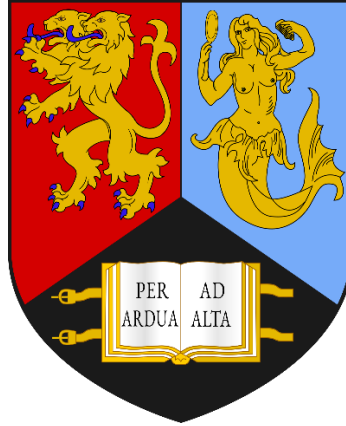


Building God's 'True Church': Exile and the Church of England c. 1553–1566



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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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March 2023

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Abstract

This thesis tells the story of the formation of early Elizabethan conformism during the years 1553 to 1566 and in so doing contributes significantly to the argument that the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church and its conformism started not with the Religious Settlement of 1559, but during the period of Marian exile. The thesis argues that, motivated primarily by their zeal for preventing the repetition of former sins (and punishments), foremost amongst which was their failure to reform the English Church sufficiently under previous monarchs, the returning exiles who accepted bishoprics in Elizabethan England did not blindly or uncritically ‘conform’ to Elizabethan church politics, as the historiographical term ‘conformist’ suggests. Rather, they took a difficult decision to compromise on some of their principles for the sake of serving and shaping the true Church and maintaining their liberty to preach the gospel. By adopting this argument, this thesis proposes that we describe these individuals as ‘compromists’ rather than ‘conformists’.

The thesis proceeds by following a representative selection of the men who would become the first generation of Elizabethan bishops to move into and out of exile. As such it moves away from a disproportionate historiographical focus on the influence of Calvin’s Geneva to pay closer attention to those individuals who spent the majority of their exile in places such as Zurich and Strasbourg; the most important figures include Richard Cox of Ely, Edwin Sandys of Worcester, London and York, James Pilkington of Durham, Edmund Grindal of London, York and Canterbury, John Jewel of Salisbury, Robert Horn of Winchester and John Parkhurst of Norwich.

The thesis examines their connections to continental theologians, as well as their correspondence, commentaries and sermons. Through analysing their individual and

connected stories it will show that the evolution of early Elizabethan ‘conformism’ was a long and complex process that required many compromises to be made. It will explore in detail the question of what motivated and influenced this group and hence will capture the multiplicity of factors that went into the decision-making process of becoming compromists. These included social, political and, especially, theological circumstances. The compromists’ decision-making process regarding things that would be considered indifferent and were acceptable to conform to was highly impacted by their zeal for building and edifying the true Church, their experience of exile and the religious persecution of Mary I, as well as by the long-lasting relationships they built with continental theologians such as Heinrich Bullinger and Peter Martyr Vermigli. The former exiles’/early bishops’ fear of God’s providence clearly dominated their willingness to compromise, because the consequences of non-conformity would have required disobeying a godly magistrate and the forfeiture of preaching and pastoral rights. All of these would have been considered grievous sins and could have led to further divine punishment on England; a repetition of their former Catholic-related nightmare in form of Mary Stuart and the destruction of their Church.

In focusing on this first-generation and ‘non-radical’ group of the early Elizabethan bishops this thesis builds on and refines existing scholarship by figures such as Shagan, Oates and Lake who have focused more on the second generation of ‘moderate’ Elizabethan Protestants. This thesis will help us to better understand the origins and nature of early Elizabethan ‘conformism’/compromism and will show that compromise in matters of religion was a much more difficult and fraught process that developed over a longer period of time and a more complex series of events than has previously been appreciated.

For Yara, Mira and Josefina

Acknowledgements

I am entirely grateful for all the support that I received throughout this journey. While this space does not allow me to thank everyone, I want to especially acknowledge the following:

My brilliant supervisors, Professor Elaine Fulton and Dr Jonathan Willis, who supported and encouraged me throughout my PhD journey. I also want to thank Professor Markus Wriedt, Professor Bridget Heal and Dr Jacqueline Rose, who not only provided me with references for my applications but also inspired, advised and supported me throughout my time in Frankfurt and St Andrews.

I received a great support and editorial help from Beverley Sykes who did an amazing job with proofreading my thesis.

I also want to thank the following organisations: the Networking Archives Training School – its team inspired my research questions surrounding the international connections: Professor Ruth Ahnert, Dr. Sebastian Ahnert, Dr. Miranda Lewis, Professor Howard Hotson, Dr. Esther van Raamsdonk and Dr. Yann Ryan; the Society for Reformation Studies for granting me a conference bursary; and the Leibniz Institute of European History in Mainz, which provided me with a seven-month-long fellowship that allowed me to finish my thesis in a friendly and stimulating research environment. I want to especially thank Professor Irene Dingel, Professor Johannes Paulmann, Dr. Henning Jürgens, PD Dr. Christian Witt, Dr. Andrea Hoffman, Dr. Maciej Ptaszyński, and PD Dr. Christopher Voigt-Goy for their supportive and critical feedback. Also, the team that took responsibility for the wellbeing of the IEG fellows: Joke Kabbert, Sandra Stark and Dr. Joachim Berger. A special acknowledgement goes to my mentor and friend Dr. Benedikt Brunner, who guided me throughout my time at Mainz and gave me constructive feedback on my thesis.

I could not have finished my PhD without the wonderful friends who critically read my thesis: Thomas Wood, whose English is just brilliant, Dr. Ruth Atherton, who always gave the best advice and shared her wisdom, Alex Chong, who cheered me on, Dr. Sam Clement Kocheri, who was incredibly positive, and Rachael Banes, who is the best person to have a tea break with.

A special thanks goes to my family, who have been there since the beginning and taught me that with resilience, hard work and believing in myself, I can achieve anything I want. *Danke Mama, Ida, Papa, Dagmar, Oma Monika, Opa Ludwig, Oma Resi, Opa Johann, Uroma Mila, Ramona, Yara und Mira, dafür, dass ihr immer an mich glaubt und durch alle Höhen und Tiefen mit mir geht.*

Further thanks go to my friends, who always encouraged and supported me: My MLitt friends, without whom I probably would never have started a PhD in the UK: Rebecca, Aaron, Toby, Mhairi, Graeme and my dear friend Hannah, with whom I reunited in Birmingham. Likewise, Malte, Tabea and Julia for their open ears and critical questions. A special thanks also goes to those associated with EMREM, who made me feel really at

home in Birmingham, especially Zoe, Elena, Ellie, Grace, Rik and Mie. Also, Thomas, Liam, Ben, James and Chris. Finally, I want to thank my Birmingham ‘neighbourhood’ group, who were always up for a tea, walk or chat in the garden: my wonderful flatmate Kerrie, my walking partner and her husband, Amy and Josh, Ruth and Joseph, and Jenny and Ed.

Editorial Conventions

In this thesis, contractions of text in primary sources have been silently expanded for better reading. For example, instead of ‘eloquēce’ I have written ‘eloquence’. If not stated otherwise, direct bible citations have been taken from the *Genevan Bible*. Names of cities follow the modern English spelling. So instead of using the German versions ‘Zürich’, ‘Genf’ or ‘Straßburg’, this thesis refers to ‘Zurich’, ‘Geneva’ and ‘Strasbourg’. The city of ‘Frankfurt am Main’ will only be referred to ‘Frankfurt’. Further, the names of the continental theologians frequently mentioned here are spelled in the text as follows: ‘Heinrich Bullinger’ instead of the English ‘Henry Bullinger’, ‘Peter Martyr Vermigli’ instead of ‘Peter Martyr’ and ‘Jean Calvin’ instead of the English ‘John Calvin’. However, the English versions of these names are frequently found in the footnotes, as these are the versions that are used in the authors’ descriptions of the analysed letters and theological texts. Further, chapters three and four will especially analyse biblical commentaries and sermons; except when original titles are mentioned, this thesis will use the modern versions of the names of prophets and biblical figures examined in these sources. For example, instead of ‘Aggeus’, this thesis will refer to ‘Haggai’. Further, for a better reading of original quotes in either Latin or German, they have been moved into the footnotes; if not stated otherwise, the translations are my own. This thesis focuses chiefly on the first generation of Elizabethan bishops that shared the experience of exile as well as on their closest continental advisers and friends. Therefore, if not stated otherwise, the term ‘English Protestants’ is not meant to signify the opinions of all English Protestants but refers to the group of leading bishops analysed here.

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List of Abbreviations

CSP	Calendar of State Papers
<i>Correspondence of Matthew Parker</i>	Bruce J. and Perowne Th. (eds), <i>Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury. Comprising Letters Written by and to him, from A.D. 1535, to his Death. A.D. 1575</i> (Cambridge, 1853).
<i>Letters from Exile</i>	Dawson, J. (ed.), <i>Letters from Exile: Documents of the Marian Exile</i> (Edinburgh, 2013), available online: http://www.marianexile.div.ed.ac.uk , [accessed 18.12.2019].
<i>Original Letters</i>	Robinson H. (ed.), <i>Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich</i> (Cambridge, 1846).
<i>Original Letters II</i>	Robinson H. (ed.), <i>Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich. The Second Portion</i> (Cambridge, 1847).
SP	National Archives, State Papers.
<i>Zurich Letters I</i>	Robinson H. (ed.), <i>The Zurich Letters, Comprising the Correspondences of Several English Bishops and Others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Early Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.</i> (Cambridge, 1842).

Zurich Letters II

Robinson H. (ed.), *The Zurich Letters, (Second Series) Comprising the Correspondences of Several English Bishops and Others, with some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Early Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth., A.D. 1558-1579* (Cambridge, 1845).

A Brief discourse

Whittingham W., *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the Booke off common prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by the Englishe men theyre, to thende off Q. Maries Raigne, in the which discours, the gentle reader shall see the very originall and beginninge off all the contention that hathe byn, and what was the cause off the same* (1575).

GNV

Genevan Bible 1599

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

This thesis examines the history of the evolution of early Elizabethan conformism from the years of the Marian exile starting in 1553 to the Elizabethan Vestiarian Controversy that peaked in 1566. By exploring a group of leading Marian exiles – men who became the first generation of Elizabethan bishops – and examining their international, political and theological engagements as well as their individual and intertwined stories, this thesis demonstrates that the formation of early Elizabethan conformism was a long and complex process that can better be described as ‘compromism’. This is because what is typically known as conformism was a gradual and fluctuating development that be more fruitfully conceptualised in terms of individuals compromising on things that were ultimately considered indifferent and hence not harmful to the edification of the true Church. For these men, compromising on things that were not considered ideal or perfect offered the only opportunity to have their voices taken into consideration by the leading figures of the Elizabethan government, enabling them to continue their ministry and preaching and offering the possibility of further reforming the Church from within. Therefore, I will use the term ‘compromists’ instead of conformists in this thesis.

This thesis shows that while the debates that had occurred in exile already consisted of important arguments concerning conformity and non-conformity, the parties were not clearly drawn out until much later into Elizabeth’s reign. In fact, through the focus on the selected time period, this thesis highlights that some Protestants would frequently change sides in the debate and will therefore be challenging the idea of a fixed or stable conformist position or party. This thesis demonstrates that these decisions for and against

compromising on Elizabethan conformity, theology and ecclesiology were heavily impacted by the lasting impact of the experience of Marian exile. The return of Catholicism was already understood as a divine punishment of England for its failure to reform the Church sufficiently under Edward VI.¹ This thesis demonstrates that out of this experience a greater awareness arose of God's providence and of a fear that he would repeat his punishment if England repeated its former sins after it had received a second chance. Further, this thesis emphasises that the Marian exiles' decision to flee into continental exile to places such as Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Zurich, Emden and Geneva was motivated by their wish to secure their Protestant conscience and Church and to prepare for a future Protestant Church in England.² The experiences that were made through living in Reformed communities and the connections that were built during these times had a lasting impact on the English exiles and the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church. Historians such as Patrick Collinson and William P. Haugard have long noted that none of the Genevan exiles were appointed bishops after their return to England.³ Judging from this, it can be argued that during the early years of Elizabethan Protestantism, the exiles that had spent time in Zurich and Strasbourg had a far greater impact on the early Elizabethan Church than those who had been based in Geneva.

¹ J. Shakespeare, 'Plague and Punishment', in P. Lake and M. Dowling (eds), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (New York, 1987), p. 107.

² P. Marshall, 'Settlement Patterns: The Church of England, 1553-1603', in R. Strong (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglikanism I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520-1662* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 45-62, p. 47; A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism-Six Studies* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 3.

³ William P. Haugaard mentioned that even the few bishops, 'Scory, Bentham, and Pilkington', who had connections to Geneva only 'visited' for not 'more than a few months': W.P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a stable Settlement of Religion* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 27-28; P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1967), p. 49.

2. Historiography

As its title suggests, this thesis further develops our understanding of the ways in which the English Reformation and Elizabethan compromism was profoundly influenced by the experience of the Marian exile and the resulting continental networks that formed between English and European reformers. This thesis will build on and contribute to the existing scholarship of Shagan, Oates, Marshall, Bastow and others, and aims to not only show the continuing influence of exile and its networks but also to move the scholarly lens away from the more-frequently researched and more ‘radical’ group of second-generation Elizabethan Protestants, to focus instead of on Elizabeth’s first bench of bishops, who are (surprisingly) comparatively neglected in much recent scholarship on the Reformation.

Historians such as Diarmaid MacCulloch and Andrew Pettegree have highlighted the influence of international theologians and exiles on the development of early English Protestantism.⁴ Further, Peter Marshall notes that the Marian exiles ‘remind us that the history of the English Reformation’ must be read in an ‘international context’.⁵ This thesis will follow and build on their scholarship in stressing the active influence that the experience of exile and international theologians had on the Elizabethan Church and the formation of early Elizabethan compromism. This influence and the international aspect of the English Reformation can especially be seen in the heterogeneous nature of English theology that, as this thesis will show, integrated doctrine from different continental reformed confessions and was shaped significantly by the dramatic experience of religious

⁴ D. MacCulloch, ‘The Myth of the English Reformation’, in *Journal of British Studies*, 30/1 (1991), pp. 1-19; A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*; P. Marshall, ‘Settlement Patterns’. See also Pettegree’s work on stranger communities in England: A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986); A. Pettegree, ‘“Thirty years on”: Protestant towards integration amongst the immigrant population of Elizabethan London’, in J. Chartres, D. Hey (eds), *English Rural Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 297–312.

⁵ P. Marshall, ‘Settlement Patterns’, p. 47.

persecution. Most notable in this vein is Kirby's primarily theological research on the connection between the Zurich reformers and the Elizabethan Protestants during the Elizabethan period.⁶ His analysis of selected theological texts by the continental reformers Peter Martyr Vermigli and Heinrich Bullinger is a significant contribution to the understanding of the international influence on the establishment of the Elizabethan Church. However, its prime focus on the continental reformers, explaining that they were no 'less than chief architects of the reformation of the Church of England', does not fully acknowledge the English Protestants' own and significant contributions to the establishment of the Elizabethan Church.⁷ Further, its focus on mostly the Elizabethan period fails to show the origins of these strong international bonds that were already established before the Elizabethan period. Instead, it puts the English bishops into the long shadow of Bullinger and Vermigli. While the influence from the continent was significant, the impact of the experiences of exile and the English bishops' own contributions to the establishment of the Elizabethan Church must not be obscured as they resulted in their own individual ecclesiology and theological doctrine.

The traditional historiography of the English Reformation presented it as, in many ways, a reformation from below, a popular reformation that, according to Arthur G. Dickens, was the result of the English people's rejection of a failing medieval Church.⁸ About twenty years later, Nicola M. Sutherland argued for a reformation from above because 'The Elizabethan Church settlement could only be a pragmatic act of

⁶ T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007). Further insight into the connections between European students and English universities can be found in C. Cross, 'Continental Students and the Protestant Reformation in England in the Sixteenth Century', in D. Baker (ed.), *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c 1500 – 1750*, *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia 2 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 35 – 58.

⁷ T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connection*, p. 5.

⁸ A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964), p. 89.

statesmanship' in which leading Protestant bishops such as Richard Cox and Edmund Grindal functioned as 'architects'.⁹ This view of the English Reformation was challenged between the 1970s and the 1990s by 'revisionist' historians such as Jack Scarisbrick, Eamon Duffy and Christopher Haigh. Still focusing on parliament and crown, they argued (in slightly different ways) for a more disruptive process of reformation in which there had been much more interference from the English population because of their hostility to Protestantism and its attacks on traditional religion.¹⁰ According to Duffy, 'for most of the first Elizabethan adult generation, Reformation was a stripping away of familiar and beloved observances' instead of a welcomed path towards freedom and salvation.¹¹ Haigh demonstrated that the English people were strongly opposed to the new religion and its 'unreasonable' preachers that expected too much from ordinary people.¹² Hence, Elizabethan religious politics were compromises that aimed to 'attempt to seduce the Catholics into conformity'.¹³

While the revisionists' demonstration that the English Reformation was more contested than previously described has been significant for this field, this thesis agrees with recent 'post-revisionist' scholarship, such as that of Peter Marshall, who has rightfully stressed that 'almost the most unhelpful thing that can be said about the English Reformation is that it was an "Act of State", simply imposed upon the nation by its successive governments'.¹⁴

⁹ N.M. Sutherland, 'The Marian Exiles and the Establishment of the Elizabethan Regime', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 78 (1987), pp. 253-286, p. 281, p. 264.

¹⁰ E. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (London, 1992); C. Haigh, 'The Taming of Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *Historical Association* (2000), pp. 572-588; J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984).

¹¹ E. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 591.

¹² C. Haigh, 'The Taming of Reformation', p. 573.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 584.

¹⁴ P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (Yale, 2017), p. xii.

With the focus especially on the origins of puritanism and the ecclesiological dispute that was happening in Frankfurt am Main, the Marian exile has been examined by many historians in the last 100 years. One of the oldest (but still frequently cited) sources is the work of Christian H. Garrett, whose important research contains a long list of Marian exiles.¹⁵ However, as Pettegree has demonstrated in his research on the Marian exile in the printing centre Emden, this list is, despite Garrett's claims, far from complete.¹⁶ More recent works include those of Dan G. Danner and Jane Dawson, which are more theological in nature and focus mostly on the more 'radical' exiles who found their way to Geneva after the dispute and were eventually on the opposing side of the Elizabethan debates on conformity.¹⁷ Scholarship surrounding the Marian exile mostly focuses on the so-called Troubles at Frankfurt that happened between 1554 and 1555.¹⁸ These debates were central to the schism that divided the Marian exiles, however, they should also be read in a much more nuanced way, as scholars like Ranson and Gunther suggest.¹⁹ This thesis demonstrates how important the ideas formed during this dispute also were for the formation of early Elizabethan conformism. Nonetheless, it also further develops Gunther's statement that during the exile there was neither a 'distinctively "conformist"' nor puritan position.²⁰

¹⁵ C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938).

¹⁶ A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, p. 12.

¹⁷ D.G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva 1555-1560s* (New York, 1999); J. Dawson, 'Knox, Christopher Goodman and the Example of Geneva', in P. Ha, P. Collinson (eds), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford/NY, 2010), pp. 107-135; J. Dawson, 'The Apocalyptic Thinking of the Marian Exiles', *Studies in Church History*, 10 (1994), pp. 75-91.

¹⁸ See: K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England 1525-1590* (Cambridge, 2014); R.J. Vander Molen, 'Anglican Against Puritan: Ideological Origins during the Marian Exile', *Church History*, 42/1 (1973); Duguid Timothy, 'The Troubles at Frankfurt: a new chronology', *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 14/3 (2012), pp. 243-268; E. Cameron, 'Frankfurt and Geneva: The European Context of John Knox's Reformation', in R. Mason (ed.), *John Knox and the British Reformation* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 51-73.

¹⁹ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 160; A. Ranson, 'The Marian Exile and Religious Self-Identity', p. 18.

²⁰ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 160.

When one looks into the historiographical landscape regarding the Marian exile and the Elizabethan settlement, it is notable that many historians, such as Patrick Collinson, have drawn a direct link between puritanism, debates on conformity, and the Marian exile.²¹ Recent works by scholars including Karl Gunther, Angela Ranson and Sarah Bastow have demonstrated the important influence that the experience of exile had on the continuing development of English Protestantism, with Bastow arguing that ‘it was in exile that the men who would become the hierarchy of the Elizabethan Church formed their ideas influenced by their hosts and shaped by their Edwardian roots’.²² Recently, Norman Jones has argued for the impact that the experience of the Edwardian and Marian periods had on the Elizabethan government.²³ Further, Rosamund Oates has pointed out that the urgency of the vestment controversy was to prevent former mistakes being made and consequently another Catholic persecution like the one they had previously experienced under Mary I.²⁴

Scholars including Frederick E. Smith and Robert Harkins have pointed out the challenges that the returning exiles faced in early Elizabethan England, and by doing so have hinted at the continuous influence of former experiences and the comprehensive dynamic of the early Elizabethan conformity debates. In his study on Catholic exiles and the challenges that they faced when returning to Marian England, Smith has illustrated how the allegations of non-conformity and disloyalty to their home complicated the successful

²¹ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*; R.J. Vander Molen, ‘Anglican against Puritan’, pp. 45-57.

²² K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*; A. Ranson, ‘The Marian Exile and Religious Self-Identity: Rethinking the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism’, *Perichoresis*, 13/1 (2015), pp. 17-36; S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys and the Reform of English Religion* (New York, 2020), p. 43.

²³ N. Jones, ‘The Cambridge Connection and the Shaping of the Elizabethan State’, in J.F. McDiarmid, S. Wabuda (eds), *The Cambridge Connection in Tudor England: Humanism, Reform, Rhetoric, Politics* (Leiden, 2022), pp. 252-265, p. 252.

²⁴ R. Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 32-33.

integration of the Catholic émigrés.²⁵ Suggesting that the Marian Protestant exiles would have ‘learnt a trick or two from their repatriated Catholic counterparts’, Smith stressed that the returned exiles would have vehemently distanced themselves from those who had conformed under Mary and had published several anti-Nicodemite texts.²⁶ Harkins has also argued that these texts ‘serve to associate the official church with a history of Nicodemism’ and ‘conflated conformist positions with the perpetrators of the Marian persecution’.²⁷ However, Harkins’ focus seems to categorise those bishops that would eventually conform as belonging to the same categories as those who stayed in England under Mary. It is the aim of this thesis to show that the issue was much more complex than this and that in many ways those former exiles that eventually conformed under Elizabeth were left with no other option than to compromise on her religious politics if they wanted to continue their ministry and safeguard the future of the Protestant Church in England. It is most likely that this also accounted for the collaborative work with the Nicodemite government, because in these positions they would have had more influence to reform the Church from within.²⁸

The modern history of Elizabethan conformism and especially puritanism has been the subject of a wide range of scholarship beginning with Collinson’s magisterial *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*.²⁹ However, especially the works of Peter Lake, Ethan Shagan and most recently Oates continue to advance our understanding of puritanism.³⁰ In

²⁵ F. E. Smith, ‘Life After Exile: Former Catholic Émigrés and the Legacy of Flight in Marian England’, *English Historical Review*, CXXXIII/563 (2018), pp. 806-834, p. 808.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 830, p. 833.

²⁷ R. Harkins, ‘Elizabethan Puritanism and the Politics of Memory in Post-Marian England’, *The Historical Journal*, 57/5 (2004), pp. 899-919, p. 902.

²⁸ This will be further discussed in chapters three and four.

²⁹ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*; R.J. Vander Molen, ‘Providence as Mystery, Providence as Revelation: Puritan and Anglican Modifications of John Calvin’s Doctrine of Providence’, *Church History*, 47/1 (1978), pp. 27-47; J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England. Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford, 1970).

³⁰ R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*; P. Lake, *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church* (Cambridge, 1982); P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker*

their studies on the second generation of Elizabethan Protestants and the later Elizabethan conformity debates, these authors argued for a more nuanced approach when categorising the group of Protestants that had often been labelled as puritan or non-conformist. Instead, building on the works of Lake, Shagan argued that '[a] moderate puritan then, was no less puritan than his colleagues but pursued further Reformation in more subtle, politic or expedient ways'.³¹ As this thesis aims to show, similar can be said of the first generation of Elizabethan bishops, in fact: they did not blindly agree with Elizabethan church politics, but after many attempts and selected victories (such as in the matter of clerical marriage) they often found it more profitable to compromise than to rebel. Rebellion and the refusal to conform to Elizabethan church politics would have prevented the bishops from exercising their ministerial duties such as preaching the gospel, and finding ways to compromise on matters that were defined indifferent would be more beneficial for the edification and further reform of their Church.

The examination of these religious exiles, their debates and ecclesiological position will show that the division of the Marian exiles, but also later of the Elizabethan Protestants, was not static but was instead constantly fluctuating, and this thesis will therefore argue that the parties that were formed in exile would not completely consist of the same individuals that would later reassemble the same or similar arguments. Hence, this thesis indicates that while the exile provided the first grounds for compromist ideas, it did not produce a fixed compromist party. Instead the divisions that occurred during and after exile were fluid and depended on the constant battlegrounds of the individual's circumstances and their Christian conscience. For example, some individuals, such as

(London, 1988); E.H. Shagan, 'The Battle for Indifference in Elizabethan England', in L. Racaut, A. Ryrie (eds), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 122-144.

³¹ E.H. Shagan, 'The Battle for Indifference', p. 127.

Thomas Sampson or Laurence Humphrey, who would in exile be part of the ‘Coxian’ party that most closely resembled the Elizabethan conformist group, would become loud advocates of the opposing party in Elizabethan England.

3. Sources and Methodology

Instead of focusing on the more researched ‘radical’ and second-generation Elizabethan Protestants, this thesis follows a selected group of first-generation Elizabethan bishops and some of the men surrounding them, such as, but not exclusively, Richard Cox of Ely, James Pilkington of Durham, John Jewel of Salisbury, John Parkhurst of Norwich, Edwin Sandys of York, Edmund Grindal of London and Robert Horn of Winchester. Except for Parkhurst and Jewel, all these men were part of the so-called ‘Cambridge Connection’; however, through their close relationship with Peter Martyr Vermigli, the latter two were also strongly linked to this intellectual group.³² With the exception of Jewel and Sandys, most of these bishops have not received much scholarly attention in recent years, even though Cox, Sandys and Grindal took over the most important bishoprics during the Elizabethan regime, which makes them especially interesting for this study.³³ Jewel, Pilkington and Sandys left the most relevant sources that are especially important for part two of this thesis. The bishops that are researched in this project have been selected as they had all spent time in Marian exile in Zurich, Strasbourg or Frankfurt and had built important networks during their time on the continent. During their time in exile, those

³² On the matter of the so-called Cambridge Connection see: W.S. Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham, 1980); S. Wabuda, J.F. Mc Diarmid, ‘Introduction: The Cambridge Connection in Tudor Politics, Religion and Learning’, in J.F. McDiarmid, S. Wabuda (eds), *The Cambridge Connection in Tudor England: Humanism, Reform, Rhetoric, Politics* (Leiden, 2022), pp. 1-18; N. Jones, ‘The Cambridge Connection’.

³³ Works on Jewel and Sandys include: S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys*; A. Ranson, ‘John Jewel's Early Life: Developing a Community of Reformers’, in A. Ranson, A. Gazal, S. Bastows (eds) *Defending the Faith: John Jewel and the Elizabethan Church*, (Pennsylvania, 2018), pp. 18-27; G.W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English national church: dilemmas of an Erastian reformer* (Aldershot, 2006).

bishops had been part of the ‘Coxian’ group that was defending the Prayer Book; in Elizabethan England they were among the ‘conforming’ Protestants who were under the leadership of the ‘Nicodemite’ Matthew Parker. It must be stressed that this is by no means a biographical or strictly prosopographical study; instead, the selected bishops’ place of exile, later position and availability of sources function as focal points through the years from 1553 to 1566. The first two chapter of this thesis follow them to their places of exile in Strasbourg, Frankfurt and Zurich, the last two chapters follow them back to Elizabethan England. The networks that they had built on the continent had both a personal and a professional nature. This thesis aims to widen our understanding of the Marian exile, the establishment of Elizabethan conformism and the early Elizabethan Church by analysing the first-generation bishops’/former exiles’ networks that linked them to continental theologians such as Heinrich Bullinger, Peter Martyr Vermigli and Rudolph Gwalther as well as their theological writings and their involvement in the ecclesiastical debates that took place while they were in exile and in the Elizabethan debates about conformity that initially culminated in the Vestiarian Controversy of 1566.

To conduct this research, my thesis analyses a mixture of different sources: primarily letters, sermons and biblical commentaries. The main focus of the selected primary sources is on texts that were chiefly written by the selected Elizabethan bishops/former Marian exiles and the connected continental reformers. However, for a more comprehensive and nuanced perspective, my thesis will also include texts written by authors that were close to and connected to the first generation of Elizabethan bishops.

Following scholarly tradition, my thesis analyses the narrative of the *Troubles at Frankfurt*.³⁴ However, in line with scholarly opinions, especially current ones, it must be highlighted that this source must be approached carefully.³⁵ The narrative of the *Troubles at Frankfurt* had been published in the midst of the conformity debates of the 1570s and is therefore highly polemical, although this does not diminish its importance for this project. Besides containing the retrospective narrative of the events that were happening in Frankfurt during the Marian exile, it also includes an important collection of documents and letters that were written during this time. Nonetheless, while much of the former scholarship has followed this source very closely, if not even chronologically, this thesis stresses that it must be read in addition to other sources. Especially fruitful for this are the *Goodman Letterbook*, or *Letters from Exile*, which is a collection of letters that was found, transcribed and made available online by Jane Dawson. It contains letters that were written by and to Marian exiles during the reign of Mary I.³⁶ The sources analysed include a combination of the letter collection *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, Bullinger's *Diarium*, published sermons that were delivered in exile and theological treatises by both the Marian exiles and the continental reformers.³⁷ This analysis will give insights into the exiles' personal, political and religious convictions, but more importantly it will help to draw a picture of the influence that the international scholarly networks had on the Marian Protestants and their exile. Through combining

³⁴ W. Whittingham, *A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the Booke off common prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by the Englishe men theyre, to thende off Q. Maries Raigne, in the which discours, the gentle reader shall see the very originall and beginninge off all the contention that hathe byn, and what was the cause off the same* (1575).

³⁵ S. Bastow, Edwin Sandys, p. 28.

³⁶ *Letters from Exile*.

³⁷ Ibid; H. Bullinger, 'Heinrich Bullinger's *Diarium* (Annales vitae) der Jahre 1504-1574', in E. Egli (ed.) *Quellen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte* (Basel, 1904); *Original Letters*.

different sources and research methods and especially through changing the perspective from that of the more researched ‘radical’ exiles that were in the Knoxian group to that of the later first generation of Elizabethan bishops, this thesis will offer a different perspective on the Marian exile from its predecessors on issues regarding the formation of early English compromism, its Church and its theology.

Generally, letters are useful sources as they ‘provide crucial evidence for the social organizations of the Protestant community’ and ‘can tell modern scholars about the working of specific groups’.³⁸ While Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert have made these arguments in the context of quantitative network analysis research, this is also true of a qualitative research topic. This is not only because the information about the sender and the recipient is useful for this research, but also because the letters’ contents contain a lot of information about their community’s structure, the content of their main debates and their theological convictions, as well as information about their personal issues. As the letters analysed here show, not all letters were meant for only one recipient, as Gary Schneider has pointed out: ‘multiple parties, indeed, often had access to all stages of the epistolary process, during composition, transmission, and reception’.³⁹ He goes on to explain that ‘the culture of epistolarity, as it existed in early modern England, was one in which the circulation and communication of information took place in communities based on political and domestic business, mutual interests, and intimate circumstances’.⁴⁰ As the letters analysed here show, this was obviously also important for religious communities.

³⁸ R. Ahnert, S. Ahnert, ‘Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I: A Quantitative Approach’, *ELH*, 82/1 (2015), pp. 1-31, p. 3.

³⁹ G. Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark, 2005), p. 22. See also: J. Daybell, A. Gordon, ‘Introduction. The Early Modern Letter Opener’, in J. Daybell, A. Gordon (eds), *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia, 2016), pp 1-26, p. 9.

⁴⁰ G. Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity*, p. 27.

However, because letters often contained more than one voice for a whole community, they are crucial sources for investigating the structure of the Marian exile but also the kind of networks that were created among the English Protestants and between the English exiles and the continental reformers. The latter became especially important in Elizabethan England after English exiles had returned to England but continued their letter exchange with the continent.

Chapters three and four also draw from different letter collections, such as the *Zurich Letters* and the *Matthew Parker Correspondence*, as well as letters written by Bullinger and Vermigli.⁴¹ The *Zurich letters* especially provide evidence of the major impact that the theologians based in Zurich had on the leading English clergy. To complement this, this second half of the thesis also analyses sermons, such as the *Sermons of Edwin Sandys*, as well as sermons by John Jewel and official state documents and treatises written by the English bishops and by the continental theologians that the English studied.⁴² These last two chapters of this thesis will have a special focus on biblical commentaries such as James Pilkington's commentaries on Haggai and Obadiah.⁴³ The *Zurich Letters* in particular are evidence of the continuance of the international networks between the continental theologians and the English Protestants. They not only contain opinions on ecclesiastical and doctrinal matters, but also demonstrate the relationships that had been established between these theologians. These relationships varied from personal

⁴¹ *Zurich Letters; Correspondence of Matthew Parker.*

⁴² E.g. J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Succesively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841); J. Gabrande (ed.), *Certaines sermons preached before the Queenes Maiestie, and at Paules crosse, by the reuerend father Iohn Ievvel late Bishop of Salisburie. Whereunto is added a short treatise of the sacraments, gathered out of other his sermons, made vpon that matter, in his cathedral church at Salisburie* (London, 1583).

⁴³ J. Pilkington, *Aggeus and Abdias Prophetes, the one corrected. the other newly added. and both at large declared. The earnest love that I beare to thy house hath eaten me. Psal. Ixix. Ioan. ii. Phinees hath tourned away my anger because he was moued with loue of me. Num. xxv.* (London, 1562).

friendships to professional relationships. Through their letters, the English Protestants continued to seek advice and authority from the continent, in the case of the group that has been analysed for this thesis, especially from Zurich.

As this influence of the continental theologians like Bullinger and Vermigli continued, their theological writings and doctrine became standard textbooks in England and formed the doctrinal basis for England's pluralistic blend of Reformed Protestantism.⁴⁴ Because of this crucial impact that the continental theologians had on the decision making and forming of theological opinions of the Elizabethan clergy, their writings must be read and analysed alongside the publications of English Protestants. The above-named biblical commentaries and published sermons, by both the former exiles and the continental reformers, are reflective of the spirit of the early Elizabethan Church settlement. Trying to avoid facing God's wrath again, the English Protestants post-exile were also mostly concerned about the establishing of a true Church in Elizabethan England. Their concerns continued to be about issues surrounding the edification and the markers of the true Church, the consequences of sin, finding redemption and salvation, and consequently the question of obedience and godly and worldly authority. All these topics were discussed in the mentioned sources.

One of the critiques that sermons as sources are often faced with is that the reaction of the audience is not known and that the surviving printed sermons were mostly written down after the sermon had been delivered, often not even by the preacher himself.⁴⁵ However, this would not make early modern printed sermons any less useful a source.

⁴⁴ T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connection*, p. 3.

⁴⁵ About the production of the printed sermon and the relationship to its audience look at: A. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010), esp. chapter 2 and chapter 3; R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 89.

While the spoken word was undoubtedly superior to the written word due to its salvific character, the fact that sermons were printed and ‘became a literary genre in their own right and part of a wider sermon culture’ makes them important sources not only for political issues but also spiritual issues experienced by the early modern Christians.⁴⁶ Oates has stressed that catechisms and ‘printed sermons were another class of spiritual publishing’. Moreover, such texts ‘were essays on theology and morality divorced from the context of their delivery’.⁴⁷ And because these sermons were more than just spiritual and theological witnesses of their authors’ beliefs, they also reflected the socio-political circumstances the preachers and writers of the sermons lived in.

While letters, sermons and commentaries are the main sources in the first three chapters, the last chapter introduces another kind of source material. These sources are treatises and advertisements against and for the wearing of vestments and conformity. These sources discuss the different positions surrounding the matter of conformity, such as edification, *adiaphora*, obedience and authority. While the non-conformists’ texts reflect the non-conformists ideal position, the compromists’ texts are arguments that were developed through compromising for the sake of salvation and the true Church. This becomes especially clear when one examines the vestment controversy not as a single event of 1566 but as the development of the Elizabethan Church settlement from the earliest days onwards. Moreover, it is especially the letters that the Elizabethan bishops sent to their continental friends and teachers that help to paint a more complete picture.

⁴⁶ A. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 28; R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 89.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 90.

4. Structure

This thesis is divided into two parts and documents the evolution of early Elizabethan compromise. It argues that the Marian exiles' experiences on the European continent and the transnational scholarly networks that were strengthened in exile had a major impact on the first-generation Elizabethan bishops' willingness to compromise for the sake of the establishment of the Elizabethan Church. Therefore, my thesis uses the theological connections between the continental theologians and former exiles and their respected writings as a lens through which to examine key issues such as conformity, liturgy, ecclesiology, leadership, obedience, theology and the question concerning what the true Church should look like. My thesis focuses predominantly on the years between 1553 and 1566. This period represents the years of exile and the years during which England's first generation of bishops played a key role in the formation of the early Elizabethan Church. Between 1553 and 1558 the bishops analysed here spent years in continental exile which would prove to be formative. As this thesis will continue to stress, the experiences they had and the connections they made during these years were crucial for the formation of the early Elizabethan theology and ecclesiology that influenced the compromisers' decision to compromise. The second part of the time period analysed here reflects the early years and the struggles that came with their new offices and their zeal to establish a properly reformed and 'true' Church. While the first divisions between the Marian exiles can already be observed during the period of exile, the early years of the Elizabethan period were especially testing for the former exiles' willingness to compromise. The vestment controversy which signals the end of the time frame analysed here was different from the controversies of the 1570s because it was dominated by these first-generation bishops and former exiles. Therefore, the time period under scrutiny covers the most active and perhaps

most important years of this generation of English Protestants and the formation of early Elizabethan compromise.

The first half of my thesis explores the period of the Marian exile. It shows the continuing process of the early split between the Marian exiles and highlights the different characteristics and theological beliefs of, in particular, the exile congregations in Frankfurt, Zurich and Strasbourg. The thesis argues that during this time, English exiles strengthened pre-existing networks involving European reformers and established new ones. Furthermore, it shows that the years spent in Marian exile were formative for the theological views that informed many of their actions in Elizabethan England. It will also demonstrate that the Marian exiles were convinced that England had been punished by God for not having reformed the Church enough in Edwardian England, and consequently they now had to seek redemption. Their main task was to follow God's providential plan and act according to his will so that they would one day have the chance of returning to a Protestant England.

The first chapter focuses on the issue of exile itself. This chapter will consider the question of how the Marian exiles perceived the exile, as well as their understanding of how God's punishment for their sins was a primary cause of their persecution at the hands of a Catholic ruler. The chapter also explains why they went into exile instead of choosing martyrdom, converting to Catholicism or living as Nicodemites. Based on these questions, this chapter analyses not only the exiles' theological writings and sermons, but also and especially texts written by European theologians. Furthermore, the letter exchange between the Marian exiles and the continental theologians reveals much about the English Protestants' feelings towards exile and Marian England and how important the voices of Bullinger and Vermigli were in these times of crisis. This chapter will show that in the first

instance the Marian exiles had a joint agenda, which was following God's providential plan and preserving their Christian conscience and liberty, and this consequently offered them the chance to survive persecution and further reform their Church in a future Protestant England.

Chapter two focuses on the time in exile and in particular on the active influence of these transnational networks and the measures the English Protestants had already taken in exile to follow God's will and establish a true Church. This chapter examines the relationships among the different exiles and to continental theologians as well as the nature of their debates surrounding the so-called Troubles at Frankfurt. The debates surrounded the issue of the true Church and its markers as well as the importance of ministers who were well trained in languages and theology for the future of Protestantism. Furthermore, this chapter argues that the strengthened networks between the Marian exiles and European reformers were necessary to accommodate and facilitate this exile in the first place. Moreover, the doctrinal educational influence that the continental theologians had on the Marian exiles was formative for the development of the Marian exiles and future Elizabethan bishops' theological beliefs and doctrines. This chapter will show that although the Marian exiles left with a common agenda, when it came to the matter of how and when they would further reform their Church, they disagreed, and therefore the formerly united group would face its first split during its time in exile. It will also show that the matter of compromising for the sake of the true Church was already central in the debates that were happening in exile.

The second half of my thesis follows the English Protestants into formal office in Elizabethan England. Through focusing on the matters of leadership, theology, ecclesiology, obedience and conformity, this part of the thesis will continue to analyse the

influence of the transnational scholarly networks on the English Protestants and on the Elizabethan Church. Moreover, this part will also examine the lasting impact that the experiences of continental exile and the networks there had on English Protestantism and will highlight that the debates that took place in exile were partly mirrored in the Elizabethan debates surrounding the issue of the establishment of the true Church. It will establish that, especially in the early years of the Elizabethan settlement, the fear of repeating history was a central one and that the English Protestants' most important task was still the establishment and edification of God's true Church.

Based on the bishops' and continental theologians' letters, sermons and, especially, biblical commentaries, chapter three will be separated into two parts. The first part will question what the expectations of both the English and the European theologians were of the new Protestant queen and godly magistrate. It will be argued that the new Protestant era was seen as a sign that God had returned his grace to England. However, by establishing that it was the queen's 'duty' to restore a fully reformed Church to England, the former exiles were reflecting upon their fears of repeating history and falling from God's grace again. Hence the magistrate became a central part of the issue of conformity. This chapter will also address the issue of having a Nicodemite government and Church leadership that the returning exiles were faced with. It will also show that by making the choice of accepting the leadership of individuals like Matthew Parker and because of their quarrels about Elizabeth's supremacy, the group dynamics of the Marian exiles changed once again and the split between the groups grew. The second part of this chapter focuses more on the theoretical and theological arguments behind the zeal to establish a true Church in Elizabethan England. Thus, this chapter also strongly focuses on matters of edification and ecclesiology, arguing that establishing a properly reformed Church and community, such

as those that the exiles had experienced in exile, was necessary to remain in God's grace and to prevent the repeating of history. Much like in chapter two, the second part of the chapter will have a close look at the markers of the true Church. Furthermore, it argues that not only reforming the Church of England but also preserving their Church was necessary to prevent history from repeating itself.

Chapter four focuses on the vestment controversy and will also show the complexity of the split in the group of the Marian exiles. By examining examples of former exiles such as Thomas Sampson and William Whittingham, this chapter will illustrate the complexity and fluctuation of early English conformism. It will argue that the vestment controversy was more than just a political debate or a prologue to the more often researched admonition controversy of the 1570s. It will stress that the main differences between the acting parties was their understanding of godly and worldly authority as well as their willingness to accept things indifferent for the sake of their Church, which, in particular, included their rights to preach. Furthermore, instead of solely focusing on the non-conformist position and painting this debate in a binary fashion, this chapter will explore different former exiles' perspectives on the vestment controversy and on things that could be considered indifferent. This thesis argues for a constantly fluctuating development. However, despite this pluralism, the end goal for each was the same: the edification of their Church and the approval from continental theologians such as Heinrich Bullinger, Peter Martyr Vermigli and Jean Calvin. The examinations of correspondences and doctrinal writings will demonstrate that the opinions of these European reformers influenced the English theologians' and bishops' decision making to such a great extent that the advising words of the European reformers often were the tipping points of the bishops' willingness to

compromise for the sake of their institutional Church and the unity of their spiritual community in Christ.

CHAPTER I: FLIGHT AND PERSECUTION

1. Introduction

This thesis tells the story of the formation of early Elizabethan compromism and the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church that started in Marian exile. This chapter identifies the different theological and pragmatic aspects of the Marian exiles' flight and the different attitudes towards Marian conformism, not only to help understand why the exiles chose flight over martyrdom or conformism, but also to highlight their prefiguration of the Elizabethan conformity debates and the discourse on the establishment of the true Church.

This chapter will demonstrate that going into exile (1553–1558) was the future Elizabethan bishops'/former exiles' first step in a decision-making process that aimed to lead towards the edification of the true Church in a Protestant England. It will emphasise that through going into exile the Marian exiles decided to live in order to fight for further reform and the survival of their Church and a Protestant future. It will argue that the reasons why the Marian exiles decided to compromise on conforming under one queen (Elizabeth I) and to not conform under another (Mary I) were essentially the same: to avoid further sin, edify the church and maintain their liberty to preach and to engage in true worship. This highlights a picture of continuity within the group of clergy that went into Marian exile and also became the first generation of Elizabethan bishops. The next chapters will show that although the Marian exiles started their journey with a communal agenda, their group started splitting first in exile and later in Elizabethan England over the questions of how and when they should edify their church and over what kind of compromises they were willing to make. Hence, this chapter focuses on all of those Marian exiles with theological and clerical backgrounds, not just the later compromists, because,

as will be demonstrated, although for both groups the first step they took together was going into exile, their main division started after their departure.¹

The introduction will continue with a short historiographical discussion on the scholarship of flight and persecution. The chapter will then discuss the socio-political and religious circumstances that the Marian Protestants were confronted with after the death of Edward VI and that made their flight inevitable in their eyes. This will be followed by a study of the exiles' understanding of their situation, namely that England was being punished by a righteous and providential God for its former sins in the form of a Catholic persecution. This examination will be essential for answering the question of why the Marian exiles chose flight over conformity and martyrdom. Moreover, identifying the Marian exiles' and the Marian Protestants' theological thoughts on these matters generally is also crucial to understand the motivation behind the Marian exiles' and Elizabethan bishops' zeal for edifying the true Church. The second half of the chapter will argue that the Marian exiles believed that in order to prevent further sin and find their way back into God's favour, exile was the only logical option. This was because they thought, as the section about martyrdom will demonstrate, that educated clergy needed to survive the persecution in order to care for the remaining flock in exile and establish a Reformed Protestant Church in a post-exile England.

In 1938 Christina H. Garrett argued that the Marian exile was not a response to religious persecution because the first exiles had left England before the introduction and reinstatement of the 'heresy laws' in 1554 and 1555.² However, this thesis has since been

¹There had already been disagreements in Edwardian and Henrician England, especially over the issue of *adiaphora* and vestments; however, in view of the Marian persecution, the English Protestants saw themselves in a new situation in which they were being confronted with one communal enemy: the Catholic Church.

² C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study of the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 2.

overturned, and historians like Joy Shakespeare have convincingly argued that the Marian exiles were aware of sin and punishment in the form of religious persecution. She has illustrated that to find answers for their new situation, the exiles would turn to biblical stories, where, in examples such as the story of Adam and Eve in Genesis 3, the great flood in Genesis 6 or the ten plagues in Exodus 8–11, they found a ‘doctrine of the causal relationship between the sin of man and divine punishment’.³ Therefore, they concluded that ‘God must be punishing them for their former sins’, which included ‘unthankfulness and ingratitude of the people for the gospel whilst they had it’ and not reforming the Church enough under the rulership of Edward VI.⁴ In their understanding of punishment, the English did not distinguish between ‘the English nation as a whole and the elect minority or remnant within the nation’.⁵

Moreover, Sarah L. Bastow argues that the cause of the Marian exile was compared ‘with Adam and Eve’s expulsion from the Garden of Eden imposed as a punishment from God on a sinful humanity’.⁶ Jonathan Wright and Jason Zuidema have pointed out how persecution could be understood as a solution, as flight, because it ‘at least prevented people from falling into apostasy or conformity’ and was something that ‘God wanted people to do’.⁷ In accordance with these scholars’ findings, this chapter emphasises that the Marian exile was understood as both a part of the communal punishment of the divine punishment that God had sent them in the form of the Catholic persecution and a

³ J. Shakespeare, ‘Plague and Punishment’, in P. Lake and M. Dowling (eds), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (New York, 1987), pp. 103–123, pp. 104–105.

⁴ Ibid. p. 107.

⁵ Ibid. p. 108.

⁶ S.L. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys and the Reform of English Religion* (New York & Abingdon, 2019), p. 25.

⁷ J. Wright, ‘Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52/2 (2001), pp. 220–248, p. 228; J. Zuidema, ‘Flight from persecution and the honour of God in the theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli’, *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 15/1 (2013), pp. 112–116, p. 116, p. 122.

solution to it. However, as scholars like Patrick Collinson and Peter Marshall have shown, exile was also an important tool that could be used to flee from the pressure of political conformity and offered the exiles the option to ‘avoid the necessity of celebrating, or even attending, mass’.⁸ Fleeing the Catholic regime and therefore avoiding Nicodemism to preserve their Christian conscience was not the only positive reason for choosing exile. Peter Marshall argues that ‘in choosing to forsake the realm, exiles exposed the limitations of the regime’s ability to exercise physical and ideological control over its subjects’.⁹ This was not only desirable for solely religious reasons but also profitable for those leading Protestants who were knowingly ‘associated with the political regime’ of Edward VI.¹⁰ However, this chapter notes that ‘limitations’ would not equate to the Marian regime having no control at all over the exiles.

In order to examine the exiles’ reasons for choosing flight, the core issues and the obstacles that flight would raise also need further recognition. Wright has emphasised that flight was not always seen as something noble, because flight could be understood as running away from God.¹¹ This argument was based on that of Augustine, who had compared fleeing from divine punishment with the flight of the prophet Jonah.¹² Further, when persecution was seen as a ‘gift’ that offered the opportunity to ‘return to Christ’, exile was the same as fleeing from God’s righteousness.¹³ In his study on the former Catholic exiles that returned to Marian England, Frederick E. Smith has argued that

⁸ P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Los Angeles, 1979), p. 68.

⁹ P. Marshall, ‘Religious Exiles and the Tudor State’, *Studies in Church History*, 43 (2007), pp. 263-284, p. 263.

¹⁰ N.M. Sutherland, ‘The Marian Exile and the Establishment of the Elizabethan Regime’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 78 (1987), pp. 253-286, p. 256.

¹¹ J. Wright, ‘Marian Exiles’, p. 226.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 224.

¹³ J. Wright, ‘Marian Exiles’, p. 226.

Catholic exiles ‘often had to justify their flight both to themselves and their compatriots back home’, because ‘accusations of disloyalty to one’s homeland were often levelled at exiles, spawning sometimes bitter polemical battles over the legitimacy of flight’.¹⁴ Indeed, in view of the fact that the Marian Protestants believed that Mary’s reign was a divine punishment that was part of God’s providence, then the question of the legitimacy of their non-conformity seemingly was an issue. Such theories provide a ground for questioning whether by fleeing into exile the Marian exiles had found a loophole regarding the matter of political conformity on the one hand and were taking a confessional stance against religious conformity to Catholicism on the other.

Smith has successfully shown that early modern exiles were not always welcomed with open arms when they returned from their flight, and instead argued that the ‘stigma of their previous flight – and particularly the suggestion that they had been disloyal to their homeland – continued to cause them difficulties in their relations with Catholics and Protestants alike’.¹⁵ But according to Wright, the issue of defending their flight became obsolete once the exiles returned from their exile.¹⁶ While Smith’s study was on the Catholic exiles, he notes that the Marian exiles might have been confronted with similar issues. He takes the evidence for this observation from their anti-Nicodemite writings that continued long into the Elizabethan reign.¹⁷ It was not without reason that especially after their exile, the Marian exiles produced different kinds of literature to create a narrative that would portray them as akin to martyrs. Ceri Law has summarised this as follows: ‘those who had left England rather than live under a Catholic regime were also considered to have

¹⁴ F.E. Smith, ‘Life After Exile: Former Catholic Émigrés and the Legacy of Flight in Marian England’, *English Historical Review*, CXXXIII/563 (2018), pp. 806-834, p. 807.

¹⁵ F.E. Smith, ‘Life After Exile’, p. 808.

¹⁶ J. Wright, ‘Marian Exiles’, p. 240

¹⁷ F.E. Smith, ‘Life After Exile’, p. 833.

suffered for their faith, as exile was construed, often through conscious acts of memorialisation, as its own kind of martyrdom'.¹⁸ In fact, this kind of narrative had already started in exile; for example, John Foxe had begun writing his *Acts and Monuments* during his time in Basel.¹⁹ Smith has suggested that by watching their predecessors, the Catholic exiles, the Marian exiles might have 'learnt a trick or two from their repatriated Catholic counterparts'.²⁰ Besides creating this kind of narrative in order to distinguish themselves from the former Marian conformists, Marshall argues that this kind of portrayal could also have been used simply for survival purposes. He explains that in order to gain safety in exile cities, the exiles 'had a vested interest in portraying themselves as simple martyrs of conscience'.²¹ Moreover, 'Marian persecution arguably saved Edwardian Protestantism from itself'.²² By leaving the divisive discussions on conformity and reform behind and fleeing religious persecution, the Marian exiles were able to create a Protestant martyrology and an English reformed identity.²³ Nonetheless, besides all these reasons that all seem to have in common that they served to ensure the survival of name and influence, perhaps the obvious fact that the exiles truly believed that exile was their way of honouring God's wishes should not be left unmentioned and will therefore be discussed further in this chapter.

This thesis will show that there are numerous parallels between the Catholic exiles that Smith researched and the Marian exiles. For one, conformity and compromise played

¹⁸ C. Law, 'Compromise Refashioned. Memory and Life in Matthew Parker's Roll', in A. Walsham, B. Wallace, C. Law, B. Cummings (eds), *Memory and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 257-270, p. 257.

¹⁹ P. Marshall, 'Settlement Patterns: The Church of England, 1553-1603', in A. Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglikanism I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520-1662* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 45-62, p. 47.

²⁰ F.E. Smith, 'Life After Exile', p. 830.

²¹ P. Marshall, 'Religious Exiles', p. 276.

²² P. Marshall, 'Settlement Patterns', p. 45.

²³ Ibid. p. 45.

an important role in Elizabethan England as the debates discussed in chapter four will show. And it was no coincidence that Elizabeth especially trusted the Protestants who had returned from the more moderate places of exile to become her first generation of bishops and that more radical and openly anti-monarchical exiles like Goodman and Knox were not welcome in Elizabethan England anymore (and would not have wanted to be bishops under such laws anyway).²⁴ This chapter agrees with the scholarly views recently mentioned and will demonstrate that in this awareness of sin, punishment and divine providence lay the basis of the Marian exiles' choice of going into exile. Adding to the above scholarship, this chapter highlights an additional reason for flight: surviving punishment and persecution allowed them to work towards God's will and establish God's true Church on Earth. Therefore, this chapter examines the different options that the Marian Protestants had, which includes an analysis of their positions towards martyrdom and Nicodemism.

2. Conformity, or Religious Conscience?

This section of the chapter highlights the religious–political situation that the English Protestants faced from summer 1553 onwards, to emphasise that the heated political and religious situation in England gave the Protestants considerable reason to question how safe their lives and religious conscience were in England. The political and religious change that occurred after the death of Edward VI and Mary's subsequent succession forced the English Protestants to decide between conformity and their religious conscience. Considering Mary's seemingly 20-year-long acceptance of royal supremacy, the English Protestants might have been left with considerable confusion about how far her religious agenda would go.²⁵ Religion and politics were strongly entangled in Tudor England. Peter

²⁴ J. Dawson, 'John Knox, Christopher Goodman and the Example of Geneva', in Polly Ha, P. Collinson (eds), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*, (Oxford/ NY, 2010), pp. 107-135, pp. 108-109.

²⁵ Even though she did so reluctantly, Mary submitted to Henry's supremacy in June 1536. A. Norrie, 'Jane Seymour: Saintly Queen', in A. Norrie, C. Harris, J.L. Laynesmith, D.R. Messer, E. Woodacre (eds), *Tudor*

Marshall and Patrick Collinson explain this using the language of confessionalisation, as Tudor England was a ‘confessional state’ that functioned according to the principles of ‘*cuius regio, eius religio*’.²⁶ While this might not have been the terminology with which the English would have described themselves, it does sum up the main issue that they were facing. Starting from Henry VIII, all Tudor monarchs had royal supremacy, which was altered in name but not meaning under Elizabeth I.²⁷ This not only made them head of state but also of the Church, connecting religion and politics in an inseparable fashion. Further, as Jacqueline Rose has demonstrated, it was especially under Edward VI that ‘Reformation and kingship became inseparable’.²⁸ Thus, with the accession of Mary I, who never left any doubt that she was devoted to the Catholic faith, the English would have been very aware that England was returning to Rome, and even though Mary had accepted her father’s and brother’s supremacy in the past, the English did not have many reasons to expect that much room would be made for English Protestantism. The early Marian proclamations, described in the following paragraph, had already made it clear that Protestantism had no future in Marian England. Therefore, non-conforming advocates of Protestantism, such as former Edwardian bishops like Richard Cox, Edwin Sandys and Thomas Cranmer, could now expect to face religious persecution.²⁹

and Stuart Consorts: *Power, Influence, and Dynasty* (London, 2022), pp. 79-100, p. 88; D. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, government and religion in England 1553-56* (2nd ed. New York, 1991), p. 9.

²⁶ P. Collinson, ‘The politics of religion and the religion of politics in Elizabethan England’, *Historical Research*, 82/215 (2009), pp. 74-92, p. 76; P. Marshall, ‘Religious Exiles and the Tudor State’, p. 264.

²⁷ J. Rose, ‘The Godly Magistrate’, in Rowan Strong (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520-1662*, (Oxford, 2017), p. 103-121, p. 107. See also on the matter of lay supremacy: T.W.J. Kirby, ‘Lay Supremacy: Reform if the canon law of England from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I (1529-1571)’, *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 8/3 (2006), pp. 349-370.

²⁸ J. Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 39.

²⁹ N.M. Sutherland, ‘The Marian Exile’, p. 256.

After Mary's accession in mid-July 1553, the Marian Protestants were quickly confronted with their new reality as Church services were immediately changed from the Protestant Book of Common Prayer to the Catholic rite.³⁰ Catholic bishops were taking over the bishoprics, while many of the Protestant bishops were forced to desert their offices or were imprisoned, and the most influential position in the Church, the Archbishopric of Canterbury, was given to Reginald Pole, who himself had nearly been elected Pope and had freshly returned from his own exile under the former Protestant regime.³¹ In August 1553, shortly after Mary had ascended the throne, she had already made her *First Proclamation About Religion*. In this she stressed her intention to uphold peace, but she also stated that those who 'preach and interpret the word of God after their own brain [in a Protestant way]' or who publish those thoughts would be punished. Furthermore, she forbade all attempts to 'interpret or teach any Scriptures or any manner points of doctrine concerning religion' in any place 'except in the schools or the University'.³² By introducing a prohibition on teaching the scripture, Mary was prohibiting one of the most important parts of Protestantism, namely spreading the gospel. This would have been a major threat for the Marian Protestants. After all, if they could not hear the gospel, their salvation was in jeopardy.³³ If there had been any doubt of Mary's intentions after this proclamation, her *First Act of Repeal* in autumn 1553 would have cleared them. In this Act she revoked all religious changes that had been made during the reign of

³⁰ E. Duffy, *The Strippings of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (Yale, 1992), p. 527.

³¹ A. Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms 1485-1603* (Harlow, 2009), p. 180; F.E. Smith, 'Life After Exile', p. 812.

³² 'Queen Mary's first Proclamation about Religion, A.D. 1553', in H. Gee, W.J. Hardy (eds) *Documents Illustrative of the English Church History Compiled from Original Sources* (London, 1910), pp. 373-376, p. 375.

³³ See: A. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 21- 22.

Edward VI and hinted that there were more to come.³⁴ Even before the commencement of her injunctions in March 1554 and the *Revival of the Heresy Acts* in late 1554, English Protestants must have been aware of the consequences that non-complying with the Catholic government would bring them.³⁵ Mary and her government were making no secret of their intentions. Because of the revoking of all the Edwardian changes and that preaching and teaching the gospel had been prohibited, the Marian Protestants felt, persecuted. They were faced with a dilemma: they could either comply with their government or be true to their religious conscience. Marian religious politics would not give room for both.

The departure of the Edwardian stranger churches and the flight of individual foreign theologians, such as Peter Martyr Vermigli, gave a further indication that Protestants could face clear danger from the new regime.³⁶ The flight of the stranger churches together with some English individuals that decided to accompany them in September 1553 marked a new era.³⁷ After all, the fact that so many Protestant refugees had settled down in Edwardian England in the first place spoke of England as being a true

³⁴ 'Mary's First Act of Repeal, A.D. 1553', in H. Gee, W.J. Hardy (eds) *Documents Illustrative of the English Church History Compiled from Original Sources* (London, 1910), pp. 377-380.

³⁵ See: 'The Injunctions of Queen Mary, A.D. 1554', in H. Gee, W.J. Hardy (eds) *Documents Illustrative of the English Church History Compiled from Original Sources* (London, 1910), pp. 380-381; 'Revival of the Heresy Acts, A.D. 1554', in H. Gee, W.J. Hardy (eds) *Documents Illustrative of the English Church History Compiled from Original Sources* (London, 1910), p. 384.

³⁶ The leaving of the Dutch and French congregations because of the change of religion is mentioned in the Frankfurter Ratsprotokolle of 15th of March 1554: H. Meinert (ed.), *Die Eingliederung der Niederländischen Glaubensflüchtlinge in die Frankfurter Bürgerschaft 1554-1596. Auszüge aus den Frankfurter Ratsprotokollen veröffentlicht von Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Hermann Meinert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), p. 3. Peter Martyr Vermigli described his flight from England in this letter: P. Martyr Vermigli, 'Letter No. 85 Peter Martyr to Henry Bullinger', in J.P. Donnelly, S.J. (ed. transl.), *The Peter Martyr Library Volume Five: Life, Letters, and Sermons* (Kirkville, 1999), pp. 126-128. See also: A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism-Six Studies* (Aldershot, 1996), chapter two, esp. pp. 39-40. In this chapter he wrote about the stranger communities and their continuous journey after leaving England. He also highlighted that they had to leave England because of Mary's religious politics.

³⁷ H.P. Jürgens, 'Die Vertreibung der reformierten Flüchtlingsgemeinden aus London', in H.P. Jürgens, T. Weller (eds), *Religion und Mobilität: Zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (2019, Göttingen), pp. 13-40, p. 13, p. 17.

Protestant realm.³⁸ Even though this had happened before the reinstatement of the heresy laws, the warning signs must already have been clear. Indeed, those stranger churches left what they would formerly have seen as safe places. Now that the stranger churches had left, the Marian Protestants became acutely aware of the danger that Catholic England now posed. Therefore, many English Protestants followed the Edwardian stranger churches and other Protestants into continental exile between late 1553 and mid-1554. The networks that had been built in Edwardian England with those stranger churches and other continental theologians such as Heinrich Bullinger help to explain why the Marian exile was so organised and functioned so well.³⁹

The imprisonment of England's leading clergy in autumn and the flight of Vermigli in October 1553 were further warning signs that were loud and clear. According to Vermigli's own report, he arrived in Strasbourg on the 29th of October 1553.⁴⁰ In a letter from November 1553, Vermigli reported to Heinrich Bullinger that many well-known and influential Henrician and Edwardian Protestants such as Thomas Cranmer (Archbishop of Canterbury), John Hooper (Bishop of Worcester), Hugh Latimer, the Archbishop of York 'and several other godly and learned preachers' were imprisoned.⁴¹ This had happened after Vermigli and Cranmer had publicly defended their Protestant doctrines and sermons.⁴² With those imprisonments it was not only the English state that turned its back on Protestantism, but also the English Church. Eamon Duffy has described how 'Mary's

³⁸ A. Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, p. 155.

³⁹ Closer studies of these networks are provided by: C. Cross, 'Continental Students and the Protestant Reformation in England in the Sixteenth Century', in D. Baker (ed.), *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c1500-c1750* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 35-57; A. Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (Bern, 2001); C. Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531-1558* (Zurich, 2006).

⁴⁰ 'Letter No. 85 Peter Martyr to Henry Bullinger', p. 126.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 126.

⁴² Ibid. p. 126.

political success' was 'unexpected' and that 'the accession of a catholic queen was the signal for a stampede of protestant leaders to escape to the continent'.⁴³ Also, the later burnings of the Protestant martyrs were part of her 'religious reconstruction' of the realm.⁴⁴ For the non-conforming English Protestants the situation sharpened even further when the heresy laws were restored in 1554 and put into action in January 1555.⁴⁵ In the following 'anti-heresy campaign' 'nearly 300 [Protestants] were burned'.⁴⁶

Evidently, post-Edwardian England proved to be a battlefield for the English Protestants' collective religious consciences that gave many grounds for a religious flight. According to Collinson, the soon-to-be Marian martyr Nicholas Ridley was advising his fellow Protestants to leave the country because if they stayed they would have to 'choose between life and conscience'.⁴⁷ Therefore, as the main part of this chapter will show, for the Marian exiles, who argued against the practice of Nicodemism, or in other words conforming to the rules of the Marian regime, exile became a solution to preserve their lives and their religious conscience, to have the gospel rightfully ministered, and to save their endangered salvation.⁴⁸ The only other acceptable option would have been martyrdom, but, as this chapter will show, martyrdom would not only take their lives but also rob them of the chance of building a true Church in a future Protestant England.

⁴³ E. Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (Yale, 2009), p. 11.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 79.

⁴⁵ J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558-1689* (Harlow, 2000), p. 80.

⁴⁶ P. Marshall, 'Settlement Patterns', p. 47.

⁴⁷ P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal*, p. 68.

⁴⁸ On the exiles' polemics against Nicodemism see: A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, esp. pp. 86-117. K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England 1525-1590* (Cambridge, 2014), esp. pp. 100-102.

3. 'Sinne is the vndoubted Cause'.⁴⁹ Identifying the Reason for their Misery.

3.1. Following God's Providential Plan

This section will build on the argument that the Marian exiles would view their religious persecution as God's punishment for England's communal former sins.⁵⁰ It will demonstrate that this punishment was viewed as part of the providential plan of an active and righteous God. Moreover, it will highlight that the Marian exile itself was identified as one part of this punishment and God's providence and as a way to work towards God's divine will. As the following parts of this thesis will also demonstrate, the awareness of God's providence became a central motivation in the decision-making process of the Marian exiles and early Elizabethan clergy. Being confronted with an ungodly ruler and religious persecution caused the Marian Protestants to look for the origin of their misery. The answer was provided to them in the form of many scriptural stories concerning God's providence and exile, and the revelation that England was facing divine punishment for its former sins.⁵¹ It was God's providence that had brought them this misery but it might also take it away. Alexandra Walsham defines providence as 'not only something that God has seen' but also as evidence of God's 'operating hands'.⁵² This marked God as the entity that was the active and creating power behind everything.⁵³ It also meant that it was only God that knew the true reasons behind all history and events happening in his realm.⁵⁴ In the

⁴⁹ W. Musculus, *The Temporysour (that is to saye: the obseruer of tyme, or he that chaungeth with the tyme.) Compylled in Latyn by the excellent Clarke Wolfan/gus Musculus, and trāslated into Frenche by M. Vallerain Pullain. And out of Frenche into Inglishe by R. P. 1555.* (Wesel, 1555), sig. Aiiir.

⁵⁰ See for example: J. Shakespeare, 'Plague and Punishment', p. 107.

⁵¹ Bruce Gordon has emphasised that after the failure to establish the true Church on Earth and the 'advent of religious wars and the migration and exile of refugees', Protestants needed to find other explanations for their situation: B. Gordon, 'The Changing Face of Protestant History and Identity in the Sixteenth Century', in B. Gordon (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe, Volume 1 The Medieval Inheritance* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 1-22, p. 20.

⁵² A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), p. 10.

⁵³ Ibid. p.10.

⁵⁴ R.J. Vander Molen, 'Providence as Mystery, Providence as Revelation: Puritan and Anglican Modification of John Calvin's Doctrine of Providence', *Church History Volume*, 47/1 (1978), pp. 27-47, p. 31.

eyes of the Marian exiles it was clear that they believed that ‘he who gave has taken away’.⁵⁵

During his own flight, many years before the Marian exile, Vermigli had stressed that flight and exile were only possible due to God’s providence. Regarding those who fled, he wrote, ‘God is showing them the road to fly because without his will the basis to flee would not be open’.⁵⁶ This shows two important points in the debates on flight and exile. First, that flight in and of itself was not something negative, because it was God who made flight possible in the first place. Secondly, that everything that was happening was happening because of God’s providential plan. Therefore, going into exile was itself part of God’s providential plan that they were executing. This acknowledgement of the relationship between providence and exile was shared among the Marian exiles. As the 1554 letter exchange between the Marian exile congregations show, the congregations felt sure that they were acting according to God’s plan when they debated the establishment of an exiled Church. In August 1554, the leader of the Frankfurt congregation stressed to the other English exile congregations that it was ‘Gods good providence, which has procured us [the 1554 Frankfurt exile congregation] one [church] unspotted, & free from all dreggs of superstitious ceremonies’.⁵⁷ It was clear to the 1554 Frankfurt congregation that God had kept them physically safe and provided them with an ‘unspotted’ church, had also saved their souls by providing them with this church that was ‘free from all dreggs of superstitious ceremonies’, and that he had done this because it was his will that they would

⁵⁵ ‘John Ponet to Henry Bullinger (14 April 1556)’, *Original Letters*, pp. 115-117, p. 116.

⁵⁶ P. Martyr Vermigli, ‘[1073] Letter No. 5 To a Certain Friend on Flight in Persecution’, in J.P. Donnelly, S.J. (ed. transl.), *The Peter Martyr Library Volume Five: Life, Letters, and Sermons* (Kirkville, 1999), pp. 67-95, p.74.

⁵⁷ ‘Frankfurt Exile Congregation to Zurich, Wesel, Strasbourg, Emden, Duisburg (02 August 1554)’, *Letters from Exile*; ‘Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (13 October 1554)’, in *A Brief discourse*, pp. xiiii-xvi.

establish a Reformed church in Marian exile. In October 1554, however, the Zurich congregation was argued that it was only because of God's providence that they had been treated favourably by Zurich's 'Senate and ministers'.⁵⁸ Therefore, God's providential plan had many layers. It kept them alive during their flight and provided them with opportunities to properly worship him and receive his grace. Ultimately, the Marian exiles believed that their going into exile happened because God needed them to do so. Only in this safe place were they able to follow his will. However, this punishment was not solely directed at the Marian exiles; it was also aimed at the whole of England.⁵⁹ The exiles were also aware of the fact that not every Christian would be able to desert their home; however, with the creation of exile communities they hoped to build safe harbours so that more English Protestants could follow.⁶⁰ In these congregations they would provide English Protestants with pastoral care and church services from trained English ministers.⁶¹

As generally agreed in reform thought, the Marian exiles believed that everything that had happened and was happening to them was due to God's will, either to save them and their constant service to God or to punish them. This was because, as Edwin Sandys stressed in a sermon that he had delivered in Strasbourg, God had created humanity to serve him.⁶² In this perception there was not much difference between the later compromist

⁵⁸ 'Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (13 October 1554)', p. xiiii.

⁵⁹ See, for example: Anonym, *An apologie or defence agaynst the calumnacion of certayne men which preferring wyllfull wyll and carnal reason before the playn trueth of Gods gospel* (Wesel, 1555), sig. Aiiiv. B. Traheron, *A vvarning to England to repente and to tvrne to god from idolatrie and poperie by the terrible exemple of Calece, giuen the 7. of March. Anno. D. 1558. By Benthalmay Outis* (Wesel, 1558).

⁶⁰ See: 'Grindal to Bishop Ridley (6 May 1555)', in W. Nicholson (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D. Successively Bishop of London, and Archbishop of York and Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 238-240, p. 240; 'Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (27 October 1554)', *A Brief discourse*, pp. xviii-xix, p. xviii.

⁶¹ 'Grindal to Bishop Ridley (6 May 1555)', p. 240. See also the example of Edwin Sandys preaching at Strasbourg: E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough, in the time of Queen Mary's reign', in John Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Succesively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 293-312.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 293.

bishops, and exiles like John Ponet, who, even though he would not become a non-conformist in Elizabethan England due to his untimely death, was depicted as more radical during his lifetime.⁶³ During his time in exile, Ponet stressed that God's providence would ensure a peaceful regime as long as people would 'loue and feare God'. Moreover, as long as 'in all places and countreyes wher Goddes worde hath ben receaued and embraced, ther for the tyme the people followed God, no tyrannye could entre'.⁶⁴ According to this argument, having a tyrannical ruler, which Catholic Mary and her husband were viewed as, must have been a punishment for not fearing and loving God as they must. If they had loved and feared God and spread the gospel according to his will, there would have been no tyrant in England, meaning that Edward would not have died and/or Mary would not have ascended the throne.

The former exiles, who went on to become the first generation of Elizabethan bishops, reflected on their time of persecution, sin and exile in the years of the early Elizabethan period and agreed on these above-mentioned ideas about sin and punishment.⁶⁵ Most of them accepted that divine punishment happened because of God's justice.⁶⁶ This idea of divine punishment, and also justification, that is only possible through a righteous

⁶³ D.G. Newcombe, 'Ponet, John (c. 1514-1556)', *ODNB*, (2004), online accessible: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22491>, [accessed 02 February 2022].

⁶⁴ J. Ponet, *A short treatise of politike pouuer and of the true obedience which subjects owe to kynges and other ciuile gouernours, with an exhortacion to all true natural Englshe men, compiled by, D. I. P. B.R. VV* (Strasbourg, 1556), sig. Avir.

⁶⁵ See: J. Pilkington, *Aggeus and Abdias Prophetes, the one corrected. the other newly added. and both at large declared. The earnest love that I beare to thy house hath eaten me. Psal. Ixix. Ioan, ii. Phinees hath tourned awaye my anger because he was moued with loue of me. Num. xxv.* (London, 1562); J. Jewel, 'Certain Sermons of B. Iewell. Joshua 6', in J. Gabrande (ed.), *Certaine sermons preached before the Queenes Maiestie, and at Paules crosse, by the reuerend father Iohn Iewell late Bishop of Salisburie. Whereunto is added a short treatise of the sacraments, gathered out of other his sermons, made vpon that matter, in his cathedral church at Salisburie* (London, 1583), pp. Ar-D6; E. Sandys, 'The Third Sermon. A Sermon Preached in York, at the Celebration of the Day of the Queen's Entrance into her Reign', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 55-74.

⁶⁶ See: J. Pilkington, 'On the Prophet Obadiah', in J. Scholfield (ed.), *The works of Bishop Pilkington* (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 201-273, p. 226.

God also aligns with the reformed doctrine of justification and predestination as taught by continental reformers. In 1560, Heinrich Bullinger emphasised in his writings against the anabaptists that God could use his ‘will and liking, to good and preservation or for punishment’.⁶⁷ Punishment was not meant to humiliate the sinful human but was the ‘righteous justice, of the most righteous judge and the sin’s punishment’.⁶⁸

Ponet and later Elizabethan bishops like John Jewel stressed this Protestant thought and explained that this principle of justice was already taught and exemplified in the Old Testament; ‘for God is iuste, and so hateth sinne, that he neuer leaueth it in any place vnpunished’. Evidently, God as a righteous judge would leave no sin unseen or unpunished because this would be against his justice. God had exemplified this not only ‘by the examples of the cities Sodome and Gomor’, but even more importantly in ‘Ierusalem his owne citie’.⁶⁹ An unnamed exile wrote in his 1555 translation of Wolfgang Musculus’ *The Temporysour* that ‘Sinne is the vndoubted cause (as testifieth the scriptures) of al plages misfortunes, ruynes, mutacions, captiuities, and destructions’.⁷⁰ With this sentence he highlights the negative power that sin has. Everything bad that has ever happened is a consequence of sin. Like Ponet, he based his argument on examples from the Old Testament and stressed that scripture had attested to this. The Old Testament has provided examples of flight, persecution and exile more than once. This started with ‘Adams expulsion out of Paradyse’ and continued with the Great Flood, Sodom and Gomorrah, and the many examples of ‘the often captyuitie and slaughter of the people of god’.⁷¹ All of

⁶⁷ H. Bullinger, *Der Widertöufferen Ursprung, Fürgang, Secten, Wäsen, fürnemme und gemeine jrer Leer Artickel, ouch jre Gründ und warumm sy sich absünderind unnd ein eigne Kirchen anrichtind* (Zurich, 1560), p. 68r. Original quote: ‘willen und gefallen, zu gutem und erhaltung oder zur straff’

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 70r. Original quote: ‘gerecht gericht des aller gerechtigten Richters und straff der sünd’.

⁶⁹ J. Ponet, *A short treatise of politike pouer*, sig. Br. This discussion came up again in Elizabethan England and will be discussed further in chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁷⁰ W. Musculus, *The Temporysour*, sig. Aiiir.

⁷¹ Ibid. sig. Aiiv.

these examples, much like the whole Old Testament, are stories about sin and punishment. When in Genesis 3:6 Adam and Eve committed the Original Sin and transgressed against the rule established in Genesis 2:16–17 of not eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, they were punished by God and had to leave paradise.⁷² The other named examples are similar. The humans in the bible sinned, and God punished and nearly completely destroyed them, as in the stories of Noah and the flood in Genesis 6:5–9 and, similarly, of Sodom and Gomorra in Genesis 19. Evidently, from the very beginning, sin was never left unpunished – a Christian sentiment the Marian exiles firmly believed in.

These examples, especially Ponet's emphasis on the destruction of Jerusalem, demonstrate the weight with which the exiles viewed their sin and punishment. After all, until the destruction of the temple in 2 Kings 25, Jerusalem had been the place in which the house of God had been situated for a very long time. In the exile and post-exile biblical texts, the destruction of Jerusalem is seen as 'God's rage as answer to Israel's fault'.⁷³ The chapters before the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple are full of reports about sinning kings. The exception might be the reforming king Josiah, but those who came before and after him give many reasons for God's rage against Israel.⁷⁴ All the sinning of Israel's kings and subjects leads not only to the destruction of the temple but also to the Babylonian exile. Taking this into account, Ponet's argument shows two important points. Firstly, God's act of destroying his own home was a warning that his righteousness knows no boundaries. Therefore, England was also in danger of facing his wrath. Secondly, this example shows many parallels to the situation of the English exiles: they were also faced

⁷² GNV, Genesis 3.

⁷³ M. Köhlmoos, *Altes Testament* (Tübingen, 2011), p. 211. Original quote: '*Gottes Zorn als Antwort auf Israels Schuld*'.

⁷⁴ W. Oswald, *Staatstheorie im Alten Israel: Der politische Diskurs im Pentateuch und in den Geschichtsbüchern des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart, 2009), pp. 67-68.

with a sinning monarch and had themselves sinned before. So, just as God dealt out justice to Israel, he did the same to them, and, like the Israelites, they would need to go into exile. Also, it can be argued that like Jerusalem's temple, which was destroyed by a foreign and evil power, their Church was destroyed by such a power in the form of a Catholic queen and her Habsburg husband.

In his Strasbourg sermon, Edwin Sandys described very clearly the sins that he believed that the English Protestants had committed that had led to their punishment:

[...] because we, our princes, our prophets, and our people, have grievously sinned in not esteeming so precious, nor following so religiously, his blessed gospel as we ought to do, therefore he hath bereaved us of our worldly prosperity, and brought these miseries upon us, wherein we now are;⁷⁵

Sandys showed another level of England's former sins: the fault was not solely the monarch's but also that of the whole of England. All of the English had formerly sinned against God, as they had failed to follow the gospel in the right way. Like Ponet and the anonymous exile, Sandys emphasised the parallels between the English and the Old Testament exiles. The English Protestants had been 'driven from the tabernacle of God' in the same way that 'David [had been] persecuted' and the 'apostles of Christ [had been] exiled'.⁷⁶ All the aforementioned examples had in common that the involved individuals or groups were driven out, persecuted or exiled. This means that these things happened to them – they were not actively pursuing them. In these biblical examples, the English Protestants could identify their own fate. The tabernacle was clearly a synonym for the

⁷⁵ E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough', pp. 295-296.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 295.

Protestant Church from which the English Protestants had been driven. They did not leave this behind by choice but were violently forced to. Robert Horn, another exile and later an Elizabethan bishop, explained that because the English ‘wolde not turne from’ their ‘sinnes and wickednes’, God’s punishment towards them ‘coude not be auoyded’. Moreover, he added that because they were not thankful enough, ‘the kingdom of God’ was ‘taken from’ England, ‘at leaste for a time’.⁷⁷ As Horn’s 1553 preface to Calvin’s homilies shows, he was convinced that their former sins weighed so much that it would not have been possible to avoid a punishment. It also implied, though, that this state of punishment was not a finite state was but limited to a certain time period. Therefore, going into exile would not be the last step for the Marian exiles. Instead, it would be a momentary status that allowed them to find ways to redeem their sins by following God’s providential plan and preaching and following the gospel, because as the example above has shown, the failure to do this had led England into this state of punishment.

For the Marian Protestants, exile was clearly a realistic proposition, not only because of the many Protestant exiles they knew, such as Vermigli and the former English Henrician exiles, but also because of their close identification with the Old Testament Israelites. For the Marian exiles, the biblical stories were more than stories; they were part of their reality and reflected their sense of their own history.⁷⁸ This was not an invention of the Marian exiles but the extension of an established trope. According to Catharine Davies, the Edwardian Protestants were already drawing close links between the biblical-reforming king Josiah and Edward VI. During this regime they were confronted with the limits of the

⁷⁷ R. Horne, ‘Grace / peace / and mercye from God y^e father of our lord Iesus Christe. Amen.’, in J. Calvin, *Certaine homilies of m. Ioan Calvine conteining profitable and necessarie, admonitio[n] for this time, with an apologie of Robert Horn* (Wesel, 1553), sig. Aiiir-Ciiiv, sig. Aiiir.

⁷⁸ On the identification of early modern England with Old Testament exiles see: H. Hamlin, ‘Strangers in Strange Lands: Biblical Models of Exile in Early Modern England’, *Reformation*, 15 (2010), pp. 63-81. B. Gordon, ‘The Changing Face of Protestant History’, p. 19.

possibilities of their reform and were faced with the issue that they had ‘inherited an Israel which they saw as riven with idolatry and corruption’.⁷⁹ Therefore, it is not surprising that the Marian Protestants referred back to many Old Testament examples. After all, in their eyes they were experiencing the same fate as those biblical figures. Shakespeare points out that by identifying with the Old Testament Israelites, the Marian exiles were seeing themselves as the new ‘elect’, because ‘for the godly, suffering is a gift of God’ and would offer the persecuted an opportunity to ‘return to Christ’.⁸⁰ Bruce Gordon argues further that early Protestants and reformers were ‘forced’ to identify themselves with ‘history’ ‘in order to defend themselves against charges of schism’ from the Catholics.⁸¹ Also, when the phrasing of the exiles’ writings is compared with that of the biblical stories, in both texts God was always portrayed as the one who actively punished them. Because of this, it could only be God and Christ who could redeem them for their sins. Following the doctrine of justification, Sandys stated that sin could only be ‘washed away, but with the very heart blood of the innocent Lamb of God’, because it is in ‘his [Christ’s] death’ that ‘our sin is pardoned’.⁸² Therefore, to find redemption the Marian exiles were looking for a way back into God’s grace, knowing that this could only happen because of Christ’s sacrifice and the covenant that he had created through it.

3.2. Sin and Punishment: Obedience and Rebellion

This section argues that, similarly to the case of the Catholic exiles researched by Smith, the issues of conformity, loyalty and obedience became critical for the Marian exiles when

⁷⁹ C. Davies, ‘‘Poor Persecuted Little Flock’ or ‘Commonwealth of Christians’; Edwardian Protestant Concepts of the Church’, in P. Lake, M. Dowling (eds), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (New York, 1987), pp. 78-102, p. 88, p. 94.

⁸⁰ J. Shakespeare, ‘Plague and Punishment’, p. 113; J. Wright, ‘Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight’, p. 226.

⁸¹ B. Gordon, ‘The Changing Face of Protestant History’, p. 21.

⁸² E. Sandys, ‘A Sermon preached at Strausborough’, p. 297.

they were discussing the terms of sin and exile.⁸³ Foreshadowing the later Elizabethan debates, this section will demonstrate that the exiles' understanding of God's providence was also reflected in their positions towards civil and godly obedience. The question of obedience must have been especially controversial for the exiles regarding their belief that even an ungodly ruler was ruling with divine permission and was part of God's providential punishment.⁸⁴ However, it will be shown that while it was generally agreed that every ruler was a providential ruler and that there could be no compromise in matters of religion, the first discrepancies among the exiles can be seen in their interpretation of civil obedience and their acceptance of civil conformity. It will also be argued that by going into exile, the Marian exiles found a loophole, because in exile they would not need to obey their civil monarch in matters of religion and only partly in civil matters.

As many of the exiled clergy were Edwardian theologians and closely connected to international theologians, the influence of Edwardian and general Protestant thought will be discussed in the what follows. During the reign of Henry VIII, the events of the 1549 revolts and the Edwardian debates on liturgy and vestments the English Protestants had already been confronted with the issue of providential rulership, obedience and conformity.⁸⁵ As historians like Steven M. Foster have illustrated, based on Romans 13:1 the general Protestant consensus was that every ruler was appointed by God and therefore had to be obeyed.⁸⁶ Early English theologians such as William Tyndale were significantly

⁸³ F.E. Smith, 'Life After Exile', pp. 807-8.

⁸⁴ G. Bowler, 'Marian Protestants and the Idea of Violent Resistance to Tyranny', in P. Lake, M. Dowling (eds), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (New York, 1987), pp. 124-143, pp. 124-125.

⁸⁵ This issue had already been discussed during the 1546 rebellions. See: S.M. Foster, '“To Take this Sword without the Authority of the Prince”: Obedience, Duty and Romans 13 During the 1549 Rebellions in England', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 22/1 (2020), pp. 25-47.

⁸⁶ S.M. Foster, '“To Take this Sword”', p. 43. See also: G. Bowler, 'Marian Protestants', pp. 124-125. Alec Ryrie has demonstrated that this was also an important issue during the Henrician years that were filled with religious change: A. Ryrie, 'The Problems of Legitimacy and Precedent in English Protestantism, 1539-47',

impacted by continental reformers' interpretations of Romans 13. According to the German reformer Martin Luther and the French theologian Jean Calvin, resistance towards even a tyrannical ruler was a sin because every ruler was appointed by God.⁸⁷ Furthermore, Dan G. Danner concludes from his analysis of William Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian* that Edwardian Protestants saw 'Tyranny' as 'God's way of punishing sin'.⁸⁸ Equally, as Foster has pointed out, God would reward his subjects with a good ruler if they were obedient to God's will.⁸⁹ Vermigli, who not only taught his doctrines to the exiles in Edwardian England but also to Marian exiles, stressed that according to Romans 13:1, etc. 'the Governours and rulers be ordeyned of god'. God had ordained them for the sole reason that 'they should be goddess officers and ministers here in erthe, to encourage and avaunce them that be good and to punyshe and converte those that be evil'.⁹⁰ Consequently, Vermigli saw all rulers and magistrate as tools that were appointed by God to work according to his will. Therefore, all authority of the monarch came from God and was therefore godly authority. This would also mean that being rebellious or disobedient towards a monarch would mean being rebellious or disobedient towards God, as they had been put into their positions to execute God's will on Earth. Moreover, Vermigli stressed that the scripture 'expressely forbiddeth all private revenging'.⁹¹ Furthermore, as the scripture shows, any kind of rebellion is a form of sin and will be punished.⁹² This was not solely Vermigli's position, but a very general Protestant and also Edwardian view. Thomas

in B. Gordon (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe, Volume 1 The Medieval Inheritance* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 78-92, p. 82.

⁸⁷ S.M. Foster, "To Take this Sword", p. 27.

⁸⁸ D.G. Danner, 'Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate in the Sixteenth Century: The Marian Exiles', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 49/ 3 (1981), pp. 471-481, p. 474

⁸⁹ S.M. Foster, "To Take this Sword", p. 28.

⁹⁰ P. Martyr Vermigli, 'A Sermon concernynge the tyme of rebellion', in T.W.J. Kirby (ed.) *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 149-180, p. 151.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 160.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 153.

Cranmer was so supportive of this doctrine that he delivered a sermon concerning the 1549 rebellions that was based on Vermigli's text in the same year.⁹³ Hence, in Edwardian England being obedient to one's ruler was a necessity because it also meant being obedient to God. Consequently, it was God's providence that decided whether a realm would have a good or bad ruler – often depending on the faithfulness and obedience, or the disobedience, of its subjects.

Jonathan Willis has pointed out that due to the monarch's position as supreme head of the Church, nowhere else were the 'concepts of divine law and royal authority' more entangled than 'in reformation England'.⁹⁴ Alec Ryrie has demonstrated that royal supremacy was the 'organizing principle' of Henry VIII's theology, 'the doctrine around which the rest of the king's religion was arranged'.⁹⁵ Further, due to his supremacy, Henry 'set the theological and political framework within which policy was formed'.⁹⁶ In fact, 'many protestants clung to the Edwardian teachings even when faced with the Marian persecution'.⁹⁷ Bowler takes Edwin Sandys' time in prison as an example. Sandys 'refused to be liberated from his prison' through the act of a rebellion, because he believed that everything would happen according to God's will.⁹⁸ Consequently, Sandys was not 'resisting' the monarchy but he also would not conform; instead he was taking on his worldly punishment, believing that this was part of God's providential plan.

⁹³ T.W.J. Kirby, "'Synne and Sedition': Peter Martyr Vermigli's 'Sermon concernynge the tyme of rebellion' in the Parker Library", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39/2 (2008), pp. 419-440, p. 421.

⁹⁴ J. Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue: Religious Identity and the Ten Commandments in England c.1485-1625* (Cambridge, 2017), p. 74.

⁹⁵ A. Ryrie, 'Divine Kingship and Royal Theology in Henry VIII's Reformation', *Reformation*, 7/1 (2002), pp. 49-77, p. 54.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 56.

⁹⁷ G. Bowler, 'Marian Protestants', p. 125.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 125.

However, while the Marian exiles had a common agenda when they went into exile, their positions towards obedience already revealed first differences of opinion and foreshadowed the debates that were to occur in Elizabethan England. Voices such as those of the exiles John Ponet and Christopher Goodman were heard (the latter would become a spokesperson in Elizabethan England for non-conformism and anti-vestment sentiment), and differed slightly from the Edwardian and moderate Reformed understanding.⁹⁹ According to Danner, these radical Marian Protestants, especially those with strong links to Geneva, such as Ponet, were proclaiming that ‘a tyrant is not an agent of God, and the people owe him no obedience’.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, even a tyrant, as a personified punishment, would act under divine permission. Protestants like Goodman or Ponet probably saw the situation the English exiles were in as being a result of a sinful government, which can be identified through its ‘violating’ of natural law and God’s law.¹⁰¹ By stressing that rulers ‘were merely conduits of divine power, and not powerful men in themselves’, Ponet’s theory shows slight differences from the general Edwardian view.¹⁰² He had identified a loophole in the matter of obedience: when a monarch becomes a sinful ruler, they lose their godly authority. This means that people are not obliged to obey them. Nevertheless, he stressed that not obeying a godly ruler is sinful.¹⁰³ Goodman stressed that ‘they which seeke to saue their [mortal] liffe (meanyng by anie worldly reason or policie) shall lose

⁹⁹ P. Marshall, ‘Religious Exiles and the Tudor State’, p. 270; J. Ponet, *A short treatise of politike pouuer*; C. Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subiects and wherein they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted. Wherin also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same. By Christopher Goodman* (Geneva, 1558).

¹⁰⁰ D.G. Danner, ‘Resistance and the Ungodly Magistrate’, p. 474.

¹⁰¹ On natural law see: D. Van Druenen, *Natural Law and the Two Kingdoms: A Study in the Development of Reformed Social Thought* (Cambridge, 2010), esp. p. 129. However, as especially chapter four of this thesis will demonstrate, this view of obedience and civil law was not agreed on by all Protestants; instead many would continue with the ideas that were presented by Tyndale, as mentioned earlier. Nonetheless, the opinions of these more ‘radical’ Protestant exiles are essential to understand their positions during the Elizabethan conformity debates.

¹⁰² J. Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue*, p. 81.

¹⁰³ J. Ponet, *A short treatise of politike pouuer*, sig. Dr-Dv, sig. Diiiiv.

it', and by trying to save their mortal bodies and follow 'popishe blasphemie', they would 'dishonor the Maiestie of God'.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, Christians would not always have to die the death of a martyr to protect their conscience, but, as Goodman logically put it, 'being persecuted in one place, we haue libertie to flee in to a nother'.¹⁰⁵ This example not only exemplifies a non-conformist understanding of obedience and authority but also portrays how conforming to the Marian government could have been considered as sinful and therefore harmful for true religion.

The examples of Goodman, Ponet and Sandys show that the Marian exiles' theological ideas reflected the new challenges they had to face during the Marian regime in different ways. These different positions remain important for understanding the opposing positions on conformity and obedience of the Elizabethan period that will be examined in chapter four. However, even though not all Marian exiles were pleading for disobedience, they had in common that they were condemning religious conformity in terms of conforming to Catholicism.

Just like later in Elizabethan England, these opinions were also reflected in the different positions adopted towards Christian liberty. Thomas Sampson, who in Marian exile remained close to Zurich, and later compromists like Grindal, who later became leader of the non-conformist Elizabethan theologians of the 1560s, argued in 1554 that Christian liberty does not mean 'fleshely liberties but that libetie of the spirite'.¹⁰⁶ Evidently, a Christian would be able to use their Christian liberty of conscience to act against evil. In his defence of flight, Vermigli stressed that Christians 'are commanded to

¹⁰⁴ C. Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyd*, p. 220.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 223.

¹⁰⁶ T. Sampson, *A letter to the tre professors of Christes Gospell, inhabiting in the parishe off Allhallowis, in Bredstrete in London, made by Thomas Sampson, sometime theor pastore*, (Strasbourg, 1554), sig. Aviiiv.

protect and preserve Christian liberty’ but that they must also consider the ‘weakness of the brethren’.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, Christians must consider the more impressionable members of their congregations. As Christians, and arguably even more as clergy, they had to act as role models to protect those who were weaker, because they were all part of one congregation, as will be discussed later in this thesis. Vermigli argued further that even though a Christian should preserve their Christian liberty, meaning their soul and conscience, death might not always be the only answer and flight could be an option.¹⁰⁸ In 1555, Vermigli stressed another aspect of Christian liberty which can be seen as a more rebellious aspect but still a duty of a Christian: ‘christian libertie’ means ‘free boldenes in speakinge’.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, a Christian is even obligated to use this liberty, because if they are not speaking out for the true religion, they will lose their Christian liberty.¹¹⁰ However, this, again, is an example of a rather peaceful sign of disobedience. Most importantly, it shows that above all a Christian must be obedient to God and protect their Christian soul, even if that would mean that as a consequence of making use of their liberty they, like Goodman suggested, would have to leave a place in order to free themselves from the bad influence of an evil regime and gain back their liberty to preach the gospel.¹¹¹

Evidentially, by introducing flight into this conversation about obedience and Christian liberty, the Marian exiles were introducing a loophole. They would not have to conform under an ungodly government but could flee to places where they could act according to God’s will. Others would have seen exile as a way of being obedient subjects

¹⁰⁷ P. Martyr Vermigli, ‘[1073] Letter No. 5 To a Certain Friend’, p. 78.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 72.

¹⁰⁹ P. Martyr Vermigli, *A Treatise of the Cohabitacyon of the faithfull with the vnfaithfull Whereunto is added. A Sermon made of the confessing of Christe and his gospel, and of the denyinge of the same* (Strasbourg, 1555), sig. 13v.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. sig. 13r-13v.

¹¹¹ C. Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyd*, p. 223.

without betraying their faith, because in exile the monarch would not be able to have 'physical and ideological control over' their 'subjects' anymore.¹¹² Both martyrdom and exile gave them the option to stay true to their faith. However, taking into account positions like Vermigli's, who had stressed the importance of considering the weaker brethren for whom it would seem easier to conform instead of giving up their life to a crucial death, exile would have been the better option than the more frightening idea of martyrdom.¹¹³

4. Fleeing for a better Tomorrow

This section argues that by going into exile the Marian exiles not only actively decided against Marian conformity and a life of sin and will also demonstrate that their decision not to take the more acceptable path of martyrdom meant that they opted for the possibility of the future reform of the true Church in exile and a possible future Protestant England. Therefore, this section will first identify the practical struggles and challenges that the exiles faced during their flight and it will then examine their positions towards Nicodemism and martyrdom. It will show that while the Marian Protestants were aware of the consequences that a Catholic government and Church would bring them, the final step of fleeing into exile, that is, leaving their familiar surroundings, families and friends, was still not taken lightly. Nevertheless, fleeing into exile was an active and public decision against the new Catholic politics: it was an alternative to dying as a martyr, or complying with the new Catholic regime, which meant being forced to convert, or what was polemically called Nicodemism. Conversion implied turning against their Protestant faith and accepting Catholicism. It was regarded by the exiles as a hypocritical choice:

¹¹² P. Marshall, 'Religious Exiles and the Tudor State', p. 263.

¹¹³ P. Martyr Vermigli, '[1073] Letter No. 5 To a Certain Friend', pp. 72, 76.

remaining Protestant inwardly but worshipping outwardly in a Catholic way.¹¹⁴ This position was named after the pharisee Nicodemus, who only visited Jesus during the night so that no one would publicly know his true faith.¹¹⁵ The choice of martyrdom, however, would lead the exiles to a life in Christ's congregation, but would result in their earthly demise.¹¹⁶ Hence, as the third part of this section will highlight, martyrdom would take away their ability to fight for future reform and care for their remaining flock.

4.1.What practical Challenges did the Exiles face?

The religious flight into exile was a strong testament to the exiles' Protestant faith. As this part of the chapter will emphasise, leaving for exile was accompanied by many worldly challenges, like a dangerous journey, leaving behind everything that was familiar, and the uncertainty of the living arrangements of exile itself as well of as their potential return.

In 1555 an unnamed Marian exile defended his and his family's flight, arguing that they would rather be in exile with a 'pure conscience', 'where Gods moste holy worde and Sacramentes are purely preached and ministred', than in Catholic England. His emphasis was on the fact that in exile they had a chance to hear the rightfully ministered gospel, whereas in Catholic England Protestant church services were prohibited following the example of the biblical king David, who had said, 'It is better to dwel in a most poore degree, then to abyde in wealth and prosperous estate, among the wicked'.¹¹⁷ This exile made clear that all the challenges that exile caused were worth the preservation of his Christian conscience. Even though going into a foreign 'land' where he would be 'farre fro frendes' would mean that he would be 'compelled eyther to begge or labor', he would not

¹¹⁴ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 104.

¹¹⁵ GNV, John 3:1-2. M.G.K. van Veen, 'Calvin und seine Gegner', in H.J. Selderhuis (ed.), *Calvin Handbuch* (Tübingen, 2008), pp. 155-164, p. 156.

¹¹⁶ J. Scory, *AN EPISTLE wrytten by John Scory the late bi/shope of Chichester vnto all the faythfull that be in pryson in Englande, or in any other troble for the defence of Goddes truthe* (1555), sig. A3v.

¹¹⁷ Anonym, *An apologie or defence agaynst the calumnacion*, sig. Aiiv.

see any other alternative, because converting to Catholicism would be sinful and mean that he would ‘neuer come in heauen’.¹¹⁸ However, he was certain that according to Paul no ‘sworde’ or ‘persecution’ or other obstacle would ‘separate vs from the loue of God’ and that the ‘helpe of Christ’ would make him prepared for this challenge. He believed that, according to the scripture, if he wanted to become part of Christ’s congregation he had to suffer with Christ and follow his example.¹¹⁹ Because of all of this, he and ‘other men’ had ‘abandoned’ their ‘lyuinges’; they left everything behind: their friends, their belongings and their lands.¹²⁰ The challenges that the exiles faced, such as living among strangers and not owning anything, meant that they completely relied on those strangers’ grace, and this is summed up in Vermigli’s defence of flight: he said that a person who went into exile

[w]ould rather remain at home, enjoy his goods, and make use of his contacts with the people of his own nation rather than head off like a poor and unknown stranger for distant country where he does not understand the language of the people.¹²¹

In 1557, Thomas Lever thanked Heinrich Bullinger for his pastoral support, especially since the exiles also had to face emotionally draining challenges originating from home and were ‘deserted by [their] friends, laughed to scorn by many, spurned by others, assailed by reproaches and revilings by the most’. However, living in exile, especially in Bullinger’s community in Zurich, had allowed them to hear proper ministry and had avoided them ‘sink[ing] under the pressure of these evils’.¹²² Further threats came from the

¹¹⁸ Ibid. sig. Aiiiiv.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. sig. Aiiiir-Aiiiiv.

¹²⁰ Ibid. sig. Aviv.

¹²¹ P. Martyr Vermigli, ‘[1073] Letter No. 5 To a Certain Friend’, p. 75.

¹²² ‘Thomas Lever and Others to Henry Bullinger (5 October 1557)’, *Original Letters*, pp. 169-170, p. 169.

well-informed English authorities.¹²³ When the exiles left England, they left their properties behind them, and the English government used their properties as punishment against them.¹²⁴ Stephen Gardiner had made sure that the money exchange between the merchants and the Zurich exiles was stopped, so following this the Zurich exiles had to rely on the mercy of the Zurich magistrate and the Zurich theologians.¹²⁵ Furthermore, even though foreign monarchs like Henry II of France refused to kidnap English exiles, the exiles were still not free from the influence of English political power.¹²⁶ John Knox had to leave the city of Frankfurt in 1555 because his writings were understood as treasonous against Mary's cousin and father-in-law Emperor Charles V.¹²⁷ Therefore, even though they had left England behind them and were living a reformed life, the exiles were still prone to some level of English interference and to a certain extent had to deal with the consequences of England's civil law. Moreover, the exiles' actions abroad could have negatively impacted the Protestants left in England, especially those imprisoned. For example, Edmund Grindal mentioned in his letter to the imprisoned Nicholas Ridley that the exiles had decided against publishing Ridley's works against the doctrine of transubstantiation in order to prevent further punishment against the remaining English, especially the imprisoned ones, such as the 'restraining' of the martyrs 'from writing hereafter'.¹²⁸

¹²³ P. Marshall, 'Religious Exiles and the Tudor State', pp. 273-274.

¹²⁴ Ibid. p. 278.

¹²⁵ G.W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English national church: dilemmas of an Erastian reformer* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 47.

¹²⁶ P. Marshall, 'Religious Exiles and the Tudor State', p. 275.

¹²⁷ J. Dawson, *John Knox* (Yale, 2015), p. 109; E. Cameron, 'Frankfurt and Geneva: The European Context of John Knox's Reformation', in R. Mason (ed.), *John Knox and the British Reformation* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 51-73, p. 61.

¹²⁸ 'Grindal to Bishop Ridley (6 May 1555)', p. 240.

The issues of Knox's writings and of the exiles losing their properties have been discussed in letters that the English exiles wrote to their continental hosts, friends, role models and advisors. Knox's opponents, defending their position in the trial of Knox in Frankfurt in 1555, wrote to Calvin saying that this 'outrageous pamphlet of Knox's added much oil to the flame of persecution in England'. They based their arguments on the fact that the executions that were happening in England began after the pamphlet was published. Moreover, mere possession of it led to misery. In their letter, the opponents wrote that many Protestants had 'been exposed to the risk of all their property, and even life itself upon the sole ground of either having had this book in their possession, or having read it'.¹²⁹ Evidently, the Marian exiles were in contact with and worried about the Marian Protestants that were still living in England. Their actions in exile were not free from causing consequences in England either. Losing their properties meant more than just losing their own wealth, which in itself could lead to an existential crisis. It was common for wealthy men to become patrons of others: for example, Richard Chambers had 'devoted himself and all his property to provide for the safety of the ministers during this persecution'.¹³⁰ The example of James Haddon, who had been 'stripped of almost all' his 'property' in 1554 shows how this was all connected. When he was not able to support John Banks anymore, Banks was forced to desert his studies and look for a paying job with a printer.¹³¹ He was able to find this job thanks to the networks of Heinrich Bullinger, and Haddon, already in exile in Strasbourg, faced being 'denounced' as a heretic in Marian

¹²⁹ 'David Whitehead and others to John Calvin (20 September 1555)', *Original Letters II*, pp. 755-763, p. 761.

¹³⁰ 'Thomas Lever to Henry Bullinger (23 April 1554)', *Original Letters*, pp. 155-156, p. 155

¹³¹ 'James Haddon to Heinrich Bullinger (09 December 1554)', *Original Letters*, pp. 294-296, p. 295; 'John Banks to Henry Bullinger (09 December 1554)', *Original Letters*, pp. 306-307.

England.¹³² Clearly, the Marian regime still had a lot of influence on the exiled Protestants who were not only supporting each other but were also being supported through their international networks.

Issues arising from living amongst strangers in foreign communities and the input of other Protestant denominations can be seen in some of the exiles' correspondence and documents, such as the retrospective narrative about the so-called Troubles at Frankfurt. One important reason for going into exile, in addition to having the gospel ministered in the rightful way, was to receive sacraments. However, settling into a new environment without having their own ministers or Church already settled would have meant that some sacraments must have been ministered by other local ministers. In an undated letter written during the Marian exile, Vermigli answered certain questions, which were probably asked by the 1554/1555 Frankfurt congregation, regarding the issue of whether a Lutheran could baptise the children of the English exiles and whether such a baptism was even valid.¹³³ Vermigli responded that no baptism should ever be repeated, but that in general a Lutheran baptism should be avoided, since a Lutheran would not be able to 'seal' the baptism with the Reformed 'faith'.¹³⁴ This shows that even though Lutherans were Protestant, living among Protestants of another denomination would come with confessional consequences.¹³⁵ Being in exile could also mean that receiving sacraments was not always as available as the Marian Protestants would have hoped. Another example of how

¹³² 'James Haddon to Heinrich Bullinger (08 January 1555)', *Original Letters*, p. 297; 'James Haddon to Heinrich Bullinger (09 December 1554)', p. 295.

¹³³ P. Martyr Vermigli, '[1089] Letter No. 101 To the Church of the English', in J.P. Donnelly, S.J. (ed. transl.), *The Peter Martyr Library Volume Five: Life, Letters, and Sermons* (Kirkville, 1999), pp. 129-133.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 130.

¹³⁵ This was not only an issue for the English exiles, but as Henning P. Jürgens has illustrated, it also led to debates among the Dutch and French congregations. The confessional issues got worse after the peace of Augsburg in 1555 and endangered the acceptance of the reformed exiles in Frankfurt to such an extent that in August 1556 Calvin went to Frankfurt 'zur Schlichtung': H.P. Jürgens, 'Die Vertreibung der reformierten Flüchtlingsgemeinden', p. 26.

important the issue of confession could be can be found in the English congregation's request for a place of worship in Frankfurt. They were given such a place with the requirement that they would have the same doctrine, ceremonies and confession of faith as the Dutch and French congregations who shared this place with them.¹³⁶ Eventually the English exiles did get permission for an English Reformed service to take place in the same church as the other two congregations, but this example does show that they had to compromise. Exile meant making certain compromises, be they regarding the choice of place to worship or the number of sacraments they could receive according to their own confessional belief.

Besides all of this, going into exile also meant being a target for physically threatening and life-threatening situations. In a letter from 1554, John Scory reported to the Frankfurt congregation that he was 'robbed' on his way into exile.¹³⁷ In addition to such crimes, the exiles' journey also included threats caused by fierce weather conditions. The autumn to winter periods especially would have made travelling extremely dangerous if not impossible. In October 1554, Scory mentioned that he would not be able to travel to Frankfurt from Emden before some time in spring 1555 because of the early winter.¹³⁸ Similar issues are addressed in letters from the Elizabethan and Henrician period. In January 1559, John Jewel wrote to Vermigli to tell him that Edwin Sandys and other former exiles would have delays during their return trip to England due to the weather conditions. He said that one reason for this was that the 'Rhine being frozen over would prevent their travelling by water'.¹³⁹ During his exile in Henrician times, John Hooper had reported that he 'suffered many things by land' and that he 'was wretchedly harassed by

¹³⁶ *A Brief discourse*, p.vi.

¹³⁷ 'J. Scory to Frankfurt Congregation (03 September 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

¹³⁸ 'J. Scory to Frankfurt Congregation (05 October 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

¹³⁹ 'John Jewel to Peter Martyr Vermigli (26 January 1559)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 6-9, p. 6.

sea for three months both by enemies and storm'.¹⁴⁰ In 1573, Rudolph Gwalter, who had made personal connections with the English Protestants during their time in Zurich, wrote to Richard Cox. In his letter he stressed that his son would not be able to return from England to the continent before spring. Like Scory many years before, Gwalter named the weather conditions as the reason for this. his son would not be able to cross the sea during autumn and winter because it would not be safe enough.¹⁴¹ Henning P. Jürgens has explained that the flight of the stranger churches in 1553 was endangered because of the extreme autumn storms which had them changing their routes and delaying their journey.¹⁴² These different reports portray the physical dangers that a journey into exile would bring. Going on such a journey would mean that the exiles put their lives completely into the hands of God. They had to believe that he wanted them to survive this journey, that they were God's elect folk and that by choosing this dangerous path they were following his will.

Despite the dangers and the misery that flight would bring the Marian exiles, it is evident that they saw no other way forward than flight and that they had complete trust in God. By taking a path that could have led to their death, that could have left them without any goods and made them reliant on the hospitality and networks of their hosts, they were revealing their true beliefs. All the sacrifices they made were well thought through, especially leaving their work, family and property, which would have kept others from leaving England for an uncertain exile.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ 'John Hooper to Henry Bullinger (unknown date)', *Original Letters*, pp. 40-42, p. 41.

¹⁴¹ 'Bishop Gualter to Bishop Cox (26 August 1573)', *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 225-235, p. 226.

¹⁴² H.P. Jürgens, 'Die Vertreibung der reformierten Flüchtlingsgemeinden', p. 17.

¹⁴³ A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, p. 101.

4.2. The Exiles' Positions towards Nicodemism

Because of all the dangers and penalties that not attending Catholic mass in Marian England would bring, many of the Marian Protestants that stayed in England outwardly decided to conform and follow Catholicism. However, they secretly continued to remain Protestant. Those Protestants were polemically called Nicodemites and often excused their decisions by 'claiming that they attended Mass and other "popish" ceremonies in order to serve their neighbours and further the prospects of the gospel'.¹⁴⁴ As this part of the chapter will emphasise, the Marian exiles saw the root of further sin in these practices, and by actively deciding against Marian conformism they hoped to find places where they could worship according to God's wishes, inwardly and outwardly.

Pettegree has highlighted the importance of these Nicodemites by stressing that the 'Elizabethan settlement was a Nicodemite Reformation'.¹⁴⁵ He explains this by pointing to the large number of acting and most influential figures of Elizabeth's early regime who were former Nicodemites, such as Elizabeth herself, William Cecil and Archbishop Matthew Parker.¹⁴⁶ The problems that this would have for the creation of a Protestant identity and ethos will be discussed further in part two of this thesis. Only a small number of the Marian Protestants fled to exile or decided to become martyrs; the most common choice was converting and Nicodemism. This is not surprising, as it was the most secure way for Protestants to keep their properties and remain alive. However, Protestants who were in exile or in prison thought Nicodemism was a great sin that reneged on true faith and Christ. The high number of polemical writings against the concept of Nicodemism show how pressing an issue this was for the exiles. Indeed, two thirds of the published

¹⁴⁴ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 104.

¹⁴⁵ A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, p. 106.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 106.

writings of the exiles dealt with the issue of Nicodemism.¹⁴⁷ As this section will show, in these writings the exiles constantly stressed the importance of inward and outward worship and of the Christian soul and conscience, which could only be found outside Marian England. Bearing in mind their belief that England was being punished as a whole, these remaining and ‘sinning’ Protestants were seen as hindering England’s redemption.

The concept of Nicodemism was not invented during the Marian exile but had already been discussed in earlier writings of theologians such as Calvin and Bullinger. How important their opinion was for the English Protestants even before the Marian reign can be demonstrated using their letters about the Catholic mass and Nicodemism that were published in English in 1548.¹⁴⁸ The first letter, written by Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich in 1541, stresses that every Christian is supposed to act according to scripture and that part of doing so is by ‘open confession’. It is not enough to only ‘beleue in the herte and secretlye to confess God’; even in times of persecution, Christians should follow the teachings of Origen. This means that ‘The syncerefull & playne confession of the tonge must go with all.’¹⁴⁹ Calvin uses similar words to emphasise that there were two Christian requirements. Firstly, that a Christian must ‘serue God with the inwarde purenes of his hart & then with owtwarde exercyses’. Secondly, superstitious and idolatrous ceremonies such as the Catholic mass were seen as ‘impure’.¹⁵⁰ More importantly, everyone who participated in those superstitious and idolatrous services and claimed that they were God’s will would ‘dishonoure the name of God’ and consequently would be harmful to his true church.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 88.

¹⁴⁸ H. Bullinger, J. Calvin, *Two epystles one of Henry Bullynger, wyth the consent of all the lernyd men of the Churche of Tigury: another of Ihon Caluyn, cheffe preacher of the church of Geneue: whether it be lawfull for a Chrysten man to communycate or be pertaker of the masse of the Papysts, wythout offendyng God and hys neyghboure, or not* (London, 1548).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. sig. aiiiiv.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. sig. aviiv.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. sig. avir.

Both of the letters argue against the idea of a single, inwardly directed mode of worship. God would require both a confession of the heart and a visible outward one. By referring to Origen, Bullinger gave his arguments additional weight and authority.¹⁵² Evidently, even before the Marian reign, the English Protestants knew that a hidden confession would not be enough and that for the true edification of the church it needed true worship.

These continental doctrines were constantly highlighted in the writings of the exiles and the Marian martyrs. Robert Horn argued in his 1553 preface to Calvin's homilies that the 'popish mass is the greatest heresie blasphemy & idolatrie'.¹⁵³ More specifically, in 1554 Thomas Sampson described the issue that they were having with the Catholic mass as 'thre euels moste notable and to a Christian conscience intollerable'.¹⁵⁴ According to Sampson, the Catholic Sacraments, especially the Mass, were so idolatrous that they 'can not but abhorre it' by the 'Christian conscience'.¹⁵⁵ He especially criticised the fact that during the Mass the Catholic priest alone ate the bread and drank the wine, which was against Christ's teachings, as 'Christe in hys institution apoynteth thys supper too he selebrate of the whole cogregacion'.¹⁵⁶ The Catholic Mass went against God's will and was therefore not bearable for the Christian conscience. Taking part in them as a Nicodemite would, therefore, be sinful. Consequently, being in Catholic England where doing so would be the only way to survive would be a constant challenge for their Christian souls. The 'embrace [of] Poperie' was equal to the 'fall from the Gospell' and endangered Christian salvation. Therefore, it would not be possible to 'embrace Popery and the

¹⁵² This kind of referencing was quite common for Heinrich Bullinger, as can be seen in: S-P. Bergjan, 'Bullinger und die griechischen Kirchenväter in der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzung', *Zwingliana*, 31 (2004), pp. 133-160; A. Schindler, 'Bullinger und die lateinischen Kirchenväter', *Zwingliana*, 31 (2004), pp. 161-177.

¹⁵³ R. Horne, 'Grace / peace / and mercye', sig. Ciiv.

¹⁵⁴ T. Sampson, *A letter to the tre professors of Christes Gospell*, sig. Aiiiiv.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. sig. Avv.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. sig. Avv-Avir.

Gospel' because the Catholic mass was the 'deface of Christes deathe'.¹⁵⁷ Consequently, those who claimed to inwardly follow the right doctrine but outwardly attended the Catholic mass were wrong in their beliefs about being rightful Christians. Moreover, it was considered to be pure sin and a betrayal of Christ's sacrifice for humanity. Staying in England would have meant moving away from the gospel and betraying Christ's sacrifice, which could have meant the survival of the body but meant the death of their Christian conscience. In view of this, staying in England and conforming threatened both their mortal lives and their immortal souls. Therefore, to protect their Christian soul, the Marian Protestants were forced either to die as martyrs or to go into exile where they could worship God according to his commandments. Anti-Nicodemism was not, as the example of the continental writings show, new to the English Protestants. It was used as a polemical tool against Catholicism and the Catholic mass before and after the Marian period.¹⁵⁸ These texts were not singular in terms of their Catholic polemics and criticism of the mass; in fact many of the Elizabethan religious writings argued against Catholic rites and sacraments in relation to establishing a traditional Church in England or their zeal for further reform of the English Church.¹⁵⁹ In openly criticising the Catholic Mass and its rites, the English Protestants gave clear confessional statements and emphasised that the Protestant Church was the only true Church. Denouncing the Catholic mass as sinful would support and justify the exiles' position regarding why they had to leave England and its false and sinful Church.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. sig. Biiiiir.

¹⁵⁸ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, pp. 11 et sub.

¹⁵⁹ See: J. Jewel; Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or answer in defence of the true Church of England, with a briefe and plaine declaration of the true Religion professed and used in the same* (London, 1564). The thirty-nine articles make clear distinctions from Catholicism when promoting justification by faith rather than works and calling out Catholic sacraments as unlawful: T.W.J. Kirby (ed.), 'The Articles of Religion of the Church of England (1563/1571) commonly called >Thirty-Nine Articles<', in A. Mühling, P. Opitz (eds), *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2009), pp. 371-410.

In 1553, John Hooper, the future Marian martyr, wrote that belief was based both on outward and inward confession on scripture. According to Romans 10, true faith requires both the ‘hert’ as well as the ‘Confession of the mouth’.¹⁶⁰ When a Christian’s ‘conscience’ causes them to assume that something is ‘idolatry’ then it should also be avoided via their ‘external presence’.¹⁶¹ This also includes having a communal responsibility towards one’s ‘brethren’, because, ‘When ye sinne so against the brethren, and wound their weake coscience, ye sinne against Christ.’¹⁶² Evidently, every single Christian has a responsibility to think about the weaker Christians who might be influenced by their behaviour. This argument can most likely be seen as a reaction to the Nicodemites’ suggestion that they would do their neighbours favours and protect the weak.¹⁶³ Hooper further argued that according to 1 Corinthians 3 and 4, the human body is the temple of the Holy Ghost.¹⁶⁴ He meant that every human body is God’s temple, and therefore, when a Christian influences their brethren in a negative way, they automatically also sin against God. Hooper clearly believed that it is a greater sin to not act according to one’s beliefs than to not know the true God. Again, he based his arguments on the letter to the Corinthians: ‘S. Paull was not offended with the Corinthians because thei lacked knowledge of the true God: but because contrary to their knowledge, thei associated theselues with idolatores’.¹⁶⁵ According to this, not only is it a sin to be a Catholic or a Nicodemite, but it is equally wrong to ‘associate’ oneself with such people when one knows their religious stance. If it is a sin even to be associated with such a sinner, then, consequently, a Christian

¹⁶⁰ J. Hooper, *VVhether Christian faith maye be kepte secret in the heart, without confession thereof openly to the worlde as occasion shal serue Also what hurt co[m]meth by the[m] that hath receiued the Gospell, to be prese[n]t at Masse vnto the simple and vnleatned [sic]* (London, 1553), sig. Aiiir.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. sig. Aiiiv.

¹⁶² Ibid. sig. Aiiiv.

¹⁶³ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 104.

¹⁶⁴ J. Hooper, *VVhether Christian faith*, sig. Aiiir.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. sig. Aviiir.

must separate themselves from perceived sinners. Also, regarding protecting the weaker brethren, staying in a place full of temptation would also be sinful. Therefore, it could be assumed that exile would be a necessary step to take to protect one's conscience.

The importance to the Marian exiles of separating themselves from any Catholic rites is also portrayed in Sandys' preamble to his will in 1587. He stressed that even though the mortal body is nothing more than a 'clod of clay, a prison of my soul', he would not want to be 'buried neither in superstitious nor superfluous manner'. He explained this by using the same argument as Hooper had many years before, saying that the human body is 'not only a vessel of the gospel, but likewise a temple of the Holy Ghost'.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, the mortal body must be protected from false doctrine even in death. Sandys also used this metaphor during his lifetime. In a sermon that he had delivered during his time in Strasbourg, he stressed that all humans belong to God via their body and their spirit. In this respect, all humans are 'of the household of God'.¹⁶⁷ Sampson also emphasised the importance of Christ's sacrifice in relation to the connection between body and soul. According to him, both belong to God, 'not onelye by creacion but brought also by redempcion' through 'Christes bloude'. Therefore, if humans engage in Catholic worship with the human body, they would 'not glorifie God' in the human 'bodies'.¹⁶⁸ This meant that the redemption the Marian exiles were hoping for was closely connected to the right worship that was done with both body and soul. If they failed to do so, they would risk their salvation and dishonour Christ's sacrifice for them. Obviously, the Marian exiles and martyrs stressed the importance of both the mortal body and the immortal soul, because not

¹⁶⁶ E. Sandys, 'Preamble to the Archbishop's Will. Dated August 1, 1587', in John Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 446-449, p. 447.

¹⁶⁷ E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough', p. 293.

¹⁶⁸ T. Sampson, *A letter to the tre professors of Christes Gospell*, sig. Vr.

only did both belong to God but both connected them with God. By using their mortal bodies towards the wrong worship, they would sin against God and work against the edification of his true church. Therefore, it was imperative to find an environment in which they could follow God's providence and worship in a Protestant service with both their bodies and their souls.

The soul and the body are also connected in the discussion of inner and outward worship. One reason for the need for both the inward and the outward worship, involving both the mortal body and the immortal soul is given in Vermigli's *Treatise of the Cohabitacyon*, which was published in English in 1555 in Strasbourg. According to Vermigli, there were two 'kinds of Idolatries', one of the 'mynde' and the other of the 'bodie'.¹⁶⁹ The idolatry of the mind consisted of not truly believing in God, doing God wrong through 'false doctrine', and engaging in wrong inner worship. Outward idolatry meant to 'worshippe god other wise then he wilbe worshipped', which would also include Catholic worship. According to this theory, Nicodemites were committing 'Idolatrie of mynd and bodie'. On the one hand, they engaged in the obvious outward Catholic worship, but on the other hand they 'persuade them selues that it is lawfull for them so to do'.¹⁷⁰ Vermigli compared this issue with examples from the bible. In 1 Kings 19, God accuses some of the Israelites of worshipping Baal. During this worship they kneel and kiss Baal. As Vermigli noted, God mentions outward signs of worship here that he disagrees with. Consequently, God requires both outward and inward worship that is directed solely at him and not at any other deity. Moreover, he requires a 'pure' 'mynde and bodye'.¹⁷¹ Therefore, the necessity of the right and proper worship of both body and soul, with inward and out

¹⁶⁹ P. Martyr Vermigli, *A Treatise of the Cohabitacyon*, sig. 23v-24r.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. sig. 24r.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. sig. 24v.

outward confession, has already been defined in the scripture. This means that even if Christians like the Nicodemites convinced themselves that only one form of worship would be enough, the authority of the scripture said otherwise.

Obviously, Nicodemism was not an alternative for the Marian exiles. By following the expertise of continental theologians such as Peter Martyr Vermigli, Jean Calvin and Heinrich Bullinger, the Marian exiles agreed on the fact that Nicodemism was sinful. Accepting it would have meant dishonouring God and Christ's sacrifice. If they followed it they would have risked their redemption. Even pretending to be Catholic and only inwardly worshipping the right way was idolatrous, because the Old Testament had already proven that God requires both inward and outward worship. There was no 'halfway' worship for God. The Marian exiles saw this kind of worship as a crime against their Christian conscience, a crime and sin that was so bad that even any involvement with such a Nicodemite was understood as being a sin. Therefore, the Marian Protestants had to distance themselves from such idolatry. To have a chance of salvation, they had to follow true worship. This was something that they could not do in Marian England, which meant that for the sake of their Christian conscience they were forced to go into exile.

4.3. Position towards Martyrdom

Because Nicodemism was obviously understood as a sin, martyrdom would have been a well-considered option for the Marian exiles. In their Marian and Elizabethan writings, the exiles also portrayed themselves as types of martyrs and created an identity and ethos of a persecuted elected people.¹⁷² In their flight and persecution the exiles were facing worldly dangers in order to stay true to their Christian faith and conscience and were following the example of Christ. Because the Marian exiles viewed providence as described in this thesis

¹⁷²See: C. Law, 'Compromise Refashioned', p. 257; P. Marshall, 'Settlement Patterns', p. 47.

previously, the saw exile as part of God's providential plan. This section will explore why, in going into exile, the Marian exiles decided against death in favour of a life in Christ on Earth. In doing so, they were able to continue their studies and to build a Protestant Church, something they would not have been able to do, of course, had they pursued martyrdom.

The Marian exiles were certainly aware about the English martyrs. After all, many had worked closely with them before the Marian regime, and they also continued to correspond with the imprisoned martyrs from exile.¹⁷³ Elizabethan publications that retrospectively commented on the Marian period, such as Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, compared the Marian martyrs and exiles to the martyrs of ancient times. Those kinds of writings were supposed to 'inspire readers to' follow Christ in their way of life.¹⁷⁴ As previously noted, the imprisoned martyrs were constantly mentioned in letters and even during exile, Foxe and other exiles such as Grindal, Pilkington and Sampson were working on a history of England and its martyrs which later on would become Foxe's famous *Acts and Monuments*.¹⁷⁵ Martyrs such as Cranmer and Hooper who were mentioned in these letters were those who had already been very influential during their lifetime. Their opinion on ecclesiastical matters played a central role in the debates on establishing a Reformed Church in exile. The positions on the Edwardian vestment controversy were also

¹⁷³ See for example: 'Grindal to Bishop Ridley (6 May 1555)'.

¹⁷⁴ T.S. Freeman, 'Over their Dead Bodies: Concepts of Martyrdom in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', in T.S. Freeman, T.F. Mayer (eds), *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England c. 1400-1700* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 1-34, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ 'Grindal to Foxe (19 December 1558)', in W. Nicholson (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D. Successively Bishop of London, and Archbishop of York and Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 237-238, p. 237; 'Grindal to Foxe (28 November 1557)', in W. Nicholson (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D. Successively Bishop of London, and Archbishop of York and Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 228-230; 'Grindal to Foxe (28 December 1557)', in W. Nicholson (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D. Successively Bishop of London, and Archbishop of York and Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 232-236, pp. 232, 234.

central to the definition of the exiles' arguments on conformity, liturgy and ecclesiology.¹⁷⁶

For example, the opposing party stressed Cranmer's authorship of the Prayer Book in its defence.¹⁷⁷ Evidently, the Marian exiles thought highly of the Marian martyrs, and as their letters show, they were closely following the examples of their faith.

The theological treatises and reports that were written by the Marian exiles seem to use the vocabulary of martyrdom more often than their letters. The printed and published treatises were meant to be read by a bigger audience than the letters and the writers of them had different intentions. John Scory emphasised in 1555 that because of the murdered Protestants, 'goddes churche was neuer in any age more happye and more blessed, then she is now'.¹⁷⁸ Clearly, he valued those martyrs very highly, to the extent that their presence made God's heavenly church an even more 'blessed' church than it was before. From a theological perspective, he stressed their sacrifice even further. He said that via this sacrifice they had 'confirmed, the true catholike doctrine of Christes moste holy gospel' and therefore had emphasised for everyone else the 'immortal and yndefyled [life] in heauen'.¹⁷⁹ By dying for this admirable cause, the martyrs not only deserved a 'fellowship of the most holy prophets' but had also made everyone else aware of the heavenly life in God's true Church.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, their suffering was an example of following Christ's example. Following Christ therefore meant suffering persecution as the only way to true life.¹⁸¹ While this text clearly sees the Marian martyrs as being in the fellowship of biblical martyrs, it also has a very personal touch to it. Just like in a prayer, Scory addressed

¹⁷⁶ *A Brief discourse*, p. xlii. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter of this thesis.

¹⁷⁷ 'Strasbourg Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Exile Congregation (23 November 1554)', *A Brief discourse*, pp. xxii-xxiii, p. xxii.

¹⁷⁸ J. Scory, *AN EPISTLE wrytten by John Scory*, sig. A2v.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* sig. A3v.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* sig. A4r.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* sig. A6r.

Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, Sanders and others.¹⁸² Whilst this results in a more dramatic effect, it also provides a personal note for those who knew those martyrs.

Nonetheless, Scory did not claim that death was the only way to follow Christ's or God's will. In fact, when he addressed following Christ's example, he did not use the word death but 'persecution'. Therefore, even the exiles could follow Christ by suffering in their own way. Moreover, he continued defending the choice of exile in his writing. He stressed that the exiles were leaving their work and properties to 'merciless straungers, and bloody papists'. However, while they might be upset that they were being forced, or as he put it 'compelled to forsake' their 'natiue countre', he asserted that they were supposed to 'remember that the holl earthe is the lordes'.¹⁸³ In his opinion, the exiles did not choose exile; they were compelled to leave their native country. Also, no matter where they ended up, it would be and always had been God's land, because all of the earth is God's. Hence, it must be God's will that they were going into exile with God, who would certainly always be on their side. In their fate of exile, the Marian exiles were in the same position that David once was. He 'was compelled thorowe the tyranny of Saul' and, even more importantly, Jesus himself had to flee 'Herodes ambycious tyranny'.¹⁸⁴ If both David and Jesus needed to flee, then flight from a tyrant would never be a sign of weakness but instead, as both examples show, a matter of necessity and God's will. Both David and Jesus had to survive in order to bring greatness to the people. David returned and became not only the most important king but is also named in Jesus's genealogy at the beginning of Matthew.¹⁸⁵ Scory argued further that the 'same God that helped Dauid, and the babe

¹⁸² Ibid. sig. A3r.

¹⁸³ Ibid. sig. A6r.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. sig. A7v.

¹⁸⁵ GNV, Matthew 1:6.

Christ' was now helping the Marian exiles and would also take them back to England.¹⁸⁶

Clearly Scory expected the Catholic regime to end at some point, and if that happened, the Marian Protestants would have to be alive to bring greatness, or in their case bring the Protestant Church back to England.

Similar to Scory's text, many of the exiles' writings tend to have an apologetic tone that defends the decision to go into exile. This is the case in texts such as the previously mentioned anonymous text on the troubles that flight would bring, as well as in texts written by Peter Martyr Vermigli.¹⁸⁷ Vermigli, whom many of the exiles would have turned to for guidance on their flight, did not deny the importance of martyrdom at all. In fact, in 1555 he argued that a Christian should 'Feare not hym that killithe the bodie' but instead should be aware of those who 'can throwe the soule into euerlastinge fire'. Furthermore, Christian martyrs were part of the 'church of christe'.¹⁸⁸ Nonetheless, the first argument could also count for the Marian exiles. After all, they stressed often enough that they had gone into exile to preserve their Christian conscience, and therefore they feared God more than a worldly ruler. In his letter on persecution, Vermigli concluded that not everyone is made for the same fate: some might be chosen for martyrdom, but for others flight might be the right path. Ultimately, what they all have in common is that they suffer in persecution.¹⁸⁹ In response to the accusations that the fear of death might be sinful, Vermigli answered that even Christ 'underwent for us death but also his horror of death brought us salvation'. Not only does Christ fear death, but his fear of death also plays a role in the salvation process; it certainly demonstrates that he was truly human. It shows

¹⁸⁶ J. Scory, *AN EPISTLE wrytten by John Scory*, sig. A7v.

¹⁸⁷ Anonym, *An apologie or defence agaynst the calumnacion*; P. Martyr Vermigli, '[1073] Letter No. 5 To a Certain Friend'.

¹⁸⁸ P. Martyr Vermigli, *A Treatise of the Cohabitacyon*, p. 16v.

¹⁸⁹ P. Martyr Vermigli, '[1073] Letter No. 5 To a Certain Friend', p. 76.

that fear in itself is not wrong, especially since it is an ‘emotion of the mind and a work of God’.¹⁹⁰ Humans, though, tend to fear wrongly, not as the ‘divine law requires’, and through this they sin when they are feeling fearful.¹⁹¹ Therefore, even fear should manifest as ‘God’s will’. On the basis of Paul, Vermigli argued that it completely depends on the situation and the individual whether flight or martyrdom would be the right path, but as long as flight ‘is undertaken for the glory of God’ it would not be sinful. Instead, he warned of the dangers that portraying flight as sin would provide. If someone fears flight due to the prospect of sinning and would be afraid of the deathly path of martyrs, they would be more likely to be drawn to the truly sinful life of Nicodemism.¹⁹²

In his article on flight and persecution Wright briefly mentions an incident in which the future martyr Rowland Taylor was advised to flee in order to prevent the loss of a minister who would be needed again in the future.¹⁹³ Besides noting Lee’s answer, which is that he would have been too old to be of any help in the future Church and instead would consider his fleeing as fleeing from Christ’s word, Wright does not examine the incident further.¹⁹⁴ However, this example demonstrates that flight did indeed offer possibilities to work towards God’s will that the death of a martyr would not offer. The incident is also quoted in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*: Taylor’s friends were arguing that fleeing would be profitable to ‘keepynge your selfe agaynste another tyme, when the Churche shall haue great neede of such diligent teachers, and godlye Pastours’.¹⁹⁵ Exile was therefore considered a way to keep ministers available for some time after England’s punishment. In

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 69.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p. 70.

¹⁹² Ibid. pp. 71-72.

¹⁹³ Wright actually refers to the martyr George Marsh; however, the incident that is taken from Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* refers to Rowland Taylor: J. Wright, ‘Marian Exiles’, p. 223.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 223.

¹⁹⁵ J. Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (1563 edition) (The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011), online accessible: www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe, [accessed 23 May 2022], vi, 40, p. 1136.

his biography of Grindal, Collinson has explained that if there were enough ministers then it would be acceptable that some would stay in England and be persecuted, and it would be reasonable for others to save their lives and maybe also offer a chance for other Protestants to follow them as a shepherd figure.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, if ministers remained alive they could continue serving their flock on Earth. According to Collinson, this was also the reason for Grindal to leave England, while Ridley got imprisoned and had the prospect of a certain death; Grindal left for exile in order to be a minister in a future Protestant England.¹⁹⁷

However, there is also evidence that going into exile was not only helping to preserve ordained ministers for a future Protestant English Church, but it could also be considered to be a training school for future clergy. The clergy and the students that decided to flee were studying under leading theologians like Vermigli and Bullinger and preparing themselves to become well-educated ministers for their English brethren.¹⁹⁸ In February 1554, Vermigli wrote to Bullinger about a large group of incoming exiled students ‘whom many godly merchants are bringing up to learning, that, should it please God to restore religion up to its former state in that kingdom, they may be of some benefit to the church of England’.¹⁹⁹ He certainly saw potential in these students, who could help reform England in the future as long as it would serve God’s will. Bullinger, who seemed to share this view, wrote about the English students at Zurich that ‘there is no doubt but that they will be a benefit and advantage to the renowned kingdom of England’.²⁰⁰ In his letter about his own flight, Vermigli stressed that if flight was ‘undertaken for the glory of God’ they would be able to ‘see the fellowship of holy people’ and live ‘in a well-reformed

¹⁹⁶ P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal*, p. 68.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 69.

¹⁹⁸ ‘Edmund Grindal to Richard Cox (06 November 1554)’, *Letters from Exile*; ‘Grindal to Bishop Ridley (6 May 1555)’, p. 239.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Peter Martyr to Henry Bullinger (24 February 1554)’, *Original Letters II*, pp. 512-515, p. 514.

²⁰⁰ ‘Henry Bullinger to Certain Englishmen (24 August 1554)’, *Original Letters II*, pp. 747-750, p. 748.

Church'.²⁰¹ Indeed, in 1554 the English exiles in Zurich told the Frankfurt congregation that their studies would help to 'edify' the church.²⁰² In 1557, in a letter sent from his exile in Aarau, Lever requested Bullinger to 'continue therefore to edify the church of the Lord by your unwearied labours and studies'.²⁰³ While this phrasing could simply have been intended to compliment Bullinger, it definitely also revealed the sentiment that theological studies and pastoral care were needed to further edify the church. The importance of establishing a Reformed church and taking part in Reformed worship is exemplified in the whole debate about the Troubles at Frankfurt.²⁰⁴ When taking into account the fact that the Marian exiles split over the question of how, when and where to establish a Reformed church and liturgy, it becomes clear that martyrdom would not have been an option for them, because in death they would not have been able to establish a properly reformed Church on Earth, in exile or in England.

There was surely no clear indication about when God would end his punishment of England; however, as the examples written by Scory and Horne had made clear, the Catholic regime was considered to be only temporary. Hence, they expected to be able to return to England and had to consider their future.²⁰⁵ Collinson has argued that the exiles' hopes for a speedy return vanished with the events of Wyatt's rebellion in 1554.²⁰⁶ However, this did not diminish the exiles' hopes for a complete end to the persecution, and the exiled writer Bartholomew Traheron expressed this hope in a warning that he wrote to the English people and that he had published in Wesel in 1558. He ended his text, which

²⁰¹ P. Martyr Vermigli, '[1073] Letter No. 5 To a Certain Friend', p. 71.

²⁰² 'Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (27 October 1554)'.

²⁰³ 'Thomas Lever and Others to Henry Bullinger (5 October 1557)', p. 170.

²⁰⁴ *A Brief discourse*.

²⁰⁵ J. Scory, *AN EPISTLE wrytten by John Scory*, sig. A7v; R. Horne, 'Grace / peace / and mercye', sig. Aiir.

²⁰⁶ 'Grindal to Bishop Ridley, 6 May 1555'.

was full of warnings about their tyrannical queen and the sin of idolatrous worship, with words of hope: that after all the sinning ended God would have mercy upon them and ‘that yet his people maie be herboured in Englande, that yet his gospel maie sounde, and haue free course in Englande’.²⁰⁷ However, no matter how soon the return to their native country might be, the intention that they had to be prepared for a future English Church was to be important for the time of the punishment as well as for the unclear future. Having well-educated ministers would help to edify the English Church in exile and after.²⁰⁸ Grindal expressed in his letter to Ridley the necessity of having educated ministers in exile: after the church that had settled down in Frankfurt had been ‘quieted by the prudence of Master Coxe, and others’, he assumed that ‘in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundred students and ministers on this side of the seas’.²⁰⁹ He hoped that because ‘God hath provided for such as will flee forth of Babylon a resting-place, where they may truly serve him, and hear the voice of their true pastor’, the English Church would be saved.²¹⁰ Therefore, the survival of the ministers was important for a future Protestant England in exile because they were essential for a functional church in terms of both a congregation and a prayer community. It can also be assumed that even if the existing ordained ministers doubted that they would return to a Protestant England themselves, in exile they would be able to train up the next generation of reformed clergy.

²⁰⁷ B. Traheron, *A vvarning to England*.

²⁰⁸ The importance of an exile church will be discussed further in the next chapter. Various letters speak about the importance of educated ministers for any kind of church, whether in exile or later in England; see, for example: ‘Edmund Grindal to William Whittingham (11 August 1554)’, *Letters from Exile*; ‘Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (13 October 1554)’, ‘Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (27 October 1554)’

²⁰⁹ ‘Grindal to Bishop Ridley, 6 May 1555’, p. 239.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 239.

The Marian exiles did not argue against martyrdom in general, but they did stress that it was not an option for everyone. In fact, they themselves were facing similar if not worse fates than the martyrs. Their texts were clear in making the point that both martyrs and exiles suffered, but the exiles had to wait longer to become part of God's eternal congregation. When the texts of the exiles are read, it seems that they wanted the reader to know that they did not go into exile because it was their decision, but because exile was part of God's providential plan. Consequently, for the Marian exiles it was important to stay alive to work directly and indirectly for the edification and future reform of the English Church. According to the post-exile report of John Foxe, the exiles had been successful in this undertaking. He reported that among the exiles

great part was of students and learned men, such as nowe be for the most part Byshops, Deane, Archdeacons, or Ministers, rulyng and instructing the church of England. Such was the prouision of God, so mercyfullye then to prouide for the tymes to follow.²¹¹

5. Conclusion

Obviously, neither martyrdom nor Nicodemism were options for the Marian exiles. One would have prevented them from reforming the present or future Church, and the other would have been a sin. Catholic England and the Protestants need to conform and become Nicodemites if they wanted to continue living there endangered their Christian consciences. Therefore, they were convinced that God wanted them to flee this sinful place with its false religion so that one day they could return and establish the true Church and religion back in England.

²¹¹ J. Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (1563 edition) (The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011), online accessible: www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe, [accessed 23 May 2022], vi, 204, p. 1750.

The events that were happening in Marian England, such as the imprisonments and executions of the Marian martyrs, were closely watched, first in England and then from continental exile. The letters and treatises written by those exiled Protestants are testimonies to their awareness of the events that were going on in Marian England. They are not only evidence of the Marian exiles' awareness of the events that were happening in England and of the dangers there but also served to justify their reasons for exile. The exiles were very literate and continued to stay informed about the English political and religious events from the beginning of their exile until its end.

From the beginning of the Marian reign onwards there were concerns about the impact that this Catholic regime would have. Hooper wrote to Bullinger from prison about his concerns: not only had the mass been restored to England and preaching was forbidden, but he also saw the Protestant clergy as being in great danger. He wrote that 'all godly preachers are placed in the greatest danger: those who have not yet known by experience the filthiness of a prison, are hourly looking for it'.²¹² Hooper was clearly not the only one who viewed the new situation with much horror; in November 1553, Julius Terentianus, who acted as a link between the English and Zurich theologians until the Elizabethan regime, described the situation in England to John ab Ulmis as 'purgatory' and reported that every Protestant family 'was in great distress'.²¹³ In November 1554, Erkynwald Rawlins informed Richard Chambers about the imprisoned English Protestants and the final arrival of Reginald Pole.²¹⁴ In 1558, at the end of the exile, Edwin Sandys, who was briefly imprisoned at the beginning of Mary's reign, wrote a letter to Heinrich Bullinger. In it he said that now that both Mary and Pole were dead it would be safe to return to

²¹² 'John Hooper to Henry Bullinger (03 September 1553)', *Original Letters*, pp. 100-101, p. 100.

²¹³ 'Julius Terentianus to John ab Ulmis (20 November 1553)', *Original Letters*, pp. 365-374, p. 369, p. 373.

²¹⁴ 'Erkynwald Rawlins to Richard Chambers (24 November 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

England.²¹⁵ Clearly, an England in which Mary and Pole were making religious and political decisions was not an England that Sandys thought he would have had a chance to survive in.

As the section on martyrdom has shown, Sandys and his fellow exiles would not have been able to establish a true reformed Church in a future Protestant England had they died for their cause. Therefore, being in exile, if not a free choice, was the only way that they could follow God's will. As Sandys' Strasbourg sermon shows, he was convinced that this was not his decision but God's providence that led the way.²¹⁶ Clearly, not only the English but also their continental allies thought that God was testing them with this situation, but only temporarily. Moreover, Bullinger and Vermigli, as well as other continental theologians, were actively involved in preparing the future generation of English Protestant clergy.

An unnamed exile described how Marian England had lost its position of being a godly kingdom. Instead, it was now described as a sinful realm:

wherein trew relygion is altered into supersticion, the worde of God into mens traditions, the holy Sacraments into blasphemous sacrifices and superstitious Ceremonies, and the trew worshipping of god into execrable ydolatrie, wherin thy faythful naturall natyf Kyng is chaunged into a superstitious vnnaturall forreyne Prince.²¹⁷

This ungodly state gave the Marian Protestants every reason to fear for their immortal souls. Thus, if they had stayed in this ungodly kingdom, they would have had to follow a

²¹⁵ 'Edwin Sandys to Heinrich Bullinger (20 December 1558)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 3-6, p. 3.

²¹⁶ E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough'.

²¹⁷ W. Musculus, *The Tem/porysour*, sig. Aiiir.

ruler who, according to Traheron, acted ‘vnnaturally, and vnmercifully’ and had betrayed her ‘natiue countree & make the [country and its people] subiecte to a popish proude, vnmerciful, and vngodlie nation’.²¹⁸ Hence the exiles would not have been able to carry out God’s will without risking their immortal lives.

In 1554, Thomas Sampson reflected on the situation in Marian England from his exile in Strasbourg. He wrote that in Marian England ‘the trew preaching of Christes Gospel’ had been ‘bannished and mans doctrine’ was now ‘taughte with lyes & fables’.²¹⁹ The dangers of these false teachings and preaching would put the salvation of those who heard them at risk.²²⁰ This is not only an argument against Nicodemism, but it shows the real danger that everyone who had stayed in Marian England was in. After all, it is a common and key Protestant belief that salvation is only possible through God’s grace and by hearing the gospel.²²¹ Sampson also stressed that the Catholic Church’s biggest ‘error’ was that it did not accept the *sola scriptura* doctrine; instead it emphasised ‘the voice of the church’.²²² Any English Protestants who had stayed in England would have had to follow this, and this meant they would have neglected Christ, who was seen as the only ‘mediator’ that could stand ‘between God and man’.²²³ Consequently, they had to leave England to preserve Christ’s legacy and their salvation.

The anonymous exile had emphasised in his text that it would have been better to be in a place of pure ministry and to have a ‘pure conscience’ than to be in a safe place under false pretences.²²⁴ Moreover, according to him it was not even possible to ‘heare’

²¹⁸ B. Traheron, *A vvarning to England*, sig. Aiiiiv, Avr.

²¹⁹ T. Sampson, *A letter to the tre professors of Christes Gospell*, sig. Aiir.

²²⁰ Ibid. sig. Aiiv.

²²¹ Ibid. sig. Biiv.

²²² Ibid. sig. Biir.

²²³ Ibid. sig. Aviiiiv.

²²⁴ Anonym, *An apologie or defence agaynst the calumnacion*, sig. Aiiv.

‘the voice of oure shepherde Christ’ in Marian England, which was why he ‘& other men’ went into exile, though he did not describe this as a choice, but as seeking Christ. He went into exile in order ‘to seke oure shepherd christ that we might heare his voice and participate his sacraments purely ministred according to his holy worde’.²²⁵ Not only did he have to leave England to seeke Christ, but also to follow his ‘worde’. Evidently, he did not think that he would be able to follow Christ’s orders, which included receiving the sacraments and hearing the gospel rightfully ministered, in England. It was not he who made this decision or who would have chosen exile, but it was Christ. Like Vermigli’s opinion expressed earlier, for this exile flight was not a sin or a choice – it was for the ‘glory of God’.²²⁶ Furthermore, in their letters to the continental reformers, the English exiles described their exile as being forced upon them and constantly stressed that it was done for religious reasons. In December 1554, Banks wrote that they were ‘in exile from our country for the sake of God’s word’.²²⁷ In another letter from March 1555, he more directly explained their situation, calling the reason for their exile ‘the change of religion in their own country’.²²⁸ Thomas Lever, writing to Bullinger from Bern in 1556, stated that they were ‘exiled’ because of their ‘faithful profession of Christ’.²²⁹ While the passive construction of being in exile would leave room for speculation, Lever became more direct in a later letter in which he wrote of a ‘banishment from England’.²³⁰ As shown in the introduction to this chapter, in many ways the portrayal of being martyred and persecuted served the purpose of finding safety, first in exile and then being accepted back in Elizabethan England; however, considering the efforts that the exiles made to go into exile

²²⁵ Ibid. sig. Aviv.

²²⁶ Look at: P. Martyr Vermigli, ‘[1073] Letter No. 5 To a Certain Friend’, p. 71.

²²⁷ ‘John Banks to Henry Bullinger (09 December 1554)’, pp. 306-307, p. 306.

²²⁸ ‘Sir John Cheke to Henry Bullinger (12 March 1555)’, *Original Letters*, pp. 145-147, p. 145.

²²⁹ ‘Thomas Lever to Henry Bullinger (12 March 1556)’, *Original Letters*, pp. 162-163, p. 162.

²³⁰ ‘Thomas Lever to Henry Bullinger (27 May 1556)’, *Original Letters*, pp. 163-164, p. 163.

and also their deep theological backgrounds and beliefs, it can also be assumed that they believed in these theories that they fabricated. In fact, the theological and political texts analysed above regarding the aspects of flight, sin and divine punishment and the physical evidence of the imprisoned Protestants suggest that exile was probably a necessity for survival and to legitimate their flight for themselves and others as well as a reflection of a solid belief in themselves.

The analyses of this chapter have shown that because the exiles considered conforming to Mary's religious politics as sinful and that one should fear more for those who were able to destroy the immortal soul than for those who could destroy the mortal body, exile was a way to save their conscience and work towards the edification of the true Church.²³¹ Moreover, staying in England and practising religion according to God's will would have led to certain death, which the English exiles would have been aware of since the imprisonment of their leaders. This also meant that there would not have been a chance to establish a Reformed Church post-exile. Not establishing a proper Reformed Church was, as mentioned earlier, one of the reasons they were punished by having a Catholic queen in the first place. Therefore, going into exile was an inevitable providential plan of God that allowed them to preserve their lives either to work towards the reformation of a future church or to prepare a future generation to do this job.

This chapter is essential for the rest of this thesis as it analysed the religious and practical motivations for flight. As the later parts of this thesis will show, the ideas and doctrines that were developed or discussed during the time of the Marian exile and the flight

²³¹ See for example: P. Martyr Vermigli, *A Treatise of the Cohabitacyon*, p. 16v.

continued to be relevant in the early Elizabethan conformity debates and the discussions surrounding the issue of the establishment of the true Church.

CHAPTER 2: THE EXILE CONGREGATIONS

1. Introduction

This thesis argues that the fate of the English Protestants during the Marian persecution, and in particular the Marian exiles' networks and their debates about the nature of the true Church, which are analysed in this chapter, were foundational experiences for the formation of early Elizabethan compromist (and 'non-compromist') thought.

This chapter identifies and examines the different relationships between the Marian exiles and the continental theologians on ecclesiological and practical matters. Therefore it will be looking into the debates that were happening between the most vocal groups surrounding personalities such as the later bishop of Ely, Richard Cox, the bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury Edmund Grindal, the later bishop of York, Edwin Sandys, and those who would become the most important advocates against early Elizabethan conformity, such as William Whittingham, who later became dean of Durham and was a close ally of John Knox and Christopher Goodman in Marian exile and would ultimately conform in the late 1560s. This chapter will therefore identify characterisations of the group that would later be called conformists (or compromists, as this thesis proposes) and will highlight the main protagonists of the later debates. In the context of the whole thesis, the examination of these groups, their debates and ecclesiological position will show that the division of the Marian exiles but also later Elizabethan Protestants was not static but was constantly fluctuating, and therefore it will demonstrate that the parties that were formed in exile would not completely consist of the same individuals that would later reassemble the same or similar arguments. For example, some individuals that would

be part of the ‘Coxian’ party that resembled the Elizabethan compromist group would become loud advocates of the opposing party in Elizabethan England.

This chapter will show that as in the debates happening in early Elizabethan England, the key distinctions between the arguing parties were their ideas about the Church and the spiritual community, when and how the Church was supposed to be reformed and what they were willing to compromise on for the sake of their Church. Therefore, this chapter will explain how the experience of exile was a crucial step in the separation of the Marian exiles and the formation of the future early Elizabethan compromist party. Further, following on from the preceding chapter, this chapter will demonstrate that both of the parties involved in the ecclesiological debates that were happening in Frankfurt were driven by their zeal for preventing a repetition of their former sins and instead working towards the edification of the true Church. It has long been appreciated that the more radical party surrounding the Scottish reformer John Knox was not willing, just like the later non-conforming group, to compromise on things indifferent; the other party, which surrounded the future bishop of Ely Richard Cox, was focused on clerical education, edification and arguing for the establishment of a true English Church either according to their Edwardian examples in exile or in a future Elizabethan England. This chapter will emphasise that the overtly theological debates that were happening in Frankfurt formed an important part of the process of the formation of an English confessional identity, of the understanding of the nature and identification of the true Church, and the necessary qualifications of its ministers. Therefore, this chapter aims to move the historiographical focus from the more ‘radical’ side of the debate and to explore these debates and especially the positions of the ‘Coxians’ in more detail to add an importance nuance to our understanding of the issues at stake.

After a short historiographical discussion, this chapter will firstly examine the different exile networks, their nature and their impact on the exile congregation and education, and will argue that these networks had a major impact on the establishment of the exile congregations and the development of their theological and ecclesiological doctrines. Following this, an analysis of the ecclesiological debates of the Marian exiles will identify the key issues of the *Trouble at Frankfurt*, as well as the exiles' understanding of the visible markers of the true Church and of a spiritual community defined by the covenant with Christ. Finally, the chapter will examine the important role that preaching played for the Marian exiles. This will also contain an examination of the characteristics that the different congregations requested a good minister to have, followed by an analysis of the different positions towards liturgy and the use of the Prayer Book.

As early as five years after the Marian exile had ended, the Protestant writer John Foxe had published the English version of his *Acts and Monuments*. In this he not only described the fate of the Marian martyrs but also spoke of the nearly 1000 English Protestants who had fled Catholic persecution to 'Geneua', 'Arowe', 'Zurike', 'Basil', 'Strausborough', 'Wormes', 'Wynam castell', 'Frankeford', 'Dusbrough', 'Wesell' and to 'other places'.¹ Foxe's account was not the only Elizabethan publication that helped to create a narrative of the Marian exile and demonstrated how this experienced stayed alive in the English Protestants mindsets; *A Brieff discours of the Troubles begonne at Frankfurt* was published in the 1570s.² Until the 2012 publication of Timothy Duguid's *New Chronology*, which was based on Jane Dawson's recently discovered letters sent from exile, scholars had primarily based their research into Marian exiles on the *Troubles at*

¹ J. Foxe, *The Unabridge Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (1563 edition) (The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011), online accessible: www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe, [accessed 23 May 2022], vi, 204, p. 1750.

² *A Brieff discours*.

Frankfurt mentioned above.³ This narrative, the authorship of which has been questioned by Patrick Collinson, was written in the midst of the Elizabethan conformity debates.⁴ Although Collinson questioned whether it had really been written by the later dean of Durham William Whittingham, he agreed that the author must have at least been a member of the group surrounding the (perceived) radicals Knox and Whittingham.⁵ This is significant as the narrative reflected the bitterness that the author felt towards the debate that had occurred about 20 years prior. The authorship is of little importance to this thesis, but Sarah Bastow's warning that the narrative is a polemical and retrospective piece and therefore might portray only one side of the events is an important consideration.⁶

However, this does not make the narrative a less valuable source. Firstly, because it shows the lasting importance of the debates that took place in exile and their importance for the understanding of the development of not only non-conformist but also, as this chapter will argue, conformist thought. It also contains a critical collection of documents and letters that provide much detail about the nature of the different congregations, their networks and their positions on the establishment – or not – of a Church in exile. I will employ this source in combination with the letter collection newly discovered by Jane Dawson and the analyses of treatises by theologians such as Heinrich Bullinger and James Pilkington, as well as the existing sermons that Edwin Sandys had delivered during his time in Strasbourg.

³ T. Duguid, 'The 'Troubles' at Frankfurt'. The collection that is mentioned is part of the Goodman Letterbook and has been made available online here: *Letters from Exile*.

⁴ P. Collinson, 'The Authorship of A Brieff Discours off the Troubles Begonne at Franckford', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 9/2 (1958), pp. 188-208, p. 188.

⁵ Ibid. p. 189.

⁶ S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys and the Reform of the English Reformation* (New York and Abingdon, 2019), p. 28.

Considering the high level of interest that the Elizabethan authors had in the Marian exile and also the detailed narrative of the debates that had occurred in Frankfurt, it is no surprise that historians from the last 100 years such as Rudolph Jung, Christina H. Garrett, Euan Cameron and Karl Gunther have drawn out the events that were happening in Frankfurt in the years between 1554 and 1555 in great detail and in chronological order.⁷ The older scholarship of Garrett and Roland J. Vander Molen argues that the ‘origins’ of the ‘ideological division’ on politics, leadership and liturgy between the later ‘Puritans’ and the ‘Anglicans’ can be found in the debates that had happened in Frankfurt.⁸ However, more recent historians such as John Coffey also state that ‘Puritan nonconformity was born in exile’.⁹ This focus on the origins of puritanism might be caused by their focus on the more radical exiles such as John Knox and his companions who followed him to the Calvinist Geneva.¹⁰ This focus on ‘non-conformists’ has also dominated the research on Elizabethan Protestantism.¹¹ Therefore, this thesis and especially this chapter aim to focus on the more ‘moderate’ of the Marian exiles who gathered around Richard Cox during the

⁷ R. Jung, *Die englische Flüchtlings-Gemeinde in Frankfurt am Main 1554-1559* (Frankfurt, 1910); C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938); R.J. Vander Molen, ‘Anglican Against Puritan: Ideological Origins during the Marian Exile’, *Church History*, 42/1 (1973), pp. 45-57. Newer works include, E. Cameron, ‘Frankfurt and Geneva: The European Context of John Knox’s Reformation’, in R. Mason (ed.), *John Knox and the British Reformation* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 51-73; T. Duguid, ‘The ‘Troubles’ at Frankfurt: a new chronology’, *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 14/3 (2012), pp. 243-268; K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England 1525-1590* (Cambridge, 2014), chapter 5.

⁸ R.J. Vander Molen, ‘Anglican Against Puritan’, pp. 49-50. I am aware of these anachronistic terms and try to avoid using them in the discourse later in this thesis. The second part of the title of Garrett’s book *A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* implies this thought as well. C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*.

⁹ J. Coffey, ‘Exile and Return in Anglo-American Puritanism’, in Y. Kaplan (ed.), *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 289-313, p. 289.

¹⁰ On the exiles with strong links to Geneva, see: D.G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva 1555-1560s* (New York, 1999); J. Dawson, ‘Knox, Christopher Goodman and the Example of Geneva’, in P. Ha, P. Collinson (eds), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford/NY, 2010), pp. 107-135.

¹¹ Especially notable are the works on ‘moderation’ by E.H. Shagan, ‘The Battle for Indifference in Elizabethan England’, in L. Racaut, A. Ryrie (eds), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 122-144; P. Lake, *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church* (Cambridge, 1982); P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988); J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England. Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford, 1970); P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1967).

exile debates and who later supplied most of Elizabeth's first bench of bishops.¹² Even though individuals including Thomas Lever, Thomas Sampson and Laurence Humphrey had strong links to the theologians in Zurich and Strasbourg, they would be found in the opposing party during the early Elizabethan conformity debates. Nonetheless, it can generally be observed that these Protestants with the strongest links to Zurich and Strasbourg ended up becoming compromisers in Elizabethan England.¹³

While it does not deny the importance of the events that were happening at Frankfurt, newer scholarship such as that of Gunther and Angela Ranson rightfully argues for a more nuanced understanding of the lasting meaning of these debates. Arguing against the theory that puritanism was born in Marian exile, Gunther stresses that 'the Trouble at Frankfurt took place in a very different political and polemical context than the Elizabethan (or earlier Edwardian) debates over *adiaphora* and religious authority'.¹⁴ Hence, there was neither a 'distinctively "conformist"' nor a distinctively puritan position.¹⁵ Instead of viewing these debates on ceremonies as origins or 'foreshadowing' events, Gunther proposes seeing them as a 'bridge that connected' the Edwardian debates with the later Elizabethan debates.¹⁶ Arguing about the subject of unity, Ranson demonstrates that the English exiles that older scholarship had categorised as early puritans 'were distinct from the men' of the later Elizabethan years, because all of the involved parties in the exile debates 'aimed for unity in the church under the authority of the monarch', which was not important for the more radical-leaning puritans of the 1570s and

¹² The usage of this term here is not the same as the term 'moderate puritan', introduced by Peter Lake.

¹³ It was, notably, those former exiles that had spent time in Zurich and Strasbourg that took on leading clerical positions in Elizabethan England: W.P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a stable Settlement of Religion* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 27-28.

¹⁴ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 160.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 160.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 160, p. 171.

1580s.¹⁷ However, even though the Marian exiles were in a different situation in exile than they had been during the Edwardian or Elizabethan period, in view of the positions towards the monarchy and obedience that I have explored in the previous chapter, the ecclesiastical ideas formed and strengthened in exile were strongly connected to the exiles' former and future circumstances.

Ranson's study of the importance of unity for a functioning church and of unity as a characteristic of the exiles shows how the experience of exile impacted the exiles and future Elizabethan clergy as a national group.¹⁸ The debates that were happening in Frankfurt were the first glimpse of an internal English debate. However, as this chapter will argue, the debates that were happening in Frankfurt were also highly influenced by the exiles' international scholarly networks. It will be demonstrated that these networks were not only essential for accommodating and facilitating the Marian exile but also helped to develop theological and ecclesiological doctrines that dominated the exiles' discourse on the establishment of a true Church. Moreover, in practical terms, living in these Reformed communities helped the Marian exiles to get an understanding, on the one hand, of what kind of English Church they wanted, and on the other it took them from being only one national congregation to being part of the universal Protestant congregation of Christ. The close international connections that were built during the time of exile influenced both sides of the future Elizabethan debates and would help to define the early Elizabethan Church and its compromise.¹⁹ Therefore, since continental reformers such as Heinrich Bullinger and Peter Martyr Vermigli had a major impact on the Elizabethan controversies,

¹⁷ A. Ranson, 'The Marian Exile and Religious Self-Identity: Rethinking the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism', *Periochresis*, 13/1 (2015), pp. 17-36, p. 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 24.

¹⁹ This will be discussed further in the second part of this thesis.

it is crucial to explore the origins of the close relationships between the first generation of Elizabethan bishops and leading continental theologians. While the Marian exile might not have been the birthplace of either puritanism or compromise, its connections, along with the experience of divine punishment, did condition the future Elizabethan bishops' theological and ecclesiological doctrines, and these doctrines influenced not only the later non-conformists but also the early Elizabethan compromists.

This chapter will add to existing scholarship on the Marian exile by moving beyond the internal English debates and will illustrate how international networks and personal and professional relationships with international Protestants and Reformed congregations helped to accommodate and facilitate the Marian exile on the one hand and had a significant influence on the exiles' theological development on the other. This has been represented through the exiles' personal theological studies, their living in Reformed communities on the continent and their search for authorial approval and support during their debates. This chapter will also demonstrate that even though there had already been a schism during the Marian debates which foreshadowed the formation of the future compromist group, the parties that were formed in Marian exile did not yet consist of the same individuals as during the Elizabethan debates. This shows that the formation of the early Elizabethan compromist party was a slowly developing process that was closely connected with being willing to compromise and being able to define the terms of their Protestant identity.

2. Networks

Historians like Torrance Kirby, Carrie Euler and Dan Danner have already stressed the importance of the connections between English Protestants and the leading continental reformers Bullinger, Vermigli and Calvin before, during and after the Marian exile.²⁰ However, their studies do not generally include a detailed analysis of the broader make-up of the congregations and networks involved in the Marian exile. In fact, the work of historians such as Gunther and Duguid focuses foremost on the debates and does not examine the intra English or international networks further.²¹ This thesis argues that to better understand the debates that were happening in exile, it is important to consider the different exile congregations, their networks and their interactions with each other. It is therefore necessary to broaden the examination from case studies of individual exile congregations – such as Andrew Pettegree’s study of Emden and Danner’s of Geneva – and so this section will analyse the congregations in Frankfurt, Strasbourg and Zurich: it will examine their characteristics, their structures, the movement between them and how pre-existing networks facilitated and accommodated the Marian exile.²² It will demonstrate that the Marian exile and its debates would not have taken the forms they did had it not been for the influence of these international networks. Furthermore, this analysis of the exile congregations and relationships is vital for understanding the relationships between international theologians and the first generation of Elizabethan bishops: this includes especially the development of their theological ideas surrounding the true Church, compromise and conformity, which will be central in the second part of this thesis.

²⁰ T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connections and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007); D.G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism*; C. Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich 1531-1558* (Zurich, 2006).

²¹ See for example T. Duguid, ‘The ‘Troubles’ at Frankfurt’, R. Jung, *Die englische Flüchtlings-Gemeinde*; R.J. Vander Molen, ‘Anglican Against Puritan’; K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*.

²² A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism-Six Studies* (Aldershot, 1996), ch. 1, pp. 10-38; D.G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism*.

2.1. Edwardian Networks: Facilitating Exile

During the short reign of Edward VI, England became a haven for Protestant stranger churches and religiously persecuted theologians.²³ After the Schmalkaldic war and the Council of Augsburg in 1548, at least 4000 religious refugees had found their way to London.²⁴ For these persecuted Protestants, England became not just a place of refuge; for some, it became their home. Theologians such as Martin Bucer and Peter Martin Vermigli worked closely with English theologians such as Thomas Cranmer and taught their doctrines in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford.²⁵ As this section will demonstrate, it was the influence of international networks that facilitated the idea of Marian exile. At no stage of the Marian exile were the exiles on their own; they always had the support of the wider Reformed Protestant Church.

This part of the chapter emphasises that because of the existing connections to international religious exiles, the idea of exile was not completely new for those English Protestants that eventually found their way into continental exile. English Protestants had already left England during the regime of Henry VIII and had strengthened their connections to reformers on the continent.²⁶ While they were small in number, they counted amongst their number important Edwardian bishops like John Hooper and Miles

²³A. Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms 1485-1603* (Harlow, 2009), p. 155. On the stranger churches in England, especially London, see: A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986).

²⁴H.P. Jürgens, 'Die Vertreibung der reformierten Flüchtlingsgemeinden aus London. Jan Utenhoves >> Simplex et fidelis narratio<<', in H.P. Jürgens, T. Weller (eds), *Religion and Mobilität. Zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Göttingen, 2010), pp. 13-40, pp. 15-16.

²⁵K.R. MacMillan, 'Zurich Reform and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 68/3 (1999), pp. 285-311, p. 294.

²⁶A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII. Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 94. Ryrie has counted 'thirty-three men and four women' that fled into exile between 1539 and 1547. Letters between Henrician exiles like Hooper and Coverdale to reformers like Heinrich Bullinger and John Calvin mention the already existing networks and personal relationships between the English and continental theologians. See, for example: 'Miles Coverdale to John Calvin (26 March 1548)', *Original Letters*, pp. 31-31; 'John Hooper to Heinrich Bullinger (27 January ?1546)', *Original Letters*, pp. 33-38.

Coverdale.²⁷ Further, through the continental exiles that lived in Edwardian England, English Protestants were familiar with the broader context and reality of exile.²⁸ According to Andrew Pettegree, never before had such a huge group of religious exiles lived in England than during the reign of Edward VI.²⁹ This, however, was not a coincidence, but was a product of Thomas Cranmer's church policies and his zeal for creating a united Reformed Church in which England would have a leading position.³⁰ In a letter to John à Lasco, Cranmer made his intentions very clear: he had invited many 'learned and godly men', such as à Lasco and Philipp Melanchthon, in order to 'do away with all doctrinal controversies, and build up an entire system of true doctrine'.³¹ Knowing other Protestants who had faced the same experience must have been an inspiration and example for the Marian exiles. Living abroad was not easy, but as part of a greater international Protestant community, it was not an impossible task.

The stranger churches that had settled in Edwardian England had to agree to the doctrine and festive days of the Edwardian Church.³² Given that the stranger churches and the Edwardian Church were similar regarding matters concerning their respective Church and religion generally, it is not surprising that some members of these churches had close relationships.³³ Therefore, this thesis stresses that the deep impact that those Edwardian

²⁷ Ibid. p. 96.

²⁸ P. Marshall, 'Religious Exiles and the Tudor State', *Studies in Church History*, 43 (2007), pp. 263-284, p. 264.

²⁹ A. Pettegree, "'Thirty years on': Protestant towards integration amongst the immigrant population of Elizabethan London", in J. Chartres, D. Hey, (eds), *English Rural Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 297-312, p. 297.

³⁰ L. Hunt Youngblut, *Strangers Settled here amongst us: Policies, Perception and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London, 1996), pp. 15-16; D. MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', in *Journal of British Studies*, 30/1 (1991), pp. 1-19, p. 6.

³¹ 'Archbishop Cranmer to John a Lasco (4 July 1548)', *Original Letters*, pp. 16-18, p. 17.

³² J. Becker, *Gemeindeordnung und Kirchengründung: Johannes a Lasco's Kirchenordnung für London (1555) und die reformierte Konfessionsbildung*, (Leiden, 2007), p. 269.

³³ Even before the arrival of the stranger churches, Protestants like John Hooper were in contact with their clerical leaders. John Hooper, for example, married Valérand Poullain's sister-in-law: K. Gunther,

connections and networks had on the English Protestants is also evident in the continual contact between the Marian Protestants and the members of the stranger churches. Not only were these Edwardian stranger churches examples of functional exile congregations, but the established networks also helped the Marian exiles during their own exile: after the dispute in Frankfurt, it was the former leader of the Edwardian Dutch congregation, John à Lasco – who also functioned as mediator during the troubles – who helped the exiles who were standing behind Christopher Goodman to find a new place to travel to.³⁴ Moreover, these networks also helped to find suitable places for the establishment of the Marian exile congregations. Evidently, the Edwardian networks helped the English exiles to understand what to expect of exile and also functioned as a practical and emotional support system. Thanks to these existing networks, the English exiles would not be completely on their own in foreign lands; instead, they were already familiar with some individuals.

The networks and relationships that the English Protestants had built with their refugee theologians and teachers are especially important for this thesis and the development of English Protestant thought, and they are therefore more closely examined in this chapter. This thesis argues that such connections between Edwardian Protestants and their foreign teachers had a deep and tangled impact on the development of English Protestantism before, during and after the Marian exile. They helped to shape English theology, but also conveyed the idea of an international Protestant identity. Some of the most influential teachers, such as Martin Bucer, had been personally invited by Thomas Cranmer, who was steadily developing his international Protestant network through them.

Reformation Unbound, p. 160; S. Muylaert, *Shaping the Stranger Churches. Migrants in England the Troubles in the Netherlands, 1547-1558* (Leiden, 2021), p. 27.

³⁴ ‘Christopher Goodman to John à Lasco (23. December 1555)’, *Letters from Exile*; ‘Richard Chambers to Richard Cox (19 July 1555)’, *Letters from Exile*.

In 1548 he had invited Bucer to England, stressing that due to the dangers and persecution facing Bucer in Strasbourg, he would be more than welcome in England. Cranmer reassured Bucer that England ‘will be a most safe harbour’ where he could become ‘a labourer with us in the harvest of the Lord’.³⁵ Through this invitation, Cranmer hoped to secure Bucer’s support in his mission of creating a united Reformed Church. In order to ensure that Bucer would have a safe journey, Cranmer referred him to an English merchant.³⁶ In England, Bucer became a professor at the University of Cambridge, where he trained many of the future Marian and Elizabethan Protestants such as Richard Cox, Edwin Sandys and Matthew Parker. These theologians became, as coined by Winthrop S. Hudson, the ‘Cambridge Connection’.³⁷ Even though these theologians did not agree on a ‘clear common’ confessional ‘position’, ‘they identified themselves most strongly with Bucer’ and Peter Martyr Vermigli.³⁸ Having teachers that were in exile themselves clearly gave the English Protestants an idea of exile. In view of the positions in favour of exile and against martyrdom discussed previously, the example of Cranmer’s letter to Bucer is especially important. Thomas Cranmer, who in 1556 died the death of a martyr, advised Bucer to flee from the continent to England. He stressed that ‘Those, in the meantime, who are unable amidst the raging storm to launch into the deep, must take refuge in harbour.’ In this new harbour, Bucer would not be ‘less benefit to the universal church of God’.³⁹ Therefore, Cranmer and probably also Bucer must have believed that the Strasbourg theologian would be more useful to the Protestant cause through being in exile than in a

³⁵ ‘Archbishop Cranmer to Martin Bucer (02 October 1548)’, *Original Letters*, pp. 19-20, p. 20.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 20.

³⁷ W.S. Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham, 1980), p. 58.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 58.

³⁹ ‘Archbishop Cranmer to Martin Bucer (02 October 1548)’, p. 20.

place where he would probably be silenced. In fact, going into exile would not make Bucer less useful for God but would make him a teacher of his word on Earth.

Cranmer sought to implement the idea of one Protestant Church. By having foreign Protestants teaching their continental doctrines, the English theologians benefitted from this international theological input. But not only did Vermigli and Bucer influence the English Protestants in terms of their doctrinal beliefs, they also had a direct influence on the Edwardian Church. In 1571, Richard Cox defended the use of the Prayer Book. In a letter to the Swiss theologian and former Oxford student Rudolph Gwalther, Cox emphasised Bucer's and Vermigli's co-authorship of the Prayer Book to give the book authority.⁴⁰ This gave the book a certain gravity, a praxis that the English Protestants would repeat in the debates that took place in exile and later during the Vestiarian Controversy.⁴¹ In 1552, Vermigli himself referred to his influential position in England in a letter to Heinrich Bullinger. He reported that he, Hooper and à Lasco would be among 'two and thirty persons to frame ecclesiastical laws' for England.⁴² Evidently, the refugees living in England were more than just foreign Protestants: they influenced the Edwardian Church and, later, the Elizabethan Church through their teachings and their collaborative work with England's leading theologians. It is, therefore, no surprise that many of the English Protestants followed Vermigli to Strasbourg to continue their theological education.⁴³ Vermigli's students, the Marian Protestants, were highly influenced by his

⁴⁰ 'Richard Cox to Rodolph Gualter (12 February 1571)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 234-238, p. 234.

⁴¹ The idea of having continental theologians as figures of authority will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁴² 'Peter Martyr Vermigli to Henry Bullinger (08 March 1552)', *Original Letters*, pp. 503-504, p. 503.

⁴³ T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connections*, p. 1; A. Ranson, 'John Jewel's Early Life: Developing a Community of Reformers', in A. Ranson, A. Gazal, S. Bastows (eds) *Defending the Faith: John Jewel and the Elizabethan Church*, (Pennsylvania, 2018), pp. 18-27, pp. 24-25.

doctrines, especially regarding the question of exile and their new religious and political circumstances.

The above examples illustrate that the international networks that the English exiles started to develop during the Edwardian period shaped their theological doctrines and significantly impacted the notion of creating one Protestant identity. Their teachers, Bucer and Vermigli, were the Marian Protestants' role models because they had experienced – and survived – religious persecution and exile. Those examples must surely have helped to facilitate the idea of exile and give the Marian exiles a reason to survive and follow God's plan by establishing a true Church. They would follow the examples of Bucer and Vermigli and continue their work by spreading the gospel and reforming the Church in and after exile.

By offering England as a safe harbour, Cranmer had hoped to create one Reformed Church. While at first glance it appears that this did not work out as he had planned, Cranmer's efforts resulted in the foundation of an international network which sought to develop a Protestant community of belief and nurtured networks that helped to shape the English Church and its theology.

2.2. Networks in Exile; Sources and General Facts

The narrative of the *Troubles at Frankfurt*, Bullinger's *diarium*, sermons delivered by the Marian exiles, and letters written during exile and the Elizabethan period are not only important resources that can be used to explain why the Marian Protestants went into exile, but they also provide evidence regarding the establishment of different exile congregations. Moreover, they reveal especially important information about the exile congregations' way

of living, theological ideas and liturgical preferences, as well as the importance of networks for the process of establishing an exile community.

Considering the networks between English Protestants and continental theologians and exile congregations established during the Edwardian period, it is no surprise that those networks continued to play important roles not only in the establishment of the Marian exile congregations but also in their debates. In fact, according to the estimations of Andrew Pettegree and Peter Marshall, almost 1000 English Protestants found their way into Marian exile.⁴⁴ These were not just bachelors or unmarried clergy, as the ‘housing lists’ prove.⁴⁵ These housing lists relating to the 1557 Frankfurt congregation show that in 1557 the Frankfurt exile group consisted of 225 members. Among them were ‘86 men, 61 women, 78 children’, most of whom lived in typical early modern households consisting of families living with their servants.⁴⁶ Among the Marian exiles there were, especially in Frankfurt, nobles and merchants. A similar account by Marshall describes the Marian exiles as ‘persons of “quality”- clergy, gentry, and their dependents’.⁴⁷ However, the largest group of the Marian exiles were clergy and theology students; Michael Walzer estimated that ‘perhaps half of the exiles were clergymen’.⁴⁸ This high percentage of clergymen and the fact that Marian exile was a religiously motivated exile can explain the ecclesiological content of the Marian exiles’ debates. While some English Protestants joined other Protestant exile congregations like the French and Dutch congregations in Frankfurt, others, such as Edwin Sandys, followed Peter Martyr Vermigli to Strasbourg,

⁴⁴ P. Marshall, ‘Settlement Patterns: The Church of England, 1553-1603’, in A. Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglikanism I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520-1662* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 45-62, p. 47; P. Marshall, ‘Religious Exiles’, p. 267; A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, p. 3.

⁴⁵ R. Jung, ‘Die englische Flüchtlings-Gemeinde’, p. 31-35. Original quote: ‘Wohnungslisten’.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 31-35. Quotation at p. 31: ‘86 Männer, 61 Frauen, 78 Kinder’.

⁴⁷ P. Marshall, ‘Religious Exiles’, p. 269.

⁴⁸ M. Walzer, ‘Revolutionary Ideology: The Case of the Marian Exiles’, *The American Political Science Review*, 57/3 (1963), pp. 643-654, p. 644.

and even more, including James Pilkington and John Parkhurst, sought refuge with leading theologians such as Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich, and Richard Cox was among those who stayed in close contact with their fellow English exiles whilst travelling to Duisburg and Worms and eventually stopping in Frankfurt and possibly Zurich.⁴⁹ As the following analysis will show, exile locations were selected depending on personal preferences, such as existing networks, and for economic reasons and factors linked to personal relationships, as well as educational, doctrinal and confessional preferences.

When analysing the letters written by the exiles, it is noticeable that during the Marian exile the English Protestants established vivid letter networks among themselves as well as with continental theologians. However, when it comes to letters concerning the ecclesiological debates surrounding the so-called Troubles at Frankfurt, continental theologians seemed to be unusually quiet. Most of these letters debated issues regarding

⁴⁹ Heinrich Bullinger mentions in his *diarum* that a certain number of English Protestants had arrived at Zurich in April 1554. Among these there was also a *Iacobus Pilkintonus*. See: H. Bullinger, 'Heinrich Bullinger's Diarium (Annales vitae) der Jahre 1504-1574', in E. Egli (ed.) *Quellen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte* (Basel, 1904), p. 46. John Parkhurst was among the Zurich exiles that signed the letter that answered the Frankfurt congregations' invitation: 'Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (13 October 1554)', *A Brief discourse*, pp. xiii-xvi. His sermon and several letters show that Edwin Sandys must have stayed longer in Strasbourg and that he had a quick stop with Cox in Frankfurt and later followed Vermigli to Zurich. According to his own words, in Zurich he was taken in by Bullinger as if he was a family member. See: 'Bishop Sandys to Henry Bullinger (15 August 1573)', in *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 294-297; E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough, in the time of Queen Mary's reign', in John Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 293-312. His short stay in Frankfurt and his active role in the dispute is documented in a letter to John Calvin that defended their position in the dispute. It is signed by Edwin Sandys, Edmund Grindal, John Bale, Robert Horn, Thomas Lever, Thomas Sampson, Thomas Becon, Richard Alvey, David Whitehead and Richard Cox. See: 'Richard Cox and Others to John Calvin (05 April 1555)', *Original Letters 2*, pp. 753-755. Richard Cox's various stops are also documented in his correspondence network. The previously mentioned letter and the narrative of *A Brief discourse* report his meddling in Frankfurt. It can also be assumed that he stayed in Duisburg, Worms and possible Strasbourg. However, because of the lack of evidence, his stay in Strasbourg can only be assumed. Nonetheless, his close interactions with the Strasbourg community during the Frankfurt debate would support this assumption. Moreover, Garrett suggests that Cox went to Zurich after his stay in Frankfurt. While a short stop at Zurich would have been possible, he probably never visited it. Letters from the Elizabethan period suggest that he never met Bullinger or Gualther. Further, a letter to George Cassander reveals that Cox had a short stop in Cologne before returning to England. See: C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 135; 'Richard Cox to Christopher Goodman (15 April 1557)', *Letters from Exile*; 'Bishop Cox to George Cassander (04 March 1560)', *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 41-42; 'Rodolph Gualter to Richard Cox (09 June 1572)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 362-365.

ecclesiological topics, such as those pertaining to establishing a Church, ministry or liturgy. Other letters that were written to continental theologians during exile were particularly concerned with issues relating to their journey, hospitality, requests for recommendations, and news on Marian England and the Marian martyrs.⁵⁰

This thesis emphasises that the different networks, be they the networks between the English Protestants, scholarly educational networks or international networks, influenced each other. This is important, as the dynamics that were created through these connections not only influenced the debates taking place in exile but continued to exist in Elizabethan England. Examples of these networks are the pre-existing networks, including the above-mentioned stranger churches networks, the connection that Hudson called *the Cambridge Connection*, which connected not only former Cambridge scholars that became Marian exiles and later influential Elizabethan clergy, such as Edmund Grindal, Richard Cox, Edwin Sandys and James Pilkington, but also international theologians such as Bucer and Vermigli, and through them also Heinrich Bullinger. Furthermore, the networks connected former Oxford students like John Parkhurst and John Jewel, who were taught by

⁵⁰ These relationships and networks will be addressed throughout this thesis. The analysis of letter collections examined throughout this thesis have revealed about three main notable networks: theological networks between the international theologians and English Protestants; personal networks in the same group and an English–English network that was constituted out of the different English exile congregations. While the personal networks were mostly concerned with private and family matters, the other types discussed theological, ecclesiological and political matters such as matters concerning a true Church, obedience, clerical duties and salvation but also the change of monarchy, and internal and external political events. They were not only visible through their letter exchanges but also through the exchange and circulation of theological literature, such as Bullinger’s *Decades*, which will be analysed in the next part of this thesis. The exchanges of the inner English networks of the Marian exiles will be discussed in the analysis that follows. As Angela Ranson has argued, the influence of the inner English networks and their zeal for unity that not only concerned itself with the debates stressed in this thesis but also with the joint experience of exile cannot be underestimated: A. Ranson, ‘The Marian Exile and Religious Self-Identity: Rethinking the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism’, *Perichoresis*, 13/1 (2015), pp. 17-36, p. 24. However, these inner English networks were also affected by their relationships with continental theologians like Vermigli, Gwalther and Bucer, as argued in this thesis. During their time in England, they became especially close to the intellectual and theological community among the English Protestants. In general, it must be said that these main networks cannot be completely separated from each other as the boundaries between the different categories were constantly challenged.

Vermigli and established close friendships with students from Zurich during their time in Oxford, such as Parkhurst's lifelong friendship with Bullinger's 'foster' son, Gwalther.⁵¹

2.3. Networks and the Exile Congregations: Strasbourg, Zurich and Frankfurt

In March 1555, Vermigli mourned in a letter to his friend John Jewel the cruel fate that other former Oxford scholars had to face in Marian England and invited Jewel to join him in Strasbourg. Vermigli even offered financial support for Jewel's journey.⁵² This correspondence between Vermigli and Jewel reflects the close relationship that Vermigli had with his former student. How close Vermigli was with the English exiles, especially those who joined him in Strasbourg, is also indicated in the important role that Vermigli had in exile. Until 1557, when he took on the Hebrew professorship in Zurich, he was acting as a teacher to the Strasbourg exiles.⁵³ His former post as a teacher in Oxford enabled the English Protestants to capitalise on an existing personal relationship with Vermigli that was established before they joined him in exile.⁵⁴

In 1554, Edmund Grindal sent Edwin Sandys' greetings to Richard Cox and with them a description of the Strasbourg exile community. According to this, the Strasbourg exiles were not only enjoying the wonderful wine, but, most importantly, they were earnestly focused on their studies and were being taught not only by Peter Martyr Vermigli but also by 'other learned men' while they were staying in 'an Englishmans howse'.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Further reading on the Edwardian stranger churches: D. MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', pp. 5-6; W.S. Hudson. *The Cambridge Connection*; C. Cross, 'Continental Students and the Protestant Reformation in England in the Sixteenth Century', in D. Baker (ed.), *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c1500-c1750* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 35-57, p. 36. On the connection between Peter Martyr Vermigli and the English Protestants see: T.W.J. Kirby, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli' Political Theological Theology and the Elizabethan Church', in P. Ha, P. Collinson (eds), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford/NY, 2010), pp. 83-106; T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connections*.

⁵² 'Peter Martyr Vermigli to John Jewel (08 March 1555)', *Letters from Exile*.

⁵³ H. Bullinger, 'Heinrich Bullinger's Diarium', p. 48; 'Edmund Grindal to Richard Cox (06 November 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

⁵⁴ 'Peter Martyr Vermigli to John Jewel (08 March 1555)'.

⁵⁵ 'Edmund Grindal to Richard Cox (06 November 1554)'.

However, the man that Grindal describes as an English man was in fact Peter Martyr Vermigli, as revealed by a later letter written by William Cole to Christopher Goodman.⁵⁶ Evidently, during their stay in Strasbourg the English Protestants not only focused fervidly on their theological studies but also identified Vermigli as one of their own. Even though Vermigli was seemingly not actively involved in the Frankfurt debates, his writings would certainly shape the English Protestants' opinions on matters surrounding the Church and Protestant doctrines. Furthermore, as several letters written in the Elizabethan period show, the relationship strengthened between the Marian exiles and Vermigli during their time in Strasbourg and Zurich.⁵⁷ He not only continued to be an influential teacher but also became an even closer friend to some of the English exiles on both sides of the debate during their time in Strasbourg and Zurich, such as the later bishops John Parkhurst and Edwin Sandys and the rather 'radical' Christopher Goodman. And, like Bullinger and Calvin, he was viewed as a figure of authority who was generally approached when advice on Church and theological matters was needed. While the English congregation was living in Strasbourg, it became part of the Strasbourg community and took on the latter's liturgy; however, as mentioned in letters and shown in Edwin Sandys' Strasbourg sermons, the English exiles in Strasbourg heard their sermons in their own language.⁵⁸

A similar situation can be found in reports regarding the exile congregations of Zurich. After the English Protestants arrived in 1554, Heinrich Bullinger took on pastoral caring responsibilities and tried to answer the issues arising from the religious persecution

⁵⁶ 'William Cole to Christopher Goodman (13 April 1556)', *Letters from Exile*; 'William Salkyns to Henry Bullinger (26 November 1554)', *Original Letters*, pp. 345-356, p. 356.

⁵⁷ See: 'Bishop Sandys to Peter Martyr Vermigli (01 April 1560)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 72-75; 'John Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger (23 August 1560)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁸ E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough', pp. 293-312.

that the English faced.⁵⁹ Later in Elizabethan England, Edwin Sandys would reflect on his living situation in Zurich as family-like; he lived with Bullinger's family almost as a brother.⁶⁰ Bullinger's *diarium* describes how, when the first 'students' had arrived in Zurich in April 1554, they stayed in Froschauer's house, who was a well-known printer with existing connections to the English, who had set up his home almost like a college.⁶¹ Moreover, a further letter, printed in the *Troubles at Frankfurt*, described Zurich as the perfect place to study because it was 'quiet' and offered many 'great commodities for' their 'studies'.⁶² Evidently, in both Zurich and Strasbourg the English Protestants lived closely with their hosts, some even in their hosts' houses. The Marian exiles were not just strangers living among strangers in exile, but truly became part of their communities. This is also stressed through later letters written by former exiles to their hosts. Indeed, by the end of the Marian exile, Parkhurst was fluent in German, indicating the degree to which he had become part of the community in Zurich.⁶³ The deep personal relationship between Bullinger and Parkhurst's family is also reflected in the way Parkhurst's wife reacted to the news about the passing of Bullinger's wife in 1565. Parkhurst described in a letter to Bullinger how devastated his wife was after he had read her the German letter about the passing of Bullinger's wife and daughters.⁶⁴ Bullinger was also close to Hooper's wife and eventual widow who had joined the French congregation in Frankfurt.⁶⁵ Later in Elizabethan England, they continued to ensure that the next generation kept developing

⁵⁹ A. Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (Bern, 2001), pp. 154, 169; E. Campi, 'Heinrich Bullinger und seine Zeit', in E. Campi, *Heinrich Bullinger und seine Zeit* (Zürich, 2004), pp. 7-35, p. 18.

⁶⁰ 'Bishop Sandys to Henry Bullinger (15 August 1573)', pp. 294-297, p. 295.

⁶¹ Heinrich Bullinger, 'Heinrich Bullinger's Diarium', p. 46. Bullinger refers to the English exiles as 'studiosi'. J. Benzing, 'Christoph Froschauer d. Ä. 1521-1564', in J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16ten und 17ten Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 522-523.

⁶² 'Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (27 October 1554)', *A Brief discourse*, pp. xviii-xix.

⁶³ 'Bishop Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger (31 May 1562)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 110-111, p. 111.

⁶⁴ 'Bishop Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger (18 August 1565)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 143-144, p. 144.

⁶⁵ 'Anne Hooper to Henry Bullinger (22 September 1554)', *Original Letters*, pp. 111-112.

their networks. For instance, Gwalther, building upon his former friendships, sent his son to study in England and to be cared for by his former friends in exile.⁶⁶ Furthermore, through intensifying their focus on their theological studies, the English exiles in Zurich were highly influenced by the Zurich theologians who taught them their doctrines. This network of knowledge – that was especially established in Zurich – continued in Elizabethan England when Bullinger’s *Decades* and Vermigli’s *loci communes* became ‘standard textbooks’ for theology students.⁶⁷ In several letters, the future Elizabethan bishops discussed the Zurich theologians’ publications and continually requested new books from Zurich. Equally, the Zurich theologians requested new publications from England. As correspondence demonstrates, including a letter written in 1561 by John Parkhurst, both groups had members in their midst who took on the tasks of translating the English/German texts into Latin. In this letter Parkhurst thanked Josiah Simler for a book that Simler had translated into Latin and sent to England for the former exiles to read.⁶⁸ Furthermore, as the preface of Bullinger’s *Daniel* commentary shows, they would go on to dedicate books to each other; the preface mentions ‘Robert Horn Bishop of Winchester, John Jewel Bishop of Salisbury, Edwin Sandys Bishop of Worcester, John Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, & Dr. James Pilkington Bishop of Durham’.⁶⁹ Although Bullinger could have named others, such as Richard Cox, as well, it is possible that he only

⁶⁶ ‘Bishop Cox to Rodolph Gualter (03 February 1573)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 297-300.

⁶⁷ T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connections*, p. 3.

⁶⁸ ‘Bishop Parkhurst to John Wolfius, Josiah Simler and Lewis Lavater (09 March 1561)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 94-95, p. 95.

⁶⁹ H. Bullinger, *Daniel Sapientissimus Dei Propheta, Qui À Vetustis Polyhistor, Id Est, Multiscius Est Dictus, Expositus Homiliis LXVI : quibus non tam sensus Prophetæ redditur, quàm usus & fructus prophetiæ ostenditur Accessit Hvic Operi Epitome Temporum Et Rerum Ab Orbe Conditio Ad Excidium usq[ue] ultimum urbis Hierosolymorum, sub Imperatore Vespasiano* (1565). The original text refers to ‘D. Robertum Hornum Episcopum Vuintoniensem, D. Ioannem Iuellum Episcopum Sarisberiensem, D. Eduinum Sandum Episcopum Vuigorniensem, D. Ioannem Parkhurstum Episcopu Noruicensem, & D. Iacobum Pilchinthonum Episcopum.’ This literal relationship is also portrayed in Bullinger’s sermons on the apocalypse that he had dedicated to the French and English refugees and written during the Marian exile. See: F. Büsser, ‘H. Bullingers 100 Predigten über die Apokalypse’, *Zwingliana*, 27 (2000), pp. 117-131, p. 117.

mentioned the former exiles with whom he had developed a close and personal relationship due to the time they had spent together in Marian exile in Zurich.

The living arrangements of the exile congregation in Frankfurt differed substantially from those of the Strasbourg and Zurich congregations. When one reads about the Frankfurt congregation, terms like ‘learned men’ and ‘students’ are missing. In fact, one of their early leaders was William Whittingham, later dean of Durham, who became an ordained minister during his time in Geneva after having initially arrived in exile as a layman.⁷⁰ Although probably all exile communities seemed to have English spokesmen, the Strasbourg and Zurich communities appear to have been more integrated into their individual host communities. Frankfurt, on the other hand, was much more self-structured. They were allowed to use the *Weißfrauenkirche* in Frankfurt, which the Dutch and French communities used for their services.⁷¹ However, instead of becoming part of the existing Reformed communities of the other exile congregations, they established their own Church, which became the main point of discussion in the debates that took place later in the English exile.⁷²

The lack of religious leaders living in Frankfurt did not negatively impact existing networks between the exile congregation and such leaders. The Frankfurt congregation invited ministers of their choosing to lead their congregation in spiritual matters, one of their most prominent being John Knox.⁷³ They were also in contact with Jean Calvin, whom they asked for advice regarding their liturgy and whose Church order was the one that the spokespersons of the 1554/5 Frankfurt congregation admired the most and hoped

⁷⁰ ‘Life of Mr William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, from a MS in Antony Wood’s Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford’, M.A. Everett Green (ed.), *Camden Miscellany*, VI (London, 1871), p. 9.

⁷¹ *A Brief discourse*, pp. xxx.

⁷² *Ibid.* p. vi.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p. xiii.

to model their own church order on.⁷⁴ All congregations experienced a constant shift of travelling exiles, but the Frankfurt congregation probably experienced the biggest shift, not just in leadership but also in community structure. After the dispute in Frankfurt was settled for the time being, the new leaders followed the advice and leadership of Richard Cox. Shortly after, they adopted the Strasbourg and Zurich examples and established an exile university in Frankfurt. In a letter written by Thomas Cole in 1555 or 1556, he mentioned that the later Elizabethan bishop Robert Horne had been ‘chosen to be the reader off the Hebrue lecture, Maister Mullings off the greke, and Maister Treherren when he is stronge, shall take the diuinitie lecture in hande’.⁷⁵ Horne can also be found on Bullinger’s list of the first English students who arrived in Zurich, though he only came to Frankfurt after the leading exiles of Strasbourg and Zurich had requested Cox.⁷⁶ Therefore, his teaching in Frankfurt took place after he had spent some time studying Zurich doctrines. Consequently, by the end of the dispute, Frankfurt became part of the same influential international scholarly network as the Strasbourg and Zurich congregations. It must be emphasised that these different and ever-changing structures and inhabitants – besides the doctrinal differences regarding ecclesiological matters discussed later in this chapter – could be a reason why establishing one community in exile would have been a problematic endeavour. Further, these aspects tell us something about the different groups that went into exile. While Zurich and Strasbourg were especially desirable cities for theologians and former clergy, who happily became part of the Reformed communities of leading theologians, Frankfurt was especially interesting for merchants and individuals who were not part of the clergy, as will be discussed below.

⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. xxvii -xxviii.

⁷⁵ ‘Thomas Cole to unnamed friend (1555/6)’ in *A Brief discourse*, pp. lx-lxii.

⁷⁶ C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 189; H. Bullinger, ‘Heinrich Bullinger’s Diarium’, p. 46.

The relationships outlined above continued to exist in Elizabethan England and were to play important roles in the debates on conformity and compromise and the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church. Examples of these continuances can be found in the publications and personal and advisory letters of the continental reformers.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the experiences of living in these Reformed communities in exile served as examples for the English Protestants of how they wanted to reform their own institutional Church after exile.⁷⁸ The same can be said of the continuance of the relationships between stranger churches then present again in England and the Elizabethan Protestants and their host communities. In 1561, Edmund Grindal, as bishop of London, expressed in a letter to the magistrate of Frankfurt that at

[n]o time shall ever remove this your benefit from the minds of Englishmen. England owes it to Strasbourg, Zurich, Basle, Worms, but above all to your renowned republic, that she has so many bishops, and other ministers of God's word, who at this day are preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel.⁷⁹

Interestingly, Grindal did not mention Geneva, the city where Calvin lived that welcomed many of the original Frankfurt exiles after the debates, as one of the cities that he thought had helped to preserve the future Elizabethan clergy. He could have left it out because he was only mentioning a few of the exile communities in general, but it could have been because the exiles from Geneva were not among the first generation of Elizabethan

⁷⁷ Examples of these can be found in: H. Robinson (ed.), *The Zurich Letters, Comprising the Correspondences of Several English Bishops and Others, with some of The Helvetian Reformers, During the Early Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Band 1 A.D. 1558-1579*, (Cambridge, 1840). These letters will be examined closer in the second part of this thesis.

⁷⁸ 'Bishop Grindal to Henry Bullinger (27 August 1566)', *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 168-170, p. 169.

⁷⁹ 'Edmund Grindal to the Magistrate of Frankfurt (12 November 1561)', in W. Nicholson (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D. Successively Bishop of London, and Archbishop of York and Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 247-252, p. 250.

bishops.⁸⁰ Furthermore, this letter was not only written to thank and praise Frankfurt; its other aim was to have Frankfurt extend its hospitality to the Flemish church that had found refuge in Frankfurt seven years before but had got into trouble because its reformed understanding of the Last Supper differed from that of the Lutherans.⁸¹ The letter reveals that Grindal and other leading clergy had stayed in contact with the other exile communities on the continent and in England.

2.4. Establishment of Exile Communities

Established scholarly relationship with the former Edwardian stranger churches influenced the decisions of individuals to go into exile, and the pre-established networks played a major role in the establishment of the Marian exile congregations. The specialities and possible connections of different exile places have mostly been studied on Frankfurt and on single congregations such as Pettegree's research on the community at Emden and Dan G. Danner's study on Geneva.⁸² This chapter aims to expand this existing research, augmenting a synthesis of work on the different exile communities with new evidence analysed in the following sections. Such analysis will help to get a better understanding of the connections formed among the exiles and continental reformers. A closer examination of the formation and nature of the congregations analysed here is needed to highlight the different factors and motivations behind the exiles' theological and political ideas and also the future Elizabethan Protestants' opinions in the upcoming conformity debates.

The establishment of the English exile congregation in Frankfurt was probably the result of several different factors. Firstly, Frankfurt was – and remains – well known for its

⁸⁰ W.P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation*, pp. 27-28.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* pp. 250-251.

⁸² A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, D.G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva 1555-1560s* (New York, 1999).

book fairs. MacCulloch has pointed out that ‘the twice-yearly Book Fair was the vital link in transport’ and through that ‘a marvellous source of intelligence’.⁸³ This made Frankfurt ‘an obvious listening-post for all Europe’.⁸⁴ This also explains why Frankfurt may have been more attractive to merchants than other cities. Also, given its reputation as a centre of commerce and trade, Frankfurt would have been an ideal place in which to establish an exile community while also staying in contact with other English congregations and merchants, especially book sellers, who would visit Frankfurt in spring and autumn. The importance of the Frankfurt fair is also notable in the later Elizabethan period, and the value of the knowledge and letter exchange between the theologians through the Frankfurt fair is emphasised in several letters.⁸⁵ Therefore, choosing Frankfurt as an exile location was in part a result of practical and economic concerns. These could also be one of the reasons why the Frankfurt exiles decided that the city would be an ideal place to establish their English Church and national community, although direct evidence to substantiate this suggestion is lacking in sources.

However, the economic and infrastructural advantages offered by Frankfurt were not the only reasons why it became an attractive place for exile. A more practical reason for the establishment of the English congregation in Frankfurt was the connections to the existing exile communities of the Dutch and French congregations in Frankfurt, which were present were among the Edwardian stranger churches. Valérand Poullain, minister of the French exile congregation, had been the brother-in-law of the English martyr John

⁸³ D. MacCulloch, ‘Heinrich Bullinger and the English – speaking world’, in E. Campi, P. Opitz (eds), *Heinrich Bullinger: Life-Thought-Influence, Zurich Aug. 25-29, 2004, International Congress Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), Volume II* (Zurich, 2007), pp. 891-934, p. 898.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 898.

⁸⁵ ‘Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn, Grindal and Parkhurst (03 May 1566)’, *Zurich letters I*, pp. 356-357, p. 356; ‘Rodolph Gwalther to Bishop Cox (26 August 1573)’, *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 225-235, p. 226.

Hooper.⁸⁶ It was this ‘Maister Valeran’ who had invited the first Frankfurt exiles, Edmund Sutton, William Whittingham and Thomas Wood, to join the existing French congregation in June 1554. Those first Englishmen did not accept the French congregation’s invitation, mostly because ‘so much as few off them vnderstoode the French tonge, it would be small commoditie to them’.⁸⁷ However, they used their connections to ask the Frankfurt town council for refuge and the establishment of an English Church.⁸⁸ Similar to the Strasbourg and Zurich exiles, the delegates who tried to secure accommodation for the Marian Protestants in Frankfurt initially stayed in accommodation provided by one of their fellow Protestant exiles.⁸⁹

These connections to the stranger churches were turning points for individuals when they were choosing their place of exile, but the later debates between the different congregations revealed different religious and political intentions. The leader of the 1554 Frankfurt congregation aimed to develop and implement a highly Reformed church order, much like the other exile congregations in Frankfurt. Also, the closeness to Valérand might not have been a coincidence, and during the debates the Protestants who supported Whittingham made their position towards the late John Hooper more than clear. According to a document that was addressed to the Frankfurt Senate, Whittingham and his fellows thought that Hooper had been treated wrongly during the Edwardian Vestiarian Controversy and that Cranmer and other Prayer Book defenders were in the wrong.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Gunther Karl, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 160.

⁸⁷ *A Brief discourse*, p. v.

⁸⁸ Ibid. pp. v-vi; E. Cameron, ‘Frankfurt and Geneva’, pp. 56-57.

⁸⁹ *A Brief discourse*, p. vi.

⁹⁰ Ibid. pp. xl-xliii.

The establishment of the Zurich exile congregation occurred in a similar way to the process in Frankfurt.⁹¹ Like the establishment of the Frankfurt congregation, the Zurich exile congregation had appointed a delegate who regulated the issue of accommodation prior to the English Protestants' arrival. Thomas Lever arrived in Zurich with an unnamed companion on 10th of March 1554, one month before the arrival of the rest of the first English exiles. This group of about twelve men included future Elizabethan bishops and leading men from the upcoming debates engaged in by the English exile congregations, such as Richard Chambers, Robert Horn, and James Pilkington. As previously mentioned, Bullinger labelled them as students, a word that definitely describes the main characteristic of this congregation. Again, it could not have been a coincidence that especially English Protestant theology students and clergy chose Zurich as their place of exile; the words with which those exiles are described in the source material suggest that it was the existing scholarly networks that accommodated the English Protestants' need for further theological study. In all these documents the men were called students, and they described their time of exile as one in which they studied and lived as though in a college.⁹² The idea that knowledge exchange and the continuation of pre-existing friendships and scholarly relationships were reasons for choosing Zurich as a place of exile is further supported by the fact that later Zurich exiles in particular, such as John Parkhurst, had existing scholarly networks and friendships there before their exile. It is also no coincidence that many of the Strasbourg exiles, such as Edwin Sandys, followed Vermigli to Zurich after he was appointed to a professorship there.⁹³

⁹¹ C. Cross, 'Continental Students and the Protestant Reformation'. In contrast, during the Henrician period it was mostly 'merchants or Oxfordmen' that sought refuge in Zurich: D. MacCulloch, 'Heinrich Bullinger and the English-speaking world', p. 898.

⁹² H. Bullinger, 'Heinrich Bullinger's Diarium', p. 46.

⁹³ Ibid. p. 48.

The establishment of the Strasbourg congregation seems to have been a mixture of the Frankfurt and Zurich establishments. Similarly to Frankfurt, Strasbourg was a known exile location and, because it was a printing centre, it was attractive to printers and scholars alike. Even though Strasbourg was constantly in the midst of religious and political troubles, such as the Schmalkaldic war that took place between 1546 and 1547, it was quickly recognised as ‘the great city of refuge of the Reformation’.⁹⁴ This was probably not least due to Strasbourg’s early reformation, which had already lured theologians such as Martin Bucer and Vermigli there, but it was also due to it being a centre of the print and book trades.⁹⁵ Even though Emden was the main printing centre for the Marian Protestants’ theological treatises and polemics, Strasbourg must have been very attractive to those who were involved in the book trade and in producing books. In fact, the Marian exiles in general ‘produced around 120 vernacular tracts, as well as 40 works of Latin polemic’ during their time in Marian exile.⁹⁶ Hence, in Strasbourg, it was possible to come into contact with various theological writings and to produce theological and polemical texts without having to face retribution.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, as in the case of the Frankfurt congregation, the economic benefits of Strasbourg were not the only attribute that made it a desirable exile destination. In fact, there were at least two different networks that made Strasbourg attractive for the Marian Protestants. Firstly, as in Frankfurt, Strasbourg was a place of refuge for the French exile

⁹⁴ E.G. Rupp, ‘The Reformation in Zurich, Strassburg and Geneva’, in G.R. Elton (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History: Vol 2 The Reformation 1520-1559* (Cambridge, 2nd ed. 1990), pp. 94-117, pp. 108-110.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 105, p. 109.

⁹⁶ P. Marshall, ‘Religious Exiles’, p. 270.

⁹⁷ E.G. Rupp, ‘The Reformation in Zurich, Strassburg’, p. 105, p. 108; R.G. Hobbs, ‘Strasbourg: Vermigli and the Senior School’, in T.W.J. Kirby, E. Campi, F.A. James III (eds), *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 35-70, p. 35; ‘Christopher Goodman to William Cole (15 December 1555)’, *Letters from Exile*.

congregation.⁹⁸ Therefore, it is likely that the English exiles were already in contact with Strasbourg Protestants. The relationship between the English Protestants and the French exile congregation in Strasbourg is also highlighted in the letters that were written during the period of Marian exile.⁹⁹ Secondly, as a former exile location of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli, Strasbourg was an attractive city for the Marian Protestants. Therefore, it was again pre-existing scholarly and religious networks that helped not only to choose the places of exile but also to develop them. Furthermore, Strasbourg was a special destination for exile. Although Strasbourg had an established community with an existing structure, it was also a place that, probably due to its geographic position, was used only for brief periods before exiles travelled on to either Zurich or Frankfurt. While many of the future Zurich exiles, such as Sandys and Vermigli, did stay longer in Strasbourg, others, like Parkhurst, would only have had a short stop there before continuing their journey to Zurich.¹⁰⁰

Evidently, besides economic and geographical reasons, the existing scholarly and religious networks that had been established in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI had a major impact on the establishment of the Marian exile congregations in the German-speaking areas of Zurich, Frankfurt and Strasbourg. In particular, the scholarly and

⁹⁸ E. Cameron, 'Frankfurt and Geneva', p. 56.

⁹⁹ 'Edmund Grindal to William Whittingham (11 August 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

¹⁰⁰ The places of exile and the places where certain exiles stopped have been reported on earlier in this chapter. On their way back to England, Edwin Sandys, John Jewel and other exiles had to travel via Strasbourg, as letters that were addressed to Zurich but written in Strasbourg show: 'Edwin Sandys to Henry Bullinger (20 December 1558)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 3-6; 'John Jewel to Peter Martyr (26 January 1559)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 6-9; 'Sr John Cheke to John Calvin (20 October 1555)', *Original Letters*, pp. 142-144. Christopher Goodman reported in a letter to John Aldersey that Robert Horn had travelled via Strasbourg to Zurich: 'Christopher Goodman to John Aldersey (30 September 1554)', *Letters from Exile*. However, the descriptions in many of the exiles' letters show the constant movement of many of the Marian exiles. They usually first arrived in Antwerp and then continued their respective journeys from there. 'Anne Hooper to Henry Bullinger (20 April 1554)', *Original Letters*, pp. 110-111, p. 110. A very detailed description of variation in an exile's journey was delivered by Thomas Lever: 'Thomas Lever to Henry Bullinger (11 April 1554)', *Original Letters*, pp. 153-155.

personal relationships with continental theologians made the cities of Zurich and Strasbourg desirable places of refuge for the Marian exiles. However, the former Edwardian stranger churches also had a significant impact regarding the question of the place of exile and establishment of a community. The Protestant Churches demonstrated ‘solidarity with one another’, especially in times of crisis.¹⁰¹ Another factor was the respected religious preferences of the exile groups, as seen in the relationship between the Zurich exiles and the Zurich theologians, and between the Frankfurt congregation and Hooper’s brother-in-law. Most congregations seemed to have been established in the same way, as they always needed delegates to organise the accommodation for the group that would arrive next. The Marian exiles did not have a random flight; the establishment of their congregations was carefully considered. Clearly, respected places of exile were chosen according to religious, political and educational preferences with the help of existing networks, which reveals much about the exiles’ personal characteristics.

The extant correspondence of the Marian exiles suggests that there was an especially strong network among the English Protestant exiles. However, this does not mean that other networks were non-existent. In fact, the formerly established networks were strengthened and, indeed, broadened in exile. This was partly due to newly established relationships and networks, but also a result of existing and continuing relationships between continental theologians such as Heinrich Bullinger and Peter Martyr Vermigli and the Marian exiles. These networks and relationships that the Marian exiles had formed with their hosts and fellow exiles among the continental Protestants certainly influenced the English theological ideas and doctrines surrounding issues such as

¹⁰¹ E. Cameron, ‘Frankfurt and Geneva’, p. 57.

providence and the true Church and the justification for it, and their impact should not be underestimated.

The inter-English disagreements certainly reflect the reason for the strong correspondence network between the different exile congregations. The sources suggest that the English exile congregations in Frankfurt, Strasbourg and Zurich, and probably in other places as well, had close relationships with their hosts and tutors. Furthermore, they even established proper structures of English communities and church orders, and, in so doing, they sought to develop unity regarding their English Protestant identity. This included matters pertaining to social and ecclesiological rites, such as marriages and baptisms, and to how to care for those in the communities that needed support. The Strasbourg congregation, for example, established a common box to provide support for struggling parishioners.¹⁰² However, all exiles shared the common aim of trying to follow God's providential plan and to make the best out of the unpleasant situation of being estranged from their native country. Nevertheless, all of them identified their particular destination as the 'elected' one.¹⁰³ Without a doubt, this attitude was only part of the larger disagreements on ecclesiological and doctrinal issues which became part of the disagreements that are widely known as the *Troubles at Frankfurt* and which will be discussed in the following section.

¹⁰² See: E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough'; 'Christopher Goodman to John Aldersey' (30 September 1554). The second part of the narrative of the *Troubles at Frankfurt* contains suggested discipline and church orders and structures that the community in Frankfurt was supposed to follow: *A brief discourse*, pp. cx–xxxiii.

¹⁰³ 'Frankfurt Exile Congregation to Zurich, Wesel, Strasbourg, Emden, Duisburg (2 August 1554)', *Letters from Exile*; 'Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (13 October 1554)', pp. xiii–xvi.

3. The Troubles at Frankfurt

This section of the chapter aims to identify the key issues and conversation points of the Troubles at Frankfurt that led to the split among the Marian exiles. It will demonstrate that the essential questions debated by the exiles centred on the defining features of God's true Church, living in Christ's spiritual community on Earth, and whether or not to establish a worldly institutional and national Church in exile. This section will also confirm that this debate centred on the matter of compromising on things indifferent for the sake of the unity of the Church. A key point in the discussions about establishing a Church in exile was the different understandings of the markers of God's Church that were identifying signs of a true Church. This was especially critical considering the exiles' need to redeem their former sins and their fervour regarding fulfilling God's providential plan to further reform English Protestantism.

3.1. Key issue concerning the Troubles at Frankfurt

The Marian exiles involved in the debates regarded themselves and the need to establish a church as being line with the plight of the Old Testament Israelites.¹⁰⁴ However, this section will point out that the understanding of what form such a church would take differed amongst the exiles involved and gave the first impressions of the differences between the later conformist and non-conformist Elizabethan Protestants. This section will further emphasise that one of the main discussion points was whether the Church should be built in exile or whether there was time to wait until after their exile to do this. It will be shown that not all involved parties had the same opinion on what would be the right way to

¹⁰⁴ S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys*, pp. 27-28; H. Hammlin, 'Strangers in Strange Lands: Biblical Models of Exile in Early Modern England', *Reformation*, 15 (2010), pp. 53-81; J. Pilkington, *Aggeus and Abdias Prophetes, the one corrected. the other newiy added. and both at large declared. The earnest love that I beare to thy house hath eaten me. Psal. Ixix. Ioan.ii. Phinees hath tourned awaye my anger because he was moued with loue of me. Num. xxv.* (London, 1562); E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough'.

build the Church in exile. Further, there were different opinions as to whether it had to be an institutional national Church, built out of stone and with a church structure, orders and liturgy, or a spiritual community on Earth that heard the gospel in their mother tongue. Even though this debate was predominantly happening between the different English exile groups that were following John Knox and Richard Cox and there is not much evidence that the continental theologians mingled actively in these debates, this thesis argues that the doctrinal influence they had is undisputable.

Therefore, the following analysis is based especially on the exiles' letters, Edwin Sandys' sermons, and Bullinger's and Pilkington's theological writings in order to emphasise the ecclesiological and theological view of the Marian exiles' dispute that originated in Frankfurt. The sources are written mostly by and to leading ecclesiastical and political leading figures that were also involved in the later Elizabethan conformity debates. Thus, they reflect opinions of those people who were in positions of authority rather than those of everyday people. Hence, they are not representative of the normal merchants or nobles of their congregations, but they are useful sources for identifying the situation of the Marian exiles from a clerical point of view and for highlighting the development of both compromist and non-conformist religious thought. Furthermore, many of the sources were searching for authorial leadership, as reflected in the exiles' attempts to find validation from leading continental theologians such as Calvin, Vermigli and Bullinger, which can be taken as evidence of the doctrinal and personal influence of the continental reformers. Another level of this debate pertains to the question of pastoral leadership, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

In August 1554, the later dean of Durham and author of anti-vestment polemics William Whittingham, along with other leaders of the Frankfurt exile congregation, sent a

letter to the exile congregations in Strasbourg, Zurich, Wesel, Duisburg and Emden. This letter communicated the Frankfurt congregation's spokespersons' wish for a united English exile community and English Reformed Church.¹⁰⁵ In this first letter, the authors wrote that the city of Frankfurt had provided them with a church building. Nothing more would 'a Christian man desire' than 'to have a churche wherin he may serve god'.¹⁰⁶ Hence, it was of utmost importance to establish an English Church in exile in which they 'maie preache, minister and vse discipline, to trewe setting forth of God's glorie'. Furthermore, it was God's providential plan that they not just continue to restore the English Church but to reform it even further so that it would be 'unspotted, & free from all dregs of superstitious ceremonies'.¹⁰⁷ Published in the midst of the Elizabethan conformity debates, the narrative of the *Troubles at Frankfurt* also emphasises God's will regarding receiving this building in Frankfurt. Evidently the leaders of the 1554 Frankfurt exile congregations did not just want to establish an exile community and church congregation that would meet only on Sundays to worship; they wanted to restore and to further reform the institutional Church of England in Marian exile because God had called on them to do so.

Considering the Marian exiles' belief in providence and in being God's new chosen folk, a new Israel, it is not surprising that Whittingham and other exiles in Frankfurt thought that building a true Reformed Church in exile would help them to redeem their former sins. It was a universal belief among the Marian exiles that their current situation was part of God's providential plan and a punishment for not reforming their Church when they had the chance to.¹⁰⁸ Already in exile, John Ponet summed up their situation and

¹⁰⁵ 'Frankfurt Exile Congregation to Zurich, Wesel, Strasbourg, Emden, Duisburg (2 August 1554)'.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 165; J. Wright, 'Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 0/2 (2001), pp. 220-248, p. 226; A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999).

God's powerful providence and punishment of them in a letter to Bullinger, commenting that 'He who gave has taken away'.¹⁰⁹ Jane Dawson has emphasised the apocalyptic thinking of the Marian exiles and notes that the '[t]rue Church was the central focus of the working out of God's providential plan for mankind'.¹¹⁰ Similar ideas are also visible in James Pilkington's commentary on Haggai that he published shortly after he had left exile and in Christopher Goodman's letter to John a Lasco from December 1555 in which Goodman reported, probably not unintentionally, that after having left Frankfurt after the troubles, Goodman and his fellows had been 'offered a temple' in Geneva.¹¹¹ By using biblical vocabulary, Goodman emphasised the importance of the true Church, which made the dispute between the English exiles even more crucial because those who were disturbing the peace were carrying out the work of 'Satan' and a 'great risk for the whole church' and their Christian souls.¹¹²

Nonetheless, the opinions of the other exile congregations regarding the establishment of a church did not turn out as Whittingham and the other leaders in Frankfurt had hoped. In their answers, the Marian exiles in Strasbourg and Zurich, among which were Protestants such as Sandys, Grindal and Pilkington, misinterpreted the invitation of the Frankfurt congregation – probably deliberately – and pointed out that they would send help for their Church in the form of delegates and ministers. But even more importantly, their responses highlighted other views on how and when to further reform the English Church – and this was not necessarily in exile.

¹⁰⁹ 'John Ponet to Henry Bullinger (14 April 1556)', *Original Letters*, pp. 115-117, p. 116.

¹¹⁰ J. Dawson, 'The Apocalyptic Thinking of the Marian Exiles', *Studies in Church History Subsidia*, 10 (1994), pp. 75-91, p. 81.

¹¹¹ 'Christopher Goodman to John a Lasco (23 December 1555)'.

¹¹² 'Christopher Goodman to Peter Martyr Vermigli (?28 March 1555)', *Letters from Exile*.

A significant aspect of the Strasbourg and Zurich congregations' plan for reforming the Church was based on an educational reform of their current and future ministers and theologians. Edmund Grindal told the later leader of the Frankfurt congregation and Elizabethan Bishop of Ely about his Hebrew studies and that in Strasbourg they would be taught by Peter Martyr Vermigli and 'other learned men'.¹¹³ In an earlier letter to William Whittingham, Grindal had already stated that he approved of the idea of establishing an English Church in exile and Frankfurt's search for 'learned ministers', even though the Strasbourg exiles did not believe that it was possible for all English exiles to gather at the same place. He defended their location by underlining that in Strasbourg they were also having services in English. He also stressed the need for educated ministers for a future Protestant England. Therefore, they were spending their time in exile studying.¹¹⁴ Also, the 'Students off Zurick', as they are called in the *Troubles at Frankfurt*, argued that it would be a good idea to have a physical if not an institutional Church for those who, due to the lack of a church to join, had not yet gone into exile. Nevertheless, the Zurich exiles would not abandon their studies that they believed would help the 'edification off Christes church'.¹¹⁵ Evidently, the other exile congregations were not opposed to the idea of an exile church, and they agreed that a church or a church community could be a sanctuary for their fellow Protestants. In fact in 1555, after Richard Cox had taken over the leadership of the Frankfurt congregation, Edmund Grindal praised the Church at Frankfurt as a place that 'God hath provided for such as will flee forth of Babylon a resting-place, where they may

¹¹³ 'Edmund Grindal to Richard Cox (06 November 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

¹¹⁴ 'Edmund Grindal to William Whittingham (11 August 1554)'.

¹¹⁵ 'Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (13 October 1554)'; 'Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (27 October 1554)', pp. xviii-xix, p. xviii.

truly serve him'.¹¹⁶ However, contrary to the letter of the leaders of the 1554 Frankfurt exiles whose goal it was to further reform the English Church in exile, the responses from Zurich spoke about a Church of Christ and of the reform of a future Church through education. This meant that while for the representatives of the 1554 Frankfurt exile congregation it was more pressing to have a physical and national English Church in exile, the Strasbourg and Zurich congregations were more concerned with being part of the covenant with Christ and his spiritual community, and through this, part of a universal Church that was not bound to one place. Consequently, the exiles' different views and understanding of what they wanted in a church explain their different positions on whether or not it was necessary to reform the Church in exile. The Strasbourg and Zurich congregations had strong bonds with their exile hosts and presumably were active members of their congregations, and thus they saw themselves as part of a bigger Church. Since this Church was already Christ's Church, it would not need reforming; instead they could allow themselves to see exile as part of God's plan for further reforming of themselves through education. This would enable them to provide a future reformed English Church. Whereas for the Frankfurt congregation, whose original members declined the offer of the French and Dutch congregations to become part of their Church, it was more pressing to establish an English national Church in exile – especially as they were not part of any other Church.

3.2. Markers of the Church

This section will emphasise that besides the question of the necessity of a Reformed Church in exile, the letter exchange, selected writings and sermons from the exile period

¹¹⁶ Grindal to Bishop Ridley (6 May 1555)', in W. Nicholson (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D. Successively Bishop of London, and Archbishop of York and Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 238-240, p. 239.

highlight some basic differences regarding the concepts of a Church and a spiritual community. This includes the issue of what the cornerstones of a true Church would be, as well as the idea of what a spiritual community is and what order an exile church would have to follow. As chapter four of this thesis will demonstrate, the fear of losing the liberty of exercising the visible markers of the true Church, especially preaching, became one of the most convincing arguments in support of compromising on things indifferent.

The letter from Frankfurt and the narrative of the *Troubles at Frankfurt* do not leave any doubt about the authors' understanding of the markers of the true Church. They clearly stated that it needed preaching, sacraments and discipline.¹¹⁷ However, while all exile congregations agreed on the need for preaching and sacraments as markers of the true Church, there were some disagreements on the role of discipline. Frankfurt defended the use of discipline by mentioning that only through discipline could the Church 'contynewe in good order'.¹¹⁸

Contrary to the opinion of the leaders of the 1554 Frankfurt congregation on discipline, in September 1554 John Scory mentioned in a letter concerning Strasbourg's request that he should become a minister in Frankfurt that all that was needed was 'pure preaching of his [God's] word, and the sincere administration of his [God's] Sacraments'.¹¹⁹ Based on his troublesome experiences in Frankfurt and on Paul's epistles to the Corinthians, Richard Chambers even warned that church discipline would only serve to disturb the peace. According to Chambers, 'god is not the auctor of discorde but peace'. However, he continued, there were different rules that everyone in the community needed

¹¹⁷ 'Frankfurt Exile Congregation to Zurich, Wesel, Strasbourg, Emden, Duisburg (02 August 1554)'.

¹¹⁸ *A Brief discourse*, p. vii.

¹¹⁹ 'J. Scory to Frankfurt Congregation (03 September 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

to follow and work that they needed to do and false doctrine needed to be banished.¹²⁰

During his first exile, Vermigli wrote that according to John 17, the ‘unity of the Church [...] consists in the Spirit, the Word of God, the sacraments, and the most intimate fellowship with Christ’.¹²¹ Vermigli clearly identified the sacraments and preaching as markers of the Church; however, these words also define his understanding of the Church as being a covenant with God/Christ.

Heinrich Bullinger, to whom the Zurich exiles especially were close, stressed in his fifth *Decade* the importance of the covenant and that a true Church only needs preaching and the sacraments. Bullinger based his position on the teachings of Christ, Paul’s words and the Isaiah covenant.¹²² In Ephesians 5:25–26, Paul compares the love between husband and wife to the covenant that Christ has with humanity: ‘Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; That he might sanctify it and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.’¹²³ Bullinger, therefore, described how through God’s words and the sacraments, ‘Christ maketh to himself a church.’¹²⁴ Furthermore, in 1 Corinthians 12, Paul defines sacraments further, explaining that it is through the holy spirit that all are ‘baptised in one body’.¹²⁵ The Isaiah covenant in Isaiah 59:21 to which Bullinger refers is also built on God’s word:

And I will make this my Covenant with them, saith the Lord, My Spirit that
is upon thee, and my words, which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart

¹²⁰ ‘Richard Chambers to Richard Cox (19 July 1555)’, *Letters from Exile*.

¹²¹ P. Martyr Vermigli, M. Di Gangi (transl.), ‘Schism and the True Church: Whether Evangelicals Are Schismatics for Having Separated from the Papists’, in J. Patrick Donnelly, J.C. McLelland (eds), *The Peter Martyr Vermigli Library Volume One: Early Writings, Creed. Creed* (Kirkville, 1994), pp. 170–224, p. 224.

¹²² H. Bullinger, ‘The Fifth Decade of Sermons, written by Henry Bullinger. The First Sermon.’, in T. Harding (ed.), H.I. (transl.), *The Decades of Henry Bullinger, Minister of the Church of Zurich: The Fifth Decade* (Cambridge, 1852), pp. 1–48, p. 17.

¹²³ Ibid. p. 17, GNV, Ephesians 5:25–26.

¹²⁴ H. Bullinger, ‘The Fifth Decade of Sermons. The First Sermon’, p. 17.

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 19.

out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of
the seed of thy seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth even forever.¹²⁶

Therefore, the markers of the true Church – preaching and the sacraments – are not only markers of the spiritual or institutional Church but are also essential markers of the covenant that God has made with mankind and therefore are defining markers of Christianity. Christ made himself a church because of his love for mankind, and it needs the sacraments and preaching because those are what make Christ’s Church holy.

Concerning discipline, Bullinger’s opinion was closer to that of Chambers than to the one expressed in the letter from Frankfurt. Agreeing that ecclesiastical discipline could harm the peace of the church, Bullinger believed discipline should be a worldly thing and part of the office of the monarchy.¹²⁷ However, even though Bullinger did not explicitly refer to discipline, he mentioned the ‘study of godliness’, which could imply a kind of study of the catechism and Christian morals but that Bullinger would still distinct from discipline as marker of the Church.¹²⁸ Martin Bucer, who was close to Vermigli and taught many of the exiles in Cambridge, would see this as part of ecclesiastical discipline, which according to his definition of *ecclesia* was one of the markers of the true Church.¹²⁹

According to Bucer, through ‘the word of doctrine [preaching] and admonishment as well as with the holy sacraments’ ‘the Christians [should] be physically gathered’. This was in

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 18. GNV, Isaiah 59:21.

¹²⁷ J. Riuttala, *Kirche und Gesellschaft in Heinrich Bullingers Verständnis vom Reich Christi* (Åbo, 2020), pp. 223-224.

¹²⁸ H. Bullinger, ‘The Fifth Decade of Sermons. The First Sermon’, p. 17.

¹²⁹ A. Nelson Burnett, ‘Church Discipline and Moral Reformation in the Thought of Martin Bucer’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22/3 (1991), pp. 438-456; M. Bucer, ‘Kurtze schriftliche erkläerung fuer die kinder und angoehnden. Der gemeinen artickeln unsers christlichen glaubens. Der zehen gebott. Des Vatter unsers. Hierhin findestu einfeltigen christlicheb vericht aller stucken/ die einem christen nutz unnd not zu wissen seind. Durch die Prediger und diener der gemein zu Straßburg. (1534)’, in R. Stupperich (ed.), *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften Band 6,3. Martin Bucers Katechismen aus den Jahren 1534, 1547, 1543* (Gütersloh, 1987), pp. 53-173, p. 70.

addition to a universal spiritual community in Christ, which consisted of Christians ‘of the whole world that truly believe in him, that ever have believed and that always will belief [in him]’.¹³⁰ For Bucer, the marker of discipline, which was part of the office of the elder as well as the preacher, was vital in maintaining the unity of the congregation but also the ‘pastoral care’ of every single individual that was part of God’s Church.¹³¹ In Philipp of Hessen’s *Ziegenhainer Zuchtordnung*, an order book of discipline that Bucer had constructed and that was established in 1539, confirmation and the catechistic lessons were among aspects of church discipline: ‘healthy doctrine, faithful admonition and healing discipline’.¹³² Discipline was necessary so that Christians would live a faithful life and could ‘become stronger, for the sanctification of his name and the expansion of his realm’.¹³³ In contrast to Chambers’ argument that discipline could harm the Church, Bucer, whose doctrines were very well known among the exiles, was suggesting that it needed discipline for its congregation to have a faithful life in Christ.

Clearly, because Protestantism was still fairly new, the lack of a universal definition of discipline might have been one part of the Marian exiles’ issues. Nonetheless, these different positions regarding the markers of the true Church also reflect the Protestant confessional pluralism that influenced the Marian exiles. The use of discipline had already been discussed before these years in exile, as proven through documents such as the

¹³⁰ Ibid. p. 70. Through ‘wort der lere und ermanug sampt den heyiligen sacramenten’ should ‘die Christen aber leiplich versamlet werden’. Second quote: ... which consisted of Christians that ‘in der gantzen welt an in warlich glauben, je geglaubet haben und immer glauben werden’.

¹³¹ M. Bucer, ‘Ordenung der Christlichen Kirchenzucht. Für die Kirchen im Fürstenthum Hessen’, in R. Stupperich (ed.), *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften Band 7. Schriften der Jahre 1538-1539* (Gütersloh, 1964), pp. 247-278, pp. 262-263. Original quote: ‘seelsorg’.

¹³² Ibid. pp. 260, p. 262. ‘gesunde lere, getrewe vermanung und hylsame zucht’.

¹³³ Ibid. p. 260. ‘stercker werden, zu heyligung seynes Namens und erweiterung seines Reichs’.

Ziegenhainer Zuchtordnung as well as Cranmer's unpublished *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* from 1552.¹³⁴

The questions about the markers of the true Church are also reflected in the debates surrounding the issues pertaining to proper Church order and ceremonies. According to the letters, the original Frankfurt congregation wanted to follow a Calvinist order, but the other congregations were clear in their opinion that they would not join an English Church or community that would not follow the Edwardian Prayer Book, because the letters from Frankfurt suggested that the leaders from the Frankfurt congregation wanted to distance themselves from the 'indifferent' ceremonies of the Edwardian Prayer Book. For the English exiles this was not just a temporary matter but was also a confessional question about the identity of English Protestantism and the structure of their possible future Church and community. Not using the Prayer Book would be an affront to the Marian martyrs, such as Cranmer, who faced the very real prospect of dying (and would of course die) at the stake in Marian England.¹³⁵ John Knox summed up the results of not following certain orders and establishing an ecclesiastical discipline after his departure from Frankfurt: for as long as a true Church was not established, they would be in God's disgrace because this would be an affront against God. The reason for this was that although 'the mater is lyght in the eis of man', for God to neglect 'two or thre gaddered together in Christes name' is 'truble by tyranny'. After it had not been able to establish a Church in Frankfurt, the group surrounding Knox departed for the Calvinistic Geneva and Basel, where they hoped that they would be allowed to found a Church according to their liking and God's will. They

¹³⁴ T. Cranmer, 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum', in G. Bray (ed. transl.), *Tudor Church Reform: The Henrician Canons of 1553 and The Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (Suffolk, 2000), pp. 145-744; J.C. Spalding, 'The Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum of 1552 and the Furthering of Discipline in England', *Church History*, 39/2 (1970), pp. 162-171, p. 168.

¹³⁵ 'Strasbourg Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Exile Congregation (23 November 1554)', *A Brief discourse*, pp. xxii-xxiii, p. xxii.

eventually founded such a church in Geneva, but in Basel there would be ‘no church before their order sett’.¹³⁶ Establishing a Church in exile that would follow proper Reformed orders was, therefore, so important that the exiles would risk a schism in English Protestantism. This shows that the opposing party was already making it clear in these debates that they were not willing to make any compromises, whereas the party surrounding the later Elizabethan bishops was stressing their membership of a universal church and the need for education in order to prevent superstition.

3.3. Institutional or Spiritual Community

Given that they wanted to have all of the English brethren gathered in one place, the representatives of the 1554/1555 Frankfurt congregation hoped to be able to live as one nation again, ‘to repair thither, that they might altogether with one mouthe and one harte bothe lamete their former wickedness’.¹³⁷ The representatives of the Frankfurt congregation stressed this wish for one community again in November 1555 when they argued that not using the Edwardian Prayer Book would only benefit their ‘brethern bands’, and they went as far as agreeing to look for another place for their Church, as long as the English exiles could all be together.¹³⁸ In a previous letter from the same year, they tried to convince the Zurich congregation to join them in Frankfurt, arguing that it was ‘god’s calling’ that this congregation be established. Also, they mentioned further practical and pastoral reasons for having a united community in exile, saying that it would be to ‘bewaile’ their former sins, to pray for those English Protestants who were still under the ‘captiuitie’ of the Antichrist, and, especially, ‘to comforte, instructe, and profit one another’ and ‘to bestowe the time off our persecution together and redde me their daies

¹³⁶ ‘John Knox to William Williams, Thomas Wood, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Huyck (01 May 1555)’, *Letters from Exile*.

¹³⁷ *A Brief discourse*, p. vii.

¹³⁸ ‘Frankfurt Congregation to Zurich Exiles (15 November 1554)’, *Letters from Exile*.

whiche are so euell'.¹³⁹ Similar to their idea of a national English Church, this letter also spoke of a community that was based in a certain place and was physically together. Clearly their desire for a united community was for spiritual and practical pastoral reasons.

The English theologians in Zurich and Strasbourg had other ideas about what such a community should involve, and both groups stressed the importance of the spiritual community with Christ. The Zurich theologian and minister Bullinger defined the word *ecclesia* as both a church and congregation that 'is not tied to any region, nation or kindred'.¹⁴⁰ Strasbourg stated that being together as one nation would provide great 'comfort' and therefore the Church should be 'reinstalled'; however, this would only be possible through following the Edwardian Prayer Book.¹⁴¹ Edwin Sandys, later Archbishop of York, stressed in a sermon that he preached in Strasbourg that all humans are 'in the household of God, all one in Christ' and 'all [are] members of one and the same spiritual body'. He did not speak of one earthly place where humans have to be together, but instead emphasised that through God's 'merciful covenant' whose 'seals' they 'receive' 'in the gospel', they are one.¹⁴² Furthermore, he referred to the 'promise' that God made to them through Jesus in Matthew 18:20: 'For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.'¹⁴³ It is clear that Sandys' vision of a community and a church was a spiritual community that was not bound to a physical place, but to God alone. Also, while the letter from Frankfurt seemed to speak merely of a physical, or even

¹³⁹ 'Frankfurt Congregation to Zurich Exiles (16 September 1554)', *A Brief discourse*, pp. xvii-xviii, p. xvii.

¹⁴⁰ H. Bullinger, 'The Fifth Decade of Sermons. The First Sermon', p. 5.

¹⁴¹ 'Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (13 October 1554)'. Quote in: 'Strasbourg Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Exile Congregation, 23 November 1554', pp. xxii-xxiii.i

¹⁴² E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough', p. 293-294.

¹⁴³ GNV, Matthews 18:20.

institutional Church and community, the theologians in Strasbourg and Zurich clearly distinguished between God's spiritual community and the visible Church.

Following traditional nomenclature, Bullinger called the visible Church the 'militant church', which he saw as 'a congregation of men upon earth, professing the name and religion of Christ'.¹⁴⁴ The visible Church is 'outward', while the invisible church, which he also referred to as the 'triumphant church', is 'invisible and inward'.¹⁴⁵

The visible and outwards church is that which is outwardly known by men for a church, by hearing God's word and partaking of his sacraments, and by public confession of their faith. The invisible and inward is so called, not that men are invisible, but because it is not to be seen with man's eye, and yet doth appear before God's eyes, who believe truly and who feignedly.

For true believers are the true and lively members of this inward church;¹⁴⁶

Thus, Bullinger distinguished between a visible, physical and possibly institutional Church that needed preaching and sacraments and this invisible church. Bullinger, on other occasions, referred to the latter as a covenant with God, a spiritual community of which all 'true believers' are a part.

These ideas are probably best summed up in Pilkington's commentary on Haggai, which was published only shortly after the exile in 1562.¹⁴⁷ Based on 1 Corinthians 3,

¹⁴⁴ Bullinger, 'The Fifth Decade of Sermons. The First Sermon', p. 7.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 5, p. 17.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 17.

¹⁴⁷ K. Gunther, 'Rebuilding the Temple: James Pilkington, Aggeus and Early Elizabethan Puritanism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60/4 (2009), pp. 689-707. As Karl Gunther has pointed out, this text demonstrates how these ideas continued in early Elizabethan England. This text compares the building of the temple in Haggai with the English Protestants' need to build a church. It was published only shortly after Elizabeth acceded to the throne. However, Pilkington's ideas about the Church are not just a reflection of the Elizabethan period but probably also of the Marian exile. This source will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Pilkington argued that through the covenant with Christ, Christians would not just become of one body with him but that in faith they would become ‘liuelye stones’ and with that ‘become the temples of the Holy Trinity.’¹⁴⁸ Pilkington wrote that ‘whan we haue time’ they were supposed to build a church according to ‘our instructuion’.¹⁴⁹ The emphasis on ‘lively stones’ suggests in this context that it was more important to be one spiritual community with Christ than to build a house of dead stones before the time was right. In other words, it was more important to be part of God’s invisible church than to build a visible one. Furthermore, they were supposed to build a temple when they had the time, which would be after their ‘long Romish slauery’ and when they had ‘restored vs gods booke that long had buried’.¹⁵⁰ This would be the same situation as that of the Old Israelites after their return from the Babylonian exile.¹⁵¹ Evidently, Pilkington stressed a spiritual community with God that needed faith and to follow his word. However, he did not neglect the question of the building of a real temple/church; he emphasised that this needed to be done at the right time. The time and place were not in exile, but in a Protestant England when the Book of Common Prayer had been re-established. The examples analysed in this chapter provide a distinctive perspective from the traditional historiographical view of non-conformists and ‘conformists’.¹⁵² According to John S. Coolidge, for example, ‘the conformist is led by’ the strict rules of their government and is more concerned about the ‘civil policy’ of the Church, which the ‘Puritan’ would see as destruction of the ‘nature’ of the ‘living temple’.¹⁵³ But this chapter has shown that during

¹⁴⁸ J. Pilkington, *Aggeus*, sig. Aviiir.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. sig. Aiiiv.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. sig. Aiiir.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. sig. Aiiiv-Aiiir.

¹⁵² See: J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England. Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford, 1970), chapter II Christian Liberty and Edification, see especially: pp. 44-46, pp. 49-54.

¹⁵³ Ibid. p. 52.

the Marian exile and early Elizabethan England this has been true of non-conformists, whose preoccupation with the minutiae of worship was founded in the belief that the Church needed discipline to survive. Those who believed in compromising, cared more about if the gospel was properly preached, the sacraments truly ministered and whether their clergy was well enough educated to undergo these tasks.

3.4. Ministry and Preaching in Exile

In their invitation to the other English exile congregations, the authors of the letter from Frankfurt stressed not only the importance of being one nation again but also the importance of ministry. Ministry through the act of preaching was one of the markers of the true Church. The Frankfurt congregation defined the office of ministry as a ‘dutie & vocation’ that follows from God’s speaking to human ‘harts by faith’.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, ministry and its most important duty, preaching, were seen as important and necessary parts of a Church and spiritual community. This section will demonstrate that in their choice of minister and their understanding of his practical duties, the involved parties articulated their religious preferences. This and the following section will also emphasise that the importance of education and educated ministers for the fight against superstition and idolatry were clear points of distinction between the arguing parties.

The choice of the right minister said much about the English exiles’ understanding of the office of ministry and about their religious beliefs. The narrative of the *Troubles at Frankfurt* mentions that the leader of the 1554 Frankfurt exiles requested John Knox from Geneva, James Haddon from Strasbourg and Thomas Lever from Zurich.¹⁵⁵ All of these men were well-known and authoritative figures who had good relationships with

¹⁵⁴ ‘Frankfurt Exile Congregation to Zurich, Wesel, Strasbourg, Emden, Duisburg (02 August 1554)’.

¹⁵⁵ *A Brief discourse*, p. xiii.

continental reformers, and each had a keen desire for further reform. However, not all of them were ordained ministers, which suggests that the Frankfurt congregation was happy to accept lay ministry. Their choice of Knox in particular was a sign of their identification with Calvinist Reformed Protestantism. John Knox himself looked to Calvin for support rather than at the leading reformers in Strasbourg and Zurich.¹⁵⁶ And the Calvinist order chose laymen such as deacons, readers and elders in addition to ordained ministers for leading positions concerning discipline, pastoral care and religious education.¹⁵⁷ Examples of Calvinist communities examined in the literature show that those in these lay positions would also take over ministry responsibilities such as giving out the Last Supper and leading prayer services when ministers were absent.¹⁵⁸ This certainly reflected the Frankfurt congregation's ideals concerning a perfect church community, which was in line with Calvinist rites and confession. A further example of the congregation's delegates' ideals is demonstrated by the method they chose to elect their ministers. In their letter to Knox, the congregation stressed that Knox had been chosen by the whole community, chosen 'with one voice & consent'.¹⁵⁹ This was in contrast to the guidance issued in Cranmer's Edwardian *Reformatio*, which expected ministers to be appointed by a superintendent, ideally a bishop.¹⁶⁰ Christopher Goodman reported to Vermigli in 1555 that the opposing party surrounding Richard Cox requested that 'in the matter of choosing their ministers no one was to have a vote in that election who had not previously subscribed to all the articles and ceremonies'; this also included 'those which had by common verdict

¹⁵⁶ J. Dawson, *John Knox*, p. 95.

¹⁵⁷ R. Rohloff, *Johannes Calvin. Leben, Werk, Wirkung* (Göttingen, 2011), p. 39.

¹⁵⁸ R.A. Mentzer, 'The Appeal of Calvinism in France', in I. Dingel, H.J. Selderhuis (eds), *Calvin und Calvinismus. Europäische Perspektiven* (Göttingen, 2011), pp.103-114, pp. 109-110.

¹⁵⁹ 'Frankfurt Exile Congregation to John Knox (24 September 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. T. Cranmer, 'Reformatio', p. 239.

previously been left out'.¹⁶¹ These ceremonies were accepted on the basis of indifference. Goodman disagreed with the articles regarding the usage of the 'ceremonies which are contained in the book of common prayer' and the 'article about the title Supreme Head'.¹⁶² According to Goodman's letter, the opposing party was defending its decision regarding subscribing to the articles and ceremonies by referring to the 'authority of the [Frankfurt] magistrates and the authority of reformers like Vermigli, who would have called this a matter of *adiaphora* even though he would have disagreed with the usage of 'vestments, genuflection, and the position at the north and end of the table'.¹⁶³ This disagreement regarding the process of electing a minister shows a clear resemblance to the later Elizabethan conformity debates which not only relied on the arguments concerning indifference and magisterial and continental theologians' authority, but also did not offer those who would be opposed to them much of a choice. It was a case of either compromising on these articles or losing all rights.¹⁶⁴ Subscribing to these articles in exile would not necessarily mean that they agreed on everything, but not signing these articles would mean losing out on every chance of shaping their Church in exile. Subscribing would also have ensured that the elected ministers were the type that would conform to the leading exiles that surrounded the group that supported Richard Cox's idea of the church. Hence, those parties in Marian exile who had already agreed to compromise would have the upper hand and would probably have better chances of being accepted by a later Protestant English magistrate. In the case of the opposing party surrounding Whittingham, Knox and Goodman, this would have meant either a loss of control in favour of the Coxian

¹⁶¹ 'Christopher Goodman to Peter Martyr Vermigli (28 March 1555 [2nd letter])', *Letters from Exile*.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ 'Archbishop Parker to Bishop Grindal (28 March 1566)', *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 272-274, p. 274.

party and a well-thought-out compromise for the greater good or an acceptance that there would not be a united national Church in exile.

A letter to John Knox signed by twenty-two exiles in Frankfurt stressed that even though they had a church building, it would need a minister to make it a 'real' church. They requested that he would 'preache' to them with 'the most lyvelve word of God according to the gyfte that God hath given' to him.¹⁶⁵ The repeated emphasis on preaching being a minister's job above anything else suggested that a church cannot exist without a preacher that preaches the gospel to the congregation. Furthermore, even though Frankfurt wanted to elect their own ministers, they still understood preaching not only as a minister's job but also as a vocation or a gift from God himself. Again, these questions surrounding the right minister and the way he would be chosen demonstrate the pluralistic and confessional differences between the different English congregations. The letters of the 1554 Frankfurt congregation certainly tended to lean closer to the Genevan confessionalism, while the opposing groups were influenced by Zurich and Edwardian Protestantism.

This letter also indicates their expectations of a preacher besides his preaching duties and personal characteristics. The ideal minister would be of the same 'nation, tonge, & countrey', which further supports their idea of having one community that identifies as one English group.¹⁶⁶ This again, is a very common pattern of exile. Indeed, the Old Testament Israelites, with whom the Marian exiles identified, showed a stronger identification towards their faith and community.¹⁶⁷ However, the phrase regarding being of one 'tongue' implies that the minister was expected to preach in a language that they

¹⁶⁵ 'Frankfurt Exile Congregation to John Knox (24 September 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ D.L. Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile* (Minneapolis, 2002), p. 138.

would understand and that would make hearing the gospel possible. This motive can also be detected when the Frankfurt congregation declined the French congregation's invitation to join them in worship because of the language barrier.¹⁶⁸ Also, as previously mentioned, the other exile congregations likewise wanted to hear the gospel in their language, even though they were following their host's liturgical order.

A letter from the Frankfurt congregation from September 1554 to John Knox further identifies the ideal minister as someone who worked for 'the profett of this Congregation' and served as a shepherd and leader.¹⁶⁹ All of these elements are recognised pastoral characteristics that can be seen in the bible and other theological works. Bullinger, for example, wrote an entire treatise on the minister/preacher as prophet.¹⁷⁰ In their description of a shepherd, the delegates of the Frankfurt congregation expressed their desire for pastoral guidance and togetherness: 'The poor shepe of Christs dispersed abroode, who' are with Knox '& the like presences wold come hither & be of one folde, whereas now they wander abrode as loste shepe w(i)thout guides'.¹⁷¹ Without this pastoral guidance they felt lost.

However, while Knox was an ordained and well-known Protestant minister, this was not the case for all those whom the Frankfurt congregation requested. James Haddon declined their invitation because he was not an ordained minister. The only reason he had preached in the past was due to King Edward's request. However, Haddon believed that taking on the position of a minister in exile would be an affront to every learned and

¹⁶⁸ *A Brief discourse*, p. v.

¹⁶⁹ 'Frankfurt Exile Congregation to John Knox (24 September 1554)'.

¹⁷⁰ D. Bolliger, 'Bullinger on Church Authority: The Transformation of the Prophetic Role in Christian Ministry', in B. Gordon, E. Campi (eds) *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger 1504-1575* (Eugene, 2004), pp. 159-177, pp. 160 subs.

¹⁷¹ 'Frankfurt Exile Congregation to John Knox (24 September 1554)'.

ordained true minister; in fact, it would ‘be offensive even to the godly’.¹⁷² He emphasised that a minister is supposed to have knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, neither of which he had.¹⁷³ Haddon stressed that the knowledge of these language was essential, ‘For thaversiaries have & do often upbraid the translation of the most sacred bible.’¹⁷⁴ He was not alone in his expectation that a minister should be a trained and well-educated theologian. In fact, the Strasbourg response also stressed the need for ‘learned ministers’.¹⁷⁵ This, again, is in line with the Edwardian view on ministry. Cranmer stressed in his *Reformatio* that when electing a minister, superintendents were not supposed to elect only those who ‘claim [that they are to be] full of the Spirit of God, but that they will consider and weigh their lives and [*circumstances* learning] [sic]’.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, a preacher ‘brings godliness and the right doctrine’ to the office. However, contrary to the 1554 Frankfurt congregation, Cranmer’s *Reformatio* emphasises that only those who are ‘called to it by the lawful power of those responsible for it’ are allowed to preach.¹⁷⁷ This indicates that besides being appointed by a lawful force and being Protestant, ministers were supposed to have a solid educational background. The views of both the Zurich and the Strasbourg exile congregations on how to redeem their former sins through education emphasised the need for preachers to have a theological education.¹⁷⁸

Besides the disagreements on the need for education, all the groups agreed on the importance of preaching. Preaching was the promulgation of the word of God. According

¹⁷² ‘James Haddon to Frankfurt Congregation (16 October 1554)’, *Letters from Exile*.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Edmund Grindal to William Whittingham (11 August 1554)’.

¹⁷⁶ T. Cranmer, ‘Reformatio’, p. 239.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 239.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Edmund Grindal to Richard Cox (06 November 1554)’; ‘Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (13 October 1554)’; ‘Zurich Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (27 October 1554)’.

to Protestant theology, salvation requires individuals to hear the gospel, meaning God's word.¹⁷⁹ This is what Arnold Hunt referred to as '*fides ex auditu*' – faith through hearing.¹⁸⁰ Considering the situation the Marian exiles were in and their belief that they were being punished for their former sins, it is not surprising that one of their priorities was to be able to hear their gospel in their own language so that they would be able to find salvation and redemption.

In the third sermon of his fifth *Decade*, Bullinger defined ministry as an office that is 'appointed' by God for 'building his church'. His description of the duties of a minister is in line with his definition of the markers of the true Church. A minister was supposed to 'stir up, and also to maintain, public prayers and the administration of the sacraments', though he should be 'especially' 'occupied in preaching the word of God' He thought that through preaching the word of God and by receiving his word, humans are in a covenant with God.¹⁸¹ They are 'bound' to God, in his word, but he will bring them salvation. He also believed that through humans preaching, God 'coveteth to pour himself wholly into' mankind and through this, humans would 'both be strengthened and blessed in him; and may perfectly understand his will' to them.¹⁸² Bullinger connected this concept to the Old Testament and the events surrounding the Sinaitic covenant. In Deuteronomy 5, God reacts to the fearful requests of the tribe elders that the word of God should be spoken through Moses, instead of God, since they feared they would die when seeing God's face.¹⁸³ This

¹⁷⁹ D.J. Appleby, 'Issues of Audiences and Reception in Restoration Preaching', in G. Baker, A. McGruer (eds), *Readers, Audiences and Coterie in Early Modern England* (Newcastle, 2006), pp. 10-28, 19.

¹⁸⁰ A. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 21- 22.

¹⁸¹ H. Bullinger, 'The Fifth Decade of Sermons, written by Henry Bullinger. Third Sermon.', in T. Harding (ed.), H.I. (transl.), *The Decades of Henry Bullinger, Minister of the Church of Zurich: The Fifth Decade* (Cambridge, 1852), pp. 93-127, p. 93.

¹⁸² Ibid. p. 93.

¹⁸³ Ibid. p. 95.

general Protestant understanding of ministerial duties identified preaching as the key discipline of a minister. Preaching meant that the word of God would be projected onto humans and that the ministers would be God's trumpet, or as Bullinger recalls Paul, 'fellow-labourers with God'.¹⁸⁴ This serves to highlight not just the importance of the minister but also and even more so the necessity of preaching to achieve salvation and to maintain a covenant with God. This must have been especially true for the exiles, who already feared the wrath of God and believed they had to live through his punishment. They needed a minister who would preach to them in order to enable them to find their way into his divine covenant.

According to Sandys' Strasbourg sermon, there were only two ways to receive God's grace: partaking in the sacraments and hearing the gospel. Through these activities, 'the Holy Ghost doth offer, exhibit, seal, and deliver the grace of God unto us'.¹⁸⁵ He underlined the importance of the word grace by explaining that God's grace is 'purchased for us by Christ' and 'offered unto us by the word'. However, preaching, in his view, was clearly not the only way to receive the word of God; the other important duty of a minister and a marker of the true Church, ministering the sacraments, was equally important.¹⁸⁶ Sandys' view in this debate on ministry and preaching reflects the general fears and opinions of the exiles. He stressed that '[g]race is the favour and mercy of God towards sinful men'.¹⁸⁷ This not only referred to the Original Sin that all humans were thought to encounter, but it also referred to the exiles' current situation: they had all 'grievously sinned in not esteeming so precious, nor following so religiously, his [God's] blessed

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 98.

¹⁸⁵ Edwin Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough', p. 299.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 302.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 297.

gospel as we ought to do', so they were all sinners.¹⁸⁸ Hence, they had been punished by having a Catholic queen and having to leave their country.¹⁸⁹ Evidently, it was vital that they found redemption through God's grace, which was only offered through his word.

Overall, it can be noted that all positions agreed on the importance of ministry and preaching. It was generally agreed that a minister was appointed by God and that preaching was necessity for the establishment of a true Church. In fact, when one looks more closely into the different positions towards ministry and preaching, it is clear that the office and duties of a minister reflect the markers of a true Church and that a true Church cannot exist without a minister, its office and duties. However, while the representatives of the 1554 Frankfurt congregation particularly highlighted the pastoral role of a minister and his part in establishing a national community, the other congregations, along with the voices of Bullinger, Sandys and Pilkington, placed a stronger emphasis on different expectations of a minister. For them, it was important that a minister was well educated and therefore able to preach the gospel using the right wording. Furthermore, Bullinger's *Decades* and Sandys' sermon had shown that the idea of preaching and ministry was closely connected to the doctrine of salvation and justification. However, even though there was general agreement on the importance of the minister's office and their duties, the differences between the various theological positions and the decisions made by the individual congregations regarding choosing the right minister continued to reflect the different characters of the exile congregations.

In Elizabethan England, many of the future bishops, including Cox, Grindal, Sandys, Pilkington and Parkhurst, came to disagree with aspects of the Elizabethan

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 298.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. pp. 295-296.

religious settlement, such as vestments and kneeling. However, when faced with the prospect of losing their rights to minister and preach the word of God, they chose to compromise rather than give up their calling.¹⁹⁰

4. Liturgy and the Prayer Book

The debates around the Frankfurt party's refusal to incorporate the Edwardian Prayer Book and its liturgy and ceremonies peaked after John Knox's arrival in the city in autumn 1554.¹⁹¹ The disputes eventually led to Richard Chambers' request to involve Richard Cox in discussions with the Strasbourg and Zurich congregations.¹⁹² This section will propose that the arguments regarding liturgy and alterations to the Prayer Book were not only strongly connected to the debates pertaining to future reform of the English Church in exile but also that they revealed what the different parties were willing to compromise on in order to edify their church. This suggestion is essential as these arguments regarding liturgy and alterations to the Prayer Book reflected the arguments that supported the decisions to conform, which will be discussed in chapter four of this thesis. This section will also demonstrate that even though most of the reformed theologians were not visibly involved in these particular debates, the exiles involved in these debates were continually looking for their approval and authority.

When they responded to the multiple invitations that were sent from Frankfurt, the Zurich and Strasbourg congregations argued that they would not join the Frankfurt congregation unless they adopted the same liturgy and ceremonies that were required by

¹⁹⁰ Chapter three will explore the opinions on the true Church and its markers in early Elizabethan England. In chapter four of this thesis, it will be argued that even though the bishops would not agree on everything, they put their duties as preachers above everything and compromised for the sake of salvation and preaching the gospel.

¹⁹¹ *A Brief discourse*, p. xix.

¹⁹² 'Edmund Grindal to Richard Cox (06 November 1554)'. The arrival of Cox is described in: *A Brief discourse*, p. xxxviii.

the Edwardian Prayer Book.¹⁹³ However, despite multiple attempts by the other congregation, visits by delegates such as Richard Chambers, and even the interference of Richard Cox, the leaders of the 1554/1555 Frankfurt congregation continued to refuse to follow their request.¹⁹⁴ In fact, the exiles in Frankfurt who supported Whittingham and Knox were so earnest with their refusal that it eventually led to the dissolution of the original Frankfurt congregation. It dissolved into congregations in Geneva and Basel, which were granted exile churches that had the characteristics that they had been looking for.¹⁹⁵ The delegates from Frankfurt claimed that following the Prayer Book would be a breach of their agreement with the Frankfurt magistrates.¹⁹⁶ If they broke their agreement with the magistrates, they would destroy all hopes of having worldly and practical permission to have such a church.

However, the main reasons for refusing the requests of the exiles who supported the later bishops Cox, Sandys and Grindal were driven by the Frankfurt leaders' desire to establish a truly Reformed Church in exile and their genuine belief that in so doing they would achieve redemption. During Knox's trial, which eventually led to his departure, his defenders, who historiographical called Knoxians, stressed that such a church would surely not leave any room for a prayer book that was 'not quite perfect' yet and in need of further reform.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, in their response sent to Zurich in November 1554, Whittingham and the other leader of Frankfurt had stated that they would use the Prayer Book and follow ceremonies 'as far as Gode worde dothe com(m)ende it, & as tyme & place will serve, but as for the rest of thunprofitable ceremoneys as well by his consente as ours are not be

¹⁹³ 'Zurich Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (27 October 1554)', pp. xviii-xix.

¹⁹⁴ *A Brief discourse*, pp. xix-lx.

¹⁹⁵ 'Christopher Goodman to John a Lasco (23 December 1555)'.

¹⁹⁶ 'Frankfurt Congregation to Strasbourg Exiles (03 December 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

¹⁹⁷ 'Supporter of John Knox at Frankfurt to John Glauburg (c21 March 1555)', *Letters from Exile*.

used'.¹⁹⁸ Therefore, in the eyes of the party at Frankfurt, they had God and the Edwardian Church on their side. According to the representatives of the Frankfurt congregation, had Edward VI lived longer, he would have made further changes and reforms to the Prayer Book. A few days later, a letter to Strasbourg described the unprofitable ceremonies as 'indifferent ceremonies'.¹⁹⁹ The supports of Whittingham and Knox in exile in Frankfurt stressed that they had their own functioning church and argued that because these ceremonies were indifferent, they were not worth arguing about.²⁰⁰ This kind of comment on *adiaphora* and liturgy offers important insights into the Knoxians' beliefs. Despite their warning that there would be no reason for disagreement over this issue, these letters indicate that the Knoxians were convinced that ceremonies that could be considered indifferent would only harm their Church.

Regarding this matter, the different exiled parties tried to get reassurance, support or mediation from one of the most prominent continental reformers. In December 1554, the English exiles in Frankfurt who supported Knox and Whittingham sent a letter to Calvin which included a Latin version of the Prayer Book.²⁰¹ In his reply, Calvin mostly stressed that unity among all Protestants was the most important thing, but he also conceded that 'there was not that puritie whiche was to be desired.'²⁰² In 1555, in his letter to Richard Cox, Calvin described his issues with the Edwardian Prayer Book even more precisely. In this letter, he denounced items such as lamps and crosses as superstitious and insisted they

¹⁹⁸ 'Frankfurt Congregation to Zurich Exiles (15 November 1554)'.

¹⁹⁹ 'Frankfurt Congregation to Strasbourg Exiles (03 December 1554)'.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. The Frankfurt congregation did not specify the kind of ceremonies much further; however, it can be suggested that they meant all kinds of 'outward' things like those described in the following letter of Calvin. Further, the narrative of the *Troubles* also mentions that John Knox refused to 'minister the communion' as it was described in the Prayer Book because it was not done according to scripture but 'onely by warrant of mans authoritie and no growne in godds worde for the same and had also a longe tyme verye superstitiously in the mass byn wickedly abused': *A Brief discourse*, p. xxvii.

²⁰¹ 'Frankfurt Exile Congregation to John Calvin (11 December 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

²⁰² 'John Calvin to John Knox and William Whittingham (20 January 1555)'.

should not be used in churches. Further, Calvin declared the ceremonies to be ‘useless’ and stressed that they were not necessary ‘when it will be possible to obtain the liberty of a pure and simple order’.²⁰³ Similarly harsh words were employed by John Knox in a sermon he delivered in Frankfurt in which he called the Prayer Book ‘superstitious, vnpure and unperfect’ and accused it of lacking church discipline. Indeed, Knox declared the ‘slackness to reforme religion’ would be a reason for God’s anger against the exiles.²⁰⁴ A letter written by Thomas Cole to an unnamed friend at the end of the dispute summed up the issues that the original Frankfurt congregation had concerning taking part in indifferent ceremonies. In a similar manner to Knox, Cole stated that holding on to old ceremonies was akin to making old mistakes and ‘vnless god geue them to repent their olde faultes and humble them more to knowe them selues’. He hoped that God would have mercy on the new Frankfurt congregation that was under the leadership of Cox.²⁰⁵

In February 1555, Thomas Sampson requested mediation from Calvin, as he feared that this dispute was destroying the unity of the English Church.²⁰⁶ He summed up the dispute as follows:

For a strong controversy has arisen, while some desire the book of reformation of the church of England to be set aside altogether, others only deem some things in it objectionable, such as kneeling at the Lord’s supper, the linen surplice, and other matters of this kind; but the rest of it, namely,

²⁰³ ‘Jean Calvin to Richard Cox et al. (31 May 1555)’.

²⁰⁴ *A Brief discourse*, p. xxxviii.

²⁰⁵ ‘Thomas Cole to unnamed friend (1555/6)’, p. lx.

²⁰⁶ ‘Thomas Sampson to John Calvin (23 February 1555)’, *Original Letters*, pp. 170-172, p. 171.

the prayers, scripture, lessons, and the form of the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper they wish to be retained.²⁰⁷

This letter shows that one side of the dispute was not willing to compromise at all on the matter of the Prayer Book, while the other would have been willing to abandon some of the more controversial and inflammatory practices. Two months later, a letter that was signed by Cox, Grindal, Sandys, Sampson, Horne, Lever and four other exiles aimed to defend their choice not to involve Calvin in this matter.²⁰⁸ They stressed that they respected Calvin's authority but thought it would be 'less inconvenience' if they could have 'settled' this 'between the brethren themselves'; however, now they wanted to ensure that he would get an accurate description of their actions.²⁰⁹ Like the opposition, they used the authority of the magistrate to defend their case, but they stressed that it was the magistrate that permitted them to use the Prayer Book and that they 'relinquished all those ceremonies which were regarded by our brethren as offensive and inconvenient'.²¹⁰ In fact, they decided to compromise by leaving out these ceremonies and outward rites, 'not as being impure and papistical' but because they 'were in their own nature indifferent'. The only area where they were not willing to make any compromises was the issue of their liturgy, as they wanted to keep 'the form of prayer and of the administration of the sacraments' which both had already been approved by 'almost the whole [English] church' in Edwardian England.²¹¹ Half a year later, the minister of the Frankfurt exile congregation, David Whitehead, who had by then been appointed, the 'Minister of the Word of God' Thomas Becon, Cox and four others sent another letter to Calvin, in which they warned

²⁰⁷ 'Thomas Sampson to John Calvin (23 February 1555)', p. 170.

²⁰⁸ 'Richard Cox and Others to John Calvin (05 April 1555)'.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 753.

²¹⁰ Ibid. pp. 753-754.

²¹¹ Ibid. p. 754.

him that their opponents, whom Calvin called his ‘friends’, were using Calvin’s authority to ‘shamelessly abuse’ it and for the purpose of ‘disturbing our church’.²¹² While the previous letter had been searching for authority and maybe support from Calvin, this letter had a much more bitter tone, as it called Calvin ‘ignorant of almost all the circumstances of our case’. Therefore, they thought it would be better if Calvin did not get involved further in their case.²¹³ Nonetheless, this did not stop them from further defending their case and arguing once again that the civil magistrate of Frankfurt was supporting them.²¹⁴ Clearly, continental support was welcomed as long as it buttressed their own opinion, although even if it did not, they tried to find some kind of validation from the continental reformers. Besides these insights into the involvement with Calvin, the letter raises an important issue that became prominent in the Elizabethan debates about conformity: the deserting of offices and churches. Much like the conformists in the later Elizabethan debates, Whitehead, Cox and their fellow authors criticised Whittingham and the other Knoxians for ‘shamefully desert[ing]’ their Church and congregation. This they did ‘solely on account of ceremonies which even they themselves dare no longer affirm to be ungodly, or can prove to be at variance with the word of God’.²¹⁵ This again shows an important difference between the involved parties. While the Protestants supporting Whittingham, Goodman or Knox argued that these ceremonies were harming the Church to such a degree

²¹² ‘David Whitehead and others to John Calvin (20 September 1555)’, *Original Letters* 2, pp. 755-763, p. 756.

²¹³ *Ibid.* p. 758.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 759.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 762; Anonymous, *A briefe examination for the tyme, of a certaine declaration, lately out in print in the name and defence of certaine ministers in London, refusing to weare the apparel prescribed by the lawes and orders of the realme In the end is reported. the iudgement of two notable fathers, M. doctor Bucer, and M. doctor Martir ... translated out of the originals, written by theyr owne hands, purposely debatying this controuersie* (London, 1566), sig. *** 1r.

that their conscience forbade them from taking part in them, the other defending party saw it as more harmful to desert the Church on the grounds of things like ceremonies.²¹⁶

The example of the letter exchange with Calvin shows that, generally, both sides of the debate were looking for guidance and approval from the continental reformers. This included not only Calvin, to whose doctrines the Knoxians were probably the closest, but also Bullinger and Vermigli. In July 1555, Chambers suggested to Cox that to solve the issue with Knox it would be best ‘to be in hande either with Mr A Lasco, or Mr Martyr’.²¹⁷ Goodman, who can be described as a Knoxian, complained about the controversy to Vermigli, and while he was clearly hoping for approval, his letter did defend his position.²¹⁸ Besides the obvious letter exchange between the exiles and the continental theologians, the indirect influence of studying their doctrines and living in their communities must not be underestimated. The fact that both sides of the dispute tried to claim support from the same theologians also suggests that they probably felt that being careful regarding their involvement with these debates would be best. Because in the end, they had all built personal relationships with those on both sides of the conflict. In June 1558, Vermigli explained to Goodman that he did not want to get involved in any further quarrels, because during the dispute in Frankfurt he ‘ran into some sort of resentment’. He said he would happily discuss matters in private, but since he considered the English theologians and exiles his friends, he wanted to avoid publicly interfering.²¹⁹ Two years previously, Vermigli had already expressed that he ‘should wish that here at last there were

²¹⁶ See chapter four.

²¹⁷ ‘Richard Chambers to Richard Cox (19 July 1555)’, *Letters from Exile*.

²¹⁸ ‘Christopher Goodman to Peter Martyr Vermigli (28 March 1555 [2nd letter])’.

²¹⁹ ‘Peter Martyr Vermigli to Christopher Goodman (11 June 1558)’, *Letters from Exile*.

an end to the quarrels and disputes'.²²⁰ It seems that for Vermigli, having peace among the exiles was more important than debates about ceremonies.

Despite all the disagreements, the English exile congregations did not disagree on every level. They agreed that it was important to hear the gospel in a language they could understand. However, with the exception of the English Protestants in Frankfurt, exile congregations did not mind integrating with the church communities they found in their respective places of exile.²²¹ In fact, many exiles even approved of them: in his letter to William Whittingham in August 1554, Grindal described the French congregation's order at Strasbourg as 'very godlie ordered'. Nevertheless, the exile congregation must have been engaged in discussions about acceptable ceremonies and liturgy beyond the debates with Frankfurt. For example, in November 1554 the Strasbourg congregation was embroiled in discussions over the use of metrical psalms in their church services. A letter from Erkynewald Rawlins to Richard Chambers reassured Chambers that all Protestant church congregations sang psalms during their services and that it was only important that they were true to the scripture.²²² This shows that the Strasbourg congregation stressed the importance of following the true scripture in their ceremonies, just as the opposing party had also done.

As previously stated, in contrast to the Frankfurt party, the Strasbourg and Zurich congregations did not necessarily intend to establish and further reform the English Church in exile. This alone would explain why they had a different motivation to the

²²⁰ 'Peter Martyr Vermigli to Christopher Goodman (1 April 1556)', *Letters from Exile*.

²²¹ However, it must be noted that Frankfurt differed significantly from the other places of exile as Frankfurt was Lutheran and not Reformed. However, the English exiles in Frankfurt also refused to join the French and Dutch congregations in Frankfurt due to differences in the language used and the ceremonies performed (*A Brief discourse*, p. v). Until the end of the Marian exile, the English exiles in Frankfurt remained separated from the other stranger churches.

²²² 'Erkynewald Rawlins to Richard Chambers (24 November 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

representatives of the Frankfurt congregation regarding the use of the Edwardian Prayer Book. The theologians at Strasbourg and Zurich were clear that one of their requirements for joining the Frankfurt congregation concerned the use of the Edwardian Prayer Book and the incorporation of Edwardian ceremonies.²²³ In fact, as the letters between Calvin and the exiles supporting Cox have shown, while they were willing to compromise on things indifferent, the introduction of the Edwardian Prayer Book was non-negotiable. In November 1554, the Strasbourg congregation wrote that if they established an English Church, they would want to have it back ‘to it former perfection off the laste, had in Englande, so farre as possiblie can be attained’.²²⁴ Consequently, their idea of an institutional Church followed the Edwardian examples; however, they were aware that their current position might not have allowed them to establish everything the way they would have wished to.

The same letter also stressed the main reasons why keeping the Prayer Book was non-negotiable for the Zurich and Strasbourg congregations. Strasbourg stressed that accusing the Prayer Book of imperfection meant ‘to accuse oure doctrine of imperfection’.²²⁵ This was a very problematic accusation given that the Edwardian Protestants had worked hard to establish this doctrine and that the Prayer Book had become the ‘most elaborate liturgy of any Protestant church in western Europe’. Furthermore, through the abandonment of the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, the Edwardian Prayer Book clearly distinguished the English Church from the Catholic Church.²²⁶ Clearly, in the eyes of the Strasbourg and Zurich exiles, their liturgy was a distinctly

²²³ ‘Zurich Congregation to Frankfurt Congregation (27 October 1554)’.

²²⁴ ‘Strasbourg Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Exile Congregation (23 November 1554)’.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ D. MacCulloch, ‘The Myth of the English Reformation’, p. 7.

Protestant liturgy. It was also part of their doctrinal beliefs as well as their religious identity.

Moreover, changing, especially changing the liturgy, would mean that they would ‘condemne the chief authors theroff, who as they now suffer, so are they most redie to confirme that facte with the price off their blouds’.²²⁷ The exile congregations were very aware of the fate that their ‘chief authors’ were facing in Marian England. No martyr’s fate was probably as well followed as Thomas Cranmer’s. In 1555, Vermigli stressed what an excellent ‘sheperd’ Cranmer had been and professed his regret that Cranmer had not written more.²²⁸ In 1556, accounts of Cranmer darkened, with a letter of Thomas Cole mentioning that Cranmer would die any day, and only a day later, Julius Terentianus reported Cranmer’s death and the symbolic burning of his picture in Rome.²²⁹

However, while the Strasbourg and Zurich exile congregations took this as a very serious reason for keeping the Edwardian Prayer Book, the narrative of the *Troubles at Frankfurt* also took their martyrs into account, albeit with a different understanding. According to the Frankfurt party, it would have been in Cranmer’s – and also Bullinger’s – interest to change the Prayer Book. In fact, Cranmer himself had made changes in Edwardian England, but they had not been published.²³⁰ This argumentation of the Frankfurt party must be interpreted very cautiously, not only because the narrative is clearly a polemical and retrospective piece, but also because they used the Edwardian vestment controversies between John Hooper and Cranmer to promote their own cause,

²²⁷ ‘Strasbourg Exile Congregation to Frankfurt Exile Congregation (23 November 1554)’.

²²⁸ ‘Peter Martyr Vermigli to John Jewel (08 March 1555)’.

²²⁹ ‘William Cole to Christopher Goodman (14 March 1556)’, *Letters from Exile*; ‘Julius Terentianus to Christopher Goodman (15 March 1556)’, *Letters from Exile*.

²³⁰ *A Brief discourse*, p. 1.

with Cranmer being on the opposite side of the controversy.²³¹ Additionally, the Edwardian Prayer Book was highly influenced by the voices of Vermigli and Bucer.²³² Although they did not share the opinion of Cranmer, the Strasbourg and Zurich exiles were much closer to Vermigli and Bucer than the Frankfurt exiles had been; they were closer to Knox and Calvin. This demonstrates that a commemoration of their martyrs and the chief authors of the Prayer Book was motivated by far more than sentimentality and was probably also a question of theological allegiance and personal relationships.

After the accession of Elizabeth, a letter written in January 1559 by James Pilkington and other leading exiles that had not yet returned to England highlighted a further reason why they might have been willing to compromise on ceremonies.²³³ This letter was responding to a letter written by exiles including Goodman, Anthony Gilby, Whittingham, Coverdale and Knox who were situated in Geneva and concerned that the returning Protestants would follow and teach the orders that they had experienced during their time in exile in a now Protestant England.²³⁴ In their response, the soon-to-be bishop of Durham and the exiles around him expressed that they ‘truste that both true religion shall be restored, and that we shall not be burthened with vnprofitable ceremonies’. Because of this trust, they agreed to ‘submit’ themselves to the orders that were ‘established by authoritie’. Their willingness to conform to or compromise regarding orders that would also maintain ceremonies that other Reformed churches were not taking part in was based on the knowledge that ‘all reformed churches differ amonge them selues

²³¹ ‘Frankfurt Congregation to Frankfurt Senate’, in *A Brief discourse*, pp. xl-xliii.

²³² D. MacCulloch, ‘Peter Martyr and Thomas Cranmer’, in E. Campi (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation/ Petrus Martyr Vermigli: Humanismus, Republikanismus, Reformation* (Geneva, 2002), pp. 173-202, p. 191; C. Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, pp. 94-95.

²³³ ‘James Pilkington, John Mullings, Henry Carowe, et al. to Geneva congregation (3 January 1559)’, *A Brief discourse*, pp. clxxxviii-cxc,

²³⁴ ‘Christopher Goodman, William Whittingham, Miles Coverdale, John Knox, Anthony Gilby et al. to Frankfurt congregation (15 December 1559)’, *A Brief discourse*, pp. clxxxvi-clxxxvii, p. clxxxviii.

in diuers ceremonies, and yet agree in the vnitie of doctrine'.²³⁵ Therefore, it was not the ceremonies that made them part of God's true and universal Church but the doctrine, and it was also the matter of the right doctrine that persuaded the later compromists to conform to what the civil authority. Hence, defining the nature of the true Church and what made them distinguishingly Protestant became essential for the formation of the future English Church and its leading clergy.

5. Outcome and Compromise

After Calvin's critical letter regarding the issue of the Prayer Book, the representatives of the Frankfurt congregation were assured that they could not keep everything that the Prayer Book directed. As the congregation was not able to agree on one liturgy, it was down to Knox, Whittingham, Parry and Lever to develop a liturgy of compromises.²³⁶

The surviving liturgy of compromises highlights how estranged the different parties actually were. Robin Leaver's examination of the liturgy suggests that the English exiles might have been closer in terms of their liturgical preferences than the narrative of the *Troubles at Frankfurt* suggests.²³⁷ However, he also points out that it must be questioned whether this liturgy is the Knoxian liturgy or the Coxian liturgy, which was constructed slightly later. Evidence which suggests that Knox was not the author includes the section on 'canticles and vesicles and responses at Morning and Evening Prayer, and especially the litany'. However, the liturgy also omits the cross that was used during baptism and the ring that was part of the marriage ceremonies, which Knox would denounce.²³⁸

²³⁵ 'James Pilkington, John Mullings, Henry Carowe, et al. to Geneva congregation (3 January 1559)', p. clxxxix.

²³⁶ *A Brief discourse*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

²³⁷ R.A. Leaver (ed.), 'The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles 1555', *Grove Liturgical Study*, 38 (1984), p. 5.

²³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 3.

The liturgy of compromises includes prayers, a section on the office, a catechism and even prayers for the reigning Queen Mary and King Philipp.²³⁹ Besides questions regarding the liturgy's theological alignment, it must be highlighted that this liturgy, though written in exile, includes prayers for the English monarchs. This liturgy and Knox's conviction for treason due to his writings against the English demonstrate the political dimensions of the debates.²⁴⁰ Christina H. Garrett has stressed that one of the reasons for the debates was that the English exiles were 'outside the limits of any effective jurisdiction'; however, the surviving liturgy suggests otherwise. The exiles might not have lived in England anymore, but they could not flee the political borders of their country.

Regardless of whether the liturgy is really a liturgy of compromise or not, it was unsuccessful and did not lead to an agreement between the different exile groups. Most of the original Frankfurt congregation followed John Knox and William Whittingham to Geneva, where they were allowed to establish an exile church that adopted a Calvinist order.²⁴¹ The later Elizabethan Church reintroduced the Edwardian Prayer Book, and the 1556 confession of the Genevan congregation was 'Received and Approved by the Church of Scotland in the Beginning of the Reformation'.²⁴² However, the departure of Knox and Whittingham from Frankfurt did not end the issues in the city. Richard Chambers' letter to Cox from July 1555 shows that in the aftermath of the debates, the congregation was still dealing with the Knoxian influence. He pleaded that the 'false doctrine' should be banished

²³⁹ British Library, Egerton MS 2836.

²⁴⁰ *A Brief discourse*, p. xlv.

²⁴¹ 'Christopher Goodman to Peter Martyr (20 August 1558)', *Original Letters*, pp. 768-771, p. 769; 'Genevan congregation to Frankfurt congregation (27 August 1555)', *A Brief discourse*, pp. liiii-lv, p. liiii.

²⁴² A.C. Cochrane, 'The Confession of Faith Used in the English Congregation at Geneva, 1556', in A.C. Cochrane (ed.), *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century* (London, 1966), pp. 127-136, p. 127.

to prevent them from ‘pervert[ing] the true Church’. Also, he wrote that Cox should ensure that Knox’s writings would not ‘molest and trouble the churche’.²⁴³

6. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that during the ecclesiological debates about the nature of the true Church, the liturgy and the ceremonies of the English Church, the Marian exiles had different opinions on how far they were willing to compromise on things that could be considered indifferent. During the debates that had happened in Marian exile the exiles created the arguments on which the future compromists based their arguments for compromising on Elizabethan religious politics.

The different opinions between the exile groups can be explained by their different understandings of church and community but also by their living arrangements in exile. For Frankfurt, not changing the liturgy would mean not establishing a perfect Reformed Church and repeating their former sins. The other congregations, however, did not see the need for the establishment of an English Church in exile and also considered things that would be considered indifferent as not harmful, and therefore had a different view of the liturgy and ceremonies. In fact, according to the estimations of Robin Leaver, those from the 1554/5 Frankfurt congregation who opposed the Prayer Book and later on became the Genevan congregation were the only delegates of a congregation who spoke out against the use of the Prayer Book.²⁴⁴ Also, as many of the exiles were clergy, it is possible that they might have been involved in the establishment of the Edwardian Prayer Book themselves.

²⁴³ ‘Richard Chambers to Richard Cox (19 July 1555)’.

²⁴⁴ R.A. Leaver, ‘Hymnody in English and Dutch Exile Congregations ca 1552-1562’, *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 43 (2004), pp. 152-179, p. 157

This chapter has shown that the relationships established during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI were strengthened during the Marian exile. These relationships were central for the Marian exiles. Many of these networks even grew into personal relationships that continued to flourish long into the Elizabethan period. Even though the continental theologians did not actively participate in these debates, they functioned as figures of leadership and authority and as intellectual tutors. Considering that many of the exiles, especially in Strasbourg and Zurich, spent their time in exile studying continental theology and were establishing Bullinger's and Vermigli's works in Elizabethan England, it is logical to suggest that they would rely on their doctrinal input. However, as Gary W. Jenkins has described, the experience of having the church separated through debates on things that Protestants like Jewel, Sandys and Cox would consider indifferent would also have influenced the later Elizabethan bishops/former exiles later decisions to compromise on things like vestments under Elizabeth.²⁴⁵

Despite this reliance on things indifferent, the sources have shown that the continental theologians tried not to interfere too much in English affairs. For example, Vermigli clearly stated that he would not get involved in the debates surrounding the Book of Common Prayer or the discussions that were happening in Frankfurt, despites Goodman's many requests for assistance.²⁴⁶ Therefore, the debates that happened among the English exile congregations in Marian exile were foremost inter-English debates. Nonetheless, the later Elizabethan letters that were exchanged between the English Protestants and continental theologians, the letter from Jean Calvin and the warnings that Bullinger had already given during the Edwardian controversies were good reasons as to

²⁴⁵ G.W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English national church: dilemmas of an Erastian reformer* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 188.

²⁴⁶ 'Peter Martyr Vermigli to Christopher Goodman (11 June 1558)'.

why the continental reformers did not try to get involved in the English disagreements.²⁴⁷ As Diarmaid MacCulloch has explained, they ‘wanted to promote concord not division’, and this was especially important in times of trouble.²⁴⁸ Indeed, Jean Calvin emphasised that it was more important to find unity in ‘brotherly agreement’ than in a place of worship.²⁴⁹ Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that Calvin’s minimal involvement led to more trouble than unity.

The key issues of the debate emphasised in this chapter continued to be central in the Elizabethan debates regarding conformity and the returned Protestants’ zeal to establish a ‘true Church’ in Elizabethan England. The debates that continued in Elizabethan England reflected the dynamics and positions that were established in Marian exile. However, even though this chapter has already identified the early characteristics of the group that would later be called conformists, it has also shown that the key players of the later debates had not yet all found their final places. For example, individuals, like Sampson who fully supported the Coxian party in exile would become leaders of the opposition in Elizabethan England. Generally, it can be said that they started with a communal agenda, which was the further edification of the true Church. However, the next steps were matters concerning compromise, indifference and the definition of the nature of the true Church. Exiles who were prepared to compromise did so in order to focus on educating the next generation of clergy, preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments: for them, this was the essence of the true Church. Whereas those exiles who were not willing to compromise

²⁴⁷ ‘Jean Calvin to Richard Cox et al. (31 May 1555)’, *Letters from Exile*; D. MacCulloch, ‘Heinrich Bullinger and the English-speaking world’, pp. 917, 921; ‘Appendix 3: Henry Bullinger to Humphrey and Sampson (01 May 1566)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 345-355.

²⁴⁸ D. MacCulloch, ‘Heinrich Bullinger and the English-speaking world’, p. 917; ‘Appendix 3: Henry Bullinger to Humphrey and Sampson (01 May 1566)’; ‘John Calvin to John Knox and William Whittingham (20 January 1555)’, in *A Brief discourse*, pp. xxxiiii-xxxvi.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

were also concerned to perfect how the Church was governed: for them, a Church lacking discipline and a reformed approach to the ceremonial aspects of worship could not be a true Church.

CHAPTER 3: NEW REGIME, NEW CHURCH

1. Introduction

Separated into two parts, this chapter will argue that after Mary's death in 1558 and upon their return from exile, the English Protestants were concerned primarily with the edification, rebuilding and glorifying of God's true Church. Just like in exile, they were driven by their fear of divine punishment. However, after the return of God's favour towards them – evidenced by the accession of a Protestant queen – they were no longer searching for redemption but instead their priority shifted towards maintaining this new-found favour and preventing falling again into sin and facing divine punishment. These goals and associated fears were reflected by English bishops and continental theologians in their sermons, letters and commentaries.¹ Their fear had found its way into every aspect of the discourse on the establishment of the true Church in England.

This chapter will demonstrate that the exiles' return to their home country, now led by a Protestant government, significantly changed the debate surrounding the question of spiritual community and English institutional Church. It will be highlighted that the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church was influenced largely by the former exiles' (who became Elizabeth's first generation of clergy) fear of God's divine providence and their understanding of the interdependence between sword and word. Contrary to the exiles' debates, which had viewed their ruling monarch as a threat and a danger to their Church, the writings of the newly appointed Elizabethan bishops would consider the

¹ Some of the sermons and commentaries mentioned here can be found in edited collections. For example, J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841); J. Gabrande (ed.), *Certain sermons preached before the Queenes Maiestie, and at Paules crosse, by the reuerend father Iohn Ievvel late Bishop of Salisburie. Whereunto is added a short treatise of the sacraments, gathered out of other his sermons, made vpon that matter, in his cathedral church at Salisburie* (London, 1583); J. Scholefield (ed.) *The words of Bishop Pilkington* (Cambridge, 1842).

monarch as central for the successful establishment of the ‘true Church’. As the following chapter will argue, this relationship between the monarch and her bishops became central in the debates on conformity

This chapter maintains its focus on those exiles that ‘conformed’ under Elizabeth and became her first generation of bishops. In fact, ‘twelve of eighteen nominations of bishoprics in the first two years of the reign’ went to former exiles.² It was those exiles with strong links to Zurich and Strasbourg that predominated among the first generation of Elizabethan bishops. While none of these men had spent their time in exile under the influence of Jean Calvin in Geneva, half of them had resided in Zurich, where they studied the theological doctrines of Heinrich Bullinger and Peter Martyr Vermigli.³ However, this was only possible because of another shift in the group dynamics of the former exiles. Although in exile they had vehemently argued against the practice of Nicodemism, those who decided to take on bishoprics in Elizabethan England had to accept the former Nicodemites Matthew Parker, William Cecil and Elizabeth as leader of their group.⁴ While the final schism between the different Protestant parties and the final formation of the conforming group will be discussed in the next chapter, the early changes in these group dynamics were already reflected in the discussions about the supremacy and duties of the monarchy and the clergy.

From the time of Elizabeth’s accession, the categories of the national and the spiritual church discussed in exile became blurred in the Protestants’ writings because every Church established in England under English rulership would be an institutional

² P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (Yale, 2017), p. 436.

³ Ibid. p. 436; T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007), p. 1; B. Usher, ‘New Wine into old Bottle: The doctrine of structure of the Elizabethan Church’, in D. Susan, N. Jones (eds), *The Elizabethan World* (New York, 2011), pp. 203-221, p. 206.

⁴ A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism – Six Studies* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 106.

Church. Therefore, this chapter will show that the focus shifted to the importance of a physical church for the members of Christ's spiritual congregation. The chapter will demonstrate that the debates surrounding the establishment of an English Church were highly theological and took their cues from scriptural narratives. Building the English Church became equal to building God's new Jerusalem. This went far beyond discussions about establishing only a national English Church in that it considered the universal Church of God and the community of all Protestant Christians. The question no longer focused on whether a visible and institutional Church was needed, but instead considered how the invisible and universal Church of God existed in the institutional Church. The focus on the offices and duties of the different players in the big game of rebuilding and constructing a Protestant Church became increasingly significant and included the roles of the 'godly magistrate' as well as of the Church's ministers.⁵ Particular emphasis was placed on the duties, expectations and office of the godly ruler which was opposed to the 'ungodly' ruler that acted against God's will, the joint work of word and sword, and the keeping of God's favour.⁶ However, while the debate surrounding the true Church continued, another arose: the urge to prove that the Protestant Church and, by extension, the Elizabethan Church were rooted in ancient tradition, God's will and scriptural

⁵ A 'godly magistrate' can be defined as either a single ruler or a magisterial group that received its authority directly from God. A 'godly magistrate' carried out God's will on Earth. Jacqueline Rose has explained that '[i]n the ideal early modern polity, every magistrate from the prince to the parish constable would be a godly magistrate'. She adds that '[t]he Reformations out of which the Church of England emerged appear to have created the godly magistrate *par excellence* in the royal supremacy. That the king or queen of England was on earth the supreme head or governor under Christ of the Church of England was a fundamental starting point for any discussion of the nature of the Church and the direction it should take—its identity and reformation': J. Rose, 'The Godly Magistrate', in R. Strong (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520-1662* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 103-121, p. 103.

⁶ This idea that the word and the sword and the ministers and the monarchs needed to work together, and that the ministers had to obey the monarchs, whose duty it was to work towards true religion, was not new to Elizabethan England. Stephen Foster has illustrated that this thought was already central in Henrician and Edwardian England. See: S.M. Foster, 'To Take the Sword is to Draw the Sword without the Authority of the Prince': Obedience, Duty and Romans 13 During the 1549 Rebellions in England', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 22/1 (2020), pp. 25-47.

authority. This brought the definition of the visible markers of the true Church once again into the midst of ecclesiological debates. As had happened during the Marian exile, the motivation for Protestant actions and beliefs was grounded in an obedience to God's will, a fear of divine providence and continued hope for Christian salvation. The English Protestants were convinced that establishing a true and Reformed Church incorporated God's kingdom and spiritual community. In exile, they had sought to find redemption for their former sins, but in Elizabethan England their goal was to prevent history repeating itself.

The first part of the chapter analyses the relationship between the Elizabethan bishops and the queen. It argues that it was their fear of history repeating itself along with both their perception of the ministerial office and their subsequent zeal to establish the true Church that motivated them to constantly remind the queen of her divine duties – even if this meant getting involved in the politics surrounding her marriage. The chapter emphasises that the involvement of the Elizabethan bishops and the continental reformers in the question concerning the monarchy and the godly magistrate was driven by ecclesiological concerns and the longing for a true Church in England. By establishing their theories on the office and duties of the magistrate, they were playing their part in securing the restoration of true religion in England.

The second part analyses the theoretical, ecclesiological and theological approaches that the Elizabethan Protestants adopted in reforming and restoring their Church. It seeks to show how the lines between God's spiritual church and the institutional Church intersected. The visions of a national Church that were discussed so extensively in exile were finally realised. Therefore, this chapter stresses that the focus shifted to the need for the establishment of a true and spiritual church present on Earth in England. This

emphasises that the English Protestants were not only considering the individual but their whole Protestant community, and that the change of religion and monarchy was clearly visible in their ecclesiology. In this context it will analyse discussions surrounding the markers of the true Church and analyse the nature of their desired Church. It will also highlight that in seeing themselves as descendants of the Old Testament Israelites and the ancient Church, the former exiles stressed God's providence and justice, presented their Church as 'traditional' and stimulated the development of a confessional identity. Building a properly reformed English Church was crucial for maintaining God's favour, preventing further sin and encouraging participation in his kingdom. As a result of the trauma arising from persecution and exile, the need to follow God's will in the form of restoring and establishing a true Church in Elizabethan England became a matter of finding salvation.

Over the last 500 years, the history of the early Elizabethan Church and settlement has been widely discussed. Older scholarship on the Elizabethan settlement, such as the work of Patrick Collinson, Christopher Haigh, Nicola M. Sutherland and Norman L. Jones, especially focused on Elizabeth as the ruling monarch and on her parliament.⁷ The early Elizabethan Reformation was described as a highly political reform that was, as Sutherland emphasised, 'a pragmatic act of statesmanship', which, as Collinson has pointed out, originated from the close entanglement of politics and religion that was so typical of the Tudor state.⁸ Newer works, such as those of Karl Gunther, Rosamund Oates, Sarah Bastow and Peter Marshall, have shifted from this familiar narrative and have focused on the social

⁷ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Movement* (Oxford, 1967); N.M. Sutherland, 'The Marian Exiles and the Establishment of the Elizabethan Regime', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 78 (1987), pp. 253-286; N.L. Jones, *Faith by Statue: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion 1559* (London, 1982); C. Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (Harlow, 2nd ed. 1998).

⁸ N.M. Sutherland, 'The Marian Exiles', p. 264; P. Collinson, 'The politics of religion and the religion of politics in Elizabethan England', *Historical Research*, 82/215 (2009), pp. 74-92, p. 74 et sub.

and intellectual aspects of the English Reformation.⁹ While Elizabeth's role in the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church is acknowledged, this chapter aims to explore the impact and significance of these wider circles of influence and analyses the establishment of the Elizabethan Church from the perspective of her first generation of bishops. Apart from Sandys and Jewel, most of these bishops have not received much attention in recent years.¹⁰ It examines how Elizabeth's supremacy was seen from the perspective of the Protestant clergy who had formerly been in Marian exile. This is necessary as it reveals much about the bishops' understanding of ministry and the church and reveals how their actions and decisions concerning compromising with Elizabeth's Church politics discussed in the next chapter were driven by the influence of their experience in exile. By emphasising the impact of the exile, this chapter builds on new scholarship like that of Bastow and Oates, who emphasise the lasting and crucial impact that the experience of exile had on the Elizabethan Church.¹¹ However, in contrast to these examples, it not only focuses on individuals but also considers the broader group of former exiles. This chapter also argues that the international networks that were established before Elizabeth's reign continued to have an influence. Ken R. MacMillan has argued that while continental reformers might have had a supporting function, 'to suggest that the Zurich reformers influenced the Elizabethan religious settlement would be fallacious', because 'the government hardly needed to be influenced'.¹² On the other hand, Torrance Kirby has

⁹ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England 1525-1590* (Cambridge, 2014); P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*; S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys and the Reform of English Religion* (New York & Abingdon, 2019); R. Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 2018).

¹⁰ Recent works on Sandys and Jewel include, S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys*; G.W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English national church: the dilemmas of an Erastian reformer* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 70-71, p. 74; W.M. Southgate, *John Jewel and the Problem of Doctrinal Authority* (Massachusetts, 1962), pp. 50-53.

¹¹ R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 20; S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys*, p. 4.

¹² K.R. MacMillan, 'Zurich Reform and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 68/3 (1999), pp. 285-311, p. 310.

suggested that the settlement was nearly all the work of the Zurich theologians.¹³ This thesis sees the reality as being somewhere in the middle: the establishment of the Elizabethan Church was surely not solely the work of the Zurich theologians, but their influence on the first generation of Elizabethan clergy, especially those who had formerly spent time in exile, was significant.

The return of the Marian exiles in 1558 and 1559 was not without its problems. Andrew Pettegree has explained that since it took the exiles a little while to return to England, the first Protestants that could begin a re-establishment of the Protestant Church were those who had remained in England and had outwardly conformed to the Marian regime.¹⁴ Hence, the close influential circle around the new Protestant queen at that time and in the following decades consisted of former Nicodemites ‘such as William Cecil, Nicholas Bacon, and Thomas Smith, and many of the leading members of her episcopate, including two who would become archbishop of Canterbury: Matthew Parker and John Whitgift’.¹⁵ The other issue that the returning exiles were confronted with was the remaining Catholic clergy that might have officially conformed to the Protestant government but inwardly stayed Catholic.¹⁶

The solution to both of these problems showed the clear differences that already existed among the group of the former Marian exiles. Robert Harkins has stressed that the ‘Elizabethan religious politics were shaped’ by non-conforming ‘distrust of those who had revealed a propensity for idolatry by conforming during the Marian persecution’.¹⁷ Harkins

¹³ T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connection*.

¹⁴ A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, p. 106.

¹⁵ R. Harkins, ‘Elizabethan Puritanism and the Politics of Memory in Post-Marian England’, *The Historical Journal*, 54/4 (2014), pp. 899-919, p. 900.

¹⁶ P. Marshall, J. Morgan, ‘Clerical Conformity and the Elizabethan Settlement Revisited’, *The Historical Journal*, 59/1 (2016), pp. 1-22, p. 9.

¹⁷ R. Harkins, ‘Elizabethan Puritanism’, p. 901.

also points out that non-conforming Protestants ‘conflated conformist position with the perpetrators of the Marian persecution’.¹⁸ As this chapter will show, the newly appointed bishops were eager to restore true religion and a true Church in England. Hence, being associated with ‘sinful’ Nicodemites must have been a highly problematic and uncomfortable position for those bishops that had spent their time in exile. However, as acting bishops they had no choice other than to work with this Nicodemite government. Ceri Law has described the dilemma in this way: ‘the presence of such partial conformists as Parker, then, highlighted the gap between a growing national legend of Protestant defiance, and a more complicated reality’.¹⁹ Harkins also stresses that ‘the premise that Elizabeth was a providential Protestant monarch, contrasted sharply with the memory of Elizabeth the Nicodemite’.²⁰

Therefore, the bishops opted for another solution than the one chosen by those English Protestants that began associating the English Church with a Nicodemite Church. As historians such as Harkins, Law and Thomas Freeman have shown, former exiles such as John Foxe created an alternative narrative that separated individuals like Parker and also Elizabeth from the group of Nicodemites.²¹ In the case of Elizabeth, Freeman has illustrated how Foxe would depict her as a martyr-like figure living as a prisoner in Marian England; however, when her religious politics continuously disappointed, his depiction of her lost this character of a martyr.²² Parker was among those that Foxe explained ‘were at

¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 902-3.

¹⁹ C. Law, ‘Compromise Refashioned. Memory and Life in Matthew Parker’s Roll’, in A. Walsham, B. Wallace, C. Law, B. Cummings (eds), *Memory and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 257-270, p. 265.

²⁰ R. Harkins, ‘Elizabethan Puritanism’, p. 900.

²¹ Ibid. p. 900; C. Law, ‘Compromise Refashioned’; T.S. Freeman, ‘Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs’’, in S. Doran, T.S. Freeman, *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 27-55.

²² T.S. Freeman, ‘Providence and Prescription’, p. 29, pp. 36-37.

home within the realme, which dyd flee no lesse from place to place, to keepe their conscience free'.²³ Law has argued that this was done 'as part of a larger cultural effort' to take away the 'stigma of [Marian] conformity'.²⁴ The former exiles were certainly aware that Parker had not been in the same situation as them; however, as archbishop of Canterbury he was their leading bishop, and their positions on matters regarding the Church and conformity cannot be studied without considering his influence.²⁵ Further, through his academic association with Cambridge, he was in a tight circle with many of the leading bishops that had formerly spent time in exile, such as Richard Cox, Edwin Sandys and Edmund Grindal.²⁶

2. Balancing the Authority of God and Monarch

2.1. A new Era

This part of the chapter will analyse the role of the providential monarch from the perspective of the bishops' zeal for establishing a true Church. It will argue that in the eyes of the former exiles that had now become bishops, the figure of the monarch was essential to prevent former sins from happening again. It will show that Elizabeth's political institution was strongly interlinked with their ecclesiology and theology.²⁷ It will emphasise that this understanding of the monarch's religious position is highly important for also understanding the question of obedience and compromising regarding conformity that will be discussed in the next chapter. This section will build on existing work by

²³ J. Foxe, *The Unabridge Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (1563 edition) (The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011), online accessible: www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe, [accessed 23 May 2022], vi, 204, p. 1750.

²⁴ C. Law, 'Compromise Refashioned', p. 258,

²⁵ Harkins has emphasised that Parker was criticised about his hiding during the Marian persecution by Thomas Cartwright during the Admonition controversy. It can be assumed that these were thoughts that were not alien to the more conforming bishops either. See: R. Harkins, 'Elizabethan Puritanism', p. 904.

²⁶ W.S. Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham, 1980), p. 6, p. 40.

²⁷ Alec Ryrie has argued that there was a strong connection between kingship and theology during the reign of Henry VIII in A. Ryrie, 'Divine Kingship and Royal Theology in Henry VIII's Reformation', *Reformation*, 7/1 (2002), pp. 49-77.

scholars including Rosamund Oates and Alexandra Walsham and will demonstrate that international theologians and former Marian exiles alike expressed their hope for a providential Protestant future through promoting the image of Elizabeth as a symbol of God's returned favour after a period of punishment.²⁸ As this part of the chapter will recall, international theologians and returned exiles compared her to other faithful and reforming rulers, such as David, Hezekiel and Josiah, and to biblical female heroes like Deborah and Hester. Comparing a living ruler to ancient counterparts in order to emphasise their godliness or to stress their legitimacy was not unusual. As Stephen Alford has emphasised, this 'inherited [...] model of kingship' was not singular to Elizabeth but had already been 'linked' to the 'office of supreme head of church' by Thomas Cranmer during the reign of Edward VI. The reforming monarchs of England were seen as being sent by God as a 'second Josiah'.²⁹ Historians such as Walsham, Freeman, Oates and Marshall have demonstrated the impact of these comparisons.³⁰ By comparing Elizabeth to biblical heroines, her subjects were praising her as a 'champion of Protestantism and an agent of providence to restore the Reformation after its rude interruption by Bloody Mary Tudor'.³¹ Elizabeth's portrayal as biblical heroine is not surprising: after years of religious persecution and their search for redemption for their former sins, English Protestants felt that they had finally got an answer to their prayers. While Walsham has argued that

²⁸ A. Walsham, '“A very Deborah?”: the myth of Elizabeth I as a providential monarch', in S. Doran, T.S. Freeman, *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 143-168; R. Oates, 'Puritans and the 'Monarchical Republic': Conformity and Conflict in the Elizabethan Church', *The English Historical Review*, 127/525 (2012), pp. 819-843, p. 825.

²⁹ S. Alford, 'A Politics of Emergency in the Reign of Elizabeth I', in G. Burgess, M. Festenstein (eds), *English Radicalism 1550-1850* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 17-36, pp. 22-23. It can also be noted that monarchs were not only compared with Old Testament rulers but they themselves took these figures as their 'exemplars'. See: A. Ryrie, 'Divine Kingship and Royal Theology in Henry VIII's Reformation', *Reformation*, 7/1 (2002), pp. 49-77, p. 57.

³⁰ A. Walsham, '“A very Deborah?”', p. 144; P. Marshall, 'Settlement Patterns: The Church of England, 1553-1603', in A. Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520-1662* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 45-62, p. 48; R. Oates, 'Puritans and the 'Monarchical Republic'', p. 825; T.S. Freeman, 'Providence and Prescription', p. 32.

³¹ A. Walsham, '“A very Deborah?”', p. 144.

‘comparing Elizabeth with Deborah, Judith, Josiah, Solomon and Hezekiah was a didactic device: preachers were not so much saluting her achievements as outlining a set of ideals to be aspired to’, it also revealed how the Elizabethan bishops and international theologians viewed themselves more broadly.³² By adopting a role that was comparable to that of the biblical prophets, they felt entitled to remind Elizabeth of her divine duties and, indeed, considered this to be one of their own duties.³³ Comparing her to Old Testament biblical heroines and reforming kings, especially to the female judge Deborah, who played a key role in freeing the Israelites from the Canaanites, which led to them enjoying 40 years of peace, seemed very relevant.³⁴ While there is no doubt that this was also done for a didactic purpose, it also reflects the reality in which the former exiles lived and it mirrors their hope for a faithful queen that would support their cause of restoring the Church.

This was depicted in both private and public letters and in sermons that were directed to Elizabeth. While it can be assumed that the private letters solely reflected the

³² A. Walsham, ‘“A very Deborah?”’, p. 148.

³³ By following the examples in the writings of the Zurich reformers Bullinger and Gwalther, the behaviour of the Elizabethan bishops seemed to be modelled on the examples of biblical Prophets. This is especially evident in their biblical commentaries and sermons on Old Testament prophets that will be discussed in part two of this chapter. In these they used the example of the biblical prophet and his warnings to warn their own people and monarch about God’s providence and the consequences that they would have to face if they failed to build God’s temple on Earth. Moreover, in his work on the office of the Prophet, which will be discussed further in the next chapter, Heinrich Bullinger equates the office of ministry with the prophetic office: H. Bullinger, ‘Rede Heinrich Bullingers über das Amt des Propheten und wie es würdig ausgeübt werden kann’, in E. Campi, D. Roth, P. Stolz (eds), *Heinrich Bullingers Schriften I* (Zürich, 2004), pp. 11-48. G. Sujin Pak has also pointed out that Luther, Zwingli and Bucer had ‘defined prophecy as interpretation and proclamation of Scripture’, whereas Bullinger and Calvin ‘turned the conversation away from a focus on the office of the prophet per se to a focus on prophetic functions’, G. Sujin Pak, *The Reformation of Prophecy: Early Modern Interpretation of Prophet & Old Testament Prophecy* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 42-43. Further, Bullinger and Zwingli agreed that the prophet would have ‘two key functions of being watchman and an interpreter of Scripture’, *Ibid.* p. 133. Both would be duties that the Elizabethan bishops, but also continental theologians, would identify with. This also aligns with Bruce Gordon’s argument that ‘the evangelical writers of the sixteenth century believed that God had chosen their time to reveal the truth of the Christian religion and they were his appointed agents’, B. Gordon, ‘The Changing Face of Protestant History and Identity in the Sixteenth Century’, in B. Gordon (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe, Volume 1 The Medieval Inheritance* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 1-22, p. 4.

³³ S. Alford, ‘A Politics of Emergency’, pp. 22-23.

³⁴ GNV, Judges 4-5.

exiles' hopes in and expectations of their new queen, the public material was probably intended to remind Elizabeth of what was expected of her and how she was supposed to act. It would not leave any room for her to question the position that continental and English Protestants had constructed for her. She was God's tool and was supposed to secure his kingdom on Earth. Vermigli had stressed in a letter written to Elizabeth in 1558 that as God had preserved her life, she was to follow the 'noble example of David', for whom 'nothing was more important than restoring religion' and it was her 'duty to restore' England 'to its own place the holy Gospel of Christ'.³⁵ In January 1559, Gwalther emphasised that Elizabeth had to follow this historical legacy and that 'scripture commends the faith of David, of Hezekiel, and of Josiah, because they reformed the church according to divinely prescribed laws'.³⁶ While Gwalther contended that Elizabeth had to follow David like a brother, Vermigli expected even more from Elizabeth.³⁷ She should 'play the role of holy Deborah' for their 'times', and because of the advantage of her age and experiences she would 'govern the kingdom' from her 'own decisions and not that of somebody else'.³⁸ It was expected that Elizabeth be a more independent ruler than Edward had been: she should be confident and not 'be shaken because' she was 'born a woman and not a man'.³⁹ Accordingly, Elizabeth had to measure up not only to biblical figures but also to her Tudor predecessors. The voices of the continental theologians that reached her at the beginning of her reign were clear in stressing that Elizabeth's duty was to restore England according to God's providential plan. This, they fervently believed, was the sole reason that he had preserved her.

³⁵ P. Martyr Vermigli, '[1121] Letter No. 200 To Queen Elizabeth', pp. 172-173.

³⁶ 'Rodolph Gualter to Queen Elizabeth (16 January 1559)', *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 3-8, p. 5.

³⁷ Ibid. P. Martyr Vermigli, '[1121] Letter No. 200 To Queen Elizabeth', p. 175.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 175.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 176.

The former exiles that had become bishops under Elizabeth and those close to them contributed to this discourse and used these comparisons to voice their hopes for further reform. Sir Anthony Cooke, one of Edward VI teachers, former exile, father-in-law to William Cecil, and father of Anne Bacon, who was to translate John Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England*, also took his turn in comparing Elizabeth to the biblical heroine Judith and the judge Deborah.⁴⁰ In his letter to Bullinger in December 1558, he stressed that as long as Elizabeth 'will daily say unto the Lord, Thou art my fortress, my rock, and my refuge, there will neither be wanting to herself the spirit of a Judith or a Deborah'.⁴¹ Cooke believed that God had provided them with a queen who, as long as she stayed pious and faithful, could be like one of the biblical heroines. Twenty years after Cooke's letter, a sermon by Sandys proved that exile was still in their mindsets and so was the idea that Elizabeth was of God's 'own elect' and 'the restorer of our religion and liberty'.⁴² Sandys continued this theme in a sermon that he preached years after her succession in which he praised her as a 'Deborah' who 'hath mightly repressed the rebel Jaban' and as queen 'Hester' who 'hath hanged up that Haman' and through this had saved the Jews from being killed by Haman.⁴³ Besides praising Elizabeth's victory against Catholicism, which had him describing her as 'Defender of the Faith' in a previous sermon, he reminded her of the duties of a ruler and the obligations owed to her subjects:⁴⁴ 'Kings, and such as are in

⁴⁰ D.L. Calkings, 'Cooke, Sir Anthony (1505/6-1576)', *ODNB*, (2019), online accessible: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6155>, [accessed 20 November 2020].

⁴¹ 'Sir Anthony Cooke to Henry Bullinger (08 December 1558)', *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 1-2, p. 2.

⁴² E. Sandys, 'The Third Sermon: A Sermon Preached in York, at the Celebration of the Day of the Queen's Entrance into her Reign', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 55-74, p. 56.

⁴³ E. Sandys, 'The Fourth Sermon. A Sermon Preached in the Same Place, and upon the same Occasion with the Former', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 75-91, p. 81.

⁴⁴ E. Sandys, 'The Third Sermon', p. 57. The title of 'defender of the faith' was not unusual for early modern monarchs. Elizabeth's own father was awarded this title by Pope Leo X. However, Elizabeth was awarded this title for the opposite reason to the one that applied to Henry, and was obviously not given the title by the

authority, must seek the peace, piety, and honesty of the people: the people thus governed must lead a peaceable, a godly, and honest life under them.’⁴⁵ Her authority was God-given.⁴⁶ Sandys equated living in peace with living in Christ because peace is in Christ and ‘through faith in him we have peace with God’.⁴⁷ Evidently it was the duty of a ruler – Elizabeth – to live an exemplary and faithful life according to God’s will. As a symbol of and for the Elizabethan Church, she had to act and live accordingly. Her behaviour would decide whether the true Church would have a place in England or whether England was to face God’s wrath once more.

By depicting Elizabeth as a queen who was acting like ancient and biblical rulers, judges and heroines, the Elizabethan Protestants were following a typical theology of exile and persecution.⁴⁸ In doing so, the continental and English Protestants not only established her authority but also highlighted that England was an elect state that had achieved redemption after a period of rightful suffering for its former sins. Consequently, so long as they and their ruler continued to obey God’s will and restore the true religion, their time of exile and persecution was behind them and a new era that was subject to God’s mercy would start.

pope, but by her own bishop. Regarding Henry’s title of defender of the faith, see: R. McEntegart, ‘Henry VIII and the German Lutherans: a reassessment’, in D. Wendebourg, (ed.), *Sister Reformations Schwesterreformation. The Reformation in Germany and in England. Die Reformation in Deutschland und in England. Symposium on the Occasion of the 450th Anniversary of the Elizabethan Settlement September 23rd – 26th, 2009. Symposium aus Anlaß des 450. Jahrestages des Elizabethan Settlement 23.-26. September 2009* (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 29-52, p. 31; Henry VIII, ‘Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum’, in J. Clark (ed.), *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum: or, A Defence of the Seven Sacraments. Against Martin Luther. By Henry the Eight, King of England, France, and Ireland. To which adjoined. his Epistle to the Pope. The Oration of Mr. John Clark, (Orator to his Majesty) on the Delivery of this Book to his Holiness. And The Pope’s Answer to the Oration. As also, the Pope’s Bull, by which his Holiness was pleased to bestow upon that king (for composing this Book) that most illustrious, splendid, and most Christian – Like title of Defender of the faith* (Dublin, 1766), p. 43.

⁴⁵ E. Sandys, ‘The Fourth Sermon’, p. 83.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 79.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 86.

⁴⁸ On theology of persecution, read: J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558-1689* (Harlow, 2000), esp. pp. 30-38.

Nonetheless, the English remained very anxious about the possibility of the past repeating itself. In 1559, Elizabeth's leading bishops approached her about the removal of unlawful images and took the opportunity to remind her of God's providence: everything that happens does so because of God, and 'it lieth in his power to destroy for ever, and to cast both body and soul into hell-fire'.⁴⁹ Again, Elizabeth was portrayed as a tool for further reform. God worked through her government and therefore she should follow 'the worthy examples of the godly princes, which have gone before' and 'clearly purge the polluted church, and remove all occasions of evil'.⁵⁰ During her coronation sermon, Richard Cox reminded the audience that images and religious malpractice, as witnessed during Mary's reign, were against God's will and should be prevented.⁵¹ Putting Elizabeth on the throne was a display of God's will and his command that they restore religion in England.

The fear of once again incurring God's wrath motivated the first generation of Elizabethan bishops and other former exiles to involve themselves in the politics of Elizabeth's marriage, as they were concerned to ensure the continuation of the Protestant monarchy in England. This was, in their eyes, the only way to prevent a horrifying repetition of past events and was critical for the establishment of a lasting Protestant Church. As Norman L. Jones has argued, 'everyone assumed that Elizabeth's choice of mate would indicate the nation's religious future'.⁵² Marrying a Catholic ruler, like a Habsburg prince, would endanger England again, whereas a Protestant ruler, such as the King of Sweden, would contribute to the preservation of Protestantism and the retention of

⁴⁹ 'Archbishop Parker and Others to Queen Elizabeth', *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 79-95, p. 79.

⁵⁰ Ibid. pp. 79.

⁵¹ CSP, Venice, VII, 15.

⁵² N.L. Jones, 'Elizabeth's First Year: The Conception and Birth of the Elizabethan Political World', in C. Haigh (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (London, 1984), pp. 27-53, p. 29.

God's favour.⁵³ However, as Marshall has pointed out, the third option – not marrying – was just as alarming as marrying a Catholic prince. If Elizabeth refused to marry, and thus failed to provide a Protestant heir, then England would face the regime of Mary II, her Catholic cousin, Mary Queen of Scots.⁵⁴ Therefore, the issue of Elizabeth's marriage became a matter of great interest for the bishops because its ramifications went far beyond politics and the manoeuvrings of political factions at court; it would define the religious future of England. It was so critical that the bishops felt it was their duty and obligation to warn Elizabeth of the consequences of her actions and to seek to guide her in selecting a suitable husband.

In 1560, Matthew Parker of Canterbury and the former exiles, now bishops, Edmund Grindal of London and Richard Cox of Ely decided to address their queen personally. They pressured Elizabeth to get married so that her 'blood might be continued to reign over us to our great joy and comfort'.⁵⁵ They warned her that the continuation of a Protestant monarchy would prevent 'the great fears of ruin of this your ancient empire' and 'the destruction of your natural-born subjects avoided'.⁵⁶ A Protestant heir would prevent 'destruction' because it would secure a Protestant reign. Until Elizabeth produced a Protestant heir, Elizabethan Protestants would consider their religion and Church as endangered and uncertain. In fact, for as long as Elizabeth's 'continued sterility' persisted, they had cause to 'fear God's displeasure towards them'.⁵⁷ This appeal to Elizabeth reflected the bishops' fear of invoking God's anger once again and suffering years of misery and strife as punishment. The bishops expressed these fears even more strongly and

⁵³ Ibid. p. 35.

⁵⁴ P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 455

⁵⁵ 'Archbishop Parker and Others to Queen Elizabeth (1560)', *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 129-132, p. 131.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 131.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 131.

pointedly in their commentaries and sermons concerning the need to establish a true Church, and these will be analysed in the second part of this chapter.

2.2. A godly Magistrate, Office, Favours and Challenges

Being blessed with a godly magistrate was a significant change from the English

Protestants former experiences of having an ungodly ruler; however, as this section will emphasise, this new situation also opened up a path for new discussions. With Elizabeth's accession, Protestants had regained their liberty to worship, but they also faced new challenges, such as deciding whether they could support royal supremacy. The question they had to answer was whether this was a title and office that a mortal being could have. They then had to define the impact of this for them individually and what the duties of this office were, and define their Church. This section will further stress that thanks to the publications of their continental mentors, colleagues and friends, they would once again have help from the international community in finding answers to their questions.

In January 1559, Gwalther emphasised to Richard Masters the liberties that having a godly magistrate allowed. Because 'the mercy of God' had been 'restored', England was now 'under the protection of a most godly queen', and this meant that after the difficult years of being denied the right to exercise true worship, 'the liberty of worshipping God in truth will again be granted to godly men'.⁵⁸ For the former exiles, who had left England only a few years earlier because of the loss of their liberty to worship, this was a freeing experience. In turn, the importance of worship and the church service would become central in the debates about conformity, which will be considered in the next chapter. On a different note, this magistrate also facilitated networking between Protestants in England and on the continent, and this avoided any dangerous consequences for them. Evidently,

⁵⁸ 'Rodolph Gualter to Richard Masters (16 January 1559)', *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 11-13, p. 11.

having a God-appointed ruler who followed God's will offered religious and personal liberties, both of which had been lacking in the former government.

The issue of liberty had been discussed by Matthew Parker, Edmund Grindal and Richard Cox in the aforementioned letter from 1560 addressed to Elizabeth. They argued that God had 'preserved' Elizabeth's 'estate to restore again the sincerity of his religion' and that after all these years of misery they would now be able to enjoy Christian liberty. They described this as being 'disurbed from that old tyrannical yoke, and to aspire Christian liberty, which we now, by God's mercy and your authority, do peaceably enjoy'.⁵⁹ Part of the reason for having this liberty that the exiles had fought hard to preserve and to re-earn – as argued in previous chapters – was to fully reform the English Church.⁶⁰ Sandys' sermons reflected the importance of liberty to the former exiles. He praised Elizabeth not only as the 'restorer of religion' but also of 'liberty'.⁶¹ Regaining their Christian liberty went hand in hand with the restoration of true religion and the establishment of a true Church. This had not only been an important issue for the former exiles when they saw themselves as forced to go into exile to preserve their Christian liberty, but it continued to be a key topic for them even after they felt that they had found redemption. In fact, as John S. Coolidge has pointed out, the issue of what Christian liberty contained became a central part of the battles regarding conformity that will be discussed in the next chapter.⁶² Christian liberty was both a product of it as well as a necessary tool for preserving true religion, either through doctrine or through resistance.⁶³

⁵⁹ 'Archbishop Parker and Others to Queen Elizabeth (1560)', p. 130.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 130.

⁶¹ E. Sandys, 'The Third Sermon', p. 56.

⁶² J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England. Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 24-25.

⁶³ The matter of resistance has been widely researched by historians like: S.M. Foster, "To Take the Sword is to Draw the Sword"; S. Lucas, "Let none such office take save he that can for right his prince forsake": A Mirror for Magistrates, Resistance Theory and the Elizabethan Monarchial Republic', in J.F. McDiarmid

In their quest to restore the Church in England, Protestants redefined the factors that were needed for this task. As the examination of letters, reports and sermons has shown, they believed that their ruler would play a key role in establishing God's earthly Church in England. However, after having spent time among Reformed communities abroad, the former exiles had precise ideas about what the office of a godly magistrate would involve. This went beyond their abstract prophetic warnings and expectations of Elizabeth; instead, doctrines – such as those developed by Heinrich Bullinger – provided concrete guidelines about the nature of this office.⁶⁴

While Andreas Mühling has argued that Bullinger's letters suggest that he had in fact been 'present in church politics' during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, he claims that Bullinger only became actively involved in English politics in the 1560s.⁶⁵ However, the evidence referred to in the following discussion tells us that Bullinger's teachings to form the Marian exiles' theology. Thus, Bullinger's opinions on the expectations of the office of a ruler were highly valued, and this explains why the English Protestants regularly asked for copies of his works and continually sought his advice.⁶⁶ Therefore, it is no great surprise that, together with Vermigli's *Loci*, Bullinger's writings, especially his

(ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 91-107; R. Oates, 'Puritans and the 'Monarchical Republic': Conformity and Conflict in the Elizabethan Church', *The English Historical Review*, 127/527 (2012), pp. 819-843; J. Dawson, 'Trumpeting resistance: Christopher Goodman and John Knox', in R. Mason (ed.), *John Knox and the British Reformation* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 130-155.

⁶⁴ See, for example: H. Bullinger, 'The Seventh Sermon of the Second Decade', in T. Harding (ed.), *The Decades of Henry Bullinger, Minister of the Church of Zurich. Translated by H.I. The Firsts and Second Decades* (Cambridge, 1849), pp. 323-344.

⁶⁵ A. Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (Bern, 2001), pp. 173-174. Original quote: 'kirchenpolitisch präsent'.

⁶⁶ The best examples of this are probably the letters discussed in the next chapter concerning the issue of vestments and conformity. See, for example: 'Laurence Humphrey to Henry Bullinger (09 February 1566)', *Zurich Letters I*, p. 152. 'Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger (16 February 1566)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 153-154; 'Bishop Sandys to Henry Bullinger (03 January 1566)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 145-146; 'Bishop Grindal to Henry Bullinger (27 August 1566)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 168-170.

Decades, had become a standard textbook for English theologians.⁶⁷ The significance of such works must not be underestimated, as bishops such as John Parkhurst, by then Bishop of Norwich, ‘[ordered] all his clergy to purchase’ Bullinger’s doctrines.⁶⁸ From 1566, English editions of Bullinger’s *Decades* are mentioned in various letters. For instance, in 1566 John Abel commented that among all of the books that he had received from Bullinger, he was ‘more delighted’ with Bullinger’s ‘house book, containing fifty of your sermons’.⁶⁹ In 1560, Thomas Sampson remarked that Bullinger’s *Decades* were ‘by no means unacceptable by the English’.⁷⁰ While the earliest mention of these writings in the English Short Title Catalogue predates the Elizabethan reign, there were at least five different English editions in circulation between 1566 and 1587, printed in Emden and London.⁷¹ However, considering that many of the former exiles had spent their time in Zurich studying Bullinger’s doctrines, it can be assumed that they were familiar with the Latin versions that were published in Zurich between 1549 and 1552.⁷²

In the seventh sermon of his second *Decade*, Bullinger wrote about the office of the magistrate. At the beginning of this sermon, he emphasised what the office of the magistrate involves:

The ordinance of the magistrate is a decree made by him for maintaining of religion, honesty justice, and public peace: and it consisteth on two points;

⁶⁷ T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connection*, p. 3.

⁶⁸ G.M. Ella, ‘Henry Bullinger’s Influence on the Church of England’, *Churchman*, 128/2 (2014), pp. 133-146, p. 142.

⁶⁹ ‘John Abel to Henry Bullinger (06 June 1566)’, *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 117-120, p. 128.

⁷⁰ ‘Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger (1566)’, *Original letters*, pp. 175-176, p. 175.

⁷¹ English Short Title Catalogue, online accessible:

<http://estc.bl.uk/F/TIBIBYA9198KY8KIP26PIFDIUXTAAYJB2KY1QXEPJUH5XB4D2R-37391?func=short-jump&jump=000011>, [accessed 17 November 2020].

⁷² P. Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe: eine Studie zu den “Dekaden”* (Zürich, 2004), p. 18.

in ordering rightly matters of religion, and making good laws for the preservation of honesty, justice, and common peace.⁷³

Much like the letters of Gwalther and Vermigli, Bullinger's sermon stressed that the 'care of religion' does not only 'belong to the magistrate', but it is the magistrate's 'office and duty also, to dispose and advance religion'.⁷⁴ He based his arguments on many Old Testament and historical kings throughout his sermon, such as David, who established the ark and true worship, and Constantine, who established Christianity as the state religion, but he also referred to Deuteronomy 13. In this passage, God stresses that his word alone is the only truth and that no matter what any false prophet argues, there is only one true God.⁷⁵ Bullinger argued that, according to this passage, 'the Lord commandeth the magistrate to make trial of doctrines, and to kill those that do stubbornly teach against the scripture, and draw people from the true God'.⁷⁶ However, while the magistrate needed to execute godly laws, they themselves had to follow this law and were not permitted to 'make new laws touching God, the worship of God, or his holy mysteries'.⁷⁷ This meant that the magistrate, or in this case Elizabeth, was seen as a tool of God that was authorised to oversee his work on Earth and, most importantly, like Constantine had done, was expected to 'establish true and sincere doctrine in the church of Christ'.⁷⁸ Because 'God is the God of order [...] the church of Christ' comprises different offices.⁷⁹ According to the arguments of Vermigli, Gwalther and Bullinger, the office of magistrate – the office of

⁷³ H. Bullinger, 'The Seventh Sermon of the Second Decade', p. 323.

⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. 323-324.

⁷⁵ GNV, Deuteronomy 13:3-4, 'Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or unto that dreamer of dreams: for the LORD your God proveth you, to know whether you love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul. Ye shall walk after the LORD your God and fear him, and keep his commandments, and hearken unto his voice, and ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him.'

⁷⁶ H. Bullinger, 'The Seventh Sermon of the Second Decade', pp. 324-325.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 333.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 327.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 239.

queen – was a key office that consisted of different duties, all of which led back to serving God on Earth and establishing, restoring and caring for the true Church. This placed enormous significance on the ruling monarch and made them an essential tool of God's will; however, as earlier examples have shown, it would not give the monarch much personal liberty. Their sole purpose was to ensure that true religion and God's true Church were present in their institutional Church.

Considering that many of the Elizabethan bishops had studied under Vermigli in Strasbourg and Oxford, or under Bullinger in Zurich, it is not astonishing that their opinion was similar to Bullinger's. In his sermon on Samuel 12, Sandys stressed that like Moses and Aaron, the ministers and magistrate 'might labour together with both hands for the furtherance of God's building', because 'when the word and the sword do join, then is the people well ruled, and then is God well served'.⁸⁰ Jewel emphasised that Moses had corrected 'Aaron the Byshop' after he had supported the 'making of the golden calfe'.⁸¹ The sword needed to correct the minister so that he would preach the word according to God's law.⁸² In his published commentary on Nehemiah of 1585, Pilkington compared Jerusalem to God's Church and said that 'the gates of the city may well be compared unto the ministers' while the 'walls of the city may well be compared to the magistrate'.⁸³ When

⁸⁰ E. Sandys, 'The Second Sermon. A Sermon Made Before the Parliament at Westminster', J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 34-54, p. 37.

⁸¹ J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or answer in defence of the true Church of England, with a briefe and plaine declaration of the true Religion professed and used in the same* (London, 1564), sig. N7v.

⁸² How the magistrate and the minister were supposed to work together was discussed from the earliest days of the Reformation. Martin Bucer, though, argued that the ministers were to correct the magistrate in order to secure true religion and to prevent divine punishment. However, regarding worldly things, the Church was to follow the magistrates' orders, just as described in Roman 13: A. Gäumann, 'Bucer und das Widerstandsrecht', in C. Strohm (ed.), *Martin Bucer und das Recht: Beiträge zum internationalen Symposium vom 1. Bis 3. März 2001 in der Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek Emden* (Geneva, 2002), pp. 231-245, p. 234.

⁸³ J. Pilkington, 'Exposition upon certain Chapters of Nehemiah. To which is added Dr Robert Some's Treatise of Oppression, as inserted in the original Edition', in J. Scholefield (ed.) *The words of Bishop Pilkington* (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 275-478, p. 348.

either failed in their duty, the whole city – God’s heavenly Jerusalem – could be destroyed.⁸⁴ In his 1562 commentary on Haggai, Pilkington argued that God ‘appointed Moyes and Aaron’ so that they could both be ‘the chief rulers of the people, the one in religion; and the other in Ciuil matters’. Together, they were supposed to ‘ioyntely buylde gods house, pull downe Antichrist the Pope, and set vp the kingdom of Christ’.⁸⁵ Consequently, together, they would be able to fulfil God’s providence and establish both the spiritual and the institutional Church in England. Like Moses and Aaron, both the magistrate and ministers had to fulfil their parts and it was their duty to ensure that the other party was fulfilling their divine duties.

Because princes were appointed by the ‘providence of Almighty God [...] as the head over the body, as the chief shepherd over the flock’, with whose authority they had ‘put [...] good laws [...] in execution’, the magistrate was certainly in a higher position than that of the ministers.⁸⁶ However, above all else, it was the ruler’s ‘first point of kingly service unto God [...] to purge and cleanse his church’ and to keep it clean and free from all superstition by following Christ’s example, who had cleaned the ‘temple of Jerusalem’. Firstly, they needed to get rid of ‘all false doctrine; from all idolatry and superstition’, and then ‘remove all stones of offence out of the vineyard’. Finally, Sandys criticised simony and stressed that ‘the sin of Magus must be removed’.⁸⁷ To ensure that the gospel was properly preached, the magistrate needed to confirm that ‘ministers are provided for’.⁸⁸ Evidently, the magistrate needed to make and execute laws to hold their realm and the

⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 346.

⁸⁵ J. Pilkington, *Aggeus and Abdias Prophetes, the one corrected. the other newly added. and both at large declared. The earnest love that I beare to thy house hath eaten me. Psal. Ixix. Ioan, ii. Phinees hath tourned awaye my anger because he was moued with loue of me. Num. xxv.* (London, 1562), sig. Dviv.

⁸⁶ E. Sandys, ‘The Second Sermon.’, pp. 47-50.

⁸⁷ Ibid. pp. 42-43.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 46.

Church together. However, the magistrates would not be alone in their task of edifying the Church; they needed to collaborate with their clergy. It was the ministers' duty to preach God's word, but the magistrate had to provide the necessary support. Therefore, even though they were in an unequal partnership, they were both tools of God. It was their purpose to enable true religion and faith on Earth through establishing and supporting true worship and preaching. This was because, as will be discussed later, faith was seen as the only way to salvation and to secure entry into God's heavenly kingdom.

Jacqueline Rose has summed up the importance of the magistrate for England's religious future: 'The distinction between the godly and ungodly magistrate was subjective, unstable and yet fundamental to securing religious and civil peace.'⁸⁹ Furthermore, 'the Reformations out of which the Church of England emerged appear to have created the godly magistrate *per excellence* in the royal supremacy'.⁹⁰ The discussion as to whether Elizabeth would follow her father or brother and adopt the title of supreme head of the church would also define the character of the English Church. It took several drafts and debates before, in April 1559, Elizabeth was awarded the title of supreme governor.⁹¹ While the title was changed from that held by Henry and Edward, the 'rights' remained the same, so Elizabeth was now given what she had planned on having from the beginning: official 'control of the English Church'.⁹²

The former exiles from both parties of the Marian debates were acutely aware of the meaning of Elizabeth's new title. John Parkhurst reported to Bullinger in May 1559

⁸⁹ J. Rose, 'The Godly Magistrate', p. 103.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 103.

⁹¹ A. Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms 1485-1603* (Harlow, 2009), p. 199; P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, pp. 426-428, p. 430.

⁹² F. Heal, 'The Bishops and the Act of Exchange of 1559', *Historical Journal*, 17/2 (1974), pp. 227-246, p. 230.

that Elizabeth 'is not willing to be called the head of the church of England, although this title has been offered her; but she willingly accepts the title of governor, which amounts to the same thing'. However, any other title would not have been accepted by her bishops. The former exile Thomas Lever warned her to 'not take the title of supreme head' because using the word 'head' would have been very controversial due to its theological meaning.⁹³ A day later, Jewel reported to Heinrich Bullinger that the queen had rightfully declined the title of 'head of the church of England' because this title is an 'honour' which 'is due to Christ alone, and cannot belong to any human being soever'. Moreover, because of the misuse of this title 'by the antichrist [...] [it] can no longer be adopted by any one without impiety'.⁹⁴ Many former Marian exiles agreed with Anthony Gilby's argument that Henry VIII had 'committed treason' by adopting his title and with Thomas Sampson's defence of the Church having solely Christ as head.⁹⁵ Sandys argued in one of his sermons that the prince is the 'head over the body', though the prince is not the head of the church but of humans.⁹⁶ He emphasised that the Catholic Church has no true markers of the true Church because the Catholics had built their Church on the 'foundation' of 'man'. By seeing the Pope as the head of the church, their 'marks are blasphemy, idolatry, superstition'. Sandys reminded his audience that Christ alone, and no human, could be 'the head of his body the church'.⁹⁷

This discussion about royal supremacy reveals another important fact about the Marian exiles' idea of Church. Elizabeth was supposed to be leading, or rather overseeing, the institutional Church of England like an 'overseer' of a vineyard.⁹⁸ But the Church

⁹³ 'Dr Edmund Sandys to Dr Matthew Parker', *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 65-66, p. 66.

⁹⁴ 'John Jewel to Henry Bullinger (22 May 1559)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 32-34, p. 33.

⁹⁵ P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 430.

⁹⁶ E. Sandys, 'The Second Sermon', p. 47.

⁹⁷ E. Sandys, 'The Third Sermon', p. 67.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 57.

remained the Church of Christ. He was the head of this Church or, in other words, this spiritual congregation. The hopes of both parties that made up the former exile group of having a divinely appointed queen and magistrate went beyond having good political government. Religion and politics were interlinked, as were the institutional Church of England and the spiritual Church of Christ. Therefore, in order to successfully establish a Protestant Church that fitted with what God required in England, the former exiles needed a godly ruler. This discussion has shown that the leading Elizabethan clergy, many of whom had been former exiles, were more than just conformist bystanders and that they could actively get involved in shaping their Church.

3. Reforming and building the Church for its Edification

The second part of this chapter will demonstrate that the first generation of Elizabethan bishops who had formerly been in Marian exile were influenced by their experiences of exile and persecution and were shaped by their international networks. To better understand the motivations behind the bishops' compromises on conformity which will be the focus of chapter four, this part of the chapter focuses on the theological and ecclesiological ideas behind the debate about the establishment of the Elizabethan Church. Thus, it will argue that the establishment of the 'true' Church in England was also a matter of sin and salvation that was influenced by the bishops' earlier trauma caused by exile and their awareness of God's providence and which therefore became a central topic of their ecclesiology. This section will emphasise that establishing the true Church that God requested became the central task arising from the bishops' zeal to keep his favour. It will be argued that the lines between the institutional and spiritual church became intertwined. In addition, the question surrounding the nature of the true Church became central as it helped to further distinguish the true from the false church, emphasised the key duties of the ministers and established the legitimacy of their Church.

The first part of this chapter has shown that several bishops, including Cox, Parker and Sandys, made their voices heard by addressing the queen directly. However, others were more subtle in that they voiced their opinions and fears in letters to their former hosts, mentors, friends and advisors. Two other important media were the ‘self-reflective’ sermons and the critical biblical commentaries produced by former exiles.⁹⁹ The latter, especially the commentaries of Jewel and Pilkington, as well as of international theologians such as Vermigli, reveal that the former exiles saw themselves as on the same path as the Old Israelites and the early Christians.¹⁰⁰ After their exile, they had to build the godly Jerusalem and their temple under the leadership of their Protestant queen.¹⁰¹ Other instances demonstrating these comparisons can be found in sermons such as those of Edwin Sandys and in theological treatises such as John Jewel’s *Apology*. As this part of the chapter will show, in these sources, the Elizabethan bishops critically reflected on present and past events by drawing on examples from the Old Testament and the early Christian Church.

3.1. Keeping God’s Grace – building a Church

This section argues that the years in exile had not only traumatised the English Protestants but had also been a source of inspiration in terms of making them think about the physical form of their Church and the expectations that God would have of them. The experience of

⁹⁹ Citation in: A. Hunt, ‘Preaching the Elizabethan Settlement’, in H. Adlington, P. McCullough, E. Rhatigan (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 367-387, p. 367.

¹⁰⁰ Catherine Davies has outlined that this was an ongoing theme that had already been relevant in the Edwardian Church: C. Davies, ‘“Poor Persecuted Little Flock” or “Commonwealth of Christians”? Edwardian Protestant Concepts of the Church’, in P. Lake, M. Dowling (eds), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (New York, 1987), pp. 78-102.

¹⁰¹ P. Collinson, ‘The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion’, in C. Haigh (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (London, 1984), pp. 167-194, p. 172; K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 143; K. Gunther, ‘Rebuilding the Temple: James Pilkington, Aggeus and Early Elizabethan Puritanism’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60/4 (2009), pp. 689-707, p. 693; R. Baukham, ‘Marian Exiles and Cambridge Puritanism: James Pilkington’s ‘Halfe a Score’’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 26/2 (1975), pp. 137-148, p. 139.

exile had taught them that to keep history from repeating itself the country needed a divine and truly reformed Church.

The recurring themes of sin and punishment crop up in many of the former exiles' writings and publications. They are particularly apparent in the commentaries and sermons on Haggai which are concerned with the connection between returning from exile, building the temple and the consequences that must be faced should the English Protestants fail to follow God's command.¹⁰² These commentaries and sermons were written by theologians including John Jewel and James Pilkington and were published throughout Elizabeth's reign: Pilkington's was first published in 1560 while Jewel's was probably preached during the 1560s.¹⁰³ Bruce Gordon has described how the 'biblical stories were moulded to express the reality of the Protestant experience'.¹⁰⁴ The warnings expressed in these texts reveal a continued awareness of God's providence. The commentaries and sermons on not only Haggai but also on other prophets such as Obadiah, Nehemiah and Joshua will be particularly relevant to the analysis that follows because they provide important insights into the mindsets of their authors. Indeed, the prophet Haggai became a central part of the theology of the Protestant writers.¹⁰⁵ This is probably because of the familiar parallels between the former exiles' lives and the struggles of Haggai. Much like the former exiles, Haggai and the Old Israelites had spent time in exile before returning home and, like the

¹⁰² Karl Gunther and Richard Baukham have already highlighted the relevance of Pilkington's commentary on Haggai for the understanding of early Elizabethan Church Politics. K. Gunther, 'Rebuilding the Temple'; R. Baukham, 'Marian Exiles and Cambridge Puritanism'.

¹⁰³ Unfortunately, there is no exact date for when Jewel's text was written or preached. However, Karl Gunther follows Millar MacLure's estimation, according to which it must have been preached alongside some of the other Paul's Cross sermons during the 1560s. K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 142; M. MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* (Toronto, 1958), p. 224. This is also supported by the sermon's content, which refers to their time in exile as well as to their present situation.

¹⁰⁴ B. Gordon, 'The Changing Face of Protestant History', p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ While there is no clear evidence about whether the bishops were reacting to each other, it can be assumed that there was a certain awareness about each other's work.

English, they had found themselves ruled by a monarch who permitted them to follow God's request to build his house. Haggai had faced the same issues as the former exiles, and as long as the temple remained unbuilt, the chances of a lasting peace remained uncertain.¹⁰⁶

By comparing Elizabethan England with these biblical examples, the English and continental theologians used their commentaries and sermons on the Old Testament to criticise and warn the Elizabethan Protestants.¹⁰⁷ In his 1562 commentary on Haggai, Pilkington summarised the situation by saying that just as the Old Israelites had been freed from their Babylonian exile, the English were now being saved from their 'longe Romish slavery'.¹⁰⁸ However, both Jewel and Pilkington warned that their 'state of religion' was as bad as it had been during the 'time that the Prophet [Haggai] liued in'.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, by comparing the English with the Israelites under Antiochius, Pilkington reminded his readers about God's willingness to punish those who 'fall' away from him and the gospel. God's word could work in two ways: either for 'saluacion in them that here beleue and follow it, or in comdemnacion'.¹¹⁰ His commentary on Obadiah (1562) is similarly alarming because he cautioned that everyone and every 'kingdom' that acts against God's

¹⁰⁶ See: GNV, Haggai 1:7-10. In this passage it is emphasised that the Israelites are punished for not having obeyed God's will regarding building him a temple: 'Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Consider your own ways in your hearts. Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build this House, and I will be favorable in it, and I will be glorified. saith the Lord. Ye looked for much, and lo, it came to little: and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. And why, saith the Lord of hosts? Because of mine House that is waste, and ye turn every man unto his own house. Therefore the heaven over you stayed itself from dew, and the earth stayed her fruit'.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example: J. Jewel, 'Certain Sermons of B. Iewell. Joshua 6', in J. Gabrande (ed.), *Certaine sermons preached before the Queenes Maiestie, and at Paules crosse, by the reuerend father Iohn Ievvel late Bishop of Salisburie. Whereunto is added a short treatise of the sacraments, gathered out of other his sermons, made vpon that matter, in his cathedral church at Salisburie* (London, 1583), sig. Ar-D6v, sig. B3v-r.

¹⁰⁸ J. Pilkington, *Aggeus*, sig. Aiiir.

¹⁰⁹ J. Pilkington, *Aggeus*, sig. Aiiv; J. Jewel, 'Aggeus', sig. C8v.

¹¹⁰ J. Pilkington, *Aggeus*, sig. Aiiir.

wishes will be ‘overthrown’.¹¹¹ The idea of punishment is described in these texts as an act of justice. God’s punishment comes from his ‘righteous judgment’, and it always fits the sin that has been committed.¹¹² God punishes ‘like [a] father sharply correct[s] his children’, because they are ungrateful and fail to follow his will.¹¹³ However, before punishing his children, God would have ‘tried long enough for the amendment of them’.¹¹⁴ While Pilkington completely believed that the English Protestants had deserved their punishment, he did not desire to experience it again. Therefore, he felt it necessary to warn the English Protestants against repeating their past mistakes.

The idea of an active and providential God, as portrayed in the exiles’ theological texts, is crucial for understanding the Elizabethan Protestants’ mindsets.¹¹⁵ By emphasising that everything happens because of God’s doing, Jewel stressed that all godly rulers ‘are the good instruments by whom God sent forth his spirit’ and therefore that everything good that happens during their reign happens because of God.¹¹⁶ In his sermon on Joshua 6 probably preached in 1567 or 1569, Jewel further stressed God’s active righteousness through reminding his readers that God punished Jerusalem with ‘plagues’ because of the sins of its people who had tried to restore Jericho.¹¹⁷ God’s destruction and punishment of his own city was a clear and emphatic warning.¹¹⁸ Those who continued to sin despite the

¹¹¹ J. Pilkington, ‘On the Prophet Obadiah’, in J. Scholfield (ed.), *The works of Bishop Pilkington* (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 201-273, p. 206.

¹¹² Ibid. p. 226.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 213.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p. 221.

¹¹⁵ On providence in early modern England, see: A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999).

¹¹⁶ J. Jewel, ‘Joshua 6’, sig. B2v.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. sig. B6r. This sermon is again undated but was published in 1583. However, judging from its content, Arnold Hunt has estimated that it was preached around 1569, though Millar MacLure found a sermon of Jewel’s concerning the same topic listed in November 1567. This sermon was criticising a possible marriage between the queen and the Catholic Archduke of Austria; A. Hunt, ‘Preaching the Elizabethan Settlement’, p. 379; M. MacLure, *The Paul’ Cross Sermons*, p. 206.

¹¹⁸ In the Old Testament, Jerusalem housed the most sacred temple, which was often described as God’s house and home. See, for example: C. Koch, *Gottes himmlische Wohnstatt: Transformationen um Verhältnis*

warnings were judged not ‘worthy to see Hierusalem’, his kingdom, ever again.¹¹⁹ These ‘sinners’ had fallen from God’s kingdom and lost his mercy, which was a nightmarish scenario for the former exiles. Furthermore, Jewel’s description of the people that tried to restore Jericho mirrored the ways in which the English Protestants spoke about the Catholics, who remained a cause for concern. These parallels are reflected in Jewel’s *Challenge Sermon and Apology*, which documented his discourse with English Catholics on liturgy, theology and authority.¹²⁰ Throughout his sermon on Joshua 6, Jewel described the sinners as following tyrants, not taking on God’s mercy and following the ‘deuil’. He referred to their ‘hard heart, & blindnes of the people’ and ‘the eloquence, and subtil perswasion of the learned: thirdly, the sworde and violence of tyrants’.¹²¹ Jewel was certainly not alone in his polemical discourse against the Catholics, as the discussion of Sandys demonstrated earlier in the chapter. Jewel’s works were probably intended to warn Catholics to keep far away from England and, to avoid any doubt, he included further cautions about God’s providence:

von Gott und Hmme in tempeltheologischen Entwürfen des Alten Testaments in der Exilszeit (Tübingen, 2018).

¹¹⁹ J. Jewel, ‘Joshua 6’, sig. B5r-B6r

¹²⁰ Jewel’s *Apology of the Church* was trying to establish that the English Church was the only true Church of England and that it also followed English tradition. His *challenge sermon* was only the beginning of a whole preached and written conversation between Jewel, Harding and Cole. In his sermon, he challenged the Catholics to convince him that the Catholic Church was the true church. His challenges were based on 27 points of which 22 concerned the eucharist. However, he had already made it clear in his first sermon, that he had preached in 1559, that he was already convinced that the Catholic Church was a false church and that the mass was unlawful. See: J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or answer in defence of the true Church of England*. J. Jewel, ‘The Copy of a Sermon preached by the Bishop of Salisbury at Paul’s Cross, The second Sunday before Easter, in the Year of our Lord God 1560. Whereupon Doctor Cole first sought Occasion to encounter: Shortly set Forth, as Near as the Author could call it to Remembrance, without any Alteration, or Addition.’, in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop pf Salisbury. The First Portion, containing a Sermon preached at Paul’s Cross. Correspondence with Dr Cole. The Reply to Harding’s Answer of Private Mass. – Of The Supremacy. – Of Real Presence. – Of being in many Places. – Of Elevation of the Sacrament. – Of adoration of the Sacrament.* (Cambridge, 1845), pp. 1-25; G.W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English national church*, p. 74; W.M. Southgate, *John Jewel*, pp. 50-53.

¹²¹ J. Jewel, ‘Joshua 6’, sig. B5r.

God can giue peace, God can withdraw it: we haue seen the iudgements of the Lord vpon them, we haue seene the turning of the Lords hand towards vs. That thing which hath bin done, may be done again.¹²²

He suggested that if the sin was repeated, history could repeat itself and the Protestants would not be able to prevent this because God was an active and righteous God.

In his Edwardian sermon on Haggai, Vermigli discussed the nature of the sins that brought about divine punishment. Its later translation into English and the fact that the same topic was taken up by his former students show its relevance for the English Protestants under Elizabeth. Vermigli underlined the urgency of their task, noting that in both the Old and the New Testament God had requested that his house be ‘restored’.¹²³ Vermigli also argued that the ‘Church of Christ is the true house of God’ that had long ‘been broken down and almost subverted through the doctrine of external things and idolatrous superstition’.¹²⁴ According to Vermigli, it was now the ‘task of godly men together with Christ’ and the Old Testament prophets ‘to build up again the same famous and holy house’.¹²⁵ By constantly connecting historical events to the present, Vermigli, Sandys, Jewel and Pilkington were directly addressing their readers.¹²⁶ According to Vermigli, the first sin was ‘[t]hat the son of those who returned from Babylon, when they

¹²² J. Jewel, ‘Joshua 6’, sig. C4r-C4v.

¹²³ P. Martyr Vermigli, ‘[12] An Oration or Sermon of Doctor Peter Martyr Out of the First Chapter of the Prophet Haggai’, in J.P. Donnelly, S.J. (ed. transl.), *The Peter Martyr Library Volume Five: Life, Letters, and Sermons* (Kirkville, 1999), pp. 251-274, p. 251.

¹²⁴ Ibid. pp. 251-252. Patrick Collinson has argued that the scripture was used for identification with faith and biblical examples in everyday life, in P. Collinson, ‘The Coherence of the Text: How it Hangeth Together: The Bible in Reformation England’, in W.P. Stephens (ed.), *The Bible, The Reformation and the Church: Essays in Honour of James Atkinson* (Sheffield, 1995), pp. 84-108, pp. 103-104.

¹²⁵ P. Martyr Vermigli, ‘Haggai’, p. 252.

¹²⁶ This text was later translated into English in 1583 by Anthony Martens. However, it must be assumed that the former exiles were already familiar with Vermigli’s Latin version of the text. A. Martens (ed. transl.), *The common places of the most famous and renowned diuine Doctor Peter Martyr diuided into foure principall parts: with a large addition of manie theologicall and necessarie discourses, some neuer extant before. Translated and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten, one of the sewers of hir Maiesties most honourable chamber* (London, 1583).

neglected to build up the house of the Lord is blamed for just cause'.¹²⁷ The former exiles would surely have been able to see parallels with their own struggles and those of the Babylonian exiles. If the former Marian exiles failed to build God's Church now, then they would be guilty of the same sin as the Israelites had been. Potentially this would have them facing God's wrath again, for while God 'grants heavenly rewards to his servants', he also 'will take away from those that are of little faith the small helps of this life'.¹²⁸ Evidently, like Jewel and Pilkington in the 1560s, Vermigli was warning of God's righteousness and providence.

Clearly the fear of losing God's favour again was deeply rooted in the former exiles. As the previously analysed letter concerning the queen's marriage has shown, this was a deep-seated issue and reveals a genuine urgency to establish a 'true' Church for the sake of salvation and to avoid God's returning wrath.¹²⁹ This became part of their theological identity and motivation to further reform the Church. Since the failure to restore the Church was considered sinful, this became their primary goal. Moreover, the connections between biblical exiles and the recent ones provided their Church with a sacred and historical validation: it was God's will that they would reform this Church.

3.2. It is Time to build his Temple

This section will stress that to avoid a second Marian era, building God's Church became the exiles' top priority: upon their return to England, the exiles who had become bishops constantly stressed that they had no excuses left for not building their church and were warning their fellow Protestants of God's providence and the prospect of losing God's favour again. How pressing an issue this was is also reflected in their textual search for

¹²⁷ P. Martyr Vermigli, 'Haggai', p. 252.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 259.

¹²⁹ See: 'Archbishop Parker and Others to Queen Elizabeth', pp. 79-95.

answers and excuses for their former failures, which were identified via certain historical events and biblical texts.¹³⁰ Like in biblical times, there had been circumstances that hindered the building of this Church, or temple. One of these was England's Catholic past. Nevertheless, as the previous chapters have shown, this did not keep the Marian exiles from at least trying to establish God's Church. Even though they might have had different opinions on its form, all involved parties saw their redemption as linked to building God's Church in one form or another. Although they had failed to establish a visible and institutional Church, which the original Frankfurt congregation had proposed, they all continued worshipping in exile.

By finding ways to continue worshipping God, the then Marian exiles saw themselves as following in the footsteps of the Old Testament Israelites. In his 1562 commentary on Obadiah, James Pilkington described how the exiled and temple-less Jews worshipped: they were 'sing[ing] psalms and [using] their instruments' 'by the waterbanks'.¹³¹ The earliest Christians also came together during exile to worship God.¹³² This again gave the English Church, which identified with the earliest Christians and God's elected folk, legislation and established that even in times of danger and crisis, they had found their way to God via worship. However, while the exiles had certainly not been godless in exile, they still had not built God's house.

God might have been willing to forgive them for not building his house during their persecution and exile, but, as the commentaries previously analysed stressed, in Elizabethan England they had no excuse not to do so.¹³³ Until the arrival of Darius and the

¹³⁰ See: B. Gordon, 'The Changing Face of Protestant History', p. 6.

¹³¹ J. Pilkington, 'On the Prophet Obadiah', p. 263.

¹³² Ibid. p. 263.

¹³³ J. Pilkington, *Aggeus*, sig. Aiiiiv.

prophet's reminder about their duties, the rebuilding of the temple was disturbed by foreign rulers, which prevented the Israelites from following God's will. In Elizabethan England, Elizabeth took over the role of Darius while her ministers became England's prophets.¹³⁴ Referring to the example of the biblical prophets, Pilkington stressed in his 1562 Haggai commentary that the English needed to be more thankful for their God-given 'benefites'. Yet even after they had experienced divine punishment for the failure to build the Church under Edward, the English still seemed to be sinful. Pilkington lamented that although they had been given 'plentiful' 'land' and warnings by their prophets, 'yet they say it is not yet time to build gods house'.¹³⁵ This reveals two contradicting issues: despite their experience of God's wrath and constant warnings, they still had not established God's true Church. Simultaneously, their time was running out, as they had no excuses left for not building this Church. With its constant reminder of the exile, the Old Testament and God's righteousness, this text was a warning about the possibility of repeating history. Moreover, just like the writings of Gunther, this text reflects Pilkington's dissatisfaction with the state of Protestantism in England as a whole, as the sense of what the Church should be also translates into generally reforming English religion.¹³⁶

Possibly in the early 1560s, Jewel preached about the imminent dangers that England would face if they did not act fast enough. The returning Israelites did fail to restore their temple because 'euen their owne people forsooke them and would not returne home with them' and others were frightened by their enemies.¹³⁷ The Israelites had every opportunity to rebuild their temple; they had God's mercy and a godly prince on their side,

¹³⁴ Ibid. sig. Biir-Biiv.

¹³⁵ Ibid. sig. Eiv.

¹³⁶ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 135.

¹³⁷ J. Jewel, 'Aggeus', sig. F3v. The collection of Jewel's sermons was published in 1583; however, the sermon itself could be from much earlier in Elizabeth's reign. Nevertheless, its publication at this time also highlights the relevance of the sermon in the 1580s.

but it still would have needed the whole community to do so. Sixteenth century Protestants faced similar issues at the beginning of the Reformation. When Martin Luther first ‘was raysed up by God to reforme the church’, he did not even have enough support from his friends, because ‘the Pope & princes, and al the world’ were ‘against’ him.¹³⁸ Nonetheless, this was not the situation the English Protestants were in anymore. They had fought their war with the Catholic Church before and now had a supporting monarch.

Pilkington especially emphasised that the former rulers had hindered the building of the temple. According to Gunther, Pilkington depicted the ‘Jews’ building as a collective act of obedience to God and disobedience [...] to their earthly king’.¹³⁹ However, Pilkington’s frustration with the English people seems more apparent than the topic of obedience. Earlier in this chapter it has been established that the English bishops saw it as the queen’s duty to at least support the restoring of religion. According to Pilkington, it generally needed the right circumstances, such as a God-sent ruler, for this Church to be built, but it was *everyone’s* duty to *obey* God’s will and restore religion and the Church. The English Protestants held their rise or fall in their collective hands. In contrast, John Jewel identified the earlier failure to build this Church as being solely the fault of the ruler, but equally admitted that the ruler may have amore active role. Like Pilkington, Jewel compared Elizabeth to Darius but put more emphasis on her position as God-sent. He described how ‘God mollified & softened the heart of the king Darius for the deliury of his people, euen so of his great mercie hath he nowe stirred vp [...] our soueraigne Queen Elizabeth, for the same purpose’.¹⁴⁰ Accordingly, he believed that it was not the ruler themselves who supported those who returned from exile, but it was God’s active

¹³⁸ Ibid. sig. F3v.

¹³⁹ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁰ J. Jewel, ‘Aggeus’, sig. D7r-F1v.

interference that changed the ruler's heart. This implies that God acts through the ruler, which again explains the ruler's authority over their subjects. Jewel thought that both ministers and princes must be actively involved and the princes must act like overseers, 'for the Prince is keeper of the Lawe of GOD' and guides the ministers on the right path.¹⁴¹

However, Jewel also warned that if they continued their ignorance and failed to build this Church then they would not only forfeit God's mercy but 'the kingdome of God, which is the true vnderstanding of Gods word, shalbe taken away'. This would mean that they would not only be distant from God but that they would have to live in 'blindnes and falsehood, which is the kingdom of the Diuel'.¹⁴² Edwin Sandys also stated that if they acted against God's will then he 'shall take his word from us, and give it to a people that will bring forth better fruits'.¹⁴³ The fact that Jewel's and Sandys' texts were published later in the Elizabethan reign than Pilkington's, indicates that the fear of repeating sins and punishments that originated from the trauma of exile was an ongoing concern.

Similar opinions to Jewel were voiced by his teacher, Vermigli, in his sermon on the same prophet. According to Vermigli, the Israelites failed their task because 'they claimed that the time had not yet come for building the house of God'.¹⁴⁴ Further, they failed to recognise him and to 'use the good opportunities which the Lord has given for restoring his house'.¹⁴⁵ Thirdly, both the Israelites and the early modern Protestants were 'hindered from building the temple by the prohibitions and threats of neighbouring

¹⁴¹ Ibid. sig. F6r-F6v.

¹⁴² Ibid. sig. G8r.

¹⁴³ E. Sandys, 'The Twelfth Sermon. A Sermon Preached at an Assizes', in Ayre J. (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841). pp. 216-234, p. 219.

¹⁴⁴ P. Martyr Vermigli, 'Haggai', p. 255.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 256.

princes'.¹⁴⁶ Lastly, by prioritising 'their own houses' over God's, both groups 'neglected' to build God's temple.¹⁴⁷ According to Vermigli these were not reasonable excuses but were faults and sins. Like Jewel, he emphasised that God had given them everything that they needed to carry out his task.

At different times, the theologians mentioned above were listing causes or excuses as to why the Church had not been re-established in the past. While some of these, like divine punishment in the form of persecution and exile, would probably have been acceptable excuses, most were not. Pilkington's description of the exiled Israelites who even when they were in danger of persecution came together to worship and the real experiences of the Marian exiles formed a harsh contrast to their present situation. Even when they were facing worldly persecution, they still worshipped God. In contrast, Pilkington believed that the returned English Protestants were blessed by God's mercy and a place that offered them everything that they needed. Yet they had still failed to establish the true Church. While they had different opinions on the monarch's role in building their Church, the former exiles turned Elizabethan bishops agreed that it was the eleventh hour. They needed to reform their Church now or they could go backwards and lose God's grace again. It seemed that the issue of ecclesiology had also become a matter of salvation.

Furthermore, just as they had done in exile, the Elizabethan Protestants continued to compare themselves with the Old Testament Israelites and stressed that they were in the lineage of God's elect folk. Through their writings the former exiles that had become bishops established a Protestant legacy and warned about God's providence and righteousness. The history of the Old Testament Israelites is a history of constant sin and

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. pp. 256-257.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 257.

falling from God's grace, a fate that the former Marian exiles who had already gone through dark times of facing God's wrath did not want to share. Moreover, the parallels between the English Protestants and the Israelites functioned as a warning that history could repeat itself and that God would not spare them if they failed to properly serve him.

3.3. What kind of Church?

During their exile, the Marian exiles had argued in heated letter exchanges about the kind of Church that they felt needed to be restored and established in exile. In previous chapters this thesis identified distinctions between the issue of having an institutional Church, having a spiritual and English community and arguments about God's universal Church. However, this section will emphasise that in Elizabethan England these categories shifted. Collinson has argued that the 'Elizabethan Protestants might distinguish between the public, visible Church and the invisible company of God's elect'.¹⁴⁸ When debating the form of their Church, the English Protestants did not differentiate between individual grace or a federal covenant but considered the individual to be part of the national Church. The covenant that they shared with God 'was concerned both with individual and corporate standing before God'.¹⁴⁹ The following examination will show that these categories got much more interlinked than they would have in Marian exile.¹⁵⁰

With having once again a ruler elected by God that held the title of supreme governor, the issue of having an institutional Church had solved itself. Any Church that the bishops would establish in England under their leadership would be an institutional Church. However, this section will stress that their experience of exile continued to inspire the discourse about the form and nature of their Church. Their belief that they were part of

¹⁴⁸ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Movement* (Oxford, 1967), p. 25.

¹⁴⁹ T.D. Bozeman, 'Federal Theology and the 'National Covenant': An Elizabethan Presbyterian Case Study', *Church History*, 61/4 (1992), pp. 394-407, p. 406.

¹⁵⁰ However, this does not include individual soteriological considerations.

Christ's congregation and that they needed to secure their place in God's kingdom as part of their salvation was central in their publications and sermons. After their former experiences, this was more important than ever.

Furthermore, the letter that was initially sent out by the original Frankfurt congregation had incorporated the wish to be together as one nation in one place to worship together and support each other.¹⁵¹ Now that they were not spread across Europe anymore and were gathered in their own country, this issue had become redundant. However, while the original argument of this debate seemed to have disappeared, the idea itself seemed to have been present in different variations of the Elizabethan discourse. First, because of the experience of exile, the idea of a national Church had developed due to the international input the exiles were having. This made the idea of a Church that included Protestants from different places as God's kingdom more acceptable than before their exile experience. Secondly, because they still had to face being endangered by the powerful and threatening Catholic forces in their own country, the former exiles now turned Elizabethan bishops saw themselves in constant need of establishing that their Church had historical legitimacy.

One example of this was delivered in John Jewel's *Apology*, which further demonstrates how the lines between the different categories of Church had disappeared.¹⁵² This treatise was widely approved of among leading Elizabethan Protestants. Archbishop Matthew Parker had written the preface to Lady Anne Bacon's translation of 1564. In January 1562, Richard Cox mentioned to William Cecil that this treatise was 'bothe godly and finely handled'. He hoped that it would be 'cofirming and conforting the treau [sic]

¹⁵¹ 'Frankfurt Exile Congregation to Zurich, Wesel, Strasbourg, Emden, Duisburg (02 August 1554)', *Letters from Exile*.

¹⁵² J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or answer in defence of the true Church of England*.

Christe [...] in all place of Europe' and stop 'the mowthes of the adversuyes'.¹⁵³ Further approval came directly from Zurich. Vermigli confirmed to Jewel that he, Heinrich Bullinger and Bullinger's sons, Gwalther and Wolfius, were more than satisfied with this treatise.¹⁵⁴ In this treatise, which was internationally praised, Jewel had defended the English Protestant Church, tried to build a legacy for it and added a testimony of the English Church:

[They] beleeeve that there is one Church of God, and that the same is not shutte up [...] into some one corner or kyngdome, but that it is catolique and universall, and dispersed throughout the whole worlde.¹⁵⁵

This Church had Christ as its sole head and contained earthly ministers and other offices.¹⁵⁶ Jewel was linking the universal Church of God with the English institutional Church.¹⁵⁷

Years later, when he took up his archbishopric in York, Edwin Sandys stressed a similar joined-up understanding of Church. The 'members of Christ, must be knit together in one body, and in one place, with one mind and one mouth, glorifying the Lord'.¹⁵⁸ This again connected the idea of a spiritual community and a physical church. Ideally, they should all worship in one place. This also conformed to Jewel's outlining of ministers and other ecclesiastical offices. The true Church could only be found in God's kingdom or Christ's congregation. Further, Sandys reflected that only in times of crisis 'secret

¹⁵³ SP 12/21 f.40.

¹⁵⁴ 'Appendix Letter I', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 339-341, p. 339.

¹⁵⁵ J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or answer in defence of the true Church of England*, sig. C1r-C1v.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. sig. C1v.

¹⁵⁷ The 1564 English edition, which contains a clear structure and explanation of the different parts and offices of the institutional Church of England further supports this argument.

¹⁵⁸ E. Sandys, 'The Tenth Sermon. A Sermon Preached at his first Coming to York', *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys*, pp. 177-196, p. 191.

congregations are allowed'.¹⁵⁹ This was in line with Pilkington's commentary on Obadiah, in which he stressed that in exile the Old Israelites had found alternative places to worship, but that otherwise God required his temple to be restored.¹⁶⁰ However, unless there was a crisis, the mortal members of God's spiritual congregation had to worship God in a physical Church. The author and former exile John Foxe argued in his preface to Pilkington's unfinished commentary on Nehemiah that the temple in Nehemiah was 'set up for the re-edifying for the material temple of Jerusalem, destroyed by the Babylonians; so in like the sort the spiritual church of Christ'.¹⁶¹ Evidently, abusing the institutional Church would also endanger the spiritual church. Regarding their goal of establishing a proper reformed Church, they linked theological doctrines with ecclesiological theories. This idea of the institutional Church as part of the spiritual Church made the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church a highly theological matter.

The definition of the Church as it was used in Jewel's testimony further highlighted that this Church was universal; it was not bound to one country but a congregation of true Christians, namely Protestants, everywhere. The true Church was able to cross national borders. Moreover, Jewel stressed that 'Zwinglians and Lutherians, in very deede of bothe sydes be Christians, and good friendes & brethern'.¹⁶² Despite their differences, Luther and Zwingli had in common that they both 'came unto the knowledge and preaching of the Gospel, wheras yet the thinge was but newe'.¹⁶³ While this point of view could be taken as a reflection of general multi-confessional English theology, it predominantly stressed the differences between the impure Catholic Church and the true Protestant Church. Besides

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 191.

¹⁶⁰ J. Pilkington, 'On the Prophet Obadiah', p. 253.

¹⁶¹ J. Foxe, 'A Preface of M. John Fox, to the Christian Reader', in J. Scholefield (ed.), *The works of Bishop Pilkington* (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 277-280, p. 277.

¹⁶² J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or defence of the Church of England*, sig. E7r-E7v.

¹⁶³ Ibid. sig. F8v.

all their differences, Protestants all shared one Protestant identity as members of the same and only true Church. Pilkington underpinned this in his Haggai commentary: ‘all the earthe is the Lordes, and he is present in all places hearing the petitions of which call on him in faithe’.¹⁶⁴ Further, Heinrich Bullinger defined the ‘church of God’ as ‘not tied to any region, nation, or kindred’.¹⁶⁵ Consequently, Protestants believed that God’s kingdom did not contain any borders and the only thing required of the members of God’s Church was true faith.

By establishing themselves as following in the footsteps of Old Testament Israelites and early Christians, the Elizabethan Protestants tried to establish that their Church had the same lineage as the early Christian Church.¹⁶⁶ In doing so they not only described their Church and established a confessional identity, but also defended it against the Catholic accusations of heresy.¹⁶⁷ In their defence, the English bishops ‘proclaimed that their Church rather than that of the papists was the real incarnation of the primitive’ Church.¹⁶⁸ The Elizabethan Church differed from most other ‘reformed churches abroad’ as it had a ‘strong sense of identity with the (idealised) early church’.¹⁶⁹ This was probably not least due to the former exiles experience of exile and persecution. In eschatological writings, Protestants like John Bale and John Foxe ‘implied’ that the English Church ‘was founded upon apostolic origins’ and ‘that their Church was a visible manifestation of the invisible

¹⁶⁴ J. Pilkington, *Aggeus*, sig. Gviiiiv.

¹⁶⁵ H. Bullinger, ‘The Fifth Decade of Sermons, written by Henry Bullinger. First Sermon’, in T. Harding (ed.), H.I (transl.), *The Decades of Henry Bullinger, Minister of the Church of Zurich: The Fifth Decade* (Cambridge, 1852), pp. 1-48, p. 5.

¹⁶⁶ See: A. Ranson, ‘John Foxe and the True, Universal, English Church’, *Retrospectives*, 2 (2013), pp. 8-21.

¹⁶⁷ J-L. Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity. The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford, 2009), p. 44; A. Zakai, ‘Reformation, History, and Eschatology in English Protestantism’, *History and Theory*, 26/3 (1987), pp. 300-318, p. 301.

¹⁶⁸ A. Walsham, ‘The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, c.1500-1700’, *Transactions of RHS*, 21 (2011), pp. 93-212, p. 99; A. Zakai, ‘Reformation, History, and Eschatology’, p. 306.

¹⁶⁹ B. Usher, ‘New Wine into old Bottles’, p. 209.

Catholic Church' that was 'hidden under the tyranny of' Rome.¹⁷⁰ Taking the experience of exile and martyrdom into the midst of his descriptions, Foxe 'ensured that in the long term the vision of the church as a persecuted minority achieved a central place in the consciousness of English protestants'.¹⁷¹ In contrast, Sandys and Jewel argued about the history of their Church on doctrinal grounds.¹⁷² In his *Apology*, Jewel established that the English Church was a true Church, which as God's Church was 'buylte upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophettes'; the English Church distinguished itself from the Romish Church and established itself as the true Church.¹⁷³ Moreover, in their need to defend themselves against Catholic accusations that they were heretics, the members of the English and Protestant Church were not only following in the footsteps of the apostles but of Christ himself.¹⁷⁴

Evidently for the former Marian exiles, there were no boundaries between the universal Church of God and the institutional English Church. Their experience of living among international Protestant communities abroad had probably impacted their understanding of a universal spiritual community. Not even doctrinal differences like those mentioned in previous chapters, such as the questions concerning baptism raised by the English exiles in Lutheran Frankfurt, hindered this experience.¹⁷⁵ However, the fact that both their wider Christian community and their institutional English Church were not new inventions but were following the same lines as biblical Israelites and the ancient Christian Church was constantly referenced in the English Protestants writings and publicly

¹⁷⁰ A. Zakai, 'Reformation, History, and Eschatology', pp. 306-307; A. Ranson, 'John Foxe', p. 8.

¹⁷¹ C. Davies, "'Poor Persecuted Little Flock'", p. 81.

¹⁷² G.W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English national church*, p. 88; W.M. Southgate, *John Jewel*, p. 56.

¹⁷³ J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or defence of the Church of England*, sig. I3r.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. p. B4r-B4v.

¹⁷⁵ P. Martyr Vermigli, '[1089] Letter No. 101 To the Church of the English', in J.P. Donnelly, S.J. (ed. transl.), *The Peter Martyr Library Volume Five: Life, Letters, and Sermons* (Kirkville, 1999), pp. 129-133.

defended in Jewel's treatise. The bishops established that the Protestant Church was the only true Church according to scripture and that they were working according to God's will.

As the former exiles' sermons demonstrate, the early Elizabethan bishops viewed the membership of Christ's congregation as a crucial redeeming feature of their edification programme. On this matter they were following the examples that were given in continental and pre-Elizabethan publications. Bullinger explained that Christ's Church is always on Earth.¹⁷⁶ Vermigli highlighted the importance of Christ's Church as 'the true house of God'.¹⁷⁷ In exile, Edwin Sandys had emphasised the importance of the membership of the congregation of Christ.¹⁷⁸ This continued to be a central part of his preaching during his time as bishop in various dioceses in Elizabethan England. In one of his sermons, Sandys described how this congregation had been created: the Church of God was built on the covenant that God had 'made [...] with our father Abraham'.¹⁷⁹ Via this covenant, God promised mercy, and 'to perform this covenant of grace and mercy', God 'gave his only-begotten Son in the fulness of time to death'.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, Pilkington continued, everything that happened to create our congregation in Christ, our covenant with God, happened because of God's merciful actions; he had made this covenant first in ancient times with Abraham and later he sealed it again with the blood of Christ that 'deliver[s] us from all sin'. Christ 'died to redeem us' and he 'rose' 'to justify us'.¹⁸¹ So,

¹⁷⁶ H. Bullinger, 'The Fifth Decade of Sermon. First Sermon', pp. 10-11.

¹⁷⁷ P. Martyr Vermigli, 'Haggai', p. 251.

¹⁷⁸ See: E. Sandys, 'A Sermon preached at Strausborough, in the time of Queen Mary's reign', in John Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 293-312, p. 293.

¹⁷⁹ E. Sandys, 'The Tenth Sermon.', p. 180.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 180.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. p. 179.

via his covenant, Christ ‘clothed us with his righteousness’, and it is only through ‘faith’ that we can become ‘partakers of that great redemption in Christ Jesus’.¹⁸² Pilkington explained why this sacrifice was necessary. In the Old Testament temples, there was a need for ‘shedding of the blood of some sacrifice; and in this world is no pardon of our wickedness without the blood of Christ’ for the forgiveness of sins.¹⁸³ This showed again that the issues concerning the Church and ecclesiology were strongly interlinked with the question of salvation and justification, both of which could be found in the covenant – God’s Church.

Sandys explained further that the Church had been built by God alone: ‘man never laid one finger to this work: it is the only building and work of God, who in tender compassion hath both begun and finish it’.¹⁸⁴ Regarding a similar notion, Pilkington stated that ‘the kingdom of Christ standeth not in outward things, but on true faith in God by Christ’.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, after the old Jerusalem was destroyed because of Israel’s former sins, ‘in his, mercy he [God] hath built a new spiritual Jerusalem’. This new Jerusalem also included ministers who would spread the gospel ‘through all the world’ so that ‘all which believe may be saved’.¹⁸⁶ This had also been a thought that was shared by Zurich. In his commentary on Nehemiah, Pilkington referred to the writings of Johann Wolf, whom the English referred to as Wolfius. Pilkington was following Wolfius’s example in his commentary, and through his constant reminders about this to the reader, he was giving his own writings continental approval.¹⁸⁷ In January 1571, John Parkhurst wrote to Wolfius about this same commentary that he had received; he approved of it and said that ‘every

¹⁸² Ibid. pp. 170-180.

¹⁸³ J. Pilkington, ‘Nehemiah’, p. 374

¹⁸⁴ E. Sandys, ‘The Tenth Sermon’, p. 180.

¹⁸⁵ J. Pilkington, ‘Nehemiah’, p. 320.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 376.

¹⁸⁷ See: Ibid. p. 285, p. 376.

one most highly esteems your Nehemiah, and is eagerly buying it up'.¹⁸⁸ Considering that he had approved the same text that Pilkington had based his views on, it can be assumed that at least to a certain extent he shared the same opinions as Pilkington in this matter. It also showed once again how the intellectual network between the English bishops and the Zurich theologians continued to influence the former exiles. And it also demonstrates the idea of an active God that built his own Church or spiritual community out of mercy where their sins were redeemed existed outside England as well.

These kinds of thoughts question the idea of building a Church out of stone but also highlight the importance of the theological background regarding issues such as the justification for and salvation behind the former exiles' task of properly reforming the Church. After all, God had already established his Church, and no human could have contributed to this. Nonetheless, the writings of Pilkington, Jewel and other theologians, which were based on scriptural evidence, demanded that God required them to build his Church. This clearly went beyond a modern understanding of what a Church is and instead demanded further reform and a redirecting of religion towards following the rules of God's Church. According to Sandys, their contribution to God's Church would be to 'serve' God in the form of preaching and 'worshipping'.¹⁸⁹ So although using the terminology of physically building a Church might not have captured their right notions, they were trying to spread the true Church and the true religion into the rest of the world. In his study on the Pauline Renaissance in Elizabethan England, Coolidge has analysed this issue of building the Church with stone or spirit further. He explains that this idea of building can be traced back to Paul's use of the Greek word *οικοδομεω*, which translates to 'to build a house'

¹⁸⁸ 'John Parkhurst to John Wolfius (16 January 1571)', *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 177-178, p. 177.

¹⁸⁹ E. Sandys, 'The Tenth Sermon.', p. 182, p. 187, p. 189.

and became ‘to edify’ in English. Paul was ‘combining the already heavily freighted Hebrew motif with a characteristically Hellenic commonplace’.¹⁹⁰ Paul and the former exiles understood building or edifying their Church as being a mixture between tradition, which would see the house really built out of stone, and the notion that they were all spiritual parts of a spiritual Church. The Church that they had to build was ‘Christ’s body, formed by the new life of its members in Christ’.¹⁹¹ From this perspective, the ‘edification of the individual and that of the collective are one and the same process’, which is completed through the blood of Christ.¹⁹²

Nonetheless, whatever term they used, the idea that God created his Church out of mercy and that they and their continental allies were all part of one universal Church was central. Therefore they all had important parts to play as members of his spiritual congregation. The phrase ‘becoming living stones’ became popular in their theories about their spiritual community; it came from 1 Peter 2:5: ‘Ye also as lively stones, be made a spiritual house, an holy Priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ’.¹⁹³ Pilkington stated that ‘we maye be liuelye stones, mete for his building, and become the temple of the holy ghoste’.¹⁹⁴ He clarified this further, saying ‘that God dwels not in Tempels made with handes’.¹⁹⁵ According to Vermigli, ‘the living stones are drawn to this building by faith which springs from the word of God, and are joined together by the power of the Holy Spirit’.¹⁹⁶ He also said that ‘the rebuilding of the house is a spiritual building, by which the living stones are joined together on Christ the

¹⁹⁰ J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance*, p. 27.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p. 35.

¹⁹² Ibid. p. 39.

¹⁹³ GNV, 1 Peter 2:5.

¹⁹⁴ J. Pilkington, *Aggeus*, sig. Aviiir.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. sig. Gviiiiv.

¹⁹⁶ P. Martyr Vermigli, ‘Haggai’, p. 254.

foundation'.¹⁹⁷ Consequently, the key point was the spiritual Church, a Church that God had built and which they were structural parts of – they were the stones that were keeping this building together. They would be parishioners of a Church and through their faith they had become a spiritual unity.

According to the teachings of Paul, in this unity they were joined by Christ as members 'in this mystical body of Christ'.¹⁹⁸ Therefore, if one person suffered in this 'body' then everyone would suffer, so they were supposed to help one another and 'help to relieve him [grief]'.¹⁹⁹ According to Vermigli there were two things that kept this unity together: the 'receive[ing]' of the 'testimony of God' and the 'confess[ing of] his name'.²⁰⁰ Bullinger stated that the 'faithful are the true and lively members of Christ'.²⁰¹ These examples prove the importance of this unity: if they were one with Christ, they would find salvation through God's mercy and covenant. This is why *building* a church based on Christ, God's mercy and God's word became the central task of the first generation of Elizabethan bishops.

To summarise, for the former exiles, *building* the true Church of God was an essential part of their route to salvation. However, this *building* did not necessarily mean putting stone on stone, but could be a structural and spiritual matter. It was a cry for further reform and for spreading Protestantism as a unity that went even beyond England; this was supported by continental allies that were fellow members of the same universal Church and spiritual community. However, while most of the texts analysed here were focused on the spiritual Church and Christ's congregation, this would not have meant that the idea of a

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. pp. 253-254.

¹⁹⁸ E. Sandys, 'The Fifth Sermon', p. 98.

¹⁹⁹ J. Pilkington, 'Nehemiah', p. 313.

²⁰⁰ P. Martyr Vermigli, 'Haggai', p. 254.

²⁰¹ H. Bullinger, 'The Fifth Decade of Sermon. First Sermon', p. 16.

worldly and institutional Church became irrelevant. Instead, the former exiles' situation had changed. They were now all together as one English community in a Protestant country with a Protestant queen. They had to fine-tune this Protestantism and had to define what a true Church would be.

3.4. Defining the Markers and the Foundation of the Church

Defining the visible markers of the true Church – the nature of the true Church – was at the heart of the returned exiles' ecclesiastical doctrines. It became a task that was essential for further defining the confessional, theological and liturgical form of the English Church. As they had done in exile, they agreed on preaching the gospel and ministering the sacraments as markers of the Church; the issue of discipline, however, remained controversial. The discussion of these markers is not only a presentation of the continuance of the exiles' debates; it also emphasises the continuing continental influence on the shaping of the English Protestants' confessional identity and understanding of ministry. Regarding these aspects, they were taking another stance on their Protestant beliefs and were distancing themselves from the 'false' Church. Furthermore, because preaching was understood to be the key marker, it became the main duty of the minister. This point will also be essential for the debates on conformity discussed in the next chapter.

In part four of chapter one of Vermigli's *Loci*, he described the Church and its functions, and defined the Church as a congregation in Christ. God had 'gathered' them 'by the word and the holy Ghost' and the 'Ministers gouverneth the same with pureness of doctrine, with lawfull vse of the Sacraments, and with discipline'.²⁰² According to

²⁰² P. Martyr Vermigli, 'THE Fourth Part of the Common places of PETER MARTYR. Wherein is intreated of the outward meanes which God vseth for the saluation of his people, and preservation of mans societie' in Anthonie Marthen (transl., ed.), *The common places of the most famous and renowned diuine Doctor Peter Martyr diuided into foure principall parts: with a large addition of manie theologicall and necessarie discourses, some neuer extant before. Translated and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten, one of the sewers of hir Maiesties most honourable chamber* (London, 1583), part four, p. 1.

Vermigli, there were ‘thré marks of the Church’: ‘doctrine [preaching the gospel], the right administration of the Sacraments and the care of discipline’.²⁰³ This strong and important link that the markers of the Church and the pure existence of the Church were thought to share had been described in a sermon by Sandys, who stated that ‘the true Church hath her marks whereby she is known; the gospel truly preached, the sacraments sincerely ministered, discipline duly executed’.²⁰⁴ Consequently, the visible markers of the true Church were the cornerstones of its identity.²⁰⁵ It was these markers that made it possible to differentiate between a true and faithful Church and a false Church – the Catholic Church, because the ‘popish church has neither’; instead ‘her marks are blasphemy, idolatry, superstition’.²⁰⁶ Jewel emphasised the following in his *Apology*:

We truly have renounced that church wherin we could neyther have the worde of God sincerely taught, nor the Sacraments rightly administred, nor the name of God dewly called upon, whyche Churche also themselves confesse to be faulty on many pointctes²⁰⁷

Like Sandys and Vermigli, Jewel agreed that the markers of the true Church functioned as indicators that helped to distinguish between the true and the false Church. By using this definition, the English theologians were following the doctrines of Bullinger, Calvin, Zwingli and Luther, who all agreed that the ‘*notae ecclesiae*’ would be the signs that helped to differentiate between ‘true and false church’.²⁰⁸ This discourse on the

²⁰³ Ibid. p. 76.

²⁰⁴ E. Sandys, ‘The Third Sermon’, p. 67.

²⁰⁵ For a description of the function of the markers, see also: G. Neebe, *Apostolische Kirche. Grundunterscheidungen an Luthers Kirchenbegriff unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Lehre von den notae ecclesiae* (Berlin, 1997), p. 96.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 67.

²⁰⁷ J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or defence of the Church of England*, sig. M1v.

²⁰⁸ F. Büsler, *Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575). Leben, Werk und Wirkung Band II* (Zürich, 2005), p. 36, original quote: ‘wahrer and falscher Kirche’.

characteristics of the one true Church was also a clear confessional statement and a legitimisation of Protestantism as opposed to the false Catholic Church. Bullinger stressed in his *Confessio Helvetica Posterior* that they would only acknowledge Christ as head of the Church and that they would not accept any Church that claimed to be the true Church: 'Further, acknowledge we no other head of the Church than Christ, therefore we do not acknowledge any arbitrary church, which claims to be true, to be true Church.' Instead, he stressed that they would only acknowledge a Church 'in which the signs or marks of the true Church can be found' as true.²⁰⁹ According to Bullinger, there were 'two special marks, the sincere preaching of the word of God, and the lawful partaking of the sacraments of Christ'.²¹⁰

Like Bullinger, Jewel only acknowledged preaching and ministering the sacraments as markers. However, a debate on the issue of whether discipline might be a marker of the Church or not was still ongoing. Just like during the exiles' debates, this could have been an issue concerning not having the term discipline clearly defined.²¹¹ As already demonstrated in chapter two, Bullinger stressed the 'study of godliness and unity, patience in affliction' in his *Decade* on the markers of the studies, which as the previous chapter showed, Martin Bucer would define as discipline.²¹² Clearly, theologians such as Bullinger

²⁰⁹ E. Campi (ed.), H. Bullinger, 'Confessio Helvetica Posterior, 1566', in A. Mühling, P. Opitz (eds), *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften Bd. 2/2 1562-1569* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2009), pp. 268-270, p. 314. The original quote: 'Caeterum ut non agnoscimus aliud caput Ecclesiae quam Christum, ita non agnoscimus quamlibet ecclesiam, quae se venditat pro vera, veram esse ecclesiam'. The second quote: 'in qua signa vel notae inveniuntur ecclesiae verae'.

²¹⁰ H. Bullinger, 'The Fifth Decade of Sermon. First Sermon', p. 17; E. Campi (ed.), H. Bullinger, 'Confessio Helvetica Posterior', p. 314.

²¹¹ See: J. Pilkington, 'Exposition upon certain Chapters of Nehemiah', p. 380.

²¹² M. Bucer, 'Ordnung der Christlichen Kirchenzucht. Für die Kirchen im Fürstenthum Hessen.', in R. Stupperich (ed.), *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften Band 7. Schriften der Jahre 1538-1539* (Gütersloh, 1964), pp. 247-278.

and Jewel did not deny the importance of discipline for the unity of the church but did not categorise it as a marker.

While there might not have been an agreed definition of what was to be counted as discipline or whether discipline was supposed to be a marker of the Church, the theologians who saw discipline as an essential part of the Church had their own definitions of what discipline was and what part discipline would play in the greater scheme of the true Church. Although Jean Calvin, who was probably the most prominent defender of discipline, did not consider it to be a marker, he thought discipline still had a central and binding role. Discipline was supposed to ensure the right preaching of the gospel, the understanding of doctrine and ministering the sacraments. It was supposed to be an ‘educational and pastoral tool’ that would protect the ‘congregation as Christ’s body from damage and bad reputation’; furthermore, it was to be a moral compass for every single parishioner.²¹³ Consequently, according to Calvin, discipline was the glue that kept it all together. Vermigli, on the other hand, explained Church discipline as the

power graunted to the Church by GOD, by which the willes and actions of the faithful, are made conformable to the lawe of GOD: which is done by doctrine, admonitions, correction, and finallie by punishments, and also by excommunicatioon if neede require.²¹⁴

Therefore, discipline would be following the law and will of God through respectable punishment depending on the crime. Moreover, through the use of doctrine, discipline

²¹³ R. Rohloff, *Johannes Calvin. Leben, Werk, Wirkung* (Göttingen, 2011), p. 100. First quote: ‘*erzieherisches und seelsorgerisches Instrument*’. Second quote: ‘*die Gemeinde als Leib Christi vor Beschädigung und schlechtem Ruf zu schützen*’.

²¹⁴ P. Martyr Vermigli, ‘THE Fourth Part of the Common places’, p. 56.

could be used as some kind of preventative tool and moral compass, which is how Calvin had defined it.

The schismatic issues surrounding the matters of conformity and ecclesiology discussed in the next chapter are reflected in these debates surrounding discipline. In his unfinished commentary on Nehemiah, Pilkington claimed that he would not ‘partake of these troublesome contentions’, that is, the debate about discipline, but he certainly expressed his opinion between the lines.²¹⁵ He declared that ‘God’s church be made strong by laws, discipline and authority.’²¹⁶ This commentary on Nehemiah that was published after Pilkington’s death is an example that the debate on discipline was central during the English Reformation and was not resolved during the former exiles’ life times. Moreover, in his commentary on Obadiah, which had been published as an addition to his 1562 Haggai commentary, Pilkington explained the use of and need for discipline. Discipline would ensure that criminals and everyone disturbing doctrine and religion or endangering the gospel and the congregation ‘should be deposed from their [church] office’.²¹⁷ Sandys changed his opinion on discipline after exile and indicated that discipline played an important part in the reform of the Church. In a sermon that he delivered during one of his visitations in York, he stressed that ‘Christ in reforming the Church proceeded orderly, knowing that disorderly remedies of the evils are as dangerous as the evils for which they are sought.’²¹⁸ By following this example, discipline would be essential to keep the church safe and clean - anything disturbing would be removed. This measure would fit with

²¹⁵ J. Pilkington, ‘Exposition upon certain Chapters of Nehemiah’, p. 380.

²¹⁶ Ibid. p. 379.

²¹⁷ J. Pilkington, ‘Obadiah’, p. 211. However, this would not mean a finite excommunication, but depending on their crimes or wrongdoings, they would have a second chance to be welcomed again when ‘they made satisfaction by open repentance afore the congregation’.

²¹⁸ E. Sandys, ‘The Thirteenth Sermon. A Sermon Made in York, at a Visitation.’, in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 235-255, p. 247.

Christ's commands, who, after cleansing the temple, called out that 'My house shall be called the house of prayer: but ye have made it a den of thieves.'²¹⁹

While there might not have been complete agreement on the issue of discipline as a marker of the Church, there was no doubt about the role of preaching and ministering the sacraments. Even in exile, these two ideas were the concepts that all Protestants could agree on. The true Church was present through the signs of God's word rightly preached and his sacraments ministered in the proper way.

Protestants from all over Europe agreed that preaching was one of the main markers of Protestant identity. The previous chapters have already shown that it was considered sinful and harmed one's salvation when one was not able to hear the gospel truly preached. Therefore, it is crucial to consider the matter of preaching when talking about the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church. According to Bullinger's third sermon in his fifth *Decade*, it is via preaching that God 'covenanteth to pour himself wholly into us'.²²⁰ Bullinger defined preaching the word of God as part of the two-sided covenant. Through God's word they could find 'salvation' and would be 'both strengthened and blessed in him', but they also had to fulfil their part of the covenant, which was serving God, being 'bound to him'.²²¹ Also, Bullinger saw preaching as a product of the covenant that God had made with the Israelites in Deuteronomy 5 and Exodus 19–20. Because the Israelites were not able to face and hear God themselves without facing certain death, they requested that Moses would speak the words of God. Therefore, God made a covenant with the Israelites: he would never speak to them directly, but instead his son would speak his

²¹⁹ GNV, Matthew 21:13.

²²⁰ H. Bullinger, 'The Fifth Decade of Sermons, written by Henry Bullinger. Third Sermon', in T. Harding (ed.), H.I (transl.), *The Decades of Henry Bullinger, Minister of the Church of Zurich: The Fifth Decade* (Cambridge, 1852), pp. 93–127, p. 93.

²²¹ Ibid. p. 93.

words to them and ministers would preach his words.²²² Therefore, to build a true Church in Elizabethan England, the bishops had to consider preaching as their main duty. If they failed this task they would break God's covenant, commit sin and were in danger of facing his wrath again.

This is also accentuated in Pilkington's and Sandys' respective statements that 'God's house' is built by preaching.²²³ Sandys emphasised further that preaching was essential for the relationship between Christ, God and humans. Preaching the gospel had the power to bring 'peace', because 'the gospel hath chased away walking spirits' and it had brought 'peace towards God, and peace amongst ourselves'. This was because 'the gospel preacheth Christ. Christ is our peace, and peace maker'.²²⁴ Therefore Sandys recognised that preaching the gospel helped the relationship between humanity and God and it also helped humanity as a whole. In another sermon, Sandys defined the term peace further. He said that the gospel is the word of God, so preaching the gospel is preaching the word of God. He identifies peace in another passage as the 'word of salvation'. Evidently, peace could mean different things: earthly peace among humans in their earthly and Christian communities, but also salvation that they can only find through and in God's word.

The topic of preaching also included the matters of sin and salvation, because refusing to preach the word – 'hear it, read it, follow it' – would hinder 'the seed of God' from 'fructify[ing] in our hearts'.²²⁵ As commonly agreed in Protestant theology, the only way to salvation is faith. Sandys explained that the only way to have faith or 'to believe is

²²² Ibid. p. 94.

²²³ J. Pilkington, 'Nehemiah', p. 359; E. Sandys, 'The Third Sermon', p. 67.

²²⁴ Ibid. p. 60.

²²⁵ Ibid. p. 62.

hearing; for by hearing cometh faith'. So the combination of hearing and preaching is needed to find faith and consequently salvation, as 'the word is that star which guideth and directeth us unto Christ'.²²⁶ Consequently, preaching is the only way to salvation. Much like Bullinger's understanding of the covenant, this understanding of preaching is two-sided and describes the relationship between God and Christians. It needs those who preach the word – ministers – on the one hand, but it also needs active listening to receive the word and consequently God's mercy and salvation. This is a very common understanding of preaching and salvation in Protestant theology that is widely held among both Reformed and Lutheran theology.²²⁷ *Sola scriptura* theology was without doubt one of the central planks of Protestant theology.²²⁸ Considering the importance that preaching the word had for the salvation of the members of the true Church, the short prohibition on preaching that the English Protestants had to face in 1559 must have been a shocking reminder for the former exiles of their recent past.²²⁹ While this was only a temporary prohibition whose main aim was to protect the new government and upcoming Church from disruptive preachers, 'hotter gospellers like Pilkington' saw this as a failure of the Elizabethan regime and feared that the 'Elizabethan regime could never hope to succeed in its task of re-converting England to Protestantism'.²³⁰ These kinds of criticisms that were worried about the hindering of the edification of the true Church and the consequences that ignoring God's will would bring, continued, as the next chapter will show, throughout Elizabeth's reign.

²²⁶ E. Sandys, 'The Eight Sermon. A Sermon Preached before the Queen.', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 144-160, p. 153.

²²⁷ See: R. Kolb, C.R. Trueman, *Between Wittenberg and Geneva. Lutheran and Reformed Theology in Conversation* (Grand Rapids, 2017), pp. 17-18.

²²⁸ Ibid. p. 117.

²²⁹ See: A. Hunt, 'Preaching the Elizabethan Settlement', p. 369-370.

²³⁰ Ibid. p. 369.

Ministering the sacraments was also an essential task of the minister and a marker of the true Church. The defining of the nature of sacraments further explained the relationship between the English Church and God. Sandys described sacraments as ‘seals of the gospel’ and argued that ‘Christ hath commanded both [sacraments and preaching] alike’.²³¹ Because they were the seals of the gospel, sacraments supported the word of God and were therefore needed for a functioning relationship and for the bond between humanity and God. Moreover, the word seal also indicates another reference to the covenant with God, as in sealing a contract. Therefore, sacraments were central elements of the true Church, because they were a constant reminder of the covenant. Protestant theologians like Sandys followed Augustine’s doctrine concerning the sacraments and preached that a sacrament consisted of ‘two things, a visible sign, and an invisible grace’.²³² Bucer explained that ‘in and with these signs God gives and delivers his visible and hidden grace and salvation through Christ’.²³³

The definition in the 1563 *Thirty-Nine Articles*, in Article XXV, said that there were only two sacraments of the English Church, ‘Baptism and the Lord’s Supper’; however,

[t]he five which are generally named Sacraments, namely, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Marriage, and extreme Unction, are not considered

²³¹ E. Sandys, ‘The Thirteenth Sermon’, pp. 252-253.

²³² E. Sandys, ‘The Fourth Sermon’, p. 88. For Augustine’s doctrine on sacraments, see: J.S. Holcomb, D.A. Johnson, ‘Mapping Theologies of Sacraments’, in J.S. Holcomb, D.A. Johnson, *Christian Theologies of the Sacraments: A Comparative Introduction* (New York, 2017); B. Lohse, *Epochen der Dogmengeschichte* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 139-143.

²³³ M. Bucer, ‘Kurtze schriftliche erkläerung fuer die kinder und angohnden. Der gemeinen artickeln unsers christlichen glaubens. Der zehen gebott. Des Vatter unsers. Hierhin findestu einfeltigen christlicheb vericht aller stucken/ die einem christen nutz unnd not zu wissen seind. Durch die Prediger und diener der gemein zu Straßburg. (1534)’, in R. Stupperich (ed.), *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften Band 6,3. Martin Bucers Katechismen aus den Jahren 1534, 1547, 1543* (Gütersloh, 1987), pp. 53-173, p. 72. Original quote: ‘Gott in und mit disen zeychen sein unsichtbare und verborgene gnad und erlosung Christi zustellet und ubergibt’.

Sacraments of the gospel, [...] because they have not any visible signs or ceremonies instituted by God.²³⁴

Evidently, having seven sacraments confirmed that the Catholic Church was false, whereas the English Church, that confessed to having only two sacraments, which were markers of the true Church, was the true Church. Edwin Sandys demonstrated that

his sacraments are two in number, instituted by Christ to be received of christians: by the one which is baptism, we are received and incorporated into the Church of Christ; by the other, which is the eucharist, or Lord's supper, we are nourished and fed unto life everlasting. These are pledges and assurance of remission of sins, and salvation, purchased by the death of Christ.²³⁵

In these descriptions of the sacraments, Sandys' highlighted once again the connection that humans have with God and Christ through the sacraments. While he had called them 'seals' in his other sermon, here he called them 'pledges and assurance'. This reflects a deep, unique and personal relationship between the divine and humanity, because God gave his son, who knowingly died for the salvation of humanity. Equally, Jewel defined the sacraments in his *Apology* as being 'holy signes & ceremonies which Christ would we should use, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation'.²³⁶ For Jewel, sacraments were signs that were given by Christ so that human

²³⁴ T.W.J. Kirby (ed.), 'The Articles of Religion of the Church of England (1563/1571) commonly called >Thirty-Nine Articles<', in A. Mühling, P. Opitz (eds), *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2009), pp. 371-410, pp. 396- 397. Original quote: '*Baptismus et Coena Domini*'. The second quote: '*Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta, scilicet, Confirmatio, Poenitentia, Ordo, Matrimonium, et Extrema Unctio, pro Sacramentis Evangelicis habenda non sunt, [...], ut quae signum aliquod visibile seu ceremoniam a Deu institutam non habeant*'.

²³⁵ E. Sandys, 'The Fourth Sermon', p. 87.

²³⁶ J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or defence of the Church of England*, sig. C7v.

could be-near Christ. Like Sandys, Jewel highlighted the saving character of sacraments. However, sacraments could work to their full potential when combined with the word of God. This was also emphasised in the 1563 Thirty-Nine Articles, according to which,

The Sacraments that are introduced through the word of Christ are not only marks of Christian profession, but rather certain testimonies and effectual signs of God's grace and good will in us, through which he works invisible in us, and it does not only arouse our faith in him, but also strengthen it.²³⁷

According to Bullinger, both God and humans must play their roles for a sacrament to work. He believed that God works through his holy spirit and that the human on the receiving end must believe.²³⁸ Therefore, God would be actively involved in an earthly church through his word and the sacraments. This highlights once again the important role that the ministerial office was seen to play in a successful church.

As previously established, the definition of what the sacraments contained distinguished the Protestants from the false Church. Therefore, this also became central to Protestant doctrines and must be considered when discussing the confessional identity of the English Church. According to Jewel's *Apology*, the Lord's supper is the 'communion of the body and bloud of Christ' 'that by faith we verily receave his body and his bloud'.²³⁹ His statement about the eucharist, 'in the Lords supper, there is truelye geven unto the believing, the body and bloud of the Lord', seems to be a mixture of both the Lutheran and

²³⁷ T.W.J. Kirby (ed.), 'The Articles of Religion of the Church of England (1563/1571)', p. 396. Original quote: '*Sacramenta per verbum Deo a Christo instituta non tantum sunt notae professionis Christianorum, sed certa quaedam potius testimonia et efficia signa gratiae atque bonae in nos voluntatis Dei, per quae invisibiliter ipse in nobis operator, nostramque fidem in se, non solum excitat verum etiam confirmat.*'

²³⁸ L. Baschera, 'Gebet als Sakrament? Anmerkungen zu Heinrich Bullingers Gebetslehre', *Hermeneutische Blätter*, 2 (2014), pp. 79-88, pp. 82-83.

²³⁹ J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or defence of the Church of England*, sig. D2r.

the Reformed doctrines.²⁴⁰ The Lutheran understanding supported the real presence of Christ. Nonetheless, Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus* argued that the main part of the Last Supper relates to the forgiveness of sins. However, Jewel stated that it is being 'incorporate unto Christ'.²⁴¹ This is in line with the Reformed understanding of the eucharist as a seal or sign.²⁴² Pilkington, however, stressed that the presence of Christ in the supper would be 'spiritually': 'The supper is also a sacrament, wherein he feeds us spiritually, thus taken into his service, with his own precious body and blood.'²⁴³ Sandys gave a similar description of the Last Supper in a sermon preached in Marian exile: blood and flesh are 'giveth us plainly to understand, that all the graces which may flow from the body and blood of Christ Jesus, are in a mystery here not represented only, but presented unto us'.²⁴⁴ He also stated that Christ 'spiritually performeth that which he doth declare and promise by his visible and outward signs [bread and wine]'. Through the eucharist, Christ 'declared that his body and blood are by this sacrament assured to be no less ours than his'. His 'blood' 'will cleanse us from sin, and make us pure in the day of trial'.²⁴⁵

Finding a doctrine concerning the eucharist that was close to established Protestant positions and that clearly rejected the Catholic transubstantiation doctrine was 'crucial in establishing the Church of England's Protestant identity'.²⁴⁶ The inability of the different Protestant traditions to find common ground in these matters reflects the importance that

²⁴⁰ Ibid. sig. C8r.

²⁴¹ Ibid. sig. C8r; M. Luther, 'Luthers Kleiner Katechismus: Das fünfte Hauptstück', <https://www.ekd.de/Kleine-Katechismus-Das-Fuenfte-Hauptstueck-13473.htm>, [accessed 05.01.2020].

²⁴² R. Kolb, C.R. Trueman, *Between Wittenberg and Geneva*, p. 194, pp. 197-201.

²⁴³ J. Pilkington, 'The Prophet Aggeus', in J. Scholefield (ed.), *The works of Bishop Pilkington* (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 11-199, pp. 192-193.

²⁴⁴ E. Sandys, 'The Fifteenth Sermon. A Sermon preached at Strasborough, in the time of the Queen Mary's reign', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 293-312, p. 303.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 303.

²⁴⁶ A. Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 161/1 (1998), pp. 39-83, p. 40.

the sacraments had as markers of the true Church. However, the former exiles' texts suggest that they adopted a mixed understanding of the eucharist. By stressing that the origin of these sacraments was in the scripture, Protestants like Jewel were demonstrating that unlike Catholic polemics, their sacraments were not 'newly invented'.²⁴⁷ Therefore, it is not surprising that the matter of the Last Supper took a central position in the Elizabethan ecclesiological debates.²⁴⁸

The other sacrament was baptism. Jewel wrote about baptism as the 'sacrament of the remission of sinnes, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christe'.²⁴⁹ According to Jewel, 'one truly receives Christ in baptism when this sacrament is received by faith' and baptism and faith are 'separate instruments of union' but 'they are inseparable'.²⁵⁰ While Jewel's understanding of baptism has similarities with the Lutheran one, it is more likely that Jewel was influenced by Vermigli's teachings.²⁵¹ Sandys explained that during the sacrament 'the outward washing of the flesh declareth the inward purging and cleansing of the Spirit'.²⁵² However, as mentioned above, he also understood baptism as being the way 'into the church of Christ'.²⁵³ Similarly, Pilkington argued that through baptism humans 'enter into God's church'.²⁵⁴ This idea, which also reflects the

²⁴⁷ A. Hunt, 'Preaching the Elizabethan Settlement', p. 371.

²⁴⁸ The exiles' polemics about Nicodemism and the issue of mass remained central topics; in fact, many of these texts that were written in exile were printed in Elizabethan England. R. Harkins, 'Elizabethan Puritanism', p. 901. But as the examples of Jewel's *Apology* and especially the debate surrounding the challenge sermon show, they remained hot topics of discussion, Southgate has stressed that 'all but five of the twenty-seven points [of the challenge sermon] are concerned with the Mass'. W.M. Southgate, *John Jewel*, p. 50.

²⁴⁹ J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or defence of the Church of England*, sig. C8r-C8v.

²⁵⁰ A.A. Gazel, 'Appareled in Christ': Union with Christ in the Soteriology of John Jewel', in J. Willis (ed.), *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 39-52, p. 47.

²⁵¹ The Lutheran understanding stresses the death of the 'old Adam' and the remission of sins through the faith of the receiver of the sacrament: M. Luther, 'Luthers Kleiner Katechismus'; A.A. Gazel, 'Appareled in Christ', p. 50.

²⁵² E. Sandys, 'The Fifteenth Sermon.', p. 302

²⁵³ E. Sandys, 'The Fourth Sermon.', p. 87.

²⁵⁴ J. Pilkington, 'Nehemiah', p. 448,

covenant doctrine, is commonly used in Reformed Protestantism.²⁵⁵ Vermigli also stressed that ‘the right way vnto eternall life is sealed vs by baptisme. So soone as we be iutified, we haue it giuen vnto vs: and it pertaineth vnto vs by the right, not of desert, but of the liberall gift of God: and by baptisme it is sealed.’²⁵⁶ Furthermore, baptism is the ‘signe of regeneration in Christ’ and the sealing of the entrance into the ‘kingdome of heauen’, which happens through the ‘worde’ of the holy trinty and the ‘visible Sacrament’.²⁵⁷

Contrary to the issue of communion, the question of baptism and its different interpretations did not split the Protestant denominations in the same manner. The positions analysed above, however, have shown that the English adaption of both was not homogeneous. Even the bishops who had supported each other in exile and later in Elizabethan England were not always in complete agreement.²⁵⁸ Nonetheless, all of their texts demonstrate that the sacraments played an important role in English theology on soteriological, covenant and ecclesiological levels. This also reflects the wider theological influence that continental theology had on English Protestantism. English Protestantism was a mix of different theological traditions, and while the early Elizabethan bishops agreed especially with Zurich traditions, parts of other Protestant traditions had also found their way into English theology. Furthermore, the fact that there were so many different opinions on this matter demonstrates once more the central role that sacraments and preaching had as markers, or signs, of the true Church.

²⁵⁵ R. Kolb, C.R. Trueman, *Between Wittenberg and Geneva*, p. 174.

²⁵⁶ P. Martyr Vermigli, ‘THE Fourth Part of the Common places’, p. 114.

²⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 112.

²⁵⁸ Anna French has argued that the subject of baptism was discussed even more than the subject of the eucharist ‘because it was a significant moment – the once-in-a-lifetime appearance at the font, where the child may or may not be cleansed of their sin, may or may not achieve remission and forgiveness’. See: A. French, ‘Disputed Words and Disputed Meanings: The Reformation of Baptism, Infant Limbo and Child Salvation in Early Modern England’, in J. Willis (ed.), *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 157- 172, p. 158.

This examination of the markers of the true Church has helped to define the ways in which English Protestants' confessional identity leaned into the Reformed traditions. To understand the debates concerning the establishment of the true Church, the question of the nature of this Church must be moved into the midst of the conversation. The above analysis has stressed that ministering the sacraments as well as preaching were key duties of ministers, because both were relevant for the English Protestants' salvation and their relationship to God. They distinguished even further the true Church from the false one. This must also be considered when questioning the motivations behind the first generation of Elizabethan bishops' willingness to compromise on things considered as being indifferent that will be discussed in the next chapter.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the former exiles' zeal for restoring religion and establishing a true Church in Elizabethan England was driven by their awareness of divine providence and repeating history.

In their quest to restore true religion to England, the former exiles maintained their strong links to and networks with continental theologians through letter exchanges and the circulation of their doctrines. In general, this chapter has shown again that the English bishops did not completely agree on their theological doctrines. Instead, they adopted a mixed theology that, though it contained some Lutheran ideas, mostly leaned towards different strands of Reformed Protestantism. Probably because of their theological studies before, in and after exile, it was inspired and influenced by the ideas of Bullinger, Bucer, Vermigli and Calvin.

Having regained God's favour in the form of his tool, their 'Deborah', the former exiles' ecclesiological discourse shifted. It now became an issue surrounding the

legitimacy of their Church and how the true Church was present in the English Church. Christ's covenant, God's kingdom in their Church and in England, became the central point of their writings and sermons. Even though their opinions did not always align, the question of the role and duty that the godly magistrate and the ministers had in the greater game of restoring religion and pleasing God became a significant topic. While the finer details might not have been completely agreed on by all parties examined here, the communal sense was that like Aaron and Moses, like sword and word, the magistrate and the ministers had to work together to guarantee the success of the establishment of a true Church in England.

It was their zeal for establishing a true Church in England and consequently for preventing history from repeating itself that also motivated the first generation of bishops and their allies to warn and remind Elizabeth about her divine duties. This was also the cause of their intervention in Elizabeth's marriage-related politics. For them, these were not only political matters but were also crucial for securing Protestantism in England and for preventing them from having to deal with a Catholic ruler again. The last time they had lacked a Protestant heir and a properly reformed Church, England's Protestants had been faced with God's wrath, religious persecution and exile.

The bishops made their prophetic voices heard by using sermons that they preached from the pulpits and by way of the commentaries that they circulated among themselves as reflections of their current situation. They saw their own story reflected in the commentaries about Haggai, Nehemiah and other prophets who were facing the task of building God's temple after being freed from exile. God had now given them their Darius in the form of Elizabeth so that they would build his temple/Church in England. They used their sermons and commentaries to remind their audiences and readers in the form of a

warning that failure could lead to divine and righteousness punishment again, because what God was able to give, he was also able to take away. While it is probably that Elizabeth read their commentaries, some of the sermons were targeted directly at her. Undoubtedly, the bishops' experience of exile and persecution was a constant companion in their texts and fundamentally shaped their theology.

Unsurprisingly, the bishops' fear of sin and punishment if they failed to establish God's Church had them returning to their discourse about the nature of the true Church and its visible markers. Although the idea that the nature of the Elizabethan Church was institutional was a given, the Elizabethan bishops still felt obliged to prove the legitimacy of their Church by proving it was the only true Church. Their arguments were based on its lineage with the primitive church and its markers, which distinguished a true Church from a false one.

As in exile, there was no agreement on these markers. While there was no question that preaching and sacraments were significant, the question surrounding discipline remained unanswered. It seemed to be more established than in exile that discipline was a marker of the true Church, even by theologians who were otherwise closer to Bullinger's doctrines. However, it must be acknowledged that the ecclesiological discourse about the true Church and membership of God's spiritual community was also a discourse on salvation. Further, the question surrounding his providence and righteousness was linked to the matter of salvation. Whether or not they succeeded in establishing a Protestant Church would determine their salvation and their membership of God's kingdom. After having experienced the loss of their Christian liberties, they were now driven by the fear of losing God's favour again.

The theological and ecclesiological doctrines surrounding the establishment of the true Church to prevent further sin and the offices of the ministers and of the godly magistrate discussed in this chapter are crucial to understanding the issues surrounding the matter of conformity, which will be discussed in the next chapter

CHAPTER 4: THE VESTMENT CONTROVERSY: COMPROMISING FOR THE SAKE OF THE ‘TRUE CHURCH’

1. Introduction

As the previous chapter demonstrated, the former exiles returned to England with a zeal for further reform and the urge to have a fully reformed English Church. The English Protestants were influenced by continental theology in terms of doctrine and ceremonial structure, so they were hoping to establish a Church that resembled the continental example. However, this undertaking was challenged by the introduction of the royal injunctions. Among other things, these required vestments to be worn, which offered the newly appointed bishops only two options: compromise on conformity and accept the vestments and other things that were to be labelled indifferent, or forsake the life of a minister of the official Church and lose their right to preach the gospel. This chapter will highlight that the group that historiography often calls ‘conformists’ would indeed decide to compromise on things that they agreed to be ‘indifferent’, but only to advance their higher goals; that is, for the sake of their preaching rights and hence the establishment of the true Church in England.

Using the example of the Elizabethan vestment controversy, which had its peak in 1566, this chapter will argue that the existing labels used by historians are somewhat misleading and that the first generation of Elizabethan bishops would be more accurately characterised as ‘compromists’ rather than ‘conformists’. It will demonstrate that the Protestants who are often called conformist in historiography were opposed to the politics of the Elizabethan Church settlement and only reluctantly decided to compromise for the sake of the further edification of church and salvation. Early Elizabethan bishops retained their agency, demonstrating that a compromised approach to the vestment controversy was

possible whilst serving the government. Had the bishops conformed, their role would have been consigned to that of passive subject, in the face of fierce Elizabethan Church politics. Conforming was further anathema to their hopes of reforming the Church according to their beliefs. But the so-called conformist Protestants agreed with their opposing party, the forerunners of those labelled by both historiography and their contemporaries as ‘puritans’, that the Church needed further reform. As this chapter will point out, the most significant differences between the arguing groups related to their willingness to compromise, their positions towards civil authority and their view on whether they would have a better chance to further reform their Church when they were in a high clerical position.

This chapter focuses on the vestment controversy rather than the later debates of the 1570s to 1590s because the Elizabethan vestment controversy exemplifies the ever-growing rift between the early Elizabethan Protestants and the causes that formed Elizabethan compromise.¹ By arguing in favour of using the term ‘compromists’ instead of conformists, this chapter challenges the dualistic portrayal of the debates of conformity and will instead follow the examples of scholars like Ethan Shagan and Peter Lake, who have argued for a more critical and diversified depiction of the second generation of non-conforming Protestants that they called moderates.² However, this chapter focuses foremostly on the first generation of Elizabethan bishops and emphasises that many of the characterisations that Shagan and Lake identified for the later generations of Elizabethan episcopacy were also true for those who this thesis identifies as compromists. The vestment controversy reflects the first generation of Elizabethan Protestants’ different

¹ See, for example: E.H. Shagan, ‘The Battle for Indifference in Elizabethan England’, in L. Racaut, A. Ryrrie (eds), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 122-144, p. 123; P. Lake, *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church* (Cambridge, 1982); R. Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 2018); Collinson, *The Elizabethan Movement* (Oxford, 1967).

² E.H. Shagan, ‘The Battle for Indifference’, p. 123; P. Lake, *Moderate puritans*.

ecclesiological beliefs and their continuous fear of the consequences that they would have to face if they failed to establish the true Church in Elizabethan England. At this stage of the controversy, the parties were not strictly formed and there was still a fluidity among the groups. Analysing the different ecclesiological and theological positions of the parties involved in this controversy is therefore crucial to understanding the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church and ‘conformism’. Moreover, this controversy mirrors the Edwardian vestment controversy and the exiles’ ecclesiological debates that were analysed in the first part of this thesis. This debate further demonstrates the continuous influence of the international networks and how theological authorities continued to influence the establishment of the English Church in Elizabethan England.

Scott A. Wenig has argued that ‘in light of their ecclesiastical agenda, it comes as something of a surprise that the reformed bishops were willing to compromise in significant parts of it’.³ Wenig finds two important reasons for this surprising compromise: the first is the ‘magisterial authority of the queen’ and the second is ‘the displacement of Roman Catholicism in the heart and minds of English People’.⁴ However, as this thesis has shown, the first generation of Elizabethan bishops’ willingness to compromise cannot be called surprising as they had practised this already in Marian exile. It will also argue that while it cannot be denied that the authority of the magistrate had a major impact on some of the Elizabethan clergy, it did not keep them from arguing against unjust decisions. In fact, although they outwardly aligned with Elizabeth’s policies in the end, this chapter will point out that these bishops called for further reform and actively argued against the use of vestments from the earliest days of the Elizabethan period. It will also show that it was the

³ S.A. Wenig, ‘The Ecclesiastical Vision of Reformed Bishops Under Elizabeth I 1559-1570’, *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 70/3 (2001), pp. 270-301, p. 293.

⁴ Ibid. p. 293, pp. 296-297.

consequences of not obeying that convinced the bishops to compromise. On a theological level, this involved disobeying God's will, and on worldly level it meant losing their right to preach. As demonstrated in chapters two and three, preaching was considered to be the foremost marker of the true Church, and therefore losing this right would be harmful to the Church. Building on the evidence of the previous chapter, this chapter will demonstrate that the bishops' highest priority remained the reinstalment of the true Church – and preaching the gospel was essential for this.

Moreover, this chapter will stress that the experience of exile and persecution and the continental authority of theologians such as Heinrich Bullinger, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Rudolph Gwalther and Martin Bucer were significant influences on the formation of early Elizabethan compromise. This chapter will also show that these theologians were instrumentalised throughout the controversy by both sides. Eventually it was their theological doctrines and advice that made all the difference. During these formative years of the Elizabethan Church, the voices of the continental theologians came close to replacing the canonical authority of the papacy and were at least equal to the authority of the church fathers; Fritz Büsler has called Bullinger a 'patriarch of a true Catholic ecumenical Christianity'.⁵

Chapter one of this thesis has foreshadowed how the Marian exiles had created a narrative that presented them as martyrs and as following in the lineage of Christ. These depictions aimed to justify their flight and prove that their exile was part of God's providence. Moreover, as Frederick E. Smith has argued, it also defended them against the

⁵ F. Büsler, *Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), Leben, Werk und Wirkung Band II* (Zürich, 2005), p. 37, original quote: 'Patriarch einer wirklich katholischen Ökumene'.

possible accusation that they had deserted their nation.⁶ Karl Gunther has argued that at the beginning of the Elizabethan reign the Marian exiles ‘sought to present a united front and to obscure the various divisions that had emerged during Mary’s reign among exiles, prisoners and martyrs’.⁷ In fact, as he and Jane Dawson have demonstrated, by the end of the Marian exile, the former opposing parties were trying to reconcile with each other.⁸ In December 1558, Christopher Goodman, William Whittingham, Miles Coverdale, Anthony Gilby, John Knox and others sent a letter to the congregations at Arrow, Basel, Strasbourg, Worms, Frankfurt and the other exile places.⁹ They embraced the following idea: ‘iff we (whose suffraunce and persecutions are certeine signes off oure sound droctrine) holde faste together it is most certeine that the enemies shall haue lesse power, offences shall sooner be taken awaie, and religion best proceade and florishe’.¹⁰ Therefore they proposed that they should all ‘teache and practise that true knowledge of Goddes worde’ that they had experienced during their ‘banishment and by goddess mercifull prouidence, seene in the beste reformed churches’.¹¹ The answer from Frankfurt, signed by James Pilkington and others, was full of confidence about the restoration of true religion and agreed with the premise about ‘meetinge with’ them in England.¹² While this exchange showed a different understanding of ceremonies, as discussed in chapter two, it also expressed the wish for unity for their continuous fight for the true religion and Church. However, this peace

⁶ F. Smith, ‘Life After Exile: Former Catholic ‘Émigrés and the Legacy of Flight in Marian England’, *English Historical Review*, CXXXIII/563 (2018), pp. 806-834, p. 833.

⁷ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 182-183.

⁸ Ibid. p. 182; J. Dawson, ‘John Knox, Christopher Goodman and the ‘Example of Geneva’’, in P. Ha, P. Collinson (eds), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford, 2010), p. 129.

⁹ *A brief discourse*, p. clxxxvi; ‘Christopher Goodman, William Whittingham, Miles Coverdale, John Knox, Anthony Gilby et al. to Frankfurt congregation (15 December 1559)’, *A Brief discourse*, pp. clxxxvi-clxxxvii, p. clxxxviii.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. clxxxvi.

¹¹ Ibid. p. clxxxviii.

¹² ‘James Pilkington, John Mullings, Henry Carowe, et al. to Geneva congregation (3 January 1559)’, *A Brief discourse*, pp. clxxxviii-cxc, p. clxxxix.

between the different Protestant exiled parties would not last long, because as Gunther had shown at the start of the vestment controversy, the ‘unity of English Protestantism had unmistakably fractured’.¹³ In addition, this chapter will demonstrate that even before the controversies concerning clerical dress arose, the differences between the English Protestants and how willing they were to compromise on things indifferent for the sake of their office were revealed in debates such as the controversy concerning the chapel cross. This will show that at the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign the group of compromists would become even more clearly defined. However, this chapter will also demonstrate that this group was not a static group but changed by reacting to convincing arguments from the continent and their peers. For example, exiles like Sampson, who in exile had been a strong ally to Protestants like Cox, was now one of the leading non-conforming theologians, and William Whittingham, who had been fighting for a long time for non-conformity, would compromise for the sake of his office by the end of 1566.

This chapter will give a historiographical overview followed by the main analysis of the vestment controversy. This will include an examination of the search for authority and how it should be used and of the different positions towards edification, Christian liberty, *adiaphora* and obedience. Secondly, it will focus on the issue of compromise and the consequences that not conforming would bring. It will analyse what role the continental reformers had in convincing and advising the English Protestants regarding the matter of compromise and keeping their ministerial positions. This part will question what the duties of a minister were and emphasise that being able to preach the gospel and therefore further edify the Church was the key reason for agreeing to compromise. The authority of the continental reformers and the correspondence network mentioned in parts two and three of

¹³ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 183.

this chapter will be highlighted, and the voices contained within that network will be analysed in part three.

2. Historiography

The way that scholarship understands Elizabethan puritanism today is still shaped by the works of historians, including Peter Lake and Patrick Collinson, who formed this field in the latter half of the 20th century.¹⁴ The prominent work on puritanism and the conformity debates of Lake, Shagan, Coolidge and Oates focus primarily on the second and later generations of Elizabethan Protestants.¹⁵ The scholarship has shown that the issue of conformity and puritanism evolved out of the unique entanglement of the English Church with the English monarchy and politics, and as the focus on the second generation has shown, it developed long into the Elizabethan regime and beyond. In his study on the 1580s and 1590s, Shagan has pointed out the significance of the *adiaphora* debate for the history of the English Reformation, because the debate about the ‘conformity and obedience to the magistrate in so-called “things indifferent”’ is by its very nature a uniquely English problem.¹⁶ Rosamund Oates has illustrated how resistance texts criticised the queen and her monarchical power over the Church and actively influenced the minds of second-generation Protestants like Toby Matthew.¹⁷ Robert Harkins has shown that the history of puritanism was also about the history of misused conformity, which was revealed in the republishing of anti-Nicodemite texts during the Admonition controversy.¹⁸

¹⁴ See: P. Lake, *Moderate puritans*; P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988); J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England. Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford, 1970); P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Movement*.

¹⁵ P. Lake, *Moderate puritans*; E.H. Shagan, ‘The Battle for Indifference’; J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England*; R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*.

¹⁶ E.H. Shagan, ‘The Battle for Indifference’, p. 122.

¹⁷ R. Oates, ‘Puritans and the “Monarchical Republic”: Conformity and Conflict in Elizabethan Church’, *The English Historical Review*, 127/525 (2012), pp. 819-849, p. 825, p. 822.

¹⁸ R. Harkins, ‘Elizabethan Puritanism and the Politics of Memory in Post-Marian England’, *The Historical Journal*, 57/4 (2014), pp. 899-919, p. 904.

However, these examples do more than portray the unique entanglement of English politics and church that has already been discussed in previous chapters; they also suggest the significant influence that the years under Edward and Mary had already had on the formation of English puritanism. In fact, Oates, Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke have demonstrated that it was the former exiles' teachings and publications that influenced the first and second generation of Elizabethan Protestants, because they 'experienced at first hand the forms of worship practised by other member churches of the Strasbourg-St Gal axis'.¹⁹

Therefore, this thesis suggests that the intellectual and doctrinal legacy of the first generation of Elizabethan bishops and their role in the formation of early Elizabethan conformity deserve more recognition. Whilst the second generation of Elizabethan Protestants was born and educated in a Protestant country, the first generation knowingly converted to Protestantism and laid the groundwork for future generations.²⁰ Furthermore, it was more than the experience of exile that influenced the conformity debates; it was also, in particular, the ongoing intellectual network between the English Protestants and the Zurich theologians. Sarah Bastow has rightfully emphasised that in this new and stressful situation, it 'was even more important' for the English Protestants 'to gain both reassurance and counsel from their mentors on the continent'.²¹ Because of the dominant focus on the second generation and the more 'radical' perspective of the debate, it is the predominantly Calvinist influence that has been brought into the focus of scholarly attention, although scholars like Torrance W.J. Kirby have underlined the importance of

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 21; K. Fincham, N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547- c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), p. 42.

²⁰ See: A. Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, c. 1500-1700', *Transactions of RHS* (2011), pp. 93-121.

²¹ S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys and the Reform of English Religion* (New York & Abingdon, 2019), p. 50.

the Zurich theologians Bullinger and Vermigli. Kirby's exclusive study of selected continental writings and their influence on the English bishops, however, does portray a rather continental-focused picture that undervalues the agency of the English bishops.²² Still, it contains substantial observations such as the fact that the so-called conformist Protestants aligned more closely with the Zurich theologians, while the opposition, such as Thomas Sampson and Laurence Humphrey, moved closer towards Genevan ideas as the debates developed.²³ The Genevan influence, as Dan Danner has successfully shown, cannot be overlooked in the context of the conformity debates.²⁴ Therefore, while this chapter seeks to build upon the Zurich-focused historiography in particular to add a more complex and nuanced focus on the English Protestants as well as on the circumstances that led them to lean towards the continental reformers, it will also consider the voices of the Genevan-influenced opposition.

This chapter argues that during the early Elizabethan period, the influence of theologians like Heinrich Bullinger, Rudolph Gwalther and Peter Martyr Vermigli, who were situated in Zurich, was more prominent than that of Genevan theologians. Their influence can especially be seen in their support for and involvement in the Elizabethan vestment controversy. Gunther has pointed out that 'it was out of the vestment controversy that puritanism emerged as a movement in Elizabethan England'.²⁵ Generally it can be

²² See: P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Movement*; P. Lake, *Moderate puritans*; P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans*; E.H. Shagan, 'The Battle for Indifference'; K.J. Woo, *Nicodemism and the English Calvin 1544-1584* (Leiden, 2019), pp. 161-204; J. Simpson, *Permanent Revolution: The Reformation and the Illiberal Roots of Liberalism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2019), esp. part 1; R. Harkins, 'Calvinis, Anti-Calvinism, and the Admonition Controversy in Elizabethan England', in B. Gordon, C.R. Trueman, *The Oxford Handbook of Calvin and Calvinism* (Oxford, 2021), pp. 141-154; D.D. Hall, *The Puritans: A Transatlantic History* (Princeton, 2019), pp. 17-18; T.W.J. Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007).

²³ Ibid. p. 215.

²⁴ D.G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva 1555-1560* (New York, 1999).

²⁵ K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound*, p. 190 (Although not discussed further in this thesis, Gunther's chapter on the vestment controversy must be mentioned as it highlights a different group than any other scholarship.

observed that the vestment controversy is mentioned in most works on the conformity debates but has mostly served to highlight that it marked the beginning of the admonition controversy which sparked the birth of puritanism.²⁶ Therefore, further recognition is needed that the vestment controversy in which these bishops were involved had a much more significant impact on the development of early Elizabethan theological and ecclesiological thought than this portrayal of the historiography might suggest. At the heart of this debate, certainly, was the question of the true Church and salvation. It portrayed the anxieties of its time, answered the question of how far English Protestants were willing to go for the edification of their Church and reflected their understanding of obedience towards civil and divine authority. Moreover, the vestment controversy exemplified the continuing influence of international theological networks and not only helped to define the later puritan party but also the fact that the theological and practical matters that the Elizabethan Protestants were facing during this debate were helping to shape what I call Elizabethan ‘compromism’.

In an attempt to clearly define puritanism and the debating parties, especially those involved in the later conformity debates, the scholarship has often tried to explain the defining features of Elizabethan puritanism. Collinson argues that the main ‘differences between the puritans and their opponents were overly theological’.²⁷ Coolidge also sees the difference in theological matters as being in ‘their different ways of understanding the verb “to edify”’.²⁸ However, as historians such as Oates have shown, the issue of edification

Gunther researches the vestment controversy from the perspective of the Elizabethan Catholics and in relation to their involvement in it).

²⁶ J. Simpson, *Permanent Revolution*, p. 36; R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 28; M.P. Winship, *Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America* (Yale, 2018), pp. 26-29.

²⁷ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 37.

²⁸ J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England*, p. 27.

was generally accepted by all involved parties.²⁹ In fact, as this thesis will show, at least in terms of the early Elizabethan Protestants, it was not so much theological matters that stood between them but their willingness to compromise with, and their understanding of, monarchical authority. This focus on what separated them instead of on what they had in common has been an issue when trying to categorise these Protestants. Lake has already tried to move beyond the simple categorisations of conformists and opposition. However, his study focuses on those whom he continued to label as puritans, and while highlighting that they had different motives behind their ideologies, he fails to show the other perspectives on the debate.³⁰ As the recent works of Oates and Bastow have highlighted, early generation ‘conformist’ bishops in particular, such as Edwin Sandys, would not have labelled themselves as belonging to either of these categories.³¹ The ‘conformists’ did not just conform and the opposition, or puritans, such as the second-generation Protestant Tobie Matthew, were not always radical nor completely against everything that they considered conformist. Portraying these men in these kinds of categories does not fit with their complex theological motivations. Therefore, the next parts of this chapter will argue for a more differentiated research approach. Moreover, as this thesis has already proven on many occasions, this chapter will also stress that defining this group in the early years of the Elizabethan regime is particularly difficult as it was not a static group but was constantly changing and fluctuating.

²⁹ R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 27.

³⁰ P. Lake, *Moderate puritans*.

³¹ S. Bastow, p. 2; R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*.

3. The Vestment Controversy

3.1. A Church built on Disappointment and Compromise

The vestment controversy occurred when the disagreements between the English

Protestants on conformity, religious reform and the wearing of clerical vestments that surrounded the early Elizabethan settlement were at their peak. The reinstalment of the Protestant Church and the Elizabethan settlement included religious and political measures such as the Act of Uniformity in 1559, which abolished the Mass and introduced the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer, the 1559 Royal Injunctions, and the previously discussed Act of Supremacy.³² The Elizabethan clergy and theologians disagreed with the Royal Injunctions and the Act of Uniformity; they formed the ‘basis for royal visitations’, among other things, and also required the wearing of vestments, and this led to much disapproval.³³ The disappointment of the former exiles with these religious measures is well documented in their letters to their continental allies, friends and teachers. Because of the remaining non-Reformed church structures, rites and altar ornaments, the dissatisfaction with the state of reform of the English Church did not appear in the 1560s or the 1570s but was present from the very start of the Elizabethan period. Lake highlights that while the theological doctrines were ‘unequivocally reformed, its administrative structure had been taken over virtually unchanged from the popish past’.³⁴ Tyacke and Fincham have pointed out that much of the Protestants’ frustration was because Elizabeth’s settlement was arguably a restoration of the situation of 1549, instead of a more reformed

³² E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c.1580* (London, 1992), pp. 566-568; T. Kaufmann, ‘Elizabethan Settlement und Augsburger Religionsfriede. Strukturgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zur englischen und zur deutschen Reformation’, in D. Wendebourg (ed.), *Sister Reformations – Schwesterreformationen. The Reformation in Germany and England – Die Reformation in Deutschland und in England. Symposium on the Occasion of the 450th Anniversary of the Elizabethan Settlement September 23rd-26th, 2009 – Symposium aus Anlaß des 450. Jahrestages des Elizabethan Settlement 23.-26. September 2009* (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 305-326, p. 317.

³³ Ibid. p. 321; P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (Yale, 2017), p. 433, p. 447; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 568.

³⁴ P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans*, p. 1.

1552 version.³⁵ However, recent scholarship has found reason to argue for the 1552 version and against the *via media* thesis, which emphasised a middle way between Catholicism and radical Protestantism.³⁶ The preference for the 1549 Prayer Book, as argued by Fincham and Tyacke, has been challenged by historians such as Diarmaid MacCulloch, Peter Marshall, David D. Hall and Cyndia Susan Clegg, who argue for a preference for the 1552 Prayer Book.³⁷ Clegg reinforces that the ‘restoration of the Edwardian Protestantism was more a matter of consensus than confrontation or compromise’, which, together with her material evidence, convincingly speaks in favour of the 1552 version of the Prayer Book.³⁸

Nonetheless, the remaining attributes such as altars and crosses led to much discussion and frustration among the returned exiles, who had hoped for a more reformed Church. In consequence, as this section will emphasise, the returned exiles and the Elizabethan bishops argued against the portrayal of ornaments and images in their churches. It will be highlighted that these debates had already shown how the willingness to compromise separated the group of former exiles. The cross, in particular, became central to the debate. As Margaret Aston has put it, ‘Elizabeth’s reign turned the cross into the touchstone of reforming iconoclasm.’³⁹ During this debate, Elizabeth aimed to have the

³⁵ K. Fincham, N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp. 40-41.

³⁶ Critical arguments against the *via media* thesis can be found in: T.W.J. Kirby, ‘Reform of the canon law of England from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I (1529-1571)’, *Reformation and Renaissance Review* (2006), pp. 349-370, pp. 368-369; C.S. Clegg, ‘The 1559 Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Reformation’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 67/1 (2016), pp. 94-121, p. 95; L. Campbell, ‘A Diagnosis of Religious Moderation: Matthew Parker and the 1559 Settlement’, in L. Racaut, A. Ryrie (eds), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation*, (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 32-50, pp. 34-35; P. Marshall, ‘Settlement Patterns: The Church of England, 1553-1603’, in R. Strong (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520-1662* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 45-62, p. 49. Arguments for the *via media* can be found here: J. Hurstfield, ‘Church and State, 1558-1612: The Task of the Cecils’, *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1965), pp. 119-140, p. 129.

³⁷ D. MacCulloch, ‘Putting the English Reformation on the Map’, *Transactions of the RHS*, 15 (2005), pp. 75-95, p. 88; Marshall, ‘Settlement Patterns’, p. 49; C.S. Clegg, ‘The 1559 Book of Common Prayer’; D.D. Hall, *The Puritans*, p. 43.

³⁸ J. Hurstfield, ‘Church and State’, p. 119.

³⁹ M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 747.

crosses and candles restored in her own chapel even if not in all churches; however, the former exiles, including her bishops and Parker, were in opposition.⁴⁰ Therefore, during the visitations in 1559 and the queen's absence from London, Protestant clergy stripped not only images but also crosses from churches all over the country – even from the queen's chapel.⁴¹ It did not take long until Elizabeth realised that these items were missing. The Venetian Ambassador reported that during the procession on St. George's Day 'not a single cross was displayed, and when the queen asked where the crosses were, she was answered, that being of silver and gold they were deposited in the Tower'.⁴² The report of Il Schifanoia adds that Elizabeth then asked about the crosses that had been taken from Westminster; however, since they had been removed as well, they continued the procession 'sine cruce'.⁴³ Nonetheless, it was not long until Elizabeth requested that the silver cross and the candle were replaced in her private chapel.⁴⁴

This sparked an early Elizabethan discussion on iconoclasm, especially regarding the cross, which had already used the terminologies of edification and *adiaphora* and had tested the Protestants' willingness to compromise for the sake of their offices. After the instalments of the royal injunctions in 1559, Thomas Sampson, who would become one of the loudest critics of wearing vestments and who at least until his stay in Geneva had been on the Coxian side during the controversy in exile, wrote a letter full of concerns to Peter Martyr Vermigli in January 1560 and asked whether the 'image of the crucifix, placed on the table of the Lord with lighted candles' be considered 'as a thing indifferent'?⁴⁵ He

⁴⁰ A. Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, p. 202; P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 448.

⁴¹ M. Aston, *Broken Idols*, p. 749; R. Houlbrooke, 'Traditional Politics and Visionary Theology: The English Reformation', in R. von Friedeburg, L. Schorn-Schütte (eds), *Politik und Religion: Eigenlogik oder Verzahnung?: Europa im 16. Jahrhundert* (Oldenburg, 2007), pp. 93-128, p. 115.

⁴² CSP, Venice, VII, 69.

⁴³ CSP, Venice, VII, 64.

⁴⁴ P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 447.

⁴⁵ 'Thomas Sampson to Peter Martyr (06 January 1560)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 62-65, p. 64.

wondered whether, instead of following these ‘relicts of the Amorites’, he and other potential ministers should refuse their potential offices.⁴⁶ When he did in fact refuse to accept an episcopal position, Sampson was in the good company of other former exiles such as Miles Coverdale and Alexander Nowell.⁴⁷

However, complaints about such matters were not just lamented by those former exiles who would end up being on the opposite side of debates surrounding the matter of conformity. In April 1559, before the Supremacy Act came into force, Sandys was complaining that in terms of church politics, the clergy had not been consulted about their opinions. In the same letter he also complained broadly about the reinstalment of Edwardian ornaments.⁴⁸ It was in this context that Parker and other leading clergy wrote the queen a long letter concerning the use of images in which they stressed that worship in such circumstances was threatening their consciences. Therefore, they requested that regarding ‘controversies of religion’ she should ‘refer the discussment and deciding of them to a synod of’ her bishops.⁴⁹ Moreover, they argued that images and idolatry were always linked and that they could be a distraction for ‘simple and unlearned people’ and that for others, images were ‘neither necessary nor profitable’ but instead ‘rather distract the mind from prayer, hearing God’s word’ and were certainly not contributing to the edification of the Church.⁵⁰ Significantly in this letter, which was written at the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign, the bishops used the same arguments and vocabulary as those later labelled puritans would use during the vestment and admonition controversies.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 64.

⁴⁷ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Movement*, p. 46.

⁴⁸ ‘Dr Edmund Sandys to Dr Matthew Parker (30 April 1559)’, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 65-66, p. 65.

⁴⁹ ‘Archbishop Parker and Others to Queen Elizabeth’, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 79-95, p. 94.

⁵⁰ Ibid. pp. 80-84.

Sometime after December 1559, Richard Cox, who as bishop of Ely was one of the leading clergy, complained about the ‘distress’ that ‘the image of the cross and him who was crucified’ cost their Church, and he prayed ‘that this stumbling-block may at length be removed’.⁵¹ In March 1560, Cox explained to George Cassander that the question of images and the crosses being indifferent was leading to dangerous disagreements among their community.⁵² Cox agreed that the items were blasphemous and hurt their Church, but unlike Sampson, Cox never questioned his position as bishop. In 1560, Edwin Sandys, then bishop of Worcester, complained about the fact that the image of ‘Christ crucified, together with [those of the virgin] Mary and [Saint] John, should be placed, as heretofore, in some conspicuous part of the Church, where they might more readily be seen by all the people.’⁵³ Nevertheless, he and other bishops were taking matters into their own hands and were making use of their offices during their visitations, as they burnt and destroyed images, even though this could have cost them their positions.⁵⁴ Marshall has pointed out that the final debate concerning this matter showed a sudden division between the bishops. While they had previously appeared to be on the same page on the matter, in February 1560 Parker and Cox argued in favour of the presence of the cross in the chapel, while Jewel and Grindal argued against it.⁵⁵ Marshall convincingly suggests that the bishops defending having the cross were not convinced by it but that they ‘agreed, reluctantly, to represent the royal view of the cross as an “indifferent” item’, or, in other words, they compromised for the sake of authority and unity.⁵⁶ With no support from her bishops, Elizabeth agreed to

⁵¹ ‘Richard Cox to Peter Martyr’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 65-67, p. 66.

⁵² ‘Bishop Cox to George Cassander (04 March 1560)’, *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 41-42.

⁵³ ‘Edwin Sandys to Peter Martyr (01 April 1560)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 72-75, pp. 73-74.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 74.

⁵⁵ P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 448.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 448.

limit the cross to only her own chapel.⁵⁷ However, for the bishops this was a public issue not a private one because it showed the world the religious preferences of the Queen of England. The queen's favouring of the cross could have been seen as a diplomatic strategy, but it also revealed that she was closer to her evangelical stepmother Katherine Parr than to the more reformed religion of her brother and especially of her bishops.⁵⁸

Therefore, the debate would not fully disappear. Two years later, in 1562, John Parkhurst joyfully reported to Heinrich Bullinger that the queen's crucifix had finally been destroyed – only to report a year later that the cross and the candles had been restored, but at least the latter were not lit anymore.⁵⁹ However, much like Sandys' letter, Parkhurst's letters give some insight into the active involvement in the reform achievements of the Elizabethan bishops. A few days before he had written this letter to Bullinger, Parkhurst 'received a letter from my lord of Canterbury [Archbishop Matthew Parker]' requesting that he should 'secretly' report 'who, and how many there are in my diocese, who do not comply with true religion'.⁶⁰ Evidently, the former exiles turned Elizabethan bishops did not fully agree with the Elizabethan church settlement; however, this did not stop them getting as involved as they could in order to restore true religion, and they were much more willing to compromise for this purpose. To prevent further destruction of their Church, former exiles, such as Parkhurst, agreed to accept positions as bishops in order to prevent the ministry 'fall[ing] into the wrong hands'.⁶¹ Their active roles during visitations and their checks to ensure that true religion was being taught and lived in their own dioceses

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 448.

⁵⁸ A. Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms 1485-1603* (Harlow, 2009), p. 202; P. Collinson, 'Windows in a Woman's Soul: Questions about Religion of Queen Elizabeth I', in P. Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London, 1994), pp. 87-118, p. 113.

⁵⁹ 'Bishop Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger (20 August 1562)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 121-122, p. 122; 'Bishop Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger (26 April 1563)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 128-129, p. 129.

⁶⁰ 'Bishop Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger (20 August 1562)', p. 122.

⁶¹ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Movement*, p. 47.

were important factors in building the Elizabethan Church. Through these active involvements, they were already differentiating themselves from Protestants like Sampson, who believed that serving their Church under such circumstances would compromise their consciences.

It was not just the issue of the cross that showed the bishops' wish for further reform and their active influence on Elizabethan Church politics. The bishops and Elizabeth also disagreed on the matter of married clergy. After her succession, Elizabeth refused to reinstall Edward's *Act to take away all positive laws against the marriage of priests* and openly spoke out against married clergy.⁶² Her twenty-ninth injunction of 1559 spoke very ill about the matter of married clergy. It stressed that 'there hath grown offence, and some slander to the Church' because of the clergy's 'indiscrete living with them [their wives]'. Hence, no member of the clergy was to marry without having their potential wife thoroughly examined 'by the bishop of the same diocese, and two justices of peace of the same shire'.⁶³ If a bishop wanted to marry, 'the same shall be allowed and approved by the metropolitan of the province'.⁶⁴ In 1559, Sandys expressed how ill-fated the queen's opinion of marriage was for the clergy's family. Regarding Thomas Lever's marriage and the queen's possible reaction, he wrote, 'The Queen's Majesty will wink at it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children.'⁶⁵ Elizabeth probably could not completely forbid married clergy as most of the returned exiles and also 'Nicodemites' like Parker would have been married already, but this did not prevent her from making the matter quite complicated for her clergy. On the 9th of August 1561, Elizabeth proclaimed

⁶² 'Act to take away all positive laws against the marriage of priests (2-3 Edward VI, c. 21)', in G. Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 279-280.

⁶³ 'The Injunction of Elizabeth, A.D. 1559', in H. Gee, W.J. Hardy (eds) *Documents Illustrative of the English Church History Compiled from Original Sources* (London, 1910), pp. 417-442, p. 431.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 432.

⁶⁵ 'Dr Edmund Sandys to Dr Matthew Parker (30 April 1559)', p. 66.

an injunction that ‘prevented married clerics from living with their wives and families on college or cathedral grounds’.⁶⁶ On the 12th of August 1561, William Cecil wrote to Matthew Parker that ‘Her Majesty continueth very evil affected to the state of matrimony in the clergy. And if [I] were not therein very stiff, her Majesty would utterly and openly condemn and forbid it.’⁶⁷ Parker wrote that her position towards her married clergy showed ‘all the world her displeasure against’ them. In fact, she had claimed that she would rather that those married clergy that were ‘appointed in office’ were not in office.⁶⁸ Cox argued for himself and his clergy against Elizabeth’s marriage politics, stressing that prohibiting married couples from living together would be ‘very misserable’ and would eventually lead to deans and prebends moving away from their churches and cathedrals.⁶⁹ He defended clerical marriage further by arguing that ‘God saw that such marriage was natural’ and that ‘to forbid or deface marriage is the doctrine of devil’.⁷⁰ Therefore, the Catholic Church ‘hath marvellously perverted the godly ordinance, with forbidding that which God made free, and with separating of them who God hath joined’.⁷¹ This was also supported by Parker, who argued that the separation from wives or not being allowed to marry would lead to further issues in the church as it would ‘drive out hospitality in cathedral churches’ and ‘drive out preachers in the head cities’.⁷² Again, this would harm the general ‘obedience’ in the English Church because ‘well instructed’ preachers would also help with obedience and conformity.⁷³ In the words of Nancy Basler Bjorklund,

⁶⁶ N. Basler Bjorklund, “‘A Godly Wyfe Is an Helper’: Matthew Parker and the Defence of Clerical Marriage”, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 34/2 (2003), pp. 347-365, p. 358.

⁶⁷ ‘Sir William Cecil to Archbishop Parker (12 August 1561)’, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 148-149, p. 148.

⁶⁸ ‘Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil (1561)’, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 156-159, p. 157.

⁶⁹ ‘Bishop Cox of Ely to Archbishop Parker (August 1561)’, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 151-152, p. 151.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 151.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 152.

⁷² ‘Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil (1561)’, pp. 157-158.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 157.

Elizabeth's clergy was clearly 'ready to fight'.⁷⁴ Regarding the matter of marriage, the bishops were definitely not willing to take a step back. Nonetheless, the Edwardian Act, which allowed married clergy, would not be reinstalled during Elizabeth's reign.⁷⁵ This example shows that the compromising clergy and bishops behind Parker showed persistence in fighting for their cause. In fact, in 1562/3, Parker made sure that the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion 'stated not only the right of clerics to be married but also the positive benefits of that choice'.⁷⁶ The Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563 became canonical in 1571, and therefore, even though Elizabeth did not officially agree on clerical marriage, she lost the battle about this matter.⁷⁷ While individuals like Parker and Cecil might be considered Nicodemites, they provided important alliances for the compromising former exiles turned bishops.

3.2. Looking for Authority from the Continent

As the examples above show and the following analyses will also show, none of the former exiles were particularly fond of having to wear vestments during services; however, while some would be able to reconcile themselves with doing so, others saw in them a potential threat to the true Church. Much like the controversies during their exile and their discourse about the true Church, they were unsure how to handle this new situation, and therefore they looked for advice from the continent.

In 1563, Laurence Humphrey had already sent out a plea for advice that touched the central points of the debate that would peak three years later. He wanted to know

⁷⁴ N. Basler Bjorklund, "A Godly Wyfe Is an Helper", p. 360.

⁷⁵ 'Act to take away all positive laws against the marriage of priests', p. 279.

⁷⁶ N. Basler Bjorklund, "A Godly Wyfe Is an Helper", p. 361.

⁷⁷ T.W.J. Kirby (ed.), 'The Articles of Religion of the Church of England (1563/1571) commonly called >Thirty-Nine Articles<', in A. Mühling, P. Opitz (eds), *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2009), pp. 371-410, p. 371.

whether Bullinger judged the ‘habits’ ‘as indifferent which has been so long established with so much superstition’ and

whether at the command of the sovereign, (the jurisdiction of the pope having been abolished,) and for the sake of order, and not of ornament, habits of this kind may be worn in church by pious men, lawfully and with a safe conscience.⁷⁸

Humphrey’s question can be broken down into two major points: his concern about the superstitious use of vestments and the question of civil jurisdiction governing matters of the Church. Both issues were to become central in the heated debates that can be found in letters printed and written throughout Elizabeth’s early years and the documents that were circulated at the peak of the controversy. However, Humphrey’s reminder about the abolition of papal authority also points to another interesting feature. Protestantism was still relatively new, and given that the clergy had freed themselves from the papacy, this opened up questions concerning clerical authority. In this case there would be, besides the obvious scriptural authority, two directions that this could go in. First, the matter of magisterial jurisdiction and the issue of the authority and duties of the civil magistrate. The second interpretation might not have been the most obvious one for the English Protestants themselves, but as these letters show, they had replaced papal authority with scriptural authority and, at least partially, with the authority of established reformers such as Bullinger, Vermigli and Calvin.

Both Sampson and Humphrey continued requesting advice from the continent. While their letters and requests were comparatively short in the late 1550s and early 1560s,

⁷⁸ ‘Laurence Humphrey to Henry Bullinger (16 August 1563)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 133-134, p. 133.

they became longer and more demanding in 1566. On the 9th of February 1566, Humphrey sent a letter from Oxford to Bullinger that contained seven questions regarding the wearing of vestments and ceremonial worship; he had sent a copy of the same letter to Beza.⁷⁹ Sampson sent twelve questions only seven days later.⁸⁰ However, while they might have been formulated as questions, it would also be fitting to call them theses, as their tone suggested that Sampson, Humphrey and the men behind them had already made up their minds about these issues. In a nutshell, they both wondered whether the civil magistrate would be allowed to prescribe any ceremonies or rites that were not in the scripture, whether anything would be allowed that would be contrary to the scripture and whether punishments for not conforming would be acceptable. They also wondered whether vestments of any kind had been used in Christian history before, stressing that they had been used in ‘the Jewish ceremonies’ and ‘the habit of the priesthood’ had been ‘abolished by Christ’. They asked again about the matters of indifference, edification and Christian liberty.⁸¹ A couple of months later, in July 1566, both Humphrey and Sampson sent a joint letter to Zurich. This time the tone of the letter had changed. It was made clear that they were not searching for advice anymore, but for authorial acceptance from a reformer whose answer seemed to have disappointed them. Bullinger’s answer, which will be closely analysed later in this chapter, was ‘not entirely to our [Humphrey’s and Sampson’s] satisfaction’.⁸² Interestingly, during the controversy that had arisen while they were in exile, these two Protestants had been on the side of the Coxians, but as Danner has pointed

⁷⁹ ‘Laurence Humphrey to Henry Bullinger (9 February 1566)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 151-152.

⁸⁰ ‘Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger (16 February 1566)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 153-155.

⁸¹ ‘Laurence Humphrey to Henry Bullinger (09 February 1566)’, p. 152; ‘Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger (16 February 1566)’, pp. 153-154.

⁸² ‘Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger (July 1566)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 157-165, p. 157.

out, the time they had spent in Geneva had radicalised their position.⁸³ Evidently Zurich was not their only influence; they valued Bullinger's opinion highly. Nonetheless, it is probably safe to say that his answer did not live up to their expectations. Moreover, their letter also contained references to the Edwardian vestment controversy, which peaked when Ridley 'refused to consecrate him [Hooper] if granted an exemption from the prescribed vestments and rite', and references to other established reformers, such as Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli. Both had already been involved in the Edwardian Vestiarian Controversy, and the opinions they had previously expressed were now used to justify Humphrey's and Sampson's statements on the current situation.⁸⁴ As with the 1560s controversy, the controversy that had arisen in the 1550s was about things indifferent and authority, but also about the need for further reform to keep God's favour.⁸⁵ However, Sampson and Humphrey clearly misused the words of Bucer and Vermigli. Wade Johnston and Carrie Euler have demonstrated that while both Vermigli and Bucer would not really have agreed with the Edwardian ceremonies and vestments for the sake of the unity of the church, they had argued in favour of being indifference in relation to them and were convinced by Ridley's and Cranmer's argument in favour for 'authority'; hence; they 'sided with Hooper's opponents', namely Ridley and Cranmer.⁸⁶ Euler has shown that even though the correspondence between Hooper and Bullinger no longer exists, it has to be assumed that Bullinger probably sided with Bucer and Vermigli.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, judging

⁸³ D.G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism*, p. 107.

⁸⁴ W. Johnston, *The Devil behind the Surplice: Matthias Flacius and John Hooper on Adiaphora* (Eugene, 2018), p. 114. On the continental reformers' involvement in the Edwardian vestment controversy, see, for example: Ibid. p. 118; C. Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531-1558* (Zurich, 2006), pp. 189-190; N. Scott Amos, *Bucer, Ephesians and Biblical Humanism: The Exegete as Theologian* (New York, 2015), p. 57; C. Moser, 'Epistolary: Theological Themes', in T.W.J. Kirby, F.A. James III, E. Campi (ed.), *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 433 -258, p. 447.

⁸⁵ W. Johnston, *The Devil behind the Surplice*, p. 118, p. 123.

⁸⁶ W. Johnston, *The Devil behind the Surplice*, p. 118; D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer A Life* (Yale, 1996), p. 481; C. Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, p. 190.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 190.

from Euler's studies, Bullinger's involvement in the first Edwardian controversy was not as extensive as during the Elizabethan controversy. While the issue started as early as June 1550, he did not react before January 1551,⁸⁸ and in February 1551, Hooper 'finally gave in, writing to Cranmer from prison to "subject myself to the judgement of your demency"'.⁸⁹ The rather hesitant involvement of the continental reformer during the Edwardian vestment controversy was a living example of compromise. They were not backtracking regarding voicing their disagreement with the ceremonies, but were arguing in favour of treating them as things indifferent for the greater good of the church.⁹⁰ This was also reflected in their advice regarding and involvement in the Elizabethan controversy that will be discussed in part four of this chapter.

Sampson and Humphrey were not the only former exiles that were looking for validation from continental theologians, although the letter that Edwin Sandys sent from Worcester in January 1566 sounded much less pressurising than the ones analysed above. Sandys merely mentioned that '[t]here is some little dispute about using the popish habits; but God will put an end to these things also'.⁹¹ However, Sandys called the vestments 'popish habits', so did not hide his disapproval. Unlike Humphrey and Sampson, Sandys had more positive news to report: 'true religion of Christ is settled among us; the gospel is not bound, but is freely and faithfully preached'.⁹² Sandys was in a different position from that of Sampson and Humphrey. He had decided to accept a bishopric, which neither of them had done; instead, they had found positions at Oxford University.⁹³ Sandys' position of being actively involved in doing his part in reforming the Church from within meant

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 189.

⁸⁹ D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 482.

⁹⁰ C. Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, pp. 189-190.

⁹¹ 'Bishop Sandys to Henry Bullinger (03 January 1566)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 145-146, p. 146.

⁹² Ibid. p. 146.

⁹³ D.D. Hall, *The Puritans*, p. 40.

that he had a different point of view from Sampson and Humphrey. Also, in contrast to the two Oxford teachers, Sandys had not spent any time in Geneva. Another possible explanation for Sandys's rather 'conformist' letter can be found in a letter written by Robert Horn in the summer of 1566. Like Sandys, Horn had spent time in Strasbourg and Zurich. Like all the aforementioned theologians, Horn was concerned about vestments; however, he explained that they were used 'without any superstitious conceit'. Moreover, he stressed that the law governing wearing them had been made before the new bishops had 'any authority' and that they had been given an ultimatum: 'either to wear the caps and surplice, or to give place to others'. Therefore, they had reconciled themselves with the situation instead of having their 'enemies' 'take possession of the places deserted' by them.⁹⁴ These circumstances highlight that categorising these Protestants as conformists and non-conformists is rather problematic. Bishops like Horn or Sandys must have felt as though they were being pushed into this situation. They were faced with an ultimatum and had to make arrangements so that their Church would get the best possible chance. This best chance was preaching the gospel and reforming the Church as well as they possibly could. Considering that they valued preaching as a marker of the true Church, forsaking their ministry would mean harming the true Church. The abandonment of these preaching positions was a possibility, as already shown in Sampson's early letter, but this had also been stressed by Horn. He explained that 'our little flock has divided itself into two parties, the one thinking that on account of this law the ministry ought to be abandoned, and the other that it ought not'.⁹⁵ Therefore, he requested Gwalther's opinion, even though they were hoping to 'repeal this clause of the act next session'.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ 'Bishop Horn to Rodolph Gualter (17 July 1565)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 141-143, p. 142.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 142.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 142-143.

While the letters examined above demonstrate that the former exiles did continue their networks, they also show that individuals on both sides of the controversy were stressing who had the jurisdiction over their opinion by constantly referring to the authority of both living and dead continental theologians. In fact, as the following texts will show, they even referred to the same reformers. While Bullinger's and Gwalther's replies to the above letters were published, circulated and included in the conformist publications, the writings of the opposition were instrumental, especially the texts of John Hooper, Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli that were circulated during the first vestment controversy. For example, the non-conformist publication *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel and Ministring garments of the popish church*, probably by Robert Crowley, referred to the authorities of Vermigli and Bucer.⁹⁷ The answer to this text, which was probably written by Matthew Parker, *A brief examination for the tyme*, consisted of a collection of different letters and writings by Bucer, Vermigli, Cranmer, A Lasco and Hooper that supported the main arguments of the English author. What is particularly interesting about this publication is that the letter from Hooper was used to support the authority of Bucer and Vermigli, highlighting that even Hooper was searching for and agreed to their authority.⁹⁸ The publication that was probably written by Anthony Gilby and William Whittingham, who were close allies of John Knox and Jean Calvin during and after exile, also used the works of Bucer to support their arguments.⁹⁹ In another publication, Gilby also referred to the Edwardian vestment controversy, employing it as a

⁹⁷ Anonymous, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel and Ministring garments of the popishe church* (1578), sig. Civ, Ciir.

⁹⁸ Anonymous, *A briefe examination for the tyme, of a certaine declaration, lately out in print in the name and defence of certaine ministers in London, refusing to weare the apparel prescribed by the lawes and orders of the realme In the end is reported. the iudgement of two notable fathers, M. doctor Bucer, and M. doctor Martir ... translated out of the originals, written by theyr owne hands, purposely debatyng this controuersie* (London, 1566).

⁹⁹ Anonymous, *To my louynge brethren that is troubyld abowt the popishe aparrell, two short and comfortable epistels. Be ye contant: for the Lorde shall fyght for fow, yowrs in Christ* (Emden, 1566).

comparison and using leading Edwardian Protestants as spokesmen for his case. Against the argument that during the Edwardian period ‘this apparel was vsed of godlie men’, he argued that this was only ‘the firste shewe of the light’ but that now they ‘muste growe to further perfection’.¹⁰⁰ In fact, he claimed that not only ‘Hoper and Latimer, Bradforde, and many others’ but also even ‘Ridley himself’ would have changed his mind and ‘at his death calleth them [vestments] abhominable and foolishe’.¹⁰¹ Potentially another of Parker’s publications, *VVhether it be mortall sinne to transgresse ciuill lawes*, was compiled from the previously mentioned texts in *A brief examination*, but also contained words written by the German reformer Philipp Melancthon, as well as Bullinger’s and Gwalther’s answer to the letters mentioned above.¹⁰² Evidently, the arguing parties were all trying to make use of the authorities from their own history, prominent martyrs and international continental theologians. The doctrines of the continental theologians became central not only for the exiles themselves, who were involved in a direct and personal letter exchange with the theologians, but also for the exiles’ writings. They became what in the Catholic Church would be described as canonical. Moreover, this made the vestment controversy a matter that went far beyond the English borders; instead, it could probably be described as an English affair with a strong European dimension.

¹⁰⁰ A. Gilby, *A pleasant dialogue, betweene a souldior of Barwicke, and an English chaplaine Wherein are largely handled & laide open, such reasons as are brought in for maintenaunce of popishe traditions in our Eng. church. Also is collected. as in a short table, 120. particular corruptions yet remaining in our saide church, with sundrie other matters, necessary to be knowen of all persons. Together with a letter of the same author, placed before this booke, in vvay of a preface* (2nd Ed. 1581), sig. g8r.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. sig. g8v.

¹⁰² Anonymous, *VVhether it be mortall snne to transgresse ciuill lawes which be the commaundmentes of ciuill magistrates. The iudgement of Philipp Melancton in his epitome of morall philosophie. The resolution of D. Hen. Bullinger, and D. Rod, Gualter, of D. Martin Bucer, and D. Peter Martyr, cincernyng thapparel of ministers, and other indifferent things.* (London, 1570).

3.3. A matter of Edification

The centre of the vestment controversy concerned the aim of rebuilding and edifying the English Church. This was also closely linked to the questions concerning civil and godly authority. Former historians like Coolidge and Oates have already shown that the matter of edification was central in the debates about conformity.¹⁰³ Oates has demonstrated that ‘the language of edification, which was central to godly ideas about personal and public spiritual growth, was hived off to become a guiding principle of one section of the English Church’.¹⁰⁴ This chapter will argue that the need to further edify the church was not only at the heart of the Elizabethan debate over conformity but would also become one of the main reasons why the Elizabethan bishops decided to compromise on things indifferent. This section will also highlight the nuanced way in which the debating Protestants understood edification.

The author of *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel and Ministring garments of the popish church* argued that vestments and other things indifferent should only be used if they would truly edify the Church. Because ministers had to lead by ‘example’, wearing vestments would upset ‘the simple Christians’ as they would remind them of previous superstitious times.¹⁰⁵ Obviously, edifying the Church was seen as key to every action, ceremony and rite that they would carry out. They based their argument on 1 Corinthians 13, according to which God gave ministers their ‘power’ to ‘edifie or build up the Church of Christ, & not destroy it, or pull it downe’.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, doing anything contrary to edification would be going against God’s will and could destroy the Church. Ministers would be the ‘builders’ of God’s Church and therefore had to ‘edify and not

¹⁰³ R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 28; J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁵ Anonymous, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel*, sig. Aivv.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. sig. Aiiiv.

destroy' the 'church of Christ, which is builded of living stones'. Therefore, they would not

dare not be so bolde as to admit the outwarde & ministering apparel of the popes church, til it may manifestly appeare unto us that the same may helpe forward/ and not pull downe/ staye or hinder the building up of the Lordes temple/ which is the Church or congregation, purchased/ broughtwith so deare a price, as the heart bloud of his most derely beloued and only begotten Sonne Christ Jesus.¹⁰⁷

This quote uses the same metaphors that the former exiles that became bishops use in the commentaries and sermons analysed in the previous chapter concerning the need to build a true Church. They clearly aimed to keep the Church free of everything Catholic and popish, because, as established earlier, they deemed the Catholic Church and its rites to be sinful and therefore contrary to God's will. Such sinful acting was considered harmful and could possibly destroy the Church. Since they had experienced this before in Edwardian and Marian England, they were eager to prevent it from happening again.

A briefe examination of the time, which is said to be written by Matthew Parker, responded directly to these arguments. While it might have been written by the 'Nicodemite' Parker, it spoke for all of the compromising clergy. It defended the Elizabethan bishops and their decision to follow the appeal to wear vestments against the accusations of their opponents.

The first discourse here, is of edifying or building the Church of Christ, which all faythfull Ministers do acknowledge to be theyr bounden duetue

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. sig. Aiiiir, sig. Aiiiv, sig. Aivr.

and seruice, according to the graces of God bestowed vpon them, and neuer to hinder and plucke downe awhit.¹⁰⁸

Evidently, they acknowledged that edifying the Church was the key duty that God gave them. Doing anything contrary to that duty, such as hindering the edification of the Church, or even worse, tearing it down, would be against God's will and hence sinful. However, Parker made it unmistakably clear that they had a different understanding of ministry and of what they were allowed to do while executing their God-given duties. In fact, Parker accused them of hypocrisy, pointing out that considering deserting their formal ministry was equal to deserting their divine duties. Instead, by failing to educate the people about 'these thynges as Gods worde doth prescribe, then your wearyng shall not be the woundyng of theyr conscience', they were endangering their Church.¹⁰⁹ Previous chapters of this thesis have shown that this argument, about the necessity of education in a functional Church, was not new but had already been brought up in texts about the building of the Church and the debates in exile. Parker gave it additional weight, though, by stressing its importance as a tool that was needed to prevent the misunderstanding of rites, ceremonies or vestments. The main argument was clear: as long as these things were not seen as superstitious leftovers, they would not be harmful, as they were nothing more than clothes. Also, educating the people would always imply teaching the doctrine and preaching the gospel, which was the central part of the true Church. To stress his point, Parker compared the behaviour of the opposition to the 'Donatistes', the early Christian group that had argued with Augustin.¹¹⁰ Parker made this comparison because, according to

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous, *A briefe examination for the tyme*, sig. **4r

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. sig. ***1r.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. sig. **4v.

him, like the Donatists they constantly changed their opinion and used the argument of edification in any way that pleased them.¹¹¹

Clearly this discourse showed that at the heart of the debate was the communal wish to edify – to build and establish – a true Church in Elizabethan England. This, as both parties had established, was the main duty of a minister and it was given to them directly from God. Doing anything contrary to it, like destroying the Church, would be against God's will, something that both parties wanted to prevent. However, the opposition saw the vestments as something that could be seen as superstitious and therefore would not be able to be classified as a thing indifferent or something that could be tolerated. In fact, they did not do anything good and would not work towards the edification of the Church, and therefore, like an all-or-nothing principle, they decided that they should not be used. Parker, on the other hand, in the name of the Elizabethan bishops, argued that the vestments would not harm the Church, at least not as long as the Church used the tool of education to prevent superstitious thoughts from happening. Moreover, he even judged the opposition as willing to desert their ministries and neglect their duties – which would harm the Church more than wearing vestments. So the differences can be seen at two levels: the understanding and toleration of things indifferent and the understanding of ministry, its duties and possibly what compromise the English bishops would be willing to make in order to fulfil their duties. Furthermore, as they had already experienced in exile, there was a different emphasis on the need for education and a quick all-or-nothing change in the Church. The dividing lines were therefore questions concerning authority, obedience and compromise for the sake of their ministry.

¹¹¹ Ibid. sig. **4v.

3.4. Things Indifferent, Christian Liberty and Civil or Godly Authority

Both sides of the debate claimed that what they did was for the sake of edification but they struggled to find agreement when it came to what edification would include. This led to the discussion of *adiaphora*, obedience and Christian liberty. All of these would go hand in hand and were strongly connected in the Protestants' writings. It was their different positions towards and understandings of obedience and *adiaphora* that divided the Elizabethan Protestants. Bradford Littlejohn has pointed out that it was the 'disjunction between doctrine and practices', especially regarding the matter of *adiaphora*, that allowed 'both sides' 'to portray leading reformers as being on their side'.¹¹² He also stresses that the rebellion against vestments initially arose from former Zurich exiles, although, generally, they 'were on the whole more willing to adapt to' the Elizabethan settlement than the former Genevan exiles.¹¹³ However, both Humphrey and Sampson had strong connections to Geneva, though they looked to Zurich first for advice.

To understand the meaning of things indifferent, it is useful to keep Shagan's definition in mind: *adiaphora* were things 'that were neither positively commanded nor absolutely forbidden by Scripture'. Therefore, they were 'left to the discretion of properly constituted civil authorities'.¹¹⁴ Bernhard Verkamp has pointed out that the 'key issue' of these debates 'was the question about the relation of Scripture and Tradition'.¹¹⁵ Coolidge has stressed that the difference between the 'Puritan' and the 'Conformists' point of view did not concern 'logical or epistemological terms' but 'the way in which the mind is conscious of being affected in its operation by the Bible'.¹¹⁶ The 'Puritan' would view

¹¹² B.J. Littlejohn, *The Peril and Promise of Christian Liberty: Richard Hooker, the Puritans, and Protestant Political Theology* (Michigan, 2017), p. 76.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 75.

¹¹⁴ E.H. Shagan, 'The Battle for Indifference', p. 122.

¹¹⁵ B.J. Verkamp, *The Indifferent Mean: Adiaphorism in the English Reformation to 1554* (Ohio, 1977), p. 162.

¹¹⁶ J.S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England*, pp. 10-11.

‘obedience to God’s word’ as ‘more than a rational adjustment of man’s behaviour to God’s truth’ and ‘insists on trying to hear God’s voices of command in all his thoughts’, whereas ‘the Conformist’, ‘in following the dictates of reason alone is conscious of obeying some part of God’s law’.¹¹⁷

The next section will highlight some of the different positions on things indifferent. It will emphasise that while the opposing Protestants, such as the former exiles Gilby, Whittingham, Sampson and Humphrey, saw them as harmful and questioned whether any clerical matters could be indifferent, the defending Protestants, such as Parker, and the former exiles, such as Sandys, Grindal and Horn, stressed the need for education to prevent misuse of vestments and idolatry.

In 1564, William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, hoped to gain support for his cause from the Earl of Leicester, because he was very concerned about the fact ‘that a decree is either passed, or even at hand, to compel us either against our conscience to wear the old Popish apparel, or else with the loss of our livings to be deposed from our ministry’.¹¹⁸ He argued that this appeal was supported by the claim of ‘indifferency’, which he viewed as critical as he stressed that if someone wanted to ‘persuade’ someone about something, then they must ‘prove that it tendeth to God’s glory, consenteth with his word, edifieth his Church, maintaineth Christian liberty’. However, if any of these things were endangered, then it was an issue that ‘otherwise by nature is indifferent, doth degenerate and become hurtful’. Following these explanations of how problematic

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p. 11.

¹¹⁸ W. Whittingham, ‘Whittingham, Dean of Durham, to the Earl of Leicester; to use his interest that conformity to the habits might not be imposed.’, in J. Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, The First Archbishop of Canterbury in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. To Which is Added. An Appendix, Containing Various Transcripts of Records, Letters, Instruments, and other Papers, for the asserting or illustrating the foregoing History. In Four Books. Vol. III* (Oxford, 1821), pp. 76-84, p. 77.

categorising things as indifferent was for him, he asked, ‘how can God’s glory be advanced by those garments which superstitious men and Antichrist have invented for the maintaining and beautifying of idolatry?’.¹¹⁹ Whittingham could not have been any clearer: vestments were not an indifferent matter as they were superstitious and idolatrous, and instead of edifying the Church, they were harming it. Moreover, his explanation about things indifferent would lead to the question as to whether there could be anything like indifference at all when it came to matters of religion. Either things were done according to the scripture and God’s will, or they were not, in which case, they should not be used or done. Whittingham reprised his opinion regarding indifference in work that, together with another critical piece of writing, possibly by Anthony Gilby, was published in Emden two years later during the peak of the controversy. In this he stressed the authority of Augustine, saying that ‘Augustine requiryth two poynts in thyngs indifferent. First that they induce to a better lyfe, & do serue to edyficacion, next that we beware lest any offence come therbye.’¹²⁰ This was also agreed on by Gilby, whom Whittingham knew from his time in exile in Frankfurt and Geneva. He explained that because the vestments were formerly used by the Catholic Church during ‘Idolatrous masses’, they were superstitious. He supported his argument by stressing that Bucer had already argued against keeping Catholic rites and items.¹²¹

A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel also argued that things indifferent should only be used when they would edify the Church of Christ, which vestments did

¹¹⁹ Ibid. p. 77.

¹²⁰ ‘To my faythfull Brethren now afflycted. & to all those that vnfaynedly loue the Lorde Jesus, the Lorde guyde vs with his holy spret, that we maye always serue hym bothe in body and mynde in all synceryte to oure lyues ende’, in Anonymous, *To my louynge brethren that is troubyld abowt the popishe aparrell, two short and comfortable epistels. Be ye constant: for the Lorde shall fyght for yow, yowrs in Christ* (1566, Emden), sig. Aiiir.

¹²¹ Anonymous, *To my louynge brethren that is troubyld abowt the popishe aparrell*, sig. Bv-Biir, sig. Biiv.

not.¹²² Instead, vestments and ‘indifferent’ ceremonies were endangering the Church, as they would ‘encourage’ and reassure the Catholics.¹²³ Humphrey and Sampson took this point a step further; they not only mentioned that the Catholics could be reassured through this, but stressed that this had already happened, as the ‘papists themselves are boasting that the distinction of ecclesiastical habits now adopted was a popish invention’. Moreover, at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, the ‘Lord’s supper was celebrated in simplicity in many places without the surplice’. Therefore, there was no traditional validation for having these dangerous garments.¹²⁴ However, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel* named further issues, like idolatrous things such as images that had been labelled indifferent but were seen as dangerous for the Church. It would cost more ‘strength’ to resist not to ‘worshippe them’ when they are in churches than ‘when we haue them not’; also, God had ‘forbidden his people the hauing of Images’.¹²⁵ Like Gilby’s text, this text also supported its arguments by referring to continental reformers such as Vermigli and Bucer, stressing that according to Bucer ‘no man will earnestlye striue to aintayne these superstitious ceremonies, but such as be eyther open enemies to Christ, or else baketyders from Christ’.¹²⁶ Because they reassured Catholics or tempted good Protestants, these things were categorised as harmful to the Church and Protestantism. Therefore, they could not be called indifferent and should not be used. But the author reassured the readers that if these things, ‘then doe they realle to be so indifferent that we may use them’, they would ‘edifie the church’.¹²⁷ These words should clarify that they did not want to be difficult but that the only thing that mattered was the sanctity of the Church. By not wearing vestments or doing

¹²² Anonymous, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel*, sig. Aivv.

¹²³ Ibid. sig. Avr.

¹²⁴ ‘Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger (July 1566)’, p. 158.

¹²⁵ Anonymous, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel*, sig. Avir-Aviv.

¹²⁶ Ibid. sig. Civ-Ciir.

¹²⁷ Ibid. sig. Avv.

anything that Elizabeth and her bishops had categorised as indifferent, the opposition believed they were protecting the true Church from harm. Rather than categorising the vestments as a civil matter and therefore treating them as indifferent, Sampson and Humphrey argued that ‘as ceremonies and sacerdotal habits are signs of religion and marks of profession, they are not of civil character’. Moreover, as the ‘wicked and the weak’ would ‘think that without them we can neither be ministers’, these things were not ‘to be reckoned among things indifferent’.¹²⁸ This indicates two things: first, because the ‘wicked and the weak’ would see them in a negative way, these things were seen as harmful. Second, nothing was completely indifferent as long as it was linked to religious matters, at least not according to Sampson and Humphrey. Considering that all the above-mentioned texts and letters acknowledged the existence of *adiaphora*, there should be a differentiation between an ideal indifferent thing, which the scripture allows, and something that the compromisers’ party would consider to be indifferent but the opposition would consider harmful and therefore not indifferent.

The other side of the debate, however, already saw the dissent among the English Protestants as highly problematic and harmful to the English Church. Edwin Sandys had addressed this issue in one of the sermons that he had preached in the presence of Elizabeth. He lamented the ‘dissent in matters of small importance, in rites and circumstances’ and said that the effect of this dissent would be that ‘the course of the gospel should be hindered, Christ’s adversaries strengthened, and his church offended’.¹²⁹ Edmund Grindal, Sandys’ predecessor as bishop of London and also as Archbishop of

¹²⁸ ‘Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger (July 1566)’, p. 160.

¹²⁹ E. Sandys, ‘The Fifth Sermon. A Sermon Preached Before the Queen.’, in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the said Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 92-111, p. 95.

York, used a very similar argument in a letter to Bullinger in 1566: ‘But these unreasonable contentions about things which, as far as I am able to judge, are matters of indifference, are so far from edifying, that they disunite the Churches, and sow discord among the brethren.’¹³⁰ These arguments did not neglect the idea that there was something that could be reformed further, but they stressed that it was more important to preserve the Church rather than to create a schism which would hinder the gospel and the edification of the true Church. Moreover, it would open gaps for their enemies.

A similar attitude is reflected in the compromists’ view of things indifferent in general. These things indifferent were ‘not necessary for righteousness before god, as it is indifferent to weare a gowne or a cloke & c.’¹³¹ This made these garments and things that were considered indifferent unnecessary for salvation. The danger that the opposition saw in the vestments being harmful to the Church because of their superstitious nature was denied by the compromists. As long as everyone could ‘vnderstande’ that there were no superstitious meanings attached to wearing the vestments, then there would be no harm done to the Church.¹³² The key was in education and accepting them as things indifferent. If they educated the people, they would see the vestments as indifferent and would not treat them as ‘idolatrious, and superstitious’, and then ‘neyther by God’s grace shal you need to feare the heauy curse of God’.¹³³ Wearing vestments would not anger God and, therefore, it would not lead to a repetition of history. This argument was also backed up by the works of Martin Bucer: he said that as long as the ministers followed their duties and preached ‘the whole Gospell of Chryst, his whole doctrine and discipline, then God would not care if

¹³⁰ ‘Bishop Grindal to Henry Bullinger (27 August 1566)’, *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 168-170, p. 169.

¹³¹ Anonymous, *VVhether it be mortall sinne*, p. 8.

¹³² Ibid. p. 9.

¹³³ Anonymous, *A brief examination for the tyme*, sig. ***1r-***1v.

they wear vestments during it or not'.¹³⁴ Again, as long as vestments were not misused, there was no harm in wearing them. To oppose the argument that these vestments had been used by the Catholic Church before, Parker used Bucer's argument that before the Popish Church, 'the vse of these vestures, hath ben practiced godly of the right holy fathers'.¹³⁵ Bucer's opinion was not the only one that Parker used to defend his point of view. He also referred to that of Peter Martyr Vermigli, who, during the first vestment controversy, had already stressed that there would be more pressing things to deal with than indifferent things such as wearing vestments.¹³⁶ He had also warned that 'yf we holde on in disswadyng from these indifferent things, as pernicious, and altogether wicked, we condemne withal very many Churches which haue receyued the Gospell'.¹³⁷ By referring to both of these reformers, Parker highlighted that they agreed that indifference was something they believed in and that there might have been more important things, like reforming the Church, and that this had already been something the church fathers had aimed to do.

Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester, stressed that the 'conformist' party did 'not defend the wearing of Priestis apparel, as it hath been superstitiously used, but as it is now commanded, and thought to, make for good order'.¹³⁸ He was clearly aware that vestments had been used for superstitious reasons in the past, but this did not mean that they were superstitious in the 1560s, at least not as long as ministers would not misuse them. In fact,

¹³⁴ Ibid. sig. A2r.

¹³⁵ Ibid. sig. A3r.

¹³⁶ Ibid. sig. B2v.

¹³⁷ Ibid. sig. B3r.

¹³⁸ Guest, Bishop of Rochester, 'An answer to the reasons, that the apparel of Priests ought not to be worn. By the which answer it will appear, that the apparel of Priests may be worn. Written by Guest, Bishop of Rochester.', in J. Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, The First Archbishop of Canterbury in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. To Which is Added. An Appendix, Containing Various Transcripts of Records, Letters, Instruments, and other Papers, for the asserting or illustrating the foregoing History. In foregoing History. In Four Books. Vol III* (Oxford, 1821), pp. 98-107, pp. 102-103.

through the right use, they could be helpful to remain an order and structure of the Church and congregation. In another letter to Bullinger and Gwalther in 1567, Grindal and Horn also stressed that the vestments could be worn ‘especially when it is proposed to them as a matter of indifference’. Through the ‘laws themselves, and the diligent preaching of purer doctrine’, ‘all feelings of superstitious worship’ could be removed.¹³⁹ This, again, can be led back to preaching and education. According to the more compromist voices, things indifferent, as the above examples have shown, neither contributed nor harmed salvation or the edification of the Church. While the opposition painted the issue in a dual way and was not able to forget past (mis)use of things like vestments and ceremonies, the compromist party would always argue for the need for proper ministering, which particularly included preaching the gospel and teaching true doctrine. Issues such as vestments were only secondary, and the most important part remained the installing and conforming of true religion.

However, building on the work of historians, including Shagan, this section stresses that all involved parties were convinced that they were following God’s will even though there was a distinct difference of opinion when it came to the question of obedience. In his study on the 1580s and 1590s, Shagan has pointed out that both parties ‘believed that things indifferent should not be left to the magistrate but rather, various ways and with various provisos, should be left to individual Christians’ and that the ‘major disagreement over *adiaphora* then, concerned not the duty of Christian subjects but the duty of Christian magistrates’.¹⁴⁰ As this section will demonstrate, the issue of how much Protestants had to follow the civil magistrate and how much jurisdiction the civil magistrate had over

¹³⁹ ‘Bishop Grindal and Horn to Henry Bullinger and Rudolph Gualther (06 February 1567)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 175-182, p. 176.

¹⁴⁰ E.H. Shagan, ‘The Battle for Indifference’, p. 123, p. 129.

ecclesiastical matters was also central in the debate of the 1560s. This question depended on the assumption that all their power was given from God, which combined civil with divine authority. Nonetheless, it must be stressed that this combination of civil and divine authority would negate the agency of clerical authority in things indifferent, because, as has already been shown above, the compromising bishops had a strong agenda that they were fighting for. It will be argued that, again, this also related to the matter of sin and punishment, because if disobeying the civil orders meant sinning against God, then this could lead to further divine punishment. This section will also show that both parties believed that they were following the scripture and his word.

Based on Deuteronomy 4, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel* argues that the only true authority is the word of God. The author stated that they did not deny the authority that was given to the civil magistrate by God. Nonetheless, they would prefer ‘the commaundment of him that is the giuer of auctoritie, before the commaundment of those that haue none auctoritie of themselues, but haue receyued their auctoritie at hys hande’.¹⁴¹ Evidently, there was no denying that monarchs and civil magistrates had godly authority, but the true divine authority of God was more powerful than all of them because he was responsible for all authority that was given to an earthly ruler. Thus, the opponents of vestments preferred to obey God directly in matters of religion without having a middleman in the form of the magistrate. As Humphrey and Sampson illustrated in their letter to Bullinger in July 1566, ‘ceremonies and sacerdotal habits are signs of religion and marks of profession, they are not of a civil character’, which made them matters concerning religion and not civil authority.¹⁴² The limited authority of the magistrate was

¹⁴¹ Anonymous, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel*, sig. Aviiiir.

¹⁴² ‘Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger (July 1566)’, p. 160.

also exemplified by historical and biblical examples: those monarchs who disobeyed God's commandments and failed to follow his 'way' were punished, whereas those who acted according to his will were saved.¹⁴³ By disobeying the magistrate in matters that they regarded as being harmful to the Church, they were only following God's commandments and will. The treatise further explained that

in refusing to admit those things which neither haue commaundment nor
grounde in the holy Scripture/ follow the commaundments of God, and
example of al good men/ which were builders of the house of God before
us.¹⁴⁴

Clearly, the opponents like Sampson and Humphrey saw themselves as being in the line of the godly people that had followed God's will before the, and, like them, desired to build a properly reformed Church, according to God's word. Anything that was not written in the scripture was not acceptable. By not following things indifferent, things that 'God neyther hath commanded nor forbidden', they believed they were following God's will. However, they never considered that it was an 'offence at all to disobey a Prince' by their actions, because as God had not commanded them to do and support these things indifferent, 'Princes haue no auctoritie either to commande or forbidde them.'¹⁴⁵ Interestingly, as the analysis of the compromists' position will show, they argued that because these things were not written in the scripture and did not contradict God's word, Princes were allowed to command them to do them.

¹⁴³ Anonymous, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel*, sig. Aviiiiv.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. sig. Bv-Biir.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. sig. Biir.

Nonetheless, the opposition saw it as their duty and Christian liberty to ‘refuse to doe the thing comaunded by the Prince, and humbly submit one selues to suffer the penaltie’.¹⁴⁶ It was their Christian liberty ‘to use things indifferent, to edification and not to destruction’, and, as formerly demonstrated, it was thought that vestments, because they were seen as superstitious, were used for destruction. Whittingham also stated that they would be ‘persuadyd, that we may not vse any thinge repugnant to Christian lyperte’ and that wearing vestments would be equal to disobeying God.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, as he complained to Robert Dudley in 1564, being forced to wear these vestments would endanger their Christian liberty and conscience.¹⁴⁸ Also, based on ‘the testimony of Bucer’, Sampson and Humphrey stressed that ‘the prescribing habits [to the clergy] is inconsistent with christian liberty’.¹⁴⁹ The opposition did not understand their disobedient attitude towards the apparel as a matter of disobedience, though, but led by ‘example to teache true obedience both to God & man’. They also summarised this in a clear statement:

First we obey God n that both in doing and leauing undone we seeke the edification of his Church. And then we obey man, un that we doe humblye submit our selves to suffer at mans hande, whatsoeuer punishments mans lawes doe appoint for our doing or refusing to doe at mans commaundments.¹⁵⁰

They obeyed the magistrate to the extend that doing so still followed God’s will. God’s word and commandment stood above everything and everyone else. However, they also obeyed, followed and honoured civil law. This means that if they saw the need to protect the true Church, because the commandments of the civil magistrate were endangering it,

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. sig. Biiv.

¹⁴⁷ ‘To my faythfull Brethren now afflicted’, sig. Biiir-Biiiv.

¹⁴⁸ W. Whittingham, ‘Whittingham, Dean of Durham, to the Earl of Leicester’, p. 77.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger (July 1566)’, p. 161.

¹⁵⁰ Anonymous, *A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparel*, sig. Biiir.

they would refuse to follow the civil commandments regarding the Church and religious matters and would accept their worldly punishment for this.

While the opposition stressed that because of their Christian liberty, their understanding of obedience and the role of civil authority, they needed to refuse to wear vestments, the compromists' party argued the opposite. According to Parker and his bishops, the power that the magistrate had received from God made it an obligation to follow civil law. Further, as the previous chapter has demonstrated, being engaged in religious politics and the reinstalment of the true Church and religion in England was the main duty of the godly magistrate. Moreover, the magistrate was acting as a tool of God, so obeying them was also obeying God.

In *A briefe examination for the tyme*, Parker argued that obeying the civil laws of a godly magistrate was indeed following God's will and not contrary to their Christian liberty. He stated that 'holsome lawes of godly magistrates, which seruing God (as S. Augustine affirmeth) they make not onely for humayne societie, but also for God's religion'. This, he stressed, would also be affirmed by the church fathers and Martin Bucer.¹⁵¹ Also, it would not contradict the laws of scripture as 'in the Scriptures willeth all thynges to be done decently and orderly, which graunteth the godly magistrate auctoritie of making ecclesiasticall lawes'.¹⁵² Because obeying the laws of the godly magistrate was following the scripture, helping to maintain the order of the Church and religion was also following God's will, 'in not obeying man in such thynges indifferent, whose vse you can nor shew nowe to be wicked, you obey not God, whose minister man is'.¹⁵³ Clearly, Parker was arguing that they must obey the laws of the magistrate, because these magistrates were

¹⁵¹ Anonymous, *A brief examination for the tyme*, sig.***3r.

¹⁵² Ibid. sig. ***2r.

¹⁵³ Ibid. sig. ****3v.

working for and in God's name. He was also suggesting that following civil laws did not endanger their Christian liberty. In fact, he argued that Christian liberty should be used with care and always for the sake of society and one's neighbour. He said that the Christian conscience is free in spirit and before God, but a Christian is bound to love and to respect the law. Therefore, a Christian

must he moderate and qualifie his libertie, according to charitie towarde his neyghbour, and obedience to his Prince. So though by this knowledge his mynde and conscience is always free: yet his doing is as it were tyed or limited by lawe or loue.¹⁵⁴

Parker and his bishops considered vestments to be things indifferent, which meant that they 'may be obedient to lawes without impairing of Christian libertie' or endangering their conscience.¹⁵⁵ These arguments are also in line with the position of the first-generation Elizabethan bishops towards the godly magistrate, like Sandys' example of fearing the princes as 'the ministers of God's wrath' who are working according to God's will.¹⁵⁶ These arguments show that while using the same terms of obedience, *adiaphora* and Christian liberty that the opposing Protestants used, the compromising Protestants argued in favour of obeying the civil laws because they saw the godly magistrate and their laws as part of God's plan and will.

However, the issues of obedience and Christian liberty were also closely linked to another issue discussed in this thesis: the fear of sin and punishment. In his *Apology*,

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. sig. ****3v.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. sig. ****4r.

¹⁵⁶ E. Sandys, 'The Eleventh Sermon. A Sermon Made at York', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 197-215, p. 199.

Jewel had already stressed that the scripture taught the people that the ‘the Magistrats ought to be obeyed’ ‘not onely for feare of wrath & punishment, but even for conscience sake’.¹⁵⁷ Further, Jewel, like his mentor Vermigli in his commentary on Romans, stressed that the Protestants’ obedience towards their magistrates was contrary to the sinful and ‘outragious’ behaviour of the Pope, who claimed to have ‘iurisdiction ouer all princes’.¹⁵⁸ However, those who failed to follow God’s will, like the Catholics and everyone who disobeyed the magistrate, disobeyed God and had to face his ‘iudgment [already] in this life’.¹⁵⁹ This was also echoed in the 1566 collection of continental authorial voices *VVether it be a mortall sinne*. It argued ‘that to break ciuill lawes, or ciuill Magistrates is mortall sinne’ because God ‘also requireth, that we obey lawes and Magistrates’.¹⁶⁰ The treatise stressed further that ‘God truly punisheth both in lyfe, & also after this life’.¹⁶¹ Obviously, it was not only a worldly punishment they feared but punishment that would go beyond death. Much like the arguments of the opposition, this argument was based on scripture and the ten commandments. Scripture required them not only to obey their parents but also the magistrates which were also authorised to order worldly punishments; ‘many other sentences in the scripture, speake of the punishments that shalbe suffered in this lyfe’. This was supposed to be God’s way of imposing ‘discipline, to kepe men awe with feare of punishment’.¹⁶² As formerly demonstrated in chapter three, this fear of punishment was

¹⁵⁷ J. Jewel, Lady A. Bacon (transl.), *An Apology or answer in defence of the true Church of England, with a brieft and plaine declaration of the true Religion professed and used in the same* (London, 1564), sig. F7v.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. sig. G3v; P. Martyr Vermigli, *Most learned and fruitful commentaries of D. peter martir vermilius florentine, professor of diuinitie in the schole of tigure, vpon the epistle of S. paul to the romanes wherin are diligently [and] most profitably entreated all such matters and chiefe common places of religion touched in the same epistle. with a table of all the common places and expositions vpon diuers places of the scriptures, and also an index to finde all the principall matters conteyned in the same. lately tra[n]slated out of latine into englishe, by H.B London, By Iohn Daye. Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis per decennium.* (London, 1568), p. 441.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 429.

¹⁶⁰ Anonymous, *VVether it be mortall sinne*, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. pp. 4-5.

¹⁶² Ibid. p. 5.

closely entangled with the rise and fall of religion and the true Church. Sandys warned in one of his sermons that if they did not follow God's will, 'in his wrath [God] shall give them a Saul; and such as mislike the true preacher shall be rewarded with a false prophet'.¹⁶³ Given their fear of repeating history and the former experiences of having a Catholic ruler, these arguments from exiles, but also Protestants like Parker, were not surprising. In some instances they were used to remind the opposition of their position; the opposition, as shown above, also feared God's judgement. At the same time, by stressing that the scripture impressed the need for obedience, these arguments were supposed to answer and react to the non-conformists' worries. Nonetheless, the issue between these parties was not that either one was considering disobeying God's will or the authority of scripture but that they had different interpretations of civil authority and the position that the godly magistrate had in God's succession of authority.

These controversies that existed among the first generation of Elizabethan Protestants, however, were seen in themselves as a threat to the English Church. James Pilkington, who as bishop of Durham but also as a close ally to members of the opposition such as his dean, William Whittingham, was trying to help the opposing ministers. On 'behalf of such ministers as be called breakers of common orders' he wrote to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester in 1564, requesting his support for their cause.¹⁶⁴ He stressed that the issues concerning wearing vestments were 'small matters' over which they should not split their community; moreover, he warned that 'our sin and unthankful receiving of his word deserve a greater plague than this, but surely if this go afore, more will follow'.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ E. Sandys, 'The Twelfth Sermon. A Sermon Preached at an Assizes', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 216-234, p. 219.

¹⁶⁴ 'James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, to the EARL OF LEICESTER', *Historical Manuscript Commission, Pepys Mss. 1907*, pp. 42-43, p. 42.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 42-43.

Pilkington did not just warn about the consequences that wearing or not wearing vestments would have, but also noted that the controversy itself was reason for punishment. A letter from the bishops Grindal and Horn from 1567 to Bullinger and Gwalther also stressed the issue of the schism, emphasising that the opposition was ‘disturbing the peace of the church’ and therefore ‘bringing the whole religion in danger’.¹⁶⁶ Considering this fear of endangering the Church through a schism, it is not surprising that one of the main defending arguments for the use of vestments was unity. In the foreword of the advertisements for wearing vestments, Parker emphasised the need for unity of doctrine, rites and ceremonies for true religion and a true church. Vestments were outward signs of this unity regarding their vocation.¹⁶⁷ Again, this idea not only arose in regard to vestments or the appeal for uniformity, but, as demonstrated in the preceding chapter, it also had strong theological connotations. As a spiritual and general Christian community, the English Protestants (like all Protestants) understood themselves to be one spiritual church and to be one in the body of Christ.¹⁶⁸ This meant that if they turned against each other, they would ‘consume one another’.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, the issue of unity was not only a matter of civil law but was also needed to preserve their Church and prevent further punishment.

Evidently, the debate about vestments was much more than a debate about clerical garments; it was also more than just the beginning of the future conformity debates.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Bishop Grindal and Horn to Henry Bullinger and Rudolph Gualther (06 February 1567)’, p. 177.

¹⁶⁷ M. Parker, *Advertisements partly for due order in the publique administration of common prayer and usinge the holy Sacramentes, and partly for the apparel of all persons ecclesiasticall, by virtue of the Queenes maiesties letters commanding the dame, the xxv. Day January, in the seventh yeare of the reigne of oure Soueraigne Lady ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande Queene, defender of the faith, & c.* (London, 1565), sig. Aiiir.

¹⁶⁸ J. Jewel, ‘Romans 13’, *Certain sermons preached before the Queenes Maiestie, and at Paules crosse, by the reuerend father Iohn Ievvel late Bishop of Salisburie. Whereunto is added a short treatise of the sacraments, gathered out of other his sermons, made vpon that matter, in his cathedral church at Salisburie* (London, 1583), sig. Or-Q4r, sig. P2v.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. sig. P2v-P3r.

Instead, it was a theologically rooted debate about the true Church and true religion. Like Shagan's observation regarding the 1580s and 1590s, the analysis of the *adiaphora* debate of the 1560s has shown that both parties had much in common and 'differed primarily in their understanding of compulsion rather than their understanding of obedience'.¹⁷⁰ Both sides agreed on the need for the edification of the Church and certainly emphasised that obedience to God's will should come above everything else. The fear of God's punishment was as real as their memory of exile and living in Catholic England. However, they did disagree on things indifferent and when it would be allowed to tolerate them and when not, and also about what level of authority and power the godly and civil magistrate had been given by God. In all of this, the main difference between them was probably how much they were willingness to compromise. It was a question of whether the Church could be accepted with various faults and things indifferent or not. Accepting an unfinished Church would leave hope for further reform through continuing their ministry and educating the people, whereas the option to not compromise would only be acceptable to a Christian conscience, that is, to have a fully and perfectly reformed Church with nothing left to reform. As this thesis has shown the drive to choose one of these options was, by the fear that punishment would be a consequence of failing to provide a functioning Church.

4. Compromising for the sake of Salvation

The above analysis has shown that one of the main differences between the two parties involved in the Vestiarian Controversy was the willingness to compromise, because both parties were convinced that their actions were what was necessary to reinstall and preserve the true Church in Elizabethan England.

¹⁷⁰ E.H. Shagan, 'The Battle for Indifference', p. 129.

The compromists' aim of unity and compromising for the sake of religion were not isolated issues for the English but were wider issues for Reformed Protestantism. After the Reformed Protestants were left out of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, they needed to form their own universal community. Heinrich Bullinger constructed this in the previously mentioned 2nd Helvetic Confession, which was understood as a confession not only for the German-speaking communities but also for other Reformed nations like the English.¹⁷¹ Therefore, it is not surprising that the continental theologians supported the English bishops and agreed that splitting the Church and endangering its unity was a greater danger to it than wearing vestments. Moreover, as the theological examinations of the visible markers of the true Church in the previous chapter have shown, preaching and ministering the sacraments were not only deemed to be the duties of a minister but were also seen as vital for the true Church and for the salvation of its members. Consequently, the punishment of disobeying the royal injunctions and deserting the ministry sparked new debates about these ministerial duties. Therefore, as the following discussion will show, deserting the ministry at will or being forced to leave because of an unwillingness to compromise was seen as an endangerment for the Church and communal salvation. It will also show that neither the conformist bishops nor the continental reformers were completely convinced by all of Elizabeth's religious political decisions but were willing to compromise for the sake of salvation and the good of their Church.

¹⁷¹ E. Campi (ed.), H. Bullinger, 'Confessio Helvetica Posterior, 1566', in A. Mühling, P. Opitz (eds), *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften Bd. 2/2 1562-1569* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2009), pp. 268-270, pp. 268-270; T. Maissen, 'Religiöses Patt und konfessionelle Allianzen: Dynamiken und Stagnation in der Eidgenossenschaft von 1531 bis 1618', in A. Nelson Burnett, E. Campi (eds), *Die schweizerische Reformation. Ein Handbuch*, (Zürich, 2017), pp. 595-624, p. 612; M. Beintker, 'Katholizität und Ökumenizität im Kontext der Confessio Helvetica posterior', in M.E. Hirzel, F. Mathwig (eds), <<...zu dieser dauernden Reformation berufen>> *Das Zweite Helvetische Bekenntnis: Geschichte und Aktualität* (Zürich, 2020), pp. 227-239, p. 237; B. Gordon, 'Das Zweite Helvetische Bekenntnis in europäischer Perspektive', in M.E. Hirzel, F. Mathwig (eds), <<...zu dieser dauernden Reformation berufen>> *Das Zweite Helvetische Bekenntnis: Geschichte und Aktualität* (Zürich, 2020), pp. 241-259, p. 244.

This part of the chapter will focus on the active engagement of the continental theologians. In this matter regarding compromise, they were not just tools used as authority in the English Protestants' writings, but functioned as voices of reason. It was not seldom that these voices were the tipping point that decided whether an English minister would stay in his office or desert it.

4.1. Consequences of Non-Conformity

so have we also from this day forth suspended all ministers expressly refusing conformity, from their public ministration whatsoever, and have also denounced sequestration of all the fruits of their livings so long time as they shall remain in this disobedience.¹⁷²

This report, sent from Matthew Parker to Edmund Grindal in March 1566, portrays the consequences of non-conformity that will be discussed in this section. It will be demonstrated that refusal to obey was followed by losing not only one's livelihood but also something even worse for the sake of salvation, one's licence to preach. It was the bishops' duty to report those clergy and ministers in their diocese who were not conforming with the queen's injunctions. However, while there are a great number of letters available regarding such reports, it can be assumed that the bishops did not always follow these procedures. Ian Atherton gives the example of Richard Cox, who made use of the 'quiet nonconformists', as they 'did not threaten the peace of the church'. Instead of reporting them, he had them preach in the more 'troublesome parishes in the north'.¹⁷³ Another, probably more radical, example is the bishopric of Durham. From beginning of the controversy, Durham was known for being rather opposed to the new regulations; this also

¹⁷² 'Archbishop Parker to Bishop Grindal (28 March 1566)', *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 272-274, p. 274.

¹⁷³ I. Atherton, 'Bishops of Ely, 1559-1667', in P. Meadows (ed.), *Ely: Bishops and Diocese 1109-2009* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 175-209, p. 183.

included James Pilkington himself. As mentioned earlier, Pilkington was very supportive of his non-conformist clergy and warned them of the negative impact that being forced to wear vestments and punishing fellow Protestants would have on the Elizabethan Church.¹⁷⁴ However, he himself had been in jeopardy because his dean, William Whittingham, did not wear vestments; 'in 1563, during his first Christmas at Durham' he had to answer 'before the High Commission at York'. Indeed, Pilkington himself had not always worn clerical dress.¹⁷⁵ However, when asked to conform, Pilkington agreed. In the case of Whittingham, Pilkington's support was needed until he was 'finally released from the suit on August 2nd 1567'.¹⁷⁶

As the above example shows, many of the clergy that opted into conformity were not really convinced of it. Whittingham, with the support of Pilkington, was among the most prominent opponents in the Vestiarian Controversy. However, losing permission to preach would have been a much greater punishment for them than compromising and maintaining their ministerial office. Furthermore, losing one's licence to preach seldomly happened abruptly; the opposition clergy and theologians were usually given a certain amount of time to make a final decision. In his letter to Grindal, Parker mentioned that he had given them a 'space of three months', and in 1565 he reported to William Cecil that he had had a conversation with Sampson and Humphrey in which he had given them the chance to consider their positions.¹⁷⁷ However, they would not have left this conversation

¹⁷⁴ James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, to the EARL OF LEICESTER', p. 43. See also: R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 25.

¹⁷⁵ D. Marcombe, *The Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1558-1603* (Durham, 1973), PhD Theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/720/>, [accessed 08 June 2021], p. 188.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 189.

¹⁷⁷ 'James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, to the EARL OF LEICESTER', p. 43; 'Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil (30 April 1565)', *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 240-241, p. 240.

without knowing that they had ‘to agree, or else to depart their places’.¹⁷⁸ In their letter to Bullinger and Gwalther in February 1567, Grindal and Horn summed up this issue: the ministers who did not conform were ‘to be deprived of their office’. While Humphrey maintained his position, Sampson was among those who had been ‘deprived’ of their position.¹⁷⁹ However, the punishment did not end with losing their positions, as said; they were also prohibited from preaching the gospel, and everyone who preached without permission had to face the consequences, which was often prison.¹⁸⁰

This worldly punishment alone was a serious consequence of non-conformity. The ministers who refused to conform were willing to lose their livelihood and to desert their ministerial duties, which consisted of preaching, teaching and ministering the sacraments, as already established in the preceding chapters.¹⁸¹ Ignoring the terms of punishment would have led to even more serious punishments. However, as the above examples have also shown, compromise would not mean the deserting all beliefs, but in some cases just being quieter about them. Nevertheless, how important preaching and ministering must have been for the Elizabethan clergy is demonstrated in examples like the case concerning the diocese of Durham. It is certain that Protestants like Whittingham, Pilkington and Humphrey would not just suddenly have changed their opinion on vestments and the injunctions. To avoid the worldly punishment and probably also the godly punishment that they feared would follow the desertion of their preaching and teaching, they saw

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 240.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Bishop Grindal and Horn to Henry Bullinger and Rudolph Gualther (06 February 1567)’, p. 176.

¹⁸⁰ ‘John Abel to Henry Bullinger (06 June 1566)’, *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 117-120, p. 119.

¹⁸¹ This is also illustrated in a letter from Edmund Grindal to William Cecil dated the 4th of May 1566. In this Grindal explained that the minister John Bartlett had his licence taken away from him because he was not wearing the right vestments while preaching. SP12/39/66, f.176r-176v, f. 176r.

themselves as needing to compromise for the sake of being able to preach the gospel and for salvation.¹⁸²

There were many ministers and university teachers who found themselves in the situations envisaged above. However, they found affirmation in the words of the continental theologians who, through their letters, helped them to make decisions on these issues and warned them of the consequences that deserting the ministry would bring. As mentioned above, their writings were referred to as authority during the controversy. John Parkhurst reported on multiple occasions to Bullinger that Zurich's answers to Sampson and Humphrey had been printed and circulated. Furthermore, they were available in the vernacular and therefore every literate English person was able to read them.¹⁸³ However, it must be noted that the Zurich theologians were not fully aware of the wider readership that their private letters would get. In fact, Gwalther made it very clear that he was not aware that their letters had been circulated and published; MacCulloch has described how the Zurich theologians 'were annoyed and embarrassed' about these circulations of 'private

¹⁸² I have not come across clear evidence for this; however, the fact that, for example, Whittingham had not suddenly completely changed his opinion suggests a number of sources. For instance, a letter collection found by Jane Dawson proves that there was continuous contact between Whittingham, John Knox and Christopher Goodman: J. Dawson, L.K.J. Glassey, 'Some Unpublished Letters from John Knox to Christopher Goodman', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 84/2:218, (2005), pp. 166-201. However, in one of the letters published here, Knox, from his safe place in Scotland, criticised Whittingham for his decision to wear vestments: 'J[ohn] K[nox] to Christopher Goodman, n.d. [late May or early June 1567]', in J. Dawson, L.K.J. Glassey, 'Some Unpublished Letters from John Knox to Christopher Goodman', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 84/2:218, (2005), pp. 166-201, pp. 192-193, p. 193. Further evidence can also be found in Whittingham's will, which also includes his former allies from exile such as Goodman and Anthony Gilby: W. Greenwell (ed.), 'V. Testamentum Willelmi Whittingham', in 'Wills and Inventories from the Registry at Durham. Part II', *Sourtees Society*, 38 (1860 reprint 1967), pp. 14-19, p. 17. Also, the letter from Pilkington to the Earl of Leicester that has already been analysed above suggests that Pilkington did not agree with wearing vestments; he was not only worried about the affected clergy but also about the peace of their church: 'James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, to the EARL OF LEICESTER'. In 1573, Pilkington mourned the destructive effect that the continuous debate on conformity was having on the English Protestant Church. He did not approve of vestments, but clearly saw the schism of the church as the greater evil: 'Bishop Pilkington to Rodolph Gualter (20 July 1573)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 286-288.

¹⁸³ 'Bishop Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger (21 August 1566)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 165-167, p. 165.

expressions of opinion to old friends'.¹⁸⁴ As annoying as this must have been for the Zurich theologians, it proves once again their high position of authority in English religious politics. Years after the Vestiarian Controversy, in 1574, Richard Cox confirmed this in a letter to Gwalther, whom he had never met in person.¹⁸⁵ In this he mentioned that 'the opinions of masters Bullinger and Gualter are of no little weight in our church'.¹⁸⁶

Moreover, these writings and letters had a major impact on the decisions of the English Protestants when it came to the question of whether it would be better to compromise or desert one's office. In 1566, John Abel reported to Bullinger about the circulation of the letter that Zurich had sent to the bishops Horn, Jewel and Parkhurst and the influence that this letter had on the English clergy. While not all of them were 'satisfied' with the letter and some decided to desert their positions, the advice and affirmation in the letter regarding the use of vestments 'has been of great service to many godly preachers and others, who faithfully and diligently perform their ecclesiastical functions'.¹⁸⁷ In February 1567, Grindal and Horn, also joined in with the praising of this letter, because it convinced many English Protestants to stay in their offices instead of having the churches 'suffer':

For it has been of much use to sound and sensible men, who look to the general design and object of the gospel; and has certainly persuaded some of the clergy, who were thinking of withdrawing from the ministry on

¹⁸⁴ 'Rudolph Gualter to Bishop Cox (09 June 1572)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 362-365; D. MacCulloch, 'Heinrich Bullinger and the English speaking world', in E. Campi, P. Opitz (eds) *Heinrich Bullinger: Life-Thought-Influence, Zurich, Aug. 25-29, 2004, International Congress Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1574), Volume II* (Zürich, 2007), pp. 891-934, p. 928.

¹⁸⁵ In 'Rodolph Gualter to Bishop Cox (09 June 1572)', p. 362, Gwalther mentioned that they had never met. They knew each other via letters and mutual friends, though.

¹⁸⁶ 'Bishop Cox to Rodolph Gualter (03 February 1574)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 297-300, p. 298.

¹⁸⁷ 'John Abel to Henry Bullinger (06 June 1566)', p. 118.

account of the affair of the habits (which was the only occasion of controversy and cause of contention among us,) not to suffer the churches to be deprived of their services on so slight a ground.¹⁸⁸

In a previous letter, from August 1566, Grindal had not only stressed that it was Bullinger's and Gwalther's 'judgment and authority' that prevented many of their fellow clergy from 'forsaking their ministry' but also that the bishops' words had convinced them that they would not see the 'ceremonies' as 'unlawful' anymore.¹⁸⁹ In fact, the willingness to compromise for the sake of the true Church had certainly increased after the circulation of these letters. Grindal emphasised that his and the other clergy's willingness to compromise did not come from complete agreement with the royal injunctions but from their willingness to protect their Church. He stressed that 'we, who are now bishops, on our first return, and before we entered our ministry, contended long and earnestly for the removal of those thing' and that after many discussions with both Elizabeth and parliament they had decided 'not to desert our churches for the sake of a few ceremonies, and those not unlawful on themselves, especially since the pure doctrine of the gospel remained in all its integrity and freedom'. However, they would also rather have an order as it was practised in Zurich and be a visible part of the above-mentioned universal Reformed community, because they 'fully agree with your [the Zurich theologians] churches, and with the confession [2nd Helvetic confession] you have lately set forth'.¹⁹⁰ Again, the

¹⁸⁸ 'Bishop Grindal and Horn to Henry Bullinger and Rudolph Gualther (06 February 1567)', p. 175.

¹⁸⁹ 'Bishop Grindal to Henry Bullinger (27 August 1566)', p. 168.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 169. It is probably no coincidence that the Elizabethan Protestants agreed and identified with the 2nd Helvetic Confession, even though doing so went beyond their connections to Zurich that arose because of their time in exile. As Bruce Gordon has demonstrated, the confession was written during a time of religious and political crisis. Just like in England, the Protestants were defining and defending their religious identity all over Europe. The Helvetic Confession was accepted and welcomed in most if not all Reformed communities as it offered peace and a common ground for their confessional identities beyond national borders: B. Gordon, 'Das Zweite Helvetische Bekenntnis', p. 244.

English demonstrated that they would not necessarily agree with everything that Elizabeth had forced upon them; instead they followed the advice that they got from the continent, probably so that one day they would have the option to reform the Church so that it would be more like the Churches and sacred communities that they had experienced during their time in exile. Also, as they continually stressed, the dispute itself was hindering the edification of the Church.¹⁹¹ In his study on ‘moderate puritans’, Lake has demonstrated that during the 1560s the Protestants still hoped to reform their Church in a way that fitted with their wishes, and only after this had failed did they decide to radicalise themselves in the 1570s.¹⁹²

The continental voices certainly did not agree with wearing vestments, but they agreed that these were matters of indifference and that the unity of the Church should be prioritised. They thought that not conforming would cause much more dangerous consequences for the stability of the Church than wearing vestments would. Two letters that were written by Peter Martyr Vermigli and became part of Anthonie Merthen’s English edition of Vermigli’s commonplaces illustrate how the continental theologians also changed their thoughts on these matters. In the first one, which was written in November 1559, Vermigli wrote that he hoped that the English could change their situation, arguing that he and Bullinger agreed that the vestments ‘shold not be vsed’. They were relics of the Catholic Church and he would never wear them. He also said that the friend he was writing the letter to must not minister if doing so would mean acting against his conscience. In fact, he advised that this friend ‘should rather refuse a bishoppricke than receiue the vse of

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p. 169.

¹⁹² P. Lake, *Moderate puritans*, esp. p. 23.

those garments'.¹⁹³ However, the letter that was written only a couple of months later, in February 1560, put forward a different notion. It started with an argument that contradicted the one in the first letter. 'First I exhort you that you withdrawe not your selfe from the function offered', Vermigli argued, saying that even when there were many things they did not agree with, that 'you liuing without function, shall not amende thse things which you mislike'. Evidently, he thought that if his friend would not make any further changes, then he would, in effect, be leaving the Church to 'Woolues and Antichrists'. However, if he took on the offered position, 'there is a hope that you may amende many things, although not al'.¹⁹⁴ This suggests that even if not everything could be changed, it would be worth trying to achieve at least a few changes. Furthermore, not taking the opportunity to fill one of the bishop's seats would have meant it became available for other, less faithful, candidates, which would again harm the true Church. He also changed his position towards vestments. While he still did not deny that he would rather they did not exist, he did acknowledge that 'it is without superstition, and especially in that kingdome, it may haue a ciuill respect'.¹⁹⁵ The opinions of Bullinger and Gwalther were very similar to those of Vermigli. In many of their letters to the English Protestants, they stressed that while they might not completely agree with vestments, they could be dealt with as things indifferent and that they did not interfere with their Christian liberty as long as they were not treated

¹⁹³ P. Martyr Vermigli, 'To the same man into England. 39', in A. Marthen (transl., ed), *The common places of the most famous and renowned diuine Doctor Peter Martyr diuided into foure principall parts: with a large addition of manie theologicall and necessarie discourses, some neuer extant before. Translated and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten, one of the sewers of hir Maiesties most norourable chamber* (London, 1583), pp. 121-122, p. 122.

¹⁹⁴ P. Martyr Vermigli, 'To the same man into England, 40', A. Marthen (transl., ed), *The common places of the most famous and renowned diuine Doctor Peter Martyr diuided into foure principall parts: with a large addition of manie theologicall and necessarie discourses, some neuer extant before. Translated and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten, one of the sewers of hir Maiesties most norourable chamber* (London, 1583), pp. 122-123, p. 122.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 123.

as superstitious items.¹⁹⁶ Bullinger argued that a minister was ‘at liberty’ ‘to assign a reason for what you do, to remove any opinion of superstition from every one’s mind’.¹⁹⁷

This was again an argument that highlighted the need for education. Furthermore, in 1566 Bullinger also argued against the view that vestments should be worn due to their Catholic past; he argued that ‘if we should haue nothing common with them, then must we forsake all our Churches’.¹⁹⁸ This was certainly a reasonable argument but would also tie into the issue of proper education. So long as vestments were not treated like superstitious garments and ministers did their duty of educating their parishioners in the right manner, then no harm would come from them.

Like Vermigli in the previously mentioned letters written in 1565, Bullinger, who also wrote in the name of Gwalther, stressed that it was more beneficial for the Church to maintain their ministries than to worry about vestments. Forsaking one’s ministry would bring more evil to the Church than compromising. The most important part of a ministry was working for the ‘edification and preservation of the church’. If they deserted their offices, then, as Bullinger argued, ‘they may put in your places either papists, or else

¹⁹⁶ ‘Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn (03 November 1565)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 341-344, p. 343; ‘Henry Bullinger to Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson (1 May 1566)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 345-355, pp. 348-349, pp. 351-352, pp. 354- 355.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn (03 November 1565)’, p. 343.

¹⁹⁸ H. Bullinger, ‘Concerning the apparel of Ministers (1566)’, in T.W.J. Kirby (ed.), *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 121-133, p. 226. The importance of education in connection with the ‘true Church’ had already been brought up in exile. Furthermore, this topic continued to be an essential argument of the Elizabethan bishops. For example, Pilkington argued in his *Aggeus* for the need for a university education for preachers to prevent ignorance. Sandys compared preachers to teachers, saying that without their teaching of the word there would be no salvation. Jewel stressed that the Church needed teaching and education to ‘hinder the builders of’ Jericho: J. Pilkington, *Aggeus and Abdias Prophetes, the one corrected. the other newly added. and both at large declared. The earnest love that I beare to thy house hath eaten me. Psal. Ixix. Ioan. ii. Phinees hath tourned away my anger because he was moued with loue of me. Num. xxv.* (London, 1562), sig. G2v, sig. G3r; E. Sandys, ‘The Eight Sermon’, pp. 154-155; J. Jewel, ‘Certain Sermons of B. Iewell. Joshua 6’, in J. Gabrande (ed.), *Certaine sermons preached before the Queenes Maiestie, and at Paules crosse, by the reuerend father Iohn Ievvel late Bishop of Salisburie. Whereunto is added a short treatise of the sacraments, gathered out of other his sermons, made vpon that matter, in his cathedral church at Salisburie* (London, 1583), sig. Ar-D6v, sig. C6r.

Lutheran doctors and presidents, who are not very much unlike them'.¹⁹⁹ Leaving the Church to 'wolves' or 'ill-qualified and evil ministers' would certainly not work towards the edification of the Church.²⁰⁰ Not unlike Vermigli, Bullinger also stressed that staying in office would at some point give them the chance for reform. He stated,

I could wish that pious ministers would not make the whole advancement of religion to depend upon this matter, as if it were all in all; but that they would yield somewhat to the present time, and not dispute offensively about a matter of indifference, but modestly conclude that these things may be endured at present. But that an improvement will take place in time.²⁰¹

This was also a clear critique on the whole controversy. Regarding the issue of things that would not be sinful, as they were indifferent, the ministers that were thinking about deserting their offices were truly harming the Church. Whereas, if they would just accept the current situation and compromise, they would have the chance to establish real change. It would just take time.²⁰² This was especially the case at a time when the Church was troubled and confronted with negative and evil influences: a minister should never 'forsake the Church committed' to his 'charge'.²⁰³

As the name 'Act of Uniformity' suggests and as the analysis in part two of this chapter has already demonstrated, the issue concerning conformity was also an issue about uniformity. However, while Elizabeth preferred religious political uniformity, the English and continental theologians had many reasons to be concerned about the physical and

¹⁹⁹ 'Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn (03 November 1565)', p. 342.

²⁰⁰ 'Henry Bullinger to Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson (01 May 1566)', p. 355.

²⁰¹ Ibid. p. 351.

²⁰² On Bullinger's and Gwalther's opinion on whether it would be sinful to conform, see: Ibid. p. 353.

²⁰³ H. Bullinger, 'Concerning the apparel of Ministers (1566)', p. 231.

spiritual unity of their Church. The debate surrounding conformity was a true danger to the unity of English Protestantism. The English conformists and the continental reformers argued that one of the consequences of non-conformity was endangering the unity of the Church. In a letter to bishops Horn, Grindal and Parkhurst, Bullinger stressed that they were hoping for and were trying to contribute to the peace of the English Church.²⁰⁴ Peace within the Elizabethan Church would not only have been important for Bullinger because of his personal afflictions with the English Protestants, but he probably had the sake of the whole church in mind when he was writing this. A few years after the Vestiarian Controversy, Bullinger wrote to Edwin Sandys, then Archbishop of York, that ‘nothing is more useful’ to the Church and God than ‘brotherly love’ and that nothing is of ‘greater disturbance in the Churches of God than the discord of those who teach’.²⁰⁵ That the Church was both the spiritual and the physical congregation of Christ has been discussed in this thesis on multiple occasions. If this unity was split and therefore the peace of the Church endangered, then there would be room for greater evil. The true Church would be threatened, and the Protestants would probably be in danger of having to face the consequences – again. Much like deserting ministry positions, the existences of discord amongst the Protestants would give room for Catholicism. Therefore, it is no surprise that the issue of unity was at the top of the list for the Protestants who were concerned about the consequences that non-compromists would cause for the true Church.

Evidently, those unwilling to compromise would endanger the English Church on many levels. The consequences were a mixture of worldly punishment and, on a wider spectrum, divine punishment. The continental reformers urged the Elizabethan Protestants

²⁰⁴ ‘Henry Bullinger to Bishops Horn, Grindal, and Parkhurst (03 May 1566)’, *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 356-357, p. 356.

²⁰⁵ ‘Henry Bullinger to Bishop Sandys (10 March 1574)’, *Zurich Letters II*, pp. 240-243, pp. 240-241.

to agree on finding a compromise. A forced or freely chosen desertion of their ministry positions would mean that less educated or, even worse, Catholic or unorthodox candidates would be offered places instead. Further, this would also forsake all chances that the Protestants had to reform their Church further. They might need some patience for this task, but at least they still had a chance to do so when the time was ripe. Furthermore, the developing schism between the English Protestants endangered the unity of the Church. Therefore, to be in their best position and to have the chance to teach their doctrines, as well as to have the opportunity work towards salvation, teach the gospel and preserve their Church, and also to prevent history repeating itself, the English Protestants had to compromise.

4.2. Sola Scriptura – compromising for Ministry and the Gospel

As formerly demonstrated, both the compromists and the continental theologians argued that it would be more desirable to compromise than to forsake their ministry. Besides the reasons discussed above of opening spaces for less suitable preachers and missing the chances to further reform the Church, forsaking the ministry would also mean deserting the pulpit and other essential duties of the minister and preacher. Considering that preaching was not just one of the markers of the true Church but also the way to salvation, forsaking the ministry would be an essential threat to the true Church. While attempting to avoid repetition, this part of the chapter will build on the formerly discussed topics of preaching and the duties of ministers, as these were the topics that drove the conformist bishops to compromise on matters concerning things indifferent and conformity.

Susan Wabuda has described the role of the minister as someone ‘who celebrated the sacraments, heard confessions, and offered the sacrifice at the altar, was transmuted

into a minister whose main responsibility was to interpret the Word'.²⁰⁶ Eric Josef Carlson has stressed that while preaching was not an invention of the Reformation, the important role that preaching played was part of the duties of the minister and was 'a fundamental change in the image of the minister's duties'.²⁰⁷ In fact, as has been stressed multiple times in this thesis and as Sharon L. Arnoult has emphasised, 'the Bible clearly commanded what to do: preach the word and rightly administer the sacraments, which were the Protestants' two marks of a true Church'.²⁰⁸ Without preaching and enough sermons, the English Church would be 'attacked' for not being 'a true Church'.²⁰⁹ It was believed that without preaching there was 'neither faith nor salvation'.²¹⁰ This idea was based on Romans 10, which argues that only through preaching can humans find faith and only through faith is there salvation and the chance to 'escape God's wrath'.²¹¹ This led to the understanding that '*fidex ex auditu*, "faith is by hearing": 'God had chosen to reveal himself to his people through the spoken word', as already mentioned in previous chapters.²¹² According to Arnold Hunt, this principle made the heard sermon superior to the read sermon, because the spoken word 'had to be activated or "applied" by the living voice of the preacher in order to strike home to the heart of the listener'.²¹³ The key issue of the importance of preaching during the English Reformation has been summed up by Bastow, who says that 'the way to salvation was the heart of the concern of the religious reformers of the

²⁰⁶ S. Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 65.

²⁰⁷ E.J. Carlson, 'The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540-1640', in L. Taylor (ed.), *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 249-296, p. 252, p. 255.

²⁰⁸ S. L. Arnoult, "'SPIRITUAL and SACRED PUBLIQUE ACTIONS" The Book of Common Prayer and the Understanding of the Worship in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church of England', in E.J. Carlson (ed.), *Religion and the English People 1500-1640 New Voices New Perspectives* (Kirkville, 1998), pp. 25-47, p. 31.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 32.

²¹⁰ E.J. Carlson, 'The Boring of the Ear', p. 250.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 271.

²¹² A. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 22.

²¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 25-27.

sixteenth century'²¹⁴. Moreover, the 'failure either to hear or deliver the true word of God was the ultimate sin'.²¹⁵ These themes were also discussed regularly in the Elizabethan bishops' writings, such as the sermons of Edwin Sandys. In more than one sermon he stressed that faith comes through hearing and that it was only through preaching that one could receive grace.²¹⁶ He also stressed that the refusal to hear the word of God was a great sin.²¹⁷ However, besides this significant and most important use of preaching, Oates and Hunt have also hinted about further practical uses of sermons. Oates stresses that sermons were also used as 'tools of education' and through this they became 'a powerful way of spreading the new Protestant religion'.²¹⁸ Further, as Hunt has demonstrated, public sermons were also used to warn people against the Catholic religion.²¹⁹ Both of these functions are of immense importance in light of the Vestiarian Controversy and the experience of exile. Clearly, all things considered, not being able to preach would have been the worst outcome for many of these Protestants, especially when considering that preaching was seen as a way to salvation and a life in and with God. By refusing to do their

²¹⁴ S. Bastow, 'Sin and Salvation in the sermons of Edwin Sandys: 'Be the sin against the Lord far from me, that I should cease to pray for you'', in J. Willis (ed.), *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 209-222, p. 209.

²¹⁵ Ibid. p. 216.

²¹⁶ On faith through hearing, see: E. Sandys, 'The Thirteenth Sermon', p. 252; E. Sandys, 'The Eight Sermon. A Sermon Preached before the Queen', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 144-160, p. 153; E. Sandys, 'The Fourth Sermon. A Sermon Preached in the Same Place, and upon the same Occasion with the Former', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 75-91, p. 87. On how to receive God's grace and the 'remission of sins': E. Sandys, 'The first Sermon: A Sermon made in Paul's on the Day of Christ's Nativity', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 7-33, p. 11.

²¹⁷ E. Sandys, 'The Third Sermon: A Sermon Preached in York, at the Celebration of the Day of the Queen's Entrance into her Reign', in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D. Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York; to which are added some Miscellaneous Pieces, by the same Author* (Cambridge, 1841), pp. 55-74, p. 62.

²¹⁸ R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 71.

²¹⁹ A. Hunt, 'Preaching the Elizabethan Settlement', in H. Adlington, P. McCullough, E. Rhatigan (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 367-387, p. 371.

duties, the Protestants who decided to compromise believed they would be doing do a greater sin by refusing to do their duties than by conforming to things that were said to be indifferent.

The idea of preaching being an essential mark of the true Church and the main duty of ministry was not unique to the Elizabethan Protestants but was widely agreed on in the Protestant world. The above examples have already shown that the continental theologians stressed that the Elizabethan ministers and bishops would rather conform and compromise than desert their ministry. However, as the central position of preachers in the Protestant Church was widely acknowledged, the continental theologians also published and circulated their doctrines concerning what they believed were the duties of good ministers. These publications were also known about and studied by the English theologians who, as this thesis has shown, were always looking for advice and guidance from the continent.

In his treatise about prophetic office, Bullinger uses the terms preacher and prophetic office interchangeably. He said that the office of a minister/preacher/prophet was an office that was ‘trusted [to the ministers] by God’.²²⁰ The duty of a prophet or minister was to follow the examples of Paul and Jeremiah, to support the parishioner in pastoral issues, to oppose error and, most importantly, to interpret the scripture.²²¹ Further, they should educate the unknowing to renounce all errors, which included Catholicism and everything that harmed the unity of the Church and its edification.²²² He stressed that education was necessary in order that the next generation would not repeat former

²²⁰ H. Bullinger, ‘Rede Heinrich Bullingers über das Amt des Propheten und wie es würdig ausgeübt werden kann’, in E. Campi, D. Roth, P. Stolz (eds), *Heinrich Bullingers Schriften I* (Zürich, 2004), pp. 11-48, pp. 11-12. Original quote: ‘von Gott anvertrautes Amt’.

²²¹ Ibid. p. 12.

²²² Ibid. p. 21, p. 23.

mistakes.²²³ The most important tools that a preacher had to work with and that supported his scriptural work were ‘*die Gabe des Glaubens und der Liebe*’, meaning ‘the gift of faith and love’. Evidence for this can be found in Romans 12:3, 1 Corinthians 8:1, and 1 Corinthians 13:1.²²⁴ One of the most controversial aspects of the vestment controversy was possibly the most important part of this doctrine. This was explained by Bullinger’s warning that a minister or prophet should never desert their Church because of ‘*Irrtümer*’ – ‘errors’. Instead, he said,

One has to neglect some things and has to endure some and has to give in for some time, though, this is all with the goal to win the weak and the sinners for Christ, so that they sin less and that the ungodly do not carry the godly with them.²²⁵

In this text, which was produced in 1532, over 30 years before the vestment controversy, Bullinger not only highlighted the God-given office and the important duties that come with it, but also the need for compromise in times of crisis. No matter what, he said, a minister must never run away from their office but should ‘win’ the ‘weak and sinners for Christ’. They should preach the gospel and work towards salvation in Christ, with which they are in one covenant.²²⁶

However, Bullinger was not the only continental theologian that provided some thoughts on the duties of the minister and their relationship to God. Rudolph Gwalther, who also supported the English via many letters, emphasised his thoughts in his homilies

²²³ Ibid. p. 38.

²²⁴ Ibid. p. 18.

²²⁵ Ibid. p. 27, original quote: ‘*Man muss gewisse Dinge vernachlässigen und manches aushalten und einige Zeit lang nachgeben, aber alles mit dem Ziel, dass wir die Schwachen und Sünder für Christus gewinnen, damit sie weniger sündigen und die Gottlosen die Gottesfürchtigen weniger mitreißen*’

²²⁶ Bullinger talks about the covenant with Christ in: Ibid. pp. 14-17.

on the prophet Jonah. Jonah, who tried to run from God's providence, could not succeed, and instead he was 'swalowed vp of a fishe of a monstrous bigness'.²²⁷ Jonah was eventually saved when he prayed to God, and Gwalther called this event the perfect example of the 'perfecte Methode, howe to talke wyth God'²²⁸ because, he wrote, it is our Christian liberty that we can pray to God wherever we might be.²²⁹ Gwalther stressed that following the example of Jonah, ministers must follow God's will and not 'at their owne pleasure gadde abroad euey whither, and preach at all aduentures where as they thinke good themselues, in this or that place'.²³⁰ If one transferred this statement to the vestment controversy, then it meant that ministers were not supposed to decide when they could desert their ministry and when they could not. Instead, they should preach the word of God and warn sinners of the godly punishment that they would face when they continued sinning. In these situations, they could follow in the footsteps of Jonah, who 'by the authoritie of Gods own mouth became' 'a messenger vnto the Niniuites'.²³¹ Because Jonah eventually preached to the people of Nineveh and because they believed that his words were the words of God, they were saved. God had sent his prophet and every prophet after him so that everyone who heard their words 'shall be taught of God, who will write his lawes in their hearts' and 'heare words of salvation'.²³² Consequently, every preacher would speak the words of God, which needed to be heard to believe in God and, finally, to find redemption and salvation. A refusal to do so would certainly be called as sinful as running away from God, which was not possible, nor would it remain unpunished.

²²⁷ R. Gwalther, 'The Homilies of Rodolph Gualter, a Tigurine, vpon the Prophet Ionas', in R. Gwalther, R. Norton (transl.), *Certaine godlie homelie or sermons vpon the prophets Abdias and Ionas conteyning a most fruitfull exposition of the same. Made by the excellent man, Rodolph Gualter of Tigurine. And translated into Englishe, by Robert Norton. Minister of the worde in Suffolke* (London, 1573), p. 82.

²²⁸ Ibid. p. 180.

²²⁹ Ibid. p. 189.

²³⁰ Ibid. pp. 86-87.

²³¹ Ibid. p. 89.

²³² Ibid. pp. 230-231, p. 239.

Moreover, the prophet was not just in charge of his own salvation but needed to serve the community.

The above positions towards ministry were also supported by Vermigli's sermon on ministry, in which he also emphasised the special position that ministers had. God had established 'a covenant between him and Levi, that is, an order of priests', which distinguished the office of the minister from every other, but also linked it to special duties.

The first concern of the minister should be directed towards integrity of life; these two parts of the covenant are interrelated: God promises life and peace, in return let us offer him and his will our worship, reverence, and fear.²³³

However, while he saw these as the duties that ministers must carry out, God had promised in his two-sided covenant the 'honor of messengers'.²³⁴ Ministers were 'not men but messengers of God', though this divine state could only be achieved when he 'guard knowledge and do so with his lips' and continuously studied the scripture.²³⁵ While the texts analysed above focus on the duties of ministers to humanity, they also explore another important relationship that the minister had: the relationship with God. Gwalther had already stated that a minister could not run from his duties, and all of the showcased examples here agree that ministers are prophets of the word of God. However, the above-mentioned texts show that Vermigli takes this in another direction. He said that ministers were not just messengers or tools of God; their whole existence as messengers of God was

²³³ P. Martyr Vermigli, '[1035] Oration or Sermon From the Second Chapter Malachi on the Usefulness and Dignity of Ministry', in J.P. Donnelly, S.J. (ed. transl.), *The Peter Martyr Library Volume Five: Life, Letters, and Sermons* (Kirkville, 1999), pp. 300-308, p. 302.

²³⁴ Ibid. p. 304.

²³⁵ Ibid. p. 303.

part of God's promise that he gave when creating the covenant. Furthermore, God had made this covenant with the Levites, who were priests, which made the ministers an important party of the covenant agreement.²³⁶ Doing their duties was more than just a worldly service; it was the fulfilment of their part of the covenant with God. Clearly, they did not compromise solely out of political loyalty but to continue their ministerial duties.

As the first section of part four of this chapter has already shown, the continental theologians were highly involved in the Elizabethan Protestants' debates surrounding conformity and vestments. In letters to the English Protestants, they gave their advice and suggestions on how to handle the situation. The main consensus was that they should not forsake their ministerial duties but instead should open up to compromise for the sake of the unity and safety of the Church, and, most importantly, for the salvation of the English Protestants and Church. These positions were underlined by the theological positions of the continental theologians on the office of ministry and the short historiographical excursion into the issue of preaching during the English Reformation. The office of the minister came with the duties of teaching and preaching in particular. Ministers were the messengers or tools of God, so the words that they spoke during their sermons were not their words but were the words of God himself. To find faith and consequently salvation, these words had to be heard so that they could be written into the hearts of the audience. As preaching was a marker of the true Church and the office of minister was a God-given office, a refusal to fulfil the duties of a minister would be one of the greatest sins as it would break the covenant with God, endanger the salvation of the community and harm the true Church. Therefore, many of the English Protestants, even those who openly and strongly opposed

²³⁶ Ibid. pp. 300-308.

wearing vestments, such as Whittingham and Bishop Pilkington, saw themselves as needing to compromise for the sake of their ministry positions, preaching and salvation.

5. Conclusion

In 1567, bishops Edmund Grindal and Robert Horn wrote to Heinrich Bullinger and Rudolph Gwalther saying that the answer they had given to Thomas Sampson and Laurence Humphrey had helped to convince some clergy not to desert their offices and that others would ‘not deform with so much effrontery the wholesome peace of the Church by their foolish discourse’.²³⁷

If Grindal and Horn had had the ability to look into the future, they probably would have added ‘for now’ to their sentence. The vestment controversy was certainly not the beginning of the controversies that happened in Tudor England. In fact, the foundations had already been laid in Edwardian England and Marian exile. Nonetheless, it reflected the concerns and key points of debate, such as the edification of the Church, Christian liberty, and *adiaphora*, that formed the basis on which the debates of the second generation of Elizabethan Protestants would continue to court controversy in the 1570s. The first generation of Elizabethan clergy might not have completely agreed with the outcome of the debate, but because they had already faced the dangers of not being able to freely preach the gospel during the Marian regime, they might have been more willing to compromise for the sake of salvation.

In fact, as this chapter has demonstrated, the vestment controversy and the debates that preceded the peak of the controversy in 1566 presented more than a straightforward debate. The Protestants involved were neither entirely conformist or non-conformist. Instead, Protestants on both sides doubted the royal injunctions and were highly critical of

²³⁷ ‘Bishop Grindal and Horn to Henry Bullinger and Rudolph Gualther (06 February 1567)’, p. 175.

the idea that they should wear vestments. Both sides were driven by the experience of exile and the fear of sin and punishment if they did not follow God's will. To find answers and advice on how to act and decide, both parties looked for advice from the continent. While these answers did not convince everyone, by combining them with the fear of losing their ministry positions, they ultimately convinced many Protestants to compromise.

Being deprived of their ministry or freely forsaking their offices, was, on the compromisers' side, seen as a great evil. It would mean that they would not be able to fulfil their God-given duties to minister the sacraments, educate the people and preach the gospel. Since these were markers of the true Church, this would have been sinful. It would also have meant that their positions could have been filled with lesser qualified or harmful ministers. Both would have endangered the peace and unity of the true Church.

The main differences between the two parties involved related to their willingness to compromise and accept that some things might be indifferent and to their acceptance or rejection of the idea that civil authority was authorised by divine authority. However, it was certainly the general consensus that the edification of the Elizabethan Church was the key task. The debates of the vestment controversy, the theological ideas that were formed out of it and what went into the arguments, as well as the international influence and the experience of exile, were formative for the Elizabethan Church and its bishops.

CONCLUSION: THE EVOLUTION OF EARLY MODERN CONFORMISM

This thesis has contributed to our understanding of the origins and nature of early Elizabethan ‘compromism’ and shown that compromise in matters of religion was a much more difficult and fraught process that developed over a longer period of time than has previously been appreciated.

The story of English compromism includes many different factors and intertwined storylines: the experience of exile, the fear of godly punishment and of repeating it, the dream of a true Church, and international scholarly, private and theological networks. This story is about individual and often misunderstood people: theologians and bishops who on their journey to finding their confessional identities, protecting their consciences, following God’s will and establishing his Church in England sought to overcome many obstacles and were pressured to compromise to fight for a greater good. It is also a story that is far more complicated than it seems to be at first glance. It is a story of people who were motivated by strong religious beliefs and who could not always win but were either willing to lose everything for what they believed in or willing to sacrifice some parts of their convictions for the sake of compromising for a greater good. This is why this thesis proposed to speak of compromising rather than of conforming. However, this thesis has demonstrated that compromising was often a fluid process that can best be described as a complex series of events that went beyond clear constructions of religious or political parties.

This thesis has added to and extended existing scholarship such as that of Ethan Shagan, Rosamund Oates and Peter Lake by changing the focus from the second generation of Elizabethan bishops that this scholarship calls ‘moderate’ puritans to a

particular focus on the first generation of Elizabethan bishops.¹ It can generally be observed that these works as well as works by historians such as Jane Dawson and Dan Danner either examine the history of (non-)conformity or focus on the Marian exile with a stronger interest in the more radical exiles and the second generation of Elizabethan Protestants.² This perhaps too enthusiastic retrospective reading of the divisions of the later Elizabethan period has led to a neglect of the first generation of Elizabethan bishops and has also undervalued the important impact that the early foundation of English Protestantism had on the English Church and its conformism, or compromism, as termed by this thesis. Except for some individuals like Jewel and Sandys, who have only recently received more attention from historians such as Sarah Bastow and G.W. Jenkins, this generation and its contribution to the establishment of English Protestantism and Protestant Church receive rather less attention in the broader narrative of the English Reformation.³ Therefore, by examining the careers of men like Richard Cox of Ely, Edwin Sandys of Worcester, London and York, John Jewel of Salisbury, John Parkhurst of Norwich, James Pilkington of Durham, and Edmund Grindal of London, York and, later, Canterbury, this thesis has contributed to existing scholarship and has emphasised the significant influence that these men had on the shaping of the theological and especially the ecclesiological doctrines of English Protestantism. This included their timely representations of what they

¹ R. Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 2018); P. Lake, *Moderate puritans and the Elizabethan church* (Cambridge, 1982); P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988); E.H. Shagan, 'The Battle for Indifference in Elizabethan England', in L. Racaut, A. Ryrie (eds), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 122-144.

² D.G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva 1555-1560s* (New York, 1999); J. Dawson, 'Knox, Christopher Goodman and the Example of Geneva', in P. Ha, P. Collinson (eds), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford/NY, 2010), pp. 107-135.

³ See for example: S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys and the Reform of English Religion* (New York, 2020); G.W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English National Church. The Dilemmas of an Erastian Reformer* (Aldershot, 2006); P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583. The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Los Angeles, 1979).

expected a minister of the English Church to be like, their victories regarding clerical marriage, their reform movements during their visitations, and their defining of what they considered to be *adiaphora* in debates such as the vestment controversy but also their impact on the future generations of clergy that was the result of the this first generation's experiences and the networks they had made in exile. Examining a whole group of men rather than a single individual has allowed me to highlight their joint experiences of exile and the significant influence that this experience had on the formation of early Elizabethan conformism.

Scholars of 'moderate Puritanism' such as Shagan, Lake and Oates have already shown that puritanism could not simply be categorised as pure radicalism. Instead, it was impacted by many important factors such as the experience of exile and the scholarship of the first generation of bishops.⁴ This thesis has shown that this was also true of early Elizabethan conformism. Those that historiography has labelled 'conformists' were not simply conforming to the church politics of the newly formed Elizabethan government. Instead, it has been shown that they were fighting for their principles and were compromising for the sake of the 'true Church' on things that were considered *adiaphora*, such as vestments. By using their leading clerical positions, the returned exiles turned first-generation Elizabethan bishops were doing everything in their power to establish God's true Church.

By following the above-mentioned bishops first into exile and then back to England, and by especially focusing on their beliefs, doctrines and theories surrounding the matter of the nature of the true Church, this thesis has shown that there are certain themes

⁴ P. Lake, *Moderate puritans*, p. 16, p. 23, p. 283; R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, pp. 20-21; E.H. Shagan, 'The Battle for Indifference', p. 123.

that are consistent across both of the periods under analysis in this thesis: the question surrounding the establishment of a national and institutional English Church has always also been a question about the issue of God's true Church and spiritual community. Both in exile and in Elizabethan England, the zeal of the English Protestants for establishing this English Church was accompanied by their attempts to define an ecclesiastical structure that would agree with God's will and the *notae ecclesiae*. The discussion about the markers of the true Church that had started in exile and continued in Elizabethan England also became a central argument for compromising regarding Elizabeth's Church politics. It was worldly punishments that the bishops, the compromisers, saw as the compelling argument for agreeing with their queen on things indifferent, as these punishments would have meant having to desert their ministry and all its duties and opportunities.⁵ They would have lost their rights to preach the gospel and minister the sacraments, both of which were considered markers of the true Church. By compromising on something that was not desirable but was considered indifferent, the bishops were working towards the edification of the true Church. As advised by continental theologians, the bishops considered deserting their ministry as sinful because if they did so they would deprive their flock of the word of God, an education concerning the true Church and scripture and eventually the chance of salvation. Therefore, as chapter four has shown, the reality of losing one's preaching rights eventually even convinced more radical individuals like William Whittingham to compromise (or at least pretend to) on matters regarding conformity.

By examining the exiles' journey into and out of exile, this thesis has shown that the bigger picture of the formation of early Elizabethan compromise was a process that

⁵ See: 'Archbishop Parker to Bishop Grindal (28 March 1566)', *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 272-274, p. 274.

showed a strong sense of continuity but also contained some fluctuations. This thesis has identified a collection of themes and influences that continually showed up in the ongoing discussions regarding compromising during the examined period: firstly, the need for further reform and edification; secondly, the fear of God's providence and the repetition of punishment; thirdly, how godly and civil obedience were understood; fourthly, theological thought and ecclesiastical principles; and fifthly, the constant impact of international networks and doctrines. The first two chapters of this thesis have shown that in their zeal for following God's plan, seeking redemption and basically surviving to rebuild an English Church in a future Protestant England, the Marian exiles seemingly had a unified agenda. The core objectives were further reform and the establishment of a true Church. However, this is where the first discrepancies occurred. While one group was already planning on establishing one national reformed English Church while in exile, the other group was less concerned with being part of a national Church in exile, but instead had a stronger sense of being active members of a universal reformed Church and were focusing on preparing themselves for the future. In terms of the question of conformity, this period reveals that there were different layers of conformity. All of the exiles chose to be non-conformist towards Marian Catholicism, but disagreed on their loyalty towards their former Protestant doctrines and liturgies. Therefore, in their debates about the establishment of an English Church in exile that became known as the 'Troubles at Frankfurt', the issue of compromising became central. The party consisting of the 1554/5 Frankfurt congregation that supported the leadership of William Whittingham, Christopher Goodman and John Knox disagreed with the Edwardian Prayer Book and its rites and were not willing to compromise on those things that could have been labelled as indifferent. However, the opposing party that consisted out of later bishops such as Richard Cox and Edwin Sandys,

but also later opponents such as Thomas Sampson, did not agree on a Church that did not use the Prayer Book. Nonetheless, they were willing to compromise on smaller things in order to restore peace among the exiles.

With the return to Elizabethan England, these disputes and especially the content of these debates and experiences, the resulting ecclesiological doctrines and the theological ideas surround sin, punishment, redemption and soteriology were not forgotten. Instead, from the first day, the matter of establishing a true Church in Elizabethan England was at the top of the list of the returned Protestants.⁶ As soon as they returned they had dreams and hopes of their new ‘Deborah’ Elizabeth, whom they hoped would follow God’s will and act according to her divine duties and therefore would reinstall true religion and the true Church in England.⁷ However, this time around, some of the former exiles changed their positions. Having suffered through these earlier years of persecution, the former exiles were eager to prevent history from repeating itself, to keep God’s returned favour, and never to have to face God’s wrath again. The first generation of Elizabethan bishops saw a chance to make use of their former years of study. They had started their redemption programme in exile, and the awareness that God would easily be able to withdraw his favourable view of them made them eager that it should continue in Elizabethan England. The bishops’ sermons and commentaries analysed in this thesis argued that now was the time to establish the true Church. Because the bishops had been influenced by the experiences of living and learning in reformed continental communities, there was a

⁶ These ideas are reflected in many of the former exiles’ commentaries and sermons, look for example at J. Pilkington, *Aggeus and Abdias Prophetes, the one corrected. the other newly added. and both at large declared. The earnest love that I beare to thy house hath eaten me. Psal. Ixix. Ioan, ii. Phinees hath toured awaye my anger because he was moued with loue of me. Num. xxv.* (London, 1562).

⁷ For literature on Elizabeth as Deborah, see: A. Walsham, ‘“A very Deborah?”: the myth of Elizabeth I as a providential monarch’, in S. Doran, T.S. Freeman, *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 143-168; T.S. Freeman, ‘Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs’’, in S. Doran, T.S. Freeman, *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 37-55.

general disagreement on vestments, crosses and the title of supreme head. In addition, many of the returned exiles were married and were now confronted with a queen who was rather sceptical towards married clergy.⁸ Therefore, the bishops started arguing against the injunctions. While they counted some wins regarding matters of the supremacy title, clerical marriage and the chapel cross, they lost in relation to other things, such as vestments. These debates that happened during the first years of the Elizabethan government showed how important the willingness to compromise was. Individuals like Cox accepted that compromise was necessary for the peace of their Church and the ability to reform further. However, some of the former exiles, such as Sampson, Humphrey and Leaver, who had been part of the Coxian party during exile, now changed their positions, refused to accept any clerical offices and became leading opponents of compromise.

The networks that were built and strengthened in Marian exile had a continuing influence on the first generation of Elizabethan bishops, many of whom had been former Marian exiles. This had been especially visible during the Vestiarian Controversy and in the debates surrounding supremacy, conformity, edification and obeying worldly magistrates. Just like during the disputes that the English exile congregations had during their time in exile, the bishops analysed here, as well as other Elizabethan theologians, continued to turn to the continent for authorial advice and approval. The same debates that had taken place in exile came up in the context of the establishment of the true Church in England, the reinstatement of true religion and further reform. The personal opinions of the continental reformers as well as their theological texts continued to guide the English Protestants when it came to the question of what role the monarch should have in securing

⁸ N. Basler Bjorklund, “‘A Godly Wyfe Is an Helper’: Matthew Parker and the Defence of Clerical Marriage”, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 34/2 (2003), pp. 347-365, p. 358; ‘Bishop Cox of Ely to Archbishop Parker (August 1561)’, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 151-152, p. 151.

Protestantism and the true Church in England, or whether wearing vestments was tolerable. As the examined texts and letters have shown, these continental reformers helped the English to make certain decisions, such as compromising on the matter of vestments for the sake of the unity of the true Church, preaching and ministry.⁹ By following the advice of Bullinger, Gwalther and Vermigli, the bishops compromised on these issues for the sake of the unity of the true Church.¹⁰ Therefore, the influence of the continental reformers was crucial for the formation of early Elizabethan compromism. The continental doctrines became sources of authority that helped navigate the ambiguous guidance of scripture and the Church fathers. They became textbooks for theology studies in England.¹¹ It was not only those Protestants who had spent time studying these doctrines during exile or in Edwardian England that were influenced by them; from now on, future generations grew up being influence by Reformed Protestantism.

However, it was not only the continental influence that shaped early Elizabethan compromising; as highlighted in the last chapter of this thesis, the awareness of God's

⁹ See, for example: 'Henry Bullinger to Bishops Horn, Grindal, and Parkhurst (03 May 1566)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 356-357; H. Bullinger, 'Concerning the apparel of Ministers (1566)', in T.W.J. Kirby (ed.), *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 121-133; 'Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn (03 November 1565)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 341-344; 'Henry Bullinger to Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson (01 May 1566)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 345-355.

¹⁰ The opinions of the continental theologians can be found here: 'Henry Bullinger to Bishops Horn, Grindal, and Parkhurst (03 May 1566)'; H. Bullinger, 'Concerning the apparel of Ministers (1566)'; 'Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn (03 November 1565)', p. 343; 'Henry Bullinger to Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson (01 May 1566)'; P. Martyr Vermigli, 'To the same man into England, 40', in A. Marthen (ed. transl.), *The common places of the most famous and renowned diuine Doctor Peter Martyr diuided into foure principall parts: with a large addition of manie theologicall and necessarie discourses, some neuer extant before. Translated and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten, one of the sewers of hir Maiesties most norourable chamber* (London, 1583), pp. 122-123. They have also been printed in Anonymous, *A briefe examination for the tyme, of a certaine declaration, lately out in print in the name and defence of certaine ministers in London, refusing to weare the apparel prescribed by the lawes and orders of the realme In the end is reported. the iudgement of two notable fathers, M. doctor Bucer, and M. doctor Martir ... translated out of the originals, written by theyr owne hands, purposely debatyng this controuersie* (London, 1566). The lasting impact that these texts and letters had described Edmund Grindal and Robert Horne in their letter to Bullinger: 'Bishop Grindal and Horn to Henry Bullinger and Rudolph Gualther (06 February 1567)', *Zurich Letters I*, pp. 175-182.

¹¹ T.W.J. Kirby (ed.), *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007), p. 3.

providence motivated the reformers' plans for edifying and establishing the true Church and dominated the vestment controversy that had reached its peak in 1566. This thesis has shown, by reflecting on the ecclesiological and theological differences concerning matters of *adiaphora*, church and education, that examining the vestment controversy is essential for understanding the establishment of the early Elizabethan Church.

By focusing on the impact that the Elizabethan bishops had on the creation of an English Protestant confessional identity and Church, this thesis has built upon more recent scholarship such as work by Sarah Bastow, Rosamund Oates, Karl Gunther and Peter Marshall.¹² It has also added to our knowledge of the complexity of the debates on Elizabethan conformity: however, instead of following the examples of Shagan and Lake, which focus on the later generation of more radical Elizabethan Protestants, this thesis has investigated the first generation of Elizabethan compromisers. It has demonstrated that early Elizabethan 'conformity' was a complex process that was the result of the experiences encountered in Marian exile, the networks that had started to be built in Edwardian England, and theological and ecclesiological questions that shaped English Protestantism throughout these times. For many of the bishops involved, conformity was a matter of compromising for the sake of further reform and the furtherance of the English Church.

This thesis has demonstrated that compromising for the sake of the true Church was a strategy that was used by English Protestants in very different circumstances: in exile, compromising was used to avoid conforming to an ungodly government, Nicodemism or dying the death of a martyr. In Elizabethan England, the strategy of compromising was used again, only this time it was used to conform to the religious political orders. However,

¹² R. Oates, *Moderate Radical*, S. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys*; K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England 1525-1590* (Cambridge, 2014); P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (Yale, 2017).

in both cases the core argument remained the same: the compromise needed to be carried out for the continuing reform and edification of the true Church. In this sense, compromising was a strategy that incorporated the essence of what would become the Anglican Church.

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