomas	Emmerson	26-Dec	1628	10-Feb	1629
BI	v.35 f.49	Marie	Fenton	18-Dec	1617	30-Apr	1618
BI	v.34 f.835	Bartholomew	Fillingham	16-Sep	1616	21-Jan	1617
NRO	prnw 1647	William	Fillingham	26-Dec	1646	02-Dec	1647
NRO	prnw 1620	Robert	Fisher	27-Sep	1619	21-Jan	1620
BI	v.29 f.707	Henry	Flower	01-Sep	1603	10-Oct	1605
NRO	prnw 1602	Richard	Forman	08-Mar	1602	29-Apr	1602
BI	v.25 f.1465	Francis	Fosbrooke	18-Jun	1593	11-Oct	1593
NRO	prnw 1647	Andrew	Foster	11-Jan	1645	27-Apr	1647
NRO	prnw 1617	Arthur	Francis	28-Oct	1616	16-Jan	1617
NRO	prnw 1617	William	Freeman	17-Feb	1617	15-May	1617
NRO	prnw 1632	Robert	Freeman	26-Dec	1631	08-Aug	1632
NRO	prnw 1602	Edward	Freman	29-Aug	1601	29-Apr	1602
NA	prob 11/67	William	Frend	19-Aug	1584	28-Sep	1584
BI	v.28 f.373	Christopher	Gamble	15-Apr	1601	07-May	1601
NRO	prnw 1641	Peter	Gamble	28-Jul	1640	09-Mar	1641

BI	v.26 f.47	William	Gelsthrop	20-Nov	1587	20-Jan	1594
NRO	prnw 1629	Thomas	Gelsthrop	13-Dec	1622	10-Feb	1629
BI	v.34 f.141	Elizabeth	Gelstrop	02-Jun	1616	22-Jul	1616
NRO	prnw 1625	George	Gelstropp	01-Oct	1612	12-May	1625
BI	v.23 f.822	William	Gill	03-Jun	1588	02-Jul	1588
BI	v.22 f.4	Roger	Godderde	08-Jan	1579	11-Feb	1580
BI	v.23 f.391	John	Goodwyne	19-Mar	1586	01-Mar	1586
NRO	prnw 1631	Marie	Greaves	02-Feb	1630	12-Feb	1631
NRO	prnw 1610	Edward	Greene	28-May	1610	17-Jul	1610
BI	v.34 f.236	John	Greene	16-Jul	1616	10-Oct	1616
NRO	prnw 1648	John	Greene	27-Feb	1648	05-May	1648
BI	v.27 f.69	John	Gregory	16-May	1596	13-Oct	1597
BI	v.34 f.524	William	Gregory	27-Dec	1613	08-May	1617
NRO	prnw 1625	Marmaduke	Gregory	28-May	1625	10-Aug	1625
NRO	prnw 1637	Michael	Gregory	02-Jan	1637	29-Jul	1637
NA	prob 11/220	William	Gregory	18-Jun	1650	05-Feb	1652
NRO	prnw 1633	Edward	Guye alias Lawther	02-Jul	1633	15-Aug	1633
BI	v.26 f.21	William	Gymer	no date		10-Oct	1594
NRO	prnw 1650	William	Hack	01-Mar	1641	12-Oct	1650
NRO	prnw 1591	John	Hall	27-May	1591	23-Jul	1591
BI	v.26 f.20	Robert	Hallam	03-Jan	1593	10-Oct	1594
BI	v.28 f.715	Edward	Hallam	03-Apr	1602	31-Jul	1602
NA	prob 11/217	Joane	Hallott/Hellot	28-Feb	1650	06-Jun	1651
NRO	prnw 1628	Richard	Handley	26-Nov	1627	09-Oct	1628
NA	prob 11/195	Richard	Hardmett	09-Sep	1630	28-Mar	1646
NRO	prnw 1632	Richard	Hare	09-Nov	1631	09-Feb	1632
NRO	prnw 1635	Richard	Hare	03-Jan	1635	22-Apr	1635
NRO	prnw 1637	Robert	Hare	18-Aug	1637	12-Oct	1637
NRO	prnw 1636	Robert	Harries	31-Aug	1635	26-Jan	1636
NRO	prnw 1602	Robert	Haslehurst	13-Feb	1602	29-Apr	1602
NRO	prnw 1639	Fabian	Hawson	29-Aug	1638	31-Jul	1639
NRO	prnw 1629	Thomas	Hayes	05-May	1629	20-Aug	1629
BI	v.23 f.940	John	Haywarde	24-Sep	1588	19-Dec	1588
NRO	prnw 1640	Robert	Heald	08-Nov	1639	12-Mar	1640
BI	v.27 f.502	Richard	Heaward	31-Jan	1598	30-Jun	1598
BI	v.25 f.1497	Alice	Heawood	01-Dec	1593	10-Jan	1593
NRO	prnw 1620	Katherine	Henson alias`Hall	31-Dec	1619	31-Jan	1620
NRO	prnw 1619	Christabell	Hewett, Hewit	06-Feb	1619	22-Apr	1619
NRO	prnw 1646	Thomas	Hides, Hydes	21-May	1646	20-Nov	1646
NRO	prnw 1633	William	Higdon	28-Apr	1630	15-Aug	1633
NRO	prnw 1602	Isabel	Higgat	23-Nov	1601	22-Jan	1602
BI	v.30 f.571	Thomas	Hill	16-Feb	1607	21-Apr	1608
BI	v.36 f.315	John	Hill	04-Apr	1620	07-Feb	1620
NRO	prnw 1628	Stephen	Hill	25-Dec	1627	08-May	1628
NRO	prnw 1640	Barbara	Hill	27-Jul	1640	08-Oct	1640
NA	prob 11/196	Barbara	Hill	27-Jul	1640	22-Jun	1646
NRO	prnw 1642	Marie	Hilton	25-Sep	1639	May	1642
NRO	prnw 1622	Matthew	Hinde, Hynde	05-Apr	1619	16-May	1622

NRO	prnw 1639	Richard	Hodgkin	07-Jan	1639	31-Jul	1639
NRO	prnw 1626	Robert	Holland	25-May	1626	12-Oct	1626
NRO	prnw 1633	Anne	Holland	09-Feb	1633	10-Oct	1633
BI	v.26 f.20	William	Hollingworth	11-Jun	1594	10-Oct	1594
NRO	prnw 1606	Henry	Hopkin	09-Dec	1605	15-May	1606
BI	v.40 f.342	Clifton	Horesby	20-Aug	1628	10-Feb	1628
NRO	prnw 1601	Leonard	Horseley	16-Jun	1601	08-Oct	1601
BI	v.27 f.70	Johan	Horsley	15-Jul	1597	13-Oct	1597
NRO	prnw 1631	John	Hough	14-Jun	1627	12-Feb	1631
NRO	prnw 1647	William	Hunt	30-Jul	1643	19-Feb	1647
NRO	prnw 1646	Richard	Hurt	20-Dec	1645	18-May	1646
NRO	prnw 1630	Mary	Hutchinson	17-Mar	1628	06-Feb	1630
NRO	prnw 1635	George	Hutchinson	28-Mar	1635	22-Apr	1635
NRO	prnw 1620	Cuthbert	Hutchinson, Hutchnson	01-May	1620	21-Jul	1620
NRO	prnw 1650	Anne	Huthwayte	Mar	1650	05-Jul	1650
BI	v.39 f.480	Richard	Huthwell	07-Feb	1626	02-Aug	1626
NA	prob 11/213	Paul	Hutton	29-Jun	1650	10-Jul	1650
NRO	prnw 1636	Alice	Ingram	May	1636	03-Aug	1636
NRO	prnw 1634	Adam	Jackson	11-Apr	1631	11-Feb	1634
NRO	prnw 1635	Thomas	Jackson	14-May	1635	13-Aug	1635
NRO	prnw 1637	George	Jackson	15-Feb	1637	04-May	1637
NA	prob 11/226	George	Jackson	15-Feb	1636	22-Jun	1653
NRO	prnw 1642	William	Jackson	11-Apr	1642	25-Oct	1642
BI	v.25 f.1499	Richard	James	08-Nov	1593	10-Jan	1593
BI	v.34 f.530	Martyn	James	24-Jul	1616	15-May	1617
NRO	prnw 1617	Robert	James	13-Apr	1616	15-May	1617
NRO	prnw 1635	George	James	09-Aug	1635	Oct	1635
NRO	prnw 1611	Henry	Johnson	30-May	1610	18-Jan	1611
NRO	prnw 1614	William	Johnson	07-Mar	1611	19-Jan	1614
BI	v.34 f.510	Richard	Johnson	13-Oct	1616	15-May	1617
NRO	prnw 1619	Edmund	Jowett	21-May	1619	30-Jul	1619
NRO	prnw 1623	Ann	Jowett	17-Sep	1622	07-Aug	1623
NRO	prnw 1594	Mary	Katherns	18-Aug	1593	25-Apr	1594
NRO	prnw 1632	Thomas	Kente	24-Sep	1631	09-Feb	1632
NRO	prnw 1619	Anne	Kerchevall	13-Jan	1619	22-Apr	1619
BI	v.26 f.375	William	Key	09-Jul	1596	07-Oct	1596
NRO	prnw 1634	Godfrey	Kinge	04-Apr	1634	01-May	1634
BI	v.25 f.1499	Isabel	Kingston	no date		10-Jan	1593
NRO	prnw 1607	Nicholas	Kinnersley	16-May	1607	11-Jul	1607
NA	prob 11/110	Nicholas	Kynnersley	16-May	1607	16-Jun	1607
NRO	prnw 1607	Amy	Kinnersley, Kynnersley	26-Jun	1607	08-Oct	1607
NRO	prnw 1612	Thomas	Kirke	15-Aug	1611	17-Jan	1612
NRO	prnw 1634	Stephen	Knight	21-May	1633	05-Feb	1634
NRO	prnw 1635	Richard	Knight	19-Jul	1634	13-Aug	1635
NRO	prnw 1619	Philip	Kyme	03-Jun	1619	07-Oct	1619
BI	v.25 f.1499	Francis	Labaray	19-Nov	1593	10-Jan	1593
BI	v.25 f.1498	Robert	Labarey	04-May	1590	10-Jan	1593
BI	v.25 f.1499	Katherine	Labrey	14-Nov	1593	10-Jan	1593
BI	v.25 f.1497	Robert	Labrey	12-Dec	1593	10-Jan	1593

NRO	prnw 1618	John	Labrey		1618	08-Oct	1618
BI	v.23 f.576	William	Lamley	13-Jul	1587	12-Oct	1587
BI	v.29 f.707	Alice	Lamley	04-Sep	1605	10-Oct	1605
NRO	prnw 1610	Ralph	Lawe	21-Mar	1610	12-Jul	1610
NRO	prnw 1634	Marie	Lawton	24-Jan	1633	09-Oct	1634
NRO	prnw 1619	George	Lees	12-Jan	1619	22-Apr	1619
BI	v.23 f.170	Geoffrey	Leeson	03-Mar	1585	28-Apr	1586
NRO	prnw 1603	Thomas	Leverette, Leverat	27-Dec	1602	08-Aug	1603
NRO	prnw 1640	Elizabeth	Linley	09-Feb	1640	30-Apr	1640
NRO	prnw 1633	William	Littlefare	14-Mar	1621	15-Aug	1633
NRO	prnw 1634	William	Littlefare	11-Mar	1634	01-May	1634
BI	v.42 f.715	Elizabeth	Littlefare	30-Jan	1637	14-Mar	1637
BI	v.34 f.236	Richard	Littlefreere	09-Aug	1616	10-Oct	1616
BI	v.33 f.321	William	Longford	16-Jun	1614	13-Oct	1614
NRO	prnw 1641	James	Lord	11-Jan	1641	20-May	1641
NRO	prnw 1628	Francis	Lovelock	12-Jul	1627	09-Jan	1628
BI	v.34 f.836	John	Lowe	25-Feb	1613	21-Jan	1617
NA	prob 11/91	John	Lowth	no date		04-Feb	1598
NRO	prnw 1614	Richard	Ludlam	24-Sep	1613	19-Jan	1614
NRO	prnw 1628	Ellen	Ludlam	01-Jul	1628	09-Oct	1628
NRO	prnw 1628	William	Lupton	11-May	1627	14-Aug	1628
NRO	prnw 1630	John	Lynley	31-May	1630	07-Oct	1630
NRO	prnw 1647	Margaret	Major	11-Dec	1643	29-May	1647
NRO	prnw 1649	Joan	Mantle	20-Jan	1649	13-Feb	1649
BI	v.23 f.147	Julyan	Marcer	30-Jan	1584	11-Feb	1585
NRO	prnw 1606	John	Marshall	28-Jul	1602	17-Jan	1606
NRO	prnw 1612	Henry	Marshall	08-Sep	1611	01-Jul	1612
NRO	prnw 1621	Edward	Martin	23-Jun	1621	04-Aug	1621
NRO	prnw 1628	John	Martin	22-Sep	1627	09-Jan	1628
NRO	prnw 1619	Samuel	Mason	13-Oct	1616	30-Jul	1619
NRO	prnw 1629	Katherine	Mayson	24-Mar	1629	20-Aug	1629
NA	prob 11/117	Henry	Medforth	13-Jan	1610	25-Jan	1611
NRO	prnw 1611	Thomas	Mee	03-Jun	1611	01-Oct	1611
NRO	prnw 1628	Barnaby	Mee	31-Dec	1627	08-May	1628
BI	v.24 f.433	Fabian	Mellors	01-Jul	1590	07-Oct	1590
BI	v.22 f.347	Francis	Metham	27-Sep	1582	08-Feb	1582
NRO	prnw 1631	Thomas	Midlam	16-Feb	1630	05-May	1631
BI	v.23 f.695	Edward	Milles	21-Feb	1587	23-Mar	1587
NRO	prnw 1634	Anthony	Millington		1633	05-Feb	1634
NRO	prnw 1625	Ann	Milner	03-Feb	1625	10-Aug	1625
NRO	prnw 1631	William	Mitchell	15-Nov	1630	12-Feb	1631
NRO	prnw 1613	Isabel	Morehaugh	25-Jul	1612	22-Jan	1613
NRO	prnw 1620	Richard	Morehaughe	25-Oct	1619	31-Jan	1620
NRO	prnw 1606	John	Moreland	16-Dec	1605	17-Jan	1606
NRO	prnw 1629	Thomas	Morley	29-Mar	1628	10-Feb	1629
NRO	prnw 1603	John	Nawdin	21-Sep	1602	28-Jan	1603
BI	v.25 f.1498	Robert	Nevell	10-Aug	1593	10-Jan	1593
BI	v.34 f.235	Benet	Newbolde	18-Jun	1616	10-Oct	1616
NRO	prnw 1636	Thomas	Newcome	07-Aug	1627	28-Jan	1636
NRO	prnw 1603	Margaret	Newton	30-Apr	1603	08-Aug	1603

BI	v.29 f.366	James	Newton	23-Dec	1603	17-Aug	1604
NRO	prnw 1623	John	Newton	28-Oct	1620	08-May	1623
NRO	prnw 1628	John	Newton	14-Dec	1627	09-Oct	1628
NRO	prnw 1629	Thomas	Nix	31-Oct	1628	20-Aug	1629
NRO	prnw 1640	David	Nixe	31-Oct	1639	Feb	1640
BI	v.25 f.1035	Robert	Ouldfeilde	03-Oct	1592	12-Oct	1592
NRO	prnw 1620	Henry	Ouldfeilde	11-Dec	1619	31-Jan	1620
NRO	prnw 1619	Margaret	Ouldham	18-Mar	1619	30-Jul	1619
BI	v.25 f.1556	George	Oxley	10-May	1593	22-Jun	1594
NRO	prnw 1606	Margery	Oxley	14-Aug	1606	09-Oct	1606
NA	prob 11/218	Jane	Palfryman	28-Oct	1650	25-Oct	1651
NRO	prnw 1614	George	Pare	05-Sep	1611	19-Jan	1614
BI	v.27 f.651	Thomas	Parke	13-Apr	1597	26-Jul	1599
NRO	prnw 1642	Hugh	Parke	23-May	1642	25-Oct	1642
BI	v.23 f.813	Francis	Parker	20-Apr	1588	02-Jul	1588
BI	v.26 f.154	Robert	Parker	13-May	1595	07-Aug	1595
NRO	prnw 1620	John	Parker	28-Jan	1619	11-May	1620
NRO	prnw 1636	Richard	Parker	19-Nov	1635	06-Feb	1636
NA	prob 11/226	Elizabeth	Parker	20-Sep	1650	05-May	1653
BI	v.25 f.1327	Richard	Parleby	14-Mar	1592	10-May	1593
BI	v.25 f.1464	Walter	Parleby	25-May	blank	11-Oct	1593
NRO	prnw 1591	Agnis	Parlebye	04-Jul	1591	13-Jan	1592
BI	v.22 f.592	Francis	Peare	24-Sep	1583	08-Oct	1584
BI	v.27 f.126	Edward	Pendleton	11-Aug	1597	11-Jan	1597
NRO	prnw 1608	Henry	Pepper	09-Jan	1608	21-Apr	1608
NRO	prnw 1640	John	Perye, Perrie	11-Jul	1639	11-May	1640
BI	v.34 f.616	Symond	Phillips	14-Aug	1616	08-Aug	1617
NRO	prnw 1621	Peter	Phillips	no date		04-Aug	1621
NRO	prnw 1626	Robert	Phipps, Fypes	24-Mar	1625	04-May	1626
BI	v.26 f.44	Thomas	Pickerde	20-Nov	1594	20-Jan	1594
BI	v.27 f.70	William	Piggen	22-Jul	1597	13-Oct	1597
BI	v.26 f.155	Gregorie	Pighte	26-Apr	1595	07-Aug	1595
BI	v.29 f.706	William	Pighte	04-Oct	1604	10-Oct	1605
NRO	prnw 1617	William	Pinder, Pynder	24-Aug	1617	09-Oct	1617
BI	v.22 f.499	Cassander	Plumtre	21-Apr	1583	11-Feb	1583
NA	prob 11/70	Robert	Pote	11-Jan	1586	27-Jun	1587
NA	prob 11/152	Michael	Purefoy	20-Aug	1627	01-Oct	1627
NRO	prnw 1629	Michael	Purefey	23-Aug	1627	08-Oct	1629
BI	v.28 f.237	Robert	Pye	20-Sep	1600	09-Oct	1600
NRO	prnw 1610	Robert	Pye	05-Mar	1610	03-May	1610
NRO	prnw 1612	Briget	Pye	30-Nov	1610	17-Jan	1612
BI	v.26 f.44	William	Pyser	02-Oct	1594	20-Jan	1594
NRO	prnw 1628	John	Radforde	13-Dec	1627	08-May	1628
NRO	prnw 1641	Jane	Randon	03-Sep	1638	09-Mar	1641
NRO	prnw 1633	Richard	Ranson, Rauson, Rawson	26-Feb	1633	15-May	1633
NRO	prnw 1605	John	Rawlinson	19-Apr	1604	25-Apr	1605
NRO	prnw 1605	Richard	Rawson	16-Nov	1604	25-Apr	1605

NRO	prnw 1642	Francis	Rawson	21-Mar	1642	25-Oct	1642
NA	prob 11/220	John	Rawson	02-Oct	1648	20-Feb	1652
NRO	prnw 1648	Margaret	Rayner, Renor	27-Nov	1646	15-Jan	1648
BI	v.26 f.447	Robert	Reade	29-Aug	1596	30-Jan	1596
NRO	prnw 1601	William	Reason	10-Nov	1600	07-Jan	1601
NRO	prnw 1613	William	Reason	21-Oct	1612	22-Jan	1613
NRO	prnw 1646	Ezechias	Reason	04-Mar	1643	22-Jun	1646
BI	v.28 f.718	Richard	Reckles	20-May	1602	31-Jul	1602
NRO	prnw 1606	Thomas	Reve	20-May	1606	09-Oct	1606
NRO	prnw 1601	Edmund	Richards	21-May	1601	08-Oct	1601
NRO	prnw 1611	John	Richards	12-Jul	1611	10-Oct	1611
NRO	prnw 1601	George	Richardson	16-Jun	1600	07-Jan	1601
NRO	prnw 1607	Robert	Richardson	22-Apr	1607	08-Oct	1607
NRO	prnw 1620	Edward	Richardson	04-Jan	1620	21-Jul	1620
NRO	prnw 1634	Robert	Riche	no date		01-May	1634
NRO	prnw 1600	John	Riddley, Rydley	29-Nov	1599	12-Jan	1600
NRO	prnw 1641	William	Riley	18-Oct	1640	09-Mar	1641
NRO	prnw 1631	George	Rippon	13-Jul	1631	13-Oct	1631
NRO	prnw 1639	Joan	Rippon	28-Nov	1638	31-Jul	1639
NRO	prnw 1636	Humfrey	Roberts	16-Jun	1636	13-Oct	1636
NRO	prnw 1626	William	Rockett	10-Aug	1625	04-May	1626
NRO	prnw 1638	Jane	Roe	31-Aug	1637	15-Feb	1638
NRO	prnw 1623	Anne	Rolestone	05-Jun	1623	09-Oct	1623
BI	v.26 f.111	George	Roose	16-Mar	1594	15-May	1595
NRO	prnw 1633	William	Rose	11-May	1632	07-Feb	1633
NRO	prnw 1622	Katherine	Rosse	14-Feb	1622	16-May	1622
NRO	prnw 1618	Gervase	Rossell	12-Dec	1617	08-Oct	1618
NRO	prnw 1610	James	Rotherham	24-Jan	1610	17-Jul	1610
NRO	prnw 1629	Robert	Rotherham	14-Mar	1629	20-Aug	1629
NRO	prnw 1636	Joan	Rotherham	05-Jan	1636	12-May	1636
NRO	prnw 1638	Grace	Rotherham	01-Feb	1638	16-Aug	1638
NRO	prnw 1642	Ann	Ryley	25-Apr	1641	May	1642
NRO	prnw 1612	Richard	Saxelbie	05-Sep	1611	07-May	1612
BI	v.23 f.390	Gilberte	Seele	07-May	1585	01-Mar	1586
BI	v.26 f.448	John	Seele	09-Aug	1596	30-Jan	1596
NRO	prnw 1612	James	Seele	10-Dec	1611	07-May	1612
NRO	prnw 1631	Ralph	Shaw	28-Sep	1630	12-Feb	1631
BI	v.33 f.402	Nicholas	Sherwin	04-Oct	1610	19-Jan	1614
NRO	prnw 1617	Nicholas	Sherwyne	13-Aug	1616	16-Jan	1617
NRO	prnw 1638	William	Sill	14-Nov	1617	16-Aug	1638
NRO	prnw 1593	William	Simpson	25-Oct	1591	17-Jan	1593
NRO	prnw 1631	Ralph	Simpson	03-Aug	1631	13-Oct	1631
NRO	prnw 1626	Thomas	Singleton	09-May	1626	02-Aug	1626
NRO	prnw 1629	Robert	Smedley	04-Dec	1628	30-Apr	1629
NRO	prnw 1606	John	Smith	12-Sep	1605	17-Jan	1606
NRO	prnw 1621	Henry	Smith alias Fisher	09-Feb	1621	26-Apr	1621
NRO	prnw 1593	Thomas	Smith alias Locksmith	10-Jul	1593	30-Jul	1593

NRO	prnw 1619	Robert	Smithe	06-Apr	1618	20-Jan	1619
BI	v.26 f.20	William	Smyth	02-May	1594	10-Oct	1594
BI	v.33 f.109	William	Smyth	08-Mar	1612	19-May	1614
BI	v.22 f.280	John	Smythe	06-Aug	1582	10-Oct	1582
NRO	prnw 1591	Simon	Smythe	05-Apr	1591	28-Apr	1591
NRO	prnw 1612	Sibill	Snidall alias Snider	26-Sep	1611	17-Jan	1612
NRO	prnw 1612	John	Snider	17-Sep	1611	17-Jan	1612
NRO	prnw 1611	Frances	Somersall	12-Sep	1611	10-Oct	1611
BI	v.34 f.142	Thomas	Soresbie	18-Mar	1615	22-Jul	1616
BI	v.34 f.254	Elizabeth	Soresbye	08-Oct	1616	06-Nov	1616
NRO	prnw 1629	Clifton	Soresbye	20-Aug	1628	10-Feb	1629
NRO	prnw 1621	Nicholas	Spencer	23-May	1621	04-Aug	1621
BI	v.23 f.696	Isabel	Spicer alias Pye	18-Feb	1587	23-Mar	1587
NRO	prnw 1613	Christopher	Sprentall	26-Apr	1613	07-Oct	1613
BI	v.23 f.874	William	Stanciall	04-Jun	1588	15-Oct	1588
BI	v.23 f.893	Anne	Stanhope	16-Sep	1586	10-Oct	1588
NA	prob 11/121	Lady Margaret	Stanhope	27-Mar	1613	14-Apr	1613
BI	v.25 f.1134	Jone	Stanley	09-Sep	1590	20-Apr	1592
NRO	prnw 1642	Thomas	Stanley	21-May	1642	25-Oct	1642
NRO	prnw 1629	William	Stansaw	15-Feb	1628	08-Oct	1629
NRO	prnw 1629	Anne	Stanshawe	21-Feb	1629	08-Oct	1629
BI	v.41 f.697	Robert	Staples	03-Jun	1630	26-Apr	1632
NRO	prnw 1641	Elizabeth	Staples	20-Feb	1641	19-Aug	1641
NRO	prnw 1648	William	Stevenson	20-Dec	1643	Mar	1648
NA	prob 11/214	Dorothy	Stoakes	12-Aug	1650	02-Nov	1650
NRO	prnw 1628	Anne	Stockes	01-Jun	1625	09-Jan	1628
BI	v.29 f.639	Richard	Stoves	30-Aug	1604	22-Jul	1605
NRO	prnw 1621	Anne	Strelley	24-Dec	1620	11-Oct	1621
BI	v.36 f.663	Christopher	Strelley	13-Aug	1620	21-Mar	1621
NRO	prnw 1610	Hugh	Swifte	06-Oct	1609	20-Jan	1610
BI	f.22 f.348	Agens	Sybthorpe	04-Mar	1581	08-Feb	1582
NRO	prnw 1640	Margaret	Talor	14-Jul	1640	08-Oct	1640
BI	v.34 f.623	Thomas	Tayler	14-Mar	1616	08-Aug	1617
NRO	prnw 1635	Robert	Tayler	02-Feb	1635	22-Apr	1635
NRO	prnw 1606	Elizabeth	Thompson, Tomson	01-Apr	1606	15-May	1606
NA	prob 11/225	Francis	Thornhagh	14-May	1648	26-May	1652
BI	v.31 f.469	Edward	Tilling	10-Jun	1608	11-Oct	1610
NRO	prnw 1622	Frances	Tomlinson	22-Jul	1621	28-Jan	1622
NRO	prnw 1609	Richard	Tomllinson, Tomlynson	15-Aug	1609	12-Oct	1609
NRO	prnw 1624	Sarah	Tompson	25-Sep	1623	30-Jul	1624
NRO	prnw 1630	William	Tompson	28-Dec	1629	22-Apr	1630
NRO	prnw 1593	George	Torner	22-Sep	1592	17-Jan	1593
BI	v.26 f.18	William	Towle	15-Jun	1594	10-Oct	1594
NRO	prnw 1631	Martin	Towndrow	18-Jun	1631	13-Oct	1631
BI	v.22 f.500	Robert	Townesend	03-Dec	1583	11-Feb	1583
NRO	ca 4645	William	Trinder	07-Nov	1617		
NRO	prnw 1634	Susannah	Troupe	06-Jan	1634	01-May	1634

BI	v.22 f.324	Thomas	Turner	13-Oct	1581	19-May	1582
NRO	prnw 1601	Ellen	Turner	12-Mar	1601	29-Jul	1601
NRO	prnw 1628	John	Twelles	14-Apr	1626	09-Jan	1628
BI	v.27 f.355	Ellen	Twells	22-Jul	1598	04-Aug	1598
NRO	prnw 1626	Charles	Twells	19-Oct	1625	04-May	1626
NRO	prnw 1639	Ellen	Urin	26-Jun	1639	31-Jul	1639
NRO	prnw 1633	William	Vardin	16-Jul	1633	15-Aug	1633
NRO	prnw 1632	Millicent	Vearie	29-Sep	1631	09-Feb	1632
NRO	prnw 1627	Hugh	Verdon	29-May	1627	11-Aug	1627
BI	v.22 f.457	Margaret	Very	20-Apr	1583	08-Oct	1583
BI	v.24 f.154	Lettice	Walhead	07-Jun	1589	09-Oct	1589
NRO	prnw 1625	John	Walker	27-Apr	1625	12-May	1625
NRO	prnw 1632	John	Walker	14-Nov	1631	09-Feb	1632
NRO	prnw 1606	Thomas	Wallis	17-May	1605	09-Oct	1606
BI	v.34 f.620	Margaret	Wallis	14-Dec	1616	08-Aug	1617
NRO	prnw 1619	Syeth	Wallis	24-Aug	1618	22-Apr	1619
NRO	prnw 1635	Susannah	Walters	23-Nov	1633	22-Apr	1635
NRO	prnw 1610	Nicholas	Ward	14-Dec	1609	03-May	1610
NRO	prnw 1610	Elizabeth	Ward	05-Jan	1610	03-May	1610
NRO	prnw 1617	John	Wasteneys	31-Oct	1616	24-Nov	1617
NRO	prnw 1647	William	Watson	02-Apr	1646	27-Apr	1647
BI	v.35 f.48	William	Welch	01-Mar	1617	30-Apr	1618
NRO	prnw 1620	Joan	Welch	23-Feb	1620	11-May	1620
NRO	prnw 1639	Elizabeth	Westbie	27-Apr	1638	09-Feb	1639
NRO	prnw 1630	William	Westbye	04-Jan	1630	29-Jul	1630
NRO	prnw 1642	Edward	Westerman	16-May	1642	25-Oct	1642
NRO	prnw 1612	Helen	Whitemore	30-Mar	1612	08-Oct	1612
NRO	prnw 1639	Edward	Whittington	20-Nov	1638	09-Feb	1639
BI	v.36 f.316	William	Widdowson	28-Aug	1619	07-Feb	1620
NA	prob 11/239	George	Widdowson	12-Feb	1645	16-Feb	1654
BI	v.22 f.291	Christopher	Wilkinson	04-Mar	1581	10-Oct	1582
NA	prob 11/199	Henry	Wilkinson	25-Nov	1642	27-Mar	1646
BI	v.22 f.429	William	Willde	30-Apr	1583	27-Jul	1583
BI	v.22 f.56	Symond	Willson	17-Nov	1580	20-Apr	1581
BI	v.23 f.25	Elizabeth	Wilson	14-Nov	1584	11-Feb	1585
NRO	prnw 1601	William	Wilson	30-Nov	1600	07-Jan	1601
NRO	prnw 1605	Thomas	Wilson	26-Feb	1604	17-Jan	1605
NRO	prnw 1608	William	Wilson	08-Apr	1608	23-May	1608
NRO	prnw 1636	Joyce	Wilson	21-Jun	1636	03-Aug	1636
NRO	prnw 1647	Mary	Wilson	24-Sep	1647	04-Nov	1647
NRO	prnw 1611	Thomas	Windle	12-Feb	1611	12-Jul	1611
NRO	prnw 1612	Francis	Winfelde	10-Aug	1612	08-Oct	1612
NA	prob 11/101	Richard	Withers	05-May	1631	08-May	1632
NRO	prnw 1625	James	Wolfe	24-Jan	1625	03-Feb	1625
NRO	prnw 1647	Thomas	Wolley	14-Apr	1647	29-May	1647
BI	v.26 f.594	Robert	Wood	22-Apr	1597	21-Jul	1597
NRO	prnw 1637	Robert	Wood	01-Jun	1636	01-Mar	1637
NRO	prnw 1638	John	Wood	26-Aug	1638	11-Oct	1638
NRO	prnw 1647	Henry	Wood	06-Feb	1647	18-Mar	1647
NRO	prnw 1636	Henry	Woodis	02-Jan	1633	12-May	1636
BI	v.23 f.790	John	Woodman	22-Apr	1588	09-Jul	1588

NRO	prnw 1605	Margery	Woodman	24-Apr	1604	25-Apr	1605
BI	v.31 f.470	Richard	Woodward	04-Sep	1610	11-Oct	1610
BI	v.26 f.45	Laurence	Worthe	13-Apr	1594	20-Jan	1594
NRO	prnw 1601	Elizabeth	Worthington	19-Nov	1600	07-Jan	1601
NRO	prnw 1606	William	Worthington	Apr	1604	15-May	1606
NA	prob 11/250	Anthony	Wright	17-Jul	1649	18-May	1655
NRO	prnw 1632	Richard	Wrigton	31-Oct	1631	09-Feb	1632
BI	v.26 f.112	Denis	Wyron	01-Dec	1594	15-May	1595

BANBURY WILLS

Archive	Will Code	First Name	Surname	Date Written		Date Proved		Transcript.	
				Month	Year	Month	Year	Vol	Page
ORO	32/1/36	Jeremiah	Abraham			28-Apr	1635	2	114
NA	prob 11/193	Thomas	Adams	27-Nov	1643	28-Apr	1645		
ORO	32/1/6; 1/88	John	Adams, Addams	10-May	1588	July	1588		
NA	prob 11/203	Thomas	Alexander	08-Jan	1643	22-Mar	1648		
NA	prob 11/128	William	Alsopp	25-Feb	1615	18-Jun	1616		
NA	prob 11/204	Andrew	Annesley	11-Feb	1648	20-May	1648		
ORO	32/1/26	Thomas	Atkins	21-Oct	1615	11-Apr	1621	2	3
NA	prob 11/122	Nicholas	Austen	13-Jul	1613	27-Jul	1613		
NA	prob 11/163	Anne	Austin			02-May	1633		
ORO	32/1/24	William	Austin	15-Dec	1617			1	271
NA	prob 11/98	Richard	Banister alias Barnhurst	20-May	1600	02-Dec	1601		
NA	prob 11/72	John	Barnesley	01-Feb	1587	06-May	1588		
NA	prob 11/117	Nicholas	Barrow	02-Jul	1590	19-Apr	1611		
ORO	33/1/2	Joane	Barrows	13-Apr	1627	16-Feb	1629	2	55
ORO	33/2/26	Robert	Bendbowe	25-Jun	1647	21-May	1662	2	161
NA	prob 11/153	Robert	Bentley	29-Dec	1627	09-Feb	1628		
NA	prob 11/197	John	Bentley	28-Sep	1643	20-Oct	1646		
NA	prob 11/184	Nicholas	Berry	13-Jul	1640	26-Oct	1640		
ORO	39/3/14	Thomas	Beste			02-Apr	1611	1	216
NA	prob 11/92	William	Bleek	20-Mar	1598	04-Jul	1598		
NA	prob 11/91	Thomas	Blissard	26-Apr	1598	24-May	1598		
NA	prob 11/90	Edward	Blunte	04-Apr	1597	04-Jul	1597		
ORO	33/1/18	Richard	Boner	06-Nov	1630	16-May	1631	2	83
ORO	32/5/2	Thomas	Bornworth	26-Nov	1617	21-Nov	1621	2	1
ORO	1/96; 32/4/11	Edward	Bosse	12-Dec	1592	01-Mar	1593	1	118
ORO	33/2/14	Barbara	Boxe	18-Jun	1639	05-May	1640	2	143
ORO	1/105; 32/4/14	Elizabeth	Brightwell	04-Sep	1593	29-Oct	1593	1	123
ORO	32/5/20	Richard	Browne		1626	18-Dec	1626	2	47
ORO	32/4/24	Elizabeth	Browne	04-May	1601			1	167
ORO	33/2/19	Titus	Buckingha m	29-Jul	1643	04-Nov	1643	2	147
ORO	1/99	John	Bull			11-Sep	1592	1	113
ORO	1/103; 32/4/13	Robert	Bull	22-Sep	1592	15-Jun	1593	1	120
NA	prob 11/85	Thomas	Bull	19-Feb	1591	15-Feb	1595		

ORO	32/4/23	Henry	Bull	02-Dec	1600	06-Apr	1601	1	166
ORO	32/4/65	John	Bull	02-Jul	1617	10-Dec	1617	1	271
ORO	32/5/3	William	Bull	17-Feb	1621	24-Sep	1621	2	5
NA	prob 11/43	Rowland	Bull	12-Oct	1623	03-Jan	1624		
ORO	1/120; 2/4	Humferie	Bull	01-Dec	1589				
ORO	33/2/9	Thomas	Buroes	11-Dec	1637	01-Apr	1638	2	128
ORO	32/4/22	Roger	Bushill	18-Feb	1599	11-Mar	1599	1	152
NA	prob 11/134	Thomas	Buswell	15-Mar	1618	02-Dec	1619		
ORO	1/113; 32/4/15	Alice	Butler	26-Jun	1594	02-Jul	1594	1	129
ORO	32/4/36	John	Butler			15-Jan	1607	1	196
ORO	32/5/10	Christian	Butler	19-Feb	1623	05-Apr	1624	2	29
NA	prob 11/137	Amie	Cartwright	23-Oct	1618	11-Feb	1619		
ORO	34/4/4	Michael	Cartwrighte		1609	11-Apr	1609	1	199
NA	prob 11/151	Thomas	Chamberlaine	14-Jul	1625	14-Feb	1627		
NA	prob 11/63	Henry	Churchill	19-Jun	1580	20-Apr	1581		
ORO	35/1/3	Henrie	Clarage	28-Jan	1635	27-Apr	1635	2	114
ORO	34/4/10	William	Clarke	undated			1611	1	210
ORO	1/94/123; 2/4	Anthony	Clarkson	02-Mar	1591	17-Mar	1591	1	112
ORO	1/99; 2/4; 34/3/13	George	Colchester	21-Jul	1592	12-Sep	1592	1	115
ORO	35/1/8	Henry	Coleing	12-Dec	1635	07-Nov	1636	2	118
NA	prob 11/188	Richard	Collins			04-Jun	1633		
NA	prob 11/215	Richard	Collins	02-Dec	1650	14-Feb	1651		
ORO	35/1/23	Thomas	Cornack	26-Jul	1645	24-Oct	1645	2	159
NA	prob 11/72	Richard	Cowley	24-Nov	1587	11-Mar	1588		
ORO	34/4/36	Robert	Craftes	25-Nov	1627	16-Apr	1628	2	65
NA	prob 11/164	Daniell	Dadson	20-May	1633	13-Jul	1633		
NA	prob 11/115	John	Danyell	01-Nov	1609	23-May	1610		
NA	prob 11/98	Robert	Day	16-Jan	1600	18-Jun	1601		
ORO	36/6/7	Robert	Daye	16-Jan	1601			1	165
ORO	36/3/17	Avys	Degon	30-Dec	1607	15-Jan	1608	1	197
NA	prob 11/154	Peter	Deguillaine	17-Jul	1628	17-Nov	1628		
ORO	36/4/9	Thomas	Desity	01-Apr	1622			2	45
ORO	36/3/10	Humphrey	Devis	03-Jan	1604	09-Jun	1604	1	178
ORO	36/4/1	John	Dickes	20-Oct	1621	20-Apr	1622	2	10
NA	prob 11/188	John	Dingley	29-Oct	1641	11-Feb	1642		
NA	prob 11/200	Mary	Dingley	Oct	1642	19-May	1647		
ORO	36/4/6	Richard	Ditchfield	Sept	1624	11-Oct	1624	2	35
ORO	36/3/6	Thomas	Dixe	08-Jun	1599	27-Oct	1600	1	161
NA	prob 11/148	Charles	Dodson	07-Jun	1625	11-Feb	1626		
ORO	36/3/26	Richard	Draper	21-May	1616	27-Sep	1616	1	252
ORO	36/4/22	William	Dreede	April	1639	06-Aug	1639	2	136
NA	prob 11/112	James	Driver	03-Mar	1606	28-Jun	1608		
ORO	36/3/14	James	Dryver	03-Mar	1607	05-Jun	1607	1	194
ORO	36/3/15	John	Dryver			05-Jun	1607	1	193
ORO	36/3/12	Thomas	Dudley	13-Jul	1606	23-Sep	1606	1	189
ORO	36/3/31	Henry	Dudley			02-Jul	1619	1	294
ORO	36/4/13	Anne	Dudley	29-Mar	1628	13-Apr	1630	2	80
ORO	36/3/11	John	Dumbelton	12-Aug	1603			1	178
NA	prob 11/101	Edward	Dumbleton	06-Jan	1603	01-Feb	1603		
ORO	37/4/2	William	Eaglesfeilde	12-Mar	1623	21-Apr	1623	2	27

ORO	37/4/14	Edward	Edens	05-Nov	1643	15-Dec	1643	2	149
ORO	37/3/13	Mary	Eidens, Edens			14-Apr	1613	1	233
ORO	37/4/1	Elizabeth	Elkenton	06-Dec	1622	21-Apr	1623	2	23
NA	prob 11/123	William	Elkinton	01-Apr	1614	07-Jul	1614		
ORO	37/3/23	Elenor	Ell	02-Jan	1621	11-Apr	1621	2	3
ORO	37/4/8	Thomas	Ell	01-Jan	1627	12-Apr	1630	2	79
ORO	37/3/5	David	Evans	15-Apr	1580	06-Jun	1580		
NA	prob 11/132	William	Franklin			18-Jul	1616		
NA	prob 11/122	Thomas	French	20-Mar	1612	02-Sep	1613		
ORO	38/4/3	Edward	French	20-Feb	1618	01-Jul	1618	1	276
ORO	38/4/4	William	French	30-Mar	1619	02-Jul	1619	1	291
ORO	38/4/12	Peter	French	03-Dec	1633	09-Apr	1634	2	104
NA	prob 11/198	Robert	French	29-Mar	1644	29-Nov	1646		
NA	prob 11/124	Richard	Fysher	12-Jun	1614	01-Dec	1614		
ORO	39/4/33	Robert	Gascoyne	01-May	1644	02-Nov	1646	2	155
NA	prob 11/103	George	Gaskyn	12-May	1603	26-Jan	1604		
ORO	39/3/1	Fraunces	Genyver	05-Sep	1600	06-Apr	1601	1	164
ORO	39/3/23	Thomas	Gibberd	17-Jan	1618	01-Jul	1618	1	275
NA	prob 11/105	Roger	Gill	04-Jul	1604	05-Jun	1605		
ORO	39/4/20	John	Gill	03-Sep	1626	17-Mar	1635	2	105
ORO	39/4/5	Nicholas	Goddenne	14-Jul	1628	23-Mar	1629	2	71
ORO	39/2/12	Christopher	Gold	09-Jul	1588	17-Mar	1588		
ORO	39/3/39	William	Gooddin	21-Sep	1626	11-May	1627	2	55
ORO	39/2/23	Elizabeth	Goodrytche	25-Jul	1597	11-Mar	1600	1	153
NA	prob 11/181	John	Goodwyn	22-Aug	1639	22-Aug	1639		
ORO	1/102; 39/2/15	Henry	Greene	25-Sep	1592	15-Jun	1593	1	118
ORO	39/2/20	Anthonie	Greene			23-Sep	1597	1	142
ORO	39/2/22	John	Greene	25-Aug	1598	07-Oct	1598	1	150
ORO	32/2/21	Joane	Greene	07-Jan	1598	13-Mar	1598	1	145
NA	prob 11/130	Edward	Grevyll	12-Apr	1617	22-Nov	1617		
ORO	39/2/24	George	Gubbin	19-Feb	1600	11-Mar	1600	1	160
ORO	41/1/4	Thomas	Hadley			03-May	1580		
ORO	41/1/31	Thomas	Hadley	12-Mar	1599	11-Mar	1600	1	156
ORO	41/1/33	Edward	Hadley	24-Mar	1600	06-Apr	1601	1	162
ORO	41/1/36	Humfry	Hadley	01-Jul	1600	31-Jul	1602	1	167
ORO	41/2/27	Alice	Hadley	02-Aug	1615	03-Apr	1616	1	251
NA	prob 11/162	Richard	Hadley	20-Oct	1631	05-Jun	1632		
ORO	1/113; 41/1/23	Henry	Hale	13-Apr	1595	28-Jul	1595	1	138
NA	prob 11/73	Henry	Halhead	24-Nov	1588	24-Nov	1588		
NA	prob 11/100	William	Halhead	03-Jun	1600	23-Aug	1600		
NA	prob 11/136	Thomas	Halhead	04-Aug	1620	28-Oct	1620		
ORO	41/3/43	Thomas	Halhead	19-May	1637	20-May	1639	2	133
NA	prob 11/99	Rowland	Hall	04-Apr	1595	27-Jan	1602		
ORO	41/2/12	John	Hall	13-Jul	1611	30-Sep	1611	1	220
NA	prob 11/161	Isabell	Hall	01-Oct	1631	06-Feb	1632		
ORO	41/3/45	John	Hall	26-Dec	1628	29-Jul	1639		
NA	prob 11/195	Anthony	Hall	01-Jan	1643	16-Apr	1646		
NA	prob 11/198	John	Hall			29-Nov	1646		
NA	prob 11/202	William	Hall	15-Oct	1647	20-Nov	1647		
NA	prob 11/206	John	Hall	12-May	1648	16-Nov	1648		

ORO	1/121-2; 2/2	Thomas	Halle			18-Sep	1591	1	112
ORO	41/2/37	Isabel	Harris	16-May	1618	01-Jul	1618	1	281
ORO	41/2/42	Elizabeth	Harris	27-Feb	1620	26-Apr	1620	1	302
ORO	41/2/13	David	Harrison	12-Jul	1611	01-Oct	1611	1	220
ORO	41/3/27	Elizabeth	Harrison	20-Aug	1632	20-May	1633	2	99
ORO	1/108; 41/1/21	Thomas	Harrys	17-Jun	1594	17-Mar	1595	1	130
ORO	41/2/22	Margaret	Harrys	18-Jan	1595			1	134
ORO	41/1/11; 1/89	Francis	Hartlett	21-Jun	1588	July	1588		
ORO	41/1/43	Frances	Hartlette	30-May	1606	23-Sep	1606	1	191
NA	prob 11/156	Henry	Hartley	20-Apr	1629	16-Jun	1629		
ORO	41/3/8	Simon	Harvy	12-Mar	1627	11-May	1627	2	53
ORO	41/1/44	Edward	Harwood	15-Apr	1606	23-Sep	1606	1	187
ORO	41/1/45	Simon	Hathway	25-Feb	1607	05-Jun	1607	1	195
NA	prob 11/200	Anne	Hawes	18-Feb	1640	20-May	1647		
ORO	1/122; 2/3	John	Hawle	23-Jan	1591	16-Mar	1591	1	111
ORO	1/115; 41/1/24	Rowland	Hawle	04-Apr	1595	28-Jul	1595	1	136
ORO	41/2/31	Margaret	Hawtaine	16-Apr	1616	27-Sep	1616	1	255
NA	prob 11/149	Henry	Hawtaine	28-May	1618	02-May	1626		
ORO	41/3/41	Mary	Hawtaine	23-Oct	1637	28-May	1638	2	127
NA	prob 11/166	John	Hawtayne	09-Apr	1634	13-Nov	1634		
ORO	41/2/41	George	Heines	20-Oct	1619	26-Apr	1620	1	299
ORO	41/2/8	Isabel	Helmeden	04-Dec	1603	25-Sep	1610	1	207
ORO	1/101; 41/1/20	John	Helmedon	22-Jan	1593	02-May	1593	1	121
ORO	41/1/37	John	Helmedon	14-Sep	1603	09-Jun	1604	1	175
ORO	41/3/34	George	Helmedon	08-Oct	1634	27-Apr	1635	2	109
NA	prob 11/187	Elizabeth	Hereford	09-Feb	1595	11-May	1596		
ORO	41/3/51	John	Heynes	27-Oct	1643	01-Apr	1644	2	151
ORO	41/3/52	Margaret	Heynes	12-Nov	1644	18-Feb	1645	2	157
NA	prob 11/196	William	Heynes	28-Feb	1643	15-Jun	1646		
NA	prob 11/176	Robert	Heywood	18-Jul	1590	24-Aug	1590		
NA	prob 11/116	Roger	Higgs	28-Aug	1610	10-Oct	1610		
NA	prob 11/188	Henry	Hill	15-Jan	1642	15-Feb	1642		
NA	prob 11/198	Epiphany	Hill	08-May	1646	21-Nov	1646		
ORO	41/2/35	Edward	Hill	22-Nov	1617			1	270
ORO	41/2/7	Alice	Hirons			17-Apr	1610	1	206
NA	prob 11/203	Elizabeth	Horsman	13-Jan	1646	12-Feb	1648		
ORO	41/1/10; 1/84	John	Hoskey, Hasker	01-Feb	1585	19-Feb	1587		
NA	prob 11/136	Richard	Howes	15-Jan	1620	29-Oct	1620		
NA	prob 11/120	Richard	Hughes	08-Feb	1609	22-Sep	1612		
ORO	41/2/11; 41/2/19; 41/2/44	Rowland	Hughes	02-Jan	1611			1	211
ORO	41/1/27	Christopher	Humferies	26-Apr	1595	10-Dec	1596	1	139
ORO	41/3/1	John	Humfries	07-Oct	1624			2	35
ORO	43/3/20	Henry	Ireland			10-Dec	1617	1	268
ORO	1/100; 43/3/5	Robert	Isard	13-Apr	1593	15-Jun	1593	1	122
ORO	43/3/11	John	Jackson	28-Apr	1609	26-Sep	1609	1	201
ORO	43/3/22	Edward	Jackson	06-Jun	1618	01-Jul	1618	1	282
ORO	43/3/23	Anne	Jackson	04-Dec	1618	26-Dec	1618	1	282
NA	prob 11/168	Thomas	Jackson	01-Mar	1631	01-May	1635		
ORO	43/3/28	Richard	Jordan	23-Jan	1627	16-Apr	1628	2	58

ORO	43/3/7	John	Jurdaine	26-Nov	1597	13-Mar	1598	1	146
ORO	1/120; 2/2	Thomas	Keeling	30-Mar	1590				
ORO	44/3/8	Edward	Keelinge	25-Aug	1606	05-Jun	1607	1	191
ORO	44/3/21	Margaret	Keelinge	07-May	1625	14-Nov	1625	2	40
ORO	44/4/1	Richard	Keite	01-Oct	1634	27-Apr	1635	2	110
ORO	44/3/7	Grace	Kelye	16-Apr	1604	04-Oct	1605	1	183
NA	prob 11/107	Philip	Kendall	29-Aug	1605	30-Jun	1606		
ORO	44/4/2	Edward	Kendall	10-Nov	1636	02-May	1637	2	120
NA	prob 11/197	Thomas	Kennedy	08-Oct	1642	04-Sep	1646		
ORO	44/3/15	Thomas	Kewood			10-Dec	1617	1	270
ORO	44/3/19	John	Kimbell	05-Nov	1619	26-Apr	1620	1	296
ORO	44/3/22	Richard	Kimbell	23-Apr	1625	31-Jan	1626	2	38
ORO	44/3/12	Henry	Kimble			04-Oct	1613	1	238
ORO	44/3/18	Epiphany	Kimnell	22-Feb	1619			1	289
ORO	44/4/7	Jeremiah	Kinch	14-Apr	1638	05-May	1640	2	131
ORO	44/3/11	John	Kinge			04-Oct	1613	1	236
ORO	44/4/5	Edward	Kinge	12-Apr	1639	06-Aug	1639	2	135
ORO	44/3/17	Thomas	Kinton	30-Jul	1618			1	282
ORO	44/3/28	John	Knibbe	26-Jul	1632	20-May	1633	2	100
NA	prob 11/77	Johanne	Knight			09-Feb	1591		
NA	prob 11/101	John	Knight	04-Dec	1602	18-Feb	1603		
NA	prob 11/160	William	Knight	15-Sep	1631	25-Nov	1631		
NA	prob 11/169	Bezaleel	Knight	09-Feb	1634	06-Nov	1635		
NA	prob 11/72	John	Knighte	18-Nov	1587	02-May	1588		
ORO	44/3/9	John	Kymbell	09-Dec	1611	07-Apr	1612	1	223
ORO	44/3/27	John	Kymbell	27-Oct	1631	21-Apr	1632	2	96
ORO	1/116; 45/1/5	William	Larden	27-Mar	1593	28-Jul	1595	1	136
NA	prob 11/122	Thomas	Larden alias Tayler	20-Apr	1613	28-Aug	1613		
NA	prob 11/173	Richard	Laund	27-May	1636	31-Jan	1637		
NA	prob 11/134	Haymon	Leighe	06-Jun	1619	04-Nov	1619		
ORO	45/1/6	William	Loe	14-Jul	1596	13-Mar	1597	1	140
ORO	45/1/25	John	Longe	30-Jan	1627	11-May	1627	2	49
ORO	45/1/22	Alice	Lord	12-Apr	1610	21-Apr	1623	2	24
ORO	1/119; 2/1	Thomas	Lord	31-Jul	1590				
ORO	45/2/12	William	Lucas	27-Nov	1637	30-May	1638	2	128
NA	prob 11/156	Edward	Manne	13-Jul	1629	09-Nov	1629		
ORO	46/2/20	Robert	Mariage	07-May	1645	16-Aug	1646	2	158
ORO	46/1/7	Ranige	Mason	07-Feb	1587	21-Feb	1587		
NA	prob 11/180	William	Maunder	22-Jan	1636	17-May	1639		
ORO	46/1/40	John	Mayo	16-Apr	1619			1	303
ORO	46/1/9	John	Mayoe	31-Jan	1597	09-Sep	1598	1	148
ORO	46/1/14	David	Mayowe	06-Dec	1605	08-Oct	1606	1	186
NA	prob 11/64	Rowland	Mericke	12-Feb	1587	08-Feb	1588		
ORO	46/1/29	Nicholas	Messe			04-Oct	1614	1	245
ORO	46/2/21	Robert	Morton	18-May	1648	02-Jul	1649	2	162
ORO	46/1/22	Valentine	Moseley	22-May	1609	17-Apr	1610	1	203
NA	prob 11/121	George	Moseley	17-Dec	1612	09-Feb	1613		
ORO	46/1/26	Isabel	Moseley	01-Jul	1613	04-Oct	1613	1	237
NA	prob 11/128	Joyce	Moseley	13-Feb	1615	28-Nov	1616		
ORO	47/1/18	Bartholomw	Naylor					2	70

ORO	47/1/22	Elizabeth	Neale	16-May	1632	06-Nov	1632	2	101
ORO	47/1/6	Robert	Newell	17-Apr	1611	01-Oct	1611	1	217
ORO	47/1/9	Richard	Newman	18-Feb	1619	02-Jul	1619	1	290
ORO	47/2/5	John	Newman	29-Dec	1636	13-Nov	1637	2	120
ORO	47/2/4	Hamden	Nicholes	23-Jul	1635	15-Sep	1635	2	115
ORO	47/2/8	Abel	Nicholes	06-Jun	1640	20-Jun	1640	2	143
NA	prob 11/64	Thomas	Nicholls	07-Apr	1580	08-Feb	1582		
ORO	47/1/16	Thomas	Nicholls	08-Apr	1624	06-Apr	1628	2	67
NA	prob 11/160	John	Nicols	11-Feb	1631	29-Jun	1631		
NA	prob 11/181	Mary	Nicols	23-Feb	1638	09-Nov	1639		
NA	prob 11/213	Thomas	Nix alias Nichols	15-Apr	1650	08-Aug	1650		
ORO	47/4/2	Thomas	Overburye	07-Feb	1607	05-Jun	1607	1	193
ORO	48/2/38	Abel	Page	01-Sep	1638	20-May	1639	2	131
ORO	48/2/31	Thomas	Pedlie	14-Feb	1625	29-Apr	1635	2	110
ORO	1/108; 48/1/8	William	Penton			17-Mar	1595	1	133
ORO	48/2/12	John	Perein	19-Mar	1619		1624	2	32
ORO	48/2/42	Thomas	Perkins	27-Jan	1643			2	146
NA	prob 11/131	John	Pettifer	07-Nov	1617	11-May	1618		
NA	prob 11/181	James	Pettifer	18-Sep	1639	27-Nov	1639		
NA	prob 11/197	Mary	Pettifer	03-Feb	1642	29-Sep	1646		
ORO	1/97; 48/1/7	Richard	Phill	30-Dec	1592	01-Mar	1593	1	117
ORO	48/2/4	Edward	Phill	30-Jan	1617	01-Jul	1618	1	274
ORO	48/1/5; 1/92	Henry	Pilkinton	21-Feb	1587	17-Mar	1588		
ORO	48/2/17	George	Piner	03-Nov	1626	30-Dec	1626	2	47
NA	prob 11/75	Thomas	Pinme	10-Feb	1589	05-May	1590		
ORO	1/98;2/5; 48/1/6	Robert	Poope	12-Jun	1592	12-Sep	1592	1	113
ORO	48/1/15	Thomas	Pope	14-Jan	1603			1	247
ORO	48/2/11	Alice	Pratt	25-Sep	1603		1624	2	33
ORO	48/1/20	Seth	Prophet	18-Jun	1606	23-Sep	1606	1	188
NA	prob 11/117	John	Pym	27-Mar	1611	18-Jun	1611		
NA	prob 11/207	Thomas	Pym	27-Dec	1648	17-Feb	1649		
NA	prob 11/209	William	Pym	19-Jun	1649	01-Oct	1649		
ORO	48/1/31	Mawde	Pymmme	09-Jan	1610		1610	1	204
ORO	1/107; 48/1/9	George	Pynder	27-Jul	1594	17-Mar	1595	1	132
ORO	50/2/29	Richard	Rainbow	27-Nov	1639	05-May	1640	2	141
ORO	50/2/5	John	Reade	01-Nov	1619	1621		2	8
ORO	50/1/25	George	Reanoldes	17-Feb	1617	13-Jun	1617	1	260
ORO	50/2/30	Nicholas	Reinoldes	22-Jun	1639	05-May	1640	2	140
ORO	50/2/11	Isabel	Ricards	30-Jun	1620			2	42
NA	prob 11/81	William	Richardes	21-Mar	1593	21-Apr	1593		
NA	prob 11/96	John	Richardes	12-May	1600	12-Jun	1600		
ORO	50/1/13	Robert	Richards	12-Apr	1606	15-Apr	1606	1	186
ORO	50/2/18	Christian	Richards	01-Jun	1631	06-Aug	1631	2	87
ORO	50/1/22	George	Rickettes	09-Oct	1613	20-Apr	1614	1	245
ORO	50/1/26	John	Righton			10-Dec	1617	1	257
ORO	50/2/16	John	Rimell	07-Jul	1629	12-Apr	1630	2	78
ORO	50/2/9	George	Robbins	06-Dec	1625	31-Jan	1626	2	40
ORO	50/1/21	John	Robins	03-Apr	1613	14-Apr	1613	1	234
NA	prob 11/188	George	Robins	22-Aug	1641	11-Feb	1642		

ORO	50/2/23	Clemence	Robyns	02-Aug	1634			2	104
ORO	50/2/1	Robert	Rogers	14-May	1618	25-Jun	1618	1	278
ORO	50/2/2	Robert	Rose	15-Mar	1619	02-Jul	1619	1	292
ORO	51/1/32	John	Sale	09-Nov	1621	30-Apr	1622	2	11
ORO	50/5/12	Arthur	Salle			27-Nov	1592	1	116
ORO	50/5/14	Bennet	Savage	28-Jun	1593	29-Oct	1593	1	124
ORO	50/5/21	James	Sawbridge	10-Aug	1598	09-Sep	1598	1	146
ORO	50/5/29	Margaret	Sawbridge	24-Aug	1605	16-Dec	1605	1	180
NA	prob 11/174	John	Scott	02-Jan	1637	16-May	1637		
ORO	50/5/8; 1/85	Gillian	Shakerley	13-Oct	1580	25-Mar	1581		
ORO	51/2/46	John	Sheppard	25-Jul	1645	24-Nov	1645	2	160
ORO	51/2/14	Henry	Sherwood	21-May	1631	04-Aug	1631	2	85
ORO	50/5/23	William	Short	06-Oct	1601	31-Jul	1602	1	169
ORO	51/1/5	William	Short	27-Feb	1613	14-Apr	1613	1	231
ORO	51/1/17	William	Shorte	19-Feb	1617			1	261
ORO	50/5/43	Richard	Showell	20-Aug	1610	02-Apr	1611	1	214
NA	prob 11/128	Henry	Showell	20-Nov	1614	29-Jan	1616		
ORO	51/1/37	Mary	Showell	15-Oct	1621	19-Jun	1622	2	13
ORO	51/1/38	Isaiah	Showell	21-Jun	1622	30-Sep	1622	2	18
ORO	51/2/45	Thomas	Slattier	20-Jul	1643	09-Oct	1645	2	152
ORO	50/5/28	Richard	Smith	22-Aug	1603	09-Jun	1604	1	176
ORO	51/1/27	Henry	Smith	31-Oct	1619	26-Apr	1620	1	298
ORO	51/2/7	John	Smith	19-Oct	1627	23-Mar	1628	2	62
ORO	50/5/44	Joan	Smythe			01-Oct	1611	1	222
ORO	1/118; 50/5/17	John	Snason	04-Jul	1596	10-Dec	1596	1	140
ORO	1/111; 50/5/15	Robert	Sowtham	06-Jul	1592	02-Jul	1594	1	125
NA	prob 11/106	George	Sowtham	11-Apr	1605	03-Jul	1605		
ORO	50/5/31	Gillian	Sowtham	29-Nov	1605	08-Apr	1606	1	184
ORO	51/1/6	Henry	Sowtham	09-Nov	1612	14-Apr	1613	1	229
ORO	51/1/25	Annis	Sowtham			04-Oct	1619	1	296
ORO	51/1/18	Nicholas	Stoakes	13-Sep	1616	13-Jun	1617	1	260
ORO	50/5/45	William	Stockley	31-Jul	1611	01-Oct	1611	1	222
ORO	51/2/25	Ellen	Stockly	03-Mar	1635	14-Mar	1636	2	116
ORO	51/1/39	Elizabeth	Stokes			30-Sep	1622	2	15
NA	prob 11/153	Henry	Stokes	10-May	1628	10-May	1629		
ORO	51/1/31	Joan	Strokes			24-Sep	1621	2	4
ORO	50/5/35	Bartholomew	Strong	23-Aug	1616	13-Jun	1617	1	266
ORO	50/5/10	Robert	Symons, Simons	07-Mar	1586	22-Mar	1586		
ORO	53/3/22	Jane	Tappertow	07-Jun	1611	01-Oct	1611	1	219
ORO	52/3/34	Thomas	Tayler	26-Feb	1620	26-Apr	1620	1	301
NA	prob 11/159	William	Tayler	31-Jul	1630	14-Feb	1631		
ORO	52/4/11	Alice	Tayler	31-Jan	1632	21-Apr	1632	2	99
NA	prob 11/103	John	Taylor	12-Jun	1603	08-May	1604		
ORO	42/3/24	John	Taylor	20-Jun	1612	30-Sep	1612	1	224
ORO	52/4/7	William	Taylor	06-Jul	1631	04-Aug	1631	2	88
NA	prob 11/120	Richard	Thorpe	16-Jul	1612	10-Nov	1612		
ORO	52/3/9	William	Tomkins		1596	23-Sep	1597	1	144
NA	prob 11/125	John	Tomkins	08-Nov	1614	01-Mar	1615		
ORO	52/3/36	Frisworth	Tonney			30-Apr	1622	2	12

ORO	52/3/5; 1/87	Henry	Toy, Tey	12-Feb	1588	01-Jul	1588		
NA	prob 11/117	John	Traunter			15-Apr	1611		
NA	prob 11/173	John	Turton	17-Sep	1636	11-Feb	1637		
NA	prob 11/144	Thomas	Udale	29-Mar	1622	12-Jul	1624		
NA	prob 11/127	Thomas	Unett	01-Jan	1616	25-Jan	1616		
ORO	53/5/5	Edward	Vardin	14-Mar	1619	02-Jul	1619	1	291
NA	prob 11/72	Andrew	Vivers	23-Apr	1588	15-Jun	1588		
NA	prob 11/130	Andrew	Vivers	06-Jul	1617	11-Nov	1617		
NA	prob 11/192	Richard	Vivers	15-Aug	1642	06-Dec	1644		
ORO	53/5/6	John	Vivers	16-Sep	1637			2	125
ORO	54/2/44	Walter	Walfard	14-Jun	1627	16-Apr	1628	2	59
ORO	54/2/5	Wolstone	Walker	09-Apr	1616	27-Sep	1616	1	252
ORO	54/1/31	John	Wallsall	03-Sep	1609	17-Apr	1610	1	205
ORO	54/2/16	Christian	Walsoe	19-Dec	1619	26-Apr	1620	1	300
ORO	54/1/43	Anne	Walter	06-Jul	1613	04-Oct	1613	1	239
ORO	54/1/24	John	Wamesley	31-Aug	1604	04-Oct	1605	1	179
ORO	54/2/8	Philip	Ward	12-Jan	1617	13-Jun	1617	1	263
NA	prob 11/181	Margaret	Ward	17-Jun	1639	27-Nov	1639		
NA	prob 11/200	Nathaniell	Warde	03-May	1645	01-May	1647		
NA	prob 11/94	John	Warner	08-Oct	1599	08-Nov	1599		
ORO	54/1/19	Christian	Warner	03-Apr	1602	21-Jul	1602	1	171
NA	prob 11/200	Richard	Warner	06-Sep	1643	22-May	1647		
ORO	54/3/39	Ralfe	Warren	19-Mar	1638	01-Apr	1639	2	130
NA	prob 11/110	Katherine	Webb	28-May		28-Nov	1607		
ORO	54/3/42	John	Webb	19-May	1630	13-May	1642	2	145
NA	prob 11/136	James	West	25-Apr	1621	24-Nov	1621		
NA	prob 11/176	John	West	03-Sep	1636	11-Apr	1638		
ORO	54/1/38	Edward	Weston	04-Dec	1612	14-Apr	1613	1	229
NA	prob 11/143	William	Weston	18-Jun	1623	19-Feb	1624		
NA	prob 11/162	John	Weston	11-Nov	1631	02-Nov	1632		
NA	prob 11/163	Margerie	Weston	15-Feb	1632	13-Feb	1633		
ORO	54/1/40	Anne	Weston	31-Aug	1613			1	298
NA	prob 11/176	Thomas	Whately	13-Mar	1637	23-Apr	1638		
NA	prob 11/180	William	Whately	30-Mar	1639	25-Jun	1639		
NA	prob 11/187	Martha	Whately			23-Dec	1641		
NA	prob 11/103	Richard	Wheatlie	28-Nov	1603	04-Jan	1604		
ORO	54/2/41	Samuel	Wheatly	03-Jan	1627	11-May	1627	2	49
NA	prob 11/197	John	Wheeler	10-Aug	1646	26-Nov	1646		
NA	prob 11/103	William	Wheigham	24-Dec	1603	04-Jan	1604		
ORO	54/2/24	William	White	21-Oct	1621	30-Apr	1622	2	8
ORO	54/3/20	Barbara	White	08-Mar	1633	20-May	1633	2	101
NA	prob 11/196	Elizabeth	Widowes	14-Jan	1641	26-May	1646		
NA	prob 11/105	Matthew	Wigget	02-Jul	1604	30-Jan	1605		
ORO	54/2/30	Richard	Wilkins	21-Apr	1623	06-Oct	1623	2	28
ORO	54/3/27	James	Wilkins	29-Nov	1634	27-Apr	1635	2	113
ORO	54/1/27	Humfrey	Williams			15-Jan	1607	1	193
ORO	54/2/9	John	Williams		1616	13-Jun	1617	1	264
ORO	1/99	Richard	Williamson			11-Sep	1592	1	113
ORO	54/2/1	Thomas	Williamson	25-Mar	1616	03-Apr	1616	1	249
ORO	54/3/4	Thomas	Williamson	29-Jul	1629			2	74
ORO	54/1/17	John	Wilshire	14-Jan	1600	11-Mar	1600	1	158

NA	Prob 11/124	Matthew	Wing	09-Aug	1614	15-Nov	1614		
NA	prob 11/151	John	Wing	09-Nov	1626	23-Apr	1627		
ORO	54/1/25	Mary	Wisdom	25-Feb	1606	08-Apr	1606	1	185
ORO	1/86; 54/1/7	Joane	Wisdom	22-Mar	1585			1	116
ORO	1/114	Elizabeth	Wise			27-Jul	1594	1	130
ORO	54/1/41	Thomas	Wise	08-Apr	1613	04-Oct	1613	1	235
ORO	54/2/31	Matthew	Wise	15-Feb	1621	06-Oct	1623	2	30
ORO	54/3/37	Thomas	Wise	28-May	1637			2	124
NA	prob 11/69	John	Wisdom	08-Dec	1585	29-Jan	1586		
NA	prob 11/173	Edward	Wisdom	08-Jun	1636	21-Jan	1637		
ORO	54/2/13	Henry	Wright	15-Nov	1617	01-Jul	1618	1	272
ORO	54/1/39	Richard	Wrighton	05-Dec	1612	14-Apr	1613	1	227
ORO	54/1/23	William	Wylkyns	09-May	1602	09-Jun	1604	1	174
ORO	56/4/5	Margerye	Yardley	21-Mar	1615			1	249
ORO	56/4/13	Robert	Youick	27-Jun	1638	20-May	1639	2	132
NA	prob 11/130	Margaret	Youicke	14-Mar	1616	07-Jul	1617		
ORO	56/4/8	Thomas	Youicke	18-Jun	1617	02-Jul	1619	1	286
ORO	56/4/10	Joyce	Youicke	28-Sep	1635	14-Mar	1636	2	117
ORO	56/4/14	Nathaniel	Youicke	18-Jan	1645	06-Mar	1645	2	157
NA	prob 11/194	Nicholas	Yowick	10-Nov	1598	10-Jul	1599		
ORO	56/4/3	Joyce	Yowick	03-Apr	1606	23-Sep	1606	1	190
NA	prob 11/81	Robert	Yowicke	23-Sep	1592	27-Jan	1593		

Appendix Four

Preamble from the will of John Gill, gentleman of Wickham, in the parish of Banbury, 1634

(ORO) Ms Wills Oxon. Peculiars 39/4/20

Folio 1 - I John Gill of Wickham in the parish of Banbury in the County of Oxon Gentleman beinge in good helth of body and *perfecte* memory for which I praise my Lord God: yet consideringe the uncertenty of this transitory life and remembringe the comandemente given to Hezekiah that hee shoulde sett his house in order (whereby it shoulde seeme hee was therein overslacke) I thoughte it my bounden duty and for avoidinge of future strife that otherwise mighte arise about my worldly estate to sett downe and make my laste will and testament in writinge. And firste concerninge my christian estate and soule: I doe acknowledge and confesse that I verily beleave and am assured in my harte that almighty God the father the maker of heaven and earth he beinge the firste *person* in that blessed undivided and incomprehensible Trinity accordinge to his free promise made to man in christe Jesus hath not only *pardoned* and forgiven mee all my sins, and freed and redeemed mee from sin and hell throughe the only suffringe death and the shedding of the precious bloude of Christe his true and naturall sonne, begotten of him after an unconceavable manner and soe true God the seconde *person* in that blessed trinitye whose sufferings are a full and sufficient satisfaccion for them and the sins of the whole world, but alsoe hath and will cloth mee with the *perfecte* righteousnesse obedience and holines of the same Christe putt on by faith and soe mistifye mee before his Maiestye and beinge soe made pure and holy in his sighte whensoever it shall please him to call mee out of this vale of teares hee will give to mee that ~~life~~ eternall life my and happines *which is prepared* and reserved for mee and all the electe men and Angells before the foundationes of the world in the same Jesus Christe, whome I acknowledge to bee that Messiar promised to our fathers of old who in the fulnes of tyme was conceaved in the wombe of the blessed virgin Mary by the holy Ghost, God alsoe and the third *person* in that blessed trinity without sin and soe became true man able to suffer and God able to meritt, and that *person* God and man fulfilled all righteousness and thereby became according to his name a Saviour of all the Electe: of which number it hath pleased Almighty God of his owne good will and pleasure to ordayne and appointe mee to bee one. And therefore I doe desire ioyfully and patiently to waite expecte and longe (with the rest of his church on earth) for that comfortable calling and departure and whensoever it shalbee I desire and hope I shall willingly yeild my soule into the hande of my said father and Saviour and my body to the earth: from whence I verily beleave that att the last day it shalbe raised and united to my soule againe, and to bee made glorious and immortall by the power of the same Jesus Christe Amen.

Nowe concerninge my worldly goods and blessings *which* God most bountifully hath bestowed upon mee in this my pilgrimage: yet before I give any of them (because excepte the lord build the house the labour in vaine that build it. And in vaine it is to rise early and to lye downe late and to eate the bread of sorrowe but God will surely geve reste to his beloved but for all this hee must bee sought upon by his Israell) I thinke ... to craue a blesinge of the lord. And therefore I doe most humbly intreate his heavenly *Majestie* that as hee hath bynne wonderfull mercifull to mee both in

keepinge mee and providinge for mee (when I had neither father nor mother left and I very younge) as also in my faithfull and religious wives: soe when he that called mee to himselfe hee will give wisdome and faithfullness to those I putt and repose truste in: and the things blessed in their hands to whome they are bequeathed as may bee beste pleasinge to his will (who is only wise) and for his glory and their good. Amen

Folio 2 - Firste as touching my children albeit I am *perswaded* that God accordinge to his promise (if they abide in his love and feare) will not forsake them. And although I have indeavoured accordinge to the grace I have received to bringe them upp and instructe them in the knowledge of christian religion and accordinge to the lawe of God and nature have already in parte and herein meane to sett downe some further order for their estate in this life accordinge to my callinge and ability: yet that (if it please God) the same legacies may bee the better to them and they the better for them and they the better for them I thinke good to sett downe (as a generall bequeste to them all) certen lessons or admonicions moste earnestely requiringe them (if ever they looke for comforte, or gods blessinge upon them in this life, or eternall life, in the life to come) seriouslye to printe them in their minds and harts and not forget them Vizt. First and principally I will and desire them all to love and feare the lord and all his ordinances and in him their neighbours and all gods creatures. To sett their affection on heavenly things and not on things which are on the earth. Not to love the world nor the things which are in the world, *which* if they doe it is certen the love of god is not in them. To bee contented with their lotte: To have their conversacion without covetousnes for God hath said to all his hee will not faile them nor forsake them; yet esteeme not to lightlye of those things *which* God giueth for their maintenance in this life though they bee neuer soe small (and but vanity in them selves) but for his sake that gave and lente them unto them takinge and receaving them as some testimonie and pledge of his love and favourable providence towards them who vouchsafeth them to bee his Stewarde thereof, and therefore to be very carefull to use and imploy them to his honor and glory not to live a vayne and idle life but to be diligente and faithfull in some honest callinge not for the desire to bee rich for the desire of riches is the roote of all evill but in obedience to gods ordinance and comandement. And if god of his greate love and favour give and worke godlines in their harts to bee glad and content and not bee sorrowfull or discouraged although their portion bee small of earthly things or their labours not blessed as other mens are for godlines is greate riches. Not to be puffed up with pride if they have much for all flesh is grasse and the glory of man is but as the flower thereof, neither bee secure by havinge of them for mans life standeth not in that hee possesseth. And nowe touching my worldly estate concerning them and others....

Appendix Five

'The case between Mr Wheatley and his brother whome he putt from ye communion upon a fame of incontincy,' 1625

State Papers Domestic: Series Two, Great Britain 1625-1702 (16/50/63)

Folio 182 (1) recto

The Case between Mr Wheatlye & his Brother to whome upon a *presentment* of a fame of *incontincye* he denied the *communion*. Feb. 5. 1625.

Sir:

Syth *your worship* pleaseth to take notice of my brothers unkind and unheard of carriage towards me, att a divine and publique meetinge on one of *our* monethlie assemblies, for the celebrating of the lords supper upon the 5th day of ffebruary last, being Anno Dom 1625 it was as followeth vizt.

I beinge one of the last forme that was to receive ^and hee (having before past by Marie Weston, neither giving it unto her, nor in words refusing, although she plucked him by the gowne, intimating that hee was forgetfull of her, *which* hee slytinge, passed on to others)

Now when his turne was to come to me, hee made a sodaine stopp and going to the *communion* table hee used these or the like words neighbours, it is fitt that when any notorious offendour comes to the *communion* they should first by acknowledging their offences and sorrow for offending and purpose of amendment, give satisfaccion to the congregation.

Then coming to me, first, hee protested his unwillingnes to deale so *with* me, but acquainted the hearers openly that hee had admonished me both publicly and privately, and was therfore forced to do what hee did, then falling upon his knees, prayed, that I would confesse unto the parish I know not what, nor himself neither, I thinke: The greatest part present thinking (as I did and do conceive) that I had bene & come by appointment to performe open penance, were all in a loud crying: I used no words but these, (standing upp and casting my cloake about me) *with* a low voice, audible only to them that were next to me, said, brother I thanke you, god bee *with* you, and so departed; going out of the chancel, hee followed me to the *communion* table, where first hee pronounced before them all that he did cast off all brotherly affection toward me, and then falling upon his knees, and his hands lifted upp, did pray to god to cast downe his speedie vengeance upon me crying, nowe, nowe, nowe, that hee may bee an example to all the congregation; att *which* words there was a more hideous out crie then before, indeed, hee wanted but clapping of his hands, to have acted a beare batinge bee this written, all due respect and reverence reserved to the holy service there in hand.

Folio 182 (1) verso

To Mary Weston thus *with* a strayned voice.

Goodwife Weston whereas you have bene presented upon a fame of suspition of incontencie *with* my brother, yf you ^are guiltie of any such fault I charge you (as before god to confesse it before this congregation or els I will not give you the sacrament unles you will take it upon your innocency, she answered shee could take it

upon her innocencie, if hee pleased to give it her. shee then *with* a loud voice called the congregation to witness that shee did take that sacrament upon her innocency and presently blessing the bread (after the maner) gave her the bread, and after shee had received the bread, and eaten it, hee said, if thow bee guiltie I desire that this bread may bee thy damnacion, then consecrating the cup (as before) hee said if thow bee not innocent this cup shall bee thy damnation, and so flung away leaving the cup in her hands.

Concerning the administring, sitting, it is so usuall I thinke hee will not deny it, but the churchwardens are too much convenient.

Concerning baptizing *without* godfathers it was but once; and now hee doth not stirr out of his pue till his clerke bringe him word the godfathers and godmothers are present.

I have shewed unto John Oson some reasons, making me unwilling to procure names, but I tooke notice of theis that were there present *which* I thinke will not deny the truth of my writing

Mr Justice Nicholls¹¹⁸

Mr Thomas Webb, Alderman¹¹⁹

George Robens Burg maister¹²⁰

the churchwardens both the last old and this yeares new.¹²¹

Yours ever att command

John Wheatly

Having heard some report of this disorder in the peculiar of Banbury, I sent to the Register to signifie to me the truth thereof, who sent me the informacion whereof this is a true copie. *John Howson* Jan 21 1626/7¹²²

¹¹⁸ Mr John Nichols was justice of the peace in Banbury between 1627-8. He had been bailiff in 1605-6 and mayor in 1614-5 and 1624-5. He went on to marry Mary Pym, the widowed daughter of John Gill on the 8 September 1630; BCR pp.316-7

¹¹⁹ Thomas Webb was an alderman from 1607 until his death. He was bailiff between 1607-8 and mayor during the years 1619-20, 1629-30 and 1637-8; BCR p.326

¹²⁰ George Robins was an alderman from 1628, and mayor in 1631-2 and 1638-9; BCR p.320

¹²¹ The churchwardens during the year of the case are unknown. The surviving act book for the peculiar court only begins in January 1626. The first appointment of churchwardens to be recorded in the act book on May 8 1626, for year 1626-7, were John Goodwin, John Newland, Nathaniel Whately, William Taylor and William Taylor; Bawdy Court p.72

¹²² According to John Bruce ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1627-8* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858) p.27 the writer of this document was John Howson, Bishop of Oxford, who had requested information on the incident from John Whately. The document's title 'The case betweene Mr Wheatley and his brother whome he putt from ye communion upon a fame of incontineny,' was written by Bishop Laud.

Appendix Six

List of parishioners from St Peter's presented to the court of the Archdeaconry for refusing to receive Communion, 6 April 1638¹²³

Jane, wife of John Barker
 William Bayley
 Cicelye, daughter of Mrs Borroughs
 Petronell, wife of Mr James Chadwicke
 Thomas Clarke
 Frances, wife of William Clarke
 John Drewrye
 Elizabeth, wife of Mr Drewrie
 Mr Fletcher and his wife
 Mrs Christial (Christian) Hall, widow
 Mary, wife of William Hall
 Millicent, wife of Mr Robert Hall
 Mrs Barbara Hill, widow
 Thomas Hydes¹²⁴
 Ann, wife of Henry James
 Alice, wife of Thomas Jepson
 Elizabeth Kirkby
 Ann Lacye, widow
 Thomas Lawson and his wife
 Ann Linley
 Robert Mansfield and his wife
 Mrs Ann Martin, widow
 Mary, wife of Mr Mason
 Richard Meryall and his wife
 Robert Nicholls and his wife
 Mrs Elizabeth, wife of Richard Palmer
 Elizabeth, wife of John Parsons
 Ann Richards, wife of William Richards
 Joan Roe
 Roger Ryley¹²⁵
 William Ryley¹²⁶

¹²³ (NMSS) St Peter's presentments AN/PB 303/583 dated 06/04/1638 and AN/PB 303/585 dated 1638. This second presentment from St Peter's parish contains the names Roger Ryley, William Ryley and Thomas Hydes 'for not receiving the communion at our church last easter.' These three names do not appear in the presentment, dated 6 April 1638, which presents a far greater number of individuals. Since both presentments relate to Communion at Easter it is presumed they relate to the same incident.

¹²⁴ This name does not appear in the presentment dated 06/04/1638 but in the undated presentment of 1638. It also appears in the Archdeaconry act book entries relating to the case (NMSS) ANA/A 45 f.169r; I am grateful to Kenneth Fincham for sending me his transcription of some of the entries to this case. This name appears in his transcription. Refer to footnotes 127 and 128 below for further explanation

¹²⁵ This name only appears in the presentment AN/PB 303/585, noted in footnote 123 above.

¹²⁶ This name does not appear in the presentment dated 06/04/1638 but in (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.511-2, referring to notes in the act book dated 27 August 1638; it also features in presentment AN/PB 303/585 dated 1638.

Robert Sexton
 Mr Robert Sherwine, mayor
 Suzanne, wife of Robert Taylor
 Elizabeth, wife of John Twells
 Latimer Walker
 Edward White and his wife
 Ann, wife of William Widdison
 Mrs Winfeild, wife of Joseph Winfeild

**Some of the reasons given by those cited to the Archdeaconry court
 27 August 1638 for not receiving Communion at Easter**¹²⁷

Christina Hall alleged that she could not receive the Communion in regard of the straightness of the place.

William Bayley alleged that he came to the church with intent to receive the Holy Communion but did not receive it because he could not have it according as he used to receive it in the body of the church for that he could neither hear nor see the bread and wine consecrated.

John Drurye alleged, that his conscience would not serve him to receive the Holy Communion because he might not receive it as he used to do and the minister did not consecrate it at the north side of the table.

Elizabeth, wife of John Twells, argued that the chancel was so very 'throng' that she could not come in to receive it or see the same consecrated.

Joan Roe said it was because she did not receive it in the old order with the table standing in the body of the church.

Robert Nicols claimed he did not receive it because he could not see and hear the consecration and secondly because he could not have it but at the rails and would not there receive it because he thought there was something in it enjoyed more than indifference.

Robert Sexton said he did not receive it because he thought it would have been brought down to him in the body of the church.

Lattimer Walker admitted that he durst not go up to the rail because the thought there was more than indifference put to it.

William Ryley admitted that he did not receive it partly in regard of the throng in the chancel and because he could not have it but at the rail.

Thomas Lawson and his wife alleged that they sat in their usual seat in the chancel to receive.¹²⁸

Anna Lynley did not receive because she could not see it consecrated.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ These reasons are recorded in (NRO) M463 Archdeaconry (3) pp.511-2; the act book (NMSS ANA/A 45) which contains the original of the case is now too fragile to be consulted. I have therefore been unable to record the answers of all those who were presented in this case, if indeed their responses were noted; some of these responses have also been published in R.F.B. Hodgkinson, 'Extracts from the Act Books of the Archdeacons of Nottingham' in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Volume 31 (Nottingham, 1928) pp.136-7

¹²⁸ (NMSS) ANA/A 45 f.169r; I am very grateful to Kenneth Fincham for sending me his transcription of the responses of Thomas Lawson and his wife, Anna Lynley, Richard Meriall and his wife, Edward White and his wife, and Thomas Hydes. He refers briefly to the case in his collaboration with Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) pp.200, 213, 222

¹²⁹ (NMSS) ANA/A 45 f.169r

Richard Merriall and his wife did not receive because of 'the throng in the chancell and he could not have any meditacon.'¹³⁰

Edward White and his wife argued 'he made a scruple to take it at the rayles and therefore he did not.'¹³¹

Thomas Hydes did not receive because he could only have it at the rails.¹³²

¹³⁰ Ibid. f.169v

¹³¹ Ibid. f.169v

¹³² Ibid. f.171v

Appendix Seven

The full text of the religious libels in Nottingham, 1614-1617

- **LIBEL ONE - August and September 12th James (1614)¹³³**

Who soe is ever desirous the life of Michaell Purfrey to knowe
 A licencious slaue he is counted, and of all men generally hold soe,
 And yf you desire of his life then further enquire,
 of St James Lane he doth smell though he be not there
 For the *which* fault he himselfe to excuse,
 A false oath he hath taken, thoughe god & the worlde may him Justly accuse,
 Lord root him out even sone to amende
 & an honeste in his roome good Lord we beseech thee us send,
 And then shall this Towne be att peaceable rest,
 for being shutt of such a member yt wilbe happie and blest.

- **LIBEL TWO - June, July and August 13th James (1615)¹³⁴**

‘Better to be song, then to be redd to the tune of Bonny Nell’

My muse arise and truth then tell;
 of a Pure secte that sprang from hell,
 who are so vaine soe false and fickle
 they leave the Church to Conventicle;
 on huge Sct Anker they lay hould
 who is an hypocrite most bould:
 He travels often to Jordaine,
 where, in the lord he taketh gaine.
 Ile do him right were he a Scott,
 hele Chant a Psalme and drinke a Pott.
 But when he should the text expound,
 the Hogsheads full it cannot sound:
 I pittie much that vpsett Jonas
 who is so ledd as never non was
 by hipocrites and bawdy Queanes,
 who would be sainted by his meanes,
 he is to honest for their crew:
 the next in order doth ensew,
 the sacredst person in this stew
 Sct Margaret that doth excell:
 Sct Winifride for all her well:
 She hath a founte where manie thinke;
 the great Sct Gorge his fill doth drinke:

¹³³ (NA) STAC 8/303/8 f.2

¹³⁴ (NA) STAC 8/27/7 f.29; a transcription of this libel is also reproduced in C.J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) pp.201-2

Neare to this fountaine I haue hard,
 one sells Divinity by the yard,
 for be she baude or be she hore,
 she takes vpp all vppon the score;
 if she be faire and pure in speech,
 she paies her brother on her breech
 Theis sectaries love noe confession
 nor can indure the ould profession,
 by night they Catichise each other
 the holy sister with the brother,
 and when the high presst hath well druncke
 each one betakes him to his puncke
 Some Handicrafters by there trade,
 have Gospellers by them ben made
 the Coblers and the Tailors proude,
 for Conventicklers are allowed,
 theis Mechanickes are very nimble,
 to leape beyond there laste and thimble:
 But cease my muse here take thy rest
 of their Conversion hope the best,
 in love to those that haue trew zeale,
 that love the king and Comon weale,
 I wishe all those that do not soe,
 to this dammed Conventicle goe.

- **LIBEL THREE - October and November 13th James (1615)**¹³⁵

A lyinge Bill that was made by pursinge will
 that is his trade wherin he sheweth his witt & skill
 in framinge of an Idoll Bill
 alas his case I doe lament¹³⁶
 In his time so ill hath spent,
 Oh then leaue off the theeuing trade
 & spurr att home thy popishe Jade

- **LIBEL FOUR - August and September 15th James (1617)**¹³⁷

‘Maries Church’

Brethren goe home and praie,
 for wee haue lost a daie
 the wicked beare the swaie,
 Maries Church wee haue loste
 with noe smale charge no cost

¹³⁵ (NA) STAC 8/303/8 f.2

¹³⁶ The document has a tear between ‘doe lam’ and ‘in his time’ so it is impossible to know what the full word beginning with ‘lam’ should read. Lament fits with the rhyme.

¹³⁷ (NA) STAC 8/27/7 f.29; a transcription of this libel is also reproduced in Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare’s Age* pp.202-3

Caiphas doth make greate moane,
 the profett wilbe gone
 and he be left all alone
 Maries Church &c.

Jonas is refused
 and lookes like one is dead
 noe learning is in his head
 Maries Church &c.

Sisters yor grief is mickle
 for time hath with his sickle
 Cutt off yor Conventicle
 Maries Church &c.

See that you morne in blacke,
 For the poore temples racke,
 And doe Crie out a lacke,
 Maries Church &c.

Sct George hath broke his lavnce
 his Cutt doth leape and prounce
 Sct Megg lies in a trance
 Maries Church &c.

Dildo leave to expound
 full flat vppon the ground,
 and sing out like a hound
 Maries Church &c.

All you that be precise,
 and dailie Catekise,
 Send out yor dolefull cries,
 Maries Church &c.

How this befell alas
 wee must recorde in brasse
 and praie for Church Nicholas
 Maries Church &c.

Thus for to end in myter
 Lett vs praie for Church Peter
 That the wicked have never meeter
 Maries Church wee have lost
 With the smalle charge noe cost.

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