

**RELIGIOUS POLEMIC, PRINT CULTURE AND PASTORAL
MINISTRY: THOMAS HALL B.D. (1610-1665) AND THE PROMOTION
OF PRESBYTERIAN ORTHODOXY
IN THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION**

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ABSTRACT

Presbyterianism in the seventeenth century has often been seen as an alien and unpopular Scottish import, and its ministerial proponents as strident polemicists lacking a committed pastoral approach and doomed to failure in their struggle for further godly reformation.

This thesis reappraises the development and articulation of orthodoxy and Presbyterianism through the experience of Thomas Hall, pastor and schoolmaster of Kings Norton, Worcestershire, a particularly rigid adherent of these views. It argues that Hall's beliefs were home-grown responses to English religious and political changes in the 1630s, and explores their development and consolidation during the English Revolution. It also investigates ways he promoted his ideology through his pastoral ministry, his teaching, and his evangelical and polemical writings. Though militant against heresy, Hall's willingness to engage with popular religious beliefs, to experiment with a variety of media and to present Calvinist ideals in a sympathetic and accessible manner, demonstrate a far more positive and flexible approach than historians have generally acknowledged.

Much of the evidence centres on Hall's unusually large and well-annotated library, and his own publications. This enables a detailed analysis of Hall's reading practice and activities as a book-collector which were closely integrated with his polemical and religious priorities.

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THOMAS HALL

His Character

‘He was a man of middle Stature, his Hair blackish, which he wore very short, scarce to cover his ears; his Face pale, and somewhat long; his Spirit brisk and lively, active and able to bear the brunt of business; and was seldom or never known to be cast down with discouragements, though often menaced and imprisoned by Souldiers, and pestered with Sectaries of all-sorts: His Eyes were sparkling, especially when he was intent upon the delivery of matters of worth and weight: The cloaths he wore, were rather coarse than costly; his carriage and behaviour, courteous and attractive; his temper and constitution inclined him to choler, and he would break out sometimes into passion; but would soon recal himself, and that, for the future, he might not sin in his anger, he would resolve to be angry with nothing but Sin.’¹

¹ This extract is taken from Hall’s biographer, Richard Moore, *A pearl in an oyster-shel* (1675), pp.44-5.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for Hall's book collection

BCL	Birmingham Central Library
THL	Thomas Hall Library
THL/094, THL F 094, Or THL Q 094/ Or THL A094/	The classification for Hall's surviving books in BCL, followed by the year of publication and the number of the book when several were published in the same year. F indicates a folio, Q a large quarto work, and A restricted access
Cat.A	Hall's catalogue of books bequeathed to the ministers of Kings Norton
Cat.B.	Hall's catalogue of books bequeathed to the public library in Birmingham
Cat.C.	Hall's catalogue of books bequeathed to the school at Kings Norton

Abbreviations for Hall's published works, the full titles of which are given in Appendix I

<i>Conquest</i>	<i>Wisdoms conquest. Or, An explanation and grammaticall translation of the thirteenth book of Ovids Metamorphoses</i> (1651)
<i>Pulpit</i>	<i>The pulpit guarded</i> (1651 etc)
<i>Font</i>	<i>The font guarded</i> (1652)
<i>Holiness</i>	<i>The beauty of holiness</i> (1653 etc)
<i>Haire</i>	<i>Comarum akosmia. The loathsomnesse of long haire</i> (1654)
<i>Vindiciae</i>	<i>Vindiciae literarum, the schools guarded</i> (1654 etc.)
<i>Folly</i>	<i>Phaetons folly, or, The downfal of pride: being a translation of the second book of Ovids Metamorphosis</i> (1655)
<i>Chiliasto-mastix</i>	<i>Chiliasto-mastix redivivus, sive Homesus enervatus. A confutation of the millenarian opinion</i> (1657).
<i>Sal terrae</i>	<i>To alas tes ges: sive Apologia pro ministerio evangelico</i> (1658)
<i>Timothy</i>	<i>A practical and polemical commentary or, exposition upon the third and fourth chapters of the latter epistle of Saint Paul to Timothy</i> (1658)
<i>Apologie</i>	<i>An apologie for the ministry, and its maintenance</i> (1660)
<i>Samaria</i>	<i>Samaria's downfall: or, A commentary (by way of supplement) on the five last verses of the thirteenth chapter of Hosea</i> (1660)
<i>Magistracy</i>	<i>The beauty of magistracy, in an exposition of the 82 Psalm</i> (1660)
<i>Funebria</i>	<i>Funebria florum, the downfall of May-games</i> (1660 etc.)
<i>Amos</i>	<i>An exposition by way of supplement, on the fourth, fifth, sixth,</i>

seventh, eighth and ninth chapters of the prophecy of Amos
(1661)

Other abbreviations

<i>Life</i>	Hall's manuscript autobiography, 'A briefe Narrative of the Life & Death of Mr Thomas Hall late Pastor of Kings-Norton in Worcester-shire', Dr. Williams's Library, MS 61.1.
<i>Pearl</i>	Hall's biography by Richard Moore contained in, Richard Moore, <i>Ho thesauros en ostrakinois skeuesin. A pearl in an oyster-shel</i> (1675)
<i>Oxf. DNB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford University Press, 2004), online at http://www.oxforddnb.com
STC	A.W.Pollard and G.R.Redgrave, <i>Short-title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640</i> (first published 1926), as used in online references at http://estc.bl.uk
Wing	Donald G. Wing, <i>Short-title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries 1641-1700</i> (first published 1945-51), as used in online references at http://estc.bl.uk
ESTC	The English Short Title Catalogue of works published between 1473 and 1800, online at http://estc.bl.uk

Other notes

When quoting in the thesis from Hall's manuscript *Life* and the annotations he made on his library books, I have kept the original punctuation and spelling, but have expanded his abbreviations silently for ease of reading. In Appendix II which identifies Hall's catalogued books, and in Appendix III, the transcript of *Life*, all original spelling, punctuation, abbreviations and corrections have been retained.

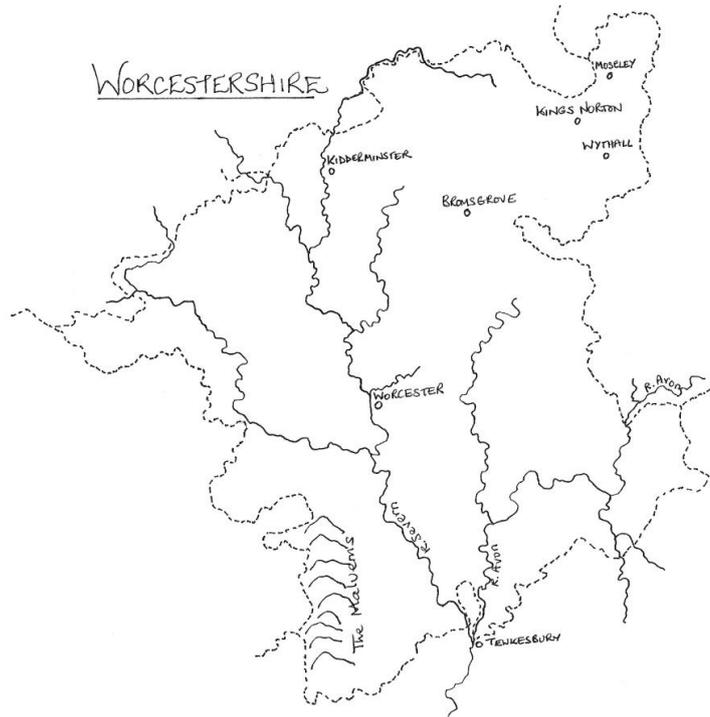
INTRODUCTION

This study centres on Thomas Hall B.D. (1610-1665), minister and schoolmaster in the parish of Kings Norton, Worcestershire (Figure 1), who devoted his career from 1629 to 1665 to the promotion and practice of orthodox Reformed religion and, from about 1640, to a national Presbyterian Church.¹ These positions, together with his views in support of Parliament, were developed in resistance to the Laudian control of the Church in the decade preceding the Civil War. With the collapse of episcopacy, and the national adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, Hall's hopes for the completion of the Protestant Reformation and the establishment of a Presbyterian discipline reached their height.

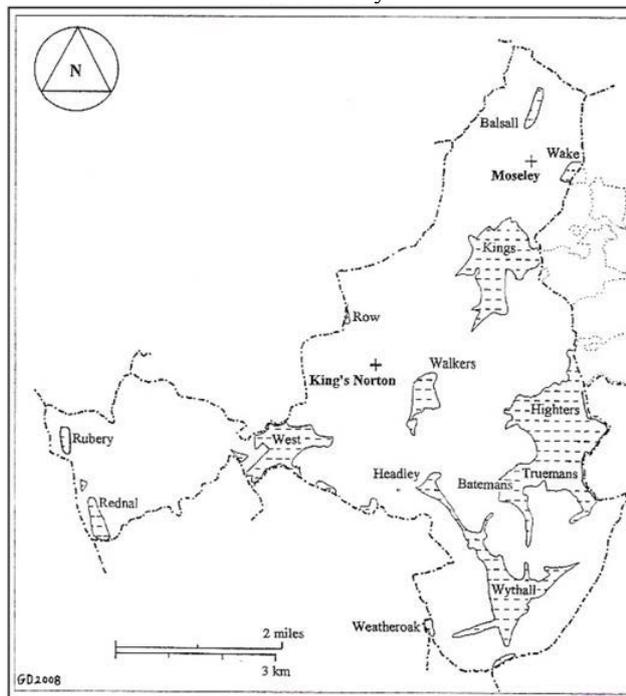
As these hopes disintegrated in the following years that led to the regicide in 1649 and the disastrous Presbyterian Plot of 1651, Hall's beliefs became more entrenched. During the Interregnum, the increasing latitude of the Church of England inspired him to extend his zealous parish evangelism into polemical campaigns at both local and national levels in order to counter the challenge to orthodoxy from a variety of alternative soteriologies and competing ecclesiologies. While he came to accept and even co-operate with Interregnum governments, he clung throughout to the terms of the Covenant, maintaining his intolerance of any unorthodoxy. However, the restoration of Charles II was welcomed by Hall as the harbinger of a future religious settlement favourable to Presbyterians, although as events turned out it was an over-optimistic assumption. In 1662, rather than renouncing the beliefs

¹ Kings Norton was a particularly extensive chapelry of the parish of Bromsgrove, and contained two chapelries of its own, one at Wythall in the south, the other at Moseley in the north. John Amphlett (ed.), *A Survey of Worcestershire by Thomas Habington Vol.II* (1899), p.218, cites Habington's description of Kings Norton which notes that it was larger than almost any other parish in the shire. *Chantry Certificate 60, no. 10* transcribed in J. Holliday, *The Church and Grammar School of King's Norton* (1872), pp.57-9, stated that the parish was reported to be 'seven miles broad every way & 40 miles compass', and its widest axes were about seven miles long. It was roughly triangular in shape and covered about 24 square miles.

FIGURE 1. MAPS OF WORCESTERSHIRE AND THE PARISH OF KINGS NORTON



A map of Worcestershire, based on William Hole's 1610 map, showing Kings Norton in the north-east of the county.



A map of the parish and royal manor of Kings Norton, showing the commons and heaths, from G. Demidovitch and S. Price, *Kings Norton: A History* (2009), reproduced here with the kind permission of the authors.

he had spent his professional life advocating, he refused to accept a restored episcopal, Prayer Book Church, and so suffered ejection from parish and school. Thus, Hall exemplifies the typical attitudes and career pattern of persistent 'high' or 'rigid' Presbyterian ministers of this period.

In much of the traditional historiography of the religious divisions of the Civil War and Interregnum years, high Calvinist 'orthodoxy' has been seen as an unpopular, divisive and intellectually demanding theology, and Presbyterianism as an alien ecclesiology; as a result, both were considered doomed to failure. From one perspective, it is the radical sectaries who are often seen to have promoted accessible, popular religion, while orthodox Puritans, particularly those who, like Hall, demanded one national Church, became ever more reactionary and defensive in response to the sectarian threat to religion and to social and political order. These ideas derive partly from the bi-polar model advanced by Peter Burke and other historians whereby elite and popular cultures are seen as mutually exclusive and hostile, the godly being elitist and therefore unpopular.² The liberal ideas of numerous sects which speak of freedoms and modernity have been highlighted in particular by Christopher Hill, who saw the Presbyterians as fiercely opposed to the simple pleasures of the poor, and also by Barry Reay and Kate Peters who have shown the powerful influence of the Quaker

² P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978), p.28 and *passim*. Also M. Ingram, 'From Reformation to Toleration: Popular Religious Cultures in England, 1540-1690' in T. Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850* (1995), p.95. This view has been challenged, for example, by P. Lake in 'Deeds against Nature: Cheap Print, Protestantism and Murder in Early Seventeenth-century England' in K. Sharpe and P. Lake (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (1994) 257-83 and 361-67, in using the murder pamphlet genre to illustrate his view that the bi-polar model separating zealous Protestant and popular is 'too neat and too extreme'; and also by A. Hughes, "'Popular" Protestantism in the 1640s and 1650s: The Cases of Thomas Edwards and Thomas Hall' in N. Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (1998), pp.235-60.

movement on attracting and absorbing a variety of other sectaries, and instilling fear and loathing among religious and social conservatives of all sorts.³

From another angle, the radicals as well as the orthodox Puritans are viewed as unpopular minorities. Instead, the loyal Prayer Book, episcopalian conformists are seen to have formed a large and growing number of silent supporters, waiting for the return to the Church of England as it was before the ascendancy of Laud. According to this view espoused particularly by John Morrill and Judith Maltby, orthodox Puritans were unpopular for their intellectually over-demanding doctrine and austere practice. This view argues that the influence and appeal of the godly, so evident in the early 1640s, faded with the end of the Civil War, after which they struggled on as embittered and embattled failures until the Restoration finally dashed their hopes for further reformation. John Morrill has written of the inordinate emphasis on the very small number of sectaries in the historiography, and a corresponding lack of consideration for the passive strength and resilience of Anglican survivalism in opposition to the godly. He regards the official godly reformation as ‘negative’ and ‘sterile’, writing that orthodox Puritans showed a widespread sense of ‘futility and failure’ following the regicide, although he has recognised the effectiveness of some godly ministers in the parishes.⁴ Judith Maltby has argued that the Puritans’ self-advertised zeal and piety has distorted the historical record: episcopalian conformists were equally vigorous in their faith, even though they adopted a ‘tactical quietism’ after their initial burst of energy in

³ C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (1991, first published 1972), and ‘Irreligion in the ‘Puritan’ Revolution’ in B. Reay and J. F. MacGregor (eds.), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (1984), which contains essays from several historians of radical religion. For Quakers in particular, B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (1985), and K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers* (2005), and ‘The Quakers Quaking: Print and the Spread of a Movement’ in S. Wabuda and C. J. Litzenger (eds.), *Belief and Practice in Reformation England: A Tribute to Patrick Collinson from his Students* (1998).

⁴ J. Morrill, ‘The Church in England 1643-9’ in J. Morrill (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-1649* (1982) 89-114, 230-34, pp.96, 108; also ‘The Impact of Puritanism’ in J. Morrill (ed.), *The Impact of the English Civil War* (1991) 50-66, p.66, and ‘The Puritan Revolution’ in J. Coffey, and P. Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (2008) 67-88, p.84.

the petitioning campaign of 1640-42 for the established Church.⁵ The *de facto* success of the restoration of an episcopalian Church in 1662 has been used to add force to these lines of argument. However, Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor have recently explored and confirmed suggestions that the dominant image of episcopalians as a unified group of hardline non-conformists in the Interregnum was far more ‘complex and shifting’, and propose new ways of looking at their differing religious and political affiliations.⁶

As for Presbyterianism, it has been argued by modern historians that this was an ecclesiology that was alien to England, forced on the nation through the necessity of gaining Scottish military support in 1643; it could not be popular and could not prosper. In his nineteenth-century work, Alexander Drysdale blamed the Presbyterians themselves for their decline, highlighting their over-emphasis on church government in the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly. He described them carrying on their work after 1644 ‘in the spirit of a half-hearted compromise’.⁷ William Shaw argued that Presbyterianism failed because it was a mere accident of 1643-7, not only ‘repugnant to the essence of English civil, constitutional, and national sentiment’, but also a ‘startling and illogical expansion from the basis of English Puritanism’.⁸ His conclusion that Presbyterianism was impotent, has been endorsed by George Abernathy; while he was sympathetic to the aims of ‘moderate’ Presbyterians such as Richard Baxter, who made successive efforts to seek unity with other orthodox Puritans and ‘moderate Anglicans’, he was highly critical of the ‘rigid’ Presbyterians, who would not desert the Solemn League and Covenant and who derailed all negotiations for moderation

⁵ J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (1998), pp.9-11, 23-4, 82, 232-3, 235. A Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (1981), pp. 288-9, also notes a widespread attachment to the forms and institutions of the Elizabethan Church Settlement in the county petitions to Parliament 1641-2.

⁶ K. Fincham and S. Taylor, ‘Episcopalian conformity and nonconformity, 1646-1660’ in J. McElligott, and D.L. Smith (eds.), *Royalists and Royalism during the Interregnum* (2010) 18-43, pp.18, 36 and *passim*.

⁷ A.H.Drysdale, *History of the Presbyterians in England: Their Rise, Decline and Revival* (1889), pp.345, 347.

⁸ W.A.Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth, 1640-1660* Vol.I (1900), pp.4-7, 35-6.

right up to the Act of Uniformity 1662, although he had little to say about their activities in the parishes and their contribution to the working of the Interregnum Church.⁹ Other scholars have given considerable weight to contemporary arguments against Presbyterianism; for example, Judith Maltby suggests that the ‘unease’ shown against them in the conformist polemic of Sir Thomas Aston was probably widespread, and Nigel Smith emphasises the radical view of Presbyterians as persecutors, as put forward by the Leveller, Richard Overton.¹⁰

In answer to the view that Presbyterianism was alien to England, Patrick Collinson and Peter Lake have shown that the Elizabethan Presbyterian movement grew out of Elizabethan Protestantism, in response to a perceived need for further reformation of a Church that retained popish elements in its structure and practices.¹¹ Although the movement’s organisational base among the clergy had collapsed by the 1590s, Nicholas Tyacke has argued that its ethos remained influential within Puritan circles, and the urge to expunge Popery within the Church of England remained just as strong, particularly with the rise of Laudianism in the 1630s, when alternative ecclesiologies were considered in England and practised abroad, such as English Presbyterianism in the Netherlands, and forms of Congregationalism in both the Netherlands and New England.¹²

⁹ G. R. Abernathy, 'The English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, 1648-63', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 55:2 (1965) 5-101, pp.7-8, 12, 61, 73, 79.

¹⁰ J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, p.167; N. Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (1994), pp. 298-301.

¹¹ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967), and P. Lake *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (1982).

¹² N. Tyacke, 'The Fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603-40' in N. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c.1530-1700* (2001) 111-131. K. L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1982), p.319 and *passim*, has shown how the Netherlands gave wide opportunities to seventeenth-century British refugee nonconformists for ‘unlimited theological speculation and experimentation in churchmanship’. M. Watts, *The Dissenters. From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (1978), argued that it was a Jacobite or Congregational ecclesiology that was dominant among the English churches in the Netherlands, but nevertheless as Sprunger has demonstrated, there were several congregations that preferred Presbyterianism and some were attached to Dutch classes. T.

Another response has been the refutation of these judgements of Presbyterianism as sterile and unpopular. Elliot Vernon has blamed both Alexander Drysdale and William Shaw for the continuing negative approach to Presbyterianism, and argues that a concentration on the undoubted political failure of Presbyterians has clouded the judgements of modern historians on their more positive efforts and achievements in pursuing godly reformation at parish level.¹³ His arguments support Ann Hughes, who has consistently challenged the pessimistic views of Presbyterians as elitist failures in the 1640s and 1650s. While she agrees that zealous Presbyterianism was not a majority position, its polemicists aimed and often succeeded at engagement with wide audiences in seeking popularity for their doctrines and ecclesiology. Furthermore, a range of Presbyterians who shared a desire for one national Church, contributed effectively to the successful operation of the Interregnum Church.¹⁴

One of Ann Hughes's prime examples of the vigour and positive outlook of rigid Presbyterianism has been Thomas Hall. Following her lead, this study aims to provide a detailed and nuanced interpretation of Hall's orthodoxy and Presbyterianism. It sets out to investigate the reasons for the development and continuing maintenance of his high Calvinist,

Webster, 'Alternative Ecclesiologies to 1643' in T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c.1620-1643* (1997) 310-332, has also argued that it was 'Amesian' Congregationalism rather than Presbyterianism that was the focus of those looking for an alternative ecclesiology right up to 1643, and that a form of reduced or 'primitive' episcopacy was a more acceptable ecclesiology than Presbyterianism. Hall, *Timothy*, p.201, made a rare comment on the effect of Laudianism on the search for alternative ecclesiologies, writing 'The Bishops by persecuting the Godly in Old-England, have spread the Gospel in New-England. Thus the Lord catcheth the wise in their own Plots, and snares the wicked in the works of their own hands, *Psal.* 9.16. *Iob* 5.12.13.'

¹³ E. Vernon, 'A Ministry of the Gospel: The Presbyterians during the English Revolution' in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006) 115-36, pp.115-6.

¹⁴ A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (2004), in which one of her main themes was the discussion of Presbyterianism in the 1640s as a dynamic movement. Also "'Popular" Protestantism in the 1640s and 1650s'; 'The Meanings of Religious Polemic' in F. Bremer (ed.), *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-century Anglo-American Faith* (1993) 201-29; 'The Pulpit Guarded: Confrontations Between Orthodox and Radicals in Revolutionary England' in A. Laurence, W. R. Owens and S. Sim (eds.), *John Bunyan and His England* (1990) 30-50; and "'The Public Profession of these Nations": The National Church in Interregnum England' in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006) 93-114.

Presbyterian position and its application in the multiple professional roles he undertook in the changing circumstances of the mid-seventeenth century; it seeks to explain his responses to broader political and religious developments, and to analyse the vitality and confidence of his Presbyterian contribution to the Interregnum Church through his pastoral work, his public engagement with sectaries in disputation, and his printed polemical campaigns. Hall also devoted considerable effort and time to collecting, studying and writing books, and the role of print culture in his ministry is of considerable significance to an understanding of his theory and practice of orthodoxy and Presbyterianism, and forms a major theme of this thesis.

As a result of the new 'History of the Book', bibliographical studies have broadened to include research on the consequences of books, book-collecting and reading in the Early Modern period in both wide and specific terms. Scholars from a variety of disciplines have regarded the development of the printed book in Europe as a major participant in the changes of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the scientific revolution. With a few qualifications, recent research has followed the lead of Elizabeth Eisenstein, whose work has stressed the ways in which the Protestant Reformation made use of print culture to challenge the established tradition and to spread its message.¹⁵ Looking at the European Reformation as a whole, Andrew Pettegree has demonstrated the significance of print to continuing Protestantism from the earliest days of its exploitation by Luther, and historians such as

¹⁵ E.L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Volumes I and II, (2008, first published 1979), especially pp. 303-4, 305, 314, 318-9. While K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions. The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (2000), p.37, called Eisenstein 'the leading historian of print', both her methodology and conclusions have been directly challenged by A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (1998). Johns argues against Eisenstein's notions of the shift from script to print as a shift to a new textual standardization, dissemination and fixity, and against her conclusion, as he saw it, of printing standing outside history. He criticised her failure to explain how print 'culture' emerged from the press, preferring to interpret these early modern changes as part of a continuum of communication and cultural developments. However, his study of scientific changes focused on England and London rather than Europe as a whole. These two scholars have continued to disagree with each other in a textual forum in a series of articles which began with A. Grafton, 'How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?', *The American Historical Review* 107:1 (2002) 84-6.

Patrick Collinson, Peter Lake and Alexandra Walsham have shown its important contribution to the embedding of Protestant culture in England.¹⁶ Hall made explicit his belief in the necessity of books for successful orthodox ministry and ongoing reformation, and noted the exercise of the power of print both for and against true religion. He collected an extensive library of over 1,400 books, notable not only for its size but also for its surviving catalogues.¹⁷ Furthermore over 600 of Hall's books and volumes of pamphlets, many of which are well-annotated, survive in Birmingham Central Library.¹⁸ Between 1651 and 1661 he published 14 works of his own, through which he expressed his views and showed the considerable influence of the books he collected and read.¹⁹ This textual material, together with the reconstruction of the library, allows an examination of how Hall chose and acquired his books, how he read them and the purposes for which he used them; it offers a detailed picture of how print culture was used in support of orthodox Presbyterianism by a provincial clerical reader, and how he in turn as an author engaged his reading public and aimed to persuade them to his views. Investigation of these aspects of his immersion in print culture, including his participation as reader and author of pamphlet polemic, has much to contribute to the study of individual libraries and readers in the post-Reformation period of expansion in private ownership of books, and their reception and use by individual readers.²⁰ Hall's polemical and popularising styles of communication particularly in his published works as

¹⁶ A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (2005); P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion' in C. Haigh (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (1984); P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (2002); and A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999).

¹⁷ See Appendix II for exact numbers of Hall's catalogued books and their identification, and Appendix III for a transcript of Hall's surviving catalogues, A, B, and C, which followed on from his manuscript autobiography and will.

¹⁸ See Appendix II: i) Introduction, for exact numbers of Hall's surviving books and their relation to the catalogued books.

¹⁹ See Appendix I for Hall's published works.

²⁰ See Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion of Hall's place in the historiography of print culture.

explored in Chapter 5, also challenge Burke's model of clear divisions between elite and popular culture.

The theme of Hall's immersion in print culture also encompasses issues of his experience of Puritan piety, providence and self-fashioning, and his need to foster a godly corporate identity and sense of community.²¹ Through his published works and the manuscript autobiography which he wrote towards the end of his life, he emphasised the underlying spiritual motivation for all he undertook, constantly persuading readers to consider the evidence of God's providence in general and how it worked in his own life. As both reader and author, he took pains to differentiate between the reprobate and the godly, and having identified the godly, especially other godly ministers and authors, placed himself in their visible company, a means by which he formed an imagined community for support and comfort.²² In these aims, Hall's approach to print has resonances with that of one of his Moderate Puritan role-models, Thomas Gataker, whose publishing career, Diane Willen has concluded, was a vital aspect of his piety and his definition of self, and a fundamental means by which he related to the godly community at large.²³

²¹ Thomas Gataker's use of print in defence of the godly community particularly after 1640, and his perception of print as integral to his piety, has been explored in D. Willen, 'Thomas Gataker and the Use of Print in the English Godly Community', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70:3 (2007) 343–64.

²² B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1983), has argued in the context of nationalism that communities are 'imagined' when they are larger than one could know personally, and they can be distinguished by the style in which they are imagined, in Hall's case as the members of his fellow godly elite. P. Lake has often discussed how Puritans used the idea of a visible community in their formation of godly identity, for example, in 'A Charitable Christian Hatred': The Godly and their Enemies in the 1630s' in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (1996) 145-83, pp.152-6.

²³ D. Willen, 'Thomas Gataker and the Use of Print'. Hall had a direct link with Gataker through his friend Thomas Dugard, who had been Gataker's student at Cambridge. Hall owned several works by Gataker, to whom he referred in *Vindiciae* p.207, as 'most learned and Reverend Mr Gataker' and 'pious and judicious': *Of the nature and vse of lots* [Cat.A322, THL 094/1623]; *Gods eye on his Israel* (1646) [THL 094/C12]; *A serious and faithfull representation* (1648) [THL 094/C12]; *Discours apologetical* (1654) [Cat.A323, THL 094/C1], on the title page of which he wrote of Gataker, 'clarissime pater'; *Thomas Gataker B.D. his vindication of the annotations by him published* (1653) [Cat.A323, THL 094/C1]; *Certain sermons* (1637) [Cat.A321]; and *A mistake or misconstruction, removed* (1624) [THL 094/C24].

There have been several studies of English Presbyterian ministers who demonstrated positive and effective activism in the Civil War and Interregnum periods. These include an investigation by Ann Hughes into the heresiographer, Thomas Edwards, and his flexible use of print culture to inspire opinion and mobilise action for Presbyterianism in the 1640s; Tom Webster's study of the early parish activism of Stephen Marshall shows how it led to his career as a stirring Presbyterian parliamentary preacher; and Peter Lake's work on the polemicist Samuel Clarke reveals his subtle skills in the 1650s and post-Restoration period in promoting an image of Presbyterianism as a moderate and learned product of traditional Puritanism to meet the political needs of the day.²⁴ However, these were all figures with largely national and metropolitan reputations. Relatively little has been done on the orthodox, provincial clergy who constituted the bulk of the ministry at the root of shaping the Interregnum Church.²⁵ Rosemary O'Day has focused on one aspect of active Presbyterianism in her study of Immanuel Bourne's defence of the ministry through his engagement with sectaries in public disputation. Catherine Nunn's work on Henry Newcome of Cheshire, a more eirenic Presbyterian minister than Hall, illustrates how he and his network enacted the ideals of a reformed national Church, and examines his view, albeit in hindsight, of the Interregnum as a glorious time for Presbyterianism.²⁶ However, none of these provides the

²⁴ A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*; T. Webster, 'Stephen Marshall and Finchingfield', *Studies in Essex History*, 6 (1994); and P. Lake, 'Reading Clarke's *Lives* in Political and Polemical Context' in K. Sharpe and S. N. Zwicker (eds.), *Writing lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England* (2008). There has been a wealth of studies of Richard Baxter, but Hall did not regard him as a true Presbyterian although he respected him for his orthodoxy and piety.

²⁵ C. M. Cross, 'The Church in England, 1646-60' in G. E. Aylmer (ed.), *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement, 1646-60*, (1972) 99-120, 209-10, 224-5, has argued that in spite of contemporary criticisms, a range of religious groups found merit in the Church of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate, and A. Hughes, 'The Public Profession of these Nations', has shown the positive contributions made by moderate and rigid Presbyterians to the Interregnum Church which in practice worked surprisingly well.

²⁶ C. M. Nunn, 'The Ministry of Henry Newcome: Presbyterianism in South East Cheshire' (University of Manchester M. Phil. thesis, 1998), and 'Henry Newcome and his Circle: Presbyterianism in South-East Cheshire in the 1650s', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire* 150 (2003 for 2000) 7-31; and R. O'Day, 'Immanuel Bourne: A Defence of the Ministerial Order', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976) 101-14. There is also W. J. Shiels, 'Oliver Heywood and his Congregation', in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds.), *Voluntary religion: papers read at the 1985 Summer Meeting and the 1986 Winter Meeting of the*

sort of extended analysis of the varied and interlocking concerns of a parish ministry which is possible in the case of Thomas Hall.

Except for the work of Ann Hughes, and also of Don Gilbert who has studied Hall's activism in effecting a reformation of manners at Kings Norton in alliance with local magistrates, the main focus in modern studies of Hall has been on his library.²⁷ Since the first report by William Brassington on the reception of Hall's surviving library books by Birmingham Library in 1892, these studies have consisted mostly of short articles, largely derivative of each other and usually containing a brief biography and some discussion of his books.²⁸ The exception here has been John Vaughan, whose thesis 'The Thomas Hall Manuscript' included a transcript of Hall's autobiography and its accompanying library catalogues, together with some analysis of the books in the context of book collecting in the period.²⁹

The surviving sources for Hall and his ministry are problematic in that they mostly consist of his own writings. These are his fourteen published works and his manuscript autobiography,

Ecclesiastical History Society (1986) 261-77, but this focuses more on Heywood's post-Restoration congregation. A. MacFarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman, An Essay in Anthropology* (1977, first published 1970), opens a window on a moderate Presbyterian's daily life but says little of his Presbyterian activism.

²⁷ The most recent study of Hall's ministry, apart from his inclusion in the work of A. Hughes, has been C.D. Gilbert, 'Magistracy and Ministry in Cromwellian England: The Case of King's Norton, Worcestershire', *Midland History* 23 (1998) 71-83, an analysis of Hall's cooperation with the local magistrates in effecting the closure of ale-houses in the 1650s. Gilbert has also written the *Oxf. DNB* article for Hall and 'The Puritan and the Quakeress', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 57:2 (1995) 118-122, concerning Hall's encounter with Jane Higgs, a local Quakeress.

²⁸ Modern articles have centred on Hall's books: W. S. Brassington, 'Thomas Hall, and the Old Library Founded by him at Kings Norton', *The Library Chronicle*, 5 (1888) 61-71, which was written before the hand-over of the books to the Birmingham Library, and also his undated pamphlet, written in or soon after 1892, *Report upon the King's Norton Parish Library*; F. J. Powicke, 'New Light on an Old English Presbyterian: The Rev. Thomas Hall B.D., 1610-1665', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 8 (1924) 166-90 (which was based on the false premise that Hall's autobiography was another biography); H. Woodbine (Chief Assistant in the Reference Library 1934-1944), 'Notes on the Thomas Hall Library', an essay shelved with Brassington's 1892 catalogue of Hall's surviving books; and A. H. Higgs, 'Two Parish Libraries and their Founders', *Open Access*, New Series, 16:3 (1968) 1-7.

²⁹ J. E. Vaughan, 'The Thomas Hall Manuscript containing the Life, Will and Catalogues of the Library of the Rev. Thomas Hall, D.D. (1610-1665), transcribed with introduction and notes' (University of Bristol M.A. thesis, 1960).

to which he attached his will. They were all polemically shaped for public consumption thereby putting the best possible spin on the merits of high Calvinism and Presbyterian Church government, as well as on his own efforts and reputation. None of his correspondence or other papers are known to have survived apart from a fragment of one letter from his brother. There are few surviving official local government or parish records concerning Hall, although use has been made of quarter session papers that throw light on his campaigns for a reformation of manners. Literary references to him by others are also few but include early biographical pieces, the most informative of which is a hagiographical 'life' written by his friend, Richard Moore.³⁰

The other main source for Hall is his remarkable library, which is evidenced by the manuscript library catalogues attached to his autobiography, and over 600 surviving volumes. The whole collection is notable as one of the largest known libraries of a provincial minister of the period, and the surviving books are extensively annotated, recording Hall's reception of a variety of texts including pamphlets, his referencing of other reading matter and his additional views.

The personal and polemical focus of the sources for Hall creates problems which will be addressed in due course; for example, the lack of correspondence makes it difficult to get a wider perspective of the episodes described in his autobiography, and much activity at parish level has gone unrecorded. On the other hand the multiplicity of direct personal sources

³⁰ Richard Moore, *A pearl in an oyster-shel* (1675). A brief biography of Hall was included by Wood in his *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691), p.235, and another appeared in Edmund Calamy, *An account of the ministers, lecturers, masters, and fellows of colleges and schoolmasters: who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration in 1660* (1713), Vol. II, p.766, both of which relied on Moore's biography. However, J. E. Vaughan, *Some Account of the Parish Church and Ancient Grammar School of King's Norton* (1973), p.265, notes that Wood wrote to the incumbent of Kings Norton asking for information about Hall, which may account for the additional material he used.

makes it possible to reconstruct Hall's views on a wide range of topics, recovering some, such as his political views, which were not revealed in his published comments, and to analyse his reactions to the changing experience of an orthodox minister.³¹

The chapters of this thesis are arranged thematically to investigate different aspects of Hall's orthodoxy and Presbyterianism and their interrelation with print culture. Chapter 1 analyses his book collection, how and why he acquired it and how as a cleric he read his books, looking at aspects of how he used them and how his reading practices relate to research on Renaissance reading and readers. More detailed references to his use of these texts will be given throughout the rest of the thesis to show how his reading supported every aspect of his religious and political outlook, and his daily ministerial practice. Chapters 2 and 3 survey the influences throughout his life on his religious and political stances, and the adjustments that he had to make to uphold them in changing circumstances. The development of his high Calvinism and Presbyterianism in response to the events of 1629-1651, before he began his publishing career, will be examined in Chapter 2. Here, with the evidence of his annotated pamphlets, his reactions to Arminianism are revealed as crucial to his increasingly oppositional religious and political views, leading to his home-grown Presbyterianism and support of Parliament in the Civil War. In addition, his reactions to key events, including the regicide, are traced. Chapter 3, using his contemporary commentaries in his published works, considers his continuing religious and political outlook in light of events from 1651-1665, the choices he had to make and his justifications for them, with reference to his continuing

³¹ M. Todd, "'All one with Tom Thumb': Arminianism, Popery, and the Story of the Reformation in Early Stuart Cambridge", *Church History* 64:4 (1995) 568-79, pp.563-4, in the context of events leading to the Civil War, argued that to understand the motives of people of the past the shortest path to take is often to consider 'their perceptions of their own reality'. A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*, p.11, discusses ways of approaching polemical sources as descriptions of 'reality' and suggested that polemic can be useful for understanding contemporary perceptions and motivations if handled critically.

confidence in divine providence in difficult times. The practical, pastoral application of his views at local level and his contribution to the Interregnum Church as minister and teacher, and in partnership with local magistrates, will be considered in Chapter 4, while the communication of his message to wider audiences will be examined in Chapter 5. This will analyse his extended and outgoing public campaigns at regional and national level, firstly through his participation in local disputations and secondly in his career in publishing, in both of which he made efforts to confront enemies to orthodoxy, to engage with wide audiences and to popularise Presbyterianism. Finally Chapter 6 draws together the themes explored in the preceding chapters in investigating Hall's manuscript autobiography, which embodied his efforts to ensure that posterity received his authenticated version of the development and application of his religious identity, and of his spiritual and worldly achievements.

CHAPTER 1

THE ACQUISITION, PURPOSES AND USE OF HALL'S LIBRARY

Hall's biographer wrote that he 'earnestly coveted the best things; and if any worldly thing, it was Books.'¹ Indeed, as a result of a professional lifetime of gathering books and pamphlets, Hall left over 1,400 catalogued volumes, which he bequeathed for the foundation of three libraries, two of them in Kings Norton (one for the parish and the other for the school), and the third, a public town library in Birmingham. He valued these catalogued books at between £370 and £400, and until he handed them over in 1661, the collection may be described as a private, clerical one.² Furthermore, among the 647 books that survive in the Thomas Hall Collection in Birmingham Central Library today, are a large number of uncatalogued publications showing that Hall owned additional books which he retained in his personal possession until his death in 1665.³

Such a large collection of books was unusual for a minor provincial cleric of the time. With a relatively low regular income of £50 per annum, the value of Hall's books represents something like a third of his lifetime earnings from school and parish, and while his books may have been bought in quantity from time to time, on average he was gathering a title a

¹ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.78. This judgement was echoed by Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* Vol.II (1692), p.233, who noted Hall as a lover of books and learning.

² Hall's original book catalogues are found in the Dr. Williams's Library, Baxter MS 61.1. They are contained within a bound volume following his manuscript autobiography and will. For a complete transcript of the manuscript including the catalogues of books see Appendix III. For his valuations and identification of these catalogued books and other books belonging to Hall or cited by him, see Appendix II. Catalogue A listed 694 entries in 786 volumes which included 57 pamphlet volumes; Catalogue B listed 309 entries in 369 volumes, and Catalogue C listed 265 entries in 270 volumes, making a total of 1,268 entries in 1,425 volumes.

³ For the surviving books and pamphlet volumes, and for additional books that Hall cited, see Appendix II. T. A. Birrell, *The Library of John Morris: The Reconstruction of a Seventeenth-century Collection* (1976), p.xiv, came to a similar conclusion about Morris's library, believing that it was far larger than the 1,500 volumes recorded in the Old Royal Library Catalogue MS.

week throughout his professional life.⁴ Although this library might be compared with the first or second collection made by Richard Baxter at neighbouring Kidderminster,⁵ Giles Mandelbrote suggests that a more typical personal, clerical book collection of the period is well represented by that of Thomas Devey, a Warwickshire curate, who owned 130 books, the average sort of number of books found in Pruett's survey of the libraries of later Stuart Leicestershire clergymen.⁶ It is difficult to find clerical collections comparable with Hall's. Outstanding collections were usually left by clerics with higher profiles and incomes, such as Thomas Plume of Maldon, although William Ames, famed for his theology and published

⁴ Hall's regular income is undisputed. As schoolmaster from 1629 until his ejection in 1662, he would have earned £10 a year as it was recorded in the 1650 survey of crown lands, Kings Norton having been a royal manor until 1649. (See H. M. Grant and E.A.B. Barnard, 'The Parish and Church of Kingsnorton', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, New Series, 2 (1924-1925) 123-145, p.142.) Hall's first additional clerical salary as curate of Wythall from 1632-1635 is unknown, but his next appointment was a promotion to the curacy of Moseley where the stipend was £4.13s.4d per annum, which was unlikely to have been less than his income at Wythall. When he became curate of Kings Norton in 1640, his annual stipend increased to £40, so with his teaching income, he earned a total of £50. (See T. Cave and R. A. Wilson. (eds.), 'The Parliamentary Survey of the Lands and Possessions of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester made in or about the Year 1649', *The Worcestershire Historical Society* (1924), p.228, and Hall, *Life*, fo.106). Hall implied that he was poorly paid, and claimed, *Funebria*, p.39 and *Life*, fo.106, that he had lost an augmentation for his non-engagement after the establishment of the Commonwealth. Lambeth Palace records, COMM VII/3 and COMM Via/9 (MS995) (30), reveal at least two augmentations that were to be paid to Hall, one of £20 in August 1655, and another of £30 in January 1657. These payments were also noted by W. Shaw, *A History of the English Church* Vol.II, pp.513, 598. Hall might also have received some income from his tablers or student boarders, from his lecturing in Birmingham and Henley, (although P. Collinson, *Godly People: Essays in English Puritanism and Protestantism* (1983, i.e. 1984), p.468, pointed out that many lecturers were unpaid volunteers), and possibly from his publishing, though none of these sources would have produced much. Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p75, furthered the idea that Hall was hard-up, writing that he could barely have subsisted if he had not had his income from the school and had not also remained unmarried. This entire judgement was repeated by Edmund Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers, etc Ejected or Silenced*, p.765, but as J.E. Vaughan, 'The Thomas Hall Manuscript', p109, points out, this was probably overstating the case. Even so, Moore made a valid point that Hall's financial position must have been eased by his lack of dependent family.

⁵ G. Nuttall (ed.), 'A Transcript of Richard Baxter's Library Catalogue: A Bibliographical Note', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 2:2 (1951) 207-21, and 3:1 (1952) 74-100, pp.207-8, cites Baxter's account of being forced to sell his first library, and found that when Baxter died in 1691, his second collection totalled over 1,400 volumes; Nuttall added that Baxter, was 'an intensely bookish man, widely read and living close to his books.' Baxter, *Baxteriana Reliquiae*, Part 3, p.79 noted that his income was eighty pounds, or at the most ninety pounds, which was nearly twice that of Hall's, and Part 3, p.172, wrote that if he had any treasure it was books, which was similar to what Hall wrote in *Life*, fos.96-7.

⁶ G. Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books' in G. Mandelbrote and K. Manley (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 2: 1640-1850* (2006) 173-89, p182. Thomas Devey was curate of Coleshill from 1681 until 1705. J. L. Salter, 'The Books of an Early Eighteenth-century Curate', *The Library*, 5th Ser., 33 (1978), 33-46, gives the probate list of his books with a brief analysis. J.H. Pruett's findings are in *The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts: The Leicestershire Experience* (1978), pp.45-6. J. Eales, 'Thomas Pierson and the Transmission of the Moderate Puritan Tradition', *Midland History* 20 (1995) 75-102, p.95 observes that contemporaries considered Pierson's library of over four hundred and fifty books at his death in 1633 'exceptionally large for a parish cleric'.

output, left 570 volumes in 1633.⁷ Immanuel Bourne, a provincial minister who enjoyed an income nearly three times as much as Hall's, had only 120 volumes valued at £5.⁸ Many other clergymen kept books, essential tools for their calling, but the details of their collections cannot be traced, most of their books having been sold or dispersed soon after they died; those sold at auction were often combined with books from several other sources and their provenance cannot be distinguished in the auction catalogues. George Lawson, rector of More in Shropshire, for example, possessed a substantial and valuable library, but his books were sold at auction with those of three other men.⁹ However, there are suggestions that other large clerical collections existed: Thomas Manton's books were sold as a single unit at auction in 1678 soon after his death; the catalogue details 2,033 books, 70 volumes of bound pamphlets and 37 bundles of pamphlets, and the size of this collection exceeded Hall's.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Hall's library, as the achievement of a provincial curate, is notable not only for its size, but also for its surviving catalogues and the preservation of so many of his books together in one place.

⁷ K. L. Sprunger, *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of William Ames* (1988).

⁸ J. H. Pruett, *The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts*, p.45, for the value of Bourne's library; R. O'Day, 'Immanuel Bourne', p.110, for Bourne's income.

⁹ C. Condren, 'More Parish Library, Salop', *Library History* 7:5 (1987) 141-62, p.144, notes Lawson's library, for which the auction catalogue, Wing L705, survives. This includes the books of three others as well as Lawson's. In total there were 4,705 volumes, including 35 bound volumes of sermons and 124 of miscellanies. Three of Hall's own publications appeared in this catalogue: *Chiliasto-mastix*, *Vindiciae* and *Timothy*.

¹⁰ *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum instructissimae bibliothecae clarissimi doctissimiq; Viri Thomae Manton, S.T.D. Quorum auctio habebitur Londini in aedibus defuncti in vico regio prope Covent-Garden, Martis 25. Per Gulielmum Cooper, bibliopolam* (1678), which included two of Hall's works, *Sal terrae* and *Timothy*. Manton (1620-1677) was a high profile London Presbyterian minister, ejected in 1662. Hall owned several of his works: *A practical commentary, ... on the Epistle of Jude* [Cat.A454, THL 094/1658/14]; *The naturall mans case stated* [THL 094/1658/16], which included Manton's funeral sermon for Christopher Love which was entitled *The saints triumph over death* (1658); *A compleat collection of farewell sermons* [Cat.A300, THL A094/1663/3]; *The blessed estate of them that die in the Lord* (1656) [THL 094/C29]; and *A practical commentary, upon the epistle of James* [Cat.A453].

The size of Hall's book collection drew the attention of contemporary commentator Anthony Wood, and later Edmund Calamy,¹¹ but has received little attention from modern historians, although it was the subject of a study by John Vaughan, and was included in Michael Perkin's survey of parochial libraries.¹² The collection has also been listed by David Pearson in a database of libraries formed in seventeenth-century England, which is contributing to a current project concerning the patterns and effects of book ownership, particularly in answering questions about the size and content of collections, their relation to owners' occupation and social class, and how the patterns of ownership changed over time, all with a view to expanding our understanding of print culture and the wider history of the book during this period.¹³ While touching on some of these themes of book ownership in relation to Hall's library, especially how his collection can be seen against the wider background, this chapter will focus on how, as a Worcestershire curate, he acquired his books and what motivated him to accumulate them on such an unusually large scale. The second part of the chapter investigates how Hall's reading reflected the practice of the period, and how he applied this practice to the needs of his own circumstances, by looking at the evidence of his annotations on his surviving books together with his comments on reading in his published works, where

¹¹ Edmund Calamy, *An abridgement of Mr. Baxter's history of his life and times*, Vol. II (1715), p.766, remarked on the value of Hall's books and his donation of them to two libraries; Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, p.235, noted Hall's gift of books to two libraries. Both writers seem to have been using Richard Moore's biography of Hall as a source. Calamy wrote of Hall sympathetically as a godly victim of ejection in 1662, whereas Wood saw him as a rigid Presbyterian hostile to the Church of England, but nevertheless both thought his books worthy of comment.

¹² J. E. Vaughan, 'The Thomas Hall Manuscript', and M. Perkin (ed.), *The Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales* (Revised edition, 2004), pp.33, 61, 255. Other works on this library include, W. Salt Brassington, 'Thomas Hall, and the Old Library Founded by him at Kings Norton', pp.61-71; F. J. Powicke, 'New Light on an Old English Presbyterian'; H. Woodbine, (Chief Assistant in the Reference Library 1934-1944), 'Notes on the Thomas Hall Library', an essay shelved with W. S. Brassington's 1892 catalogue of Hall's surviving books; and A. H. Higgs, 'Two Parish Libraries and their Founders', *Open Access*, New Series, 16:3 (1968) 1-7.

¹³ D. Pearson compiler, *English Book Owners in the Seventeenth Century: A Work in Progress Listing* (updated August 2010); this is an evolving web site hosted by the Bibliographical Society of America; it lists hundreds of seventeenth-century English book owners, along with citations to relevant articles, sale catalogues, *DNB* references, etc. <http://www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Pearson/Pearson.pdf> .

he consistently advocated learning and the reading of books as necessary foundations of an orthodox ministry.¹⁴

a) How and why Hall acquired his library

Evidence for how Hall built up his collection is sparse. Although he gave neither acquisition dates nor any details of where he bought his books, there are some interesting pointers. The fragment of a letter found in one of his books shows that his brother John, who lived in London during the Civil War, purchased volumes that Hall requested, and had them sent to Kings Norton by carrier (Figure 2).¹⁵ It seems that most of Hall's pamphlets from the 1640s were bought new, which strengthens the indication that his brother was a direct source of books sent from London. John Hall, as a founding member with John Ley of the Fourth London Classis, had extensive metropolitan contacts.¹⁶ Simeon Ashe and Samuel Clarke, who were active Presbyterians in London in the Civil War decade, were also fellow members of Hall's Warwickshire circle, and after the launch of Hall's own publishing career in 1651, he was able to communicate directly with London publishers and printers.¹⁷ Local booksellers were also accessible. Two were the designated stationers for two of Hall's publications,

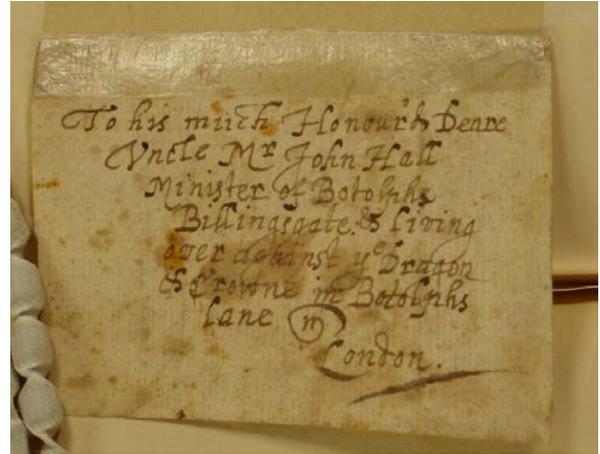
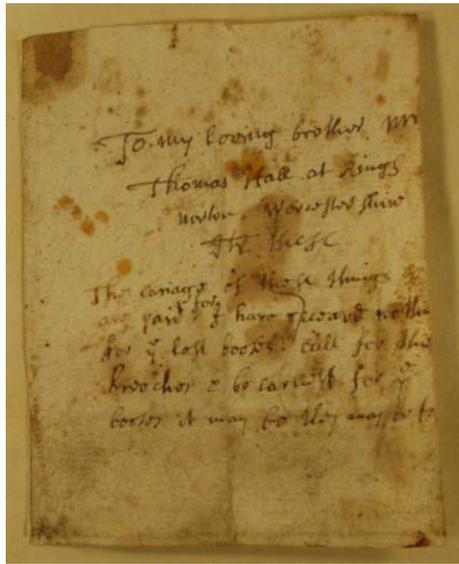
¹⁴ For Hall's surviving books and their transfer to BCL see Appendix II.

¹⁵ The fragment is kept in THL 'Large Fragment File'. I. Warren, 'London's Cultural Impact on the English Gentry: The Case of Worcestershire, c. 1580–1680', *Midland History* 33:2 (2008) 156–78, pp.160-161, estimates an average travelling time on horseback from London to Worcestershire as three to four days. Carriers would have taken longer, certainly to reach Kings Norton in the north west of the county, but even so, Hall could have received books soon after ordering them.

¹⁶ C. E. Surman (ed.), *Register-booke of the Fourth Classis in the Province of London, 1646-59, transcr. W. Wickins* (1953) 2 Vols., p.1, lists the members of the Fourth Classis. S. Harold, 'Ordinations by the Fourth Classis of London', *The English Historical Review*, 41 (1926) 103-104, also notes the involvement of both John Hall and John Ley in the classis ordinations. Ley gave Hall at least three of his own works and later joined his Kenilworth Classis. Hall's brother John thus gave Hall London connections.

¹⁷ Simeon Ashe and Samuel Clarke both gave Hall books, further indicating their personal links. Simeon Ashe gave Hall a copy of John Ball, *The power of godlines* [Cat.A56, THL Q094/1657/14], and Samuel Clarke gave him his own, *Golden apples* [Cat.A205, THL 094/1659/10]. Hall also received a gift of a pamphlet, *An order made to a select committee: chosen by the whole house of Commons to receive petitions touching ministers* (1640) [THL 094/C34], from a George Dixon of London. Hall knew Anthony Burgess, the delegate for Warwickshire to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, who had lectured in Birmingham and as Hall said, *Font sigs.(a4)r-(a4)v*, had been instrumental in his religious conversion. There is no evidence that Hall visited London

FIGURE 2: A LETTER TO HALL FROM HIS BROTHER IN LONDON



The above photographs show both sides of one fragment. The letter to Hall from his brother John seems to have been written on a recycled sheet which had been used for an earlier letter sent to John by one of his nephews. The fragmented message reads: ‘To my loving brother Thomas Hall at Kings Norton Worcestershire The carriage of those things ... are paid for: I have receavd nothing ... for y^e lost books: call for the ... breeches & be earliest for y^e ... books it may be they may be to’

namely Thomas Simmons, ‘Book-seller at the sign of the Bible in Birmingham’ for *Font*, and Nevil Simmons, ‘Bookseller in Kedderminster’ for *Magistracy*, together with several more stationers in Hall’s home town of Worcester.¹⁸ As John Barnard and Maureen Bell have shown, even though the evidence outside the university towns is fragmentary, provincial

himself and in *Haire*, sig.A4v, he complained like many other authors of ‘living at a distance from the Presse.’ He has left only a couple of references to his direct contacts in the book trade: in one of his library books he has made a note ‘*mei* Typographer,’ by the name of the printer R. White, on the title page of William Jenkyn, *De memoria* (1659) [THL 094/C29], and in *Vindiciae*, p.263, he indicated a close business relationship with an unnamed stationer who had sent him a copy of a book by John Webster, desiring him to send ‘some briefe Answer to it’.

¹⁸ These local stationers were in addition to those named to sell these books in London. Baxter’s *Gildas salvianus; the reformed pastor* (1656), was also ‘printed by Robert White, for Nevil Simmons Book-seller at Kederminster.’ For his manuscript autobiography, Hall used the same paper as Baxter which can be dated to the late 1650s, and which may well have come from Simmons shop in Kidderminster. *The British Book Trade Index*, (BBTI), online at <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/>, confirms that Simmons was trading in Kidderminster from 1655-1681, and Thomas Simmons in Birmingham in 1652. The BBTI also has records of several booksellers operating in Worcestershire and Warwickshire at this time, and a number of bookbinders and papermakers. A. D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (1973), pp.87, 251, shows that shopkeepers were selling books as a secondary trade. A. Hughes, ‘Thomas Dugard and His Circle in the 1630s: A Parliamentary Puritan Connexion?’, *The Historical Journal* 29:4 (1986) 771-793, p.786, notes that Dugard was a voracious reader and bookshop browser, and his diary reveals the ample availability of books from provincial booksellers in towns like Coventry, Stafford, Lichfield and Worcester.

booksellers were well-established by the late sixteenth century and provincial book-collectors found a variety of ways similar to those employed by Hall to buy their books.¹⁹

Hall had neither the financial resources nor the inclination to make impetuous or opportunist purchases, and a large proportion of his books, rather than his pamphlets, were bought second-hand.²⁰ However, while his collection was subject to availability and cost, it was clearly carefully planned, and there are two instances of his determination to track down rare texts, one of which he only succeeded in finding by borrowing it.²¹ He probably studied the book market in a variety of ways, beginning with discussions with clerical colleagues who were themselves collectors and some of whom were authors.²² Information could also be acquired from publishers' recommendations and catalogues of books which were issued within printed copies.²³ Many such examples, including one of mostly foreign Latin editions, can be found among Hall's surviving books, as well as three free-standing catalogues, on all

¹⁹ J. Barnard and M. Bell, 'The English Provinces' in J. Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol.4: 1557-1695; with the assistance of M. Bell* (2002) 665-86. Also p.678, a comparison of the stock of seven geographically scattered provincial booksellers in the seventeenth century shows that they were catering very specifically for local clergy and schoolmasters, whose literary needs would have been similar to Hall's. P. Morgan, 'Frances Wolfreston and 'Hor Bouks': A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector', *The Library*, Sixth Series, 11:3 (1989) 208-10, discusses Midland book-sellers in Coventry, Birmingham and Lichfield, naming Hall as a local collector albeit a very different one from Frances Wolfreston, who also originated in Kings Norton, from the local Middlemore gentry family.

²⁰ It is not easy after so long to tell from surviving books whether or not they were new, though some obvious signs of second-hand books remain, such as the signature of a previous owner. J.E.Vaughan, 'The Thomas Hall Manuscript', p.111, counted 150 books with the name of previous owners but not all of these belonged to Hall and of those that did, not all were listed in his catalogues. On the basis of date alone, that is the date books were published before Hall was earning, over 43% were probably second-hand, and given his financial circumstances, he would have bought second-hand where he could.

²¹ Hall, *Haire*, p. 5, wrote that in seeking two books on the subject of hair, 'one of these I could never attaine for love nor money, till of late I borrowed it of that learned, laborious Gentleman Col. Leigh.' Also in *Vindiciae*, p.71, he said that he had searched for 'the Theologicall Rules of Mr Wilson, which came but lately to my hands by reason of their scarcity, they being Printed 1615.'

²² For example, Thomas Dugard, John Bryan, and Samuel Clarke (also authors) and Josiah Packwood, all of whom are listed as collectors by Pearson, <http://www.bibsoc.org.uk/documents/English.pdf>.

²³ Such catalogues were attached to some editions of some of Hall's own published works: *Font* [Wing H432], *Holiness* [Wing H426], *Vindiciae* [Wing H442], *Amos* [Wing H431], and *Timothy* [Wing H436].

of which he marked books of interest.²⁴ Two far more substantial catalogues listed among his ‘best’ books, may have been used as buying guides.²⁵ One of these was the Catholic *Index expurgatorius*, and the other was a copy of a Bodleian library catalogue.²⁶ His keen interest in the book market can be seen in his marking of two texts published late in his career: firstly Edward Leigh, *A treatise of religion and learning*, where Hall notes his opinions of a wide range of authors;²⁷ secondly, William Crowe, *An exact collection or catalogue*, showing Hall’s corrections of the entries in many places, his crossings-out of the names of sectarian

²⁴ The catalogue of mainly foreign Latin books entitled ‘*Grammaticorum, poetarum, scholiastarum, aliorumque autorum....*’ was printed at the end of Hall’s copy of Ralph Winterton, *Poetae minores Graeci* [Cat.C80, THL 094/1635/4]. THL 094/A3 contains the catalogues of Philemon Stephens and two of John Rothwell, both of whom published godly works. Neither catalogue is dated but the Rothwell catalogues, which seem to have been issued as one work, were published in 1655. T. A Birrell, ‘Books and Buyers in Seventeenth-Century English Auction Sales’ in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century* (2001) 51-64, p.55, has pointed out that this Rothwell catalogue was very rare even at end of the seventeenth century. ESTC lists four current locations for it, including Hall’s copy in BCL. Another interesting catalogue of the books of Cambridge University was contained in Hall’s copy of John Caius, *Historiae Cantebriensis Academiae ab urbe condita* (1574) [THL 094/C33], pp.85-9, but was probably of little use to him in his book-buying quest, for as D. McKitterick, ‘Libraries and the organisation of knowledge’ in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 1: To 1640* (2006) 592-615, pp.592-3, points out, this was a catalogue of a library in serious decline. C. Ferdinand, ‘Constructing the Frameworks of Desire: How Newspapers Sold Books in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’ in J. Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999) 157-175, pp.160-162, discusses the advertising of books in periodicals to which Hall may well have had access.

²⁵ Hall, *Life*, fo.212, called the books in Catalogue B his ‘best’ books.

²⁶ These are listed as ‘*Index expurgatorius*’, or index of prohibited books [Cat.B143], and ‘*Catalogus Librorum Bibliotheca Bodleiana*’ [Cat.B63]. No reference by Hall to the Catholic *Index expurgatorius* has survived except that on his copy of Daniel Tossanus, *A synopsis or compendium of the Fathers* (1635) sig.a3r, where he has approvingly highlighted Tossanus’s description of the 1627 edition as a demonstration of Papist ‘Impudency.’ Of the two Bodleian catalogues published in 1605 and 1620, the more useful for Hall would have been the ‘James’ issue of 1620 which was in alphabetical order by author, the format Hall used for the catalogues of books for the Kings Norton and Birmingham libraries. This 1620 edition lists about 16,000 books and would have been a useful reference, particularly for continental publications. Hall, *Haire*, pp.75-6, recalled his own experience of the ‘Library at Oxford’, presumably the Bodleian, noting the effigies of holy men that he remembered seeing there, none of whom had long hair. Books published before 1620 which Hall considered fit for a public library can nearly all be found in the vast 1620 edition of the Bodleian catalogue, and certainly all the authors if not the exact titles. J. Barnard and M. Bell, ‘The English Provinces’, p.677, point out that Frankfurt catalogues were held in the York Minster Library. Similar foreign catalogues might have been accessible to Hall at Worcester.

²⁷ Edward Leigh, *A treatise of religion and learning, and of learned men* [Cat.A438, THL Q 094/1656/7]. This would have been very useful for information about authors and reading material, and his annotations record his opinions of both. For example, p.373, he showed disapproval of Sir Thomas More; on p.155, called Descartes ‘a meere Emphyrick in Philosophy’; and, on sig.A4r, he marked his approval of the ‘well-furnisht’ library of Archbishop James Ussher. Hall’s enthusiasm for this work is suggested by his ownership of a second, signed but now imperfect copy, [THL Q 094/1657/23], which like his other copy, he valued at eight shillings.

authors, and his additions of publications and dates that had been omitted, including his own works, some of which had not yet been printed.²⁸

The indications, therefore, are that Hall had access to a variety of sources for publishing information and to metropolitan and provincial booksellers, either personally or through his networks, and so was able to make careful choices about the books he wished to buy. Looking back at his book collecting achievement in 1658, he commented not only on the financial investment he had made in his books, but also on the expenditure of his time and effort in acquiring them.²⁹ The extent and variety of Hall's collection, in freshly printed pamphlets and in new and second-hand books, also illustrate the effectiveness and vitality of book distribution to the provinces from London,³⁰ and so contribute to the argument that the provincial trade which was increasingly if not crucially important to London in the early 17th century, was a development that was sustained during the decades of Civil War and Interregnum.³¹

Hall began to accumulate his books at the end of a long period of post-Reformation changes in the nature of book collecting, which had begun with the dispersal of the great medieval collections in monasteries and cathedrals, and to a lesser extent in the universities. While such

²⁸ William Crowe, *An exact collection or catalogue of our English writers on the Old and New Testament either in whole, or in part* [Cat.A210, THL 094/1663/1]. The sort of notes he made were to show which books he owned, writing by some entries, '*habeo*' or 'I own this', and censoring entries of which he disapproved such as on p.118, where he crossed out the names of Walter Craddock and John Webster, writing 'sectary' by each. Some of Hall's corrections to the text of this work appeared in the revised 1668 edition. Hall added several of his own works which were never published although his additions show that he was expecting them to be printed in 1666. These were, p.62 for 'the whole of Psalm 46', p.64 for 'Psalm 37', p.66 for 'Psalm 91', p.69 for 'Psalm 73', p.70 for 'psalm 81', and p.73 for 'Psalm 112' and his commentaries on the Minor Prophets on pp.116, 117, 118, 119, 119, 120. See also *Life*, fo.81, where Hall also lists works he had prepared for the press, including those mentioned above, none of which was published.

²⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, sigs.a2v-a3v.

³⁰ The vast majority of Hall's vernacular books originated from London presses, but some came from Edinburgh, Oxford and Cambridge, and two from Dublin. London was also the centre of the Latin book trade.

³¹ J. Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (2007), p.356, and J. Barnard and M. Bell, 'The English Provinces', pp.665-6.

institutional libraries faced a long and slow period of recovery, the availability and affordability of printed texts increased, and led to the growth of private collections by the gentry, by professionals, such as lawyers, clergy and physicians, and university scholars, and also by large numbers of the middling sort, whose ownership of books is evidenced in wills and inventories. In their overview of the growth of private ownership of books, Elisabeth Leedham–Green and David McKitterick see the main trends of book-collecting in the period as changes in relationships between readers and the book trade as well as expansion and multiplication of libraries.³² Such tendencies reflected the influence of several factors such as the growth of the professions themselves, and an increasing interest in antiquarian studies with a concern for the preservation of manuscripts; Protestant religious changes also encouraged an ever-growing demand for books which was matched with a parallel increase in literacy and a buoyant book trade. Some aspects of these changes are particularly relevant to an understanding of Hall’s motivations in acquiring his library. These include the Calvinist emphasis on a preaching ministry and its implications for a learned clergy; the need to defend orthodox Protestant theology and to refute opposition, not only from the Roman Church, but increasingly in Hall’s time, from Independents, separatists and sectaries; and finally his educational aspirations for his pupils and divinity students, whom he was training for

³² E. Leedham-Green and D. McKitterick, 'Ownership: Private and Public Libraries' in J. Barnard and D. F. Mackenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol.4*, p323; and E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber, 'Introduction' in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 1: To 1640* (2006) 1-12, pp.3-5. Also G. Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', pp.178-9. The study of libraries was given a great impetus by the survey made by S. Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (1983, first published 1956). S. Jayne examined extant catalogues of English libraries, both institutional and private, from 1500-1640, the majority coming from probate records. The PLRE (Private Libraries in Renaissance England), project has since begun a database of all the extant lists of Renaissance book collections and E. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (1986), has also produced surveys of libraries in Cambridge. An increase in scholarly interest in book collections of all sorts has followed. J. Dils, 'The Books of the Clergy in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Berkshire', *The Local Historian* 36:2 (2006) 92-105, uses the evidence of probate inventories for clerical book collections, and J. Gibson, 'Books in Tudor and Stuart Wills and Inventories: A Comment', *The Local Historian* 37:2 (2007) 117-119, discusses the survival of probate evidence and its difficulties. Women also participated in the growth of book-collecting: Frances Wolfreton, for example, would have been known to Hall as the daughter of the Kings Norton Middlemore family, and he may well have educated her son. Her collection is analysed by P. Morgan in 'Frances Wolfreton and 'Hor Bouks''.

membership of a godly commonwealth. Even so, the vast size of the collection needs further explanation.

Initially Hall's book-collecting would have been functional, arising from his need for texts as a student, and at least three of his university books are identifiable, as are texts handed down by his elder brother, John.³³ After university, when he was appointed master of Kings Norton grammar school, there was a further practical need for books for teaching.³⁴ A few years later, as a newly converted and zealous Puritan appointed to his first curacy at Wythall, Hall required texts to support his ministry. In his later encouragements to young ministers to begin with the right foundations, he advised them to delay marriage until they had acquired some gravity and solidity, and 'a competent Library,'³⁵ an emphasis that derived from Hall's view that the primary need of books for ministers was a spiritual one, because 'reading, study, meditation and humane industry' were commanded by God.³⁶

In time, Hall added the training of divinity students to his other godly functions, and also began to publish his own texts, which demanded wide reading to establish his learned credentials. Thus the expansion of his library may be explained by his zealous motivation and the different if overlapping roles he undertook, and it was undoubtedly a working collection.

The marks and annotations on the surviving pamphlets and books bear witness to his thorough

³³ Hall had signed two textbooks, as Thomas Hall 'de Coll: Pem.,' or Pembroke College: Johann Havenreuter, *Compendium librorum physycorum Aristotelis* [Cat.C246, THL 094/1594/2], and Bartholomew Keckermann, *Systema ethicae* [Cat.A424, THL 094/1625/1]. A third textbook, Robert Sanderson, *Logicae artis compendium* [Cat.C226, THL 094/1618/2], was signed and dated 1628 and 1629 by Hall when he was at Pembroke. There are also four of his brother John's textbooks: Cicero, *Liber philosophiae* [THL 094/1541/2]; Cicero, *Ciceronis philosophicorum de natura deorum* [THL 094/1581]; Erasmus, *De copia* [Cat.C53, THL 094/1573/1]; and Thomas Wilson, *The rule of reason, conteinyng the arte of logike* [Cat.A727, THL 094/1567/2].

³⁴ Hall felt that the need was so great that his first publication in 1651 was a schoolbook, *Conquest*.

³⁵ Hall, *Amos*, p.427.

³⁶ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.8-10, also sig.A4v, and *Timothy*, pp. 367, 433. This command came from Paul who had his own books and parchments, and who commanded 'all Ministers to give attendance to Reading, Meditation, &c. and to give up themselves wholly to them.'

reading of his acquisitions, as does the application of his reading, seen in the citations and quotations he made in his published works.³⁷ Yet there remains the question of why the collection was so unusually large. The answer seems to lie in a developing bibliophilism, so that, as his biographer suggested, book-collecting became as much a worldly passion as a need for a working resource.

David Pearson has looked particularly closely at the book-collecting activities of Oxford academics between 1550 and 1650, investigating how far book owners of the period approached their books as functional or aesthetic objects, with a particular interest in the physical presentation of their books through their bindings. His general conclusion was that until about 1700, most book-collecting, whether by humble academics and clerics or by the great antiquaries, was motivated more by practical concerns than by connoisseurship.³⁸ As far as Oxford colleges were concerned, he found that, on the whole, Tudor and early Stuart scholars were not bibliophiles, but their interest in their book was a functional one based on the texts themselves, and that they valued the bindings of their books for structural rather than aesthetic reasons.³⁹

While Hall showed no particular concern for aesthetics over function, there were nevertheless other additional motivations to his book-collecting that Pearson has not identified among the Oxford scholars. Firstly, books were valued by Hall as symbols of his learning and piety. Both the books he wrote and the books he collected and bequeathed were used in this way,

³⁷ Of Hall's surviving books, 21% are signed but not marked, but only 7% of the pamphlets are unmarked. He used his library widely in support of his own publications, for example, citing 54% of his Catalogue A books, and many of those were referenced numerous times.

³⁸ D. Pearson, 'Scholars and Bibliophiles: Book Collectors in Oxford, 1550-1650' in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds.), *Antiquaries, Book Collectors, and the Circles of Learning* (1996) 1-26, pp.1-4.

³⁹ M. M. Foot, 'Bookbinding' in J. Barnard and D. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol.4*, (2002), pp.627-9, agrees with this view of scholars' attitudes to their books but also describes the growing tendencies for more expensive, elaborate bindings in the seventeenth century.

particularly in his autobiography in his self-promotion as a godly saint in the company of the elect through the ages. For example, he wrote,

He [Hall] might say of himselfe as Basil did sometimes, as for Riches (saith he) truly I have none besides my torne garments & a few books, I so dwell in this world as one that is allways ready to leave it.

Also,

Tis said of S. Austin that he made no will, having nothing to give but his books which he gave to severall Libraries. In like manner when he [Hall] died he had nothing to give but his books with which he founded a very faire & fine Library at the Neighbour Towne of Birmingham.

And

.. for as Athanasius his name had never bin so famous, but for the Arrians; nor St. Austin but for the Pelagians & Donatists; so we had never heard so much of him [Hall] but for the Sectarys.⁴⁰

The plain bindings of the majority of his texts furthered this image and were appropriate for the books of a man who urged his parishioners to let all their material possessions reflect their piety.⁴¹ Secondly, while Hall underplayed motivations which may have been seen as incompatible with godliness, he has left evidence of his bibliophilism. His catalogues are prefaced with the phrase, '*Libri sunt oculorum Epulae*', or, 'books are the banquet of the eyes'. Hall probably meant all his books, but some of the surviving books are particularly notable: eight incunables, a copy of *Turrecremata*, *Quaestiones evangelicorum* (1509), with a binding by John Reynes, bookbinder to Henry VIII, elaborately bound copies of *Erasmii Roterdami epistolae* (Coloniae 1538), and Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiarum adeps* (1575), and several works by Valerius Cornelius, bound together and printed in Antwerp by Christopher Plantin.⁴²

⁴⁰ Hall, *Life*, fos. 96, 97, 75.

⁴¹ Hall, *Holiness*, p.108.

⁴² Hall, *Life*, fo.215. This is written on the page after his will which precedes his catalogues of books. The incunables are all imperfect in modern bindings with no definite link to Hall other than being in his surviving collection, but with no sign of alternative ownership. The *Turrecremata* [THL/094/1509] was a gift to Hall from Samuel Wills, rector of Birmingham; W.S. Brassington, 'A Report Upon the King's Norton Parish Library' (1911) (a document kept at the front of his typescript catalogue, BCL F53.2 'Catalogue (under revision) of the King's Norton Parish Library Collected by Rev. Thomas Hall (1610-1665) and deposited in the Birmingham Reference Library, 1892', notes that the front cover of the Valla [Cat.B288, THL 094/1526/3] shows the arms of Henry VIII, while the back cover shows the figures of four saints, with flyleaves composed of pages from

Hall also seems to have developed a personal emotional dependence on books. He described St. Paul's books as 'dead Counsellours' and 'his best Companions,' and seems to have held a similar view of his own library books. William Sherman notes that Humanists often referred to texts as their friends, and Hall owned a short piece of manuscript prose which wittily personified books, but he took the idea to an extreme, referring to his own publications in particularly sentimental terms by giving each a Christian name and describing them as the 'Births of his braine & study', his spiritual children, in which he as their father lived on for posterity.⁴³ It was with pride that he compared his situation with that of Calvin, writing that, 'as Calvin answered those that reproached him with his barrennes, that he had Spirituall Sons & daughters which excelled carnall ones. So had he [Hall] the Seale of his Ministry.'⁴⁴ Furthermore, in Hall's struggle before, during and after the Civil War years for Reformed orthodoxy and Presbyterianism, his book collection brought him into community with fellow

Wynkyn de Worde's *Bartholomaeus de proprietatibus rerum*, printed in 1495 which are of extreme rarity. The flyleaves, however, are no longer there. The Erasmus survives at THL 094/1538/1. The book by Cornelius Valerius [THL 094/1575/2] contains a typewritten note by N. Kerr that notes its binding has a centrepiece used at Oxford. Augustine, *Expositio super tres quinquenaes Psalterii Vol.3*, (1498) [Cat.A32, THL 094/1485], though very imperfect, was printed by Guyot Marchant and is also rare. In his *Report*, Brassington commented on other books such as Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* [THL/093/1500], and John Dedicus, *Quaestiones moralissime* [THL 094/1518/4], for their early woodcuts. Brassington also discussed the bindings of Hall's books in 'Thomas Hall, and the Old Library Founded by him at Kings Norton', *The Library Chronicle* 5 (1888) 61-71, where, p.66, he refers to a 'fine' book, *The commentary of Erasmus on the New Testament* (Basel, 1527), one of the last works of the Froben Press, which can no longer be found. N. Kerr left additional manuscript notes on Hall's books which are now held in Lambeth Palace Library, MS.3222, ff.144-150.

⁴³ Hall, *Timothy*, p.433. In Edward Reynolds, *The works of Edw. Reynolds* [Cat.A546, THL Q 094/1658/20] on a front endpaper, there is a piece of unpublished manuscript prose, attributed by Hall to Robert Wild, which articulates the personification of a library of books in the process of being ransacked by troops, but ends with a religious lesson: the sight of the Bible immediately restored the library owner's proper perspective. W. H. Sherman, *John Dee, The Politics of Reading and Writing in the Renaissance* (1995), p.66. Hall, *Life*, fos.74-82. Attitudes to books, besides regarding them as reading material, have been discussed by D. Cressy, 'Books as Totems in Seventeenth-century England and New England', *Journal of Library History* 21:1 (1986), 92-106, who demonstrated the use of books, mostly Bibles, in New England as totems, and G. Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', p.183, who argued that even though Samuel Jeake's son had assisted in the acquisition of books while his father lived, he stopped acquiring new ones after he died and regarded the collection as a form of memorial to his father. Mandelbrote, p.183, also points out how some men displayed books such as Foxe's *Actes and monuments* in their homes primarily to demonstrate their Protestant fervour. R. Darnton has also produced several essays on the different ways people in the past understood books and read them, such as 'First Steps Toward a History of Reading' in *The Kiss of Lamourette* (1990) 154-87, and a later version of this essay, 'The History of Reading' in P. Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives in Historical Writing* (2001, second edition) 157-186.

⁴⁴ Hall, *Life*, fo.74.

evangelists and polemicists, and as Hughes has pointed out, Hall felt he was at the very heart of a community created by print, which encouraged and sustained him.⁴⁵

This very personal relationship with his books is also reflected in Hall's marks of ownership which were always emphatic (Figure 3). He blind stamped his leather bound books back and front with his initials, with only a handful of exceptions.⁴⁶ Each copy was signed, usually on the top right-hand side of the title page, sometimes either side of the printer's device farther down the page, but in some books he signed the title page twice, and on some copies three times.⁴⁷ Unless the former owner was someone to be admired, their signatures were inked out. Hall also showed his delight in the books he was given, especially those from revered friends, in the inscriptions he wrote recording the gift.⁴⁸

Of further importance to Hall, and possibly a motivation which gathered momentum over the 1650s for collecting so large a private library, were his plans for bequeathing his books for 'the Publick good'.⁴⁹ The books Hall intended to leave were divided into three separate

⁴⁵ A. Hughes, 'Godly Reformation and Its Opponents in Warwickshire 1640-1662', *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers* 35 (1993), p.21, writes of Hall's notes on his surviving Presbyterian 'testimonies' of 1648, particularly his underlining and identification of local ministers in Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Gloucestershire, which illustrate this point.

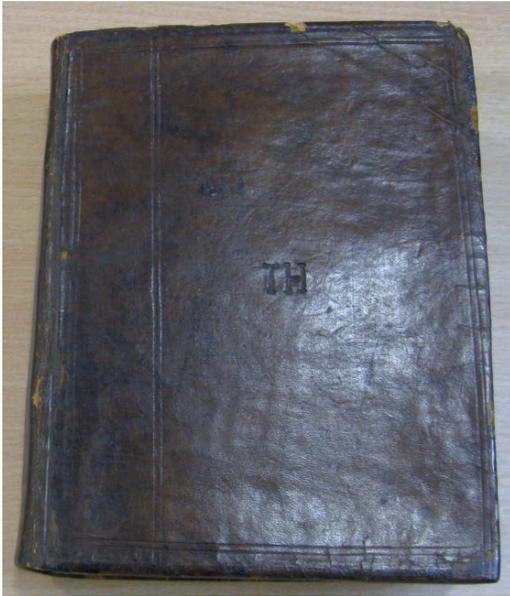
⁴⁶ Hall tended not to stamp old decorative bindings although they were undoubtedly his books, for example, Paolo Giovio, *Historia sui temporis* [THL/094/1549/1], which was signed. There are also a few plain bindings that were not stamped, though the texts were signed, for example, *Paraphrasis seu potius epitome inscripta Eras. Rot.* [THL/094/1566/1].

⁴⁷ For example, the title pages of George Ritschel, *Contemplationes metaphysicae* [THL 094/1648/5], and of *Vox piscis* (1626) [Cat.A319, THL 094/A1], are signed three times. The title page of Ralph Winterton, *Poetae minores Graeci* [Cat.C80, THL 094/1635/4], appears to be signed four times but the top two 'signatures' look more like someone else's imitations.

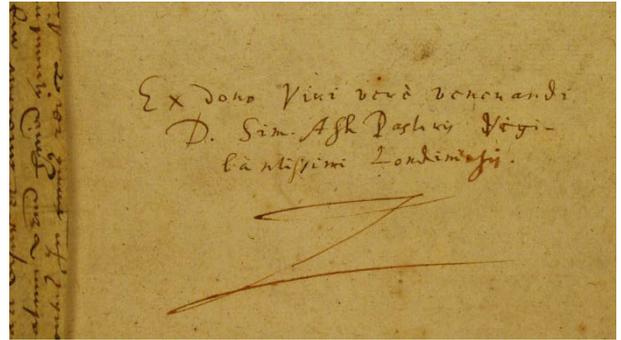
⁴⁸ A few examples are Sir Humphrey Lynde, *A paire of spectacles* [Cat.A304, THL 094/1638/3], which was the gift of Hall's local patron Col. Richard Grevis, noted by Hall as '*Ex dono viri usque quaeque ornatissimi Rich Greavis Armigeri de Moseley*'; Samuel Clarke, *Golden apples* [Cat.A205, THL 094/1659/10], was the gift of the author, recorded as '*Ex dono doctissimi delectatissimque Authoris*'; and John Ball, *The power of godliness* [Cat.A56, THL Q 094/1657/14], given to Hall by Simeon Ashe (who published Ball's works), was recorded as '*Ex dono viri vere venerandi D.Sim Ash Pastoris Vigilantissimi Londiniensis*'.

⁴⁹ Hall, *Life*, fo.97.

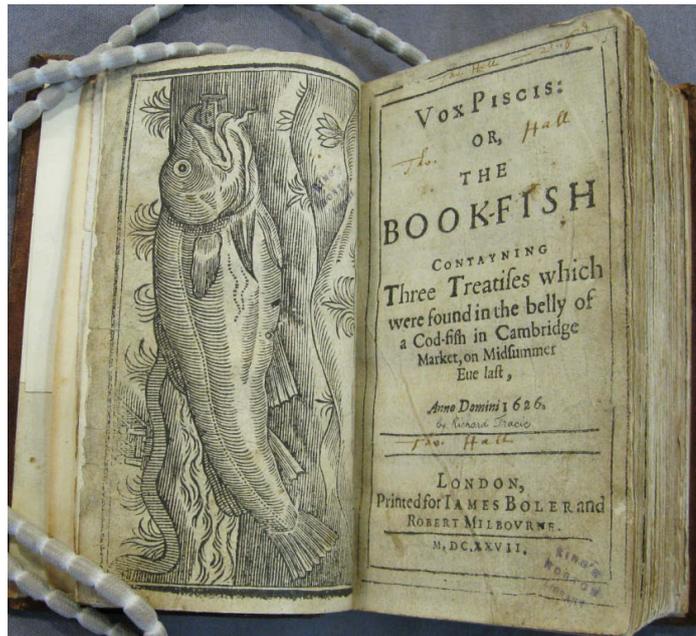
FIGURE 3: HALL'S MARKS OF OWNERSHIP



Pamphlet volume [THL 094/C36] showing Hall's Blind-stamped initials



Thomas Ball, *The power of godliness* [Cat.A56, THL 094/1657/14] given to Hall by Simeon Ashe



Vox piscis (1626) [THL 094/A5] signed three times by Hall, at the top, either side of 'OR', and two-thirds of the way down. catalogues, which he listed after his manuscript autobiography and will, and which John Vaughan usefully labelled as catalogues A, B and C.⁵⁰ The first, Catalogue A, is entitled 'Bookes given for a Library in Kingsnorton, for the Vse of the Minister[s] of Kingsnorton

⁵⁰ J.E.Vaughan, 'The Thomas Hall Manuscript'. I have continued to use his labels for the three catalogues.

Moseley & Withal &c. & of the Two Schoolmasters there'; it lists 694 titles in 786 volumes, which included 57 volumes of pamphlets. The second, Catalogue B, is called 'A Catalogue of those books which are given to the Library at Birmingham.1661', and lists 309 titles in 369 volumes. The last, Catalogue C, written in another, less mature, hand but one which has been corrected by Hall, is entitled 'School books and Phylosophy given to Kingsnorton Library'. It lists 265 titles in 270 volumes, which were to be kept with the books in Catalogue A in Kings Norton.⁵¹ It is clear from Hall's alterations to his manuscript catalogues, that in several cases he changed his mind in his allocation of books, particularly moving books out of Catalogue A, without transferring them to either of the other two catalogues, and probably retained them in his own study instead, as three survivals suggest.⁵²

While Hall saw his bequests as an investment in the continuing future of godly learning among ministers and schoolmasters, and therefore the education and support of the whole godly community, he also used the bequests in the construction of his own posthumous godly reputation, which, in the first place, rested on his authorship of published works.⁵³ These were to be supported by the publication of his manuscript autobiography, in which he mentioned the bequests several times and also explained the significance of his testamentary actions:

Tis said of S. Austin that he made no will, having nothing to give but his books which he gave to severall Libraries. In like manner when he [Hall] died he had nothing to give but his books with which he founded a very faire & fine Library at the Neighbour Towne of Birmingham. Tho he had kindred which he loved well, yet he overlooked them all for the Publick good.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Hall, *Life*, fos.95, 98, 211-2. See Appendix II, Introduction, for an analysis of the three catalogues of books.

⁵² See Appendix II for the changes Hall made to each catalogue. The three survivals are books that were crossed out of the catalogues but survive today: Suarez, *De arte rhetorica* [THL 094/1628/2], crossed out from Cat.A163; Castiglione, *De curiali* [THL 094/1606/1], crossed out from Cat.C26; and Beza, *De presbyterio* [THL 094/1590/3], crossed out from both Cat.A122 and Cat.B32.

⁵³ Hall referred on several occasions to his publications continuing to speak to generations yet to come. For example, *Life*, fo.81, 'These his labours are beyond all the brazen statues, & Marble Monuments in the World: In these he lives now he is dead, & still speaks for the good of others.'

⁵⁴ Hall, *Life*, fo.97. These words were also echoed in his will, p.212: 'As for my Riches, tis quickly cast, I have nothing to bequeath but a few books.' Hall drew attention to the bequests several times in his autobiography, fos.95, 97, 98 and 103, where he wrote that he was 'Instrumentall in founding of two Librarys. & gave about 400£ worth of choice books to furnish them.'

Like many book collectors of the period, Hall founded these libraries as his monument as well as for the public good, the latter being a godly virtue seized upon by his biographer.⁵⁵ However, somewhat idiosyncratically, Hall added that his bequests would show Papists how good works arose from the Protestant ethos.⁵⁶

Plans for the disposal of his books were formed well before Hall's ejection from Church and school in 1662, and so several years before his death in April 1665, although his bequest of books directly to the parish was not his first thought. Initially he intended to leave his books to favoured clerical individuals who would in their turn bequeath them to local clergyman. However, the final bequest to the parish was decided before August 1661, when his ill-health spurred his parishioners on to build a home for the promised books.⁵⁷ They were to be housed together with the schoolbooks which seem to have been designated for the schoolmasters from the beginning.⁵⁸

In founding these libraries, Hall placed himself among the early pioneers of town and parish libraries, well before the marked increase of such foundations over the next century, during

⁵⁵ E. Leedham-Green and D. McKitterick, 'Ownership: Private and Public Libraries', p.333. Hall, *Life*, fos.82-3, 112, wrote of his Kings Norton library, which probably meant building and books, as his monument, and of his bequest to the Birmingham Library as 'a Monument of my best respects to that Towne, & the Ministers there, with the rest of the adjacent Ministers.'

⁵⁶ Hall's anti-papism was a strong theme in his autobiography, which began and ended with anti-Papist sayings.

⁵⁷ The evidence for Hall's change of mind is that the parish bequest does not appear with the Birmingham bequest in the pre-1660 text of his *Life*, and was added sometime after 1660. A sequence of changes to this bequest can also be seen in his will.

⁵⁸ Before Hall's books were placed in the new parish library building, they were kept in his study. The marking of the fore-edges of many of his books suggests that, as in the fashion of the day, the books were stored on shelves with the spines to the walls, although the vellum covered books may have been kept with the spine facing outwards. G. Pollard, 'Changes in the Style of Bookbinding', *The Library*, Fifth Series 11:2 (1956) 71-94, p.73, has argued that the growth in the size of book collections in the Early Modern period meant that owners found it more practical to range books upright side by side, rather than horizontally, but that in Germany, Holland and England, it was the custom until about 1600 to set the books with the fore-edge showing as they had been in chained libraries for practical reasons. The pamphlets seem to have remained unbound for a time, many having Hall's manuscript title on the front leaf, and their date of binding can only be roughly dated to some time after the date of the last pamphlet in the volume. In cataloguing his books, Hall followed the 1620 Bodleian principle of alphabetical authorial lists, except for the school books which were further sub-divided into subject sections.

which the number of parochial libraries quadrupled.⁵⁹ A parish library established outside a main urban centre was also unusual for the time, the other best known examples being a small number of books at Tankersley, bequeathed in 1615, and a larger collection left to Langley Marish in 1531.⁶⁰ Michael Perkin and Thomas Kelly have commented on the difficulty of establishing differences between town and parish libraries, as most parish libraries were established in towns and seemed to serve the same functions.⁶¹ Kelly acknowledged the difference in the administration of town libraries under municipal control but felt they still served the same functions as parish libraries. Helen Smith has challenged this view, showing that four town libraries that were under the control of municipal authorities had wider functions than the learning and support of the clergy, being intended also for the education of laymen and forming an important strand of civic pride, a view supported by Michael Powell.⁶²

⁵⁹ W. M. Jacob, 'Libraries for the Parish: Individual Donors and Charitable Societies' in G. Mandelbrote and K. Manley (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 2: 1640-1850* (2006) 65-82, surveys these developments and the work of men such as Barnabus Oley and Thomas Bray who campaigned for libraries for poor clergymen here and abroad, and the work of the SPCK founded in 1699, and The Trustees for Erecting Parochial Libraries, founded in 1705. Jacob assesses the number of known parish libraries as 69 in England and Wales in 1680. Most of these were established in towns by donations from single and multiple sources of all sorts, although most libraries were initiated by clergymen and most were intended for the benefit of clergymen and schoolmasters. By 1760, the number had increased to 304. T. Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, pp. 69, 104-10, notes the change in emphasis from the foundation of libraries in towns to libraries in rural parishes. M. Perkin, 'Parochial Libraries: Founders & Readers' in P. Isaac and B. McKay (eds.), *The reach of print: making, selling and using books* (1998) 191-204, pp.192-4, also comments on all these developments.

⁶⁰ M. Perkin (ed.), *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England*, pp.367, 259-62. Also P. Fenley, 'Charity and Status: The Activities of Sir John Kederminster at Langley Marish, Buckinghamshire, (now Langley, Slough)', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 42 (2002) 119-321; and J. Francis, 'The Kederminster Library: An Account of its Origins and a Reconstruction of its Contents and Arrangement' in *Records of Buckinghamshire* 36 (1996 for 1994) 62-85. The Langley Marish library is a fine example of a book collection contained in its original and elaborate library room attached to the church.

⁶¹ M. Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp.32-3, and also 'Parochial libraries', p191, where he discusses the difficulties of defining parish libraries. T. Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, p.69.

⁶² H. Smith, 'Early Modern Town Libraries' (University of Birmingham M.A. thesis, 2005), pp.26-52. This study focused on the town libraries of Coventry (1601), Norwich (1608), Ipswich (1614), and Leicester (1632) with some reference to those of Bristol (1613), and Colchester (1631). M. Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns' in G. Mandelbrote and K. Manley (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 2: 1640-1850* (2006) 83-101, pp.88-9. Prof. C. Dyer has pointed out to me that the theme of civic pride was also evident in the foundation of medieval libraries. These included the libraries founded at the Guildhall, London in 1425, by the executors of Dick Whittington and William Bury, and another two founded at Worcester and Bristol, by John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester (1444-1476).

A difficulty in assessing how Hall viewed the town library of Birmingham is the lack of information about the library itself and the subsequent history of the books he placed there. This library is traditionally thought to have belonged to the King Edward VI School, which was sited in the centre of the town. There was no public town library in Birmingham at that time, nor any other documented library of note, but Anthony Wood refers to Hall's connection with the King Edward School library as a benefactor.⁶³ The best evidence that this school library was the destination for Hall's 'best' books, is the survival in it of seven titles in nine volumes listed in the original bequest, all signed and showing other marks of Hall's ownership.⁶⁴ It is worth noting too, that the King Edward School library was later known as the Governors' Library, and like the libraries at Coventry and Guildford, may have been a combined scholastic and municipal facility.⁶⁵

⁶³ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, p.235. This is remarkably similar to an extract from Moore, *Pearl*, p.79, Hall's biography, in which Moore wrote: 'to the former [Library at Birmingham] he was a good benefactor, and gave several volumes that he bought, and prevailed with many of his Brethren to do the like'. If Wood used Moore as a source he obviously had another too, for Moore says nothing about the King Edward's School. The School itself maintains the tradition that the credit for founding the school library in 1642 goes to both Francis Roberts, Resident Minister of Birmingham for the absentee rector Luke Smyth, and Thomas Hall, who gave many valuable books. However the same tradition is open to question in erroneously claiming that Thomas Hall was an assistant master or usher during the time of Chief Master Billingsley, in office from 1599 until 1641 or 1642. This is most unlikely as Hall was fully occupied as master of Kings Norton School from 1630. For this tradition see T.W. Hutton, *King Edward's School Birmingham, 1552-1952* (1952), pp.42, 63-4, 99. Hall is not mentioned in the records of the school that give the accounts and other transactions, although there are details of the new library building erected in 1656/7 in 'The Records of King Edward's School, Birmingham, Vol. 2 / with an Introduction by W. F. Carter', *Publications of the Dugdale Society* 7 (1928). See C. Parish, *History of the Birmingham Library: An 18th Century Proprietary Library as Described in the Annals of the Birmingham Library 1779-1799, with a Chapter on the Later History of the Library to 1955* (1966), for the only other early public library of Birmingham which was founded by the ministers of three parishes, Sheldon, St. Martin's and St. Phillip's, in 1733.

⁶⁴ The surviving books of the King Edward's School library are also housed in BCL. Among them are the following books signed by Hall and containing his marks of reading: Brian Walton (ed.), *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [Cat.B42, F 094/1657/2A]; Luciani Samatosatensis, *Opera*, Tom. I, II and III [Cat B161, 094/1602/2A]; John Weemes, *The vorks of Mr.Iohn VVeemes ... in foure volumnes* Vol.I [Cat.B300, 094/1637/8]; John Cowell, *The interpreter: or Booke containing the signification of vwords* [CatB.81, 094/1607/6]; and Johannes Gerrardus Vossius, *De baptismo disputationes XX* [CatB.290, 094/1648/17]. In addition there are two books signed by Hall which do not appear in any of his catalogues and may have been gifts made before the final bequest: Carolus Scribanus, *Orthodoxiae fidei controversa liber I* [094/1609/10], and Henry Spelman, *De non temerandis ecclesiis. Churches not to be violated* ([A094/1646/7]. See also Appendix II, iv).

⁶⁵For the Coventry library, M. Perkin, *A Directory of Parochial Libraries*, p.182. For the Guildford library, see G. Woodward and R. A. Christophers, *The Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford*, (1972), especially pp.2-4, and T. Kelly *Early Public Libraries*, p.254. Kelly also notes similar libraries at Lewisham p.248, Nottingham p.252, and Leeds p.256. Town libraries took many forms, some being parish libraries that

More usefully, a broad overview of the structure of Hall's bequests to the two libraries shows immediate differences between them. The parish catalogue has 13% of Latin books, while the Birmingham library has 77%. Of the books in the parish library, excluding the volumes of pamphlets, 71% were published after 1629, the beginning of Hall's professional life, whereas almost the exact reverse was true of the Birmingham bequest, of which 72% of the books were published before 1629.⁶⁶ There is a preponderance of folios in the Birmingham catalogue, and although there are only half the number of books that were given to Kings Norton, the average value of each book, as Hall assessed it, was nearly twice as much.⁶⁷ Hall also referred to the Birmingham books as his 'best' books, and to the parish books as 'ordinary books & not so fit for so publick a Library.'⁶⁸ While wishing he had said a lot more on the subject, the implication is that he saw the Birmingham library as a repository of much greater prestige, which would reflect his own status as a public-spirited and learned clerical benefactor. Certainly the best books were selected according to their combined textual merit as learned Latin tomes, their overall value and their format, and Hall clearly intended very different types of libraries. Hall was closely associated with the clergy of Birmingham who had first inspired his conversion and with whom he later lectured, and his aim seems to be to

happened to be in town parishes, some were municipal establishments and some were endowments, and all types had a variety of administrative bodies, as demonstrated by M. Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', pp.83-6. P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1988), pp.28-59, discusses the complementary roles of and influences between town and country, and the permeation of both by the Reformation, and points out that it was in the towns that people from all around went for specialised facilities which often included the grammar school, the religious exercises and prophesying, and which would have been the ideal local place for a borrowing library of the sort Hall proposed for the good of the clergy in the town of Birmingham and surrounding areas.

⁶⁶ The publication dates are for the first issue of the book if there is no other indication. The pamphlets were not catalogued individually but of those that survive only 3 were published before 1640.

⁶⁷ E. Leedham-Green and D. McKitterick, 'Ownership: Private and Public Libraries', p.333, have pointed out that it was a common assumption at that time that books in large formats were more suitable for corporate libraries.

⁶⁸ Hall, *Life*, fo.212.

offer a resource for them.⁶⁹ In his own words, he left the books to them as ‘as a Monument of my best respects to that Towne, & the Ministers there, with the rest of the adjacent Ministers.’⁷⁰ The gift was as he said freely given with no additional terms and it seems that the library was envisaged as a place for collegiate study and mutual support, and a lasting memorial to Hall.⁷¹

The content of the Birmingham catalogue was overwhelmingly theological, echoing the contents of most town libraries.⁷² It consisted of recognised authorities on the Protestant interpretation of uncorrupted Christianity, tracing it from Apostolic times, through the Fathers down to the Reformation, and then following the development of Reformation Protestantism up to his own day. On the basis of knowing one’s enemy in order to refute him fully, this collection also included challenges to Protestant doctrine, and as a whole has a structure designed to assist godly ministers in the continuing struggle for Reformed orthodoxy.

Hall allocated his valuable Bibles by Tyndale and Walton to Birmingham, and a range of works by the western Church Fathers, beginning with Philo Judaeus, the Jewish philosopher of Apostolic times who influenced the first of them, and then the Fathers themselves, from the Ante-Nicene works of Cyprian of Carthage and St. Clement of Alexandria, through the Nicene Era of Eusebius of Caesarea, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus and Ambrose of

⁶⁹ Hall dedicated *Font* to his beloved and approved friends in Birmingham, naming several ministers at whose feet he had learned, and he praised their pastor Mr. Samuel Willis, who gave Hall one of his books, Juan de Torquemada, *Quaestiones evangeliorum* [THL/094/1509].

⁷⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.212.

⁷¹ C. Wilkins-Jones (ed.), 'The Minutes, Donation Book and Catalogue of Norwich City Library, Founded in 1608', *Norfolk Record Society* 72 (2008), p.3, gives a similar reason for the establishment of Norwich municipal library which was for preachers, and with a lodging chamber for visiting preachers. Also H. Smith, 'Early Modern Town Libraries', pp.9-10 for Norwich, and pp.10-4 for the importance to preachers and clergy of the libraries of Ipswich and Leicester, particularly with their provision of study rooms.

⁷² M. Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', pp.98-9. For closer analysis of one town collection see C. Wilkins-Jones (ed.), 'The Minutes, Donation Book and Catalogue of Norwich City Library', pp.11-35, for an examination of the structure of this town library.

Milan, down to the post-Nicene times of Jerome, Augustine and Chrysostom. Most of these works were large editions of the complete surviving works and in many folio volumes.

The works of Calvin in twelve folio volumes, and of Luther in four, head the theological texts of a large number of European Reformed theologians, while Perkins and Hooker represent the English, and Robert Rollock the Scots. For further exploration of the original biblical languages there are dictionaries and lexicons, and Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantia* on critical linguistic learning. There are also many books devoted to New and Old Testament biblical exegesis and hermeneutics from both Protestant and Catholic commentators.

A range of major controversies feature in the library, with Bellarmine as the principal defender of Rome, and Robert Abbot, George Downam, Fulke, Morton, De Mornay and Du Moulin providing the Protestant case. The works of Arminius are included and the *Confessio* of Simon Episcopius who systematised Arminian theology. These are accompanied by an account of the Synod of Dort and works from the English protagonists associated with Arminianism in England. Other controversial writings concern Socinianism, millenarianism, paedobaptism and the Sabbath, and there are various sermon collections.

Although the profile of this collection is overwhelmingly theological, literature for more secular learning is included, although much of this could be said to be an important part of religious learning in the Christian humanist tradition favoured by Hall. These works include the classics with Aristotle, Plato, Homer, Xenophon, Ovid, Horace, Cicero and Plautus, most of them published with commentaries. The law books in this collection were the standard authorities, including Edward Coke's *Institutes*, John Cowell's *Interpreter*, which still

survives in the King Edward's Library, and Ferdinando Pulton's *Statutes*. There are in addition, the natural histories of Pliny and Wendelin, Carpenter's *Geography* and Purchas's *Pilgrimage*. Histories number the ancients such as Josephus and Eusebius, and modern works such as Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the world*, Rushworth's *Historical collections*, and the antiquarian works of Brerwood and Camden.

Michael Powell, while pointing out the need for closer investigation of the contents of town libraries, has suggested that a number of founders aimed to repair the physical, cultural and intellectual damage caused by the political and military upheavals of the 1640s. He feels too, that many collections display 'unexpected eirenic, not to say ecumenical, tastes'. Hall's bequest to Birmingham is similar to other town libraries in including works by a variety of unorthodox authors and works on religious controversy, but there was nothing eirenic about his intentions, which were certainly to educate in the round but specifically so that oppositional doctrines and practices could be properly deconstructed and denigrated.⁷³ His bequest reflected his own religious theory of knowledge and was polemically intended to educate in the interests of true Calvinist and Presbyterian Protestantism.⁷⁴ His selection of orthodox authors is reminiscent of Samuel Clarke's selection of 'Fathers and other Learned Men and Famous Divines' in his 1654 edition of *The marrow of ecclesiastical historie*, which Hall owned.⁷⁵ Both men were propagandists for orthodoxy and Presbyterianism, and friends

⁷³ M. Powell, 'Endowed Libraries for Towns', pp.90, 98.

⁷⁴ E. Leedham-Green and D. McKitterick, 'Ownership: Private and Public Libraries', p.334, feel libraries reflect everyday needs and, to an extent, theories of knowledge. In Hall's case both these reflections are applicable.

⁷⁵ Samuel Clarke, *The marrow of ecclesiastical historie* [Cat.A201]. Hall refers to the second edition of this work, i.e. the 1654 edition, in his reference to it in *Timothy*, p.202, but he also had access to the 1652 edition which he cited in *Font*, which was also published in 1652.

and colleagues. Whereas Clarke was holding up the lives of such authors as exemplary and polemical models, Hall was offering their works.⁷⁶

Hall's bequests to his successors as clergy and schoolmasters of Kings Norton were also intended to support their further education and the promotion of godly religion. Although he considered the books less fit for so public a library as that at Birmingham, the Kings Norton bequest was seen as part of a great monument to learning which included the new building to house them (Figure 4). Finding a building for books was a problem wherever libraries had been established, and they were usually located in a pre-existing room in the church or school. Purpose-built parish libraries were rare.⁷⁷ Hall may have been inspired by the recent completion of the library building at the King Edward's School which enjoyed foundation funding and the donations of several benefactors, including Simeon Ashe.⁷⁸ The Kings Norton building had far less financial support and the completed building was a creative, recycled construction which, according to Hall, was 'as fine a monument for Church & Schoole, as any in the county of its bignes,' and which illustrates his great pride in his collections and his ambition for their continuance.⁷⁹ Also unusual, was the size of Hall's bequest to the parish.

⁷⁶ See P. Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives in Political and Polemical Context', where he discusses Clarke's polemical and political intentions. However, whereas Hall maintained his high Presbyterianism in all his polemic and in the structure of his library, Lake has shown that over time, particularly after the Restoration, Clarke subtly moderated his stance.

⁷⁷ M. Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, lists no other completely separate building for a parish library, but pp.227, 259, describes some purpose-built rooms for parish libraries such as those at Halton in Cheshire and Langley Marish in Berkshire.

⁷⁸ W.F. Carter and E.A.B. Barnard (eds.), 'The Records of the King Edward's School, Birmingham, Vol.II' in *Dugdale Society Publications* (1933), pp.xiii and xxvi-xxvii. Intriguingly, at the time of Hall's last illness in March 1665, the Bailiff's accounts, p.28 of the same volume, record a present sent to a Mr. Hall of £1.5s.2d.

⁷⁹ Hall, *Life*, fos.82-3, wrote that the parishioners needed chivvying and he had to call on the help of friends to make sure the project was completed. The building was recently investigated as part of a restoration programme, the main conclusion being that an older top storey was added to a pre-existing ground floor in about 1661. M. Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries*, pp.33, 43, 255, has stated that Hall's books were housed in his grammar school or a room attached to the school, probably because Hall's library building is today misleadingly

FIGURE 4: THOMAS HALL'S LIBRARY AT KINGS NORTON, CONSTRUCTED 1661, TODAY KNOWN AS 'THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL'



His is the only known surviving parish library donated by one man which contained over 1,000 volumes, although these include the school books which represent a useful and sizeable collection for the teaching of the humanist grammar syllabus, particularly with the added availability of the parish books.⁸⁰

For the parish bequest, Hall laid down strict, practical rules for its future use, assuming that it would form a busy borrowing library:

Let Mr. Cooper take a catalogue of both Schoole books & Divinity & keep it, & put a Coppy of it into the Churchwardens hand of Kingsn. & every Easter Tuesday the Minister of Moseley & his successors with one church-warden & one parishioner is to call over the Catalogue, & if any be imbezelled or lost

called the 'Old Grammar School'. The building came to be used as a school after Hall's time, but it wasn't put together until 1661 and Hall most probably held his school in the church itself.

⁸⁰ M. Perkin, *A Directory of Parochial Libraries*, lists about 157 known parish libraries in this period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The majority of parishes, whether in towns or villages, had very small collections often simply chained desk libraries though most would have had prayer and service books. Of 14 parochial libraries founded or refounded in the sixteenth century, 3 had over 100 volumes, one had more than 500 and none more than 1,000. In the seventeenth century, of 144 libraries founded or refounded, 30 had over 100 volumes, 9 had over 500, and 6 had over 1,000. Five of these were: Boston, a joint municipal library founded in 1634 with great infusion of funds from the corporation; Wisbech, also a town and parochial library founded in 1651; Newark-upon Trent founded in 1698 by a bishop and so also a town library, bequeathed to the mayor, aldermen and vicar for their own use and for the use of the inhabitants of the town; Southwell, gathered together by many benefactors in 1670; and Reigate with c3000 volumes given by 365 donors in 1701. One of those with over 1,000 volumes was Thomas Hall's at Kings Norton. The remaining five large collections, unlike Hall's, were the product of the donations of several men. See Chapter 4, for a detailed discussion of Hall's teaching and his grammar school books.

by the Minister or Schoolmaster of Kingsnorton that they which are found in fault shall by Law be made to make satisfaction. Memorandum that the Minister & Schoolmaster of Kingsnorton that they will preserve the books intire, bind them in a bond of £140 or more if occasion requires.⁸¹

As a double insurance he demanded that, ‘Before anyone be admitted to the use of the Library let him be made to Engage upon the faith of a Christian that [he] will neither embezel nor abuse the books.’⁸² Similarly, entry to the school library was restricted, schoolboys being admitted only in the presence of the schoolmaster.⁸³

These rules are not dissimilar from conditions laid down for other such libraries, for example at More and Chirbury, both in Shropshire.⁸⁴ Although he could not afford to provide financial support for the future, again a common feature of these foundations,⁸⁵ he had done his best to protect the books and hoped that his successors would increase the stock urging ‘every one & each of them in general, & each of them in Particular to Augment what they can, but not in the least to impaire the number of the Books which I have designed for the general good of them, & of their successors after them.’⁸⁶ Some of Hall’s parishioners may have accessed these books, but Hall did not include them directly in the bequests, and it is difficult to gauge his intentions in this respect. He said that he promised the books ‘for the good of the parish’,

⁸¹ Hall, *Life*, fo.211. Mr. Cooper was probably Joseph Cooper, the curate of Moseley, a noted Hebraist and not an ordinary parishioner.

⁸² Hall, *Life*, fo.216.

⁸³ Hall, *Life*, on the unnumbered page following fo.214.

⁸⁴ For the More library, founded in 1680, see C. Condren, ‘More Parish Library, Salop’, p.144. The library at Chirbury was founded in 1677 by Edward Lewis, vicar of Chirbury in Shropshire, who bequeathed his own library for the use of the schoolmaster or any other of his parishioners who wanted to read them. The books were to be placed in the schoolhouse which he had built in the churchyard. See also W.M. Jacob, ‘Libraries for the Parish’, p.67.

⁸⁵ W.M. Jacob, ‘Libraries for the Parish’, p.70. In general, little provision was made for developing libraries.

⁸⁶ These words form part of the title to Catalogue A, the books for the library at Kings Norton. T. Kelly, *Early Public Libraries*, pp.77-9, and *The Catalogue of the Plume Library Maldon, Compiled by S. G. Deed with the assistance of Jane Francis* (1959), pp.xiii-xiv, have pointed out that both Chetham’s in Manchester founded in 1653, and the Thomas Plume’s library at Maldon founded in 1704, were also financially endowed for the future, and therefore prospered.

and although he included the church wardens in the annual duty of checking the library, nothing more was said.⁸⁷

The profile of the parish library is very different from the Birmingham books, largely because although it includes books on the theological fundamentals of Protestantism with bibles, the Fathers, the European Reformers, biblical commentaries and the *loci communes* or discussions of common places in the scriptures, they are not on the scale of the Birmingham books. The greater emphasis is on works that suited the needs of pastoral care and personal spiritual development. There are cases of conscience, comforts and cordials, catechisms, and meditations, and books on a range of subjects such as faith, grace, justification and assurance, sin and prayer, self-examination and self-denial, the commandments and the Lord's Prayer, holiness and godly living, providence, afflictions, temptation and death, exemplary lives, and family religion. Related to this group are a large number of individual sermons and collections of sermons, although many of them are as concerned with religious politics as with spirituality. Another theme of this collection concerns the post-Reformation controversies with works on Popery and Antichrist, but also on separatism and sectarianism, particularly among the bound pamphlet volumes entitled 'controversies'. In this library too are found the pamphlets and books that reveal Hall's devotion to Presbyterian church government. Among other books are a miscellany of history and geography, natural history, classics and philosophy of morals and ethics. There are many other interesting individual books such as a copy of the Koran, a book against witchcraft, Austin's pious gardening guide, *A treatise of fruit-trees*, Howell's *Londinopolis* and the poems of Du Bartas.

⁸⁷ Hall, *Life*, fos.82, 211.

In practical terms, Hall had argued that the necessity of books for the ministerial profession was such that their stipends should enable them to ‘furnish themselves with books, philosophicall, Historicall, Theologicall, Polemicall, Practicall, Criticall etc. Some have therefore determined 500L some 600L requisite for the purchase of a Library.’⁸⁸ Such a library would have been more valuable than his own which he had built up over a lifetime, yet in a sentence, Hall described the general scope of the books he was leaving to his successors, and in the title of the bequest he noted that those he left were specifically ‘designed’ for the ‘general good of them, & of their successors after them.’

The books bequeathed to Birmingham have mostly disappeared and it seems that not long after Hall’s ejection, the school declined quickly and so too the parish library.⁸⁹ It had been the force of Hall’s personality, his need for books and his appreciation of them that had inspired the collection and enabled him to follow his own advice that, ‘The Ministers of Christ must be studious men. They must be much in Reading, Writing and collecting even in their old Age and to their dying day.’⁹⁰

b) How Hall read and used his books

Reading books for the enhancement of learning was consistently advocated by Hall as a central requisite of an authoritative, ordained ministry: ‘Ministeriall gifts are not now adayes inspired into men immediately and miraculously, but mediately gotten by reading, meditation,

⁸⁸ Hall, *Apologie*, p.70. Also said in *Timothy*, p.296.

⁸⁹ There seems to have been little if any further purchasing of books for the library after Hall’s death. The surviving books that were not catalogued are mostly Hall’s own, and many of the rest look like books left behind by pupils. According to a manuscript shelf list from the eighteenth century that is kept with the collection, 18% of the catalogued Kings Norton parish and school books had disappeared.

⁹⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.433.

study, and diligent pains, as appears 1 Tim. 4. 13, 15.’⁹¹ Although he gave little advice to his brethren on how they should read books, or described how he read books himself, he has nevertheless left evidence of his own reading practice in the manuscript annotations of his surviving library books.

Historians have pointed out that not all readers annotated their books even when reading them fervently, and those who did often left only occasional marks.⁹² While several of Hall’s surviving books have few annotations but were nevertheless cited frequently in his published works, and some of his surviving books were not marked at all, the majority were.⁹³ In his collection today, there remain 41 pamphlet volumes and 606 books. All the pamphlets and 536 books undoubtedly belonged to him. Of his surviving 513 pamphlets, 7% are not marked, 51% are marked in varying degrees and 42% are heavily marked. Of his books, 24% have only ownership marks, 63% are marked in varying degrees, and 13% are heavily marked or heavily marked in places.⁹⁴ Overall, although most of Hall’s annotations are non-verbal, the incidence of visible marks in his surviving books appears to be particularly high, the

⁹¹ Hall, *Apologie*, p.57.

⁹² H.B. Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (2005), pp.196-255, has shown that while much evidence of reading practice is found in what readers wrote on their books, women were discouraged from leaving written traces of their reading but, nevertheless, the evidence of their breadth of reading can be found in written accounts, letters, wills and inventories, surviving book lists, book plates, book inscriptions, book collections and portraiture. W. H. Sherman, *Used books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (2008), pp.53-67, has also pointed out ways of identifying the ‘matriarchive’ or textual traces of women and of recovering them as readers. In his wide experience of Renaissance texts, Sherman has also found, pp. xiii-xiv, that some types of text are more marked than others, such as legal works and religious controversies rather than literary works, and that a majority of verbal annotations bear little relation to the text by which they appear. He also noted that not everyone used books for reading. In her studies of annotated books of the Romantic period, H. J. Jackson, ‘Marginal Frivolities’: Readers’ Notes as Evidence for the History of Reading’ in R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (eds.), *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading* (2005), pp.137-151, found that writing in books remained a common but not an invariable practice.

⁹³ Examples of books Hall often cited but hardly marked include Jeremiah Burroughs, *The excellency of a gracious spirit* [Cat.A156, THL 094/1657/11], and William Gouge, *A learned and very useful commentary on the whole epistle to the Hebrews* [Cat.A337, THL F 094/1655/15].

⁹⁴ Of Hall’s surviving books, 24% are marked only with his signature, but only 7% of the pamphlets are unmarked.

percentage of annotated books comparing favourably with the marked books of notable Renaissance readers such as John Dee.⁹⁵

Supporting evidence for Hall's reading practice is found in the abundant references in his published works to books that he had read: over half the books listed in his catalogues of books to be left to the parishioners and school of Kings Norton are cited several times in his published works; most of the authors of books listed in the catalogue for the public library in Birmingham are also referenced, usually in the form of Latin quotations given with the author but sometimes without citing the particular work. In addition, Hall referred to a large number of his pamphlets, as well as a further 278 works that appear neither in his catalogues nor among his surviving books.⁹⁶ Using all this evidence, this part of the chapter explores how an orthodox minister read his books and how his reading reflected the scholarly practice of the period as he applied it in support of his orthodox, Presbyterian ministry and associated roles, such as teaching students and producing evangelistic and polemical texts for publication.

The study of reading in the early modern period has taken many forms across several disciplines such as literary criticism, social and cultural history, and the history of the book. Common to all these areas is an increasing interest in readers themselves, in their reception

⁹⁵ W. H. Sherman, *John Dee, The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*, p.80, and also 'The Place of Reading in the English Renaissance: John Dee Revisited' in J. Raven, N. Tadmor and H. Small (eds.), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (1996) 62-76, p.66, found that well over half of the 500 surviving volumes from Dee's library contain underlinings and marginal notes which he considered amounted to a textual processing system on a grand scale. Hall marked 93% of his surviving pamphlets and 76% of his surviving books. In *Used Books*, pp.8-9, Sherman has shown that the incidence of the marking of certain surviving books, such as religious polemics and guides to the law, medicine and estate management, was well over 50% over the whole STC period, and was similar for the Civil War period and its aftermath.

⁹⁶ For a list of these works see Appendix II: vi). These include 174 books and 104 single sermons and collections of sermons. Many of the books and single sermons could have been bound in pamphlet volumes which Hall did not catalogue by individual titles and which have since been lost.

and appropriation of texts, the meanings they constructed and the uses they made of them.⁹⁷ There has, therefore, been a growth in studies of individual readers and the implications these have for drawing out overviews of the general reading practices of Renaissance readers.⁹⁸ While scholars of reading warn of the difficulties involved in recovering reading practice and the dangers of assuming that past readers read and interpreted their texts as we might do now, certain patterns in scholarly Renaissance reading, as practised by Thomas Hall, have been established: primarily, that whatever the context and purpose of individual educated readers, reading was a trained activity. The reading, marking and treatment of texts, particularly for their inclusion in digests or commonplace books, was first taught at grammar school and later developed at university.⁹⁹ Thereafter, the same reading methodology continued throughout adulthood, being considered a purposeful activity for personal improvement and practical application, particularly in public life.¹⁰⁰ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine pioneered the study of the reception of Renaissance texts by educated men in their work on Gabriel Harvey, which was the first to look at reading for specific purposes, which they identified as ‘goal-directed’. Further scholarly focus on individual men of letters includes the work of William

⁹⁷ R. Darnton, ‘First steps towards Reading’ in *The Kiss of Lamourette* (1990), pp.154-87, surveys the variety of responses to the history of reading, and having found that much work has been accomplished on the ‘who, what, where and when’ questions of reading practice, suggested a number of ways forward in order to answer further the ‘why and how’ questions, which have typified the work in the field over the last decade and led to this concentration on finding the actual reader and how he interacted with his texts. See also his later version of this essay, ‘History of Reading’ in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives in Historical Writing* (2001) 157-86. For the importance of actual readers, see W. H. Sherman, *John Dee*, pp. 53-65, and *Used Books*, pp.53-4; also H. B. Hackel, *Reading Material*, pp.6-8 and *passim*, and K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, pp.34-40.

⁹⁸ W. H. Sherman, *Used Books*, pp.xii-xiii, xvi, and p.18 has found that an enormous number of surviving Early Modern books in the collections which he has studied preserve the notes of early readers and so represent a vast archive of information about reading and readers; he has pointed out some of the strengths and weaknesses he has found in following a methodology drawing general conclusions from studies of individual readers, but suggests that the more comprehensive the study of marginalia becomes, the more reliable the statistical patterns should be.

⁹⁹ H. B. Hackel, ‘Rhetorics and Practices of Illiteracy or the Marketing of Illiteracy’ in I. F. Moulton (ed.), *Reading and Literacy: In the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (2004) 169-83, pp.173-4 and *passim*, has pointed out that there were many less well-educated readers with a range of reading abilities from barely literate upwards, who used and read books in very different ways from learned readers.

¹⁰⁰ R. Cust, ‘Reading for Magistracy: The Mental World of Sir John Newdigate’ in J. McDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (2007) 181-99, p.183.

Sherman on the great sixteenth century book collector, John Dee, of Stuart Clark and Kevin Sharpe on the reading of William Drake, MP for Buckinghamshire in the Long Parliament, and of Richard Cust on Sir John Newdigate, a late Elizabethan Puritan and provincial magistrate.¹⁰¹ All these readers were connected with political culture and public civil life, and were reading to promote themselves or their patrons in the public sphere. ‘Less extraordinary readers’ in the seventeenth century have been tracked by Heidi Hackel through their traces not only in books but a range of other documents, and William Sherman has followed a wide variety of readers in his latest study of used books.¹⁰² More recently, Geoffrey Baker has examined the reading practice of William Blundell through his commonplace books, which show how he actively managed his survival as a Catholic gentleman, and Julie Crawford has reappraised women’s approaches to reading as ‘public’ and ‘goal-orientated,’ rather than ‘private’ and ‘inward’, through the diary and marginalia of Margaret Hoby.¹⁰³ Hall’s marginalia offer another perspective, that of a clerical reader and his reception and appropriation of texts within the context of his Calvinist orthodoxy and Presbyterianism.¹⁰⁴ The annotations in his surviving books together with the application of his reading in his fifteen published works, indicate Hall’s role as an active participant in the reception of print culture in how he read his books and to what ends, and how his reading practices reflected the

¹⁰¹ For ‘goal-directed’ reading, see A. Grafton and L. Jardine, ‘“Studied for Action”: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy’, *Past and Present* 129 (1990) 30–78, p.31; Also, W. H. Sherman, *John Dee*; S. Clark, ‘Wisdom Literature of the Seventeenth Century: A Guide to the Contents of the ‘Bacon-Tottel’ Common-place Books. Part I’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* VI (1976); K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (2000); R. Cust ‘Reading for Magistracy’. A. Grafton and L. Jardine worked from Harvey’s marginalia on his copy of Livy’s *History of Rome*. The studies of William Drake and John Newdigate focused on the detailed accounts they left in their own records of their reading programmes and aims, the books themselves having been lost. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, pp.68, 74-5, had both surviving notebooks and annotated printed books for his study. W. H. Sherman, *John Dee*, pp.80 fn.3, 102, 119, found about a third of Dee’s printed books and a larger percentage of his manuscripts, but also had his published works, his own manuscripts and some diaries for a few years to work from.

¹⁰² H. B. Hackel, *Reading Material*, p.8 and *passim*; W. H. Sherman, *Used Books*, *passim*.

¹⁰³ G. Baker, *Reading and Politics in Early Modern England* (2010); and J. Crawford, ‘Reconsidering Early Modern Women’s Reading or, How Margaret Hoby Read Her de Mornay’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73:2 (2010) 193-223.

¹⁰⁴ K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, pp.296-7 notes one clerical reader, John Rous, and the limited insights he gave via his diary into his acquisition of reading material and his responses to it.

conventions of the day and contribute to the general picture of Renaissance reading.¹⁰⁵ A small subset of his texts on Quakers also makes possible a tentative case study of a cycle of his reading, from studying texts to recycling the sifted material into his polemics in defence of orthodoxy.

b) i) Hall's reading context: the significance of reading to his ministry and associated roles

From his clerical viewpoint, Hall gave some indication of the importance he attached to reading as a divinely commanded activity, and described his main goal as the uncovering of religious truth:

... in the person of Timothy he [God] commands all Ministers to give attendance to Reading, Meditation, &c. and to give up themselves wholly to them, God hath ordained meanes for the attaining of every thing, and he that contemns the meanes, contemns the blessing; ... We must therefore, so Read, Study, Search, &c. as if we were to doe all our selves, and yet when we have done all, so rest upon God for aid, as if we had done nothing. Truth like Treasure, lies deep and hidden, and cannot be found without search, and study.¹⁰⁶

In reading the scriptures, Hall emphasised that there should be a practical outcome: knowing God's word was insufficient in itself unless it was obeyed and enacted.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Hall saw reading as contributory to a reformed preaching and pastoral ministry, writing that, 'diligent Reading, Prayer and Temptations are requisite (saith Luther) to make a good Divine.'¹⁰⁸ In the particular context of religious strife during Civil War and Interregnum England, Hall also defended learning and reading against those sectaries who would deny its centrality to orthodoxy and an ordained and learned ministry: '.... we are commanded to give ourselves to Reading, 1 Timothy 4.13. and we amongst the rest must more especially search

¹⁰⁵ Hall published thirteen works in English and one in Latin. The additional work was an English translation of his Latin thesis by Samuel Shaw, to which Hall contributed.

¹⁰⁶ Hall, *Vindiciae*, sigs.A4v-A5r. Also Hall, *Apologie*, p.58.

¹⁰⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, p.289.

¹⁰⁸ Hall, *Apologie*, p.104. Also Hall, *Life*, fo.27, wrote 'foure things (saith Luther) helpe to make a good Divine. viz Prayer, Reading, Meditation & Temptation.'

into the Scriptures, John 5.39.’ He dismissed sectarian claims to biblical justification for their ‘extraordinary gifts of the Spirit’, enabling them to preach without book-learning, accusing them of prating ‘Non-sense and blasphemy’.¹⁰⁹ While he agreed that the Bible was distinguished by its divine inspiration from all other profane and religious writings, and was a total and sufficient rule for salvation that had to be approached and read in the spirit, he regarded its correct interpretation as a complex matter which required human learning to avoid error and heresy.¹¹⁰ The Scriptures were the most important texts in Hall’s library, fundamental to his faith and life, which he read at different levels from his other books, spiritually and typologically. Their true interpretation and application were the reasons for his promotion of reading and learning, and for his publication of ‘Centuria sacra’, and ‘Centuria rhetorica’, appendices to *Vindiciae*, containing detailed rules and guidance, so that misinterpretation and error would be avoided.¹¹¹

Some further general views on how reading and learning should be channelled for use in different godly arenas were given in Hall’s publications: preaching required considerable learning but, as he argued against the lay preachers, ‘It is one thing to preach in the wisdom of man’s words, and another thing to make use of learning in our preparations for preaching.’¹¹² Similarly godly Schoolmasters should be well-read and learned, but not self-

¹⁰⁹ Hall, *Apologie*, p.70

¹¹⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.267-8, 272. In *Timothy*, pp.267-95, Hall gave his most detailed account of the importance and authority of the Bible for sound doctrine and guidance for practical holy living.

¹¹¹ Hall argued throughout *Vindiciae* that human learning was essential for the understanding of the Scriptures, At the same time, *Timothy*, p.289, he acknowledged the value of experimental knowledge of what had been learned from Scripture: ‘It is not talking of Wine, but drinking of it, that comforts and cheers the heart.’ C. Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-century Revolution* (1993), p.31 and *passim*, has argued that the Bible was fundamental to the seventeenth-century mentality in which both Hall and his opponents were steeped. S. Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (1994), p.17, points out the intensification in the mid-seventeenth century of reading the Bible typologically, England being understood not just as an analogy of Israel but a recapitulation. Hall relied heavily on typology to explain England’s history, its current condition and its prospects particularly in *Timothy*, *Samaria* and *Amos*.

¹¹² Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.58, 43.

opinionated to the detriment of their teaching: no amount of learning would make a man a good schoolmaster if he lacked essential skills in instructing pupils and dealing with their individual needs.¹¹³ The value of reading in publishing godly works was also emphasised: although the plea that producing such works cost authors ‘great pains’ was a cliché often used by Hall. In *Timothy* for example, he explained that he offered ‘the Cream and Quintessence of many years studies’, which is certainly evidenced by the number and range of books referenced in the work.¹¹⁴ He regularly referred his parishioners to published works, particularly *The beauty of holiness*, his own book written for their guidance, and for those who lacked reading skills he produced a basic catechism.¹¹⁵ In support of his partnership with local magistrates he collected books on law and the exercise of magistracy, and overall his book collection reflects his interest in all these professional roles. Underlying everything, however, he noted how reading furthered his personal spiritual development, and wrote that ‘... Divinity is such a depth, that wee are alwayes learning, and may finde out somewhat which wee knew not before.’¹¹⁶

The physical context of Hall’s reading is more difficult to pin down: Although he indicated that some of his reading was a solitary occupation, conducted early in the morning or late at night in his study, particularly when preparing for the Sabbath and writing texts for publication, there are a few significant hints that he shared his reading with others.¹¹⁷ His biographer wrote that that the time he could spare from his pastoral duties ‘he spent mostly in

¹¹³ Hall, *Folly*, sigs.(a3)v – (a4)v.

¹¹⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.a3v. Hall’s claim was echoed by John Ley in his preface to this work, writing that, ‘the Author [Hall] hath bestowed much paines, and given his Reader the summe and substance of nigh thirtie yeares Studies’.

¹¹⁵ Even in his will, *Life*, fos.207, 210, as a final pastoral duty, Hall referred his parishioners to *Holiness*, to the prefaces of his other works, and to Alexander Gross, *The happines of enjoying ... Christ* [Cat.A349, THL 094/1647/7].

¹¹⁶ Hall, *Amos*, p.174.

¹¹⁷ Hall, *Life*, fos.64-5, 92-3. See Chapter 5 for Hall’s collaboration with John Ley on approaches to public disputations.

visiting of Learned men and in writing Books.’¹¹⁸ Hall met with several groups of learned, godly men for whom books were central and who commonly discussed theology and religious issues. Chief among these were the members of the Kenilworth classis who included several authors such as Trapp, Ley and Dugard, who contributed to, or endorsed, Hall’s published works.¹¹⁹ Other learned clerics who associated with this group and who gave books to Hall, were Samuel Clarke and Simeon Ashe. Hall also met with clergy such as Samuel Willis and Anthony Burgess in and around Birmingham, where he had attended lectures in the early 1630s and later held a lectureship himself, and contributed books to the town library.¹²⁰ It seems too, that Hall had close ties with the Wirksworth Classis in Derbyshire, to which he dedicated *Sal terrae*. Nearer to Kings Norton, he mingled with a succession of able curates at Moseley, notably Samuel Shaw who translated *Sal terrae*, and Joseph Cooper, a distinguished Hebrew scholar. Every day Hall taught grammar school pupils, and enjoyed the company of up to four divinity students who boarded with him, and with whom sharing all sorts of texts would have been an essential part of their training. Books were therefore central to all Hall’s activities and collecting them on a grand scale supported and enhanced his ideology and his lifestyle.

¹¹⁸ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.86.

¹¹⁹ Ley wrote prefaces for two of Hall’s books, his Latin thesis, *Apologia pro ministerio* and *Timothy*. Dugard contributed poetry to *Haire*, (where three verses are signed with two each of the letters of his surname), and probably to *Font* and *Funebria*.

¹²⁰ Hall also associated with various ministers in and around Birmingham in issuing certificates of recommendation for the ministry, as recorded in COMM III/3 Register of Admissions. These men included Samuel Willis of Birmingham, Robert Ladbroke of Solihull, Timothy White of Northfield, William Fincher of Moseley and John Reynolds. Willis and White gave books to Hall, Fincher and Reynold were his former students and his executors. A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire* (1987), pp.80-1, suggests that the lectureship at Birmingham attended by Hall on his arrival in the area was probably a combination lecture. Hall also recorded travelling to the Nuneaton lecture to hear Richard Vines in his copy of Thomas Jacombe, *Enochs walk and change* (1656) [THL 094/C18], p.39.

b) ii) General marking patterns in Hall's surviving books

Scholars of annotations have categorised the marks of Renaissance readers in various ways.¹²¹ Heidi Hackel has distilled these into three main categories, each of which reveals a different aspect of contemporary approaches to the use of books: firstly, marks of ownership that show the book as an object to be protected, catalogued and valued; secondly, marks of recording everyday matters such as debts, marriages, births and accounts showing the book as a source of available paper; and finally, marks of active reading 'which suggest the book is to be engaged, digested and re-read.'¹²² Hall's books show marks from all these categories. His marks of ownership are pronounced.¹²³ Typically across the collection, his signature, made once, twice or even more times, appears on the title page and he often put a direct value on his books by recording the price he paid for them next to his signature.¹²⁴ Ownership marks also allow the identification of the wider circumstances of readers, and in Hall's case they illustrate the passing on of books from his brothers, the books given as gifts from friends and associates, the later use of the books by school boys, and books left among the collection by others, probably pupils and students.¹²⁵

The sort of marks that were related to the use of books as available paper are also seen in Hall's library. There are a few accounts and one maths square which could be Hall's, and he certainly wrote some medicinal recipes on the endpapers of a related text, Thomas Venner's *Via recta*, a guide to a long and healthy life. However, most of the doodling which indicates

¹²¹ W. H. Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 16-17.

¹²² H. B. Hackel, *Reading Material*, p.138.

¹²³ See above Figure 3.

¹²⁴ Other marks showing how Hall might have shelved and categorized his library are few, but over the years the books have acquired more modern marks, one declaring, 'The Library of Kings Norton', and others, such as the accession numbers and collation tickets, showing their integration into BCL. Hall's surviving books have no marks showing dates of acquisition.

¹²⁵ J. E. Vaughan, 'The Hall Manuscript', Appendix II, pp. 123-9, has listed the inscribed names found in Hall's library books and identified them.

avoidance or a lack of interest in the text, appears in books that belonged to pupils or were used by them. Given Hall's strict instructions that no school boys were to use the library books except under strict supervision, it seems unlikely he would have approved of such marks.¹²⁶

Most of Hall's annotations are concerned with the category of reading and his engagement with texts. The pamphlets, particularly those which he catalogued as 'controversies', are generally the most heavily marked, and pamphlets are marked more intensively than most of his books.¹²⁷ Although Hall gave no acquisition dates for his printed material, it seems that most of the pamphlets were bought new, soon after publication, and were marked at the time they were acquired.¹²⁸ There are indications that he marked some books on more than one occasion, particularly when making notes on the front end pages where different coloured inks have been used, but the identifiable instances of remarking the main text are rare.¹²⁹ Across the surviving collection, annotated title pages immediately reflect Hall's favourable or antagonistic disposition to the authors, publishers and content. Prefaces tend to be more intensively marked than the main texts and there are heavily marked sections on recurring subjects which were dear to Hall, such as prime issues of orthodoxy, ministry and presbytery,

¹²⁶ Hall, *Life*, on the unnumbered page following his will.

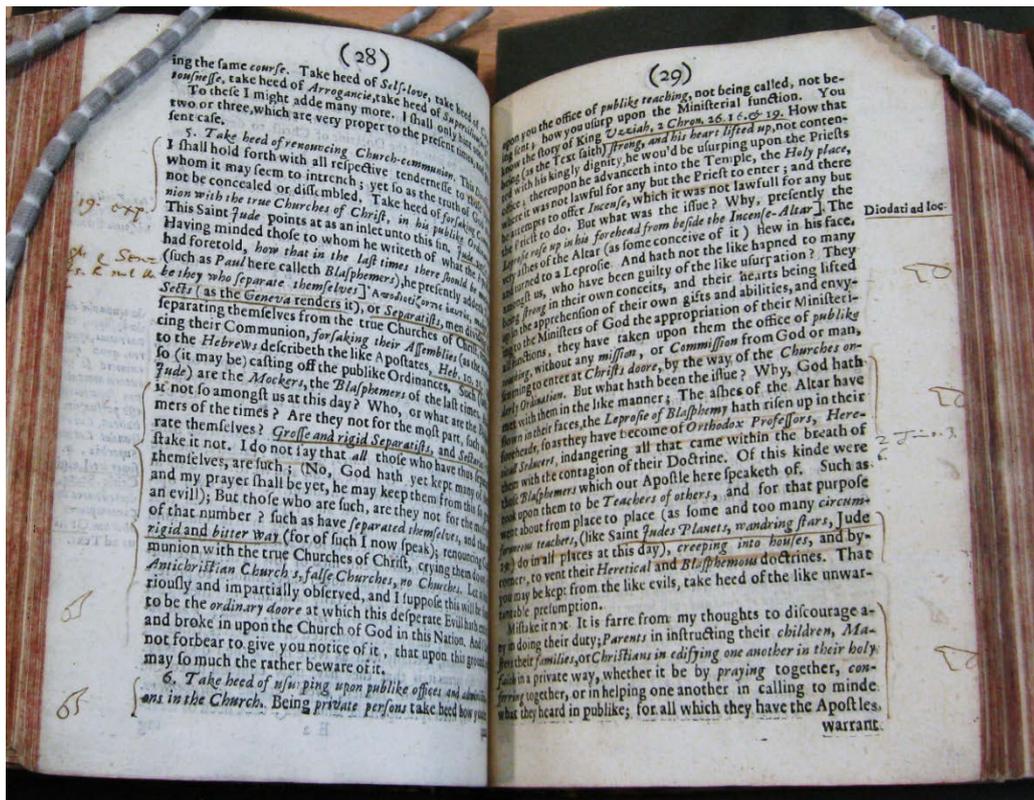
¹²⁷ Hall divided his pamphlet collection into two types, 'fast sermons' and 'controversies'. For two examples of heavily marked controversial pamphlets, see Alexander Forbes, *An anatomy of Independency* (1644) [THL 094/C23], and Ephraim Pagitt, *Heresiography, or a description of the hereticks and sectaries of these latter times* (1647) [Cat.A493, THL 094/C21]. One concerned Independency, the other heresy, both subjects being of particular concern to Hall.

¹²⁸ These assumptions seem to be borne out by the exceptions to the rule. For example, a sensational pamphlet such as Goodwin, Nye, Simpson, Burroughs and Bridge, *An apologetical narration* (1643/4) [THL 094/C23], would have outraged Hall and called for heavy, incensed marking, but it was virtually untouched. This seems to be because he could not get hold of his own pamphlet at the time, and made comments about a copy he had read on the flyleaves of two otherworks he owned: *The ansvver of the Assembly of Divines ... Unto the reasons given in to this Assembly by the Dissenting Brethren, of their not bringing in a model of their way* (1645) [THL 094/C24] and Thomas Edward, *Antapologia* [THL 094/1646/1]. For further explanation see Chapter 2.

¹²⁹ The best example of remarking the text can be seen on Joseph Caryl, *An exposition with practicall observations vpon the three first chapters of the booke of Iob* [Cat.A190, THL 094/1644/2], for example pp.58-9, 390.

and also a range of ungodly behaviours, particularly drunkenness, the exemplary lives of notable godly men, and comments on schools, schoolmasters and libraries.¹³⁰ Where key issues arose, Hall sometimes marked nearly everything on the page, as in his copy of Brinsley's *An antidote* (Figure 5).¹³¹

FIGURE 5: A WELL-MARKED TEXT



John Brinsley, *An antidote* (1650) [THL 094/C20], showing Hall's marking of most of the text.

¹³⁰ Hall's marking of Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia* [Cat.A291, THL 094/1646/1], is a good example of how he often marked a book far more heavily at the beginning. Here the preface and the first 69 pages are intensively marked as is the table at the end, but otherwise he has only made marks occasionally. Examples of books in which sections have been selected for his particular attention include Richard Stock, *A learned and very usefull commentary upon the whole prophetic of Malachy* [Cat.A638, THL Q094/1641/15], in which Hall has selected a 'Breviat' of Gataker's funeral oration for heavy marking; in Thomas Beard, *The theatre of Gods judgements* [THL Q 094/1648/9], chapters on profanation of the Sabbath and drunkenness have been marked intensively; and in Sir William Constantine, *The second part of the interest of England* [THL 094/C23], the section pp.22-37 on bishops and the defence of presbytery is heavily marked, and part of p.37 was quoted directly in *Timothy*, p.174. In Andrew Willet, *Synopsis papismi* [Cat.A714, THL F094/1634/8], p.122, Hall has added the note, 'Kingsnt Schoole, Birmingha Schoole' by the text that describes the Free schools set up by Edward VI.

¹³¹ John Brinsley, *An antidote against the poysonous vveeds of heretical blasphemies* (1650) [THL 094/C20].

Other well marked texts cover a range of types, including works used for study and teaching purposes, favourite divinity texts that were frequently cited in his published books, and works for spiritual guidance, prayer and meditation.¹³² Even without the survival of any additional material evidence such as commonplace books or diaries to further explain Hall's reading practice, this sample of annotations illustrates his direct response to his texts, and provides a basis for examining how he read them.

b) iii) Hall's reading as a reflection of humanist practice

In the first instance, Hall's annotated texts illustrate the application of his humanist education, which he himself passed on to his grammar school pupils and divinity students. As scholars of early modern reading practices have pointed out, the art of reading was a trained activity based on the guidance of humanist writers such as Erasmus, and further recommended and interpreted for grammar school pupils by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English educationalists such as John Brinsley, whom Hall followed particularly closely in his teaching practice, and whose methods of reading classical texts he imitated in his grammar school textbooks.¹³³

¹³² An example of a study text is Seneca, *Philosophi stoicorum omnium acutissimi* [Cat.A585, THL Q 094/1573/4], which was also cited several times in his published works. Some of his study texts also bear the marks of students before Hall's time and possibly later. Favourite divinity texts included John Arrowsmith, *Tactica sacra* [Cat.A39, THL 094/1657/3], Nathaniel Culverwel, *An elegant and learned discourse of the light of nature* [Cat.A 246, THL 094/1652/3], and Martinus Bohemus, *A Christians delight* [Cat.A110, THL 094/1654/11], a book on meditation.

¹³³ P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (2002), pp.11-47; K. L. Parker and E. J. Carlson, *'Practical divinity': The Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham* (1998), pp.43-7; M. Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (2002, first published 1987), pp.43-52; W. H. Sherman, *John Dee* pp.60-5 and *Used Books*, pp.3-5; K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, pp.277-8 and R. Cust, 'Reading for Magistracy', pp.186-91. Hall's grammar school textbooks were *Wisdoms conquest* (1651) and *Phaetons folly* (1655). Hall's copy of Erasmus's educational text, *De copia* [Cat.C.53, THL 094/1573/1] survives, handed on to him by his brother John, and was probably his own grammar school text. According to Brinsley, *Ludus literarius* [Cat.C9], pp.16, 46-7, 67, 81-2, 113, 124, 140-1, the training was designed to help pupils to gain mastery of their texts by remembering them well but also by extracting and using the lessons they could learn from their content and style. In his preface to *Conquest*, Hall acknowledged his debt to Brinsley's methods in his two textbooks, and also to other humanist scholars and educationalists whose annotations he incorporated alongside his own,

Four stages in the reading of classical texts as recommended by Erasmus have been identified by Peter Mack. These followed after a suitable work had been selected, the choice of which would have been an informed one from among recommended authors and with some knowledge of its context. The first stage required reading the entire text in order to digest its meaning. The second stage involved breaking up or fragmenting the text in order to note vocabulary and constructions. Further fragmentation in the third stage involved gathering rhetorical examples of style and effects in the use of elegant phrases, proverbial and wise sayings, fables, histories and comparisons. Finally the work was examined for moral stories and examples.¹³⁴ All this material, abstracted from an ever increasing number of sources, was gathered into commonplace books under particular headings, a means by which the most approved works of literary eloquence and wisdom, having been read with understanding, were then distilled into a full catalogue of examples, epithets and themes.¹³⁵ As a result, such notebooks swelled like encyclopaedias with personalised accumulations of knowledge and wisdom under alphabetical headings, ready for retrieval and practical application whenever required.¹³⁶

This note-taking practice, developed from the use of medieval florilegia, provided a guided means of interpreting texts. It also formed an integral part of an education in rhetoric and

such as Gregor Bersman, Raphael Sabin, Arthur Golding, Henry Glarean (a friend of Erasmus), Christophe Longueil of Malines, George Sandys, Thomas Farnaby and several others. See also Chapter 4, f) iii) The evidence of Hall's published textbooks.

¹³⁴ P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp.14-24. Also, P. Mack, 'Humanism, Rhetoric, Education' in Donna Hamilton (ed.), *A Concise Companion to Renaissance Literature* (2006) 94-113.

¹³⁵ A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (2002, first published 1996), pp. 24-44, explains the development of medieval florilegia or flowers gathered in the form of quotations from classical authors, that began as early as the twelfth century in France, from which eventually came the sixteenth century commonplace books. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp.30-1, shows that there were a great many guides and exercises available for selecting, adapting and elaborating even the shortest phrases, such as those given by Erasmus in *De copia*.

¹³⁶ K. L. Parker and E. J. Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, pp.45-7, explain the gathering of wisdom which drew from and contributed to *doxa*, or consensus on what was good and true, which in turn informed acceptable and even ideal practice or *praxis*.

moral probity, which was taught by Hall, and which, as a godly cleric, he also understood as a means of inculcating true religious values and the learned skills necessary not only for the ministry, but also for the godly commonwealth.¹³⁷ Furthermore, the methodology of commonplacing was seen not as passive or plagiaristic, but as an active and creative exercise by which the best ideas produced by the greatest minds could be adapted to one's own circumstances for the benefit of the individual and society as a whole, thereby providing a pool of values and knowledge that was shared by both reader and writer. However, all this reading and accumulation of notes and learning was considered of little use if it was not exploited as a goal-centred activity through its practical application in public life.

As Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine have shown in their study of Gabriel Harvey's methodical reading of classical texts for various applications in political life, action was seen as an essential outcome of reading, and scholarly reading was primarily a goal-directed activity.¹³⁸ Richard Cust has analysed the processes of reading and commonplacing as it was employed and recorded by Sir John Newdigate in his adult years, and found similarly that he had specific goals in mind, in his case, for practical guidance in his duties as a magistrate, including the application of rhetorical eloquence in his jury charges and public speeches, as well as for his own moral improvement.¹³⁹ Three main stages were revealed in Newdigate's methodology: firstly he read a text for its meaning and potential usefulness, then took notes

¹³⁷ A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, pp. 43-4 for florilegia as a guide to interpretation, and pp. 24-36 for the development of the commonplace book from the twelfth century, the differing complexities of commonplace books and specialist examples such as those found in the legal and medical professions. Hall, *Timothy*, p.248 wrote, 'Children are the Seminary and Nursery of the Church and common-wealth', and in *Vindiciae* (also called *The schools guarded* meaning the universities guarded), p.57, he also referred to the universities as the nurseries of the Church.

¹³⁸ A. Grafton and L. Jardine, 'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', pp.30-1 and *passim*.

¹³⁹ R. Cust, 'Reading for Magistracy', p.189.

by cataloguing examples and themes, and finally followed up themes with cross-references to other works that could

be used in conjunction with each other. The great detail of Newdigate's reading processes are evidenced by his notebooks and reading programmes. In Hall's case, it is not possible to investigate his reading practices directly through his own written records and commonplace books, but his surviving library books do provide evidence of him following the conventional stages of reading and, to some extent, his published works and his autobiography demonstrate how he used his reading in the practice of his various professional roles.

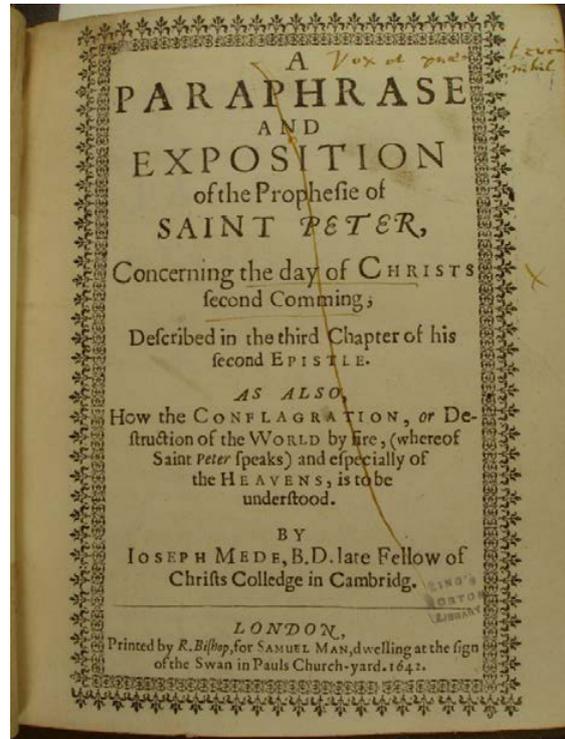
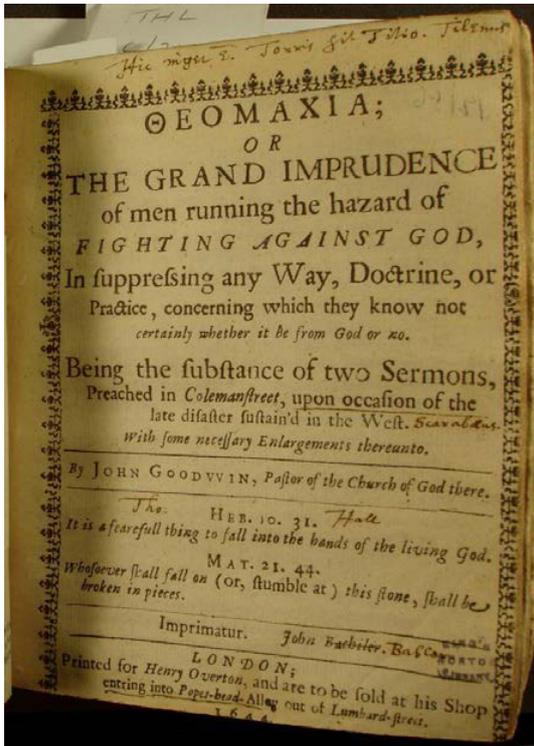
Hall certainly considered the context of books an important starting point in his preparation for reading, and in teaching others he regarded it as a rule: 'Alwaies labour to understand the Matter & Scope of your Author.'¹⁴⁰ Given his limited financial resources and therefore need to buy books that would serve his purposes, Hall's goal-centred reading intentions probably began with his initial selection of books for purchase, based on some understanding of their context and content, and judging from his catalogues and surviving books, his choices clearly reflect his orthodox, Presbyterian outlook and his need for professional support.¹⁴¹ It is also clear from his annotations that he attached importance to the edition of a book and the identification of the author and other producers such as the publisher and licenser, and viewed them either as reputable and authoritative, or as adversarial and unreliable. On the title page of Goodwin's *Theomachia*, for example (Figure 5), a plea for religious toleration, Hall has added a number of derogatory comments, beginning at the top with 'Hic niger e[st]. Torris sit

¹⁴⁰ Hall, *Conquest*, p.1.

¹⁴¹ Such knowledge came from a variety of information from book advertising, the references in works he owned and by word of mouth from his circle of colleagues and friends. See above section a) How and why Hall acquired his library.

Titio.’¹⁴² Goodwin himself was labelled ‘Scarabelus’ meaning dung beetle, and the licenser, John Bachelor, ‘Babler’. Another example of how he contextualised a millenarian book on

FIGURE 6: ASSESSING THE CONTENT OF BOOKS



The title page of Goodwin, *Theomachia* (1644) [THL 094/C24] with Hall’s opinions of the book, the author and the licenser made clear.

The title page of Mede, *A paraphrase*, (1642) [THL 094/C5], across which Hall has drawn a line and written, ‘*Vox et praeterea nihil*’, or ‘a voice and nothing more’ or ‘nonsense’.

the title page indicating to the reader its unreliability is Joseph Mede’s *A paraphrase*, on which Hall has drawn a line from corner to corner (Figure 6). There is a pattern of such contextual identification of book producers, especially authors, throughout his surviving books. He added full names where only initials are given and infilled the name of authors where they were not printed at all.¹⁴³ Hall also regularly contextualised authors when citing their works in his own publications, adding short descriptions, such as William Ames, ‘keen

¹⁴² Hall attributed these words, meaning ‘This ill-omened firebrand will become but a burnt-out ember’, to Daniel Tilenus.

in mind, holy in life, and famous by his pen, Ames the glory of the land washed it clean and improved it',¹⁴⁴ Gataker, 'the most learned and Reverend Mr Gataker,'¹⁴⁵ and Pemble, 'the glory of Oxford in his time,'¹⁴⁶ while Perkins was 'that worthy and eminent light of England' as well as 'a man famous in his generation for his piety and experience,'¹⁴⁷ On his books, Hall noted places where the authors ministered, highlighted the names of men he knew or in whom he was interested, especially himself, and added short biographical notes. These were most often concerned with death, and age at death: Peter Ramus, 'crudeliter occisus 1572', Thomas Gataker, 'obiit clarissimus Pater, 1635, In AEtatis suo 80th,' and Pierre du Moulin, 'Obiit 1658. March 20. Aetatis sua 90,' to which Hall added a biography of Moulin on the facing flyleaf (Figure 7).¹⁴⁸ Miles Smith, however, was described on a book of his sermons as 'one of the Translatours of the Bible.'¹⁴⁹

Adversaries were identified with derogatory remarks written by their names on title pages: Campanella was labelled a wolf, and Samuel How, a sop.¹⁵⁰ John Goodwin was a 'beast', a 'sop' and a 'raylor,' with additional warnings to beware of him and of false prophets.¹⁵¹ Other

¹⁴³ For example on *A declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England* (1659) [THL 094/C3], Hall has added the names 'Dr.Tho. Goodwin, M. Nye D.Owen'. Generally, Hall was correct. One exception was his attribution of *The true guide* (1646) [THL 094/C16], to Robert Harris which, according to ESTC, was written by Richard Hollingworth. Hall cited this book in *Timothy*, p.165 as 'an excellent little tract', and again in *Timothy*, p.279, as 'an excellent little treatise to this purpose,' i.e. of testing the spirit by the Scriptures.

¹⁴⁴ Hall, *Funebria*, p.27.

¹⁴⁵ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.207.

¹⁴⁶ Hall, *Font*, p.82.

¹⁴⁷ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.77, and *Haire*, p.14.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Ramus, *Grammatica* [THL 094/1604/3], title page, 'cruelly killed' in the St. Bartholomew Day Massacre; Thomas Gataker, *Discours apologetical* [Cat.A323, THL 094/1623], title page; Pierre du Moulin, *The buckler of the faith* [Cat.A468, THL 094/1623/4], title page and opposite leaf.

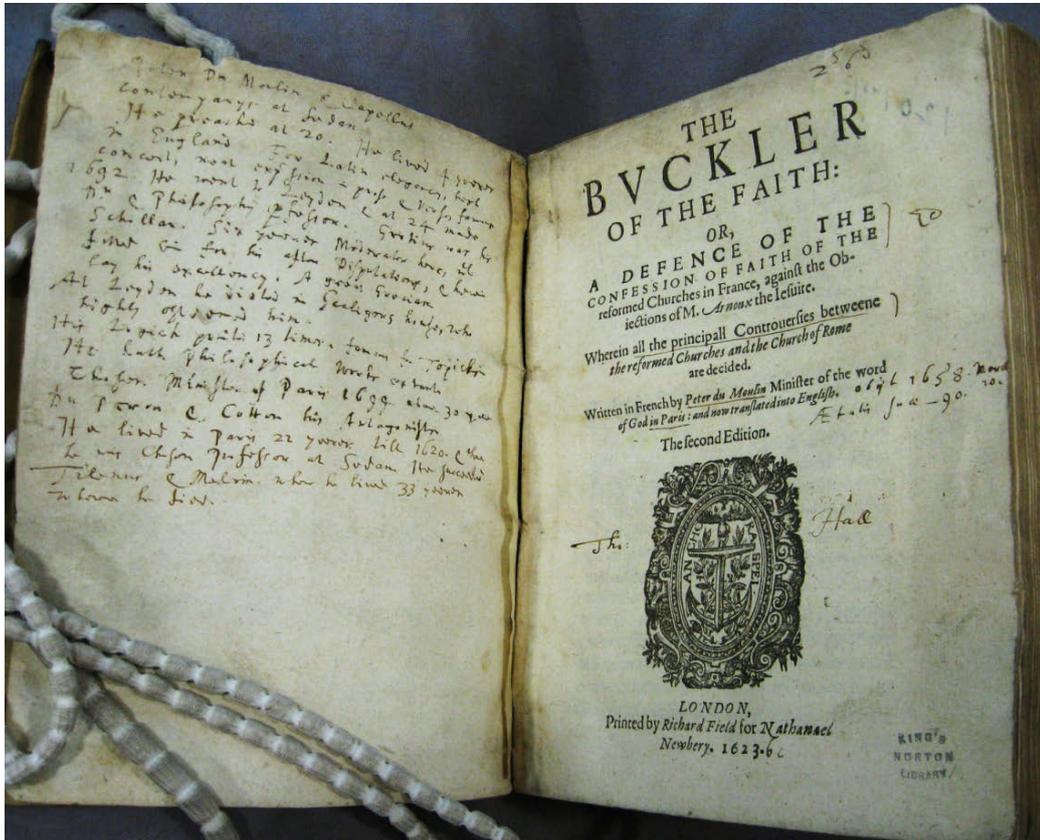
¹⁴⁹ Miles Smith, *Sermons of the right reverend father in God Miles Smith, late Lord Bishop of Glocester* [Cat.A653, THL Q 094/1632/5]. On the title page, Hall crossed out the word 'Lord' and added, 'one of the Translatours of the Bible' and 'obiit 1624 Aetatis 70'.

¹⁵⁰ Tommaso Campanella, *A discourse touching the Spanish Monarchy* [THL 094/1654/8]; also, p.114, Hall called him a liar; Samuel How, *The sufficiencie of the spirits teaching without humane learning* (1644) [THL 094/C10].

¹⁵¹ John Goodwin, *Twelve considerable serious cautions* (1646) [THL 094/C27]. At the end of the pamphlet Hall wrote in no uncertain terms, 'Let lying lips be put to silence in the grave.'

authors that are treated in this way include the Quaker George Fox, the Ranter Abiezer Coppe and the Fifth Monarchist, William Medley.¹⁵²

FIGURE 7: CONTEXTUAL NOTES FOR AN AUTHOR



Hall's extensive biographical notes on du Moulin: 'He preached at 20. He lived 4 yeeres in England. For Latin elegancy, high conceit, neat expression in prose and verse famous 16[5]92. [Published first book of poetry 1592.] He went to Leyden and at 24 made Dr. and Philosophy Professor. Grotius was his Schollar. Six yeeres Moderator here, which fitted him for his after Disputations, and herein lay his excellency. A great Grecian. At Leyden he visited in Scaligers house, who highly esteemed him His Logick [Elementa Logica] printed 13 times, famous for Topickes. He hath philosophical works extant. Chosen Minister of Paris 16[5]99 about 30 yeeres [Cardinal] Du Perron and Cotton his Antagonists. He lived in Paris 22 yeeres until 1620 and then he was chosen Professor at Sedan. He succeeded Tilenus and Meloin. Where he lived 33 yeeres where he died.'

There are indications that having established the context of the book and its producers as conventional practice demanded, Hall then read the text for understanding of the overall meaning. Occasionally his notes on the endleaves preceding the text give his overall impression of the work. For example, on *Vox piscis*, a book renowned for its discovery in the belly of a cod-fish in a Cambridge market as a divine providence, Hall quoted almost

¹⁵² William Medley, *A standard set up* (1657) [THL 094/ C32].

verbatim words from a sermon of Jeremiah Dyke preached at the time this book was discovered which summarised its significance: ‘That such a book as this should in such a manner, to such a place, & at such a time be found, which by reason of the confluence of people out of all parts of the land notice might be given of it. It seemes clearly to have this voyce with it, England prepare for the Cross.’¹⁵³ Similarly, in his published recommendations of books for further reading, Hall would refer to whole works for their overall value: ‘Mr. Prins Treatise of the Power of Magistracy; an excellent piece to this purpose, where all the Anabaptistick cavils are answered.’¹⁵⁴ However, the best example of a very brief synopsis of a text with an accompanying judgement, is Hall’s manuscript summary of the Independents’ *The apologeticall narration*. This appears not on the copy itself but on Hall’s copy of Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia*, a confutation of the *Narration*, together with an even briefer synopsis of Edwards’s main argument, that the Independents were promoting heresy, which was intolerable (Figure 17).¹⁵⁵

For the next stage of reading, Hall can be seen fragmenting the text and marking it for rereading and the future extraction of a range of useful examples. The marks Hall employed to break up his texts were in common usage. Any words, phrases and sections of text that were of interest were marked with underlinings and brackets, and various common abbreviations made useful points.¹⁵⁶ For noting phrases or passages of special interest, Hall

¹⁵³ Jeremiah Dyke, *A sermon preached at the public fast to the Commons House of Parliament April 5th. 1628.* (1628) [THL 094/C19], p.22. For the significance of this book in the context of its time, see A. Walsham, ‘Vox Piscis: or The Book-Fish: Providence and the Uses of the Reformation Past in Caroline Cambridge’, *English Historical Review* 114:457 (1999) 574-606.

¹⁵⁴ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.82.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia* [Cat.A291, THL 094/1646/1]. See also Chapter 2, b) ii) The challenge of the Independents.

¹⁵⁶ These abbreviations included ‘D’ for doctrine, ‘R’ for reason, ‘exp.’ for expound, ‘ob’ or ‘obj’ for objection, ‘ans’ for answer, ‘ob’ or ‘obs’ for observation and ‘Caut.’ for caution. Hall also employed ‘Vse’, for points that could be used practically and regularly numbered points both when they were already numbered in the text and when they were not.

regularly used one of the most common marks, the fist, also called the pointing hand, the index or manicule.¹⁵⁷ Hall referred to this mark as a ‘hand’ which he drew in the most minimalistic form, particularly those on the left-hand side of the page, and it is the only mark which he himself commented on: while discussing the significance in Scripture of the word, ‘behold’, he wrote, ‘This word Behold, like the hand in the Margent of a Book, points to some notable thing, and is like the sounding of a Trumpet before some famous proclamation, or the ringing of a Bell before an excellent Sermon.’¹⁵⁸

One of Hall’s most distinctive marks was the ‘X’, often made fiercely large to show his angry disapproval, and sometimes used many times in the margin of one page.¹⁵⁹ This mark was also used to express his approval of a disapproving remark in the text, or his agreement with the pointing out of an unacceptable idea. Sectarian pamphlets like those of Abiezer Coppe or William Dell, were well covered with crosses, as were some written by orthodox but Independent authors, such as Goodwin, Nye and Owen.¹⁶⁰ Even an advertisement for the published works of John Tombes was similarly treated.¹⁶¹ It is a mark Hall used to great

¹⁵⁷ W. H. Sherman, ‘Toward a History of the Manicule’ in R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (eds.), *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading* (2005), pp.19-48, has described the extensive range of fists that were used in Renaissance books.

¹⁵⁸ Hall, *Amos*, p.209. W. H. Sherman, ‘Toward a History of the Manicule’ sees the manicule or fist as a literal understanding and representation of the use of the physical hand in reading. It certainly does suggest pointing something out not so much for oneself as for others. Sherman judges it to be the most common symbol produced by readers in the margins of manuscripts and printed books, derived originally from its common use in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was such a popular mark that it had at least fifteen other names.

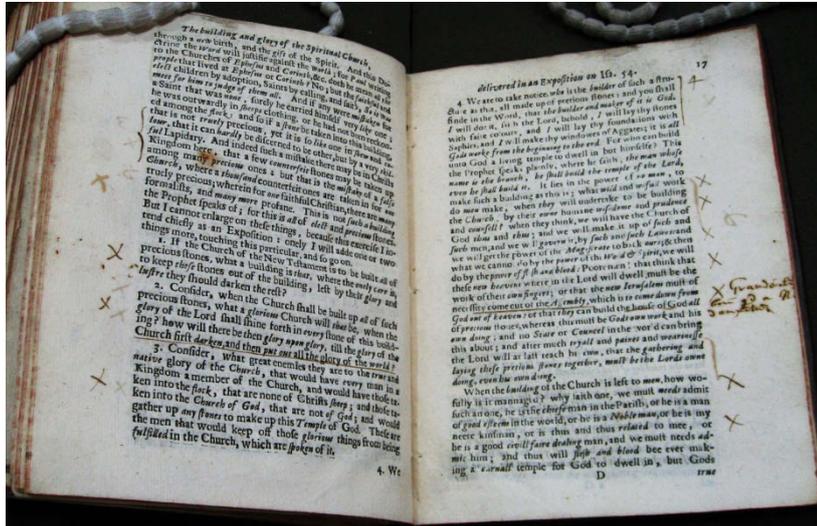
¹⁵⁹ S. Hingley, ‘The Oxidens, Warlys and Elham Parish Library: A Family Library and its Place in Print Culture in East Kent’ (University of Kent, PhD. thesis 2004), p. 19, describes the use by Lee Warly of a dagger drawn in his books to denote ‘invective’. Warly used more marks, and more nuanced marks, than Hall, and left a key for deciphering them, thereby indicating that he was aware that others who wished to follow his reading symbols would need it.

¹⁶⁰ For example, *A Declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England* (1659) [THL 094/C3].

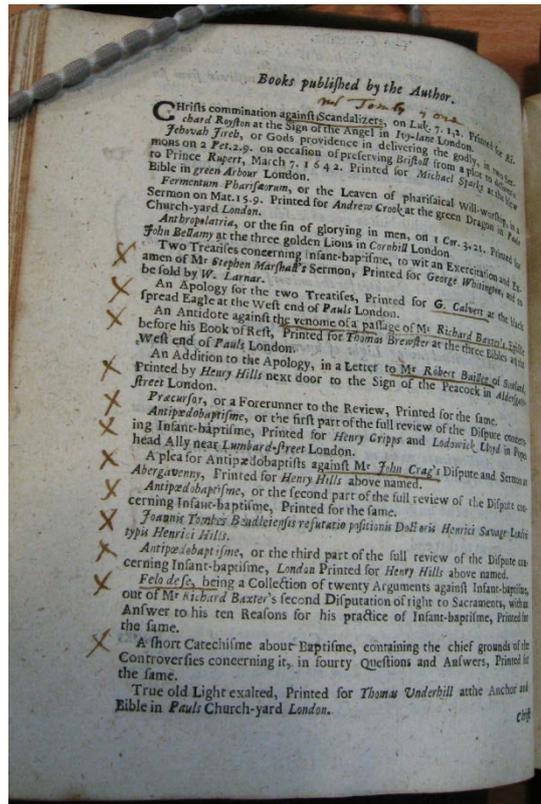
¹⁶¹ John Tombes, *True old light exalted above pretended new light* (1660) [THL 094/C36].

dramatic and visual effect, indicating stridently that the text and ideas it expressed needed refuting (Figure 8).¹⁶²

FIGURE 8: MARKS OF DISAPPROVAL



William Dell, *The building and glory of the truly Christian spiritual church* (1646) [THL 094/C16], showing Hall's disapproval of Dell's ideas.



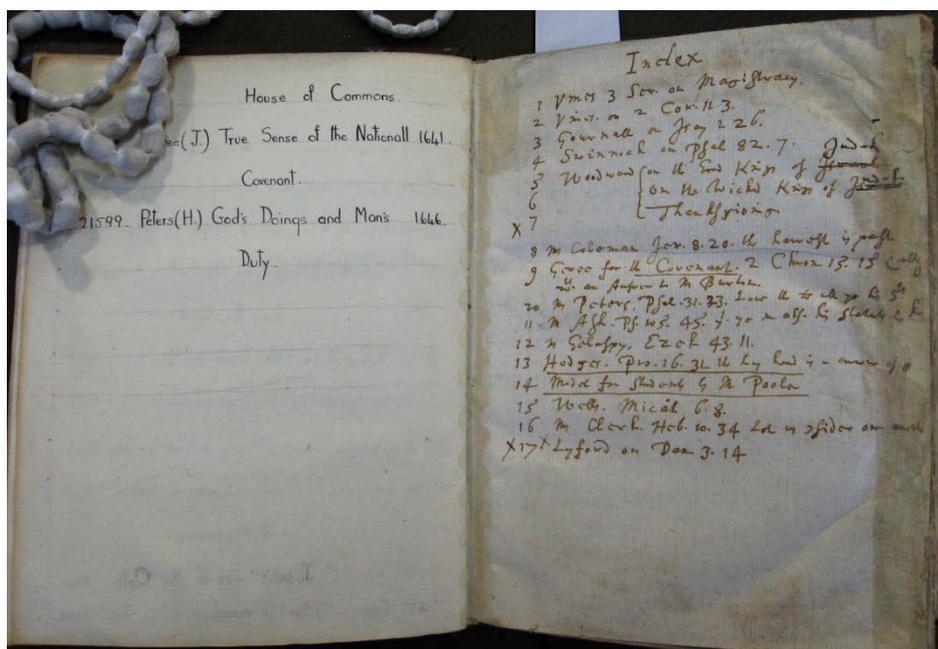
John Tombes, *True old light exalted above pretended new light* (1660) [THL 094/C36], showing Hall's disapproval of his other works.

¹⁶² H. B. Hackel, *Reading Material*, p.195, finds that in her experience, it was a mark used for emphasis, to allow the reader to find a notable passage.

Hall also made his texts more accessible for rereading by using another common practice of writing in his own contents list.¹⁶³ This he did in his pamphlet volumes but also in some works that came without a printed table of contents or an index (Figure 9).¹⁶⁴ Hall encouraged the use of indices in reading, and used them in his own published works. In *Amos*, he urged readers to refer to ‘idolatry’ in the index of another of his books, *Samaria*, and to ‘marriage’ in Foxe’s *Actes and monuments*.¹⁶⁵ In the epistle dedicatory of *Timothy*, he bemoaned the inconvenience of tracts without indices, writing,

Where I am too short in the close of a Point, I give you references to such Authors as will satisfie those who will be satisfied with Scripture and Reason. The Quotations are entire, I have scarcely so much as touched any of those which I refer to, because I studie brevity; besides many of them are Sermons and such Books as have no Indexes.¹⁶⁶

FIGURE 9: HALL’S MANUSCRIPT ‘INDEX’ FOR PAMPHLET VOLUME C25



¹⁶³ W. H. Sherman, *Used Books*, pp.9, 132-7, notes that indices were even written in books where tables already existed but which failed to meet the needs of readers.

¹⁶⁴ Appendix II, iii) A list of uncatalogued books surviving in Birmingham Central Library, parts a) and b), include photographs of all Hall’s surviving indices for his pamphlet volumes.

¹⁶⁵ Hall, *Amos*, pp.137, 427.

¹⁶⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.a3r.

Besides a variety of non-verbal annotations, Hall also made manuscript notes. Typically, these were short phrases or exclamations when written in the margins or other spaces on a page of the main text, which may have been rapid responses, while more extensive notes are found on the front endpapers. His annotations were in either Latin or English, the selected language usually matching the language of the text.¹⁶⁷ There are many instances of phrases and proverbial sayings that were written on Hall's texts appearing in his published works and in his manuscript autobiography, so forming something of a pool of favourite sayings, and sometimes his more extensive notes appear in publication. For example, his comments concerning ordinances and duties, written on the flyleaf of William Bridge, *A vindication of ordinances*, are used almost verbatim in his commentary on *Timothy*, which suggests that he was directly using notes made from his reading.¹⁶⁸ This also indicates the possibility that these sorts of notes existed elsewhere, perhaps in the supplementary notebooks he listed which have since disappeared.

There is further evidence that Hall followed the traditional stages of reading that involved the extraction of examples of rhetorical style and effects in the use of elegant phrases, proverbial and wise sayings, fables, histories and comparisons, and then for moral stories and examples. This evidence can be seen in his abundant use of such devices in all his published works. Furthermore he also used them in verbal annotations throughout his surviving library books, particularly to summarise points arising from reading the text concerned. The use of the

¹⁶⁷ A great deal has been lost of the marginal comments in Hall's pamphlet volumes, firstly because of cropping, which probably occurred in the processes of rebinding, and secondly as a result of damage to the front end papers of books, which have suffered from damp and bookworm over the years in their former home at Kings Norton. A few books were bought without title pages as Hall indicates when, he has signed the first extant page and also when, instead of giving the edition in his citations, he writes, '*mihi*' meaning 'in my copy'.

¹⁶⁸ William Bridge, *A vindication of ordinances* (1650) [THL 094/C17]. Words written on the flyleaf appear in *Timothy*, p.139 i.e. p.137, where the book itself is also cited. Hall seems to have owned many note-books; he listed 'Paper books many' [Cat.A537], at a value of 10 shillings, in addition to his commonplace books in 20 folios [Cat.A214], which he thought were worth £5.

aphorism has been noted by Stuart Clark as a particularly valued rhetorical device, sought out for commonplacing in the course of educated reading for its ‘intellectual profundity and educative force,’ and also for its stylistic attribute of pithiness.¹⁶⁹ Thus a single comment or rhyme often appears on the flyleaf of a book making an overall meaning of the text for Hall. On Torshell’s *Hypocrite*, a plea for men to stand firm in support of Parliament and true religion, he wrote, ‘*Anglica gens non optima flens et pessima ridens*,’ adding his own translation that the English were ‘best in adversity’.¹⁷⁰ Hall also favoured proverbial sayings, rhymes, and phrases of Biblical wisdom. At the front of a work about excuses made for not upholding the Covenant, he wrote out his own version of a current jingle describing folk who made pious resolutions in times of grave illness or danger, but then, as soon as the danger passed, forgot all about them:

When the Devil was sicke, the Devil a Monke would be: In his adversity Covenant put; But when the Devil was well, the Devil a Monke was he.¹⁷¹

At times Hall also added to the main argument of a text, writing out the crucial points. Thus at the front of Anthony Burgess’s book, *The true doctrine of justification*, Hall reaffirms the Calvinist doctrine for which Burgess argues, with a defence on the front endleaf; and at the front of Hildersham’s sermons on fasting, prayer and humiliation, he has written out key

¹⁶⁹ S. Clark, ‘Wisdom Literature of the Seventeenth Century’, p.291.

¹⁷⁰ Samuel Torshell, *The hypocrite discovered and cured* (1644) [Cat.A661, THL 094/C11]. John Stoughton, *The heauenly conuersation and the naturall mans condition* (1640), p.89, explained that he had, ‘heard sometime that one of the wisest Statesmen that ever sate at the sterne of this Kingdome had this verse written upon his Study dore, *Anglica Gens est optima flens, & pessima ridens*’, meaning the English people are at best when tearful or in adversity, at worst when laughing or at ease. Stoughton did not name the statesman concerned.

¹⁷¹ *The Covenanters plea against absolvers* (1661) [THL 094/C2]. Hall also wrote out this rhyme in the margin of *Sermons of the right reverend father in God Miles Smith* [Cat.A653, THL Q 094/1632/5], p.201, by the side of the text in which Smith explained how sick or distressed men turn to God, but as soon as their fear is over, they abandon him. Hall also referred to it in *Samaria*, p.144. Thomas Adams, *The happiness of the church* (1619), p.221, wrote that that it had long been a saying used by physicians of their patients. It is also listed in John Ray, *A collection of English proverbs* (1678), p.296.

issues on the question of fasting and humble attire.¹⁷² These are just the sort of notes that would have supported his preaching, and there are similar examples across the collection.

Hall also certainly used the methodology of commonplacing for extracting examples of human and religious wisdom from his reading. Although his commonplace books do not survive they were included at one stage in his catalogues and his use of the practice as part of his intense programme of reading and learning was noted by his biographer:

He was a very hard Student, though of a cold rheumatick Constitution; he would *impallescere Chartis*, [grow pale over his books] even hazard his life to get Learning and the choice Observations he met with in good Authors, he inserted into his Common-place Book, and by his great industry he acquired a good measure of knowledge in Arts and Sciences, especially in Divinity; of God and his Word, and Works; of himself and his Duty.¹⁷³

As a devoted follower of St. Paul, Hall even managed to find a Pauline justification for commonplacing:

We should extract something out of that we reade and treasure it up for our owne use and the good of the Church. Our memories are weake, and since the fall they are woefully crazed, and become very deceitful to us, and therefore we had need to use all good means to help them; if Paul used Parchments for such a use (as the learned conceive he did) it is then no disparagement to the best to doe it.¹⁷⁴

Some evidence of Hall's retrieval of commonplace-book notes can be seen in his published works. In *Timothy* he made a practice of citing a collection of references at the end of each section; in studying only a short series of these end notes in the first part of this work, one can

¹⁷² Anthony Burgess, *The true doctrine of ivstification* [Cat.A148, THL 094/1654/12]; and Arthur Hildersham, *The doctrine of fasting, and prayer, and humiliation for sinne* [Cat.A380, THL 094/1636/3].

¹⁷³ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.76. Hall listed his commonplace books in Catalogue A as folio size and worth first, 20s and then £5, but then he had second thoughts and crossed them off. A clear indication that he depended on them for references to supporting passages in works he had read is given in *Vindiciae*, pp.132-3, where he cited works that he had since lost during the Civil War: 'If any desire yet fuller satisfaction, and more Rules, let him peruse Attersoll on Numbers. p. 10. and p.371. and p.1050. B. Andrews large Catechism. p. 66, 67, 68, &c. I can give you no more but the bare quotations of these being plundered of them in the troubles.' Hall later found replacements and these two books are listed in Catalogue A, 'B. Andrews Large Catechism' [Cat.A16] and 'Attersol on Numbers' [Cat.A30]. There survives a single reference by Hall to one of his commonplace headings on the front cover page of Simon Ford, *The spirit of bondage and adoption* [Cat.A495, THL 094/1655/8], on which he has written 'V.[ide] My Common Place book. Bondage.'

¹⁷⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, p.434.

pick up a sequence of recognisable commonplace headings: Contentment, Covenant, Covetousness, Drunkenness, Humility, Hypocrisy, Patience, Self-denial, Self-seeking, Sincerity, Slander, Thoughts, Vanity and Whoredom.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, looking at a brief two page section on ‘Patience’, Hall provided a range of material that reflected the commonplace methodology of gathering useful examples and may well reflect some of those he extracted from this topic in his commonplace book: there are biblical references, a few similes, classical quotations from Seneca and Aristotle, an historical story concerning Chrysostom and Empress Eudoxia, and a number of proverbial sayings including one of Hall’s favourites from Jeremiah: ‘God is the Potter and we are his Clay’.¹⁷⁶ Having exploited these to illustrate his arguments for the pursuit of patience, he finally gave a list of references for further reading:

For Patience, See Robinsons Essayes Observ. 35. Ames, CC. Lib. 3. Cap. 14. Bishop Andrews, on first Comment. Cap. 14. Byfield on Colossians, 1.11. Master Valentines Sermon, on Zeph. 3.8. Preach't 1643. December 28. Churches Miscel. Page 122. Master Samuel Fisher, on Psalm 39.9. Doctor Preston on James 4.7. Drexelius Gymnasium Patientiae. See 16. Reasons to move us to Patience, in Master Youngs Counterpoison against grief, Chapter 17. And Master Francis Rous, Art of Happinesse. Chapter 10.¹⁷⁷

One instance of Hall’s re-employment of a worthy maxim from a notable author comes from Shakespeare. In explaining the necessity of the exemplary role of the pastor, Hall wrote:

Pastors are the glasse, the schoole, the book,
Where peoples eyes do learn, do read, do look.¹⁷⁸

There are also verbal annotations on some of Hall’s textbooks which show clearly his fragmentation of a classical text in seeking rhetorical examples. These might have been for his own use as a student and/or for teaching purposes. On his copy of the orations of Cicero, for

¹⁷⁵ These references occur in *Timothy* between pp.20 and 200.

¹⁷⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.197-8.

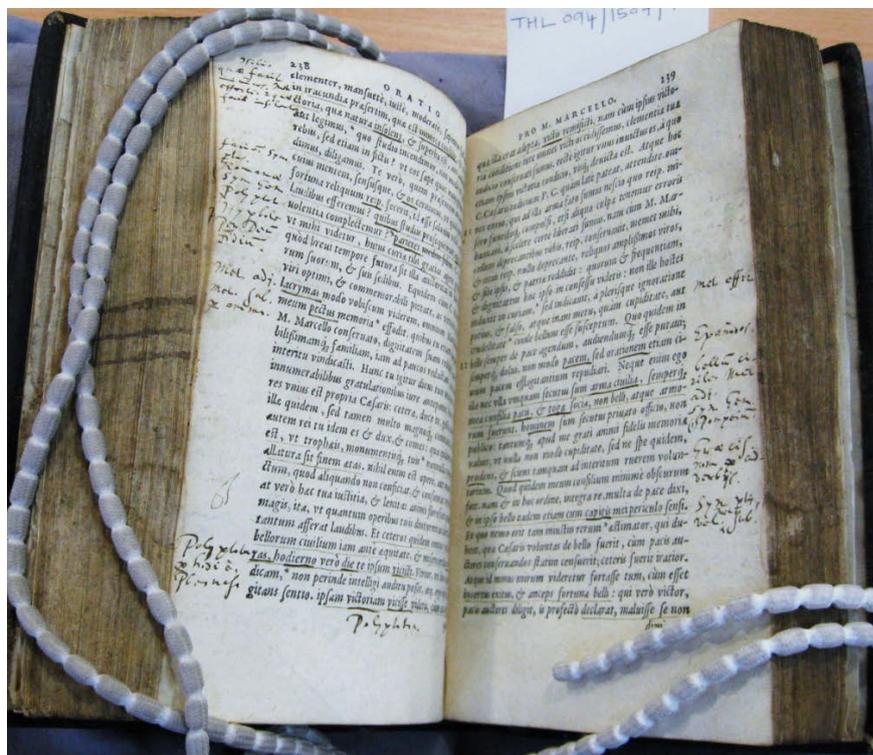
¹⁷⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.197-8.

¹⁷⁸ Hall, *Apologie*, p.20. These words are taken from Shakespeare *The rape of Lucrece*, lines 666-7: ‘For princes are the glass, the school, the book, Where subjects' eyes do learn, do read, do look’. Hall did not name Shakespeare but referred to him as ‘Some sone’ who had ‘alluded to the Apostle’s words in verse’, meaning Paul’s words concerning the importance of good example in 1 Tim. 4:12.

example, Hall has made marginal study notes which are particularly intensive by ‘Oratio xl’, an oration he has highlighted with a fist and cross-referenced to the commentary on it by Peter Ramus.¹⁷⁹ Here he has noted ‘epistrophe’, ‘epanodos’, ‘hyberbole’, ‘ironia’, ‘metonyms of the adjunct, effect, matter and subject’, ‘pleonasmus’, ‘polyptolon’, and ‘synecdoche generis’ (Figure 10).¹⁸⁰

FIGURE 10: NOTING RHETORICAL EXAMPLES

‘Oratio XL’ in *Orationum M. Tullii Ciceronis* (1585)



In the left-hand margin Hall has noted examples of metonym of the effect, synecdoche generis, polyptolon, hyberbole, metonym of the adjunct, and of the subject, and possibly Paranomasia. At the bottom of the page, polyptolon appears again.

In the right-hand margin, Hall has noted metonym of the effect, epanados, metonym of the adjunct, synecdoche generis, polyptolon, synecdoche or metonym of the subject.

¹⁷⁹ Hall owned a copy of this work, *P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica: P. Rami ... praelectionibus exposita : quibus poeta vita praeposita est* (1572) [Cat.B224].

¹⁸⁰ Cicero, *Orationum M. Tullii Ciceronis volumen III A Ioan. Michaelae Bruto emendatum* (1585) [Cat.C175, THL 094/1584/4C], pp.235-45. ‘Epistrophe’ the repetition of sounds; ‘epanados’ a figure of speech in which the parts of a sentence or clause are repeated in inverse order; ‘ironia’ ironical, taunting speech; ‘metonyms of the adjunct, effect, matter and subject’ are all forms of the transferred use of meanings; ‘pleonasmus’, the use of more words in a sentence than are necessary to express the meaning; ‘polyptolon’, the use of the same word or words in different cases such as ‘to him, by him, from him’; and ‘synecdoche generis’, a figure putting a word that is only a part for the whole, or the whole for a part.

Hall has similarly deconstructed Virgil's eclogue II, the song of the shepherd Corydon to Alexis (Figure 11).¹⁸¹ As Peter Mack wrote, Virgil's *Eclogues* were standard fare in grammar schools and scholars knew many of the names and examples of rhetorical tropes by heart.¹⁸²

FIGURE 11: NOTING MORE RHETORICAL EXAMPLES



Virgil, *Opera omnia* (1608)

On page 4 Hall has marked 'paronomasia', 'metaphor' and 'synecdoche generis' on the text.

On page 5, Hall has noted 'metaphor', 'prolepsis', 'synecdoche', 'gradation', 'periphrasis' and 'epizeuxis' in the right-hand margin.

In a direct pedagogical message to young pupils, Hall wrote, 'Make use of figures and Tropes; a verse without them is like a man without clothes, naked and uncomely; but adorned with

¹⁸¹ Virgil, *Publii Virgilii Maronis Mantuani opera omnia* [Cat.C106, THL 094/1608/1]. 'Paronomasia' is the use of words that sound similar to other words, but have different meanings; 'prolepsis' the anticipation of an objection; 'gradation' or climax when the succeeding clauses transcend each other; 'periphrasis' the use of several words for one thing; and 'epizeuxis' when the same word is doubled by way of emphasis.

¹⁸² P. Mack, 'Humanism, Rhetoric, Education', pp.96, 102-3.

them is beautiful and delightful. Figurative expressions become a Poet.’¹⁸³ However, education in rhetorical tropes had even greater significance for Hall because it was essential for his main reading aim of understanding the truth of the Bible. This was demonstrated in his publication, ‘Rhetorica sacra’, a detailed explanation of these tropes and their uses, designed to counter ignorance of biblical rhetoric which he regarded as ‘one ground of many errors amongst us.’¹⁸⁴

Having delved into his texts and extracted all the useful gems of wisdom to note in other places, Hall also showed that he read extensively, by constantly cross-referencing other works he read and owned. These references appear everywhere, on the texts themselves by rubrics and in margins, and on flyleaves and title pages. The commonest form of noting a cross reference by Renaissance readers and one regularly used by Hall was ‘v’ for ‘*vide*’ or ‘see’.¹⁸⁵ The majority of his cross-references, as befitted a clerical reader, were to the Bible, but he cited a formidable number of other books and authors. He may or may not have had several books opened at once in the style of Gabriel Harvey, but he certainly made a habit of putting together the wisdom of several authors, as his lists of references at regular intervals in *Timothy* and other publications show. One example of this is his list of references with useful comments for drunkenness:

See more against Drunkenesse in that excellent Tract of Mr. Young, stiled, The Drunkards Character; 'tis the best that I have seen in this kind. All the labours of that holy man, are worthy the perusall of young Students especially, Mr, Iohn Downams four Treatises against Drunkards, Swearers, Whoremongers, and Bribery, Mr. Sam. Wards Woe to Drunkards. D. Harris Drunken-cup. D. Ier. Taylor's. Holy-Living. p. 72. Mr. Henry Smith's Sermon on Gen. 9.22. p. 284. Mr. Clerk's Mirrour. cap. 42. Edit. 3. Mr. Rous's Diseases of the Time. cap. 16. p. 173. Folio.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Hall, *Folly*, sig.(a7)r.

¹⁸⁴ Hall, *Vindiciae*, appendix ‘Rhetorica sacra’, pp.76, 88-9.

¹⁸⁵ W. H. Sherman, *John Dee*, p.71, thought that no word appears in scholars’ margins with more frequency than ‘*vide*’ except perhaps ‘*nota*’.

¹⁸⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, p. 101.

Another example taken from his annotations can be seen on the endleaves of Gouge's *A guide to goe to God*. Here Hall's multiple references concern the Lord's Prayer.¹⁸⁷ After four sides of notes on general sayings and anecdotes about prayer and doctrine, he wrote closely for another three sides on an analysis of the Lord's Prayer referencing the Bible most frequently but also another fifteen authorities.¹⁸⁸

b) iv) Hall's reading and use of texts concerning Quakers

Hall's reading techniques are most apparent through texts of which he disapproved, because they elicited the heaviest and most animated marks. A useful surviving sample of such texts is provided by his extant works on Quakers. These are concerned with one subject, are heavily marked, and were used and referred to in Hall's published works.

Hall cited a total of twenty-one works about Quakers from 1653 to 1660. Twelve of these have not survived, but nine pamphlets have.¹⁸⁹ Of these nine, six are by orthodox authors and three by Quakers themselves, and they are all bound in with other works on erroneous believers in four separate pamphlet volumes. Only the work of Baxter out of all these texts was catalogued by Hall, so he may well have owned more.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ William Gouge, *A guide to goe to God; or, an explanation of the perfect patterne of prayer* [Cat.A339, THL 1626/4].

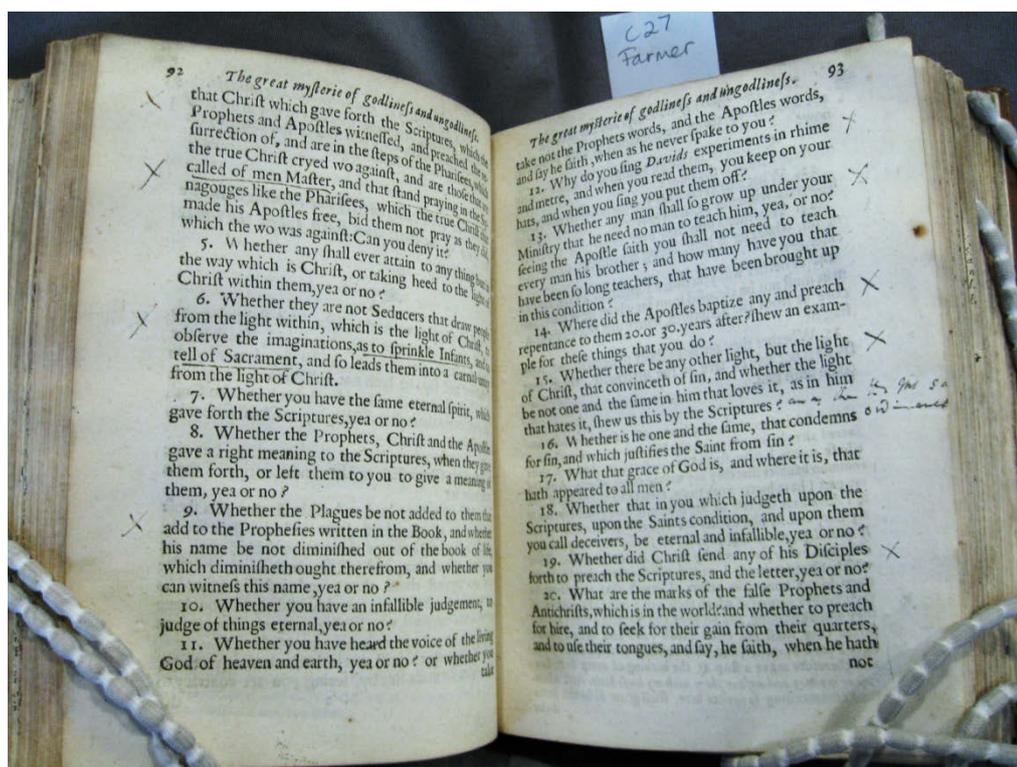
¹⁸⁸ The fifteen authors were William Perkins, Lambert Daneau, John Davenant, Joannes Sharpus, Gervase Babington, William Burton, Henry Scudder, Richard Bernard, Dudley Fenner, Saint Augustine, John Knewstubs, Cyprian, Chrysostom, John Bradford and Henricus Kyspenningius.

¹⁸⁹ The eleven that have not survived are: Francis Higginson, *A brief relation of the irreligion of the northern Quakers* (1653); Thomas Weld *The perfect Pharisee under monkish holinesse* (1653); Richard Sherlock, *The Quakers wilde questions* (1654); Samuel Eaton, *The Quakers confuted* (1654); William Prynne, *The Quakers unmasked* (1655); Jonathan Clapham, *A full discovery and confutation of the wicked and damnable doctrines of the Quakers* (1656); Immanuel Bourne, *A defence of the Scriptures* (1656); Ralph Farmer, *Sathan inthron'd in his chair of pestilence* (1657, i.e. 1656); Giles Firmin, *Stablishing against shaking* (1656); Anon, *The grand imposter examined* (1656); and Richard Baxter, *One sheet against the Quakers* (1657).

¹⁹⁰ The surviving works by orthodox writers are Richard Baxter, *The Quakers catechism* (1655) [THL 094/C27]; Ralph Farmer, *The great mysteries of godlinesse and ungodlinesse* (1655) [THL 094/C27]; John Bewick, *An answer to a Quakers seventeen heads of queries* (1660) [THL 094/C32]; Thomas Underhill, *Hell broke loose: or An history of the Quakers* (1660) [THL 094/C36]; William Grigge, *The Quaker's Jesus* (1658) [THL 094/C36];

The first main feature of Hall's marking of these pamphlets is the visual impact of the multiplicity of crosses in the margins, both on the texts of orthodox writers as an endorsement of the wrong ideas they were revealing, and on the texts of the Quakers to demonstrate the errors in what they were writing (Figure 12). These marks emphasised Hall's total abhorrence of Quaker tenets, and his careful noting of orthodox arguments against them. He showed his empathy with discussions of England as a nation rife with every form of blasphemy and heresy, currently falling to an all-time nadir, while sorely testing the patience of God.

FIGURE 12: DISAPPROVAL OF QUAKER TENETS



Ralph Farmer, *The great mysteries of godlinesse and ungodlinesse* (1655) [THL 094/C27]

Thomas Smith, *The Quaker disarm'd* (1659) [THL 094/C36]; and John Timson, *The Quaker apostasie from the perfect rule of the Scriptures discovered* (1656) [THL 094/C5].

The three Quaker pamphlets are Richard Farnworth, *A character whereby the false Christs, or Antichrists, seducers, false prophets, and house-creepers may be known* (1654) [THL 094/C27]; George Fox, the younger, *A noble salutation and a faithful greeting unto thee Charles Stuart* (1660) [THL 094/C32]; and Edward Burrough, *A declaration to all the vworld of our faith and what we believe who are called Quakers* (1659) [THL 094/C32].

As Hall read these pamphlets he regularly underlined key words such as ‘Quakers’, ‘pride’, ‘popery’, ‘tithes’, ‘toleration’, ‘deceivers’ and ‘seducers’, ‘inward light’, ‘infant baptism’, ‘covetous priests’ and ‘witches’. Several of these keywords were typical commonplace book headings especially the vice of pride.¹⁹¹ Other key words Hall underlined were biblical and other textual references, and the names of authors and their works, a common feature of his marking across the library.¹⁹² He also maintained an interest in adversaries such as Giles Calvert, noting his sibling relationship with the Quakeress Martha Symonds, a chief Quaker organiser and one of the women who accompanied James Nayler in his procession into Bristol. This sort of information was recycled in an acknowledged methodology in his own works: ‘Martha Simonds is suspected to be a Witch, and a Whore. V. Farmer against Nayler. p. 3.10.’¹⁹³ The names of all the leading Quakers were invariably underlined, George Fox junior also being called a ‘Jesuite’ on the title page of his pamphlet *Salutation*.

Moving on to themes, there was consistency in Hall’s underlining and bracketing of lines and paragraphs that concern Quaker antagonism towards the ministry, their opposition to tithes and ministerial maintenance, their belief in the inner light guiding them more truly than the scriptures, and the insults they applied to ministers, especially noting ‘covetous’ and ‘hireling’. As usual, Hall also noted any material that related to his locality and personal experience. Other notable themes he seems to have been gathering which were common to all

¹⁹¹ I am grateful to Richard Cust for drawing my attention to a clerical commonplace book, probably that of Daniel Cawdrey, in which there are matching headings for some of the keywords Hall was underlining: p.78, ‘*De Baptismo*’ for baptism; p.118, ‘*De Concupiscentia*’ for covetousness; and p.450, ‘*De Superbia et Ambitione*’ for pride and ambition. For the practice and significance of commonplace notebooks in Christian humanist education, see Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism*, pp.82-90, and K. L. Parker and E. J. Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, pp.39-40, 44-7. Also G. Baker, *Reading and Politics* (2010) 102-4, 109-10, for varied contemporary approaches to commonplacing.

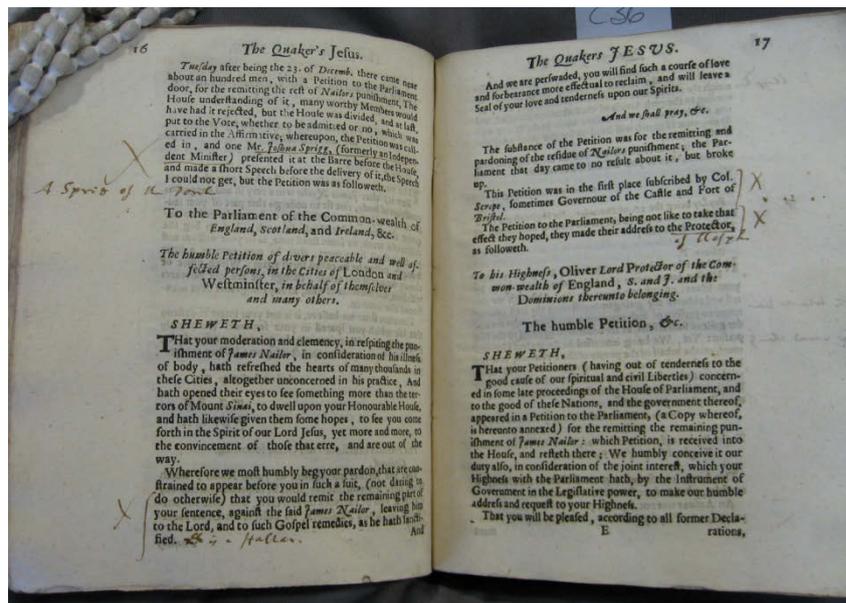
¹⁹² Hall’s noting of authors and their works shows his interest in authors he had already acquired, and perhaps in authors he would like to have acquired, and was a way of keeping himself up to date with the latest publications.

¹⁹³ Hall, *Timothy*, p.226, citing Ralph Farmer, *Sathan inthron’d in his chair of pestilence* (1657, i.e. 1656), which was uncatalogued and does not survive.

the orthodox anti-Quaker authors, were the startling behaviours adopted by the Quakers, their idiosyncratic language for everyday objects and events, and their cries as a suffering people. For this he had no tolerance, writing that suffering was only suffering if it was righteous. In the Quakers' case, Hall considered it well deserved.¹⁹⁴

The narratives concerning Quakers also held Hall's attention. He can be seen marking the scandals attributed to them, the 'providential' punishments they suffered, and especially the progress of the case of James Nayler. This most publicised case roused his annotational indignation to such a pitch that he added comments showing a level of impolitic criticism of Parliament and Cromwell that he would never have published (Figure 13). He was horrified

FIGURE 13: IMPOLITIC ANNOTATIONS



William Grigge, *The Quaker's Jesus* (1658) [THL 094/C36]. Here Hall shows his outrage against Sprigg, Nayler and Cromwell.

by the authorities' insipid handling of the affair, placing a huge cross by the name of Joshua Sprigg, who presented the petition for the amelioration of Nayler's punishment and calling

¹⁹⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, p.218.

him ‘A Spirit of the Devil’. As for the Lord Protector, Hall has labelled him Protector ‘of Blasphemy’, and questioned his integrity in claiming to abhor such practices while tolerating Nayler’s supposed crimes, which were not, as Cromwell wrote, ‘imputed’, but rather were ‘proved clearly’.¹⁹⁵

The constant cross-referencing among anti-Quaker publications, their repetition of Quaker excesses real and imagined, and the frequently quoted long lists of their erroneous tenets, created a discourse of shared tropes and language which Hall in turn repeated and recycled to suit his particular purposes. The following passage, for example, shows how he incorporated references from the titles of two works on Quakers, *A brief relation of the irreligion of the northern Quakers* (1653) and *The perfect Pharisee* (1653), and a host of polemical vocabulary which could be found in any of the anti-Quaker texts:

The Scribes and Pharisees, what adoe did they make about Tything of Mint, and Cummin, and Annise; but the weighty matters of the Law lay unregarded; these forget that obedience is better than sacrifice. Thus our perfect Pharisees the Quakers, how precise seeme they in their words, even beyond the rule; What adoe doe they make about Pulpits, Hourglasses, Churches, Steeples, Bells, Gownes, Clokes, Laces, Fringes, Hatbands, making of Leggs, Curchies, Titles of Honour, &c. and yet these Atheistical Libertines, whose Religion is meer Irreligion, make no bones of Blasphemy, Heresie, Lying, Equivocating, Rayling, Witch-craft, &c. God will smite such gross Hipocrites.¹⁹⁶

The orthodox pamphlets against the Quakers, like the well controlled Quaker output, were extremely consistent in the arguments they made. Common to them all was the belief that simply to expose the Quaker tenets was sufficient refutation, and they all offered vigorous attacks against Quaker pleas for toleration and equally vigorous defences of ministry and maintenance. Hall followed suit. For example, he underlined in Farmer ‘*recitasse est confutasse*’, or ‘to lay bear these things is to confute them’, a phrase that was ingrained in his

¹⁹⁵ William Grigge, *The Quaker's Jesus* (1658) [THL 094/C36], pp.16-18.

¹⁹⁶ Hall, *Amos*, pp.57-8.

repertoire and which he had written out on another pamphlet exposing sectarian beliefs.¹⁹⁷ In *Samaria*, he made dramatic use of the tactic, laying bare Quaker atrocities by reproducing an entire Quaker tract, entitled, *In the yeare 59*.¹⁹⁸ This was the published experience of the Quaker Solomon Eccles, who having failed once, had then successfully hidden himself in the pulpit of Edmund Calamy at Aldermanbury until the service began, and had then popped up and proceeded to ‘sew a pocket’ in full view of the congregation. He was hauled out savagely and dragged through the streets of London to the mayor. Hall saw only the religious outrage, which he described as ‘an instance of the Impudency, Anarchy, and Blasphemy of our times. The bare reciting of this sinful, senseless Pamphlet, is confutation sufficient.’¹⁹⁹ No doubt he also knew that, like all the tales of unconventional Quaker behaviour, it made gripping reading.²⁰⁰

In his publications, Hall treated Quakers in two ways, firstly denying them any special status by lumping them together with the entire sectarian rabble, and portraying them as a further development of Ranters, insisting like other anti-Quaker writers that nothing about their beliefs was new.²⁰¹ At the same time, and somewhat contradicting himself, Hall recognised Quakers as a new and dangerous sectarian force, and so also attacked them as an individual group, repeating the most sensational stories and charges against them. In his publications at

¹⁹⁷ Ralph Farmer, *The great mysteries* (1655), p.62. Hall also used this phrase, ‘*recitasse est confutasse*’, as a manuscript annotation on his copy of William Bartlet, *Soveraigne Balsome* [THL 094/C24], p.64, at the end of an appended list entitled: ‘*A Catalogue of those (never enough to be abhorred opinions) that some of those more especially that cast off and renounce the use of Gospel-ordinances, do professedly hold and maintain*’, and in *Funebria*, p.5 with the explanation that the rehearsal of ungodly practices in publication is ‘a good part of their refutation.’

¹⁹⁸ Solomon Eccles, *In the yeare 59. in the fourth month, the last day of the month being the 5th day of the week of Solomon Eccles 6th Month* (1659) [Wing (2nd ed., 1994), E128], reproduced in Hall, *Samaria*, pp.164-7.

¹⁹⁹ Hall, *Samaria*, p.164.

²⁰⁰ Ironically, Hall’s reproduction of this pamphlet has also made it more accessible to posterity, as few copies of the original survive. ESTC gives only three current locations, whereas Hall’s work can be found in fourteen, some with multiple copies.

²⁰¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.165. Ralph Farmer, *The great mysteries* [THL 094/C27], pp.58-60, gave a detailed account of the similarities between Quakers and Ranters.

the end of the decade in particular, he drew on his stock of anti-Quaker works for material to inspire fear of their potential to destabilise society, calling them ‘disturbers of the Peace of the Nation’ in *Timothy* and ‘seditious’ in *Magistracy*.²⁰² In *Samaria* and *Amos* his prophetic works about impending doom in those last and perilous times, he incorporated the Quakers into his main argument to warn and inspire terror that, without repentance, England was doomed.²⁰³ Recycling the words so often found among the publications he collected, he wrote that the Quakers were, ‘a prophane Generation, they are mordaces & mendaces, notorious Railers and Lyars, as like their Father the Devil, as ever they can look,’ and used the same themes he was noting in his reading, highlighting his main concerns as ‘their speaking against Ministers, and their Maintenance, or against the Coercive power of the Magistrate, against Scripture, Ordinances, &c.’²⁰⁴

Hall’s marking of his Quaker and other oppositional texts seems to have a further dimension, because it also resulted in their correction and sanitisation, so that when he bequeathed them to future readers, he left them works which had been remoulded to reflect true doctrine and to guide the formation of their views.²⁰⁵ His marks were also intended as physical evidence of his own, consistent godly position, the future importance of which was articulated in *Funebria* when writing of his alarm at being likened to Quakers:

²⁰² Hall, *Timothy*, p.219, and *Magistracy*, p.19.

²⁰³ For example, Hall, *Samaria*, p.91, linked a comparison of false prophets in Israel and England with the Quakers, and particularly their audacity in presenting a petition ‘five and twenty yards long, with twenty thousand hands at it against the Ministry’, which was possibly their petition against tithes to the Rump in 1659. See B. Reay, ‘Quaker Opposition to Tithes 1652-1660’, *Past and Present* 86:1 (1980) 98-120.

²⁰⁴ Hall, *Samaria*, pp.91-2. The phrase ‘*mordaces et mendaces*’ was a favourite of Hall’s for sectaries. He used it against Thomas Collier, and he also wrote it in a margin by the side of George Fox’s name.

²⁰⁵ See R. Barbour, ‘Dean Wren’s *Religio Medici*: Reading in Civil War England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73:2 (2010) 263-72, p.264, where he interprets Wren’s annotations that censor, reshape and rewrite the work as the efforts of the reader to act as publisher, licenser and co-author, very much in the way Hall approached his oppositional texts.

For Quakerism, I have preach'd, prayed, practised, and printed against it, and openly (as occasion required) opposed them and their blasphemous principles, and satanical practices.²⁰⁶

He knew that anyone who read his library books or his own published works would find this to be the truth.

c) Conclusion

Hall's library was accumulated to support the practical needs of his godly endeavours on the multiple fronts of his ministerial, teaching and publishing activities. In time his collecting developed into a love of books, both as texts and objects, and appears to have compensated for his lack of family and other worldly comforts. In Daniel Tossanus, *A synopsis*, Hall underlined the line that a library was 'the onely Paradise of this world,' a comment that obviously resonated with him.²⁰⁷ His library always served as an armoury for the defence of truth, and it enveloped him in a wide godly community of print. By bequeathing his books for the public good, he also realised their potential as lasting symbols of his personal learning and piety for the enhancement of his posthumous reputation, as well as ensuring their practical contribution to the continuing godly struggle,.

As the single private collection of a provincial curate, Hall's library also presents a considerable worldly achievement. In analysing the library catalogue of Dr. John Webster (1611-1682) an ordained curate and one time schoolmaster, Elmer considers that the size of his collection of about 1,501 entries, with a value of just over £400, indicates a voracious appetite for the printed word.²⁰⁸ Much the same could be said of Hall, although he would have been horrified to be compared in any way with this man whom he considered one of his

²⁰⁶ Hall, *Funebria*, p. 38.

²⁰⁷ Daniel Tossanus, *A synopsis or compendium of the Fathers* [THL 094/1635/9], sig.A4v.

²⁰⁸ P. Elmer (ed.), *The Library of Dr. John Webster: The Making of a Seventeenth Century Radical* (1986), pp.15-6.

greatest opponents, and a general comparison of their books emphasises the differences in their libraries as they reflected their ideologies. Although Webster had a great love of learning and a breadth of texts which show his roots emanated in the traditional educational system and Calvinist theology, he had lost his belief in state-supported religion and in the derivation of religious knowledge and spirituality from human learning, particularly pagan learning, and so he looked to new sources of knowledge. The main emphasis of his library was on natural philosophy, with a third of his volumes on medicine, maths and natural science. These sorts of books were almost totally lacking in Hall's collection, which fully reflected his beliefs in traditional learning, orthodox Protestantism and his total opposition to change.

While there is a growing consensus that the history of reading will not reveal a 'typical' reader, it is hoped that in tracing many readers and their individual micro histories that a picture will emerge of how books were read and used.²⁰⁹ The large surviving sample of Hall's books makes a useful contribution. While the study of his reading marks may only give partial insight into his reading practice and his internalising of texts, his written works confirm a consistency of views. Hall's traditional humanist training is well reflected in his reading and there is no doubt that he valued and used these methods to advance his own learning and that of his students, and to support his ministry and other professional roles.

Hall's reading marks reveal both his private and public reactions. His marginal annotations on pamphlets from the early 1640s ring with the immediacy of his excitement and hopes for reformation. At times they show his obvious delight in puerile verses and jingles, and his raw,

²⁰⁹ H. B. Hackel, *Reading Material*, p.141.

personal outbursts which were toned down for publication or were not published at all.²¹⁰ On the other hand, well-considered and studious responses indicate his serious exploitation of texts in order to inform and support his various godly activities. At the same time, there is no doubting his systematic remoulding of erroneous ideas and whole erroneous works, for himself and for the guidance of future readers, in the promotion of true religion. At the simplest level across the collection, Hall corrected printing errors such as mispaginations and spellings, but he invariably corrected ideas and omissions. A seemingly innocuous text that demonstrates this well is William Crowe's compendium of biblical commentators, throughout which Hall has added godly writers the author omitted, as well as pointing out and dismissing all the sectarian writers.²¹¹ His correction of oppositional Papist, Quaker, and sectarian texts was uncompromising and strident, and can also be seen on books written by Catholics which, of necessity, Hall used for their scholarship. These included Bellarmine's work on Hebrew and Suarez on rhetoric, but any references to Catholic beliefs were firmly crossed out (Figure 13).²¹²

Another associated aspect of his censorship and sanitisation of texts promoting ungodly notions concerned his need to be a living example of godliness in life and in death. Books

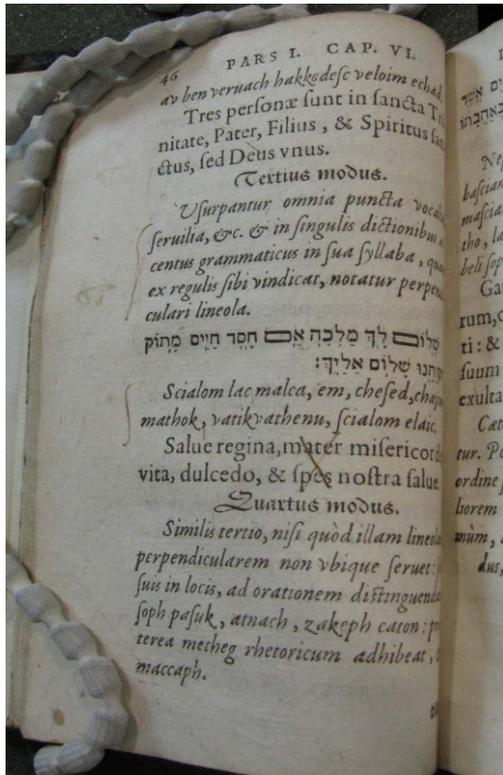
²¹⁰ Hall's notes concerning the regicide on John Cook, *King Charls his case* (1649) [THL 094/C23, Wing (2nd ed., 1994), C6025], are the best example of his private notes that were never published. See also Chapter 2, b) iv) The execution of the king and establishment of a republic.

²¹¹ William Crowe, *An exact collection of our English writers on the Old and New Testament either in whole, or in part* [Cat.A201, THL 094/1663/1]. Hall's additions were correct, though they were often sermons on the texts in question. He also added works of his own which he seems to have completed in manuscript but which were never published.

²¹² Catholic authors, such as the Jesuit commentators Cornelius a Lapide and Lessius, were useful to Hall for their scholarship and are regularly cited in support of his published points, but he read Bellarmine's theology and other Catholic polemics in order to refute them. Another reason for Hall's ownership of Catholic books, was their value as textbooks; for example, Cyprian Suarez on rhetoric, and George Mayr and Robert Bellarmine on Hebrew. W. H. Sherman, *Used Books*, p.92, has found a similar censorship of such Catholic sentiment in pre-Reformation books which were owned and marked by post-Reformation readers, who modified these texts to suit their anti-Catholic beliefs. Hall may, therefore, have been partaking in a widespread practice, but he took the practice a stage further, and used it to censor all sorts of textual material of which he disapproved, purging and sanitising his books not only for his own consumption but as an authoritarian guide to ways others should read his books.

were not only symbols to Hall of his piety and brotherhood with other ministerial and biblical saints, but also worldly possessions that should totally reflect his inner piety. In advice to his parishioners he had insisted that holiness must be ‘imprinted’ on all one’s riches so that it can

FIGURE 14: HALL’S CENSORSHIP OF CATHOLIC IDEAS AND SYMBOLS



Robert Bellarmine, *Institutiones linguae Hebraicae*
[Cat.A22, THL 094/1629/1A]



Cyprian Suarez, *De arte rhetorica*
[Cat.C163, THL 094/1628/2]

be ‘so apparent, that it may be known, not to one or two, but to All, both friends and foes, both good and bad; so our sanctification must not lie concealed in our breasts, but it must be made visible in our lives, we must be burning and shining lights, carrying about us convincing lives, that we may win many to God’.²¹³ In Hall’s case, having few worldly goods to leave to posterity except his books, their appearance was particularly important.

²¹³ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.108-9.

It seems, therefore, that Hall's reading marks were as much about his enthusiastic engagement with his texts and his continuing learning, as with his self-conscious censorship of them for posterity and his self-presentation, thereby contributing further to his campaign for suppressing error and sectarianism, and promoting orthodoxy and Presbyterianism: at least within his own library the record had been set straight.

The following chapters will show how he used the support of his collection in the development of his religious ideas and identity, in his pastoral and teaching roles and in communicating his ideology to the wider world outside his own parish.

CHAPTER 2

THE FORMATION OF HALL'S RELIGIOUS IDENTITY UP TO 1651

When Hall made his religious beliefs explicit in his first publication in 1651, he professed a high Calvinist doctrine, locating his confessional identity firmly within the national Church of England, seeing himself as heir to the Edwardian, Elizabethan and Jacobean traditions.¹ However, although he claimed to be orthodox in doctrine, he rejected several features of this inheritance, such as the Prayer Book and episcopacy, arguing that these were continuing popish corruptions, while he remained true to Reformed Protestantism and to the original apostolic ecclesiology, or Presbyterianism, as it had been adopted by other European Reformed Churches. He rejected labels such as 'Puritan' and 'Precisionist' but accepted the general notion of being a Puritan, preferring to describe those he deemed the chosen people of God as the 'godly', the 'Elect', 'the people of God', or the 'Saints', and of all these he used 'godly' the most regularly.²

As a reformer who was totally opposed to separation from the national Church, however imperfect it might be, he followed in the tradition of those men whom Patrick Collinson, Peter Lake, Margo Todd and Mark Curtis have called 'Moderate Puritans', divines such as Samuel Ward, William Perkins, William Whitaker, Laurence Chadderton and John Rainolds.³ He saw

¹ Hall, *Pulpit*, title page, pp.30-3 and *passim*.

² Hall, *Life*, fos.16-7, wrote that he had previously railed at the people of God 'under the reprochfull name of Puritans, which he divided into two ranks, viz Puritans in Doctrine & Puritans in Discipline,' but thereafter he became a 'Zealous Apologist' for them and their ways. He also spoke of his days of ignorance and enmity to God's people in his will, *Life*, fo.202. The best examples of his use of the terms 'godly' and 'Saints' appear throughout his book *Holiness*. In *Vindiciae*, p.212, he wrote that, 'Though to be holy and Divine, be essentially proper unto God, yet by way of Analogie and resemblance, it is also given to Angels and men. Hence the godly in this life, are called Saints, holy, and in the very letter, partakers of the Divine Nature, [2 Pet. 1.4.] not essentiallie, but Analogicallie, partaking of those graces whereby we resemble God.'

³ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967), a study of the failed attempt of moderate Puritans to bring about further reformation from within the Elizabethan Church; P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (1982); M.Todd, 'An Act of Discretion: Evangelical Conformity and the Puritan Dons',

himself as an active missionary, a member of the ‘Church Militant’, campaigning for the completion of the Reformation in England. In this struggle, he also placed himself in brotherhood with the great Presbyterian divines of his own day, such as the heresiographers Thomas Edwards and John Paget, and other stalwarts including Edmund Calamy, Christopher Love, and John Ley.

Hall informed his readers that, being no ‘wether-cocke nor time-server’, his religious identity remained constant.⁴ Yet he had not always held orthodox beliefs nor promoted Presbyterianism, these positions having evolved as a result of various influences in his personal circumstances, together with his interpretation of the religious and political changes of the previous twenty years and his reactions to them. During that time, his doctrine and practice had been tested and honed, and his arguments well rehearsed. As a result, though a relatively obscure provincial curate, Hall exemplified a moderate member of the Jacobean episcopalian Church who became radicalised in doctrine and ecclesiology, but clung to the traditional construct of the Church of England as an exclusive national Church from which it was heretical to separate, so becoming what John Goodwin disdainfully called one of ‘the hot-pressers of Reformation’.⁵

Albion 18:4 (1986) 581-99, p.581; and M. H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (1959), pp.207-12. Curtis described the university Puritan after 1591, as one ‘who could so curb his passions for reform that he allayed suspicion of his party but who would still be both an able champion of Calvinistic theology and an active protector and guide for young godly Puritans,’ naming Henry Airey and John Prideaux at Oxford, and Samuel Ward and John Preston at Cambridge. Hall collected the works of all these men except for Airey.

⁴ Hall, *Life*, fo.108.

⁵ On his copy of Goodwin, *Twelve considerable serious cautions* (1646) [THL 094/C27], Hall has underlined these words and marked the margin by the side with crosses. As J. Coffey explains, *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution* (2006), pp.133-4, Goodwin interpreted reformation ‘according to the word of God’ in a very different way from men like Hall who insisted on coercive uniformity.

In this chapter I would like to explore how Hall's religious identity developed from a Moderate Puritan position with its ingrained anti-popery before the Civil War to his professed high Calvinist orthodoxy and Presbyterianism of 1651, and the influences that sent him in a different direction from other moderate Puritans, such as John Tombes a local Worcestershire minister who greatly disappointed Hall by championing Particular Baptists, or Nathaniel Homes the Independent Millenarian whose desertion of Presbyterianism shocked Hall and with whom he engaged in vitriolic printed debate, or Richard Baxter, a neighbouring minister who was admired by Hall for his piety and orthodoxy but not for his more tolerant and loosely defined 'Presbyterianism'.⁶

Although reliance on Hall's published views means that an interpretation of the formation of his religious identity and of the justifications for his actions and opinions before 1651 will be retrospective, there are many clues to his contemporaneous responses to events and challenges in the selection of material he bought for his library and his annotations on it. In many instances, these clues can be compared with what he wrote in hindsight after 1651.

a) Influences on Hall's religious identity up to 1642

a) i) Hall's anti-popery as a major constituent of his Protestantism

As a Reformed stalwart of the Church of England, Hall considered his extreme opposition to the Church of Rome to be the foundation of his Protestantism. His vehemence against popery

⁶ Hall castigated Homes as '*Chiliasto Achilles*' or champion of the Millenarians, in an entire publication, *Chiliasto*, devoted to a rebuttal of Homes's position; in a further reprimand at the end of *Amos*, pp.579-82, Hall showed how dramatically Tombes had changed his position between 1641 and 1651, and called him a 'weather-cock'; and in *Font*, pp.133-5, wrote that he could hardly believe that such a former stalwart as John Tombes could fall so low. Hall was a neighbour of Richard Baxter and they had many colleagues and friends in common, such as Richard Moore, Hall's biographer and John Reynolds the man whom Hall designated as the publisher of his autobiography, but Hall had nothing to do with Baxter personally although he bought his books and praised his piety. The sort of Presbyterianism advanced by Baxter and others like him was not the rigid Scottish form but a looser national church organisation, which A. Hughes, 'The Public Profession of these Nations': The National Church in Interregnum England' in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006) 93-114, p.94, describes as a broader consensus of orthodox Puritans who believed in a comprehensive national Church.

as an anti-Christian, antithetical corruption of the true Church, was the prime and constant negative by which he judged his own orthodoxy. On his deathbed, according to his biographer, Hall emphasised his abhorrence of the mass.⁷ Even if his biographer was putting a hagiographical spin on Hall's last words, the sentiment is totally in keeping with all Hall's other published utterances. Such was his concern to be disassociated from any Papist taint, that he prefaced his autobiography, through which he forged his self-image for posterity, with the epitaph Luther wrote for himself: '*Pestis eram vivens, moriens tua mors ero Papa*', repeating it at the end of the work and adding a further prayer: 'From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, & from his detestable enormitys, Good Lord deliver us. From the Popes broth, & from the Devils loafe, Good Lord deliver us.'.⁸

In his hatred of Rome, Hall was a model exponent of the godly view of popery analysed by Peter Lake as a religion of falsehood and wickedness, a parallel of Babylon, in complete binary opposites to the true Protestant Church which paralleled Sion.⁹ Whereas Hall characterised the Protestant Church as 'the king's daughter who hath an internal excellency, ... all glorious within, being adorned with all the graces of the Spirit', the Church of Rome was 'an Harlot', a false religion, and 'a Ceremonious, out-side religion; all for Bowing, Ringing, Singing, Saying, Knocking, and the traditions of men.'¹⁰ This argument as employed by Moderate Puritans happily combined their two main positions of loyalty to the Protestant

⁷ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.99.

⁸ This line, meaning 'In life I plagued the pope as I will in death', appears on both the frontispiece of *Life* and at the end of Catalogue C, Hall's page 122, where Hall concluded the prayer with the form of anathema on the pope that the pope used on others: '*Brevi efficiam ut Anathema sit esse Episcopum Papalem.*' Hall may have taken this epitaph from Samuel Clarke, *The marrow of ecclesiastical historie* [Cat.A201], p.142, where it was written as: '*Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua Papa*: I living, stopt Rome's breath: And dead, will be Romes death.'

⁹ P. Lake, 'Anti-popery: The Structure of a Prejudice,' in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (1994), pp.72-107.

¹⁰ Hall, *Amos*, p.231.

Church of England and their drive for further reformation.¹¹ It began with the designation of the pope as Antichrist, the full antithesis of Christ and usurper of his position at the head of the Church, a subject on which Hall gathered many learned volumes¹² and fully concurred: ‘Abominable is the Pride of the Pope, who assumes to himself the Title of Most Holy Father, exalting himself above Christ, this shews that he is the Antichrist, ... for none is most Holy but God only.’¹³

Although Hall conceded that the Romanists had a form of godliness, it was a superficial trap, their religion being idolatrous, full of bewitchments, and riddled with superstitions and covetous practices.¹⁴ He decried Rome’s false doctrine, particularly its insistence that scripture was not a total and sufficient rule for salvation, its regard for sacrifice seen in the mass with all its ‘superstitious rites’, its belief in free-will and justification by good works, and its various unscriptural traditions.¹⁵ One of these was the forbidding of marriage of

¹¹ P. Lake has also commented on this line of argument, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (1982), p.57.

¹² Hall had several works of William Whitaker, a prolific anti-Catholic polemicist, including his doctoral thesis *Ad Nicolai Sanderi demonstrationes quadraginta* [THL 094/1583/1], and two copies of George Downname’s treatise on Antichrist, one in English *A treatise concerning Anti-Christ* [Cat.A265, THL 094/1603/1], and one in Latin, *De Antichristo* [Cat.B91]. There was a work of the Royalist, John Squire, *A plaine exposition ... that the Pope is Antichrist* [Cat.A652], and William Guild’s *The sealed book opened* [Cat.A.354]. Several sermons are also among the collection, such as Rudolph Walther, *Antichristus id est* (1546-7?) [THL 094/A4], and from Hall’s own times, sermons by William Gouge, Thomas Gataker, and the Independent, Edward Bagshaw, all well marked.

¹³ Hall, *Holiness*, p.13. Also in *Magistracy*, p.17, Hall wrote, ‘Pope is Antichrist, that man of sin, who exalts himself above all that is called God, and carries himself as God.’ In *Timothy*, p.15, Hall reminded readers that even Platina, although he was a Papist himself, exposed the wickedness of individual popes.

¹⁴ Hall, *Amos*, pp.134, 254, 345 for relics, as also Hall, *Samaria*, p.88, and *Holiness*, p.16. An attack on Rome’s depravity expressed by its idolatry and sensuality, was the main feature of Hall’s work, *Funebria*, in which he attempted to ward off the popish manifestations of superstitious evils and carnal practices, such as the May Day festivities with maypoles, which had erupted all over the country with news of the Restoration in 1660; for example, p.15: ‘The Popes Holiness with might and main keeps up his superstitious Festivals as a prime prop of his tottering kingdome. By these sensual sports, and carnal-flesh-pleasing waies of wine, women dancing, revelling, &c. Hee gained more souls than by all the tortures and cruel persecutions that hee could invent. Hence the Whore of Babylon is said to have her wine of abomination and fornication in a golden cup.’ Also, Hall, *Timothy*, p.14, accused Papists of covetousness for example for their practices of ‘Purgatory, Indulgencies, Masses for quick and dead’ which were all used to make money. Rich men, he wrote, paid dearly for masses and trentals (a series of thirty masses) to be said for them, but the poor had nothing.

¹⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.275, and *Amos*, pp.503, 233.

ministers, which in Hall's opinion had 'filled the World with Whoredome, Sodomy, Bestiality and Incest,' unlike the Church in England which was 'bound to bless God for the married Clergy. How many Dods, Dykes, Wheatlies, Whitakers, Rogerses, Byfields, &c. and other eminent Lights is this Church furnisht withall, from the pious and reverend Clergy-men of this Land.'¹⁶

Politically, Papists were also to be feared as usurpers of the proper powers of princes and kings, the supreme magistrates of a godly commonwealth, thereby encouraging disloyal and rebellious subjects.¹⁷ They were unreliable oath-breakers, and their cruelty and treachery had resulted in horrible massacres in Ireland, France, Germany, Poland and Savoy. Also cited was their cruelty to the Indians of the New World, and their treason in England through a succession of plots against Queen Elizabeth and King James.¹⁸ These fears of plots were particularly formative in Hall's view of the necessity to purify English politics of all Papist corruptions, and such arguments abounded in contemporary polemical literature of which Hall had many examples, including several well-marked Gunpowder Plot anniversary sermons. On one book which argued for Catholic toleration at the accession of James VI in 1603, Hall noted, 'They'l never be true to us, that are not true to thyr God,' and a later annotation demanded, 'What mercy did you show in Q Maries dayes?'¹⁹

¹⁶ Hall, *Amos*, p.426.

¹⁷ Hall, *Samaria*, pp.88, 142, 158. The conversion of Christina of Sweden to Catholicism in 1654 was a great disappointment to Hall, as he recorded on the flyleaf of one of his books, Richard Younge, *The cure of preiudice* [THL 094/1641/16], writing that although she was now blessed by pope and priests, she was abhorred by God as a 'gross Idolater'.

¹⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.15, 157, 211, and *Amos*, p.79.

¹⁹ Gabriel Powel, *The Catholikes supplication vnto the Kings Maiestie; for toleration of Catholike religion in England* (1603) [THL 094/C27], p.29. William Birchley, *The Christian moderator. Third part* (1653) [THL 094/C27], p.3. On the title page Hall had prefixed 'Dish' to 'Honourable Representative', i.e. the author in Hall's view was a dishonourable representative. This work is covered with Hall's marks of extreme disapproval.

Hall identified the Jesuits as the most dangerous of Rome's agents for their learning and cunning. Like the sectaries, Hall saw them 'as subtle as the Devil can make them, their lips drop as the honey combe,'²⁰ singling out Bellarmine, 'that great Achilles of the Antichristian Cause', as the leader of the pack.²¹ Hall made himself familiar with a large body of Jesuitical works, and his purchase of a history of the Council of Trent suggests that this central vehicle of counter-Reformation also formed a focus of his anti-Papist studies.²² Indeed a significant number of his anti-Papist works included refutations of Jesuit theology and scriptural interpretations. Several of these were first published at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century in response to Catholic publications arising from the Counter-Reformation. One of the best used of these books was Hall's heavily marked fifth edition of Andrew Willet's *Synopsis papismi*, a survey of all the controversies between the two religions but also an encouragement to others to join in scholarly controversy with Rome.²³

In Hall's opinion, the Papists' ignorance of original languages was a major reason for their corrupt interpretation of the scriptures, a weakness not only of the ancients and later of the monks and friars, but also a propensity of the modern 'School-boyes of Doway', the

²⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.390.

²¹ Hall, *Amos*, p.233. Hall's interest in Bellarmine, apart from collecting several of his works, can be seen in his ownership of *Bellarmino*, 'His life & death' [Cat.B38].

²² As well as a range of Jesuit works that appear in Hall's catalogues, such as those of Bellarmine, he also cites several authors whose works are not catalogued, such as Franciscus Costerus, Alphonso Salmeron, Gregory de Valentia, Johannes Azorius and Cardinal Thomas Cajetan. For examples of his references to these Jesuit authors who are not listed in his catalogues, see *Amos*, pp.237, 255, 315. The book on the Council of Trent is listed as 'Consilium Trident' [Cat.A222], and Hall refers to it in *Timothy*, p.298 in a note, 'Vid. Concil. Trident. Sess. 4. decret. 1.' This book is perhaps an edition of Paolo Sarpi's *The historie of the Councel of Trent conteining eight books*, which was written in Italian by Pietro Soave Polano, and translated into English by Nathaniel Brent. Hall also purchased *Index expurgatorius* [Cat.B143], the list of books to be avoided by Catholics for danger of immoral and erroneous content unless it had been expunged, a list begun in the sixteenth century as a counter-Reformation measure to stamp out Protestant heresy. This would have provided Hall with a potential book-buying catalogue. Hall also owned William Durandus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* [Cat.A286, THL 094/1612/1], which Clive Wilkins-Jones (ed.), 'The Minutes, Donation Book and Catalogue of Norwich City Library, Founded in 1608', *Norfolk Record Society* 72 (Norwich, 2008), p. 17, describes as a complete exposition of medieval Catholic worship, the comprehensiveness of which was unrivalled.

²³ *Synopsis papismi* was published in answer to Bellarmine's *Disputationes*, a study which A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p.15, considered the most important defence of Popish doctrine throughout the early seventeenth century. Hall had a fifth edition of this work [Cat.A714, THL 094/1638/8], prefaced by a life of the author.

‘Rhemists’ and even Bellarmine himself.²⁴ Two defensive Protestant works concerning Bible translation by the early Elizabethan Presbyterian, William Fulke, were listed in Hall’s catalogue of best books;²⁵ these indicate the tone of his study, for, as Bauckham argued, Fulke not only responded to Roman Catholic attacks on the English Church, but also ‘propagated the dominant Elizabethan version of the apocalyptic interpretation of the Reformation as the final struggle between Christ and Antichrist, a theme that ran through the whole sixteenth-century Protestant–Catholic controversy.’²⁶ Other notable Elizabethan anti-Papist works in Hall’s library include John Rainold’s *Theses*, Edward Bulkley’s work against the Rhemish Jesuits, Thomas Stoughton’s general anti-Papist treatise, as well as the attack on Papists and Jesuits written by Laurence Humphrey, who had been a Genevan exile and was an internationally renowned anti-Papist polemicist.²⁷ There were several books by Matthew Sutcliffe, the indefatigable enemy of Papists, and other Jacobean works, including a number by George and Ro

²⁴ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.75-6. Although Hall depended on several Catholic textbooks on the Hebrew language such as Bellarmine, *Institutiones linguae Hebraicae* [THL 094/1615/1], here in *Vindiciae*, he argued that Papists continued to misinterpret the original biblical languages, giving specific examples, one of which was their insistence on free-will.

²⁵ Hall owned Fulke, *A defense of the sincere and true translations of the holie Scriptures into the English tong* [Cat.B113], which was Fulke’s response to Gregory Martin about the principles and practice of Bible translation, and *The text of the Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous seminarie at Rhemes* [Cat.B112], which continued the controversy with Martin; and *A reioynder to Bristows replie in defence of Allens scroll of articles and booke of purgatorie Also the cauils of Nicholas Sander D. in Diuinitie about the supper of our Lord, and the apologie of the Church of England, touching the doctrine thereof, confuted by William Fulke* [Cat.B114].

²⁶ R. Bauckham, ‘Fulke, William (1536/7–1589)’, *Oxf. DNB*.

²⁷ John Rainold, *Iohannes Rainoldi Angli, Sex theses de sacra Scriptura et Ecclesia* [Cat.A543, THL 094/1602/3]; Edward Bulkley, *An answer to ten frivolous reasons set down by the Rhenish Jesuits* [Cat.A182]; Thomas Stoughton, *A general treatise against poperie* [Cat.A636, THL 094/1598/1,]; and Laurence Humphrey, *A view of the Romish hydra and monster, treason, against the Lords anointed* [Cat.A405]. It should be noted that, in accordance with the general practice of the day, Hall also relied on selected Jesuit authors for their works of exegesis, particularly Cornelius a Lapide, who is among his most frequently cited sources, and Guilielmus Estius, the commentaries of both men having been published in the first part of the seventeenth century. Dr. J. Sandys-Wunsch, *What Have They Done to the Bible: A History of Modern Biblical Interpretations* (2005), p.98, argued that the distinctions between Roman and Protestant commentators were not clearly defined at this time, and that it was only after the seventeenth century that the Roman Catholic tradition fell into decline and the Protestant commentators developed and dominated with their approaches. D. McKim, *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters* (2007), pp.38-9 similarly pointed out the mutual respect between Protestant and Catholic exegetes at that time. Hall owned Lapide’s entire corpus [Cat.B9 and B97], and three of the works of Estius [Cat.B97, B98, B99], including his notes on the principal and more difficult passages in scripture. However, Hall was always exultant when he was able to find fault and to use one Jesuit to argue against another.

bert Abbot, as well as Joseph Hall's *A serious disswasiue*.²⁸ These books indicate that Hall was collecting renowned authors whose orthodoxy in his view was the bedrock of the Church, and the inherited truth he was promoting for his own age and for future generations.

Hall also concerned himself with the aggressive Papist query about exactly where the Protestant Church had been before the time of Luther if it was not, as Papists believed it to be, a false separatist church from Rome. Anthony Milton has analysed the contorted arguments with which English Protestant answered this question, including the Elizabethan Foxeian line adopted by Hall, that popery was 'a new and false Religion', because a true Church had survived from the days of the Primitive Church even though it had been reduced to small numbers under the tyranny of Rome.²⁹ Turning to the Primitive Church as the last visibly true

²⁸ The significance of these great works to Hall as vital texts in the continuing struggle for sound orthodoxy is illustrated by his bequest of most of them, *Life*, fo.212, as his 'best' books to the public library at Birmingham, the exception being Joseph Hall's work, *A serious disswasiue from poperie* [Cat.A368, THL 094/1609/1]. Another four anti-Papist works by Sutcliffe [Cat.B266-9], all first published at the turn of the sixteenth to seventeenth century, were listed in Hall's catalogue of books left to the Birmingham library, all of them being denunciations of Bellarmine. Andrew Willet was among the anti-Papist authors he bequeathed to Kings Norton. In one interesting volume, [Cat.A719, THL 094/1603], Hall had four such works from 1603 and 1606 bound together. The first is Willet, *An antilogie*, a refutation of two hundred Papist 'vntruths and slaunders'. The other books in the volume are *The anatomie of popish tyrannie* [Cat.A93, THL 094/1603], written by the apostate Jesuit, Thomas Bell, followed by Francis Dillingham, *A quartron of reasons* [THL 094/1603], and finally *An abridgement or suruey of poperie* (1606) [Cat.A640, THL 094/1603], by Matthew Sutcliffe. Hall has written out an index for the volume on the first title page, and made only one catalogue entry for all four works, at Cat.A719. There was also a second separate work, by Thomas Bell, *The suruey of popery* [Cat.A92, THL 094/1596/1], which Hall marked heavily throughout. Also among Hall's books were two works by William Crashaw, whom Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p.33, describes as an anti-papal pamphleteer: his translation, of Balbani, *Life of Galeacius Caraccioius* [THL 094/C36], a convert from popery to Protestantism, and his *Romish forgeries* [Cat.B109]. Joseph Hall's work, *A serious disswasiue from poperie* [Cat.A368, THL 094/1609/1].

²⁹ A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 270-331. Hall, *Holiness*, p.54. On his copy of Featley, *A case for the spectacles* [Cat.A304, THL 094/1638/3], which was a defence of Protestantism, Hall has written out, almost verbatim, Foxe's view of the primitive Church: 'By the primitive Church I meane the Church for the space of 5 hundred years after Christ in which times lived the most fathers as Justin, Ireneus, Turtullian, Ciprian, Basil, Crysostome, Hieron. Austin etc.' Featley's book was a gift to Hall from his friend and patron Richard Grevis, which indicates their mutual interest and which would have been highly valued by Hall. On a second flyleaf, Hall has also quoted Foxe on Bainham's dying jibe at Papists: 'Mr. Bainham sayed who was burned in Smithfield when his armes and legs were halfe consumed. O ye Papists, ye looke for Miracles, & here now ye may see a Miracle, for in this fire I feele no more paine, then if I were in a bed of downe, but tis to me as sweete as a bed of roses.' He included other anti-Papist notes such as a verse on the cruelty of Bishop Bonner. D. Cressy, in 'A Special Kindness for Dead Bishops: The Church, History, and Testimony in Seventeenth-Century Protestantism', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68:1/2 (2005) 313-34, also explores the uses of Church history in Protestant apologetics to answer questions that scripture did not fully cover, not least the question, 'Where was

Church was a standard Protestant recourse, and was the basic argument in John Jewell's *Apologia*, a copy of which was owned by Hall.³⁰ In several places in his books Hall referred to the utopian nature of the Primitive Church and he showed a great respect for the 'Ancient Fathers' of that time, certainly commandeering them in the name of Protestantism, and using their own protests against the growing corruptions they saw in the Church; what they commended by unanimous consent, he wrote, ought not to be lightly rejected.³¹ Hall's most regularly cited source in connection with the true Church in opposition to Rome, was the work of Calvinist John White, *The vway to the true Church*.³² White was highly regarded as an anti-Papist polemicist and was one of the commentators who argued that a doctrinal succession was sufficient without an institutional one.³³ This view was in accordance with the apocalyptic view of the days of Antichrist and was the one Hall followed.³⁴ He certainly felt he was living through the 'last times' and that one day Rome would certainly fall, but he

your church before Luther?'. See also F. Heal, 'Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68:1/2 (2005) 109-32, especially pp.110-1 for this particular question.

³⁰ A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p.273. Hall owned Jewell's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* [Cat.A410]. Also surviving though uncatalogued is Bishop John Jewell, *Defence of the Apologie* [THL 094/1567/5], which was published in English in 1567 in response to attacks on his original *Apologia*. In addition Hall owned Simon Birckbeck, *The Protestants evidence* [Cat.A84, THL Q 094/1657/15], first published in the 1630s in defence of the longevity of Protestantism.

³¹ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.28. A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed* pp.272-4, pointed out how Protestants used Patristics in their campaign against Rome. Hall also used these Church Fathers, but at the same time he followed those traditional Protestant commentators who warned against over-reliance on them, noting in *Timothy*, p.259, that young ministers should acquire a sound grounding in the scriptures before reading the Fathers, the controversialists and others.

³² John White, *The vway to the true Church* [Cat.A740, THL 094/1616/2].

³³ T. Wadkins, 'White, John (1570–1615)', *Oxf. DNB*, and A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p.280. John White, *The vway to the true Church*, especially pp.86-90, argued that the true church was not visible at all times, but was never extinguished nor hidden from the view of the faithful, even though the external government of the church might decay and preachers might be scattered.

³⁴ Hall, *Samaria*, p.118, wrote that the visible Church was subject to many changes, and though it once flourished it could become clouded and even fall away completely, yet he was certain that, the 'Invisible Church', the Elect of God, would never perish. Similarly in *Amos*, p.564, he noted that the Church could be brought to a very low condition, 'so that it is scarcely visible, and yet be a true Church, 1 King. 19, 20. as the Moon is the Moon and in Heaven still, though it lye hid for a time under the Clouds from our sight.' In *Amos*, p.405, and *Apologie*, p. 43, Hall makes a few rare references to godly men surviving under popery in the past; he referred to King Edward III having saved Wycliffe from the 'persecuting Prelates of those times', and to godly ancestors with no godly ministers to support them, having to experience confusion and misery 'in the dark night of popery, to their great affliction.'

was thoroughly opposed to Millenarianism and treated with scepticism any attempt to forecast the exact time of the downfall of Rome or of Judgement Day.³⁵

a) ii) Hall's high Calvinism

It is apparent from Hall's printed oeuvre that Calvinism formed the basis of his doctrine, which he consistently described as the doctrine common to all Reformed Churches. By 'Reformed' churches, he meant a collective, almost federal group, of individual churches which included the Church of England. Essential to this doctrine was his view that the Church of England was a 'true Church' in spite of its defects and divisions.³⁶ Hall was also scrupulously Calvinist in his understanding of the visible Church as a mixed community of the elect and the reprobate, and was therefore heartily opposed to the gathering of exclusive communities of saints.³⁷ Although the elect would never perish, he granted that the visible Church was 'subject to many changes and visible churches had fallen away in the past.'³⁸ However, he warned those who criticised it for its defects in the 1650s to take care, for although the godly must forsake communion with the wicked, they should

... take heed of forsaking Sion instead of Babylon. Many (especially in these loose times) call the Church of England Babylon, a whore, a false Church; which yet the God of Heaven, and his Churches, acknowledge for a true Church.³⁹

³⁵ Hall made the theme of the 'last days' central to *Timothy*, using the text he wrote out on p.1: '2 TIM. 3.1. &c. This also know, That in the last dayes perilous times shall come'. On pp. 2-3, he explained his view of creation in terms of three periods, '... the whole time of the worlds continuance being distinguished into three great Periods, the Gospel-time is the last of The three. The first was from the creation to the giving of the Law upon Mount Sinai. The second from the giving of the Law, till the Appearance of Christ in our nature. The third from that Appearance in Humility, till his Appearance in Glory; and this is that which in scripture is oft called the Last time, because after it there shall be no more.' The last times would be 'sharp and sad times to the godly, who are the light of the world'. However, Hall was consistent in his opposition to Millenarianism throughout his published works and refuted it in an entire treatise, *Chiliasto-mastix*, where, p.93, he criticised *Romae ruina* [THL 094/C27] in particular, writing that its forecast of the fall of Rome in 1666, followed forty-five years later by the end of the world was utter nonsense because scripture had made it clear that the timing of such things would never be revealed to men.

³⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.6, 11, 141. In his first two polemical works devoted to aspects of his theology, *Pulpit*, a defence of the ordained ministry, and *Font*, a defence of infant baptism, he invoked the 'Reformed Churches' as witnesses to the truth, and one of these churches was the Church of England.

³⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, p.142.

³⁸ Hall, *Samaria*, p.118. The examples of visible churches that had fallen away were the seven churches of Asia whose fame once sounded throughout the world. He also acknowledged that at some stage the Church of Rome had been a true church, writing that 'Shee that was visibly the Spouse of Christ, may become a harlot, as Rome hath done.'

³⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.141-5.

Apart from scattered references to doctrine throughout his books, the fullest explanation of Hall's beliefs occur in *Holiness*, the work he dedicated to his parishioners, and also in some sections of *Timothy*. There he acknowledged the basis of his theology as the doctrine of grace, calling it 'the spring-head of all our mercies, ... the Title page of the book of Life.'⁴⁰ Furthermore, the decree of election was 'the foundation of the Lord. ... Hence the Covenant of the Lord made with his people is called An Everlasting Covenant. His elect shall never fall away.'⁴¹ Hall's belief that God had elected only a remnant to justification, sanctification and final salvation was unequivocal.⁴² Such orthodox beliefs were also contrasted with the negative errors of other contemporary soteriologies, especially of Papists, Arminians and Semipelagians, 'who cry up fore-seen faith, preparations, good works, and an improvement of the means of grace, as causes of Election; whereas God chose us not because we were Holy, but that we might be Holy.'⁴³

Hall had an orthodox Calvinist attitude to the utter sinfulness of man following the fall of Adam, writing that 'if we merit anything it is destruction, for sin is our own and perfectly evil,' and this was a principle he taught in the catechism he published for weaker parishioners.⁴⁴ His pastoral guidance favoured experimental Calvinism as he encouraged his parishioners to seek signs of their assurance which 'may contribute much to our Consolation,

⁴⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.400. Also throughout his arguments for infant baptism in *Font Guarded*, such as pp.8 and 11, Hall writes of the Covenant of Grace as a Gospel covenant and an everlasting covenant.

⁴¹ Hall, *Samaria*, p.41. Also *Holiness* p.50, and that the elect will never fall in *Amos*, p. 578.

⁴² Hall, *Amos*, p.568.

⁴³ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.401-2.

⁴⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, p.402, and in his catechism, *A short catechisme composed for the use of the weakest sort of Christians*, which was appended to his second edition of *Holiness* in 1655, and which was very brief, aiming at preparing 'the weaker sort' to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper. There Hall wrote that as a result of Adam's fall, 'now we are all by nature the children of wrath, wholly defiled with sin, and bond-slaves to the devil.'

though nothing to our Justification.’⁴⁵ As an inference of his beliefs in the doctrine of Grace, Hall also believed in God’s all-encompassing providence, which allowed the work of the Devil and his minions to test and try godly people, as well as providing the beneficial providences which rescued and saved them. Such providence extended to both spiritual and physical spheres, the two being inseparable. In his preface to his parishioners, he reminded them that this providential hand of God had not only saved him from spiritual error but had also decreed that he should work among them, and similarly ordered every aspect of their lives in Kings Norton.⁴⁶

Hall’s confessional beliefs, which he saw as the exact truths of the Apostolic Church, particularly as they had been expounded by St. Paul, have been regarded generally by modern scholars as ‘Calvinist’.⁴⁷ Interestingly Hall described his theology not as ‘Calvinist’, but interchangeably as ‘Reformed’ or ‘Orthodox’.⁴⁸ He used a range of Reformed authorities in

⁴⁵ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.49-51. Also *Timothy*, pp.395-8 and *Amos*, p.122, where Hall says assurance is attainable, tenable and desirable. For the development of experimental Calvinism, see R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (1997), pp.69-76; L. Dixon, 'Calvinist Theology and Pastoral Reality in the Reign of King James I: The Perspective of Thomas Wilson', *Seventeenth Century* 23:2 (2008) 173-97; and P. Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635', *Past & Present* 114 (1986) 32-76, p.58.

⁴⁶ Hall, *Holiness*, sigs.A3r-A5r. In *Amos*, pp. 99, 219-20, 518, *Timothy*, p.42, and *Holiness*, p.166, Hall explained that both good and bad fortune were sent from God according to his own divine purposes as part of his plan for his people, and his negative providence, intended to make them patient and keep them on the paths of righteousness, required a godly response of which the ungodly would be incapable .

⁴⁷ A. Pettegree, 'The Spread of Calvin's Thought' in D. McKim (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin* (2004), pp.210-1, has shown the predominance of Calvinist writings in the English book market of the sixteenth century, and considers Calvin the dominant force in the theology of the Elizabethan Church. N. Tyacke's arguments for a Calvinist consensus in the English Church have had powerful advocacy in the work of P. Lake, for example in his article 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', *Past and Present* 114 (Feb., 1987) 32-76, in which he argued for the dominance of Calvinist doctrine in the Church before 1635 although differences over a number of issues existed. This view has been supported more recently in D. Como's essay, 'Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy in Early Seventeenth-Century England' in P. Lake and M. Questier, (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (2000) 64-87, where he suggests a Calvinist consensus, but one that was less simplistic and monolithic than argued by N. Tyacke. Both scholars also collaborated on work on similar issues in their article, D. Como and P. Lake, '“Orthodoxy” and its Discontents: Dispute Settlement and the Production of ‘Consensus’ in the London (Puritan) ‘Underground’', *Journal of British Studies* 39:1 (2000) 34-70, looking at doctrinal differences among the Puritans of London before the Civil War and the 'fissiparous' nature of the Puritan scene that was a forerunner of things to come.

⁴⁸ C. R. Trueman, 'Calvin and Calvinism' in Donald K. McKim (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin* (2004), pp. 226, 239, has argued that Reformed theology should be seen as pluriform and eclectic in its sources.

his published works, and wrote of ‘Calvin, Beza, Bucer, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Wolphius, Marlorate, Musculus, Zanchy, Perkins, Paraeus, Piscator, Rivet, &c.’ as ‘those learned, Godly, Orthodox lights which God hath raised up in this latter age of the world, whose names are pretious in the Church of God, for their Piety and Fidelity in his work.’⁴⁹ While he urged the orthodox ministers of God not to take doctrine on trust but to judge its truth by the Scriptures alone, warning them against pinning their faith on the sleeve of any man however godly or learned, yet he stressed that they should beware of diverging without good grounds and strong reasons from ‘the common iudgement, and received opinion of those whom the Church of God hath found faithfull in expounding Scripture.’⁵⁰ As for divisive labels, on one of Isaac Bargrave’s sermons Hall underlined the words, ‘Away with these distracting names of Lutheran, Calvinist, Puritan &c. Wee are all the children of the same father.’⁵¹

Hall mentioned and cited the works of Luther and Calvin far more than any other theologian, but he took no sides, preferring to emphasise the points of agreement between them rather than those of disagreement and dispute, so presenting an idyllic and useful polemical version of Protestant unity. In support of this view, two compendia of Reformation theology survive in his library, Salnar’s *Harmony*, which was considered a standard text, and the Leiden

⁴⁹ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.115. See also P. Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009) 564–86, pp.578-9, for the emphasis of recent historiography on the importance of European Protestant theology to English Protestantism.

⁵⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.171, 279, 358, and *Font*, p.74, argued for not taking doctrine on trust but to test it according to scripture. In *Timothy*, p.287, he wrote, ‘If the Scripture be Gods Word, then it must needs be the fittest Iudge both in matters of Doctrine and Practice.’ For Hall’s arguments on not diverging from standard authorities, see *Vindiciae*, pp.115-6. Hall argued throughout his works that the Reformed Churches provided witness to true doctrine and made the Reformed Churches physical witnesses in his dramatic device of mock trials which explored the cases for the ordained ministry and infant baptism in *Pulpit*, pp.29-38, and *Font*, pp.73-86. In Hall, *Timothy*, p.175, he wrote that the Reformed Churches were ‘*the best expounders of the word*’.

⁵¹ Isaac Bargrave, *A Sermon preached before the honourable assembly; of knights, citizens, and burgesses, of the lower house of Parliament: February the last. 1623* (1624) [THL 094/C15], p.35. Hall had a copy of John Gere, *The character of an old English Pviritan, or non-conformist* (1646) [THL 094/C8], which idealised the pre-Civil War Puritan, but he added no meaningful marks.⁵¹

theologians' *Synopsis purioris theologiae*.⁵² Anthony Milton has argued that this view of Reformed Protestant unity was typical of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church, which used it to defend Protestant orthodoxy against Catholics, even if differences of ecclesiology were glossed over as minor issues. Hall used this same argument of tight Protestant unity, not only against Papists, but also to press for changes in English Church polity and discipline, in order to bring it into conformity with the purity of Reformed ecclesiology, as he showed in the strength of his support for the Covenant of 1643 and for the adoption of a Scottish style Presbyterianism.⁵³

a) iii) Hall's response to the Arminian challenge, 1629-1640

According to his retrospective autobiography and his biography, it seems that Hall was brought up as a godly Jacobean episcopalian.⁵⁴ However, at Pembroke College, Oxford in the late 1620s, he had been seduced into Arminianism, by his tutor, Thomas Lushington, whom he described as famed for learning but also 'a starke, staring Arminian'.⁵⁵ On leaving university in 1629, Hall was appointed schoolmaster in Kings Norton and soon after, owing to the combined influence of a local, godly family with whom he lodged and the Birmingham

⁵² Salnar, *An harmony of the confessions of the faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches* [Cat.A218, THL 094/1643/2]. This was first published in English in 1586; also Johannes Polyander, Andre Rivet, Antonius Walaeus and Antoine Thysius, *Synopsis purioris theologiae* [Cat.A624, THL 094/1642/6]. A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, especially Chapter 8, pp.377-84, discusses the use of these sort of texts and their argument of unity. Hall left his major works of Reformed theology to the Birmingham library: for example, 'Calvin opera omnia in 12 Volumns' [Cat.B55]; 'Beza In N.T. cum Camerario. Folio' [Cat.B29]; 'Beza Epistulae' [Cat.B30]; 'Beza omnia opera' [Cat.B31]; and 'Beza De Prebyterie' Cat.B32]; 'Diodates Notes. Folio' [Cat.B90]; Bullinger 'in Daniel', in Apocalypse' and 'contra episcopos' [Cat.B49-B51]. Hall also had four of Luther's works, books by Martin Chemnitz, successor to Luther, David Chytraeus, Musculus, Nazianzen, Paraeus, Peter Martyr, Wendelin, Zanchy and Zepper and the Huguenot De Mornay .

⁵³ Hall noted the anti-Calvinist propaganda of Catholics, and may be referring to attacks from some of the authors he owned such as Catholic Verstegan [Cat.A685] and Jesuit Bucanus [Cat.A91]. For a view of Catholic exploitation of anti-Calvinism in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period, see P. Marshall, 'John Calvin and the English Catholics, c.1565-1640', *The Historical Journal* 53 (2010) 849-70.

⁵⁴ Hall, *Life*, fos.5-9, and Moore, *Pearl*, pp.73-4, for his general family and religious background.

⁵⁵ Hall, *Life*, fo.16.

lecturers, he experienced conversion to godly orthodoxy.⁵⁶ He kept an eye on Lushington's subsequent career, and in a number of instances revealed a lingering and acerbic resentment which probably exacerbated the violence of his anti-Arminianism in the 1630s.⁵⁷ Even towards the end of his life, Hall attacked his former tutor as one who had, 'Poysened him', and 'taught him to rayle at the people of God under the reproachfull name of Puritan.'⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Hall, in his will in *Life*, fos.203-4, wrote that he had been converted at 19 years of age. In *Life*, fos.16-7, he gave more details of his conversion, writing that '... the Lord dealt graciously with Him & brought him from the Vniversity to a Religious family, & planted him under a Zealous Ministry where he quickly saw his errors & abhorred them, & after became a Zealous Apologist for these persons & things which in the dayes of his Ignorance he reproched.' He also spoke of his former days of ignorance and enmity to God's people in his will, *Life*, fo.202. Some of the Birmingham lecturers who had affected him, were named by Hall in his preface to the *Font*, sig.A4v, as 'Dr. Burgess' (John, then Rector of Sutton Coldfield), 'Mr. Slader' (Josiah, a preacher at St. Martin's, Birmingham), 'Mr. Grent' (John, Vicar of Aston) and 'Mr. Atkins'. See also *Holiness*, sig.a4v. Hall's biographer Richard Moore, who had no access to Hall's *Life*, confirmed this account, in *Pearl*, pp.74-5, writing that when Hall first came to Kings Norton he was 'a Foe and no Friend to Gods Truth and People, whom he opposed under the notion of Puritans', but he was saved from his errors by his diligent attendance at the lectures of sundry orthodox divines in Birmingham. This information was also given by Anthony Wood in his sketch of Hall in *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol. II, p233. Wood may have used Moore's biography but he added these further details that don't appear anywhere else: 'Afterwards being a frequenter of the Lectures at Birmingham in Warwickshire, maintained and upheld by old Puritans, they so much operated on his spirit, that he relinquished his former principles, adhered to that party, and in many respects became an enemy to the Church of England, and in fine so rigid in his perswasion that he was disliked by the Brethren.'

⁵⁷ F. L. Huntley, 'Dr. Lushington (1590-1661), Sir Thomas Brown's Oxford Tutor', *Modern Philology* 81:1 (1983) 14-23, p.18, traces Lushington's rise to favour through Archbishop Laud. Hall, *Life*, fos.16-7, noted his belief that Lushington's influence had caused him to fall into errors from which he was mercifully saved by God, but from which his fellow pupils at Pembroke never recovered.

⁵⁸ Hall, *Life*, fo.16. Writing this from about 1659, he said that in time Lushington went from bad to worse, commenting, 'Dr. Lushington, now a Socinian. His Heresies are de-tected & confuted by Mr Porter in his booke called, God incarnate,' an accusation Hall had also made in the 'Epistle dedicatory', sig.A4v, to his work *Holiness*. Edmund Porter's book, *Theos anthropophoros. Or, God incarnate*, published in 1655, had occasioned the first instance of this accusation of Lushington's Socinianism, by attributing to his authorship an anonymous book under the title of *The expiation of a sinner in a commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrewes* (1646). However, *The expiation of a sinner* is more usually attributed to Johann Crell (1590-1633), a leading European Socinian. Lushington's association with this work was more probably as its English translator rather than its author. Anthony

Wood also cited Lushington as having Socinian tendencies, *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol.II, p.172: 'He was esteemed a right reverend and learned Theologist, yet in many matters imprudent, and too much inclined to the opinions of Socinus.' This is also the view of H. J. McLachlan, in 'Lushington, Thomas (1590-1661)', *Oxf. DNB*, but not of Frank L. Huntley in 'Dr. Lushington (1590-1661), Sir Thomas Brown's Oxford Tutor'. Huntley sees Lushington as a gifted and witty preacher, and no Socinian but an orthodox Anglican accused of heresy without good evidence. It is interesting to note a point made by T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p.263, 26, that 'in contemporary polemics Arminians were commonly called Socinians.' In his own copy of Porter's book, *Theos anthropophoros. Or, God incarnate* [Cat.A515, THL 094/1655/5], Hall confirmed his agreement with Porter's accusations by writing Lushington's name by the side of two passages which imply his authorship of the anonymous and offending publication. Hall's manuscript notes wherever he came across Lushington, highlight his continuing loathing of his former tutor: for example, on sig.C3r of his copy of *Carolus redux Oxoniae* (1623) [Cat.C40, but also THL 094/C37], in the margin, by Lushington's verse, Hall has marked the end of most of its lines with disapproving crosses, and added the words, '*Tutor meus malignus*', (my evil tutor), adding in a different ink at a later stage, '*Atheos*' (atheist).

In 1632, Hall was appointed to his first cure at Wythall, and from 1635 to 1640 he removed to Moseley, both being chapelries within the parish of Kings Norton. He looked back on this decade, as one of hazardous ‘Non-conformity’ in opposition to Arminian episcopal authorities, and it was this experience, shared with and supported by the godly clerical networks he established at this time, that laid the foundations of his lasting Calvinist zeal and his Presbyterianism.⁵⁹ While there is no contemporary evidence of Hall’s response to Arminianism in his library books until the end of the decade, in his later writings he discussed it in two main contexts. Firstly, in his published works, he recalled it as a heresy that had since been suppressed but still stood as a reassurance to the godly, (and a warning to the ungodly), that new threats against orthodoxy, particularly Quakerism, would suffer the same fate: ‘The Court-Bishops’, he wrote, ‘went about to destroy the second and the fourth Commandements, (in their Practice especially) and God hath cast them out; a Sect are now risen, that go about to destroy all Gods Lawes, they will certainly fall.’⁶⁰ More usually in this context of its heretical status, he included Arminianism with a range of other errors, in what John Coffey has called a ‘scattergun approach’.⁶¹ Secondly, Hall discussed Arminianism in

⁵⁹ Hall, *Life*, fos. 19, 48. Hall became curate of Wythall in 1632, and in 1635 moved on to Moseley. Richard Baxter twice acknowledged Moseley as a centre of non-conformity under the aegis of Sir Richard Grevis (father of Colonel Richard Grevis), together with the nonconformity of Simeon Ashe and Mr. Slater who preached in Birmingham, in his printed defences of nonconformists as non-separatists against Stillingfleet: *Richard Baxters answer to Dr. Edward Stillingfleet's charge of separation* (1680), p.22 ; and also in *A second true defence of the meer nonconformists against the untrue accusations, reasonings, and history of Dr. Edward Stillingfleet* (1681), p.33. The name of the Grevis family is spelled in a variety of ways. Hall uses ‘Greaves’ in his dedication to his friend Col. Richard Grevis in *Folly*, but in *Life*, p.47, he names the family ‘Greavis’. F.A.Bates, *Graves’ Memoirs of the Civil War, compiled from Seventeenth-Century Records* (1927), pp.xxiii-xxiv, has noted the different spellings of the name, possibly arising from its pronunciation, and its later standardisation to ‘Grevis’. I have decided to use this last spelling which appears on the tomb of Sir Richard Grevis, which was erected by his wife Lady Ann, and still stands in the Kings Norton parish church of St. Nicholas.

⁶⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.265. The second Commandment forbade idolatry and the fourth demanded the holiness of the Sabbath.

⁶¹ Hall, *Pulpit*, p. 29. J. Coffey, ‘A Ticklish Business: Defining Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Puritan Revolution’ in D. Loewenstein and John Marshall, (eds.), *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture* (2006) 108-36, p.111. Hall was aware of the later Arminian defenders of Prayer Book Protestantism, such as Henry Hammond, and he knew of the changing views of men such as John Goodwin, but he noted no threat from the survival of this particular group at any level until the time of the Restoration, when he realised that episcopacy and Prayer Book religion were to be restored. Dewey Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525-1695* (1982), pp.130-2, 120-30, differentiated between sectarian

his autobiography in the context of his personal experiences of it the 1630s, whereby he emphasised his contemporary resistance to it as proof of his Calvinist orthodoxy and his godly non-conformism.

Nicholas Tyacke has engaged historians for several decades in the further exploration of his thesis that the rise of Arminianism was a revolutionary movement that overturned the accepted Calvinist orthodoxy of the Elizabethan settlement, and was therefore a destabilising force in events leading to the Civil War.⁶² Although he argues that there was an Arminian constituency among various levels of society, it was nevertheless a minority movement, even if showing signs of growth, and its theology and practice were innovatory and divisive.⁶³ The scholars who disagree such as Kevin Sharpe, Julian Davies and Peter White have argued that the differences between Calvinism and Laudian Arminianism were less innovatory than different in emphasis and scriptural interpretation.⁶⁴ These are views with which Richard

Arminians such as John Goodwin whose connections were with sectarian Puritans, and those he called 'Anglican Arminians' who developed Arminianism, and were an embittered and embattled group, their most persuasive spokesman being Herbert Thorndike and later Henry Hammond. They attacked Calvinism for the doctrine of predestination and the extreme beliefs such as Antinomianism that it fostered. Hall was utterly opposed to John Goodwin, but seems to have been less antagonistic towards Hammond. He owned Henry Hammond, *Offraternal admonition* (1647) [THL 094/C27], and Daniel Cawdrey, *Diatribes triplex* [Cat.A484, THL 094/1654/13], which argued against Hammond. Hall also cited three works of Hammond, *A practical catechism* (1655), *Of the reasonableness of Christian religion* (1650) and *A paraphrase and annotations upon all the books of the New Testament* (1653).

⁶² N. Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in Conrad Russell (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (1973), 119-43; N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (1987); N. Tyacke, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', *Past & Present*, 115 (1987), 201-29; and later his reaffirmation of his views with little modification in N. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c.1530-1700* (2001), pp. 9-14. Also, P. Lake, 'Introduction', in K. Fincham and P. Lake (eds.), *Puritanism, Arminianism and Nicholas Tyacke in Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (2006), pp.1-15.

⁶³ P. Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635', *Past & Present* 114 (1986) 32-76, and R. Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life*, pp.134-42.

⁶⁴ P. White for example, pp.xiii, in *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (1992), argued that Arminianism was part of the traditional spectrum of English Protestantism in which there were various emphases on the doctrine of predestination, and pp.309-11, wrote that when Arminians were attacked after 1640 it was for their ceremonials and physical innovations such as altar rails not for their doctrine of predestination. He also argued against Tyacke's thesis in several articles such as 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', and in 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered, A Rejoinder', *Past & Present* 115 (1987) 201-29. Also J. Davies, pp. 2-4 and *passim*, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism, 1625-1641* (1992), although he

Cust, Andrew Foster and Peter Lake have disagreed, while acknowledging that the doctrinal differences of the period were not always clear-cut. David Como in particular has demonstrated a range of differently nuanced interpretations of predestination within the English Calvinist consensus through the disagreements which flared up in this period as Calvinists attempted to clarify the nature of Reformed orthodoxy against Arminian objections.⁶⁵ However, Hall as a contemporary opponent of Arminianism had no doubt about the matter. He described the Arminian religious policy under Charles and Laud as the introduction of ‘new coined waies’ and ‘superstitious innovations’, an unacceptable challenge to the Calvinist orthodoxy of the Church.⁶⁶

Together with disagreement over the degree of novelty of the Caroline religious settlement and the authors of it, historians have experienced a corresponding difficulty over the use of most appropriate terminology for it.⁶⁷ Hall consistently referred to it as ‘Arminian’, agreeing

does agree that Charles I broke a consensus with the Jacobean Church; K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (1992), pp.275-292, 401-2, denies a uniformity of doctrinal interpretation before the reign of Charles I and argues that Charles rather than Laud was the initiator of his church policy, Laud being more interested in community and uniformity in worship than in narrow dogma and theological disputes. He felt that divisive though their ecclesiastical policy was with some Puritans, in the parishes there was no such polarisation. J. Fielding, ‘Arminianism in the Localities: Peterborough Diocese, 1603-1642’ in K. Fincham, (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (1993) 93-113, p113, also concludes that for Peterborough the notion of a simplistic Calvinist consensus based on predestinarianism is not enough to explain the co-existence of Arminians and a variety of conformist and Puritan divines in the Jacobean Church, and that there were others who joined the Arminians in their opposition to Puritan populism.

⁶⁵ R. Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life*, pp.86-7; A. Foster, ‘Church Policies of the 1630s’ in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, 193-223; P. Lake, ‘Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635’, *Past & Present* 114 (1986) 32-76, and ‘The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s’ in K. Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, 161-85; Also, D. Como, ‘Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy’.

⁶⁶ Hall completely ignored any ‘unorthodox’ tendencies of King James I, such as his inclusive religious policy which led to his promotion of some Arminians within the Church hierarchy, and his use of them as a counterbalance when necessary, especially in the last years of his reign when the Calvinists were encouraging a war policy which James resisted. Hall was altogether selective in the comments he made on James I’s religious policy, once seizing on a saying he ascribed to James that Presbytery was the best form of ecclesiology, in *Pulpit*, p. 30. Hall comments on ‘new coined waies’ appear in *Holiness*, p.45, and on ‘superstitious innovations’ in *Funebria*, p.14.

⁶⁷ Some historians use ‘Laudian’ to reflect Laud’s leading role in religious change in the 1630s though working in close alliance with both King Charles and other bishops, and some prefer ‘Caroline’. J. Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church*, pp.2-3, prefers not to separate the king’s religious policy from his overall political policy and refers to the royal policy in its entirety as ‘Carolinism’. Like Kevin Sharpe, he also sees Charles

with Cheynell that its authors were a confederacy of ‘grand Malignants’ united under the leadership of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁶⁸ However, while it has been argued that a great deal of the consternation caused by Arminians arose from their overt altar and ceremonial policies, to which Hall certainly objected, his main attack was directed against the core theological differences that led to those policies.⁶⁹ He saw Arminian theology not as a different emphasis on Scriptural interpretations, but as a rejection of the doctrine of grace and assurance, promoting instead a doctrine of free will:

The grand Objection of the Arminians is, That no man can be assured of his perseverance, and by Consequence he can have no Assurance of his Salvation. ... I deny the Argument, God hath by his Promises (which are infallible) assured them of their perseverance, and by Consequence of their Salvation. ... God who hath chosen them is stronger then all, and none can plucke them out of his hand.⁷⁰

Even worse, this Arminian theology of salvation, being dependent on man’s will, was akin to popery in mistaking the meaning of the scriptural command that men should seek God, which did not mean they had power to do so themselves.⁷¹ Furthermore, Hall was concerned that

rather than Laud as the driving force behind religious policy. Tyacke in his ‘Introduction’ to *Aspects of English Protestantism, c.1530-1700* (2001), pp.11-2, wrote that the use of ‘Arminian’ denotes a similarity of doctrine regarding the theology of grace rather than a common source, and sees similar difficulties with the use of ‘Calvinist’, but they were the terms in vogue at the time. He felt, ‘The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered’, p.204, that an alternative term might be ‘Augustinian’. I have used ‘Arminian’ because it is the term used by Thomas Hall.

⁶⁸ Hall’s agreement can be seen in his manuscript marks on Francis Cheynell, *The rise, growth, and danger of Socinianisme* (1643) [THL 094/C9], sig.A4v. As M. Todd has pointed out in ‘All one with Tom Thumb’: Arminianism, Popery, and the Story of the Reformation in Early Stuart Cambridge’, *Church History* 64:4 (1995) 568-79, p.564, perceptions, however true or false, were what mattered to contemporaries and were what guided their actions and responses. Hall in *Timothy*, p.265, and *Pulpit*, p.66, was careful to distinguish between bishops, noting that it was the ‘Court-Bishops’ who were the troublesome Arminians, not those who preached Calvinist orthodoxy such as, ‘*Babington, Abbot, Davenant, Hall, Morton, Vsher &c*’ In *Funebria*, p.19, he added Bishop Henry King to this list. As P. Lake, ‘The Laudian style’, pp.181-2, has pointed out, it was the Jacobean Calvinist bishops who managed to accommodate Puritans such as John Cotton within the Church and were respected by Puritans in general in spite of differences over conformity.

⁶⁹ P. White, for example, in *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, pp. 310-1, argues that after 1640 it was not Arminian doctrine that was attacked but the ceremonials and other visible and practical changes such as the installation of altar rails and the banning of extempore prayer. P. Lake, ‘The Laudian style’, has shown the importance of these visible changes and the Laudian ideas underpinning the policy of the ‘beauty of holiness’ as professed by Laudians themselves. He argues that although such ideas had been promoted since the 1590s by some avant-garde conformist divines and were presented as traditional and conservative, they were nevertheless contrary to conventional Jacobean Protestant wisdom.

⁷⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.395.

⁷¹ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.19, 401.

Arminians attempted to seduce believers by disguising the full differences between traditional orthodoxy and their own doctrines, particularly with regard to the doctrine of grace.⁷²

The Arminian insistence on outward forms of worship such as the use of vestments, ceremonials and altars, and relaxation of Sabbath observance, was understood by Hall as ‘the very Inlet of Popery, superstition, & all manner of profanes.’⁷³ Such practices were idolatrous, an attack on God’s laws, particularly on the second and fourth commandments.⁷⁴

Arminian bishops, he wrote, ‘were (of late) all for outward pomp, and formall service, in bowing to Altars, setting up Images, reading of Service, &c. but deadly enemies to the Power of Religion, and for this God spued them out.’⁷⁵ Among works of Puritan polemics that exploited contemporary godly perception of Arminian persecution, Hall owned William Prynne’s *Anti-Arminianisme*, written to rouse Parliament to action. Webster has demonstrated direct connections between Prynne’s arguments in this particular work and the activities of Stephen Marshall and other godly ministers.⁷⁶ Hall marked its arguments with considerable approval, and he also acquired the anti-Arminian polemics of Henry Burton, all of which fed

⁷² Hall, *Amos*, p.415. Here Hall cites the authority of John Preston and quotes a passage from his work, *The position of John Preston, Doctor in Divinity ... concerning the irresistibleness of converting grace* (1654).

⁷³ Hall, *Life*, fo.107.

⁷⁴ These commandments concerned idolatry and sabbatarianism.

⁷⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.127, also pp.265, 126. In *Timothy*, p.12, Hall wrote that separatists had used the excuse that the Church was corrupted by ‘Bishop, Surplesse, Cross, Common-prayer, &c.’, but he argued that separatism was unlawful as much in Episcopal times as it was in the 1640s and 1650s. In *Timothy*, p. 126, he explained his own objections to formalism and ceremonials, writing that, ‘The Formalists Obedience and Practice is meerly extenal in words and shews; In their deeds they deny the Power of Godlinesse; they live as if Godlinesse were but an empty name, and matter of fashion, voyd of all force and efficacy. Such are like a wicked Minister in a white Surplice, Extime lineus, intime lanius, fair without, but foul within; or like an Inne that hath an Angell without, and a Devill within. Of such we may say as Erasmus said of a Friars-cowle, it covers a multitude of sins’. In his *Life*, fo.81 he claimed that he had left a manuscript work devoted to arguments against surplices and ceremonies for the press, but it has since been lost.

⁷⁶ Hall owned Prynne, *Anti-Arminianisme. Or the Church of Englands old antithesis to new Arminianisme* (1630), which was bound with *God no impostor, nor deluder or an answer to a Popish and Arminian cavill, in the defence of free-will, and vniversall grace* [Cat.A525, THL 094/1630/4]; T. Webster, *Stephen Marshall and Finchfield* (1994), pp.13-4, argues that in Essex, Laudians were neither energetic nor efficient in persecuting godly nonconformists, but the perception of persecution among the godly had a significant impact on their responses and activities. P. White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic*, pp.2-6, implies that modern analysis of Arminianism as a revolutionary creed that broke the Calvinist consensus in the Church owes some debt to contemporary Puritan polemics, particularly to this particular work, *Anti-Arminianisme*.

into his antagonistic views.⁷⁷ However, his library collection shows his deep interest not only in polemics but also in studying the movement's roots and some of its key moments in England. Among his books were the complete theological works of Arminius himself, although most of his works on Arminianism were from antagonists such as Nicolas Vedel, the Calvinist divine and Professor of Theology who was a renowned European opponent of Arminianism.⁷⁸ Others followed critical events in the European debate such as the Synod of Dort, which first threw open the debate between Calvinists and Arminians at English national level.⁷⁹ Among the oppositional authors in the library are the Calvinists Pierre du Moulin, William Ames, David Paraeus, and William Twisse.⁸⁰ Also of significance in heralding the emergence of Charles I's favour for an anti-Calvinist shift in policy, is Montagu's *Appello Caesarem*, a pro-Arminian book first published in 1625, together with three Calvinist responses against it.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Hall listed Burton's book, as 'against Arminianism' [Cat.B48], which could be any one of his anti-Arminian works.

⁷⁸ Arminius, 'opera omnia' [Cat.B21], and Vedelius, 'Vedelius contra Armin.' [Cat.B289]. Hall also owned the *Confessio* of Simon Episcopius and other Dutch Remonstrants or Arminians, [Cat.B230], as well as the Leiden Counter-Remonstrants' answer to it, *Censura in Confessionem sive declarationem sententiae eorum qui in foederato Belgio Remonstrantes vocantur* [Cat.B67].

⁷⁹ There are two books specifically on this synod. One is listed as 'Synod of Dort' [Cat.B276], with no further information, and the other was 'Suffragium Britannicum' [Cat.A695], which was *Suffragium collegiale theologorum Magnae Britanniae de quinque controversis remonstrantium articulis* (1629), the judgement of the synod published by George Carleton, Samuel Ward, John Davenant and others.

⁸⁰ Pierre du Moulin, *The anatomy of Arminianisme* [Cat.A467, THL 094/1626/1]; and also William Ames, *Coronis ad collationem hagiensem* [Cat.A.20, THL 094/1630/8], on which Hall has noted that the book is 'Against the 5 Articles,' and cross references it to 'Pareus at the Synod of Dort p.237 vide Pt.2d. p.3.4. Peter Moulin prt 1st. p.334 etc.' The book by Pareus may be *Corpus doctrinae Christianae* [Cat.A686, THL 094/1623/3]. Hall also owned William Ames, *Anti-synodalia scripta remonstrantium Amstelodami* (1629) [Cat.A23], and William Twiss, 'contra Arminius' [Cat.B279] which was probably his 1632 *Vindiciae gratiae potestatis ac providentiae Dei*, which defended the predestinarianism of William Perkins against Jacobus Arminius. In Catalogue B, were also Richard Thompson's pro-Arminian work that was published posthumously in 1616 [Cat.B278], and Robert Abbot's reply to it in 1618 [Cat.B3].

⁸¹ Richard Montagu, *Appello Caesarem: A iust appeale from two vniust informers* [Cat.B183]. The Calvinist responses were Anthony Wotton, *A dangerous plot* [Cat.B308], Bishop George Carleton, *An examination of those things wherein the author of the late Appeale holdeth the doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians, to be the doctrines of the Church of England* [Cat.B69], and John Yates, *Ibis ad Caesarem. Or A submissive appearance before Caesar in answer to Mr Mountagues appeale* [Cat.B319]. R. Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life*, pp.85-94, has discussed the roots of the Caroline challenge to Calvinism and modern interpretations of it. Also in Hall's collection was a copy of Peter Smart's well-publicised sermon in 1628, *The vanitie & downe-fall of superstitious popish ceremonies* (1628) [THL 094/C16], against the Arminian changes which had been made in Durham cathedral during the previous decade. This work particularly attacked the innovations of John Cosin,

In 1633, Hall's Calvinism was challenged by the Arminian directive to publish the reissued *Book for sports*, which sanctioned parishioners to engage in certain games and sports on Sundays.⁸² For Hall this was not a matter indifferent but a move to profane the Sabbath by introducing further 'superstitious innovations'.⁸³ His sabbatarianism was intense, a key non-negotiable feature of his pietistic observance, a means of demonstrating his personal godliness and of differentiating the godly from the profane.⁸⁴ He understood it as a 'principle' of religion which came from its establishment by God at the Creation, and from regular *Old Testament* directives for its proper observance.⁸⁵ Most passages on the Sabbath in his library books are heavily marked and he sought out several works on the subject including Elizabethan Nicholas Bownde's *The doctrine of the Sabbath*, considered a work of significance in the debate.⁸⁶ Kenneth Parker has pointed out that no sabbatarian books were

one of Montagu's supporters. In a manuscript annotation, on another work, *Voces votivae ab academis Cantabrigiensibus* (1640) [THL 094/C37], sig.A3v, Hall also attacked John Cosin, writing 'papicola' or Papist by his name. From the same year Hall also gathered an anti-Arminian sermon, *A sermon preached at the publicke fast. To the Commons House of Parliament. April. 5th. 1628* (1628) [THL 094/C19], from the pen of Jeremiah Dyke in which he highlighted recent providential wonders such as a comet and earthquake, and the amazing discovery of the works of John Frith, the Protestant martyr, in the belly of a cod-fish, all warnings that God was about to bring a punishment on the land for the 'departure of our old Truth in the increase of Arminianisme'. Hall's annotations on the book show that he could not have agreed more.

⁸² Hall, *Life*, fo.19, described this event writing, 'the book of Sports was prest upon him by a Malignant Churchwarden, he saw the people could profane the Sabbath to incourage them, too fast, without a booke, & therefore rejected it.' This is confirmed by his biographer, Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.82, where he wrote: 'And when the Book for Sports and Recreations on the Lords Day came forth, though enjoined to be read by publick authority in the several Churches throughout the Land, he deeming it a great prophanation of the Sabbath, and contrary to the Word of God, refused to read it, though he was threatened for it: for which he supposed he had our Saviour his Precept, and his Apostles Practice in such a case to obey God rather than Man.'

⁸³ Hall, *Funebria*, p.14, and *Haire*, p.62.

⁸⁴ Hall, *Amos*, pp.58-9, 464-5. Also in *Timothy*, pp.129, 392 and *Holiness*, p.37. Sabbath-profaners were invariably included in Hall's lists of the ungodly alongside swearers, drunkards, idolaters and the covetous, for example, *Holiness*, pp.143-4.

⁸⁵ Hall, *Holiness*, p.141, and *Timothy*, p.265. Hall, *Timothy*, pp.261-5, argued that all God's Old Testament Commandments remained in moral force and, p.265, specifically denied that Christ had abrogated the necessity to observe the Sabbath. Indeed, the godly would have to account for how they had spent every Sabbath of their lives. It should be a day of spiritual not carnal feasting, a foretaste of the eternal Sabbath that the godly would share in heaven with God, and should be enforced by magistrates. Hall regularly used the imagery of the everlasting Sabbath, the crown of the godly, and according to his biographer, Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p. 98, Hall called on God to take him to his everlasting Sabbath when he was dying. Hall, *Magistracy*, p.77.

⁸⁶ For an example of a marked passage, see Thomas Beard, *The theatre of Gods judgements* [Cat.A677, THL Q 094/1648/9], Chapter VII on the Sabbath. Hall owned Nicholas Bownde, *The doctrine of the Sabbath plainly layde forth* (1595) [Cat.A.111]. P. Collinson, *Godly People: Essays in English Puritanism and Protestantism* (1983, i.e. 1984), p.495, wrote that this book was the result of Bownde's series of sermons at Bury, a centre for

legally published after 1633, until nine works appeared in 1641.⁸⁷ Hall owned four of these and also Thomas Young's *Dies Dominica*, published abroad anonymously in 1639.⁸⁸ He later bought Cawdry and Palmer's *Sabbatum redivivum* for which he showed his appreciation by underlining Charles Herle's introductory words, 'the most satisfactory of any I have seen'.⁸⁹

Although Kenneth Parker has argued that Sabbatarianism was not a defining feature of Puritanism, or a Puritan innovation begun in the later years of the reign of Elizabeth as some ecclesiastical historians have argued, but a belief shared by both pre- and post-reformation English Christians, Hall certainly understood it in a very strict sense and undoubtedly used it as an anti-Laudian rallying cry.⁹⁰ Patrick Collinson has pointed out that the national

erudite Suffolk clergy; K. Parker, *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (1988), pp.92-7, argues that Bownde's work represented established mainstream teaching, but it came to be seen as promoting a novel stance following the attack on it by Thomas Rogers in 1607, who used it in his anti-Puritan propaganda and provided the first instance of the sabbatarian controversy. No doubt, this gave Bownde's book added recommendation as far as Thomas Hall was concerned. Hall also owned an earlier work, John Northbrooke, *Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra. A treatise wherein dicing, dauncing, vaine playes or enterluds with other idle pastimes [et]c. commonly vsed on the Sabboth day, are reproofed* (1577) [Cat.A480], which M. C. Skeeters, 'Northbrooke, John (fl. 1567-1589)', *Oxf. DNB*, notes was published as part of the controversy over the formal opening of public theatres in London, and also attacked the practice of idle pastimes on the Sabbath.

⁸⁷ K. Parker, *The English Sabbath*, p. 217.

⁸⁸ These four were: Richard Bernard, *A threefold treatise of the Sabbath* (1641) [Cat.B34]; William Twisse, *Of the morality of the fourth Commandment* [Cat.B281], to which was attached the posthumously published work of Arthur Lake, *Theses de Sabbato*; and George Walker, *The doctrine of the Holy Week Sabbath* [Cat.B296]. None survives. All were left as 'best books' for the public library at Birmingham, as was Young, *Dies Dominica* [Cat.B320].

⁸⁹ Cawdry and Palmer, *Sabbatum redivivum, Parts I* [Cat.A191, THL 094/1645/4] and also Part II [THL 094/1652/4]. On the flyleaf of *Part I*, Hall also recorded his interest in Puritan Dorchester. M. Ingram, 'Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England' in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (1996), p.80, notes the strictness of sabbatarian and other practice in Dorchester where even late-comers to Sunday services were punished. R. T. Cornish, 'White, John (1575-1648)', *Oxf DNB*, describes White as a popular minister on the whole, under whose leadership Dorchester became a leading centre in the resistance to the ecclesiastical policies of Charles I. Hall, *Life*, fo.9, included John White in his list of 'eminent ones'. Hall also acquired Richard Bernard, *A threefold treatise of the Sabbath* (1641) [Cat.B34].

⁹⁰ K. Parker, *The English Sabbath*, pp.107-10, and 'Thomas Rogers and the English Sabbath: The Case for a Reappraisal', *Church History* 53:3 (1984) 332-47, argued that the promotion of the doctrine came as much from church authorities after 1563 as from Puritans, although he accepts that strict sabbatarianism held particular significance for precisionists. C. Durston and J. Eales, *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (1996), pp.22-3, have queried these findings of sabbatarianism as a mainstream principle of Elizabethan and Jacobean church policy because of the particular significance of sabbatarianism to Puritans, and it does make Hall's stand seem pointless if sabbatarianism had no particular godly significance. K. Sprunger, 'English and Dutch Sabbatarianism and the Development of Puritan Social Theology, 1600-1660', *Church History* 51 (1982) 24-38, saw strict Puritan observance of the Sabbath as a seventeenth-century development, and R.L. Greaves, 'The

enforcement of these orders under James was conveniently fudged, but under Charles I, they were used to separate the moderate sabbatarians who could accept such things as ‘indifferent’, from the radicals like Hall who could not, thereby equating Puritans for the future with a strict and subversive sabbatarianism.⁹¹ The question for Puritans was whether the offence to religion was serious enough to risk their pulpits and warrant disobedience to royal authority.

⁹² In Hall’s case it was, and yet he escaped punishment.⁹³ It might be argued that ministers

Origins of English Sabbatarian Thought’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 12:3 (1981) 19-34, regarded the late Elizabethan period as the time when Puritans adopted a full blown sabbatarianism that separated them from the rest of the Protestant community. A more moderate view of the Sabbath was clearly held by many, even though adherents of the stricter view were not all precisionists and could be found throughout all levels of society. Hall, *Magistracy*, p.77, noted William Perkins’ advancement of sabbatarianism, writing of him as ‘that worthy and eminent light of England’ who wrote well on the role of magistracy in compelling Sabbath observance and attendance at Sunday worship in his *Treatise of callings*.

⁹¹ P. Collinson, ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture’ in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (1996). D. Wykes, ‘“The Sabbaths ... Spent before in Idleness & the Neglect of the Word”: The Godly and the Use of Time in their Daily Religion’ in R. Swanson, (ed.), *The Use and Abuse of Time in Christian History* (2002) 211-21, has argued that sabbatarianism was so ingrained among Puritans that it remained the mark of the godly in post-Restoration days. K. Fincham, ‘Clerical Conformity from Whitgift to Laud’ in P. Lake and M. Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (2000), pp.157-8, wrote that clerical conformity was never static, its enforcement not being consistent until the 1630s when the episcopal authorities enforced a refined agenda of ceremonial or new conformity that no longer allowed for the old conformity of those with evangelical ideals. P. Lake in ‘Moving the Goal Posts? Modified Subscription and the Construction of Conformity in the Early Stuart Church’, in P. Lake and M. Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (2000), also agreed that unless there was an open Calvinist challenge, such as that mounted by John Burgess of Lincoln in 1604, discreet modified conformity and some degrees of non-conformity were negotiable until the arrival of Laudian policy. D. Como too in ‘Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy’ has shown that the Calvinist consensus itself on what was orthodox was neither simplistic nor monolithic but open to disagreement especially under the Arminian challenge. M. Ingram in ‘Puritans and the Church Courts 1560-1640’ in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (1996), pp.88-90, also found evidence in the records of church courts that the Jacobean Church accommodated a reasonable compromise between the interests of Puritan ministers, godly lay people and other members of the Church in a framework of discretion which did not survive the new Arminian regime. As J. Fielding, ‘Arminianism in the Localities’, pp.106-7, has argued, and as Hall implied, Arminian authorities preferred to keep conflict away from issues of theology and to make conformity instead the test of obedience to the Church, a tactic which became increasingly successful once they had secured full royal backing. Fielding saw subscription to the reissued *Book for sports*, as a clear instance of this policy, which divided moderate and radical Calvinists on the issue of conformity.

⁹² M. Todd, ‘An Act of Discretion’ has analysed the guiding principles of two Moderate Protestants, Samuel Ward and William Bedell, in whose tradition Hall considered himself a follower. Their bottom line was that the English Church was a true Church and as long as the compromise allowed the continued preaching of the gospel without putting the gospel itself at risk, then the godly minister could conform. A particular enquiry from a Northampton minister as to whether he should read the *Book for sports* at this time was answered affirmatively by Ward because it would not harm the gospel but would allow it to continue to be preached. Moderates such as Ward felt that such matters did not undermine the Gospel, but, as M. Todd says, significantly, Ward fought Arminian theology vociferously. J. Fielding, ‘Arminianism in the Localities’, pp.99, 106-7, has highlighted areas of conflict between Arminians and Calvinists on a range of issues which demonstrate diametrically opposed views of theology and practice, particularly approaches to the ‘visible’ Church and its furtherance.

had not been personally required to publish the book,⁹⁴ or that Hall risked his benefice because he knew that the Arminian enforcers were not as active in the diocese of Worcester as they were elsewhere. In Peterborough, and in the dioceses of the east, for example, the king's anti-Calvinist policy was more rigorously imposed, and as Tom Webster has shown, non-conformist attitudes not only hardened in response to their perception of persecution, but began to develop increasingly radical solutions.⁹⁵ In the Warwickshire area of the diocese of Worcester, Ann Hughes concluded that the Laudian impact was muted because Bishop John Thornborough was unsympathetic to the new regime. However, she also pointed out that whereas Dugard's diary revealed the problems the hierarchy had in uncovering and altering many of the activities of the non-conformist godly, the enforcement of externals which were visible and concrete matters, such as the re-siting of communion tables in an altarwise position, was much more successful.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, outright flouting of the orders was a courageous stand to take and indicates Hall's growing radicalisation.⁹⁷

⁹³ J. Fielding, 'Arminianism in the Localities', p.108, also looked at the dilemma as it faced Northampton ministers and found the authorities employing Edward Reynolds to preach at Daventry in July 1637 to urge other clerics to toe the line. Hall had a copy of this sermon, *A Sermon touching the peace and edification of the Church* (1638) [THL 094/C19], but in spite of his respect for Reynolds he remained unswayed, following instead the convictions of his sabbatarianism, and so aligning himself with the radical Calvinists who refused to compromise.

⁹⁴ J. Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church*, p.183, points out this lack of clarity in the declaration ordering the reintroduction of this *Book for sports*. See also K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (1992), p.359.

⁹⁵ J. Fielding, 'Arminianism in the localities', pp.103-6. T. Webster, in *Godly Clergy*, followed the effects at ground level of this anti-Calvinist policy in his study of godly clergy in Caroline Essex and other eastern dioceses throughout the changing ecclesiastical environment of the 1620s. There the close community of support and sociability amongst godly clergy began to suffer fractures with their differing responses to the stresses imposed on them. One silenced minister, Daniel Rogers, who was suspended in 1631, struggled for the rest of the decade to maintain a very limited ministry without preaching or administering the sacraments but he persisted in opposing any separation from the national Church. Many other godly ministers agonised over whether or not it was right to suffer and compromise with the ceremonial conduct of public worship in order to continue preaching, or whether to evade the situation altogether by heading for the greater freedom of the Netherlands or New England. Thomas Hooker in no doubt, left for the Netherlands as early as 1631. Webster believes that it was the deprivation of ministers that changed the perception of the national Church as one in which godly ministers could no longer with good conscience continue their ministry, and so radicalised them into alternative ecclesiologies.

⁹⁶ A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle in the 1630s', pp.782-3. D. Oldridge, *Religion and Society in Early Stuart England* (1998), p.57, was of a similar view. In his study of the impact of Laudianism in the 1630s, he argued that from the local perspective of the Midland dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry and of Worcester, there was indeed an important shift in church policy that roused the hostility of godly clergy and congregations,

A few years later in 1639, Hall was in trouble again at Moseley, being ‘threatned by the Episcopal party for Nonconformity’ for ‘refusing to read Proclamations the Prayer against the Scotts, & for not contributing against them.’ Once again he escaped prosecution.⁹⁸ His final open Arminian challenge was the ‘Etcetera’ oath, but as Hall noted in his autobiography, this proved the downfall of the bishops themselves.⁹⁹

Like many other non-conformists who they felt that they were under attack, Hall relied on supportive local networks which centred on clergymen in Birmingham and Warwickshire.¹⁰⁰ Also very important to Hall throughout his ministry, but particularly while he was minister there from 1635-1640, was the small curacy of Moseley where his local patrons the Grevis family resided and who had for many years encouraged and supported non-conformity.¹⁰¹ His

but the practical effects on parishes were mixed. K. Fincham and N.Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.170* (2007), have shown that the altar policy was generally successful throughout the country.

⁹⁷ Other ministers who refused to read the *Book for sports* who were known to Hall were Simeon Ashe, Ephraim Huitt and Samuel Clarke. A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (1987), p. 73, noted Simeon Ashe was ejected from his Staffordshire living but moved in the Warwickshire circle of Lord Brook, and of local minister Thomas Dugard who was a friend of Hall’s. Also, A. Hughes, ‘Thomas Dugard and His Circle’, pp.782, 787, notes that Ephraim Huitt was ejected for the same reason but he fled to New England. D. Oldridge, *Religion and Society*, p.58, also mentions these men. Samuel Clarke, like Hall, escaped punishment for his defiance. The Arminian altar policy and its contingent policy of ‘the Beauty of Holiness’, which resulted in widespread changes to the interiors of churches, is hardly mentioned by Hall at all, although he noted that ‘Altars, Images, & Popish trash abounded’ at the end of the decade. At worst it might be that Hall was forced into accepting physical changes to the interior arrangement of his church, which would have been an omnipresent sign of all that he detested in Arminianism, but unfortunately church warden records are not extant to answer the question. Hall certainly marked assiduously his copy of *A declaration of the Commons in Parliament: made September the 9th 1641* (1641) [THL 094/C34], which instructed the wardens to dismantle any changes that might have been made. It is the only work for which there is an acquisition date, Hall writing on it, ‘*Accepti* 25th September’.

⁹⁸ Hall, *Life*, fos. 46-8, and *Pulpit*, sig.a1v-a2r.

⁹⁹ Hall owned a copy of John Ley’s defence against this ‘Etcetera oath’ which was written at the request of his clerical colleagues in Chester: John Ley, *Defensive doubts, hopes and reasons for the refusall of the oath* (1641) [Cat.A452].

¹⁰⁰ For the Warwickshire network, see A. Hughes, ‘Thomas Dugard and His Circle’. Hall and a large number of his Warwickshire colleagues later formed the Presbyterian Classis of Kenilworth.

¹⁰¹ Hall, *Pulpit*, sig.a1v, wrote about Moseley during the lifetime of Sir Richard Grevis as a haven of godly culture where ‘a succession of very eminent and able Divines, conformable non-conformists, conformable to the Canon of the Scripture though not to the Bishops Canons: Where the Lord raise[d] up that valiant and Religious Knight Sir Richard Grevis, who by his wisdom and courage sheltered these Reverend Ministers from those

family connections may also have been significant for his two surviving brothers, both clerics, also adopted Presbyterianism.¹⁰² Through such networks Hall was also enabled to share in the formation of alternative views which were readily transformed into a programme of reform when the Laudian regime fell. His library included some vengeful publications such as Nathaniel Carpenter's best-selling sermons, *Achitophel*, and later William Prynne's *Canterburies doome*, and Francis Cheynell's *The rise growth and danger of Socinianism*, which castigated Arminians as well as Socinians and Papists.¹⁰³ The Arminian policies of the 1630s had played a formative role in the development of Hall's high Calvinist identity and contempt of episcopacy,¹⁰⁴ and eroded his confidence in all those associated with them.¹⁰⁵

Episcopal storms which otherwise had fallen upon them.' Also, Hall, *Life*, fos.44, 46-8, referred to Moseley as the place he loved best in the world describing it as a godly enclave where, 'the Gospel flourish for above 50 yeeres, hither the Godly flockt from all Parts round about (in the Bishops times) to the Sacrament. The Purity of the Ordinances in this place for many yeeres had made it famous.' He listed the godly curates of Moseley, many of whom became Presbyterians such as Samuel Shaw who translated Hall's thesis, *Apologia pro ministerio*, and a James Cranford, later minister in London, who was probably the famed Presbyterian minister and licenser.

¹⁰² Hall, *Life*, fo.9, shows considerable admiration for his elder brother John who was also the vicar of Bromsgrove, the mother parish of the three curacies at Wythall, Moseley and Kings Norton which were held successively by Thomas Hall. John left no publications but was marked out by Charles I as a rebel in a letter to Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester which is transcribed in Worcester County Records Office, *Liber Institutionum Anno diu 1625, Bsps Thornburghe & Prideaux*, b716.093 BA 2648/10 (ii), fo.97. John fled to London, staying there until at least 1647. There he joined other Presbyterians in founding the Fourth London Classis. Edmund Hall was a younger brother and an outspoken Presbyterian who clashed with the post-war authorities over his publications which were written against the *de facto* arguments that supported the new regime and in favour of the divine election of kings, for which he was briefly imprisoned.

¹⁰³ Nathaniel Carpenter, *Achitophel or The picture of a wicked polititian* [Cat.A12 and A249, THL 094/1640/5A&B]; William Prynne, *Canterburies doome. Or The first part of a compleat history of the commitment, charge, tryall, condemnation, execution of William Laud, late Arch-bishop of Canterbury* (1646), which has been entered twice at Cat.A43 and Cat.A450. Hall's own copy is currently held in the Folger Shakespeare Library; and Francis Cheynell, *The rise, growth, and danger of Socinianism* (1643) [THL 094/C9]. On one of the flyleaves of Joseph Symonds, *The case and cure of a deserted soule* [Cat.A626, THL 094/1639/4], there is a manuscript demonstration that Laud was 'The Beast' as prophesised in the Book of Revelation, 13:17, 18. This was shown by using the letters of Laud's name which had a roman numerical value of 666 or the 'number of the Beast'. Thomas Hall has made a note on this page, but the hand noting Laud as the Beast differs. Hall obviously approves the script.

¹⁰⁴ J. Fielding, 'Arminianism in the Localities', p. 112, argues that the issue of conformity played a significant role in deciding political allegiance on the eve of the Civil War. Hall was certainly aware of *Deus, natura, gratia* (1634), the work of the Queen's Franciscan chaplain, Christopher Davenport, also known as Sancta Clara, which suggested that the 39 Articles showed that the Churches of England and Rome were not so far apart and could be reconciled. He noted this work on the flyleaf of Thomas Rogers, *A treatise upon sundry matters contained in the Thirty Nine Articles of religion* [Cat.A553, THL 094/1639/1], writing 'If the 39 Articles be the New Religion Then Popery is the New Religion, for Sancta clara will prove thyr Religion out of the 39 Articles.' N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p.227, also comments on the significance of this work as an alarm to Calvinists, and A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p.217, has explained how Sancta Clara attempted to reconcile the Thirty Nine Articles

a) iv) The impact of Hall's religious development on his political views

The summoning of Parliament in 1640 was seen by Hall as part of the providential turning point that embraced the fall of Arminianism, and in his autobiography he noted with excitement the concurrent beginning of his own reforming curacy at Kings Norton.¹⁰⁶ His interest in Parliament and his political ideas grew out of his religious convictions and both were inextricably connected. His experience of Arminianism and his association of it with popery and all that was anti-Protestant and corrupt in court and nation resulted in 1640 in his wholehearted support of Parliament against the religious and political status quo.¹⁰⁷ While sharing with a range of Calvinist Protestants the expectations that Parliament would restore a godly commonwealth and Church, he also hoped for completion of the Reformation, by which a 'New Jerusalem' would be instituted in England.¹⁰⁸ These hopes were articulated by his clerical colleagues in their petitioning campaigns in 1640 against Arminian changes, which Hall probably joined, and he certainly subscribed to the Protestation in 1642.¹⁰⁹ As

with Catholicism through this work, and pp.239, 245, 250, 362, has shown how he worked to bring his irenic ideas to the favourable attention of Laudians.

¹⁰⁵ Here Hall follows a pattern demonstrated by historians such as N. Tyacke in 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', p.216, which shows how the resentment of Arminianism for its elevation of prelacy led to resentment of the institution of episcopacy itself.

¹⁰⁶ Hall, *Life*, fo.53.

¹⁰⁷ See J. Eales, *Puritans and Roundheads: The Harleys of Brampton Bryan and the Outbreak of the English Civil War* (1990), p.xii, who notes the commonplace belief that religious division within a state called the constitution and political and social stability into question. Also J. Eales, "'So Many Sects and Schisms": Religious Diversity in Revolutionary Kent, 1640-1660' in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006) 226-48, p.229, notes that from the well-documented evidence for religious diversity in Kent, those men who were most committed to church reform and in particular to the abolition of bishops would also prove to be the most committed to the Parliamentary cause after 1642.

¹⁰⁸ Hall, *Life*, fos.49-50, described the result of the overturning of the bishops' 1640 canons and the 'etcetera oath' as events bringing 'deliverance to God's people'.

¹⁰⁹ It is most probable that Hall was involved in 1640 with the petitioning campaign of the clergy of the diocese of Worcester against the decisions of the 1640 Convocation, as discussed by A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle', p.789, and also in *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire*, pp. 132-4. Hall's closest clerical colleagues supported this Worcester petition of 1640 which was organised by Simeon Ashe and presented to Charles I in York in 1640. Having received no encouragement from the king, this petition was later subsumed into a national ministers' 'Remonstrance'. Hall's name is not recorded among seventeen colleagues at the meeting held to gather signatures noted by Dugard in his diary on 28th December, B.L.Add MSS 23,146, fo. 9iv, although D. Oldridge *Religion and Society*, pp.139-40, thought it was. However, Hall's name was printed with the names of the same colleagues in *The Warwickshire ministers testimony* (1648) [THL 094/C24]. In *Funebria*,

Peter Lake has commented, the origins of the parliamentary party in the Civil War can be traced in part to the disillusionment of Puritan networks such as those revealed in studies by John Fielding and Ann Hughes, and to which Hall belonged.¹¹⁰

Hall's general constitutional theory of government was shaped by the Bible, and he believed that all social and political order was divinely instituted, although the form of government in each nation was left to human choice.¹¹¹ However, although kings and supreme rulers were directly ordained by God,¹¹² and were his vicegerents on earth, Hall noted several restrictions on their power, warning against court parasites who flattered them with high titles, and attributed to them 'absolute power over the lives and estates of their Subjects' with accountability to God alone.¹¹³ On the contrary, rulers had to be men of public spirits,¹¹⁴ to

p.40, Hall wrote that he had committed himself to the Protestation Oath, which had first been drawn up in 1641, and required all office holders in Church and state to defend the true Reformed religion against popery and Papist innovations. E. Vallance, 'An Holy and Sacramentall Paction: Federal Theology and the Solemn League and Covenant in England', *The English Historical Review* 116:465 (2001) 50-75, p.53, shows that the Protestation was intended as a test of loyalty to Parliament; A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of Civil War*, pp.15-6, 77, also sees the oath as a political weapon used for propagandist purposes as well as for gaining support for Parliament's programme. D. Cressy, 'The Protestation Protested', *The Historical Journal* 45:2 (2002) 251-279, has pointed out that the Protestation meant different things to different people. In Hall's case it meant binding himself to supporting both king and Parliament. Only Protestation returns for the city of Worcester survive for the county: *The Protestation Returns 1641-1642 and other contemporary listings etc Compiled by Jeremy Gibson and Alan Dell, with a foreword by David J Johnson Clerk of the Records, House of Lord* (Federation of Family History Societies Publications Ltd., 1995). The Protestation records for Kings Norton therefore have not survived, and although Hall was listed in the parish of St. Andrew's Worcester as absent for taking the Protestation (Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/108 'City of Worcester, Parish of St. Andrew'), that was to be expected because he was no longer resident there.

¹¹⁰ P. Lake, 'The Historiography of Puritanism' in J. Coffey and P. C. H. Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (2008) 346-71, p. 362, regarding J. Fielding, 'Opposition to the Personal Rule of Charles I: The Diary of Robert Woodford, 1637-1641', *The Historical Journal* 31:4 (1988) 769-788, and A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle'. Thomas Hall was a member of Dugard's pre- and post-war circle.

¹¹¹ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.30. Here, writing at a later date, Hall enumerated various forms of government and rulers, including monarchs and protectors. Also in *Magistracy*, pp.15-7, 27, he criticised the attitude of Popery to God's ordinance of secular government, arguing that the popes' interference in secular government and demands for supremacy over it denied the truth that even 'Christ himself paid Tribute to Caesar, and yielded obedience to him in Civil things.'

¹¹² Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.28, 44, and *passim*, wrote that even tyrants were ordained of God, usually as a means of punishing a sinful people, and even if the holder of magisterial office was corrupt, yet the office itself was good.

¹¹³ Hall, *Amos*, p.402, and *Magistracy*, pp.68-9, where Hall also wrote that the court-bishops claimed '*Jus Regis*' or the 'Right of the King', by which he meant the absolute power of the king's prerogative.

¹¹⁴ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.51, 56, 68, 86,

rule paternally¹¹⁵ and to rule by law, for laws were the people's security.¹¹⁶ The first priority of kings and supreme magistrates was to nurture religion and enforce the commandments, so that men might lead godly as well as peaceful lives, and the greatest authority he cited for this argument was William Perkins.¹¹⁷

Hall had an exalted view of Parliament as an essential partner in harmonious government with the king, its members being the second highest magistrates in England after the monarch:

Tis observed by a great Master of the Law (Sir Edw. Cook) that no prince ever prospered, that did oppose Parliament, and those that have been ruled by Parliament, have flourished wonderfully, as King Henry the Eighth, King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth.¹¹⁸

He cited the authority of the Petition of Right of 1628 for the combined legislative role of king and Parliament.¹¹⁹ The role of Parliament was building God's house, protecting his worship and people, and, being the best means 'to suppress exorbitancies in the state,' balancing the power of the ruler.¹²⁰ As an entrenched Calvinist, Hall regarded the relationship

¹¹⁵ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp. 51-2.

¹¹⁶ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.84-5. Here Hall recommends among other authorities, Rutherford, *Lex rex* [Cat.A571, THL 094/1644/1], 'an excellent piece to this purpose ... for Rulers must rule by the law. Laws are the best walls of a city.' Also on p.69, Hall wrote, 'The greatest men in the world are, or should be under Law... Tis not for any man to say, My will's my Law.'

¹¹⁷ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.77: 'Mr. Perkins speaks well to this point. The Magistrates (saith he) look to Peace and civil order; tis well done; and tis their duty; yet not the Principal; and they do commonly fail in this, that they use not the sword for this end, to urge men to the keeping of the commandments of the first Table, to a practice of pure religion, and to the keeping of the Sabbath day. This is the main duty of the Magistrate, who bears the sword especially for the good of mens souls. Thus that worthy and eminent light of England.'

¹¹⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, p.32.

¹¹⁹ Hall, *Life*, fos. 62-4, related how when he was interrogated by Royalists in early 1644 during a period of captivity in Worcester, he was offered his freedom if he would swear that the Earl of Essex and his followers were traitors. Hall answered that such a request was 'against the Petition of Right, by which it is Enacted that no Oath should be imposed on the subject but what should be establisht by Law.' When he was told that the king had made the oath and demanded it should be taken, Hall replied that, 'No sole Act of the King without consent of Parliament is Obligatory to the Subjects of England, specially if the Oath be against Law, & the Priviledges of Parliament, as this was in many Particulars.'

¹²⁰ Hall, *Magistracy*, sig.A6v, drew a parallel between the role of Parliament in preventing exorbitancies in the state and Presbyterian synods doing the same for a national Church. He repeated this in other places, for example, on the flyleaf of Paget, *A defence of church-government* [Cat.A.494, THL 094/1641/3], writing: 'particular congregations act by their Representatives in general synods. they lose not their Rights no more then those shires that chuse a Burgess to arise in Parliament.' Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.56-65, gives a detailed explanation of the many roles of rulers and magistrates. His persistent loyalty to Parliament is evidenced in his gathering and marking of books and pamphlets well before the outbreak of war, and this is a position he maintained throughout his life, arguing that the ruler should always rule in partnership with Parliament. In 1660 before the Restoration

between commonwealth and religion, or magistracy and ministry, as mutually dependent, writing that they were,

the two great standing Ordinances of god, which must stand so long as the world stands. Take away these two Pillars of Magistracy and Ministry, and you destroy both Church and State. Where Moses and Aaron, the Word and the Sword go hand in hand together, there Satans Kingdom falls like lightning from heaven, suddenly, universally, and irresistibly.¹²¹

His political ideal was one of ‘sweet Harmony and mutual assistance’ between all these ruling partners and the Church, disunity being as dangerous for one as for the other.¹²² This was a major theme of all his published works, and the basis of his arguments for the establishment of one national Church and the prosecution of all unorthodox believers. However, though mutually enabling and supportive, in Moderate Puritan tradition, he insisted that magistracy and ministry were two distinct roles: magistrates were to rule according to the Word of God, keeping order and delivering justice, but also defending religion and the ministry, while ministers supported magistrates by teaching men to obey their rulers for conscience sake.¹²³

he wrote in *Magistracy*, p.11, an oblique observation that could apply to king or Lord Protector, ‘That which ruined Julius Caesar was self-conceitedness and refusing to consult with the Senate. What a sad condition would Nations be in if they were subject to the Will, Lust, and Tyranny of one single man? Tis in the multitude of Counsellors that there is safety.’ Also in *Magistracy*, p.45, ‘Usually God cuts off Tyrants suddenly, and raiseth up Pious and Peaceable Rulers in their stead; after a wicked Ahaz comes a good Hezekiah, after Idolatrous Amon a zealous Iosiah. After harsh King Henry comes mild King Edward; and after furious Queen Mary, peaceable Queen Elizabeth. Thus after a storm usually comes a calm, and after a sharp Winter a pleasant Summer.’ The implication here is that not only was a peaceable James succeeded by an unpeaceable Charles, but that Charles was a tyrant.

¹²¹ Hall, *Magistracy*, sigs.A2v-A3r.

¹²² Hall, *Magistracy*, sig.A3r-A3v. Also for example, in *Timothy*, p.168: ‘Tis Unity that spreads the Gospel, and makes mountains to become a plain, even the seven hills amongst the rest. Were there that sweet Synceretismus [*sic*], or rather Synchristianismus, that harmony of hearts and wayes, as ought to be amongst the people of God, how terrible would the Church be to her enemies? Tis these that breed tumults in the Church, commotions in the Common-wealth, that imbitter mens spirits one against another, waste mens estates, bring men to a morsell of bread, and at last bring themselves to some untimely end’. Hall warned of the truth of one of Machiavelli’s maxims in *Timothy*, p.392: ‘Tis Machiavels Maxime, Divide & impera, Nothing stron[g]er then Unity, nothing weaker then discord.’

¹²³ Hall wrote of these distinct roles for example in *Magistracy*, pp.56, 69, and of the different responsibilities of ministers and magistrates for example in *Magistracy*, pp.82-3. P. Collinson has examined these roles, their mutuality and distinctions among moderate Puritans, such as Samuel Ward and Laurence Chaderton, in his chapter on magistracy and ministry in *The Religion of Protestants*, pp.141-188. C. D. Gilbert, ‘Magistracy and Ministry in Cromwellian England: The Case of King’s Norton, Worcestershire’, *Midland History* 23 (1998) 71-83, has called these inherited notions ‘commonplaces’ in the seventeenth century among godly men such as Hall, who published *Magistracy* in part to counter those who were challenging the mutuality of ministry and magistracy and denying the magistrate any coercive role in religion.

An illustration Hall used to show the consequences of confusing these separate roles concerned Arminian bishops, who, in trying to encompass both spiritual and temporal offices, failed in both.¹²⁴ So Hall was no Erastian, and condemned those who were, naming Arminians specifically as culprits.¹²⁵ He saw the greatest threat to unity in the 1630s as the popish and Erastian nature of Arminianism, for ‘The Arminian bishops deceived the Church, misled the King, and wronged the State.’¹²⁶ His view of the evil counsel afforded the king by his bishops also embraced the Queen’s influence and that of her advisers such as Sancta Clara, and those who advised the king to raise taxes without the consent of Parliament, with particular reference to ship-money.¹²⁷

In holding these ideas, Hall showed his adherence to widespread Moderate Puritan opinion of the period. In his study of the 1620s Puritan polemicist Thomas Scott, Peter Lake shows that his outspoken pamphleteering from the safety of exile provided an untypical voice for the typical political views of evangelical or godly Protestants. These political views were in the same tradition as those held by Moderate Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, who interpreted the world as a place polarised between good and evil, Christ and Antichrist, and in which the model of the constitution was one in which monarch and people ideally worked together in harmony, but in which political disharmony was caused by the forces of popery, working through corrupt courtiers and Papists. As in the case of Thomas Scott, Peter Lake and Richard

¹²⁴ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.82, 56.

¹²⁵ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.69, wrote: ‘Thus the Arminians ... superlatively extolled the Power of the Magistrate in Ecclesiastical affairs,’ and ‘Thus Erastus a Physitian, but a rotten Divine, puts all Church-censures into the hand of the Magistrate, and so confounds Magistracy and Ministry together, which are too distinct offices.’ He then referred the reader to Rutherford, Gillespy, Wallaeus and Apollonius for their refutations of Erastianism.

¹²⁶ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.69.

¹²⁷ For Hall’s hostility towards Sancta Clara, the Queen’s Catholic chaplain, see above, fn.104. There are also many instances in the marking of his books where Hall makes large crosses by references to Henrietta Maria such as *Voces votivae ab academcis Cantabrigiensibus pro novissimo Caroli & Mariae principe filio emissae* (1640) [THL 094/C37], p.6. Hall had a lasting suspicion of the probity of courtiers, suggesting in *Timothy*, pp.424, 469, that ‘Piety is rare in Princes Courts’, although he also thought courts were like prisons, in that God always had a few faithful saints amongst the reprobate.

Cust have established that these political notions were held by godly magistrates such as Sir Richard Grosvenor, while John Fielding has revealed how a godly provincial lawyer, Robert Woodforde, expressed the same views in his diaries which survive for the years 1637 to 1640.¹²⁸ Cust has also explored the increasing perception of Parliament as a representative and restorative body in the early Stuart period, when there was a growing sense of the active Protestant and the humanist citizenship of the public man, and of the importance of free conscience-based elections.¹²⁹ The religious and political beliefs of these men were interconnected and motivated by Protestant zeal. Any breakdown in the harmony and unity of the state was explained largely by the influence of evil counsel, while Parliament encapsulated Protestant virtues and stood for the protection of the traditional liberties of the subject. The same ideas of active public service against the forces of popery were embedded in Hall's idea of magistracy and citizenship, and also of ministry, for ministers were public men too, and Hall pointedly wished to be remembered as a public-spirited man who put the public good before that of his private and family concerns.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ R. Cust, in his introduction to *The Papers of Sir Richard Grosvenor, 1st Bart. (1585-1645)* (1996); R. Cust and P. Lake, 'Sir Richard Grosvenor and the Rhetoric of Magistracy', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 54 (1981) 40-53; and J. Fielding, 'Opposition to the Personal Rule of Charles I'.

¹²⁹ R. Cust, 'Politics and the Electorate in the 1620s,' in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in early Stuart England* (1994), pp.134-67, and R. Cust, 'The 'Public Man' in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England', in P. Lake and S. Pincus, (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (2007) 116-43. The increasing claims of Parliament to represent electors and to be accountable to them is also argued by M. Judson in *Crisis of the Constitution: An Essay in Constitutional and Political Thought in England, 1603-1645* (1949), where she demonstrates that in the struggles from late Tudor times and up to the Civil War between the royal prerogative and power of Parliament, Parliament increasingly resorted to the justification of representing the people where legal precedent couldn't be established in support of its actions.

¹³⁰ Hall, *Life*, fos.97, 103. In his defence of the ministry, particularly in his *Apologie*, Hall described the ministry as a 'public' ministry ordained by God, with public roles and duties in a similar way to other public men, except, being the spiritual role, it was far more important. In *Timothy*, sig.A3v, he stated that a zealous magistrate was 'the best Common-wealths-man' and such men were of public spirits seeking the common good and who cast off all 'self-seeking and private-spiritednesse.' He made similar statements in *Timothy*, pp.20, 32, 76, 115, 365, 386, 424. Just as Scott argued that the godly made the most loyal ministers and subjects, and a freely elected Parliament formed the best court of counsel for the king, rescuing him from flattery and evil counsel, guiding his foreign policy against popery abroad, and restoring him to harmony with his people, so Hall insisted that true religion encouraged good citizenship in all ranks of the population and the godly made the best subjects. Although Hall made no direct references to free elections, there are various instances of his approval of Parliament and its role as the fittest counsel for the king because it could discharge the role with freedom for example, his marking of *A miracle: an honest broker* (1642) [THL 094/C2], especially p.46.

Inevitably, as for other members of the Moderate Puritan community, Arminianism and the king's seeming submission to popish influence intensified Hall's interest in how the political scene developed and increased his inclination to trust in Parliament. Ann Hughes has shown how men like Thomas Dugard and his godly clerical networks with which Hall was associated, extending from local Warwickshire to national level, helped to create the challenge to the personal rule of Charles I in 1640, in spite of the seeming calm and lack of opposition.¹³¹ Jacqueline Eales has similarly demonstrated the continuity of Puritanism at household, parish and gentry network levels in both town and country, and the central connection between Puritanism and the parliamentary cause.¹³²

The connection between Hall's reading in the months between the summoning of Parliament in 1640 and the outbreak of war in 1642 and his later writings, is evidenced by the striking abundance of contemporary literature that he was collecting, and his annotations on it. The surge in his collection of pamphlets he called 'controversies', shows his eagerness to participate in the discussion of political events and news from London, and suggests that his former willingness to compromise with church forms such as episcopacy, was eclipsed by hopes that Parliament's completion of the Reformation had become a possibility worth

¹³¹ A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle', pp.788, 793. Also, A. Hughes, 'Godly Reformation and its Opponents in Warwickshire 1640-1662', *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers* 35 (1993), shows the continuing adherence to Parliament in the 1640s for the sake of godly reformation of some of Hall's closest colleagues, John Bryan and John Trapp, and their association of royalism with vice, superstition, festivity and profanity, in fact citing Hall as an example of a godly writer who made explicit links between debauchery and the behaviour of royalist soldiers in the 1640s.

¹³² J. Eales, 'A Road to Revolution: The Continuity of Puritanism, 1559-1642' in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (1996) 184-209, emphasises the radicalising effect of Arminianism on Puritan opposition which built up to the demands in 1640 not just for the removal of Arminian innovations but for the completion of the Reformation.

striving for.¹³³ His enthusiasm for the work of the Long Parliament can also be seen in his systematic collection of sermons which were commissioned by the members of Parliament themselves. Although only half of Hall's sermon collection survives, it contains 39% of the sermons preached before Parliament between 1640 and January 1647, with another 10% cited in his published works.¹³⁴ Most of them are well marked, and show Hall's ready approval of the contents, which were tuned as much to political agendas as they were to religious exhortation.¹³⁵ Furthermore, Hall's manuscript notes show that he was reading them, as intended, in parallel with news of the work of Parliament.¹³⁶ From Hall's point of view, these

¹³³ 42% of all Hall's pamphlets, both 'controversies' and 'fast sermons', were published in this decade. They probably represent only a part of what Hall must have acquired and read: only two-thirds of his pamphlets survive and all his other papers and ephemera have since disappeared, yet he left references to other materials he read and recorded such as libels and commonplace books, and also manuscript works he prepared for the press. A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire*, p.132, has commented on the richness of news that was known to have been accessed by Hall's clerical colleagues such as Thomas Dugard, who read newsbooks, parliamentary speeches and the Grand Remonstrance, and joined in fasts and thanksgivings held in the town that were related to national events.

¹³⁴ The works which Hall cited may well represent works that he owned but which have since been lost. These percentages are worked out from the list of published parliamentary sermons listed by J. F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament* (1969), pp.237-80. Hall may have had access himself to lists of sermons and preachers such as that printed at the end of Tesdale's sermon in 1644, entitled, *A catalogue of those divines who have preached before the Parliament, beginning Jan. 18. to September 25. 1644.* (1644) [THL 094/C15]. 1646 was something of a watershed, marking the end of the dominance of preachers with Presbyterian leanings whom Hall admired, and saw in their place an increasing number of preachers representing the interests of Independents, and occasionally of radicals, such as William Dell. Changes in the preaching personnel and subject matter of the sermons are seen by Wilson, pp.88-91, as reflecting national religious changes, including the failure of the Presbyterian campaigns to establish a national compulsory Church. The volumes Hall listed as 'Fast Sermons' contain a thorough mixture of sermons, not just those delivered before Parliament as part of the official programme begun in 1641. He also collected other official sermons, such as those preached before civic officers, sermons given at assizes and funerals, sermons to troops and volunteers, and other sermons which he considered notable either for their content or preacher, or for a combination of all these reasons. The majority of sermons comes from the 1640s.

¹³⁵ H. Trevor-Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (1967), Chapter 6, pp.286-8, saw these sermons as totally reflective of parliamentary policy while the members were united in the first few years of the war, while similarly, J. F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*, pp.68-9, interpreted the tone of the sermons in early 1643 as reflecting the influence of Pym and the 'war party'. Wilson argues that these sermons had a crucial impact as propaganda, and were ventures in which ministers and politicians worked together for desired outcomes, particularly in the interest of the Presbyterians.

¹³⁶ One such example is his manuscript note connecting 'Domesday' William Sedgwick's fiery sermon, *Zions deliverance and her friends duty* (1642) [THL 094/C6], and a speech of Harbottle Grimston. This note was written on a third pamphlet, all three being concerned with the same subject, the degeneracy of bishops. The note made on *A very lively portrayture of bishops* (1640) [THL 094/C23], which was quoted from Grimston's speech, was almost verbatim: 'Sheepe used to feede on the Mountains, but the Mountains have eaten up the sheepe.' Grimston, *Mr. Grymstons speech in Parliament upon the accusation and impeachment of William Laud* (1641) [THL 094/C34], p.3, wrote, 'the Sheepe should have fed upon the Mountaines, but the Mountaines have eaten up the Sheepe.' Hall cross-referenced this note to p.33 of Sedgwick's sermon, *Zions deliverance*, which is very heavily marked, and concerns the idea that faith could remove the mountains in the way of the work of

official sermons not only drew him into the central ritual and rhetoric of the godly at Westminster, but, with his pamphlet ‘controversies’, also supplied him with material for discussion. This, in combination with the influence of his local contacts and networks, further shaped his responses to the fast changing circumstances between 1640 and 1642, and enabled him to realise solidarity with the wider godly brotherhood he found in print.

Hall’s marking of these pamphlets shows consistency in both his religious and political views, but because there is so much surviving material, I have concentrated on one volume of forty-one ‘controversies’, C34, as a prime example for demonstrating his contemporary following of the breakdown at the centre, the political and religious arguments he favoured, and how he responded to the texts he was reading.¹³⁷ This volume focuses on the narrowest time span of all the pamphlet volumes, that is from 1641 to 1642, with one pamphlet from 1643, (which recalls events from 1641), and another from 1644. All of them centre on parliamentary business that concerned political and religious issues of the time and so present not only a microcosm of current events, but plentiful indications of Hall’s responses to them.¹³⁸ Hall’s binding of pamphlet volumes is largely thematic and there is no reason to doubt that he had good thematic reasons for his selection of material in this particular volume, the conceptual

Parliament, which Sedgewick had described as having in its remit both ‘Church-worke ‘ and ‘Common-wealth worke.’

¹³⁷ Hall is consistent in his marking of material from this time in both his religious and political views, and there is a far more material than it is possible to include here.

¹³⁸ For the contents of this volume, see Figures 15 and 16. Within C34, three pamphlets are duplicated which suggests Hall’s focused interest in obtaining them. One of these duplications, pamphlet 35, was a gift from one of Hall’s treasured pupils Henry Field, who would have been familiar with Hall’s literary tastes. The 41 pamphlets in the volume as it exists today are not bound in the exact order in which they appear in Hall’s manuscript index at the front, but neither he did index them in anything but a rough chronological order in the first place. For example, Strafford’s last letter to the king in May 1641 is indexed before his conclusion to his defence in April 1641, and the sixth pamphlet concerning Strafford is well separated from the others and is also out of chronological order. Parliament’s defence in answer to the royalist propaganda pamphlet celebrating the king’s victory at Edgehill precedes the royalist publication to which it is a response. Most of Hall’s pamphlets were bought new and seem to have been marked at the time of acquisition. See Chapter 1, a) How and why Hall acquired his library.

theme of which is the Long Parliament's providential mission in purging both the corrupted state and Church, so creating a godly commonwealth and reformed national Church.¹³⁹

The majority of these pamphlets are marked heavily, and Hall's agreement with parliamentary polemic is consistent throughout the volume. The pamphlets illustrate his delight at Parliament's achievements in securing the downfall of the worst of the king's evil counsellors and the rescinding of the innovative measures that they had introduced during the years of the king's personal rule. Hall undoubtedly supported the theory of a malignant party of evil counsellors, who together with the connivance of Papists and Jesuits, particularly those about the queen, had seduced the king from his role of protecting religion and commonwealth.¹⁴⁰ Secondly, he affirmed the right and responsibility of Parliament to defend the liberties of the subject and the rule of law. While Hall was no Erastian, the inclusion of a large number of anti-episcopal tracts alongside the pamphlets concerning the wider political activities of the Long Parliament illustrates both his emphasis on the need for Parliament's role in the reform of church government and his view that Parliament's political and religious activities were

FIGURE 15: HALL'S MANUSCRIPT INDEX IN PAMPHLET VOLUME C34

¹³⁹ See Appendix II: iii) a) and b), for lists of all Hall's surviving pamphlets volumes A and C, which show his manuscript indices where they survive and the titles of all the pamphlets contained within each volume.

¹⁴⁰ For example, Hall noted on p.13 of his copy of Pamphlet 9, 'The Grand Remonstrance', the argument that among court favours, the popish party had been granted a virtual 'Tolleration', and, p.22, the culpability of the Bishops and popish Lords in Parliament in failing to deter the Irish Uprising. He later bought Prynne's 1643 work authorised by Parliament, which elaborated on the thesis of the gradual re-introduction of popery by the king, the long title of which began: *The Popish royall favourite: or, A full discovery of His Majesties extraordinary favours to, and protections of notorious papists, priests, Jesuits, against all prosecutions and penalties of the laws enacted against them; notwithstanding his many royall proclamations, declarations, and protestations to the contrary: as likewise of a most desperate long prosecuted designe to set up popery, and extirpate the Protestant religion by degrees, in this our realme of England, and all His Majesties Dominions* [Cat.A530]. This work was described as 'the most bitter personal attack against Charles I' by William Lamont, 'Prynne, William (1600–1669)', *Oxf. DNB*.

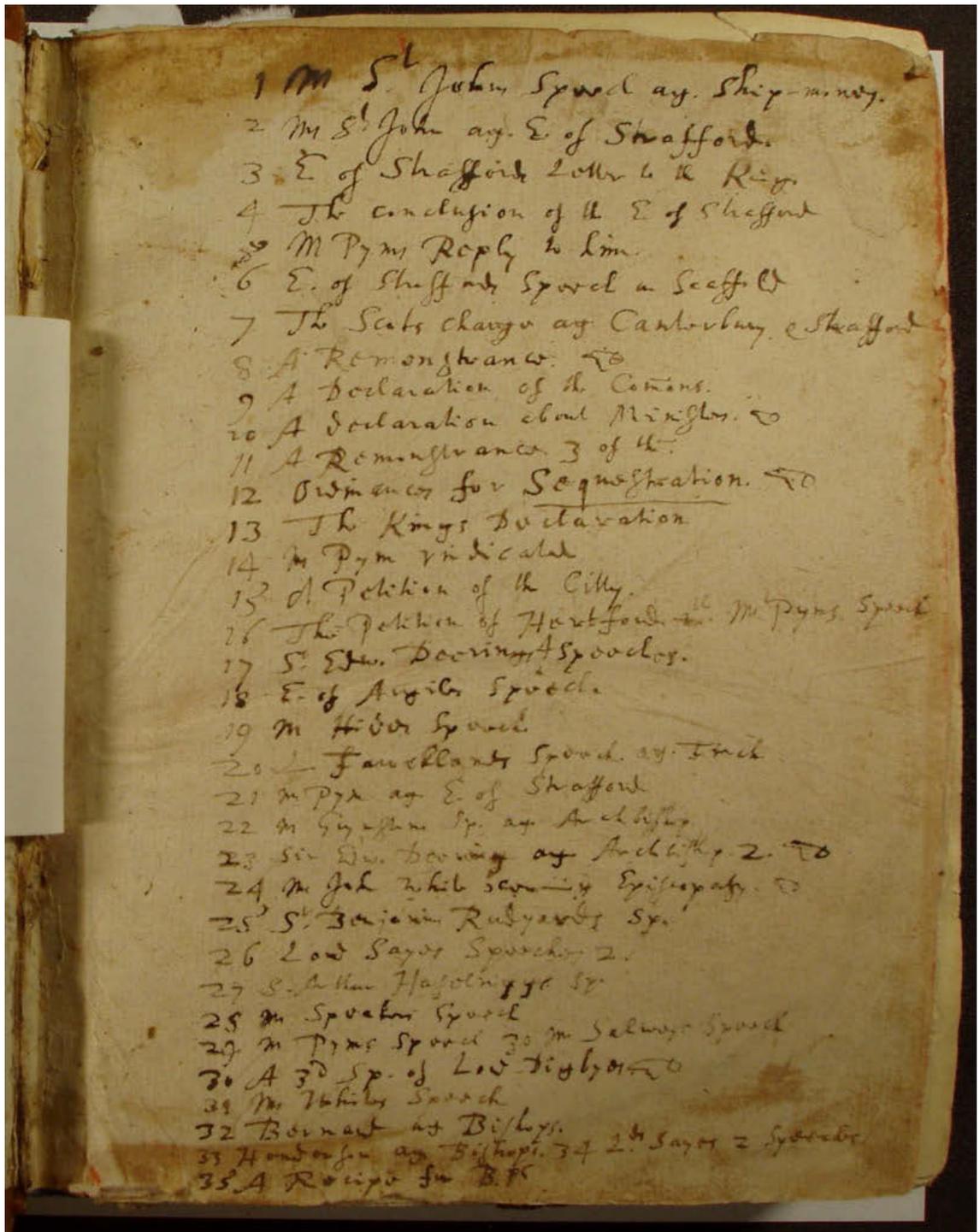


FIGURE 16: THE TITLES OF PAMPHLETS IN C34
 IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ARE CURRENTLY BOUND

1. *The speech or declaration of Mr. St- John, Delivered at a conference of both Houses of Parliament, held 16th Caroli, 1640* (1641)
2. *An argument of law concerning the bill of attainder of high-treason of Thomas Earle of Strafford* (1641)
3. *The Earle of Straffords letter to his most excellent Majesty, dated from the Tower, 4. May, 1641. Anno Domini, 1641* (1641)
4. *The conclusion of the Earle of Straffords defence, the twelfth of April, 1641* (1641)
5. *In answer to the Earle of Straffords conclusion. The 13, of Aprill, 1641* (1641)
6. *The Earle of Straffords speech on the scaffold before he was beheaded on Tower-hill, the 12 of May, 1641* (1641)
7. *The charge of the Scottish Commissioners against Canterburie and the Lieuutenant of Ireland. Together with their demand concerning the sixt article of the treaty* (1641)
8. *A declaration of the Commons in Parliament: made September the 9th 1641* (1641)
9. *A remonstrance of the state of the kingdom. Die Mercurii 15 Decemb. 1641* (1641). (Also known as 'The grand Remonstrance')
10. *An order made to a select committee: chosen by the whole House of Commons to receive petitions touching ministers* (1640)
11. *A remonstrance or the declaration of the Lords and Commons, now assembled in Parliament, 26. of May. 1642. In answer to a Declaration under his Majesties name concerning the businesse of Hull, sent in a message to both Houses the 21. of May, 1642* (1642)
12. *A declaration of the Lords and Common[s] assembled in Parliament. In answer to his Majesties declaration intituled his Majesties declaration to all his loving subjects, after his late victory against the Rebels, on Sunday the 23 of October, 1642. Together with a catalogu of the names of divers of colonels, lieutenant-colonels, serjeant majors, c[ap]tains, and lieutenants, that are Papists and commanders in the army, under the command of the Earle of New-castle (164[2])* (This is in reply to pamphlet 15 in this volume.)
13. *A remonstrance of the state of the kingdom agreed on by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament the 19. of May, 1642* (1642)
14. *All the severall ordinances and orders made by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament; concerning sequestering the estates of delinquents, Papists, spyes and intelligencers* (1644)
15. *His Maiesties declaration to all his loving subjects, after his late victory against the rebells on Sunday the 23 of October. Oxford, 1642* (Oxford, 1642) (Parliament's reply to this pamphlet is number 12 above.)
16. *The Parliaments vindication of Iohn Pym esquire from his Majesties exception against him* (1643)
17. *A speech delivered at a conference with the Lords, January XXV. MDCXLI. By occasion of the Petitions from the City of London, and the counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Hertford. By Iohn Pym, esquire London, 1641.*
18. *A most noble speech spoken by the Lord Cambel of Lorne. ... As also, an honourable reply made by the Lord Lowden, against such, who objected against his former speech* (16[4]1)
19. *Six matters worthy of note* (1642)
20. *Mr: Hides argument before the Lords in the Vpper House of Parliament. Aprill 1641* (1641)
21. *The charge voted against Bishop Wren on Monday, 5. Iuly, 1641* (1641)
22. *The speech or declaration of the Lord Favlkland, to the Lords of the Vpper House,: against the Lord Finch* (1641)
23. *Mr. Pymms speech to the Lords in Parliament, sitting in Westminster Hall, on the triall of Thomas Earle of Strafford, the twelfth of April, 1641* (1641)
24. *Mr Grymstons speech in Parliament upon the accusation and impeachment of William Laud Arch. Bishop of Canterbury, upon high treason.* (1641)
25. *Foure. Speeches made by Sr. Edward Dering in the high court of Parliament. Concerning the Arch-Bishop and divers other grievances* (1641)
26. *A Speech of Mr. Iohn White, Councillor at Law, made in the Commons House of Parliament & concerning episcopacy* (1641)
27. *Sir Benjamin Rudyerds speech concerning bishops, deans, and chapters. At a committee of the whole House* (1641)
28. *Two speeches in Parliament of the right honourable William, Lord Viscount Say and Seale, The first upon the bill against Bishops power in civill affaires and courts of judicature, the other a declaration of himself touching the liturgie and separation* (1641)
29. *Sir Arthvr Hesilrigeg his speech in Parliament. Whereby hee cleareth himselfe of the articles of high treason, exhibited against himselfe, the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Iohn Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Strovd, and Mr. Hollis: by his Majestie on Tuesday the 4th. of January. 1642* (1642)
30. *Mr. Speakers speech before the King in Parliament, July 3. 1641. Concerning the passing of 3. bills. viz. poll-money. Starre-Chamber. And High Commission. Together with his Majesties gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, at the passing of the two last bills on Munday, July 5. 1641* (1641)
31. *March 17. [M]aster Pym's speech in Parliament. Whereunto is added, some passages that hapned the ninth of March, between the Kings Majesty, and the Committee of both Houses, when the declaration was delivered. What passed the next day, when His Majesty delivered His Answer* (1641)
32. *A speech when Master Hide was in the chayre upon the bill concerning episcopacie* (1641)
33. *The third speech of the Lord George Digby, to the House of Commons, concerning bishops, and the Citie Petition, the 9th. of Febr. 1640* (1640)
34. *Master Grimstons argument concerning bishops: With Mr. Seldens answer. Also severall orders concerning church government* (1641)
35. *A speech of Mr. Iohn White Councillor at Law, made in the Commons House of Parliament. Concerning episcopacy* (1641) (A second copy in addition to number 26 above.)
36. *The beauty of godly government in a church reformed; or a platform of government consonant to the Word of Truth, and the purest reformed churches* (1641 i.e. 1642)
37. *A worke for the wisely considerate, in three distinct parts* (1641)
38. *The vnlawfullnes and danger of limited prelacie* (1641)
39. *Two speeches of the right honourable William, Lord Viscount Say and Seale,The first upon the bill against the bishops. The other a declaration of himself touching the liturgie* (1641) (A second copy of number in addition to number 28 above.)
40. *The true character of an untrue bishop* (1641)
41. *Foure. Speeches made by Sr. Edward Dering* (1641) (A second copy of number in addition to number 25 above.)

intertwined, Parliament being the means by which God's providential work would be carried out. At the same time, Hall gave no indication that he ever considered a commonwealth without a king, but only one in which the king was in lawful partnership with Parliament.

The volume begins with one of Oliver St. John's recurring speeches on ship-money, with an additional speech of Lord Falkland's on the same topics later in the volume.¹⁴¹ The ship-money tax was probably as hot a topic of conversation in Moseley where Hall had been curate at the time, as it had been all over the country.¹⁴² Hall generally marked ship-money issues wherever they appeared in his texts, such as in 'The Grand Remonstrance', and as a grievance it appears to have been a pivotal issue in his developing constitutional theory.¹⁴³ Certainly his marking indicates early doubts about the king being completely misled by evil counsel, and points rather to Hall's belief that the king should bear some responsibility. For example, Hall puts a cross by St. John's statement, 'My Lords, in these expressions, there is no reflection upon his majesty.' This mark might seem ambiguous out of context, but taken with his series of marks that indicate the king should be limited more by law in his exercise of power, his meaning is undoubtedly that there is, or should be, some 'reflection' on his Majesty.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Pamphlets 1 and 22. Hall also owned a copy of *Articles of accusation, exhibited by the Commons House of Parliament now assembled, against Sr. John Bramston Knight, Sr. Robert Berkley Knight, justices of His Majesties Bench, Sr. Francis Crawley Knight, one of the justices of the Common-Pleas, Sr. Humphrey Davenport Knight, Sr. Richard Weston Knight, and Sr. Thomas Trevor Knight, barons of His Majesties Exchequer* [THL 094/1641/12], his marks showing his agreement with the case against Berkeley, and Hall has underlined specifically on p.1, the lines that Berkeley had endeavoured to 'subvert the fundamental laws', and introduce 'an arbitrary and Tyrannical government', and his disagreement with his defence such as arguments, p.5, that the king alone should judge the danger to the country from the sea, and that, p.6, in some cases the Judges were above the law in the interests of good government.

¹⁴² A. Fairn, *A History of Moseley* (1973), p.21, recorded that in Moseley, Thomas Grevis, the brother of Hall's patron Richard, who was sheriff of Worcestershire, and a future Parliamentarian and Presbyterian, had been warned for reticence in his duty of collecting this tax, but she gives no reference for this. F.A.Bates, *Graves, Memoirs of the Civil War*, p.107, notes that Thomas Grevis was certainly in the Rolls for 1639, and appeared in wills 1638-9 as High Sheriff.

¹⁴³ Pamphlet 9. Hall's marks here are similar in tone to those on his copy of *Articles of accusation*, noted above in fn.141.

¹⁴⁴ Hall's marked responses on Lord Falkland's speech from earlier in January 1641, (pamphlet 22), which also attacks Lord Finch and the imposition of ship-money, show clearly that he considered Finch a dangerous man

Following this are several pamphlets devoted to the downfall of a most notable ‘evil’ counsellor of the king, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.¹⁴⁵ On the title page of Strafford’s defence, Hall is moved to make several comments showing his disgust, using legal points such as ‘*Plus peccat author quam actor*’,¹⁴⁶ and writing out some of Pym’s arguments against Strafford: ‘Shall it be Treason to embase the kings coyne & not Law. By the arbitrary Govt. Power he increased innovations. Monopolies.’¹⁴⁷ On the title page of Strafford’s speech on the scaffold, given on 12th May 1641, Hall has written out a biblical quote, again indicating his approval of Strafford’s fate, ‘Lo, this is the man, that made not God his strength, but trusted in the abundance of his riches, & strengthened himself in his [wickedness].’¹⁴⁸ Finally, later in the volume, Hall has included pamphlets that made charges against Laud and Wren.¹⁴⁹

Hall’s support of classic attitudes attacking the failures of the king’s personal rule and the influence of his evil counsellors is evidenced throughout the volume, but exemplified most explicitly in the texts that put forward Parliament’s case directly in opposition to that of the king. For example Hall soaked up the polemic on the state of the kingdom in ‘The Grand

whose impositions had been innovative and illegal, but also similarly suggest Hall’s belief that the king should share the blame in the case of ship-money. He seems to be thinking along the lines of the theory of the ‘King’s Two Bodies’, explored by R. Conrad, in *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-1642* (1991), pp. 505-9, as a rudimentary doctrine of State which separated the king’s person from the king’s authority, and was used by parliamentary supporters to explain how the king could position his person against Parliament although monarchical authority properly belonged in coordination with Parliament.

¹⁴⁵ Pamphlets 2-7, 10 and 23.

¹⁴⁶ Meaning, the instigator of a crime is worse than the one who perpetrates it. Hall would have known that this phrase was used as a legal saying, for example by Sir Edward Coke at the trial of the Jesuit, Henry Garnet, by which he condemned Garnet even though it could not be shown that he was physically involved in the plot itself. Hall also invoked the legal rule, ‘*leges posteriores priores contraries abrogant*’, or the right of Parliament to repeal any former legislation.

¹⁴⁷ Hall took Pym’s arguments from Pamphlet 23, *Mr. Pymms speech to the Lords in Parliament, sitting in Westminster Hall, on the triall of Thomas Earle of Strafford, the twelfth of April, 1641* (1641).

¹⁴⁸ This quotation comes from Psalm 52.7. The last word, ‘wickedness’, on the right fore-edge of the page has been cropped.

¹⁴⁹ Pamphlets 21, 24, 25, and 41.

Remonstrance' of December 1641, with its castigation of the innovations introduced by the king's counsellors and the proposed corrective future solutions for both state and Church.¹⁵⁰

Key confrontational events on the road to war are also recorded in the pamphlets, and it is Parliament's reactions to them that are supported by Hall. Firstly, on Sir Arthur Hesilrige's defence of the members of Parliament whom the king attempted to arrest early in January 1642, Hall has marked his sympathetic approval throughout but used double emphases by the passage that summarised Hesilrige's case; this protested that Hesilrige had used his free vote in proper parliamentary procedures, and was thoroughly bemused that such a course of action could be construed by the king as treason. Secondly, a remonstrance from 19th May following the King's departure from the capital,¹⁵¹ which justified Parliament's latest actions, particularly its insistence on the Militia Bill, its upbraiding of the King for the Army Plot of the previous year and his attack on parliamentary privilege in January 1642, was also approved in all its detail.¹⁵² Finally, Hall supported another remonstrance just a few days later, which responded defensively to the king's outraged protest at the resistance of John Hotham, who had prevented him from taking control of Hull and its magazine.¹⁵³ This is particularly revealing of Hall's pro-parliamentary attitude: besides highlighting the name of the statute in which the Latin form of the coronation oath appeared, Hall was interested enough in the implications of Parliament's argument that this old coronation oath from the reign of Edward II bound kings to pass all 'such good laws as their people shall choose', to

¹⁵⁰ Pamphlet 9.

¹⁵¹ Pamphlets 29 and 13.

¹⁵² One of the main interests shown by Hall on this remonstrance is his close following of the 'irrefutable' evidence Parliament attached to this remonstrance to counter the king's denial that there was any 'Desyne' or an army plot in the previous year. This evidence is in the form of depositions, letters and reports of examination of witnesses. Hall has marked it well for example, highlighting every part of the Queen's reported role, no doubt confirming Hall's worst fears of her subversive popery and her role as the king's closest evil counsellor. Hall had ever suspected the queen of undermining true religion in the country, and this sort of evidence together with that implicating the king, would have further weakened any remaining confidence he had in the king's good intentions.

¹⁵³ Pamphlet 11.

write out that section of the oath on the back page of the pamphlet, including what Valance describes as the vital clause, '*quas vulgus elegerit*', or 'what the people choose'.¹⁵⁴

The final outbreak of hostilities is represented by a royalist publication celebrating the king's claim of victory against 'the Rebels' at Edgehill in October 1642, an appellation which Hall crossed through, thereby denying that the king's opponents at the battle were rebels. Furthermore he refused to accept the king's victory, marking the claim with a cross.¹⁵⁵ To this was attached a parliamentary response, together with a damning advertisement of Papist commanders in the royalist army and Parliament's justification for war, notably that the army was raised for the defence of the king's person.¹⁵⁶

Some of the publications in the volume touch on the Irish Rising of 1641 and in several pamphlets Hall noted current fears of popish plots.¹⁵⁷ Also included here are the final speeches from the Speaker and king before the abolition of the much resented institutions of the poll-tax and of the two prerogative courts of Star Chamber and High Commission.¹⁵⁸ The latest publication in the volume, from 1644, concerns ordinances and orders for the sequestration of the estates of all manner of delinquents, particularly of Papists, with lists of the committees appointed to implement the policy and instructions for so doing, perhaps

¹⁵⁴ E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant, State Oaths, Protestantism and the Political Nation, 1553-1682* (2005), p.76. H.G. Richardson, 'The Coronation Oath', *Speculum* 24:1 (1949) 44-75, argued that the interpretation of this oath is controversial. The words have been interpreted as an undertaking by the king to hold and keep the laws rather than to pass everything put before him, and the '*Vulgus*' or commonalty, was undefined. Robert Hoyt in 'The Coronation Oath of 1308', *The English Historical Review* 71:280 (1956) 353-83, also concluded that the oath was ambiguous and was used in the seventeenth century as an ideological weapon between king and Parliament just as it had been in the fourteenth century between Edward II and his barons. Hall's note shows that his interpretation was in favour of Parliament against the prerogative of the King.

¹⁵⁵ Pamphlet 15.

¹⁵⁶ Pamphlet 12. Hall has marked this point on p.9.

¹⁵⁷ Pamphlet 19.

¹⁵⁸ Pamphlet 30.

signposting the beginning of the retribution for which Hall had hoped.¹⁵⁹ It is well marked throughout, and Hall has noted his own locality and the names of men he knew such as the MP John Wild, and his local patron, ‘Thomas Grevis esquire’.¹⁶⁰

Although the interrelation of religious and political issues is well reflected in most of the pamphlets in this volume, the emphasis of about half of them is on religious affairs. The pamphlet concerning the order made by Parliament to appoint a committee to examine the petitions from the clergy in 1640, highlights Hall’s awareness, (possibly as a direct contributor to his own local clerical petition in Warwickshire at this time), of the pressure being applied from the counties for both political and religious reform, and he marked this pamphlet with interest, underlining the names of various committee members and adding their counties of origin.¹⁶¹ He also emphasised the paragraphs detailing their roles in supporting a preaching ministry, and in removing scandalous ministers and pluralists.

Representing county petitions arguing for continuing reformation and more vigorous defence against Papists, is Pym’s speech made at their reception in January 1641/2 with copies of petitions from London, and Hertfordshire.¹⁶² The main theme of these county petitions was fear of Papist plots, and Hall’s marks on popish issues reflect this.¹⁶³ There is also a heavily and approvingly marked copy of the declaration of the Commons, in which the Lords refused to join, giving orders for the removal of Arminian innovations such as altars. Hall acquired this pamphlet hot-off-the-press, on September 25th 1641, sixteen days after its issue on 9th

¹⁵⁹ Pamphlet 14.

¹⁶⁰ Pamphlet 14, p.18.

¹⁶¹ Pamphlet 10. This pamphlet was given to him by George Dixon of London, and indicates at least one contact he had in the capital at this time who is not mentioned anywhere else by Hall.

¹⁶² Pamphlet 17.

¹⁶³ This and other petitions and common anxieties are discussed in A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* pp191-227, and p.199 for the petition from Hertfordshire.

September, by hand, from the knight of the shire for Worcestershire in the Long Parliament, John Wild, whom he greatly admired.¹⁶⁴

Another main theme in Hall's construction of volume C34 is his undisguised support of root and branch abolition of episcopacy and Presbyterian reform of church government. The largest single group of pamphlets are parliamentary speeches from debates on the vexed and vexing questions of episcopacy and the reform of church government. These were made by MPs such as John Pym, Sir Edward Dering, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, William Lord Say and Sele, George Digby, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Edward Hyde and John White.¹⁶⁵ In addition there is a tract warning against the dangers of limited episcopacy, and a character sketch of 'an untrue bishop', analysing the very worst type of the species.¹⁶⁶ Finally on the subject of ecclesiology, Hall's inclinations are shown in his inclusion of one work against limited episcopacy and two more which argued for Presbyterianism, all produced in 1641.¹⁶⁷

Hall's religious and political inclinations developed and hardened during the 1630s, and were further entrenched by the events of 1640-1642. By that time Hall had lost confidence in the king as the protector of true religion and turned instead to Parliament as champion of the godly. He was thoroughly convinced in these views by the parliamentary and pro-parliamentary press,¹⁶⁸ and as his confidence in Parliament grew, so, as C34 indicates, he

¹⁶⁴ Pamphlet 8. On the title page, Hall has written: '*hoc verum et venerabile mandatus a viro vere venerandi Accepti 25th September Joh: Wilde Milite dignissimo procomitate*', 'or, I received this true and honourable order from a true and honourable man, John Wilde, most worthy knight for the county, on 25th September. This is a rare instance of the recording of the date when Hall acquired a publication.

¹⁶⁵ Pamphlets 31, 25 (second copy 41), 27, 33, 28, 39, 34, 20, 32, and 26 (second copy 35.)

¹⁶⁶ Pamphlets 38 and 40.

¹⁶⁷ Pamphlets 38, 36 and 37. The Scottish interest is seen in one work which contains two speeches of Lord Argyll before the king when he visited Scotland towards the end of 1641, appealing for an end to innovations in religion and state.

¹⁶⁸ On his well-marked copy of 'The Grand Remonstrance', (pamphlet 9), there are no marks of disapproval but only indications of every support for the attack upon the abuses and impositions enforced during the king's

experienced an increasing erosion of trust, not in monarchy as such, but in the person of Charles I and his party, although he always maintained in writing that he remained loyal to the king.¹⁶⁹ By the outbreak of war late in 1642, Hall was a staunch supporter of Parliament, as were his four brothers, two of whom were killed fighting for Parliament.¹⁷⁰ He refused for reasons of personal safety to declare himself openly a Parliamentarian, but locally his true allegiance was suspected and he was arrested and imprisoned by Royalists on several occasions.¹⁷¹

a) v) The development of Hall's Presbyterianism

In 1643, Hall subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant and its implied Presbyterianism, and remained loyal to both thereafter. His anti-Arminianism had inclined him to anti-episcopacy and the best evidence for dating the emergence of his Presbyterianism comes from Anthony Wood, who said of Hall, 'At the turn of the times in 1641 he shew'd himself openly a Presbyterian, and complied altogether with that party, not for preferment sake, but because they were against Bishops and Ceremonies.'¹⁷² Support for this date can be found on Hall's

personal rule. Here, Hall gives as much weight to state issues such as ship-money, monopolies and the activities of Strafford, as he does to religious ones, such as the tyranny of bishops and their court of High Commission and the designs of Papists. He thoroughly approves of the parliamentary programme to date, writing '*Blessings*' and '*Selah*', or Amen, in the margin by the list of Parliament's achievements.

¹⁶⁹ P. Lake and S. Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England' in P. Lake and S. Pincus (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (2007) 1-30, pp.3-5, and also P. Lake in his chapter, 'The Politics of 'Popularity' and the Public Sphere: The 'Monarchical Republic' of Elizabeth I Defends Itself', pp.85-8, have shown how the public sphere, arising firstly in the Elizabethan period as and when centrally based politicians found it convenient to appeal to the people, became increasingly difficult to close down and manipulate by the early Stuart period so that the use of appeal to broad audiences in this new style of politics gradually changed from being exceptional to normal practice. By the 1630s it had opened up a public political forum in which provincial men like Hall could participate.

¹⁷⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.9.

¹⁷¹ Hall, *Life*, fos.55, 58, 59, 64, 72, and Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.76.

¹⁷² Wood, *Atheniae Oxonienses* (1692) Vol. II, p.233. Wood, Hall's near contemporary and historian of Oxford, also wrote in his first volume, (1691), p.858, that Thomas Hall of Pembroke, Francis Roberts of Trinity and Obadiah Grew of Balliol were '*zealous Presbyterians in the time of the grand Rebellion.*' Both Roberts and Grew were local associates of Hall in the Kenilworth Classis. Wood blamed Presbyterians as a general party for raising the 'rebellion', e.g. in Vol. I, pp.357, 554, 572, and 631, and referred to them as 'Puritans or Presbyterians, eg Vol.I, p.633, but he differentiated them from Independents and other groups, clearly marking them out for their 'tenents', the primary one being their hostility to bishops, eg Vol.I, p.898, where he discusses

copy of *A very lively portrayture*, an anonymous, satirical work on the faults and failings of bishops and episcopacy, his ownership of which can be dated to the same year, 1641.¹⁷³ The flyleaf notes and marks Hall made throughout the text show his absolute opposition not only to individual Laudian bishops but to the institution of episcopacy itself. His notes include the points that presbyters and not bishops were made the successors of the apostles and that Paul entrusted the Church to the rule and truth of elders.¹⁷⁴ Interestingly he took two pithy criticisms, underlined in his copy of a speech of Falkland against errors in the state, and applied them here to bishops and errors in the Church, thereby accusing bishops of being ‘unjust judges’ and ‘unconscionable keepers’, and of turning Englishmen into slaves. He further suggested that it was the ears of bishops that should be cut off.¹⁷⁵

Before 1640, Hall may well have accepted a return to the pre-Laudian status quo or a modified form of episcopal government, and there were many Calvinist bishops of whom he approved, such as Ussher, Hall and Prideaux, but afterwards a better alternative became a real

Edmund Calamy. Here as elsewhere, he shows his hostility by accusing Calamy of being mainly interested in money.

¹⁷³ *A very lively portrayture of the most reverend arch-bishops, the right reverend bishops of the Church of England* (1640) [THL 094/C23]. On the back of the title page, Hall has made a list of the 26 bishops of England and Wales, with the comment, ‘Grace in thyr Titles, seldome in thyr actions.’ Hall’s original list was amended when some of the bishops were translated to other dioceses in 1641 or were succeeded in that year, such as Dr. Skinner who moved from Bristol to Oxford, and Prideaux who succeeded Thornborough at Worcester, so implying that the original list was made before these changes took place in 1641. The annotations made on this pamphlet are all strongly anti-episcopal, aimed directly at the abolition of the institution of episcopacy rather than just against ‘Popish’ or Arminian bishops, and thus suggesting that Hall’s views on ecclesiology were well formed by this time.

¹⁷⁴ Later, in *Timothy*, p.472, Hall explained that a basic argument against episcopacy was that it was founded on a false addition to Paul’s Epistle to Timothy, writing: ‘These Post-scripts are no part of the Text, neither was this added by the Apostle, for it contradicts the Text. The Apostle calls Timothy an Evangelist, 2 Tim. 4.5. and the Post-script makes him a Bishop; The Evangelists were not tied to personal residence in one place, as Bishops and Pastors were: but they were to go from place to place to confirm the Churches planted by the Apostles. Beza observes that this first clause doubtless is spurious, it is not extant in divers old coppies, and, which is much, the Vulgar Latin omits it. So do the Syriack and Aethiopic Versions. So that this is but a very sorry foundation to build the Divine Right of Episcopacy upon.’

¹⁷⁵ These ideas were taken from *The speech or declaration of the Lord Favlkland, to the Lords of the Vpper Houise, upon the delivery of the articles the Commons assembled in Parliament: against the Lord Finch* (1641) [THL 094/C34]. The first phrase Hall underlined was Falkland’s description of Finch, p.3, as ‘a silent Speaker, an unjust Judge, and an unconscionable Keeper,’ and the second, p.5, was that Finch’s policy would ‘have made even your Lordships and your posteritie but Right Honourable Slaves.’

possibility.¹⁷⁶ Many godly ministers dated the turning point in their ecclesiological stand against bishops to the Book of Canons of Convocation in 1640, and the imposition of the bishops' 'Etcetera oath'.¹⁷⁷ Hall denounced the oath vehemently in his manuscript autobiography, and though writing with hindsight, this may well have been the turning point for him too.¹⁷⁸

There are a number of marked pamphlets from 1641 which indicate Hall's divergence from the views of other orthodox Calvinists who were looking for different solutions to church government. A good example is his copy of Lord Brooke's discussion of episcopacy and alternative ecclesiologies.¹⁷⁹ Brooke was admired by Hall as a leading godly patron in Warwickshire, and had much in common with him in the 1630s, but by 1641 their ideas

¹⁷⁶ Hall respected and collected the works of several bishops. In *Pulpit*, p.66, he wrote that many of the Bishops after the reformation were able ministers and painful preachers, listing 'Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper Latimer, Farrar, Iewel, Pilkington, Sands, Babington, Abbot, Davenant, Hall, Morton Vsher &c.' Bishops Hall and Usher appeared in Hall's list of 'eminent ones' in his *Life*, fos.10-11. Hall collected the works of Prideaux and in *Pulpit*, p.2, called him a 'learned man'. D. Maclean, *A History of Pembroke College, Oxford, Anciently Broadgates Hall*, (1897), p.184, notes that Prideaux had been Vice-Chancellor while Hall was a student at Pembroke College. Prideaux may have had added interest for Hall as he was later also Bishop of Worcester, Hall's own diocese. On one copy of a volume by Prideaux, *Fasciculus controversiarum* [Cat.A520, THL 094/1652/2], Hall has crossed out the words *Episcopum Wigornensem*, (Bishop of Worcester), but in every other way shows his approval of the text and author. On one sermon in Prideaux, *Certaines sermons* (1637) [Cat.A522, THL 094/1636/4], in which Prideaux praised his friends in Worcester, Hall noted a personal connection, writing in the margin that Prideaux's friend Orford was, 'Vncle to my Brother Orford of Bromsgove', that is, uncle to Hall's brother-in-law. K. Fincham, 'Episcopal Government' in K. Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1640*, pp.76-7, 86-7, discusses the perception of the Calvinists bishops as models of preaching pastors that was consolidated in printed biographies, dedicatory epistles and some sermons some of which were collected and read by Hall.

¹⁷⁷ J. Eales, 'A Road to Revolution', pp.203-4, discusses the organised meetings and discussions of 1640-1641 that were triggered by the 'Etcetera' oath, and the extension of the debate to consideration of the validity of episcopacy and the reform of church government. Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p.288, also comments on the role of this oath in alienating some godly men from the institution of episcopacy.

¹⁷⁸ Hall, *Life*, fo.49. Hall added that, 'The over-turning of these Canons brings to mind, A Dismall Summons to Doctors Commons,' part of which ran, 'The Bishops they are Bite-sheeps, Thy Deans they are all Dunces, Thy Priests they are the Priests of Baal, Out with them all by Bunches.' This was his last comment before he wrote of his work of reformation at Kings Norton and the summoning of the Long Parliament.

¹⁷⁹ Robert Brooke, *A discourse opening the nature of that episcopacie, which is exercised in England* (1641) [THL 094/C8].

diverged.¹⁸⁰ The pamphlet is very heavily marked in agreement with Brooke in the first section when he was attacking episcopacy, but is equally heavily and disapprovingly marked when pleading for toleration of different ways of worship and organisation in the second part.¹⁸¹ A similar denunciation of toleration is seen in Hall's reaction to Henry Burton's *Protestation protested*. While Henry Burton was a man who was to be admired by the godly community for his recent vehement opposition to and suffering at the hands of Laudian bishops, Hall opposed this work which supported Independency and attacked the Protestation.¹⁸²

The texts Hall was collecting from 1641 and his annotations on them indicate that he was anti-episcopal, anti-separatist and anti-congregational, leaving few remaining options for alternative ecclesiologies. The initial support of Parliament by the Scots had given rise to a proposition for Presbyterianism in the early days of the Long Parliament, but it had faded after the Scottish army was paid off. Although many London ministers had put pressure on

¹⁸⁰ A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle', p.792, has pointed out that Clarke later glossed over Brooke's close relationship with the circle because of this divergence on ecclesiology which Hall shows so clearly in his marking of this pamphlet.

¹⁸¹ Robert Brooke, *A discourse opening the nature of that episcopacie, which is exercised in England*, (1641) [THL 094/C8].

¹⁸² Hall had committed himself to the Protestation oath, first been drawn up in 1641 and requiring all office holders in Church and state to defend the true Reformed religion against Popery and Papist innovations. Hall claimed to be bound by the Protestation oath in his later work *Funebria*, p.40, writing, 'If any shall object that wee were for King and Parliament, I freely confess it, so wee were, and so wee are still; and so I think is every honest-hearted-subject, who understands anything of the frame of this Government. To this wee are bound by the Protestation, Covenant and other Obligations.' As shown by J. Gibson and A. Dell (eds.), *The Protestation Returns 1641-1642 and Other Contemporary Listings* (1995), only Protestation returns for the city of Worcester survive for the county. Given his unwavering support for Parliament at that time, Hall's subscription to the Protestation seems appropriate. He certainly noted his disapproval of Burton's views on the title page of his copy of John Gere, *Vindiciae voti or a vindication of the true sense of the Nationall Covenant, in a briefe and moderate answer to the Protestation Protested* (1641) [THL 094/C25]. This sermon was attached to Gere's other work in support of the Protestation, *Judah's ioy* (1641). John Gere had been suspended for non-conformity in 1630. He was totally opposed to episcopacy and separatism, and published this work soon after he was restored to his living at Tewkesbury by the Long Parliament's Committee for Religion. On the title page by the words, 'Separate and Independent Churches', Hall has marked a disapproving cross. Further to that, Hall had a copy of Thomas Edwards riposte to Burton, *Reasons against the Independant government of particular congregations* (1641) [Cat.A293], the circumstances of the publication of which are discussed by A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*, p.36. Hall also owned Simeon Ashe, *A support for the sinking heart in times of distress* (1642) [THL 094/C28], which attacked Burton and was fully approved by Hall.

Parliament for Presbyterianism, William Shaw argued that there was little serious thought of it in England until Parliament's was forced into its acceptance in 1643 by the need to regain the military support of Scotland through the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant.¹⁸³ Most historians since have endorsed this analysis of emerging Presbyterianism as a minority position in England, agreeing that most members of Parliament, while recognising the need to reform the episcopal system, sought a reform of abuses of the bishops' temporal rather than their spiritual powers.¹⁸⁴ Thus they envisaged a limited episcopacy for the future, although a bill to establish erastian county commissions to take over the powers of bishops was nearly passed.¹⁸⁵ William Abbott has argued that at first limited episcopacy was envisaged as an office resembling primitive episcopacy, and ideas of root and branch reform among MPs only lasted until both the temporal and coercive powers of the bishops had been removed.¹⁸⁶ Before any final solution was agreed, Parliament was overtaken by an unpromising military position and accepted instead a Scottish type of Presbyterianism alongside Scottish military aid.¹⁸⁷ Another indication that Hall wasn't looking for modification of episcopacy were his

¹⁸³ W. A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church, Vol.I 1640-1646*, pp.3-7.

¹⁸⁴ C. Russell, 'The Scottish Party in English Parliaments, 1640-1642', *The Bulletin of Historical Research* 66 (1993) 35-52, has discussed the coercive power of Parliament's use of the threat from the Scottish military, and the significance of the Scottish party and its reciprocal demands for a common religion at this time, especially pp.47-51.

¹⁸⁵ M. Mendle, *Dangerous Positions Mixed Government, the Estates of the Realm, and the Answer to the six Propositions* (1985), pp.139-68, discusses the different phases in Parliament's dealings with episcopacy. W. M. Abbott, 'James Ussher and 'Ussherian' Episcopacy, 1640-1656: The Primate and His Reduction Manuscript', *Albion* 22:2 (1990) 237-59, looks at various schemes for limited episcopacy and the modern overestimation of the significance of Ussher's 'reduction' scheme in the debate. A. Fletcher gives a very detailed account of the petitions, parliamentary debates and changes in opinion concerning root and branch reform and alternatives to episcopacy in *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, pp.91-108 and 120-4.

¹⁸⁶ W. M. Abbott, 'Anticlericalism and Episcopacy in Parliamentary Debates, 1640-1641: Secular Versus Spiritual Functions' in B. Sharp and M. Fissel (eds.), *Law and Authority in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to Thomas Garden Barnes* (2007).

¹⁸⁷ T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.310-32, argued that moderate episcopacy was the front runner for reformed church government, but if any alternative to the church government inherited from Elizabethan and Jacobean days was envisaged, it was congregationalism along Amesian lines, as a middle position between separatism and episcopacy, and one which had a considerable following in East Anglia. M. Watts, *The Dissenters, From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (1978), p.92, pointed out that when the abolition of episcopacy was debated during the summer of 1641, 'no MP seems to have advocated its replacement with a Presbyterian system,' and proposals for the transfer of the functions of the bishops, for the moment, to parliamentary commissioners was the favoured alternative. A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, pp.97-124,

notes on contemporary speeches from the Root and Branch debate.¹⁸⁸ For example, on George Digby's speech to the Commons in February 1640/1, when Digby backtracked on his former demands for root and branch reform, suggesting instead that the wings of the prelates should be clipped, Hall wrote, 'Not a hoofe, George. The Devil loves clipping, but God Loves Rooting up of Plants which he [hath?] not planted. Cut them off.'¹⁸⁹

Hall's preference for Presbyterianism might have been influenced by both family precedent and his connection with John Burgess. The family link was through his maternal grandfather who aided Elizabethan Presbyterians and left some of them a legacy to be managed by Thomas Wilcox.¹⁹⁰ Wilcox was a radical Elizabethan Puritan cleric. He had joined John Field, propagandist and a leader of the London Conference, in writing and publishing the first of a series of Presbyterian 'manifestos', *An admonition to the Parliament* (1572).¹⁹¹ Hall had a copy of Wilcox's biblical commentaries which was edited by his son-in-law, John Burgess. On the flyleaf Hall wrote: 'This good man M. Tho. Wilcox was persecuted by the Bishops in Queen Elizabeths time for non-conformity, but was hid & succoured in London by my Grandfather M John Bonner a Merchant in London 1580.'¹⁹² This link may have been a rediscovery later in Hall's life, and one which proved useful in constructing his

charted the fortunes of Root and Brancher's efforts to abolish episcopacy which were confounded by growing conservative opposition and a variety of alternative initiatives. In his view the movement derived its impetus from anti-Arminianism, but once the Arminian changes had been reversed it lost momentum.

¹⁸⁸ Those in one pamphlet Volume, THL 094/C34, support Hall's total anti-episcopacy and his disposition towards Presbyterianism. He also owned a copy of a Smectymnuuan tract [Cat.A616], which answered Bishop Joseph Hall's defence of episcopacy in a pamphlet debate to which Brooke's work was a far more radical contribution. See T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p.326, and M. Watts, *The Dissenters*, pp.89-90.

¹⁸⁹ *The third speech of the Lord George Digby* (1640, i.e. 1641) [THL 094/C34], p.6.

¹⁹⁰ Hall, *Life*, fos.5-7.

¹⁹¹ P. Collinson has written of the collaboration of Wilcox and Field in 'John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism', in S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C.H. Williams (eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale* (1961), pp.127-62.

¹⁹² *The works of that late reuerend and learned diuine, Mr. Thomas VVilcocks, minister of God's VVord* [Cat.A725, THL 094/1624/1]. Hall made a point of noting this connection in his *Life*, fos.5, 7, using it to illustrate his religious identity as an example to others. Hall's interest in Elizabethan Presbyterianism is also represented by his 1643 work that reprinted the papers relating to the 'persecution' by prelates of John Udall and others, *A new discovery of old pontificall practises* (1643) [THL 094/C8].

autobiographical image, establishing a line of legitimate descent for his non-conformity, but it may have been reinforced much earlier in the 1630s by his association with Wilcox's son-in-law, John Burgess, rector of Sutton Coldfield, a Birmingham lecturer in the first half of the decade. Burgess had supported Hall's conversion to godliness and had nurtured him during the 1630s when Hall attended his lectures.¹⁹³ Burgess had been at Cambridge in the 1580s and had a varied and controversial career as a non-conformist minister in the reign of James I, being imprisoned for a short time and soon afterwards deprived for aggravating his opposition. For a while he had sought refuge in the Netherlands where he studied at Leiden and qualified in medicine, later returning to England and the Midlands. One of his daughters married William Ames.¹⁹⁴ Burgess died in 1635 but it seems reasonable to assume that he and Hall would have discussed his experience of differing church systems in the Netherlands where English Presbyterianism had survived, particularly under the leadership of John Paget.¹⁹⁵

Another interesting indication that Hall may well have been thinking of Presbyterianism well before 1643 was that his Warwickshire colleagues of the 1630s made the same choice,

¹⁹³ Second dedication in *Font*, 'To my beloved and approved Friends, In the Town of Birmingham', sig.(a3)v, named as Dr. John Burgess, then rector of Sutton Coldfield, Josiah Slader, a preacher at St. Martin's Birmingham, John Grent, vicar of Aston, and Mr. Atkins.

¹⁹⁴ E. Allen, 'Burgess, John (1563–1635)', *Oxf. DNB*. Hall owned 3 books from Burgess's library, John Rainolds, *Sex theses de sacra Scriptura et Ecclesia* [Cat.A543,THL 094/1602/3]; Richard Rogers, *A commentary vpon the whole Booke of Judges* [Cat.A554,THL Q094/1615/2]; and Ludovic Lavater, *In librum Solomonis qui Ecclesiastes inscribitur* [Cat.A428,THL 094/1584/1].

¹⁹⁵ M. Watts, *The Dissenters*, pp.60, 63. For Paget's reputation as one of the main defenders of English Presbyterianism, see K. L. Sprunger, 'John Paget', *Oxf. DNB*, and also, *Dutch Puritanism: a history of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (1982). Hall owned two of John Paget's key works on Presbyterian government, *An arrow against the separation* (1618) [Cat.A492], in opposition to Henry Ainsworth, and *A defence of church-government, exercised in presbyteriall, classical, & synodall assemblies* [Cat.A494, THL 094/1641/3], published posthumously. Hall has covered three flyleaves of the latter book with cumulative notes about the righteousness of Presbyterianism and the folly of Independency. An interesting analogy he used was that combining in synods was no more a threat to the rights of each congregation than the election of a burgess to represent the shire in Parliament was a threat to the rights of the shire.

eventually joining together to form the Presbyterian Kenilworth Classis in 1655.¹⁹⁶ Ecclesiology would undoubtedly have formed part of their collegiate anti-Laudian discussions.¹⁹⁷

Hall enthusiastically followed the Long Parliament in its attack on the superstitions and idolatry introduced by Laudian bishops, and applauded the dismantling of their temporal, corrupting powers, in the removal of ecclesiastical courts and bishops' right to vote in Parliament. He was collecting, and marking with the greatest approval and agreement, both anti-episcopal and pro-Presbyterian material published between 1640 and 1642. There seems to be every indication that he regarded Presbyterianism as the biblical corrective to episcopacy at some stage during these two years, and certainly, once he subscribed to the

¹⁹⁶ This date is given in John Ley, *A discourse of disputations* (1658) [THL 094/C5], p.73.

¹⁹⁷ N. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c.1530-1700* (2001), pp.125-6, has suggested the existence of a potential if short-lived underground synod which he identifies with the Midland clerical signatories of a letter, which was sent to quiz ministers in New England on their practices, which seemed irregular and rather like congregationalism. See also S. Hardman Moore, 'Popery, Purity and Providence': Deciphering the New England Experiment', in A. Fletcher and P. Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1994), pp.152-3. P. Lake, 'Court', 'Country' and the Northamptonshire Connection', *Midland History* 35:1 (2010) 28-70, has also discussed Puritan circles in Northamptonshire and their thinking in the 1630s, particularly their responses to Laudianism and ecclesiology, through the medium of Ball's *Life of Preston*, and the significance of this letter containing questions on such points which was sent to the New-England clergy. Hall may well have been associated with this group or known of it through the Warwickshire ministers Simeon Ashe and Ephraim Huitt, who were both signatories of the letter and who, like Hall, had both refused to read the *Book for sports*. T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.302-4, interprets the circumstances of this letter differently, arguing that Ball was an Amesian or a Congregationalist and not a Presbyterian, and his letter was not accusing the New Englanders of separation but accusing them of going beyond the bounds set by Ames; he argues that Ashe and Rathband, who published the letter, used it to further Presbyterian views. Hall bought a copy of this letter when it was finally published in 1643, *A letter of many ministers in Old England requesting the judgement of their reverend brethren in New England concerning nine positions. Written anno dom. 1637. Together with their answer thereunto returned, anno 1639. And the reply made unto the said answer, and sent over unto them, anno 1640* [THL 094/C23]. A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle', p.791, notes that this letter was indicative of worries already current in Dugard's circle in the 1630s, particularly over baptism and excommunication amongst the exiles which the old English ministers feared would lead to separatism. Ashe came to Warwick as chaplain to Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke after he was suspended from his Staffordshire living for refusing to read the *Book for sports*. Ephraim Huitt was prosecuted for his refusal and fled to New England but Samuel Clarke, like Hall, escaped punishment. Hall was in the generation that came after the great Northamptonshire non-conformist clergymen like Dodd and Ball, but he had great respect for them. Simeon Ashe who published Ball's works after he died, gave Hall one of Ball's books, *The power of godliness* [Cat.A56, THL Q 094/1657/14], and Ball was included in Hall's list of eminent men in *Life*, fo.10.

Solemn League and Covenant sometime after its adoption by Parliament in 1643, his support remained unwavering.

b) Influences on Hall's religious identity, 1642-1651

Throughout the Civil War years, Hall remained in Kings Norton, undertaking his daily round of teaching and ministerial responsibilities. In his publications, he highlighted particular events that shaped his religious and associated political ideas at this time. These included the outbreak of war in 1642, the national adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, the breakdown of orthodox consensus with the Independents and the increase of non-orthodox sects, the threat to Presbyterians in London, and finally, the execution of the king. His responses show him consolidating his Presbyterian and high Calvinist identity, partly by his attachment to an increasingly well-defined brotherhood of Presbyterian ministers whose printed works fired Hall's enthusiasm, but also by his negative opposition to the growth of Independency and the sects, and his changing attitudes to the army with its increasing involvement in politics. I would like to consider the evidence for his responses to each of these events and their role in the formation of his religious identity.

Hall saw the work of Parliament in 1640 as the restoration not only of true orthodox religion but also of the proper balance between religion and lawful magistracy. This view was upset in 1642 by the outbreak of war between the forces of Parliament and of the king, who were, as Hall saw it, the two vital co-ordinate powers of magistracy. He was then faced with moving from reluctant criticism of the king to justifying armed rebellion.

In the first place, Hall accepted the war as a providence of God, his divine corrective as in Old Testament times.¹⁹⁸ Although God forbade people from rising against their rulers, Hall cautioned that, ‘This is spoken against Private persons taking up arms, and not against the inferiour Magistrates defending Religion and the godly, when the Superiour is an enemy to both,’ and cited the support of Bilson, Rutherford and Ley.¹⁹⁹ As final justification, Hall noted:

God brought downe a Potent, prevailing enimy. By that new Noddle (so their enimies called that new Modeling of the Army in scorne) the wicked were so Noddled & modeled that they never pevailed after, but the house of David grew stronger & stronger, & the house of Saul grew weaker & weaker.²⁰⁰

The book in which there seems to be near contemporary evidence for Hall’s position, was Robert Austin’s *Allegiance not impeached* (1644).²⁰¹ This book has been described as worthy of special mention for its ‘sheer argumentative audacity’ rather than for its influence in the debate on the extent to which allegiance given to the king in the Covenant was binding.²⁰² However, its convoluted arguments accorded well with Hall’s own views as he indicated by

¹⁹⁸ Hall, *Amos*, p.90, and *Samaria*, p.79.

¹⁹⁹ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.178-9. Hall quoted from Bishop Bilson, ‘Bilson his Philander, Part 3. pag. 279 &c.’ [Cat.A94] who had written that in cases where ‘Nobles and the Commens joyn together to defend their ancient and accustomed Liberty, Regiment and Laws, they may not well be accounted Rebels.’ To this support Hall added, ‘more you may see in the place quoted, which excellently clears the justness of the late Parliament Wars. If any desire further satisfaction, he may see 44 Questions learnedly debated by Mr. Rutherford in his *Lex Rex*, where he strongly asserts the Lawfulness of Defensive Wars, and takes off all Cavils that are brought to the contrary.’ The text by John Ley that he used to support the righteousness of Parliament’s war was *The fury of vvarre* (1643) [THL 094/C15], a sermon delivered to the Commons. Hall has not marked this sermon, which suggests it may have been a later addition to his collection, and may also explain why it is not bound with other sermons of similar date in C6.

²⁰⁰ Hall, *Font*, p.127, and *Life*, fo.66.

²⁰¹ Robert Austin, *Allegiance not impeached: viz, by the Parliament's taking up of arms (though against the King's personall commands) for the just defence of the King's person, crown, and dignity, the laws of the land, liberties of the subject: yea, they are bound by the Oath of their Allegiance, and trust reposed in them, to doe it Proved, partly from the words of the Oath itself: and partly, from the principles of Nature and of Law, aledged for such by the Lord Chancellor Elsmore, and twelve other Judges in the case of Calvin (a Scot by birth) as appears in the seventh part of Justice Cooks Reports, in Calvins case: which case is briefly set down in the Epistle to the Reade* (1644) [THL 094/C9]. Also showing Hall’s contemporary view, particularly his continuing fear of corrupting popish influence against the cause of Parliament, is his marking of an anonymous work that Hall attributed to Charles Herle, *A miracle: an honest broker ... VWherein the Popish Plot is in its whole drift and the great question between the prerogative of Majesty, priviledges of Parliament and liberties of the subject is modestly handled. With the removal of the objections and usuall slanders cast upon the Parliament* (1642) [THL 094/C2].

²⁰² E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant*, p.74.

his approving marks throughout the text, and it offered him comforting justification in a situation in which he felt his allegiances were being torn apart. Thus Hall agreed with Austin's thesis, that allegiance is due the king, but being a reciprocal 'quality', it also binds the king to protect his subjects, the safety of the subjects being the 'chiefest law'.²⁰³ Regrettably, the king had been seduced into the use of illegal powers against the laws of nature and of God by evil counsellors, yet prayers and tears would be offered for the king's rescue and his return to legitimate power, which could not then rightly be resisted. From Hall's viewpoint, what was so attractive in this argument was its reconciliation of support for Parliament with issues of loyalty to the king, including both his natural oath of allegiance and his explicit oaths such as his subscription to the Solemn League and Covenant.

On the fly-leaf of Austin's book, Hall acknowledged the theory of his political position by writing out: 'In a mixt Monarchy there is a Coordinate Supremacy. now *Coordinata invicem se supplet,*' or, 'coordinates are mutually complementary'.²⁰⁴ These words are nearly a verbatim quote from words underlined in another of Hall's pamphlets by Francis Cheynell, which was bound in the same volume as Austin's work.²⁰⁵ Hall's use of this quotation, together with his marks by the relevant text, confirm his agreement with Austin, that Parliament had an equally important role in the constitution as the king, and that he favoured the idea of mixed monarchy as coordinate roles of the king and Parliament, rather than the traditional idea of the king ruling over Parliament as a superior.

²⁰³ *Allegiance not impeached* (1644) [THL 094/C9], p.8.

²⁰⁴ Charles Herle, *A fuller answer to a treatise written by Dr. Ferne, entituled The resolving of conscience upon this question etc* (1642), p.3, translates it as 'Coordinates supply each other'. There is no copy of this work by Herle in Hall's library.

²⁰⁵ Francis Cheynell, *The rise, growth, and danger of Socinianisme* (1643) [THL 094/C9], p.60. The line in Cheynell's text reads: 'viz. that in a Mixt Monarchy there is a Coordinate Supremacy, and *Coordinata invicem supplet,*' words which Cheynell acknowledged that he had taken from Charles Herle, *A fuller answer*. Hall has marked Cheynell's work with considerable approval.

Michael Mendle has argued that although the theory of ‘mixed monarchy’ had been much manipulated in the sixteenth century, it was then put aside until it was resurrected for parliamentary polemical purposes in 1640, becoming for a while the constitutional rationale of convinced parliamentarian reformers who wished to sideline bishops.²⁰⁶ When the king’s writers, Culpeper and Falkland joined the debate in 1642 with a published response to the Nineteen Propositions, a pamphlet controversy followed. Hall was well aware of this, and collected the works of Cheynell and Herle in support of Parliament.²⁰⁷

After the Restoration, when called upon to defend the Presbyterian position he had taken, although glossing over references to tyranny, Hall publicly detailed his constitutional theory at some length, showing little embarrassment for his support of Parliament in the Civil War:

If any shall object that wee were for King and Parliament, I freely confess it, so wee were, and so wee are still; To this wee are bound by the Protestation, Covenant and other Obligations. I look upon him as an enemy to the Land of his Nativity, who goes about to separate the King from the Parliament, or the Parliament from the King. As for the lawfulness of the Parliaments-war against those that withdrew the King from the Parliament, (for there was not the least intent in them to hurt the person of the King, and therefore they were imprisoned by the army) that case is very learnedly and modestly cleared by Dr Austin in *Allegiance not impeached*, by the Parliaments taking up of Arms (though against the Kings personal commands) for the just defence of the Kings person, the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties of the Subject.²⁰⁸

Considerable continuity in his viewpoint here is suggested by Hall’s reference to the same arguments of Robert Austin in 1644 that had so impressed him, and so the basis of his argument remained that he supported both Parliament and King, and unlike some other Presbyterians, he held to it even in 1660.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ M. Mendle, *Dangerous Positions*, pp.134-5, 138-41.

²⁰⁷ Hall would have been aware of *His Maiesties ansvver to the XIX propositions of both Houses of Parliament* (1642), not least because it was mentioned in Austin’s book, p.47, in a margin note. V. Larminie, ‘Herle, Charles (1597/8–1659)’, *Oxf. DNB*, discusses his arguments and places him at the forefront of theorists in this view of ‘a Coordinative, and mixt Monarchy’. E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant*, p.78, also attaches significance to the basis of Herle’s ideas in the mutually contractual oaths taken by both king and subjects.

²⁰⁸ Hall, *Funebria*, p.40.

²⁰⁹ A. Hughes, ‘Thomas Dugard and His Circle’, pp.791-3, discusses how Dugard and others distanced themselves at the Restoration from their earlier Civil War positions.

Hall's view of the war was also clearly influenced by the propaganda in his large collection of sermons delivered before Parliament and London city officials. Hall's responses in volume C6, for example, which contains fast sermons on the theme of encouragement to justifiable war, show his willingness to absorb the pro-war sentiment in relation to the godly cause. On Calamy's sermon, *Englands looking-glasse*, Hall has written, 'Who knows but that wrastling Jacobs may be prevayling Israels?' reflecting his hopes that as Jacob was renamed Israel after his struggle with God, so out of the English confrontation would result the establishment of a New Israel. John Arrowsmith's fiery sermon,²¹⁰ *The Covenant-avenging svword*, which is very heavily marked, shows Hall agreeing that war is brought about by God to avenge the breaking of the Covenant of Grace.²¹¹ At the end of Rutherford's sermon, he has summarised the points of divinity made, starting with, 'Kings must rule for God & his hand.'²¹²

The manipulation of parliamentary preaching and its effect on parliamentary debates and activity has been demonstrated by historians such as Hugh Trevor-Roper and John Wilson. The influence of these sermons when published was further extended to their readers in the localities, Marshall's *Meroz cursed* being a prime example of a popular sermon that encouraged many to take up arms.²¹³ Tony Claydon has traced long-standing links between

²¹⁰ Calamy, *Englands looking-glasse* (1642) [THL 094/C6], delivered 22nd December 1641; and Arrowsmith, *The Covenant-avenging svword* (1643) [THL/094/C6], delivered Jan.25th 1642/3.

²¹¹ On the fly leaf, Hall has added his own notes concerning how men might be reconciled once more to God and his Covenant of Grace: 'By mending our wayes, resolving upon Better, bewailing what is done etc.' He also referred to the story of Joseph and how his brothers had betrayed him but later recognised him, suggesting all would be reconciled at last.

²¹² Samuel Rutherford, *A sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons: at their late Solemne Fast, Wednesday, Janu. 31. 1643.* (1644) [THL 094/C6].

²¹³ This sermon was included in C6. H. Trevor-Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, p.284, refers to *Meroz cursed* as a 'bloodthirsty' sermon in which Marshall called for total war, which was reprinted several times and which Marshall preached over sixty times up and down the country. J. Eales, 'Provincial Preaching and Allegiance in the First English Civil War (1640-6)' in T. Cogswell, R. P. Cust, and Lake (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell* (2002) 185-207, p.201, referred to the fame and direct import of this particular sermon. William Shiels, 'Provincial Preaching on the Eve of the Civil War: Some West Riding Fast Sermons,' in A. Fletcher and P. Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1994), pp.301-2, also underlines the partnership of policy and preaching in

post-Reformation sermons and their engagement with public affairs, arguing that sermons, both those delivered from the pulpit and those published, were an important part of exchange and discussion in the growing public sphere.²¹⁴ This same engagement with public affairs and a clear correlation between preaching and Civil War allegiance in the preparation, incitement, justification and sustaining of support for warfare in the godly cause by sermons delivered in the localities has been demonstrated by William Shiels and Jacqueline Eales, who note particularly the rallying focus of godly preachers on the dangers of idolatry.²¹⁵ Hall engaged fully in this channel of 'public sphere' debate through his collection of sermons, which also included some notable provincial examples such as those of John Brinsley and William Bridge. They furthered his idea of the war as just and holy.

b) i) The Solemn League and Covenant

The righteousness of Parliament's war was further enforced in Hall's view by the national adoption in 1643 of the Solemn League and Covenant which thereafter became the pivot of his religious and political beliefs.²¹⁶ That it was the zenith of his hopes for the completion of the Reformation in England is illustrated by his purchase and enthusiastic marking of three

Parliament and the effect as a call to war of *Meroz cursed*. However, G. Burges, 'Was the English Civil War a War of Religion? The Evidence of Political Propaganda', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 61:2 (2000 for 1998) 173-201, pp.173-4, 177, 179, argues that although this sermon may well have been seen as a call to arms, Marshall used legal rather than religious justifications, and in general, although Puritan clergy were motivated by religion, they refused to justify the war on religious grounds.

²¹⁴ T. Claydon, 'The Sermon, the 'Public Sphere' and the Political Culture of Late Seventeenth-Century England', in L.A. Ferrell and P. McCullough, (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600-1750* (2001).

²¹⁵ W. Shiels, 'Provincial Preaching on the Eve of the Civil War', pp.291-312, and J. Eales, 'Provincial Preaching and Allegiance in the First English Civil War (1640-6)'.
²¹⁶ Briefly, the 'branches' of the Covenant to which Hall regularly referred and which formed the basis of his religious and political viewpoint after 1643 were: 1. To preserve the Scottish Church and the religious reformation in England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches, and to bring the Churches of the three kingdoms into the nearest possible conformity. 2. To extirpate Popery, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatever is contrary to sound doctrine. 3. To preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms; and to preserve and defend the king's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms. 4. To discover those who hindered the reformation of religion and divided the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, and to punish them. 5, 6 and 7. To promote the union of the three kingdoms, their future peace and each to defend the other. Finally all these promises were made solemnly in the presence of God.

key publications detailing the official occasions in September and October 1643 when the Solemn League and Covenant was taken by Members of Parliament, leading officials and other notables present in London at the time.²¹⁷ On Henderson's speech Hall noted Presbyterian not just as a Scottish system but as the way of the Reformed Churches of Europe.²¹⁸ There is every indication here, that true to his hopes as he expressed them later, Hall took it for granted that a reformed, Presbyterian church government would shortly be established in England.²¹⁹

Throughout the works Hall published between 1651 and 1661, he repeatedly referred to the Scriptural '*Jus Divinum*' of Presbyterian church government, together with the nation's subscription to the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, as the twin pillars of his argument

²¹⁷ The first work, *The Covenant: with a narrative of the proceedings ... Also two speeches delivered at the same time; the one By Mr. Philip Nye, The other By Mr. Alexander Hendersam* (1643) [THL 094/C8], was a record of the proceedings on 25th September 1643, when members of the Commons and the Westminster Assembly took the oath; attached to this as part of the same publication, were the exhortations of Philip Nye, one of the negotiators of the agreement with the Scots, and that of Alexander Henderson, one of the Scottish Commissioners sent to represent the Scots in London. Hall's heavy marking of this publication shows a close interest in the order of the day's programme, the names of individual ministers involved, and the content of Nye's 'exhortation' and Henderson's 'speech'. On Nye's *Exhortation*, p.14, Hall highlighted points such as the unanimous agreement of both Houses, and Nye's words, 'And all this to be done according to God's word, the best rule, and according to the best Reformed Churches, the best interpreters of this rule.' He seemed unaware at that time of the ambiguous nature of some of Nye's words.

²¹⁸ On Henderson's speech in *The Covenant: with a narrative* (1643) [THL 094/C8], p.28, Hall approvingly marked his argument that England had the example of 'the Reformed Churches of Germany, and the Low-Countrys' as well as that of Scotland; R. S. Paul, *The Assembly of the Lord: Politics and Religion in the Westminster Assembly and the "Grand Debate"* (1985), pp.88-99, traces the opposition in Parliament and the Assembly, and also among London congregations, in the days before and just after the acceptance of the Covenant. He argues that there was still a body of opinion in favour of moderate episcopacy or the ancient style of presbytery, the front runner in the debates on church government preceding the need to make an alliance with the Scots. The resentment of Scottish ascendancy was carefully managed by Parliament, reflecting the crucial importance of the alliance at this time.

²¹⁹ Hall acquired two more publications concerning the taking of the Covenant, but possibly at a later date as he has hardly marked them: Thomas Coleman, *The hearts ingagement* (1643) [THL 094/C17], which was a sermon preached by at St. Margaret's on September 29th 1643 on the occasion of the tasking of the Covenant by other senior figures present in London at that time, which bears only a few marks at the beginning; and Joseph Caryl, *The nature, solemnity, grounds, property, and benefits, of a sacred covenant* (1643) [THL 094/C17], a sermon delivered on the benefits of the Covenant at a further convention held on 6th October at Westminster, which is not marked at all but to which Hall referred in *Timothy*, p.78, as an ideal source on the Covenant as a sure, firm and irrevocable act. In *Timothy*, p.82, Hall also cited John Shawe, *Brittains remembrancer: or, the Nationall covenant* (1644), a sermon given on the occasion when Ferdinando Fairfax and the forces and dignitaries of the North took the Covenant, and also Simeon Ashe, *Religious covenanting directed, and covenant-keeping perswaded* (1646), a sermon given when dignitaries of London renewed their Covenant.

for national compulsory conformity to an exclusive orthodox Presbyterian Church, and for the contingent extirpation of all error and heresy, wherever it was to be found:

The Presbyterian Government is that Government which by Covenant we are bound to promote: it being that Government which all the Reformed Churches of Christ do practice; and the onely platform of Government which carries a Jus Divinum in the fore-head of it.²²⁰

Hall claimed that the scriptural '*Jus Divinum*' for Presbyterianism had 'been proved' in that 'learned and excellent vindication' published by London Presbyterian Ministers in November, 1649.²²¹ Also invoked in support of his argument, was the example of the European Reformed Churches and the survival of 'several Ordinances of Parliament, unrepealed, that do enjoyne

²²⁰ Hall, *Magistracy*, sig.(a)2v. Hall assumed his readers had a contemporary knowledge of which churches were 'Reformed', and when reading himself he tended to mark mentions of Reformed Churches throughout his texts. In two of his literary dramas, both imaginary trials of religious offenders, he used Reformed Churches as witnesses, first in *Pulpit*, pp.28-9, where two are named as the Churches of France and Scotland, and secondly in *Font*, p.76, where they are listed as the Churches of Helvetia, Bohemia, France, Au[g]sberg, Saxony, Wittemberg, Scotland and Holland. Hall also had in his library a translation of Salnar's work, *An harmony of the confessions of the faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, vvhich purely professe the holy doctrine of the Gospel in all the chief kingdoms, nations, and provinces of Europe* (1643) [THL 094/1643/2], to which was appended the 1581 Confession of the Scottish Church. This work, first published in Latin in 1581 in Geneva, where the idea of a harmony had first been proposed, was an attempt to bring Reformed doctrine into agreement, working towards one creed. The first English edition was issued in 1586, and Hall's copy was the second edition, its publication reflecting a renewed interest in the details of Reformed theology at that time. In his publications, Hall put forward detailed arguments in support of Presbyterianism, which he claimed as the only form of '*de jure divino*' church government and discipline. Episcopacy, he wrote, was 'Iure Humano' or 'Iure Pontifico', and Independency was 'Iure Politico' and 'Via devia.' Presbytery, however, was unifying and ordered, rational, charitable and religious, and allowed no heresy or schism. Furthermore, this was the form of church government to which the nation had committed itself in the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643.

²²¹ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.30. This work to which he referred here survives, *A vindication of the Presbyteriall government, and ministry* (1649) [THL 094/C30], and is very heavily marked throughout. Hall elaborated fully on this position in *Timothy*, pp.174-5, posing in the text the question, 'But how do you prove that the Presbyteriall Government is Jure Divino?' His answer cited various published defences, including again the above vindication of the ministers and elders of London, and the answer of the Assembly of Divines to the dissenting Brethren, and others by Apollonius and Mr. Paget. These works were in his collection: *The answer of the Assembly of Divines to the reasons of the dissenting brethren* [Cat.A45, THL 094/1648/7]; Willem Apollonius, *A consideration of certaine controversies at this time agitated in the kingdome of England, concerning the government of the church of God* (1645) [Cat.A18], which had been commissioned by the Walcheren Classis; and John Paget, *A defence of church-government, exercised in Presbyteriall, classical, et synodall assemblies* [Cat.A494, THL 094/1641/3]. Hall also listed supportive works by the Scottish divines such as Samuel Rutherford, *A peaceable and temperate plea for Pauls presbyterie in Scotland* [Cat.A568, THL 094/1642/4], which was very heavily marked and also Rutherford, *The divine right of church-government and excommunication* [Cat.A572, THL 094/1646/6]. Finally and controversially, Hall added backing from New England's leading Independent, John Cotton, writing, 'Yea Mr. Cotton himself acknowledgeth from Acts 15. (where the Church of Antioch was subordinate to the Synod of Ierusalem) that Synods are Gods Ordinances, and that all things belonging to a compleat Synod, were to be found in Acts 15.'

the setting up of Congregationall, Classical and Nationall Presbyteries; and all Officers are ordered to apprehend and punish such as shall speak against this Government.’²²²

Hall’s second major argument was that both the nation and individuals had committed themselves to the Presbyterian system by their subscription to the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643.²²³ He believed that this covenant was an extension of the Scriptural Covenant of Grace that God had made with his people, and bound magistracy and ministry even more closely in an inseparable, complementary relationship. This, as Hall saw it, had resulted in immediate providential benefits: ‘No sooner did England enter into Covenant, but from that very day did the Lord blesse us, and gave admirable success to the Armies of his people.’²²⁴

Hall had willingly taken the oath as an individual and in the first instance felt himself bound, not just for as long as it suited, but for all the days of his life.²²⁵ Likewise, he argued that this was not just a Scottish Covenant but was ratified, framed, sealed and confirmed by both kingdoms, and therefore the entire nation was bound in perpetuity, each and every individual under oath to preserve the purity of religion and to extirpate all heresy whatever his place and

²²² Hall, *Timothy*, pp.174-5.

²²³ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.32.

²²⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, p.79. On the flyleaf of Zach Crofton, *The fastning of St. Peters fetters* (1660) [Cat.A241 and also THL 094/C2], Hall wrote of the national commitment, that ‘The Covenant was taken not by a few inconsiderable persons but by the whole nation represented in Parliament, by a house of Lords and Commons, after true deliberation and by the advice of the Assembly of Divines as famous an Assembly as ever England had.’

²²⁵ Hall, *Pulpit*, sig.b2v, wrote that he was bound to labour for the extirpation of error and heresy being bound by the National Covenant which he had so solemnly sworn and taken. Hall, *Timothy*, p.78, noted that as far as individuals were concerned, Parliament had ordered that the Covenant should be taken in all three nations by all men above 18 years of age, and that it should be printed in ‘a fair Letter, and hung up in a Table in the Church, for a perpetuall Memoriall’, as it would have been at Kings Norton. He regularly referred to Covenant-breakers such as in *Samaria*, pp78-9, 83, and pp.102-3 where he wrote: ‘The Jews have a saying, That there is no punishment that befalls them, but there is a dram of the golden Calf in it: so there is no misery that befalls England, but there it a dram of Covenant-breaking in it.’

calling.²²⁶ He saw no tacit or extenuating circumstances for breaking the obligation.²²⁷ John Goodwin's arguments in 1646, that the Presbyterians could not see the difference between a God-given covenant and the man-made Solemn League and Covenant, incensed Hall, and having marked angry crosses by Goodwin's arguments he concluded his case against him with, 'Let lying lips be put to Silence in the grave.'²²⁸

In his Covenant theory, Hall typified the Presbyterian position as discussed by Vallance.²²⁹ He was indeed a true heir of the Jeremiad sermons of St. Paul's Cross, some of which survive in his collection, and of the 'Israelite paradigm' that England was a second Israel, God's 'Darling Nation'; what had befallen Israel in the Old Testament would befall England if she failed to keep her 1643 Covenant with God by promoting reformation and extirpating errors and heresies.²³⁰ Divine providentialism and his apocalyptic belief that he was living in the 'Last Days' underpinned his interpretation of all that happened, and in spite of his awareness that providence did not necessarily seem immediately favourable to the godly, he read the fall of Arminianism and the adoption of the Covenant as signs of a Reformed future.²³¹

²²⁶ Hall, *Pulpit*, pp.32-3.

²²⁷ On the fly leaf of his copy of *A testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ and to our solemn league and covenant* *Subscribed by the Ministers of Christ within the Province of London, Decemb. 14. &c.1647.* (1647) [THL 094/C24], issued in a bid for Presbyterian support, Hall noted that: 'Tis a Covenant not for one day, or to be also only in prosperity but in the saddest times & great confusions (when. cast into the Pit) but it binds us All the dayes of our lives. We will continue constant in it against all opposition & impediments.'

²²⁸ John Goodwin, *Twelve considerable serious cautions, very necessary to be observed, in, and about a reformation according to the Word of God* (1646) [THL 094/C27], p.5.

²²⁹ E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant*, Chapter 4 'Secular Contracts or Religious Covenants?', especially pp.98-101.

²³⁰ 'Israelite paradigm' is M. McGiffert's descriptive term for this idea quoted by E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant*, p.33. Hall, *Timothy*, p.61, referred to England as 'his [God's] darling Nation, whom he hath loved and tendred above all the Nations in the world,' and p.419, also used the phrase 'darling Nation'.

²³¹ B. Worden in 'Providence and Politics in Cromwellian England', *Past & Present* 109 (1985) 55-99, has demonstrated that a belief in divine providence was central to seventeenth-century Puritan private and public life, and notably to politics, and it had its strongest influence in these spheres between 1620 and 1660. He also showed the links between providentialism, Old Testament parallels, apocalypticism and millenarianism.

b) ii) The challenge of the Independents

On October 12th 1643, Parliament instructed the Westminster Assembly of Divines to set about advising its members on a new form of church government.²³² Hall praised the work of the Assembly and valued its achievements in replacing the Prayer Book with the *Directory of worship*, and in producing the *Confession of faith* and *Larger catechism*.²³³ He saw its failure to establish a compulsory Presbyterian Church as the fault of the minority of Independent members who frustrated the efforts of Presbyterians first in the Assembly itself, then in Parliament, particularly in collusion with the army after 1647.

An indication that Hall followed the work of the Assembly and was frustrated by the slow rate of progress is seen in his marking of some of the parliamentary sermons of the time, several of which pursued the topic of the Covenant and the need to reach a settlement on church government in spite of difficulties. While the delegates all believed that their formulation of church government should be ‘according to the word of God’ as stipulated in the Covenant, a minority resisted the imposition of a full Presbyterian system.²³⁴ However, at a meeting at

²³² R. S. Paul, *The Assembly of the Lord*, p.100.

²³³ Hall, *Font*, p.78. He had noted the initial proposals for the convening of such an eminent body to advise on a new form of church government on ‘The Grand Remonstrance’ (1641) [THL 094/C34]. On p.23, Hall underlined the text *a general synod*, then in addition bracketed it and maniculed it. In the margin by the side, he wrote ‘*Peter Martyr 2 Kings 23. p. 418 etc.*’ Hall had a copy of Peter Martyr Vermigli’s (Vermigli Pietro Martire) Commentary on I and II Kings listed in Cat. B205. The biblical verse in this reference concerns King Josiah gathering an assembly of Elders, taking a covenant with God and suppressing idolatry. Hall owned copies of the Assembly’s Confession and Larger catechism, which are bound together in a pamphlet volume concerned with orthodoxy and its defence [THL 094/C24]. Hall held the *Book of common prayer* in considerable contempt, later referring to it in his *Life*, fo.83 as ‘nauseous and odious’, and fo.122, as ‘The Lazy-church-mans-Pillow, the Common-peoples Idol, the Profane-mans-Dalilah.’

²³⁴ R. S. Paul, *The Assembly of the Lord*, pp.90, 97, notes that the phrase, ‘according to the word of God’ had been inserted into the Covenant by Sir Henry Vane when the Covenant had been negotiated in August 1643, a phrase which was to allow Independents the room to contest the introduction of Presbyterianism by arguing that Independency and not Presbyterianism was ‘according to the word of God’. R. S. Paul, pp.528-30, shows the sincerity but impossibility of the hopes of the godly community in seeking a solution based on honest interpretation of the Bible, a solution which was further complicated by the godly failure to account for the intention of Parliament to subject any settlement to parliamentary limitations. Even before 1644, fears of Independency in England had been expressed in print by those who campaigned for a national compulsory Church, foremost of whom was Thomas Edwards. Hall’s interest in this debate is shown in his ownership of a copy of Edward’s first publication, *Reasons against the independent government of particular congregations*

Calamy's home in Aldermanbury in November 1641, they agreed to present a united front. This truce was broken in January 1644, when five of the delegates to the Assembly who were opposed to a Presbyterian solution issued *An apologeticall narration*, which requested a form of toleration for Independents.²³⁵ It was a sensational publication that inspired outraged responses. Hall's horrified reaction at the time can be seen in his notes on several texts: firstly, in his précis of it on the flyleaf of his 1645 edition of *the Answer of the Assembly*, noting the conclusion of the Apologists' work as a 'conclusion for a Tolleration';²³⁶ and then again on his copy of *Antapologia*, a 1646 edition of Edwards's bombastic reply to the original publication (Figure 17).²³⁷

In addition to these summaries, Hall wrote an angry response on the former book:

Response, its no Wisedome in a State to Reject an approved way of government which all the Best Reformed Churches have received & acknowledged to be Gods way & by Experience have found it safe against Errors & instead of it to take up another unknown unles to New England where [there are] many Rents &c. 2 twill breed Division & confusion to set up two Different wayes. The lesse the Cause of separation is, the greater is the fault of such as make it.

When he finally obtained his own copy of the offending work, he only marked it on page 12, where, in addition to his disapproving marks, he made a marginal note blaming the Independents for giving 'liberty of conscience to all comers.'²³⁸ Further alarmed responses,

(1641) [Cat.A293]. Hall admired Edwards without reservation, and in many ways imitated and continued his hardline but polemically astute approach in the Presbyterian cause.

²³⁵ *An apologeticall narration, humbly submitted to the honourable Houses of Parliament by Tho: Goodwin Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jer: Burroughes, William Bridge* (1643) [THL 094/C23]. R. S. Paul, *The Assembly of the Lord*, pp.206-9, queries the date of the publication which was registered with Stationers' Company on 29th December 1643, and was dated 3rd Jan 1643/4 by Thomason.

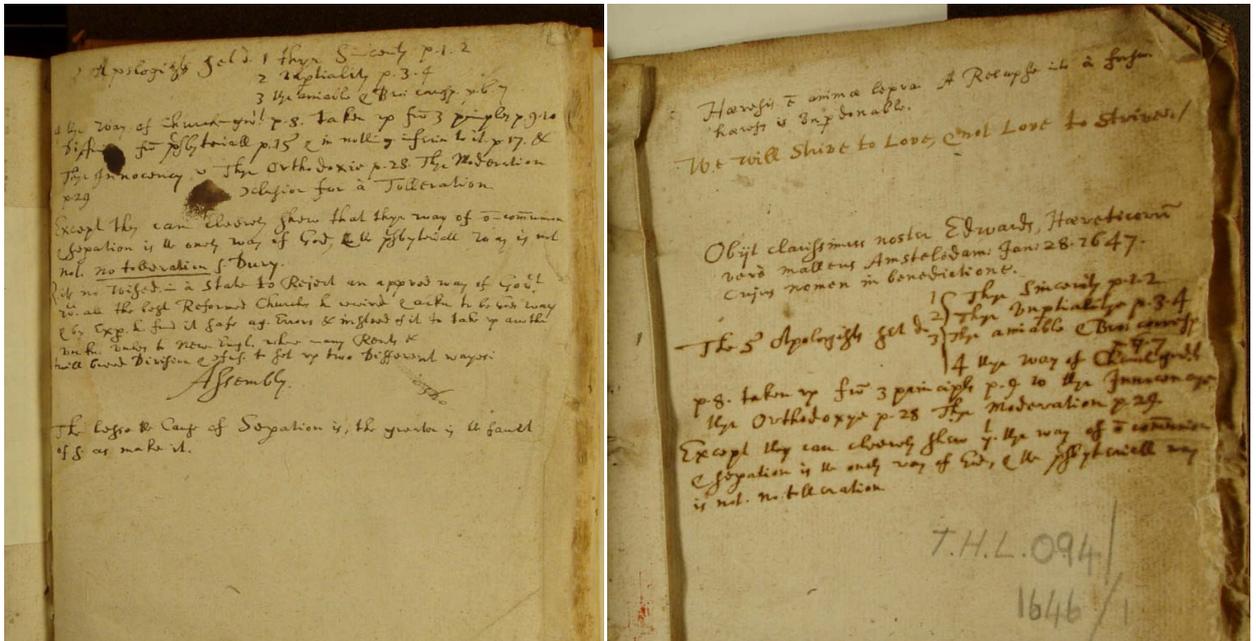
²³⁶ *The ansver of the Assembly of Divines by authority of Parliament now sitting at Westminster. Unto the reasons given in to this Assembly by the Dissenting Brethren, of their not bringing in a model of their way* (1645) [THL 094/C24].

²³⁷ This is the only surviving example of closely repeated notes on Hall's library books.

²³⁸ Goodwin, Nye, Simpson, Burroughs and Bridge, *An apologeticall narration* (1643/4) [THL 094/C23]. The lack of intense marking suggests that he acquired the copy some time after the events it concerned, as very heavy marking of such a sensational work could be expected had he had it to hand. This may also indicate the borrowing of a copy from which he made his notes and explains why he wrote out a précis rather than just giving his response as was his usual practice. A further sign of his attitude to the authors of *An apologeticall narration*

and evidence of his pure frustration at a Presbyterian settlement slipping away as a result of this event, can be seen in his heavy marking of some of the Presbyterian replies in the

FIGURE 17: HALL'S RESPONSES TO *AN APOLOGETICALL NARRATION* (1644)



Hall's notes on *The answer of the Assembly of Divines by the Dissenting Brethren, of their not bringing in a model of their way* (1645) [THL 094/C24]. Apart from the line, 'conclusion for a Toleration', these notes appear verbatim on *Antapologia* opposite.

Hall's notes repeated on Thomas Edwards, *Antapologia: or, a full answer to the Apologeticall Narration of Mr Goodwin, Mr Nye, Mr Sympson, Mr Burroughs, Mr Bridge, members of the Assembly of Divines* [THL 094/1646/1].²³⁹

pamphlet warfare that followed, such as Alexander Forbes's *An anatomy of Independency*, and Thomas Edwards's *Antapologia*, which created the greatest stir and probably exacerbated the divergences between the godly.²⁴⁰ At this time Hall clearly hardened his Presbyterian

on the copy itself, was his bracketing of their names on the title page, and writing within the bracket, 'Et vos filij?' (and your sons?) implying that they would spawn future generations of Independents.

²³⁹ Hall's précis reads: 'The 5 Apologists set d[own] 1. Thyr sincerity p.1.2 2. thyir unpartiality p.3.4 3. thyir amiable & Bros [perhaps brotherly] commembership p.6.7 4. Thyr way of church government p.8. taken up from 3 principles p.9. to thyir Innocencye thyir Orthodoxye p.28 Thyr Moderation p.29. Except they can cleerly shew that thyr way of non- com-union & separation is the onely way of God, & the presbyteriall way is not.'

However, he concludes with his own judgement, 'no tolleration.'
²⁴⁰ Alexander Forbes's *An anatomy of Independency* (1644) [THL 094/C23]; and Edwards, *Antapologia: or, a full answer to The apologeticall narration* [Cat.A.291, THL 094/1646/1]. A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the*

stance against any form of toleration, thenceforth bracketing Independents with sectarians in spite of their orthodox beliefs.²⁴¹

Keeping his eye on the Independents' campaign in the Westminster Assembly, Hall also collected and marked heavily a sequence of pamphlets against them, beginning with the publication in 1645 of *The answer of the Assembly of Divines*, the detailed point-by-point rebuttal by the Westminster Assembly of the reasons given by the Independents for not yet producing a 'Model of their Way', as the Assembly had requested. It was on this copy that he made one of his summaries of *An apologeticall narration* and on which he clearly indicated his support for the Assembly's position, marking with crosses the names of the Independents who gave the reasons, and some of their arguments.²⁴² He highlighted the questions put to the Independents, such as how they defined 'Gathering churches', what they meant by the 'Power of the People' and whether they could prove the right of their way proved by '*jus divinum*'.²⁴³ Paul sees these as particularly astute questions as well as being political dynamite for their lead into the 'democratic' nature of Independency.²⁴⁴ Also in Hall's collection are a series of replies by the Assembly to the Independents concerning controversial issues of church government and ordination, as well as the published papers of the parliamentary Committee of Accommodation, which was revived in 1646 to find a solution to the obvious breach

Struggle for the English Revolution, pp.42-3, notes the polemical intentions of *Antapologia* in attacking religious divisions especially Independency and revealing the growing fears of Presbyterians and the increasing polarization of ecclesiological differences.

²⁴¹ Among his library were attacks against Independents such as Richard Vines, *The impostures of seducing teachers discovered* (1644) [THL 094/C12], a sermon to the Lord Mayor and notables of London which argued against religious toleration; Baillie's *Dissuasive* [Cat.A60, THL 094/1647/13]; and Samuel Rutherford, *The due right of presbyteries* (1644) [Cat.A569], and *The divine right of church government and excommunication* [Cat.A572, THL 094/1646/6]. There were also Cawdrey *The good man* (1643) [THL 094/C15], a sermon before Parliament, which Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*, p.77, considered to be a negative response to *An apologeticall narration*, and John Goodwin, *Theomachia* (1644) [THL 094/C24], a strongly argued work in defence of Independency on which Hall noted his utter disgust. Goodwin was a chief target of Edwards, and this no doubt added to Hall's low opinion of him.

²⁴² *The ansvver of the Assembly of Divines ... unto the reasons given in to this Assembly by the Dissenting Brethren, of their not bringing in a model of their way*, (1645) [THL 094/C24], pp.16-7, 22-3.

²⁴³ *The ansvver of the Assembly of Divines* (1645) [THL 094/C24], p.4.

²⁴⁴ R. S. Paul, *The Assembly of the Lord*, p.485.

between Presbyterians and Independents in the Assembly itself.²⁴⁵ A copy of Jeremiah Burrough's defence, *Irenicum*, which pleaded for peace and a limited toleration, failed to have the intended effect on Hall who responded by writing effusively over four flyleaves at the beginning of the work, with phrases such as 'At one jump they leap out of the surplice & the church together.'²⁴⁶ Far more to his liking were the arguments against the dangers and deficiencies of the Independent Congregational way that were presented by Presbyterians and particularly by the London Ministers in January 1646 to the Assembly of Divines.²⁴⁷ Hall was the ideal recipient of the Presbyterian polemic of this decade, which was produced by men for whom he retained the highest regard, and which formed the basis of his own arguments in his later publications.

²⁴⁵ This series was published together although they are found separately in Hall's collection: *The answer of the Assembly of Divines to the reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against the third proposition concerning Presbyteriall government and the proofs thereof*; *The answer of the Assembly of Divines to the reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against the third proposition concerning the subordination of congregational, classical, provincially, and nationall assemblies, for the government of the Church.*; and *The answer of the Assembly of Divines to the reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against the proposition concerning ordination*; and *Papers given to the honorable Committee of Lords and Commons and Assembly of Divines with the Commissioners of Scotland, for accommodation. 1644* [Cat.A45, THL 094/1648/7].

²⁴⁶ Jeremiah Burroughs, *Irenicum to the lovers of truth and peace* [Cat.A155, THL 094/1646/8]. Hall later made a direct comment on this work and the bane of Independency in *Timothy*, p.167: 'Master Burroughs his Argument for gathering of Churches (in my judgement) is very dilute and weak; 'tis this, Because our Divines hold it lawfull to gather Churches out of the Church of Rome: therefore 'tis lawful to gather Churches out of the Church of England, q. d. because 'tis lawfull to separate from a whore, Ergo, we ought to separate from an honest woman also. What more ungodly sacrilege, or manstealing can there be, then to purloin from godly Ministers the first-born of their fervent Prayers, and faithful Preaching, the leaven of their flocks, the encouragement of their souls, the Crown of their labours, and their Epistle to Heaven? If men will needs gather Churches out of the world (as they phrase it) let them first plow the world, and sow it, and reap it with their own hands, and then the Lord give them a liberall harvest. He is a very hard man that will reap where he hath not sowed, and gather where he hath not strewed, Mat. 24.25. We have no President in the whole Book of God, to gather up one Church out of the cream and quintessence of many Churches.' J. Coffey, 'The Toleration Controversy during the English Revolution' in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006), p. 49, sees *Irenicum* as a clear exposition of the position of Independents on toleration at the time.

²⁴⁷ *A letter of the ministers of the City of London, presented the first of Ian.1645. to the Reverend Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster by authority of Parliament against toleration* (1645) [THL 094/C24]. This was listed in the manuscript index by Hall as 'Sion College against toleration.'

b) iii) The ascendancy of the Independents in alliance with the army, 1647-1651

Another concentration of surviving pamphlets from 1647 to 1651 show Hall's concerns for the increasingly close alliance of the army and Independents, and its detrimental effect on the position of Presbyterians in Parliament, finally resulting in the trial and execution of the king and the establishment of a republic. Throughout this part of the collection, there is a heavy bias, in both the selection of material and in its marking and annotation, towards the fortunes of Presbyterian interests.

The works begin with events following the coup at Holmby in 1647, when the army first entered the political field and seized the king, and follows the intensification of the struggle between the army and a largely Presbyterian Parliament.²⁴⁸ On his copies, Hall marked with considerable disapproval the dramatic events in London in which, following the ejection of the Speaker and Independent members by the mob, Fairfax restored them to Parliament, but removed eleven Presbyterian members.²⁴⁹ On Stephen Marshall's sensational sermon concerning this event, Hall noted that the army was no better than the mob.²⁵⁰ He also had at

²⁴⁸ Hall had a personal interest in the Holmby coup and subsequent events through his patron and friend Colonel Richard Grevis, who was the army commander ousted at Holmby by Cornet Joyce. Grevis subsequently changed allegiance and joined Prince Charles in Holland. He then took part in both the Presbyterian plot of 1649-1651 and the battle of Worcester in 1651. F. A. Bates related the narrative of these events in *Graves' Memoirs of the Civil War*, pp.72-104. Grevis was named in the Presbyterian plot in *Mr. Love's case* (1651) [THL 094/C26], p.8, and Richard Baxter noted his fate after the battle of Worcester in *Reliquiae*, p.69: '[After the battle of Worcester] Coll. Graves at last being released by Cromwell, lived quietly at his House, which made him ill thought of, and kept from Preferment afterwards when the King came in'. However, Grevis and Hall resumed their friendship at that time, and went on to form a practical working partnership in the 1650s.

²⁴⁹ *A remonstrance from his Excellency Sir Tho: Fairfax, and the army under his command. concerning their just and cleare proceedings hitherto, in the behalfe of the Parliament, Kingdome, and themselves* (1647) [THL 094/C26]. V. Pearl, 'London's Counter-Revolution' in G. E. Aylmer (ed.), *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement, 1646-1660* (1972) 29-56, has emphasised the power of the mob at this time, the confusion in London during the Presbyterian counter-revolution of 1647 and the responding actions of Fairfax and the army in re-establishing control in July 1647.

²⁵⁰ Stephen Marshall, *A sermon preached to the two Houses of Parliament at their solemn meeting to praise God for his infinite mercy in the restoring of the said Houses of Parliament to their honor and freedome with so little effusion of blood: at the Abbey-Church in Westminster, Aug. 12. 1647.* (1647) [THL 094/C12]. This sermon had upset many Presbyterians, not only because Marshall praised the army for restoring peace in the House of Commons after the riotous events in the city, but because until that point he had been a champion of their cause, and now seemed to have turned traitor. Hall has hardly marked this except for one paragraph in which Marshall

least one pamphlet, *The four bills*, concerning negotiations with the king, in which he showed particular interest in the proposed Presbyterian position in the religious terms of the settlement.²⁵¹ Hall's objections to some of the points are unsurprising, such as his opposition to the proposal for toleration.²⁵² When the king finally sidestepped these negotiations to make a deal with the Scottish Commissioners, Hall found himself opposed to Henry Marten's outraged response, *The independency of England*, but in sympathy with the Scots and their objections to the terms of the 'Four Bills' which set aside the Covenant for a proposed toleration that would even extend to sectarians.²⁵³ The printed response of Parliament so affected Hall that he summarised their decision on the flyleaf: 'Votes of the 2 Houses. 1. That it Appears that the King intends war against the two Houses. 2. Who ever shall assist him in such a war are Traytors by the fundament & have bin so adjudged by two acts of Parliament.'²⁵⁴

Like other worried Presbyterian provincial ministers, Hall felt increasingly under threat and joined in the nationally organised Testimonies of 1648, which remonstrated against the growth of error and heresy. Arnold Matthews calls them Presbyterian manifestoes, and Ann Hughes notes them as good examples of the cooperation between the London Ministers and

bemoaned the appalling violence of the London mobs which had entered Parliament, forced the members to pass whatever they demanded and then held them prisoner

²⁵¹ *The four bills sent to the King to the Isle of Wight to be passed. Together with the propositions sent unto him at the same time, which upon the passing of those bills were to be treated upon. And also the Articles of the Church of England; with the rules and directions concerning suspension from the sacrament of the Lords Supper in cases of ignorance. Unto all which doth refer, the late declaration of both Houses of the fourth of March, 1647. concerning the papers of the Scots Commissioners, upon occasion of the last address to the King in the Isle of Wight.* (March 20.1647) [THL 094/C26]. The 'four bills' were presented to the king on the 24th December but this pamphlet was not published until three months later.

²⁵² *The four bills*, p.31.

²⁵³ *The independency of England endeavored to be maintained by Henry Marten, a Member of Parliament there, against the claim of the Scottish Commissioners, in their late answer upon the bills and propositions sent to the King in the Isle of Wight* (1648) [THL 094/C10].

²⁵⁴ Hall's manuscript note on *Thf [sic] votes of the Lords & Commons assembled in Parliament, touching no farther address to the King* (1647) [THL 094/C26].

Provincial clergy.²⁵⁵ Hall was a signatory to *The Warwickshire testimony*, one of the first to be completed, and collected another eight of the fourteen testimonies published, binding them together in a volume that represents the trials and tribulations that Presbyterians suffered at this time, and as suggested in Hall's Virgilian quotation at the end of his manuscript index, '*Dabit Deus his quoque finem.*'²⁵⁶ He indicated his greatest admiration of the London ministers, writing on his copy of their Testimony, '*Haereticorum Mallei*', or 'hammers of the Heretics', an epithet reserved for the writers and divines he most admired. His marking of these testimonies also highlights his desperation to find numerical and community strength in the movement: he totalled the signatories of each pamphlet, and underlined a large proportion of their names, including those of men with whom he was later to join in membership of the Kenilworth classis. He further identified himself with the Presbyterian brotherhood in print by adding his own name to the testimonies of Staffordshire and Shropshire.²⁵⁷

b) iv) The execution of the King and establishment of a republic

Hall's surviving pamphlets do not pick up the chronological thread again until the beginning of 1649, with the events following Pride's Purge, the momentous army action taken on 6th December 1648, forcibly ejecting a large number of Presbyterian members, some of whom were imprisoned. This decision followed the collapse of a series of negotiations with the king, and an army remonstrance which demanded just such a purge of Parliament as well as a trial

²⁵⁵ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, Appendix 1, p.553. A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*, pp.373-8.

²⁵⁶ These nine Presbyterian 'testimonies' survive in one pamphlet volume, THL 094/C24. Hall's hopeful quotation from Virgil means 'God will bring an end to these things.'

²⁵⁷ At the end of the Staffordshire testimony, p.8, Hall added 'Tho: Hall Pastor of Kingsn.'; at the end of the Shropshire testimony p.6, he added, 'Tho: Hall Pastor of Kingsnorton. *Nullus ne ego sim, et hic ultimus esse volo*' or 'Though I be nothing, I wish to be the last here'. There follows something of a chronological gap after this pamphlet, and Hall has nothing indicating his response to the second Civil War, from May to August 1648, except for one surviving sermon, William Strong, *The vengeance of the temple* (1648) [THL 094/C12], which was preached before the Lord Mayor of London in thanksgiving for Colonel Horton's victory in Wales. This absence of material may be an issue of survival of books in the collection, but it may also relate to his brother's departure from London after the first Civil War to resume his ministry at Bromsgrove.

of the king for treason. Hall owned both responses of the Presbyterian ministers of London to this deed, warning the army of the dangerous errors of its ways, and his heavy marking shows his full support of their arguments.²⁵⁸ At that time too he acquired a copy of *A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded members of the House of Commons*, the published justification of the imprisoned and excluded victims of 'Pride's Purge'.²⁵⁹ Hall marked nearly every paragraph, making use of double crosses on several occasions to indicate his horror at the injustice of the accusations levelled against the members, and marked his agreement with the counter-accusations against the conduct of the army. Elliot Vernon has shown how all these publications reflected the deep horror of Presbyterians in general at the illegitimacy of the army's interventions and its breaking of the Covenant by attacking the king's person.²⁶⁰

Hall's response to the regicide can be seen in his notes on a copy of *King Charls his case*, which was published shortly afterwards by John Cook, solicitor-general for the

²⁵⁸ The first of the Presbyterian Ministers' responses, *A serious and faithfull representation of the judgements of ministers of the gospell within the province of London* (1649) [THL 094/C23], which was subscribed to by men whom Hall knew personally or whom he knew through his brother John, such as Jacob Tice, who replaced John at St. Botolphs, Billingsgate in 1647, was sent to Fairfax on 18th January 1649 during the trial of the king. This bid to change the army's course of action and to criticise its performance to date, was also an opportunity for the London ministers to defend their Presbyterian stand and to salve their consciences from imputations that they had remained silent. Hall was vitally concerned with the arguments presented therein. He underlined all the dates of authorship and presentation, bracketed the majority of paragraphs in the text, and underlined and maniculed key points such as the Presbyterian revulsion at several army actions including Pride's Purge, the proposals contained in the recent army Remonstrance, particularly the adoption of a new type of 'Representative' under 'the notion of an Agreement of the People', the army seizure and imprisonment of the king, and its contemplation of 'a totall impunity, and universall toleration' of religion. Hall has also taken note of the Presbyterian belief that these erroneous actions stemmed from the army's dishonourable disregard of former oaths, particularly that of the Solemn League and Covenant. The other response was, *A vindication of the presbyteriall-government, and ministry: together, with an exhortation, to all the ministers, elders, and people, within the bounds of the province of London, whether joyning with us, or separating from us* (1650) [THL 094/C30].

²⁵⁹ *A vindication of the imprisoned and secluded Members of the House of Commons, from the aspersions cast upon them, and the maiority of the House, in a paper lately printed and published: intituled, An humble answer of the Generall Council of the officers of the Army under his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax, to the demands of the Honourable Commons of England in Parliament assembled: concerning the late securing or secluding some Members thereof* (1649) [THL 094/C23].

²⁶⁰ E. Vernon, 'The Quarrel of the Covenant: The London Presbyterians and the Regicide' in J. Peacey (ed.), *The Regicide and the Execution of Charles I* (2001) 202-5.

Commonwealth.²⁶¹ This work put forward the arguments Cook would have used to prosecute Charles if he had agreed to plead.²⁶² Hall followed the text carefully, and largely agreed with the accusations that Charles had ruled badly, assuming powers above the law. He also seems to have agreed, or at least to have accepted, the charge that the king's instigation and handling of the war caused extensive loss of life throughout the three kingdoms. However, there is strong disagreement on the judgement Cook made when he claimed that Charles had long since been condemned by God's law. Hall's own notes on the flyleaf of this pamphlet sound an uncertain verdict. They are confused and contradictory, and it is difficult to make sense of everything he has written. It appears that he was jotting down some of the current arguments being made about the execution of the king. Firstly he refers to three Old Testament quotations which all warn of divine wrath for any who cause violent death; they are ambiguous and can be interpreted as accusations against the king or in his defence.²⁶³ Although Hall did not support the regicide at any other point, he notes counter arguments here: 'The king is but a political servant & so may be called to account by the Representatives', and 'Gods laws are made for Great ones: and he commanded Judges to be impartiall & when Superior Magistrates & Lords neglect Justice, then Inferiors shall and must [act]?'²⁶⁴ Hall also seemed to be putting questions to himself, writing: 'no president. Answer, Queen of Scots beheaded in England, Hollanders cast off Philip. Romans condemned Nero to be hanged and Vitellius to death.' He concluded his various notes with two sayings, *fides*

²⁶¹ John Cook, *King Charls his case* (1649) [THL 094/C23].

²⁶² W. Prest, 'Cook, John (*hap.* 1608, *d.* 1660)', *Oxf. DNB*.

²⁶³ Genesis 9.6: Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man his blood shall be shed: for in the image of God he made man; also Exodus 21.12: He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death, and Proverbs 28.17: A man that doeth violence to the blood of any person shall flee to the pit; let no man stay him.

²⁶⁴ This last idea comes perhaps from Pareus, as discussed by Christopher Love, *A clear and modest vindication* [THL 094/C24], p.1, that when superior magistrates turn into tyrants then inferior magistrates may put them to death. However, Love added that never did Pareus apply this notion to kings. Hall, *Magistracy*, p.179, later used this same argument in justifying the war.

quoties facta, toties fracta', and, 'Italian proverb. [*sic*] *vento percolato, et ab inimico reconciliato, libra nos Domine.*'²⁶⁵

Shortly after the king's execution the publication of Cornelius Burgess's *A vindication of the ministers of the Gospel*, on behalf of the London ministers, no doubt helped Hall to clarify his arguments for Presbyterian loyalty to the king.²⁶⁶ Here Hall returned to assured marking in support of the outrage of his Presbyterian brethren. He also acquired Christopher Love's *A modest and clear vindication*, a rationale for Presbyterians' political behaviour since the beginning of the Civil War.²⁶⁷ Hall had high regard for Love and was totally in tune with his classic Presbyterian arguments, the majority of his marks again focusing on the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant, the Presbyterians' faithful adherence to it and the failure of the army and others to honour their oath to safeguard the person of the king.

²⁶⁵ Translated as, 'As often as faith is made it is broken', and, 'Lord, deliver us from secret whispers [a percolating wind] and from a reconciled enemy'.

²⁶⁶ *A vindication of the ministers of the Gospel in, and around London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the King to capitall punishment. Containing also an exhortation to their people to keep close to the Covenant* (1648) [THL 094/C23]. See p.22, for his disagreement with bringing the king to trial, p.28 for his emphasis on swearing to defend the king's person, and p.32, for his emphasis on the need to defend king and Parliament.

²⁶⁷ Love had published this work *A modest and clear vindication* (1649) [THL 094/C24], in response to the scornful attacks of John Price, the anti-Presbyterian polemicist from the congregation at Coleman Street, where John Goodwin was minister. Price had infuriated the London Presbyterians with the publication of his '*Clerico-classicum*', which accused them of self-interest and of agitating for a third Civil War. Christopher Love had been targeted in particular. Hall had a deep and long-lasting loathing for John Goodwin and his acolytes, among whom John Price was numbered. On the flyleaf of his copy he has written a biblical reference, inspired by Love's text, to indicate his own view of Price, 'Odigos brow is made of brasse', implying that Price was obstinate and lacking in shame. Love, p.8, wrote of Price: 'I wonder your heart did not tremble, and your hand shake when you wrote those lines; had you not a brow of brass, you would blush and be ashamed for raising against them [Presbyterian Ministers] such improbable and incredible aspersions.' This reference comes from a passage in Isaiah 48.4, which reads: 'Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass;' The classic Presbyterian arguments highlighted here by Hall include the Presbyterian loyalty to the Covenant, and their support for the army to subdue 'malignants in arms', but their opposition to its influencing Parliament by force and executing the king. At the same time Hall registered his disapproval of several of the army's plans that 'the supream power be put into the hands of the people', 'That all professing faith in God, shall have a Toleration whatever his opinions be', and that 'Magistrates meddle not with matters of Religion.' Another emphasis in Hall's marking of this work is on the role of the Independents and sects in their opposition to those in the city who remonstrated for the safety of the king's person.

After the regicide, together with the rest of the country, Hall had to deal with the aftermath of war and a new *de facto* government. His copy of Parliament's justification for the republic, published in March 1649, bears the marks of careful reading and his annotations show his solidarity with his Presbyterian brethren.²⁶⁸ Although he agrees with, or marks without disagreement, some of the historical points made, he certainly shows his disapproval of claims that divine providence was working in this case in favour of Parliament's cause, and also of the argument that 'Pride's Purge' was in the best interests of the safety of the kingdom.²⁶⁹ Quentin Skinner sees this publication as significant in the attempt to win over both hostile Royalists and moderate Presbyterians to 'engage' with the new authority.²⁷⁰ It built on arguments already published by supporters such as John Milton, and presented the new reality as the product of the removal of a tyrant and the reassertion of a government that was limited in its powers by the rights of the people. Hall's approach to the document showed that he did not accept the providential right of the government to demand allegiance, and throughout he kept faith with the terms of the Covenant, admitting no right of this usurping power to have executed the king.

In October 1649 the Council of State demanded subscription to the Engagement from members of Parliament and then extended it to the rest of the nation. Hall refused.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ *A declaration of the Parliament of England, expressing the grounds of their late proceedings and of settling the present government in the way of a free state* (1648) [THL 094/C26].

²⁶⁹ E. Vernon, 'The Quarrel of the Covenant', pp.216-8, has noted that in Love's *A clear and modest vindication*, the Presbyterian ministers of London pointed out to the army the weakness of its case based on divine providence, which was far more complex than it realised and it could not claim right of government simply by its success. Hall marked these particular passages on his own copy, for example on p.9 the lines that 'the Providence of God (which is so often pleaded in justification of your wayes) is no safe rule to walke by, especially in such acts as the word of God condemnes'. Hall also marked the classic biblical example used in their argument of David's refusal to kill Saul even when the opportunity seemed to be presented by divine providence, because he knew it would not be pleasing to God.

²⁷⁰ Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics Vol.III, Hobbes and Civil Science* (2002), pp.287-90.

²⁷¹ Hall, *Life*, fo.108, recorded his refusal to take the Engagement, writing that he lost his augmentation as a result, but he made no other comment nor overt attacks on the governments of the day in his later writings. Also in *Funebria*, p.39, Hall wrote, 'For my fidelity to the King, in refusing the Engagement, I lost two hundred

However, like other Presbyterians, he found a *modus vivendi* through what Skinner describes as passive obedience. This was perhaps in accordance with the Calvinist directive to citizens not to meddle in affairs of state, this being the sole prerogative of the magistrate, but other writers also invoked Paul, *Romans 13*, as justification for accepting de facto powers because they were obviously ordained of God.²⁷²

The execution of Christopher Love after the discovery of the Presbyterian plot of 1649-1651 to restore Charles II was the final trauma for Hall for which there is evidence before he began

pounds, and ran the hazard of my whole livelihood, for I had no Law to recover a penny'. He called upon the 'invincible Arguments in Print' of the Lancashire Presbyterians, by which he meant Edward Gee's *A plea for non-scribers* (1650), in which Gee and his brethren argued that any new oaths they took would have to allow their continuing adherence to the Solemn League and Covenant. Hall's younger brother, Edmund, was less reserved. Edmund had left the army in 1647, returning to academic studies at Oxford in 1647. He entered this pamphlet fray, and in his first work, *Lazarus's sores licked* (1650), he attacked another Presbyterian, Lazarus Seaman, for encouraging acceptance of the Engagement. He criticised the government so directly in his publications, that for a while he suffered imprisonment. Hall's position was typical of that of committed Presbyterians as E. Vallance points out in *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant*, pp.162-6. See also E. Vallance, 'Oaths, Casuistry, and Equivocation: Anglican Responses to the Engagement Controversy', *The Historical Journal* 44:1 (2001) 59-77, for arguments about the contemporary debate on the nature of oaths and its relevance to Presbyterians; also G. Burgess, 'Usurpation, Obligation and Obedience in the Thought of the Engagement Controversy', *The Historical Journal* 29:3 (1986) 515-536, for the classic Presbyterian arguments against the Engagement by Edward Gee and the complex nature of contemporary views on oaths, how far they bound subscribers and how subscribers could lawfully be released from them. Hall followed the classical Presbyterian view that the Covenant oath was 'eternally' binding. He wrote repeatedly of the divine punishments that would befall oath-breaker, and owned a number of sermons specifically tailored to this issue such as, Edmund Calamy, *The great danger of covenant-refusing, and covenant-breaking* (1646) [THL 094/C18]. Some Presbyterians such as Newcome in Lancashire did take the Engagement, but he said he lived to regret it. Hall also owned some of the government's printed justifications at this time: *A declaration of the parliament of England, expressing the grounds of their late proceedings, and of settling the present government in the way of a free state* (March 1649) [THL 094/C26], which Hall has marked heavily throughout, showing his disapproval of the blame it accorded the king, and also *A declaration of the parliament of England, in vindication of their proceedings, and discovering the dangerous practices of several interests, against the present government, and peace of the Commonwealth* (September, 1649) [THL 094/C26], on which Hall notes threats against enemies of the state and marks his disapproval of the government's arguments for not disbanding the army.

²⁷² Q. Skinner, *Visions of Politics Vol.III, Hobbes and Civil Science* (2002), pp.287-90. E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant*, p.163, wrote that although some Presbyterian writers did use Paul, *Romans 13*, this only applied in cases of legitimate authority and not to usurped power. J. M. Wallace lists 72 pamphlets concerning this controversy that were published between 1649 and 1652 in his article, 'The Engagement Controversy 1649-1652, An Annotated List of Pamphlets', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 68 (1969) 384-405. Skinner singled out Dury, who produced one of the first de facto defences, *A case of conscience resolved* (1649) [THL 094/C8], as one of the most indefatigable proponents of acceptance of this *de facto* theory. Of the vast number of pamphlets engendered by this debate over allegiance to the new government, this work of Dury's is the only one that has survived in Hall's collection, but it is unmarked apart from the completion of Dury's name from his initials on the title page.

to settle to an accommodation with the disappointment of Presbyterian failure and a republican government.²⁷³

c) Conclusion

Hall's annotated pamphlets support the views he later published, but also provide insights into aspects of his contemporary thinking in the 1640s for which there are no other sources. Together these published and unpublished views reveal that Hall's position in 1651 had developed in response to the interrelated religious and political choices he had made since his conversion in 1630, particularly his opposition to Arminianism, his commitment to Parliament, his adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant and his opposition to the Independents and growing sectarian movement. He became a hardliner in doctrine and Presbyterian ecclesiology, in both of which he then stood firm until the end of his life. Coffey describes the central paradox of the Puritan Revolution as one of 'bigotry and tolerance'. Hall would have agreed that such a polarisation existed, but understood it very differently.²⁷⁴ Bigotry, at least his sort of bigotry, was an attitude to be desired. It was the godly upholding of true doctrine and orthodoxy according to scripture, and to do, or allow, otherwise, would have been a question of spiritual damnation.

²⁷³ Hall had a copy of the anti-Presbyterian publication *Mr. Love's case* (1651) [THL 094/C26], on which he marked his full support of Love. This work reproduced all Love's petitions to Parliament, his own narrative of the plot and his prayer and lengthy speech on the scaffold, as well as the scornful animadverted arguments against Love's defence. Hall's high regard for this fellow Presbyterian is also seen in other of his works by Love, and also in a very personal note he made on his copy of Christopher Helvici, *Theatrum historicum* [Cat.A381, THL Q 094/1651/7], under the year 1651, where he noted Love's execution: '*Aug. 22 Amor meus decollatus,*' or my Love beheaded. There is no evidence showing that Hall met Love although they had friends in common such as Simeon Ashe. Love, in *Mr. Love's case*, p.8, mentions the loose involvement of Colonel Richard Grevis, Hall's local patron, in the plot. According to Bates, *Graves Memoirs of the Civil War*, pp.73, 75, Grevis was in Holland at the time, but was a member of a group close to Charles II called the 'Exiled Presbyterians' with whom he took an active part in schemes for the king's restoration. Hall also bought a tract attributed to Pierre du Moulin the younger, *Regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum adversus parricidas Anglicanos* (1652) [Cat.A469], against the regicide.

²⁷⁴ J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (2000), p.135.

By 1651, Hall had developed further the strong polemical image of himself defending orthodoxy in a hostile world and facing a continuing struggle for Godly reformation.²⁷⁵ His defence of that position inspired his publishing career and increased his perception of his work as a member of the Church Militant.²⁷⁶ In his insistence on uniformity of what he saw as orthodox doctrine, he followed the Augustinian tradition of enlisting religious coercion.²⁷⁷ He could see no reason why those who denied or opposed true doctrine should not be excised from the Church.²⁷⁸ The question he asked of anyone leaning towards toleration was, where was the line to be drawn: ‘A spark neglected may burn down a Town: Arrius at first a spark, yet being tolerated, at last set the world on fire. As diseases so error must be stopt betimes.’²⁷⁹

In the introduction to their reappraisal of contemporary perceptions of orthodoxy and conformity, or doctrine and discipline, in the Church of England, Peter Lake and Michael Questier noted that the polemic of religious identity was often expressed in sharp, binary opposites, and even though the realities were not necessarily as different as contemporaries argued, yet the maintenance of difference was an essential feature of the formation of confessional identity. This was the arena in which Hall took his stand, and he certainly made extreme judgements on any who differed from his beliefs: with few exceptions, he argued that men came from God or from the Devil, that they were either with him or against him.

²⁷⁵ Hall, *Amos*, p.550. Hall described his own persistent conflicts with the Devil in his *Life*, comparing his perception of this constant struggle with that of Luther.

²⁷⁶ This position followed the Covenant, the first section of which agreed to the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, ‘according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches’, and to endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to ‘the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechising’. The second agreed to the endeavour to extirpate Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism and profanity.

²⁷⁷ J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England*, pp.47-8, considers that in 1600 an overwhelming majority of people in England would have agreed with the Augustinian tradition of religious coercion, but by 1644 toleration was openly debated and increasingly demanded, even by some Independents and Prayer Book adherents.

²⁷⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, p.341.

²⁷⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.165.

Although he was prepared to persuade by argument and to allow offenders to recant he also insisted on the most severe penalties for those who refused. Furthermore, those who tolerated dissention were as guilty as those they tolerated.²⁸⁰ Of course, the unfailing argument to which Hall always returned was that orthodoxy in doctrine and ecclesiology had been confirmed by the Covenant. ‘We have vowed Uniformity; and behold a multiformity.’²⁸¹ However, although Hall never compromised in doctrine, his political ideals had been shattered by the regicide, and thereafter he compromised with both the political and ecclesiological *status quo* by continuing his ministry in a commonwealth without a king, and in a Church without a nationally imposed Presbyterian system. He interpreted these events as the result of God’s providence, and so, rather than retreating within his parish, he began his public campaigns to effect continuing godly reformation within the current political and religious framework, and to that extent he continued the traditions of earlier Moderate Puritans.

²⁸⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.169.

²⁸¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.78.

CHAPTER 3

HALL'S RELIGIOUS IDENTITY, 1651-1665

In 1651, when Hall launched his publishing career, he was facing difficult issues of readjustment in a period of low morale for Presbyterians.¹ His membership of the Church of England and ideals of Moderate Puritanism had to be reconsidered to accommodate changing personal and national circumstances. He had to decide on his relationship with a new republican government which allowed a far broader and more tolerant Church, yet did nothing to replace its traditional hierarchical and disciplinary structures which had disappeared following the abolition of episcopacy and Church courts. Hall blamed this situation, which left the Church like 'a Vine without an hedge, a City without walls, and a Garden without a fence!', for all the contemporary disorders and errors.² The formal ending of religious coercion in 1650, when compulsory parish church attendance was rescinded through the Toleration Act, was a further aggravation; although the parish structure survived, toleration was permitted for proliferating separatist congregations of Trinitarian Christians, who were neither papists nor episcopalians, and whose congregations cut across parish boundaries.³ At

¹L. H. Carlson, 'A History of the Presbyterian Party from Pride's Purge to the Dissolution of the Long Parliament', *Church History* 11:2 (1942) 83-122, has commented on the general impact of these events for Presbyterians. Presbyterian disappointments and frustrations are also considered in A. Hughes, 'The Frustrations of the Godly' in J. Morrill (ed.), *Revolution and Restoration*; and J. Morrill, 'The Puritan Revolution'.

² Hall, *Timothy*, p.172.

³ C. Durston and J. Maltby, 'Introduction', in *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006) 1-16, pp.8-9; J. Morrill, 'The Puritan Revolution', p.77, estimates that only a very small number, about 5%, opted out of the parish system and into gathered churches, but this does not seem to allow for those who did not opt out but did not positively opt in either. This small percentage of sectaries was also argued by Morrill in 'The Church in England 1642-9' in his *Reactions to the English Civil War* (1982) 89-114, 230-4, p.90. The apathy or lack of enthusiasm among many in the parish system was described by Richard Baxter in *Reliquiae* Book 1, p.85 where he wrote that 'many ignorant and ungodly Persons there were still among us,' and pp.85, 91, that only 300 out of a total number of 3,000 parishioners were communicants. However, in *Confirmation and restauration*, (1658), p.157, when explaining his analysis of twelve different groups of parishioners from the enthusiastic down to the apathetic, Baxter gave a slightly higher proportion of godly professors in his parish as 500 persons out of 800 families. Hall also mentioned significant numbers of parishioners who generally had no sound knowledge of the principles of religion, writing on sig.A1r of his own catechism, which was appended to the 1655 edition of *Holiness*, that 'old, ignorant country people, and such as have weake memories' were everywhere.

the same time, Hall's continuing personal commitment to the Solemn League and Covenant bound him to monarchy and Presbyterianism, when monarchy no longer existed and Presbyterianism had become a voluntary and increasingly minority position. As in previous decades, Hall's responses to religion and politics were necessarily entwined, for the nature of the Church of England and the enforcement of any religious reforms or discipline depended on the policies of magistrates.

This chapter considers Hall's attitudes in negotiating the changing political and religious landscape between 1651 and his death in 1665, as the escalating attacks of sectaries on the ordained ministry, its university learning and its maintenance demanded the development of strong defensive positions. At the same time, new opportunities occurred for promoting his godly mission more aggressively. The relationship of ministry and magistracy, particularly magistracy's juggling of its support of the orthodox ministry with toleration of sectaries, was crucial to all aspects of Hall's godly campaign, and I would also like to examine his view of this relationship, and how he approached it in practice, particularly by alternately encouraging and haranguing magistrates to fulfil their godly responsibilities. Because Hall was generally politically tactful in his publications, particularly at times of crisis, his annotated library books are again useful supplements in revealing his reactions to the changes in government following the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658, and to the Restoration in 1660 which led to the ultimatum offered to all ministers in 1662, either to conform to the restored episcopal Church of England, or to accept ejection.

a) Hall's general outlook during the Interregnum

The new and evolving loose arrangements in the Church of England presented Hall with both negative and positive elements. Without reservation, he decried the lack of one exclusive, Presbyterian Church, and vehemently opposed all gathered churches and sects.⁴ At his most pessimistic he described the times as

Atheisticall days, wherein the Ministry and Ministers of the Gospell being set at naught, he [the Devil] hath broke loose, and a numberlesse crew of Locusts have sprung out of the bottomlesse pit, assuming to themselves the names of Arrians, Arminians, Socinians, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Familists, Antiscripturists, Antisabbatarians, Antitrinitarians, Libertines, Erastians, Levellers, Mortalists, Millenarys, Enthusiasts, Separatists, Semiseparatists.⁵

This 'brood of vipers' was bent on overthrowing Scripture, the sacraments, the universities, and all order and ordinances.⁶ With dismay, he diagnosed the cause of the fragmentation of the godly and the growth of the sects, as a lack of compulsion together with the indulgence of 'liberty', the direct results of the authorities renegeing on the Covenant.⁷ Throughout the 1650s Hall maintained the hardline anti-tolerationist position he had developed during the 1640s, and with his publications he weighed into the general toleration controversy that had begun in earnest with the publication of *An apologeticall narration* in 1644 and which raged until the Restoration settlement.⁸ John Coffey defined three main groups in this controversy: the 'anti-tolerationists' who were led by Presbyterians and were thoroughly opposed to the idea of liberty of conscience, 'conservative tolerationists' including leading Independent clergy who

⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.166-7, discussed the gathering of churches by orthodox ordained ministers with particular reference to Burroughs, *Irenicum* [Cat.A155, THL 094/1646/8], arguing that it was the very way to destroy churches. He considered Burroughs's arguments 'very dilute and weak' and without biblical precedent.

⁵ Hall, *Apologie*, p.44.

⁶ Hall, *Apologie*, p.55. Although scholars have pointed out the numerical inferiority of sectaries, and no doubt Hall perceived them to be numerically greater than was the case, nevertheless he did not equate numbers with influence, but saw the sects in terms of manifestations of the Devil, spreading evil and corrupting like disease, or a canker or gangrene, and, if allowed to exist at all, would flourish and consume the healthy.

⁷ Hall, *Samaria*, p.99. His publications after 1651 reflect his acute awareness of the power of magistracy in deterring or forwarding godly reformation and in hampering or supporting the ordained ministry, his anxieties increasing with changes in government. In *Timothy*, p.61, he argued that heretics and blasphemers were so bold in preaching and printing as they pleased, because they had 'indulgence from some in Authority.'

⁸ J. Coffey, 'The Toleration Controversy during the English Revolution' in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006) 42-68, p.42.

wanted limited toleration, and ‘radical tolerationists’, who denied the coercive powers of magistrates in religion and wanted full liberty of conscience for most, and in some cases all, religious opinion.⁹ Hall undoubtedly belonged with the ‘anti-tolerationists’ and reiterated their standard views and arguments, citing them throughout his publishing career. Even in the later 1650s, when some limited tolerationists sought rapprochement with some anti-tolerationists in facing the ever-increasing threat of sectaries, Hall steadfastly refused to compromise.¹⁰

However, in spite of the appalling degeneration of the Church of England which had become ‘erroneous’ and ‘clouded’, Hall was adamant that it remained a true Church that was worth fighting for:

Some yeers since, the Church of God amongst us seemed to be in a sinking condition; then to leave her might be pardonable. But now, now that through the mercy of God she begins to be somewhat floatsome and boyant, so as a little industry and pains in the pumping & purging, may free her and save her, shall we now desert her?¹¹

Furthermore, there were many advantages he could and did exploit, such as the abolition of prelatical and popish adjuncts including bishops, the surplice, the cross and the Prayer Book,

⁹ J. Coffey, ‘The Toleration Controversy’, pp.43-4, described the anti-tolerationists as a group who followed traditional theology of uniformity of doctrine and practice, the persecution of error and heresy within one Church, and the support of magistracy, which they equated with political stability. These views were further enhanced by the adoption of the Covenant in 1643. They were also expressed in the Westminster Confession of 1647 and were further witnessed by the Presbyterian Testimonies of 1647-1648. Hall’s profile fits this description closely. B. Worden, ‘Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate’, in W. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration: Papers Read at the Twenty-second Summer Meeting and the Twenty-third Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (1984) 199-233, pp.209-11, points out the differences in implications for some Puritans, and particularly for Cromwell himself, between toleration which was allowing people to believe what they liked and liberty of conscience which had more to do with permitting beliefs that were conscionably held and which did not breach fundamental truths. This point of view corresponds to that held by those Coffey calls ‘limited tolerationists’. Hall made no such distinction but used both terms, ‘toleration’ and ‘liberty of conscience’, derogatorily and found them equally unacceptable.

¹⁰ See J. Coffey, ‘The Toleration Controversy’, p.50, and A. Hughes ‘Frustrations of the Godly’, pp.76-7, 78, for comments on orthodox groups working together to combat the sectarian threat. B. Reay, ‘The Quakers, 1659, and the Restoration of the Monarchy’, *History* 63 (1978) 193-213, p.209, also notes the co-operation between Independents and Presbyterians against the threat of Quakers and other sectaries in 1659.

¹¹ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.69, and also in *Apologie*, pp.44, 22, 55-6. In *Timothy*, p.11, he wrote: ‘No Church ever was, is, or shall be perfectly free from sin on Earth. Let us not then forsake the Lords Floore, because there is some Chaffe in it.’ Also in *Samaria*, p.23, Hall noted that those, like himself, who continued to own the Church of England as a national Church with its parochial structure, were still under attack.

and the survival of parochial organisation together with the freedom to pursue godly principles and voluntary Presbyterian congregation.¹² However dire the situation looked, Hall always took comfort in the providence of God which ordered all things, and in general he adopted an optimistic position:

Let us not then fear, nor be despondent; that God which hath brought us over the Mountains of Popery, and the Mountains of Prelacy, that God will in his due time bring us over the Mountains of Heresie, Libertinism, and Independency, &c.¹³

As long as the religious policy of the 1650s wavered over exact definitions of the national Church, the bounds of acceptable doctrine and practice, and the extent of liberty of conscience to be permitted, there was everything to fight for.¹⁴

Historians have often overlooked the perspective of the godly orthodox, particularly of Presbyterians, during the Interregnum in favour of the more dramatic attitudes and actions of radical religious groups, usually described as popular in both their appeal to the common man and the extent of their following. Even those historians who see the sectaries as small groups with limited popular appeal, still emphasise the unpopularity and defensiveness of Presbyterians and the negative reactions towards them of other Puritan sects and individuals who attacked their rigidity as a replacement for prelacy in all but name.¹⁵ John Morrill felt that the balance needed redressing but argued for the popular survival of Prayer Book Protestantism which was sustained in opposition to divisive, elitist and authoritarian godly doctrine and discipline, and his arguments have been supported by others such as Judith Maltby.¹⁶ The treatment of

¹² Hall, *Timothy*, p.12. Also in *Timothy*, p.175 Hall pointed out that ‘there are severall Ordinances of Parliament, unrepealed, that do enjoyne the setting up of Congregationall, Classicall, and Nationall Presbyteries’, which was further reason for hope yet of a Presbyterian settlement.

¹³ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.154.

¹⁴ J. Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603-1689* (1998), p.117.

¹⁵ D. Hirst, ‘The Failure of Godly Rule in the English Republic’, *Past and Present* 132 (1991) 33-66, pp.34-8; A. Hughes, ‘The Frustrations of the Godly’, p.76, and Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, pp. 299-303.

¹⁶ J. Morrill, ‘The Church in England’, p. 90, argues that it was an imbalance of the surviving sources and the legitimacy of prayer-book religion that veiled the widespread support it enjoyed before the Civil War, and after

Presbyterians has therefore resulted in a largely negative assessment. They are seen as disillusioned, ‘conservative, embattled failures’.¹⁷ Having been a potent force through their support of Parliament in resisting the Laudian ascendancy and then against the Royalist popish party during the Civil War, their hopes for a fully reformed, coercive, national Church faded in the late forties with the collapse of the Presbyterian party in Parliament.¹⁸ However, as Ann Hughes has pointed out, while the Presbyterians of the Interregnum were neither in a majority nor widely supported, and were necessarily on the defensive, there were positive achievements too.¹⁹ Hall’s actions show his determination to overcome difficulties, and to encourage and persuade the nation to godliness and salvation.²⁰

In the first instance, Hall refused to take the Engagement to the new government chiefly because it denied the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643.²¹ Nevertheless, without accepting the providentialist arguments that God favoured the victors, he conceded the reality of the new regime and decided to continue in his posts as curate and schoolmaster in Kings Norton, working at local level to spread the Gospel, while offering the republican

1640 it was its passive strength as ‘Anglican survivalism’, the legacy of its rootedness in popular consciousness and culture, that led to the restored ‘Anglican’ Church in 1660. J. Maltby, ‘Suffering and Surviving: The Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Formation of ‘Anglicanism’, 1642-60’ in C. Durston and J. D. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006), and also ‘From Temple to Synagogue’ in P. Lake and M. Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (2000), p.105, argued that Christopher Harvey was probably typical of many parish clergy who resented the loss of the old Prayer Book religion but nevertheless continued to work devotedly in the parishes. C. Haigh has argued, for example in *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (1993), pp.280-2, 288-95, that the Tudor and early Stuart Church encompassed the beliefs of a wide range including Church Papists who clung to old Catholic forms, Prayer Book Protestants and godly Calvinists, but the last were the least numerous and the least popular particularly in their promotion of unreasonable ideals and standards.

¹⁷ A. Hughes, ‘The Frustrations of the Godly’, p. 76.

¹⁸ A. Hughes, ‘Godly Reformation and its Opponents in Warwickshire 1640-1662’, *Dugdale Society* 35 (1993), p.2.

¹⁹ A. Hughes, ‘The Meanings of Religious Polemic’, p. 205; and A. Hughes, ‘Popular Presbyterianism in the 1640s and 1650s?’, argues that the conservative image of Presbyterians has been shaped partly by their own later attempts to distance themselves from the beasts they had helped to unleash. Hall never distanced himself from Parliament and its righteous cause in the Civil War but he did blame the army and the Independents for unleashing toleration of the sects, and he refused to accept any responsibility for the execution of the king. Also A. Hughes, ‘The Public Profession of these nations’, and ‘The Frustrations of the Godly’, pp.80-6.

²⁰ For example, Hall, *Amos*, pp.64, 67, 116, and *Samaria*, pp.10, 52, 111.

²¹ See Chapter 2.

government passive obedience.²² Within a short time he developed a range of practical tactics to broaden his godly campaign into wider local and national arenas: participating in local disputations with sectaries, joining his Presbyterian colleagues in setting up a Warwickshire classis, educating boys and young men for the ministry and exploiting print to reach national audiences. For Hall, whether he would succeed or fail in furthering reformation wasn't the point, for that was in the hands of God. What did matter is that he made the best effort he could and that he encouraged the godly community in the enterprise, for to do anything less would have been detrimental to his own sanctification and salvation.²³ He appealed to his like-minded colleagues: 'As for us, Brethren in the ministry, let us not faint, but go on with cheer and courage, thanking God that we are worthy to be hated of the world, for it is a good proof of our sincerity,' and adding, 'Let us commit our ship to the windes.'²⁴

b) The defence of a learned, ordained, and maintained ministry

Hall was first drawn into a public defence of the ministry in August 1650, as a result of a direct challenge by sectaries to defend the ordained ministry through public disputation.²⁵

Although he found the experience highly profitable, this was a transitional phase from which

²² Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.42, 44.

²³ For examples of Hall's discussion of sanctification and the good works and godly activism to which election gave rise, see *Holiness*, pp.1-2, 47-51, and *Timothy*, pp.40, 405. Neutrality or lack of action was not an option for Hall. In *Holiness*, pp.33-6, he explained the classic godly motif of the Old Testament people of Meroz who, although they did not harm the people of God, nevertheless incurred his curse because they did nothing to help them. B. Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', has discussed the contemporary views of anti-tolerationists, highlighting their belief that to tolerate heresy was to be an accessory to heresy and an encouragement to those who would be drawn into practising it, and therefore toleration would lead to the destruction of their own souls. In *Amos*, p.113, Hall later suggested another reason for his activism which was his view of the Civil Wars as a providential pleading of God by fire and sword for godly reformation.

²⁴ Hall, *Apologie*, pp.58, 97.

²⁵ Hall, *Life*, fo.54, and *Pulpit*, p.9, where Hall said he was challenged during his lectures at Henley in which he had been preaching against lay-preaching. Also, Hall, *Pulpit*, sigs.A2r-v, B2r, wrote that he had also been challenged during and after his sermons in Kings Norton, where he feared errors were creeping in, especially because three lay-preachers, a long cutler, a nailer and a milner (miller), had recently preached in a local house. Hall also noted that a friend of his, an apparently truly godly man, had fallen prey to the seductions of the sectaries. The spread of heresy locally was often a reason given by orthodox preachers for accepting such challenges.

he moved into print in 1651 with his first polemical work, *Pulpit*.²⁶ This tract gave him the scope to expand and supplement the arguments he made at the disputation, and he later produced two further defensive works: firstly, *Sal terrae*, (1658), a defence and exposition of the role and duties of the ministry which was first written in Latin before 1652, and translated in 1660 as *An apologie for the ministry, and its maintenance*; and secondly, *Vindiciae* (1654), a defence of universities and their role in preparing men for a learned ministry, which contained a separate rebuttal of John Webster's *Academiarum examen*, an attack on the prevailing university curricula and the place of learning in religion.²⁷ For his role in this last debate, Greaves described Hall as 'one of the Commonwealth's staunchest defenders of an educated clergy and the existing system of education.'²⁸

Hall's three printed responses were part of a wider, national ordination controversy which peaked between the years 1644 and 1654, in which sectaries challenged an elitist, university educated, professional ministry both in public disputations and in print.²⁹ The basis of the disagreement, as Rosemary O'Day and Richard Greaves point out, was crystallised as one between the sectaries who urged the spontaneity of a ministry called directly by God whose

²⁶ Hall, *Pulpit*, especially in his preface 'To the Lay-Preachers at Henly', and pp.31-2. Hall realised the potential benefits of championing orthodox doctrine and the ministry in such a public and dramatic way, and so shows his willingness to act positively in opposition to the teachings of sectaries and in defence of the ministry, appealing to a wider audience. See Chapter 5 for Hall's exploitation of the available media and his bid to appeal to wide and popular audiences.

²⁷ *To alas tes ges [salt of the earth]: sive apologia pro ministerio evangelico* (1658), was the published title of Hall's Latin thesis submitted successfully for his further degree of B.D. which according to Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714. Vol.2* (1891), p.643, he gained in 1652. Hall referred to this work as *Sal terrae*, which was also the running title, and the content represents his thinking in 1652 if not before. In 1660 an English edition was published. It was called *An apologie for the ministry*, translated in collaboration with Hall by Samuel Shaw, a student of Hall's and afterwards curate at Moseley. For John Webster's challenge to the need for the traditional university curricula especially for the training of ministers see below, section 'b) The defence of a learned, ordained, and maintained ministry'.

²⁸ R. L. Greaves, *The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought: Background for Reform* (1969), p.18. For further discussion of this debate, particularly for the lack of intellectual preconditions allowing for the success of a reform movement, see J. Twigg, 'The Limits of 'Reform': Some Aspects of the Debate on University Education during the English Revolution' in *History of Universities*, Vol. 4 (1984) 99-114, especially p.110 for an assessment of Hall's polemical use of a typical 'mud-slinging' approach in his defence of the *status quo*.

²⁹ R. L. Greaves, 'The Ordination Controversy and the Spirit of Reform in Puritan England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970) 225-41, p.226.

call was sent to whomsoever he was pleased to present his gifts, and the orthodox who insisted on the internal call of God being mediated by the external call or 'sending' by the Church.³⁰ The logical extension of the sectaries claims was that anyone could preach and act as ministers, so making the clergy, their learning, and their maintenance unnecessary. Consequently, they attacked the need for an established Church, which gave ministers their authority through ordination, and called into question all aspects of orthodoxy.³¹

Hall's *Pulpit* generated a pamphlet controversy within the ordination debate, which engaged renowned proponents of lay-preaching such as Thomas Collier and William Sheppard.³² Their works, together with other sectarian tracts and Presbyterian responses from Saunders, Ferriby and Collinges, were collected by Hall.³³ His primary objection to lay-preaching was that it was inconsistent with the orthodox interpretation of the Bible which designated ministers as the direct successors of the apostles, demanding an ordained ministry called by God and given the

³⁰ R. O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642* (1979), p.211, and R. L. Greaves, 'The Ordination Controversy', pp.226-7.

³¹ R. L. Greaves, 'The Ordination Controversy', p.226, discusses the huge can of worms that the sectaries opened with their challenge to the ordained ministry including issues of political rights, the status of women and social order, the latter two of which were also commented on by Hall.

³² R. L. Greaves, *The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought*, pp.15-25, for the pamphlet controversy.

³³ Hall's tracts in favour of lay-preaching included William Hartley, *The prerogative priests passing-bell. Or Amen to the rigid clergy* (1651), (uncatalogued but Hall's copy is annotated and bound in with his copy of *Pulpit* which is held in the Bodleian Library); William Sheppard, *The peoples privilege and duty* (1652); Giles Workman, *Private-men no pulpit-men* (1646) [THL 094/C24], (of which, in his notes on the Bodleian Pulpit, Hall said he had a copy and had written a reply to it), and Francis Osborne, *The private Christians non vltra, or A plea for the lay-man's interpreting the scriptures* (1656) [THL 094/C27]; Presbyterian responses included Richard Saunders, *A balm to heal religions wounds ... in answer to The pulpit guard routed* (1651) [Cat.A647]; John Ferriby, uncatalogued but cited in *Font*, p.132, *The lawfull preacher* (1652); John Collings, (uncatalogued but Hall wrote in his manuscript notes on his copy of *Pulpit* held in the Bodleian, that it was a sound Presbyterian answer to William Sheppard's book above), *Vindiciae ministerii evangelici* (1651); Edmund Calamy, *Jus divinum ministerii evangelici. Or the divine right of the Gospel-ministry* [THL 094/1654/6]; and Matthew Poole, *Quo warranto; or, A moderate enquiry into the varrantableness of the preaching of gifted and unordained persons* (1658) [THL 094/C3]. Hall also had Thomas Ball, *Poimenopurgos. Pastorum propugnaculum. Or, The pulpits patronage* [Cat.A59, THL 094/1656/1], and many works that included defences of ministry such as John Arrowsmith, *Tactica sacra* [Cat.A39, THL 094/ 1657/3], and Anon. (but attributed to Sedgwick by Hall in his index to the volume) *Stereoma: the establishment. Or, A discourse tending to the settling of the minds of men, about some of the chiefe controversies of the present times* (1654) [THL 094/ C1].

authority to execute its gifts and abilities by his established Church.³⁴ Hall also took the Protestant theory of the universal priesthood by the horns, making it clear that as a basis for the sectaries' claims to be public teachers like ordained ministers it was false, for there were two types of 'priest' in Scripture: 'There is a Royal Priesthood proper to all Believers, who are called Priests comparatively,' but further to this general priesthood there were 'Priests by Office.'³⁵

Hall's vision of the ministry as a professional body, set apart by its calling and expertise supports the interpretations of historians such as Rosemary O'Day, Christopher Haigh and John Morgan, who stress the strong professional identity of the clergy which, by early Stuart times, was based on graduate entry.³⁶ Hall compared ministers directly with other professionals, suggesting that divines should have a structure of promotion similar to that of

³⁴ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.2. and *Apologie*, p.30.

³⁵ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.63. R.O'Day, 'Immanuel Bourne: A Defence of the Ministerial Order', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976) 101-14, p. 104, notes the distinction between a priesthood and a ministry made by the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566.

³⁶ R. O'Day's study, *The English Clergy*, charted the emergence of the post-Reformation English clergy as a profession, describing the changes over the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as an immense transformation from the medieval clerical classes. This process happened largely as the result of controlled, graduate entry, most ordinands coming from the universities by the 1620s. There was an improved career structure and new emphases in the Protestant ministerial role as pastor, rather than the mediative role of medieval priests. Although there were many variations over the country and the pastoral role of ministers often brought them close to their flocks, there was also a perception of clerics as an exclusive group emphasised by their elitist education, their claims of a monopoly on interpretation of the Scriptures, their manner of dress, their disciplinary pastoral roles and their maintenance structures through patronage, tithes and stipends. The anti-clerical complaints in many parishes have been pursued by C. Haigh in a series of works. In 'Anticlericalism and Clericalism, 1580-1640' in N. Aston and M. Cragoe (eds.), *Anticlericalism in Britain c.1500-1914* (2000), Haigh also agreed that the clergy were much reformed on the eve of Civil War, the number of formal accusations against the group falling even if the recorded number of insults remained the same. He also found that the clergy was a predominantly graduate profession and it was becoming more gentrified with extended family networks. Though noting that the clergy were more assertive in the early Stuart period, and stood on the dignity of their profession, Haigh argues that anti-clericalism was not general as such but often focused on different aspects of the encroachments this rising profession made, such as insistence on tithes or the role and status of clergymen's wives. J. Morgan too, in *Godly Learning, Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560-1640* (1986), Chapter 5 'The Role and Status of Ministers', pp.79-94, largely agreed with O'Day's analysis in his study of Puritan learning, but he made the point that the mediative role of the Protestant clergy did continue if in a different form, for Protestant ministers claimed the sole right to interpret the Scriptures and through their preaching to bring men to salvation.

the legal profession.³⁷ Another feature of the legal and medical professions he recommended to the clergy, was the observation by younger men of the ‘Principles and Practices’ of their experienced seniors, or that young ‘Timothies’ should learn from aged ‘Pauls’.³⁸ His main emphasis in the comparison, however, was on the need to control entry qualifications:

If bare gifts be a sufficient Call to an Office, this would confound all Callings and Societies. Then every Souldier that hath a Commanders gift, may be a Commander, and a General without a Call. Then he that hath gifts for Magistracy, may be a Magistrate, and execute justice on malefactors without a Call. Then a Lawyer having a Judges gift, may step up into the Judges seat, and sentence men without a Call. And he that hath gifts to be a Parliament-man, may be a Parliament-man without a Call, &c. Et sic in infinitum. Then farewell Magistrates, Ministers, Judges, Parliaments, &c. If every man may execute these Offices without a Call, what need we any of them?³⁹

Furthermore, an important distinguishing feature of the ministry was its sacred nature, which elevated it to the highest of all professions. Hall argued that if humane learning was requisite for lawyers, politicians, and physicians who dealt only with the body and physical affairs, then it was all the more necessary for divines, whose calling concerned the soul and its spiritual health, the most important matters of all.⁴⁰ Entry to the ministry should therefore be based on the highest personal and educational qualifications.⁴¹ In addition to probity in the life and conduct of prospective candidates, they should be graduates of the traditional university curriculum, which he regarded as ‘a preparation for the ministry’, the universities being the seminaries of the clergy.⁴²

In addition to their university learning and an inward call from God, prospective ministers should be gifted with other abilities and endowments to enable them to apply their learning and conduct

³⁷ Hall, *Samaria*, p.152.

³⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, p.245.

³⁹ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.17.

⁴⁰ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.17. Also *Vindiciae*, p.27, Hall argued that learning was an excellent means of preparation for the true religion: ‘it helps to civilize us, and to mollifie the harshnesse, and mitigate the fiercenesse of our natures, it roots up barbarisme, beastlinesse, cruelty, &c.’ Also Hall, *Timothy*, p.109.

⁴¹ Hall, *Apologie*, p.52, noted that the quality of any institution depended on the quality of its leaders: thus the Church depended on its pastors just as the commonwealth depended on its magistrates and schools on their masters.

⁴² Hall, *Vindiciae*, title page.

their ministry. Then, crucially, they required an external warrant or ‘Power and authority from the Church’ to exercise those gifts.⁴³ Some lay-preachers might indeed be gifted, but unless they were called and sent, they should use their gifts for the good of their families and brethren.⁴⁴ Hall countered their claims to be simple uneducated men like Christ and the Apostles, by arguing that the learning of Christ and the apostles was well witnessed, and although it was true that in apostolic times God had poured out his spirit in extraordinary measure on many, gifting them with learning and languages by immediate infusion, modern minister had to earn the same gifts from God through ‘diligent pains’.⁴⁵ Hall also cited two parliamentary ordinances, the first issued in April 1645 which forbade any but ordained ministers from preaching, and the second in December 1646 which restated the case.⁴⁶

As the controversy over the need for ordination raged, it developed a new focus on the places of learning, their function and curricula.⁴⁷ *Vindiciae* (1654) was Hall’s particular response to this new emphasis, which again threw him into the centre of printed exchanges. In defending the universities, Hall took up the traditional argument that if learning was necessary for ministers, then it followed that there must be places of learning for them.⁴⁸ He reminded readers that there was considerable inimical competition in the dozens of popish universities

⁴³ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.2. These gifts, *Pulpit*, pp.11-12, included learning in the arts, sciences and languages but also temperance, humility, piety, self-denial, gravity, utterance and memory.

⁴⁴ Hall, *Pulpit*, pp.5-6. Here Hall notes exceptions to the rule: lay-preachers might be called on in exceptional circumstances such as the infancy of a church in the process of establishment or a church under persecution.

⁴⁵ Hall, *Apologie*, p.57 and *Vindiciae*, sig.A4r.

⁴⁶ Hall referred to both these ordinances in the title of *Pulpit* in support of his thesis against lay preaching, and used them as ‘witnesses’ in the mock trial against lay-preachers, pp.32-3.

⁴⁷ R. L. Greaves, *The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought*, pp.19-25; Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp.241-4.

⁴⁸ Hall, *Apologie*, p.57. Hall bought a 1658 copy of the scheme set up by Matthew Poole to support godly students at University but he made no comment on it in his published works. The work is listed in Hall’s manuscript index for pamphlet volume, THL 094/C25, but the copy is no longer in the volume.

recently established in Spain, Italy and France, and, although Parliament had decreed they should be set up in New England, Old England should be better endowed.⁴⁹

There is a general consensus among historians that the universities had come under attack from time to time in the sixteenth century but the beginning of more persistent, unfavourable attention came with Baconian ideas for the advancement of learning, and by the time of the Civil War the clamour intensified. Boran argues that great anxiety was caused by the various initiatives taken by Parliament at that time, even though they eventually came to nothing.⁵⁰ 1653 was a particularly worrying year because the Barebones Parliament threatened extensive reform, and the ideas of Hartlib and his circle alongside anti-Presbyterian educational protesters, such as William Dell and John Milton, created an atmosphere of great uncertainty which may well have inspired Hall to leap into the debate.⁵¹

Hall's view was that formal education in the traditional liberal arts and languages formed the ideal preparation for ordination and the ministry.⁵² Such learning armed the minister with abilities for understanding the word of God, essential for preaching and for defending himself and the Church against enemies.⁵³ He accepted that translations of the Bible were good in

⁴⁹ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.17-26.

⁵⁰ E. Boran, 'Malignancy and the Reform of the University of Oxford in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', *History of Universities* 17 (2001-2) 19-46, pp.23-4; John Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp. 241-2; and J. Twigg, 'The Limits of 'Reform'', pp.102, 104.

⁵¹ In 1653, William Dell had published *The tryal of spirits* in which he demanded reform of university education including arguments 'against *Divinity-Degrees* in the Universities'. On Seth Ward and Wilkins, *Vindiciae academiæ* (1654) [THL 094/C16], Hall annotated Seth Ward's response to *The tryal of spirits*, mostly with approval but in a few places obviously considered that Ward's arguments were not strong enough, such as his defence of children's education, and his agreement that more universities sited in all large towns would be useful. E. Boran, 'Malignancy and the Reform of the University of Oxford', pp.23-4, points out that those who argued against the traditional curriculum, particularly as a preparation for the ministry, were not arguing against all learning. Hall took a different view, seeing the attack as an attempt to destroy the proper foundations of ministry and true religion, and therefore responded with vehement polemic.

⁵² Hall *Vindiciae*, title page and *passim*.

⁵³ Hall, *Apologie*, p.57. In general terms Hall supported the 'excellency' of humane learning, although he always argued, like Edward Reynold before him, that it was excellent in itself but however excellent it was, it should always

themselves, but insisted that they were not sufficient to support sound preaching and teaching.⁵⁴ In a display of his knowledge of different translations of the Bible and the variations in them that affected the doctrine taught, Hall demanded to know how unlearned men could possibly preserve the ‘Truth’ in its purity, and argue against heretics, without a depth of learning in arts, sciences and languages, in logic and rhetoric, and other subjects related to understanding Scripture.⁵⁵

Hall had quickly dismissed the arguments against university education published in 1640 by the lay-preacher Samuel How, whom he criticised as an ignorant Anabaptist, ‘*the preaching Cobler, or the cobling preacher,*’ but he took the arguments of John Webster’s *Academiarum examen* (1653), much more seriously.⁵⁶ This work, one of the strongest contemporary attacks on the university curriculum, had been sent to him by his publisher just as he was completing his *Vindiciae*.⁵⁷ It seems that Hall had no prior knowledge of Webster or his work, but quickly acquired a copy of *Vindiciae academiarum*, the famed rebuttal by the Oxford academics, Seth

be subordinate to divinity. E. Boran, ‘Malignancy and the Reform of the University of Oxford’, p.33, has overlooked Hall’s published contribution, noting that Edward Reynolds was the only author to address specifically the issue of humane learning, firstly in his *A treatise of the passions and faculties of the soul of man* (1647) [Cat.A546, THL Q 094/1658/20], which pre-dated ‘the vociferous’ debates of the mid-1650s, and his *A sermon touching the use of humane learning* [(1658 i.e. 1657) THL 094/C3], which ‘may be seen as a reaction to them’. Hall owned both these works and, in writing *Vindiciae* in 1654, sig.A6r, recommended *A treatise of the passions* to his readers. The copy he had read before publishing *Vindiciae* has not survived but he later owned another, contained in *The works of Edw. Reynolds D.D.*

⁵⁴ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.19.

⁵⁵ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.15, 20-2. Hall included other works within this publication including *Centuria sacra. About one hundred rules for the expounding, and clearer understanding of the holy Scriptures*, and *Rhetorica sacra, or a synopsis of the most material tropes and figures contained in the sacred Scriptures*, to help ministers with their understanding of Scripture, and argued in the book for a general raising of educational standards nationally for the benefit of true religion.

⁵⁶ Samuel How, *The sufficiency of the spirits teaching* (1644, first published in 1640) [THL 094/C10], is a heavily marked pamphlet with which Hall totally disagreed. Hall attacked How in his preface to *Vindiciae*, and also on pp.19-21, 44-5. On pp.65-7, Hall repeated the verses written by R.O. on Samuel How’s pamphlet in its praise, and constructed one of his own in reply. Hall’s tactics with How were to simply expose and make fun of his ‘cobling Logick’. Hall’s copy of Webster’s *Academiarum examen, or the examination of academies* (1654 i.e. 1653) has not survived and was uncatalogued.

⁵⁷ A. G. Debus, *Science and Education in the Seventeenth Century: The Webster-Ward Debate* (1970), pp.1-3, 44-9.

Ward and John Wilkins, of which he fully approved.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Hall felt constrained to make his own reply and so responded in two appendices of *Vindiciae*, 'Histrio-mastix, a whip for Webster' and 'Examen examinis'.⁵⁹ Hall did not deny Webster's support of human learning in preparation for a range of professions both military and civil, but was utterly opposed to his argument that human learning 'disables men for the Ministry, is a vaine Tradition, and makes men incapable of Gospel mysteries etc.'⁶⁰ He also took exception to Webster's attack on the university emphasis on Aristotelian philosophy, and ridiculed the practical sciences that Webster would have substituted for logic and philosophy.⁶¹ That the universities were not perfect was admitted by Hall, but he proposed that they should be purged of abuses rather than condemned for them.⁶² However, the sort of reforms Hall supported had nothing to do with the curriculum itself, but with the piety and general regulation of the ethos and behaviour of staff and students, to whom he recommended various tracts against 'Drunkards, Swearers, Whoremongers, and Bribery.'⁶³

⁵⁸ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.198, confused this John Webster with a stage-player and playwright of the same name. He could not find a religious or sectarian label for Webster and so blasted him as a relative to the Jesuits, a 'an Herculean-Leveller, a Famalisticall Lion, a dissembling Fryar, a Profane Stage-Player, and professed friend to Judicial Astrology and Astrologers, such as lying Lyly, Booker, Culpepper, &c.' On sig.O2v, Hall praised the defence of the universities made by Ward and Wilkins in *Vindiciae academiarum* (1654) [THL 094/C16], as being written 'so elaborately and accurately', and his surviving copy is heavily and approvingly marked.

⁵⁹ Allen G. Debus, *Science and Education in the Seventeenth Century*, p.57, interpreted Hall's attack on Webster as 'an inelegant but satisfactory' example of the school of thought that supported the traditional authority of the ancients as a basis for instruction in the universities.

⁶⁰ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.200-1.

⁶¹ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.214, wrote of Webster, 'He tels you, that you give up your selfe to Mathematicks, Opticks, Geometry, Geography, Astrology, Arithmetick, Physiognomie, Magick, Protechny, Chymistry, Pneumatithmy, Stratarithmetry, Dactylogy, Stenography, Architecture; and to the soule ravishing study of Salt, Sulphure & Mercury [a medicine for a Horse] These, these, if you will believe Mr Webster, are the onely excellent studies for Academians.'

⁶² Hall, *Apologie*, p.58, and *Vindiciae*, p.15.

⁶³ Hall, *Timothy*, p.101. Hall also recognised that good though a university education was as a foundation in learning for the ministry, it was not a sufficient training for the practical exercise of ministerial duties and responsibilities. Thus he made his own practical commitment to the proper training of ordinands through his own household seminary, a further education establishment which he ran particularly for the training of young men who wished to enter the ministry. Similarly, throughout his publications, he gave tips on reading material and best practice for young ministers.

Hall agreed that both human learning and the inward teaching of the spirit were necessary for the ministry, and learning was always subservient to the Gospel. At the same time, learning was the means by which God fitted his ministers for service. Those who opposed learning were either ignorant men who did not know its worth, or wicked men who certainly did, and all of them condemned a blessing of God.⁶⁴ If such men succeeded in changing the university curricula and bypassing any formal, regulated induction to the ministry, Hall feared they would destroy true doctrine and make way instead for ‘barbarisme itselfe, as we see amongst the savage Indians.’⁶⁵ He recalled with disgust the only sermon he said he had heard preached by a sectary, a soldier called Lieutenant Phelps. This sermon, concerning themes such as universal redemption and free will, was, he noted, ‘as ful of errors, as a Dogge is ful of Fleas’.⁶⁶ His frustration with the current toleration was palpable, and he complained, (in the words of another godly commentator), that formerly the nation had been plagued with many ministers who were not preachers, and now, with many preachers who were not ministers.⁶⁷

Another matter of the utmost urgency in Hall’s view was the full and fair settlement of maintenance for the ministry. Throughout the revolutionary period, maintenance had come under attack from sectaries, particularly Levellers, Fifth Monarchy Men, and Quakers who identified its continuance as a major foundation of the settled, parochial ministry they opposed and which they categorised as elitist and rapacious.⁶⁸ Though the threat continued

⁶⁴ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.9, 47. For past examples, Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.63, sig.A3v, and p.22, used the ‘Taylor-King’ of Leiden, who burnt all the books except the Bible, and the ‘Apostate Julian’, a ruler who denied Christians education in schools. Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.8, listed learning or the means by which God fitted his ministers, as ‘Prayer, Reading, Study, skill in Arts, Sciences, Languages, &c.’, and on p.47, as ‘Reading, teaching, Education, Study and Pains’.

⁶⁵ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.21-2, 25-6 and *Pulpit*, p.18.

⁶⁶ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.23.

⁶⁷ Hall, *Apologie*, p.94.

⁶⁸ E. J. Evans, ‘Tithes’, in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol.V, 1640-1750, II, *Agrarian Change* (1985), pp.392-4; and L. Brace, *The Idea of Property in Seventeenth-Century England: Tithes and the Individual* (1998), pp. 30-40.

throughout Hall's ministry, a second crisis came in 1652-3, particularly in 1653 with proposals of the Barebones Parliament to abolish tithes. It was at this point, described as a watershed for the fears of the clergy over maintenance, that Cromwell guaranteed tithes until a better way of supporting the clergy was devised, and this gave some security during the first Protectorate, even with the clamour of Quaker objections.⁶⁹ Rosemary O'Day and Ann Hughes have argued from the surviving evidence in two counties, that considerable efforts were made by Commonwealth and Protectorate governments to improve and rationalise the piecemeal attempts by Civil War committees to secure clerical incomes.⁷⁰ However, intense concern arose again on the death of Oliver Cromwell, with a resurgence of publications against tithes, and it was at this time that Hall published his major defensive comments on clerical maintenance, *Sal terrae*.⁷¹

Attacks on maintenance often centred on the payment of tithes, which was considered an easy target by anyone opposed to the ordained ministry because it was an issue with which many people from all sorts of religious backgrounds could agree, and from an adversarial point of view it produced satisfying panic and alarm among orthodox ministers. It certainly agitated Hall who wrote, 'Take away all allowances and maintenance, and you cut the very throat of Religion; For, who will learn Arts and Languages at his own cost? ... Who will betake himself to a naked and beggarly Ministry.'⁷²

⁶⁹ E. J. Evans, 'Tithes', pp.393-4.

⁷⁰ R. O'Day and A. Hughes, 'Augmentation and Amalgamation; Was There a Systematic Approach to the Reform of Parochial Finance 1640-60?' in R. O'Day and F. Heal (eds.), *Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800* (1981) 167-93, p.168.

⁷¹ *Sal terrae* had been written before 1652, but Hall felt it was appropriate to publish it in 1658. In *An apologie for the ministry* (1660), the translation of *Sal terrae*, Hall devoted chapters VIII and IX, pp.65-91, to his main defence of tithes and the maintenance of the ministry.

⁷² Hall, *Apologie*, p.73. L. Brace, *The Idea of Property in Seventeenth-Century England*, p.46, notes that the arguments of ordained ministers for tithes centred on the preservation of a traditional way of life based on custom, ancient rights and mutual subsistence, the camp to which Hall firmly belonged, while their opponents smeared them as covetous and hypocritical innovators.

Hall's library collection contained at least ten treatises on tithes, and several other works which included sections on ministerial maintenance. The earliest publication was George Carleton's 1606 defence of tithes,⁷³ the first English Protestant work known to claim divine right for the payment of tithes.⁷⁴ Hall not only approved of this work, but, having summarised its content on a fly leaf at the front, followed similar arguments himself in his own defence, *Sal terrae*, which he described in his autobiography as, 'A seasonable peece for those Apostatizing times, when both the Ministry & their Maintenance are ready to be cast out of doores.'⁷⁵ In conclusion to the manuscript notes on his copy of Carleton's book, he noted what he considered the bottom line of his defence, 'if no maintenance no Ministry.' Grant a ministry, he wrote, and you must maintain it.⁷⁶

Like Carleton, Hall argued that the maintenance of ministers was due firstly by divine moral right, for 'he that preaches the Gospell, should live of the Gospell', an argument he supported with biblical 'proofs' from both Old and New Testaments.⁷⁷ Furthermore this right was not merely a Jewish tradition, nor Antichristian, for Christ had never denied or abolished tithes, but had stated that the labourer was worth his hire.⁷⁸ Hall demolished the sectarian argument that there were no tithes in the primitive Church, along the same lines as Carleton: the primitive Church was extraordinary, a Church being planted, unlike the current constituted Church.⁷⁹ Hall also pointed out that the magistrates of those times were hostile pagans, the apostles were not tied to parishes, and the Church members lived in community, sharing all

⁷³ George Carleton, *Tithes examined* (1606) [THL 094/1602/2].

⁷⁴ P. Carter, 'Clerical Polemic in Defence of Ministers' Maintenance During the English Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49:2 (1998) 236-56, p.256; and P. Lake 'Presbyterianism, the Idea of a National Church and the Argument from Divine Right' in P. Lake and M. Dowling (eds.), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (1987) 193-224, p.211.

⁷⁵ Hall, *Life*, fo.77.

⁷⁶ Hall, *Apologie*, p.65.

⁷⁷ Hall, *Apologie*, p.84.

⁷⁸ Hall, *Apologie*, pp.84, 67.

⁷⁹ George Carleton, *Tithes examined* [THL 094/1602/2], p.21.

their goods, so making tithes unnecessary.⁸⁰ Hall also argued that maintenance was due by a twofold human right: firstly ‘a naturall right,’ whereby ‘Even the very Heathens gave the tenth part to their Gods, as the Grecians, the Carthaginians, the Romans, &c.’ Secondly he claimed human legal right, again following Carleton:

by the positive Law of our nation, Tythes were given by Offa the Saxon king in the year 793 afterwards increased and confirmed by Ethelwolf in the year 855 After him King Athelstone confirmed them in the year 930. In a word they have been confirmed, together with magna charta, thirty times by Parliament.⁸¹

In a pointed comment, he added that, given such a history, ministers had more right to tithes, than noblemen, knights and gentlemen had to their inheritances!⁸²

In his article on the debates and controversies concerning clerical maintenance since the Reformation, Patrick Carter has pointed out that while doctrine and liturgy had been reformed, clerical finances and parochial structure remained largely untouched.⁸³ In the reign of Elizabeth, there had been endless complaints of the poverty of the clergy and the lack of adequate provision for maintenance alongside the inherent dangers for the quality and status of the ministry. Edward Dering bravely preached such ideas before the queen herself, while Bishops Sandys and Jewel, William Perkins and Presbyterians such as Walter Travers campaigned along similar lines. Even so, although impropriations of tithes were agreed to be part of the problem, while property rights were so vigorously defended there was no generally agreed solution, and little action was taken except locally.⁸⁴ Towards the end of Elizabeth’s

⁸⁰ Hall, *Apologie*, pp.89-90, and also *Timothy*, p.369.

⁸¹ Hall, *Apologie*, p.85.

⁸² Hall, *Apologie*, p.85.

⁸³ P. Carter, ‘Clerical Polemic in Defence of Ministers’ Maintenance’, p.236.

⁸⁴ R. O’Day and A. Hughes ‘Augmentation and Amalgamation’, p.168, note that since the Reformation, prominent ecclesiastics had seen the poverty of parish clergy as a root cause of weakness in the ministry. Here, they discuss local initiatives to improve clerical income, such as the private efforts of patrons, the purchase of advowsons and impropriations and the resettling of impropriations on the clergy.

reign, writers such as Saravia and Hooker, moved the debate away from the emphasis on impropriations, Saravia arguing for a closer spiritual reflection of maintenance, in the form of tithes and offerings made as a bond between the pastor and his flock.⁸⁵ Hall was very wary of depending on offerings, though he noted the generosity of papists to their priests,⁸⁶ but with his own parish suffering the loss of tithes to impropiators, he returned to the arguments of Edwardian and Elizabethan critics: ‘There is no way (in my opinion and experience) to uphold the Ministry of England, but by gaining Impropiations out of the hands of private persons, and laying them to the Church, to whom most properly they belong.’⁸⁷

In *Magistracy*, Hall encouraged magistrates to take action by abolishing ‘that Clause in 31. Henry 8. 13. which exempts many great Livings from paying of Tythes.’ He urged them to buy in impropriations so that ‘every Congregation may have an able Pastor; for we see by daily experience that scandalous means breeds scandalous Ministers. Tythes are no burden to any but such as esteem the faithful dispensing of the Gospel a burden; but for men to Plow and Sow for such as are truly Impropiators, is a great grievance thorow the Land.’⁸⁸ While the burden fell on a few tenants and ‘inferior persons’, Hall was concerned that those who

⁸⁵ P. Carter, ‘Clerical Polemic in Defence of Ministers' Maintenance’, pp.252-5. Adrien Saravia was a Dutch émigré scholar with a rectory in Staffordshire who had experienced the difficulties that clergymen suffered in the Netherlands under lay magistrates’ control. He supported both tithes and offerings, seeing them as acts of worship. Carter considers his defence, *De diuersis ministrorum euangelii gradibus* (1590), to be the most thorough produced up to that time. Hooker supported many of Saravia’s ideas in his *Laws of ecclesiastical polity*, and insisted on the necessity of tithes. A. S. McGrade, ‘Hooker, Richard (1554–1600)’, *Oxf. DNB*, notes that the two writers were friends.

⁸⁶ Hall, *Life*, fo.208.

⁸⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, p.335. T. Cave and R. A. Wilson (eds.), *The Parliamentary Survey of the Lands and Possessions of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester: Made in or about the Year 1649, in Pursuance of an Ordinance of Parliament for the Abolishing of Deans and Chapters* (1924), p.220, explain that the greater tithes of both Bromsgrove and Kings Norton in 1649 were leased by lay impropiators who lived in Suffolk. Both Hall and his brother therefore had an axe to grind in this regard. Hall, *Apologie*, p.87, praised the London Feoffees who bought back impropriated tithes and restored them to the Church, Birmingham being a nearby parish that benefited.

⁸⁸ Hall, *Magistracy*, sig.(a)1v.

could afford to support the ministry were excepted, and caustically accused some who called themselves 'patrons' of the Church of being, in reality, 'latrons' or robbers.⁸⁹

Hall's collection of books suggests he followed the debate which continued after the publication of Carleton's book in 1606. Although Hall did not have Selden's *History of tithes*, which caused uproar when it was published in 1616 for emphasising a recent historical origin and development of tithes rather than their ancient divine right,⁹⁰ he did purchase one of the first rebuttals of Selden's work by the royal chaplain, Richard Tillesley.⁹¹ Hall approved of the attack on Selden, for like so many other orthodox churchmen, he interpreted Selden's book as an attack on the divine right of tithes. From the large body of polemical literature of the 1640s, Hall had defences of tithes by Spelman and Downname, an anonymous satire against tithes, and a petition, purportedly from poor husbandmen and tenants, who at the least asked for compensation if their impropriated tithes were to be abolished.⁹² His interest was acknowledged by John Ley, who gave Hall his own annotated copy of the

⁸⁹ Hall, *Magistracy*, sig.A6r. In using 'Patrons' and 'latrons', Hall was making a word play which was a favourite method of illustrating his point. Hall repeated these accusations in *Timothy*, p.335 where he further indulged his affection for word play, writing, 'These are Latrons not Patrons, not Church-pillars but Church-peelers', and also wrote that, 'Impropriations' was 'a very proper Term for their improper Tenure.' Another concern voiced by Hall was that widespread impropriations resulted in impoverished parishes, thereby allowing an increase in popery, especially in the north.

⁹⁰ G. J. Toomer, 'Selden's *Historie of Tithes: Genesis, Publication, Aftermath*', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 65:3/4 (2002) 345-78, describes the uproar from the clergy on the publication of Selden's work, and the disapproval of King James. He suggests that Selden's insistence that a refutation of divine right of tithes was not his motive for writing the book, which arose from his interest in the course of law and accurate history. Even if this had been the case, it was at the least disingenuous of him to think it would have been construed any differently, especially in the climate of anxiety over the inadequacy of tithes as income and the flurry of court cases against payment of tithes. Toomer also believes that the violence of the clerical reaction to his book shaped Selden's future hostility to the power of an independent ministry and his Erastianism as a lay member of the Westminster Assembly. Also K. Fincham, *The Early Stuart Church 1603-1642* (1993), pp.150-151, although he has a differing interpretation,

⁹¹ Richard Tillesley, *Animaduersion vpon M. Seldens history of tithes and his review thereof* [THL 094/1619/1].

⁹² Sir Henry Spelman, *Larger treatise concerning tithes* (1647) [Cat.A678]; Anon., *A defence and vindication of the right of tithes* [THL 094/1646/2]; Anon., *A preparation for a day of thanksgiving to the Parliament for their late ordinance for tythes* [THL 094/1647/6], on which Hall's annotations show his thorough disapproval; and *An answer to the severall petitions of late exhibited to the high court of parliament, and to his Excellency the Lord Generall Cromwell, by the poor husband-men, farmers, and tenants in severall counties of England, for the taking a-way of tithes, paid to priests and impropriators* [THL 094/1652/1].

defence he published in answer to two petitions sent to the Barebones Parliament in 1653.⁹³ When tithes came under threat again in the years of uncertainty following Cromwell's death, Hall collected a handful of the many titles published in support of maintenance by Clarke, Bewick and Prynne.⁹⁴

Having argued that maintenance of the ministry was by divine as well as human right, Hall dismissed the call for voluntary offerings or alms, because men would readily make excuses not to pay, but he insisted that maintenance had to be 'sufficient, honourable, certain'.⁹⁵ Ministers should be supported not as swineherds but as the ambassadors of Christ, for maintenance was not a reward for services rendered, but a means to preserve and to maintain God's sacred worship.⁹⁶ It freed ministers from worldly cares, giving them due independence to preach the Gospel honestly and to censure sinners without fear. It enabled them to support their families and fulfil all the demands of their office in buying books to continue their studies, to offer hospitality and to adorn their role with good works.⁹⁷ This was not to allow ministers to be idle and luxurious, but to recruit the best men for the work, the plain truth being that a life of poverty would not encourage men to become ministers. Nor did it mean that ministers were hirelings, or were covetous, for they demanded only what was rightfully theirs.⁹⁸ Hall was sensitive to such criticisms, particularly to the sectarian charge that

⁹³ John Ley, *Exceptions many and just* (1653) [THL 094/C21]. Hall wrote on the title page, '*Ex dono doctis Authoris, Patris charissimi.*' According to W. S. Brassington, 'Report upon the King's Norton Parish Library' filed with his catalogue in BCL, p.4, Hall signed Baxter's Worcestershire Petition for the retention of tithe and a settled ministry, but Brassington gave no reference for this claim.

⁹⁴ Samuel Clarke, *A caution against sacrilege: or, sundry queries concerning tithes* (1659) [THL 094/C9]; John Bewick, *An answer to a Quakers seventeen heads of queries* (1660) [THL 094/C32]; and William Prynne, *Ten considerable quaeries concerning tithes* [Cat.A529].

⁹⁵ Hall, *Apologie*, p.71.

⁹⁶ Hall, *Apologie*, p.87, and *Samaria*, p.152.

⁹⁷ Hall, *Apologie*, p.83, 70-3, and also *Timothy*, p.158.

⁹⁸ Hall, *Apologie*, p.87, a point also made in *Timothy*, p.335. Hall did acknowledge some truth in the criticisms that were made against some members of the clergy for example in *Apologie*, pp.51-3, 103-4; and on pp.84-5 he enjoined all ministers 'to fully and faithfully discharge all the duties of their callings', and 'so behave themselves in their office, that they may be charged justly with nothing.'

ministers were corrupt and ill-living. Though he complained that ministers had never been so undervalued,⁹⁹ yet he was ashamed of those who did not live up to the high standards demanded of the profession, and denounced them for bringing ‘reproach on Religion, and making it stink in the nostrils of men.’¹⁰⁰

Whether such maintenance was to be made out of lands, houses, moneys or tithes was up to magistrates to decide, ‘as may best consist with the edification of the Church, and dignity of the sacred function,’ but it was also their duty to defend it.¹⁰¹ Hall encouraged magistrates by arguing that people were equally reluctant to pay taxes, customs and excise duties, but that constituted no good ground for non-enforcement, and suggested that supporting the ministry would be an excellent investment, because God would not allow his creatures to outdo him in liberality.¹⁰² The alternative was less attractive, for defrauding ministers was the same as defrauding God. It was simple sacrilege and God would be avenged.¹⁰³

In all these discussions, Hall said nothing of the augmentations he received during the Protectorate, which are well documented in the Lambeth Palace archives. These records show he was in receipt of an augmentation over a period of years from 1656 to 1659, and suggest that although he lost an augmentation in 1649 for not Engaging, he was later prepared to co-

⁹⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.158: ‘Never were the Ministers of England so rayled upon for covetousnesse, pride, idleness; and yet there were never more laborious, merciful, pious, publick spirited Ministers in England (I think I may speake without flattery) since 'twas a nation ...’. Also p.333, Hall accepted some ministers lacked zeal and failed to carry out their duties.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.158, 333, and *Holiness*, p.162. He offered examples of how ministers should live in *Sal terrae* and also in his autobiography which he hoped would be published after his death for the edification of fellow ministers. Also, *Apologie*, p.103, he criticised covetousness in ministers who thereby become ‘greedy doggs’.

¹⁰¹ Hall, *Apologie*, pp.84-5

¹⁰² Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.82, 85, and *Apologie*, pp.78-9.

¹⁰³ Hall, *Apologie*, pp.80, 82. P. Carter, ‘Polemical Defence of Ministers' Maintenance’, notes this argument of sacrilege throughout his essay.

operate with the authorities in the interests of maintaining his ministry.¹⁰⁴ Although Hall would have preferred a Presbyterian system of ordination and indeed supported ordinations by the Classes of Wirksworth and Kenilworth, a further willingness to work with the Protectorate can be seen in a surviving instance of his support of the ‘Triers’ scheme for ordinations, for which he signed three certificates for aspirants to the ministry.¹⁰⁵ What Collins sees as Erastian, centralised control of the ministry in Cromwell’s commissions of Triers and Ejectors, Hall saw as ministerial regulation.¹⁰⁶ While it was inferior to Presbyterian ordination and discipline, it was preferable to the alternative which was a spawning of a variety of untrained and unordained laymen.

c) A godly campaign against sectaries

In his attacks on sectaries, Hall employed the same orthodox Calvinist arguments he had used in defence of the ministry and its maintenance, which together formed the sectaries’ major targets. Thus he continued to insist on religious uniformity within one national coercive Church, thereby refusing to consider any toleration of unorthodox doctrine and practice, or of

¹⁰⁴ Lambeth Palace, COMM VII/3, *Report made by the Trustees to the Protector 9th August 1655*, gives details of augmentations made by them, £20 being awarded to Thomas Hall. This grant is also transcribed in Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, p.513, who took his copy of the Report from State Papers Domestic Interregnum cxiii No.46. (He says it was received 13th November 1655 and orders made thereon January 1655/6. Shaw includes notes added by the Protector and Council on domestic Papers version – see Shaw, p.496 fn.2.) Hall’s augmentation of £20 was confirmed in Jan 1657/8, COMM Via/9 (MS995) (30), p.47. Hall also appears in Lawrence Steele’s accounts for ‘moneys paid to ministers in pursuance of several orders of the aforesaid Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers’, Shaw, pp.583 and 598, according to which Hall was paid £20.10 shs., for 9 months to 1659.

¹⁰⁵ A. Hughes, ‘The Public Profession of these Nations’, pp.98-9, finds the work of the Triers has been seen positively by both contemporaries and later historians. The ‘Triers’ or the Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers, were a group of 38 men, mostly clerics, set up by Cromwell in 1654 as a central body for approving and ordaining men to the ministry. As with the complementary body, the county based Ejectors, Hughes found a wide range of clergymen involved in support of these bodies, including Presbyterians. Ordinations by Presbyterian classes, such as that at Wirksworth, seem to have been conducted alongside those carried out by the Triers. C.D. Gilbert, ‘Magistracy and Ministry in Cromwellian England’, p.78, found that Hall had signed at least three certificates required by the ‘Triers’ in London for aspirants to Worcestershire livings between 1654 and 1659.

¹⁰⁶ J. Collins, ‘The Church Settlement of Oliver Cromwell’, *History* 87:285 (2002) 18-40, p.34.

the gathering of churches or separation. Erroneous practices and beliefs were, in his view, the work of the Devil. His justification was rooted primarily in his interpretation of Scripture, but supported by reformed theologians and divines, and by his continuing adherence to the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, which he believed bound the whole nation to all its ‘branches’.¹⁰⁷ One of those branches, as he repeatedly stressed, demanded the extirpation of all error, heresy, schism and profaneness.¹⁰⁸

This hardline view, already indicated in his marking of works from the 1640s, remained constant throughout his published works between 1651 and 1661, and also in his autobiography which extended this period to Hall’s last days, and according to which, he wished to be remembered for being ‘Zealous against sin & Error where ever he found it.’¹⁰⁹ He used classic orthodox arguments such as those made by the Presbyterian London ministers and endorsed by their colleagues up and down the country in the Presbyterian ‘Testimonies’ of 1647-8, and by heresiographers such as Thomas Edwards.¹¹⁰ Just one example of his consistency in opposing toleration of sectaries between 1651 and 1661, can be

¹⁰⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.32, 61, 77-9, *Magistracy*, sigs.(a3)r, and *Samaria*, 78-9, 102-3.

¹⁰⁸ Hall, *Pulpit*, sig.b2v, wrote that he was bound by the National Covenant, ‘so solemnly sworn and taken, in my Place and Calling to labour the extirpation of Error, and Heresie, &c.’, and again in *Timothy*, p.77, in 1658.

¹⁰⁹ Hall, *Life*, fo.90.

¹¹⁰ Pamphlet volume THL 094/C24 contains several of these testimonies, all heavily marked. On the first flyleaf of the London Ministers, *A Testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ and to our solemn league and covenant* (1647), Hall has complimented the ministers as ‘*Haereticorum mallei*’ (Hammers of the heretics) and added, ‘Tis a Covenant not for one day ... but it binds us All the dayes of our lives we (changed to ‘I’, or vice versa) will continue constant in it against all opposition & impediments’. All Hall’s basic arguments can be found here: the need to keep the Church of England safe from against spreading heresy, division and subdivision, the absolute opposition to toleration in any form, the promotion of the excellence of the Solemn League and Covenant and its regrettable neglect, so that instead of reformation the land was given up to a deformation, a sentiment Hall emphasised on the text and which he used himself in *Pulpit*, p.33 and *Timothy*, p.77. Hall’s surviving works of Thomas Edwards show his debt. Hall also relied on the work of the Calvinist heresiographer Ephraim Pagitt, whose works in the collection, *A brief collection out of Master Pagitts book called Heresiography* (1646) [THL 094/C30], and the full 1647 fourth edition, *Heresiography or A description of the hereticks and sectaries of these latter times* (1647) [Cat.A493, THL 094/C21], are very heavily marked.

seen in his repetitive reliance on the same text, Timothy, 3:13, for his pivotal argument that there was no such thing as a small or single harmless error.¹¹¹

Hall devoted whole publications to particular false doctrines.¹¹² His first polemical work, *Pulpit*, dealt with lay-preachers, the second, *Font*, with Baptists of all sorts, and *Chiliastomastix*, with Millenarians, especially Nathaniel Homes and Sir Henry Vane. In other publications he tended to deal more generally with sectaries, describing them as ‘seducers’, ‘deceivers’, and ‘wicked men’, or ‘heretics’, ‘devouring wolves’, ‘mad dogs’, ‘foxes’, ‘imposters’, ‘false teachers’, and ‘false prophets’. Similarly, he treated named sectarian groups all together as heretics.¹¹³ Although they were dangerous and insidious, he found nothing new in their beliefs, which he saw as resurrections of old heresies and errors, describing each manifestation in general terms as a ‘spreading disease’, ‘a plague’ or ‘a gangrene’.

However, the Quakers became a particular concern. Hall gave one of the earliest printed references to Quakers in *Pulpit* in 1651, including them in a list of sectaries, but it was only in 1658 in *Timothy* that he revealed far fuller knowledge of their activities,¹¹⁴ and highlighted

¹¹¹ Hall, *Pulpit* (1651), sig.b2r, quoted Timothy and wrote, ‘I never yet knew the man that had but one error: if the Devil can but draw you into one, he’ll quickly lead you into more; He that tumbleth down the hill of Error, will never leave tumbling, till he come to the bottom.’ In *Timothy* (1658), pp.224-38, when expounding the same chapter and verse at length, he employed the same argument and similar words: ‘when once men begin to tumble down the hill of error, they seldome rest till they come to the bottome.’ In *Amos* (1661), p.27, he again wrote, ‘When wicked men begin to fall they know not where they shall rest, they have no foundation, but run from error to error, till at last they end in Atheism,’ giving a marginal reference to his earlier and fuller discussion of the same chapter and verse in *Timothy*.

¹¹² Hall, *Life*, fo.76, noted that it was his opposition to the sectaries that led to his publishing career in the first place.

¹¹³ Hall, *Haire*, pp.110-7, devoted some pages to discussion of the abominations of Ranters and Adamites in connection with the ungodliness of public nakedness.

¹¹⁴ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.15: ‘We have many Sects now abroad, Ranters, Seekers, Shakers, Quakers, and now Creepers, such as creep into Pulpits, and creep to Conventicles, deceiving others, and being deceived themselves.’ W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (1912), pp.57-8, noted Hall’s reference to Quakers in *Pulpit*, p.29, where they appeared in another list of sectaries. He considered this reference by Hall as an early one, although he

them as worse than all the rest: ‘The Devill is broke loose, and now there appeare amongst us with open face; Arrians, Arminians, Socinians, Anabaptists, Familists, Separatists, Mortalists, Perfectists, and (a compendium of all these in one) Quakers.’¹¹⁵ He recognised with alarm the speed of their progress from the north, and noted as a devilish attribute their emphasis on travelling all over the country to organise and spread their movement.¹¹⁶ His knowledge came both from their appearance locally and from a variety of texts, twenty of which he cited in his publications, while his annotations on eleven surviving works reveal his intense concern.¹¹⁷

Hall’s implacability towards Quakers derived from his conviction that they were directly fathered by the Devil, ‘his genuine sons and subjects, resembling him to the life.’¹¹⁸ His campaign against them depended on proof that they were indeed diabolical and so he gathered and repeated as much available evidence and hearsay of their devilish practices and influence over others as he could, in order to inflame opinion and action against them.¹¹⁹ One proof was

mistook the date of Hall’s first edition of *Pulpit* which was not 1652, but even earlier in 1651. The Thomason copy of *Pulpit* is dated April 25th, 1651, and the Thomason copy of Collier’s reply, *The pulpit-guard routed* is dated September 25th, 1651. Braithwaite probably mistook the year because the preface of the first edition of *Pulpit* (Wing H437) was dated Jan.1.1651 (i.e.1652). However, this was a printing error which was corrected in later editions (Wing H438 and H439) where it appeared as Jan.1. 1650 (i.e.1651). Hall’s reference to Quakers is so early that it probably indicates that he had simply heard their name rather than knowing a great deal about them and their beliefs. There was another printed mention of Quakers in 1651 from John Wigan after his dispute with Quakers in Lancaster, but the next reference doesn’t seem to appear in print again until 1653.

¹¹⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.8. B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, p.10, estimated that Quakerism had become a national problem for the Orthodox rather than a regional nuisance by 1655.

¹¹⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, p.158. B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, pp.4, 11, 12, saw Quakerism as the most radical and successful of the Revolutionary sects and a movement that recruited large numbers very quickly arousing the greatest fear and hostility. N. Smith, 'Non-conformist Voices and Books' in J. Barnard and D. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol.4: 1557-1695; with the Assistance of Maureen Bell* (2002), p.424, agrees that the Quakers were the most successful radical religious group of the Interregnum. K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, pp.1-5 has criticised Reay’s emphasis on the negative aspects of Quakers, such as their troublemaking, but also agrees to the rapidity of the movement’s growth and the hostility it aroused.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 1, pp.74-81, for Hall’s reading and marking of his texts concerning Quakers.

¹¹⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, p.227.

¹¹⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.226. B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, pp.68-9, discusses the recurring accusations that Quakers were witches and had diabolical powers, and notes that such accusations came mostly from the clergy and gentry among whom the greatest opposition to these aspects of Quakerism was aroused,

that they bore the signs of withcraft, for which Hall cited information from his library texts, such as claims that George Fox was strongly suspected of being a sorcerer, and Martha Simonds of being ‘a Witch, and a Whore’.¹²⁰ He repeated tales of how Quakers enchanted others, sent them into trances and made them prophesy, and related once again the notorious stories of William Spencer, John Toldervy and John Gilpin and their supposed supernatural experiences, although all these scandals were known from many other published works.¹²¹ From such evidence, it was clear to Hall that what Quakers meant by the light, and the spirit and voice within them, was none other than the Devil himself.¹²²

Three aspects of Quaker activity particularly worried Hall. Firstly he attacked their false beliefs, particularly their elevation of the inner spirit over Scripture, invoking their ‘lying doctrine, lying Revelations, lying Signs.’¹²³ Secondly their anticlericalism and their attacks on tithes caused considerable alarm,¹²⁴ and thirdly their socially and politically disruptive

while the popular response did not associate the Devil with whatever supernatural powers Quakers seemed to possess. Also B. Reay, ‘Popular Hostility towards Quakers in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England’, *Social History* 5 (1980) 387-407, explores the fears outsiders had of Quakers and the smear campaigns to associate them with witchcraft that were followed in places like Cambridgeshire. He notes that few charges of Quaker witchcraft ever reached the courts. Although Hall clearly applied anti-Quaker propaganda to agitate opposition towards them and further the godly cause, he certainly believed in diabolical manifestations and witchcraft. He was convinced that the Devil tormented and tempted him personally, particularly because he was a godly minister, and in his autobiography he noted his involvement in bringing a witchcraft case before the magistrate: for example in *Life*, fos. 12, 26, 27, 29, 31, he wrote that the Devil tormented him more than others from childhood because he knew the damage that Hall would do to his kingdom, and he continued to plague Hall with Satanical ‘buffetings’ throughout his life. Hall, *Life*, fos.87-8, recorded how he helped to save a young, pious woman from the jaws of the Devil by discovering the two witches, a man and a woman, who tormented her, and who were eventually condemned. However, I have not been able to find any surviving record of this case. Hall owned Thomas Cooper, *The mystery of witchcraft discovered* [Cat.A242]; George Giffard, *A dialogue concerning witches and witchcraftes* [Cat.A358]; and Richard Bernard, *A guide to grand-iury men* [Cat.A72].

¹²⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.226.

¹²¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.226. Hall acknowledged Samuel Clarke, *A mirrour or looking-glasse both for saints and sinners* (first published 1646) [Cat.A203], as his source for some of these tales, but they appeared in several anti-Quaker publications.

¹²² Hall *Timothy*, p.226. B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, pp.35, 93, also cites these stories of Quaker excesses for Toldervy and Gilpin.

¹²³ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.225. Hall regularly castigated Quakers as heretics with false doctrines, for example, *Timothy*, pp.60, 165, 295-7, 300, 305; and *Amos*, p.58.

¹²⁴ The Quaker objections to the ordained ministry and its maintenance, to giving titles to ministers, the wearing of cloaks and their moving from one benefice to another were all countered by Hall, for example, in *Timothy*, pp.430-2, and *Samaria*, p.91, where he commented on one of their petitions against the ministry in 1659, and in

behaviour in refusing common civilities and social hierarchies, together with their refusal to take oaths or to accept the coercive powers of magistrates over religion.¹²⁵ He interpreted their actions as a rejection of magistracy as well as ministry, and of all those in authority.¹²⁶ Like other orthodox writers, for further polemical effect, Hall made the most of the sensational aspects of reported Quaker behaviour, even though, as Kate Peters argues, the Quakers themselves disavowed many of them, such as foaming at the mouth and writhing on the ground.¹²⁷ Hall exploited everything he heard and read, writing of the unnerving Quaker practice of ‘howlings and yellings’, which he said frightened dogs and cattle as well as men;¹²⁸ he dwelt on their ‘trances and raptures’, ‘their Quaking and affectation of violent motions of the body’, and their ‘distorted gestures, and fanatic postures, groveling on the ground, foaming at the mouth, running naked in the streets, Roaring and making a hideous noyse’. All these behaviours were used as clear proof that Quakers were possessed by unclean spirits, but he also emphasised their objections to harmless things while adopting soul-destroying false doctrines, and, appropriating Higginson’s insult, he denounced them as ‘perfect Pharisees’.¹²⁹ Hall was not at all moved by reports of Quakers’ sufferings and

Amos, p.410. Hall was shocked by the vituperative language Quakers used against ministers. L. Brace, *The Idea of Property in Seventeenth-Century England*, p.54, points out that the notion of clergy using religion as a cover for the pursuit of material wealth was central to the Quaker attack on the ordained ministry and was also a ploy generally used by radical sectaries, perhaps most effectively by Overton.

¹²⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.297, 458-9, 305; *Magistracy*, pp.19, 150, 202.

¹²⁶ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.19. Also in *Samaria*, p.91, Hall described the Quakers as, ‘a prophane Generation, they are mordaces & mendaces, notorious Railers and Lyars, as like their Father the Devil, as ever they can look. ‘ He singled out his main concerns as ‘their speaking against Ministers, and their Maintenance, or against the Coercive power of the Magistrate, against Scripture, Ordinances, &c.’ K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, pp.205-6 has shown that in fact Quaker attacks on magistrates were far more complicated and concerned specific issues and individuals rather than an attack on magistracy itself.

¹²⁷ K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, pp.105-6. Hall owned some of the earliest works on Quakers written by the Lancashire ministers, including Francis Higginson, *A brief relation of the irreligion of the northern Quakers* (1653), and also *The perfect Pharisee* (1653), which was produced by five Newcastle ministers who had engaged in a series of pamphlets with the Quaker, Richard Farnworth, in the formative days of Quakerism, and from which later works took their lead. Hall recycled many of the tropes and stories from these works.

¹²⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, p.226. K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, p.182-3, emphasises the importance in the campaign of orthodox ministers in their printed output against Quakers, of presenting them as a danger to society in order to show that they went far beyond the limits of permitted toleration.

¹²⁹ Hall, *Amos*, pp.57-8.

persecutions, writing that they suffered ‘as evill doers, and disturbers of the Peace of the land. ‘Tis Justice, and not persecution to punish such.’¹³⁰ He also pre-empted those who suggested Quakers were not all bad but had ‘good Parts,’ arguing that so too did Balaam, ‘a sorcerer, & limb of the Devil,’ and Simon Magus who ‘was esteemed an Oracle, when he was a Devil.’¹³¹

Hall’s opposition to Quakerism intensified with personal experience of them. In the annotations on his texts concerning Quakers, he noted their infiltration of Kings Norton itself, his mother parish of Bromsgrove, and Baxter’s neighbouring parish at Kidderminster. He named Thomas Chaundler and Edward Newey, who came from Rednal within Kings Norton, and Jane Hicks, his ‘antagonist in person,’ for she had interrupted Hall’s sermons, and once his parishioners had dragged her before the magistrate who committed her to jail.¹³² As Gilbert has pointed out, Hicks came from Chadwick, a small hamlet in the parish of Bromsgrove, which seems to be the earliest focal point of Quakers in Worcestershire.¹³³ In February 1655, two leading Quakers, Robert Farnworth and Thomas Goodaire had engaged in a public disputation with local ministers from Bewdley and Clent, and Farnworth also recorded an altercation in Birmingham with a captain Robert Gurdler who declined the Quakers invitation to a public meeting.¹³⁴ These events were all well within Hall’s local

¹³⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.48. This marginal note was made by the text in which he criticised Quakers for boasting of their perfection, and their extraordinary sanctity and sufferings.

¹³¹ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.226-7.

¹³² Worcester Record Office, ref: 110: 93/45, from the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, records that the case was presented to a local Magistrate Thomas Milward on 7th September 1656, when three of Hall’s parishioners gave information about Jane Heekes making a ‘disturbance’ by interrupting Hall’s sermon to question his doctrine. The incident was also recorded by Joseph Besse *A collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers* Vol.II, (1753), p.60.

¹³³ Don C. Gilbert, ‘The Puritan and The Quakeress’, *The Journal of the Friends’ Historical Society* 57:2 (1995) 118-22, pp.118-20.

¹³⁴ Don Gilbert, ‘The Puritan and The Quakeress’, p.118; Kate Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, p.179; and Farnworth, *The brazen serpent lifted up on high* (1655), pp.27, 53-9. Geoffrey Nuttall, ‘The Worcestershire Association: its Membership’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 1:2 (1950), p.205, noted that the two orthodox disputants, Henry Osland of Bewdley and Andreas Tristram of Clent were leading ministers in Baxter’s Worcestershire Association. R. L. Greaves, ‘Farnworth, Richard (c.1630–1666)’, *Oxf. DNB*, pointed out that Farnworth and Goodaire had hoped to dispute with Baxter himself on this occasion, but he refused. They

sphere.¹³⁵ He was infuriated that such people ‘should bee tollerated to blaspheme and worship the Devil,’ particularly when the solution to the problem of Quakers, as with all sectaries, was simple: it was the duty of magistrates, whose office had been instituted by God, to punish those who attacked the truth.¹³⁶

d) A godly theory of magistracy and its relationship with ministry

Hall was at his most frustrated in his discussions of magistracy. His vision of the relationship between ministry and magistracy was scriptural, ‘Where Moses and Aaron, the Word and the Sword go hand in hand together, there Satans Kingdom falls like lightning from heaven.’¹³⁷ As the two ‘Pillars’ of a godly society, its spiritual and political fathers, it behoved them to work together for continuing reformation in a covenanted relationship with God.¹³⁸ Magistrates were ‘principally ordained for the good of the Church’, their main religious duties being to plant the word of God through their laws, and to protect it and God’s ministers by employing their coercive powers, wielding the sword of justice against evil-doers and all who transgressed the laws of man and God.¹³⁹ This ideal had led to Hall’s support of Parliament in the 1630s in resistance to the royalist authorities that promoted Arminianism, and to his continuing support of Parliament in 1640 and thereafter.¹⁴⁰ In his publications after 1650, he

sent him written queries instead, and Baxter replied in his *The Quakers catechism* (1655) [THL 094/C27], a copy of which Hall owned and marked copiously.

¹³⁵ S. K. Roberts, ‘The Quakers in Evesham 1655-1660: A Study in Religion, Politics and Culture’, *Midland History* 16 (1991) 63-85, pp.74-6, notes the presence of Friends from Worcester, and the interest of Richard Baxter, in the fracas between Quakers and other townfolk in 1655-1656. The vicar leading the attack on Quakers was a member of Baxter’s Worcestershire Association.

¹³⁶ Hall, *Samaria*, p.92.

¹³⁷ Hall, *Magistracy*, sig.A3r.

¹³⁸ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.82.

¹³⁹ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.56, 77, 82, and *passim*. Hall had already pursued all these themes in his other works, particularly in *Timothy*.

¹⁴⁰ Hall’s annotations on works from the 1640s show his fervour for Parliament, which he later committed to print, for example in *Magistracy*, sig.(a2)v, *Pulpit*, p.9, and *Timothy*, p.67. Hall said he had intended to dedicate *Magistracy* to Parliament but as it was dissolved at the time he dedicated it to all other serving magistrates.

vigorously promoted the same ideal, which derived from the Reformed Protestant theory of an ordered world created by God, in which each human being was predestined to his place and calling, and in which magistrates and ministers were key players, mutually and beneficially interdependent.¹⁴¹ This view was in the same tradition of the godly and conservative commonwealth based on order and obedience that Patrick Collinson has shown was advanced by Moderate Puritans such as Laurence Chadderton and Samuel Ward, and which was realised in practice in some places in Elizabethan and Jacobean Suffolk.¹⁴² Hall owned a copy of Samuel Ward's assize sermon, *Iethros iustice of peace* (1628), which Patrick Collinson used as an illustration of this model of mutuality between magistracy and ministry, and wrote admiringly of this same Suffolk example himself.¹⁴³

However, after 1643, Hall's promotion of this theory was complicated by his commitment to the Solemn League and Covenant. Thereafter, his theory of magistracy argued for a reciprocal relationship which would result not only in continuing reformation through the enforcement of orthodox doctrine and a reformation of manners, but also in the nurture and protection of an exclusively Presbyterian national Church. Furthermore, Hall expected the godly magistrate to employ extreme punitive measures against persistent and radical non-conformists, and together these new emphases changed the traditionalism of Hall's ideas of magistracy.¹⁴⁴ In his efforts to urge the application of these principles to the changing political and religious circumstances of his own times, he felt constantly obstructed by some godly as well as

¹⁴¹ M. Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (1969, first published 1965), pp.34-8, explains Calvin's theory of God's institution of political and social order and its dependence on obedience following the fall of Adam.

¹⁴² P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (1982), pp.151-3 and 'Magistracy and Ministry: A Suffolk Miniature' in R. B. Knox (ed.), *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Nuttall* (1977) 70-91, [Reprinted in P. Collinson, *Godly People* (1983) 445-66].

¹⁴³ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.82. This sermon was contained in *A collection of such sermons and treatises as have bene written and published by Samuel Ward* (1627 i.e.1628 etc.) [Cat.A696].

¹⁴⁴ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.81-2.

sectarian groups, but most significantly by magistrates themselves on whom the practical enforcement of his vision depended. They refused to comply with his interpretation of God's ordinances or to honour the promises made in their adoption of the National Covenant in 1643 and the series of supporting ordinances following it. Instead they tolerated a variety of congregational churches and sectarian groups which proliferated new oppositional doctrines and practices. Although Hall regarded ministry as superior in the eyes of God to magistracy, his uncomfortable awareness of the dependency of ministry on the co-operation of magistracy added to his frustrations.

By 'magistracy', Hall meant the public office exercised for the public good by kings, princes and other rulers, members of both Houses of Parliament, judges, justices, nobles, and unspecified members of the gentry.¹⁴⁵ 'Publick persons' he wrote, 'should have publick Spirits; their gifts and goodness should diffuse themselves for the good of the whole. Their great care should be to promote the publick [*sic*] Interest more then their own.Tis for Tyrants to seek themselves; it becomes good Governours to seek the good of their people.'¹⁴⁶ In his essay on 'the public man' in late Tudor and early Stuart times, Richard Cust has shown the influence of the classical authors and their humanist interpreters on the shaping of the ideals of public men and public service, and the adoption and assimilation of such ideals into an English Calvinist understanding of magistracy and public office.¹⁴⁷ Hall was very familiar with classical models which he taught in his school, and in his discussions of magistracy he

¹⁴⁵ Hall, referred to different magistrates throughout his works, for example *Magistracy*, sig.A2r, refers to judges, justices and gentry, and pp.14-5 wrote, 'Christ who is the eternal Wisdom of his Father, tells us that 'tis by him that Kings reign and Princes decree Iustice, yea Nobles and all Iudges of the earth, not only Superiour, but also Inferiour Rulers are appointed by Christ; he sets up not only Kings, but Princes and Nobles also; from him they have their Ordination, Conservation and Qualifications; 'tis he that gifts them with wisdom to make good and just Laws for the benefit and peace of their people. Tis he that pulls down one and sets up another in the Throne, and none may say unto him, What dost thou?'

¹⁴⁶ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.85.

¹⁴⁷ R.Cust, 'The 'Public Man' in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England' in P. Lake and S. Pincus (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (2007) 116-43.

referred to some classical sources himself such as Cicero's *De officiis*.¹⁴⁸ He advised young men leaning towards a career in law to read a range of such classical texts, which, he added, had been conveniently translated into English.¹⁴⁹ However, just as in the synthesised humanist Calvinist tradition discussed by Cust, Hall saw magistracy primarily through his reformed Protestantism as a godly office, divinely ordained: 'Magistrates have their power and commission from God. it is his Word that comes to them which makes them Gods on earth. Magistracy is no fancy of mans inventing.'¹⁵⁰

In his justifications for this claim, Hall noted New Testament 'proofs' as well as those from the Old Testament, a tactic to answer the arguments used against magistracy by sectaries who refused to accept the validity of Old Testament precedents.¹⁵¹ In addition, Hall's library reflects his dedication to the study of such a pivotal issue in a wide range of works concerning magistracy, and in his collection of supporting books on the law and statutes.¹⁵² The authority he referred to most regularly for Reformed ideas of magistracy was the Lutheran theologian, Johannes Gerhard.¹⁵³ Other well mined works were William Prynne's *The soveraigne povver of parliaments & kingdoms* (1643), which Hall called in one note, 'an excellent piece' for its

¹⁴⁸ For example, Hall *Timothy*, p.76, and *Magistracy*, p.85. Hall, *Folly*, sig.A4v, stated that humane learning in schools was an excellent preparation for nobler studies, meaning divinity.

¹⁴⁹ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.86. Hall wrote that these texts included, 'Plutarch's lives; and specially his Morals, Seneca, Xenephons Cyropaedia, and Mr. Peachams compleat Gentleman; they are full of excellent Notions both for Speculation and Practice.'

¹⁵⁰ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.148-9.

¹⁵¹ Hall made a lengthy defence of the authenticity of the Old Testament as the word of God in *Timothy*, pp.260-8. He wrote, p.265, that he was answering the objections of an array of sectaries from the past and present who decried *Old Testament* proofs.

¹⁵² Books on law included Justinian, *Pandectae* on Roman law [Cat.B144]; Philo of Alexandria on Mosaic and Judaic law [Cat.B216]; Ferdinando Pulton, *Statutes* [Cat.B220], which examined English statutes from Magna Carta to the sixteenth century, with further editions through the seventeenth centuries bringing it up to date; Sir Edward Coke, *Institutes of the lawes of England* [Cat.B61]; John Cowell, *The interpreter* (1607) [Cat.B81, surviving in the K.E. Library at 094/1607/6], which was a legal dictionary, but controversial because a few of the definitions favoured royal absolutism and the jurisdictions of the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts over common law, and which was criticised by Sir Edward Coke; Ranulph de Glanville's tract on the laws of Henry II [Cat.C208]; Michael Dalton, *The cuntry justice* [Cat.C209, THL AQ094/1635/10A], and William Lambarde, *Eirenarcha: or of the office of the iustices of peace* [Cat.C211].

¹⁵³ Johannes Gerhardus, *Locorum theologicis* [Cat.B118], the latest folio edition at the time Hall constructed his catalogue in 1661.

refutation of all ‘the Anabaptistical cavils’, and the works of Cartwright and Gee on the rights and duties of magistrates to punish religious errors.¹⁵⁴

Other publications that came in for Hall’s special recommendation included Jacombe’s sermon, *The active and publick spirit*, also described as ‘an excellent piece’, which Hall wished all magistrates owned because it would teach them how to serve God.¹⁵⁵ In this work, Thomas Jacombe, a Presbyterian, said that his intention was to exhort men to public and active service, being as critical of self-seeking magistrates as he was encouraging of those who gave godly service. He emphasised the points Hall made himself: that the primary duty of magistrates was to support orthodoxy, detailing the sort of example they should give, the necessity of their defending the ministry and its maintenance, and their duty to settle the government of the Church. Also recommended were Cobbet, *The civil magistrates povver*, and Hezekiah Woodward, *The Kings chronicle*, which Hall considered ‘A treatise worthy the serious perusal of all magistrates.’¹⁵⁶

In addition to Hall’s large collection of official sermons delivered before Parliament, he also gathered sermons which were preached to local magistrates or which concerned the subject of magistracy.¹⁵⁷ This group of sermons, dating mostly from the 1640s and 1650s, include one

¹⁵⁴ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.82, for his comment on Prynne’s work. William Prynne, *The soveraigne povver of Parliaments & kingdoms* (1643) [Cat.A531]; Christopher Cartwright, *The magistrates authority, to punish sins against the first table* (1647) [THL 094/C3]; and Edward Gee, *The divine right and original of the civill magistrate from God* (1658) [Cat.B122].

¹⁵⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p. 20, Thomas Jacombe, *The active and publick spirit, handled in a sermon, preached at Pauls, October 26th. 1656* (1657) [Uncatalogued].

¹⁵⁶ Thomas Cobbet, *The civil magistrates povver in matters of religion* (1653) [Cat.A217, THL 094/C1]; and Hezekiah Woodward, *The Kings chronicle latter section* (1643) [THL 094/C25], although this survival is of the latter part of the work, concerning the good kings of Judah. In *Magistracy*, pp.41, 45, Hall cites the whole work. Hall, *Magistracy*, p.33 for his comment on Woodward’s work.

¹⁵⁷ Hall also refers to other sermons that have since been lost, such as Sanderson’s, *Ad magistratum*, published in a collection of several sermons. Hall cited this sermon by page number in *Magistracy*, pp.30, 110, 111, 112, 115, but if he owned the collection he did not catalogue it. Other single sermons which Hall cited but which have

delivered at a parliamentary election, several at local assizes and others before the mayor and aldermen of London, as well as the funeral sermon of the Duke of Essex and the coronation sermon of Charles II, all occasions when ministers had the opportunity to drive home their ideals of magistracy and to encourage magistrates to fulfil their godly duties. Most were the sermons of orthodox authors Hall admired and sometimes knew, and most of those were Presbyterians such as Edward Reynolds, Edmund Calamy, Richard Vines, James Cranford, Ralph Venning, William Lyford, Robert Wild, Charles Herle and George Swinnock, whose work on magistracy Hall admired so much that he asked him to contribute to his own treatise, *Magistracy*.¹⁵⁸ All these works indicate how thoroughly Hall studied the issue of godly magistracy and the derivations and support for his own well-developed theories.

Although Hall did not give a pedigree for the development of his views on magistracy, he would have been quite at home with the reformed covenant theology of Bullinger, whose exposition of magistracy has been described by Andries Raath and Shaun de Fraitas as the basis of Reformed Scottish and English political theory.¹⁵⁹ This theory, originating from studies of Moses, was developed in Britain from the works of Bullinger by John Hooper, and then by Marian exiles such as John Knox and Christopher Goodman. Bullinger saw the task of the divinely instituted Christian magistrate as preserving the peace and order of the

since been lost, probably in pamphlet volumes, include several delivered before Parliament and the mayor and aldermen of London, and a handful of assize sermons.

¹⁵⁸ Edmund Calamy, *The great danger of covenant-refusing, and covenant-breaking* (1645) [THL 094/C18]; Richard Vines, *Peitharchia obedience to magistrates both supreme and subordinate. In three sermons* (1656) [THL 094/C25]; James Cranford, *Haereseo-machia: or The mischiefe which heresies doe, and the means to prevent it* (1646) [THL 094/C18]; Ralph Venning, *A warning to backsliders; or, A discovery for the recovery of fallen ones* (1654) [THL 094/C16]; William Lyford, *The matching of the magistrates authority, and the Christians true liberty in matters of religion* (1654) [THL 094/C25]; Robert Wild, *The arraignment of a sinner at the bar of divine justice* (1656) [THL 094/C18]; Charles Herle, *Abrahams offer Gods offering* (1644) [THL 094/C12]; and George Swinnock, *The gods are men: or The mortality of persons in places of magistracy* (1657) [THL 094/C25].

¹⁵⁹ A. Raath, and S. de Fraitas, 'From Heinrich Bullinger to Puritanism: John Hooper's Theology and the Office of Magistracy', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 56:2 (2003) 208-30.

commonwealth as a covenanted community.¹⁶⁰ Magistrates, while limited by both the laws of God and the written human laws they had made themselves, should rightly order matters of religion. In return, society should support its magistrates spiritually with prayers and advice, but also physically by yielding to them whatever belonged to their rightful office such as their secular authority, due respect and taxes. Although the power of magistrates came from God, men should choose their own systems of appointing magistrates and rulers. The heirs to this theory in the seventeenth century were writers such as Rutherford and Gillespie, Presbyterian authors much admired by Hall, and whose works also feature in his library particularly those with reference to the highest forms of magistracy such as Rutherford's *Lex, rex*.¹⁶¹

Edward Vallance has also studied covenant theology and its origins with the Marian exiles who formed further justifications for theories of resistance, especially Knox and Goodman.¹⁶² He saw a close relationship between reformed theology and the idea of a national covenant, and disagreed with historians who saw little significance in these ideas for practical purposes, following instead Theodore Bozeman and Patrick Collinson. They argued that in the seventeenth century there was indeed an embedded idea of national covenant, the nation being initiated into it as baptised individuals. It was used didactically in a wide range of religious imagery to remind the nation of its godly obligations, and to warn it of the consequences of its sins and bring it to repentance, particularly in the jeremiad sermon and in the holding of public fasts and prayers.¹⁶³ It was when magistrates failed in their duties within the context of

¹⁶⁰ A. Raath and S. de Freitas 'From Heinrich Bullinger to Puritanism', pp.214, 222-3.

¹⁶¹ Samuel Rutherford was a keen exponent of this theory, which he expounded in *Lex, rex* (1644) [Cat.A.571, THL 094/ 1644/1], a book cited and admired by Hall. J. Coffey has demonstrated Rutherford's views on this subject in *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions, The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (2002), pp.163-9.

¹⁶² E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant: State Oaths, Protestantism, and the Political Nation, 1553-1682* (2005), Chapter 1, pp.6-51.

¹⁶³ E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant*, pp.28-40, discussed his ideas of federal theology. Vallance, p.33, also agreed with A. Walsham, who in *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp.305-7, noted the large body of literature on what she called a complex subject, and her inclination to agree with

a covenanted nation that God wielded the sword himself and exacted terrible punishments. In such a scheme, magistracy was equally subject to the God of the covenant, a covenant that brought blessings as well as deserved punishments in parallel with the experience of Israel.¹⁶⁴ All these ideas were inherited by Hall, and were synthesised into a godly theory of politics and religion by which he could make sense of the changes through which he lived. He undoubtedly approached the English magistracy as the ruling elite of a godly covenanted nation, where the Gospel had been preached continuously for a hundred years, and which 'he hath loved and tendred above all the Nations in the world, for whom he hath broken the Power and Policy of mighty enemies, and hath given such successe by Sea and Land, that all the Nations round about us, stand amazed'.¹⁶⁵ The reign of Mary had been an exception, but a well-deserved divine chastisement for the nation's disobedience and apostasy.¹⁶⁶

Like most early modern Protestants, Hall constantly drew analogies between Israel, God's first covenanted nation, and his own country,¹⁶⁷ and in two of his books, *Samaria* and *Amos* which were written when he feared the struggle was turning against orthodoxy, he made such

Bozeman's notion of the national covenant and personal covenant of grace being indistinguishably intertwined in English interpretations of covenant theology and its application to the jeremiad and the corporate responsibilities of the nation.

¹⁶⁴ M. W. Karlberg, *Covenant Theology in Reformed Perspective* (2000), p.12, makes the theological point that 'explicitly or implicitly, the doctrine of the covenants provides the organisational structure for the entire Reformed theological system.' Karlberg, p.38, also deems the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, along with the *Larger and Shorter Catechisms*, 'the most definitive creedal statement to come out of the period of the Reformation.' In spite of his acceptance of many Lutheran ideas, Hall seems to have placed his theology firmly within this Calvinist scheme. D. Zaret, *The Heavenly Contract* (1985), pp.140-2 and *passim*, has also followed a theory of covenant theology that developed from continental reformers' response to early Protestant radicalism, but he links the development particularly with the pastoral role of clergy and its scope for participation by lay individuals in spiritual development rather than with issues of magistracy.

¹⁶⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, pp. 61, 460-1. Also *Samaria*, pp.78-9, and p.41 where he wrote: 'Hence the Covenant of the Lord made with his people, is called An everlasting Covenant, 2 Sam. 23. 5. Hos. 2. 19, 20. And hee hath promised to plant his fear in their hearts, that they shall never depart from him, Jer. 32. 39.' This is a recurring point made by Hall throughout his works, for example, *Font*, pp.2-3, 11, *Amos*, pp.68, 577-8.

¹⁶⁶ Hall, *Amos*, p.492.

¹⁶⁷ J. Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions*, p.229.

parallels his central theses, reflecting the urgent warning traditions of the jeremiad.¹⁶⁸ Hall pointed at the fates of those who had been disobedient and broken their covenants with God, and subsequently had been torn apart by war ‘as we see in Germany, Savoy, Poland, &c.’¹⁶⁹ The Thirty Years War, the uprisings of Anabaptists in Munich, and the fates of Ireland and France were stark examples Hall used to illustrate such divine wrath. For even greater polemical effect he homed in to specific and terrible details, writing,

As the Lord said to his people, Goe to Shiloe, so say I, Go to Germany, and to Rochel, and consider what God hath done to them for their Sins, there you shall see Doggs, Cats, and Rats sold in the Markets, and men and women fighting for them. There you shall see Women eating their own Children, the living feeding upon the dead, and digging up dead Corps out of their Graves that they might feed upon them. Beggars coming to doors have been killed and eaten, yea the skins of Horses, Sheep, and Oxen, have been their food.¹⁷⁰

Hall’s covenant theology had been given additional practical meaning in 1643 with his personal commitment to the Solemn League and Covenant, and its endorsement by the whole nation. This undertaking, as he frequently repeated, underpinned his political theory thereafter. It was the high point of collusion between his political and religious outlooks, the terms of the Covenant promising to bring ministry and magistracy together in support of both king and Parliament, of a national Presbyterian polity and the ending of the *de facto* toleration of error and heresy, separatism and sectarianism. It was a synthesis endorsed by the draft Westminster Confession of 1646, of which Hall approved.¹⁷¹ However, the failure of Parliament to enforce the terms of the covenant, and then the execution of the king, threw Hall into new campaigns for the restoration of the terms of the covenant, while covenant-breaking, ‘one of the crying sins of England’ became one of his recurring themes.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ These works were, *Samaria* (1660) and *Amos* (1661).

¹⁶⁹ Hall, *Amos*, p.82.

¹⁷⁰ Hall, *Amos*, pp.63-4.

¹⁷¹ *The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning A Confession of Faith* (1647) [THL 094/C24]. Hall only made a few marks on his copy, which on p.17, stated that there were no differences in substance between the covenants God had made with his people, but they were ‘one and the same, under various dispensations’.

¹⁷² Hall, *Samaria*, p.102.

Hall's ideal godly commonwealth was a land where, 'Ministers preach, Magistrates protect, People obey, and each in their places help to preserve humane Society.'¹⁷³ Within the ordered society, wrote Hall, 'God hath allotted to every one his calling wherein he must be serviceable to the publick good.'¹⁷⁴ Thus magistrates and ministers, tradesmen and soldiers, all had a God-given role to perform. Anyone who led an idle life making no contribution to the public good violated God's commands and was a burden to society.¹⁷⁵ Society was strictly hierarchical, and each man was charged with keeping to his calling:

God hath set every Calling its bounds, which none may passe. Superiours must govern; Inferiours Obey, and be Governed: Ministers must study and Preach; People must hear and obey, &c. As in an Army, the General appoints every man his place and station; one in the Front, another in the Reare, &c. there he must abide against the enemy; there he must live and dye: so 'tis in Humaine Societies; the great Lord General hath appointed to every man his particular Calling, and in doing it he must live and dye.¹⁷⁶

Thus the nailer should keep to his hammer and the husbandman to his plough, and so forth, and none might usurp the office of ministers unless they were formally 'sent'.¹⁷⁷

The keynote of this godly commonwealth and of godliness itself, in Hall's traditionally conservative view, was 'order': 'God is the God of Order, and he will have not only some things, but all things done in order ... he commands Order, commends Order, delights in Order, and would have all his people walk in an orderly way.' The theory was clear cut: all order came from God, therefore all disorder came from the Devil, whatever form it took.¹⁷⁸

Disorder resulted from disobedience to God's commands, and erupted as sin, error, and

¹⁷³ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.87.

¹⁷⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, p.386, (i.e. p.394). Hall's ideas about society being ordered by God are in the godly tradition expounded by men such as William Perkins in *A treatise of the vocations, or, callings of men, with the sorts and kinds of them, and the right vse thereof* (1603), a copy of which Hall owned within a compendium of Perkins works in Volume 1 [CatA.501, one volume surviving at THL Q 094/1631/8]. Hall, *Magistracy*, p.77, referred to Perkins as 'that worthy and eminent light of England'.

¹⁷⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.386, where Hall gave some gentlemen and beggars as examples of those who contributed nothing.

¹⁷⁶ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.23.

¹⁷⁷ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.23.

¹⁷⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, p.172.

blasphemy. Sectaries were the worst agents of disorder and it was the role of magistrates to wield the sword and to be a 'Terror' to them and all evil-doers.¹⁷⁹ In fact, government was so essential to the well-being of mankind that Hall judged tyranny to be better than anarchy, a view that was widely held.¹⁸⁰

In refutation of the claims of sectaries that magistracy was anti-Christian, and especially of the lack of deference accorded magistrates by Quakers, Hall underlined the sacred nature of the office of magistrate as rulers and judges of the nation, God's 'Lieutenants and Vicegerents, appointed in his stead to administer Justice to his people.'¹⁸¹ He compared them with ministers and indeed called the magistrate 'the Minister of God to see to the Civil Affairs in the State'.¹⁸² Furthermore, in answer to the sectaries 'grand objection' that it was against Christian liberty for Christians to be under the power of any but Christ, because all were equal under Christ, and there should be no distinction between superiors and inferior,¹⁸³ Hall countered that religion was no enemy to Caesar and although all were indeed equal in Christ, yet they were unequal in society.¹⁸⁴

The magistrates' lack of action with regard to 'proven' heretics, such as 'Nailer, Fox, and the rest of that Heretical, accused, blasphemous Quaking Crew', incensed and frustrated Hall.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.A3v, pp.169, 174, 227.

¹⁸⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.33. Also in *Magistracy*, p.46, where he wrote, 'If they[magistrates] are bad, yet better have a bad one then none at all; tis better living under a Nero then a Nerva; where nothing is lawfull then where all things are lawfull; Tyranny is better then Anarchy.' B. Coward, 'Introduction' in P. Little (ed.), *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (2007) 1-13, p.4, wrote that it was a typical seventeenth-century view that mild tyranny was preferable to anarchy.

¹⁸¹ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.6-7. For Hall's understanding of Quaker attitudes to magistrates as blasphemous, see Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.48, 202 (i.e.p.102), and *Timothy*, pp.296, 459.

¹⁸² Hall, *Timothy*, p.368. Also said in *Magistracy*, p.80.

¹⁸³ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.21.

¹⁸⁴ Hall, *Magistracy*, pp.21-2.

¹⁸⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.60. Hall had as many insulting names for Quakers as they had for ministers, for example he called them 'atheistical, sottish and illiterate.'

He accused magistrates of keeping ‘a cursed silence’. God had made the magistrate the sinners’ terror and therefore the Quakers’ terror, and so they had the power, would they but exercise it, to make ‘them Quake in a better kind, &c. ... That such should be put to death is clear.’¹⁸⁶ In spurring on timid magistrates to do their duty, he reminded them that that they were under obligation to enable the work of ministry, being subject themselves to the law of God and accountable to him for all their actions.¹⁸⁷ If a magistrate refused to wield the sword, then he aligned himself with the sinner and would be punished accordingly.¹⁸⁸ He placed the model of Geneva before them, ‘which from the beginning of the Reformation to this day have punished Sectaries and Hereticks, and yet God hath kept them safe and sound.’¹⁸⁹

Hall was not alone in demanding action against sectaries from the magistrates. As John Coffey has shown, there was a powerful theological tradition in support of coercive uniformity and against the dangers of religious diversity, which had been further endorsed by the Solemn League and Covenant.¹⁹⁰ Certain groups, such as ‘Ranters’ and Quakers were punished and even persecuted by some magistrates, whose creative uses of the law has been pointed out by Barry Reay.¹⁹¹ Quakers felt they were persecuted by magistrates in alliance with the ministry, and used their trials and the attendant publicity to highlight the inadequacies of the law and further their cause, particularly in capitalising on any failed prosecutions.¹⁹² However, magistrates often failed to wield the sword against sectaries because successive governments had allowed toleration without defining its limits in spite of

¹⁸⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, p.227.

¹⁸⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.A3v. Also a device frequently used in *Magistracy*, pp.3, 6, 8, 68, 88, 90, 127, 160 and 186.

¹⁸⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.62-3.

¹⁸⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.341. Also p.104 for Hall’s admiration of the strict discipline of Geneva.

¹⁹⁰ J. Coffey, ‘The Toleration Controversy’, p.45.

¹⁹¹ B. Reay, ‘Radicalism and Religion in the English Revolution: An Introduction’ in J. F. McGregor and B. Reay (eds.), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (1984) 1-22, p.11; and B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, pp.52-3.

¹⁹² K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, pp.202-6.

several attempts to draw up fundamental doctrines. The limits that did exist, such as the Blasphemy Law, were in fact ambiguous and harsh, and magistrates and members of Parliament had difficulty in practice in making judgements on them.¹⁹³ While there was general anxiety that radical groups such as Quakers were allowed to flourish, few were inclined to have heretics executed.¹⁹⁴ So while Hall continued to bolster and defend the office of magistrates, their failure to support the ministry and to curb sectarianism by using the full weight of the law, was a continuing and pivotal concern throughout his publications. In 1651 he pleaded, ‘Oh that Magistrates would promote the Ministry!’¹⁹⁵ The situation had improved little by 1658, when he complained that England had ‘golden Lawes, but leaden executioners; and that we yet want one Law. Viz. A Law to bind Magistrates to put the rest of the Lawes in execution.’¹⁹⁶ Even in his final publication in 1661, the concern was still being expressed, this time as a prayer and prophetic warning: ‘The good Lord quicken the hearts, and strengthen the hands of our Magistrates against all the workers of iniquity, before Gods wrath break forth upon us, and it be too late.’¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, pp.236-7. B. Worden, ‘Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate’, p.222, shows how the Cromwell intervened personally in the case of Biddle when he feared the law might be misinterpreted. See also J. R. Collins, ‘The Church settlement of Oliver Cromwell’ in *History* 87:285 (2002) 18-40, pp.28-9, and A. Fletcher in ‘Oliver Cromwell and the Godly Nation’ in J. Morrill (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution*, (1990) 209-33, p.212.

¹⁹⁴B. Reay, ‘Quakerism and Society’ in B. Reay and J. F. McGregor (eds.), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (1984), 141-64, pp.157-60, for example, discusses the occasional use of the Blasphemy laws by magistrates to prosecute Quakers, but more often using a variety of other laws such as vagrancy laws, and giving traditional punishments that fell short of execution. Hall certainly called for the death penalty in print, for example for Thomas Collier in *Font*, p.124, for specific Quakers in *Timothy*, p.227, and for atheists and heretics in *Magistracy*, pp.81-2. J. Coffey, ‘The Toleration Controversy’, p. 53, argues that conservative Independents, who were equally unhappy with the spread of heresy, would not call for such draconian penalties.

¹⁹⁵ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.42.

¹⁹⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, p.62.

¹⁹⁷ Hall, *Amos*, p.258. By this time sectaries were much subdued and Hall was concerned with the resurgent errors of idolatry and popery, and of profanity.

e) Hall's responses to the collapse of the Protectorate

Within this continuum of frustration with magistracy, Hall showed particularly intense concern in 1659-1660, following the collapse of the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell. He had seemed hopeful that Richard would prove a friend to orthodoxy, acquiring a copy of his opening speech to the new Parliament in January 1659 as well as the sermons before Parliament of Reynolds and Owen.¹⁹⁸ Although there are no explicit political references, Hall may have been making oblique comments on the army's role in bringing down the Protectorate a few months later in May, when he wrote, 'Wisdom is better then strength, or weapons of War, The welfare of a State is preserved, not so much by a multitude of Warriours, as of Wise and Pious Counsellors. ... If God be against you, what good can your long Sword do you?'¹⁹⁹ A marginal note here deepens the impression this was a reference to the army and to the fallen Protector, for it says, 'Twas a foul blot upon Chilperick a King of France, that he was *Titularis non Tutelaris Rex; de fuit non praefuit Reip[ublicae]*.' This meant that Chilperic's reputation was unjustly marred with accusations of being king in name but not in deed, and that he failed rather than led in public life, a judgement paralleled by some contemporary onslaughts on the reputation of Richard Cromwell.²⁰⁰ This was a time of anxiety for Hall, because Parliament was once again under threat, this time from the army. Although a parliament was recalled it was not 'a full and a free Parliament of Lords and Commons', but the old Rump put in place by the army, and still devoid of its Presbyterian

¹⁹⁸ *The speech of his Highness the Lord Protector, ... 27th January 1658 [i.e. 1659] ... As also the speech of the Right Honorable Nathaniel Lord Fiennes (1659) [THL 094/C3].*

¹⁹⁹ Hall, *Magistracy*, sig.A5v.

²⁰⁰ J. Peacey, 'The Protector Humbled: Richard Cromwell and the Constitution' in P. Little (ed.), *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (2007) 32-52, p.32, and R. Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667* (1985), p.41, comment on the early and lasting derogation of Richard Cromwell. A. Woolrych, 'Last Quests for a Settlement 1657-1660' in G. E. Aylmer (ed.), *The Interregnum The Quest for Settlement 1646-1660* (1972, revised 1974) 183-204, has shown that Richard Cromwell was well received and supported by moderates and Presbyterians for his conservatism and lack of links with the army, and that he himself was perceived by radicals as having a preference for moderate Presbyterian divines. Presbyterians were alarmed when the Rump was recalled and the government was again taken over by the army.

members.²⁰¹ Also at this time, the sectarian menace to orthodoxy especially from the Quakers seemed at its height, with quantities of pamphlets and petitions seeking increased toleration and the abolition of tithes.²⁰² Barry Reay has suggested that the ‘exhilaration’ of the sectaries was matched in intensity only by the ‘trepidation’ of Presbyterians, and whatever the reality of the threat, Presbyterians like Hall perceived it as overwhelming.²⁰³

Hall collected a number of works in response to sectarian pressure at that time, including defences of tithes from Prynne and Samuel Clarke, anti-Quaker tracts from Thomas Smith and Thomas Underhill and Samuel Clarke’s *Golden apples*, a gift to Hall by the author which concerned anti-toleration in general.²⁰⁴ There is also a copy of Presbyterian Thomas Willes’ work which was a warning to England of perilous times.²⁰⁵ Hall’s own public response to these fears was to write *Magistracy*, published in 1660 but written during 1659.²⁰⁶ It is a strong defence of magistracy but also an exhortation for the establishment of a godly

²⁰¹ Hall, *Funebria*, p. 25.

²⁰² R. Hutton, *The Restoration*, pp.47-8.

²⁰³ B. Reay, ‘The Quakers, 1659, and the Restoration of the Monarchy’, p.193.

²⁰⁴ William Prynne, *Ten considerable quaeries* (1659) [Cat.A529]; Samuel Clarke, *A caution against sacrilege: or sundry queries concerning tithes* (1659) [THL 094/C9]; Thomas Smith, *The Quaker disarm’d or a true relation of a late publick dispute held at Cambridge* (1659) [THL 094/ C36]; Thomas Underhill, *Hell broke loose: or An history of the Quakers* (1660) [THL 094/C36]; and Samuel Clarke, *Golden apples* [THL 094/1659/10].

²⁰⁵ Thomas Willes, *A word in season* [Cat.A731]. At this time Hall also continued to collect works of scriptural exposition, meditation and practical divinity alongside these works concerning contemporary events and issues.

²⁰⁶ There are problems in dating this work. Hall dated the preface, *Septemb. 10. 1659.*, while stating at the beginning of the preface that when he started the work he had intended it for members of Parliament, but Parliament had since been dissolved. Parliament was dissolved twice during that year, firstly the Protectorate Parliament in April and then the Rump in October. Neither date fits this text. It is possible that Hall changed the initial lines of text in the Preface in October without changing the September date at the end. It is unlikely that Hall is referring to the next dissolution of Parliament in March 1660, because by that time a second preface recommending the work had been written by William Jenkyns which he had dated Febr. 3. 1659/0. However, the lack of synchronisation remains an unusual anomaly. Hall produced 14 works between 1651 and 1661, two of much greater length than the rest, and one of these, *Timothy*, was being written in tandem with another, *Chiliasto-mastix*, but books of similar length to *Magistracy*, such as *Pulpit* and *Font*, appear to have been written over a five month period before the dating of the preface, if Hall began writing after the disputations which he said had inspired them. It would have been difficult, given his time-consuming duties as schoolmaster and curate to have produced a finished work any faster.

Presbyterian nation, and illustrates Hall's contemporary feelings of insecurity.²⁰⁷ He described the work as, 'a Guard' to magistrates 'against these Anti-magistraticall Libertines & Ana-Baptistick Atheists of our time, who cry downe this calling as noodles. Such is the madnes of these times, that we are forced to fight for every inch of ground, & to dispute allmost for all the fundamentalls of Religion, for the Law, the Gospell, God's day, Worship, Ordinances, Officers, & Discipline &c.'²⁰⁸

As the Rump and the army found it increasingly difficult to work together, fears of religious radicals gained in intensity and rumours of a massacre by Quakers abounded.²⁰⁹ In August, the abortive rising of Booth for a free parliament resulted in the disgrace of his Presbyterian supporters and renewed demands from radicals for anti-orthodox reforms.²¹⁰ When the army finally closed Parliament down on 13th October 1659, Hall was as scandalised as his brethren, for no parliament was even worse than a Rump Parliament.²¹¹ His anxieties for the future of England were given further expression in a publication following hot on the heels of his work on magistracy, entitled, *Samaria's downfall*, in which he set forth 'Ephraim's dignity, duty, impenitency, and downfall: very suitable to, and seasonable for, these present times.'²¹² This work was a commentary on the prophesy of Hosea in which Hall warned England of God's

²⁰⁷ Furthermore, Hall, *Magistracy*, sigs.a3r-a4r, urged magistrates to enforce the catechizing of children and servants, reform the structure of parishes throughout the land so that people had better access to their parish churches and pastors had manageable workloads, and to establish many more free schools, which were sorely needed. Finally he said it would be desirable if populous market towns were incorporated and lesser market towns were given a magistrate to avoid having to travel miles 'to have a Swearer, Drunkard, or Sabbath-Profaner punisht,' and so prevent the 'abundance of sin which is committed in these places, at Markets and Fairs especially.'

²⁰⁸ Hall, *Life*, fo.78.

²⁰⁹ R. Hutton, *The Restoration*, p.52, describes how the fears of conservatives like Hall about the Fifth Monarchists and Quakers reached 'fever pitch' at this time.

²¹⁰ R. Hutton, *The Restoration*, pp.53-62.

²¹¹ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.58.

²¹² The preface of *Samaria* was dated 'Novemb. 17. 1659'. This work was of a similar length to *Magistracy* and could well have been written concurrently, although Hall refers to *Magistracy* in *Samaria*, p.104, but not to *Samaria* in *Magistracy*. Hall, *Life*, p.78, wrote of *Samaria*, saying, 'His Commentary on Hosea 13th was very acceptable & Practicall, shewing those sins which brought the present Judgments on the Nations.'

impending revenge for its multiplicity of sins, because England's sins mirrored the sins of Ephraim and therefore the nation could expect to suffer the same fate of devastation and destruction by fire and sword unless it changed its ways. As a consequence of sin, England had been 'divided and sub-divided', and the divisions were not only in the Church but in the state.²¹³ The only cure was unity, but unity on strict orthodox terms. This work shows that Hall had no idea where events were leading, but he certainly feared the worst. Yet while other orthodox ministers made attempts to work more closely together, Hall remained entrenched in his adherence to the Covenant and Presbyterianism.²¹⁴ Nevertheless he followed the activities of the moderates, purchasing a copy of Matthew Newcomen's *Irenicum* which suggested areas of common ground between Independents and Presbyterians, and *A seasonable exhortation*, published in January 1660 by London ministers, which condemned sectaries but urged an understanding with Anglicans.²¹⁵ Hall's views are shown very clearly on his copy of the Independents' declaration of their faith, drawn up at the Savoy soon after Oliver Cromwell's death, the preface of which Hall has covered in disapproving crosses, changing their appellation of 'gathering' to 'scattering' churches, while writing that the effect of their declaration had been to make 'the Breach wider then ever.'²¹⁶ Hall also disapproved of the Association movement started by Baxter for the mutual support of moderate, orthodox ministers and to which several of his own Black Country colleagues and former students

²¹³ Hall, *Samaria*, p.105.

²¹⁴ For example, C. M. Nunn, 'The Ministry of Henry Newcome', pp.132-6, discusses the co-operation of Presbyterian and Independent ministers in Manchester in an association between 1653 and 1659 in answer to the threat of radicalism.

²¹⁵ I. Atherton, 'Reynolds, Edward (1599–1676)', *Oxf. DNB*, wrote that Reynolds showed an increasingly irenic attitude in his sermons between 1659 and 1660, which called for moderation and unity, even with Episcopalians. He was recognised as the leader of the moderate Presbyterian divines or 'reconcilers' and is thought to be the 'prime mover' among the London ministers who produced *A seasonable exhortation*. Hall owned a copy, but only the title page remains, surviving in the *Large Fragment Folder* attached to the library. Hall, *Haire*, p.36, had expressed high regard for Reynolds as a '*learned, pious, modest Divine of our time*', but he would not have approved of his post 1659 policy of moderation and reconciliation.

²¹⁶ Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye and John Owen, *A declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England agreed in their meeting at the Savoy, Octob. 12. 1658 (1659)* [THL 094/C3], sig.A6v. Hall's copy is heavily and most disapprovingly marked on the prefaces. A. Hughes, 'The Public Profession of these Nations', p.108, notes the moves towards cooperation among the moderate orthodox.

belonged.²¹⁷ Although the library reveals his interest in the Association movement he was unwilling to join or to commend movements towards co-operation.

By the time Hall had completed *Samaria*, there was news of a dramatic split in the army itself which proved of the greatest interest to him. A number of pamphlets concerning George Monck's championship of Parliament, and his moves to restore it, survive in the library. In volume C36, Hall gathered Monck's declaration for Parliament and the letters that went to and fro between Monck and the army leaders he opposed, chiefly Fleetwood and Lambert. In addition there are letters from Monck to the Speaker and to the Common Council of London and those from his supporters such as Hesilrige, Morley and Walton who secured Portsmouth. Other works in this volume include Matthew Poole's letter to Fleetwood, putting the Presbyterian view of current events, and Prynne's spirited attack on Parliament which even when restored in December 1659, still refused entry to Presbyterians as it had done when first reconvened earlier that year in May. These pamphlets are thoroughly marked and reveal Hall's attitudes, which although they hold no surprises, are not mentioned in his published works. He showed clearly his complete approval of Monck's protest, and even signed his own name at the bottom of the list of signatories on the letter sent by Monck's officers in support

²¹⁷ G. F. Nuttall, 'The Worcestershire Association: its Membership', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 1:2 (1950) 197-206, pp.201-4, where these men, including relatives of Hall, such as his nephew-in-law John Spilsbury, are listed as members of the Association. (Charles Cox (ed.), 'Minute Book of Wirksworth Classis', pp.202-4, records that John Spilsbury was ordained 17th December 1656 by this Classis.) Also listed are Richard Fincher and John Orford, clergymen of Worcester, Hall's home town. Hall's sisters married into families with these names and these two clergymen may well have been related to Hall. Hall's disapproval of the Association Movement, particularly of its powers for ordination, is shown clearly in his marking of some of the literature it produced: *The agreement of the associated ministers & churches of the counties of Cumberland, and Westmorland* (1656) [THL 094/C5], as well as a sermon by Richard Gilpin, a founder member of this association, which he delivered before a general meeting of the members, *The temple re-built* (1658) [THL 094/C3]; and *The agreement and resolution of severall associated ministers in the county of Corke for the ordaining of ministers* (1657) [THL 094/C9]. Hall's disapproval of ordination by members of the various Associations can be seen on Baxter, *Humble advice, ... offered to many Honourable Members of Parliament* (1655) [THL 094/C9], p.4, where Hall has clearly marked his opposition to Association members having powers of ordination. Hall himself stood by his strict Presbyterian principles in belonging to, possibly as a founding member, a local classis at Kenilworth.

of Parliament and the ministry. In addition, Hall agreed with the condemnation of the actions taken by the army against Parliament and put double emphases on points such as, ‘the Parliament of England never raised nor maintained Souldiers to be Law-makers but to defend this Nation against those who were Law-breakers.’²¹⁸ He underlined Monck’s stated motives to restore Parliament and order, but doesn’t query them or indicate that he suspects any other ambitions. Matthew Poole’s view was particularly pleasing to Hall who noted the religious points in addition to the arguments against the army’s trampling on the laws and rights of the nation: Fleetwood had given offence to the elect, ignored the Covenant and presumed, wrongly, that God’s providence had supported him.

f) Hall’s responses to the Restoration

Hall left no record of his responses to the ensuing events that led to the Restoration of the monarchy, but his next publication, *Funebria*, produced within a few months of Charles II’s return in May 1660, constituted a lively, best-selling attack against the resurgence of an ungodly festive culture and the accompanying outburst of profanity and licentiousness at national and local level. Indeed, Hall claimed that the spur for the book was not so much the erection of two maypoles in his own parish and the personal vilification to which he was subjected, but the news that this sort of behaviour was widespread throughout the nation, a maypole having been put up even in Cheapside.²¹⁹ However, having studied the king’s proclamation on 30th May 1660 against ‘prophaneness’, Hall considered Charles II ‘a sober and temperate person, and one that hates Debauchery.’²²⁰ Furthermore, Hall posited that having taken the Solemn League and Covenant himself at his coronation in Scotland in 1651,

²¹⁸ *The humble representation of some officers of the Army, to the Right Honourable Lieutenant General Fleetwood. Delivered, November 1. 1659* (1659) [THL 094/C36], p.10.

²¹⁹ Hall, *Funebria*, pp.5-6.

²²⁰ Hall, *Funebria*, pp.22-3.

the king would be ready to support a Church settlement in accordance with its branches, and was well-disposed towards Presbyterianism.²²¹ Hall's enthusiasm for the Restoration can also be seen in the gift of four of his own publications bound together, which he sent to the king as a 'Token of his Love & Loyalty,' although it could also be seen as a gift of sound godly, Presbyterian advice to guide the king in settling the Church.²²² In those early days Hall saw Charles as a returning 'Defender of the Faith,' and sensing the chance once more of the fulfilment of the Covenant, he prayed: 'The good Lord at last rule the hearts of king, Lords, and Commons, for the promoting of this work, [godly reformation] without which wee can never expect to prosper.'²²³

Although Hall's early optimism was short-lived, it was not as naive as hindsight might indicate. As Ian Green has argued, it was Presbyterians who had invited the king to return and for a while, until the forces of reaction had gathered strength, moderate Presbyterians held some influence. Meanwhile the king was personally inclined towards compromise and, in the early months of his reign, worked for national religious inclusion.²²⁴

As the year progressed, Hall's book buying shows that he followed the outbreak of renewed pamphlet warfare in the summer of 1660 against the return of episcopacy and Prayer Book liturgy, and aligned himself as might be expected, not with the 'reconcilers' like Reynolds and Baxter, but with the hard-line 'covenanting' Presbyterians who were located largely in

²²¹ Hall, *Funebria*, p.26.

²²² Hall, *Life*, fo.107. The works were *Magistracy*, *Apologie*, *Samaria* and *Funebria*, although no official record of this gift survives.

²²³ Hall, *Funebria*, pp.5, 22.

²²⁴ I. Green, *The Re-establishment of The Church of England 1660-1663* (1978), pp.1-2, and R. Hutton, *The Restoration*, pp.143-8.

London, and included Firmin and Crofton.²²⁵ Hall bought Firmin's *Presbyterial ordination vindicated* and had three of Crofton's pamphlets, two supporting the efficacy of the covenant in response to John Gauden's assertion that it could be put aside, and the third against re-ordination by bishops.²²⁶ Not only did Hall approve of these works but he added his own comments on them which show his continuing commitment to the Covenant and all its branches, and his opposition to compromise:

The Covenant was taken not by a few inconsiderable persons but by the whole nation represented in Parliament, by a house of Lords and Commons, after true deliberation and by the advice of the Assembly of Divines as famous an assembly as ever England had ... Will he that breaks his covenant with God, ever keepe his Oath of allegiance to his king. An Oath binds.²²⁷

On the same copy, he underlined Christopher Love's line, delivered in 1651 on the scaffold: 'I had rather die a Covenant-keeper than live a Covenant-breaker.'²²⁸

While Hall's collection shows his continuing purchase of a variety of commentaries and works of practical divinity and meditation, there is an emphasis in 1660 on works concerning vital contemporary issues such as those arguing against bishops, ceremonies and the Book of Common Prayer, others vindicating the Covenant, Presbyterian ordination and the seizure of delinquent bishops' lands, and one urging the safeguarding of godly ministers in sequestered livings.²²⁹ Hall's fears of Quaker activity and works by and against them are also represented.

²²⁵ I. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England*, p.14. E. C. Vernon, 'Crofton, Zachary (1626–1672)', *Oxf. DNB*, notes Crofton's implacability. He was ejected early in 1660 for refusing to sign the address of gratitude for the Declaration of Breda, and having done his best to maintain a virulent attack against bishops was eventually arrested and imprisoned for a year in the Tower.

²²⁶ Giles Firmin, *Presbyterial ordination vindicated* (1660) [Cat.A313, THL 094/C2]; **Zachary** Crofton, *The fastning of St. Peters fetters* (1660) [THL 094/C2], *Saint Peter's bonds abide*, (1660) [THL 094/C2], and *A serious review of presbyters re-ordination by bishops* (1660/1) [THL 094/C2].

²²⁷ These notes were made on the back of the title page of **Zachary** Crofton, *The fastning of St. Peters fetters* (1660) [THL 094/C2]. On Crofton's next work, *Saint Peters bonds abide*, (1660) [THL 094/C2], Hall also made notes, such as 'It [the Covenant] binds *semper et ad semper*, no power can dissoblege us from doing what is good.'

²²⁸ Zachary Crofton, *The fastning of St. Peters fetter* [THL 094/C2], sig.A3v.

²²⁹ Ten of these works are bound in one volume, THL 094/C2. Books on these topics found elsewhere include, George Gillespie, *A dispute against the English-popish ceremonies* (1660, first published in 1637) [Cat.A332, THL 094./1660/4]; Matthew Meade, *Spiritual vvisdom improved against temptation* (1660) [THL 094/C7]; and Matthew Poole, *Evangelical worship is spiritual vvorship* (1660) [THL 094/C7].

Many of these pamphlets were bound together in Volume C2, but elsewhere there are works which recommended accommodation between episcopacy and Presbyterianism such as Corbet's *Interest of England* and, as always, official sermons preached before the king, Parliament, and the lord mayor and common Council of London, as well as a book reviewing the achievements of Oliver Cromwell and Hugh Peter's sermon before his execution in October 1660.²³⁰ At that time, the hopes of moderate Presbyterians culminated on 25th October with the Worcester House Declaration, an apparent triumph by which the king declared that bishops would be advised and assisted by the presbyters of the diocese. While this was probably a genuine attempt by the king to ensure unity, it was a decision that was soon overturned by Parliament.²³¹

The place where Hall's changing opinion with regard to the king and the future of Presbyterianism can be seen best is in his marking of Morley's coronation sermon, delivered in April 1661.²³² The work is marked with disapproving crosses showing Hall's opposition to Morley's idea of the current form of government as the 'best government in itself' and to the statements that conditional kings are no kings, that kings should have the power of life and death, and that they 'shall be accountable to no tribunal here'. The largest cross is placed beside the praise of Charles I as 'blessed saint and martyr'. Further objections concerned Morley's criticism of godly ministers as 'pernicious preachers' and ways of worship that were different from his own Prayer Book practice.

²³⁰ John Corbet, *The second part of the interest of England* [THL 094/1660/10]; Henry Fletcher, *The perfect politician* [Cat.A535]; and Hugh Peters, *A sermon by Hugh Peters: preached before his death: as it was taken by a faithful hand* [THL 094/C7].

²³¹ I. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England*, p.20, and R. Hutton, *The Restoration*, pp.145-6, and p.149, where Hutton proposes that in the first six months, Charles created a generally favourable impression, except for his indulgence of Quakers.

²³² George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, *A sermon preached at the magnificent coronation of the most high and mighty King Charles the II^d. King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith etc.* (1661) [THL 094/C7].

In July 1661, Hall signed the preface of his last published work, a commentary on the last six chapters of the book of Amos, which he had been writing over the preceding months.²³³ This book reveals Hall uncertainty about the future. He warned England that her sins mirrored those of Israel yet again, and while her people remained impenitent and divided in religion, and the nation was filled with blasphemies, apostasies, sin and ignorance, she would be destroyed by God. If, however, the people repented, the land would be saved, although not as millenarians like Homes and Vane had promised.²³⁴ Here again, specific political references are difficult to unveil, but there was an emphasis on the consequences of covenant-breaking and of a broken England: 'England is now upon her Sick-bed, and we have great cause to fear, that shee is upon her Death-bed, and will scarcely recover; wee shall shortly see whether she will live or dye, her critical hour is now at hand'²³⁵ Although he was certain that the elect would never perish, the only cure for England was national repentance.²³⁶

A month later in August 1661, Hall recorded that he 'should have bin indited for not Reading Common Prayer, but it was prevented, unknown to him.' At that time he had fallen ill with a quartan ague and thought he would die, but he wrote that this would have been a welcome outcome because 'he should now be set free from a debauched, Superstitious, Apostatizing

²³³ Although Hall claimed brevity, *Amos* runs to nearly 600 pages and was his lengthiest work.

²³⁴ P. Collinson, 'Biblical Rhetoric: The English Nation and National Sentiment in the Prophetic Mode' in C. McEachern and D. Shuger (eds.), *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (1997) 15-45, pp.19-20, 24-5, pointed out the significance of the minor prophets in the polemics of the day in 'prophetic mode' for perceptions of the English nation, its relationship with God and its future. Hall certainly was attuned to this theme, writing two published commentaries on the prophesies of Amos and Hosea, but in *Life*, fos.79 and 81, said he had prepared a further manuscript work, a commentary on the remaining lesser prophets, Obadiah, Micah, Nahun, Habbakuk, Zephany and Haggai. Collinson, p.28, also noted the repetitious view of the nation as the 'most favoured, most obligated, most negligent', which were notions often used by Hall.

²³⁵ Hall, *Amos*, p.113.

²³⁶ Hall, *Amos*, pp.508-9, 545, 547, 548-9, 578.

generation, & he hid from those fearfull evils which he fore-saw were coming upon the land.’²³⁷

By the time the Cavalier Parliament met in May 1662, Hall had already accepted the failure of his Presbyterian hopes, but with Parliament’s prompt passing of the Corporation Act and the Act of Uniformity, followed by the public burning of the Solemn League and Covenant, he knew he was facing ejection.²³⁸ When the deadline for decisions arrived on St. Bartholomew’s Day, 17th August 1662, Hall declined to conform. He was therefore stripped of parish and school, and was soon replaced.²³⁹ Yet he remained uncowed, still seeing the hand of God’s providence in all that happened to him: ‘& now one would think that he must needs be at a loss, ... yet he still went on with his labors for the Press & other wayes with good success.’²⁴⁰ Though cast outside the Church, he continued his campaign in different ways to maintain the truth in which he believed. Graduate students remained in his household to his dying day, and he was presented once for illegally baptising a child.²⁴¹ He went on with his writing and there are indications that he continued to read and mark his books including those he had supposedly given to the parish in 1661.²⁴² While noting that other ejected ministers were left in want, he was generously supported financially by benefactors

²³⁷ Hall, *Life*, fo.82.

²³⁸ E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant*, pp.180-1.

²³⁹ J. E. Vaughan, *The Parish and Ancient Grammar School of Kings Norton* (1973), p.24, states that Hall’s usher Joseph Potter replaced him five days before St. Bartholomew’s in 1662, staying until May 1665, the month after Hall’s death; and p.31, states that Hall was replaced in the parish church by William Collins briefly until 1663, and then by John Horton or Wharton. Hall did not have to consider a dependent family or a future career in making his decision, but any other course would have been a complete u-turn.

²⁴⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.83.

²⁴¹ Hall wrote that his ‘tablers’ continued to live with him to his financial benefit, and four students are mentioned by Hall’s biographer Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.93, and A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced 1660-2* (1934), p.242.

²⁴² Hall, *Life*, fo.83. On *The Dutch annotations upon the whole Bible* [Cat.A8, THL Q094/1657/16], Hall has made a dated entry, ‘Vpon England 1663’ by the side of the text on Hosea, Chap.ix verse 7, which reads: ‘The days of visitation are come, the days of recompense.’ There are also several books left to the parish library which were bought after 1662 such as his collections of Farewell sermons.

and parishioners, as a result of which he was ‘still a Giver & helpful to others & not burdensom to any.’²⁴³

Hall wrote of his condition *vis-a-vis* the new Church order, as one who ‘spent the most of his Sabbaths in private fasting & mourning for the loss of the holy solemnitys: for in Publike he could get nothing, the Devotion of the times being like to a three-halfe-penny-Ordinary, where a man must swimme thro a great mess of broth before he can come at a little chop of meate, & that many times mixt with Poysen.’²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, for consolation and support, he looked to the community of ejected ministers. Nearby at Moseley was Francis Cooper, whom Hall named as one of his ‘sons’ or former divinity students and an executor of his will.²⁴⁵ He was a younger man and far more overt than Hall in his objections to the Act of Uniformity, continuing to preach after August 1662 until in December he was dragged from the pulpit by ‘a Troop of Horse’ and imprisoned in Worcester for five months. Even in May 1664, Cooper was presented for preaching from his house during service time.²⁴⁶ Hall’s biographer, Richard Moore, also persisted with his preaching at Wythall, and when discovered and banned, removed to his home at Wetheroak Hill nearby and preached from a hole made in the side of the house.²⁴⁷ Both these ministers were former ‘sons’ of Hall.

²⁴³ Hall, *Life*, fos.83, 99-100. This support was given in donations but he was also supplied with a copyhold worth £15 per annum. Also Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.80.

²⁴⁴ Hall, *Life*, fo.110.

²⁴⁵ Hall, *Life*, fos.211-2. J. R. Hetherington, ‘Birmingham and the Ejected of 1662’, (Unpublished essay written before 1960, in BCL Archives), p.25, added that George Wright, ejected from Congerstone in Leicestershire, joined the Kings Norton group of ejected ministers. He preached at Kings Heath and was presented for attending Joseph Cooper at Moseley.

²⁴⁶ Edmund Calamy, *A continuation of the account of the ministers ... who were ejected... after the Restoration in 1660 by or before the Act of Uniformity* (1727), p.767, and A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.134.

²⁴⁷ Edmund Calamy, *A continuation of the account of the ministers*, p.774, and W. Black, ‘Richard Moore (1619-1683)’, *Oxf. DNB*. Calamy took many of his details from a ‘life’ of Cooper, probably by Daniel Williams, which appeared as a preface to the posthumously published work, *Misthoskopia, a prospect of heavenly glory for the comfort of Sion's mourners by Joseph Cooper* (1700).

There were many ejected ministers from Hall's clerical networks with whom he would have found support and collegiality: family members such as his nephew-in-law John Spilsbury of Bromsgrove and his nephew William Fincher of Wednesbury; former students such as Daniel Shelmerdine of Barrow upon Trent and John Reynolds of Wolverhampton, and old friends like Samuel Clarke and Samuel Willis of Birmingham.²⁴⁸ There is little evidence of how much contact he established with them, but Hall's biographer Richard Moore of Alvechurch, and his brother Simon of Worcester, certainly visited him, as did other ministers and reverend doctors, including those 'he had fitted for the service of God in his church'.²⁴⁹ However, as Ann Hughes has commented, Black Bartholomew's Day also caused ruptures in personal ties, and Hall would have suffered similarly.²⁵⁰ Only half his twenty known colleagues from the Kenilworth Classis joined him in refusing to conform, and among the remainder who did conform were several whom he had known as brethren since the 1630s and had regarded most highly, such as John Trapp and Thomas Dugard.²⁵¹

Although Hall's book-buying ability was much reduced after 1662, he spent the months before and after ejection creating a fellowship in print, seeking out works by men who were

²⁴⁸ These ejections are evidenced in Edmund Calamy, *A continuation of the account of the ministers*, and A.G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*. The Moore brothers' visit to Hall is mentioned by Richard Moore himself in *Pearl*, p.95.

²⁴⁹ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, pp.92-3, 95, 97. D. J. Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity* (2007), pp.21-2, finds that there was considerable continuing communication among the networks of ejected ministers which is revealed in the publication of a range of editions of farewell sermons.

²⁵⁰ A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and his Circle', p.792.

²⁵¹ Of the members of the Kenilworth Classis listed by Hall in his dedication to *Sal terrae*, ten were ejected: Alexander Bean of Stratford, John Bryan and Obadiah Grew of Coventry, Henry Butler of Warwick, Thomas Evans or Evance of Weddington, Luke Milbourne of Wroxall, Josiah Packwood of Hampton-in-Arden, D.Ryder of Bedworth, Samuel Tickner of Alcester and Hall himself. Nine conformed: Lawrence Bott, Simon Dingley, John Dowley of Alveston, Thomas Dugard of Barston, Daniel Eyres of Haseley, John Haddon, Robert Morton, Anthony Woodhull of Kenilworth and John Trapp. John Ley had died in May 1662 and Samuel Hawes of Honiley was ejected but later conformed. A. MacDonald, *A History of the King's School Worcester* (1936), p.100, and A. Leach, *Early Education in Worcester* (1913), p.256-7, show that Hall and Dugard had known each other from their schooldays at Worcester.

about to be or had been ejected.²⁵² Among the publications from 1662 were John Brinsley's *The Christians cabbala* written to comfort his Presbyterian parishioners and Baxter's *The mischief of self-ignorance* with its long preface explaining to his parishioners why he could no longer preach the gospel to them. He bought the work of another local Worcestershire minister, Benjamin Baxter's *A posing question*, which attempted to explain God's providence that led to so many congregations being without faithful preachers and urged people to turn to books for spiritual comfort. William Gearing's similar words of comfort in *The eye and wheel of providence*, taught that only God could sort out the great 'mutations' in this world 'as we have seen of late'.²⁵³

In 1663, apart from two books, all Hall's purchases were of farewell sermons, two volumes surviving out of the four he bought. One of the lost volumes was the collection of eight sermons delivered by his friend Francis Cooper, and the other was catalogued without a title.²⁵⁴ The two that survive are, *A compleat collection of farewell sermons*, which was a collation of many former editions, and a local east midland collection, *England's remembrancer*, which was bound with *Ultimus vale*, the last sermon of Matthew Newcomen before he left England to join the English Church at Leiden in Holland.²⁵⁵ *England's remembrancer* was second-hand or possibly a gift, as the author of each sermon was named in another hand to which Hall has added his own notes, most often adding the name of the

²⁵² There are no books in the catalogues or in the surviving collection that belong to Hall and postdate 1663, and it seems that by then Hall had run out of sufficient funds.

²⁵³ John Brinsley, *The Christians cabala* [Cat.A116]; Richard Baxter, *The mischiefs of self-ignorance* [Cat.A137]; Benjamin Baxter, *A posing question* [Cat.A142]; and William Gearing, *The eye and the wheel* [Cat.A326], pp.346-9.

²⁵⁴ Joseph Cooper, *The dead witnesse yet speaking to his living friends* (1663) [Cat.A301].

²⁵⁵ *A compleat collection of farewell sermons* [Cat.A300, THL A094/1663/3]; and *England's remembrancer: being a collection of farewell-sermons* [Cat.A300, THL 094/1663/2].

author's parish, and inserting a manuscript index.²⁵⁶ This shows his interest in personalising the text and establishing the context of the local brotherhood of ejected ministers with whom he identifies in a virtual ejected community in print if not in person.²⁵⁷ On the flyleaf, Hall indicated his judgement on the godly nobleness of ejection, writing, '*Via ad gloria est fuga gloriae*', or, the way to glory is to flee from it.

g) Conclusion

After 1651, it is clear that Hall's experience of successive Interregnum governments' *de facto* toleration of Independency and sectarianism further reinforced and polarised his politico-religious views. His defence of the orthodox ministry, his attacks on sectaries and his appeals to magistracy had been consistently conditioned by his continuing adherence to the National Covenant, which he saw as a sacred oath to God necessitating his personal efforts to enforce its branches and to enjoin the rest of the nation to do the same, and, as Edward Vallance has pointed out, adherence to the Covenant had become increasingly identified with a 'rather rigid' Presbyterianism.²⁵⁸ Hall did his best to keep his Covenant promises, firstly to safeguard reformed religion in doctrine, discipline and government, and then to preserve the rights and liberties of Parliament, seeking to maintain the godly ideal of the partnership between ministry and magistracy. Although he was unable to preserve the rightful role of monarchy in government, yet he managed to avoid publicly denying it.

²⁵⁶ D. Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day*, p.6, points out that this collection features the sermons of ministers from Staffordshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire that appear in no other compilations. Although the authors were unnamed, they were known within their own circles.

²⁵⁷ D. Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day*, p.21, notes the average age of the ten authors of these sermons, as 32.7 years, half Hall's age, but he knew at least one of them well. That was Samuel Shaw, a former student of Hall's, a former curate at Moseley, and translator of Hall's *Sal terrae*. Shaw was ejected from his living at Long Whatton in Leicestershire. He began his farewell sermon with a Pauline text first in Greek, and then translated into English. Hall has corrected this English translation on his copy.

²⁵⁸ E. Vallance, *Revolutionary England and the National Covenant*, p.182.

Although there is evidence that Hall co-operated with the Protectorate and worked within the latitudinarian polity of the Church, he was making the best of the prevailing circumstances and opportunities which allowed him to maintain his Presbyterianism and his high Calvinist doctrine without any personal compromise. Throughout he maintained his rigid position. While other moderate Presbyterians moved towards closer cooperation with their orthodox Independent brethren for mutual support in response to the sectarian threat, particularly the spread of Quakerism in the latter part of this decade, Hall moved farther away from them, and in this attitude he was typical of the hard-line Presbyterian authors and ministers whom he admired and whose elite company he aspired to. Rather than emulating the moderation of his neighbour, Richard Baxter, or of the increasingly moderate Presbyterian, Edward Reynolds, his role-model at this time was likely to have been someone like Daniel Cawdrey, who had followed a similar development from non-conformist anti-Arminianism to strict Presbyterianism and ejection. Cawdrey upheld his high Calvinism and castigated not only sectaries but all non-Presbyterians. He had engaged in a dispute with Henry Hammond, the Prayer Book adherent on one hand, and the Independents on the other, causing some disturbance among more conciliatory godly ministers in 1657 when he again attacked Independency as schismatic in his work *Independencie a great schism*, a work admired and recommended by Hall.²⁵⁹

The roller coaster of change in the period following the fall of the Protectorate until the Act of Uniformity in 1662 had little effect on Hall's hard-line religious outlook. Although for a brief period in 1660 he thought he could once again work with monarchy and so realise his Covenant oath in full, his consistent refusal to compromise inevitably led to his ejection from

²⁵⁹ Daniel Cawdrey, *Diatribes triplex* [Cat.A193, THL 094/1654/13], attacked Hammond. Hall also owned Cawdrey, *Independencie a great schism* [Cat.A192, THL 094/ 1657/1], which he cited in *Timothy*, sig.A4r, against the gathering of churches; on p.143 he commended its arguments against toleration, and on pp.175, 178, he cited it in support of Presbyterianism.

the established Church in 1662. While he was convinced that the elect would never fall, he recorded in his autobiography that turbulent times lay ahead.²⁶⁰ By then, the previous decade indeed looked like his ministerial heyday. He had shown some appreciation of Oliver Cromwell, calling him *'fortissime et clarrissime ille Olivarius'* in a note recording his death in 1658,²⁶¹ but he fully acknowledged his dissatisfaction with the new order and his regret for the Protectorate in his negative marking of Morley's coronation sermon.²⁶²

As Ann Hughes has shown, discussions of the Interregnum Church have established such strict criteria for judging its success, which together with the hindsight of the restoration of episcopacy, has resulted in the efforts of godly men like Hall being judged as constantly frustrated and doomed to failure.²⁶³ Derek Hirst for example, while accepting that it was the nature of godly polemic to claim ubiquitous sinfulness and to warn of ever-impending divine retribution, nevertheless described orthodox ministers as clergy with their backs to the wall who felt that all was lost well before the erection of the maypoles in 1660.²⁶⁴ Hall certainly used his polemical skills to exploit the sinfulness of the ungodly and to threaten punishments in parallel with those that befell sinners in the Bible in order to forward his campaign, and he undoubtedly felt surrounded by Devilish sectarians and all forms of profanity, but throughout the decade his overriding tone was one of excited hope and determination to meet the

²⁶⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.82, where Hall wrote that in August 1661, when he fell ill, he thought death was upon him and he would be freed from 'a debauched, Superstitious, Apostatizing generation, & he hid from those fearfull evils which he fore-saw were coming upon the land.'

²⁶¹ Christoph Helwig, *Theatrum historicum* [Cat.A381, THL Q 094/1651/7], p.182, meaning, 'Oliver, that most courageous and illustrious of men'. On the flyleaf of Daniel Cawdrey, *Independencie a great schism* [Cat.A195, THL 094/1657/1], Hall made notes on Cromwell's Welsh descent from Morgan Williams in the reign of Henry VII and beyond.

²⁶² George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, *A sermon preached at the magnificent coronation of the most high and mighty King Charles the IId* (1661) [THL 094/C7].

²⁶³ A. Hughes, 'The National Church in Interregnum England', p.109. In 'The Frustrations of the Godly', p.76, Hughes comments on the influence some godly ministers have had on this judgement as a result of their efforts to distance themselves at this time from any imputation of former radicalism. Hall refused to join them in this.

²⁶⁴ D. Hirst, 'The Failure of Godly Rule', pp.37, 66.

challenges. While his sacred commitment to the National Covenant guided his godly campaign, it seems that the main reason for his continuing optimism and hope was his unshakeable belief that as long as he kept this covenant promise, God would protect him. He had absolute faith that, whatever happened, God's providence was in control. In 1658 he spelt this out very clearly without showing the slightest despondency: '... though his (God's) Providences seem to cross his Promises, yet wait the Conclusion, and you shall see and say he hath done all things well ... We must not judge of Gods Actions before they be formed and finisht.' Furthermore, he emphasised that,

The Lord hath been doing a great work in England for many years past, his wayes have been in the clouds, and where we are yet, whether at the borders of Canaan, or going into the Wilderness again, we cannot tell: it will be our wisdom by Prayer and Patience to wait on the Lord, and then in the conclusion we shall see that all things shall work together for good unto Gods people, Rom. 8.28.²⁶⁵

A similarly optimistic message was given to magistrates in 1660, when he told them that as long as they upheld the kingdom of God, he would uphold them whatever difficulties they should meet, even from 'Atheists, Idolaters, Libertines and all the rable of Hell', and would reward them with 'a Crown of glory hereafter.'²⁶⁶

Hall's positive outlook can also be seen in his dedicated parochial ministry at Kings Norton, and the successful expansion of his godly campaign to reach national audiences through the medium of printed polemic, both aspects of his ministry to be considered in the next two chapters. Throughout this time his enthusiasm for book collecting continued, and the tracing of his views and responses between 1651 and 1665 has again revealed his careful selection of works on contemporary issues, and the enormous support and encouragement he found in reading them. It was only when he could no longer sustain his ministry without compromising his covenant oath to uphold reformed religion and to oppose prelacy and superstition, that he

²⁶⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.189.

²⁶⁶ Hall, *Magistracy*, p.34, and also sig.(a)1r, and p.157.

finally accepted ejection from the Church of England. Even then he submitted to providence rather than believing that all was finally lost, and his continuing positive attitude can be seen in his unflagging ministerial endeavours after that time until his dying days, which he spent writing for the press, instructing students, and advising and encouraging former parishioners and other visitors.²⁶⁷ In his will that was updated several times between 1661 and 1664, he thanked God for counting him ‘worthy of so great an honour as to beare witness (in any measure) to his truth, & to suffer for his Name,’ and with great certainty of his religious identity as one of God’s elect, said he was content to die in that faith which he had ‘preached & publisht to others.’²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Hall, *Life*, fos.83, 100, and Moore, *Pearl*, pp.92-5.

²⁶⁸ Hall, *Life*, fo.204.

CHAPTER 4

HALL'S PASTORAL MINISTRY

The parish of Kings Norton was at the centre of Hall's professional life from 1629 until his death in 1665.¹ It was a large parish, coterminous with the royal manor boundaries, with a population of about 1,500.² On his arrival from university in 1629, aged nineteen, Hall was appointed schoolmaster of the free school there, a position he kept until his ejection in 1662.³ After 1632, he also took up ministerial responsibilities, beginning with Wythall, the smallest chapelry in the far south of the parish.⁴ In 1635 he moved to the chapelry of Moseley in the north of the parish, the place he said he loved above all others and where Hall's local patrons, the godly Grevis family, lived.⁵ Finally, in 1641, he was promoted to the curacy of Kings Norton itself, where he remained during the Civil War, making it his business to minister to the godly in adjacent parishes from which the incumbents had fled for safety, and never

¹ Hall, *Life*, fo.17.

² See Figure 1. Kings Norton was a curacy, its mother parish being Bromsgrove. J. Amphlett (ed.), *A Survey of Worcestershire by Thomas Habington Vol.II* (1899), p.218, cites Habington's description of Kings Norton as being larger than almost any other parish in the shire. In Chantry Certificate 60, no. 10, it was said to be 'seven miles broad every way & 40 miles compass'. It was triangular in shape and covered about 24 square miles. Although the two chapelries of Wythall and Moseley eased the parishioners' travelling distances, Hall, *Magistracy*, sig.(a3)v, showed concern that some parishes were too large, and should be regulated in size for the mutual benefit of pastor and people. A. Dyer and D. M. Palliser (eds.), *The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603* (2005), p.288, give 198 households or c.1089 persons for Kings Norton parish in 1563. There were no surviving returns for 1603. Hall's brother John, as a deponent in the Tobias Gyles chancery court case in the 1620s, E1343 CHAS 1MICH 24, thought there were about 300 houses in the parish giving a population of about 1,500. The Hearth Tax return rotulet E179/201/312 for Worcestershire endorsed with a date of delivery of 25 May 1667, survives but the first entry for Kings Norton is so worn that much of the information has been destroyed, but at least 143 household entries can be detected. Only Dyer and Palliser, p.44, distinguish between the chapelries, excluding Moseley from their population figures for Kings Norton and including it with the original mother parish of Bromsgrove. See also G. Demidowicz and S. Price, *Kings Norton: A History* (2009), pp.50-1, for an estimated seventeenth-century population of 1,200-1,500.

³ Hall, *Life*, fo.17.

⁴ Hall lacked any formal training for the ministry as was typically the case. His practical knowledge was gained from whatever he could pick up from association with other godly colleagues, attending godly sermons and lectures, personal study and his own developing experience. Hall, *Life*, fo.19, wrote of spending three years listening to sermons, sitting at the feet of notable preachers before he was old enough for ordination and before 'he durst' take up his first cure. In the dedicatory preface 'to my beloved and approved Friends, In the Town of Birmingham' in *Font*, Hall elaborated on this point, saying he had sat at the feet of various lecturers at this time, naming Burgess, Slader, Grent and Atkins. Hall, *Life*, fo.44, paid tribute to his experience as curate of Moseley, where he had also been an auditor before he began preaching and where 'the foundation of all he had was layed.'

⁵ Hall, *Life*, fos.17, 19, 44, where he also speaks of his high regard for Sir Richard Grevis and his son, Colonel Richard Grevis. In *Pulpit*, sig. a1v, Hall also wrote of the 'lustre of years' at Moseley.

missing a Sabbath or a fast-day, except during five periods of brief imprisonment.⁶ After the war he continued his ministry in Kings Norton until his ejection from parish and school in 1662.

Hall described Moseley in 1635 as a famous godly haven where reformation had been a way of life for the previous 50 years,⁷ and where he had succeeded ‘very eminent and able Divines.’⁸ Kings Norton provided a stark contrast, being inhabited by ‘a rude & Ignorant people, ... Drunkards, Papists, Atheists, Sabbath-profaners &c.’, whom he inherited from many ‘Sir Johns’.⁹ However, by 1651 his parishioners were addressed in very different terms as, ‘my beloved parishioners, and approved friends’, and with similar praise a few years later when Hall styled himself, ‘your affectionate pastor’.¹⁰ By then, he was describing his reformed parish as a special gift of God, ‘a little Canaan flowing with Milk and Honey,

⁶ Hall, *Life*, fos.52, 58-9.

⁷ Hall, *Life*, fos.44-6.

⁸ Hall, *Pulpit*, sig.a1v. From Hall’s list of these divines in *Life*, fo.44, those whom he succeeded were: ‘Mr Will Yeomans, afterwards Minister in Bristoll. Mr Rob. Watts Mr. Josiah Nicholls, after Minister in cheshire. Mr Ward, after Minister at Lichfeild. Mr. Snape (who appears as ‘Curate of Mozeley’ in the parish register for 26th August 1621 for the baptism of his daughter, Elizabeth) Mr Simon Moore now Minister in Worcester. Mr Rob. Atkins. Mr Wooster. Mr Josiah Packwood. M.A. Mr James Cranford after Minister in London Mr Henry Pateman Mr John Blanks. M.A. (whose death in 1636 is recorded in the parish register).’ This list is repeated in Hall’s manuscript additions to the Epistle Dedicatory of his interleaved copy of a third edition of *Pulpit*, now held in the Bodleian Library, where he noted that these divines were ‘canonically obedient in a true sense.’ Josiah Packwood, later Vicar of Hampton in Arden, was about seven years older than Hall and his colleague in the Kenilworth Classis, and was also an ejected minister. CCEd records confirm a James Cranford as curate of Moseley in 1626. He was possibly the James Cranford (1602/3-1657) who was a notable anti-Laudian in Northamptonshire in the 1630s and a leading Presbyterian in London in the 1640s. Hall, *Life*, fo.10, included Cranford as an ‘eminent’ minister who died in the 1650s. The other ministers cannot be definitely identified but Richard Baxter twice acknowledged Moseley as a centre of non-conformity under the aegis of Sir Richard Grevis, (who inherited his Moseley estate in 1601 and died in 1632) in *Richard Baxters answer to Dr. Edward Stillingfleet's charge of separation* (1680), p.22, and in *A second true defence of the meer nonconformists against the untrue accusations, reasonings, and history of Dr. Edward Stillingfleet* (1681), p.33. On both occasions Baxter mentions Mr. Pateman in particular. In *A second true defence*, p.33, writing of pious men who sheltered ministers in the 1630s, Baxter confirmed that, ‘Sir Richard Graves at Moseley had Mr. Pateman & divers others, seldom without a Nonconformist.’ Samuel Shaw and Joseph Cooper who came after Hall at Moseley were undoubtedly zealous godly ministers; both were close friends of Hall and suffered ejected after the Restoration. Alison Fairn, *A History of Moseley* (1973), p.25, traces a continuing tradition of non-conformity at Moseley chapel between 1690 and 1696.

⁹ Hall, *Life*, fo.53. By ‘Sir Johns’, Hall implied his predecessors were more like Papist priests than godly Protestant ministers.

¹⁰ Hall, *Pulpit*, sig.a1r, and *Holiness*, sigs.a3r., a8v.

enriched with many Priviledges, which many of our Neighbours round about us want.’¹¹ While Hall was probably exaggerating the initial depravity of his parishioners in order to inflate the success of his reforms by which they became ‘civilised’ and ‘Tractable & Teachable’ with only a few ‘old knotts & knarles’ to be evened out, he undoubtedly saw his appointment as a divine providence.¹²

This chapter will focus on Hall’s claim to have effected godly reformation in Kings Norton, firstly considering his theory of pastoral care and its implementation through his pastoral ministry, and then his responses to the challenges to orthodox ministry between 1640 and his death in 1665. It will examine a range of quotidian activities that included not only his preaching, catechising and administration of the sacraments, but also his drive for a reformation of manners in collaboration with local magistrates, particularly with his friend and patron, Colonel Richard Grevis. In addition, it will investigate Hall’s teaching of boys at the grammar school and his further education of graduates in a household seminary, both of which he saw as extensions of his pastoral mission. This study of Hall’s pastoral activities also enables an examination of how far they accord with differing interpretations of Calvinist pastoral theory and practice, and of historians’ judgements that Presbyterian ministers like

¹¹ Hall, *Holiness*, sigs.A3v-A4r. A marginal note here referred to some of these privileges, which were having three ministers, a free school, a court baron, a charter (which was a town charter with rights of a weekly market and two annual fairs granted in 1616), and rich pastures.

¹² Hall, *Life*, fo.53, and *Pulpit*, p.69. He emphasised the providential significance of his age of thirty, the age at which major religious figures from David to Christ himself embarked on their major ministries, and the providential coincidence of the beginning of his ministry at Kings Norton with the beginning of Parliament’s work of national reformation. Also in *Holiness*, sigs.A3r-A3v, he wrote that the time and place of his dwelling was a direct providence of God. He argued that this was true for all ministers and, in *Hosea*, pp.151-4, that it was only further providential reasons that made it acceptable for ministers to move, such as persecution, illness, improvement of gifts, and when maintenance was insufficient. At the same time he opposed the accusations of sectaries, Quakers in particular, that ministers moved from parish to parish for covetous reasons or on a whim. P. Collinson, ‘Comment on Eamon Duffy’s Neale Lecture and the Colloquium’ in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England’s Long Reformation 1500-1800* (1998) 71-86, p. 81, noted that it was a Calvinist principle that itinerant ministry was undesirable and militated against the establishment of a godly preaching ministry in every parish. It was certainly the recommendation of Richard Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard*, p.7, that ministers ought to remain with their flocks except for good reasons.

Hall felt their efforts were doomed to failure well before the events following the Restoration. It also demonstrates Hall's regard for the theory and practice of earlier Moderate Puritans on whom he modelled himself, and whose traditions he aimed to preserve and continue.

A difficulty in investigating Hall's practice at grass roots is that, like so many writers of pastoral ideals, Hall takes for granted the daily routines of parish business that might tell us so much more about how a godly ministry impacted on parishioners. Patrick Collinson has written that pastoral guides printed between 1570 and 1640 almost exclusively focused on preaching, or at least on preaching together with catechizing, leaving a 'credibility gap' between what the ministry was purported to be concerned with and the things that must have occupied a parish minister throughout his days.¹³ The main sources for Hall's approach to his pastoral ministry at Kings Norton are his written works, in which he presented ideals of pastoral practice, but often placing them in polemical contrast to the worst scenarios of sectarian and popish practice rather than presenting details of his own daily practice.¹⁴ However, there is no surviving negative evidence such as court cases brought against Hall by his parishioners, although they do exist for his predecessor.¹⁵ The parish registers are

¹³ P. Collinson, 'Shepherds, Sheepdogs and Hirelings: The Pastoral Ministry in Post-Reformation England' in W. Sheils, and D. Wood (eds.), *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay. Papers read at the 1988 Summer Meeting and the 1989 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (1989) 185-220, pp.189, 207. This emphasis on preaching may be explained partly by the existence of *The book of common prayer* which was the parish manual, at least up to 1640, for other aspects of the ministry such as liturgical routines including the administration of the sacraments, and for approaches to parishioners at key points in their lives such as birth, marriage, illness and death, even if some ministers like Hall chose to side-step aspects of its formulations.

¹⁴ A. Hughes, "'Popular' Protestantism in the 1640s and 1650s', p.238, has argued that Orthodox Puritan accounts of failure or success in this period are always artfully constructed narratives, with a particular polemical slant, rather than factual descriptions of reality, and Hall's works are good example of this approach.

¹⁵ Hall's predecessor in both the school and the curacy of Kings Norton was Tobias Gyles. He was presented twice before the Worcestershire sessions: WRO Quarter sessions ref. 1/1/54/53 (1628), for extortionately taking from John Field of Kings Norton 12d. for solemnising his marriage with Mary Badger; and WRO Quarter sessions ref. 1/1/54/54 (1628), for extortionately taking 7 shillings from Edward Dutton for marrying him to Joan Walsh. Before that, Gyles had become embroiled in disputes over the school with a local influential gentleman, George Middlemore of Haselwell. This George Middlemore was the father, or possibly the grandfather, of Frances Wolfreston the book collector, who was married at Kings Norton in 1631. W.P.W. Phillimore, *Some Account of the family of Middlemore, of Warwickshire and Worcestershire* (1901), makes no

continuous but show no radical changes such as idiosyncratic godly naming of children.¹⁶ Church warden accounts for the period of Hall's ministry are missing and nothing significant concerning Hall arises from Kings Norton wills.¹⁷ Hall's biographer praised his pastoral success, as would be expected, but a more independent witness, Richard Baxter, made a few comments of endorsement, describing Hall as the only Presbyterian he knew of in the area, 'an ancient Divine, known by his many Writings, of a quick spirit, a godly, upright man'.¹⁸

Hall's published ideals, even with their polemical spin, are useful for understanding his aims, and probably reflect much of his practice. He claimed in his preface to *Holiness*, a more evangelical than polemical publication, that this book was his 'spirituall Legacy' to his parishioners containing 'the summe and substance of many Sermons' which he had already

mention of the Middlemores' dealings in the parish of Kings Norton, but, pp.100, 104, notes their possible religious affiliation as recusants which may have increased tensions. The Edgbaston branch of the family certainly were Catholics and as A. Hopper, 'Tinker Fox and the Politics of Garrison Warfare in the West Midlands, 1643-50', *Midland History* 24 (1999) 98-113, p.102, noted, their home was considered a fair target by Tinker Fox who took it over for Parliament and used it as a garrison base for his harassment of the surrounding area.) The traditional account of the end of Gyles's teaching career in Kings Norton, argues that he was ejected from the school for poor teaching by angry villagers. However, the depositions for the case which survive in the National Archives, E1343 CHAS 1MICH 24, are contradictory. Middlemore was prone to litigation when he did not get his way and had already been responsible for events leading to the ejection of a former usher and master, Henry Kempster, and also of Gyles's predecessor as curate, Nathaniel Bradshaw. (See E.A.B. Bernard and H.M. Grant, 'The Parish Church of Kingsnorton', pp.136-140.) Giles had initially been Middlemore's protégé but one deponent claimed that Gyles had stood against him in another lawsuit and Middlemore wanted revenge. John Hall, Vicar of Bromsgrove and brother of Thomas Hall, was a deponent in the case who supported Gyles.

¹⁶ K. Wright, 'The Performance of Piety': Exploring Godly Culture and Identity in England c1580-1640' (University of Birmingham PhD. thesis 2008), pp.61-100, discusses naming of children in Nottingham and Banbury in the seventeenth century, and notes a direct link between the incumbency of William Whateley and an increase in the use of 'grace' names for Puritan children. P. Collinson, 'What's in a name? Dudley Fenner and the Peculiarities of Puritan Nomenclature' in K. Fincham and P. Lake (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England* (2006) 113-127, looks at the potential reflection of aggressive and divisive godly religion in the use of Puritan names. R. Hoolbrooke, 'The family and pastoral care' in G. R. Evans (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care* (2000), p.284, noted the increase of biblical baptismal names used during the incumbency of Richard Greenham at Dry Drayton. Hall owned Edward Lyford, *The true interpretation and etymologie of Christian names* [Cat.A444, THL 094/1655/14], written so that men and women might know the origins of their names and walk 'answerable' to them, but there was no noticeable change in the names chosen for children in Kings Norton.

¹⁷ The only mention of Hall in local wills is found in PCC PROB/11/248, the will of Elizabeth Grevis of Moseley, the niece of Colonel Richard Grevis, dated 1654, by which he was left a mourning ring worth 20 shillings. W. Sheils, 'Oliver Heywood and his Congregation', pp.261-77, noted that wills revealed little in Heywood's case too.

¹⁸ Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae, Part III*, p.93. Also, in confuting Mr. Hinkley after Hall's death, in *A third defence of the cause of peace* (1681), p.12, Baxter noted that 'Mr. Arthur Salway, Mr. John Hall, Mr. Thomas Hall, (your next Neighbour) Mr. Smith at Dudley, Mr. Smith at Stoke, (a younger Man) and not far of Mr. Anthony Burgess, Mr. Blake, &c.' were 'on our side.'

delivered to them.¹⁹ He enjoined them to read, digest and practise his advice as a matter of eternity, and it seems unlikely that he would have presented a theory to his parishioners that differed from his practice.²⁰ Books in Hall's library provide further indications of where he derived his ideas, and the influences he chose in support of his pastoral ministry and his teaching of pupils and graduates.

a) Hall's theory of pastoral care

Hall's preferred title was 'pastor', and he crystallised his theory of godly pastoral mission as care of the flock.²¹ In all his advice to other ministers, Hall emphasised the spiritual underpinning of the role with the need for prayer, both for the flock and for themselves, and for acknowledgement of total reliance on God for his 'directing, assisting, emboldening, enlarging spirit, from whom all thy sufficiencies are.'²²

In *Sal terrae*, Hall made a distinction between ministers who were 'pastors', and ministers who were 'teachers', referring to the Presbyterian ideal of different types of ministers within the Presbytery.²³ However, without the full establishment of Presbyterianism, he had to incorporate both roles within his pastoral ministry, as instructed in such cases by the Assembly of Divines.²⁴ While he was a keen exegete and certainly saw deep knowledge of

¹⁹ Hall, *Holiness*, sig.A7v.

²⁰ Hall, *Holiness*, sig.A7v.

²¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.195.

²² Hall, *Apologie*, p.104.

²³ Hall, *Pulpit*, pp.6-7, wrote that pastors were to see to the manners of the flock, to preach the Gospel, deliver the sacraments, and direct them in their practice, while teachers and doctors, being imbued with considerable learning, were to expound the Scriptures. He noted that the origin of this teaching about these different roles came from Paul, Ephesians 4:11 and Romans 12:4-8. These roles were also well described in the Elizabethan Presbyterian publication, *The second admonition to Parliament* (1672), which is also cited for Presbyterian organisation by P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p.335.

²⁴ *A directory for the publique worship of God* (1650), pp.61-2, 'To the right honorable the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament; the humble advice of the Assembly of Divines concerning church-government', explained that although the different gifts of ministry may meet in one minister and therefore be exercised by

the Scriptures and their teaching as an integral part of his pastoral role, he looked for theology from the university doctors.²⁵ Practical divinity in preaching the Word of God, administering the sacraments, encouraging godly living, promoting orthodoxy and Presbyterian, and opposing all error and sectaries were the main objectives of his ministry at both local and national levels. David Cornick and Peter Lake have written of Elizabethan ministers translating formal theology into practical divinity and experiential religion through the ‘conduit’ of the minister of the Word, which, albeit seventy years later, is the tradition in which Hall was operating.²⁶

Since the days of Edward VI, the Protestant ideal of pastoral ministry had undergone a considerable change of emphasis from its pre-Reformation Catholic counterpart. There were continuities in that both ideals were parish based, centering on public worship and cycles of rites concerning births, marriages and deaths, and both required preaching and the comfort of pastoral care. However, the new Protestant theological emphases meant that their aims and perspectives were very differently understood.²⁷ Luther’s insistence on justification by faith alone abandoned the Catholic penitential foundation of pastoral care, and substituted the Protestant belief that only through hearing and responding to the Word of God could souls be converted and saved.²⁸ This new focus made preaching the central focus of the post-

him, in congregations where there were more than one minister, different roles could be assigned to different ministers according to their particular gifts or strengths.

²⁵ Hall, *Pulpit*, pp.4, 63, for example, noted that the gifts required of a minister were sound doctrine, holy living and a natural dexterity for teaching, and that ordained ministers were essentially public teachers.

²⁶ D. Cornick, ‘Pastoral Care in England: Perkins, Baxter and Burnet’ in G. R. Evans (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care* (2000), and P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church*, p.116.

²⁷ W. J. Black, *Reformation Pastors: Richard Baxter and the Ideal of the Reformed Pastor* (2004), pp.21-3, where he argues that it was not widespread discontent with Catholic pastoral care that led to change but a theological change concerning the means of salvation.

²⁸ D. Cornick, ‘The Reformation Crisis in Pastoral Care’, in G. R. Evans (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care* (2003). Hall also emphasised the centrality of preaching to the ministry. In *Timothy*, pp.329, he observed that, ‘Ministers must be Preachers.’ 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* (2001) 221-48, points out the critical differences between the role of preaching before and after the Reformation

Reformation pastoral ministry.²⁹ Hall saw the differences clearly, writing polemically that the popish ministry was a mainly sacrificial one centred on the ‘filthy idol’ of the mass, with the priests administering an inordinate number of sacraments, and teaching the traditions of men rather than of God. By so doing they perverted souls and drew them away from Christ. In contrast, the Protestant godly ministry was one that abhorred the idolatry of popish religion, whose ministers were sent to preach the ‘perfect Word of God’ and pray, administering only the pure sacraments, and thus converting souls and bringing them to Christ.³⁰

While historians generally agree that by the seventeenth century the Protestant Reformation had proved an undoubted success, there has been considerable disagreement among them on the course of that success and the impact of Reformation theology on pastoral care at parish level, particularly over the levels of resistance and the quality of care. Christopher Haigh has argued that Reformation changes being imposed from the top down, led to a reality in parishes of divisive rather than inclusive Calvinist teaching and widespread resistance of parishioners, particularly to the demands of the theology of predestination.³¹ Christopher Haigh’s view has been supported by Eamon Duffy’s demonstration of the vibrancy and strength of pre-Reformation Catholicism in England and survivals thereafter, and has also found some sympathy from Leif Dixon who, while disagreeing that Calvinist teaching was

and, pp.261-3, notes that Protestant theology located the ministerial ‘power of the keys’ not in salvation through absolution in confession, but in preaching and its power to bring listeners to conversion.

²⁹ A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, pp.17, 39.

³⁰ Hall gives this comparison in tabular form in *Pulpit*, p.68 as a part of his defence of the Protestant ministry against the claims of a group of mechanic preachers with whom he disputed in 1651.

³¹ C. Haigh, ‘The Taming of Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England’, *History* 85:280 (2000) 572-88, pp.577, 581, 587, and *passim*. He argues that this resistance was so effective that parishioners were able to force ministers to ameliorate their pastoral practice. As a result, a middle way developed somewhere between Popery and Calvinist Protestantism, or an embryonic Anglicanism, even before the Arminian challenge in the reign of Charles I, although he accepts that there were still plenty of Calvinist ministers and nonconformists working in the parishes.

divisive, feels that most people probably didn't want to devote their lives to intense piety.³² Christopher Marsh proposes that there were in fact contradictory reactions to religious change which combined both a sense of loss and of release, while an underlying obedience to authority eased the acceptance of Protestantism,³³ and Keith Wrightson has pointed out that the impact of the Reformation on parishes varied widely according to differing local conditions.³⁴ However, Christopher Haigh's interpretation has been totally challenged by Diarmaid MacCulloch, Patrick Collinson and Eric Carlson, who all argue that Calvinism was not divisive in itself, nor detrimental to pastoral care.³⁵

Calvinist doctrine was Hall's inspiration to devoted, and what he saw as inclusive rather than divisive, pastoral care: he believed that his flock was given to him by God with the charge of enabling God's saving grace to work in all those he had elected for salvation, although he

³² L. Dixon, 'Calvinist Theology and Pastoral Reality in the Reign of King James I: The Perspective of Thomas Wilson', *Seventeenth Century* 23:2 (2008) 173-97. If anything, Dixon believes there was a shift by the seventeenth century as Calvinism was forced to meet the new circumstances of a nation in which Protestantism had become the religion of the many rather than of the few, and was no longer under intense threats of Popery and ignorance. However, he thinks Kendall was wrong to see this shift as 'selling out' Calvinism, but sees it as pastoral care based on an inverted recognition of election, that is, not so much the necessity for parishioners to prove their election as to show that they were not reprobate.

³³ E. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars* (1992); and C. Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England* (1998), especially in the 'Conclusion: The Compliance Conundrum'.

³⁴ K. Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England' in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (1996) 10-46, pp.26-31.

³⁵ D. MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* (2nd edn., 2001), pp.117-8, 123, feels C. Haigh depends overmuch on evidence from Lancashire, which was a special case, and on church court records which are open to other interpretations. That mainstream Protestantism was firmly based on Calvinist godly orthodoxy has been P. Collinson's consistent argument. In 'Comment on Eamon Duffy's Neale Lecture and the Colloquium', pp.83, he wrote that in spite of his earlier view that the loss of formal penitential rites without the gain of effective Protestant discipline was a major reason for the development of Protestant division over pastoral care, this did not necessarily mean the lack of effective pastoral care and there were many popular godly activities that were almost direct replacements to Catholic rituals. Also p. 82, he noted activities such as sermon gadding, psalm singing and public fasts, together with the drama provided by scaffold scenes which are one aspect of popular godly religion that has been explored in particular by P. Lake and M. Questier. E. J. Carlson, 'Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds? Parish Ministers and the English Reformation', *History* 88:291 (2003) 423-36, p.436 and *passim*, believes that a sensitive and balanced pastoral ideal had been a part of post-Reformation practice since the early '*salutary influence*' of Martin Bucer, including the preaching of an intermix of repentance and mercy, and the understanding of a far wider remit of pastoral care than a concentration on predestination. He accepts that there was resistance to Calvinist pastoral care but not on the scale Haigh suggests, and that the initiative remained with ministers and not with the people. P. Collinson, *Godly People*, p.21, also pointed out the emphasis of Bucer on the wellbeing of the people and of pastoral ministry.

could never be sure whom God had chosen.³⁶ This conditioned not only his emphasis on staying with his parishioners through thick and thin, even in the face of great difficulties such as civil war, but also his strategies for getting the very best he could out of them. However, these pastoral concerns did not diminish his high Calvinist teaching. He did not underplay the doctrine of predestination but concentrated, as Leif Dixon has suggested Jacobean pastors did, on making it as accessible as possible.³⁷ It is also interesting that as a minister who did teach predestination as the only basis of faith, his catechism ‘for the weaker sort’ did not use the term ‘predestination’. Ian Green has noted the lack of this term in catechisms written by Calvinists, concluding therefore that pastors did not stress or even teach the negative side of predestination, but Hall shows that this may not necessarily have been the case.³⁸

Hall’s doctrinal teachings are presented to his parishioners in *Holiness*, in which he established the foundation of his teaching as the Calvinist *ordo salutis*, the preordained stages from election and the free gift of faith, though conversion, justification and sanctification to salvation and glorification in Heaven.³⁹ ‘Justification and Sanctification’, he wrote in the Epistle Dedicatory, ‘are the two main Pillars in the house of God, whereupon the whole

³⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, p.390, believed that ministers were instruments of winning many souls to Christ, and so would win a greater reward or crown than those who were not ministers. When such a minister came to die, he could reflect on his life and how many he had won for Christ and say, ‘Behold I, and the children which the Lord hath given me.’

³⁷ L. Dixon, ‘Calvinist Theology and Pastoral Reality in the Reign of King James I: The Perspective of Thomas Wilson’, *Seventeenth Century* 23:2 (2008) 173-97, pp.193-4.

³⁸ Hall’s *Catechism* was appended to his second edition of *Holiness* (1655). I. Green, *The Christian’s ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530-1740* (1996), pp.356-86, discusses these issues at length. On p.367 for example, he notes that the majority of authors of catechisms in his sample before and after 1650 drew a ‘discreet veil’ over the deeper questions relating to predestination. This may have been Hall’s motive in dealing with the weaker sort, tailoring his teaching to their abilities and needs in order to bring them into parish communion, but it was not how he usually preached.

³⁹ R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (1980), p.3 and *passim*, argued that Calvin’s theology of saving faith, with faith being essential before repentance in the *ordo salutis*, was a sequence changed by Beza who in turn was followed by Perkins and the later Westminster theology of the Assembly of Divines. Where Hall listed his idea of the sequence of saving grace in the *ordo salutis*, for example in *Timothy*, pp.134, 170, 402, faith always preceded repentance. For Hall’s summary of the doctrine of grace and the journey of the elect from election to glorification, see *Timothy*, pp.400-3.

building stands.’⁴⁰ His message was uncompromising: man’s nature was corrupt and sinful, and it wasn’t in the power of any man to convert or sanctify himself.⁴¹ However, he warned the elect not to sit idly by ‘like stocks and sots’ and do nothing, as the Antinomians taught.⁴² While he always denied free-will in his soteriology, for only God could make his people willing, yet he encouraged his parishioners to the effort of using ‘all holy means, as fasting, prayer, hearing, meditation, self-examination, &c. ... and make the work of sanctification prevalent over corruption.’⁴³ If they were truly elect, their justification would be seen in the fruits of their developing sanctification, that is, in their holy living and their good works, although such things were signs of their faith not the means of it.⁴⁴ For further encouragement and comfort, Hall laid emphasis in his teaching on assurance and experiential knowledge, arguing that his parishioners must have ‘an affective, practicall, experimentall knowledge’ of God and that it was ‘a safe and sure way to labour after assurance of our interest in Christ, by the fruits of sanctification; it is safe reasoning from the Effects to the Causes.’⁴⁵ These positions were derived directly from scripture, particularly from St. Paul’s writings on assurance, and Hall’s doctrinal teachings were similarly elaborated in other works, particularly in *Timothy*.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Hall, *Holiness*, sig. A6r.

⁴¹ Hall, *Holiness*, p.11, and *Catechism*, pp.3-4.

⁴² Hall, *Holiness*, p.8.

⁴³ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.6, 8, 80. Also Hall, *Timothy*, pp.400-3 asserted that although people could exercise free will in many respects such as in sinning, none could be exercised to make any advance in salvation.

⁴⁴ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.48-9. Also on p.80, Hall encouraged them by pointing out that differences between them were to be expected, for there were degrees in God’s allocation of talents, or faith and graces, and these developed and strengthened at differing rates.

⁴⁵ Hall, *Holiness*, sig.A4v-A5r, and p.50.

⁴⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.48, 126, 170, 203, 285, 289, 292-3, 379, 395-8, 400-3, 437, elaborated on all these aspects of his doctrine. In addition, he wrote of the temporary faith of those whose faith was false, thus explaining why some professors fell away from the truth, and of perseverance, the doctrine that true faith could never fail. See K. Bruhn, ‘Sinne Unfolded’: Time, Election, and Disbelief among the Godly in Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England’, *Church History* 77:3 (2008) 574-95, for an exploration of the search for assurance in English godly practical divinity, particularly its role in pastoral care in alleviating anxiety without diminishing predestinarian doctrine.

There are close similarities between Hall's pastoral ideas and those of Elizabethan Moderate Puritans, such as the principles of Ashton and Chaderton as analysed by Peter Lake.⁴⁷ Hall had considerable respect too for Perkins, whom R.T. Kendall sees as the founder in England of experimental predestination together with the doctrine of assurance.⁴⁸ These doctrines were also espoused by Whitaker and Chaderton, although Hall placed the authority for his belief in them on scriptural sources.⁴⁹ Hall would also have approved of the image of an early modern godly pastor as it has been distilled by Neil Enssle from the works of divines such as George Herbert, Edward Dering, Richard Greenham and Thomas Fuller, and particularly the idealised models put forward by Hall's Presbyterian friend Samuel Clarke.⁵⁰ Equally acceptable would have been the pastoral ideals of the godly ministers of East Anglia in the 1630s, discussed by Tom Webster.⁵¹ All the requirements for pastoral care demanded by this succession of godly ministers were espoused by Hall himself in *Apologie*, where he examined ideal pastoral qualities and practices. He stressed that pastors should be accessible to their flocks and undertake the protean roles of salt, light, prophet, steward, reaper, servant, father, soldier, teacher, labourer, watchman, ambassador and fisherman.⁵² However, the central and most necessary duty of a minister, was to preach, because preaching was the primary and ordinary means of regeneration, conversion and salvation. As the salt of the earth they had

⁴⁷ Chaderton's requirements are detailed in P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church*, pp.36-7 and match Hall's ideas as he expressed them throughout his *Apologie*. For example, P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p.131, for Ashton's use of the biblical image of 'Urim and Thurim' as the knowledge and holiness of the pastor's function which was one of many images of the pastor that was still being expounded by Hall in *Apologie*, pp.93-4.

⁴⁸ R.T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, pp.8-9, 51, 61-3, 66.

⁴⁹ R.T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism*, pp.8-9, 54; P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, pp.99-100, 166-7; Hall, for example, *Timothy*, pp.49-50: 'Hence the Apostle exhorts us to give all diligence to get assurance by doing the things named, 1 Pet. 1, 5, 6, 7. with 10. and blessednesse is pronounced to the doers of Gods commands, Rev. 22, 14. Psal. 15. 1, 2. and the sentence at the day of judgement of absolution or condemnation will be pronounced according to our works, because they best show our faith or infidelity, Matth. 25. so 1 Iohn 3. 14. 2 Tim 2. 1.'

⁵⁰ N. Enssle, 'Patterns of Godly Life: The Ideal Parish Minister in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century English Thought', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28:1 (1997) 3-28.

⁵¹ T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.95-121.

⁵² Hall, *Apologie*, pp.11, 1-29.

not only to preach the Word of God in the pulpit but to preach it by the example of their godly living. They must therefore be ‘irreprovable’.⁵³ While Hall underlined the enormous challenge and sheer laboriousness of the ministerial calling, he also noted its high status.⁵⁴

Hall’s library shows that he looked to books for practical support. The range of ‘self-help’ manuals on sale was limited but he owned the works of William Perkins, and perhaps the most renowned guide, Richard Bernard’s *A faithfull shepheard*, which was written for the benefit of ordinands and inexperienced ministers.⁵⁵ Patrick Collinson identified this book as one of the most substantial treatments of the ministry of its time, popular and influential,⁵⁶ although as he and William Black point out, it concentrated on preaching, and even when surveying other aspects of the ministry, it describes them in terms of their relationship with preaching.⁵⁷ Hall certainly drew on it and recommended it to others. He also had a large

⁵³ Hall, *Apologie*, pp.29-30, 50-7. T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p.121 suggests that living as an exemplar of the spirituality and godliness that he was preaching was a great strain for a minister, but pivotal to godly pastoral care.

⁵⁴ Hall, *Apologie*, p.49.

⁵⁵ Hall owned this book, Richard Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard* [Cat.A65], and his own works have considerable resonance with it on a range of topics. For example, in *The faithfull shepheard*, p.2, Bernard uses a number of metaphors to describe the various features of ministry: ‘Light, salt, saviours, Seers, Chariots of Israel, & Horsemen thereof, Pastours, planters, Wayterers, Builders, and Stewards, Watchmen, Soldiers, Nurses, and such like’. In his *Sal terrae*, (later translated by Samuel Shaw under the title *Apologie for the ministry*), which Hall submitted for his degree of B.D., he takes all these metaphors and elucidates them one by one in his first two chapters adding a few of his own, such as prophets, witnesses, teachers, legates, ambassadors and messengers, stars and trumpets. Bernard’s sections on the need for ministers to study, pray, meditate and write, and the need for a good rounded library, which is described in some detail, are also echoed by Hall throughout his works, but particularly in *Vindiciae* his defence of humane learning for ministers in order to interpret and expound the scriptures. W. J. Black, ‘Richard Baxter and the Ideal of the Reformed Pastor’, in *Reformation Pastors*, pp.24-51, analysed the available stock of treatises and sermons devoted to pastoral practice in order to explore the evolution of the ideals and practice of pastoral ministry that were available from the days of Elizabeth up to the Civil War. Like P. Collinson, he finds a gap between the rhetoric of the high ideals and the reality on the ground, for while there was a continuing commitment to a pulpit-centred pastoral ministry, even the most assiduous and zealous ministers needed further means for effective ministry.

⁵⁶ P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p.245, and *Cranmer to Sancroft*, p.54.

⁵⁷ P. Collinson, *Cranmer to Sancroft*, p.54, also believes that the lack of rounded guidance manuals for the ministry represented a step back from what was available for pre-Reformation apprentice priests. W. J. Black, *Reformation Pastors*, p.38, describes Bernard’s work as a casuistry of a godly preaching ministry. He also points out, pp.228-9, that preaching was one of the most intimidating areas of pastoral practice for young ministers because the salvation of their flock depended on it, so that when Richard Greenham began his domestic seminary, the idea of vocational training was adopted so readily because it offered help in this most exacting of Reformation imperatives to preach. However, as Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p.96, 105, also reminds us, preaching

collection of books in the genres of godly living and ‘cases of conscience’ which supported ministers in reconciling the daily lives and spiritual difficulties of parishioners with a life of faith, most notably the works of Richard Greenham. Also in the collection were similar works by Ames, Ball, Bolton, Bernard, Bolton, Brinsley, Byfield, Burroughs, William Chibald, Clarke, Culverwell, Daniel and Jeremiah Dyke, Ford, Bishop Hall, Hildersham, Hill, Hooker, Preston, Daniel and John Rogers, Sibbes and Ward.⁵⁸ Hall continued to collect such supportive works written during the days of his own ministry by Baxter, Anthony Burgess, Clarke, Collings, Culverwell, John Brinsley junior, Cobbet, Owen, Scudder and Trapp. The book he recommended most highly to his parishioners was Alexander Grosse, *The happines of enjoying, and making a true and speedy use of Christ* (1647), particularly for the six directions given in the dedicatory epistle.⁵⁹ Oliver Bowles, *De pastore evangelico tractatus*, was his choice for fellow pastors, a book which William Black describes as ‘a tedious restatement of pre-Laudian Protestant understanding of pastoral ministry’, but which obviously suited Hall’s purposes well.⁶⁰

was considered important by all Protestants and there was much more to a godly ministry than a focus on preaching to the exclusion of everything else. See also F. Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (2003), p.430.

⁵⁸ Many of these works were written as a result of an emphasis on bringing about further reformation from within the parishes, with the support of godly clerical and patronage networks, following the collapse of the Elizabethan movement for ecclesiastical reform. See P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp.462-6; J. Sommerville, ‘Interpreting Seventeenth-Century English Religion as Movements’, *Church History* 69:4 (2000), 749-69, p.756 calls such men ‘second generation puritans’; and T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.334-8, notes their efforts as an ‘early Stuart Puritan Movement’.

⁵⁹ Hall owned a copy of Alexander Grosse’s book, *The happines of enjoying and making a true and speedy use of Christ* [Cat.A349, THL 094/1647/7]. His recommendation for the serious perusal of this work, especially the six principles laid down in the epistle, is made in *Life*, fo.210. The six principles were: 1. to grow in the sight and sense of personal sin; 2. not to deceive themselves with a form instead of a power of holiness; 3. To be truly meek and humble; 4. To be fervent in love to God, his truth and his children; 5. To be very serious, studious, circumspect and careful in all their walking; 6. To be steadfast in adhering to the truth.

⁶⁰ W. J. Black, *Reformation Pastors*, p.50. Hall recommended Oliver Bowles, *De pastore* [Cat.A100] to pastors in seven of his published works. He also owned Bowles’s parliamentary fast sermon, *Zeale for God’s house quickened* (1643) [THL 094/C6].

b) Hall's responses to new challenges to pastoral ministry

How far orthodox parish-based ministers like Hall felt under threat in the 1640s and 1650s, with the rising challenges of Independents and sectaries, and how far such ministers felt doomed to failure, are recurring themes of recent historical research.⁶¹ However, Ann Hughes has argued that not only were there many opportunities for both rigid Presbyterians like Hall and more moderate ones who also believed in a national Church, but that in spite of their frustrations, they achieved considerable success in popularising their beliefs and practices, and refused to accept defeat until the end of the century. Furthermore, far from being an elitist religion requiring intense intellectual and zealous commitment, Presbyterianism may be seen as more dynamic and appealing to a broader section of the population than has formerly been allowed.⁶² While past discussion has focused on the degree of liberty of conscience allowed, there has been little done on the workings of the 'public profession' in the parishes. She sees the Interregnum Church as less dependent on centralising forces as on local participation, and argues that largely as a result of its responsiveness to local issues it worked well, with advantages and opportunities for a broad range of Puritans including the most 'rigid' Presbyterians.⁶³ Her position has been followed by Elliot Vernon, who suggests that the negative conclusions of modern scholars stem from the judgements of Victorian historians such as Alexander Drysdale and William Shaw, who argued that Presbyterianism failed to win hearts and minds through pastoral work because of its preoccupation with ecclesiology and publishing at the expense of their preaching and pastoral roles.⁶⁴ William Shaw also

⁶¹ D. Hirst, 'The Failure of Godly Rule in the English Republic', *Past and Present* 132 (1991) 33-66, and C. Durston, 'Puritan Rule and the Failure of Cultural Revolution 1645-1660' in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (1996) 210-33.

⁶² A. Hughes, 'The National Church in Interregnum England', 'The Frustrations of the Godly', and 'Popular' Presbyterianism in the 1640s and 1650s'.

⁶³ A. Hughes, 'The Public Profession of these Nations'.

⁶⁴ E. Vernon, 'Presbyterianism during the English Revolution' in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006) 115-136, pp.115-6.

believed that Presbyterianism was fundamentally incompatible with English Protestantism as it had been practised since the Reformation.⁶⁵

While Hall continued to campaign for Presbyterian government and discipline through his published works, in which he regularly blamed the lack of Presbyterian order for the ills of his day, his explicit theory and exercise of pastoral ministry exemplify the more positive judgements of historians such as Ann Hughes and Elliot Vernon. He undoubtedly saw his main role as a spiritual one, as missionary and pastor in the winning and nurture of souls. The lack of a national Presbyterian settlement was deeply regretted but was no hindrance to his pastoral work, not least because he never gave up hope of further godly reformation. In his advice and encouragement to his flock, he wrote that although the godly should strive for unity, God had always allowed schisms and heresies in the Church to test and to prove his people, to make them more careful and watchful, but such disturbances should be no discouragement, and the Church itself had always been and would always be '*a mixt society.*' Hall believed that however difficult the struggle for further reformation, true faith would finally triumph.⁶⁶ While the sectaries and latitudinarian Church posed threats which his Moderate Puritan role-models had not faced, Hall enjoyed greater positive opportunities in his freedom to reject episcopacy and Prayer Book liturgy, and to participate in local Presbyterian church organisation, and he took them up wholeheartedly. There is no surviving copy of a *Directory of worship* in Hall's library but there is no doubt that he used and valued it. He praised its authorship by holy and learned divines, saying that there were many directories in

⁶⁵ W. A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church*, Vol. I, p.4.

⁶⁶ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.139-40, and *Amos*, p.574. Hall, *Timothy*, p.11 pointed out that even one of Christ's own apostles was a 'devill'.

the world but none so complete as this.⁶⁷ He rejected the Prayer Book totally as ‘nauseous and odious’, an inlet of Popery, and in 1662 engaged in face-to-face argument against set prayers with Bishop John Gauden.⁶⁸ He believed godly liturgy should be ‘plain, simple, spiritual worship’ as required by the Gospel, with no altars, images, ceremonies or idolatrous organ or other music, except for human voice singing the psalms, and that without quavering or descants.⁶⁹ Hall collected books against ceremonies and in favour of a godly liturgy, including works by his friend John Ley, which were gifts from the author.⁷⁰ Hall said he had written a treatise against the surplice and ceremonies himself, although it has not survived.⁷¹ However, he said nothing about the interior arrangement and decor of his own church, apart from his enthusiastic marking of the orders from Parliament to destroy any altars or other popish innovations introduced by the Laudians.⁷² As for his Presbyterianism, he was an active

⁶⁷ Hall, *Font*, p.78, and also pp.77-9, where he used the *Directory* as a witness in his mock trial of the Anabaptist.

⁶⁸ Hall, *Life*, fo. 83,107. J. Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603-1689* (1998), p.117, argued that less than a quarter of parishes bothered to buy the *Directory*. Hall supported all that the *Directory* stood for but there is no surviving copy, nor any record of a copy in his catalogues. It may have been destroyed as an unwelcome survivor as may other copies all round the country where the records of expenditure on it have not survived. The shortage of copies may also have some relationship with the fact that so few were needed for each parish, unlike the Prayer Book which was bought by large numbers of individual worshippers to follow church services. Hall had some books attacking the Prayer Book: Cornelius Burges, *Reasons shewing the necessity of reformation of the publick 1. doctrine, 2. worship, 3. rites and ceremonies, 4. church-government, and discipline* (1640) [THL 094/C2]; Dwalphintramus, *The anatomie of the service book* [THL 094/1642/2]; William Bartlet, *Soveraigne balsome* (1649) [THL 094/C24]; Jean Calvin, *The judgment of foraign divines ... touching the discipline, liturgie, and ceremonies of the Church of England*, (1660) [THL 094/C2]; *A modest discourse concerning the ceremonies heretofore used in the Church of England* (1660) [THL 094/C2]; William Ames, *A fresh suit against human ceremonies in God's worship* (1633) [Cat.A651]; John Sprint, *The anatomy of the controverted ceremonies of the Church of England* [Cat.A650]; Edmund Calamy, *Englands looking-glasse* (1642) [THL 094/C6].

⁶⁹ Hall, *Amos*, pp. 313-7, *Pulpit*, p.140, and *Hosea*, pp.146-7. John Cotton, *Singing of psalms a Gospel-ordinance* (1650) [THL 094/C9]; Nathaniel Homes, *Gospel musick. Or, the singing of Davids psalms* (1644) [THL 094/C16]; and Thomas Ford, *Singing of Psalmes the duty of Christians under the New Testament* (1653) [Cat.A311].

⁷⁰ John Ley, *A debate concerning the English liturgy* (1656) [THL 094/C21], on which Hall has marked his disapproval of *The book of common prayer*, including a series of six crosses on p.22, and *Exceptions many and just* (1653) [THL 094/C21].

⁷¹ Hall, *Life*, fo. 81.

⁷² *A declaration of the Commons in Parliament: made September the 9th 1641*(1641) [THL 094/C34]. G. Demidowicz and S. Price, *Kings Norton: A History*, pp.64-5, have examined the material remains and accounts that survive since the Reformation but can make no conclusive remarks about the interior of the parish church during Hall's time. In 1674, according to ‘Inspections of Churches and Parsonage houses in the Diocese of Worcester in 1674, 1676, 1684 and 1687’ in P. Morgan (ed.), *Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series*, 12 (1986), p.34, the church building was in good repair.

member of the Kenilworth Classis although he has left no record of how he followed Presbyterian organisation in the parish itself. He dedicated *Sal terrae* to his Kenilworth brethren, and *Vindiciae* to the Wirksworth Classis with which he maintained ties and where two of his 'sons' and his nephew-in-law, John Spilsbury, were ordained.⁷³

Hall's biographer wrote that he regarded the parish as his wife and the school as his children; yet while Hall also told his flock that he had remained unmarried to 'be the fitter for your service,' he was as reticent in describing his parishioners and his relationships with them as he was at depicting his daily pastoral practice.⁷⁴ Ralph Josselin, the godly minister of Earls Colne, divided his parishioners into three main groups with only a small number, 'the society', being zealous, whereas Richard Baxter distinguished twelve different groups.⁷⁵ Hall

⁷³ Hall referred to his graduate students as his 'sons'. In *Sal terrae*, on the leaf following the title page, Hall listed twenty colleagues in the Kenilworth classis in this order: John Bryan, Obadiah Grew, John Ley, Daniel Eyres, Anthony Woodhull, Robert Morton, John Dowley, John Trapp, Henry Butler, Thomas Dugard, Alexander Beane, Luke Millbourne, Simon Dingley, Samuel Tickner, John Haddon, Josiah Packwood, Laurence Bott, Thomas Evance, Dudley Ryder and Samuel Hawes, as well as others who were unnamed. In *Vindiciae*, he listed his most beloved brethren in the Wirksworth classis: Martin Topham, Peter Watkinson, Thomas Shelmerdine, Robert Porter, John Oldfield, Everard Poole and others who were unnamed. Hall also had links with Shropshire Presbyterians through John Bryan, the son of Dr. John Bryan of his own Kenilworth classis, and Thomas Blake once of St. Alkmund's in Shropshire who later returned to Tamworth, and to whom Hall dedicated *Font*. The links may have been forged by other means as well: Hall underlined many of the names of Shropshire Presbyterians on *A testimony of the ministers in the province of Salop* (1648) [THL 094/C24] and added at the end, '*Nullus ne ego sim, et hic ultimus esse volo*', or 'Though I be nothing, I wish to be the last here'. For the Fourth Shropshire Classis and Shropshire classes in general, see B. Coulton, 'The Fourth Shropshire Presbyterian Classis, 1647-62', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 73 (1998) 33-43.

⁷⁴ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.103, in his '*Epitaph on Mr. Thomas Hall*', and Hall, *Holiness*, sig.A7r. In *Amos*, pp.426-7, Hall attacked the celibacy of popish priests and gave full support to Protestant clerical marriage.

⁷⁵ A. MacFarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683* (1976), pp.xxi, and John Walter, 'Josselin, Ralph (1617-1683)', *Oxf. DNB*; E. Duffy, 'The Godly and the multitude in Stuart England', *Seventeenth Century* 1:1 (1986) 31-55, pp.38-40, discusses Baxter's different groups. C. D. Gilbert, 'Richard Baxter's Ministry in Kidderminster 1641-1661' (University of Birmingham M.Phil. thesis, 1995), pp.85-90, has suggested that Baxter's categories of parishioners can be merged into rather wider groups that correspond to a small number who were considered apathetic or hostile such as atheists, sectaries, Papists etc, with a large central group that listened and might be willing but did not attend the sacrament for fear of discipline, and finally a godly core of about a third, or 600 adults, who fully participated. W. J. Black, *Reformation Pastors*, p.105, notes that Baxter's godly core numbering 600, were 600 out of 1,600 parishioners. The other 1,000 opted out for fear of discipline although they agreed to remain as hearers.

made no reference to individual parishioners apart from the Grevis family,⁷⁶ but his writings reveal indirectly that he did categorise them. The number of families in the parish was between 200 and 300, and he pointed in his catechism to a majority of weak but willing parishioners, ‘old, ignorant country people, and such as have weake memories (which everywhere are usually the greatest number)’. In the preface of *Pulpit* he praised a more committed core of godly believers, who submitted to examination before the sacrament, and had freely sent in hundreds of their children and servants to that end. He praised them, saying, ‘You have begun well; persevere, that no man get your Crown from you.’⁷⁷ The implication here is that they were materially better off, having servants to send in. At the other end of the spectrum were those unwilling to cooperate, for whatever reasons; perhaps some were local Papists and Quakers, and included those who were quick to raise maypoles on the green in 1660.⁷⁸

Hall also listed some general categories of people who resisted full participation in the parish, but with a reservation that they may well be saints waiting in the wings for their call: wicked men ‘as yet unconverted’, ‘those who have lapsed and fallen through infirmities,’ and ‘such as

⁷⁶ J. E. Vaughan, *The Parish Church and Ancient Grammar School of King’s Norton*, p. 28, noted that Francis Potter was Hall’s usher in 1661. An extensive note in the parish register in 1653, names Potter as its keeper, with Hall’s full endorsement.

⁷⁷ Hall, *Pulpit*, sig a1v.

⁷⁸ Joseph Besse, *A collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers* (1753), p.60, for the year 1656, noted that Quaker John Bissel of Kings Norton was in trouble for non-payment of tithes, and p.62, for 1661, a Quaker meeting was being held at the home of Edward Newey in Kings Norton, when five Quakers were arrested and committed to Worcester Gaol. Edward Newey was mentioned by Baxter, *The Quakers catechism* [THL 094/C27], p.1, and noted in the margin by Hall as a local man from Rednal. C.D. Gilbert, ‘The Catholics in Worcestershire 1642-1651’, *Recusant History* 20:3 (1991) 336-57, concluded that in general Worcestershire had fewer Catholics than other counties but there were notable Catholic gentry families including the Middlemores of Hawkesley in Kings Norton and also the Middlemores in the neighbouring parish of Edgbaston. G. Demidowicz and S. Price, *King’s Norton: A History*, p.65, cite the Compton Census of 1674 which lists 19 Papists in the parish out of a total of 1,082 communicants. These included Middlemores and the Field family of Weatheroak Hill. Hall, *Funebria*, p.10, mentioned a ‘profest’ local Papist who provided a maypole in 1660, and local Quakers in *Life*, fos.73-4.

differ from us in opinion.’⁷⁹ He also mentioned persecutors and open enemies of the truth, but even these required forbearance, because ‘Christ prayed for those that crucified him; and Steven for those that stoned him, and Paul for such as persecuted him.’⁸⁰ This was Hall’s stated ideal, and yet in his published works he showed no toleration at all, and there was considerable tension here between his understanding of the Gospel and his need to fight for the truth and keep the wolf from his flock.⁸¹ However, something of the difficulties he experienced in persuading a flock to godliness may also be seen in his advice that ‘Rigour rather alienates wicked men from the truth, and drives them further off instead of winning them.’ Instead, possibly a practical lesson he learned in time, he proposed that ministers would enjoy greater success if they were grave but approachable and mild, ‘with a fatherly benevolence and affection desiring rather to be loved than feared.’⁸²

c) Theory and practice: preaching, preaching by example, and catechising

The first and chief means Hall used to draw his parishioners to God was by preaching.⁸³ Echoing the words of Richard Bernard, he insisted that, ‘without faith there was no salvation, but without preaching there was no faith, and without preachers there would be no ministry, and so, without the ministry and ministers there would be no salvation.’⁸⁴ The role of ministers, like that of John the Baptist, was to prepare for and enable the process of

⁷⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.195.

⁸⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.195. In *Holiness*, pp.24-42, Hall also distinguished four types of unholy men: 1. The openly profane, 2. Formal professors, 3. Neuters and lukewarm persons, and 4. Those who scorned holiness.

⁸¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.196. Hall borrowed this observation from John Sheffeld, *A good conscience* [Cat.A590, THL 094/1650/5], Chapter 14.

⁸² Hall, *Apologie*, p.100.

⁸³ Hall, *Amos*, p.491.

⁸⁴ Hall, *Apologie*, p.25, echoing Richard Bernard, *The faithful shepherd*, p.2: ‘How can people call on him in whom they haue not beleueed? How can they beleuee of whom they haue not heard? and how can they heare without a Preacher?’ Hall, *Apologie*, pp.29, 30, 34, again reinforced the points that God demanded preaching for man’s salvation and that wherever there were men to be saved, God would provide the means.

redemption: 'The Preacher beats the ears, but God alone breaks the heart.'⁸⁵ After conversion, preaching continued, as the spiritual food of the soul, to nurture sanctification.⁸⁶ The priority Hall gave to preaching is seen in his claims that when the preaching of a minister, who was God's ambassador, agreed with the scriptural word of God, it should be esteemed as the same as the word of God himself, and likewise, their threatenings were the threatenings of God.⁸⁷ Preaching, and the preparation for it, was so important that a pastor would be accountable for every sermon he preached, and parishioners for every sermon they heard.⁸⁸

Hall's preaching role-models, besides Christ, were Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremy, John the Baptist and Luther, who, 'what ever he spake or writ was operative on mens hearts'.⁸⁹ He described the dynamics of preaching as preparing well, and 'soundly interpreting and opening the sence of Scripture by Scripture, in an authoritative way, applying it to the use of the hearers, by doctrine, Exhortation, Rebuke and Comfort', and he called his preaching style plain and powerful.⁹⁰ This meant a style that was 'simple without figures, plain without mysteries, pure

⁸⁵ Hall, *Apologie*, p.50.

⁸⁶ Hall, *Amos*, p.487.

⁸⁷ Hall, *Amos*, pp.150-1.

⁸⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.258, 312, and *Holiness*, p.186. To assist his skills in preaching and perhaps to teach them, besides the pastoral works mentioned above, Hall also used two esteemed manuals, Wilhelm Zepper, *Ars habendi et audiendi conciones sacras* (1598) [Cat.B314], cited in *Holiness*, p.185, and Andreas Hyperius, *De formandis concionibus sacris, seu de interpretatione Scripturarum populari* (1553) [Cat.B170].

⁸⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.331.

⁹⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.94 and *Pulpit*, p.5. Hall owned John Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes* [Cat.A734], a handbook on preaching and sources for the most eminent exponents of content and method; Oliver Bowles, *De pastore* [Cat.A100]; and Alsted, *Theologia prophetica* [Cat.A3]. However, much of what Hall says about preaching derives from Perkins, *Arte of prophecyng*, a treatise included in William Perkins, *The workes* [Cat.A501, THL Q 094/1631/8], of which only one volume survives. Hall's imitation of Perkins includes stock ideas such as scripture being the best interpreter of scripture, the effectiveness of preaching the acid of the law before the comfort of the Gospel, lifting up the voice like a trumpet and crying aloud, (from John 7:37), using plain and simple speech, pricking the heart and so on, all found in Perkins, pp.31, 103,111-115, 136, 143, 148. For Perkins's theory of preaching see M. Morrissey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-Century English Theories of Preaching', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53:4 (2002) 686-706, pp.692-3. F. Bremer and E. Rydell, 'Performance Art?: Puritans in the Pulpit', *History Today* 45:9 (1995) 50-54, p.51, note the influence of this work of Perkins on the Puritan 'plain style'. D. Appleby, 'Issues of Audience and Reception in Restoration Preaching' in G. Baker, and A. McGruer (eds.), *Readers, Audiences and Coteries in Early Modern England* (2006) 10-27, p.11, also points out the difficulties of recovering the delivery and impact of the spoken sermon, and pp.19-20, the importance of clarity to the 'plain style'. T. Webster, 'Stephen Marshall and Finchingfield', pp.4-5, noted Marshall's mastery

without mixture; not curious, painted, affected, unnecessarily adorned.’⁹¹ It was a style that should pierce and prick the inmost consciences of sinners.⁹² Ideally, the delivery should be instant and urgent, ‘in the demonstration of the spirit and power’ and not just saying or reading the words but crying them out loud, lifting up the voice like a trumpet and rousing the congregation to battle so that even the faint-hearted and the drowsy responded to the call.⁹³ Hall believed that such preaching had a secret energy and great authority, and was therefore a godly public performance which required careful preparation.⁹⁴ In every way, therefore, Hall expounded a traditional understanding of Reformed preaching developed in Europe and England since the Reformation.⁹⁵

While a good preacher had to be a good scriptural textualist and preach sound doctrine by way of teaching and informing, he also had to apply the word according to the spiritual needs of his congregation. A pastor, therefore, had to know his flock, and ‘must so preach that the

of the plain style in his early preaching career in Essex. The plain style of preaching is also discussed by J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp.137-40.

⁹¹ Hall, *Apologie*, p.102.

⁹² Hall, *Apologie*, pp.5, 102. Also in *Amos*, p.308, Hall encouraged his parishioners to welcome his direct style of preaching, saying: ‘You will suffer the Lawyer to tell you of the flaws in your estates, the Physician to tell you of the diseases in your bodies, the Watchman to tell you of an approaching enemy; and will you not suffer the Minister to tell you of eternal dangers, that so you may prevent them?’ Also *Amos*, p.483, and *Hosea*, p.46-7 for plain preaching and the use of parables and similitudes.

⁹³ Hall, *Timothy*, p.331. The idea of preaching in demonstration of the spirit was used by Perkins, *Arte of prophesying*, pp.132-4.

⁹⁴ Hall, *Apologie*, p.93 and *Life*, fo.94. Hall, *Life*, fo.94, noted in a contemporary cliché that he would never offer to God that which cost him nothing, and referred to his conduct of services as his ‘publick performances’. F. Bremer and E. Rydell, ‘Performance Art? Puritans in the Pulpit’, explore the drama of Puritan preaching that tends to be concealed by the term ‘plain preaching’ and the failure of printed sermons to reflect the impassioned delivery of the pulpit versions, which is known from related sources. They argue that such performances became increasingly sedate after the Civil War in reaction to the use of drama by the sectaries. P. Collinson, ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as forms of popular religious culture’ in C. Durston and J. Eales (eds.), *The culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (1996) 32-57, pp.47-8 also discusses performance aspects of the Puritan sermon, and like T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.105-6, comments on the probable differences between a sermon preached and a sermon published. Also A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp.315-25, looks at the elusiveness of catching the preacher in the pulpit but notes the undeniable popularity of sermons and references to them as moving performances. Ideas of sermon and other forms of Puritan performance have been explored in K. Wright, ‘The Performance of Piety’: Exploring Godly Culture and Identity in England c1580-1640’, especially Chapter 5, pp.183-240, for sermons.

⁹⁵ A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, pp.10-39. Also the *Directory*, pp. 19-25.

people they preach to may be made to know their abominations. We must not beat the Aire and reprove the sins of the Court and the Countrey, but ... preach against the sins of our Congregations.’⁹⁶ Transgressions were to be pointed out without fear or favour, whether to rich or poor, and to be done in a spirit of healing and love.⁹⁷ Hall gave his parishioners instructions on the right receiving of sermons, encouraging them to accept the sharpness of his sermons which was employed to further their salvation rather than allowing them to rot in their sins.⁹⁸ However, he acknowledged that reproofs needed to be framed according to the needs of individuals, for ‘all sores are not cured with one salve.’⁹⁹ In traditional godly terms, he advocated balanced preaching that provided a mix between the sharpness of the Law and the sweetness of the Gospel, between judgement and mercy.¹⁰⁰ Preaching, he wrote, should save souls, but taking away all hope would break auditors hearts and destroy their will to make an effort, so some crumbs of comfort and encouragement should always be given.¹⁰¹

According to Moore, Hall preached twice on Sunday, and Hall himself referred to weekday and evening sermons.¹⁰² Although he amassed 15 volumes of sermon notes, none survives, and the closest we get to the content and style of his sermons is his publication, *Holiness*.¹⁰³ However, it seems that Hall’s preaching met with some resistance, although he claimed mysteriously that not only was he later thanked for his ‘*rayling*’ but also he made unexpected

⁹⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, p.413. Richard Bernard, *The faithfull shepheard*, pp.71-3, also recommended this approach in preaching. F. Bremer and E. Rydell, ‘Performance Art?: Puritans in the Pulpit’, p.51, have pointed out that the success of Puritan preaching was attributed by contemporaries to its adaptation to the capacity of its hearers.

⁹⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, p.413.

⁹⁸ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.46-7, 185-91, *Timothy*, pp.170, 300.

⁹⁹ Hall, *Amos*, p.546.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, *Amos*, pp. 143, 546-7.

¹⁰¹ Hall, *Amos*, p. 546.

¹⁰² Hall, *Life*, fo.65, and *Timothy*, pp.326, 462-3.

¹⁰³ Hall, ‘Sermon notes of my owne 15 Vol. Besides on Psal. 51. & loose notes’ [Cat.A644].

gains in ‘temporalls’.¹⁰⁴ Moore used the same stock phrases such as ‘plain, but profitable and powerful’ to describe Hall’s preaching, which he said was uncompromising, ‘never respecting the persons of men, whether rich or poor, ... [but] reprov’d sin in whomsoever he saw it.’¹⁰⁵ He noted too, that the effect was positive, many coming from afar to listen and to seek his advice in their fears, doubts and temptations.¹⁰⁶ That Hall’s reputation was such that godly men sent their sons from a distance to be educated by him in school and seminary can certainly be verified.¹⁰⁷

It was a commonplace that one of the most powerful means of persuasion godly ministers used in their pastoral work was their own living example, and when a minister such as Richard Kilby failed in this respect, his ministry collapsed.¹⁰⁸ This was a theme to which Hall frequently returned: ‘preaching with the life, is the life of Preaching; for, words make not such an impression upon the soul, as works do.’¹⁰⁹ A minister should preach by ‘his eating, drinking, travailing, entertaining, clothing, life and language.’¹¹⁰ Hall was highly critical of bad pastors, or ‘dumb dogs’.¹¹¹ He reminded his parishioners that he would not ask them to do anything he would not do first himself, but also that they had reciprocal responsibilities

¹⁰⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.313-4. It seems too, *Life*, fos.19-21, that in his early days of preaching, Hall once resorted to ‘particularising’, picking on a local usurer, but the usurer withdrew from the congregation and there is no further mention of this tactic which tended to backfire on the ministers who used it. E. J. Carlson, ‘Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds?’, pp.424-6 argues that particularising was not a normal practice in godly preaching leading to divisiveness in the parish as suggested by C. Haigh, but more likely to be used by incompetent ministers.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.84.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.77.

¹⁰⁷ See below, section f) iv) Hall’s household seminary.

¹⁰⁸ P. Lake, ‘Richard Kilby: A Study in Personal and Professional Failure’, *Studies in Church History* 26 (1989) 221-235.

¹⁰⁹ Hall, *Apologie*, p.93.

¹¹⁰ Hall, *Apologie*, p.92.

¹¹¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.169-70, and also in *Apologie*, p.94.

such as praying for their pastors, and preparing themselves and their families to hear the word and retain it.¹¹²

Since the Reformation, godly ministers had found that preaching was not sufficient by itself to effect the great transformation among parishioners for which they had hoped, and therefore, they emphasised the necessity of preparation for hearing the Word of God. Thus conscientious pastors catechised their flocks and taught them the rudiments, and depending on their capacities, the more complex aspects of their faith. Again echoing Bernard, Hall noted his dependence on catechising for success: ‘I have experimentally found more good by week-dayes Catechising, then by many yeeres Preaching.’¹¹³ As Ian Green has found, the huge number of catechisms in circulation in the period demonstrates that Protestant reformation was a work in progress everywhere.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Hall, *Holiness*, sig.A5v, *Apologie*, pp.91, 93, and *Life*, fos.1-3; indeed this *Life* or autobiography was Hall’s living life put before his readers as an example.

¹¹³ Hall, *Timothy*, sigs.A4v. Richard Bernard, *The faithfull shepherd*, p.9, similarly wrote: ‘Experience shewes how that little profit comes by preaching where Catechizing is neglected. Many there are who teach twice or three times in a weeke: and yet see lesse fruit of many yeeres labour by not catechizing withall, than some reape in one yeere, who performe both together.’ Hall owned Zachary Crofton’s treatise on catechising, *Catechising Gods ordinance* [Cat.A239], and two copies of The Provincial Assembly at London, *An exhortation to catechising* (1655) one bound in THL 094/C18, the other missing from its binding but appearing in the index of THL 094/C29.

¹¹⁴ I. Green, *The Christian’s ABC*, pp.4-5, 25-44, 50-9. Hall had a number of advanced catechisms, several being bequeathed in Catalogue C to the school library, which would have been used for language and religious studies. These are: Toussaint Berchet, *Stoicheiosis tes Christianon pisteos, e katechismos elementaria tradition Christianorum fidei* [Cat.C20, THL 094/1628/6], (a catechism in Greek and Latin, which Green notes, p.611, as an edition of Calvin’s catechism with a commentary by Berchet, used as a textbook for students of Greek); John Harmar, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, *He katechesis tes Christianikes threskeias syntomotera* [Cat.C85], (which was a translation of the Westminster Assembly’s *Shorter Catechism* into Greek and Latin); Alexander Nowell, *Christianismou stoicheiosis ... Christianae pietatis prima institutio, ad vsuum scholarum Graece & latine scripta* [Cat.C114, THL 094/1577/1]. In Catalogue A, Hall listed several catechisms that were not for children but for students of doctrine and theology such as James Ussher, a persistent advocate of catechising, *A body of divinity* [Cat.A687], (which I. Green, p.733, describes as a composite work with extracts from a number of catechisms); Lancelot Andrewes’s book, catalogued as ‘Large Catechism’ [Cat.A16], which was probably *A patterne of catechisticall doctrine*; a catechism of Petrus Canisius which could have been one of a number as listed by Green, pp.610-1; William Ames, *The substance of Christian religion* [Cat.A24, THL 094/1659/8]; James Bacon, *A plaine and profitable catechisme* [Cat.A86]; John Ball, listed as ‘His Catechism’ [Cat.A55], could be one of several as in Green, pp.588-9; Samuel Crook, *The guide vnto true blessednesse* [Cat.A238]; Zacharias Ursinus, *Corpus doctrinae Christianae* [Cat.A686, THL 094/1623/3], (Ursinus’s lectures in Latin on the Heidelberg Catechism of which he was a chief author, and which Dewey Wallace, ‘Puritan Polemical Divinity and Doctrinal Controversy’ in Coffey and Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, p. 207, notes had a significant effect on the development of Reformed theology, and which Green,

Hall's advice to other pastors reflects his ideal of pastoral practice. He instructed them to be accessible to the weakest, winning them over with works of mercy and argued for inclusivity:

Be not high nor supercilious, if they be ignorant, you should instruct them; if scandalous, by all wise means you should labour to reclaim them. This rigorous casting off them and their Infants doth but harden them, and make them out of love with Religion; when a tender and compassionate carriage towards them, might have brought them into better order.¹¹⁵

That this was his practical approach is supported by the publication of his own brief catechism, which mainly concerned preparation for those coming to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which like baptism, he viewed as a means of strengthening faith.¹¹⁶ His catechism was prepared for the ignorant, weak country people of his flock, and he put the rudiments as simply and briefly as he could.¹¹⁷ William Black argues that Baxter followed an intensive programme of catechising parishioners two days a week to achieve a Bucerian pastoral ideal of conversion to faith and church discipline from within each individual parish, because he had given up waiting for discipline to be imposed from above. He argues that Baxter's Worcester Association was for mutual clerical support in these ideals of conversion from within the parish. However, Don Gilbert noted that Baxter was increasingly frustrated by the difficulties he met, and in later days was thinking of a more rigid arrangement, enforcing godliness by means of magistrates attached to each parish.¹¹⁸ Like Baxter and thousands of others, Hall was forced onto his own initiatives and personal authority. He had to enrol every means of cooperation, and catechising was an important one. He implied in his *Catechism* that he catechised on some weekdays and on Sundays. Also like Baxter, he laid a strong emphasis on the religious duty of parishioners to participate in their own spiritual health and to support

The Christian's ABC, pp. 203-4, 199-200, 732, lists as an advanced catechism which was valued by Hall's friend Thomas Dugard, who taught it to his pupils); and Westminster Assembly, *The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines ... concerning a larger catechism* (1647) [THL 094/C24]. Finally there survives one page of Henry Hammond, *A practical catechism* (1655), a work which Hall cites in *Timothy*, p.109. This page is bound in with Samuel Hudson, *The essence and unities of the Church Catholike visible* (1645) [THL 094/C30].

¹¹⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, sigs. A4v-A5r.

¹¹⁶ Hall's *Catechism* was appended to the second edition of *Holiness* (1655), his work for his parishioners.

¹¹⁷ Hall, *Catechism*, said such folk were discouraged by longer catechisms.

¹¹⁸ C. D. Gilbert, 'Richard Baxter's Ministry in Kidderminster', pp.101-2.

his ministry by catechising their families and following a life of prayer and piety in their homes, directing them to follow a routine of daily prayer, instruction and psalm singing.¹¹⁹ While ministers planted the Word in public, it was up to the governors of families to water it in private.¹²⁰ He encouraged all parishioners in the use of holy means, first and foremost by reading and meditating on the Word where they would find all they needed to fit them for ‘all good works in their places and callings,’ and teach them what to do and believe as ‘Magistrates, Masters and Servants, Parents and Children.’¹²¹ He urged the practices of fasting, prayer, hearing, meditation and self-examination.¹²² For particular help in such practical undertakings, he referred his parishioners to James Ussher’s book, *A Method for Meditation*.¹²³ Hall also collected and recommended several works on family piety and conduct: Griffith’s huge *Bethel*, Bolton’s *Directions*, Cobbet and Cawdrey on the duties of parents and children, Goodwin and Gouge on domestical duties, Woodward on children, and Reyner and Whately on marriage.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.A5v, and pp.462-3. Also *Font*, sig.B1r.

¹²⁰ Hall, *Pulpit*, pp.3, 63, *Holiness*, p.9 and *Timothy*, pp.4-5, 248, 461-4. A. Cambers and M. Wolfe, ‘Reading, Family Religion, and Evangelical Identity in Late Stuart England’, *The Historical Journal* 47:4 (2004) 796-825, pp. 875–6, have shown the importance of domestic religion as a sociable practice that nurtured evangelical friendships and identity, and suggest a continuity with earlier seventeenth century practice. K. Charlton and M. Spufford, ‘Literacy, Society and Education’ in D. Lowenstein and J. Mueller (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature* (2002) 15-55, p.16, discuss the connections between Christianity and Protestantism with the family and the early education of children in religion.

¹²¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.301. R. Houlbrooke, ‘The Family and Pastoral Care in England’, pp.287-8, points out that the increasing accessibility of printed material such as Bibles, catechisms and advice literature allowed the godly household a fuller role in active Protestantism.

¹²² Hall, *Holiness*, p.80. He had a large number of works on everyday piety and its practice including several bestsellers which I. Green has noted in *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (2000) 305–71, such as: John Brinsley, *The true vvatch* [Cat.A119, THL 094/1637/2], and Henry Scudder, *The Christians daily vvalke* [Cat.A617].

¹²³ Hall, *Font*, sig.B1r., where he described this work as ‘a most singulare help for Practical divinity’.

¹²⁴ Matthew Griffith, *Bethel: or, A forme for families* [Cat.A350], a work first published in 1633 that also emphasised the importance of obedience to the king; Robert Bolton, *Some generall directions for a comfortable walking* [Cat.A101]; Thomas Cobbet, *A fruitfull and usefull discourse touching the honour due from children to parents, and the duty of parents towards their children* [Cat.A216, THL 094/1656/3]; Daniel Cawdrey, *Family reformation promoted* [cited in *Timothy* sig.a1v]; Philip Goodwin, *Religio domestica rediviva: or, Family-religion revived. Or, A treatise as to discover the good old way of serving God in private houses* [Cat.A361]; William Gouge, *Of domesticall duties* [Cat.A338]; Hezekiah Woodward, *Of the child’s portion* [Cat.A733]; Edward Reyner, *Precepts for Christian practice* [Cat.A547, THL 094/1658/8]; and William Whately, *A care-cloth or a treatise of the cumbers and troubles of marriage* [Cat.A708]. Hall also owned Edward Lyford, *The true interpretation and etymologie of Christian names* [Cat.A444, THL 094/1655/14], and Francis Osburne,

d) The role and administration of the Sacraments

Hall wrote on his copy of the Presbyterian John Collings' work concerning vicars and their duties, that 'Every Minister is bound by his place to dispense the Sacraments as well as preach. tis an Essentiall part of his Ministeriall Function ... we read frequently that such as preacht dispenst the Sacraments also.'¹²⁵ He also published this view, adding that both preaching and the administration of the sacraments were an injunction given for all time.¹²⁶ Furthermore it was a duty to prepare the flock to receive the sacraments which gave assurance of faith and strengthened it.¹²⁷

Hall's view of the administration of baptism and Communion, which he considered his most important duty after preaching, was fully orthodox.¹²⁸ Tom Webster notes the high esteem in which godly ministers held the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and Arnold Hunt has described it as 'the linchpin of the godly life'.¹²⁹ However, the godly use of admission to communion as a means of discipline, particularly after 1640 and the abolition of the church courts, has been seen as pastorally divisive, creating favoured groups within the parish.¹³⁰ In the 1650s there was considerable debate on this issue, arising from accusations of over-rigid

Advice to a son [Cat.A489], which M. C. Henson, 'Osborne, Francis (1593–1659)', *Oxf. DNB*, describes as a practical guide to material success in a treacherous, self-seeking world, which might seem a strange choice for Hall, but he cited it once in *Hosea*, p.134, for its wise advice on avoiding the snares of women.

¹²⁵ John Collings, *Responsoria bipartita* [Cat.A212, THL 094/1654/16].

¹²⁶ Hall, *Apologie*, p.34.

¹²⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, p.338 for the duty of preparing flock, and *Catechism* for strengthening faith.

¹²⁸ E. Vernon, 'A Ministry of the Gospel: The Presbyterians during the English Revolution' in C. Durston and J. Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (2006) 115-36, p.125.

¹²⁹ T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p.113, and A. Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* 161 (1998) 39-83, p.57.

¹³⁰ E. Vernon, 'A Ministry of the Gospel' pp.125, 127; A. Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', p.63. J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp.51-2, while pointing out that exclusion from the sacrament was not only a tactic of the godly, nevertheless saw the godly approach to exclusion as much more divisive. C. Haigh, 'The Clergy and Parish Discipline in England, 1570-1640', in B. Heal and P. Ole (eds.), *The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy and People* (2008) 125-42, pp.133-41, has shown how parish clergy even before 1640 exercised parish discipline and peacemaking through their power to exclude individual parishioners from the sacrament.

ministers restricting the sacrament, although as Derek Hirst has pointed out, the problem wasn't restricted to Presbyterians.¹³¹ Major attacks on restricted admission were made by William Prynne, usually a favourite author of Hall.¹³² In one such attack, *A seasonable vindication*, Prynne praised Hall's printed campaigns against sectaries and Independents, which Hall noted approvingly, but he marked his thorough disagreement with Prynne's arguments that communion should be open to all as preaching and other ordinances were.¹³³ Most of the works Hall collected on this issue were robust Presbyterian defences, the marking of which, together with his catechism, indicate Hall's orthodox Presbyterian view which fell between making the sacrament 'an Excommunication' on one hand and allowing promiscuous entry on the other.¹³⁴ He certainly abhorred the practice of suspending the sacrament altogether for years at a time and argued for frequent administration without detailing exactly how often this meant.¹³⁵ One of his arguments for Presbyterianism was its approach to the sacraments by which,

¹³¹ A. Hughes, 'The Frustrations of the Godly', p.81, gives examples of such conflicts and suggests that suspension of the sacrament occurred in about a third of parishes because of them, although the surviving records are patchy and difficult to interpret. D. Hirst, 'The Failure of Godly Rule', pp.40-1, suggests that admission to the sacrament was also problematic for the Association Movement.

¹³² Hall, *Haire*, p.90 referred to Prynne as 'a learned and laborious Gentleman.'

¹³³ William Prynne, *A seasonable vindication of free admission, and frequent administration of the Holy Communion to all visible church members* (1656) [THL 094/C21], sig.A2r, for Prynne's reference to Hall's printed campaigns, and pp.1-5, for Hall's marks of disapproval. According to D. Hirst, 'The Failure of Godly Rule', p.39, Prynne's books on this subject sold very well.

¹³⁴ These books date from 1653 to 1657. The two adversarial works are Prynne, *A legal resolution of two important quaeres of general present concernment* (1656) [THL 094/C21], and *A seasonable vindication of free-admission* (1656) [THL 094/C21]. The Presbyterian defences are: Henry Jeanes, *The want of chvrch-government no warrant for a totall omission of the Lord's Supper* [Cat.A413, THL 094/1653/4]; Roger Drake, *A boundary to the Holy Mount* (1653) [Cat.A268]; John Collings, *Responsoria bipartita* [Cat.A212, THL 094/1654/16]; John Brinsley (Junior), *Two treatises: I. The saints communion* [Cat.A118, THL 094/1654/10]; Daniel Cawdrey, *Church-reformation promoted* [Cat.A194, THL 094/1657/2]; and Richard Vines, *A treatise of the right institution, administration and receiving of the sacrament of the Lords-Supper* [Cat.A682, THL 094/1657/4]. W. Lamont, *Godly Rule: Politics, and Religion 1603-1660* (1969), p.147, considered Jeanes the 'most doughty apologist for the Presbyterians', but he did not advocate suspension where there was no presbytery, for fear of people drifting to sectarianism. Hall also owned Sir William Morice, *Coena quasi koine* [Cat.A475], an attack on the practice, particularly among gathered congregations, of excluding the 'unfit' from communion.

¹³⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.338. Hall's manuscript notes on the flyleaf of John Collings, *Responsoria bipartita* [Cat.A212, THL 094/1654/16], indicate that he followed the prescriptions of the *Directory*. However, the *Directory*, p.23, was vague, saying that communion should be held 'frequently' but as ministers 'shall finde most convenient.'

it debarres not those from Ordinances, which God hath not debarred. It admits the children of Christians to Baptisme, and the Parents which are free from Ignorance and scandalls to the Lords Supper, without the taking of any Church-Covenant, or making any open confession before the congregation.¹³⁶

In his *Catechism* Hall explained that communion was not a converting ordinance but a means of strengthening faith, and, as instructed by the *Directory of worship* should not be open to all.¹³⁷ Scandalous parishioners should be excluded and everyone else should submit to examination and preparation beforehand. Yet, according to his published catechism, the entry bar did not exclude those who were intellectually the weakest but rather encouraged them to participate.¹³⁸ He believed that with conscientious catechising ‘there is no Parish so ignorant, but in a short space might by this meanes be fitted (in respect of competent knowledge) for the Sacrament.’¹³⁹ Hall’s views fit within the general compass of Presbyterian pastoral aims which ideally saw admission to the Lord’s Supper more as a goal for those who desired it and who were developing in sanctification, and less as a deprivation for the ungodly who were not fit for it.¹⁴⁰ As early as 1651 he claimed that this pastoral policy was proving a success in Kings Norton,¹⁴¹ Moore also noted Hall’s sensitivity to parishioners, writing that he went out

¹³⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, p.175. The sort of works Hall collected in support of his writings on the sacraments were Robert Bolton, *A threefold treatise* [Cat.A104, THL 094/1634/3]; Jeremiah Dyke, *A vvorthy communicant: or, a treatise, shewing the due order of receiving the sacrament of the Lords Supper* [Cat.A282]; Philip Goodwin, *The evangelical communicant* [Cat.A360]; Anon., *The bramble berry: or, A briefe discourse touching participating in mixt assemblies at the sacrament of the Lords Supper* [THL 094/C16]; Daniel Rogers, *A treatise of the two sacraments of the Gospell* [Cat.A562, THL 094/1635/1]; and Thomas Shepard, *Subjection to Christ in all his ordinances, and appointments* [Cat.A606, THL 094/1657/8], in addition to a large number of works which contained sections on the sacraments.

¹³⁷ Hall, *Catechism*, p.8. Hall has also written on flyleaf of John Collings, *Responsoria bipartita* [Cat.A212, THL 094/1654/16], ‘The Directory requires a dispensing of the Sacraments to persons rightly qualified.’ The *Directory* itself stated, p.23, that admission should be refused to the ‘ignorant and the scandalous’, defining the ignorant as those ‘who want some competent knowledge in the Principles of Religion’, and the scandalous as ‘All blasphemers, adulterers, fornicators, drunkards, swearers, cursers, murderers, idolaters, uncharitable persons, profaners of the Sabbath. etc.’ or those who typically featured in Hall’s lists of the ungodly

¹³⁸ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.46-7, and *Apologie*, p.166.

¹³⁹ Hall, *Catechism*, in which the epistle ‘To the candid reader’ and the title, *A short catechism composed for the use of the weakest sort of Christians, who desire to come to the Lords Supper*, suggest he was aiming at including those who desired and requested communion.

¹⁴⁰ E. Vernon, ‘A Ministry of the Gospel’, p.130. W. Black, *Reformation Pastors*, p.128, shows that Baxter, while excluding the ignorant or otherwise ungodly, nevertheless gave them a clear procedure by which they could participate fully.

¹⁴¹ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.6.

of his way to examine and encourage privately those who were willing to partake of the sacrament, but did not want public examination. This tactic, he said, did ‘much good’ and helped Hall to lay solid foundations.¹⁴²

e) Reformation of manners, and partnership with magistracy

Hall wrote that ‘Ministers must have a special eye upon the manners of their people.’¹⁴³ Because manners or the ways in which his parishioners lived their daily lives were the outward signs of their inward grace, reflecting the measure of their commitment to God and their developing sanctification, he mounted an ongoing parish campaign for a reformation of manners, demanding the highest standards of godliness in every aspect of their lives and conduct.¹⁴⁴ The evidence for what Hall actually did and achieved is limited, but it does show his implacable determination to teach his parishioners to conform to the smallest details of godly living and indicates some of the problems he encountered. It also shows one area of significant progress, and, in giving substance to his self-promotion as a successful godly pastor, contradicts the general historical view that Interregnum Presbyterians felt disillusioned and doomed to failure.

As Martin Ingram has shown, the concept of a ‘reformation of manners’ or the public regulation of personal morals and behaviour by secular and ecclesiastical courts which were supported and justified by local leaders, had roots in the pre-Reformation past and was a

¹⁴² Richard Moore, *Pearl*, pp.76-7.

¹⁴³ Hall, *Amos*, p.322. Hall, *Apologie*, pp.7, 53-4, 99, believed that not to correct errors in doctrine and corruption in manners was to open himself as ‘unsavoury salt’, and his people as sinners, to the furious punishment of God. In *Hosea* in particular, Hall wrote of the inevitable judgement of God on those who would not reform their ways, for example pp.22-3.

¹⁴⁴ Hall, *Holiness*, p.80, 205. Also, p. 92, Hall explained that in calling his people to sanctity, God had called them to be separate and that they should show their sanctity by ‘a discriminative manner of living’.

continuous phenomenon lasting until the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁵ It was less a Puritan preserve than a generally accepted, routine system, although the term has been used particularly in association with drives for reformation of manners by the godly regimes of the Interregnum.¹⁴⁶ This particular phase of moral activism in which Hall participated with great zeal, has been seen by several historians such as William Lamont, Derek Hirst and Christopher Durston as doomed to failure. Lamont labelled the attempt the denial of godly rule not its fulfilment, and felt that Presbyterians had been drifting into a sectarian position long before the Restoration.¹⁴⁷ The lack of national evidence for the advance of godliness in surviving court records and church warden accounts has been highlighted by Derek Hirst and compared unfavourably with the disciplinary success of the Scottish Church, which had the full support of its magistrates.¹⁴⁸ However, Hirst concedes that it was not a total failure, as seen in the rooting and steadfastness of religious dissent after the Restoration. Christopher Durston, however, agreed with the judgement of failure, arguing that it resulted from widespread apathy and even hostility from magistrates and lesser local officials, and from people in general who yearned for their festive culture and for whom Puritanism roused little enthusiasm.¹⁴⁹ He cited the failure of some of the best known Puritan drives for reform in Coventry, Kidderminster and Dorchester, and the frustrations of divines such as Ralph Josselin.¹⁵⁰ Ann Hughes, who warns against accepting at face value the gloomy but polemical outpourings of godly ministers whose standards and expectations were extremely

¹⁴⁵ M. Ingram, 'Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England' in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle, (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (1996) 47-88. The courts were supported by leaders such as magistrates, schoolmasters, ministers and heads of households. Reformation of manners could also include religious concerns such as church attendance and Sabbath observance.

¹⁴⁶ M. Ingram, 'Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England', pp.50, 51, 55, 69, 81. This essay, pp.75-81, shows that although reformation of manners was at times motivated by economic and practical considerations, moral and religious motivators were of major significance, and the Puritan drive for such reformation was only one subset of a well established genre.

¹⁴⁷ W. Lamont, *Godly Rule*, pp.137, 146.

¹⁴⁸ D. Hirst, 'The Failure of Godly Rule', pp.48-9, 50-60.

¹⁴⁹ C. Durston, 'Puritan Rule and the Failure of Cultural Revolution 1645-1660'.

¹⁵⁰ C. Durston, 'Puritan Rule and the Failure of Cultural Revolution 1645-1660', pp.225-6, 231-2.

high, showed that during the Interregnum there were many opportunities and gains for the godly, which could well have been more deeply established given time.¹⁵¹ Yet even she agrees that the godly faced a struggle with their reformation of manners, lacking general support and the backing of governments which were preoccupied with other business.¹⁵² Some real but limited success was achieved, but this evaporated at the Restoration.¹⁵³ The evidence from Kings Norton indicates that Thomas Hall, like other parochial ministers, thrown onto their own personal authority and initiative without the framework of a national Church disciplinary process or ecclesiastical courts, nevertheless achieved a limited success of which he was proud, and which, considering the lack of official support or what William Lamont called a deliberate vacuum at the centre, could be considered remarkable.¹⁵⁴

In *Holiness*, Hall taught that godly manners meant far more than simply decent and civil behaviour, for many heathens were civil and decent but would not be saved. While civility was bred by education, the fruits of sanctification were bestowed by divine grace.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, there was no room for half-hearted commitment, but parishioners must be zealous, wearing their godliness like ‘burning and shining lights’.¹⁵⁶ A typical exhortation for total commitment was:

.... let us labour for pure affections and pure actions, let purity dwell in our houses, and be engraven even on our ordinary actions of eating, drinking, recreations, &c. Holiness ... must be imprinted on the pots we drink in, and plates that we eat on, the houses we dwell in, the riches we possess, yea the horse-bridles, the instruments of warre and labour, our garments and attire must have Holiness written on them, we must have an eye to Gods glory in them all.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ A. Hughes, ‘The Frustrations of the Godly’, pp.80-1, and ‘Godly Reformation and its Opponents in Warwickshire’, p.14.

¹⁵² A. Hughes, ‘The Frustrations of the Godly’, p.86-90, and ‘Godly Reformation and its Opponents in Warwickshire, 1640’, p.11.

¹⁵³ A. Hughes, ‘The Frustrations of the Godly’, p.87.

¹⁵⁴ W. Lamont, *Godly Rule*, p.147.

¹⁵⁵ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.33, 88.

¹⁵⁶ Hall, *Holiness*, pp. 33, 108.

¹⁵⁷ Hall, *Holiness*, p.108.

A practical demonstration of the reach of his concerns, was his insistence on godly hairstyles, writing that, ‘when Christ is once entertained in the soule, it will soone appeare in the haire.’¹⁵⁸ Hall considered his own short hair cut an outward badge of his godliness and a personal virtue by which he wished to be remembered, whereas long hair reduced men to appear like ‘ragged Rascalls, nasty Varlets, Raggamuffins, Souldiers, Tinkers, Crate-carriers, Jayle-birds &c.’¹⁵⁹ Even his biographer recorded his insistence on short hair for men and noted that Hall’s own hair was ‘blackish, which he wore very short, scarce to cover his ears.’¹⁶⁰ In his preface to his parishioners in *Holiness*, Hall reminded them to follow his example: ‘Off with those deformed long-locks, those badges of Pride and vanity which you have been so oft warned of.’¹⁶¹

These were more than a few incidental points. Hall wrote an entire treatise on this subject, *The loathsomeness of long haire*, which he considered ‘very needfull in these Proud, loose, degenerate times.’¹⁶² Other godly divines had touched upon the issue of long hair, but only the lawyer William Prynne had written a whole book about it.¹⁶³ Although Hall enlivened the treatise with little jokes and witty verses to appeal to a wide readership, it was nevertheless a serious thesis, inspired by his perception of long hair as the manifestation of the sin of

¹⁵⁸ Hall, *Haire*, pp.40-1 and p.88, invoked ‘a cloud of witnesses’ who had testified against long hair including, ‘Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Paul, Austin Jerom many Synods, besides those renowned Lights of our own age, Calvin, Polanus, Junius, Perkins, Reynolds, Rogers, &c.’

¹⁵⁹ Hall, *Haire*, p.69. Hall, *Life*, fo.26, wrote, ‘He [Hall] likewise did weare his Haire short & Grave, & being accustomed to it, he never caught hurt by that neither.’ Hall, *Haire*, p.69.

¹⁶⁰ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.44.

¹⁶¹ Hall, *Haire*, p.48, wrote that beards were compulsory. Hall, *Haire*, p.12, showed his indignation at the suggestion of Claude de Saumaise that Christ himself, as well as the Apostles, wore long hair.

¹⁶² Hall, *Life*, fo.80.

¹⁶³ William Prynne, *The vnlovelinesse, of loue-locks* [Cat.A527]. This work, as Hall pointed out, was not sufficiently comprehensive because it concentrated only on ‘love-locks’. He also cited Claude Saumaise, *Spoudogeloios de coma dialogus primus* (1645); and Carel De Maets, ‘Diatriba Theologica de capillis’; and carefully marked any passages in his library books that mentioned this issue: for example, William Gearing, *The arraignment of pride* [Cat.A327, THL 094/1660/5], Chapter 7, ‘Of Pride of hair’, pp.47-50; and Thomas Taylor, *A glasse for gentlewomen to dresse themselves by* (1624) [Cat.A657 and THL 094/A2], p.18.

national pride, and by the disgrace of many ministers, who should have provided an example, yet presented themselves ‘like Ruffians in the Pulpit’.¹⁶⁴

Hall’s reasoning was totally in keeping with his belief in the authority of scripture and the need for the submission of the will of man to the will of God. Long hair on men was condemned by the scriptures in both Old and New Testaments, not least in Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians,¹⁶⁵ and Hall answered the obvious objection that this was a minor matter at some length, arguing that Christ himself said that nothing that was offensive to God could be considered too small.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, God had severely punished some very small sins of disobedience, such as eating a forbidden apple, gathering a few sticks on the Sabbath, and simply looking back as Lot’s wife had done.¹⁶⁷ ‘How’ he asked, ‘will he part with his life for Christ that will not part with a locke for him?’¹⁶⁸ Therefore, by wearing their hair short or ‘of a moderate, ordinary, grave and decent length,’ godly men would exhibit their humility and obedience to God.¹⁶⁹

As far as the appearance of women was concerned, Hall was equally uncompromising. Female vanities reflected pride and deception, and were to be associated with immodesty at best, and harlotry at worst.¹⁷⁰ While praise was bestowed on godly women and the library contains exemplary female lives, on the whole Hall considered women ‘the weaker vessel’, who at worst were ‘dangerous’, often ‘Satans Instruments’ especially for the spread of heresy

¹⁶⁴ Hall, *Haire*, p.2.

¹⁶⁵ Hall cited various Old Testament verses from Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy and Ezekiel, and from the New Testament, Paul’s First Letter to Corinthians, Ch.11 especially vers.14-15.

¹⁶⁶ Hall, *Haire*, pp.88-9.

¹⁶⁷ Hall, *Haire*, p.89.

¹⁶⁸ Hall, *Haire*, p.79.

¹⁶⁹ Hall, *Haire*, p.90. Also pp.75-6, Hall cited ‘Cartwright, Perkins, Reynolds, Rogers, Abbot, Dad [*sic*, i.e. John Dod], Brinsly, Hildersham, Herring, Fen [*sic*, i.e. Humphrey Fenn], Whately, Prideaux, &c.,’ as divines who promoted short hair in their works, and wore it short themselves as living contemporaries testified and as seen in their effigies in the Bodleian Library.

¹⁷⁰ Hall, *Haire*, pp.101-4.

through the ages. While he protested that he did not wish to ‘disparage the whole sexe for the miscarriages of a few’, he nevertheless thanked God for making him a man and not a woman.¹⁷¹

Ever watchful for corrupting influences, Hall warned against occasions of sin such as evil books with evil words and evil pictures, profane songs and ballads, stage plays, and mixed dancing which corrupted both participants and spectators.¹⁷² Godly parishioners were to avoid bad company and a lengthy list of sins which included drunkenness, swearing, whoredom, adultery, blasphemy, covetousness, idolatry, gluttony, profanation of Sabbaths, contempt of the Gospel, contempt of holy Magistrates, contempt of holy Ministers, neutrality and lukewarmness, superstition and will-worship.¹⁷³ There were many works Hall could draw on for support in his condemnation of all these sins, but among those he particularly recommended were several by Thomas Brooks, William Prynne’s book against stage plays, Samuel Clarke’s *Mirroure* for saints and sinners, Gataker against gambling and John Downname’s treatises against ‘the abuses of swearing, drunkenesse, whoredome and briberie.’¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ These remarks were made in his discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of women in *Timothy*, pp.146-51. Hall admired godly women he knew, such as his own mother and his patroness Lady Lucy Grantham of Ratcliffe in Nottingham whom he called his cousin. He had the greatest respect for Queen Elizabeth and named all sorts of biblical women and historical characters as good women. Besides godly lives he had only a couple of books that specifically concerned women: Thomas Taylor, *A glasse for gentlewomen to dress themselves by* (1624) [Cat.A657, THL 094/A2], and John Brinsley, *A looking-glasse for good vvomen* (1645) [THL 094/C20]. His thanks to God for being made a man and not a woman were given in his will, *Life*, fo.200.

¹⁷² Hall, *Timothy*, pp.9, 106-7. Here Hall also mentioned stage plays which were the home of lewd speech and lascivious gestures.

¹⁷³ Hall, *Holiness*, p.23.

¹⁷⁴ Thomas Brooks, *Precious remedies against Satans devices, The silent soul, Apples of gold and The crown and glory of Christianity* [Cat.A138-141]; William Prynne, *Histrion-mastix* [Cat.A528]; John Northbrooke, *Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra. A treatise wherein dicing, dauncing, vaine playes or enterluds with other idle pastimes ... are reprobud* [Cat.A480]; Samuel Clarke, *A mirror or looking-glasse both for saints and sinners* [Cat.A203]; Thomas Gataker, *A iust defence of certaine passages in a former treatise concerning the nature and vse of lots* [Cat.A322, THL 094/1623]; and John Downname, *Foure treatises tending to disswade all Christians from foure no less hainous then common sinnes* [Cat.A267].

Of all these sins, of particular concern to Hall's in reforming parish manners in Kings Norton was drunkenness. This was a 'Master-sin', 'the Mother of most abominations', because it led to so many others.¹⁷⁵ He described drunks with vivid horror, recoiling from 'their Vomiting, ... the rednesse of their eyes, stinking breath, deformed countenance, gastly looks, fighting and quarrelling, swearing and swaggering.'¹⁷⁶ He noted too, that learned physicians had shown that excessive drinking was as corrosive to the health as it was to the spirit.¹⁷⁷ This was a topic that Hall marked wherever it was to be found in his books, and concerning which he collected specific works by Richard Younge and Richard Harris.¹⁷⁸ His reactions, particularly his opposition to alehouses and their influence among the local community, are typical of the period and especially of the Interregnum, and while there is little corroborating evidence to support Hall's claims of spiritual reformation, there certainly is evidence for his campaign against drunkenness and its success.¹⁷⁹ It has been used by Don Gilbert to show how half the alehouses in Kings Norton were closed as a result of the joint efforts of Hall and the local magistrates between 1655 and 1656, an achievement noted with admiration as a model case by a Worcestershire grand jury presentment of April 1655.¹⁸⁰ Its success, acknowledged by Christopher Durston, is a practical illustration of Hall's belief in the power of the co-operation of word and sword, and confirms his claim that in partnership with his friend and local

¹⁷⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.96. Hall was not alone, as the ill-effects of the alehouse had long since been a godly complaint as shown by P. Clark, 'The Alehouse and the Alternative Society' in D.H. Pennington and Keith Thomas (eds.), *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (1978) 47-72, p.47.

¹⁷⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.93-4.

¹⁷⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, p.98, for which views he cited Tobias Venner, *Via recta ad vitam longam* [Cat.C212, THL 094/1650/10].

¹⁷⁸ Richard Younge, *The drunkards character* (1638) [In *Sinne stigmatizd*, Cat.A742, THL 094/1641/16], and *The blemish of government, shame of religion, disgrace of mankinde. Or, a charge drawn up against drunkards* (1655) [THL 094/C36]; Richard Harris, *The vvorkes*, containing *The drunkards cup* [Cat.A376, THL 094/1653/8]. Hall marked the chapter on drunkenness in Thomas Beard, *The theatre of judgements* [Cat.A677, THL Q 094/1648/9].

¹⁷⁹ K. Wrightson, 'Alehouses, Order and Reformation in Rural England, 1590-1660' in E. and S. Yeo (eds.), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* (1981) 1-27, has argued that for several mutually reinforcing reasons alehouses were a major target for reformation, hostility towards them reaching a peak during the Interregnum.

¹⁸⁰ C. D. Gilbert, 'Magistracy and Ministry', pp.75-6.

magistrate, Colonel Grevis of Moseley, they produced, ‘a greater Visible Reformation in one year ... then in twenty before, notwithstanding all my preaching and assisting of the Officers’.¹⁸¹ Hall seems to have done as well with this campaign against alehouses as the minister of Chiselborough, Somerset, whom Derek Hirst considered an unusual success.¹⁸²

In the parochial circumstances where there were no official ecclesiastical channels of regulation and discipline but only the personal authority of individual ministers, there was bound to be resistance to efforts to reform manners. Hall certainly met with some, as he implied in *Holiness*, by including answers and persuasions to ‘all the Scruples, Cavils and Objections (of any weight) which are made by the Atheists, Worldlings and Libertines of our Time, against the Power of Godliness.’ While thus noting them as general problems, he wrote as if they were the very problems he had to deal with himself, and they indicate the oppositional issues a parish minister might face regularly.¹⁸³ Some asked why they couldn’t drink, eat and play as they pleased, and objected that being holy and devoting themselves to religious duties would affect the time they needed to care for their families and livelihoods;

¹⁸¹ C. Durston, *Cromwell’s Major-Generals: Godly Government during the English Revolution* (2001), p.177. Hall, *Magistracy*, p.3. Hall argued for such a powerful alliance throughout his works, particularly in *Magistracy* and *Timothy*. In *Magistracy*, p.83, he illustrated the effectiveness of such co-operation by citing Queen Elizabeth’s purported admiration of such successful cooperation in Suffolk: ‘I see the Reason (now saith the Queen) why the County of Suffolk is better governed then other Counties; it is because the word and the sword go together.’

¹⁸² D. Hirst, ‘The Failure of Godly Rule’, p.60, acclaimed this unnamed minister for procuring action at the assizes against six alehouse-keepers and four incontinent couples in his parish in 1649.

¹⁸³ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.145-6, recommended several books he owned himself for further answers to objections to godly living: George Downame, *The Christian warfare* [Cat.A264] and Daniel Dyke, *The mystery of self-deceiuing* [Cat.A275, THL 094/1642/8], described as ‘excellent’; and Timothy Rogers, *Good neuues from heaven* [Cat.A563], all books which were published before he arrived at Kings Norton. There were others published afterwards including Thomas Brooks, *Precious remedies* [Cat.A138, THL 094/1652/5], described as ‘excellent’; and Anthony Burgess, *Spiritual refining* [Cat.A149] described as ‘elaborate and soul searching’ sermons. These were more concerned with teaching godly awareness of the subterfuges of the Devil and the dangers of the Devil, the world and the flesh and how to overcome them, rather than suggesting outspoken objections made by parishioners. However, Rogers’s work was a dialogue between a pastor and a parishioner, and had the particular appeal of concerns about general spirituality and salvation that may well have been voiced. In *Holiness*, p.93, he also encouraged parishioners to read Jeremiah Burroughs, *The excellency of a gracious spirit* [Cat.A156, THL 094/1657/11], an ‘excellent’ work which enlarged on what was expected of the godly.

zealous godliness was too hard, it was bad for their health and would mean no more merrymaking and the loss of friends; besides there was too much disunity in religion and they had heard of so-called godly professors who had been revealed as sinful hypocrites or who were accused of being seditious and eager to turn the world upside down.¹⁸⁴ While the core godly of the parish would have followed Hall's teaching, those who wavered or resisted may well have made such objections. In his responses, Hall informed his readers from scripture and authoritative authors and gave sharp reproaches, but he also used persuasions with the use of analogies and stories, and finally gave further reference material for reading.¹⁸⁵ In his autobiography, he showed a similar mixture of reason, force and persuasion in the few examples he gave of his practical dealings with his parishioners. When trying to set up apprenticeships for 20 fatherless poor children for example, he first approached the freeholders, rather than the poorer tenants who were hard-pressed, to provide the necessary finance. They were reluctant and kept him waiting, so he set an example by paying the costs of one child himself, and then prevailed upon 'the better sort', probably his core supporters, to assist. Those who still resisted were finally constrained to pay their share by Colonel Grevis in his official capacity as a local justice. Hall noted their resentment but said it was less than he had expected.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, for the building of a library, he again had to put in his own money and to call on the support of his local 'friends', probably the same core supporters, to get the project completed.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Hall, *Amos*, p.322, implied personal experience in writing, 'If a Minister do but touch upon these things [manners] how apt are people to cry, what? may we not eat, drink and play as we please? no, you may not; for you may perish by the use of these lawful things, if you use them unlawfully.' Other objections were dealt with at length in Hall, *Holiness*, pp.115-46.

¹⁸⁵ See above, fn.183.

¹⁸⁶ Hall, *Life*, fos.103-4.

¹⁸⁷ Hall, *Life*, fos.82-3.

Hall wrote that until 1660, his chief pastoral concern was combating the ‘white devils’ or the sectaries who threatened the purity of his parishioners’ doctrine and religious practice. However, in 1660, a new threat arose from ‘black devils’ or the profane, who encouraged idolatrous and debauched behaviour in the parish.¹⁸⁸ While the success of reformation of manners is difficult to measure as much depended on attitudes, Hall’s implication was that he had experienced no great problems with his reformation of manners until the outbreak of festive culture at the Restoration. His own level of success may well have been summed up in *Timothy*, where he wrote that in rebuking those who were exorbitant in manners, ministers reclaimed some, restrained others and left the wicked without excuses, or in other words, achieved mixed results.¹⁸⁹

f) Teaching the next generation: grammar school and domestic seminary

f) i) Hall’s theory and practice in the grammar school

Hall believed that children were ‘the Nursery of the Church and common-wealth,’ and therefore his teaching of boys at the grammar school in Kings Norton, 1629-1660, and also of graduates in his domestic seminary, extended his pastoral ministry by educating the next generation of godly believers and ministers.¹⁹⁰ His teaching activities built on their education begun in godly households, and further strengthened his relationship both with local families and a much wider godly community from which he drew pupils and graduates.¹⁹¹ While

¹⁸⁸ Hall, *Life*, fo.82.

¹⁸⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.327.

¹⁹⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, p.248, where he explains in detail the importance of godly education of the young. Brinsley, *A consolation for our grammar schooles* [Cat.C10], pp.5, 13, also called grammar schools ‘Gods nurseries and seminaries’.

¹⁹¹ J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, p.185 notes the importance of the continuity from household to school as part of a chain of lifelong instruction. Hall, *Life*, fos.17-8, wrote that children came to the school from ‘from Worcester, London, Wales, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Darbyshire, Cheshire, Northumberland, Leicestershire, Middlesex, Herefordshire, Ireland.’ This claim is difficult to substantiate but at least two of his graduates, Samuel Shaw and Daniel Shelmerdine, did originate in Derbyshire, having attended Repton School.

Kings Norton offers no evidence of statutes governing its school curriculum,¹⁹² and Hall left no record of daily routines, number of pupils, or physical arrangements, he did leave both a catalogue of school books, from which many books survive, and which together with his comments on education gathered from his autobiography and published works, provide an unusual and, at times, detailed insight into the overall practice and resources of one provincial schoolmaster of the period.¹⁹³ Hall gives particularly full comment on his teaching philosophy in the prefaces to his two school textbooks, *Conquest* (1651) and *Folly* (1655), written after he had accumulated twenty years' teaching experience.¹⁹⁴ These and his school book

¹⁹² J. R. Holliday, *The Church and Grammar School of Kings Norton* (1872), transcribed all the documents from the dissolution of the chantries that related to Kings Norton and, p.60, noted that the continuance warrant, extant in the Augmentation Office, stands as the school 'foundation' document, although the school at Kings Norton had been in existence for some unknown length of time before the Chantries Act of 1547. J. E. Vaughan quotes the foundation of a chantry to the Blessed Mary Virgin by Edward III in 1344, and the gift of a book to a school there in 1481. A century later in 1548, according to the continuance warrant, the school was considered 'very mete and necessarie to be contynewed,' the chantry priest of the day, Henry Saunders, being confirmed by a bond as the schoolmaster on £10 per annum, to be assisted by his usher, John Porte (or Peart) on 100s a year. The same document speaks of Saunder's 120 'schollers', but thereafter the fortunes of the school declined.

¹⁹³ For Hall's catalogue of school books see Appendix III and for their identification and survivals see Appendix II. J. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (1966), knows of no study of school libraries except R. T. D. Sayle, 'Annals of Merchant Taylors' School', *The Library*, Fourth Series, 15:3 (1934) 457-80. However, there are also W. Oakeshott, 'Winchester School Library before 1750', *The Library*, Fifth series, 9 (1954)1-16; J.B. Oldham, 'Shrewsbury School Library', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 14:2 (1959) 81-99; and R. Birley, 'The History of Eton College Library', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 11:4 (1956) 231-61, but none of these articles studies the books to deduce teaching philosophy and methods. There have been studies of individual schools such as C. Cross, *The Free Grammar School of Leicester* (1953), pp.26-8, that gives details of the curriculum and daily activities, but nothing on the books that were used. J. Lawson, *A Town Grammar School Through Six Centuries: A History of Hull Grammar School against its Local Background* (1963), traces Hull Grammar School over a long period with detailed information, pp.71-8, on the school buildings and their use in the seventeenth century, and one section, pp. 112-7, looks at the use of books in each form in 1680 under the direction of Robert Pell, schoolmaster 1677-1716. Also H. M. Luft, *A History of Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, 1620-1970* (1970), reproduces a catalogue of the school books that survives from 1676. It contains 98 books in 87 different titles. P. Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, surveys the grammar school curriculum and the use of text-books, particularly in Chapter 1.

¹⁹⁴ Hall called these textbooks 'grammatical translations' of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on their title pages. *Conquest* deals with the first half of Ovid's thirteenth chapter, explained on the title page as, 'that curious and Rhetoricall contest between Ajax and Vylesses, for Achilles armour; where is set forth to the life the power of Valour, and the Prevalence of Eloquence'; *Folly*, is a translation of the first half of Ovid's second chapter. This retells the tale of Phaeton's disastrous flight across the heavens in the chariot of his father, Phoebus, and the story of King Cygnus, from which copious moral lessons could be extracted. *Folly* also includes 'Rules for the Direction of Children in the Art of Poetry' and a further grammatical translation of the first elegy of Ovid's *De tristibus*. This latter textbook is dedicated to Hall's local patron, Colonel Richard Grevis, who had a small son to educate. Hall wrote that he fully intended to imitate John Brinsley with these textbooks, and that he had incorporated into his annotations what he had learned from many other humanist commentators on Ovid, among whom were Gregor Bersman, Sabin, Raphael Regius, Luigi Richieri, Henry Glarean, Ludovicus Rhodiginus, Christophe Longuiel, Antonius Fanensis, Arthur Golding, Thomas Farnaby, Sandys, Natalis Comes and others.

collection provide material for a comparison of his philosophy and methods with those promoted by the teaching manuals of two highly regarded seventeenth-century schoolmasters with national profiles, John Brinsley's *Ludus literarius* (1612), together with his briefer work *A consolation* (1622), and Charles Hoole's *A new discovery* (1660).¹⁹⁵ Brinsley's manuals, published just before Hall began teaching, and Hoole's work published towards the end of Hall's career, were the products of their own classroom experience, and reflect what are considered the highest aspirations of contemporary humanist educationists if not the actuality of the school situation.¹⁹⁶ John Morgan sees Brinsley as the epitome of a Puritan educationalist. Rosemary O'Day calls him a 'progressive' teacher and, like Foster Watson, finds that his recommendations and advice were indeed based on what was thought to be the best practice of his day.¹⁹⁷ Hoole also named Brinsley, among others, as a teacher he admired.¹⁹⁸ The comparison between these educationalists and Hall demonstrates firstly that he pursued the highest ideals, and secondly that he provides a well documented case of one

¹⁹⁵ Hall owned both of Brinsley's books, *Ludus literarius; or the grammar schoole; shewing how to proceede from the first entrance into learning, to the highest perfection required in the grammar schooles, with ease, certainty and delight both to masters and schollars* (1612. etc.) [Cat.C9]; and *A consolation for our grammar schooles: or, a faithfull and most comfortable incouragement, for laying of a sure foundation of all good learning in our schooles* (1622) [Cat.C10].

¹⁹⁶ Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, sig.A2v, said his book was the result of 'searching out, and enquiring of all the speediest, surest and most easie entrance and way to all good learning in our Grammar schooles.' Of his second manual, *A consolation for our grammar schooles*, p.22, he said he had consulted widely with practitioners as well as 'searching by reading, triall and obseruation, and p.23, sent out drafts to various learned men for their help and direction, though not to as many as he would have liked. Hoole, *A new discovery*, sig.A2v, said his book was the sum total of what he had observed by 'reading sundry Authours treating of this subject, or gained by frequent and familiar converse with men of known abilities, both in City and Country', and also from his own experiences in several different types of school.

¹⁹⁷ J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp.195-8, 213; R. O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800*, pp.47, 52-3. F. Watson, 'The Curriculum and Text-Books of English Schools in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (1902), pp.159-267, wrote that they are considered 'the two great authorities for the text-books employed in English schools in the first half of the seventeenth century.' Also, F. Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (1968, first published 1908), p.368, when comparing the two, found Hoole's programme more comprehensive, as perhaps it should have been given the progress of classical knowledge and text book production in the intervening years, but he considered this no 'depreciation of Brinsley'.

¹⁹⁸ Charles Hoole, *A new discovery*, p.305, for example, also named Farnaby, John Clerke and Comenius.

provincial schoolmaster putting into practice the textbook standards and methods set by Brinsley, whom Hall considered ‘learned and godly’, his prime pedagogical role-model.¹⁹⁹

Hall first came to Kings Norton because his brother, as vicar of Bromsgrove, had recommended him for the school post, which became vacant in 1629.²⁰⁰ When Hall embarked on his ministerial career in 1632, he retained his position at the school and continued to devote himself wholeheartedly to his pupils.²⁰¹ Teaching children was, he wrote, an adornment of his primary vocation as a minister, just as it had been for the prophets Samuel and Elisha.²⁰² Hall was a nineteen year old graduate in 1629, and like every other teacher of the time had no formal training, not even the usual apprenticeship as an usher, although he may have acquired the invaluable assistance of John Brinsley’s two teaching guides early in his career.²⁰³ Kings Norton school predated the dissolution of the chantries, and according to

¹⁹⁹ Hall, *Conquest*, sig.A2v. Hall, *Life*, fo.80 praised Brinsley as a ‘famous Schoolmaster’; in *Histrio-mastix*, p.201, he called him a ‘Godly man’ and in *Pulpit*, p.9, ‘Pious and judicious’. Hall owned a copy of Brinsley, *The true watch* Parts 1-3 [Cat.A119, THL 094/ 1637/2], and several of his school text books [Cat.C11-16].

²⁰⁰ The outgoing schoolmaster was Tobias Gyles, who continued as the curate of Kings Norton until 1640, when Hall succeeded him. Gyles had left the school following a polarisation of local views on the efficacy of his tenure as schoolmaster. Taking over as schoolmaster while Gyles continued as curate might have been an uncomfortable situation for Hall except that his brother John, had made a deposition in support of Gyles. Thomas Hall presumably did very well indeed to put an end to these local differences over the school. For the dispute over the school that involved Gyles, see above fn.15.

²⁰¹ No doubt he ran the two professions side-by-side in order to supplement his income, as his biographer, Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.75, suggested and as was common practice for those who were appointed to poor livings. R. O’Day, *The English Clergy*, p.177, points out that many clergymen, especially curates, probably relied on such supplementary income. Hall himself refers readers of his *Folly* to Thomas Fuller’s book, *The holy state* (1642) [Cat.A307], for more about how a schoolmaster should approach his work, in which the relevant Chapter, Ch. 16, on ‘The good Schoolmaster’ spoke of the high value of the profession to the Commonwealth, which, although often undertaken as a stop-gap or by those without sufficient qualifications or skills, also produced many good masters. Furthermore, such men, though not famous themselves (with the exception of Richard Mulcaster who taught Lancelot Andrewes) produced scholars such as Ascham and Whitaker.

²⁰² Hall, *Pulpit*, p.25. I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (2009), pp.108-9, argues that combining the two professions was detrimental to both, which in some cases it surely must have been. Teaching in a grammar school was undoubtedly time-consuming and exhausting, and educational commentators of the time invariably complain of the enormity of their teaching tasks. Hall, as a dual practitioner, was obviously bound to support simultaneous careers in teaching and preaching. He argued, *Pulpit*, p.25, that teaching further enriched ministers with arts and languages to the benefit of others, and in *Life*, fos.31, 92, while admitting that he certainly found his teaching tiring, he wrote that when his pupils went home for the holidays, he was at his lowest ebb, and when he found one of his roles exhausting, he was refreshed by turning to the other.

²⁰³ R. O’Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800*, p.58, shows that some introduction to teaching was gained by older pupils who assisted with younger ones, such as the praepositores at Eton in the sixteenth century. Brinsley in *Ludus literarius*, p.37, and pp.272-3, wrote of ‘seniors’ from each form acting as ushers within their own

its 1548 continuance warrant, was considered ‘very mete and necessarie to be contynewed,’ with a master and an usher, and about 120 pupils.²⁰⁴ However, it had recently experienced troubled times and was undoubtedly in decline.²⁰⁵ The school had no endowment, the pay was poor and Hall’s own personal resources were meagre.²⁰⁶ Yet in spite of such poor auspices he claimed astounding success as a result of ‘Gods blessing on his industry’, by which he ‘sent more to the Vniversity from that Schoole then ever were sent from it since

forms, and a ‘sub-doctor’ being appointed from the highest forms when there was no usher or when the usher was ‘not sufficient’. R. de Molen, ‘Richard Mulcaster and the Profession of Teaching in Sixteenth-Century England’, *Journal of Historical Ideas* 35:1(1974) 121-9, discusses Mulcaster’s proposals for a training college for teachers in his suggested reform of the universities, an idea that came to nothing, but was raised again in the seventeenth century by men such as John Hall in his *An humble motion to Parliament* (1649) and Samuel Hartlib in his preface to Dury, *The reformed school* ([1649?]). Charles Hoole later supported these ideas of both Mulcaster and Dury in *A new discovery*, pp.228-9, but they were not realised. There seem to have been few printed manuals to help teachers: in *A consolation for our grammar schooles* (1622), pp.22-4, Brinsley, said he knew of none specifically designed as aids for grammar school teaching although he knew of the renowned Ascham’s book, written for private tutors (which Hall owned at Cat.C4), and he himself had read and used the works of Sturm, Melanchthon and Erasmus, writers who had revived learning in this ‘last age’. There were certainly guides to elementary education such as Richard Mulcaster’s, *Elementarie* (1582), and Edmund Coote’s *The Englishe scholemaister* (1596), which was also known to Brinsley. Additionally there were books for the education of gentlemen, two of which Hall had in his library: Henry Peacham, *The compleat gentleman* [Cat.C131] and Bartholomew Clark, *Balthasaris Castilionis comitis, De Curiali siue Aulico* [Cat.C26, THL 094/1606/1], a Latin translation of Castiglione’s *Courtier*. William Kempe, master of Plymouth grammar school had also written a theory of education called, *The education of children in learning* (1588). In *Timothy*, p.248, Hall also cited ‘that Excellent Book of Plutarck’, which was *The education or bringinge up children, translated out of Plutarcke by Thomas Eliot elder, one of ye kingis most honorable counsayle* ([1530?]).

²⁰⁴ J. R. Holliday, *The Church and Grammar School of Kings Norton* (1872), p.60, transcribed all the documents from the dissolution of the chantries that related to Kings Norton. He wrote that the continuance warrant, extant in the Augmentation Office, stands as the school ‘foundation’ document, although the school at Kings Norton had been in existence for some unknown length of time before the Chantries Act of 1547. J. E. Vaughan, *Some Account of the Parish Church and Ancient Grammar School of King's Norton*, pp.25-6 believes the school began in 1344 with the foundation of a chantry to the Blessed Mary Virgin by Edward III in 1344, and he has found the gift of a book to a school there in 1481.

²⁰⁵ Figures showing a decline in numbers were given in the Chancery case against Tobias Gyles by deponents among whom were former ushers and pupils. They said that numbers declined to between 80-100 in the late sixteenth century, to 50 or 60 when Gyles first arrived in 1623, finally falling to 8 or 10 by 1629.

²⁰⁶ The salary of £10 for the master and £5 for the usher remained unchanged since the Chantries Act although J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp.209-10 finds that in two counties schoolmasters’ salaries increased three-fold by 1640. P. Orpen, ‘Schoolmastering as a Profession in the Seventeenth Century: The Career Patterns of the Grammar Schoolmaster’, *History of Education* 6:3 (1977) 183-194, p.186, noted that the average salary in the West Midlands in the 1640s was over £17. J. R. Holliday, *The Church and Grammar School of Kings Norton*, pp.58-9, cites Chantry Certificate no.61 which gives the yearly stipend of the master (Henry Saunders) as £10 and the usher (John Porte or Peart) £5, and Certificate No. 60 which says that the school had 120 pupils and since the reign of Edward VI the stipends were paid by the Court of Augmentations. However, H. M. Grant and E. A. B. Bernard, ‘The Parish and Church of Kingsnorton’, pp.140-5, record the 1650 survey of crown lands in Kings Norton that was taken before their sale when the payment of the stipends was transferred to the Receiver of the county of Worcester. Thereafter they were to be charged to the manor and paid by the steward of the manor, although the steward was no longer responsible to the crown.

t'was a Schoole.²⁰⁷ Sending pupils to university, particularly in order to start them on a path to godly ministry, seems to have been a prime aim of the best grammar schools and it was this category in which Hall placed his Kings Norton establishment.²⁰⁸

Hall began his teaching career in an age of educational expansion, if not of revolution as argued by Lawrence Stone.²⁰⁹ He taught the traditional Christian humanist curriculum which had been developed in grammar schools in the sixteenth century.²¹⁰ It aimed to teach piety,

²⁰⁷ Hall, *Life*, fos.17-8. J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, p.179, identifies this aim as the primary function of grammar schools from a Puritan point of view. If, as P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, p.48, suggests, only about 1.6% of the annual male cohort or about 1,166 boys of all boys of university entry age went to the universities, a school which procured university entrants was seen to be doing well.

²⁰⁸ J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, p.175. I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, pp.58-9, points out that there were different types of grammar school with varying aims and curricula, and with varying histories, those with the highest standards being well endowed schools such as Eton, Winchester, St. Paul's, Westminster, Shrewsbury and Repton.

²⁰⁹ L. Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past and Present* 28 (1964) 47-80. J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, p.172. R. O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800*, p.42, agreed that it was a time of exceptional educational expansion but saw this less as a revolution and more of an intensification of a pre-existing trend. J. Simon, 'The Reformation and English Education', *Past and Present* 11 (1957) 48-65, also sees the period as one of considerable educational activity, growing in strength under the Commonwealth, with a 'new reformation' of schools. W.A.L. Vincent, *The State and School Education, 1640-1660* (1950), pp.121-35, gave a list of 1,288 grammar schools in England that existed between 1600 and 1660, including the Kings Norton school, thus showing the confidence in the grammar school and its classical humanist curriculum continuing in strength from the sixteenth century. In spite of the experiences of disruption in the Civil War, all sorts of schools continued to flourish, including that at Kings Norton, and others continued to be founded

²¹⁰ A. Grafton and L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities, Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (1986), Chapter 6, have traced the establishment and reasons for the success in England of the humanist curriculum derived from Northern humanists, particularly Erasmus. It was a systematic and methodical education in classical languages, texts and rhetoric, together with its promise of producing virtuous Christians. T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latin & Lesse Greeke*, (1944) Vol.I, p.407, finds valuable evidence for the continuity of this humanist education from the sixteenth century in the teaching manuals of Brinsley and Hoole. He compared the curricula they outlined for the seventeenth century with his own research findings from the curricula of Eton, St. Paul's and Winchester from the early sixteenth century, and later curricula from Eton in 1560, and Winchester in 1574, with a briefer look at derivative schools and Bury St. Edmunds. Colet, the founder of St. Paul's, derived the school curriculum directly from the educational ideas of his friend Erasmus, who wrote his textbooks for use at St. Pauls, and who, together with Colet and High Master Lily, devised the Latin grammar that was to enjoy a primacy over others throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. T.W. Baldwin traces the influence of Erasmus and St. Paul's in grammar school curricula in the second section of Vol I, 'Evolution of the Grammar School Curriculum in the Sixteenth Century, 1509-1553', and J. Simon, 'The Reformation and English Education', pp.52-3. Although T.W. Baldwin felt that the externals remained similar, he regretted what he saw as the differing spirit, seeing Brinsley and Hoole as 'methodists', more interested in technical proficiencies than in literature, grammar leading literature in their curricula in reverse of the planning by Erasmus, for literature to lead grammar. To an extent this difference may derive from the greater emphasis Brinsley and Hoole give to describing the daily mechanics of teaching the curriculum, in many cases lesson by lesson, and partly also to what M. Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (2002), p.259, sees as various Puritan based changes in emphases in humanism in the seventeenth century, particularly a loss of Erasmian 'elegance of language and urbanity of wit'. Baldwin,

moral virtue, wisdom and eloquence, and marked a break from the medieval school curriculum in its emphasis on grammar and rhetoric, both of which were learned through the study of classical texts in their original languages.²¹¹ John Morgan describes early modern schooling as the basis of the commonwealth and of participation in Reformed religion, and sees a correlation between religious fervency and an increase in demand for schools.²¹² This was a time of continuing output of school textbooks produced in England for the grammar school curriculum and, during the Interregnum, of a ferment of ideas for the radical reappraisal of education.²¹³ In order to gain a better understanding of the traditional curriculum and actual practice in grammar schools in the seventeenth century, Foster Watson focused his studies on the text-books that were in use in school curricula, particularly in grammar schools, saying he knew then of no other such account.²¹⁴ Foster Watson's findings have been supported by Baldwin, who explored the Elizabethan grammar school curriculum and its texts with particular reference to their influence on Shakespeare as seen in his plays

William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke, Vol.I, pp.450-6, thought one area where there were gains in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were in the study of Greek and Hebrew. Baldwin, p.456, wrote, 'Like Brinsley, Hoole is a methodical drill sergeant', yet Brinsley's grammatical translations show a high regard for the literature itself, the grammar being a tool to its deconstruction and understanding leading to its further appreciation and use. P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, p.12 footnote 4, 47, 23-4, also argues that Brinsley followed humanist educational theory closely but that he gave useful practical detail on its execution, and that contrary to some earlier wisdom, grammar school education did not destroy the content of the texts it taught, as also M. Todd, *Christian Humanism*, p.259. However, as Baldwin pointed out, in upholding a continuity from the sixteenth century, Brinsley and Hoole were traditionalists and not innovators in their choice of classical authors and methods, although they selected what they considered were the best available methods, and then manipulated them to make the curriculum as manageable as possible for both boys and masters. J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp.181-2, 200, also points out the Puritan lack of innovation.

²¹¹ F. Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (1968), pp.1-9; M. Todd, *Christian Humanism*, pp. 43-7; P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp.12-4; K. Parker and E. Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, p.43-7; and I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, pp.57, 71-2, 80-1.

²¹² J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp.172-3, enumerates several motives for educating children which underlie this view, which include the desire for vocational improvement and therefore social upward mobility, for the improvement of 'manners' and for social control, for the spread of humane learning and for the extirpation of Popery and the promotion of godliness. L. Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England', pp.71- 2, also notes the high value Puritans placed on education in England and New England.

²¹³ M. Todd, *Christian Humanism*, pp.47-8, 256, and I. Green 'Libraries for School Education and Personal Devotion' in G. Mandelbrote and K. Manley (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 2: 1640-1850* (2006) 47-64, p.47. See also C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (1975, first published 1972), pp.300-1 for new contemporary ideas about schooling and pp.301-5 for radical criticism of the university curricula for which grammar school education was a preparation.

²¹⁴ F. Watson, 'The Curriculum and Text-books of English Schools', p.224.

and poetry.²¹⁵ More recently, Peter Mack has included an analysis of the grammar school course of study in grammar and rhetoric in his study of Elizabethan rhetoric, again with close reference to the texts that were used.²¹⁶ Other histories of classroom practice and the use of texts in early modern schools in England have been of wider scope, such as those of Joan Simon and Rosemary O'Day, but there remains a shortage of evidence for an insight into practice in an ordinary provincial grammar school.²¹⁷ Ian Green has recently explored early modern teaching techniques especially in the grammar schools and first year of university, to study the changing relationship between humanism and Protestantism, and has given a detailed analysis of texts used in the classroom. However, he concludes that studies of individual schools and teachers remain patchy.²¹⁸

As well as lauding the great success of his school, Hall categorised himself as a dedicated, traditional and effective godly schoolmaster. Foster Watson perceived two main categories of grammar school teacher, although no doubt there were degrees of variation in both as argued by Rosemary O'Day.²¹⁹ Firstly there were those masters such as John Brinsley, Thomas Horne, Thomas Farnaby and Charles Hoole 'who knew their business exceptionally well' and

²¹⁵ T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greek*.

²¹⁶ P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*.

²¹⁷ J. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, p.ix, pays tribute to F. Watson, on whose work she relied. R. O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800*, p.59, uses the diaries of Adam Martindale to illustrate his school experiences and his role as a school teacher himself, but she says there are few known accounts of schooling experiences.

²¹⁸ I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, pp.30-1.

²¹⁹ R. O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800*, pp.58-9, 69-70, acknowledges that her use of Adam Martindale's experiences of poor grammar school teaching, with a preponderance of rote learning and oral repetition, might not be typical of lesser schools; nevertheless Martindale's evidence provides a reminder that there was a gap between the ideals of the educational theorists and the practice that obtained in some schools. At the same time, she points out that the grammar school curriculum was hardly a feature of all schools, and not even of all schools called 'grammar' schools. Rather there was a flexibility of educational provision which catered for the needs of different sections of the community, and, before the Restoration, there was a 'subtle shift from humanist and Protestant humanist views of the need for a general education for all vocations to mid- and late-seventeenth century arguments that education should be more specifically vocational or practical.' I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, pp.58-9 also points out the variety of grammar school provision. Charles Hoole, *A new discovery* (1660), pp.213-7, agreed that there was a variance in grammar schools between those he called 'mixt', which taught children to read and write some grammar, and the purely grammatical schools which sent scholars on to university.

taught with greater enlightenment using the humanist method. This involved not only the intense study of ever deepening skills in classical literature, rhetoric and ethics, but also a new emphasis on understanding and enjoying what they were learning, and an increasing use of printed teaching aids such as commentaries and translations.²²⁰ Then, by default, there were the masters who, no doubt struggling with little assistance in the delivery of an overwhelming weight of material to a large number of pupils, did only what was practical in instilling the rules of grammar, thereby teaching at best a working knowledge of Latin and little more, and at worst drilling pupils with grammar rules with no useful linguistic outcome.²²¹ These were the sort of teachers, that might also rely on ‘continuall and terrible whipping’ to maintain authority and give inducement to learning, a type to whom Thomas Fuller referred as ‘*Orbilus*’.²²² Opponents of the humanist curriculum who wanted a more practical education based on English and experiential learning were most critical of such drudgery and severity.²²³ However, critics of harsh schoolmasters were also found among humanist

²²⁰ F. Watson, *The English Grammar School to 1660*, pp.7-8. John Brinsley was Master of Ashby School (1600-1617), and was then licensed to teach grammar in London; Thomas Horne was master of several schools until replacing George Goad as master of Eton College, where he taught Robert Boyle; Thomas Farnaby ran private schools in Cornwall, then London, and finally in Kent; and Charles Hoole started his career at Rotherham grammar school and then had his own private schools in London.

²²¹ Most grammar schools had a master and usher. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, p.275, considered at least one usher was necessary for a ‘greater School’, and pp.269-75, he described their duties. Hoole devotes a quarter of his book to the duties of ushers, who generally took on the teaching of the lower part of the school. Even so the curriculum was undoubtedly extremely challenging. T. W. Baldwin, *Shakspeare’s Little Latin & Lesse Greek*, p.163, writing on what was taught in the sixteenth century, wrote, ‘One wonders how a human being, either teacher or boy, endured it.’ D. Cressy, ‘A Drudgery of Schoolmasters’ in D. Cressy, *Society and Culture in Early Modern England* (2003) 129-53, has surveyed a range of types of teacher and school in the early modern period.

²²² Thomas Fuller, *The holy state* (1642), p.112, calls such a ‘whipping’ master, ‘*Orbilus*’. Horace, *Epistles* Book ii, referred to his schoolmaster, Lucius Orbilius Pupillus, as ‘*plagosus*’ meaning fond of punishing. Some translators feel this was possibly an affectionate term, but Fuller clearly used the name ‘*Orbilus*’ to denote a master who beat his pupils without good cause.

²²³ Hezekiah Woodward, *Of the childs portion, viz: Good education* (1649) [Cat.A733], pp.8-9, described his own childhood experiences during six years at grammar school, where he was taught to memorise his lessons without understanding, and was hindered in progress by fear of physical punishment, his eye ever on the master’s hand or rod, waiting to see where it would fall. He wrote that there were too many such men. Woodward, Webster and other reformers advocated radical, even total, reform of the classical education system, and were pursuing newly evolving branches of knowledge. The critics of the Christian humanist curriculum included Francis Bacon in *Advancement of learning*, [Cat.A692, THL 094/1633/2]; Samuel Hartlib in his supporting preface to Dury, *The reformed school* and elsewhere; Jan Comenius, whose idea of pansophy had aspirations to recover the totality of knowledge man had enjoyed before the Fall; John Milton in *Of education* (1644); and Hezekiah Woodward in several works. They felt that the teaching of Grammar was so intensive and

educators.²²⁴ Brinsley certainly disapproved of beating children, a practice found ‘in verie many schooles’.²²⁵ However, as John Morgan noted, many Puritans called for the tempering of corporal punishment, not its abolition.²²⁶

Hall was certainly in no doubt as to the category of schoolmaster to which he belonged. In all his publications he promoted ‘humane learning’ with passion and, because the quality of learning would be reflected in the quality of future godly generations, he insisted on the highest standards.²²⁷ In his preface to *Folly* he denounced the worst type of grammar school master for the ‘Martyrdom’ of children by their tyrannical and excessive severity.²²⁸ This

extensive that there was no time for other important disciplines, and the whole structure was far too taxing for young minds. Milton, *Of education*, p.2, complained that, ‘we do amiss to spend seven or eight years meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latine and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year.’ Forcing children to compose themes, verses and orations, he said, were ‘not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the Nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit.’ Often the reformers were theorists rather than practitioners, but Richard Mulcaster, considered one of the most successful teachers of the humanist curriculum in several schools over a long period, 1559-1608, also had deep-rooted objections to many aspects of its content and methods, as he showed in his two educational works, *Positions* (1581) and *Elementarie* (1582). Mulcaster’s books covered wide ranging issues including the universal education of girls and boys at elementary level, the teaching of the vernacular before other tongues, the reorganisation of universities and the establishment of teacher training academies. These ideas are discussed in some detail in R. de Molen, *Richard Mulcaster*, especially in Chapter Two, ‘Educational Reformer’. D. Cressy, *Society and Culture in Early Modern England* (2003), pp.65-6, examines Bacon’s hostility to the traditional curriculum.

²²⁴ For example, Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster* (1571) [Cat.C4], made several references to the widespread use of beatings in schools and the harm it did. This particular book was written as a result of a conversation at a dinner given by Sir William Cecil, at which Sir Richard Sackville and others were present. Cecil had initiated the discussion of education saying that he had recently received a report that some Eton scholars had absconded for fear of beatings. Ascham noted several times that a love of learning was beaten out of children for example, pp.1, 4, 5 and 12. Sir Richard Sackville later confided in Ascham that he himself had been driven from a love of learning by a harsh master and now he wanted a better teacher for his small grandson he wished Ascham would advertise his own educational knowledge and methods more widely. Thus Ascham came to write his book.

²²⁵ Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, p.276.

²²⁶ J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp.192-3.

²²⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, p.248.

²²⁸ Hall, *Folly*, sig.(a3)r. Traditional Christian humanism emphasised the need for teaching with regard to individual pupil differences and with affection instead of brutality, and this was also Hall’s philosophy. His use of the imagery of torture and executioners in his stated philosophy for the wrong sort of teaching, closely mirrors that of Erasmus. In Erasmus, *De pueris instuendis*, reproduced in translation in W. H. Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus and the Aim and Method of Education* (1904), pp.203-6, Erasmus talks of the disgrace of unqualified masters and their methods, and of their turning the school into ‘a torture chamber’. He demanded ‘a trustful and affectionate respect’ from masters towards their pupils. Erasmus’s ideas for positive relationships and reinforcements are also expounded by Brinsley and Hoole in great detail. Brinsley uses the image of the master as a father, as does Hall, and devotes chapters 27-9 of his *Ludus literarius* to practical suggestions for approaching all aspects of the issue, including use of praise and competition as rewards, and a hierarchy of appropriate penalties when necessary. Hoole, who was well acquainted with the work of Brinsley, gives similar advice. He reminds ushers, *A new discovery*, pp.9-10, to tailor their teaching to the abilities and pace of their

accusation was repeated almost verbatim in his autobiography, with the further information that as a child of a ‘mild and fearefull nature’, this had been his own experience at the King’s School, Worcester.²²⁹ He therefore insisted on treating pupils entrusted to his care with a greater degree of understanding and kindness:

Schoole-Masters should carry a fatherly affection towards those that are committed to them not ruling over them with rigour & austerity, & so make them out [of] love with Learning before they hast the sweetness of it, & quench those sparkles which by all wise & amiable means they should labor to inflame.²³⁰

He noted that instead of beating children for faults, the schoolmaster should distinguish between what was done ‘through weakness, what through wilfulness; what of infirmity, and what of obstinacy; what is done casually and accidentally, and what desperately and deliberately etc.’²³¹

It was also important to Hall that a school master should not only be a man of learning but must also be ‘fitted’ for the profession, for one could indeed be ‘a great Schollar, but a sorry School-master.’²³² The master should find a happy medium in his teaching approach, being firm, but not too austere, nor over familiar thereby encouraging disrespect and contempt, but should ‘carry an awe and majesty’ in his bearing.²³³

small pupils, and, he uses similes of the nurse tending a charge and the gardener nurturing the growth of a young plant. Brinsley also uses the simile of the nurse in *Ludus literarius*, pp.55, 318.

²²⁹ Hall, *Life*, fos.13-4. Hall was a pupil under Henry Bright, who was Master at King’s from 1589 to 1627.

²³⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.14.

²³¹ Hall, *Folly*, sig.(a4)r-(a5)v. Hoole, *A new discovery*, pp.307, 236-7, 274-82, gave detailed advice on discipline and its differentiation so that the punishment fitted the crime, and he emphasised the positive value of encouragements instead. Certainly he thought that children should not be beaten for not understanding. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius* pp.277, 286-96, for example, gave similar advice and was a strong proponent, pp.280-2, of encouragement.

²³² Hall, *Folly*, sig.(a4)r.

²³³ Hall, *Folly*, sig.(a3)r. Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, pp.267-9, says much the same about his ideal schoolmaster.

As for his understanding of pupils' differing aptitudes, Hall wrote, 'My desire is to benefit the weaker sort (the strong can help themselves) ...',²³⁴ and an effective master should discern the different natures and dispositions of his pupils, judging each according to his individual circumstances: Some are industrious and towardly, but of a timorous temper; these must be wisely corrected. Some have weak parts, other stronger; some are ruled with words, others with blows, etc. and as there's difference in natures, so a wise man will see difference in fault.'²³⁵

In *Conquest*, Hall's first school textbook as an aid to Latin translation, he wrote that if he were accused of helping children thereby to learn more surely, speedily and delightfully, he would not apologise. He followed Brinsley's example in producing this type of textbook and encouraged others to join him because it would ease schoolmasters of much toil and cruelty in teaching, and help children, particularly the weaker sort, to run through their authors with surety and delight and even help anyone who had forgotten their Latin to regain their skills without a teacher. He forestalled objections that such methods would make pupils lazy by emphasising that they would still have to learn for themselves but they would do so less painfully.²³⁶ Masters were urged to demand 'constant' attendance from pupils for the good of their studies, and to exercise patience in dealing with difficult children and their parents. He concluded by exhorting schoolmasters to lead by example and to remain staid, sober and holy. If any required further advice, he recommended Thomas Fuller's book, *Holy state*.²³⁷ There, the reader would have found the model of an ideal schoolmaster, and an endorsement of all Hall had to say on demeanour and methods, and on the understanding and treatment of pupils

²³⁴ Hall, *Conquest*, sig.A6r.

²³⁵ Hall, *Folly*, sig.(a4)r.

²³⁶ Hall, *Conquest*, sig.A3r.

²³⁷ Hall, *Folly*, sig.(a5)r. Hall owned a copy of Thomas Fuller, *The holy state* (1642) [Cat.A307].

as individuals. Thus Hall's basic philosophy of encouragement and treatment of pupils on an individual basis bringing them to self-discipline rather than instilling learning by fear, is a synthesis of the best advice offered by Brinsley and Hoole.

Ian Green's analysis of the impact of humanism and Protestantism on each other and on education, has found that much in early modern humanist education delivered by Protestants of all degrees seems to show little recorded emphasis on faith and scripture, although as Lawson suggests, this may be partly because its inculcation was taken for granted.²³⁸ John Morgan, however, views the drive of Puritan learning to be wholly concerned with the promotion of godly culture, and notes the distinguishing feature of the Puritan ideal of a schoolmaster as his godliness rather than his learning.²³⁹ Scholars such as Margo Todd and Peter Mack see the major aims of the humanist education as instilling wisdom, piety and eloquence through the study of classical languages which led to practical results in combating social evils and securing social discipline, but such education also aimed at the maintenance of a godly commonwealth.²⁴⁰ Hall made clear his perspective that humane learning for children underpinned their lifelong piety, and complemented their domestic education in Scripture and true religion, which began in infancy with their parents: for example, he wrote of the necessity of both religious and humane learning, and pointed out their interconnection, in addressing Colonel Richard Grevis, his patron.²⁴¹ He also made religion an underlying theme of both his textbooks. In *Folly*, he opened his teaching with an explanation of the moral of the story, which was the unsuitability of youth for government but again he used it as a

²³⁸ J. Lawson, *A Town Grammar School*, pp.117-8.

²³⁹ J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, especially Chapter 9, 'Reform of the Schools', pp.172 -200, 217.

²⁴⁰ M. Todd, *Christian Humanism*, pp. 43-4, and P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, p.11. Also R. Cust, 'The 'Public Man' in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England', for the application of this curriculum in public life.

²⁴¹ Hall, *Folly*, sigs.A4v-A5r. This textbook was dedicated to Col. Richard Grevis who had a young son to educate, and Hall used his dedicatory epistle to praise Grevis and to outline an ideal education for his son. Hall also devoted a section of *Timothy*, pp.246-50, to the importance of parents teaching their children the Scriptures from the earliest age. He also noted, p.260, that both women and children should read the Scriptures.

religious metaphor: 'If every Phaeton that thinks himself able, may drive the chariot of the Sun, no wonder if the world be set on fire: this hath brought those Heresies and confusions into the Nation, which have overspread it like a Leprosie.'²⁴² In *Conquest*, he gave an explanation of the history of the Palladium or the image of Pallas, which was kept in a secret location in Troy because the oracle had warned that should it be lost the city would fall; this is exactly what happened following its theft by Ulysses. Drawing a parallel from this Hall wrote in the margin:

The Truth is our Palladium, if we lose this we lose all, if we preserve this pure, we save all, if we exalt her, she will exalt us, Pro.4.8. Common-wealths cannot long endure when truth and Learning is gone. It therefore concerns Magistrates, Ministers, Schoolmen, &c. in their Places to preserve the Truth in it's Purity, now in a time when so many Sell this jewel for nought; lest Peace, Plenty, Liberty and all be lost, &c.²⁴³

Hall also wrote of the pious and moral example that should be set by the schoolmaster, who being holy himself, should teach his children 'by his life, as well as by precepts',²⁴⁴ and in *Vindiciae* he stressed the valuable contribution education made to the avoidance of errors and heresies which abounded where there was a lack of knowledge.²⁴⁵

Inevitably Hall became embroiled in the tension involved in espousing an education based on classical pagan knowledge that was aimed at producing godly subjects of a Christian commonwealth. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine point out the weakness of this link between the pagan models and the production of Christian virtue, and in speaking of Erasmus's recurring attempts at their reconciliation, suggest that 'the welding of profane learning to lay piety requires a certain amount of intellectual sleight of hand.'²⁴⁶ It was a

²⁴² Hall, *Folly*, p.3.

²⁴³ Hall, *Conquest*, p.84. Also *Apologie*, pp.44-5, where he uses the same imagery to show the value of the ministry.

²⁴⁴ Hall, *Folly*, sig.(a4)v.

²⁴⁵ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.15. In *Timothy*, p.109, like other Puritans, Hall saw barbarism as another disadvantage of the lack of education: 'What makes our Welch-men, Wild-Irish, and Indians, so brutish and barbarous, but want of Learning and Instruction?'

²⁴⁶ A. Grafton and L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, p.144.

tension that had been present from the earliest days of Italian humanist renewal.²⁴⁷ Brinsley and Hoole made no mention of any paradox in this respect but followed the traditional line in their methods and resources, balancing pagan classical texts with Christian ones.²⁴⁸ In all their teaching advice, both were guided by their strong religious motives and morality: Brinsley devoted a chapter to training up scholars in true religion, ‘without which all other learning is meereley vaine’.²⁴⁹ Hoole understood the role of the schoolmaster as nurturing and bringing children up in the fear of the Lord making them ‘serviceable instruments’ of both Church and commonwealth.²⁵⁰ Hall was equally sure of his role as schoolmaster in preparing children to take their place in a godly society, with the particular objective of sending them on to university and thence into the world as ministers, magistrates and other godly professionals. He was sure too, again using Erasmian imagery, that youth was ‘Teachable and Tractable like soft wax or clay fit to be formed and framed to anything, ready to take any impression’.²⁵¹ Pedagogical theory of the time had contradictory ideas about the nature and educability of youth, but Hall was consistently positive.²⁵² He urged parents to teach spirituals before

²⁴⁷ W. H. Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance 1400-1600* (1924, first published 1906), pp.12-3, 112-4, noted the defences teachers such as Vittorino, Erasmus and Ascham offered. Also Ascham, *The scholemaster* [Cat.C4], p.17.

²⁴⁸ For example, encouraging the use of catechisms, the Scriptures in original languages and the vernacular, Christian fundamentals such as the prayers and Commandments, and the study of sermons in church.

²⁴⁹ Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, Chapter XXII, p.253. In his prefaces to both teaching guides Brinsley made impassioned pleas for sound education throughout the kingdom’s dominions to bring people to the knowledge of God, and he warned, *A consolation for our schooles*, p.46, that the enemies of true religion, particularly the Jesuits who were assiduous in their drive for education, would use their learning to ‘bewitch’ the flower and youth of the nations and ‘cut the throats of all, who truly and sincerely possesse Christs Gospell, and to possesse their places.’ He also recommended, *A consolation for our schooles*, sigs.A4v-A5r, that his publication *The true vwatch*, a devotional and practical religious work, should be used as a companion to his *Consolation* throughout the king’s dominions.

²⁵⁰ Charles Hoole, *A new discovery*, sig.A4v, and p.269.

²⁵¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.248. Brinsley, *A consolation for our schooles*, pp.5, 13, also called grammar schools God’s nurseries and seminaries.

²⁵² G. Strauss, ‘The State of Pedagogical Theory c.1530: What Protestant Reformers Knew About Education’ in L. Stone (ed.), *Schooling and Society* (1976). Hall, *Timothy*, pp.247-9. Also in *Holiness*, pp.129-30, 179-80, and *Timothy*, pp.64, 250, 462, Hall wrote that although youth was prone to pride, self-conceit and sensual pleasures, every age had its weaknesses, for example old age was prone to security and covetousness. He blamed waywardness in youth on poor parenting including bad example, lack of instruction and lack of discipline.

temporal, assuring them that lessons learned in youth would last and would be passed down from generation to generation.²⁵³

Hall's school catalogue also indicates a balancing of classical and Christian texts, but in his case, the validity of pagan morality was a point on which he was directly challenged by those in opposition to the exclusivity of the humanist curriculum.²⁵⁴ It caused him little trouble to answer. His main thesis, expounded most fully in *Vindiciae*, was a synthesis of humanist justifications, tying learning and divinity together in inseparable partnership: humane learning was essential for sound divinity, just as it was for other professions, but at the same time subordinate to it.²⁵⁵ In all his teaching Hall followed the godly model of learning that John Morgan has argued was designed to further an overall scheme of godly reform. It subordinated human learning to the scriptures, seeking not so much to use the humanist curriculum to teach students to think for themselves as to think in a predefined godly manner in a workable blend of faith and reason.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Hall, *Holiness*, sigs.a5r-a5v, pp.165, 179, wrote that once a child had been taught piety he would usually grow up to be pious and would teach his own children God's ways, and they in turn would teach their children.

²⁵⁴ Firstly by sectarians in his dispute with them at Henley in Arden in August 1650 which led to the publication of *Pulpit* in 1651. The attack here was that humane learning was not a necessary qualification for ordinary mechanic preachers who were gifted with the Spirit. Hall *Pulpit*, pp.18-21, replied that the Word of God could only be interpreted with knowledge of the original languages, rhetoric and logic. Use of translations or lack of humane learning would lead to heresy and false religion.

²⁵⁵ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.37. P. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp. 305-8, sees Puritan educational theory and consequent practice as an attempt to blend faith and reason into a Christian balance, that looked for an outcome in which human reason was subordinated the demands of an enthusiastic faith. The exclusivity of such a system, which failed to take on wider vocational training to meet the practical needs of society, he believed, contained within itself the seeds of future failure.

²⁵⁶ J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp.308-10. Morgan also comments that this argument is similar to that made by P. Collinson which is that Puritan learning aimed not for individualism but for 'a stereotyped, programmed corporateness'. Hall's main objection to the educational reformers who opposed the humanist curriculum was that their ideas undermined the traditional linguistic, rhetorical and logical training, which therefore undermined the understanding that underpinned divinity. He did have his own criticisms to make of education but not of the curriculum and its methods, worrying rather that the meagre provision of schools encouraged heresy to take a hold where there was ignorance, and he offered his own suggestions for funding more schools. L. Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', p.71, saw this belief of the godly in the efficacy of education as a weapon against ignorance, profaneness and idleness as one of their most striking characteristics. F. Watson, 'The State and Education during the Commonwealth', *The English Historical Review* 15 (1900) 58-72, surveys the many unsuccessful initiatives that were undertaken in this period by way of practical petitions to Parliament

Hall's adherence to the ideals of Brinsley and Hoole as they derived them from the Northern Christian humanism of Erasmus and his followers in education, can be seen in two examples he left of his schoolroom practice: firstly the books he collected and used in his teaching in comparison with the works recommended and used by Brinsley and Hoole, and secondly his published textbooks that demonstrate how he taught grammatical translation with lessons 'both Morall and Divine' in direct imitation of Brinsley's methodology.²⁵⁷

f) ii) The evidence of the school books

The majority of books in Hall's school catalogue comprise 187 titles, listed in largely alphabetical order. They are followed by 78 further titles under the separate headings of 'Hebrew', 'Poetry', 'Law', 'Logica', 'Physica', 'Ethica' and 'Metaphysica'.²⁵⁸ Of these 265 catalogued titles in 270 volumes, 107 or just over a third survive today, and they are the least annotated and marked of Hall's books.²⁵⁹ There are a further surviving 45 volumes signed by Hall that would be useful in the school but which are not listed in any of his catalogues. While a few appear to be Hall's own student books, there is no evidence of books inherited from former masters, nor of any grants or funds for stocking a school library as existed at

and printed works to reform education nationally with the provision of more schools, changes in the curriculum and even teacher training, and ideas for funding them. Although the foundation of schools continued in the seventeenth century and with some energy, particularly in the age of Cromwell, J. Morgan, *Godly Learning*, pp.175-6, noted Puritan concerns with the lack of sufficient educational provision. Hall's interest in schools can also be seen in his marginal note in his copy of Andrew Willet, *Synopsis papismi* [CatA.714, THL/094/1634/8], p.1220, where he has added the names of the Kings Norton school and the King Edward school of Birmingham by the side of the text detailing the Free schools set up by King Edward VI, feeling they had been omitted, although strictly, Kings Norton school was already in existence and was not founded then, and only one foundation is actually mentioned, that at Louth. Hall, *Magistracy*, sig. (a3)v, wrote that, 'Free-Schools are very much wanting in many parts of the Nation.' He suggested that, 'Since all is devoured', the commons and waste lands should be improved by commissioners from Parliament in order to produce a tenfold increase in revenue, which could be used not only for more schools but also for the other benefits to parishioners. 'Since all is devoured', perhaps refers to the church revenues which had been channelled elsewhere though once thought to have been designated for education. He fails to say how far he would have liked the system to have expanded, whether universally, at least for boys, as radicals such as Dury and Harrington proposed.

²⁵⁷ Hall, *Conquest*, title page.

²⁵⁸ See Appendix III for a transcript of Hall's catalogue of school books which follows his autobiography, will and Catalogues A and B. Hall initially made 273 entries but 8 were crossed out.

²⁵⁹ The extra 5 volumes are: C40=1, C75=1, C88=1, C174=1, and C203=1.

well-endowed schools such as Merchant Taylors' School and Shrewsbury, both of which also had purpose-built school libraries.²⁶⁰ Thus it seems that Hall had very little if anything to start with in 1629 and he probably bought, or received as gifts, nearly all the books in the school catalogue.²⁶¹ Necessarily, because he bought books out of his limited income, the provision would have been most carefully selected, and would have grown gradually over the years between 1629 and 1662.²⁶² However, in terms of numbers of books left to the school in his will, Hall's collection bettered Hoole's recommendation in 1660 that grammar school pupils should have had access to at least 258 book titles during their six-year course.²⁶³ In addition, Hall owned an even larger supporting library comprising the books he left for the ministers of Kings Norton, as well as his best books for the public library in Birmingham.²⁶⁴

It is not easy to break down the contents of Hall's school books into separate categories because the same book was used for diverse purposes. The classical authors, for example,

²⁶⁰ Books that belonged to Hall before he came to Kings Norton include *Compendium librorum physicorum Aristotelis* [Cat.C246, THL 094/1594/2], which has Hall's inscriptions 'Ex libris Thomas Hall 1626' and 'Thomas Hall de Coll: Pemb.'; Robert Sanderson, *Logicae artis compendium* [Cat.C226, THL 094/1618/2]; and Christopher Schleiber, *Epitome metaphysica, continens terminorum explicationem* (1618) [Cat.C270, THL 094/1618/3], with notes dated 1628 and 1629 by Hall.

²⁶¹ R. T. D. Sayle, 'Annals of Merchant Taylors' School', and J.B. Oldham, 'Shrewsbury School Library'.

²⁶² For selecting textbooks and for support in his teaching, Hall could consult with several local Presbyterian ministerial colleagues: John Trapp, master at Stratford grammar school, Thomas Dugard, master of Warwick School, and Josiah Packwood, (as P. Orpen, 'Schoolmastering as a Profession in the Seventeenth Century', p.188, points out), master for 15 years at Nuneaton, were all members of Hall's Warwickshire network and later of the classis at Kenilworth, and both Trapp and Dugard had been fellow pupils at the King's School Worcester. There was also Samuel Shaw, master at Tamworth and later curate at Moseley, who translated Hall's Latin BD thesis for publication, and Robert Francis a cleric and usher at the Birmingham King Edward's School. All these men participated in the traditions and aims of Christian humanism and godly reformation.

²⁶³ Hoole, *A new discovery*, pp.291-2. After the epistles at the beginning of the book, Hoole lists all the books he considers 'most proper for every Form of Scholars in a Grammar-Schoole'. The total number is 258 although some titles are repeated from one year group to the next such as Lily's grammar which appears in English for the first four years.

²⁶⁴ Hoole, *A new discovery*, pp.290-1, advised that, 'he that is employed as a professed School-Master may thoroughly stock himself with all kinde of learning and be able to inform his Scholars in any thing that shall be necessary for them to know.' Some of the books mentioned by Hoole as fit for the grammar school were owned by Hall but appear in his other catalogues, such as Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi* [Cat.A422], Buchanan, *Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidiis* [Cat.A120], Goodwin, *Antiquities* (1654) [Cat.A341, THL 094/1654/17], Pagninus, *Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae*, (1609) [Cat.A495, THL 094/1609/4], Carpenter, *Geography* [Cat.B65], and Causin, *De eloquentia* [Cat.B59].

were used to support the acquisition of a range of knowledge alongside skills in grammar. Their passages could be the focus of a lesson on translation, composition, rhetoric, spoken language and oratory, logic, historical context, and moral examples. Sometimes several foci were followed within the same exercise. Such methods have been elucidated by Peter Mack in his study of Elizabethan rhetoric as it was taught in the grammar school curriculum, and in which he underlines the importance of looking at the grammar school course as a whole.²⁶⁵ Pupils were expected to own copies of core textbooks, and Hall's books were used in the first instance, by himself.²⁶⁶ However, in his instructions for the use of the school library, he implies that the books were also consulted by boys and by others who were not boys, presumably his graduate students.²⁶⁷ In the absence of surviving work by pupils or Hall's notes about it, what can be deduced of the delivery of the curriculum and its emphases comes from these schoolbooks and a direct comparison with the books used by the notable humanist teachers of the day.

In *Ludus literarius*, John Brinsley's recommended books are to be found throughout the text as an integral part of his instructions on how to teach the curriculum.²⁶⁸ Hall owned 72% of

²⁶⁵ P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, p.4. Also pp.16-7, he illustrates how one text such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* could be used to teach a number of skills and areas of knowledge, and pp.32-46, analysed eleven categories of rhetorical skills, all derived from the study of classical texts.

²⁶⁶ Charles Hoole, *A new discovery*, pp.288-92, explains that boys had their own books, which the master needed to check from time to time, although poorer students were often in need of charitable assistance to furnish them with these necessary resources. Also on p.224, he talks of the ideal school building having 'boxes for every Scholar to put his books in.' Hall makes no mention of boys' personal textbooks, although it seems that some, covered in part with schoolboy scribbles, are still in the collection. There are surviving books belonging to known pupils of his, such as Henry Field, and to mature students such as Daniel Sheldermine, who was later curate of Moseley.

²⁶⁷ Hall, *Life*, written on an unnumbered page between the end of the will and the beginning of the first catalogue, Catalogue A, the books for the ministers of Kings Norton.

²⁶⁸ Interestingly, in the text of *Ludus literarius*, pp.310, 312, Spondeus asked Philiponus for a short catalogue of the books, but he was told to refer to 'the severall Chapters'. The books in *Consolation*, pp.59-80, are still named within descriptions for their use, but the whole is accomplished within twenty pages rather than three hundred.

the titles mentioned for teaching his range of pupils.²⁶⁹ In his later shorter book, *A Consolation*, Brinsley gave a more structured list of recommended titles, repeating most of those he referred to in *Ludus literarius* but with additional titles which doubled the total.²⁷⁰ Hall owned 70% of all these, and, given his stated admiration of Brinsley and his methods, and his purchase of Brinsley's teaching guides, the high correlation is not surprising. One of the reasons for not owning the full complement, may have been, as Hall mentioned, that many good school books were out of print, and he therefore had to find suitable alternative texts.²⁷¹

A second comparison of Hall's catalogue with Hoole's recommended books for grammar schools also reveals extensive correlation. Hoole divided his required texts for each of the six year groups into 'Classical' and 'Subsidiary'. The 'Classical' list was shorter, though both lists lengthened as the cohort progressed from one year group to the next. The 'Classical' books indicated those a pupil should provide for himself, and which Hoole says are 'constantly learned in most Grammar Schooles,' while those labelled 'Subsidiary' were those that, he thought, should be in the school library.²⁷² Hall's school library books have much in common with the classical list, duplicating 77% of Hoole's books directly by author and title, and this is fairly consistent across the year groups; the rest that do not match directly are nevertheless similar and might in some cases be the same, for example where Hoole lists works with a general title such as *Rhetorices elementa* for the fourth form, *Phrases poetica* in the fifth form, or *Graecae linguae* in the sixth form. There is less common ground for the subsidiary books, Hall having about one third that match by title and author, but again he had

²⁶⁹ In arriving at these percentages I have excluded Brinsley's books for teaching the '*petties*', or very young children, because Hall did not have such young children in his Kings Norton school.

²⁷⁰ Brinsley, *A consolation for our schooles*, pp.59-84. I have again excluded Brinsley's books for young children from the comparison with those owned by Hall.

²⁷¹ Hall, *Conquest*, sig.A2v.

²⁷² Hoole, *A new discovery*, p. 205.

similar types and the same authors for most of the rest. Both collections share an absence of books on arithmetic or other mathematical sciences and music.²⁷³ Hall did have geography books, in total more than Hoole, but only one was in his school catalogue, the rest in other sections of his library. Hall had more Early Modern literature, more Ovid and Cicero, and considerably more logic, physic, metaphysics/philosophy, medicine and law.²⁷⁴

A comparison with another extant 1662 catalogue of books from Merchant Taylors' School reveals a different situation, Hall having only 21 books in common and perhaps 27 similar books out of a list of 125 books.²⁷⁵ It is also clear that the library developed at Shrewsbury school was of a completely different order, containing books gathered since its foundation in 1578, with a catalogue in 1664 that includes 39 volumes of medieval manuscripts, 25 incunabula and a grand total of 549 titles in 770 volumes, some chained and all comfortably housed in a purpose-built library.²⁷⁶ This library was considerably older than Hall's. There is a similar lack of correlation with the books in the Guildford School Library catalogue.²⁷⁷ All

²⁷³ Hoole *A new discovery*, p.285 spoke of sending boys for writing practice to his friend Mr. James Hodder, who also taught them about arithmetic and merchants accounts. It was not unusual to send boys out for extra tuition and Hall's pupils may also have had some lessons taught by external teachers.

²⁷⁴ Towards the end of Hoole's guide, p.290, he listed a variety of general types of book suitable for the school library, which included medicine, law, humanity, divinity and 'those which treat of every Art and Science.' The more advanced books in Hall's library on these subjects were probably for the support of his graduate students.

²⁷⁵ R. T. D. Sayle, 'Annals of Merchant Taylors' School', pp. 464-7.

²⁷⁶ J. B. Oldham, 'Shrewsbury School Library', pp.81-6. W. Barker, 'School Libraries (c1540-1640)' in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 1: To 1640* (2006) 435-47, p.447, regards Shrewsbury School library as unusual for its time, both for the institutional commitment it received and for the direction it took that only became more widely established towards the end of the seventeenth century. This direction was as a learning resource that was additional to the books needed for the 'unrelenting' work of learning the ancient languages, which was the common motive for most school libraries of the time.

²⁷⁷ The library at the Royal Grammar School of Guildford began with a bequest of chained books made by Bishop John Parkhurst at the end of the sixteenth century. This library doubled as a town library and claims to be the first town library founded after the Reformation. It had many later bequests and a dramatic history of survival. Though it had a purpose-built gallery, it was not just for the school and so is not useful for comparison with Hall's Library. The history and catalogue of the library are contained in G. Woodward and R. A. Christophers (compilers), *The Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School Guildford*, (1972). I. Green, 'Libraries for school education and personal devotion', pp.50-3, has found evidence of scores of school libraries in existence in the Early Modern period, such as those at the renowned schools of Eton, Winchester, Westminster, St. Paul's, Manchester Grammar, Hull Grammar, Bury St. Edmund's and others, but he notes that

these schools were endowed, and many of the books were gifts from friends and past pupils who made their own choices for various reasons, and so differ from that of Kings Norton which was carefully collected as a working library by one schoolmaster. It therefore fully reflects Hall's pedagogical requirements, resources and methods, and these strongly match all that Brinsley and Hoole recommended for the enlightened grammar school master.²⁷⁸

Hall's school books show an overwhelming interest in classical language and grammar, based on a sound grounding in the rules but with a greater proportion of books for immersion in reading of authors; it shows the extension of linguistic knowledge and skills into Greek and Hebrew.²⁷⁹ The teaching of Hebrew depended on the skills of the schoolmaster, and had only taken root in the leading schools at the end of the sixteenth-century.²⁸⁰ Hoole wrote that many schools left the teaching of Hebrew to the universities, which implies that Hall was

while there were various reasons for the strengths of some of these libraries, there was some correlation between the longevity or wealth of a school and the quality of its library provision. Although Richard Busby greatly enhanced the school library at Westminster with the bequest of 450 of his own books collected during his headship, all these libraries were products of several collectors and of greater resources than were available to Thomas Hall.

²⁷⁸ Hall was a major contributor to, and according to T. W. Hutton, *King Edward's School Birmingham*, p.42, a co-founder of, the King Edward's School library in Birmingham, and a few of his books given to this library still survive in it. There are two catalogues for this library but they were compiled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by which time many earlier books had disappeared, and they cannot be used in comparison with Hall's catalogues for the seventeenth century. W. Barker, 'School Libraries (c. 1540 to 1640)', p.437, finds that large school libraries with a few hundred or more books, with a few exceptions such as the early libraries founded at Eton, Winchester and Shrewsbury, only began to be developed in the second half of the seventeenth century, citing the libraries at Westminster, begun in 1656, King Edward's Birmingham also in 1656 (although Hutton, *King Edward's School Birmingham*, p.42, dates it to 1642), Merchant Taylors' in 1662, Wigan 1664 and St. Paul's in 1670. Barker estimates, pp.443-4, that few schools built up libraries, and even fewer had special buildings for holding them, so Hall was something of a pioneer here, as well as in his collections for town and parish.

²⁷⁹ Although like other grammar school masters, Hall used books that were also used for university courses, he had some standard university textbooks that were not generally used in schools, which may reflect the use of some of his school books by recent graduates. These include works such as John Case, *Summa veterum interpretum in universam dialecticam Aristotelis* (1584) [Cat.C254], and Robert Sanderson, *Logicae artis* [Cat.C226,THL/094/1618/2]. P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp.56-7, describes these books as two of the three printed books that provide evidence about the way Aristotelian logic was taught at university, and Sanderson's book, the most successful English logic textbook of the early 17th century, was totally committed to the humanist approach to logic.

²⁸⁰ J. Simon, *Education and Society*, p.316.

teaching to high standards.²⁸¹ It seems that there was little time for other subjects to be taught as separate disciplines in the curriculum but some, such as geography and history, were taught by way of contextualising language studies. Brinsley led the way and Hall followed, encouraging this method in both his textbooks on Ovid, giving historical and geographical explanations to textual references.²⁸² As stated above, Hall also wrote in *Vindiciae* of the need for knowledge of a range of arts and sciences for the furtherance of both humane knowledge and divinity.²⁸³

Hall's schoolbook collection also offers a window on a major educational trend of the period, which was described by Foster Watson as the 'progressive evolution of text-books' and their steady proliferation.²⁸⁴ Margo Todd agreed that there was a huge expansion in the publication of textbooks, and these were used both as pedagogical and moral guides, emphasising not only principles of grammar and style, but also the importance of classical wisdom in learning to deal with the affairs of the world.²⁸⁵ This aspect of humanist education is also emphasised by Peter Mack who notes the grammar school aim 'to combine rhetorical and ethical training' through the choice of humanist texts.²⁸⁶ The texts were 'humanist' because of their classical and humanist authors from Cicero, Ovid and Homer to Valla, Erasmus and Cordier, or they were humanist because of their humanist commentaries and translations by scholars like Arthur Golding, John Bond, Thomas Horne, Thomas Farnaby, and John Brinsley, all used by

²⁸¹ Hoole, *A new discovery*, p.192, where he added that few boys who were not taught Hebrew at school mastered it at university. Hall has left notes on his teaching of rules for reading Hebrew, written over three flyleaves of the Hebrew textbook by Victorinus Bythner, *Lyra prophetica Davidis Regis, sive analysis critico-practica Psalmorum* (1650) [Cat.C198, THL 094/1650/11], a grammatical analysis of every word in the Hebrew psalter, which was first published in 1650 and so was too late to appear in Brinsley's list of recommended textbooks.

²⁸² Hall, *De tristibus in Folly*, p.81, and *Conquest*, p.6.

²⁸³ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.4-5.

²⁸⁴ F. Watson, *The Grammar Schools to 1660*, pp.4-5, based this judgement not only on the indirect information gleaned from the works of educational commentators but the books that he found were actually used in schools.

²⁸⁵ M. Todd, *Christian Humanism*, pp. 43-4, 48.

²⁸⁶ P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, p.47.

Hall.²⁸⁷ Even Hall's lexicons and dictionaries by men such as Thomas Cooper, Thomas Thomas and Francis Holyoke, which allowed for the precise use of words and the development of style and nuance, as well as other books of adages and apophthegms, such as those of Erasmus and John Clarke, were as interested in morals as in education.

Using the guidance of modern scholars, such as Foster Watson, T.W. Baldwin and Peter Mack who have investigated how certain texts were used for certain types of teaching and the expected outcomes for the acquisition of skills, a study of the individual books in Hall's school collection show that they fully satisfy the detailed requirements of the humanist curriculum given by Brinsley and Hoole.²⁸⁸ These resources would not have all been in place for the duration of his tenure, yet it became an unusually large collection, and being purchased out of income was a testament to Hall's commitment to teaching.²⁸⁹

f) iii) The evidence of Hall's published text books

Hall's schoolroom practice in teaching Latin grammatical translations and versification is evidenced in his two school textbooks, *Conquest* and *Folly*. These he described as imitating similar textbooks by Brinsley, and were published with Hall's instructions that they should be used in accordance with Brinsley's directions, so demonstrating his thorough imitation of Brinsley's method and standards.²⁹⁰ The method Brinsley used was based on helping boys to understand what they were doing, beginning with understanding the text from a general

²⁸⁷ Of Hall's 69 Classical authors, 47 books or 60% of them had humanist commentaries and/or were in translation. In particular, Hall owned six of Brinsley's translations [Cat.C11-16].

²⁸⁸ Useful books were also to be found in his other collections which were all kept together as his personal books before 1662.

²⁸⁹ I. Green, 'Libraries for School Education and Personal Devotion', pp.48-50, shows that according to the responses to Christopher Wase's survey of school libraries in the 1670s, there were few such libraries with as many books relevant to the curriculum for various reasons, and few country school libraries of such a size.

²⁹⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.80, *Conquest*, sigs.A2v-A3r, and *Folly*, title page. V. Salmon, 'John Brinsley and His Friends: Scholarship in Seventeenth-Century Leicestershire', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society* 51 (1975) 1-14, p. 12, noted Hall's imitation of Brinsley's teaching methods but mentioned no other imitators. Hall owned several of Brinsley's grammatical translations [Cat.C11-16].

introduction, and then from the paraphrases and contextual explanations provided throughout. The grammatical translation however was the vital element, for the paraphrases by themselves would ‘lead Schollars amisse.’²⁹¹ Pupils began by deconstructing the Latin text, taking each sentence in turn and putting the words into grammatical rather than rhetorical or artificial order. They looked first for parts of speech according to a preset order, and in analysing their relation to each other, automatically parsed each word. Then the sentence could be translated into the vernacular, the whole having been accurately construed and parsed. The preset grammatical order of the different parts of speech which guided pupils in their deconstruction is what Brinsley called ‘The Golden Rule’, which he said he had learned from earlier grammarians.²⁹² For further advancement, pupils undertook a double translation. This meant putting their English translation back into Latin, firstly according to its grammatical order and then into its original form with all the rhetorical order restored. Finally the completed translation could be compared with the author’s original.²⁹³ This was the procedure that Hall followed in his textbooks, the layout of which closely resembled Brinsley’s except that Hall used three instead of four columns for his grammatical, etymological and contextual notes (Figure 18).

Hall opened his books by instructing readers to ask the questions that lead to an understanding of the text: ‘who, what, why, where, when, what goes first and what follows’. He then set out the paraphrase, the further contextualising material and the grammatical translation itself. The

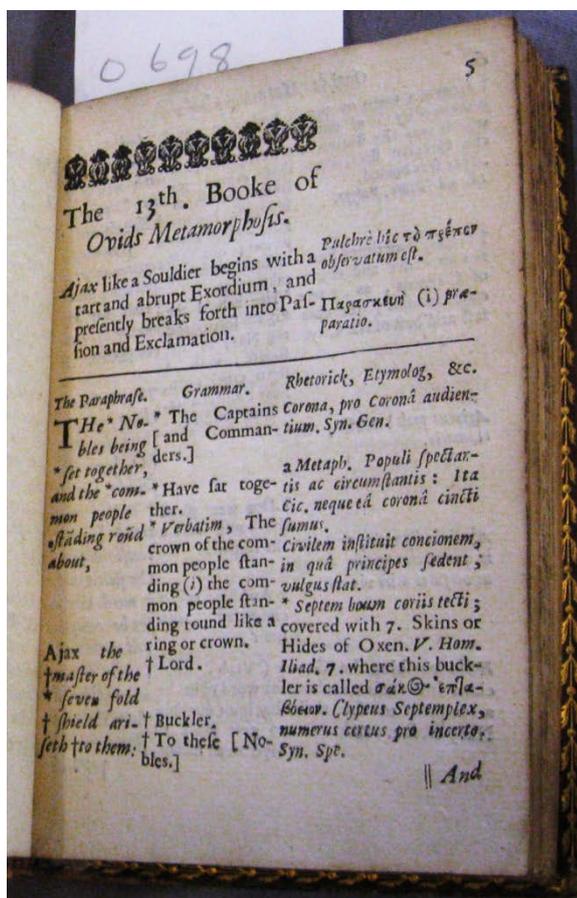
²⁹¹ Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, p.116.

²⁹² Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, pp.91-108, explains the Golden Rule and his knowledge of it from ‘Susenbrotus, Crusius, Cosarzus, and our ancient Schoole master Master Leech, in his little questions of the Accedence and others, as also lately by learned Goclenius; though in all of them imperfectly, and differing somewhat each from other, through the diuers exceptions in the Grammar rules and varietie of Grammars. Crusius hath also examples of the practice of the rule handled at large.’

²⁹³ The use of double translation in humanist education and particularly by Ascham and Brinsley, is explained by W. E. Miller, ‘Double Translation in English Humanist Education’, *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963) 163-174.

contextualising material covered history, geography and other relevant knowledge, including moral lessons associated with the text. Most of all, this methodology furthered rhetorical skills in the consideration of the structures and language chosen to represent different moods and arguments, and to address different audiences. Such skills could not be taught by mere paraphrase translations.²⁹⁴

FIGURE 18, THE TEXTBOOK LAYOUT OF HALL'S *WISDOMS CONQUEST*



The grammatical translation is made in three parallel columns.

The middle column remains static throughout and bears the points of grammar and verbatim translation, mostly in English but with Latin words and phrases added as necessary to the explanations.

The two outside columns change places depending on whether the page is on the right or left hand side of the book. One of these columns contains the English paraphrase or the eloquent translation, and the other contains points of context, rhetoric, etymology and so on in both English and Latin.

Having studied a large number of grammar school statutes over the period, Foster Watson concluded that Latin versification was taught in all good grammar schools as, indeed, it was at

²⁹⁴ Hall, *Conquest*, p.1, gave 'A Rule' for approaching the work: 'Alwaies labour to understand the Matter & Scope of your Author, or you can never construe right; to this end observe the circumstances, and remember this verse, *Quis, cui, causa, locus, quo tempore, Prima, Sequesta*. Especially observe what goes before and what follows'. Also, *Folly*, p.1, he told readers: 'In construction these Circumstances must be observed: *Quis, quid, ubi, quibus, auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando*.'

Kings Norton. *Folly*, written after twenty five years teaching experience, included Hall's grammatical translation of the first book of Ovid's *De tristibus*, together with his rules and directions for versifying. This, he said, was also to help children learn to judge which verses were good and to be imitated, and which were bad and to be shunned. Although his directions were just 'a Taste out of a full sea', he claimed that he was the first to give such instructions in English.²⁹⁵ This further illustrates that his teaching was in line with the overall advice of both Brinsley and Hoole to ensure pupils' understanding by the use of clear instruction and explanation, as well as helpful teaching aids designed to make learning easier for both pupil and master.²⁹⁶

f) iv) Hall's household seminary

In recognition of the deficiency in his own training for the ministry and of the contemporary lack of national church organisation to support aspiring ministers, Hall founded a domestic seminary for graduates, some of whom had been former pupils. By this means, he claimed to

²⁹⁵ Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, pp.196-7, recommended several texts to help in the teaching of versification but they are all in Latin. Hall also had similar texts in his catalogues, such as Helvius, *De arte poetica* [Cat.C84], and *Phrases poetica* [Cat.C138], again in Latin. Brinsley did give instruction in English for the teaching of versification, pp.190-8, but as a general strategy for the schoolmaster, whereas Hall's directions speak directly to the pupil. Even by the time Hoole published *A new discovery*, the texts he recommended on versification are still in Latin. Hall showed considerable enthusiasm for poetry in his schoolbook collection, and had a wide selection of classical poets, and a range of textbooks such as Alexander Ross, *Enchiridion duplex: oratorum nempe & poeticum* [Cat.C143, THL 094/1650/1]; *phrases poeticae seu sylvane poeticarum* [Cat.C138, THL 094/1600/6]; Helvicus, *Poetica praeceptis, commentariis, observationibus, exemplis, ex veteribus et recentibus poetis* [Cat.C84]; and John Clark, *Formulae oratoriae* which contained *Dux poeticus* [Cat.C32]. As recommended by both Brinsley and Hoole, he also had Francis Quarles, *Emblemes* [Cat.C207], and attached one of these emblems, Lib. 5. Emblem 6, 'A divine embleme, tending to raise our hearts to a Divine love of the most holy God,' to the end of his *Holiness*. Also in the library is Stockwood, *Progymnasma scholasticum* [Cat.C149, THL 094/1597/1], considered useful for analysing verses and reconstructing them in a variety of ways. Apart from the traditional classics, and works such as Mantuan's translation of Virgil's *Eclogues* [Cat.C103], and Causin's Greek poetry [Cat.C162], Hall had John Barclay, *Poematum libri duo* [Cat.C8], the somewhat obsequious poems dedicated to James I and his court, and examples of praise poetry written by university academics, particularly in celebration of royal milestones [Cat.C40, THL 094/C37]. Hall also owned Edward Benlowes, *Sphinx theological* [Cat.C165], Joshua Sylvester's translation of the poems of Du Bartas [Cat.A271 and Cat.C205, THL 094/1605/1], and the poems of Herbert and Withers [Cat.A385 and Cat.A723]. Finally there were the collections of two Jesuits: the metaphysical poetry of Emmanuel Tesauro, [Cat.C59, THL 094/1637/4], and the poems of Mathias Casimire, [Cat.C42], who was known as 'the Horace of Poland'.

²⁹⁶ Hall, *Folly*, sigs.(a2)r-(a2)v, and *Conquest*, sigs.A2v-A5v, made these aims and their origins explicit.

have ‘stored the country round about with pious, learned, able, Orthodox Ministers,’ and also that ‘scarce one that ever he bred to the Ministry, but was a blessing to the place where he came’.²⁹⁷ Such training was seen by Hall as a re-creation of the best practice of earlier Moderate Puritans in producing the next generation of godly ministers of quality. Tom Webster, while agreeing that godly Richard Greenham and Bernard Gilpin offered early examples of the establishment of household seminaries, suggests that sound training for the ministry was also provided by the prophesying movement until its collapse in the 1570s.²⁹⁸ Domestic seminaries then became characteristic of the Jacobean godly ministry under the auspices of ministers such as John Cotton, Thomas Gataker, Thomas Taylor, John Ball, John Dod and Arthur Hildersham.²⁹⁹ All these men were godly role-models for Hall, and in following their example in this venture, he took another positive initiative in adapting to a Church in which promotion of his beliefs depended on self-help and the grasping of opportunity. His seminary also illustrates his high aspirations for continuing godly education for which there is evidence of successful outcomes.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Hall, *Life*, fo.18. It is known that Hall’s pupils and ‘sons’ were appointed to the local livings of Clent, Moseley, Stone, Wednesbury and Wolverhampton, and farther away at Uffington in Lincolnshire. Hall would have been proud that all of them accepted ejection rather than serve in an episcopal Church. Henry Feild of Uffington also stayed true to his training under Hall, having died in prison in 1662 after his arrest for seditious preaching.

²⁹⁸ K. Parker and E. Carlson, *Practical Divinity*, p.21 attributed the origin of the household seminary to Richard Greenham. T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.24, 28.

²⁹⁹ T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.23-7. Also p.28, Webster points out that vocational training was not the preserve of the godly but there were different emphases in episcopal efforts to improve the clergy. Hall would also have read about such examples in Clarke’s *Lives*. T. Webster, *Stephen Marshall and Finchingfield*, p.2, also mentions Richard Blackerby’s seminary.

³⁰⁰ Hall’s admiration for such godly ministers can be seen in his use and recommendation of their works in his own published works, and his general praise for them, for example in *Vindiciae*, p. 207, he called Gataker, ‘most learned and Reverend’ and ‘pious and judicious’, and in *Life*, fo.30, cited him as a role model for his godly studying.

Hall referred to his graduate students as his ‘sons’ and to his seminary as his ‘little academy’ or ‘family’, which he may have established as early as 1643.³⁰¹ It enabled him to effect his idea that great benefit accrued to prospective and young divines who observed the doctrine, conduct and pious ways of their elders, which was a relationship based on that between Paul and Timothy.³⁰² Moore, Hall’s biographer, confirmed the existence of this little seminary, noting that there were four such students in Hall’s household in 1665. Because of Hall’s godly reputation ‘several persons of Quality’ sent their sons to him, especially for preparation for the ministry, so that Hall could teach them ‘a right Method in their Studies’, and they could ‘partake of his prayers and precepts for the orderly regulating of their lives and seasoning their tender years.’³⁰³

The chief aim of Hall’s training was for students to acquire sound knowledge and understanding of the scriptures on which to base a professional godly ministry. He insisted that the development of erroneous notions could only be avoided with a solid grounding in the scriptures before they began to read other authors such as ‘School-men, controversialists, Fathers, Postilers’.³⁰⁴ While he did not consider prowess in philosophy or learning essential in beginners, he encouraged them to persevere in their studies, because, although learning did not ‘impower’ them as ministers it did fit them to preach and made them able ministers.³⁰⁵ In all his directions

³⁰¹ Hall, *Life*, fos.18, 58, 90. Hall, *Life*, fo.58, noted that in 1643 the Royalist soldiers who were billeted with him ‘preserved the family from Violence’.

³⁰² Hall, *Timothy*, pp.189-90. Here Hall also refers to Timothy as Paul’s ‘son’.

³⁰³ Moore, *Pearl*, p.77.

³⁰⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, p.259. In *Timothy*, p.260, Hall cited the model Ezekiel Culverwell set up in *Time well spent* [Cat.A245] for training divinity students in the study of Scripture, whereby students were to read diligently at least four chapters of scripture a day, and, ‘spend 3. houres in the fore-noon in searching out the sense of the hardest places, as two in the after-noon in searching out the propriety of the Tongues, and other two in perusing the Tracts and Commentaries of learned men; one in Meditation and Prayer, and what time remains, to spend the same in brotherly conference.’ Here, Hall called Culverwell ‘a Pious and experienc’t Divine’, and may well have followed this model himself.

³⁰⁵ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.48.

his tone was supportive, his main advice to ordinands being that if they made sure of their call from God, then God would support and comfort them.³⁰⁶

In his preface to *Timothy*, Hall said one of the reasons he quoted so many authors was to provide a ‘Directory’ of the best available books, to guide young divines in their selections, especially as he had found it such a costly business to gather suitable material for himself, and he recommended a lengthy list of the best commentaries on the Bible, appealing to learned divines to fill the gaps that still existed. He regarded his own *Vindiciae* as ‘a very Usefull peece’ for ordinands,³⁰⁷ and in emphasising the importance of learning to the ministry, Hall advised them to acquire a library before they acquired a wife.³⁰⁸

Following his own experience, Hall thought it good practice that young divines should begin to exercise their ministerial gifts in ‘some obscure Chapel, or little place,’ but as they improved by study and practice, they should be moved to a more eminent living. They should not, however, be appointed to a position with demands above their capacity, which could discourage them or even make them lazy.³⁰⁹ During their training, Hall was able to give his students practical experience, filling in for neighbouring ministers who were ‘sick or at a loss,’ but thereafter it seems that he relied on gentry patronage to find places for them.³¹⁰ The Grevis family took on at least three of his pupils, and Lady Lucy Grantham of Ratcliffe-upon-

³⁰⁶ Hall, *Amos*, p.421.

³⁰⁷ Hall, *Life*, fo.77.

³⁰⁸ Hall, *Amos*, p.427. His library bequests to the school and ministers of Kings Norton show a range of suitable books for the training of ordinands. For example, there were two books that P. Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, p.56. describes as two of the three printed works that ‘provide evidence of the way in which Aristotelian logic was taught or introduced in English universities,’ namely Robert Sanderson, *Logicae artis compendium* [Cat.C226, THL 094/1618/2], the most successful English logic textbook of the early seventeenth century, and *Summa veterum interpretum in universam dialecticam Aristotelis* [Cat.C254], written by John Case who was one of the most famed Oxford teachers of the late sixteenth century. On the flyleaf of John Weemes, *The portraiture of the image of God in man* (1637) [K.E. library 094/1637/8], Hall has written ‘For all Young Students of Divinity’.

³⁰⁹ Hall, *Hosea*, p.152.

³¹⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.18.

Soar in Nottinghamshire, whom Hall addressed at the beginning of his *Sal terrae* as a great benefactress of young divines, employed his ‘sons’ as chaplains in her own household.³¹¹

Hall would have been disappointed when some of his pupils joined the Worcestershire Association initiated by Richard Baxter for mutual ministerial support, but the Association filled a local gap in Presbyterian classical organisation in Worcestershire.³¹²

Successful outcomes of Hall’s educational activities have been documented: pupils who can be traced went to Hall’s old college at Pembroke, Oxford: Henry Feild, Richard Serjeant and John Reynolds, all of whom returned to Kings Norton after graduating to train in Hall’s seminary.³¹³ Feild became minister of Uffington in Lincolnshire, Reynolds was curate of Wolverhampton, and Serjeant, for a time assistant to Richard Baxter, found a living as Vicar of Stone. Hall’s nephew William Fincher, also a former pupil and ‘son’, was first curate of Moseley then minister of Wednesbury.³¹⁴ Other students who may not have been former pupils

³¹¹ Hall, *Apologie*, sig.a1r.

³¹² Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae* Lib.I Part I, p.97, and also Part III, p.93, wrote that Hall was the only Presbyterian whom he knew in Worcestershire. However, he was obviously familiar with Hall’s fellow-Presbyterian classis members in Warwickshire because, as A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire*, p.326 notes, Baxter recommended three of them, John Bryan, Obadiah Grew and John Trapp, for consideration for the bishopric which he himself turned down in 1660. B. Coulton, ‘The Fourth Shropshire Presbyterian Classis, 1647-62’, *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 73 (1998) 33-43, pp.35-40, also notes connections between Baxter and the members of the Shropshire Presbyterian classes, one of whom was John Bryan, the son of Hall’s friend and fellow classis member, John Bryan senior, and says that Thomas Porter, a leading member of the Fourth Classis, was also recommended as a candidate for Baxter’s rejected bishopric. Kenilworth was local to Hall on the north eastern border of Worcestershire but was far less accessible to ministers elsewhere in the county.

³¹³ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, pp.409, 433, shows that the families of both Reynolds and Serjeant had lands in Kings Norton and they remained lifelong friends, Serjeant acting as executor of Reynolds’s will.

³¹⁴ Henry Feild was mentioned in Hall, *Life*, on the unnumbered page between pp.9 and 10, and can be found in Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, p.489 and in A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.195. After Pembroke, Feild moved to Christ’s Cambridge as a fellow. He obtained the living at Uffington in Lincolnshire, but died in 1662 in the Gatehouse, having been arrested for seditious preaching. He was held in great affection by Hall, who noted in a pamphlet, *A speech of Mr. John White* [THL 094/C34], that it was a gift from his dearest Henry Feild: ‘*Ex dono filii mei mellitissimi mihiq[ue] in delitijes, Henrici ffeilds E coll. Pemb Art Baccalauri.*’ Richard Serjeant appears in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, p.1313. Hall named both John Reynolds and William Fincher, his nephew, as former pupils and publishers of his ‘*Life*’ on its title page. John Reynolds appears in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, p.1248, was a friend of Richard Baxter, and it may have been through Reynolds that Thomas Hall’s manuscript autobiography came to be in Baxter’s papers. These papers were bequeathed to Matthew Sylvester whence they reached the Dr. Williams’s Library. William Fincher’s name isn’t in Foster but is noted in A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.196.

also came to the seminary: Thomas Baldwin, a curate at Moseley in 1655, before becoming Vicar of Clent, Joseph Cooper also a curate of Moseley, and Thomas Avenant both mentioned in Hall's will.³¹⁵ Hall also wrote of Samuel Shaw, whom he called 'B Jewell, because he had so much excellency in a little body,' and who was also found a place as curate of Moseley and, like Daniel Shelmerdine another Divinity student, was ordained by the Wirksworth Classis.³¹⁶

g) Conclusion

While claiming considerable success in the godly reformation of Kings Norton, and resolving in 1653 that nothing but death would separate him from his parishioners as long as they kept striving 'to walk answerable to the Gospel', difficulties obviously occurred.³¹⁷ Hall wrote of meeting with 'provocations sufficient' that tempted him to take up the offer of preferment, although he decided it was right to stay among the people with whom he had built foundations.³¹⁸ In holding fast to his flock, he found that 'providence so ordered it, that it turned to his better settling amongst them.'³¹⁹ Further problems surfaced soon after the Restoration in 1660, when Hall admitted that he faced new threats to his pastoral aims from

³¹⁵ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.25. Baldwin was also a member of the Worcestershire Association of Baxter. Joseph Cooper was a notable curate of Moseley, a friend of Hall's and most troublesome to the authorities after his ejection from Moseley in 1662.

³¹⁶ Both Shaw and Shelmerdine appear as pupils in the *Repton School Register 1557-1905*, (ed.), G. S. Messiter for the Old Reptonian Society (1905), pp.23, 24. Shaw was usher at Tamworth School and later master at Ashby grammar school. I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, p.122, comments on his effectiveness in restoring the reputation of the school. He translated Hall's *Sal terrae* into English. According to J. C. Cox (ed.), 'Minute Book of the Wirksworth Classis, 1651-1658', pp.211-5, he was ordained in January 1658 by Wirksworth Classis, 'as an assistant to Mr. Hall in the work of the ministrie in the Congregation at Moseley.' Daniel Shelmerdine was the son of Thomas Shelmerdine, a leading light of the Wirksworth Classis and was ordained May 1657 as shown by Cox in the *Minutes*, p.206. His name appears on two surviving books in Hall's library: *Contemplationes metaphysicae* [Cat.C269A, THL 094/1648/5] which is signed by Hall; and *Demosthenes orationes* [THL 094/1642/11], on which Hall has overwritten Shelmerdine's signature. Both men are also mentioned by C.E. Surman, 'Presbyterianism under the Commonwealth, [Concluded] The Wirksworth Classis Minutes 1651-1658', *Transactions of the Congregational History Society* 16:1 (1949) 39-47, pp.44, 46.

³¹⁷ Hall, *Holiness*, sigs.a7r-a7v.

³¹⁸ Hall, *Life*, fo.106.

³¹⁹ Hall, *Life*, fo.106.

‘Black-Devils’ or blasphemers, drunkards, health-drinkers, Sabbath-profaners and a similar crew returning to their old sinful ways, not least in the erection of two maypoles in the parish.³²⁰ Such a sudden collapse of godly culture in the parish, suggest Hall’s efforts had only a superficial effect, at least with some of the local inhabitants, but there is evidence too that he had indeed built foundations, and a core of his parishioners continued to support him. These godly supporters were instrumental in building the parish library in late 1661 and even after his ejection in August 1662 he continued to maintain his seminary. He was caught out conducting a baptism in December 1663, a year in which he was still marking books well after he was supposed to have handed them over.³²¹ Parishioners also supported him financially: an annuity of £15 and several sealed papers of money were presented anonymously, enabling him to be ‘a Giver & helpful to others & not burdensom to any.’³²² During his last illness he was visited by former parishioners and, in keeping with his care for the poorest of his flock, he instructed that he should be buried among them in the churchyard.³²³

The extent of Hall’s success in reforming manners, which was largely a question of attitudes is difficult to gauge, the best measure of achievement being his officially acclaimed campaign to close down alehouses.³²⁴ Further signs of success in the parish can be seen in his school from which pupils went to university and which flourished while Hall was master, mostly as

³²⁰ Hall, *Funebria*, p.1.

³²¹ A.G.Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, p.242. One of Hall’s annotations is dated 1663. It appears in his copy of *Dutch annotations upon the whole Bible* (1657) [Cat.A8, THL Q 094/1657/16, no page numbers], Hosea, Chap. IX, Verse 7; in the margin by the text, ‘The dayes of visitation are come, the dayes of recompense are come, they of Israel shall perceive it God punished them with false prophets’, Hall has written: ‘*Vpon England 1663.*’

³²² Hall, *Life*, fos.99-100, and Moore, *Pearl*, p.80.

³²³ Moore, *Pearl*, p.83, who wrote that Hall ‘gave order after his decease, That his Body should neither be laid in the Church nor Chappel, but in the Church-yard among the meanest of his neighbours.’ Hall, *Life*, fo.206, wrote that he was to be buried without any pomp.

³²⁴ Hall himself, *Holiness*, p.153, described the fruits of sanctification as ‘Poverty of spirit, mourning, meeknesse, purity, mercy, peace, &c,’ but their realisation in terms of material living and holy manners leave few records.

Cressy argues, because of his personal skills and application.³²⁵ His seminary certainly produced effective ministers, as Richard Moore confirmed, and while domestic seminaries may not, as Tom Webster suggests, have had a great impact at national level because only a minority of ordinands probably experienced them, at a personal and local level they made a considerable difference.³²⁶ All Hall's trainees that can be traced remained loyal to their godly principles and in 1662 chose ejection rather than submitting to the Act of Uniformity.

Although there may have been a gap between aspiration and achievement, there can be no doubt about the enormous amount of time and effort that Hall put into his ministerial and pastoral duties, into his teaching of boys and graduates, and into his outreach activities with magistrates, clerical and patronage networks and other parishes. His positive attitude can be seen in his enthusiastic embrace of all these available opportunities.

As curate and master of the school he enjoyed considerable influence in the parish, but the effectiveness of his ministry undoubtedly depended on his own strong convictions, his character, determination and commitment as a pastor, as well as on the willing cooperation of sufficient numbers of his parishioners to support his work and echo it in their homes.³²⁷ However, the pastoral ideals he expounded in his written works, clearly show his efforts to win souls and to accommodate with understanding those in school and parish who were prepared to make an effort to follow godly ways. His *Catechism* is a practical survival

³²⁵ D. Cressy, 'A Drudgery of Schoolmasters', p. 131, singled out Hall, and also his friend Thomas Dugard, as masters who made a great success of a country grammar school through his own talents and resources. After Hall was ejected, there followed a rapid turnover of staff and very few books were added to the library. Scribblings on books such as imitations of Hall's signature indicate a lack of discipline he would not have permitted.

³²⁶ Moore, *Pearl*, p.77. T. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.34-5.

³²⁷ Hall's godly standards were demanding and would certainly have been rejected by some local inhabitants like the Catholic Middlemores and the Quakers, as well as those who did not wish to follow Hall's intense, pious regime, including those who had opposed him in Wythall and Moseley in the 1630s whom he mentioned in *Life*, fos.19, 48.

showing his policy of including as many of his parishioners as possible in the offer of godly redemption. Similarly, the study of Hall in the environments of school and seminary, though sustaining the picture of him as an authoritative teacher and defender of Presbyterian Calvinism, also suggests that, vitriolic and immoderate as he may have been with those who opposed him, he was of a very different, patient temperament with those who were willing to make a godly effort. His ideal pastoral approach, given in advice to his brethren, was one of persuasion:

Let us not offend any by a proud severity, or a supercilious gravity but by mildeness, and a sweet composure of manners and behaviours strive to win them, engage them to us, and make them our own, so shall we be able to have an Influence upon them, prevail with them, and live profitably and comfortably amongst them.³²⁸

Hall also provides a case of one man combining multiple godly roles that were modelled on the example of earlier godly practitioners and, exhausting though the effort was, were all apparently performed to a high standard.³²⁹

Hall obviously led his flock by example but being so fiercely fervent and demanding, no doubt experienced more difficulties than he mentioned. Once he noted that, among his sufferings, ‘his friends & acquaintances oft stood aloof from him, so that he oft sate alone.’³³⁰ Yet he was undoubtedly held in affection by some, including his patrons, students, colleagues and parishioners. He received a number of books as gifts from patrons Richard Grevis and Lady Lucy Grantham, was remembered in the will of Anne Grevis, and was given books by

³²⁸ Hall, *Apologie*, p.99. Here Hall is echoing Richard Bernard, *The faithfull shepherd*, p.8, where he recommends ‘winning’ parishioners from their ungodly ways.

³²⁹ I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, pp.108-9, has suggested that all-round high standards in such cases would be very difficult to maintain. It is possible that Hall engaged the help of his ordinands in the school and elsewhere, but he did not underplay the enormous exertions required. In *Life*, fo.31, Hall wrote: ‘He could say (in part) as Luther did. I am burdened more then any man, My Schoole requires a whole man, My preaching to the people requires a whole man. My labours for the Press in Expounding the Scriptures requires the strength of an hundred men. He lookt upon it as the highest & hardest worke in the world, if rightly performed.’

³³⁰ Hall, *Life*, p.100. Although Hall was using this statement in contrast with the comfort he gained from God’s constant presence, there is a ring of truth in it.

his students, colleagues and other friends. He was praised in print particularly by Edmund Calamy and George Swinnocke, by John Ley and Samuel Shaw whom he knew well, and also by his biographer Richard Moore who was a neighbour and probably a student.³³¹ Former parishioners certainly visited him in his last illness and even then he continued to instruct them.³³² Perhaps the best evidence Hall gave that he necessarily had deep care for his parishioners and a positive outlook in his pastoral ministry, was his belief that they had been apportioned to him by God, and his success with them was inextricably entwined with his own salvation and the eternal reward which as a faithful minister he expected on the Last Day. At that time he imagined that he would stand before God side by side with Peter and Paul, and ‘all the pious and painfull Ministers of Christ, with the children that God hath given them in their respective Ages and Generations’, and so his parishioners would be his ‘crown of glorying.’³³³

³³¹ The book Lady Lucy Grantham gave to him is an expensive volume, *Novum Testamentum Graecum* [THL F094/1619/1]. Samuel Shaw wrote in *Apologie*, sig.A4r, which was his translation of Hall’s *Sal terrae*, that Hall was ‘a faithfull Minister of Christ, my very loving Friend’, and praised his work highly. Moore’s biography was more a hagiography and was full of praise throughout, as might be expected.

³³² Moore, *Pearl*, pp.94-5.

³³³ Hall, *Apologie*, pp.49-50. Also in *Timothy*, p.390.

CHAPTER 5
HALL'S STYLES OF GODLY COMMUNICATION THROUGH
DISPUTATION AND PRINT

Hall believed that a minister should have 'both a will to communicate, and a faculty of communicateing that which he knowes.'¹ As the last chapter showed, he exploited well-trying means of communication in his pastoral work to further orthodox doctrine, Presbyterian government and godly living. Further to this, modelling himself on Timothy who had been adjured by St. Paul to preach the gospel 'in every Opportunity', he believed that he had responsibilities to defend and spread the godly message as widely as possible beyond the parish by seizing suitable media openings.²

The practice of spreading the gospel by every available means was central to continuing Protestant reformation. Andrew Pettegree, for example, has shown how the European Reformers of the sixteenth century successfully harnessed the power of media that worked with the grain of a pre-industrial society to build a Protestant culture of belonging and loyalty. He has highlighted the oral dissemination and support of Protestantism through preaching, catechising, communal song and drama, and through formal education and family religion. The use of the new technology of print, especially where the organisation of the printing industry favoured diversification into polemical vernacular pamphlets and broadsheets, also did much to embed Protestant ideas when used to reinforce other media.³ All these means

¹ Hall, *Apologie*, p.94.

² Hall, *Apologie*, pp.9, 26, 94, and *Timothy*, p.330: 'The expresse words of our Commission are, Goe Preach the Gospel to every Creature (i.) to every Rational Creature of what Nation, Language, Sex or Condition soever; make a tender of Christ to them all: Hence we are called Ministers of the Gospel, because it is our Primary worke to publish Christ and his Benefits to the World.'

³A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*.

were exploited in a variety of ways in order to teach, exhort and provide examples, and to engage people in adversarial confrontation, and polemical and persuasive argument. Historians such as Patrick Collinson, Peter Lake and Alexandra Walsham have demonstrated particular aspects of these processes by which Protestantism was communicated and embedded in England by the use of media which often edified and entertained simultaneously.⁴

While preaching had been Hall's prime medium of communication since his ministry began in 1632, he had also used the parish pulpit to exhibit an early public activism in resisting Laudian changes. With the summoning of Parliament in 1640, he eagerly supported the dismantling of the episcopal Church, but then the difficulties he experienced in the years of civil war as a parliamentary sympathiser in a largely royalist area forced him to adopt a quieter profile.⁵ However, in the safer years following parliamentary victories, he joined publicly with Warwickshire colleagues in the national Presbyterian petitioning campaign of 1647-8.⁶ Thereafter, he continued to seek out widening public arenas for communicating his godly mission, taking up lectureships in Birmingham and Henley, and participating in two local public disputations.⁷ Finally, in 1651, he ventured into the national forum with his first polemical publication, *Pulpit*, in which he reported on his progress to date in his use of different media in communicating his godly message:

⁴ P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion' in C. Haigh (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (1984); A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*; and P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat*. Other historians have argued that Prayer Book liturgy also did much to engender a sense of identity and loyalty among many English Protestants, for example, J. Morrill, 'The Church in England 1643-9'; J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*; and I. Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p.250.

⁵ Hall, *Life*, fo.59, claimed that during the war he reached out beyond his parish in ministering to neighbouring parishes whence the ministers had fled for safety.

⁶ Hall's name was printed in his copy of the Warwickshire petition, *The Warwickshire ministers testimony to the truth of Iesus Christ* (1648) [THL 094/C24].

⁷ Hall mentioned his Henley lectureship in *Hall Life*, fo.53, and added a note 'Lecturer of Birmingham' to his name on *The Warwickshire ministers testimony* (1648) [THL 094/C24]. His biographer, Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.76, also mentioned that he held lectureships outside Kings Norton.

I have now used all means to do you good, by Preaching, Praying, Disputing, and now by Writing; if none of these means can reclaim you, but you will walk on in the by-paths of Seperation, Anabaptism &c. yet I have discharged my duty.⁸

This chapter examines Hall's objectives in the two main areas of communication he mentioned here which reached out beyond his parish, namely in public oral disputations and in his print-published writings. His first objective was the polemical advancement of orthodox doctrine and Presbyterian ecclesiology; this included the corollaries of confutation of error, false doctrine and false teachers, (whether they were orthodox non-Presbyterians, sectaries or Papists), together with demands for the censorship of their printed material, and his continuing insistence on one exclusive national Church. His second objective, often intertwined with his polemics, was the promotion of evangelical instruction in the scriptures and directions for practical godly living in contrast to the ways of a sinful and profane world.⁹ This chapter looks at Hall's engagement with these wider public media, discussing why he chose them, how he understood and exploited them to achieve his aims, the problems he encountered and how successfully he dealt with them.¹⁰

In his pursuit of these polemical and evangelical objectives, Hall expounded a particularly stringent Calvinist and Presbyterian form of Protestantism. However, the way in which he promoted his beliefs, through enthusiastic participation in popular public disputation with

⁸ Hall, *Pulpit*, sig.b3v, at the end of Hall's preface to the lay preachers of Henley. Hall continued to stress his use of such means throughout his publishing career, for example in *Timothy*, p.186, and *Samaria*, p.19.

⁹ Hall occasionally referred to these objectives directly. For example, on the title page of *Timothy* he called the work, 'A Practical and Polemical Commentary Or, Exposition Upon The Third and Fourth Chapters of the latter Epistle of Saint Paul to Timothy, Wherein The Text is explained, Some Controversies discussed, Sundry Cases of Conscience are cleared, Many Common Places are Succinctly handled, and Divers Usefull, and Seasonable Observations raised.'

¹⁰ Halls career in print has resonances with that of Thomas Gataker, which has been explored by D. Willen, 'Thomas Gataker and the Use of Print', in which she notes that print was a vital aspect of his piety and his definition of self, and a fundamental means by which he related to the godly community at large. Hall referred to Gataker in *Vindiciae*, p.207, as 'pious and judicious', 'most learned and Reverend Mr Gataker', and in *Life*, fo. 30, compared himself with Gataker as a model of studiousness. On the title page of Gataker, *A discours apologetical* (1654) [THL 094/C1], Hall wrote of him, '*clarissimus pater*'.

sectaries and in popularising several of his printed works in order to appeal to wide audiences, also demonstrates a flexible and positive outlook, which is in considerable contrast with views of Interregnum Presbyterians as rigid defendants of an embattled, unpopular and elitist, minority position that was doomed to failure.¹¹

The view of the godly as unpopular elitists derives largely from the cultural model by which elite and popular cultures have been seen as mutually exclusive and hostile.¹² This model, together with the hostility of some historians to the notion of the popular appeal of Reformed theology, have added weight to the idea that godly Protestantism, as an intense, elitist religion of the book, could not be linked with popular culture in either oral or literate forms. Although defining 'popular religion' itself is a highly contested area, many historians have challenged the idea of a clear dichotomy between elite and popular culture, and of a universally divisive and elitist Calvinist theology.¹³ Margaret Spufford, Patrick Collinson, Tessa Watt, Barry Reay and Peter Lake have demonstrated that godly piety and culture did have an appeal for

¹¹ C. Durston, 'Puritan Rule and the Failure of Cultural Revolution 1645-1660'; W. Lamont, *Godly Rule, Politics, and Religion 1603-1660* (1969), pp.137, 146; and D. Hirst, 'The Failure of Godly Rule'.

¹² P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, especially page 28, where he describes his model of the great tradition of the upper classes and the little tradition of the majority of the people; although the upper classes once shared in the little tradition it was in post-Reformation days that they gradually withdrew from it. He believed that the clergy were also affected, for being increasingly well-educated, they were distanced from their flocks in new ways. See also M. Ingram, 'From Reformation to Toleration', p.95. P. Lake, 'Deeds against Nature', pp.257-8, 283 and *passim*, uses the murder pamphlet genre to illustrate his view that the bi-polar model separating what was zealous Protestant and what was popular is 'too neat and too extreme'.

¹³ Revisionist historians have claimed that the Reformation saw a long and hard-fought transition from Catholic to Protestant nation. Their focus has been on popular resistance to the break with traditional religion and the failure of Calvinism to replace it in catering for popular needs and winning the affection and loyalty of the mass of ordinary people. Another influential claim for popular religion which had little room for popular acceptance of Reformed theology, came from K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1991, first published 1971) *passim*, but especially pp.761-6, who believed that alongside continuing Catholic practices, and even more relevant to popular belief and culture, was the continuing recourse to magical and astrological arts for overcoming specific difficulties. Although such magical beliefs declined over the two centuries after the Reformation, he argued that orthodox religion never had more than a partial hold on the mass of the people.

the lowest levels of society including the semi-literate, even if it did not appeal to vast numbers.¹⁴

Barry Reay and Martin Ingram have suggested that popular religion should be seen as a range of shifting possibilities or of overlapping religious cultures under the general umbrella of the national Church religion.¹⁵ Peter Lake also argues that there was a constant flux in the religious scene. He sees post-Reformation Christians as an audience for which the various shades of religious opinion among Protestants and Catholics competed for influence (along with men of business with additional commercial interests), by using a variety of communication materials and media, many of which were inherited from pre-Reformation times. Thus he agrees with the story of continuity with the past suggested by Tessa Watt and Alexandra Walsham, and with their ideas of a pool of beliefs, such as providentialism and popular notions of order and disorder, being shared by the sensationalist pamphlet press, the

¹⁴ M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (1981), has shown that cheap print in the form of ballads, almanacs, and small books, designed for wide audiences in town and country, was widely available through well-established distributive networks, and was aimed at and bought by a cross-section of society. She argues that this material was accessible by a far wider audience than previously thought. P. Collinson, 'Popular and Unpopular Religion' in his *The Religion of Protestants*, pp.189-241, similarly argues that distinctions between popular and elite are blurred, and cautions against the assumption that popular religion was different from the religion of higher ranks and so based on economics. He showed that the practical pursuit of godliness did have appeal to a cross section of society through the intensity of its religious experience and its sociability. This argument is also put forward in P. Collinson, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture'. A. Walsham, *Providence*, pp.61-2, and also 'The Godly and Popular Culture' in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (2008), similarly argued that providentialism was a shared theme across society, its Protestant emphases diffused in a range of popular print from godly sermon to alehouse ballad, although she has also described the minefield that studies of Puritanism, popular culture and the relationship of Puritanism and popular culture has proved to be. With an emphasis on the absorption of traditional piety into Protestant practice, T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (new edn. 1993), pp.1-2, 3, 126, 322-28, also found considerable evidence of widespread distribution of cheap religious print for which there was a cross over in actual and intended audiences. She suggests that throughout the period, although reforming Protestantism came in conflict with some traditional beliefs and recreations, there were also areas of consensus, and a gradual and unconscious cultural integration.

¹⁵ B. Reay, 'Popular Religion' in B. Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (1985) 91-128, pp.117-119, and M. Ingram, 'From Reformation to Toleration', p.103. K. Konkola and D. MacCulloch, 'People of the Book: Success in the English Reformation', *History Today* 53:10 (2003) 23-29, have argued that historical interpretations of what the post-Reformation in England looked like has varied according to the particular approach used as well as the selection of sources for evidence, thus drawing an analogy with blindfolded people examining different parts of an elephant and arriving at totally different perspectives of what it looked like.

popular theatre and the godly. However, while godly Protestants addressed such themes in their sermons and improving tracts, Peter Lake believes their approaches were very different in tone and emphases.¹⁶ He also sees ‘popular’ as a shifting cultural concept with cross-over points for particularly wide audiences in some instances, such as public executions, St. Paul’s Cross Jeremiad sermons, and some theatre. So, though agreeing with many other scholars that there were similarities and a constant interaction between all modes of media and discourse, they were nevertheless different, unstable and in competition with each other. It is within this loose fit that Hall’s popularising efforts in his participation in public disputations and publishing belong, interacting with the same ideas and themes as Tessa Watt, Alexandra Walsham and Peter Lake identify as having popular appeal, but with his own spin to suit his needs in the mid-seventeenth century.

In a body of work, Ann Hughes has long argued against a narrow view of the orthodox clergy in the 1640s and 1650s as an isolated and unpopular intellectual elite, even though she acknowledges that it would be difficult to argue that Presbyterianism was ‘a majority or even widely supported position’.¹⁷ She shows how the radical activism of the Presbyterian movement in London in the 1640s operated in a variety of media and arenas, and points out that even two of the most extreme Presbyterians of their days, Thomas Edwards in the 1640s and Thomas Hall in the 1650s, achieved a dynamic relationship with a broad range of the population as popularisers, provoking debate and counter-attack, sensationalising the errors and debaucheries of their enemies, and competing for support.¹⁸ It was with such polemical

¹⁶ P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat*, p.318.

¹⁷ A. Hughes, ‘‘Popular’ Presbyterianism in the 1640s and 1650s’, p.235.

¹⁸ A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*, especially Chapter Five, ‘Edwards, Gangraena and Presbyterian Mobilization’, and also ‘‘Popular’ Presbyterianism in the 1640s and 1650s’, p.235. Just as Hughes challenges historians who have claimed that the popular ground in these years was won by the proponents of radical religion or by Prayer Book survivalism, so she has also challenged the traditionally

intentions that Hall first engaged in public disputation in 1650, but, as in all his efforts to influence religious opinion, he always sought a balance in his personal favour, negotiating a fine line between an appeal for popularity and the retention of his learned authority and ministerial dignity.

a) Hall's engagement in public disputations

During the 1640s and 1650s, public disputations offered all sorts of religious groups the opportunity to compete for popular support in what Ann Hughes describes as an exciting and open 'religious market-place'.¹⁹ Orthodox ministers like Hall, armed with the advantages of their academic and practical skills in learned debate and public oral performance acquired in university and pulpit, realised the potential communicative benefits of championing the ministry and promoting orthodox doctrine in such a public and dramatic way before large crowds.²⁰ However, while victory in these disputations provided a valuable boost to morale,

perceived distinctions in attitudes to debate and the use of print between the orthodox and sectaries, and between oral or literate cultures, again using Hall as an example of the blurring of such delineations.

¹⁹ A. Hughes, 'The Pulpit Guarded', p. 39 and *passim*. This essay discusses public disputations and their implications in the 1640s and 1650s in detail. See also A. Hughes, 'Public Disputations, Pamphlets and Polemic' in *History Today* 41:2 (1991) 27-33, and 'The Meanings of Religious Polemic'. A. Langley, in 'Seventeenth Century Baptist Disputations', *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* 6 (1918-1919) 216—243, called the period following 1641 'an age of disputation'; he listed 109 disputations involving Baptists between 1641 and 1698, the majority occurring before 1662. A. Hughes, 'The Pulpit Guarded', p.36, has since found many disputations between adherents of other religious views, and added even more known Baptist disputations to Langley's list. Langley omitted, for example, the disputation that was held between Hall and the Baptists at Beoley in 1651.

²⁰ According to John Ley, *A discourse of disputations* (1658) [THL 094/C/5], p.6, public disputations could attract large crowds, and several published accounts refer to high numbers which had to meet in places large enough to accommodate them, usually the local church. Ley, *A discourse*, p.7, mentioned Coventry town hall, and Thomas Danton, *The Quakers folly* (1659), p.53, placed one disputation in the schoolhouse at Sandwich. Some disputations seem to have been held in the open such as Martindale's disputation on Knutsford Heath, in The Rev. Richard Parkinson, (ed.), *The Life of Adam Martindale Written by Himself* (1845), p.115. A. Langley, 'Seventeenth Century Baptist Disputations', p.221, found disputations most commonly took place in the parish church, but he noted that one in Cambridge took place in the shire hall, some in prisons, some in orchards and some in the open. A stylised picture of a disputation in a church forms part of the frontispiece of John Cragge, *A publick dispute betwixt John Tombs, ... John Cragge and Henry Vaughan, ... touching infant-baptism* (1654), and was reused in a later edition, John Cragge, *The arraignment and conviction of Anabaptism* (1656). The references to numerical size of crowds attending are usually vague, such as Martindale's reference in *The Life*, fo.93, to 'a great number'. Richard Carpenter on the title page of *The Anabaptist washt and washt* (1653), wrote of 'a great assembly of ministers and other persons of worth'. Samuel Fisher, *Baby-baptism meer baptism* (1653), p.308, who engaged in many disputations spoke of 'hundreds' of people, and on the title page of his

defeat posed serious risks to the entire orthodox cause, together with personal humiliation for individual participants.²¹ When Hall entered the field in 1650, the balance in public disputations and in their accompanying printed publicity seemed to favour orthodoxy, but there were always risks, and it was the risks for orthodox ministers that provided the excitement for public audiences and which made participation worthwhile for sectaries.²²

Hall's first foray into this popular religious arena at Henley-in-Arden in 1650, arose from his personal experience of the national phenomenon of bold, verbal sectarian challenges to the authority of the orthodox ministry. He was already aware of sectarian encroachment in his own and neighbouring parishes, and of the harm sectarian disputing caused in sowing the seeds of doubt among the faithful.²³ So when sectaries 'set upon' him directly during his lectures in Henley, in which he was campaigning 'against private Persons publike Preaching,' he accepted their challenge to defend this truth in public disputation.²⁴ He embraced their attack as proof of their wickedness and of their liberty to publicise their false doctrines, and his enthusiasm for personal engagement is evident in his account of some moments in the disputation.

Christianismus redivivus Christndom both un-christ'ned and new-christ'ned (1655), of 'thousands'. Thomas Gage, *A full survey of Sion and Babylon* (1654) [THL 094/C27], talked of 'hundreds'. A. Hughes 'The Meanings of Religious Polemic', p.222, refers to similar claims.

²¹ A. Hughes, 'The Pulpit Guarded', pp.36, suggests that orthodox ministers had the most to lose in such public disputations and therefore needed strong motivation to participate in them.

²² Hall, *Life*, fo.74, *Timothy*, pp.155-6, and *Pulpit*, especially in 'Preface To the Lay-Preachers at Henly', and pp.31-2, made clear his confidence, his sense of superiority and his righteousness. A. Hughes, 'The Meanings of Religious Polemic', pp.222-3, notes the popular and dramatic appeal of disputations including audience participation, as well as commenting on the use in printed reports of disputations of the language of the tournament such as challenges, champions, and so on, which Hall used himself. Jasper Mayne *Certain sermons and letters of defence and resolution to some of the late controversies of our times* (1653), was more inclined to see disputations as an extended form of civil war that had moved from the fields to the temple, where challenges had to be answered and duels had to be fought from the pulpit.

²³ Hall, *Pulpit*, sigs.a2r-a2v, *Font*, sig.(a1)v, and *Timothy*, p.166.

²⁴ Hall, *Life*, fo.54. Also *Pulpit*, sig.a2r, and p.9.

Some of the attitudes Hall showed in this printed account are typical of the genre, particularly his prompt production of a polished and extended printed version of the disputation to be distributed to a national audience, and his claim of overwhelming victory.²⁵ Yet a realistic reconstruction of the meeting is impossible, not only because there was no other version, but also because Hall gave few details of its context and procedure. He wrote little of his opponents' arguments, using the disputation more as a springboard for *Pulpit* than as a basis for it.²⁶ However, *Pulpit* makes clear his polemical aims in this dispute concerning the lawfulness of lay-preaching, which were to establish true doctrine, defend the ordained ministry and denigrate the dangerous errors of his lay-preaching opponents. Hall always prepared his public performances well, and his choice of moderator for this disputation, John Trapp, also indicates how he made sure, as far as he could, that the balance would be in favour of orthodoxy.²⁷

²⁵ Hall, *Pulpit*, pp.9, 13. A. Hughes 'The Pulpit Guarded', pp.34, 42, 44, points out important patterns in both orthodox and sectarian accounts of the disputations in which they faced each other. Hall is a clear example of orthodox attitudes, in justifying his participation, his claims of confounding the enemy through superior learning, and showing a heightened awareness of the power of the press in producing their own versions of events. Even Adam Martindale, *The Life*, pp.115-7, who praised his Quaker opponent Richard Hubberthorne as 'the most rationall calme-spirited man of his judgement that I was ever publickly engaged against', and the debate itself as 'the most calme, methodicall and usefull' which he had witnessed, still claimed the victory over a 'baffled' Hubberthorne.

²⁶ Like Featley's *Dippers dipt* [Cat.A302, THL 094/1651/4], only a small part of Hall's book, *Pulpit*, covers the actual public disputation. Of seventeen arguments he uses in the book, only three were actually publicly disputed. These arguments are followed by a mock trial and a final section dealing with any cavils that might be raised against his arguments. In later editions a further three arguments were added.

²⁷ Hall, *Life*, fos.92-4. John Trapp, the moderator, was well known within Hall's circle. He was a friend of Thomas Dugard, John Bryan and Obadiah Grew and university student of John Ley, all of whom later joined with Hall in membership of the Kenilworth Classis. On the title page of his copy of Trapp, *A commentary, or, exposition upon the xii minor prophets* [Cat.A665, THL Q 094/1654/8], Hall nicknamed Trapp 'Attic Bee', a name first given to Sophocles for the sweetness of his productions. *Pulpit*, the published outcome of this disputation was dedicated to Trapp, and Hall clearly held him in high regard.

Hall agreed with general opinion that the purpose of public disputations was ‘the discovery of truth’ based on scripture.²⁸ However, he believed that this desirable outcome depended on the quality of disputation itself:

We have many that love to question everything, but they beleeve nothing. They desire rather to dispute well then to live well. This is the scab & blemish of our age. This Itch of Disputing hath almost destroyed all the Power of Godliness. _... I speak now onely of wrangling, Anabaptistick disputes, and not of grave and serious ones, which search out truth to the bottom.²⁹

By serious disputes, Hall meant the approved tradition of securing the truth through academic, logical disputation in which he had been trained at university, and which, in the practical circumstances of his disputations with unlearned, artisan opponents, gave him the advantage he required and rendered them quite unable to respond appropriately to either the formal procedures or to his learned, logical arguments. According to Hall, their responses veered between emotional outbursts and bemused silence.³⁰ However, their lack of ability further assisted his polemical aims in revealing their unsuitability for public preaching, and reinforcing his view that ‘those that want learning both Humaine and Divine, cannot be sound Interpreters, nor solid Disputants.’³¹

As O’Day noted of the disputation between Immanuel Bourne and the Quaker James Nayler, unlearned disputants were often cornered into reacting inappropriately.³² This inevitably happened while orthodox clergy were able to lay down the ground rules of engagement,

²⁸ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.220.

²⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.355.

³⁰ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.9, wrote that his artisan opponents could only cry out ‘No Syllogisms’ ... ‘no Logick’, or at the other extreme, p.13, responded with ‘*Altum silentium!* not a word.’ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.220, gave a lengthy defence of oratory and logical disputation used in the universities against the attacks made by John Webster in his *Academiary examen, or the examination of academies* (1653). A. Hughes, ‘The Pulpit Guarded’, p.34, explains the objectives and procedures of such university disputations. John Tombes, *Praecursor or, A forerunner to a large review of the dispute concerning infant-baptism* (1652), p.3, expressed his concerns that even though he was a university trained opponent of orthodoxy, his abilities in quick argument and repartee were not sufficient to express the truth of his cause in his exchanges with Richard Baxter.

³¹ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.19.

³² R. O’Day, ‘Immanuel Bourne: A Defence of the Ministerial Order’, pp.112-3. Hall had read *A defence of the Scriptures* (1656), Bourne’s account of the disputation between himself and Nayler, which he cited in *Timothy*, pp.225, 278, 280.

insisting on modelling such confrontations on the dignified, formal and learned disputations of their university training. To add to the difficulties of their uneducated opponents, they might also summon an entire panel of learned colleagues in supporting roles.³³ Hall himself seems to have acted in this lesser capacity in his second disputation.³⁴ So it is hardly surprising that in many cases the sectaries who were prepared to challenge their opponents' theology and ecclesiology, also began to contest the context in which these issues were debated, resorting to more casual confrontations wherever they might find advantage in needling their orthodox opponents.³⁵ Even so, while many sectaries regarded the use of human learning and formal logic as trickery, at times they succeeded in causing their learned opponents great humiliation through their native abilities and improvisational skills.³⁶ Those sectaries who were themselves well-versed in academic disputation, such as John Tombes, a local orthodox minister turned Baptist, or those who had gained skill in dealing successfully in confrontations with orthodox ministers, such as Thomas Collier the Baptist and Richard Hubberthorne the Quaker, could cause orthodox disputants considerable damage.³⁷

When Hall became involved in his second disputation in 1651 at Beoley over infant baptism with Baptist mechanic sectaries, he gave little account of it at all, apart from listing his opponents on the title page and explaining that his disputation with them was partly the

³³ John Tombes, *Praecursor* (1652), p.23, complained of this tactic in his disputation with Richard Baxter, writing that Baxter had gathered men of his party from 'up and down all the Country'.

³⁴ Hall, *Funebria*, p.39 said he was called to assist at the disputation at Beoley in 1651.

³⁵ A. Hughes, 'The Pulpit Guarded', pp.33-43.

³⁶ A. Hughes, 'The Meanings of Religious Polemic', pp.213-4, has noted occasions when sectaries triumphed, and discussed the fears of orthodox ministers that they might elevate the standing of sectaries or degrade themselves and their calling by lowering themselves to dispute with the unlearned, and that their unlearned opponents might nevertheless gain the sympathy of the audience through unorthodox methods, and, superficially at least, carry the day.

³⁷ Both Tombes and Collier were particular targets of Hall's polemical opposition. He wrote specifically against them both in two appendices to *Font*: 'The Collier and his Colours etc.', and 'A Word to Mr. Tombs'.

occasion of this next polemical treatise, *Font*.³⁸ A possible explanation was that Hall appeared in this disputation as a supporting colleague rather than the main disputant or respondent.³⁹ Nevertheless, having contributed to the disputation with enthusiasm, he used it to launch *Font*, a strong polemical attack on Baptists in general, joining the pamphlet warfare against them, and including targeted assaults against the Baptists Tombes and Collier whom he identified as particularly threatening opponents.

By this time, Hall was moving away from a defence of truth through oral means, relying instead on his new communicative success in print. Even so, he retained his enthusiasm for responding to *ad hoc* oral challenges. One was thrown down by a furrier's boy in Birmingham who was preaching 'nonsense', and who told Hall 'to his face' that the Church of England was no Reformed Church because it was a mixed company. Hall reprimanded the boy with a lesson in scripture and orthodox doctrine.⁴⁰ A second challenge came from Jane Higgs, who interrupted Hall's sermon to accuse him of persecuting the saints called Quakers. She was carried before the magistrates by several parishioners and was subsequently punished for disorderly behaviour, but not before both she and Hall had used the court as another public forum for their polemics.⁴¹

However, even if Hall received no further formal challenges to public disputation, and even though his experience had been successful, he was well aware of the potential problems for

³⁸ Hall, *Font*, pp.12-3, 20-1, gives only passing reference to the position of his opponents.

³⁹ Hall's role as an assistant at this disputation is not stated in *Font*, but in Hall, *Funebria*, p.39, where he wrote that on this occasion he had been called to 'assist in a Disputation against some Sectaries.'

⁴⁰ Hall, *Font*, pp.133-4. See also A. Hughes, 'The Pulpit Guarded', p.34.

⁴¹ Hall, *Life*, fos.74-5. Other accounts of this confrontation are Joseph Besse, *A collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers*, Vol.II (1753) p.60; WRO 110: 93/45; and C.D.Gilbert, 'The Puritan and the Quakeress'. Hall, *Life*, fo.83, reported his triumph in another confrontation in about 1662 with John Gauden, Bishop of Worcester, over set prayers. This is also noted by A. Hughes, in *Politics, Society and Civil War*, p.328.

participating orthodox ministers.⁴² Writing, ‘Tis well observed by one, that disputations in Religion are sometimes necessary, but alwayes dangerous’, Hall showed his concern that while public disputation could provide an exciting opportunity for the polemical support of orthodoxy and victory over sectarian opponents, interaction with large crowds always carried risks, and these increased over time as sectaries developed their tactics and skills.⁴³ That Hall took note of several particular dangers can be seen in his very heavy marking of the problems as they were laid out in his copy of Cook’s *The font uncover’d*.⁴⁴ Some were both bracketed and underlined, such as the irrationality of disputing with men who abhorred logical disputation with syllogisms, who made the revelation of the truth impossible by refusing to follow the rules or to have a learned, impartial moderator, and who wanted to turn religious debate into the sort of spectacles they once frequented, such as bear-baiting and cock-fighting. Cook’s personal solution was to avoid any atmosphere of ‘passion, bitterness and violence’ by refusing to participate in person, but to answer his opponents with ‘calm, considerate writing’, another phrase underlined by Hall.

Hall certainly experienced some of these problems in his own encounters: he complained of his opponents’ lack of logical argument in his first disputation which also ended in ‘tumult’, as sometimes happened at such meetings where the two sides met in mutual antagonism and misunderstanding.⁴⁵ His participation in the second disputation at Beoley, which he described

⁴² A. Hughes, ‘The Pulpit Guarded’, pp.37-9, noted the potential of disputations to cause public disorder, to degrade orthodox ministers facing eloquent opponents, and to raise the profile of sectarian views.

⁴³ Hall, *Timothy*, p.355. Here Hall was recalling the opinion of John Robinson, *Essayes; or, observations divine and morall collected out of holy Scriptures* [Cat.A575, THL 094/1638/6], p.79.

⁴⁴ William Cook, *The font uncover’d for infant-baptisme* (1651) [THL 094/C5]. Jasper Mayne, *Certain sermons and letters of defence and resolution to some of the late controversies of our times* (1653), sigs.A2v-A3r, wrote that when he was when challenged to a disputation by Cheynell, he also preferred to debate their differences in writing rather than in open debate.

⁴⁵ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.14. His colleague, John Ley made a similar point in *A discourse of disputations* (1656) [THL 094/C/5], p.6, where he wrote of the endangering of the public peace by the meeting of ‘a numerous concourse of people of adverse principles, for debate of their differences.’ John Ferriby, *The lawfull preacher* (1653),

as ‘hazardous’, was followed shortly afterwards by his arrest. This disputation had occurred a week before the battle of Worcester in 1651, as Charles II was marching towards the city. Because Hall had taken an anti-sectarian stance, he was looked upon as ‘an enemy to the Common-wealth’, and so in August 1651, perhaps with the connivance of his opponents at the disputation, he was incarcerated in Worcester among royalist prisoners.⁴⁶ Even so, writing in 1654, he undoubtedly felt that public disputation with sectaries was a valid means of opposing their errors, spreading gospel truth and winning support. Disputation was practised by Christ himself,⁴⁷ as well as by St. Paul who was ‘an excellent Orator ... and an excellent disputant’, disputing ‘openly in the Market with whomsoever he met’.⁴⁸ Hall also put forward the view shared by other orthodox ministers that they could defeat false teachers simply by exposing their errors to public view, and disputation provided a useful polemical means of accomplishing this goal.⁴⁹

Hall’s continuing interest in public disputation can be seen in his collection of printed reports of them, and particularly in his support of a fellow member of the Kenilworth Classis, the Warwickshire minister John Bryan, whose reputation had suffered as a result of the polemical advantage obtained by his opponent John Onley, a General Baptist, in his detrimental account of their disputation at Kenilworth in 1654.⁵⁰ Bryan had been naive enough to give his

pp.13-4, (cited by Hall, *Font*, p.132), also spoke of ‘a tumultuary conference amidst an overpassionate multitude’.

⁴⁶ Hall, *Funebria*, p.39.

⁴⁷ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.12-3.

⁴⁸ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.14, and *Timothy*, p.146. Jasper Mayne, a minister ejected before 1656, in *A sermon against schisme* (1652), p.1, used St. Paul in a different way after his own unfortunate experience in public debate. He referred to Acts 19:24-33, in which St. Paul’s friends successfully dissuaded him from engaging in the noisy and confused debacle in the theatre at Ephesus arising from the challenge to the worship of the goddess Diana.

⁴⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.186. These ideas are very close to those expressed by Thomas Edwards in *Gangraena*, Part 2, p.37, and Part 3, p.280, about exposing the wolves and so destroying them.

⁵⁰ Hall had a small range of surviving works on public disputations from 1651 to 1658: Daniel Featley, *The dippers dipt* [Cat.A302, THL 094/1651/4] against William Kiffin the Baptist; Richard Baxter, *Plain Scripture proof of infants church-membership and baptism* (1651) [Cat.A126] against Tombes the Baptist; John Osborn, *The world to come, or The myserie of the resurrection opened* (1651) [THL 094/C5] against Richard Coppin;

agreement in advance to the publication of Onley's account of the event, *A publick disputation sundry dayes*, which, as might have been expected, made Bryan look an ass.⁵¹ Hall purchased a copy of this account, and on the title page has underlined Onley's name and expressed his opposition by writing 'O Lye!' by the side of it. More revealingly, Hall owned a copy of John Ley's response to Onley's version of the disputation, *A discourse of disputations* (1658).⁵² This contained a thorough defence of Bryan together with an attack on Onley, combined in a volume that traced the history of Christian disputations through the ages and a discussion of how contemporary religious disputations should be conducted. Hall's copy was given to him by the author and bears Ley's authorial amendments and annotations, all of which suggests Hall's close involvement in Ley's damage limitation exercise.

Ley was a national Presbyterian heavyweight and a leading member of Hall's classis at Kenilworth. He was twenty-six years older than Hall, a natural role-model who opened up wider networks and whom Hall addressed as 'dearest father'.⁵³ Although they became colleagues in the Kenilworth Classis after about 1656 following Ley's appointment as rector of Solihull, Warwickshire, their relationship probably began much earlier in the 1630s when

Thomas Gage, *A full survey of Sion and Babylon* (1654) [THL 094/C27] against Charles Nichols, the Congregationalist; Walter Rosewell, *The serpents subtilty discovered* (1656) [THL 094/C36] against Richard Coppin; John Cragge, *The arraignment and conviction of Anabaptism* (1656) [Cat.A235] against Tombes the Baptist; and Thomas Smith, *The Quaker disarm'd* (1659) [THL 094/C36] against Quakers. Hall also cited in *Timothy*, pp.225, 278, 280, Immanuel Bourne, *A defence of the Scriptures, and the Holy Spirit speaking in them* (1656) against James Nayler the Quaker. Hall also owned books concerning disputations, such as Cook, *The font uncover'd* (1651) [THL 094/C5], and John Ley, *A discourse of disputations* (1658) [THL 094/C5].

⁵¹ John Onley, *A publick disputation sundry dayes* (1655) [THL 094/C27] against John Bryan of the Kenilworth Classis.

⁵² Hall's copy survives at THL 094/C5.

⁵³ Ley had been the thirteenth member of the Assembly of Divines to be elected, and was a president of Sion College. He drafted the Cheshire ministers, *An attestation to the testimony of our reverend brethren of the province of London to the truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant* (1648) [THL 094/C24], which was one of the clearest testimonies or expositions of the Presbyterian position, and which so impressed Hall that in *Timothy*, pp.79, 176, he quoted verbatim the sections concerning the Covenant and Presbyterian attitudes to Independency. Ley, in a marginal note in his preface to Hall's *Timothy*, sig.b1v, wrote that Hall was his 'near neighbour' and he had 'good acquaintance' with him. Ley's preface generally praised Hall for his learning and his demeanour.

Hall would have had some form of contact with him via his connection with Thomas Dugard and his Warwickshire colleagues, and then in the 1640s via his brother John, who worked with Ley in London.⁵⁴ Ley's reciprocal esteem of Hall was confirmed publicly in the prefaces he wrote for two of his works published in 1658, in which he noted his approval of Hall's willingness to accept his corrections and advice.⁵⁵

Hall's copy of *A discourse* illustrates his shared concern with local Presbyterians that participation in public disputation was becoming increasingly risky, with the potential polemical disadvantages outweighing the advantages. It also throws light on his close working relationship with Ley in the Presbyterian cause and on their mutual interest in defending Bryan against Onley. Firstly, the publication contains minutes of a Classis meeting in 1656 at which Hall was present, and at which rules for the future conduct of public disputations were agreed in order to prevent any further humiliation such as that received by Bryan.⁵⁶ Secondly Hall's copy, which was Ley's own copy with his corrections and additions as well as Hall's reading marks, imply their shared interest in, and probable discussion of, the issues at stake at a very personal level.⁵⁷ Further indications that Hall had been participating

⁵⁴ A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle', p.786, notes that Ley had been an annual visitor to Warwick during the 1630s, was closely associated with Thomas Dugard, and preached in the town. C. Surman (ed.), *Register-Booke of the Fourth Classis in the Province of London, 1646-59*, pp.1-34, shows that John Hall as minister of Botolphs, Billingsgate, worked closely with John Ley who was minister of Mary on the Hill, in founding the Fourth London Classis. They also acted together at ordinations and as signatories of the petition which Ley drew up for the classis and which requested permission from both Houses of Parliament to hold a provincial assembly.

⁵⁵ John Ley, 'To the Reader', sigs.a4v-b1v, in Hall, *Timothy*. These works were Hall's Latin treatise, *Sal terrae*, and *Timothy*.

⁵⁶ John Ley, THL 094/C5, *A discourse of disputations*, p.6.

⁵⁷ Hall's inscription at the top of the page has been badly cropped but it is clear nevertheless that it was his typical 'Ex dono' phrase and the word 'Authoris' is legible. The tails of the inscription fit well with that on another book given to him by Ley, *Exceptions many and just* [THL 094/C21], on which Hall has written, 'Ex dono doctis Authoris, Patris charissimi.' The manuscript marks and notes throughout the book which are not Hall's, are in the same hand which I take to be Ley's, because it is the same in two other books given to Hall by him, *Exceptions many and just* (1653) and *A debate concerning the English liturgy* (1656), bound together at THL 094/C21. This hand writes as the author of the book, using the first person: p.6 'of the chesh: subscription I have no Copie at present.' This tract shows that Ley had first proposed these ideas when he worked with other

in public confrontations within a context of local Presbyterian collegiality are that his first disputation at Henley was moderated by John Trapp, afterwards a colleague in the Kenilworth Classis, and in his second disputation at Beoley, Hall was one of several orthodox disputants.⁵⁸

The pivotal agreement among the classis in 1656 was that no member should accept a challenge without consulting and obtaining the consent of their brethren, who should consider not only whether or not the matter should be disputed at all, but how it should be managed.⁵⁹

Ley was insistent that although disputations were lawful and sometimes expedient and profitable, doctrine and practice should not be profaned by being tossed to and fro 'as a Ball betwixt two Rackets'.⁶⁰ His intention was to weight religious disputation in favour of orthodoxy, writing that prudence was required so that 'it may be managed to the best advantage for victory on the Truth's side.'⁶¹ Therefore he proposed exclusive guidelines, returning to the dignified model of academic disputation, with rules such as strict qualifications for disputants, who, in addition to being temperate and pious, 'must be learned in the Learned Languages, in Arts, and Histories, in Textual and Polemical Divinity; for they may in conflict be put to it, to make use of all the learning they have.'⁶² Furthermore, disputants were to be attended by an esteemed moderator and upright notaries to ensure one true version of events, and magistrates were to be consulted on civil considerations such as

ministers in Cheshire. Hall also had a copy of Ley's book against the Bishop's Oath of 1640, *Defensive doubts* [Cat.A452]. When Ley died in 1662, Hall, *Life*, fos.9-11, inserted his name into a list of 'eminent Lights and Pillars' removed by God.

⁵⁸ Hall, *Font*, title page, only gave the names of his opponents in this disputation: 'John Paget Dyer, Walter Rose and John Rose Butchers of Bromsgrove, John Evans a Scribe though antiscripturist and Francis Loxly Shoemaker.'

⁵⁹ Ley, *A discourse*, pp.5-6.

⁶⁰ Ley, *A discourse*, pp.8 and 27.

⁶¹ Ley, *A discourse*, p.57.

⁶² Ley, *A discourse*, p.62. All these proposals had been made to Ley's Cheshire brethren much earlier in 1648, but, as Ley noted on Hall's copy of his book, he had not yet received their written subscription.

the preservation of the peace.⁶³ These rules restored what Hall and Ley would have seen as the correct balance in favour of orthodoxy, but they were so restrictive that in essence they signalled a withdrawal from oral, public contests with sectaries.⁶⁴ Any subsequent engagements would have lacked risk, but would thereby have lost their former immediacy, excitement and popularity.

The retreat of Hall and the Kenilworth Classis from public disputations with sectaries seems to have been more than a local trend, occurring at the time the Quakers entered the field of public debating. Arthur Langley noted this change, reporting that Presbyterians and Independent ministers were replaced by Quakers as the chief protagonists against Baptists.⁶⁵ This transition in the mid-1650s is also noted by Ann Hughes, who shows not only the shift in the topics under debate, but also the changing position of sectaries such as Thomas Collier, who were once regarded as the radicals in their confrontations with orthodox ministers, but found themselves arguing a far more orthodox position against the Quakers.⁶⁶ As at Kenilworth, there seem to have been few printed accounts of disputations involving orthodox ministers after 1656. A possible reason may have been their recognition of the growing polemical success of sectaries in exploiting both disputations and their printed reports of them.

By the time Hall had agreed as a member of the Kenilworth Classis to Ley's guidelines for participation in future public disputations, he had taken up another course altogether and used

⁶³ Ley, *A discourse*, pp.6, 62-73.

⁶⁴ Ley, *A discourse*, concluded with the intention that, if, after all his own animadversions any further deflation of Mr. Onley was required, he would propose to the members of the Kenilworth Classis that they should invite Onley to another disputation which should 'be ordered and managed' according to the rules to which they had agreed. There is no evidence of this intention being put into practice or of Hall being involved in any further formal disputations.

⁶⁵ A. Langley, 'Seventeenth Century Baptist Disputations', pp.218-9.

⁶⁶ A. Hughes, 'The Pulpit Guarded', p.33, and 'The Meanings of Religious Polemic', p.212.

his experience in public disputation as a bridge into publishing. As Ann Hughes has noted, there was a great deal of interaction between these oral disputations and the printed word.⁶⁷ Hall had, like many disputants who appreciated the polemical value of engagement in such public contests, made sure his version was set in writing at the earliest opportunity, and the enormous success of this first book, *Pulpit*, gave him the confidence to continue a career in print and enabled him to find another means of pursuing his polemical and evangelical aims beyond the parish.

b) Hall's belief in, and exploitation of, the power of print

Hall made a strong connection between print and religion, writing that print was such a powerful medium that 'all ministers should be serviceable to the Church of Christ, not only by his preachings but also writings.'⁶⁸ Although he regarded all suitable means of communication as important to his ministerial mission, print was the medium through which he felt he could best achieve his polemical and evangelical aims beyond the parish.

Many historians have agreed with Hall's perception of the power of print in the communication of ideas and transmission of knowledge in the Early Modern period, seeing the development of the printed book in Europe as a major participant in the changes of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the scientific revolution.⁶⁹ Hall was immersed in print

⁶⁷ A. Hughes, 'The Pulpit Guarded', pp.30-50, 44-8.

⁶⁸ Hall, *Apologie*, p.26. By 'writings' Hall meant print-published writings. Although he wrote, *Life*, fos.81, 83, that he left several unpublished manuscripts which included his manuscript autobiography, he intended that all of them should be printed posthumously. This is confirmed by Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.86, where he wrote that Hall left works for the press in addition to the 14 works that were printed in his lifetime.

⁶⁹ A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World* (2000), pp.109-11, discusses the success of Luther in exploiting the press for his movement. While he emphasises the buoyancy of the manuscript book market in the fifteenth-century and the continuing importance of manuscript for religious debate particularly in allowing franker exchanges among intimate groups, he nevertheless considers that print opened up new possibilities for bringing

culture, at first through his need and love of books, then through his own publications in which he showed his understanding of its importance to his polemical and evangelical aims in three interconnected areas. Firstly, he noted printing as a divine blessing, connecting it with the success of Protestantism in England, and particularly naming its religious polemical and practical potential.⁷⁰ Secondly he highlighted the ability of the printed word to reach out and influence wide audiences beyond the parish pulpit, freeing ministers from geographical and temporal limitations, and enabling a universal application of godly ministry:

What is spoken is Transient and passeth away, but what is written is permanent. It is a more generall good, and spreadeth it selfe further by farre for Persons, Time and Place, then the voyce can reach, our Bookes may come to be seen where our Voice shall never be heard, Speech is onely for presence, but what we write may be usefull in our absence, yea, when we are dead, yet by our writings we may still speak for the good of others.⁷¹

This view was not to derogate the impact of the voice, particularly in preaching, but as Hall put it, in certain circumstances the pen had greater range: ‘Zachary, when he could not speak, wrote: the voice of the pen is louder than the voice of the tongue.’⁷² As a young curate, Hall had experienced the power of print to challenge the *status quo* in the age of Laudianism,⁷³ and

texts to wider audiences and spreading Protestant evangelism. H. Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (1993) *passim*, has also shown the continuing efficacy of manuscript circulation throughout the period. K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, pp.73-123, has demonstrated the growth of the movement and the development of a strong Quaker identity through the self-conscious use of the medium of the press. The Quaker facility with pamphleteering and the maintenance of a centralised control over it were vital to their successful recruitment drive and active political participation in the 1650s and although their tactics were unique to themselves, they were a clear demonstration of the power of the press when effectively harnessed.

⁷⁰ Hall, *Samaria*, pp.51-2, 56, and *Funebria*, p.12. In the course of reading Abraham Scultetus, *A secular sermon concerning the doctrine of the Gospell by the goodnes and power of God restored in the fifteenth age* (1618) [THL 094/C22], p.6, Hall has marked passages concerning the preparation of the way for the Reformation, which were listed by Scultetus firstly as learning, especially the learned languages, and then the printing press. Hall underlined and numbered these points.

⁷¹ Hall, *Timothy*, sigs.a3v-a4r, where in support of this view he cited other authorities: John Robinson, *Essayes* [Cat.A575, THL 094/1638/6], and Philip Goodwin, *Religio domestica rediviva: or, family-religion revived* [Cat.A361].

⁷² Hall, *Apologie*, p.97. Also, *Apologie*, p.93, Hall showed his high regard for the power of the preaching voice as a direct channel for the grace of God. He wrote, ‘Let a Pastor feed his people ministerially, by voice and sound Doctrine. The bare Reading of the Scriptures seldom conduces much to Conversion, the word preached by an Applicatory Voice hath some kinde of secret energy in it, and being sent from the Minister, as from the mouth of God himself, into the ears of the Auditors, it carries a great authority with it, and fastens better upon their souls.’

⁷³ A. McCrae, 'Stigmatizing Prynne: Seditious Libel, Political Satire and the Construction of Opposition' in I. Atherton and J Sanders (eds.), *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary Essays on Culture and Politics in the Caroline Era* (2006) 171-88, explores the use of polemical and satirical strategies used by Puritans to invert the accusations

after 1641, as his book collection shows, he followed the increased output of all sorts of ephemeral and polemical works, which were designed to have immediate relevance and impact, being deliberately exploited by political leaders and commercial interests to appeal to and influence public opinion,⁷⁴ although strong antecedents had already been established.⁷⁵ He therefore observed the power of print in creating a public forum and the sort of alignments and oppositions that transformed political and religious opinion into action: his appreciation of its devastating use by Independents against the Presbyterian cause, and its power to harm

against them and to turn their Laudian enemies into ‘novellists’ while staking their claim to the Protestant orthodoxy. He also analyses the inevitable politicising of Puritan writings and religious positions.

⁷⁴ In 1641, with the abolition of the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, there was a subsequent collapse of the mechanisms for press censorship. J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (2003), pp.196-7, considers the attempts of Parliament to fill the gap in press regulation as ineffectual at least until 1649, but feels that the deliberate appeal of the king and Parliament to the public via print and the public demand for news would have overcome any regulation and resulted in a similar increased output of ephemeral print. See also P. Lake and S. Pincus, *Rethinking the Public Sphere*, pp.9-10, 18; and J. Peacey, ‘Print Culture and Political Lobbying during the English Civil Wars’, *Parliamentary History* 26:1 (2007) 30-48, p.30 and *passim*. Adam Smyth, ‘Reade in One Age and Understood i’th’ Next’: Recycling Satire in the Mid-Seventeenth Century’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69:1 (2006) 67-82, pp.67-8, objects to the constant use of descriptive labels such as ‘explosion’ and ‘flood’ for the increase in printed output, as critical commonplaces which are limited in explaining the variety and forms of printed literature, and urges historians to look at the earthier metaphors used by contemporaries which show their nuanced awareness of the vast quantities of material emanating from the presses.

⁷⁵ P. Lake and S. Pincus, *Rethinking the Public Sphere*, pp.3-9, argue that the forum for public political discourse and religious differences opened in the reign of Elizabeth but was occasional, and, on the whole, a controlled series of openings and closings. F. J. Levy, ‘How Information Spread Among The Gentry’, *The Journal of British Studies* 21:2 (1982) 11-34, revealed a pattern of regular contacts between an increasingly better educated county gentry and London, made through their relatively easy access to booksellers and news-pamphlets and through information in private correspondence, professional separates and by word of mouth, which together led to a growing appetite for news. R. Cust, ‘News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England’, *Past and Present* 112 (1986) 60-90, has further demonstrated that people in the counties showed considerable interest in public affairs and principle, and that an increasing volume of news was coming to and from the counties via the melting pot of London. It was disseminated orally and scribally in forms of news-sheets, separates, letters, ballads and libels. Thus a demand and network for news was already in place well before 1641. Most significantly, the reciprocal process from localities to centre, and the rhetoric or polemic of what was communicated as news, showed its power in shaping the views of recipients and impacting on those who made it. In terms of action, such circulation of news was instrumental in the organisation of the early petitioning campaigns. A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, especially Chapter 6 on petitions, pp.191-227, shows how in the petitioning of Parliament, 38 out of the 40 English counties reflected a hunger for news, an involvement in political affairs and a sensitivity to national affairs through their own local contexts. D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (1999), pp.11-2, also finds the routine circulation of news and political ideas in pre-revolutionary England in a variety of forms to a variety of audiences. J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, pp.171-87, 196-7, has argued that the sudden output of print in England was influenced by the success of Covenanting literature in Scotland and its circulation in England, which in turn stimulated commercial enterprise and created the demand for news and opinion. He felt that it was the Irish Rebellion of 1641 rather than a lapse of censorship in 1641 that gave further impetus and, in *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649* (1996), showed how the demand for news led to the creation of all sorts of scribal and printed newsbooks and news sheets, linking provinces to capital and intensifying political awareness.

orthodoxy in the hands of sectaries can be seen in his published comments and library book annotations. However, it wasn't until the opportunity presented itself in 1651, through his need to confirm in print his victory at a disputation, that he too joined the throng.⁷⁶ As a result, print opened the door to a national forum for his religious polemic and evangelism; it created a print community with people he would never meet but could support and inspire, and enabled him to seek out, identify and attack adversaries.

Sectarians had provided the original impetus for Hall's entry into publishing, and his view of their printed output as blasphemous formed the third interrelated area of importance to his polemical and evangelical aims.⁷⁷ Although he saw printing as a great blessing of God, it had been exposed to abuse by sectaries as a result of the inaction of magistrates, and required much stricter regulation. In 1651 he complained that, 'the Presses were never more oppressed with frivolous filthy Pamphlets, to the great dishonour of the Nation in the sight of the Nations around us.'⁷⁸ He collected at least two pamphlets in the 'beacon' controversy, and scoffed at unlicensed works such as Thomas Collier's pamphlet, *The pulpit-guard routed* (1651) which he wrote was 'not so much as Licensed by a Bachiler.'⁷⁹ Conditions showed no

⁷⁶ Hall took note of other authors' emphases on the need to take such opportunities. For example on his copy of John Brinsley, *The true vvatch* [Cat.A119, THL 094/1637/2], Hall has bracketed the words, 'Those whom the Lord hath fitted to use the pen, he calls them now to use it.' A. Hughes, 'Popular Presbyterianism in 1640s and 1650s', has argued that Hall, like Thomas Edwards, was taking advantage of the rising literacy rates and therefore the reading market, so making their works accessible and appealing both as instruction and entertainment.

⁷⁷ Hall, *Life*, fos.54, 74, 75, noted that it was the sectaries who drew him into publishing and kept him there.

⁷⁸ Hall, *Conquest*, sig.A2r. J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, pp.8-9, has explained some of the insalutary early connotations and meanings of the term 'pamphlet', one of which was 'prostitute'. On his copy of John Collinges, *Responsoria bipartita* [Cat.A212, THL 094/1654/16], sig.f3r, Hall has underlined Collinges's text that complains: 'It is almost a scandal in this Age to be seen under the Presse, so shamefully it is prostituted.' J. McElligott, 'A Couple of Hundred Squabbling Small Tradesmen'? Censorship, the Stationers Company, and the State in Early Modern England', *Media History* 11:1/2 (2005) 87-104, p.96, agrees with Hall that while effective means of censorship were available to the governments throughout the 1640s and 1650s, Cromwellian censors attacked only what they considered the most dangerous material and therefore allowed the publication of much material of which Hall would have disapproved.

⁷⁹ The two works in the beacon dispute calling for censorship of certain ungodly publications were by the London booksellers, Luke Fawne, Samuel Gellibrand, Joshua Kirton, John Rothwell, Thomas Underhill and

improvement by 1660, when he again bewailed the ‘swarms’ of blasphemous pamphlets that infected ‘thousands and ten thousands’.⁸⁰ One outstanding culprit he blamed was Giles Calvert:

... the world may here see, what stuffe still comes from Lame Giles Calvers shop, that forge of the Devil, from whence so many blasphemous, lying, scandalous Pamphlets, for many yeers past, have spread over the Land, to the great dishonour of the Nation, in the sight of the Nations round about us, and to the provocation of Gods wrath against us, which will certainly breake forth, both upon the actors & tolerators of such intollerable errors, without speedy reformation and amendment.⁸¹

Hall’s published polemics targeted sectaries in particular because their scandalous notions had been printed for public consumption, and therefore required strong, godly rebuttal in the same medium:

Had they kept their blasphemies in secret, we had been silent, but since they have been so impudent, as to Print blasphemy, it can justly offend none, if we Print against them: 'Tis fit the Remedy should be as large as the Malady.⁸²

Such polemical objectives had drawn Hall to print but they were always aligned with his evangelism, which he saw as a necessary counter-balance to the spread of error in providing instruction on orthodox interpretation of Scripture together with orthodox doctrine and practice, on the benefits and divine provenance of Presbyterian church government and on guidance for godly living.

Nathaniel Webb: *The beacon flameing* (1652) and *A second beacon fired* (1654), bound together in a pamphlet volume [THL 094/C10]. See J. Collins ‘Silencing Thomas Hobbes: The Presbyterians and Leviathan’ in P. Springborg (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes’s Leviathan* (2007) 478-99, who discusses the Beacon dispute which, p.484, ‘exemplified and responded to the promiscuous print culture of the Interregnum’; he also points out the Presbyterian affiliations of these booksellers. Hall, *Font*, p.129, scoffed at John Bachiler, whom he despised for permitting sectarian pamphlets. On his copy of Joseph Caryl, *An exposition .. vpon the three first chapters of the booke of Iob* [Cat.A190, THL 094/1644/2], Hall made a list of current licensers of divinity books: ‘Licensers of Divinity Books Mr. Gataker, Downam Dowling. Dr. Temple Caryll Calamy Carter Herle Cranford Obad. Sedgwick. Ellis Jun. (Batchelor Babler) History Sir Nath. Berent. Mr. Langly. Sc. of Pauls Farnaby.’ This list of licensers matches a list quoted by J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum*. (2004), p.144, which comes from The Stationer’s Company *Liber A* fo.138. On the title page of his copy of John Goodwin, *Theomachia* (1644) [THL 094/C24], Hall has similarly crossed out Bachiler’s name and substituted ‘Babler’. Also on John Goodwin, *Twelve considerable serious cautions* (1646) [THL 094/C27], p.3, Hall has put a large cross by Bachiler’s name at the end of the preface.

⁸⁰ Hall, *Samaria*, p.92.

⁸¹ Hall, *Vindiciae*, p.215.

⁸² Hall, *Timothy*, p.60.

Hall published fourteen works between 1651 and 1661. Additionally there was *Apologie*, a translation into English of his Latin thesis, *Sal terrae*, by Samuel Shaw.⁸³ Although his two school textbooks contain a few instances of polemical argument and evangelism, they will not be used as examples here. In the remaining twelve publications, Hall pursued his polemical and evangelical objectives by using a considerable range of literary styles, but he mixed the objectives to such a degree across his works that it is not possible to divide them according to one or the other. However, polemical objectives dominated his popularised works, *Pulpit*, *Font*, *Haire* and *Funebria*, and also his more academic defences of orthodoxy against sectaries, *Chiliasto-mastix*, *Vindiciae*, *Magistracy* and *Apologie*. Instructional and evangelical aims were predominant in *Holiness*, Hall's legacy to his parishioners, and *Samaria* and *Amos*, his two major calls to repentance. These were structured around the biblical warnings of these two prophets and the parallels that could be drawn between the sins of Israel with those of England, and therefore the parallel punishments that could be expected should England fail to repent. *Timothy*, as stated on the title page, was intended to be a balance of practical and polemical, and was presented as Hall's most serious academic and lengthy, though accessible, work.

In order to achieve his polemical objectives, Hall commandeered a range of best-selling ploys which he adapted from ideas found among his library books: satirical verse, drama, satire and vitriol, and themes found widely in popular literature such as providentialism and sensationalism, fear of disorder, and fear of death and divine retribution.⁸⁴ In these strategies,

⁸³ Samuel Shaw was a friend and former graduate student of Hall. In his preface to *Apologie*, sigs.A4r-A4v, Shaw wrote that he had persuaded Hall that a translation of *Sal terrae* into English would be useful 'for the Conviction and satisfaction of English Cavillers', and that he collaborated with Hall over the style and content of the translation. Hall endorsed it as shown by his own preface to *Apologie* and a further comment in *Life*, fo.77.

⁸⁴ Hall had close ties with Dugard and Clarke throughout his ministry through their shared Warwickshire connections as discussed by A. Hughes, 'Thomas Dugard and his Circle in the 1630s'. Thomas Dugard wrote

Hall was following a line of popularising Protestant evangelism that, according to Hill, had its origins in England in the earliest years of the Reformation, particularly in the reign of Edward VI, and was exemplified and developed by Foxe's bestselling *Actes and monuments*.⁸⁵ Ian Green too has shown that there was a well-established tradition of 'entertaining edification' presented in a variety of formats, such as dialogues, verse, proverbial and epigrammatic wisdom, lives, and other forms as well as works offering a combination of them.⁸⁶ In writing of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, Patrick Collinson has cautioned against underestimating the Puritan mastery of performance in the delivery of sermons, noting the competitiveness of this culture and its close relationship with theatre. He also emphasised the potency of aspects of Puritan religious culture for its popular appeal.⁸⁷ As many other historians have pointed out, Puritans in the mid-seventeenth century were heirs to Marprelate,

verses for Hall's published works as he did for other members of Hall's Kenilworth Classis. Sam Clarke was closely connected with members of this Warwickshire circle and was admired by Hall who called him 'most delightful doctor' on Samuel Clarke, *Golden apples* [THL 094/1659/10], a book Clarke gave him. Hall also shared publishers with several of these colleagues: Samuel Clarke, and several members of the Classis including John Trappe for whom Dugard also wrote verses, Richard Ley and Obadiah Grew. P. Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives in Political and Polemical Context', has revealed Clarke as a master of polemic and thoroughly sensitive to the political and religious circumstances in which he was writing. His skills would have been of great benefit to Hall, his admirer and colleague.

⁸⁵ C. Hill, *A Turbulent, Seditious and Factious People: John Bunyan and his Church* (1988), pp.28-38. In the decades following Foxe's work, Hill highlighted popular works such as translations of the psalms sung to popular ballad music and suggested that something of the Edwardian popular tradition of an idiomatic style rich in detail of the everyday lives of people, rather than a courtly prose, survived in works by evangelistic Protestants such as Perkins, Preston, Dent and Bernard, all of whom used dialogue and verse. I. Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp.173-5, does not include *Actes and monuments* among his bestsellers but grants that it was a most influential and well-known work. J. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (2006), pp.1-3 points out that this book was unique for several reasons and, though expensive, was made widely available in a range of public places.

⁸⁶ I Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp.372-444. Hall owned some of the best-selling dialogues such as Arthur Dent, *The plaine mans path-way to heauen* (1601) [Cat.A270], George Gifford, *A dialogue concerning witches and witchcraftes* (1593) [Cat.A358], Philip Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses* [Cat.A639, THL 094/1595/2] and Timothy Rogers, *Good neuues from heauen* (1627) [Cat.A563], as well as John Northbrooke, *Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra. A treatise ... Made dialogueswise* (1577) [Cat.A480]. There was a large selection of popular poetry such as Francis Quarles, *Emblemes* [Cat.C207], Du Bartas, *His divine weekes and works* [Cat.A271], and George Herbert, *The temple. Sacred poems and private ejaculations* [Cat.A385 and Cat.C206], together with plenty of epigrammatic wisdom, particularly in the school library, and a selection of other popular forms such as 'lives'.

⁸⁷ P. Collinson, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture', especially pp.47-9. Also A. Walsham, 'The Godly and Popular Culture', pp.286-8, notes several examples of the popularity of sermons and charismatic preachers, and the popularity as cheap print of published versions, even though they may have been second rate versions of the original oral ones.

to popular anti-popish writing and to two decades of Puritan printed polemic, particularly the diverse literature from the militant Presbyterian campaigns of the 1640s of which Hall had a substantial collection and whose champion, Thomas Edwards, Hall admired as a particular hero.⁸⁸ People from all levels of society bought forms of popular or cheap print, and, as Alexandra Walsham has shown, there was in fact a far more complex relationship between evangelical Calvinism and the popular culture it tried to suppress.⁸⁹

Hall knew of such methods as they were used by Foxe, Perkins, Preston, Dent and Bernard, continuing through a succession of authors down to his own day when his friend Samuel Clarke was a notable practitioner.⁹⁰ He collected and cited books by all the above authors, as well as other commercially successful publications such as Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses*, Beard, *The theatre of God's judgements*, Frith, *Vox piscis*, and the works of Thomas Edwards.⁹¹ Although different from cheap religious popular print, such books nevertheless

⁸⁸ A. Hughes, 'Popular' Protestantism in the 1640s and 1650s', p.243, and *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*, especially Chapter Five, 'Edwards, Gangraena and Presbyterian Mobilization.'

⁸⁹ A. Walsham, *Providence*, pp.32, 49. She suggests Philip Stubbes, an episcopal Puritan, manipulated forms of the popular press for his own ends in many of his works, just as Hall did, and other Protestant ministers were prepared to modify their strategies to encompass less literate parishioners. Hall certainly approved of this book, Philip Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses* [Cat.A639, THL 094/1595/2], citing it in his own works and writing on the title page, 'Many have the Rubricke in their faces.'

⁹⁰ I. Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p.444, has suggested that in lesser hands, or in the hands of those more interested in commercial than religious content, the use of entertainment watered down the theological message tending to put more emphasis on reason and morals. Hall always upheld high Calvinist principles, even in works such as *Haire* and *Funebria*.

⁹¹ Philip Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses* [Cat.A639, THL 094/1595/2]. Although this book may have been produced with commercial intent and was anti-Presbyterian, yet Hall marked several sections of his copy approvingly and followed similar popularising ploys such as the use of verse and dialogue. Thomas Beard, *The theatre of Gods judgements* [Cat.A677, THL 094/1648/9], a catalogue of providential punishments through the ages, is heavily marked in areas such as the preface and chapters on profanation of the Sabbath and drunkenness. P. Collinson, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture', p.57, noted Stubbes's anti-Presbyterianism. A. Walsham, *Providence*, pp.48-9, 50, 74-5, gives many examples of popularising Protestant authors and businessmen, including Philip Stubbes and Thomas Beard, pointing out that because many authors turned their hand to popular print primarily to earn a living, it is difficult to interpret their particular religious intentions. *Vox piscis: or, the book-fish containing three treatises which were found in the belly of a cod-fish in Cambridge market, on midsummer eve last, anno Domini 1626* (1627) [THL 094/A1], which Hall described as 'Fryths book that was found in the belly of a fish', and a book that A. Walsham, 'Vox Piscis: or The Book-Fish: Providence and the Uses of the Reformation Past in Caroline Cambridge', *English Historical Review* 114:457 (1999) 574-606, has shown was produced in sensational circumstances in order to create the most sensational effect possible. At the time it was found in 1628, the three treatises it contained were

competed in the print market by adopting similar methods, and by participating in the media interactions between theatre, press and pulpit.⁹² Hall called the popularising aspect of his works, his ‘pills ... rowled in Sugar’, and this particular aim was articulated as making his books ‘as inoffensively pleasant’ as he could, although he acknowledged that, in spite of his best efforts, he would not win over everyone for ‘Jupiter himselfe could not do it.’⁹³

In order to show Hall’s exploitation of print in forwarding his polemical aims, I will look at specific examples in his use of drama, verse, providence and sensationalism, and vitriolic personal attacks which were all designed to entertain but in doing so to rouse individuals and groups to respond and engage in further debate. Jesse Lander has argued that polemic was a vital part of the culture created by the intersection of print and Protestantism, and characterised post-Reformation literature, playing a leading role in the creation of public discourse and therefore of a public sphere.⁹⁴ Andrew Pettegree agrees that polemic was a major element of religious competition in Europe.⁹⁵ When emphasising the steady progress of a Prayer Book Protestantism, Ian Green has weighed the impact of print on English Protestantism as a combination of the ‘warp of polemic and weft of edifying books’, while Peter Lake and Michael Questier have revealed the polemical efforts of Catholics, orthodox

attributed to John Frith, the Henrician martyr, but he probably only wrote one, *A mirrour, or, glasse to know thy selfe*. Hall owned a number of works by Thomas Edwards whose use of sensationalism has been explored by A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*, pp.20-1, and ‘Popular’ Presbyterianism in the 1640s and 1650s’, pp.243-5.

⁹² A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (2000), p.5, sees England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a society in which the three media of speech, script and print infused and interacted with each other in myriad ways, which were not necessarily antithetical and tended rather to augment each other. This is also P. Lake’s argument in his various studies of the genre of murder pamphlet and plays in explaining religious themes in cheap print which, though differently presented from godly works and with different emphases, were competing for overlapping audiences, for example, P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, Section I ‘Protestants, Puritans and Cheap Print’, pp.4-183. See also B. Reay, ‘Orality, Literacy and Print’ in Chapter 2, *Popular Cultures in England 1550-1750* (1998).

⁹³ Hall, *Pulpit*, sig.b2v, *Funebria*, p.6 and *Haire*, p.5. His overt intention to delight is also expressed in *Font*, p.117, *Haire*, p.5, and *Funebria*, p.6.

⁹⁴ J. Lander, *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England*. (2006), pp.1-55, 232-44.

⁹⁵ A. Pettegree, *The Reformation World*, pp.111, 121-3.

Calvinists and commercialists to exploit the potential of print.⁹⁶ Also, as David Zaret and Jason Peacey argue, at the time Hall entered the world of print, political authorities and the public in general were immersed in the increasingly sophisticated use of propaganda and polemic in the continuing battles for hearts and minds.⁹⁷ Although polemical writing has been consistently seen as inimical and polarising, aimed at conquest and differentiation, Jesse Lander also emphasises a more productive side of polemic which can be playful, and which is always revealed as part of a dialogue, answering a pre-stated position and calling for responses.⁹⁸ Hall self-consciously used polemic with all these meanings, and considered it a most effective tool in fighting sin and evil, advising ministers that it was essential to include polemical works in their book collections and their studies.⁹⁹ Writing, like reading, was an intellectual pursuit that gave Hall a great deal of pleasure, his published works echoing his classroom practice in teaching serious content through satire, humour, story-telling and classical wisdom, much in the mould of Erasmian methodology.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ I. Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p.xii, admits that some major works, such as Foxe's *Actes and monuments*, failed to make his criteria for the 737 steady sellers he incorporated into his study. Also failing to make the cut were ephemeral materials and more briefly lasting polemical works which nevertheless had a huge impact in their time, the Marprelate tracts being prime examples. P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat* (2002), *passim*.

⁹⁷ J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, pp.317-24 and *passim*, has argued that politicians participated fully in the print explosion of the 1640s, adopting new tactics and techniques to gain support and engagement. D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, pp.9-11 and *passim*, sees the public sphere as a creation of the media, by its rhetoric and reception, and appeals to opinion becoming central to politics. S. Achinstein, 'Texts in Conflict: The Press and the Civil War' in N. Keeble (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution* (2001) 50-68, also argues that the English Revolution not only inaugurated a new era in the dissemination of political information in England but that the press became the vehicle for open political conflict. Also S. Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, argues that while authors used propaganda to bludgeon readers into their way of thinking, they also included readers' objections and interests in recognition of the demand from readers for active participation in debate.

⁹⁸ J. Lander, *Inventing Polemic*, pp.11, 34-5.

⁹⁹ At times Hall specifically noted that his works were polemical and that ministers should own and read polemical works, for example Hall, *Apologie*, p.71, *Chiliasto*, sigs.A2r-A2v, *Timothy*, title page, sig.a2v, and pp.293, 296, and *Amos*, title page, and sig.A3v.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, *Timothy* p.120, considered that intellectual pleasures, being associated with the knowledge and love of God, were the most desirable. Erasmus had an enormous influence on the humanist school curriculum taught by Hall, and as M. Screech, *Erasmus: Ecstasy & The Praise of Folly* (1988), p.xx and *passim*, points out, Erasmus used humour to make his controversial and evangelical points; while *Praise of folly* may have the appearance of a lightweight literary piece it was just as serious in intent as anything else he wrote. Also C. H. Miller, *Desiderius Erasmus: The Praise of Folly*, 'Introduction', pp.ix-xxv. S. Murray, *Mockery and Mirth in the Early English Reformation* (University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 2008), has explored the use of humour in Henrician

b) i) Drama

In three of his books, *Pulpit*, *Font* and *Funebria*, Hall used the immediacy of drama in the form of mock trials to amuse his readers and make his case. He tried this tactic initially in *Pulpit*, his first polemical publication. Given the general disapproval of stage plays by the godly, Hall was anxious to explain the precedent: ‘This way cannot be offensive to any, since it hath long since practised by two learned and godly Divines, M. W. Burton in his second Sermon of the Arraignment of that man of the earth, p.22 and M. Bernard Isle of Man, who proves the lawfulness of such pleadings.’¹⁰¹ He also cited biblical precedents such as Nathan’s use of allegory to catch David out in his murder of Bathsheba’s husband, Uriah, and Christ’s own teaching by allegory or parables.¹⁰²

England in a wide range of sources and its use in attacking opponents and influencing arguments for religious reform. Hall admired Erasmus and owned many of his works, as well as books which incorporated Erasmian wisdom such as John Clarke, *Paroemiologia ... or ... proverbs* [Cat.C33]. Hall listed in his catalogue of school books: *Proverbs* or *Adages* [Cat.C51], *Colloquies* [Cat.C52], *De copia* [Cat.C53 THL 094/1573/1], and *De moria* [Cat.C54, THL/094/1526/4]. Other works by Erasmus surviving in the library are all four parts of *Breviorvm aliquot D.Erasmi Roterdami epistolarum, ... Cum interpretatione Graecarum uocum* [THL 094/1538/1]; *Adagiorum D.Erasmi Roterodami epitome* [Cat.B103, THL 094/1649/2]; *The first tome or volume of the Paraphrases of Erasmus upon the newe testamente* [THL 094/1552/3]; *In Novum Testamentum annotationes* ([THL F094/1527/1], *De civilitate morum puerilium libellus* (1566) [THL 094/A5], *Lingua* [THL/094/1526/4], (bound with several other works from the Froben press including *De moria*); *Paraphrasis seu potius epitome inscripta* [THL/094/1566/1]; and *Volumen quintum* - folio (a fifth volume of the Works of Erasmus) [Cat.B104].

¹⁰¹ Hall, *Pulpit*, margin note, p.29. Hall owned both books: William Burton, *Davids thanks-giving for the arraignment of the Man of Earth, the second sermon* (1602) [Cat.A144]; and Richard Bernard, *Isle of Man* [Cat.A74, THL 094/1632/2]. D. S. Kastan, ‘Performances and Playbooks: The Closing of the Theatres and the Politics of Drama’ in Sharpe and Zwicker (eds.), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (2003) 167-84, p.167, points out that the 1642 ordinance and its later repetitions forbidding public stage plays, did not ban play scripts, and playbooks thrived. There is no doubt that Hall disapproved of stage plays in performance in theatres from his published comments and his strong support of the views of Prynne, *Histrion-mastix* [Cat.A528], which he cited in *Timothy*, p.106: ‘Take heed of Stage-playes, where many lewd speeches, and lascivious Gestures are used. They are the very sinks of sin, and Schooles of profanenesse. as you may see in that elaborate Treatise of that industrious Patriot of his countrey, Mr. William Pryn, in his *Histrion-mastix*, a book that well deserves Reprinting, and to be made more common, in these loose times, when lascivious Balls, and profane Practises are so frequent in the chief city of the land.’ I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (2000), p.402, points out that Prynne wrote that it was acceptable to read plays, especially those of a godly nature.

¹⁰² William Burton, *Davids thanks-giving* [Cat.A144], p.22, also wrote that he wanted to imitate a trial ‘for our greater capacitie and understanding, as also because this kinde of teaching doth nearest sute with the teaching of our Saviour Christ.’ The trials of Strafford, Charles I and Christopher Love were certainly studied by Hall and may have been in his consciousness as events that roused huge public interest. S. Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, pp.42- 58 also notes the sensational effects of Lilburne’s trials in 1649 and 1653, and his use of them to appeal for public support.

However, Hall's use of this device in *Pulpit* and *Font*, though following the trial formats used by Bernard and Burton, was different in other respects. Instead of allegorizing personifications of sin, as in Bernard, or using a stereotype of general wickedness, like Burton's 'the Man of Earth', Hall turned the idea to his own polemical purposes, using recent historical and contemporary personnel and dealing with particular contemporary religious issues.¹⁰³ In this respect, his work was far more similar to that of an opponent, Richard Overton, whose *Arraignment of Mr. Persecution* was a bitter attack against Presbyterians.¹⁰⁴

In *Pulpit*, Hall put a lay-preacher on trial in order to attack unordained preachers and defend the ministry, and in *Font* the issue was infant baptism and the defendant was an Anabaptist. By means of the evidence of witnesses and jurymen, he was able to present a dramatic and entertaining framework for his polemics. In both *Pulpit* and *Font* Hall argued that the chief polemical point of the trials was to show that both the defendants and their practices should not be tolerated in the Church of England, when they were condemned by 'all the Churches of God'.¹⁰⁵ His arguments also included putting the case for Presbyterianism through the witness of the Reformed Churches in both books, of the Solemn League and Covenant in *Pulpit* and of the Directory in *Font*. In later editions of *Pulpit*, Hall showed his commitment to maximising the dramatic effect of his trial section, by turning all the indirect speech of the

¹⁰³ In *Pulpit*, the jury of twelve against the lay-prophet were the Reformed Churches, Zanchy, Apollonius, Beza, William Perkins, Arthur Hildersham, Christopher Love, Lazarus Seaman, William Greenhill, John Brinsley (Junior), John Cotton, and Henry Ainsworth. The Church of England was included among the Reformed Churches and he also used the witness of parliamentary ordinances and the Solemn League and Covenant. In later editions, Calvin replaced Beza as a jurymen.

¹⁰⁴ J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p.232, defines Overton's work, *The arraignment of Mr. Persecution*, which was an immediate response to the Westminster Assembly's production of *The directory for the publique worship*, as allegorical, but firmly planted in 1645. M. J. Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (2008), p.442, identifies Mr. Persecution as William Prynne, one of Hall's favoured authors and champions of Presbyterianism. Hall would have been aware of Overton's anti-Presbyterianism, and of his work and its popularity, but he made no reference to it at all. It is probable that contemporary readers would have identified the similarities even if they were not made explicit in the text. See also N. Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (1994), Chapter 9, especially pp.297-301.

¹⁰⁵ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.28 and *Font*, p.73, by which he meant the Reformed Churches.

witnesses into direct speech, and this is the form he continued to use for his trials in *Font* and *Funebria*.¹⁰⁶ However, a rather more allegorical figure, the goddess Flora, as representative of all the debauchees who revived festive practices in 1660, was put on trial in *Funebria*, and here Hall explained his popularising intentions in using this particular format :

...because a bare recital of testimonies, would be too flat and frigid, I shall therefore (to quicken and delight the Reader) indict and arraign this Floralian Harlot, and impanel a Jury against her. This way of clearing things cannot justly bee offensive to any, since 'tis but a kinde of Dialogue, and Dialogues have been ever accounted the most lively and delightful, the most facile and fruitfulest way of teaching. Allusions and similies sink deep, and make a better impression upon the spirit: A pleasant allusion may do that which a solid Argument sometimes cannot do. As in some cases Iron may do that which Gold cannot do.¹⁰⁷

The only contemporary reader known to have responded to Hall's dramatic interludes was his opponent Thomas Collier, who said he was not moved by such a 'ridiculous' device that was 'so poor and low, not being accompanied with common reason.' Nevertheless, Collier felt compelled to retaliate with one of his own trial scenes in which he indicted 'the False Prophet'.¹⁰⁸

b) ii) Satirical verse

By the time Hall wrote *Font*, his second polemical work, he added satirical verses which then became a feature of his popularised works, and in *Funebria* he referred to this tactic as an intentional way of making the work more pleasant.¹⁰⁹ The verses in *Font* were attacks on the Baptist Thomas Collier, who had responded aggressively to Hall's previous work, *Pulpit*, and

¹⁰⁶ Direct speech was used from the first in *Font* and *Funebria*.

¹⁰⁷ Hall, *Funebria*, p.18, where he named Flora's confederates as 'a pack of practical Fanaticks, viz. Ignorants, Atheists, Papists, Drunkards, Swearers, Swashbucklers, Maid-marrions, Morrice-dancers, Maskers, Mummies, May pole-stealers, Health-drinkers, together with a rascalian rout of Fidlers, Fools, Fighters, Gamesters, Whoremasters, Lewd-men, Light-women, Contemners of Magistracy, affronters of Ministry, rebellious to Masters, disobedient to Parents, mis-spenders of time, abusers of the creature, &c.'

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Collier, *The pulpit-guard routed*, pp.52-8. J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, pp.201-6, discusses the play-pamphlets of the 1640s, which may have had some influence on the use elsewhere of dramatic dialogue, and which themselves took in diverse aspects of contemporary cheap print.

¹⁰⁹ Hall, *Funebria*, p.6. Hall's printed works on poets included Herbert and Quarles which he catalogued under schoolbooks, but he was familiar with a much wider range of poetry referring for example in *Apologie*, p.20 to Shakespeare and in *Life*, fo.123, to Spenser, and also to all sorts of libels.

were intended to ridicule and belittle him as part of Hall's polemics against him and his kind.¹¹⁰ This extract addresses Hall as author:

Dear Sir! Why will you set your wit
To one of the infernal Pit?
For there your Collier digs: from thence
He belches blasphemies and Non-sense.
Appollyons Agent: whose desire
Is to set all the Land on fire.
The Devil in Queen Maries dayes
Sent Doctor Cole to cross Christs wayes.
This Collier now acts the same part,
Not with less malice, but less Art.¹¹¹

In *Haire* and *Funebria*, the number of verses was multiplied. They were initialled by various authors, but ran in a similar vein to the verse in *Font*, again ridiculing the targets of Hall's polemics in the main text. Here he attacked men who wore long hair:

How many do I daily see
Given up to Muliebritie!
A female head to a male face
Is married now in every place.¹¹²

Hall wrote a particularly long verse of his own at the end of *Funebria*, aimed at the profane participants in 'maypole culture':

There's not a Knave in all the Town,
Nor swearing Courtier, nor base Clown,
Nor dancing Lob, nor mincing Quean,
Nor Popish Clerk, bee't Priest or Dean,
Nor Knight debausht, nor Gentleman,
That follows drabs, or Cup, or Can,
That will give thee a friendly look,
If thou a May-pole canst not brook.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Collier responded to Hall's *Pulpit* with *The pulpit-guard routed, in its twenty strong-holds, or, A brief answer to a large and lawless discourse, written by one Tho. Hall of Kings-Norton* (1651). I. Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p.401, has pointed out the popularity in the Early Modern period of religious verse, such as that of Herbert and Quarles, which was read across the doctrinal spectrum and by different layers of readers.

¹¹¹ Hall, *Font*, sigs.b2r-b3v, entitled 'To his Reverend Friend Mr. Thomas Hall', and signed Beriah Philophylax. Beriah is a biblical name, a son of Asher. 'Philophylax' means lover of the guard, presumable of *The pulpit guarded*, which Collier had attacked, and who may have been Hall himself.

¹¹² Hall, *Haire*, sigs.A3r-A4r.

In one instant in *Vindiciae*, he reprinted a verse in praise of Samuel How the preaching Cobbler, whom he despised, with two lengthy verse replies, signed ‘*D.Hallophilus*’ and ‘*Th.Elshmor*’.¹¹⁴ As Adam Fox has pointed out, the practice of composing and using libels and ballads to ridicule others was practised at all levels of society,¹¹⁵ but Hall’s use of this device was not at all what might be expected from a rigid Presbyterian minister, particularly when placed in such a serious context in *Vindiciae* alongside learned rules for the correct interpretation of Scripture.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Hall, *Funebria*, p.48. Several of the verses in Hall’s books, some in Latin, were written by Thomas Dugard, a fellow member of the Kenilworth Classis. Two members of Hall’s circle used verses at the beginning of their works, notably John Trapp and Samuel Clarke, though most of the verses they used, also often written by Dugard, were in Greek or Latin. Samuel Clarke made similar efforts to appeal to wide audiences, and is highlighted by A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp.114, 279-80, as a populariser particularly for his exploitation of providential stories.

¹¹⁴ Hall, *Vindiciae*, pp.42-7. The verse in praise of How was originally printed in a pamphlet, Samuel How, *The sufficiency of the spirits teaching without humane learning* (1644) [THL 094/C10].

¹¹⁵ A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (2005), p.310. Also J. Bellany, ‘The Embarrassment of Libels: Perceptions and Representations of Verse Libeling in Early Stuart England’ in P. Lake and S. Pincus (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (2007) 144-67, pp.158-61, for the impact of libels and libelling on Early Stuart readers. A. McCrae, ‘Stigmatizing Prynne: Seditious Libel, Political Satire and the Construction of Opposition’ has explored the use of satire by Puritans in expressing their religious orthodoxy and opposition to the Laudian regime, especially by Prynne, Burton and Bastwick, some of whose writings were owned by Hall. Hall, *Life*, fos.50-1, also gives a few tantalising indications that he read unpublished manuscript libels, copying out a libel entitled *A dismal summons to doctors commons*, which he felt was so appropriate that it ought to be published in print within his own work. M. A. E. Green, (ed.), ‘The Diary of John Rous, Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, from 1625 to 1642’, *Camden Society*, old ser., 66 (1856), p.109, shows that this libel was also copied out by Rous, but with regret. Rous wrote that he didn’t like such rhymes but felt obliged to save them as a ‘*precedent of the times*’ for posterity. Presumably this verse was in circulation before 1642 if it was included by Rous. Hall, however, thoroughly approved of it. He often wrote out pithy sayings and proverbs, and on the flyleaf of one of his library books, Edward Waterhouse, *An humble apologie for learning and learned men* [Cat.A703, THL 094/1653/1], he wrote out the verse: ‘England is a cow abounding with milk & butter O.C. (presumably Oliver Cromwell) Rides her. H.P. (presumably Hugh Peter) Spurrs her. The Souldiers, Sequestrators & Committee Men, milke her. The Citizens hold the hornes. And the Cavaliers pull at the Taile Till they are all bespattered with her dung.’ Dr. Tara Hamling has pointed out to me that this verse was recycled from an earlier Tudor version.

¹¹⁶ Verses were used by serious godly authors such as Cleaver and Dod, *A plaine and familiar exposition of the Ten Commandments* (1604) [Cat.A198], to preface their work, but their verses were in keeping with the serious tone of the text. For example two of the verses prefacing this book were acrostics praising ‘painefull pastors and their flockes’. One said:

W hen silly sheep, by skilfull shepherds crooke,
 I n pastures faire and greene are duly fed,
 L ed all along by one sweet running brooke,
 L ike Christall streames from flowing fountains head,
 I n safety such may feede and nothing dread.
 A nd blessed shepherd hee, that sheep so feedeth.
 M any a sheepe (God wot) such shepherd needeth.

b) iii) Sensationalism and providence

In addition to popularising rhymes, Hall used sensational and lurid tales to further his polemics: in *Haire*, for example he opened with a report borrowed from Robert Bolton of a terrifying new disease of the hair which had attacked men and women in Poland. This disease caused the hair to be glued together in the form of either a great snake or lots of little serpents, ‘full of nastiness, vermin and noisome smell’, and which, when pricked with a needle, would ‘yeild bloody drops’.¹¹⁷ In *Funebria* he engaged the same tactic, capturing attention from the outset with tales of terrible degeneracy:

Before men were fanatic and wilde in their Principles, now men are fanatic and frantic in Practicals; they rant, they roar, they sing, they swear, they drink, they dance, they whore, they lye, they scoff, yea, some there are (I hope they are not many) that put their own blood into their drink, and then drink a health to the King, this is reported to mee by persons of good repute; if this bee true, as sure as God is just and true, hee will be avenged on the actors of such horrid blasphemy.¹¹⁸

Throughout this book, Hall recounted catalogues of sins of lasciviousness and incontinence which would have held the attention of most readers whatever their religious views. He was ostensibly horrified by all these devilish goings-on, and although it seems unbelievably naive that he should not have appreciated what a romp of a read he had produced, he frequently underlined his belief that simply to reveal ungodly behaviour was sufficient to elicit the required repugnance.¹¹⁹ For this reason he had the pamphlet of the Quaker, Solomon Eccles, reprinted at the end of *Samaria*, assuring his readers that the bare reciting of it would be ‘confutation Sufficient’.¹²⁰ However, for one who was so adept at reader manipulation, it is more likely, as Ann Hughes suggests, that he is being disingenuous and in fact emphasising scandalous behaviour in *Funebria* as another polemical technique.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Hall, *Haire*, sig.A3v. The story was taken by Hall from Robert Bolton, *The foure last things* [Cat.A103].

¹¹⁸ Hall, *Funebria*, p.1.

¹¹⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.186. There is always the consideration that a book like *Funebria* with its combination of titillation and moralizing, might have appealed to readers for reasons that were very different from those intended by Hall.

¹²⁰ Hall, *Samaria*, p.164.

¹²¹ A. Hughes, ‘Popular’ Protestantism in the 1640s and 1650s’, p.246, suggests that this device, providing ‘a voyeuristic obsession with what is supposedly condemned’, was used by Thomas Edwards.

b) iv) Vitriolic attacks and providence

Another aspect of Hall's adoption of the tactics of the popular press were his vitriolic blasts against sectaries in which he used cutting invective, insult and thoroughly vindictive personal attacks, very much in the tradition of the most bitter pamphleteering. One of his targets was Thomas Collier, the General Baptist:

So Collier is your name, and Collying is with you: You colly the Trinity, colly the Scriptures, colly the Law, colly the Gospel, colly Magistracy, colly Ministry, colly Church, colly State, colly Army, colly old, colly young, colly Infants, colly all, &c Thy mouth is an open sepulchre, out of which comes nothing but exhalations and filthy vapours of Ignorance, Pride and Error; ... What, a Teacher and a Lyar! A teacher, and a Blasphemer! A Teacher, and a Railer! A Teacher and a Heretick, overthrowing the very foundations of Religion &c. ... Hell is full of such Teachers.¹²²

Collier responded, chastising Hall for his 'foul and filthy language, more fit for Billingsgate than the Press,' and said he was shocked to find such language in the mouth of a supposedly respectable clergyman.¹²³ Hall was pleased to have elicited a response but the criticism left him unconcerned. There were scriptural precedents for bitter language and St. Paul himself used it: 'Ironical and Sarcastical, taunting biting speeches may lawfully be used as occasion requires against wicked men.'¹²⁴ God's ministers, he wrote, must have a holy anger against sin, even though they should pray for sinners and mourn for them.¹²⁵

Hall's appendix, 'Whip for Webster', against John Webster's ideas for reforming the university curriculum, was similarly venomous but his attacks on learned opponents were delivered in more measured language, and inclined more to sarcasm than immoderate insult.¹²⁶ These included his attacks which were presented in appendices: against John

¹²² Hall, *Font*, pp.121-2. Hall used 'colly' to mean making things black or to spoil them.

¹²³ Thomas Collier, *The font-guard routed* (1652), p.56.

¹²⁴ Hall, *Amos*, pp. 21, 24. Hall, *Timothy*, p.296, had used this same accusation against pamphleteers, writing that, 'because we are Ministers of Christ, and witness against their wickedness, therefore they call us Conjurers, Juglers, Limbs of the Devill, Covetous, Proud, Tithe-mongers, Legall Preachers, Baals Priests, Witches, Devils, Lyars, &c. with such Billingsgate language they stuffe their lying Pamphlets.'

¹²⁵ Hall, *Amos*, p.371.

¹²⁶ Hall, '*Histrion-mastix*, A Whip for Webster' and also '*Examen examinis*: or, a word to Mr *Webster*, concerning his examination of academies', in *Vindiciae*, pp.193-239. Attacks on learned men include '*Praecursor*

Tombes, the Baptist, in *Font*, and against Nathaniel Homes and Henry Vane, the millenarians, in *Amos*, and an unpublished open letter intended as an appendix to a further edition of *Pulpit* against William Sheppard, Cromwell's legal adviser, for his support of lay-preaching.¹²⁷ There was also *Chiliasto-mastix*, a work largely devoted to answering Nathaniel Homes's millenarian folio, *The resurrection revealed*, and while it was a serious and academic refutation of millenarianism, Hall maintained a sarcastic tone throughout.¹²⁸ He began with a joke that his reply to the great folio tome was in octavo, and then with dismissive judgements of Homes's book, criticising it firstly for being stuffed with '*cramb bis cocta*', and secondly for its failure to provide convincing arguments:

I may say of it as 'twas said of Dr. Heylins Book in defence of St. George, some doubted whether there ever was such a St. but since they read this book they believe there never was such a saint in being; so some have doubted whether there might not be a Personal Reign of Christ on earth, but since they have read Dr. Homes his Book they are fully satisfied that there is no such thing.¹²⁹

In all his polemics, Hall made the contradictory but traditional claim that he treated the issues under debate with even-handedness, but in fact he did his best to stir the pot and insult his opponents in order to raise responses.¹³⁰ Although any replies, whether in opposition or support, were gratifying, he continued to scoff at uneducated opponents such as Collier and

praecursoris: A word to Mr. Tombs, *currente calamo*', in *Font*, pp.133-6; *Chiliasto*, a whole tract against Nathaniel Homes; and an unpublished manuscript open letter 'To the Worshipfull William Sheppard Esq. Justice of the Peace for The County of Gloucester' in his copy of the fourth edition of *Pulpit*, now in the Bodleian Library.

¹²⁷ Hall insulted all his opponents, however, including William Sheppard. For example, in Hall's Bodleian copy of *Pulpit*, in response to Sheppard's work, *The peoples privilege & duty* (uncatalogued and not surviving), he wrote: I must freely confess that I found more Learning & Modesty, in one sheete of yours, then in all Colliers empty Pamphlets: yet (*salve reverentia*) to be plaine with your Worship, your Treatise is *Purus-putus-paralogismis*; a meere juggle, & mistaking the thing in Question: when it comes to be Examined, tis *Justitium nihilum*; just nothing. ... Quotations helpe your cause as much as the drugs of an unskillfull Physitian did his patients, of whom I heard in Plutarch. your drugs & salves augment my soare, They make me sicker than befour.'

¹²⁸ Nathaniel Homes, *Apokalypsis anastaseos* (1653) [Cat.B134].

¹²⁹ Hall, *Chiliasto*, sig.A2v, and pp.2-3. *Crambe bis cocta* was a Latin proverb meaning twice cooked cabbage or tasteless repetition.

¹³⁰ For example, *Pulpit*, sigs.a4r, b2v-b3r; *Font*, sigs.(a2)v-(a3)r; *Haire*, sig.B2v; *Chiliasto*, sig.A3v; and *Funebria*, p.6.

Hartley, while expressing rather more appreciation of those who were learned.¹³¹ For example, he noted with pride that Tombes had responded to *Font*, writing, ‘that Mr Tombs (*Anabaptistorum ille Coryphaeus*) was pleased to take notice of it in his last large Reply to above 20 Reverend Divines, of which Mr Hall was one.’¹³²

Providence was ever present in Hall’s works. He found it a very useful means for pressing alarmist polemics, warning that the hand of God was everywhere and in all things, and none could ever escape his wrath; even evil itself occurred only because God allowed it to serve his ends.¹³³ Throughout his works there is a constant theme of divine punishment of the ungodly and of those who tolerated them.¹³⁴ At times this was illustrated with sensational contemporary manifestations of God’s displeasure. For example, in illustrating the dangers of consorting with sectaries and libertines, Hall wrote: ‘The Devill will challenge thee for his, when thou goest to such meetings, as he did the young woman which he found at a Play-house, the Devill carried her away upon this account’.¹³⁵ More often, Hall’s horror stories concerned the fate of Old Testament characters who had defied God, such as the kings of Israel and Judah, Jezebel, Absalom who wore his hair long and was strangled by it, Achan,

¹³¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.438, made this explicit, at the same time as showing that he enjoyed fighting them all: ‘It is a trouble to ingenious natures to be molested by such disingenuous ones who want common humanity. _To fall by the hand of an Achilles or some eminent person for Learning and Valour, is some honour. But to be vext by such Hows and Haggards, such Coppingars and Colliars, as are famous for nothing, but Ignorance and Impudence, but malice and wickedness, is a great burden. But it may comfort us that Christ himself was thus exercised before us, He endured the contradiction of sinners. (Heb.12.3.) If we be contradicted by wise men we can the better bear it, but to be contradicted by foolish rebellious sinners, goes hard.’ Collier published *The pulpit-guard routed* (1651) and *The font-guard routed* (1652) against Hall, both of which Hall read although no copies are catalogued; William Hartley, *The prerogatives priest passing bell* (1651) was attached to Hall’s own copy of *Pulpit* now in the Bodleian. Among those who supported Hall in print were, Richard Sanders, *A balm to heal religious wounds* [Cat.A647, THL 094/1652/7]; John Ferriby, *The lawfull preacher* (1652) cited in *Font*, p.132; and John Collinges, *Pulpit-guard relieved*, which was an appendix to his *The lawfull preacher* (1652), cited in Hall’s notes on the Bodleian copy of his *Pulpit*. Collinges was a Presbyterian controversialist also mentioned by Hall in *Font*, p.132, as his ‘Brother’.

¹³² Hall, *Life*, fo.75.

¹³³ Hall, *Samaria*, p.56, and in many other places.

¹³⁴ A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999), has explored the fascination such stories held for people of the period, and, pp.65-6, argued that collecting and relating these sorts of stories was of particular interest to Puritans in tracing the providential punishments of God.

¹³⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.140.

Philistines, and so on. However, Hall also used providence as an encouragement and reassurance, arguing that God knew what was best for each person and for the working out of his plan.¹³⁶

In pursuing his polemical objectives in more measured, academic style, Hall relied on his staples of logical argument supported by a wealth of orthodox authorities, which he called ‘proofs’, question and answer formats, which he considered ‘Emphatical and lively’, and lists of cavils or objections together with his responses.¹³⁷ He described his methodology in handling ‘Controversies’ as examining them ‘Pro and Con’ so that ‘the Truth is confirmed, and falsehood confuted; so that if thou art ignorant, this will help to instruct thee; if erroneous, to reclaim thee; if wavering, to settle thee; if poore, to enrich thee; if rich, to humble thee’, and supporting all with ‘such Authors as will satisfie those who will be satisfied with Scripture and Reason.’¹³⁸ Thus he always intertwined his polemics with varying degrees of evangelism or ‘practicals’, which were explanations of Scripture and true doctrine, encouragements to godly living and rejection of false and evil ways.

b) v) Evangelism and practicals

In pursuit of his aims in evangelism and practical godly living, Hall used the sort of techniques he would have exercised in his everyday teaching in the school and parish, using arguments and persuasions supported by a host of authorities, particularly the Bible, to bring his readers to the truth. *Holiness*, he said, was the sum of his sermons to his parishioners and

¹³⁶ For example, Hall, *Timothy*, p.42, and *Amos*, p.99.

¹³⁷ Hall, *Amos*, p.245. Hall said the template for this sort of teaching was to be found in the Bible: ‘The Scripture abounds with such Questions, Adam where art thou? Gen. 3.9. So said Christ, How readest thou? what think you? Mat. 18.12. and 21.28. Luke 7.42. James 4.5. This quickens and awakens men, it makes them heed things better, and consider what to answer. Be not then offended when Gods Ministers ransack thy soul, and question and quicken thee out of thy Lethargy, and deep security.’

¹³⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.a3r.

it spoke directly to the godly reader, exhorting and encouraging them to walk in holy ways according to the pattern set by Christ and other exemplary figures. Although polemical points were made along the way, the emphasis was on spiritual growth, and in conclusion, one of Quarles's popular emblems was attached to encourage spiritual meditation.¹³⁹

Timothy is the best example of a work in which both polemical and evangelical objectives were handled together in similar measure, and like *Magistracy*, *Samaria* and *Amos*, was a biblical commentary which took the typical seventeenth-century form of homiletical-doctrinal exegesis, taking chapter by chapter and verse by verse.¹⁴⁰ Following an overall view of the chapter, each verse was subjected to learned exposition and then applied to contemporary life by means of observations, objections and replies. Hall may well have been inspired to produce these Biblical commentaries by the example of his learned colleague and friend John Trapp, who is considered 'one of the best Puritan commentators'.¹⁴¹ In *Magistracy* Hall emphasised polemical aims of stirring up and encouraging magistrates to promote true religion and suppress sectaries, and in *Samaria* and *Amos*, although there was an underlying theme of covenant-breaking, the evangelical aims dominated with repeated calls for national repentance together with repeated warnings that, if the nation did not comply, it could expect terrible divine retribution. In drawing parallels between the sins of Israel and its subsequent

¹³⁹ Francis Quarles, *Emblemes*, [Cat.C207] Emblem 6 from Book 5.

¹⁴⁰ Hall, *Magistracy* (1660) was a commentary on Psalm 82; *Samaria* (1660) a commentary on the five last verses of the thirteenth chapter of Hosea; *Amos* (1661) a commentary on the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth chapters of the prophecy of Amos, and *Timothy* (1658) a commentary on the third and fourth chapters of the latter epistle of Saint Paul to Timothy. D. K. McKim (ed.), *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters* (2007), pp.22-44, for biblical interpretation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹⁴¹ D. K. McKim, (ed.), *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*, p.42. Hall owned five volumes of John Trapp, *A commentary, or, exposition upon the XII. Minor Prophets* [Cat.A665, the one surviving volume being THL Q 094/1654/8]. Also surviving is Trapp, *Theologia theologiae, the true treasure* [Cat.A666, THL 094/1641/4]. Another connection between Trapp and Hall was their friendship with Colonel John Bridges. Trapp had acted as chaplain to Bridges during the Civil War at Warwick castle and dedicated one of his books to him. Hall also presented a copy of *Font* to Bridges which turned up for sale in *The Quaritch Catalogue of English Books*, No.1336, in 2007, and which fetched £1,352. It was a presentation copy inscribed by Hall: 'for the Right Worshipfull & his much Honored friend, Col. Bridges'.

downfall, Hall did his best to shake the nation out of its complacency and to demand it listened to orthodox ministers, God's ambassadors, who had given endless warnings and who alone held the key to salvation.¹⁴² Richard Moore later used Hall's prophecies to show how godly and knowing he had been, writing in an elegy,

And yet he lives, methinks I see him still,
In's doing good, eschewing what is ill;
'Specially in th' works he hath left behind,
The pious product of a pious mind.
London look to 't, he foretold thy burning,
Thy plague And poverty for not returning;
If God's House be not built within th' Nation,
Yours, and ours will be desolation.¹⁴³

Timothy, was a volume of nearly five hundred pages, which Hall said took two years to complete and represented many years of study and learning.¹⁴⁴ Published in the learned format of a folio, it had prefatory and laudatory recommendations from two leading Presbyterian clerics with national profiles. Edmund Calamy, in his preface, praised the author as 'Reverend, Learned and Religious', the work as, 'elaborate and judicious,' and thought it would be gladly entertained by godly, learned readers.¹⁴⁵ John Ley, wrote at some length, extolling the 'Learned Author' and his book, writing, 'it is not onely the better halfe of the best Expository Treatise that I have seen upon the Second Epistle to Timothy, but I believe is the best that hitherto hath been extant in the Church of Christ.'¹⁴⁶ Hall was much gratified by the praise, but nevertheless he wrote that this book was intended for an audience that was not confined to the learned godly, but also for the ignorant, the erroneous and the poor, and

¹⁴² Hall, *Amos*, sig.A3v, described *Amos* as a glass in which the sins of England were reflected. It was a quarto, nearly 600 pages in length, and is probably the most difficult to read of all his works. Hall, *Samaria* sig.A2v, wrote that *Samaria* focused on five verses of Hosea in which, 'wee may read England's condition.'

¹⁴³ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, p.102.

¹⁴⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, sigs.a2v, a3v. John Ley, in his preface to Hall, *Timothy*, sig. a4v, elaborated on this and wrote that the work was the 'summe and substance of nigh thirtie years Studies' made by Hall.

¹⁴⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.A1v.

¹⁴⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.b1v.

was written as a guide to lead them through the earthly wilderness to a heavenly Canaan.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore he made the point that if any reader disliked his use of human learning they could ‘passe it over’.¹⁴⁸ At the end of the work are three indices to assist readers in using it for reference, one for questions discussed, another for biblical texts explained and the last for principal matters contained therein. Hall flagged the work up as practical work as much as a polemical one. It was wide-ranging and was undoubtedly intended to serve as a manual for godly living across social groups as listed in his preface.¹⁴⁹ As with his polemically dominated works, he broke his books up into different sections, and subdivided those into manageable parts with question and answer sections, lists of points and comparative tables to illustrate differing points of view, and everywhere he employed all sorts of simile, metaphor, and irony, stories from legend, history and the Bible, and plenty of contemporary scandals to enliven the text. Hall’s facility with literature, rhetoric and polemic had been learned and practised in the course of his own humanist education, and continued to be exercised in his daily teaching, through which he was aware of the efficacy of entertainment in promoting more serious content.¹⁵⁰ Hall once referred to his services and sermons as his ‘publick performances’, and this is undoubtedly how he saw his efforts in print, in which he fully exercised the skills he had acquired in holding audiences in church and school.¹⁵¹

c) Problems

Hall recognised that his major problem in pursuing his polemical objectives, and in associating them with his evangelism, was in negotiating the fine line between popularising

¹⁴⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, sigs.A3r.

¹⁴⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.a3r.

¹⁴⁹ Hall, *Timothy*, title page, and sigs.A3v-a2r.

¹⁵⁰ Hall, *Funebria*, p.18, and *Timothy*, sig.a3r. ‘Being versed in Humane Learning (by reason of my imployment amongst my Nursery) I have made some use of it, if any dislike it he may passe it over, it may please some, sparinglie, and as I use it, it can justlie displease none.’

¹⁵¹ Hall, *Life*, fo.94.

and appealing to wide audiences on one hand, and maintaining his learned and pastoral authority on the other. While he produced vitriolic polemic nearer to propaganda and worthy of any strident pamphleteer, he made convoluted efforts to avoid any association with what he considered the sectarian gutter press. In this respect he wanted to have his cake and eat it, being only too happy to harness the potent immediacy of the pamphlet and its methods in order to deliver his message and attack opponents, but at the same time avoiding the classification of pamphleteer. According to Joad Raymond, a pamphlet reached its maximum length at 96 pages. *Pulpit* and *Funebria* were easily of pamphlet length but Hall called them treatises, and indeed, referred to all his books as treatises or tracts, but never as pamphlets.¹⁵² The word ‘pamphlet’ was rarely used except in reference to the work of sectaries and heretics. Any attacks he published against sectaries that might be construed as pamphlets, were firmly attached to more sober works, even popularised ones. Thus ‘Histrio-mastix a whip for Webster’ was appended to *Vindiciae*, and ‘The Collier in his colours’ and ‘A word to Tombes’ were appended to *Font*. His library catalogues refer to his own bound volumes of pamphlets as ‘controversies’, though elsewhere in his texts he distinguished some of his ‘controversies’ as pamphlets if they were published by sectaries. For Hall, the pamphlet was reprehensible, the despised medium of dangerous sectaries.¹⁵³ Among pamphleteers whom he castigated for their ‘abominations’ which were ‘Publisht and Printed to the view of all, so that they cannot be concealed, or denied’, were Thomas Collier, Abiezer Copp, Richard Coppin, Solomon Eccles, Samuel How, James Nayler, George Fox, Richard Farnsworth, John Biddle

¹⁵² Hall referred to *Pulpit* as a treatise in his preface to the work, and in *Vindiciae*, p.46; however he called it a tract in his appendix to *Font*, ‘The Collier in his Colours’. *Funebria* he called a treatise in *Life*, fo.78. Other references to his works, for example in *Life*, fos.77-80, were as practical, useful, or seasonable pieces, answers and commentaries.

¹⁵³ Hall, *Pulpit*, p.66, *Samaria*, p. 164, and *Chiliasto*, p. 51.

and Paul Best.¹⁵⁴ Evil and obscene books in general, as well as profane pictures, songs, ballads and stage plays were also to be shunned.¹⁵⁵

A further associated problem for anyone studying Hall's tactics, is establishing exactly which audiences he was hoping to reach. While in most of his works the content, whether polemical or evangelical, shows he clearly appealed to magistracy in general, and to fellow Presbyterians and orthodox, literate godly readers, identifying his 'popular' target audience is not straightforward. Looking at the accessibility of books through their contemporary cost is problematic, for cheap books could appeal to rich and poor alike, but however hard Hall resisted the label of pamphlet, most of his popularised works were considered pamphlets by buyers. They would have cost an accessible pamphlet price of around 9d, or less.¹⁵⁶ Samuel Jeakes of Sussex paid 6d for his copy of *Haire*, for which Anthony Wood of Oxford paid 8d.¹⁵⁷ Hall claimed that his works were little books rather than great tomes, accessible both in their cost and content, which comprised 'as much matter in as little room' as possible,¹⁵⁸ and that he was writing for a broad readership.¹⁵⁹ He was confident that his books would suit those who had the ability to read but made excuses about not having enough time to read a long book or of not being able to afford an expensive book.¹⁶⁰ He even mentioned non-readers, directing them to access the Scriptures and unspecified 'good books' through the

¹⁵⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, p.60.

¹⁵⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, p.106.

¹⁵⁶ J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, pp.82-3, wrote that a pamphlet would cost around 6d after 1630 with up to a 50% mark up for the bookseller and perhaps additional postal costs from 1635.

¹⁵⁷ The prices both Jeake and Wood paid for Hall's book are given in M. Hunter, G. Mandelbrote, R. Ovenden, and N. Smith (eds.), *A Radical's Books: The Library Catalogue of Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1623-90* (1999), pp.116-7.

¹⁵⁸ Hall, *Font*, sig.(a1)r, and *Chiliasto*, sig.A2v.

¹⁵⁹ Hall, *Font*, Preface to Birmingham, sigs.(a1)r-(a1)v, b1v; and *Pulpit*, sig.b3r. His folio, *Timothy*, was obviously in a different category. P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, p.377, although writing of sixteenth-century products, suggests that pamphlets, like plays, were a 'popular' form, not so much in appealing only to the 'people', but because they were designed for a broad audience by authors and other publishing contributors who knew the market well.

¹⁶⁰ Hall, *Font*, sig. a1r.

mediation of those who could read.¹⁶¹ He was eager to address saints wherever they were to be found, and included those among the non-wage earning ‘impotent poor’, made poor by the hand of God.¹⁶² Indeed, he praised those poor folk who had proved themselves by fire in the reign of Mary.¹⁶³ Even in *Timothy*, his most academic tome, he addressed different levels of society in Worcester, from mayor to tradesmen, but with a final appeal to governors of families, expecting them to use this ‘Practical Book’ to instruct their kin and their servants.¹⁶⁴ However, Hall’s prefatory addresses to readers are not always straightforward. His first book, *Pulpit*, had a preface addressed directly to the mechanic preachers with whom he had engaged in public dispute, which he said was an appeal to them to reconsider their position and repent, but in fact was rather more a literary vehicle for his criticisms of them. It is also apparent that while he intended to provoke responses from a range of adversaries in his polemical works, responses from men of learning were more gratifying to him than those of men such as Collier and Hartley.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.113, *Holiness*, p.103, and *Vindiciae*, p.83.

¹⁶² Hall, *Amos*, p.52. However he classified the poor in two groups the ‘Impotent Poor, of Gods making’, and the ‘Impudent Poor, of the Devils making’, and he proposed different solutions. The impotent poor were made by God ‘by Sickness, Fire, Shipwrack, Persecution, great charge of Children, Old age, &c.’, and so, ‘such poor whose work is done, must bee succoured by us, Levit. 25.35.’ However, the ‘Impudent poor’ were ‘talkative, brazen-faced, idle, dissolute, and disordered’. For them, ‘correction is the best almes for such as can work and will not. A rod is fittest for the back of such fools.’

¹⁶³ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.464, 205: ‘Of those 277, that were burnt in Queen Maries time, 84. of them were Artificers, 100. Husband-men, servants, and labourers, 55. women and two boyes.’

¹⁶⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, sigs.A3r-a2r.

¹⁶⁵ Hall had a copy of William Hartley’s adversarial response to *Pulpit*, entitled *The prerogative priests passing-bell. Or Amen to the rigid clergy* (1651), and drew a line diagonally from corner to corner across its title page. It was bound in with his copy of *Pulpit* which survives in the Bodleian. In *Font*, p.78, he referred to Hartley’s work as an ‘empty Answer’ to his *Pulpit*, and, p.122, wrote that it consisted of two sheets of lies, worthy only of a ‘silent contempt’. In *Font*, p.122, he called Thomas Collier’s response, ‘empty, frothy, filthy and abominable.’ However, in *Life*, p.76, he noted his appreciation of the notice John Tombes had taken of the work. Generally Hall provoked with the use of general scathing words but at times he challenged his adversaries directly as in his appendices to *Font*, p.121 ‘A Word to Thomas Collier’, and p.133, ‘*Praecursor Praecursoris Or A Word to Mr. Tombs currente calamo.*’

As Eamon Duffy has argued, Puritan polemic against profane culture was not necessarily aimed in a straightforward way against the culture of the poor.¹⁶⁶ Although Hall had harsh words for the ‘impudent’ poor, he also targeted royalist health drinkers, ‘long haired gallants’ and gentlemen who, unlike his patron the godly Colonel Grevis, wasted their God-given time in ‘Drinking, Smoking, Healthing, Hunting, Hawking, Whoring, and all manner of profanes’.¹⁶⁷ It would seem, therefore, that Hall’s overall target audience covered everyone who could afford and read his works, and was less concerned with poor or rich, low or high, than with godly and ungodly, and explains why he mixed his formats and sections so completely.¹⁶⁸ For example, even in his popularised works, *Pulpit* and *Font* he began with Latin epistles for the learned as well as other addresses in English; he attached vitriolic attacks and satirical verses to a learned work, *Vindiciae*, and employed academic references and Latin marginalia in all his books, with a smattering of Greek.¹⁶⁹ The end products resembled works described by Jason Peacey as books which could serve more than one purpose and could embody a multiplicity of influences and aims, including works that were designed both to amuse as well as to appeal to an intellectual elite.¹⁷⁰ Though it may appear a muddled agenda, these were the sort of works Hall produced, grasping at every means he could to reach

¹⁶⁶ E. Duffy, ‘The Godly and the Multitude in Stuart England’, *passim*.

¹⁶⁷ Hall, *Folly*, sigs.A3r-A3v.

¹⁶⁸ Hall, *Font*, sig.b1v. Hall would have been well aware of the limitations of the poorest in society in accessing the sort of literature he was producing, because of its demands of cost and literacy. As B. Reay, *Popular Cultures in England 1550-1750* (1998) 36-70, especially pp.48-50, has argued, the evidence from modern research points to ‘a hierarchy of print consumption’ in seventeenth century society that was weighted towards the middle and upper levels and favouring town over country. The poorest in society would not have been able to consume the more substantial books of the type that Hall was producing, but instead bought or shared orally the cheapest printed material such as chapbooks and printed ballads.

¹⁶⁹ In *Pulpit*, Hall addressed his Latin epistle to John Trapp, the moderator of the disputation it concerned; two other English epistles were for the lay-preachers themselves and to his own parishioners. In *Font*, he addressed his Latin epistle to Thomas Blake of Tamworth and John Brinsley (junior) of Yarmouth. Blake was an orthodox minister who had campaigned in pamphlet warfare against Tombes and other Baptists, and had crossed swords with Richard Baxter over the issue of baptism. An epistle in English was addressed to the people of Birmingham. As C. D. Gilbert ‘Thomas Hall (1610-1665)’, *Oxf. DNB*, points out, the dual nature of Hall’s printed works as amalgams of populist and erudite writing extends even to their titles, which were often in Latin or Greek as well as in English, although this was a common approach to entitling even the most serious tomes, such as John Trapp, *Theologia theologie, the true treasure* [Cat.A666, THL 094/1641/4].

¹⁷⁰ J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, p.311. Also B. Reay, *Popular Cultures in England*, pp.55-7.

different audiences from high to low and from godly to profane, aiming even in his weightiest tomes to catch a wide audience while holding his appeal to his orthodox and learned colleagues.

Hall felt he had achieved his objectives and succeeded in reaching out to wide audiences. He claimed complete victory in his two public disputations and wrote effusively that his books were ‘the Seale of his ministry’ and his spiritual children, ‘the Births of his braine & study’, which not only excelled carnal children but were the means by which ‘the Father still lives for the good of Posterity.’¹⁷¹ Bibliographical evidence does show that some of his works sold well although there is no neat correlation between these books and those he aimed at popular audiences. *Holiness* and *Vindiciae* ran to second editions, and *Pulpit* and *Funebria* made a verifiable impact on the book market: there were four editions of *Pulpit*, with evidence of plans for a fifth.¹⁷² Hall said that the first three editions, produced in rapid succession within three months, ran to 10,000 copies.¹⁷³ He also noted accurately that *Funebria* was similarly well received going through three editions, with an additional ‘third edition corrected’ within a year.¹⁷⁴ There is little supporting evidence at reception level of how buyers and readers viewed his books, except for predictable responses from opponents and supporters directly

¹⁷¹ Hall, *Life*, fos.74-5. Here, Hall compared himself with Calvin, writing that ‘as Calvin answered those that reproched him with his barrennes, that he had Spirituall Sons & daughters which excelled carnall ones.’ Also in *Life*, fo.97, Hall cited a saying of Bacon that the ‘Noblest works & foundations have proceeded from childless men.’

¹⁷² Hall, *Life*, fos.74, 75. Both *Holiness*, Hall’s pastoral work, and *Vindiciae*, his defence of human learning, ran to two editions, while other works enjoyed only one edition though possibly more than one print run.

ESTC gives four different versions of *Pulpit*, Wing 437 (1651), and another with slight variations, also H437 (1651); H438 a third edition (1651); and H439 a fourth edition (1652). Hall’s own interleaved copy of the third edition of *Pulpit* (held in the Bodleian Library) is annotated with his corrections ready for a fourth, although the fourth edition does not carry these corrections. On the title page of this copy Hall then crossed out his inserted word ‘Fourth’ and added ‘Fifth’, but there was no fifth edition. In the next century, two editions were published in Edinburgh in 1748, ESTC refs.: N21359 and T219557.

¹⁷³ Hall, *Life*, fos.74, 75.

¹⁷⁴ Hall, *Life*, fos.75-6. The four different editions were Wing H433 (1660), with another H433 (1660) having one variation; H434 (1661) a second edition; H434 (1661) a second edition corrected; and H434A (1661) a third edition. Hall claimed that *Font* did very well too, but only one edition is recorded.

involved in the pamphlet warfare surrounding *Pulpit* and *Font*. Some auction catalogues of the last quarter of the seventeenth-century show that his books certainly appear regularly in the libraries of clerics, as would be expected,¹⁷⁵ and they were bought by the collectors Wood, Jeake and Plume.¹⁷⁶ The majority of those who bought and read Hall's books remain anonymous and there is no means of telling why they bought them. Hall made some exaggerated claims for the success of his books, for example, judging his *Funebria* to have successfully changed the behaviour of its readers, stating that it 'gave a great check to the debauchery which then superabounded.' This clearly was not the case, but even so, it does not detract from Hall's sustained efforts to cast his net wide.¹⁷⁷

d) Conclusion

Hall's engagement with public disputation and print, show his determination to campaign as widely as possible for the exclusivity of orthodox theology and practice, as well as for Presbyterian church government, against the claims of sectarianism and other forms of non-orthodoxy. While ensuring the most advantageous conditions as far as he could, he was prepared to take risks in public disputes, and when he turned to print he used the sort of

¹⁷⁵ Following the lead of A. Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*, pp.290-2, who looked at auction catalogues for the incidence of books by Thomas Edwards appearing in other libraries, I have looked at 40 catalogues printed between 1676 and 1684 which are concerned with the book collections of divines. Of these 19 contained 29 books by Hall: 6 copies of *Pulpit*, 6 of *Timothy*, 3 of *Holiness*, 2 of his Latin *Sal terrae*, and 1 of his *Apologie* in English, 2 of *Vindiciae*, 2 of *Magistracy*, 2 of *Haire*, 1 of *Samaria*, 1 of *Conquest*, 2 of *Font*, and 1 of *Funebria*. There were in addition 5 copies of his biography by Richard Moore in 4 catalogues, three of which contained his own titles. These catalogues only give an indication that some divines collected some Hall books. They are problematic sources in being themselves a totally random way of looking at book collections, nor was the provenance of the books given, and several book collections were often combined for a single auction. Also in a number of the catalogues, as M. Mendle, 'Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting, and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth-Century England' in J.Anderson and E. Sauer (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (2002) 201-16, p.205, points out, these catalogues are particularly difficult sources in looking at works that sold as pamphlets. There is no identification of individual stitched books or books bound in pamphlet volumes. For example in the catalogue for Richard Smith's books (1682, Wing S4151), the quarto 'stitch' books were listed as 39 quarto volumes in Latin, 232 quarto volumes in English, 18 octavo volumes in Latin, and 49 octavo volumes in English.

¹⁷⁶ M. Hunter, G. Mandelbrote, R. Ovenden, and N. Smith (eds.), *A Radical's Books*, pp.116-7, list a copy of *Haire* in the collections of Wood and Jeakes. S.G.Deed and J.Francis compilers, *Catalogue of the Plume Library at Maldon, Essex* (1959), p.81, lists two of Hall works, *Apologia* and *Funebria*.

¹⁷⁷ Hall, *Life*, fo.82.

popularising and attention-grabbing methods long associated with the popular press, the ideas for which he found in his library together with all the material he needed to support his polemics and evangelism. In trying to reach a wide audience without forfeiting his sober and learned reputation, he tried new ways of presenting his books, mixing popular sections with sententious arguments, and polemics with evangelism, and embellishing many works with satirical verse, multiple prefaces, and pamphleteering appendices in order to appeal to different people within the same publication. Some works probably interested the same people at different levels as well, and although his juxtaposing of opposites seems uneasy, he was personally pleased with the results and felt he had achieved polemical and evangelical success.

Through his public engagement in disputations and print, Hall revealed himself as a self-conscious script writer and consummate performer in pursuing his polemical and evangelical aims, and particularly in the variety of his approaches, he demonstrated his understanding of the needs of different audiences and the art of manipulating his listeners and readers. He himself wrote that ‘a wise man’ should ‘speak so as he may be understood, that his Auditors may be convinced of the Truth he pleads for, and the error which he opposeth.’¹⁷⁸ As a result his works were totally unlike the sixteenth-century Puritan polemics of Presbyterian authors such as Cartwright and Fenner, which have been described by Michael Walzer as ‘academic, turgid, and verbose’.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Hall, *Timothy* p.186.

¹⁷⁹ M. Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints*, p.144, adding that these works were constructed with a preponderance of ‘syllogistically proven propositions defended in a dull and graceless prose’. Hall’s work was more in the tradition of writers like Anthony Gilby and John Udall who looked back to the more immediate style of reformation preachers in refuting oppositional positions and influencing public opinion.

Looking back in 1660, Hall viewed his experience of public disputation and publishing as a providential blessing, even comparing his success with that of Athanasius who was made famous by his written defences against Arians, and with Augustine for his writings against the Pelagians and Donatists.¹⁸⁰ He reminded posterity that it was ‘accidentally beholding to the Sectarys for many of his Tracts; they thought by opposing him to blast him, & advance themselves, but God turned it quite contrary; so we had never heard so much of him but for the Sectarys.’¹⁸¹ Bibliographical evidence for two of his popularised works shows they sold particularly well, and Hall was satisfied that he had met his goals: he wrote in his autobiography, as might be expected in a work of self-promotion, that his works had been practical, seasonable, useful and appreciated, and he forecast their continuing success after his death: ‘These his labours are beyond all the brazen statues, & Marble Monuments in the World: In these he lives now he is dead, & still speaks for the good of others.’¹⁸²

A theme which emerges in Hall’s efforts to communicate beyond the parish, is his eagerness to work in collegiality with local Presbyterians and with those who formed a national ministry of godly authors. His lectureships at Birmingham and Henley were group ventures, and in local disputations, he worked in the first in Warwickshire with John Trapp and in the second in Worcestershire as an assistant to others, and later took an active role in forming policy for members of the Kenilworth Classis for further participation in such public events. In his subsequent publishing career, he addressed and sought prefaces from learned godly men, some with high profiles,¹⁸³ and collaborated with two colleagues: Samuel Shaw, whom he

¹⁸⁰ Hall, *Life*, fos.54, 74 and 75.

¹⁸¹ Hall, *Life*, fo.75.

¹⁸² Hall, *Funebria*, pp.6, and *Life*, fo.81.

¹⁸³ All editions of *Pulpit* were dedicated to John Trapp, but the third edition was also dedicated to the judges ‘John Wilde L. Chief baron of the Court of Exchequer and Edw Atkins a worthy baron of the same court’; the dedicatory epistle in *Font* was to Thomas Blake of Tamworth and John Brinsley junior of Yarmouth, (both eminent

knew, who translated his Latin treatise, *Sal terrae*, into English so that it could be more widely read, and George Swinnock who contributed an unpublished assize sermon to Hall's *Magistracy* at Hall's request.¹⁸⁴ He was determined to have a voice in national debates, not as a lone voice but in unity with an authorial, ministerial elite, past and present. Such collegiality was an important badge of belonging and religious identity for Hall. To achieve it, even in his popularised works and in all his objectives, he always made sure of displaying his erudition which was well supported with the authorities derived from his library.

Throughout Hall's surviving writings, he shows an enthusiasm for engagement with opponents. Although there are many cries of frustration and warnings of what could befall a recalcitrant and ungrateful nation, he gave no sense of being cowed, nor any sustained threnody for failed hopes. He particularly enjoyed his writing career, especially in identifying with a continuing orthodox tradition, in building up a godly community in print and in fighting sectaries.¹⁸⁵ Whatever difficulties he experienced, his faith in God and divine providence remained unshaken. In one instance he gave his readers a very clear image of how

in leading orthodox arguments for infant baptism in print), and a second dedication was to his friends in the Birmingham; *Holiness* was dedicated to Henry Langly and Peter Jerzey of Pembroke, Oxford, and also to his Kings Norton parishioners; the second edition of *Vindiciae*, was dedicated to the Wirksworth classis; *Folly* was for his Moseley patron, Col. Richard Grevis; *Timothy* to 'the Mayor, Sheriff, Aldermen, Reverend Ministers and Common-council and the rest of the inhabitants of the City of Worcester', with prefaces by John Ley and Edmund Calamy; *Sal terrae* was dedicated to the Kenilworth Classis, with prefaces by all the Wirksworth classis, and by John Ley and Thomas Dugard; *Apologie* was dedicated by Hall to Lady Lucy Grantham, by Shaw to Col. Richard Grevis; *Samaria* was dedicated to the city of London; *Magistracy* to 'All the Pious, Prudent, Zealous and Magnanimous Magistrates, Iudges, Iustices, and Gentry, in England, Scotland, and Ireland'; and *Amos* to Gervase Piggot of Thrumpton in Nottingham.

¹⁸⁴ Hall had read works by Swinnock and was so impressed that he asked him to contribute to *Magistracy*. Swinnock was pleased with the invitation and sent Hall his *Men are gods, or the dignity of magistracy, and the duty of the magistrate: As it was presented in a sermon at the assize holden at Hertford for that County, on August 2. 1653*, which was published with Hall's *Magistracy*, and also as a separate work but with Hall's preface.

¹⁸⁵ Two godly men, Ferriby and Collinges, supported Hall in print and he was pleased to call them 'brother': John Ferriby in *The lawfull preacher* (1652) defended Hall against Collier. Hall *Font*, p.132, called Ferriby brother. John Collinges, *Responsoria ad erratica pastoris*, (1652) [Cat.A.213], p.179, recommended Hall's *Pulpit* to William Sheppard. Hall called Collinges 'brother' in a manuscript response to Sheppard which he wrote in his copy of the fourth edition of *Pulpit*, held in the Bodleian. Hall clearly read Ferriby's work although it is uncatalogued.

to understand bewildering contemporary events in the context of providence, and it also shows how he pressed his case with similes:

And though his Providences seem to cross his Promises, yet wait the Conclusion, and you shall see and say he hath done all things well. We see in a Clock though the wheels run cross and contrary one to another, yet they all conduce to the going of the Clock. Iosephs imprisonment is the way to his preferment, We must not judge of Gods Actions before they be formed and finisht. If a man should come to an Embroyderers shop and behold his work when 'tis half made, it would look ill favouredly, but saith he, stay till it be all done, and you will commend it. When a man puts silver into the Furnace, when 'tis taken out first 'tis all black, but stay till it's finisht and furbisht, and then it's beautiful. We must not judge of Gods Actions before they be formed and finisht.¹⁸⁶

His use of the available media shows both defensive and aggressive approaches. If he felt embattled, he fought back with all the means at his disposal and relished the opportunities to popularise his cause and advertise it to the widest possible audience. The last published observation he made in 1661 was that the elect would never perish.¹⁸⁷ His works exude the positive excitement and enthusiasm of one who felt he was living in the last times and would soon receive his heavenly reward even if, having promoted his cause with the greatest fervour and ingenuity as an ambassador and prophet of God, an ungodly world failed to listen.

¹⁸⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, p.188.

¹⁸⁷ Hall, *Amos*, p.578.

CHAPTER 6

A DISGUISED GODLY AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Towards the end of his life, between 1657 and 1664, Hall undertook a personal review of his earthly pilgrimage in the form of a manuscript autobiography. His biographer noted in 1675 that he had heard of Hall's 'Life, written by himself', but it had already been lost.¹ Fortunately, it was rediscovered among Richard Baxter's papers in the nineteenth century.² It is written in Hall's hand in a leather-bound quarto paper book, and is followed firstly by his will, and then by the three catalogues of his library books.³

This chapter investigates Hall's reasons for writing his autobiography and the audience he was seeking in the intentional recording of his public self-image for posterity. It considers his

¹ Hall's biographer, Richard Moore, *Pearl*, sig.A8r, and also pp.91-2, refers to a 'Life' written in Hall's own hand which he had not seen and which had been 'lost'.

² The manuscript is held in the Dr. Williams's Library, *MS 61.1*. It is divided into several sections: an autobiography, followed by a will and three catalogues of books. Dating its composition to between 1657 and 1664, although the autobiographical section was probably written nearer to 1660, relies on internal evidence. For example, the water marks of the paper on which the manuscript was written, (a pot with the initials DCE), was also used by Baxter, and has been dated by Jane Giscombe, the conservator of Dr. Williams's Library, to the late 1650s; also there are dated additions that have been squashed into the main text of the autobiographical section after entries dated 1660, for example on fos.82-3; finally, Hall's manuscript insertions of books published after 1660 in the catalogues of books following the will, indicate that the lists were initially drawn up before this time. The will and catalogues are dated by Hall himself between 1661 and 1664. J. E. Vaughan, 'The Authorship of Dr. Williams's Library MSS.61.1', *Notes and Queries* (October 1962) 380-1, concludes that the manuscript was begun by 1661 and continued to be written to within a year of Hall's death in 1665.

³ F. J. Powicke, 'New Light on an Old English Presbyterian and Bookman: The Reverend Thomas Hall, B.D., 1610-1665', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 8 (1924) 186-90, p.168, note 1, dismissed the conclusion of the cataloguer of the manuscript, W. H. Black (1808-1872), who believed that the manuscript was in Hall's hand, thinking instead that the writer was John Reynolds, a 'son' of Hall and the proposed publisher of this work as detailed on the title page. Powicke believed that the manuscript was a reworking of the lost autobiography mentioned by Hall's biographer Richard Moore, observing that it could not have been written by Hall himself for it would mean, among other things, that he had penned his own post-mortem eulogy. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly in Hall's hand, although there are additions by three others: one is the nineteenth-century hand of the Baxter manuscripts' cataloguer, W. H. Black, who wrote his own title page, 'A Brief Account of the life and Death of Thos. Hall (an Enthusiast) Pastor & Minister of Kings-Norton in Worcestershire with his Will & a Catalogue of his Books &c.'; another hand, p.45, added the name 'Mr. Joseph Cooper' to the list of Moseley divines; and the last, fos.119-24, was a schoolboy hand in which the catalogue of schoolbooks was written but was then corrected by Hall himself. Reynolds may well have been entrusted with the work by Hall before he died. Reynolds was closely associated with Baxter and may in turn have passed it on to him so that it survived among Baxter's papers, reaching the Dr. Williams's collection though Matthew Sylvester.

manuscript in relation to life-writing of the period and the themes it encompassed, particularly those Hall considered significant, primarily the importance of godly example and encouragement to maintain the highest standards of orthodoxy within godly culture. The autobiography provided the ideal vehicle for achieving such aims, allowing Hall to put himself forward as an example of the munificence of God's grace and providence, by relating the development and nature of his own religious identity, his ministerial accomplishments and his place within the godly community.

However, Hall's reasons for writing the work are not straightforward. In the manuscript he claimed that he was, 'one that served God in Sincerity' and 'a plaine man, a Nathaniel, an Israellite, indeed in whom there was no (reigning) guile. He was one that allwayes desired rather to be Godly then to seeme so.'⁴ However, this suggests an immediate contradiction, because Hall presented this manuscript not as an open autobiography but in disguise as a biography. He wrote in the third person, with only occasional lapses, and gave it a title that was typical of contemporary religious biographies or godly lives: 'A Briefe Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr. Thomas Hall.'⁵

⁴ Hall, *Life*, fo.84, with Hall's underlinings for emphasis.

⁵ There is the first person voice of the supposed narrator which can be found on fos.1-3, 50, 68, 84, but Hall made a few slips, writing once on fo.63 in the first person singular instead of the third person which he then corrected, but then twice on fo.83 which he did not correct. P. Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (1969), p.2, cites Bishop Burnet as a writer who presented his *History* in the third person. However, this was done in order to distance himself from his involvement in the events he narrated, and Delany concluded that this was not true autobiography. Burnet did write another work that was autobiographical, published in 1902. Delany also mentions William Lilly writing in the third person in *Mr. Lilly's history of his life and times* (1715). There were other writers who used the third person singular in narrating their lives such as John Rastrick, died 1727, and Alice Thornton, died 1707. A. Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies* 46:4 (2007) 796-825, p.804, note 39, mentions them, but does not give an explanation for it, although p.805, Figure 1 of the title page of Rastrick's manuscript, with his covering letter to his son, shows that Rastrick acknowledged the work as his own. A. Hughes, 'Thornton, Alice (1626-1707)', *Oxf. DNB*, shows that Thornton also acknowledged her autobiography as her own; Raymond A Anselment, 'Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Sources of Alice Thornton's Life', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 45:1 (2005) 135-55, agrees. The full title Hall gave this manuscript work was, 'A briefe Narrative of the Life &

There are some obvious reasons for such a disguise: when Hall wrote his autobiography, self-writing was still an incipient literary form, and the published self-writings of moderate godly men, were rare. Although the print-publication of ego-literature of all sorts increased after 1650, only about 20 orthodox Puritan autobiographies are known from the entire century and only a handful of these were print-published at that time.⁶ Apart from his copy of the much older *Confessions* of Augustine, a book which exerted considerable influence on the genre as it developed, the few published religious autobiographies Hall could have called on as models, would have been those of Bishop Joseph Hall and Henry Burton, who had been men of high public profile in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁷ The public nature of their sufferings may have given an aura of respectability to the public presentation of their autobiographies, just as the publication of the mid-century self-writing of a godly woman, Mary Simpson, was given recommendation by its attachment to her funeral sermon.⁸

Death of Mr Thomas Hall late Pastor of Kings-Norton in Worcestershire. full of comfort & Incouragements for the Weake and the Tempted, against those many discomforts & discouragements which they must expect to meet with all from their Spirituall enimies whilst they are in this Vale of Teares. Where the people of God may also find many Vsefull, Practicall Rules for their Direction in this their Pilgrimage condition', and the running title on folios 2 and 3 also said 'The Life & Death of Mr Tho. Hall.' He wrote his following will emphatically in the first person.

⁶ P. Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (1969), p.57, and O. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience* (1972), pp.34-5. The few print-published orthodox autobiographies include Henry Burton (1578-1647/8), *A narration of the life of Mr. Henry Burton* (1643) [THL 094/C10], and those of Mary Simpson (c1617-1647), Henry Jessey (1601-1663) an Independent minister, Vavasor Powell, (1617-1670), an Independent minister, Gervase Disney (1641-1691), a gentleman from Nottingham, Samuel Clarke (1599-1682), a colleague of Hall, and Richard Baxter (1615-1691), minister of Kidderminster. These were all published posthumously except Henry Burton's *Narration*. Figures for all known autobiographies in the seventeenth century come from P. Delany, *British Autobiography*, pp.175-85, who gives about 200, and O. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience* (1972), who increased the number found to 220, although he also increased the period covered to 1725. E. McKay, *The Diary Network in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (2005), adds about 363 known diaries and all sorts of fragmentary self-writings contained within other literature.

⁷ St. Augustine, *D.Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Confessionum, libri tredecim* [Cat.A34, THL 094/1608/3]. The autobiography of Bishop Joseph Hall, *The shaking of the Olive-tree* [Cat.A370], is considered by P. Delany as an 'Anglican' rather than a Puritan autobiography, but although Hall had no time for episcopacy, he regarded Joseph Hall highly as an orthodox Calvinist. Other religious autobiographies included that of William Cowper, Bishop of Galway, which was published posthumously in 1619, and was later incorporated into Samuel Clarke's *Marrow* [Cat.A20]. Cowper became Bishop of Galway and was another high-profile public figure. Although he contended with Presbyterians, Hall had another of his works, *The anatomie of a Christian man* [Cat.A639, THL 094/1595/2], and may have looked on his life as a model.

⁸ This autobiography is cited by O. Watkins, p.34, and is: John Collinges, *Faith & experience: or, A short narration of the holy life and death of Mary Simpson late of Gregories parish in the city of Norvvich: who dyed,*

Orthodox Puritans usually documented their introspective, spiritual self-analyses within the confines of private journals or other self-writings, which, if intended for circulation, were generally intended for manuscript-publication for the edification of their family and close friends.⁹ Had Hall imitated print-published autobiographies, he could well have earned scorn for spiritual pride, rather than the approbation he sought.¹⁰

Another reason militating against the acceptability of an autobiography at that time, at least for godly audiences, was the increasing use of the printing presses in the 1650s for spiritual self-writings by sectaries, especially Baptists and Quakers. Hall considered their freedom to print books an abomination and scorned their writings:

They have new-coyned words, and high-flouen Terms, as bright clouds, dark clouds, beamings of glorious lights, they speak great swelling words of Vanity ... oft Allegorizing and uttering much learned Non-sense ... Misty and cloudy expressions serve only to shadow an ignorant mind or an ill meaning.¹¹

Hall owned only one surviving book containing some self-writing by a sectary, the Ranter Abiezer Coppe, and his annotations on the title page show his disgust.¹²

At first sight Hall's apparent subterfuge in self-promotion seems to sit uneasily with his religious ethics, particularly with his promotion of godly humility. He once wrote on this very point of self-advertisement, that while heretics boast of themselves, 'Reall Saints are humble,

anno 1647(1649) [Wing (CD-ROM, 1996), C5316A]. Watkins, pp.30, 34, 259, also includes a 'life' of Elizabeth Wilkinson which is found in E. Staunton, *A sermon preacht at Great Milton ... at the funeral of Mrs Elizabeth Wilkinson ... whereunto is added a narrative of her godly life* (1659) [Wing (CD-ROM, 1996), S5343]. However, this 'life' of Elizabeth Wilkinson was not taken from her 'owne mouth' like that of Mary Simpson, but was a biography written by her husband, Henry Wilkinson.

⁹ A. Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', has highlighted a range of manuscript self-writings as essential features of the fabric of puritan culture, designed for the individual to further spiritual self-examination, to fashion religious identity and to keep records of events, thoughts and feelings, but also to be circulated and read by others in promotion of Puritan sociability and mutual religious support and engagement.

¹⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.49-50, 142, discussed and condemned spiritual pride.

¹¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.163.

¹² Abiezer Coppe, *Copp's return to the wayes of truth* (1651) [THL 094/C10]. On the title page Hall has added to the words *Copp's Return* 'with the Dog to his vomit', and further down the page, 'a halter on thy N[eck]', and the main text is marked with many crosses of disapproval.

modest men, and dare not give themselves such high titles. They are content that another mans mouth should praise them, and not their own.’¹³ One might well be tempted to judge him as a hypocrite but this wouldn’t have been Hall’s perspective. Throughout his works he railed against hypocrites; being one, would have put his eternal salvation at risk.¹⁴ In *Timothy*, he discussed the general subject of ‘self-love’ which explained his position more clearly:¹⁵ self-lovers were despicable, and included Papists, Pharisees and sectaries, and even St. Paul before his conversion;¹⁶ however, religious self-love was not only acceptable but was a means of inspiring others:

There is a Pious and Religious Self-love, considered in relation to God and the common good; thus a man may love himself as an Instrument of Gods glory, and as a servant for the good of others: else our Saviour would never set our love to our selves before us, as a Pattern of our love to our Neighbours. Now upon these grounds, and in relation to these ends, we may not only love our selves, but seek ourselves too. This love spreads, and dilates itself, for God and the good of others.¹⁷

This passage and the general discussion of which it is a part, reads like a justification for Hall’s autobiography which may well have been in his mind at that time, and it appears that he considered his disguised autobiography important in sustaining the godly.¹⁸ Just as in his other published works, he was exploiting print and polemic for the glory of God and the promotion of the godly cause, his ‘life’ was prompted by the same reasons and was therefore an acceptable artifice. It also appears less contradictory when seen within Andrew Cambers’s model of the supportive place of self-writing within Puritan culture and the need for it as a constant reaffirmation of Puritan faith and community.¹⁹

¹³ Hall, *Timothy*, p.48.

¹⁴ Hall, *Timothy*, p.48.

¹⁵ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.17-20.

¹⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, sig.A3v, and p.16.

¹⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.17-8. In *Timothy*, p.47, Hall wrote similarly that boasting was acceptable when it was religious boasting, making a boast of God, or when it was necessary boasting to defend one’s godly reputation against the slanders of enemies.

¹⁸ *Timothy* was signed off in Jan.1657/58, and published later in 1658.

¹⁹ A. Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720'.

Hall claimed support for his views of godly self-promotion from Edward Reyner's arguments in *Government of the tongue*, which justified self-commendation in eleven cases, as long as the 'Matter, the measure, the Manner and End' were good, and it was not 'to advance our selves, or exalt our own names (as many Sectaries do who call themselves Saints, The holy ones, the servants of the living God) but to bring glory to God, and exalt his name.' Similarly Hall cited Reyner for encouraging the godly to tell of their sufferings, 'Provided it be done modestly, and sincerely, not proudly and Hypocritically; for Imitation and Consolation to the godly, and not for ostentation, and self-seaking.'²⁰ Reyner pointed out how biblical men such as Job and Paul declared what God had done for them through the riches of his grace and mercy, and how it was permissible to promote oneself as an example of faith to draw others to follow in one's footsteps.²¹ This was the main reason Hall gave for writing the manuscript: 'I shall therefore set before the world a Patterne for their Imitation which may be as a Motive to Quicken us to Works of Piety & Mercy, & his Walking as Way-marks to direct us in our way to Canaan.'²² He added that he saw it as his godly duty and an act of piety to set forth this example, and he reminded readers that it was their duty to take note of such good lives.²³ As such Hall's manuscript shows his confident assurance of salvation and his sense of his own importance as an exemplary figure within the Puritan community.

²⁰ Hall, *Timothy*, pp.193, 200, citing Edward Reyner, *Rules for the government of the tongue* (1656) [Cat.A548].

²¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.189, also commented on Paul's reasons for leaving his own example for imitation, writing that 'wherein we have the lively pattern and Pourtraiture of a faithfull Pastour; whose office it is, not only to preach sound doctrine, but also to practise what he preacheth in his own life, that so he may be able to speak from the heart to the hearts of his people; and may not bring his food as birds do to their young ones, in their Beakes, not in their Breasts.'

²² Hall, *Life*, fo.1.

²³ Hall, *Life*, fo.2 '... we must answer at the last day not onely for what sermons we have heard, but allso for those good Examples & Patternes of Piety which God hath set before us, hence tis that he com-mands us to marke their lives & deaths, & to remember their faith & good works that we may follow them. Psal 37.37. Heb.13.7.' In *Timothy*, p.191, he explained that although Christ was the perfect pattern, godly saints, as followers of Christ, provided patterns 'of our own rank and nature'.

It seems, therefore, that by disguising the work as a biography, Hall intended it to join that most respectable body of godly literature known as ‘godly lives’. The largest proportion of them concerned the lives and deaths of godly ministers and were collected and valued as edifying material for moderate Puritans.²⁴ Like spiritual self-writings, the religious biography had been rare in the sixteenth century.²⁵ John Foxe’s *Actes and monuments* stood alone in providing Protestant hagiographies for most of that century, but the seventeenth century saw what Tom Webster called ‘a biographical explosion of the 1650s onward’.²⁶ This had begun earlier in the century when biographies of the godly were increasingly attached to funeral sermons, and incorporated into the prefaces of their posthumously published works. Their role as a Puritan form of hagiography, as Patrick Collinson pointed out, was influenced by Foxe’s book, and they quickly adopted well developed clichés from the encomiastic language and imagery of the funeral sermon.²⁷ By the 1650s, these scattered godly lives were being gathered into large collections by men such as Samuel Clarke, who published several different and extended volumes in the second half of the seventeenth century, two of which Hall owned and from which he quoted in the manuscript.²⁸ According to Owen Watkins, these godly lives

²⁴ A. Pritchard, *English Biography in the Seventeenth Century* (2005), p.10, wrote that although a high proportion of biographies were of ministers, the genre included a wide variety of people including women and children. See also, J. Eales, ‘Samuel Clarke and the ‘Lives’ of Godly Women in Seventeenth Century England’, W. J. Sheils and D. Wood, D. (eds.), *Women in the Church: papers read at the 1989 Summer Meeting and the 1990 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 27) 365-76.

²⁵ A. Pritchard, *English Biography*, p.9.

²⁶ Hall owned *Actes and monuments*, listed as ‘Book of Martyrs’ [Cat.A112]. T. Webster, ‘Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality’, *Historical Journal* 39:1 (1996) 33-56, p.44.

²⁷ P. Collinson, ‘A Magazine of Religious Patterns’ in his *Godly People, Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (1983), p.507, noted Clarke’s uses of cryptic references to Foxe’s work that presumed a thorough knowledge of it. Clarke also pointed out that one of his subjects, Ignatius Jourdain, had read Foxe’s book seven times over, which is what was reported in Jourdain’s earlier biography by his friend Ferdinando Nicholls, *The life and death of Mr. Ignatius Jurdain* (1654), a copy of which was owned by Hall [Cat.A416]; Foxe’s book was also one of the recommended books for parish communities and was considered one of the best-read books after the Bible.

²⁸ Hall owned Samuel Clarke, *The marrow of ecclesiastical historie* (1650) [Cat.A201], and *A generall martyrologie* (1651) [Cat.A202].

became ‘a means of edification as highly regarded as the more formal instruction of sermon and treatise.’²⁹

While the format of the ‘godly life’ would give Hall’s story greater objectivity and authority, it also presented him with a major difficulty, which was his inability to include an account of his last days and dying words. These were usually fully reported and formed a substantial section of godly lives as promised by the title, *The Life and Death of ...* Other desirable missing elements would have been a named, prestigious author, and prefatory dedications and commendations. Hall acknowledged these missing elements by leaving sufficient space in the manuscript to accommodate them as later additions, and so constructed a partial biography which could have been completed with ease and speed after his death by someone else.³⁰ It should be noted that on his title page he indicated that he had already engaged a partner in the enterprise, as would have been necessary: the manuscript was to be published by John Reynolds, a former pupil of Hall’s, William Fincher’s name having been crossed out.³¹ However, Hall took no chances with the encomium, a crucial feature of the godly life, which he wrote himself.

²⁹ O. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience* (1972), p.24.

³⁰ Thus twelve pages were left blank between the title page and the first of 116 numbered pages of the main text for prefaces, and although he undertook the writing of the eulogy himself, a rather larger number of pages were left blank between the end of the *Life* and the will, where the important death-bed scene and dying words of the subject would normally appear. Perhaps too, given the length of this space, the funeral sermon could be included. All these contextual indications, as well as the style of the text itself, show that Hall intended this manuscript to be published as a ‘godly life’ like those published by his friend Samuel Clarke, or as a supplement to his funeral sermon or even perhaps to an edition of a posthumously published work of his own. Hall, *Life*, fos.81, 83, wrote that he had left several manuscript works for publication. These were entitled: ‘A Treatise against the surpluss & ceremonys’, ‘The Downfall of Stage-Playes’ and ‘A Commentary on Obadiah, Micah, Nahun, Habbakuk, Zephany Haggai’, but none has survived.

³¹ John Reynolds, born in King’s Norton and educated by Hall, went on to Pembroke, Oxford, and then became Minister of Wolverhampton. He was ejected in 1662, returning to his lands in Kings Norton. This may have been the time when Hall secured his services as proposed publisher of the manuscript. Reynolds was in Baxter’s Worcestershire Association and was closely connected with him after Hall’s death. It may be through him that Hall’s manuscript, which was never published, ended up among the papers of Richard Baxter. William Fincher, whom Hall called his nephew in his will, was curate of Moseley for a short time before moving on to become minister at Wednesbury, whence he was ejected in 1662.

Hall's library catalogues, and his annotations in the surviving volumes of his library, show he had a particular interest in printed biographies. Not all of them would have provided models of godly living, for example a sensational work Hall listed as *Pope Joane*,³² but he possessed a good number that would.³³ In addition to the Bible, which Hall recommended in the

³² *Pope Joane* [Cat.A513] is listed by Hall without the name of an author. M. Todd, 'All one with Tom Thumb': Arminianism, Popery, and the story of the reformation in early Stuart Cambridge' in *Church History* 64:4 (1995) 568-79, pp. 564, 571-2, writes of a number of publications of the story in response to its denial by leading Catholics such as Baronius and Bellarmine. See also T. Freeman, 'Joan of Contention: The Myth of the Female Pope in Early Modern England in Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England' in K. Fincham and P. Lake (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke* (2006) 60-79. Hall also owned other lives that were not of the godly such as Thomas Heywood, *The generall history of vvomen, containing the lives of the most holy and prophane, the most famous and infamous in all ages* (1657) [Cat.A397]; and Plutarch, *Vitarum Plutarchi epitome* [Cat.C136, THL 094/1590/1]. Hall, *Life*, fo.86, wrote that Baudius, of whom he had a biography [Cat.A78, THL 094/1642/3] was an unsuitable model, and he owned a biography of Richard Delamain (1654) [THL 094/C10], written by his adversary Silas Taylor. There were also biographies of Catholics and popes, such as one on Bellarmine [Cat.B38], and one on popes by Niccolo Bilbani [THL 094/1600/1]. He also owned Thomas Fuller, *A holy state* [Cat.A307], which was a collection of characters with some short biographies of historical figures, and Henry Fletcher, *The perfect polititian* [Cat.A535], a biography of Oliver Cromwell.

³³ Hall's collections of lives included: John Foxe, *Actes and monuments* [Cat.A112]; Samuel Clarke, *A general martyrologie* [Cat.A202], and *The marrow of ecclesiastical historie* [Cat.A201]; and Melchior Adams, *Vitae Germanorum theologorum* [Cat.A8].

Biographies prefacing collected works: Robert Bolton (by Edward Bagshawe), *Mr. Boltons last and learned worke of the foure last things*[Cat.A103]; Richard Capel (by Valentine Marshall), *Capel's remains* [Cat.A187, THL 094/1658/5]; William Gouge (by Thomas Gouge), *A learned and very useful commentary on the whole epistle to the Hebrewes* [Cat.A337, THL F 094/1655/15]; Thomas Shepard (by William Greenhill and Samuel Mather), *Subjection to Christ in all his ordinances, and appointments* [Cat.A606, THL 094/1657/8]; Thomas Taylor (by Edmund Calamy), *The works of that faithful servant of Jesus Christ, Dr. Thom. Taylor* [Cat.A655, THL Q 094/1653/9]; and Andrew Willet (by Peter Smith), *Synopsis papismi* [Cat.A714, THL F 094/1634/8]. There was also a life of Ramus by Theophilus Banosius, *Petri Rami Varomandui vita, philosophiae et eloquentiae Regii professoris celeberrimi*, contained in *Pierre de la Ramée, Commentariorum de religione Christiana libri IV* [THL 094/1583/3].

Biographies attached to funeral sermons: Thomas Froyssell, *A gale of opportunity*, [Cat.A317], a funeral sermon for Humphrey Walcot; Richard Sibbes, *The brides longing for her bride-groomes second coming* [Cat.A600], a funeral sermon for Sir Thomas Crew; *A compleat collection of farewell sermons* [Cat.A300, THL 094/1663/3], containing Simeon Ashe's sermon for Thomas Gataker; Thomas Taylor, *The pilgrims profession or a sermon preached at the funerall of Mtrs Mary Gunter* (1625) [A657, THL 094/A2]; Anthony Tuckney, *Thanatoktasia. Or Death disarmed ... A sermon preached at S. Maries in Cambridge, Decemb.22.1653. At the publick funerals of Dr. Hill* [Cat.A667, THL 094/1654/4]; Samuel Ainsworth, *A sermon preached Decemb. 16. 1654. At the funeral of Mr. Andrevv Pern* (1655) [THL 094/C29]; Thomas Jacombe, *Enochs walk and change* (1655) [THL 094/C18], the funeral sermon for Richard Vines.

There were stand-alone biographies too: *The Life of Galeacius Caracciolus Marquesse of Vico* (1650) [THL 094/C36], the Italian convert from Catholicism; John Shaw, *Mistris Shawe's tomb-stone. Or, The saints remains* [Cat.A622]; Anon., *The life and death of that holy and reverend man of God, Mr. Thomas Cawton* [Cat.A256]; Anon., *The reign of Gustavus King of Sueden* (1658) [THL 094/C5], a European Protestant hero; William Durham, *The life and death of that judicious divine, and accomplish'd preacher, Robert Harris* [Cat.A377]; Nicholas Bernard, *The life & death of the most reverend and learned father of our church, Dr. James Usher*,

manuscript for its many models of godly living, and Foxe's *Actes and monuments*, he had a representative cross-section of the different types of seventeenth-century godly literature containing such biographies, mostly concerning ministers, among whom were men he had known and admired.³⁴

Signs of Hall's intense interest in the genre can also be seen in his heavily marked surviving copies, such as the lives of Andrew Willet and Richard Capel.³⁵ In his manuscript he referred to several of his biographies and their subjects, and quoted directly from them.³⁶ As was his practice in all his printed works, the passages to which he referred are usually marked in the books that survive.

Although Hall's autobiography is individualistic in its relationship to the specific events of his life, it fully reflects the formulaic conventions, emphases, vocabulary and imagery of the godly lives in his collection. Areas of similarity are seen in its exemplary purposes, its structure,³⁷

Late Arch-Bishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland [Cat.A688]; and Ferdinando Nicholls, *The life and death of Mr. Ignatius Jurdain* [Cat.A416]. Hall, *Life*, fos.9-11, mentioned many of the subjects of these biographies as 'eminent' men, such as James Ussher, Robert Bolton, Thomas Hill, William Gouge, Richard Capel, Robert Harris, Andrew Willet and others.

Hall cited two further works which contained lives of John Smith and John Murcot which can be found in Appendix II vi) 'A list of works which Hall cited in his published books and annotations, which appear neither in his catalogues nor among his surviving books, but which can be identified.' A third work cited, was Thomas Case, *Asarkokaukema, or, The vanity of vaine-glory*, the funeral sermon of Kingsmill Lucy esq., which included a 'life' in a letter from the dead young man's cousin appended at the end.

³⁴ For example, on Thomas Jacombe, *Enochs walk and change* (1656) [THL 094/C18], p.37, the biography of Vines, where the text describes how men walked many miles to hear his lectures at Nuneaton, Hall added, "I went 16 miles."

³⁵ Andrew Willet, died 1621, *Synopsis papismi* [Cat.A714, THL F094/1634/8], and Richard Capel, died 1656, *Capel's remains* [Cat.A187, THL 094/1658/5].

³⁶ Hall, *Life*, fos.9, 11, 27, 30 102.

³⁷ Hall's work is structured like most of the godly lives in his collection, excluding some of the short lives in the collected volumes. He began with the main narrative of the events of his life that illustrate a godly pathway, followed by an encomium. Sometimes the encomium was placed before the final illness and death, sometimes afterwards. Two exceptions to this format in the examples owned by Hall, are the lives of Ignatius Jourdain, the Puritan MP from Exeter which was organised around his three virtues of Piety, Justice and Charity and included the element of encomium together with the narrative, and that of Richard Capel which was similarly written

and, in part, its selection of temporal events used to illustrate godly living and spiritual development.³⁸ Hall's work also follows the encomiastic treatment of particular godly and ministerial virtues, such as temperate living, devotion to pastoral duties and charitable works, and efficacious preaching. Further similarities can be found in the tracing of the saving and providential hand of God throughout his pilgrimage on earth, and the direct paralleling of his life with the lives of biblical and other saintly characters: for example with Thomas Gataker, a respected Presbyterian divine, in showing his love of studying and its therapeutic effects, and with Luther, in the time-consuming and exhausting demands of his triple profession as minister, teacher and writer. All these themes would have been well understood by those he hoped to influence, and throughout the work Hall used the shared language and motifs of godly biography that demonstrate their close intertextuality. For example, in expressing the aims of biography as examples for imitation and encouragement, Hall wrote: 'We find it true

around his nine virtues. P. Lake, 'Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The 'Emancipation' of Mrs. Jane Ratcliffe', *The Seventeenth Century* 2 (1987) 143-65, analyses her 'Life' which was organised similarly along lines of her virtues rather than chronologically. Hall followed a chronological line throughout his *Life*, using several dates as part of the structure, which was somewhat unusual, except in the case of Thomas Gouge writing of his brother. These dates included his birth in 1610, his entry to university in 1625, his degree of BA, his arrival in Kings Norton and appointment as schoolmaster in 1629, and his first, second and third appointments to cures in 1632, 1635 and 1642. He followed the Civil War years from 1642 to 1646, even giving the months to note certain events, such as the quartering of Rupert and his troops and the sojourn of the queen in Kings Norton, and the occasions when he was plundered and imprisoned. No dates are given for the 1650s but he marks the first Restoration years between 1660 and 1662. Hall's collection of biographies have few dates: one, that of Thomas Hill, has no dates at all; however, most give the hour as well as the day and year of death and sometimes the year of birth. It is evident that dates are used in circumstances where they are more likely to have been known: Thomas Gouge, for example, wrote the biography of his brother William, and being familiar with the dates in his life used them. Samuel Clarke, in his *Marrow of ecclesiastical historie*, also used dates when they were well documented, such as in his life of Luther, one of his lengthiest entries that contained many dated events; he also introduced each life with the same heading using the date of death: 'The life of... , who died in ...' A. Pritchard explained the general lack of dates in religious biographies as a result of the lesser significance of the narrative in relation to the importance of the character of the subject. The analysis of the moral and religious qualities, organised schematically rather than chronologically was more prevalent, although he saw an increased interest in more chronological narratives towards the end of the century, as in secular biographies, which had used dated chronologies since the beginning of the century. Most religious biographies give the date of death, which was often the easiest date to find, and which was the one date used by the architect of the original blueprint, John Foxe. Pritchard believed the date of death was of religious significance. In his autobiography, Hall showed considerable interest in dates of death and age at death of godly men, marking them consistently in his surviving books including the biographies he owned. In his autobiography, fo.11, he made much of the date of death of a number godly men at a similar time, believing that this presaged a period of divine punishment.

³⁸ Such as his 'conversion' and his temporal and spiritual sufferings, *Life*, fos.16-7, Hall gave only outline details of his conversion. C. Nunn, 'Henry Newcome and his circle', p.22, notes that Newcome's autobiography was atypical in not chronicling anything of his experience of conversion.

by Experience that men are more easily led by Presidents then by Precepts, by Examples then by Rule.’³⁹ Peter Smith in Willet’s life, wrote similarly: ‘We are not easily moved with precepts; examples are more powerfull,’ and Edmund Calamy used the same motif in his preface to Clarke’s *Marrow of ecclesiastical historie*, writing, ‘The nature of man is more apt to be guided by Examples then by Precepts.’⁴⁰

Such close parallels between godly lives are to be expected given the well rehearsed and recycled nature of Puritan culture. Since his conversion thirty years before beginning his autobiography, Hall had been overcoming his carnal nature in forging and fine-tuning his Puritan identity in all his undertakings in parish, pulpit, schoolhouse, writings, and social interactions.⁴¹ Godly self-examination and self-writings were all about revealing and understanding this constructed godly identity, which was inevitably a work in progress throughout life.⁴² For his parishioners, Hall described godly self-fashioning literally as a painstaking building process:

It is easie to say I can build a house, it is but laying the foundations, rearing the wals, and covering it with a roof, and the house is made: but he that will build indeed, shall find much hewing, squaring, cost and labour, &c. And if it be such easie work to be saved, why are we commanded to Ask, seek, knock,

³⁹ Hall, *Life*, fo.1.

⁴⁰ Hall owned both these texts and was using one of many ideas that were repeated throughout godly biographies. Hall also used this idea in other places for example in *Timothy*, pp.189, 190, and *Holiness*, sigs.A5v-A6r, writing to his parishioners: ‘my desire hath been to Preach to you vita & voce, by Practice as well as Precept.’

⁴¹ Hall, *Holiness*, pp.80-2, where Hall argued that although God could have given the gift of instant sanctification to the godly, he chose to give it by degrees for a number of reasons which were good for human spiritual awareness and development. It was a process that overcame and changed their natural selves.

⁴² M. Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self, Autobiography and Self-Identity in England 1591-1791* (1996), p.117, has called spiritual self-writings ‘quasi-autobiographical’ because of their formulaic and corporate limitations, and yet such works were written by men and women who like Hall did not recognise any other self but their religious self and were simply acknowledging the realism of its importance to their human lives, and certainly in Hall’s manuscript a great deal is also revealed of his daily life and personal reactions. Mascuch, pp.5-6, sees true autobiography as the personal capacity to produce a unified retrospective autobiographical narrative, which he believes was not shown in England until the last decade of the eighteenth century. M. Todd, ‘Puritan Self-Fashioning: The Diary of Samuel Ward’, *The Journal of British Studies* 31:3 (1992) 236-64, pp.138-9, in agreement with Stephen Greenblatt, finds self-fashioning a particular feature of Renaissance literature, and shows how the diary of Samuel Ward was a deliberate exercise in creating a godly identity, and p.252, self-fashioning in imitation of Christ and other godly models, was a necessary part of godliness.

strive, wrestle, run and workout our salvation with fear and trembling, denying our selves, and taking up our crosse daily &c.’⁴³

Hall therefore understood his ‘self’ as his constructed religious self, so that in spite of his skill in mimicking the genre with all its inherent limitations, the image he projected of himself was not simply a portrait that he created for the occasion, but the outward manifestation of his sanctified self, which had for many years been forged in accordance with the same ideal ministerial image that was promoted throughout godly culture and experience. As a result, Hall was offering another narrative which could be set before his fellow godly pilgrims as an inspiring example of experiential faith and the providence of God. As he stated in his long title, he intended it for their edification, being ‘full of comfort & Incouragements for the Weake and the Tempted’ against ‘their Spirituall enimies’ and where ‘the people of God may allso find many Vsefull, Practicall Rules for their Direction in this their Pilgrimage condition.’⁴⁴

As Peter Lake has pointed out with reference to Clarke’s collections of godly lives, there was nothing straightforward about this genre of biography, and in addition to its exemplary and edifying purposes it was used by Clarke for the polemical construction of a history of a moderate style of Puritanism to be displayed and understood as integral to orthodox English Protestantism.⁴⁵ In like fashion, Hall’s manuscript served as his last written defence of orthodox Calvinism and Presbyterianism, which was the cornerstone of his religious mission and a central underlying feature of his autobiography, and this aspect exemplifies what Patrick Collinson, saw in the genre of biography, particularly as exercised by Clarke, as ‘a

⁴³ Hall, *Holiness*, p.54.

⁴⁴ Hall, *Life*, title page.

⁴⁵ P. Lake, 'Reading Clarke's Lives in Political and Polemical Context', pp.293-303. A. Pritchard, *English Biography*, pp.46-9, also discussed how seventeenth-century religious biography was shaped and limited as much by its political and polemical purposes as it was by its exemplary nature.

partisan purpose, buttressing ... puritan orthodoxy against sectarianism.’⁴⁶ Hall was a friend of Clarke and owned his two collections of godly lives published in the 1650s. He quoted from both of them in his *Life*, and this was the polemical milieu in which he participated and wished to be remembered; perhaps he hoped to qualify as one of Clarke’s entries although, by the time of the Restoration, Clarke was not looking for the inclusion of men like Hall with such rigid beliefs.⁴⁷

The similarities between Hall’s manuscript and the ‘lives’ he owned are so close that the manuscript seems to reveal him as just another approved stereotype. Allan Pritchard, in his study of seventeenth-century biographies, found that a common feature of Puritan biographies was their purpose not so much to explore individuality as to provide models of life and character for instruction and imitation.⁴⁸ Patrick Collinson, too, wrote of the difficulty of revealing the historical person behind the surfeit of hyperbole and cliché in such lives. However, stereotyping is exactly what Hall was aiming for. In using the format of the godly life he was looking for public recognition of his status and religious identity as a saint in the company of men he admired.⁴⁹ In the manuscript he wrote of himself, ‘His Publick performances he did not rashly undertake but even to the last performed them with an holy Reverence & godly feare.’⁵⁰ His manuscript *Life* was an extension of this public performance

⁴⁶ P. Collinson, ‘A Magazine of Religious Patterns’ in his *Godly People*, p.510.

⁴⁷ P. Lake, ‘Reading Clarke’s Lives’, pp.303-8, sees a change of direction in Clarke’s collections of lives in 1660 and 1662 for which he expanded the spectrum of the Puritan tradition he was defending with the inclusion of various wider elements representing Reformed unity. The wider range included respectable Independents and even some episcopalians, and although it still centred on Presbyterianism it was a moderate and far more inclusive form of Presbyterianism to which Hall could not have subscribed.

⁴⁸ A. Pritchard, *English Biography*, p.40.

⁴⁹ B. Donagan, ‘Puritan Ministers and Laymen: Professional Claims and Constraints in Seventeenth Century England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 47 (1984) 81-112, p.86, notes that it was a commonplace that Puritan ministers were convinced that they were an elite among the elect. Hall believed it but also seems to have wanted it publicly acknowledged. P. Lake, ‘A Charitable Christian Hatred’: The Godly and their Enemies in the 1630s’, in C. Durston and J. Eales, (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (1996) 145-83, pp.150-6, also discussed the importance to Puritans of their identification with the visible community of the elect.

⁵⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.94.

and therefore of the public self-image he had already fashioned for himself, for his contemporaries, and for posterity.

In spite of its adherence to biographical conventions, however, Hall's manuscript does have idiosyncrasies, and reveals something of Hall as an individual. He included some of his personal quirks such as the merits of his own short haircut, and details of successive illnesses and the medicines he took to deal with them. He conveys the sheer hard work and exhaustion of his professional life at grass root level as he undertook his pastoral duties, taught pupils and ordinands, and prepared works for the presses. He highlighted his communicative and polemical skills in debate with the ungodly, and made explicit his trust in the power of print for future generations, giving considerable space to descriptions of his printed works and praise for their efficacy in the godly cause. His books were clearly seen as fundamental to his life and religion: several times he noted the extent of his learning and his library, and the value of his contribution to the future edification of godly communities in his bequests of books to found libraries. In his evaluation of all these achievements, Hall revealed his sense of self-value, of self-righteousness, and of spiritual assurance within the godly community.

As an interesting postscript to Hall's efforts to make sure that the example of his life was not overlooked in the godly roll of honour, ten years after his death, his friend and fellow Presbyterian, Richard Moore, wrote his genuine biography. It was entitled, 'The Life and Death of Mr. Thomas Hall, who died April 13. Anno Dom. 1665.',⁵¹ and was attached to a character of Hall and three of Moore's sermons, one of which was a memorial sermon for

⁵¹ Richard Moore, *Pearl* (1675), which contained three sermons he had given at Wythall Chapel, one in honour of Thomas Hall, together with a character sketch and biography of him. Moore said, 'I could neither procure to see the several Occurrences of his Life written by his own hand, nor a sight of the sermon preached at his funeral,' but 'hearing that they were lost', he was persuaded to undertake the commission.

Hall on a text which provides the first of many echoes of Hall's own choices: Hebrews 11.4, 'And by it he, being dead, yet speaketh.' He linked this directly to Hall, writing, 'And though he now be dead, yet he speaks to you, not by his Words but by his Works; by Precept and by President. Oh labour to lead his life, that you may die his death.'⁵²

Moore wrote the biography to set Hall up as a model for imitation by Presbyterians in the days of persecution and alienation following the Restoration, and he faithfully followed the conventions of the godly life. His biography was structured with a brief opening narrative of the events of Hall's life, followed by a much lengthier encomium extolling ten of his main virtues, and concluding with an even longer section, nearly half of the whole biography, on his exemplary last illness and death. Moore had no access to Hall's manuscript which he said had been lost, although he had tried to find it. However, he had known Hall and his circle, had read his works, and had the testimony of Hall's sister Eleanor, who nursed him throughout the last three weeks of his life. Of course, these sources were already imbued with Hall's self-presentations, and their use, together with that of the standard template of a godly life, would result in similarities with Hall's manuscript. Even so, in spite of his dependence on hagiographical language and imagery to fashion his subject for his readers, Moore gave some indications that he was writing for people who had known Hall well, and as such his account would be expected to reveal a recognisable portrait.⁵³ In relating his experience of how Hall presented his godliness to the world, Moore's biography supported some of the individualistic features of Hall's manuscript. These are the chronological events of his life, his defence of his reputation against his Papist enemies, his regard for learning and books, and some of his

⁵² Moore, *Pearl*, p.71. Hall, *Timothy*, sig.A7v, similarly argued, 'what we write may be usefull in our absence, yea, when we are dead, yet by our writings we may still speak for the good of others.'

⁵³ P. Lake, 'Feminine Piety and Personal Potency', pp.143-165, made the point that 'the whole ideological rationale behind funeral sermons and lives lay in there being a basic fit or congruence between the image produced in the pulpit and the recollections of the auditory who had known the subject in life....'

sayings and attitudes. Moore also mentioned his short hair and some other details of his appearance, as well as his inclination to cholera and outbreaks of passion.⁵⁴ The major differences between the two accounts are the inclusion in Moore's biography of things Hall could not have written about, such as his last illness and death, and his prophetic forecast of the plague and fire which overtook London directly after his death. Moore attributed this prophecy to him from *Samaria* (1660), in which Hall had warned the citizens of London of impending retribution.⁵⁵

Although Moore's biography would undoubtedly have earned Hall's approval, his own manuscript was never published. It failed to reach his desired godly audience, failed to set his self-image in the permanence of print, and failed to assist in establishing what he regarded as true religion across England. However his self-fashioning as refracted in Moore's biography, served as some encouragement to the Presbyterian after the Restoration. Yet Hall's manuscript offers additional material for studying his perceptions of his religious identity and Puritan culture. It further illustrates his reading practices and use of texts, gives his personal evaluation of his life's achievements and clearly illustrates his assumption of a deserved place among the saints of the godly community.

⁵⁴ According to the findings of A. Pritchard, *English Biography*, pp.67-70, most biographers of the seventeenth century neglected the personal appearance of their subjects, influenced by long-established traditions of Christian biography. Although Erasmus had given a new example in his description of Thomas More, few adopted it. In Thomas Cawton Jn., *The life and death of that holy and reverend man of God, Mr. Thomas Cawton* (1662) [Cat.A256], p.84, less than a sentence was devoted to Cawton's physical appearance: 'of stature tall and thin, in countenance lean and pale, of a very weak constitution, yet very active and stirring.' T. Webster, 'Stephen Marshall and Finchingfield', p.4, noted that Marshall's hostile biographer gave a somewhat unflattering physical description of him that was not challenged by any of Marshall's supporters. Typically in Samuel Clarke's *Marrow*, the physical attributes of his subjects are only occasionally mentioned, and then usually within the scope of one sentence, for example, pp.186, 252, 326, 513, 691, 751, 765, 812, 995.

⁵⁵ Moore, *Pearl*, p. 85. Hall did warn London that it would be destroyed like proud biblical cities for its wickedness, if the people did not repent, and Moore seized on this in light of the events of 1665-6.

Conclusion

As Barbara Donagan has demonstrated, there were considerable constraints on Puritan ministers resulting from their obligation to lead exemplary lives and to maintain visible, correctly balanced public personas in order to achieve their primary role as agents of God's salvation.⁵⁶ Hall was most conscientious in living an exemplary role, and, conventionally, made it the focus of the encomiastic section of his *Life*.⁵⁷ By means of his disguised autobiography, together with his other printed works, he hoped to extend his godly image and influence beyond death. Furthermore, he used his *Life* as a polemical vehicle for the continuing struggles of the whole godly community, his love of which he emphasised in the encomium, calling it 'the Brotherhood', 'the household of faith', the body of 'all the Saints'.⁵⁸ He gave a precise idea of the membership of this orthodox elite in his list of 'famous lights': besides his brother John, it included godly ministers such as Ashe, Blake, Bolton, Gataker, Gouge, Harris, Jacombe, Ley and Vines, but also two Calvinist bishops Ussher and Hall, and lay godly leaders such as Sir Robert Harley, and thus Hall placed himself centrally in the Moderate Puritan tradition.⁵⁹

Hall's *Life* shows he intended his lasting image to be that of a saint, a zealous minister who laboured painfully in all his godly roles, and particularly in defence of true religion in face of the temptations and buffetings of Satan and his minions, including Papists, sectaries and all the profane. Once again, he appears to be following the example of Paul, particularly as he

⁵⁶ B. Donagan, 'Puritan Ministers and Laymen: Professional Claims and Constraints in Seventeenth Century England'.

⁵⁷ Hall, *Life*, fos.84-110.

⁵⁸ Hall, *Life*, fo.88.

⁵⁹ Hall, *Life*, fos. 9-11. Hall had entered Oliver Cromwell's name in the list but it was later crossed out. Ann Hughes in 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle', pp.789-90, notes that in Gataker's funeral sermon, Simeon Ashe placed Gataker, Harris, Tuckney, Blake and Burgess among those in the non-separating Moderate Puritan position. Hall did include Burgess in his list but crossed him out with other later additions presumably because they died later and chronologically should not have been there. Hall cited Ashe's sermon, *Gray hayres* (1654), in *Timothy*, p.390 i.e. p.398, and in *Life*, fo.30.

concluded his encomium with a textual borrowing from St. Paul's epistle to Timothy: 'He served God in his generation, not one or two, but all his dayes. He lived desired, & dyed lamented; he hath fought the good fight & finisht his race.'⁶⁰ This reference came from the last chapter of the last epistle to Timothy, which Hall described as Paul's swansong, his '*Cyanea Cantio*, his last, and sweetest Song' written when 'by a Spiritual sagacity he saw his end approaching'.⁶¹ It seems that Hall's *Life* was cast in imitation, drawing together all that he considered significant in his godly pilgrimage, and using it for the glory of God in continuing to promote orthodox religion from the grave. It emphasises his optimism in the continuation of this struggle into the future, and his unqualified trust in divine providence.

However, the manuscript also suggests an image of Hall that he would have been reluctant to admit, for in undertaking this disguised biography at all, together with his references to leaving his printed works and book collection as his monuments, it also tell of his self-interest and his anxiety to be remembered not only as a valued member of a godly elite, but also for his individual self.

⁶⁰ Hall, *Life*, fo.109.

⁶¹ Hall, *Timothy*, p.302.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that Presbyterianism in the mid-seventeenth century was a far more dynamic force than historians have generally acknowledged. Thomas Hall, though an adherent of the most doctrinaire form of English Presbyterianism, engaged persistently and positively in the exploitation of multifaceted approaches to continuing godly reformation. His flexibility in styles of communication and expectations of success can be seen in his active participation in the Interregnum Church, particularly in his pastoral care, his teaching of future godly generations, and his evangelical and polemical campaigns in disputations and print.

Hall's Presbyterianism was, in many ways, a logical development arising from his personal circumstances and the interrelated religious and political choices he made in the first decade of his ministry. From childhood, he had been brought up in a pious but episcopally orthodox family with distant roots in Elizabethan non-conformism, but at university he had been diverted to Arminianism. On his return to his native county, the personal influence of Puritan clergy in Birmingham and local lay people converted him to high Calvinist orthodoxy. The development of this newly found godly identity within strong supportive local clerical networks encouraged him to respond to the increasing dominance of Arminianism with a growing anti-episcopal outlook which, at times, erupted in open resistance. When he eventually embraced Presbyterianism, it was the result of this pre-disposition together with his learned belief in its Biblical *jus divinum* and its adoption by European Reformed Churches. Although Hall deemed England a nation favoured by God, like many of his contemporaries, he always saw it in a European and Atlantic perspective.

Hall's Presbyterianism was not, therefore, an alien system of belief suddenly adopted in the 1640s and inspired by the Scottish model, but grew out of his high Calvinism and anti-Arminianism. He consistently attributed his doctrine and ecclesiology to his own learned interpretation of the Bible and that of respected Protestant authorities. While he admired Scottish Presbyterianism, he favoured it not in isolation, but as part of the European Reformation to which, he argued, the Church of England should fully belong once it had been finally emancipated from popish survivals in structure and liturgy.

In 1641, Sir Thomas Aston, defender of episcopacy, attacked Presbyterianism as innovative, arbitrary and Antichristian, incompatible with monarchy, parliament and the laws of England.¹ Hall's response to such arguments illustrates his conviction that Presbyterianism had been initiated apostolically and was the least tyrannical, most just system of church government:

This Government rightly managed, is a Meek, Rationall, Religious, Mercifull Government; 'tis so far from being Tyrannicall, that it is a singular remedy against spirituall Tyranny; for if a man be wronged at home, yet there are Appeales to a Classicall, Provinciall, Nationall Synod. A whole Court of Justice is lesse lyable to errour, then a particular Judge, a whole Synod then a particular congregation.²

He considered it charitable: it did not debar from baptism and communion those whom God would admit, and demanded no subscription to 'any Church-Covenant', or 'any open confession before the congregation.' Nor, he wrote, did it 'put the Power of the Keyes into the Hands of the people (as Independents do) where all the Church hath power of voting.' It suppressed schism and heresy, encouraged family as well as public worship, and produced 'painfull, powerfull, orthodox Preachers.' It was a government in which no-one lorded it over

¹ Sir Thomas Aston, *A remonstrance, against presbitery* (1641) [Wing (2nd ed.), A4078] in 'The Remonstrance Represented to the House of Peers', sig. B3v-B4v, and *passim*. Aston's oppositional viewpoint as it is expressed in this work, is discussed by J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp.166-9.

² Hall, *Timothy*, p.174. Here Hall responds to a number of criticisms of Presbyterianism but without naming any specific critics.

the flock.³ Furthermore Hall ardently supported monarchy, parliament and magistracy, stressing that he had bound himself to do so ‘by the Protestation, Covenant, and other Obligations’.⁴

Other contemporary critics, such as Richard Overton, John Milton and John Goodwin, condemned Presbyterianism as persecutory, seeing it as the replacement of one restrictive hierarchy with another, and even a return to popish tyranny.⁵ Hall retaliated, arguing that sectaries including Baptists were heretics, and even orthodox Independents were erroneous, being

accountable to none in spirituall things, but onely to Christ, and what could the Pope say more? this is to pull down one Pope, and set up many: and to make the Power of one Minister equall to the authority of many combined together in Synods.⁶

Hall’s intolerance was driven by his belief in a single Reformed Presbyterian Church and a single doctrinal orthodoxy, for the logical corollary was that any other organisations and beliefs stemmed from the Devil, and were therefore intolerable. The only religious liberty he recognised was liberty to a life in Christ through the destruction of the bondage of sin by the power of grace.⁷ For the sake of his own salvation and as a ministerial responsibility, he felt obligated to fight any form of religious toleration. As a result, his polemic against enemies was expressed in the most vituperative language and harsh arguments which trumpeted

³ Hall, *Timothy*, p.174-8.

⁴ Hall, *Funebria*, p.40.

⁵ Richard Overton engaged in pamphlet warfare with Presbyterians, particularly in 1645-7 with his satires in the persona of Martin Mar-Priest. He attacked Presbyterian cruelty and greed for tithes. John Milton accused the Presbyterian clergy of taking a tyrannical line just like Catholics and former bishops over print censorship, and in his poem, ‘On the new forcers of Conscience under Long Parliament’ (1646) condensed his anti-Presbyterianism in the last line, ‘New Presbyter is but old priest writ large’. John Goodwin wrote several pamphlets against Presbyterians, targeting especially Thomas Edwards and William Prynne.

⁶ Hall, *Timothy*, p.177. Sir Thomas Aston had thrown a similar accusation at Presbyterians, saying, in *A remonstrance against Presbitery* (1641), ‘A Survey of Presbyterianism, Section 5’ that they would pull down 26 bishops and set up 9,342 popes in their place. This accusation is also cited by J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, pp.166-7.

⁷ Hall, *Timothy*, p.270.

threatenings, frustrations and intolerance; but, that was his intention. He was using his righteous spiritual anger in defence of the truth, purposely intending to incite the wrath of his victims and the outrage of orthodox colleagues and magistrates, in order to provoke responses that would lead to action. He enjoyed every aspect of seeking out and excoriating his enemies, thereby exercising his ministry in fighting the forces of evil among a reprobate majority. He called it the 'Art of Holy fighting'.⁸ It was what the church militant was all about.

Historians have focused on Hall's vitriol in using him as an example of rigid Presbyterianism, but alongside his militant outpourings, he exploited polemic in far more subtle ways in order to evangelise, and to encourage the godly community and to show his solidarity with it. As Hall put it,

every Minister must be *Adamas & mages*, he must harden his face like a flint, and have browes of brass to oppose the wicked; yet must he withall be a Load-stone, by his amiable, tender, and compassionate carriage to win them to Christ, lying in the breach for them, and running hazards to save them from destruction.⁹

Persuasion to godliness was an underlying communicative approach in his pastoral care in parish and school, and in his publications. By mixing styles and formats to popularise his tracts, he sought wide audiences. He called them to orthodoxy and Presbyterianism through instruction, reasoned argument, threats, encouragements and promises of rewards, and with varied printed entertainment such as verse, drama, scandal and stories. He employed an arsenal of words, epithets, analogies and references to promote his beliefs. The careful rhetorical structure of his blasts against sectaries also invites the conclusion that they were designed as moral drama, to grip the reader in horrified thrall. In his preaching and parochial work he appealed to his weaker parishioners as well as to his convinced core through similar devices. While he 'thundred in his doctrine' and was implacable to his enemies, it also clear

⁸ Hall, *Timothy*, p.390.

⁹ Hall, *Amos*, p.371.

that Hall led by example and had a paternal, patient approach to those who were willing. This is best evidenced by *Holiness*, his work written directly for his parishioners together with the accompanying parish catechism, by his teaching of schoolboys and graduands, and by the affection he commanded among a range of people from patrons and academic colleagues to poor parishioners and former pupils.¹⁰

While the Bible was at the centre of Hall's belief and practice and all other books took second place, his library and his respect for the power of print were pivotal to his ministry. As Hughes noted, he not only moved in a clerical circle expanded by print, through which he and some of his colleagues made national reputations, but he gathered a substantial book collection, the surviving books of which give further evidence of his perception of himself 'at the heart of a community created by print.'¹¹ His library book catalogues and his surviving books have enabled a study of the centrality of print culture to his ministry, and how he read and used his books in relation to Renaissance reading practices and in support of his ministry. Surviving annotations have confirmed and supplemented his published views, and some have given insights into his reactions to religious and political events that he was not prepared to publish. What emerges particularly, is his sense of reading, book-learning and book-writing as spiritual exercises and providential 'meanes', not only for his own godly sanctification and that of his flock, but also as major weapons in the ubiquitous fight against Satan and all who served him.

What is so unusual and valuable in studying Hall is the combination of so many facets of a godly ministry combined in one person. His orthodox Calvinism and its demands for outward

¹⁰ Richard Moore, *Pearl*, sig.A7v, wrote that Hall 'thundered in doctrine' but 'lightened in his life'.

¹¹ A.Hughes, 'Godly Reformation and Its Opponents in Warwickshire 1640-1662', *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers* 35 (1993), pp.20-1.

signs of inward experiential piety underpinned all his activities, and spurred on his zeal and energetic activism. A major inspiration was his belief in his membership of God's elect, a spiritual and physical godly community, both of people he knew personally and people with whom he identified, particularly through print, from past, present and future. In the human godly community on earth he saw the strength of the Church and a foretaste of salvation and its rewards:

Now God hath ordained the society of his People as one speciall means to comfort us in them Communion is a means to breede and increase brotherly love, and to enlarge the Church, ... and oh that we did live as a People that beleve our Principles. Communion with the Saints on Earth is a glimpse of thy Eternal society which we shall have with them in Heaven, when we shall all be gathered together into one Body, as the society of wicked men in their wickednesse is a glimpse of Hell.¹²

There is no doubt that Hall saw his ministry as a struggle, but it was a struggle to be expected and embraced for the glory of God, one which was shared with all the godly elect, and one which would eventually be won.¹³ While castigating all who deviated from godly orthodoxy and bemoaning the lack of Presbyterian discipline, Hall gave no indication that he ever relaxed his ministerial, teaching or publishing efforts, or that he felt they were doomed to failure. On the contrary, the adversarial conditions he experienced throughout his ministry threw him into resourceful activities to overcome them. In his last years, he showed appreciation of God's providence in his personal life, writing, 'now in the Conclusion I cannot help but acknowledge he hath done all things well, & that all things have wrought together for good unto me.'¹⁴ He died assured of his own salvation, and his autobiography and bequests of books reveal his hopes of participating in further reformation from the grave. As for the godly community he left behind, while accepting that it was called to suffering, Hall believed there was always a promise of redemption: 'Christ hath alwaies had a Church, a little Flock, a Remnant to serve him, and ever will have in despite of all opposition. ... so all the

¹² Hall, *Timothy*, p.409.

¹³ Hall, *Holiness*, p.52 and *Timothy*, p.213.

¹⁴ Hall, in his will, in *Life*, fo.204

Promises shall first or last be made good to the righteous.’ The elect would never perish.¹⁵ Furthermore, whatever happened to the nation, he confidently accepted it as part of God’s providential design. Just as sanctification was an ongoing process in the journey of faith to salvation for the individual, so the continuing godly reformation of humanity was an ongoing process that would, whatever the setbacks, inevitably bring everyone into conformity with God’s will and restore one true, and Presbyterian, Church. Contrary to the traditional historiographical view, it was these rigid predestinarian and Presbyterian beliefs that were Hall’s inspiration for unflinching hope, and for the flexibility and range of his campaigns to win hearts and minds by whatever human means he could employ.

¹⁵ Hall, *Amos*, p.578, *Holiness*, p.39, *Timothy*, p.398, and *Samaria*, pp.25-6, 118.

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Electronic resources

- BBIH Bibliography of British and Irish History: <http://apps.brepolis.net>
- Birmingham Central Library Catalogue: <http://viewpoint.birmingham.gov.uk>
- Birmingham University Library Catalogue, and its online journal facilities: <http://libcat.bham.ac.uk>
- BBTI The British Book Trade Index: <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/>,
- The British Library Integrated Catalogue: <http://catalogue.bl.uk>
- CCEd The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835
<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/index.html>
- DNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>
- EEBO Early English Books Online: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>
- English Book Owners in the Seventeenth Century: A Work in Progress Listing* (updated August 2010); an evolving web site hosted by the Bibliographical Society of America; compiled by David Pearson: <http://www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Pearson/Pearson.pdf>
- ESTC English Short Title Catalogue: <http://estc.bl.uk>
- HAMNET Folger Shakespeare Library Catalogue: <http://www.folger.edu/>
- The Huntington Library: <http://www.huntington.org/>
- OLIS Oxford Library Information Service: <http://www.lib.ox.ac.uk/olis>